

ORIENTALIA
LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA

At the Heart of an Empire

**The Royal Household
in the Neo-Assyrian Period**

by
MELANIE M. GROB

AT THE HEART OF AN EMPIRE:
THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD IN THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

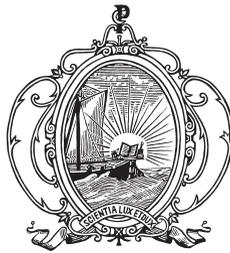
ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
————— 292 —————

AT THE HEART OF AN EMPIRE

The Royal Household in the Neo-Assyrian Period

by

MELANIE M. GROß



PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT
2020

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

© 2020, Peeters Publishers, Bondgenotenlaan 153, B-3000 Leuven/Louvain (Belgium)

This is an open access version of the publication distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs licence (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial reproduction and distribution of the work, in any medium, provided the original work is not altered or transformed in any way, and that the work is properly cited.

ISBN 978-90-429-4073-4
eISBN 978-90-429-4074-1
D/2020/0602/100

For my parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.	XIX
PREFACE	XXI
PART I: INTRODUCTION	1
1 Objectives	1
2 Previous studies	2
3 Method and structure of the study	3
4 Terminology.	7
5 Technical remarks	8
6 Textual sources.	10
6.1 Text types	10
6.1.1 Legal texts.	11
6.1.2 Administrative texts.	13
6.1.3 Letters	18
6.1.4 Royal inscriptions	22
6.1.5 Lexical lists of professions	25
6.2 Archives from the main centres	27
6.2.1 Archives from Assur (Qal‘at Šarqat)	28
6.2.2 Archives from Kalhu (Nimrud)	30
6.2.3 Archives from Dur-Šarrukin (Khorsabad)	32
6.2.4 Archives from Nineveh (Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus)	33
6.2.5 Concluding remarks.	34
6.3 Perishable materials and the Aramaic language	37
7 The Neo-Assyrian empire	38
7.1 Political history	39
7.1.1 First phase: from Aššūr-dān II (934–912) to Aššūr-nērāri V (754–745)	39
7.1.2 Second phase: from Tiglath-pileser III (744–727) to Sargon II (721–705)	40
7.1.3 Third phase: from Sennacherib (704–681) to the final fall (612/609)	41
7.2 Assyrian kingship	42
7.3 The king’s magnates	44

PART II: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	47
1 Palace management	47
1.1 The <i>rab ekalli</i> (palace manager)	47
1.1.1 Family.	47
1.1.2 Appointment and career	48
1.1.3 Personal equipment	51
1.1.4 Property	52
1.1.5 Wine allocations	53
1.1.6 Gifts made by the <i>rab ekalli</i>	54
1.1.7 Legal transactions	54
1.1.8 Functions	55
1.1.8.1 Supervising palace access	55
1.1.8.2 Writing boards.	56
1.1.8.3 Providing labour	56
1.1.8.4 Releasing people.	58
1.1.8.5 Managing commodities.	60
1.1.8.5.1 Provision of commodities	60
1.1.8.5.2 Receipt of commodities	62
1.1.8.5.3 Miscellaneous	65
1.1.8.5.4 Summary.	66
1.1.8.6 Military activities	66
1.1.9 Subordinates	67
1.1.10 Rank and jurisdiction	69
1.1.11 Assignment to palaces.	70
1.1.12 Summary	72
1.2 The <i>ša-pān-ekalli</i> (palace supervisor)	73
1.2.1 Family.	74
1.2.2 Appointment and career	74
1.2.3 Property	75
1.2.4 A storehouse of the <i>ša-pān-ekalli</i>	75
1.2.5 Allocations	76
1.2.5.1 Wine allocations	76
1.2.5.2 Redistributed palace income	77
1.2.6 Responsibility for sheep	79
1.2.7 Legal transactions	79
1.2.8 Functions	80
1.2.8.1 Master-of-ceremonies	80
1.2.8.2 Supervising access to the king	81
1.2.8.3 Treaty ceremonies	82
1.2.8.4 Overseeing building materials	83
1.2.8.5 Covering a chariot with silver	83

1.2.8.6	Dealing with deportees	84
1.2.8.7	Activities in Babylonia	85
1.2.8.8	A post-canonical eponym	87
1.2.9	Subordinates	87
1.2.9.1	Deputy	88
1.2.9.2	Scribe	88
1.2.9.3	Messengers and an aide	89
1.2.9.4	Staff-bearers and watchmen	90
1.2.9.5	Military functionaries	90
1.2.9.6	Household staff	91
1.2.9.7	Miscellaneous.	91
1.2.10	Rank and jurisdiction	91
1.2.11	Institutional affiliation.	94
1.2.12	Summary	96
1.3	The <i>rab ekalli</i> versus the <i>ša-pān-ekalli</i>	96
1.4	The <i>ṭupšar ekalli</i> (palace scribe)	98
1.4.1	Equipment	99
1.4.2	Property	99
1.4.3	Allocations	100
1.4.4	Supplies	100
1.4.5	Legal transactions	100
1.4.6	Functions	101
1.4.7	Rank	104
1.4.8	Subordinates	104
1.4.9	Institutional affiliation	105
1.5	The <i>ṭupšar šarri</i> (royal scribe)	106
2	Storage facilities	107
2.1	On the <i>bēt qātē</i>	107
2.2	The <i>ša-pān-bēt-qātē</i>	113
3	The inner quarters	115
3.1	On the <i>bētānu</i>	115
3.2	The <i>ša-muḥḥi-bētāni</i>	118
3.2.1	Property	119
3.2.2	Allocations	119
3.2.3	Legal transactions	120
3.2.4	Functions	120
	3.2.4.1 Involved in Babylonian affairs	120
	3.2.4.2 A post-canonical eponym	121
3.2.5	Rank and influence	121
3.2.6	Subordinates	123
3.2.7	Summary	125
3.3	Other personnel associated with the <i>bētānu</i>	125

4	The domestic sector	125
4.1	The <i>bētu šaniu</i> (“Second House”)	127
4.1.1	The <i>ša-bēti-šanie</i>	130
4.1.1.1	Allocations	131
4.1.1.2	Legal transactions	132
4.1.1.3	Functions	132
4.1.1.3.1	Domestic tasks	132
4.1.1.3.2	Transfer of goods	133
4.1.1.4	Rank	134
4.1.2	Further personnel associated with the <i>bētu šaniu</i>	135
4.1.3	Summary	135
4.2	The <i>bēt nuḥatimmi</i> (“House of the Cook”)	136
4.2.1	Cooks	137
4.2.1.1	<i>nuḥatimmus</i> of the temple	137
4.2.1.2	<i>nuḥatimmus</i> of the palace	139
4.2.1.3	<i>nuḥatimmus</i> of the royal family	140
4.2.1.4	<i>nuḥatimmus</i> of high-ranking officials	141
4.2.1.5	<i>nuḥatimmus</i> in general	141
4.2.1.5.1	Legal transactions and business involve- ments	141
4.2.1.5.2	Allocations	142
4.2.1.5.3	Taxes and obligations	142
4.2.1.5.4	Function	143
4.2.1.5.5	Rank	144
4.2.2	Butchers and cutters	144
4.2.2.1	The <i>ṭābiḥu</i> (butcher)	145
4.2.2.2	The <i>nākisu</i> (cutter)	146
4.2.2.3	Summary	147
4.2.3	The <i>ša-midlēšu</i> (salt-meat man).	147
4.2.4	The <i>kāpir diqāri</i> (dish-washer)	148
4.2.5	Summary	150
4.3	The <i>bēt karkadinni</i> (“House of the Confectioner”)	150
4.3.1	General remarks	153
4.3.2	<i>karkadinnus</i> of the temple	153
4.3.3	<i>karkadinnus</i> of the palace and the royal family	154
4.3.4	<i>karkadinnus</i> of high-ranking officials	155
4.3.5	<i>karkadinnus</i> in general	156
4.3.5.1	Legal transactions	156
4.3.5.2	Allocations	156
4.3.5.3	Taxes and obligations	157
4.3.5.4	Functions	157

4.3.6	Summary	159
4.4	The <i>bēt āpie</i> (“House of the Baker”)	159
4.4.1	General remarks	159
4.4.2	Institutional affiliation.	161
4.4.3	<i>āpius</i> in general.	163
4.4.3.1	Legal transactions	163
4.4.3.2	Allocations	165
4.4.3.3	Functions	166
4.4.3.4	Ethnic and geographical origin	168
4.4.3.5	Summary	168
4.5	The <i>bēt šāqie</i> (“House of the Cupbearer”).	169
4.5.1	The <i>šāqiu</i> (cupbearer)	170
4.5.1.1	Cupbearers of the temple	171
4.5.1.2	Cupbearers of the royal family	171
4.5.1.3	Cupbearers of high-ranking officials	172
4.5.1.4	Cupbearers	172
4.5.1.4.1	Legal transactions	172
4.5.1.4.2	Allocations	173
4.5.1.4.3	Functions.	174
4.5.1.4.4	Rank	175
4.5.2	The <i>mār šāqie</i> (son of the cupbearer).	175
4.6	The <i>bēt kāširi</i> (“House of the Tailor”)	176
4.6.1	Tailors.	177
4.6.1.1	<i>kāširus</i> of the temple	177
4.6.1.2	<i>kāširus</i> of the palace and the royal family.	178
4.6.1.3	<i>kāširus</i> of high-ranking officials.	179
4.6.1.4	<i>kāširus</i>	180
4.6.1.4.1	Legal transactions and business engage- ments	180
4.6.1.4.2	Allocations	180
4.6.1.4.3	Functions.	181
4.6.2	The <i>ša-bēt-kāširi</i> (“of the House of the Tailor”)	182
5	Security and guard	182
5.1	The <i>rab atê</i> (chief gatekeeper)	184
5.2	The <i>atû</i> (gatekeeper).	185
5.3	The <i>ša-pān-nērebi</i> (“entrance supervisor”)	190
5.4	The <i>sukkallu ša nērebi</i> (“vizier of the entrance”)	191
5.5	The <i>rab sikkāti</i> (“lock master”)	192
5.6	Functionaries concerned with gates (<i>bābu</i>)	193
5.7	The <i>rab mašširi</i> (commander-of-the-guards)	194
5.8	The <i>ša-maššarti</i> and <i>maššaru</i> (“watchman” and “guard”)	195

6	Military aspects of the royal household	198
6.1	Bodyguard	199
6.1.1	The <i>ša-šēpē</i> (“personal guard”).	199
6.1.2	The <i>ša-qurbūti</i> (“agent”).	201
6.1.3	Addendum: the <i>kišir šarri</i>	203
6.2	Military functionaries “of the palace”	204
6.3	Royal military functionaries	205
6.4	Satellite households	206
6.5	Military functionaries of palace officials	211
6.6	The <i>bēl narkabti</i> (“chariot owner”)	213
6.7	The <i>rab kāširi</i> (chief tailor)	215
6.7.1	Allocations and supplies	216
6.7.2	Legal transactions	217
6.7.3	Functions	218
6.7.3.1	Involved in military affairs	218
6.7.3.2	Prominently active in Babylonia	221
6.7.3.3	Custody of precious items	223
6.7.3.4	Late-Assyrian eponym	224
6.7.4	Subordinates	224
6.7.5	Honorific title versus professional title	225
6.7.6	Summary	225
7	Musicians	226
7.1	The <i>rab zammāri</i> (chief singer) and the <i>zammāru</i> (singer).	228
7.2	The <i>rab nuāri</i> (chief musician) and the <i>nuāri šarri</i> (royal musician).	230
7.3	The <i>nuāru</i> (musician)	231
7.3.1	Legal transactions and properties	231
7.3.2	Wine rations and other allocations	232
7.3.3	Ethnicity and origin	234
7.3.4	Skills and tasks	235
7.3.5	Affiliation and social rank	237
7.4	The <i>nargallu</i> (chief musician).	238
8	Courtiers	239
8.1	The <i>ša-rēši</i>	239
8.1.1	Status and functions	240
8.1.2	Ethnic origin and family connections	244
8.1.3	Business activities and properties	245
8.1.4	Personal seals	248
8.1.5	Allocations	249
8.1.6	Attendance at court	250
8.1.7	Missions and fields of operation	251
8.1.8	Subordinates	253

8.1.9	<i>ša-rēši</i> and other classes of courtiers	254
8.1.10	<i>ša-rēši</i> as a designation for eunuchs	255
8.1.11	Concluding remarks	257
8.2	The <i>tīru</i>	257
8.3	The <i>urad ekalli</i>	258
8.3.1	Legal transactions and properties	258
8.3.2	Allocations	259
8.3.3	Functions	260
8.3.4	Recruitment	261
8.3.5	The <i>urad ekalli</i> and other classes	262
8.4	The <i>zarriqu</i>	262
8.5	The <i>ša-ziqni</i>	264
8.6	The <i>mār ekalli</i>	269
8.6.1	Origin	270
8.6.2	Connection to the palace	271
8.6.3	Witnesses to legal transactions	272
8.6.4	Economic activities	273
8.6.5	Subject matter in omens	275
8.6.6	Summary	275
8.7	The <i>mār-amat-ekalli</i>	276
8.8	Other terms for palace personnel and other associates of the palace	279
8.8.1	The <i>nišē ekalli</i>	279
8.8.2	The <i>nišē bēti</i>	280
8.8.3	The <i>muttabbil ekalli</i>	281
8.8.4	The <i>kalzi ekalli</i> and the <i>kalzāni ša šarri</i>	281
8.8.5	The <i>ērib ekalli</i>	282
8.8.6	The <i>libīt ekalli</i>	283
8.8.7	The <i>libīt šarri</i>	283
8.8.8	The <i>unzarḥu</i>	284
8.8.9	Miscellaneous designations	285
9	Foreigners at court	285
10	The king's scholars	299
11	The royal tombs	302
11.1	The <i>bēt šarrāni</i>	303
11.2	The <i>bēt kimaḥḥi</i>	304
11.3	Summary	306
12	The management of the food supply	307
12.1	The <i>rab nuḥatimmi</i> (chief cook)	307
12.1.1	Appointment	307
12.1.2	Personal equipment	308
12.1.3	Property	308

12.1.4	Allocations	309
12.1.5	Temple supplies	310
12.1.6	Legal transactions	310
12.1.7	Functions	311
	12.1.7.1 Acting as judge	311
	12.1.7.2 Domestic tasks	311
	12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock	312
	12.1.7.4 Active in Babylonia	315
	12.1.7.5 A possible military connection	315
	12.1.7.6 A post-canonical eponym	316
12.1.8	Subordinates	316
12.1.9	Status	317
12.1.10	Institutional affiliation	317
12.1.11	Summary	318
12.2	The <i>rab karkadinni</i> (chief confectioner)	319
	12.2.1 Allocations	319
	12.2.2 Legal transactions	320
	12.2.3 Functions	320
	12.2.4 Subordinates	321
	12.2.5 Institutional affiliation	322
	12.2.6 Summary	323
12.3	The <i>rab āpie</i> (chief baker)	323
	12.3.1 Appointment	323
	12.3.2 Legal transactions	324
	12.3.3 Functions	326
	12.3.4 Subordinates	326
	12.3.5 Institutional affiliation	327
12.4	The <i>rab qaqqulāti</i>	327
12.5	The <i>rab karāni</i> (wine master)	329
	12.5.1 Allocations	329
	12.5.2 Supplies	330
	12.5.3 Economic affairs	331
	12.5.4 Functions	331
	12.5.5 Subordinates	332
	12.5.6 Institutional affiliation	333
12.6	The <i>rab šamni</i> (oil master)	333
12.7	The <i>rab raqqūti</i> (“spice master”)	334
12.8	The <i>rab zamri</i> (“fruit master”)	335
13	The management of grain	337
	13.1 The <i>rab karmāni</i> (chief of granaries) and the <i>rab karmi</i> (granary master)	337
	13.2 The <i>rab ma’utti</i> (“manager of the sustenance (fields)”)	340

13.3	The <i>rab danībāti</i> (chief victualler)	342
13.4	The <i>rab kissiti</i> (fodder master)	347
14	The management of other goods	348
14.1	The <i>rab kutāte</i> (vessel master)	349
14.2	The <i>rab šaddāni</i> (coffer master)	349
14.3	The <i>rab kitê</i> (linen master)	350
14.4	The <i>rab maški</i> (leather master)	350
14.5	The <i>ša-muḥḥi-qanāti</i> (“overseer of reeds”)	350
14.6	The <i>rab batqi</i> (“chief of repairs”)	351
14.7	The <i>rab nikkassi</i> (chief of accounts)	354
14.8	The <i>masennu</i> (treasurer)	357
14.8.1	Treasurers appointed to palaces	357
14.8.2	Treasurers of members of the royal family	358
14.8.3	Treasurers appointed to the Aššur Temple	361
14.8.4	Treasurers appointed to cities	365
14.8.5	Concluding remarks	367
15	Food production	369
15.1	Oil-pressing	369
15.1.1	The <i>rab šāḥiti</i> (chief oil-presser)	370
15.1.2	The <i>šāḥitu</i> (oil-presser)	371
15.2	Brewing	372
15.2.1	The <i>rab sirāšê</i> (chief brewer)	373
15.2.2	The <i>sirāšû</i> (brewer)	374
15.2.3	The <i>rab šimāni</i> (chief maltster?)	377
15.2.4	The <i>barrāqu</i> (maltster?)	378
16	Personal care	379
16.1	The <i>muraqiu</i> (perfume maker)	379
16.2	The <i>gallābu</i> (barber)	380
17	Textile production and processing	381
17.1	Weaving	383
17.1.1	The <i>rab ušpāri</i> (chief weaver)	384
17.1.2	The <i>ušpāru</i> (weaver)	386
17.1.2.1	Economic affairs	386
17.1.2.2	Allocations	387
17.1.2.3	Institutional affiliation and dependencies	388
17.1.2.4	Socialisation	392
17.1.2.5	Professional skills and organisation	393
17.1.3	Summary	395
17.2	Fulling, bleaching and dyeing	395
17.2.1	The <i>rab ašlāki</i> (chief fuller)	397
17.2.2	The <i>ašlāku</i> (fuller)	400
17.2.3	The <i>pūšāiu</i> (bleacher)	403

17.2.4	The <i>muṣappiu</i> and the <i>ṣāpiu</i> (dyer)	403
18	Leather production and processing	404
18.1	The <i>rab aškāpi</i> and the <i>aškāpu</i> (chief tanner and tanner)	406
18.2	The <i>ṣāripu</i> and the <i>ṣārip duḥṣī</i> (tanner and tanner of coloured leather)	408
18.3	The <i>rab sēpie</i> and the <i>sēpiu</i> (felt-worker)	410
19	Construction works	410
19.1	The <i>rab etinni</i> , the <i>rab etinnāti</i> and the <i>etinnu</i> (chief master builder and master builder)	410
19.2	The <i>rab šelappāie</i> and the <i>šelappāiu</i> (chief architect and architect)	414
19.3	The <i>rab urāsi</i> , the <i>rab urāsāni</i> and the <i>urāsu</i> (chief mason and mason)	418
20	Carpenters	421
21	Makers of bow and arrows	426
22	Smiths	428
23	Processing of stone	440
23.1	The <i>pallišu</i> (stone-borer)	441
23.2	The <i>parkullu</i> (stone-carver).	442
23.3	The <i>kapšarru</i> (engraver).	443
24	Processing of clay and reed.	444
24.1	The <i>pahḥāru</i> (potter).	444
24.2	The <i>atkuppu</i> (reed-worker)	446
25	Agriculture	447
25.1	The <i>rab ikkāri</i> and <i>ikkāru</i> (chief farmer and farmer).	447
25.2	The <i>rab ḥarbi</i> (“chief of cultivation”)	453
25.3	The <i>ša-epinni</i> (ploughman)	454
25.4	The <i>qatinnu</i> (“farmhand”)	455
26	Gardening	457
26.1	The <i>rab nukaribbi</i> (chief gardener) and the <i>rab kirie</i> (garden manager).	460
26.2	The <i>nukaribbu</i> (gardener)	460
27	Animal husbandry.	464
27.1	Herders	464
27.1.1	The <i>rab rā’î</i> , the <i>rā’iu rabiû</i> and the <i>rab kiṣri ša rā’î</i>	467
27.1.2	Shepherds of the king, the palace and the satellite households	468
27.1.3	Shepherds of different kinds	469
27.1.3.1	Economic affairs and ownership of land	469
27.1.3.2	Allocations	470
27.1.3.3	Palace employees and government forces	470
27.1.3.4	Animals in the shepherds’ care	471

27.1.3.5 Supervisors and superiors	472
27.1.3.6 <i>iškāru, ilku</i> and <i>taxation</i>	473
27.1.3.7 Rank	475
27.1.3.8 Geographical distribution	476
27.1.3.9 Concluding remarks.	476
27.2 The <i>mušākilu</i> (fatteners).	477
27.3 The <i>ša-kalbāni</i> (“keeper of dogs”)	481
28 Hunting and fishing	482
28.1 The <i>sandû</i> (fowler)	483
28.2 The <i>rab ešerti ša bā’irī</i> , the <i>bā’iru</i> and the <i>bā’ir-nūni</i>	486
 PART III: SYNTHESIS	 487
1 The Neo-Assyrian palace	487
1.1 Types and locations	487
1.2 Functions	495
1.3 Composition and organisation	499
1.3.1 The itinerant king	501
1.3.2 The king’s servants	502
1.3.3 Satellite households and associated departments.	505
1.3.3.1 The queen, the king’s mother and palace women	505
1.3.3.2 The crown prince	508
1.3.4 Overall administration	509
1.3.5 Correspondence and documentation.	510
1.3.6 Guards and gateways	512
1.3.7 The supply of foodstuffs	512
1.3.7.1 Agriculture, gardening and animal husbandry	513
1.3.7.2 The management of foodstuffs	516
1.3.7.3 Preparation of foodstuffs	520
1.3.8 The supply of textiles and clothing	523
1.3.8.1 Production, processing and cleaning of textiles, leather and clothing	523
1.3.8.2 Management of textiles and clothing	525
1.3.9 The supply of other goods.	526
1.4 The palace as an enterprise	531
1.5 The royal palace as seat of government	532
1.6 The palace in provincial capitals	532
2 Neo-Assyrian officialdom	533
2.1 Access to office and training	535
2.2 Process of appointment	540
2.3 Tenure and career steps	544
2.4 Remuneration	548

2.5	The concept of service	555
2.6	Hierarchies and the exertion of influence	557
2.7	Delegation and authority.	562
2.8	Rendering of titles.	564
CONCLUSIONS		569
PROSOPOGRAPHY		577
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS		1047
OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS		1053
BIBLIOGRAPHY		1055
INDICES		1085

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1	Duration of office for palace managers	51
Table 2	<i>rab ekallis</i> associated with a particular palace	70
Table 3	Palace managers mentioned in tablets from the Review Palace at Kalhu	71
Table 4	Evidence for the <i>bēt qātē</i>	111–3
Table 5	Sequences of domestics.	126
Table 6	Neo-Assyrian evidence for the <i>bētu šaniu</i>	128
Table 7	References to the “House of the Cook” possibly associ- ated with the palace	137
Table 8	References to the “House of the Confectioner”	152
Table 9	References to the “House of the Cupbearer”	170
Table 10	References to the “House of the Tailor”	177
Table 11	Individuals designated “(of the) royal corps”.	204
Table 12	Military functionaries of the king	206
Table 13	Military functionaries in the service of the queen, the king’s mother and the crown prince	209–11
Table 14	Military functionaries in the service of palace officials	212
Table 15	Palace personnel attached to specific palaces	494–5
Figure 1	The structure of the Neo-Assyrian royal household	530

PREFACE

This book is the revised version of my PhD thesis “The Structure and Organisation of the Neo-Assyrian Royal Household” defended at the University of Vienna in 2014. I received the opportunity to conduct this PhD project within the context of the project “Royal Institutional Households in First Millennium BCE Mesopotamia” led by Heather D. Baker, which was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, grant S 10802–G18) and formed part of the research network (NFN) “Imperium’ and ‘Officium” headed by Michael Jursa. Furthermore, I have been granted access to the pioneering database of “The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project” initiated by Simo Parpola at the University of Helsinki. This has been a great easement for my undertaking for which I am most grateful.

My special and foremost thanks go to Heather D. Baker who not only entrusted me with a highly interesting research topic but also supervised me with great commitment. A sincere thank you I dedicate to Michael Jursa who mentored and continued supporting me through all the years. I also thank Hermann Hunger for forming part of my PhD committee and Claudia Römer for chairing this committee. Furthermore, I want to express my warmest thanks to my project colleagues as well as other colleagues in Vienna, in particular to Anna Kurmangaliev, Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, and Michaela Weszeli.

Moreover, my efforts for revising and publishing my PhD manuscript have been supported by Kathleen Abraham in the course of my post-doctoral fellowship at KU Leuven and my work within the IAP VII “Greater Mesopotamia” project. I am thankful to Kathleen Abraham and Stefania Ermidoro for their collegial support and company during this time in Belgium.

Finally, the endeavours of publishing this manuscript could be continued and concluded within the project “Persia & Babylonia” funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 682241) led by Caroline Waerzeggers at the University of Leiden. My colleagues in Leiden not only provided me with an inspiring work environment, but also helped me with valuable suggestions for improvement. I want to express my gratitude, foremost to Caroline Waerzeggers, as well as to Miriam Müller, Lidewij van de Peut, and Maarja Seire.

For the kind patience and smooth processing of the manuscript and I am much obliged to the editing house Peeters and Bert Verrept.

Throughout these years I had the pleasure to get to know and enjoyed conversations with mentors and colleagues working around the globe. I would like

to thank Grant Frame, Elynn Gorris, Sanae Ito, Francis Joannès, David Kertai, Mikko Luukko, Julien Monerie, Louise Quillien, Karen Radner, and Jan Tavernier for their support and collegiality.

Last but certainly not least my utmost thanks goes to my family, especially my parents Wolfgang and Gerda as well as my grandparents German (†) and Maria, and my friends who may have sometimes wondered (and may still do so occasionally) what I am doing for a living, but who never tired of supporting me. Finally, I dearly thank Casper along with L., H., F., and A. for their *liefde en gezelligheid*.

Melanie Groß
Bussum, December 2019

PART I

INTRODUCTION

1 OBJECTIVES

This monograph is about the royal household in Neo-Assyrian times (c. 934–612 BCE), with the main focus on its administrative organisation. The central aim is to reconstruct the royal household management system and its personnel structure and to create a model for the palace household on the basis of the written sources. Though the origin and nature of the available sources is particularly suitable for such an attempt, no comprehensive study of the household of the Neo-Assyrian king has been undertaken so far.

By investigating the responsibilities and activities of officials and professionals, I will define the administrative procedures and daily business which took place within or on behalf of the palace household. This requires, on the one hand, the separate examination of the different offices and professions, and, on the other hand, the identification and classification of distinct administrative entities and departments forming part of or associated with the royal household. Although the identification and characterisation of the decision-makers within the royal household system are among the primary objectives of this monograph, it is in principle conceived as a bottom-up study. By examining all ascertainable offices and professions active in the palace household, a better understanding is gained of how the royal household was maintained with the involvement of all the different administrative and social levels. By taking the perspective of lower levels into account, one escapes the risk of ignoring their degree and nature of impact on the entire system and of regarding every phenomenon within the system as caused only by the will and actions of Assyria's elite. Thus, with this analysis of as broad a spectrum of society as possible, I expect to attain a more balanced overall picture of the royal household. Such a study also involves a discussion about the role of the palace household within the general setting and about the relationship of the royal household with other households, including those of the state officials and of key members of the royal family. Furthermore, the royal household's relationship with the temple and the effects of cultic requirements upon the palace and its principal inhabitants need to be clarified. Since the royal household was not only the residence of the king and his family but also the administrative and political centre of the empire, its detailed study in its imperial context is crucial for a better understanding of the Neo-Assyrian empire in its entirety.

In addition to reconstructing the system on the basis of its personnel, I will determine the conditions under which the latter were employed by and active for the royal household. The determination of, among other things, access to office and the type of remuneration for office holders is a key issue for understanding the general nature of the Neo-Assyrian empire, especially with respect to the ideal types of rulership—“patrimonial” and “bureaucratic”—defined by Max Weber in his pioneering work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* first published in 1921 and 1922. The determination of the nature of the Neo-Assyrian empire also facilitates comparison of the Neo-Assyrian system with other pre-modern court societies and the discussion about the extent to which differences can be observed with its predecessor, the Middle Assyrian state, and with succeeding periods including the Babylonian and the Persian eras. This matter cannot be thoroughly addressed in the context of the present study, but its results may be used as a basis for future attempts of this sort.

2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

The main work prior to this study was conducted more than a century ago, by Ernst Klauber, who published his dissertation about Neo-Assyrian officialdom in 1910. On the basis of the Sargonid letters he examined key offices in detail and discussed general aspects of offices and office-holders. Several of Klauber’s observations—thanks to his good understanding of the letters—are still valid today, but the incorporation of other textual sources and the improved understanding of the Neo-Assyrian period on account of the huge amount of research conducted in the meantime, enable us to go beyond his conclusions. Even prior to Klauber, an attempt to collect and discuss officials attested in Neo-Assyrian empire was undertaken by Johns in his second volume of *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Johns 1901: 66–183). Later Meissner (1925: 130–46) gave a brief overview of the officials and the administration of the Neo-Assyrian empire. In his entry “Beamter” in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Opitz (1928–32) briefly mentioned several of the Neo-Assyrian palace officials and addressed some basic issues, such as the appointment and career of officials. His statements were based on Klauber’s work. In the fourth volume of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Garelli (1972–5) gave an overview of the Assyrian court under the keyword “Hofstaat” and examined in brief the women’s quarters (§ 2 “le harem”), the magnates (§ 3 “les ‘grands’”), the palace officials (§ 4 “les dignitaires du palais royal”), and the palace personnel (§ 5 “le personnel subalterne”) as well as the general ambiance at court (§ 6 “l’esprit de la cour”). At about the same time, in 1972, Kinnier Wilson edited the wine lists of 8th-century Kalhu. He supplemented this edition with a study of the Neo-Assyrian officials associated with the royal household on the basis

of the wine lists, also consulting other Neo-Assyrian sources known at that time. It is also worth mentioning here the discussion about the archives of the bureaux of the palace manager (*rab ekalli*) and of the manageress of the queen (*šakintu*, see Teppo 2007) from Fort Shalmaneser by Dalley and Postgate (1984: 4-13). In recent times, the article “Palast” dealing with the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian period was published by Postgate (2003–5b) in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, and Barjamovic (2011) provided a survey of the Neo-Assyrian court, discussing aspects such as the women’s quarters and royal *ša-rēšis* in more detail. Other recent studies relating to the Neo-Assyrian court have been conducted by Svärd (*née* Teppo) who, in the course of her research on women in the Neo-Assyrian empire, examined women at court (see *inter alia* Teppo 2007, Svärd 2015). Otherwise, studies of specific offices in the royal household include the articles of Luukko (2007) about the palace scribe and the chief scribe, and Radner’s (2010b) examination of the gatekeepers. Furthermore, this work has benefitted considerably from the study of the Neo-Assyrian highest state officials, i.e. the seven magnates, by Mattila (2000) and the study of the administration and personnel of Assyrian temples by Menzel (1981). The same is true for Postgate’s *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (1974b) and several other works by the same author, including his discussion of the “invisible hierarchy” of the Neo-Assyrian administration (2007).

3 METHOD AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This book is divided into three parts: an introduction (Part I), an analysis of the data (Part II) and a synthesis (Part III). The details about the contents of these parts are given along with the discussion of the method applied here. Thereafter you find the prosographical catalogue of the people discussed in Part II.¹

The basis of this research is a prosopographical collection of all the references to bearers of official, professional, and honorary titles and class designations attested in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus. Apart from records written in the Neo-Assyrian dialect, this includes also texts written in Neo-Babylonian and Standard Babylonian, as well as Aramaic documents from that period. The majority of attestations derives from everyday documents (i.e. legal records, administrative documents, and letters), but they also come from the royal inscriptions, treaties and decrees, lexical lists, and from some literary and descriptive texts. The collection required careful checking of these text genres,

¹ Note also Baker 2016a in which named individuals bearing a title, as attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources, are collected.

edited among others in the series State Archives of Assyria (SAA), Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud (CTN), Studien zu den Assur-Texten (StAT) and Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin (NATAPA). I could cross-check these collected data with the material recorded in the comprehensive digital database of the The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project headed by Simo Parpola in Helsinki. The relevant editions are listed along with an introduction to the most important text genres (legal texts, administrative records, letters, royal inscriptions, and lexical lists), below, followed by an overview of the archival background of the sources and a discussion about the widespread use of Aramaic and the use of perishable materials in the Assyrian administration (sections 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3). Partly depending on the text genre, the collected data can be divided into explicit and implicit references, that is, references to actual persons, with or without name or with the name lost, and references to offices or professions with no named individual. The majority comprise explicit attestations involving named individuals; these have been collected with the help of *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, comprising six fascicles edited by Radner (1/I–II, 1998–9) and Baker (2/I–II, 3/I–II, 2000–2, 2011). Since the majority of texts derives from palatial contexts, it is clear that some individuals known only by name from these texts were also office-holders, but apart from a few exceptional cases it is not possible to identify their position with any certainty. Their incorporation into the discussion is therefore not expedient for creating a model of the palace household, but some of their activities help us to get a better understanding about Neo-Assyrian officialdom in general. Based on this comprehensive collection of data, the different types of offices and professions are analysed independently in Part II, with a summary appended to each section.² An analysis based on the prosopographical data is conducted with all the different types of officials who took care of various aspects of the palace management (sections 1: “Palace management”, 2: “Storage facilities”, 3: “The inner quarters”, and 5: “Security and guard”) as well as with supplying and entertaining palace personnel (sections 4: “The domestic sector”, 7: “Musicians”, 11: “The royal tombs”, 12: “The management of the food supply”, 13: “The management of grain”, and 14: “The management of other goods”), including an examination of the associated departments. In addition, different designations for courtiers, which to some extent denote distinct classes of courtier, are discussed with the help of the data collected (section 8). This examination is complemented by a survey of foreigners at the Assyrian court (section 9). For the scholarly sphere only a brief discussion is provided (section 10) since this is a very

² Data is occasionally given only in footnotes in cases where the material is repetitive and/or less significant for the study of the Neo-Assyrian household (such as the agricultural labourers listed in the Harran Census).

distinct and closed group which has been well studied (viz. the pioneering work of Parpola 1983a) and whose role at court is well understood (Radner 2009). All the different sectors of production and craftsmanship are examined on the basis of the collected references to craftsmen and labourers. This includes “Food production” (section 15), “Personal care” (section 16), “Textile production and processing” (section 17), “Leather production and processing” (section 18), “Construction works” (section 19), “Carpenters” (section 20), “Makers of bows and arrows” (section 21), “Smiths” (section 22), “Processing of stone” (section 23), “Processing of clay and reed” (section 24), “Agriculture” (section 25), “Gardening” (section 26), “Animal husbandry” (section 27), and “Hunting and fishing” (section 28). Only part of the military sphere is associated directly with the royal household, and thus no comprehensive prosopographical analysis is provided here; the more relevant aspects are discussed in a separate section (section 6). This *modus operandi* is also justified by the fact that an in-depth analysis of the Neo-Assyrian military sphere has been published recently (Dezső 2012). Similarly, the state officials, namely the magnates (that is, the treasurer, the palace herald, the chief cupbearer, the *rab ša-rēši*, the chief bailiff, the vizier, and the commander-in-chief) and the provincial governors are not discussed in Part II. They were mostly not concerned with the royal household proper but with military activities and state affairs and, with their own institutional households, comprised the outer area of the king’s court. Also, the seven magnates were examined in detail by Mattila 2000. Due to the overall importance especially of the seven highest-ranking state officials for the Assyrian administration, they are briefly introduced in section 7.3. This section is accompanied by a general overview of the history of the Neo-Assyrian empire (section 7.1) and an introduction to the nature of the Neo-Assyrian kingship (section 7.2).

The offices, professions, and courtiers are analysed according to the following criteria: [1] social background and origin; [2] appointment and career; [3] properties and economic affairs; [4] income and revenues; [5] functions and subordinates; [6] rank and distribution. Thus, the analysis considers the social status and financial situation of office-holders as well as the tasks and responsibilities entailed by each office. The categories of officials and professionals discussed here are mostly not limited to the royal household and the households of key members of the royal family but were also associated with the households of high-ranking state officials and the temple sphere. Since it is not always clear from the sources to which domain personnel—especially professionals but also some officials—belonged, the data are usually presented and discussed in their entirety for the sake of completeness and in order to gain as much information as is available and to draw conclusions, with the help of analogy where necessary. For the same reason knowledge gained from other periods, particularly the Middle Assyrian (Jakob 2003) and the Neo-Babylonian

(Bongenaar 1997; Jursa 2010), is taken into account. Furthermore, a large amount of archaeological and iconographic data from Neo-Assyrian palaces has helped to create a more comprehensive picture and also to adjust the conclusions drawn from the written sources. Nevertheless, the focus of this work lies on the analysis of the written sources, and so this other material is only occasionally incorporated. A spatial analysis of Neo-Assyrian palaces on the basis of the archaeological material has been conducted recently (Kertai 2015; see also Groß and Kertai 2019). As to the written sources, we are dealing with a fraction of the documentation originally written and thus that the sources only provide a limited insight into the Assyrian world. Despite taking into account this scanty state of preservation, which is partly owed to the use of perishable writing materials, the Neo-Assyrian administration is generally regarded as less bureaucratic, thus less associated with “paper-work”,³ than other ancient systems. Together with the assumption of a less developed bureaucracy, one wonders to which extent ad hoc assignments rather than fixed responsibilities determined the everyday life of an official. However, although ad hoc missions certainly were part of the system, official tasks comprised a fixed range of basic responsibilities. Despite the tendency of the sources (especially the letters) to reflect irregular cases rather than daily routine, we can detect consistency among the working environments and duties of particular officials.

The synthesis provided in Part III deals with two main subjects. On the basis of Part II and of the Neo-Assyrian text corpus in general, first, the Neo-Assyrian palace household as a whole and, second, Neo-Assyrian officialdom are discussed. In the first section I examine the staff of the principal members of the royal family (king, crown prince, queen and king’s mother). Mainly based on the areas of responsibility elucidated in Part II, I then offer a reconstruction of the organisation of the palace household and its personnel, together with a model of the palace household. Therefore subjects including the overall administration, the management of communication and documentation, the maintenance of guarding and security, and the supply of foodstuffs and other goods are examined, taking into account the different types of palaces and their functions. These aspects not only concern the central palace household but also demonstrate its connection with the provincial domains and the temple sphere. The discussion concentrates on the working structures, the division of responsibilities, and the ways in which the palace organised itself, covered its needs and gained (financial) profit while fulfilling its role as administrative and political headquarters. This focus contrasts with the approach of the pioneering court study *Die höfische Gesellschaft* of Elias concerning the French court

³ See Fales and Postgate 1992: XXXIII, Postgate 2001b: 182 and 2007: 7–8.

in Versailles of Louis XIV and his successors first published in 1969,⁴ where the social aspects are paramount. The impact of social dynamics at court, however, is considered in the second part of the synthesis which examines general features of Neo-Assyrian officialdom including social origin, education, appointment, career steps, remuneration and property-holding, the concept of service, hierarchies and delegation of responsibility. The investigation of Neo-Assyrian officialdom also leads us to consider questions such as its degree of rationality and to which extent Weber's ideal types of rulership including the "patrimonial state" (i.e. "traditionale Herrschaft") and the "bureaucratic state" (i.e. "rationale Herrschaft", Weber ⁵1972: 124) apply, or whether it is legitimate to describe it as a "patrimonial-bureaucratic empire", a modified type proposed by Blake (1979: 78–9) for the Mughal empire on the basis of Weber's models.

4 TERMINOLOGY

For the purpose of studying the Neo-Assyrian royal household, it seems advisable to define some recurring terms and to discuss their connotations. Beginning with the "palace", this primarily denotes the physical house of the ruler or the king which, as is clear from the Sumerian É.GAL, distinguishes it from other houses by its greater physical size. This "great house" is regarded as the royal residence, the seat of kingship and the seat of the central government. Just as the term "house" (É) can also refer to "household", the same is true for the "palace" (É.GAL) which may be understood as the "palace household" in the sense of the structured inner life of the palace building, and in the abstract sense of an administrative entity, an institution, whose responsibilities and claims extend beyond the palace walls. Thus, the GAL in É.GAL refers to the size of the building as well as to the structural complexity of its departments and personnel, in-house and outside. In this book "palace" is usually used in the sense of "palace household", either as a reference to the internal household or the palace institution; only occasionally does it refer to the palace building as such. The term "royal household", as used in the title of this book, functions as a synonym for the "palace household", owing to the fact that the palace is above all the household of the king. However, we do not find an equivalent in the Akkadian sources: *bēt šarri* is not used as an alternative designation for *ekallu*. By contrast, the households of the crown prince, the queen, and the king's mother are referred to as *bēt mār šarri*, *bēt sēgalli*, and *bēt ummi šarri* respectively. Arising out of the palace household originally, they developed into separate establishments and are frequently referred to as "satellite households" (of the royal household) in this study.

⁴ The book is based on Elias' Habilitation treatise from 1933 (Elias ²2002: 491).

In discussing palace households, one also needs to clarify the use of the term “court” for which, in contrast to other languages such as Greek *aulē* and Latin *aula*, no distinct term in Akkadian exists. According to Winterling’s (1997: 13–4) attempt to list all connotations of “court” in the middle ages and early modern times, the “court” among others can refer to the residence of the ruler, the ruler’s entourage, and the organisation of court offices, in the sense of the “Hofstaat”, and the state it represents as such. In short, he defines the “court” as the “erweiterte ‘Haus’ eines Monarchen” (Winterling 1997: 14) which roughly corresponds to the aforementioned definitions of the “palace” and the “palace household”.⁵ This meaning of “court” also applies to this study, though in a narrower sense the “court” is meant here to denote the king’s entourage comprising his personal servants and confidants, many of whom accompanied him on a regular basis. Hence, in the case of an itinerant king his “court” is not fixed to the main palace building, but is applied to the immediate environment of the king wherever he was. Corresponding to the definitions of “court”, “courtier” in the proper sense of the word means a member of the king’s entourage but also denotes the palace household members in general, comprising officials, professionals, servants, and others.

The terms “empire” and “state” are used synonymously here to refer to the political system of Assyria in first millennium BCE. The term “state” for Assyria does not refer to a state in the modern sense of the word with a clear definition of state territory, state nation, and state authority, but, simply, to a territorial power in the abstract.⁶

5 TECHNICAL REMARKS

Instead of referring to the number of the tablet or its copy, such as ADD 711, or previous editions, such as TIM 11 7, care has been taken to cite texts and text passages according to the most recent edition, such as SAA 14 38 and SAA 14 426. The envelope of a tablet is marked with an asterisk given with the text number (for instance, CTN 3 10*). Transliterations are reproduced according to the edition or according to copies and photographs of the tablet itself. For the sake of consistency, however, general writing conventions are adopted from the State Archives of Assyria series and applied to all the transliterations (see list of “Other abbreviations and symbols”). Consistency is aimed at with the translations of titles, so that the Akkadian equivalent is not always repeated

⁵ Cf. Garelli (1972–5), describing the Assyrian “Hofstaat” which comprises the palace household (including the women’s quarters, the magnates, the palace officials and the domestic personnel).

⁶ See Selz 2011: 23–4; cf. Postgate (2010: 20) who differentiates between “state” and “empire”.

along with the English term and vice versa. It should be understood that in some cases these are only approximate renderings of the title in the original language.⁷

The post-canonical eponym dates from 648* to 612*/609* BCE are given according to Parpola's reconstructed schedule in the first fascicle of PNA (Radner 1998: XVIII–XX). This list is not undisputed and other attempts to reconstruct the chronological order of post-canonical eponyms, specifically that of Reade (1998), are not to be ignored.⁸ Thus, in relevant cases, the dates according to Reade's reconstructed schedule are also taken into account.

In the prosopographical catalogue the numbers assigned to individuals in PNA are given in brackets. Individuals who feature in PNA as the sole bearer of a name (and who are thus unnumbered) are here designated (1), to distinguish them from individuals who are not included in PNA, here designated (-). PNA numbers are only given along with individuals who bear titles which are directly relevant and are also examined in more detail in this study. Hence, PNA numbers are, for instance, usually not provided for named municipal authorities such as mayors (*ḫazannu*), priests (*sangû*) or military officials such as cohort commanders (*rab kišri*). This, however, does not apply to subordinates of the officials discussed here. Hence the PNA number is, for instance, provided for the chariot driver of the chief cook.

Information about geographical locations is given according to the *Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (Parpola and Porter 2001). Additional information on toponyms of the western territory is provided on the basis of *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil 1: Die Levante* (Bagg 2007) as well as *Teil 2: Zentralassyrien und benachbarte Gebiete, Ägypten und die arabische Halbinsel* (Bagg 2017) and the RIA article on the Assyrian provinces (Radner 2006a).

References to the Aššur Temple usually mean the Aššur Temple in Assur, the main temple of the god Aššur and of the Assyrian empire. However, sanctuaries devoted to Aššur also existed in other Assyrian cities and these are occasionally also attested in the sources (see Parpola 1983a: 317).

Since this study repeatedly refers to measured allocations of natural produce, the approximate modern equivalents of the ancient capacity measures are given here according to Postgate (1976: 67–8, §6.3): one *emāru* is c. 184.00 litres, one *sūtu* is c. 18.40 litres and one *qû* is c. 1.84 litres. It has to be kept in mind, though, that one distinguished between heavy, light, and other variants of these measures and that the actual capacities therefore varied considerably (cf. Powell 1987–90: 501–2).

⁷ The Akkadian terms are, however, kept in cases where the translation is particularly uncertain or problematic.

⁸ For an overview of the research on the post-canonical eponyms and some remarks see Mattila 2002: XIII–XV.

6 TEXTUAL SOURCES

Covering a timespan of more than 300 years, thousands of documents mainly written on clay have come to light for the Neo-Assyrian period. This chapter provides a discussion of the text genres and archives of particular relevance for the study of the royal household. In addition, it examines the increasing use of perishable writing material such as wooden writing boards, parchment and leather which, in the latter two cases, accompanied the use of Aramaic language and script.

6.1 Text types

The most important and substantial text group for the present study consists of documents produced for everyday use, primarily legal texts, administrative documents and letters. Apart from these “everyday documents” employed both in the official and in the private sphere, text types exclusively related to the official or the royal sphere are of interest here. These comprise royal inscriptions, loyalty treaties (SAA 2 6, 8; Lauinger 2012), queries to the sun-god Šamaš and related extispicy reports concerned with appointments to posts and with possible rebellions against the crown,⁹ the edict of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a (SAA 12 82–4), and grants of land and tax exemption of land (together with related schedules) to high-ranking individuals;¹⁰ one also gains some information about officials from the edicts and decrees for temple maintenance (SAA 12 68–81). In contrast to the Middle Assyrian period, the Neo-Assyrian textual evidence is poor in descriptive texts, but there is a description of a royal meal (*naptunu*) preserved which gives some insight into the schedule of such a meal from the perspective of the personnel engaged (SAA 20 33).¹¹ In addition, there are two lexical lists, one found in Sultantepe and the other from Kuyunjik, enumerating official and professional titles which are of particular use here (MSL 12 233, 238). The remainder include a few literary, cultic, and prophecy texts. In the following sections the everyday documents, royal inscriptions, and lexical lists are discussed in more detail according to their primary distinctive features such as outward appearance, form and contents, and their usefulness for the present study.

⁹ Appointment queries: SAA 4 149–182 and 274–275; extispicy reports related to appointment queries: SAA 4 299–310; insurrection queries: SAA 4 139–148. Whereas queries focus on the request to Šamaš himself, the extispicy reports first of all enumerate omens relevant to the particular query, which is only mentioned afterwards (Starr 1990: XVI–XXVIII). To simplify matters, I refer to all these texts as queries.

¹⁰ SAA 12 1–67 (except for nos. 1, 19, 24 and 48 which are grants to temples).

¹¹ A recent discussion of this text can be found in Ermidoro 2015: 161–89.

6.1.1 Legal texts

The majority of legal texts stems from the private archives of Assur and from archives from public buildings in Nineveh and Kalhu. First editions of Neo-Assyrian legal texts from Nineveh and from Nineveh and Assur respectively were made towards the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century by Johns (1898, 1901, and 1926) and Kohler and Ungnad (1913). Legal texts from Nineveh were upgraded in the context of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project in the series *State Archives of Assyria*, volumes 6 (1991) and 14 (2002).¹² Legal texts from Assur were published in recent years by Ahmad 1996, in the series *Studien zu den Assur-Texten* (StAT 1–3 [1999, 2001, 2007]), in two issues of the *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*,¹³ and in Radner 2016. Legal documents from Kalhu can be found in Wiseman 1953, Parker 1957, the series of *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* (CTN 2 [1973] and 3 [1984]), and Ahmad and Postgate 2007 (= *Edubba* 10).¹⁴ From among these legal texts from the heartland cities, material dating to the 8th century or earlier is meagre, apart from the text group from the North-West Palace in Kalhu published by Ahmad and Postgate 2007. The majority dates to the 7th century, and in the case of Assur one can even narrow it down to the second half of the 7th century. Other places where legal records have been found include *inter alia* Imgur-Ilil (Parker 1963), Dur-Katlimmu (Radner 2002), Burmarina (Fales and Radner 2005), and Tušhan (Parpola 2008).¹⁵ Continuing works on Neo-Assyrian legal documents in terms of their appearance, formulation, and legal- and socio-historical aspects have been published by Postgate and Radner.¹⁶ While Postgate concentrated on the formulation of the legal texts and established still valuable categories for it, the attempt of Radner goes beyond it as she studied these texts also with regard to the information they contain on Assyrian society.

¹² A previous edition of these texts was published by Kwasman in 1988 (NALDK). SAA 14 includes the archive of the courtier Inūrta-šarru-ušur (SAA 14 426–461) which was previously edited by Postgate and Ismail (TIM 11, n.d.); for further previous works see Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XIII–XIV and Mattila 2002: IX–X.

¹³ NATAPA 1 and 2 in SAAB 5 (1991) and 9 (1995). Corresponding copies to the published Assur-texts were edited by Jakob-Rost and Fales 1996 (KAN 1), Jakob-Rost et al. 2000 (KAN 2) and Faist 2005 (KAN 3); note also Faist 2010 (KAN 4) providing further copies of everyday records mostly not studied yet but as far as legible taken into account here.

¹⁴ For lists of legal texts published in the two CTN-volumes see Postgate (1973: 2) and Dalley and Postgate (1984: 4, 9–10, 14, 15). Previous editions of the texts studied in CTN 2 were made by Wiseman (1950, 1952) and Wiseman and Kinnier Wilson (1951).

¹⁵ For a detailed register of editions of legal texts from the entire Neo-Assyrian empire up to 1997, including provincial material, see Radner 1997a: 9–18.

¹⁶ Postgate 1976, a pioneering work on Neo-Assyrian legal texts, and Radner 1997a. A brief overview of legal texts is also provided in Radner 2003b: 901–5. The following description of the different types of legal documents is based on these studies.

As Radner put it, Neo-Assyrian legal texts are the legally binding documentation of legal transactions. Thus, essential characteristics of Neo-Assyrian legal documents are the date, the witness list as well as the sealing,¹⁷ with the witnesses being the very indicator differentiating legal texts from administrative documents. Basically one distinguishes between the conveyance type (“Erwerbsvertrag”) and the contract type (“Obligationsurkunde”). In addition, receipts and judicial texts belong here, but they do not involve the same strict formulae.¹⁸ The conveyance type documents “transfers of ownership of real estate and persons” and includes sales and exchanges, land leases, adoptions, marriages, dedications to temples, and divisions of inheritance. The contract type records any kind of obligation, mainly “true loans” and other debt notes; also the corn loan dockets belong to this group.¹⁹ Although the phrasing of conveyances refers to a “cash purchase”, this might not always have been the case and is perhaps owed to the highly standardised formula. The contracts, on the other hand, were also used to document administrative procedures (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 8). External characteristics for conveyances are a rectangular shape and the writing parallel to the shorter axis. By contrast, the bulk of obligations comprise pillow-shaped tablets enclosed in envelopes. Both the tablet and the envelope bear almost an identical version of the contract, usually written parallel to the longer axis, though only the envelope was sealed. The second group of contracts comprises the triangular dockets which were not only used to document corn loans but also loans of wine, straw or animals. They were shaped around a knot of strings and written either parallel to the shorter (more often) or the longer axis. There has been a vivid discussion on the question to what these strings were actually once fixed. Postgate assumed that they had been fixed to Aramaic scrolls, which had in the meantime perished. Radner (1997a: 27–31), after considering other proposed possibilities, supports this suggestion which indeed remains the most plausible.²⁰

As the tablets were usually kept by the creditor or purchaser, while sealed by the debtor or seller, we can generally assume for an interrelated text group that we are dealing with the archival legacy of the one on whose behalf the

¹⁷ This happened before the transaction as such was drawn up on the tablet (Radner 1995: 67).

¹⁸ For an edition of selected judicial texts see Jas 1996. He primarily categorised these texts by the presence or absence of the term *dēnu*. According to Radner (1997–8: 380–1) this is misleading. The categories (a) orders in court, (b) records of court proceedings, (c) records of payment of judicial fines and (d) records of judicial settlement, as established by Postgate (1976: 58–62), may fit better.

¹⁹ Common debt notes include delivery and work contracts as well as offering-debt-notes. Postgate (1976: 33, 37) established the term “true loan” for records containing the phrase *ina pūhi itiši*, though its definite meaning remains disputed (cf. Faist 2007: 26, commentary to line 5 of StAT 3 6).

²⁰ Radner convincingly refutes the suggestion of Fales (1986: 19–24) that the dockets were once worn around the neck by the debtor. As to the possibility that the dockets were fixed to the very item they deal with, she observes especially in the case of living animals that this is implausible.

transaction was drawn up.²¹ Quite often active parties are qualified by their title or profession, which not only facilitates and clarifies the identification of individuals but adds essential information on the official's conduct of life. Hence we are occasionally able to estimate the scope of legal transactions as well as the actual state of wealth of individuals. Additional observations can be made according to the degree of mobility and room for manoeuvre due to purchases of land scattered throughout the empire by the very same individual. Of further interest is also the question of whether the same parties tended to make deals with one another repeatedly and, if so, which persons interacted with each other. Apart from the active parties to legal transactions, another important group of persons comprised by the obligatory witness list. These witnesses, if not named along with their title, can sometimes be identified thanks to their recurrent role as witnesses to transactions conducted by the very same buyer or creditor. Perhaps not in each case but quite frequently, witness lists were arranged according to social rank and legal status, which were related to the title.²² The arrangement was not accidental, as is also shown by the scribe, as actual writer of the legal text, who lists himself at the very end, with or without title and sometimes with the supplement *šābit tuppī*.²³ Apart from universal hierarchies, also other factors influenced the order of witnesses such as the participation of the buyer's and seller's associates and neighbours. Thus, the witness lists remain a difficult but nevertheless noteworthy instrument for evaluating the social standing and the degree of authority of individuals. Overall, and despite the fact that they (and especially their witness lists) present us with problems of contextualisation, the legal documents are an important source of attestations of palace personnel who feature (especially in the records deriving from the palaces of Kalhu and Nineveh) as active parties, witnesses, and as owners of properties adjoining those being sold.

6.1.2 Administrative texts

Administrative texts dating to the 9th down to the 7th century have mainly been found in the public buildings of Nineveh and Kalhu. Administrative records from Nineveh have been edited in the series *State Archives of Assyria*

²¹ Whereas contracts were destroyed after the obligation was fulfilled, the conveyances could remain valid for a long time, because properties were handed over together with their related tablets (Radner 1997a: 72–4). It is presumably due to the fact that legal records were destroyed after having lost their validity that the majority of legal texts dates to the 7th century.

²² E.g. it is quite striking that in several legal texts from Assur the commander-of-fifty is always listed as first witness (e.g. SAAB 5 33 r. 9, StAT 3 95 r. 3, StAT 2 167 r. 6).

²³ Alternatively *tuppī kanīki / danniti / egirti*. Postgate (2011: 157–8, with further literature) has defended his idea that *šābit tuppī* refers to the scribe “who drew up the document” against Radner (1997a: 89–92), interpreting the expression as “keeper of the tablet” (or “Verwahrer der Tafel”).

(volumes SAA 7, 11), while the majority of texts from Kalhu is edited in the series Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud, volumes 1–3.²⁴ From among other places particularly the provincial cities Guzana (Dornauer 2014: 49–100) and Šibaniba (Finkelstein 1953: 137–41) have produced some administrative texts. Apart from short discussions in these publications, no detailed and focussed study about the nature of this text type within the Neo-Assyrian corpus has been undertaken so far.²⁵ I therefore present a short overview, motivated by Jursa who worked out a principal typology for Neo-Babylonian administrative texts from the temple archives of Eanna (Uruk) and Ebabbar (Sippar).²⁶ Apart from administrative texts simply listing commodities without indicating a transaction, these documents “usually concern the transfer of a commodity or of the responsibility for a commodity from one party to another” and ideally contain the following information (Jursa 2005: 45):

- type and amount of commodity or object involved
- type of transaction
- party/parties involved
- date

The latter characteristic (date) is indicated only exceptionally, which remains an impediment to study. Also the information about the actual commodity or object and the type of transaction is missing quite often. This is either because they were not given on the tablet, or because the relevant headings and subscripts or summations are broken or not preserved at all. Due to this “bureaucratic shorthand” (Fales and Postgate 1992: XV), which goes along with the usage of concise short terms,²⁷ we are still lacking an understanding of these texts and the administrative actions behind them. But thanks to what is preserved we are nevertheless able to determine particular administrative text groups and to discuss their possible backgrounds. Representative therefore is a number of “wine lists” (CTN 1 1–33, CTN 3 119–149), dating to the 8th century and found in Fort Shalmaneser in Kalhu, which could be identified

²⁴ Copies of administrative texts from Nineveh were made by Johns in 1901 (ADD II and ADB), and from Kalhu by Parker and Wiseman in various volumes of the journal *Iraq*. Note especially Parker 1961 which contains administrative records from the ZT area which have not yet been re-edited. The ADB-texts were also edited and discussed in Fales 1973.

²⁵ A former attempt was made by Postgate (1974a: 4–6). Such an undertaking, however, is envisaged by the author in the context of the GMTR series.

²⁶ Jursa 2004: 150–9 and 2005: 44–5. Although Neo-Assyrian administrative texts seem to be less standardised, one can nevertheless adopt some basic definitions for the Neo-Assyrian documents.

²⁷ Administrative keywords are, for instance, *akiltu* (“consumption”, e.g. SAA 7 115 i 1; ND 2803 i 1; SAA 1 192 r. 1) and *za’uzzu* (“distribution”, e.g. SAA 7 157 r. ii 14), *nikkassu epēšu* (“to make accounts”, e.g. SAA 7 118 r. ii 27). References to this procedure can also be found in letters (SAA 10 353:16–17, r. 11). See for a more detailed discussion Groß forthcoming.

as such thanks to a few headings preserved. The most complete version of these headings gives the commodity (*karānu*, wine), the type of transaction in brief (*akiltu riksu*, “expenditure, schedule”, Parpola 1976: 170) as well as a full date formula (Addaru, 22nd, 784).²⁸ The subsequent text body, either single or multiple columned, lists amounts (of wine) along with the recipients. Thanks to the heading it is clear that wine was distributed TO various officials and personnel for consumption. However, in many circumstances the direction of the transaction remains unclear, i.e. it is not obvious if commodities are being distributed TO someone or if they were given BY someone,²⁹ whereby the constant—since we are primarily dealing with texts found in the palace—is normally the palace household. Thus, in many cases one has to ask whether commodities were distributed by the palace (expenditures) or whether they were brought to the palace (income).

On the basis of the Neo-Babylonian material, Jursa (2005: 45) established the typology of “single transaction” texts and “multiple transaction” texts. Adopting these categories, the following types of administrative documents can be identified in the Neo-Assyrian sources:³⁰

1) Single transaction texts:

- Receipts: these are not standardised and may confirm a further or final step within a pre-existing legal transaction (e.g. SAAB 5 4; CTN 2 144–149). Many of these receipts bear witness lists and are therefore more related to the legal texts in terms of their formulation (see above, e.g. CTN 2 98).
- Sealings or clay *bullae*: These directly sealed, for instance, storage jars filled with wine or barley or secured knots of strings which were tied around containers or documents (e.g. SAA 11 49–75; CTN 2 233–9). Two basic features designate these clay *bullae*: first, the clay lumps are furnished with a sealing, often made with the royal stamp seal and the seals of other bureaux (such as that of the queen, see Radner 2008). Second, quite often short information is given, involving a date formula. The two steps, securing the commodity with clay and sealing this same clay lump, are “the two essential administrative actions of securing a specific contents” (Fales and Postgate 1995: XXI). The most significant

²⁸ CTN 1 3:1–2: GEŠTIN.MEŠ 'KÚ rik'-su ša UD-me ITI.DIRI.ŠE UD.'22'.KÁM lim-me Marduk-šarru-ušur, meaning “expenditure of wine, schedule of the day, of intercalary Addaru, 22nd day, eponym year of M.”.

²⁹ Possible keywords in this respect are *ina pāni*, *ana* and *ša*. Whereas the first two usually refer to the recipient, the *ša* (“of”) in “commodity X of PN” either means that X has to be paid by PN or that X is at the disposal of PN. In many cases there is no preposition given at all, which makes it even more difficult unless the nature of the transaction becomes clear for other reasons. Cf. Fales and Postgate 1992: XX on (potential) debt lists.

³⁰ This is intended as an overview, not as a comprehensive categorisation of each administrative text known from the Neo-Assyrian period.

finds are the c. 450 sealings from room LXI of the South-West Palace at Nineveh (Herbordt 1992: 16–7). In this regard one should also mention some sealed textile labels from Nineveh that were once fixed to strings which presumably tied up the textiles (SAA 7 93–106).

- 2) Multiple transaction texts recording a series of identical transactions: drawn up as lists, they usually give general information once in the heading and often bear summations at the end of the list (or at the end of a section in the list).
 - Accounts of income (of the palace): for instance, lists of tribute (*maddattu*, e.g. SAA 11 30), of audience gifts (*nāmurtu*, e.g. SAA 7 61); accounts of tax revenue (e.g. grain deliveries: SAA 11 23; *ilkkāte* payments in kind to the palace: CTN 3 87, 88). Also the inventories of tablets and writing boards (SAA 7 49–56) from the reign of Assurbanipal record literary, medical, and other “library texts” brought or taken from elsewhere, especially Babylonia (SAA 7 49 iii 1’–5’).
 - Accounts of expenditures (made by the palace): for instance, ration lists (e.g. wine lists; ND 2803: rations of grain and cereal products); redistribution lists (e.g. redistribution of tribute: SAA 11 36); accounts of due incomings (e.g. list of debts, SAA 7 30).
- 3) Multiple transaction texts recording different kinds of transactions:
 - Balanced accounts(?): the identification of balanced accounts among the Neo-Assyrian texts is difficult. According to Postgate (1974a: 235–6, 379), ND 2451 bears a credit and debit side. The related banquet lists SAA 7 148–157 too are believed to be the remnants of balanced accounts (Mattila 1990), but it is neither clear that different transactions were listed nor that they display balanced incomings and outgoings.³¹

While these administrative texts obviously record credit or debit transactions, this is not necessarily the case with those documents, primarily lists, that simply count or enumerate commodities and people for various reasons, or that record other activities and circumstances:

- Inventories: CTN 2 155 (inventory of people, edibles, wooden and metal objects, textiles). Pure inventories are rare; the listing of objects often implies a transaction of income or expenditure.
- Harran Census (SAA 11 201–220): apparently this is an independent register of some land holdings in north-western Mesopotamia, probably connected to the tax-exemption of the Harran region during the reign of Sargon II and/or on the occasion of the newly established province

³¹ Fales and Postgate 1992: XXXI–XXXIII.

Harran (Radner 2006a: 54). Thus, the appellation “census” and the assumption that this is just a section of a comprehensive inventory registering the entire Neo-Assyrian territory is misleading.³²

- Muster lists: for instance, horse lists (CTN 3 85, 98–118), lists of military personnel (SAA 11 123–144). There are also lists of personnel and professionals given by name (e.g. SAA 7 1–2, 5, 13–14; ND 2498).
- Memoranda: these are meant for internal use and are therefore informal. Jursa (2004: 153–4) stressed for the Neo-Babylonian exemplars that they are written in the first person singular or plural, which is not necessarily the case with Neo-Assyrian memoranda (e.g. CTN 2 111–2, though note, for instance, StAT 3 51).
- Miscellaneous lists: lists of lodgings (*mūšubu*) (SAA 7 7–12), lists concerning building progress (of Dur-Šarrukin: SAA 11 15–20).

Apart from very general rules, such as the fact that extensive lists are usually drawn up in portrait format on large tablets and receipts were written on small, pillow-shaped tablets in the landscape format, the physical form of administrative tablets is variable and does not follow strict rules. Even within a group of obviously related texts, appearance and quality can differ. There are no strict similarities concerning the layout of the texts, i.e. columns and rulings are widely used but in a varying layout and number (cf. Fales and Postgate 1992: XIII, Pls. I–XI). Columns can be separated by single or double lines and sections within columns are marked by single, double, or triple rulings; common bond can be shown by indentations. Vertical arrangements (without lines) indicate tabulation rather than separation (Radner 1995: 64–6, Fig. 2). In general it has to be noted that the Neo-Assyrian administration did not bother too much with following strict guidelines,³³ which goes together with the aforementioned “bureaucratic shorthand”.

An important question concerning the various administrative documents is the actual point of recording in relation to the transaction itself. In this respect we have to be alert to documents drafted *post factum* or *ante factum*, and documents drawn up only when the transaction actually took place. Furthermore, there were initial documents (“primary documentation”) and administrative documents compiled on the basis of previous written records (“secondary documentation”).³⁴ Transactions compiled *ad factum* create primary documents and are usually of a more ephemeral character, as is also obvious from the hasty style of such administrative tablets. Those texts which were drawn up before or after a transaction had taken place can provide the reader either with primary

³² Fales 1973; Fales and Postgate 1995: XXX–XXXIV.

³³ Fales and Postgate (1995: XVII–XVIII) write of “a system which seems marked by disparate and haphazard guidelines”.

³⁴ Jursa 2004: 159–63; 2005: 45.

or secondary records. The latter is the case especially when these records contain entries applying to different months and years (e.g. SAA 7 34; 79). More direct indicators for a secondary compilation are, for instance, given in a debt list where it says that debts are given according to the “old documents,” where the actual type of the primary document remains unclear.³⁵ In view of other documents, however, secondary administrative documents refer not only to other administrative documents but also to other text types.³⁶ According to other references in the cuneiform sources, one has to assume that a huge number of administrative documents was once drawn up on perishable material, for example, on wooden writing boards. The point of time of the composition of an administrative record is also relevant in order to determine the frequency and possible regular intervals of the occurrence of certain records. Hence, there seem to have been lists that were regularly drawn up on the occasion of particular events, like the New Year’s Festival or yearly military campaigns and related reviews. On the other hand, administrative documents may deal with singular projects, for instance the establishment of Dur-Šarrukin (SAA 11 15–20), and irregular incidents; also, ad hoc lists were prepared in unexpected situations.

As we find many officials and employees listed in administrative documents, these texts are not just an essential source for the Neo-Assyrian administration, but they also provide information about the individuals themselves. Apart from the actual contents, we get an idea of administrative hierarchies and social rankings thanks to the sequences themselves, occasionally even repeated (e.g. in the wine lists), and in view of the amount and quality of the commodities given to or delivered by the individuals. As with the witness lists, however, the order is not consistent (e.g. SAA 7 5) because there was no need or no chance to take into account hierarchies and the documents were arranged on the basis of other criteria. Except for rankings, these lists can give a hint concerning associated offices or professions that were mentioned in the same sections.

6.1.3 Letters

From around 3,300 letters surviving from the Neo-Assyrian empire, more than 3,000 were unearthed in Nineveh. Apart from a few exceptions, they belong to the state correspondence and involve administrative and scholarly letters. Basically the state correspondence comprises two groups: first, about

³⁵ SAA 7 30 ii 10’: [(x) e]-gír’-a-te la-bir-a-te. The term *egirtu* is mostly used for letters but also legal documents and can refer to administrative documents, at least in some cases (Radner 1997a: 61).

³⁶ Radner 1997a: 71, fns. 358, 359, with reference to SAA 11 148 ii 7’–8’, 205 ii 6’–7’. These texts refer to a legal document by the term *dannutu* (for a definition of this term see Radner 1997a: 56).

1,300 administrative letters from the reign of Sargon II and (comparatively few) from the reign of Sennacherib,³⁷ and, second, the correspondence from the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.³⁸ From among the remainder of the c. 3,300 letters, more than 250 are from Kalhu, mainly dating to the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and the first five years of Sargon II.³⁹ There might be also some letters from the intervening reign of Shalmaneser V, though one cannot identify even one with any certainty.⁴⁰ Both corpora contain letters written in Neo-Babylonian dialect—c. 30 letters from Kalhu and c. one third of the Nineveh material published in SAA 17, 18 and 21—owing to the fact that Babylonians and Assyrian officials stationed in Babylonia were in contact with the Neo-Assyrian state centre regularly.

Official letters were usually written on rectangular tablets across the short axis (standardised shape with the ratio 1:2) and enclosed within an envelope. The envelope was labelled with the introduction formula along with the sender's and addressee's names and sealed with a sealing of the sender. In the case of royal letters this was the royal sealing called *unqu*, which could also mean the royal message itself (cf. Parpola 1987: XV). By contrast, private letters were commonly written on oval tablets across the long axis. As these could have been sealed, they were not necessarily enclosed with an envelope.⁴¹ The heading of letters corresponds to a particular pattern that one can break down into the following sequential elements:⁴²

- *praescriptio*: names the addressee (A) and sender (S) or vice-versa. The order is usually due to the relative ranking of A and S. The personal names of the correspondents can be supplemented by titles and/or kinship terms like “brother” or “father”, which do not necessarily refer to an actual blood relationship but can express relative status. Therefore “brother” can indicate a relationship between two equal ranking men,

³⁷ The correspondence of Sargon is published in SAA 1, 5, 15 and 17. Note that copies were published by Harper (ABL) and more recently by Parpola (1979a, = CT 53) as well as Dietrich (1979, = CT 54). At least about 65 letters (published in SAA 17) have been identified as part of the correspondence of Sennacherib, see Dietrich 2003: XXXVI–XXXVII, Table III. There may be even more unearthened letters to be assigned to the latter, cf. <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/archives/sargonsninevehletters/> and Dietrich 2003: XVI–XX.

³⁸ Published in SAA 10 (see therefore also Parpola 1970 and 1983a) and 13 as well as SAA 16, 18 and 21.

³⁹ Published in CTN 5 and in an updated version SAA 19. Note also the principal editions by Saggs in the journal *Iraq* (17/1–2 [1955], 18/1 [1956], 20/2 [1958], 21/2 [1959], 25/1 [1963], 27/1 [1965], 28/2 [1966], 36/1–2 [1974]).

⁴⁰ See <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/archives/thenimrudletters/>. There are some of his letters to his father Tiglath-pileser III, from the time when he was crown prince and bore the name Ulūlāiu (Radner 2003–4).

⁴¹ Cf. Fadhil and Radner 1996: 420–1 with examples; other examples are CTN 3 4–5.

⁴² According to Fales 1987a: 453, Chart 1. Cf. with the study of the structure of private letters from Late Babylonian times in Hackl, Jursa and Schmidl 2014.

whereas “father” stands for a higher position. These expressions can be found both in private letters (more frequently) and in official or administrative letters (only a few attestations). In letters to and from the king, the king is not mentioned by his personal name but just addressed as “king” (or as “farmer” during the substitute king ritual). Similar observations can be made for high-ranking officials who are addressed with their title only: like the king they held a unique, unmistakable position.

- *salutatio*: *šulmu ana A* (“good health to A”)
- blessings: e.g. *Aššur u Mullissu ana A likrubū* (“may Aššur and Mullissu bless A”)
- information on well-being: e.g. *šulmu ana māti ša šarri* (“the land of the king is well”)

The *praescriptio* and the *salutatio* are usually given but blessings and statements of well-being are not, except for letters to the king where they are phrased frequently. They vary in length and contents due to the sender’s custom. The enumeration (in number and quality) of divine names in the blessing is also related to the place from where the letter is sent and is therefore a useful tool for identifying the letter’s origin. The headings of letters from the king contain a *praescriptio* and often information on the well-being of the king himself.

As to the narrative part of letters from the Neo-Assyrian corpus, this is not standardised and varies in length and phrasing according to the actual purpose, context, and contents. The narrative section of a letter of appeal to the king is different to a commanding one from a high-ranking official to his servant. Letters to the king or high officials are marked by a higher degree of comprehensive attempts at explanation and polite set-phrases,⁴³ whereas letters from the king and high officials to lower-ranking persons contain commands (formulated with prohibitive and imperative forms) and warnings and can be quite demanding.⁴⁴ Contents and tone also depend on the different types of relationship to the king, as is especially recognisable when comparing the letters of high-ranking officials and the letters of scholars to the king (Radner 2011). The purpose of the majority of letters is to communicate exceptional situations in order to cope with these in the king’s interests, and it is assumed that most official tasks were fulfilled as routine obligations, which did not need to be reported to or ordered by the king.⁴⁵

⁴³ Such basic phrases, often formulated with the precative, are, for instance, “The king, my lord should know this.” (*šarri bēlī lū ūdi*) or “Let the king, my lord, do as it pleases him.” (*šarru bēlī akī ša ila’ūni lēpuš*).

⁴⁴ Adopting Sallaberger’s (1999: 144–8) terminology, the “Informationsteil” is more elaborated in letters from lower-ranking to higher-ranking people, as is the case with the “Initiativteil”. The contrary is the case with the “Aufforderungsteil”.

⁴⁵ Cf. Postgate 1974a: 3; 2007: 7; see also Parpola (1987: XVI–XVII) with a less radical view.

The majority of the preserved official letters were written to the Assyrian king by his highest ranking officials and scholars. In the second half of the 8th century the king's magnates, provincial governors, and military functionaries wrote letters to the king about provincial affairs, military organisation, and campaigns (see Chart 3 in Parpola 1981: 137–41). Additionally the king received intelligence reports on movements across the borders and building reports from Dur-Šarrukin in the case of Sargon. The correspondence from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, on the contrary, represents for a great part letters exchanged with scholars and priests. They dealt with omens and their impact (on the king) and other cultic matters, but there are also letters about domestic affairs and political affairs (in connection with Babylonia and Elam) from the 7th century. Comparatively few letters from the king (*abat šarri*) to one of his subordinates have been found, which is not surprising as the find-spots we are primarily dealing with were the residences of the Assyrian kings. Therefore the preserved royal letters are presumably either copies of the original message sent abroad,⁴⁶ or unfinished or discarded drafts originally meant for sending.⁴⁷ A few examples of the “king’s word” were found in the archives of the recipient: they stem from the Governor’s Palace in Kalhu and the archive of the governor in Guzana;⁴⁸ a royal letter was also found in Assur.⁴⁹ From among the members of the royal family especially the crown princes (Ulūlāiu alias the later king Shalmaneser V, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal) kept contact with their father by letter. It was also the crown prince among the royal family members with whom various officials and individuals tried to get in contact through letters most often,⁵⁰ though there are also some letters from officials written to the king’s mother.⁵¹

About 100 letters neither involve the king nor another royal family member but were written between officials. As far as the recipients of these letters can be identified, they are primarily written to the magnates and other high officials. Especially letters to the vizier or grand vizier and the *rab ša-rēši*, written by their subordinates, are preserved, but also the palace scribe, the chief tailor, and a chamberlain received letters from lower ranking individuals.⁵²

⁴⁶ This is indicated by similar drafts of royal letters: because of their parallels SAA 21 23, 24 and 25 could be drafts of the very same letter from Assurbanipal to Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk.

⁴⁷ This is probably true e.g. for SAA 1 5, SAA 16 3 and SAA 1 1.

⁴⁸ Governor’s Palace: CTN 2 181–186 dating to the 8th century (Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II); Guzana: TH 1–7 dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III.

⁴⁹ SAA 13 1 (KAV 114). For a list of Neo-Assyrian royal letters see Watanabe 1985: 146–51.

⁵⁰ SAA 1 153; 13 78, 154, 158; 16 34, 35, 37, 38, 69, 70, 106, 107, 116, 142.

⁵¹ E.g. SAA 13 188; 18 10, 85.

⁵² (Grand) vizier: e.g. SAA 1 123; 15 138, 169; 17 64, 66; 19 142. *rab ša-rēši*: e.g. SAA 17 53; 18 99; 19 38. Palace scribe: e.g. SAA 19 14, 124. Chief tailor: SAA 18 178. Chamberlain: SAA 17 103.

Apart from this correspondence kept in the royal palaces, there are some letters preserved written by subordinates of the governor of Kalhu to their master (CTN 2 193–200, 230). Similarly, there were a few letters recovered in Fort Shalmaneser written to its palace manager by lower ranking personnel (CTN 3 2–5). Interactions by letter between equally ranking officials of different spheres are only rarely attested.⁵³ The same is true for correspondence between officials of different spheres and status.⁵⁴ It is difficult to determine how common communication between different domains, apart from the royal domain, was, as we simply lack these archives in most cases. If we were to take the evidence as it is, we might argue that external communication did not really exist and that exchange of information happened almost exclusively via the king or the central palace. But since we are provided with some proof of external communication, the dimensions of this kind of communication must have been even greater in view of the fact that we generally lack appropriate find-spots. As the domains of the magnates and the governors, apart from those of the king and royal family members, were the most influential and significant within the state apparatus, they presumably were in regular contact with each other, by face-to-face meetings as well as via correspondence.

Apart from an insight into administrative hierarchies based on the heading or the body of the letters, we gain information about offices from the narrative part of the letter. As already pointed out, those who are attested as writing or receiving administrative letters are mainly the king, his family, and the highest officials of state. Thus, the active parties to letters do not usually include the middle- and lower-ranking people who are the central subject of the present study. The narrative parts of these letters, however, are an important source for our investigation even though many of them document exceptional cases rather than daily routine.

6.1.4 Royal inscriptions

Principal editions of the numerous inscriptions of Neo-Assyrian kings comprise the two RIMA Volumes 2 (1991) and 3 (1996) by Grayson, which cover the reigns of Aššūr-dān II to Aššurnāṣirpal II and of Shalmaneser III to Aššūr-nērāri V respectively. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III were published by Tadmor (1994), the inscriptions of his successor, Sargon II, by Fuchs (1994). Frahm (1997) presented a comprehensive investigation of the written

⁵³ In contrast to letters within the same sphere (“internal”) one could name those between different spheres “external” (cf. Postgate 1973: 23); for instance, CTN 2 188 and 189 (governor of Assur writes to the governor of Kalhu).

⁵⁴ For instance, SAA 19 56 (governor of Našibina to palace scribe), CTN 2 191 (palace supervisor to governor), 192 (*rab mūgi* to governor). In Guzana two letters from the commander-in-chief and a letter from the *rab ša-rēši* to the governor of Guzana were found (TH 9–10, 12).

legacy of Sennacherib.⁵⁵ Borger made the inscriptions of Esarhaddon available already in 1956 and published a substantial book on the inscriptions of Assurbanipal in 1996. In recent years many royal inscriptions have been re-edited in the series RINAP, including material of the kings Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser V (RINAP 1 [Tadmor and Yamada 2011]), Sennacherib (RINAP 3, Part 1 [Grayson and Novotny 2012] and Part 2 [Grayson and Novotny 2014]), Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 [Leichty 2011]) and Assurbanipal (RINAP 5/1 [Novotny and Jeffers 2018]).⁵⁶

Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions can be divided into at least three basic types: labels, dedicatory inscriptions, and commemorative inscriptions (Grayson 1980: 150–9). Labels indicate royal ownership by giving the monarch’s name, occasionally supplemented with epithets and/or references to the object in question. Such objects include bricks, vases, weights, beads, and royal seals. Labels on bricks can include a short statement relating to construction works and have therefore a commemorative character. Additionally, such labels were attached to pieces of booty. Dedicatory inscriptions are written on items, such as door sockets, bricks, and mace heads, dedicated by the king to a deity. In addition to these three distinct types of royal inscriptions, there is a fourth, namely “letters to the god” which date from the reigns of Sargon II and Esarhaddon. They tell about particular military actions (Sargon’s 8th campaign against Urartu in 714 and Esarhaddon’s campaign to Šubria in 673) in a letter to the god Aššur (and the city of Assur and its inhabitants, and further gods according to the preserved heading of Sargon’s letter).⁵⁷ The most relevant group for the Neo-Assyrian period are the commemorative inscriptions, which are reports on the monarch’s military and building activities and are basically concerned with the representation of the Neo-Assyrian king. Commemorative inscriptions are principally subdivided by modern scholars into two groups: those narrating mainly military occasions chronologically, namely the annals,⁵⁸ and those which do not follow this rule but are ordered geographically, called “summary inscriptions”.⁵⁹ Annalistic representations are a Middle Assyrian innovation and can be subdivided into two types:⁶⁰ those recording a single campaign,

⁵⁵ As a principal edition one has to note Luckenbill 1924, as one should also note his two volumes (1926 and 1927) on Neo-Assyrian inscriptions.

⁵⁶ Note also the RINAP online corpus <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/>.

⁵⁷ For a slightly divergent classification see Fales 1999–2001: 131, Chart 7. Two compositions from the reign of Assurbanipal are also characterised as letters to the gods; see Borger 1996: 76–82 (for one on a prism) and Bauer 1933: 83–4 (for the much shorter text K 3408).

⁵⁸ At the beginning they were arranged according to eponyms. Shalmaneser III established another custom, arranging them by the regnal years (*palû*) of the king. Royal inscriptions of Šamši-Adad V and Sennacherib were also arranged by the numbering of campaigns (*gîrru*).

⁵⁹ Cf. Fales 1999–2001: 131, Chart 7. The former term “display inscription” is misleading, as these inscriptions were not always visible but were often placed beneath floors etc. Tadmor (1994: 117) calls them “building inscriptions”: they commonly begin with “palace of RN”.

⁶⁰ They are known from Tiglath-pileser I onwards, cf. Tadmor 1997: 325.

as is especially known for Neo-Assyrian times (Grayson 1980: 151), and those collecting multiple campaign narrations. Commemorative inscriptions basically comprise an introduction naming the king, his titles and epithets, as well as legitimation phrases.⁶¹ This is followed by narrative accounts of military actions and/or reports on construction works. Similar to the dedicatory inscriptions, they end up with blessings and can bear curses and/or a date (cf. Fales 1999–2001: 132, Chart 8).

Writing media for commemorative royal inscriptions are various. When written on clay barrels or prisms as well as on clay or stone tablets, they are usually deposited as foundation inscriptions beneath the floor or within the brickwork. Exposed inscriptions were often drawn up on the lion or bull colossi, door sills and, from Aššurnāširpal II onwards, on the reliefs in the principal palaces. Further representative inscriptions were written on stelae, obelisks or rocks accompanied with drawings, which were installed throughout the Assyrian empire.⁶²

Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, especially commemorative ones, were often formulated in the first person singular of the king and served for the representation and legitimation of the monarch. They were usually written with Neo-Assyrian scribal characteristics in literary Standard Babylonian dialect, which might reflect an intentional demarcation from the everyday documents (Frahm 1997: 246). They document and display the heroic activities of the Assyrian monarch and serve for the glorification of the head of state. What was always meant to be addressed by these royal statements are the gods. As to the earthly addressees, they informed the royal descendants about their unparalleled predecessors, when placed as a foundation deposit. In case of depictions in the palace, these were reserved for the king, his court and chosen guests, i.e. the most important and powerful people in and around the empire. Stelae and rock reliefs, on the other hand, could be visible to the common inhabitants of Assyria and its conquered territories, albeit only readable by a few. Nevertheless, as propagandistic instruments, such monuments had their desired persuasive effect thanks to their outer characteristics and fulfilled their purpose also by nonverbal means in displaying the Neo-Assyrian king as the magnificent and unimpeachable authority.

It appears, based on lists of booty and tribute as well as on war reports, that scribes joining the campaigns composed the narrative sections of royal inscriptions, which were then approved by the king or perhaps even arranged together

⁶¹ For a legitimation phrase see, for instance, a statement in an inscription of Sennacherib: “The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.” (RINAP 3/1 1:4).

⁶² For the whole range of materials and items see Fales 1999–2001: 127–30, Charts 5 and 6.

with the sovereign.⁶³ Royal inscriptions were composed with numerous stereotypical phrases to activate straightforward *topoi*. The authenticity and historicity of royal inscriptions is also affected by the more or less numerous compilations of this text genre. Thus, abbreviations and other modifications took place within this process. With the increasing number of regnal years of a monarch his great deeds from earlier years were shortened in order to have enough place for the more recent activities. In some instances one can reconstruct the genesis of the texts (for instance, for inscriptions of Assurbanipal), but, for instance, for the reign of Sargon II only the final versions are known (Renger 1980–83: 76).

In contrast to everyday documents, originating from a basic need for documentation, royal inscriptions primarily served the representation of royal power and the king's achievements, in particular military and technological innovations. Archival texts concerned the needs of individuals at different levels of Neo-Assyrian society, whereas royal inscriptions served to highlight the king's imperial concerns. Archival texts provide us with divergent information, whereas royal inscriptions represent a quite uniform view of royal activities. While the bulk of information for the actual purpose is gained from the archival corpus, this representative text genre provides unique descriptions of extraordinary events such as the inauguration banquet of Kalhu in the reign of Aššurnasirpal II. Another aspect of royal inscriptions to be addressed here several times is the human booty taken by the Assyrian kings from the courts of defeated rulers.

6.1.5 Lexical lists of professions

Two different versions of Neo-Assyrian lexical lists enumerating official, professional, and class designations were unearthed in Sultantepe and Kuyunjik and edited by Civil.⁶⁴ These non-canonical LÚ lists, also called “practical” vocabularies (Civil 1969: 223), are updated collections of titles which reflect a substantial part of the range of Neo-Assyrian posts and functions. The two multi-columned lists differ in style and contents. In the Sultantepe list, preserved in two exemplars (STT 382+383+384 and STT 385 = MSL 12 233), the titles are divided into thematically consistent sections which are kept visually distinct from each other by a horizontal rule. The individual sections form a logical pattern: first, they list associated functions together with their specialisations, including variant writings which, in the case of syllabic variants, are given in the same line. Second, if appropriate, they end with the chief-representative (LÚ.GAL–X) of the functions and thus indicate a basic hierarchical structure.

⁶³ Cf. Frahm 1997: 281 and Tadmor 1997: 329. Note SAA 16 143 (ll. 6–11) where the king is asked what exactly should be written on a foundation stone.

⁶⁴ Civil 1969: 233–41; note also Deller 1965: 470–3. See also Baker 2016a: 256–64.

For instance, the section dealing with smiths (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 5'–12') enumerates among others the blacksmith and the goldsmith and, in the end, the chief smith. The sections are not only consistent in themselves, but they also seem to follow each other in a logical order. For instance, the section of the cooks (MSL 12 233 iii 5'–7') is followed by the section of the butchers who are succeeded by the bakers, the brewers, and the cupbearers (MSL 12 233 8–19); thus, all the professional groups dealing with foodstuffs are listed consecutively. The list from Nineveh is only attested on a single tablet (K 4395 = MSL 12 238) and is neither organised in separate sections, nor do the single-line entries seem to follow a strict order, though partial sequences can be recognised, such as the bird-fattener preceding the ox herder and the fowl herder (MSL 12 238 iv 1–5). The attempt to register the titles in an hierarchical order is indicated at the very beginning of the list, where some of the magnates are enumerated together with their minor counterparts (e.g. the chief cupbearer is followed by the cupbearer, MSL 12 238 i 3–5), but this is not maintained in the first column and no consistent arrangement system is noticeable for the modern reader. The lists were certainly prepared and kept in a scholarly environment, as supported by the Sultantepe vocabulary which formed part of a library found next to a house of a priest and which lists divine names (columns i–iv) before the actual list of official and professional titles begins (Civil 1969: 233). Comparing the titles of priests and temple personnel provided by both lists, Menzel (1981 II: T 28) noticed that the Sultantepe list reflects the nomenclature of the Aššur Temple in Assur while the Kuyunjik list bears the nomenclature of the clerics in Nineveh. Neither the list from Sultantepe nor the list from Kuyunjik include an entry for officials such as the palace manager, the palace supervisor and the palace scribe, a fact which is attributable perhaps to the scholarly perspective rather than to the breaks in the texts. These lists do not provide a comprehensive insight into the personnel structure of the royal household, nor do they give a cohesive picture of members of the temple household. Hence, the compiler of the Sultantepe list was primarily keen on elaborating a specific scheme: for instance, the section of cupbearers ends with the chief cupbearer (MSL 12 233 iii 17'–19') who was one of the highest state officials. The vocabulary from Nineveh even more seems to offer a cross-section of society in that city, listing state officials, palace officials (like the *rab karmāni* in MSL 12 238 iii 24), provincial and municipal officials (like the *ša-muḥḥi-āli* in MSL 12 238 ii 31), military functionaries, clerics and scholars, professionals, and also the courtier *mazzāz pāni* (MSL 12 238 iii 29–30).⁶⁵ Despite the absence of consistency as regards contents, both lists provide an opportunity to compare implicit references with explicit attestations of officials

⁶⁵ With respect to this compilation, this list may have been drawn up only in the reign of Sennacherib or later when Nineveh was the imperial capital.

and professionals.⁶⁶ As it turns out, not only do the lexical lists lack official titles, but we also miss many designations provided by the vocabulary in texts informing us about real life. This particularly pertains to specialisations—for instance, we only find the tanners of shields and doors in the lexical list from Sultantepe (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 18'–9')—and it is easily explained by the fact that although these specialised professions existed, they were only referred to in an abbreviated form or with a generic term in other sources (which also supports the impression of the Neo-Assyrian “bureaucratic shorthand”, as expressed by Fales and Postgate 1992: XV). The fact that numerous titles are only known from the two lexical lists is less likely owed to their outdated character; by contrast, they do not follow the canon but reflect current circumstances. Therefore they are an important tool for the study of Neo-Assyrian society and officialdom.⁶⁷

6.2 Archives from the main centres

This section discusses the most relevant find-spots and the archival background of the everyday documents. The bulk of Neo-Assyrian tablets was found in the political and religious centres in the Assyrian heartland. Though Assur was the capital of Assyria from Old Assyrian times on, it retained its role as religious centre during the first millennium BCE but forfeited its political function with the establishment of Kalhu as imperial centre in the reign of Aššurnasirpal II. After a brief interlude in the reign of Sargon, who tried to establish Dur-Šarrukin as the main centre,⁶⁸ Nineveh became the imperial capital under Sennacherib and remained in that position until the end of the empire. With the fall of Nineveh in 612, a much diminished Neo-Assyrian kingdom survived in Harran for a few years. Apart from textual sources from these central cities, tablets were also found in nearby places such as Imgur-Ilil (Balawat), in more distant cities such as Burmarina (Tell Šiuh-Fawqani), Huzirina (Sultantepe), and Dur-Katlimmu (Tell Šeh-Ḥamad) as well as in provincial capitals including Šibaniba (Tell Billa), Tušhan (Ziyaret Tepe), Guzana

⁶⁶ According to Deller and Millard (1993: 226–7), also the enumeration of offices and functions in the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a reminds us of a lexical list, thanks to the scribe's concern to show his skills. This is plausible, but assuming that the appointee had to establish Kalhu by employing all the necessary personnel in the different institutions, the supposed influence of the scribe might be not so significant here.

⁶⁷ To simplify matters, these texts are in the following simply referred to as “lexical lists”, instead of “lexical lists of official and professional titles” etc.

⁶⁸ If and when Dur-Šarrukin effectively functioned as centre of state is questionable. Sargon himself moved there only in 706 (Frahm 1997: 8), just one year before he died on campaign. In the previous years of his reign it seems that his designated crown prince (at least from 715 onwards, cf. Frahm 1997: 2) and successor Sennacherib governed the state while residing in Kalhu, see section 7.1.2 Second phase: from Tiglath-pileser III (744–727) to Sargon II (721–705).

(Tell Halaf), and Til-Barsip (Tell Aḫmar). Since their information content for the examination of the royal household is limited, their archaeological background is not examined here in detail. The following overview of the archives in the imperial centre benefits especially from Pedersén's works on archives and libraries (Pedersén 1986 and 1998).

Regarding the use of the term “archive” for cuneiform sources, I follow the convention established by Pedersén (1985: 20–1 and 1998: 3). According to him “archives” are characterised by singular tablets “documenting a message or a statement” in contrast to “libraries”, which contain “texts of tradition” such as literary, historical, religious, and scientific texts. Although the significance of this distinction is limited by actual mixture of tablets, the general idea is valid. According to Veenhof's fundamental discussion about the definition of archives in Assyriology in 1986, Assyriologists actually often deal with “fonds d'archives”, i.e. “the total of records accumulated during the time a particular task was performed by an institution or person” (with reference to J.L. van der Gouw 1973: 3–4), rather than “archives”, i.e. a “collection of tablets no longer in use but preserved for their historical value” (Veenhof 1986: 7). In this sense both “archives” and “fonds d'archives” can be found in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus. Strictly speaking, the term “dossier” should be used instead of “archive” for archival documents grouped together on the basis of their contents owing to a lack of information about the archaeological context (Pedersén 1998: 4). This is, for instance, the case with legal records from Nineveh which lack clear information on the find-spots and are therefore grouped together on the basis of prosopography (cf. Kwasman 1988: xvii–xviii, xxix–xxxviii, Chart III). However, to simplify matters I will use “archive” as a common term, being aware of the fact that this encompasses “fonds d'archives” as well as “dossiers”.

6.2.1 Archives from Assur (Qal'at Šarqat)

The majority of the Neo-Assyrian archives excavated in Assur was found in private houses concentrated in the north-eastern and south-eastern parts of the walled city. They date to the last 150 years of the empire and number altogether about 800 texts. While N9 (= Assur 24) and N10 (= Assur 25) were situated in the so-called “Aussenhaken” area, N14–22 (= Assur 29–37) were located above the ruined Middle Assyrian palace.⁶⁹ N11–13 (= Assur 26–28) was found south-west of the Anu-Adad Temple and N23 (= Assur 38) south-west of

⁶⁹ The Assur archives are here (as in the following sections) designated according to the labelling established in Pedersén 1986, but for orientation the updated archive numbers according to Pedersén 1998 are given in brackets. An updated overview of the distribution of tablets from these archives (including detailed information about the actual publication status and the whereabouts of tablets) is provided by Faist 2007: 1–4 (cf. Pedersén 2003).

the aforementioned palace. Alongside the south-eastern town wall were the find-spots of N24–30 (= Assur 39–45). N31–35 (= Assur 46–50) as well as another archive (= Assur 52) were found in the inner and eastern part of the city.⁷⁰ Another private archive was found under a stone door socket belonging to a private house situated at the western wall of the “New Town” of Assur (= Assur 53).⁷¹ According to 34 out of 52 tablets published by Ahmad (1996: 207–9), its central figure was the treasurer Aššūr-mātu-taqqin who was active in the post-canonical period. Out of these archives several others can be ascribed to professional groups: N14 mostly concerns oil-pressers (*ṣāḫitu*), N32 was kept by a family of tanners of coloured leather (*ṣārip duḫšī*), and goldsmiths (*ṣarrāpu*) were responsible for N33; the latter archive was edited by Radner (1999a). The two archives N9 and N10 contain legal transactions from a group of *ḫundurāius*. Furthermore, gatekeepers (*atû*) frequently appear in the texts of N21, and N24 contains transactions of architects (*šelappāiu*). It is also worth noting that the texts of N31 mention several Egyptian names which suggests that well-integrated Egyptians also lived in this environment. Scholars agree that the professional groups were specifically connected with the Aššur Temple.⁷²

The libraries N2–4 and N6–8 (= Assur 18–23), containing some archival texts, were also found in private houses. They include the library of a family of scribes (*tupšarru*, N2 = Assur 18), located at the eastern corner of the ziqqurat. Nearby a pot containing 13 everyday documents (= Assur 51) was unearthed. In addition, there are the libraries of chief singers (*nargallu*, N3 = Assur 19) and the exorcists of the Aššur Temple (*āšipu*, N4 = Assur 20). Like the aforementioned artisans, these professional groups were related to the temple; the exorcists even kept tablets documenting the economic activities of the temple administration.⁷³ Three libraries, also containing some administrative documents, have an institutional background: the library N1 (= Assur 15), which included administrative lists dealing with the temple economy, stems from the Aššur Temple. In the Prince’s Palace, built by Sennacherib for his son Aššūr-ilī-muballissu, the library N5 (= Assur 16) was found including some administrative tablets (Fales 2003: 214); ten further administrative texts, mainly lists of charioteers, were found in the Old Palace (= Assur 17).

⁷⁰ Assur 52 is the archive of Dūrī-Aššūr whose texts are (re-)edited and discussed in Radner 2016; cf. Cancik and Radner, PNA 1/II 390 s.v. Dūrī-Aššūr 9. The majority of these texts was formerly edited in Maul 2000b, Radner 2000b and Frahm 2002.

⁷¹ Inside the fortification walls Assur was divided into an Old City in the north with its temples, palaces and the “Aussenhaken” area, and the New Town in the south.

⁷² See *inter alia* Menzel 1981 I: 252; Pedersén 1987: 50; Fales 1997: 35, and Radner 1999a: 29.

⁷³ Maul 2010: 201. Also for a few administrative lists of names (StAT 1 40–2) from the archive of the goldsmiths, Radner (1999a: 150) assumed an official background.

Although Assur was in some respects different from other important cities in the imperial heartland, the predominance of private archives in contrast to institutional tablets is accidental rather than reflecting ancient circumstances. Given its role as religious rather than political centre we do not expect “state archives” comparable to what was unearthed in Nineveh, but some legacy of the municipal, governmental, and palatial administration. At least the few archival texts bequeathed from the Old Palace, as well as the references to members of the palace household and its satellite households in the archival texts from the private archives, attest to the presence of the palace domain. Although professionals recorded without affiliation in the documents from Assur were likely associated with the temple, one cannot exclude their engagement in the palace sphere.

6.2.2 Archives from Kalhu (Nimrud)

On the citadel of Kalhu archives were found in the North-West Palace, in the Governor’s Palace and in the area of the Town Wall (TW) houses. More than 1 km south-east of the main mound, tablets were also found in Fort Shalmaneser, that is, the Review Palace. In contrast to Assur, documents found in Kalhu primarily derive from an institutional and often a palatial background, which makes them especially interesting for the present study.

In the North-West Palace, constructed by Aššurnāširpal II, archives were unearthed in both the outer area in the north-east and the inner area in the south-east. In the outer area about 400 tablets were found in room ZT 4 and a few in room ZT 5, comprising royal correspondence and administrative records from the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. The said rooms are thought to have housed the scribal office because of the two “baked brick benches and box-like ‘filing cabinets’” for storing tablets found in ZT 4 (Oates and Oates 2001: 45, 197, Fig. 120). The rooms ZT 30 and 31, also situated in the outer area of the palace, contained a few tablets and several storage jars. About 60 legal documents and a few administrative lists, dating to the reign of Sennacherib and later, stem from rooms ZT 14 and 16, plus a few from neighbouring rooms. Part of it seems to have comprised the remnants of the archive of a *šakintu* (see Svärd 2015: 95), another part involves military functionaries such as the commander-of-fifty Ezbu. Based on these textual sources from the northern part of the palace, Oates and Oates (2001: 47) differentiate two “governmental apartments”: one dealing mainly with imperial affairs in the second half of the 8th century and the other occupied with local affairs down to the end of the empire. As they suggest, this may reflect the change of status from the erstwhile seat of the king with its imperial administration to a local one. From the inner area of the palace fourteen clay dockets dating to the reign of Sargon were recovered in room HH. About 150 legal documents were found

“crushed under a limestone slab” in room 57 from within the same area. They date to the early and middle 8th century and primarily deal with the legal transactions of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū’a and the treasurers (*masennu*) of the queen.

From the *ekal māšarti* (Review Palace), founded by Shalmaneser III at a distance from the citadel, one can distinguish five archives. The two assigned to the 8th century contained fewer than 100 administrative documents: first, 22 “horse lists” and 48 “wine lists” were found in rooms NE 47–50 and adjacent rooms; second, eleven tablets, mainly dealing with wine, were found in room SW 6. It was assumed that the tablets had fallen from an upper storey,⁷⁴ which would also explain why they were found scattered over several rooms, but this might be owed to other disruptive factors. Three archives date to the 7th century: the archive of the palace manager, found mainly in rooms SE 1 and SE 10, contained 27 legal documents and letters as well as a number of clay *bullae*. In the south-western section of the palace, in rooms S 10 and 18, legal tablets from the sphere of the *šakintu* were found. Like the horse lists and wine lists, the tablets assigned to the offices of the palace manager and the manageress were thought to have fallen from an upper storey,⁷⁵ but this remains uncertain. Another 19 tablets (mainly legal records) were kept in rooms SE 14–15. The material from the 7th century differs from the 8th-century tablets. According to Oates and Oates (2001: 211), this might indicate a shift of function from a more military purpose to a primarily administrative one. Presumably the importance of Fort Shalmaneser as military headquarters diminished with the movement of the imperial capital to Dur-Šarrukin and then to Nineveh, both also housing their own Review Palaces. Nevertheless, it may have retained its function as a military base in one way or another, including the use of its workshops for the manufacture and repair of military equipment.

Another striking group of tablets was found distributed in rooms M, K, and S in the so-called “Governor’s Palace”. These rooms contained 217 tablets dating from 835 to 710 arising from the official activities of at least five governors. The documents found in the “audience chamber” M may have been originally kept in room K too, as the latter’s position and size seems suitable for the storage of tablets (Postgate 1973: 4–5). While rooms M and K mainly contained legal documents, room S contained letters and the majority of administrative texts (Postgate 1973: 21). Given the time span of the archive, an abandonment of this building after the reign of Sargon is plausible, all the more so if we consider the shift of capitals again and the possibility that the governor

⁷⁴ Mallowan in Kinnier Wilson 1972: viii; Dalley and Postgate 1984: 18; Oates and Oates 2001: 159.

⁷⁵ See Dalley and Postgate 1984: 4, 9 and Oates and Oates 2001: 164.

may have moved to another building on this occasion.⁷⁶ Just south of the Governor's Palace letters of Sargon II and some clay *bullae* were excavated in the throne room (room 8), possibly also in adjoining ones, of the "Burnt Palace". Close to the eastern outer wall of the Burnt Palace lay the Nabû Temple which accommodated a library. According to Black (2008: 264–5), all tablets were originally stored in NT 12, though they also were actually found dispersed in the neighbouring rooms proceeding to the south-west. As he put it, this may be also true for the 45 administrative documents and letters distributed over rooms NT 12, 16, and 18. The loyalty treaties of Esarhaddon were found in the throne room of the Nabû Temple.

Apart from the textual sources from official buildings, there was one private house, situated in the housing area TW53 at the north-eastern town wall, whose inner-most room (room 19) contained a collection of tablets along with other items such as large storage jars. The archive consists of 47 accidentally burned documents and mainly represents transactions of the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur who lived here in the 7th century.⁷⁷ In spite of its private nature, the archive is relevant for our research as Šamaš-šarru-ušur was connected with palace and temple personnel.

6.2.3 Archives from Dur-Šarrukin (Khorsabad)

Text finds from Dur-Šarrukin are meagre. This is mainly owed to the city's short time as capital of the empire under Sargon II. On the one hand, texts originally stored at Kalhu were not yet transported to the new capital, and on the other hand, texts kept in Dur-Šarrukin were moved to Nineveh under Sennacherib, if they had not been already kept there. Some tablets, however, were unearthed in various rooms of the Nabû Temple. In room H 29 a few everyday documents were found but never published.⁷⁸ Pedersén (1998: 155–6) identifies two temple libraries on the basis of tiers of niches in the rooms H 5 and H 15, of which those in H 5 are said to have still held fragmentary tablets. There is just one further legal text said to have been found in room 22 of the main palace by Victor Place, published as SAA 6 31.

⁷⁶ See Postgate (1973: 5, 7), who refers to the North-West Palace and building B50 as possible alternative seats of the governor. In connection with the North-West Palace, however, this remains an unsolved matter since it certainly remained a royal domicile which was or was not inhabited by the provincial governor, as suggested for palace buildings in the provincial capitals in general.

⁷⁷ The three legal records found close to this area in trench "A50" (CTN 2 219–221), are presumably the remnants of another private archive, that of the entrance supervisor Mannukī-Inūrta (Postgate 1973: 7).

⁷⁸ Loud and Altman 1938: 104–5 (nos. 19–25). Additionally, there are two "documents" said to come from the Sin or the Adad Temple, both located in the southern section of the palace.

6.2.4 Archives from Nineveh (Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus)

With the accession to the throne by Sennacherib, Nineveh became the new capital of the Neo-Assyrian empire and remained so until the end. From his and his successors' reigns the largest corpus of written cuneiform sources dating to the Neo-Assyrian period, that is about 30,000 tablets and fragments,⁷⁹ was found here, mostly on the citadel mound Kuyunjik. Therefore text groups are mainly ascribed to the South-West Palace and to the North Palace, but in most instances it remains unclear whether tablets were found in the one or the other palace. Attempts based on museo-archaeological reconstructions have been made by Parpola and Reade in 1986.⁸⁰ Both scholars follow a similar pattern in assigning the 7th-century letters, astrological reports, queries and so on to the South-West Palace (on the basis of accession numbers of the type 83–1–18). Furthermore, c. 450 sealed clay *bullae* dating to the 7th century can be assigned to room LXI of the South-West Palace which is said to have housed a ramp and to have had shelves on the walls (Reade 1998–2001: 415). Legal records are located, on the one hand, in the South-West Palace, and, on the other hand, in the North Palace. According to Reade the latter housed the majority of this material mainly dating to the 7th century and including dossiers of royal charioteers, but Parpola locates here only those from the reign of Sargon and earlier.⁸¹ Similarly, he argues that the correspondence of Sargon was found in the North Palace, but it may be more likely that they stem from the South-West Palace.⁸² Library texts were found in rooms XL and XLI (“Chambers of Records”) of the South-West Palace and in the southern corner of the North Palace. The latter was identified as the remnants of “Assurbanipal’s Library”, but it is possible that the tablets were mixed up with tablets originating from the Nabû Temple which is next to the actual find-spot of the tablets (Pedersén 1998: 161–3). In addition, we have to bear in mind that the North Palace was built (or entirely rebuilt) in the reign of Assurbanipal (see Part III, section 1.1 Types and locations) and hence at least earlier records stored here had been previously moved anyway. The entire discussion of the assignment of text groups to distinct rooms is affected by the recurring assumption that there was

⁷⁹ These can be reduced to about 10,000 tablets through joins (Pedersén 1998: 164).

⁸⁰ Note also more recent discussions by the two scholars on that subject: Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XV–XVIII and Reade 1998–2000: 421–2. For an overview of the reconstructed archives and libraries in Nineveh see Pedersén 1998: 158–63.

⁸¹ See also Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XVI. Legal records can be assigned to the South-West Palace (SAA 6 88; 111; 217; SAA 14 72 [Sm 957]; SAA 12 94 [K 296], see Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XV–XVI) and the North Palace (SAA 14 29 [K 309a] and 39 [K 329], see Reade 1986: 221).

⁸² Several letters of the correspondence of Sargon such as SAA 1 31 and SAA 5 64 can be assigned to the South-West Palace, see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/archives/sargon-sninevehletters/>.

an upper storey. In cases such as the hundreds of sealings found in room LXI of the South-West Palace housing a ramp, this seems likely, but due to the disturbed context of the palace complexes and the distribution of tablets therein, an in-depth discussion is not fruitful for the present study (but note, for instance, Battini 1996). Apart from the two palaces, the South-West Palace and North Palace, one has to keep in mind that tablets were stored in the Review Palace (Nebi Yunus).⁸³

Thirty more legal documents stored in a pot about 100 metres from the Šamaš Gate represent the only private archive with its main character Inūrta-šarru-ušur, a courtier (*mār ekalli*) of the New Palace, dating from 669 down to the end of the empire. The pot was found presumably in secondary context and is assumed to belong to the private house excavated nearby.⁸⁴ As a matter of fact private archives from Nineveh are so far underrepresented and are likely still awaiting recovery.

6.2.5 Concluding remarks

As regards the archival background, the textual evidence from the palace buildings of Nineveh and Kalhu is of particular interest for the study of the royal household. Notwithstanding the uncertain reconstruction of the finds from Nineveh, a few thoughts on the question of the “Sitz im Leben” of the everyday documents archived in the palaces seem warranted. In the palaces of both cities letters, administrative records, and legal documents dating to the 8th and the 7th centuries were found. Though a considerable number of texts dates to the 7th century and thus consists of more or less up-to-date records on which the palace administration relied, it is questionable to which extent and for what reason earlier records were regarded as relevant for the ongoing palace businesses. In the case of the royal correspondence this particularly concerns the letter corpus dating to the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, parts of which were found in the North-West Palace in Kalhu and in the South-West Palace (or the North Palace) in Nineveh. As to the older material stored in Kalhu, comprising letters from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and from the early and mid-reign of Sargon II, Luukko (2012: LIV) assumed that this selection was due to a conscious “preservation policy” perhaps conducted by the palace scribe at the latest in the reign of Sennacherib. The latter may have regarded this letter corpus as old enough to be stored away in a still used albeit distant palace but also valuable enough not to be discarded. Though found “in a completely chaotic state” in room ZT 4 (Oates and Oates 2001: 45), the

⁸³ Cf. Parpola 1986: 232 and Kwasman 1986: 238, fn. 7. See especially the edition of sixteen texts found here by an Iraqi venture in 1954 (MacGinnis 1992).

⁸⁴ See Postgate and Ismail (n.d.: 4), contra Pedersén and Troy (1993: 39).

tablets—judging by the preserved brick boxes—may originally have been stored in a well-organised manner and it is therefore rather unlikely that they were left behind or were just kept there as recyclable “scrap paper”. On comparison with the more recent letters from the reign of Sargon unearthed in Nineveh, however, they were apparently classified as less relevant for current state matters which is not surprising in view of the ephemeral character of the letters.

The same is true for the administrative records, especially for those to be classified as “primary documents”, which on occasion were drawn up for immediate purposes whereby their informative value thereafter could diminish considerably. However, judging by the often hastily written wine lists which were recurrently prepared over decades in the 8th century and kept together in Fort Shalmaneser, such primary records may have been consciously collected over a longer period in order to keep track of the income and expenditure of the palace, though this remains unproven. If so, they could have been also kept in order to evaluate and consult them for future decisions and, as a consequence, to optimise the economic situation. Since the Assyrian administration does not seem to have been well organised and sophisticated enough, however, this is less clear and for the moment seems unlikely. In any case, one has to say that the recording and preserving of data in itself already denotes a basic bureaucratic mechanism and implies a concern for the abstraction and simplification of more or less complex economic procedures and their consequences.⁸⁵ Hence, the Neo-Assyrian empire was forced to develop a certain qualitative and quantitative level of administration by means of “paperwork”. As noted by Postgate (1979: 212), there was a tendency, however, to reduce the latter by adopting the formula of legal documents (normally contracts) for the recording of administrative procedures. While these transactions can occasionally be exposed as administrative processes thanks to the use of administrative terms such as *iškāru*, one can only speculate to which extent we are able to trace them.

Within the context of a discussion of the “Sitz im Leben” of archival texts stored in the palace, legal records are also of particular interest since they raise the question of whether the legal parties bought and lent goods in their own interest or on behalf of the palace. Looking at both Kalhu and Nineveh, striking parallels can be observed as to the active parties involved. In the palaces of both cities text collections associated with the queen’s household and the *šakintu* as well as with military functionaries were found. Another phenomenon

⁸⁵ Cf. Jursa 2004: 146–7: one has to consider separately what archives “could have achieved and what they were meant to achieve”. In this respect one has to ask if archives were meant merely to “keep track of obligations”, i.e. if they just fulfilled a “police function”, or if they were also meant to enable “prognostication and planning for the future”, i.e. were bureaucratic in their full extent. Jursa observes that even the former has a future aspect to a certain extent (Jursa 2004: 180).

to be observed in both cities is that village managers of the key members of the royal family and of a few other officials such as the *rab ša-rēši* together with treasurers of the queen (in Kalhu) and the governor of the crown prince (in Nineveh) acted as active parties (mainly as buyers and creditors) in these documents. It is likely that they acted on behalf of their royal masters, as did the *šakintus* and the palace manager whose archive was found in Fort Shalmaneser.⁸⁶ The motivation for the military commanders and charioteers, several of whom formed part of the personal entourage of the king and crown prince, is rather different and one assumes that they took part in legal transactions for their own benefit. If this assumption is right, their records could have been consciously kept by the palace in order to exercise control over their business activities and their financial circumstances (cf. Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XX–XXVI), especially since royal charioteers accumulated a large amount of properties over time. The fact that several duplicates of these legal texts were found in the same palatial environment led to Fales’ hypothesis that the legal documents were kept in the palace for “the management of the relevant assets after the death of the owners/creditors”.⁸⁷ According to him such a scenario also corresponds to the fact that the private deeds kept in palatial areas were less varied and more standardised than those from private contexts and seem to have been stored there only for distinct terms of offices (Fales 2003: 223–4). In view of these observations it is quite clear that the palace laid claim to the businesses of these charioteers in one way or the other. Whether this is simply because the palace wanted to be informed, or whether it meant the occasional confiscation of assets by the palace, at latest after the dossier’s owner’s death, remains open. In any case, in view of the legal records stored in the palaces, the palace administration usually kept relevant documentation only and must have regularly got rid of records which had lost any relevance for recent palace business. Thus, apart from the compilation of everyday documents, also this organisation shows that a certain bureaucratic ethos was developed and maintained.

⁸⁶ One cannot exclude the possibility that officials such as the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū’a and the scribe of the king’s mother (see e.g. SAA 6 253:7) conducted business *ex officio*. For the treasurers of the queen see Part II, section 14.8.2 Treasurers of members of the royal family.

⁸⁷ Fales 2003: 225. Duplicates particularly form part of the dossier of the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad but are not found in the collection of tablets associated with Baḫiānu, village manager of the temple stewardess, also originating from the palace archives in Nineveh (Fales 2003: 207). Note that these copies, originating from legal records dating to different reigns, seem to have been drawn up later on by the same scribe (Radner 1997a: 46–7).

6.3 Perishable materials and the Aramaic language

A significant part especially of the administrative documents was written on wooden or ivory boards (*lē'u*) coated with a mixture of wax (*mullû*) and clay (*kalû*).⁸⁸ Apart from rare archaeological finds from Kalhu and Assur,⁸⁹ this is clear from attestations of *lē'u* in cuneiform texts.⁹⁰ According to these references, one can assume that these writing materials were used and reused for administrative purposes, either inscribed with cuneiform or Aramaic. In view of the practical advantages, for example, their being easy to emend, re-useable, and flexible, this is not surprising. The question whether there was a specific process due to the use of clay tablets instead of writing boards and vice versa was discussed by Symington. On the basis of the Hittite sources, she suggested that the common process could have been that preliminary records were made on perishable material while final versions were inscribed on clay (Symington 1991: 118). For the Neo-Babylonian temple administration, on the other hand, the opposite seems to have been more common.⁹¹ It remains unclear which *modus operandi*, if any, was established by the Assyrian administration.⁹² Other perishable writing materials such as leather (*mašku*) or papyrus (*niāru*) are also attested in the Neo-Assyrian correspondence, albeit rarely.⁹³ These materials together with parchment were used to write and document in Aramaic and are thought to have been rolled and sealed with *bullae* or combined with cuneiform corn loan dockets with the help of strings (see above). They were also used for drawing up letters (e.g. SAA 16 99:8'–10').

The symbiosis of Aramaic and cuneiform script and language due to the increasing impact of Aramaic in the 1st millennium BCE is also clear from the cuneiform legal texts on clay tablets with Aramaic captions, either incised

⁸⁸ San Nicolò 1948: 70. They were also used for literary and scientific texts, as indicated by colophons.

⁸⁹ Kalhu: North-West Palace, in room AB (Mallowan 1966 I: 153–5, Figs. 90–93) and in ZT area (Oates and Oates 2001: 220); Nabû Temple, fragments in NT 13 (Pedersén 1998: 152). Assur: a single ivory writing board was found in the area of the archive of the exorcist (Maul 1994: 160–1). The most famous discovery of wooden writing boards was made on the Ulu Burun shipwreck on the Turkish Mediterranean coast, near Kaş (see Payton 1991).

⁹⁰ E.g. in letters (e.g. SAA 1 99 r. 12', 128:18) and in administrative documents (e.g. SAA 11 105:3', 172 r. 2). The following logographic writings are attested for *lē'u*: GIŠ.DA, GIŠ.ZU, GIŠ.LI.U₅.(UM), GIŠ.IG is rather to be read *ēdissu* / *ēdilāte* (Ahmad 1996: 236). According to Parpola (1983b: 2), *lē'u* stands for any sort of polyptych whereas GIŠ.IG (he assumed the reading *daltu*) is just used for "single writing boards". For further details see Symington 1991: 113, fn. 19.

⁹¹ Jursa 2004: 173–4; see also MacGinnis (2002: 223–4) based on the Ebabbar material.

⁹² For general possibilities of procedure see MacGinnis 2002: 223–5.

⁹³ Cf. Parpola 1986: 225, fn. 17–18. Evidence: SAA 1 34 r. 19' (the palace scribe receives two papyrus scrolls), SAA 15 136 r. 15–18 (sketch on leather) and SAA 5 160:10' (broken). Note further the well-known depictions of paired cuneiform and alphabet scribes depicted with distinct writing utensils on the reliefs (e.g. BM 124956, South-West Palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh, in Barnett et al. 1998: Pl. 255).

or inscribed with ink or both, mainly from the 7th century.⁹⁴ This peculiarity is mainly attested on documents (especially conveyances) found in Nineveh as well as in Dur-Katlimmu, Burmarina, and Til-Barsip.⁹⁵ The captions, giving principal facts (text type, parties involved, ...) of the transaction recorded in cuneiform, were added secondarily, presumably as a principal orientation for users not accustomed to the cuneiform script (Fales 1986: 9–12). Furthermore, there are documents (especially contracts) either drawn up on tablets as bilinguals or written only in Aramaic;⁹⁶ the latter is also attested for a few administrative notes with stamp sealings from Kalhu.⁹⁷ It is possible that they formed part of “double documents” with counterparts either written in cuneiform or Aramaic. Alternatively, they could have been endowed with an independent legal value with no further need of a supplement (Fales 2005a: 601).

Judging from these Old Aramaic legacies it is quite obvious that everyday documents were increasingly drawn up in Aramaic, especially in the provincial areas to the north-west. As in the traditional Aramean area of influence, cuneiform tablets there were not just supplied with Aramaic captions, but entire legal documents were recorded in Aramaic. It is surprising that they were drawn up on clay, which is not the most appropriate material for this alphabetic script. But it was not only the north-western part of the empire, it was the Assyrian heartland and the central administration of the empire where Aramaic captions were used possibly as a bureaucratic tool to keep order. Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that the central Assyrian administration increasingly used the more flexible perishable writing materials, accompanied either by the use of cuneiform or Aramaic script and language, for everyday procedures. This development was certainly expedited by the increasing number of administrative personnel with an Aramaic background.

7 THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

In the following sections, some background information concerning the Neo-Assyrian empire is provided. This includes an outline of its political history, a brief discussion about its concept of kingship, and an introduction to its highest-ranking state officials in order to set the scene against which the Neo-Assyrian palace household was maintained and developed.

⁹⁴ See the principal work of Fales 1986 and more recently Fales 2005a: 599–602.

⁹⁵ Nineveh: Fales 1986: nos. 1–2, 4–5, 8, 10, 14–42; 2000b: 93–4. Dur-Katlimmu: Röllig 1993 and in Radner 2002: 22–3. Burmarina: Fales and Radner 2005: text nos. 4, 13, 23. Til-Barsip: Dalley 1996–7: TB 20.

⁹⁶ Bilinguals: Fales 1986: nos. 3 and 6. Only Aramaic: found at Nineveh (Fales 1986: nos. 7, 9, 11–13), Assur (Fales 1986: nos. 46–52), Guzana (Fales 1986: nos. 53–7), Burmarina (Fales and Attardo 2005: text nos. 45–63), Til-Barsip (Dalley 1996–7: TB 11), Dur-Katlimmu (see *inter alia* Röllig 1997) and from Ma'allanate (Fales 1986: 269–73).

⁹⁷ ND 2346: *lhykl'* (“for the palace”) and ND 2347: *lby'r'*[...] (“for the house/temple/palace of...”), see Fales 1986: 221–2 and the principal edition of Millard 1972.

7.1 Political history

With its origins in the earlier second millennium BCE, an Assyrian state ruling over a wider territory arose in the second half of the second millennium BCE. After a period of decline, the Neo-Assyrian period saw first a reinvigoration and recovery of formerly controlled regions. In a second phase, beginning with the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and lasting into the reign of Sargon II, the empire pushed its borders outwards and underwent fundamental reforms. This “conquest phase” was superseded by an “imperial phase”, associated with the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, when the empire benefitted from the immediately preceding achievements in terms of stability and economic wealth. It then reached its maximum extent but was also threatened by foreign affairs and finally collapsed in the late 7th century.⁹⁸ For the reconstruction of events one has to revert to what is written in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and the chronicles (eponym chronicles and the Babylonian chronicles). As already pointed out, the reliability of the royal inscriptions is limited by their propaganda and self-representation of the king. Nonetheless, they provide key data on campaigns and conquests which might not have been taken place exactly as outlined in the inscriptions but which nevertheless refer to real events. The chronicles function as a corrective to the royal inscriptions and also provide additional information, as is the case with the state correspondence.⁹⁹

7.1.1 First phase: from Aššūr-dān II (934–912) to Aššūr-nērāri V (754–745)

According to the Kuhrt (1995: 481), the Neo-Assyrian era is set with the reign of Aššūr-dān II, in whose reign “the basic pattern in terms of strategy and ideology” was established.¹⁰⁰ It was then further developed by his successors who undertook campaigns in the north and to the west. Based on extensive military actions “the basis for Assyria’s awesomely efficient military machine was clearly laid down in this period” (Kuhrt 1995: 482), also involving the establishment of supply-points which became provincial capitals. Aššurnaširpal II (883–824) carried on campaigning and establishing Assyrian provincial centres such as Tušhan. His reign is also well-known for the festivities on the occasion of the inauguration of the new imperial capital Kalhu, as described on the banquet stele from the North-West Palace (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30). The greatest military achievement of his successor Shalmaneser III (858–824) was a territorial expansion to the west in the course of which he also defeated an anti-Assyrian-coalition consisting of Aramean and Neo-Hittite states. This king

⁹⁸ For the division of the Neo-Assyrian period in three phases, see Postgate 1979: 194.

⁹⁹ For more detailed overviews of Neo-Assyrian political history see Grayson (1982, 1991 b–d), Oates (1991) and Kuhrt (1995). More recent works, dealing with specific reigns, are cited subsequently. Also the RIA entry on the Assyrian provinces (Radner 2006a) is relevant here.

¹⁰⁰ Alternatively the Neo-Assyrian period is considered to begin with the reign of Adad-nērāri II (911–891), also because several eponym lists start with the year 910 (Millard 1994: 4).

also reinforced the impact on regions in Anatolia and carried out campaigns against the new northern power Urartu. Apart from these military events he maintained a peaceful relationship with Marduk-zākir-šumi I (c. 854–819), king of Babylon.¹⁰¹ At the time when Šamšī-Adad V ascended the Neo-Assyrian throne, inner turmoil affected Assyria: 27 cities including Assur, Nineveh and Arbail rebelled, possibly incited by Aššūr-da''in-aplu, another son of Shalmaneser III. A treaty was concluded between Šamšī-Adad and the Babylonian king Marduk-zākir-šumi, but Šamšī-Adad later on repeatedly invaded Babylonia when it was ruled by succeeding kings. No further campaigns were undertaken during his reign nor in the reign of his son and successor Adad-nērāri III (810–783), whose mother Sammu-rāmat appears to have had an influential role during his reign. At that time especially client states in the west as well as areas in Anatolia were in favour of the increasing power of Urartu, which enlarged its influence towards Mannea in the Zagros mountains. Apart from the treaty with Matī'-il, ruler of Bit-Agusi, from the reign of Aššūr-nērāri V, less is known about the reigns of Shalmaneser IV (782–773), Aššūr-dān III (772–755), and Aššūr-nērāri V (754–745), all sons of Adad-nērāri III.

7.1.2 Second phase: from Tiglath-pileser III (744–727) to Sargon II (721–705)

During the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II “the essentials of imperial administration were worked out and refined although many institutions of the 9th and earlier 8th centuries continued to exist” (Kuhrt 1995: 493). These institutions were “overlaid by the many developments in provincial structure and administration, the evolution of imperial policy and the emergence of the empire in its classic form” (Kuhrt 1995: 493). Gaining the throne in quite unfavourable times and probably as an usurper, Tiglath-pileser III tried to widen or reconquer Neo-Assyrian territory by increased military actions especially to the west and north. Due to these undertakings new provinces were incorporated into the empire and client states were bound to it. Most striking was perhaps the invasion of Urartu as far as Tušpa on Lake Van in 735. As for Babylonia, Tiglath-pileser III defeated its ruler Mukīn-zēri and became its direct sovereign in 729.¹⁰² In addition to his numerous campaigns, Tiglath-pileser III is especially known for the deportations he undertook on a massive scale. While little is known about his direct successor and son Shalmaneser V (726–722), the latter seems to have supervised the administration of the empire when he was crown prince (with the name Ulūlāiu).

¹⁰¹ For details on Shalmaneser’s campaigning activities see Yamada 2000: 77–224 and Baker 2008: 582–4.

¹⁰² For an overview of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III see Baker 2014a and Tadmor 1994: 232–7.

Sargon II (721–705), who gained the throne presumably unlawfully, was initially preoccupied with the strengthening of his sovereignty. In his first years he marched against Mannea and Carchemish and, as he stresses in his inscriptions, defeated the Elamite king Ĥumban-nikaš I at Der (in 720). In the course of his reign he struck Urartian power both in Anatolia as well as in the Zagros mountains and, in 714, captured the frontier state Mušašir. The first of all hostile encounters with Mitā of Muški (= Phrygia?) seems to have led to diplomatic exchange towards the end of Sargon's reign. Also with Egypt Assyria seems to have had primarily peaceful relations at this time. The crown of Babylon was granted to Sargon II only in 710 after the conquest of Babylon and the defeat of the Chaldean Marduk-apla-iddina II who finally escaped to Elam in 709. Like Shalmaneser V, Sennacherib in his time as crown prince (at least from 715 on) governed the empire while his father was on campaign (in Urartu) or stayed in Babylonia from 710 to 707 (cf. Frahm 1997: 2). Apparently only in 706 did Sargon move to his new capital, Dur-Šarrukin, whose foundations were laid in 717. Already in 705 he died when campaigning in Tabal.¹⁰³

7.1.3 Third phase: from Sennacherib (704–681) to the final fall (612/609)

When Sennacherib ascended the throne, he was already about 40 years old and had many years of active crown-princehood behind him (Frahm 1997: 8). Instead of Dur-Šarrukin, Nineveh was chosen as imperial capital. One of Sennacherib's main concerns was Babylonia and Marduk-apla-iddina II, who had reappeared. Sennacherib marched into Babylonia in 703 and installed Bēl-ibni as puppet king, only for him to be removed three years later in favour of Sennacherib's first-born son Aššūr-nādin-šumi. In 694, however, the Elamites captured Babylon and took off his son to their homeland. The final destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib was undertaken in 689 whereupon not only the actual Babylonian king Mušēzib-Marduk but also the Marduk statue was taken to Assyria. Apart from Babylonian affairs, Sennacherib was mainly engaged with the western extension of the empire, including sieges of Jerusalem ending in payments of bribes by its king Hezekiah. Sennacherib was murdered in 681, presumably by his son and previously designated crown prince Urdu-Mullissu (Parpola 1980).

Presumably because he was not the next in the dynastic line and was designated crown prince especially due to the efforts of his mother Naqī'a, Esarhaddon had to fight against his brothers in order to gain the Assyrian throne. After being successful, his military activities are marked by repeated campaigns to Egypt, from with that of 671 leading to the capture of Memphis. For further

¹⁰³ For Sargon II and his reign see Fuchs 2009b and Fuchs, PNA 3/II 1239–47 s.v. Šarru-kēn 2.

attempts made towards the west one may cite the conquest of Sidon and the preserved vassal treaty with Tyre which, however, was besieged in 671. In order to gain more control over the eastern regions, loyalty treaties were made with groups such as the Medes and the Manneans (SAA 2 6). The relationship between Elam and Assyria worsened when the Elamites captured Sippar in 675. Later on, the two states must have made a treaty between themselves, as letters show (SAA 16 1). The policy of Esarhaddon concerning Babylonia itself is characterised by rebuilding and governing, as its sovereign, in the aftermath of Sennacherib's destruction. As to internal affairs, there is an entry in the Babylonian chronicles according to which Esarhaddon put his officials (*rabûtu*) to the sword in his eleventh year (670 BCE) after a conspiracy (Radner 2003c). Esarhaddon died while campaigning towards Egypt in 669.

As Esarhaddon had decided in 672, his sons Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn took over the regency of Assyria and Babylonia respectively. Because of the sudden death of his father on campaign, Assurbanipal went to Egypt himself and recaptured Memphis in 667 as well as Thebes in c. 663. Apart from the repeatedly rebelling Tyre, no great resistance had to be fought in the west. Assurbanipal, like his father, instead proceeded against the Manneans and Medes in the eastern and north-eastern regions and revenged the attack of the city Uppumu by dispatching its Urartian leader during the reign of Rusâ II (or III). There seem to have existed peaceful ties between Assurbanipal and Rusâ's successor Sarduri. Elamite attacks against Assyria at first ended with the defeat of the Elamites on the river Ulaia along with the murder of Teumman. In 652 Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, allied to Elam, began to revolt against Assyria due to his rivalry with his brother Assurbanipal who had retained a supreme position over Babylonia. Finally, in 648, Babylon was conquered by the Assyrians and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn fled to Elam. A certain Kandalānu was installed as ruler over Babylonia. One year later Elam was defeated and Susa was destroyed. Assurbanipal certainly sat on the throne until 630 and probably even longer, perhaps until 627. Hence, Aššūr-etel-ilāni gained the throne of his father some time between 630 and 627. After his *rab ša-rēši* Sīn-šumu-lēšir had seized the Assyrian throne for a short time, Aššūr-etel-ilāni was soon defeated by his brother Sīn-šarru-iškun. In 614 the Medes captured Assur and two years later, in 612, Nineveh fell after a long siege by Babylonian and Median troops. With Aššūr-uballiṭ II the remainder of the Neo-Assyrian empire survived in Harran until 609 when again Babylonian and Median forces captured this last refuge of the Neo-Assyrian survivors (Kuhrt 1995: 478–501, 540–6).

7.2 Assyrian kingship

In order to understand the organisation of the Neo-Assyrian empire and its court culture, one has to understand Neo-Assyrian kingship and its ideology

since the role of the king determines the constitution of his subjects in general and of his officials in particular.

The Neo-Assyrian king had an exceptional role among his subjects, both in the secular and in the religious sense. He was the superhuman sovereign keeping an eye on his subjects like a shepherd who guards his sheep.¹⁰⁴ As the imagined son and priest of the god Aššur he was the intermediary between the Assyrians and their gods. The king's role as earthly representative of the gods is also indicated by his epithet "governor of Enlil", which corresponds to the role of the god Ninurta,¹⁰⁵ and is supported by the fact that kingship was seen as governorship on behalf of the gods. As divine agent he fulfilled the will of the gods, a circumstance which legitimated his every action (Maul 1999: 207, 212). Thus, the recapture of territory already gained in Middle Assyrian times and the subsequent enlargement of the country with all its propagated cruelty was seen as fulfilment of divine order. It was ensured by the intensive observance of omens that every action was in accordance with the divine will. This divine remit justified the king's decisions, as is clear from letters of scholars and other documents such as queries from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.¹⁰⁶ The prior requirement for the king was to be consistent with the world order, indispensably connected to the gods. It was the king who was responsible for the well-being of the country: depending on his personal virtues—which, according to the coronation hymn of Assurbanipal, included eloquence (*qabû*), understanding (*šemû*), truth (*kittu*), and justice (*mīšaru*) (SAA 3 11:8)—Assyria remained stable and successful or not.

Apart from divine legitimation, the dynastic line was another essential requirement for whoever gained the Assyrian throne (and therefore usurpers were in great need of explanation). The first choice would have been the eldest son of the preceding king with his main wife (*sēgallu*),¹⁰⁷ but the political history (see above) clearly shows that the Assyrian sovereigns did not strictly follow this rule and chose their successors by other criteria, such as ability and sympathy. In principle every male relative was regarded as a possible successor to the throne (Radner 2003: 166). If the man in question was confirmed by divine will, the last step to gaining the throne was to demonstrate ability already when crown prince. In case he failed to do so, he was presumably replaced by

¹⁰⁴ This topos is several times mentioned in the royal inscriptions as an epithet of the king. E.g. in an inscription of Assurbanipal it says: "true shepherd, leader of a widespread population" (RINAP 5/1 13 i 7: LÚ.SIPA *ki-i-nu mut-tar-ru-[u UN.MEŠ] DAGAL.MEŠ*). Note also the introductory line of the coronation hymn of Assurbanipal: "May Šamaš, king of heaven and earth, elevate you to shepherdship over the four [region]s!" and "(...) give him the black-headed people, that he may rule as their shepherd!" (SAA 3 11:1, r. 18).

¹⁰⁵ For the identification of the Neo-Assyrian king with Ninurta see Maul 1999: 210.

¹⁰⁶ The important role of scholars for the maintenance and celebration of the royal ideology was stressed by Parpola (2010: 40).

¹⁰⁷ For the reading of MÍ.É.GAL as *sēgallu* (as a formation of *issi ekalli*) see Parpola 1988a.

the next suitable candidate chosen from the male line of the royal family. If we follow Radner (2010a: 27), who assumed that there was a crown prince throughout Neo-Assyrian history, then this possibility of getting deposed as crown prince was always there. However, the Assyrian king had to give proof of his ability repeatedly and during his entire reign, for instance, by being a victorious commander and a successful hunter. Especially with the increasing extent of Assyrian territory and therefore the growing power of the Assyrian king, more and more complex dangers had to be controlled (Maul 1999: 205). He was not just a king among others of that time but had, especially with the growing influence on Egypt in the 7th century, the claim of being king of the universe, without a rival (cf. Radner 2010a: 28).

7.3 The king's magnates

Due to the extent of Assyrian territory, the king could not govern alone and had to extend the government beyond his patrimonial household. He had to distribute power and authority and rely on an outer court represented by this state officials. He relied primarily on the (LÚ).GAL.MEŠ (*rabûtu*), i.e. the “great men” or the so-called “magnates”, who comprised the seven highest-ranking state officials and the provincial governors. In a narrow sense of the word, however, only the seven highest ranks of state—namely the (great) treasurer (*masennu*), the palace herald (*nāgir ekalli*), the chief cupbearer (*rab šāqê*), the “chief eunuch” (*rab ša-rēši*), the chief bailiff (*sartennu*), the (grand) vizier (*sukkallu*), and the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*)—belong here.¹⁰⁸ From among these officials the great treasurer, the palace herald, the chief cupbearer, and the commander-in-chief governed their own provinces in the north-eastern frontier regions and, in the case of the commander-in-chief, in the north-western part of the empire. Though all of the seven magnates participated in military actions, this was a central task of the chief cupbearer, the commander-in-chief, and the *rab ša-rēši* in particular. The chief cupbearer and the commander-in-chief had their own armies and while the commander-in-chief was also the supreme commander of the Assyrian army, the *rab ša-rēši* commanded the royal corps (*kišir šarri*). Key functions of other magnates include the supervision of building works and precious materials by the treasurer, and overseeing judicial disputes by the chief bailiff and the vizier. The latter also was a key figure in Babylonia. The literal meanings of the titles of the palace herald and the chief cupbearer apparently do not correspond to their actual tasks but were, however, formally reflected on special occasions. This is clear from the

¹⁰⁸ The following outline is based on the conclusions of Mattila who studied these officials in detail (see especially Mattila 2000: 161–8). Instead of “chief judge”, the English term “chief bailiff” is used for the *sartennu*, see Radner 2005b: 55.

text about the royal meal where the palace herald in fact occurs as an announcer, and it is possibly also indicated by the single occasion where the chief cup-bearer mentioned as a recipient of wine in the wine lists (CTN 3 133 ii 1) which, except for the *rab ša-rēši*, do not mention any other magnate. Presumably especially the great treasurer was regularly present in the imperial capital by reason of his official tasks, though all seven magnates must have otherwise spent a considerable part of the year abroad, either in their provinces or in other areas for campaigning or other missions. Nevertheless, they assembled with the king in the imperial capital on the occasion of the New Year festivities and the muster of military forces (Mattila 2000: 166). Parpola has argued that this royal council, together with the chief scholar (*ummānu*), was formed in accordance with the divine council, with each magnate impersonating his appropriate god.¹⁰⁹ As the gods of the divine council represent aspects of the presiding god (Anu), the magnates then were aspects of royal power (Mattila 2000: 167), as would be particularly apparent with the *sartennu* being chief bailiff and the *turtānu* being commander-in-chief *in lieu* of the king. Though this parallel seems convincing, the scheme established by Parpola is a fixed arrangement whereas the constellation of the magnates underwent changes in the reign of Sargon and later. For instance, the offices of the *rab ša-rēši* and of the vizier seem to have been upgraded, and the dominant role of the commander-in-chief was split into a representative “of the right” and “of the left”. Moreover, from the reign of Sargon onwards, even the strict separation of the seven “magnates” from other officials does not seem to be entirely conclusive anymore, since officials such as the chief cook apparently gained importance and were also appointed as eponyms, an honour which was originally reserved for the seven magnates and provincial governors. In any case, though the magnates are essential for the establishment of a comprehensive picture of Assyrian court society, they are not the focus of research here since they were not members of the palace’s core personnel and had their own extended households.

¹⁰⁹ See Parpola 1995, in particular Fig. 4 and Chart I (pp. 389, 390).

PART II

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

1 PALACE MANAGEMENT

In this section I discuss central officials of the palace administration. This includes, on the one hand, the *rab ekalli* (palace manager) and the *ša-pān-ekalli* (palace supervisor) who were concerned with the overall management of the royal household and, on the other hand, the *tupšar ekalli* (palace scribe) who administered the palace chancery. He is not to be confused with the *tupšar šarri* (royal scribe).

1.1 The *rab ekalli* (palace manager)

The title *rab ekalli* is translated as “chief palace official” (CAD E 61), “Palast-Oberinspektor” (AHw 192) or “palace manager” (SAA series). In Neo-Assyrian sources it is only written logographically, as (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL-É.GAL and (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL-KUR. The *rab ekalli* in Neo-Assyrian times was discussed in brief by Klauber in 1910 (²1968: 32). Apart from the discussion of the evidence of the *rab ekalli* unearthed in the Review Palace at Kalhu by Dalley and Postgate (1984: 4–9), no attempts have been made to discuss the Neo-Assyrian evidence for this official in detail. For the Middle Assyrian period, when this title is first attested, this was done by Jakob (2003: 72–4). For this period Jakob equates the term with the titles *ša-muḫḫi-ekalli* and *ukil ekalli*, based on the synonymous use in the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees. While we lack the titles *ša-muḫḫi-ekalli* and *ukil ekalli* in Neo-Assyrian sources, the question arises whether the *ša-pān-ekalli*, first attested in Neo-Assyrian sources, refers to the same office as *rab ekalli*. Contrary to Klauber, who believed that the two titles were interchangeable, I shall argue that this was not the case (see section 1.3 The *rab ekalli* versus the *ša-pān-ekalli*).

1.1.1 Family

We rarely learn anything about the family or family background of the palace manager. In a message of the chief scribe to the palace manager, the wife of the palace manager is listed among others as “enterer” (SAA 16 50:7). Assuming this means that temporary access to the palace was granted, she had no regular access to the workplace of her husband, and she certainly did not live in the palace.

Another family member is possibly attested for the palace manager Isseme-ilī active in Kalhu after the reign of Assurbanipal. This man may have had a son called Šēp-šarri who was at the same time a subordinate of his father. This is suggested by the two letters CTN 3 4 and 5 sent by Šēp-šarri to Isseme-ilī, where he addresses the recipient as AD-*iá* (*abiya*), “my father”, and himself as DUMU-*ka* (*mārka*), “your son”, in the heading. While these terms suggest a kinship relationship, the fact that the two are business partners interacting as superior and subordinate means that the family relationship might be considered uncertain. However, since there is no comparable case attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources whereby a subordinate refers to his master as “father” when he in fact is not,¹ a real family relationship seems plausible. Thus, it appears for the office of the *rab ekalli* that we have a case of father and son being jointly engaged with the same tasks, the father acting as superior. Šēp-šarri therefore may have had a good chance of taking over Isseme-ilī’s position one day.

1.1.2 Appointment and career

Information on the appointment of the palace manager is rarely available. First, the edict on the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a from the reign of Aššurnāširpal II should be mentioned here,² since this individual is known to have been *rab ekalli* according to his stele from Assur (Assur Stele 50), where he is described as “palace manager, city overseer of Kalhu, and governor of *Irmeriti*”.³ The edict is passed on to us through three exemplars, two written on clay and one engraved on a stone tablet. While the latter was found near the Ištar-Kadmuri Temple in Kalhu, the fragments of the two exemplars on clay can be assigned to Nineveh, though they might have been originally also stored in Kalhu (Deller and Millard 1993: 217–8). Unfortunately none of these is fully preserved, and thus this important text is still not well understood and there remain many uncertainties and open questions. According to the analysis of

¹ Even the crown prince addressed his father as “king” (for instance, SAA 1 31, where the heading is preserved in its entirety).

² Though Aššurnāširpal II himself is not mentioned in the preserved fragments, the edict is assigned to him due to the characteristics of the cuneiform writing and text, the contents and the plausible identification of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a with the eponym of 873 BCE; see Deller and Millard 1993: 235–7.

³ This is also indicated by the fact that the *rab ekalli* appears in the enumeration of various professions and officials named as potential subordinates of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a (SAA 12 83 r. 16 and SAA 12 84:11’). Note, however, there is also another phrase in the decree (broken and to a great extent restored) where it is probably said: “The [palace] mana[ger responsible for...]” (SAA 12 83: 6’, similar in: SAA 12 84:9’: “The palace manager res[ponsible for ...]”). While this refers to the one who is addressed by the decree and thus would indicate that Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a was already palace manager, it is too fragmentary and thus too heavily restored to draw any conclusions from it.

Deller and Millard we are dealing here with the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a as supervisor over the rebuilding of Kalhu as the new capital of the Neo-Assyrian empire, and he only held the offices mentioned on the stele after he had successfully supervised these construction works (Deller and Millard 1993: 219, 228). The same seems to be true for his nomination as eponym for the year 873 BCE.⁴ This edict is an important source on appointment and on the delegation of authority, but it does not contain particular information on the *rab ekalli*.⁵ Nevertheless, the case of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a provides some information on the career of this man. Assuming that the chronological reconstruction of his career is correct, it can be observed that first he was appointed as the authority over the construction works of Kalhu, while later on he was the overseer of Kalhu and palace manager (in Kalhu). His career probably reached its peak with the eponymy in 873 BCE. With regard to the career of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a it was also suggested that he only received his personal name meaning "Nergal stands up for me" in the context of his appointment (Deller and Millard 1993: 227), which is plausible.

Another, indirect hint concerning the career of a *rab ekalli* is provided by the possible identification of Šil-Issār, *rab ekalli* of the New Palace, attested with this title in the year 779 BCE and probably again in a legal document dating to the year 769 BCE. According to Parpola (1983a: XXVIII) he might be identical with Šil-Issār, governor of Arbail and eponym of 787 BCE. Assuming that this identification is correct, Šil-Issār was demoted rather than promoted in office, perhaps by reason of misconduct or because of his advanced age.

Indirect evidence for the appointment of the palace manager may also be gained from the case of the palace manager Tartīmanni, active in Kalhu after the reign of Assurbanipal. This man is known as *rab ekalli* from two documents dating to the years 626* (SAAB 1 24 r. 2–3) and 615* BCE (CTN 3 39A r. 3). Additionally there is a document dated to the year 617* BCE (CTN 3 30 r. 4) mentioning Tartīmanni as "son of the palace" (*mār ekalli*) instead. In SAAB 1 24, describing Tartīmanni as *rab ekalli*, and CTN 3 30, giving the designation *mār ekalli*, Tartīmanni acts as a witness for the same person, namely the female deputy Kabalāia (once designated "of the household of the queen" and the other time as "of the *šakintu*"). Hence, we are dealing with the same person. According to Parpola's schedule of the post-canonical eponyms, the title *mār ekalli* (provided that this is not the result of a scribal mistake) falls chronologically between the two attestations of the palace manager Tartīmanni and

⁴ Although no title is given with his dates, thanks to his uncommon personal name we are presumably dealing with the same man.

⁵ Even if this text refers in particular to the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a as palace manager, it nevertheless remains an extraordinary situation in which this appointment took place.

no change in office seems to have taken place. According to Reade's reconstructed sequence of post-canonical eponyms, which takes into account Tartīmanni's occurrences, the record qualifying him as *mār ekalli* dates to 625*, the other two documents to 618* (SAAB 1 24) and 617* (CTN 3 39A) instead (Reade 1998: 259). Judging by this chronology, we may suppose that Tartīmanni was first *mār ekalli* and gained the position of *rab ekalli* later on. The title *mār ekalli* (see section 8.6.1 Origin) was a designation of status and not of function. An interjection, as is the result according to Parpola's schedule, would just demonstrate the assignment and usage of both the functional title and the designation of status over the years. We do not need to follow Reade's sequence here, though one would assume that Tartīmanni was referred to with the title *rab ekalli* ever since he was appointed to this office, since this title was certainly more effective.

In addition to the documents discussed so far, there are others in which Tartīmanni occurs without any title. The same man is attested as witness in texts predating (CTN 3 31 r. 6; 51 r. 9) and contemporaneous (CTN 3 40 b.e. 40) with his occurrences as *rab ekalli*, as well as in a letter (CTN 3 3:3) bearing no date. Especially with the earliest documents dating to 630* (623*) and 629* (624*),⁶ it is possible that Tartīmanni did not hold the office of a *rab ekalli* yet, which seems also plausible for the dateless letter. Tartīmanni wrote this letter to another palace manager, explaining that he is not the one who had taken various items from the "house of the scribe". Since Tartīmanni gives the title of the recipient first, while designating himself as the recipient's servant only afterwards, he does not seem to have been *rab ekalli* at that time. Also the salutation and the general tone of the letter indicate that this letter was written when Tartīmanni did not hold the title *rab ekalli*. Assuming that the letter predates Tartīmanni's execution of the office (though a later date cannot be entirely excluded), this document would show that the prospective *rab ekalli* was already within the sphere of influence of the current *rab ekalli* and that this official was promoted from within the ranks (which is also indicated by the designation *mār ekalli* for this man, as argued above). The promotion of the palace manager from within the ranks is also indicated by the aforementioned palace manager Isseme-ilī and his probable son Šēp-šarri, active in 7th-century Kalhu. Šēp-šarri was already well integrated into the daily business of his master and father(?), so he might already have been considered as potential successor. Also from the penalty clause of a sale of an inherited house of the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi, one gets the impression that the office of

⁶ The year dates put in brackets are those according to the schedule of Reade. The eponym of CTN 3 51 is broken but is reconstructed as Nabû-š[arru-ušur]. There are two post-canonical eponyms bearing this name: N., the *rab ša-rēši* (644*/643*), and N., the palace scribe (629*/624*). In view of the other references to Tartīmanni the latter is more likely.

the *rab ekalli* was passed on from father to son since also his successor in office is warned not to litigate against the buyer (see the detailed discussion below).

The evidence from 7th-century Kalhu also gives some information on the duration of the office of the *rab ekalli*. Only taking under consideration those attestations where an individual is clearly designated *rab ekalli*, Ubru-Nabû is attested with the longest time in office, namely 23 years. He is followed by Tartimanni who is explicitly attested as a palace manager over twelve (or two) years. Ilu-paḥḥir held this post at least for nine (or seven) years and Isseme-ilī for six (or nine) years. At least for five (or four) years Nabû-aḥu-uṣur is attested in office. For the majority of these *rab ekallis* the tenure of office would be (significantly) longer if one counts the whole range of attestations (see e.g. Nabû-šarru-uṣur in Table 1). Since it is not proven for these other attestations that the person in question was already or still in office, these attestations are not considered here. This is also true for other cases such as Šil-Issār where we lack definite evidence for their exercise as *rab ekalli* for the entire time span they seem to have been active. In contrast to the relatively long-lasting exercise of office by Ubru-Nabû, the comparatively high number of palace managers attested in the former imperial capital Kalhu suggests a high turnover in this office (see below).

Ubru-Nabû	656–634* (Reade: 656–639*)	23 / 18 years
Nabû-šarru-uṣur	629* / 642*–622* (Reade: 624* / 645*–622*)	(21 / 24 years)
Tartimanni	626*–615* (Reade: 618*–617*)	12 / 2 years
Ilu-paḥḥir	642*–634* (Reade: 645*–639*)	9 / 7 years
Isseme-ilī	625*–620* (Reade: 628*–620*)	6 / 9 years
Nabû-aḥu-uṣur	638*–634* (Reade: 639*–636*)	5 / 4 years

Table 1: Duration of office for palace managers

1.1.3 Personal equipment

There is a cylinder seal of white chalcedony (OLA 65 351) preserved which once belonged to the palace manager Bēl-ašarēd according to its inscription. Stylistically dating to the late 9th or 8th century (at least down to the reign of Sargon II), it was found in the vicinity of modern Natania in Israel. Why this seal was found far away from the Assyrian heartland and how it got there is unknown. Judging by Assyrian campaigning activities, it is likely to have come to the west not before the reign of Tiglath-pileser (cf. Tadmor and Tadmor 1995: 353). By that time it was in secondary use, as an amulet for example. From the written sources it is evident that the palace manager had a seal at hand, albeit not inscribed, to confirm legal transactions (e.g. Edubba 10 5). Also, his subordinates seem to have used their own seals, for example the

scribe Šēp-šarri apparently sealed legal texts (CTN 3 6) and letters (CTN 3 4 and 5) with an identical stamp seal. Lacking a personal reference, however, these uninscribed seals did not have the same prestige value. Presumably Bēl-ašarēd's seal was primarily regarded as a prestige object rather than an administrative tool, a definition which particularly applies to the bureau seals employed by the departments of the king, the crown prince and others (see Radner 2008).

1.1.4 Property

The few attestations of the *rab ekalli*'s property only tell us about a plot of land of this official and a house originally owned by the *rab ekalli*. In the judicial document CTN 3 70, dating after the reign of Assurbanipal, it is stipulated that Dādi-iqbi together with Tatāia should swear that they had sown 9 *sūtu* of seed in the field of an unnamed palace manager and paid straw and corn taxes (*šibšu* and *nusāhu*) amounting to four minas of (probably washed)⁷ silver to this official.⁸ If they fail to do so, they must pay three *emāru* two(?) *sūtu* of barley to the palace manager. The palace manager had land under his authority, farmed by others, who had to pay taxes (in silver) to him which he in turn presumably had to hand over to the central administration. The place where the oath was to take place is referred to as *i-nar-ma-ak-te ša zu-qa-ri* (CTN 3 70:3–4) and different suggestions have been made as to its precise meaning. According to Postgate (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 131) it may mean something like “‘at the basin’ of the *zuqāru* (possibly related to the ‘Ziqurrat’)” and may describe an “installation in the temple”. A temple connection of this incident was suggested in view of the witnesses among whom a certain Marduk-šarru-ušur is possibly identical with a homonymous priest of Nabû who witnessed a private donation to Ninurta of Kalhu (SAA 12 92 r. 2). Aššūr-mātu-taqin, another witness in CTN 3 70, presumably was palace manager of the queen as named in the witness list of a donation to Nabû of Kalhu (SAA 12 96 s. 3). It seems that the temple was involved in the present case (as pointed out by the editors). Though we do not know the implications of this circumstance, the land in question was presumably bound to the office of the *rab ekalli*.

There is another document which suggests that property was bound to the office of the palace manager, and again the temple is involved in the matter

⁷ According to the copy of the tablet (see Dalley and Postgate 1984: 18) it is written TUR-*su*. Though the editors give already two possibilities for explanation, I suggest emending it to LUḫ¹-*su* for *masû* “washed silver”. This is attested in numerous Neo-Assyrian legal documents published in SAA 6 and 14 (though these are always written with LUḫ¹-*u* / *û*).

⁸ Since the said amount of silver in comparison with the size of the plot of land is “disproportionally large” the two matters are perhaps not connected with each other, as suggested by Deller (cited in Dalley and Postgate 1984: 131).

(which, however, may be coincidence). The palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi originally owned an inherited house in the Inner City, which he sold to a tailor of the Aššur Temple in the reign of Sennacherib according to the legal text SAAB 9 75. The purchase price was 30 shekels of silver, which was the *ilku*-duty to the *bēt* Dagan (ll. 11–12), presumably part of the Aššur Temple.⁹ Provided that the interpretation of that unique passage is correct,¹⁰ the *rab ekalli* was fiscally obliged to the *bēt* Dagan, and he sold his house, presumably located in the neighbourhood of the temple area, in order to get rid of his obligation. In the penalty clause the current *rab ekalli* is warned not to litigate against the buyer as well as his successor. This indicates that property, or at least this house of the palace manager, was usually passed on to the succeeding palace manager and thus was bound to the office itself. Since it is said that the house is Bēl-ana-marruqi's paternal estate, it is plausible to assume that the father of Bēl-ana-marruqi was palace manager too, which would suggest that this office was (usually) taken over by the office-holder's own offspring.¹¹

1.1.5 Wine allocations

According to a few wine lists dating to the 8th century from Kalhu the *rab ekalli* was supplied with rations of wine. The two *rab ekallis* Šil-Issār and Šil-Nergal, attested with their title in legal texts, are probably mentioned with their personal name in three wine lists (CTN 1 1 ii 5; 4:12; 33 ii 4). Šil-Nergal receives an “additional amount” (*tišābu*) of wine in CTN 1 1,¹² while Šil-Issār receives 1 *sūtu* of wine in CTN 1 33 which lists the wine rations during a substitute king (*šar pūḫi*) ritual. He is listed after an unnamed *ša-pān-ekalli*. In another list (CTN 3 135:4), which seems also to be a wine list, a palace manager apparently receives a lion-headed *situla* (of wine). The following personal name, [...]bēlu-ušur, possibly refers to the entry for the palace manager, though some signs in between cannot be identified for certain. Various toponyms listed here, such as Ashdod, Edom, Gaza, and Judah, suggest Tiglath-pileser III's campaign of 734 as a *terminus post quem* (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 247). To conclude, the evidence for wine allocations given to the *rab ekalli* is sparse. Since numerous other officials are regularly listed as recipients of wine in the wine lists, his infrequent occurrence is remarkable.

⁹ Cf. p. 150 fn. 222 and see Deller 1985: 362–4, contra Menzel 1981 I: 50–3.

¹⁰ Cf. the translation of Radner (1997a: 285) in contrast to the one provided by the edition. The latter does not take into account the embedding of this passage into the regular purchase clause (PN *ina libbi* PRICE É AD-šú *ina* ŠĀ-bi il-k[i-šú ta]r²-ši ša É ^dda-gan ilqe).

¹¹ Provided that it refers to his biological father and *abu* is not meant as a more general term like “father figure”, cf. the discussion about Šēp-šarri and Isseme-ilī in section 1.1.1 Family.

¹² “Additional amounts” of wine are also handed over according to CTN 1 4 r. 9, 12. In contrast to the present attestation these seem to have included specifications concerning the quantity of wine.

1.1.6 Gifts made by the *rab ekalli*

Although it is not explicitly stated, a palace manager stationed at a distance from the imperial centre is probably attested as deliverer of audience gifts, according to an administrative document dated to the 7th century. Nabû-dūru-ušur, palace manager of(?) Maškala (location unknown), is listed along with one duck, x doves, and one *kupītu*-bird which he presumably brought with him to the main palace in Nineveh as an audience gift (SAA 7 131:7'-8'). From what is preserved there is also a palace farmer of Kalhu as well as a village-manager of Šamaš-mētu-uballit, prince of Esarhaddon, who brought either birds or fruits.

1.1.7 Legal transactions

Palace managers can be found in comparatively few legal texts as purchaser, seller or creditor (but never as debtor). In the reign of Assurbanipal the palace manager Ubru-Nabû buys a female slave for one mina of silver from two men, one of whom is a gatekeeper (ND 3425:7). While no further texts record a palace manager as buyer of any kind of commodity, he appears as seller of slaves in a few cases: Bāni-Aia-šarru, palace manager of the Central City of Nineveh, sells two slaves (male and female) to the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a for 70 minas of bronze in the reign of Adad-nērāri III (Edubba 10 5:1-2). The aforementioned Ubru-Nabû is attested as a purchaser of slaves; he also sold a female slave to the unnamed *šakintu* of the palace for one mina of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal (ND 2344:1). Apart from selling slaves, palace managers are also attested selling land. In the reign of Sennacherib the palace manager of the Inner City, Bēl-ana-marruqi, sells his inherited house in Assur for 30 shekels of silver to Šumma-Aššūr, tailor of the Aššur Temple (SAAB 9 75:1-2). Originally official claims were associated with this property (see above).

Assuming that Nabû-aḥu-ušur is to be identified with the palace manager bearing the same name, he is attested after the reign of Assurbanipal lending ½ mina 2 shekels of silver to two persons from Napisina (otherwise unknown) (CTN 3 41:7). They have to repay the silver about one month later.¹³ A certain Nabû-šarru-ušur, possibly identical with the homonymous palace manager witnessing another legal record (ND 2093 r. 7), is creditor of three *emāru* of grain in the reign of Assurbanipal (ND 2088:5). There are additional loan or loan-related documents involving the *rab ekalli* as creditor. Since these contain administrative terms, they rather record administrative transactions undertaken in the context of the *rab ekalli*'s official function, and thus they are treated

¹³ The document is dated to the 16 Nisannu (= first month) and the final deadline for repaying the silver is 13 Ayāru (= second month).

below under section 1.1.8.5 Managing commodities. On comparison with the documents discussed below, an administrative background cannot be entirely excluded for the contract-type transactions outlined here either. It is, however, also worth stressing that both legal texts lack further details of the officials in question and therefore remain doubtful references to *rab ekallis*. In case the identifications are correct, one could also argue that the lack of title is because of the “private” nature of these transactions.

Apart from the instances of active involvement discussed above, the high number of *rab ekallis* acting as witnesses is remarkable. Occasionally more than one *rab ekalli* is recorded in the same legal document; this is for example the case in two donation texts, where both the *rab ekalli* Ubru-Nabû as well as the *rab ekalli* Nabû-aḥu-ušur are listed as witnesses (SAA 12 92 r. 5, 6; 93 r. 13, 14). While both lack details of their official affiliation, they presumably represent two distinct palaces in Kalhu.

1.1.8 Functions

1.1.8.1 Supervising palace access

There is a single instance where the *rab ekalli* is concerned with the temporary access of certain people to the palace. Nabû-zēru-lēšir, identified as chief scribe via his other attestations, drew up a list (*kappu*) of 14 “entering (people)” (*ēribūte*) addressed to an unnamed palace manager (SAA 16 50). This list includes three sons, two daughters and a daughter-in-law of the chief scribe himself as well as the wife of the palace manager, two courtiers (Arbāiu and Mušurāiu), and Zēr-Issār, chief of public works (*rab pilkāni*). Also a certain Nabû-šarḫi-ubāša is mentioned, who enters together with his wife. Since only twelve (or 13, if we count in Nabû-zēru-lēšir recurring in line 13) individuals are clearly listed in the text, the total of 14 may be a scribal error.¹⁴ Hence fourteen(?) people are permitted to enter, presumably either the palace itself or a particular part of it. This information is forwarded by Nabû-zēru-lēšir to the palace manager, who was apparently responsible for the access to the palace. For what purpose these people entered remains unclear. Assuming that the text deals with access to the palace, the chief scribe had to apply for admittance on behalf of these people as he did not belong to the palatial community proper.¹⁵ Though this is the only Neo-Assyrian indication for a palace manager being concerned with palace access, the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees clearly

¹⁴ On the other hand, it seems as if even the date formula in line 12 is meant to be included for the fulfilment of the sum of fourteen. It is introduced by two *Winkelhaken*, which also appear with the other enumerated enterers.

¹⁵ Luukko (2007: 236) convincingly argued that in contrast to the palace scribe the chief scribe was not a permanent official at court.

show that this was a concern of the *rab ekalli* in the second half of the second millennium: it is the *rab ekalli* who grants access to the women's quarters for a royal *ša-rēši* sent by the king (Jakob 2003: 76, cf. Roth 1995: 201, § 9). Apart from the fact that we do not have comparable texts for the Neo-Assyrian period, the *rab ekalli*'s rare association with this concern is possibly also due to the fact that palace offices became more specialised during the Neo-Assyrian period. Especially in the 7th century more than one type of official was responsible for the access to or within the palace (see section 5 Security and guard). Though the palace manager presumably kept his overall responsibility for palace access (SAA 16 50 shows that), this issue was not only executed but also administered by others (in this case the chief scribe).

1.1.8.2 Writing boards

In the letter SAA 15 9, written by Issār-dūrī, governor of Arrapha, to Sargon, the palace manager of Arrapha is mentioned in connection with writing boards which were possibly archived or drawn up in the palace of Arrapha. It remains uncertain whether these writing boards contained everyday records or were used for library works. As the palace manager is otherwise often attested as involved in in- and outgoings of the palace, I would suggest the former and would relate this case to the tasks of the *rab ekalli* described under section 1.1.8.5 Managing commodities.

1.1.8.3 Providing labour

An administrative letter (SAA 1 99) of Tāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, to the king, deals with human labour to be provided for construction works on the queen's establishment (*bēt sēgalli*) in Ekallate. According to the original order of the king, workmen from Ekallate should rebuild the queen's establishment in cooperation with the palace manager.¹⁶ The latter apparently refused to do so, sending a petitioning letter to the palace. Though there is a considerable break in the letter here, the governor of Assur continues on the reverse by complaining about the fact that since the Inner City is tax-exempt, it is he who has to provide *ilku*-duty instead of the Inner City, and he who is responsible for the repair works in Ekallate. Though the governor of Assur is apparently not pleased with regard to these circumstances, he gives in and details the available workmen

¹⁶ The activity of construction works is expressed with *rašāpu* which basically means "to erect" or "to pile up" but can also refer to repair or restorations works e.g. in Nuzi texts (CAD R 184–6 1–2). Since the phrase *batqu kašāru* is twice mentioned on the reverse of this tablet in connection with the same subject (SAA 1 99 r. 4'–5', 9', see section 14.6 The *rab batqi* ("chief of repairs")), restoration works rather than the construction of a new building are meant here.

he is going to supply for the construction works. He hands over a total of 370 men, composed of “sons of bought (slaves)” (*mār šīmi*) and the “sons of female palace servants” (*mār-amat-ekalli*). These men are further divided into 90 king’s men (*šāb šarri*), 90 reserves (*ša-kutalli*), and 190 who “should do the king’s work” (*dullu ša šarri epāšu*). They are now waiting to be handed over to an agent (*ša-qurbūti*) or a watchman (*ša-maššarti*). Judging by the emphasis Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra puts on the tax-exempt status of the Inner City, the palace manager in question was presumably employed there (or in Ekallate).¹⁷ A concern with construction works hardly not attested elsewhere for the palace manager,¹⁸ and it is likely that the present involvement is due to the fact that a palatial department is the subject of the discussion. The incident shows that the administrative spheres of the palace managers and the provincial governors stood in opposition to one another and that the palace manager also bore responsibilities similar to the provincial governor.

While it seems as if the palace manager’s original contribution is out of the question, one phrase, immediately preceding the detailed description of provided manpower, mentions this palace official again. The phrase says: “Are they ‘sons of bought (slaves)’ as they are called, or are they (in reality) “exempts” (*zakkû*) of the palace manager?”. Fales argued that the designation *zakkû* describes an “employment in the military sphere”, usually in the infantry (Fales 2009a: 87). As Parpola put it in his translation of another letter, mentioning 2,000 *zakkûs* originating from the Commagenean (i.e. the king of Commagene) (SAA 1 172), it refers to full-time soldiers, freed from other tasks.¹⁹ According to that, full-time forces would have been assigned to the palace manager in the course of the construction works for the queen’s house, which implies that *zakkûs* did not only engage in military service but state service in general. Hence, such forces had the same fields of activity as those committed to *ilku*-service who, by contrast, were only temporarily available. Therefore it is perhaps no coincidence that men coming from abroad, who were not integrated into the Assyrian system and bound to its other constraints, are specified as *zakkû* (as is the case in SAA 1 172). However, immediately following the claims regarding *ilku*-duty, the question posed by Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra seems to be an ironic statement which underlines the fact that he supplied his own men and not the men of the palace manager.

The edition assumes that the broken letter SAA 1 249 may be related to SAA 1 99 and that it was probably written by the same palace manager, whose personal name would then begin with Aššūr-...]. The “sons of the bought

¹⁷ Otherwise, Bēl-ana-marruqi is called “palace manager of the Inner City” (SAAB 9 75:1–2).

¹⁸ Except for the case of the delivery of straw for the *kurḫu*-building, perhaps for making or repairing its roof (CTN 3 2), see below.

¹⁹ Cf. the discussion in Dezsö 2012a: 67–9.

slaves” are mentioned here twice, once described as being those from Ekallate. There is also the *rab ša-rēši* mentioned in connection with construction works in the Inner City, where the “sons of the bought slaves” appear again. In fact the letters contain significant parallels, and it is very likely that they refer to the same occasion, though the exact information given remains unclear.

1.1.8.4 Releasing people

The case of the *rab ekalli* who was ordered to provide workforce for construction works might be related to the palace manager’s involvement in releasing people who were bound to the palace. There is a single letter from the reign of Sargon II referring to this function of the *rab ekalli*; the remaining examples are recorded in the form of legal transactions dating to the 7th century. As already pointed out, these were rather administrative actions formulated as legal contracts, and thus the palace manager presumably appears here in his official capacity.

According to a unique legal document (ND 2332) from the reign of Assurbanipal, the palace manager Ilu-paḥḥir sent out the daughters of Inūrta-erība and Inūrta-abu-ušur. It seems that a certain Nabû-aplu-iddina has decided upon this action. Unfortunately we neither gain information about the fathers’ background nor about Nabû-aplu-iddina. According to Radner (1997a: 170, fn. 899), the background of this document might be that these daughters were given in marriage. Apparently the palace manager was the one who was responsible for these women before they were given away, so these daughters were presumably associated with the palace. Probably in connection with the same function a palace manager, presumably Isseme-ilī (name lost), appears in a legal document (CTN 3 7:4–5) dating after the reign of Assurbanipal, where it is noted that a certain Sūsu was released by Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē, presumably his master, and that he should be brought (back) to the palace manager on the first day of [...].²⁰ The same palace manager is mentioned in a legal document (CTN 3 8:2–3), dating after the reign of Assurbanipal, where a guarantor releases the pledged Adad-ēreš from the palace *in persona* from Isseme-ilī. As this happens ahead of time,²¹ it is recorded in the document that the guarantor has to bring Adad-ēreš back when Isseme-ilī requires him. The phrase “from the shackles he released him, from the centre of the palace he brought him out” (ll. 4–5: TA* *lib-bi si-par-ri it-ta-[tar]* [T]A* *qab-si* É.GAL *ú-se-ṣ[i]*), where it becomes clear that the man in question was detained in the palace, indicates that the

²⁰ The relevant verbal form of “to release” in line 2 has to be restored. The edition proposes to restore *ip-[ta-tar]* with *ana* as *nota accusativi* (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 56). A similar form (though partly restored too) can be found in CTN 3 8:4: *ip-ta-[tar]*.

²¹ The edition notes further texts where this was the case: CTN 3 9, VAT 15461, ND 3443.

palace manager is acting in his official function.²² Apart from Isseme-ilī, the palace manager Urdu-Issār also appears in a similar transaction. According to the legal document CTN 3 9 from after the reign of Assurbanipal, the pledged Ḫulāia is struck “from the hands of Urdu-Issār” and released from the palace (ll. 4–5: TA* ŠU.2 Urdu-Issār LÚ.GAL–KUR *i-ta-ḫa-ša ú-se-ši*) by Inūrta-ēreš. Even though Ḫulāia has been brought out, the palace manager still lays claim to him: Ḫulāia remains responsible for sheep presumably belonging to the palace manager and it is upon Inūrta-ēreš to compensate the absence of Ḫulāia during the year by paying ½ mina of silver.²³

In connection with these examples of people released from the palace manager, there is other significant evidence from the reign of Sargon. The letter SAA 17 152, written by five individuals, presumably local leaders from eastern Babylonia, to the king mentions the *rab ekalli* of the hostile Puqudean Abi-iaqar, probably a sheikh. In addition to the surprising designation of a subordinate of a Puqudean as *rab ekalli*, this evidence for a *rab ekalli* is even more remarkable since this official is said to have released an Elamite prisoner, kept in the prison (*bēt kīli*) of his master Abi-iaqar, for one mina of silver. While the assignment of a palace official to the household of a Puqudean sheikh implies a quasi-palatial organisation, the task involving the *rab ekalli* might correspond to the functions of the palace manager within the Assyrian royal establishment. However, apart from CTN 3 8 referring to shackles, there is no evidence that the Assyrian palace manager supervised the prison (*bēt kīli*) and thus imprisoned people; he was apparently responsible for people detained in the palace on account of financial debts.²⁴

Apart from the cases discussed above, the evidence for Isseme-ilī acting as surety might refer to the same official background. In a judicial decision (CTN 3 29) the palace manager Isseme-ilī appears as surety of a female servant bought by the female deputy of the *šakintu*. The person in question has escaped, and it is now up to the palace manager to pay compensation to the deputy *šakintu*. As already noted in the edition, the former owner of the slave is not mentioned, and it is also unlikely that this was Isseme-ilī himself who is

²² Note the commentary to the edition (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 58): A similar situation is attested in a Late Babylonian document (dated to 527 BCE), which also contains a corresponding phrase to “on the day when he requires him” recorded in CTN 3 9 (l. 6: *u₄-mu ša SAG-su i-na-āš-š[ú-ni]*). The *šatammu* mentioned in this text had here functions similar to the *rab ekalli* since Nabū-šumu-ušur, kept in the prison (*bēt kīli*), was temporarily released from his care by Adad-uballiṭ and Lūdinni (Moore 1935: 150–3, letter no. 151).

²³ Note that also the *ša-pān-ekalli* occurs once in connection with a contingent of sheep (see section 1.2.6 Responsibility for sheep).

²⁴ Note that for the Neo-Assyrian period the *bēt kīli* only occurs in inscriptions of Aššurnaširpal II (RIMA 2 A.0.101.17 v 36 [here it is said that the North-West Palace shall not be turned into a *bēt kīli*], 69; A.0.101.32:19; A.0.101.38:43) and in connection with Babylonia and/or Elam (SAA 10 110:10; 17 89 r. 3; 21 118 r. 7; ABL 736:10, r. 4).

referred to as *urki'u* (“surety”), thus defining him as the one who had to “replace in person the man or woman sold” (Postgate 1976: 27–8 § 2.3.6.) in case of irregularities. Though Isseme-ilī did not replace the escaped female slave in person, he handed ½ mina of silver over to the injured party. In view of the attestations of Isseme-ilī and other palace managers in connection with releasing people, this task might be the reason for his role as surety here.

Out of these attestations, mainly found in texts from 7th-century Kalhu, the majority refers to Isseme-ilī, palace manager of the Review Palace in Kalhu, attested from 625* down to 620*. Otherwise, there is a single document involving the *rab ekalli* Urdu-Issār, while Ilu-paḥḥir appears as acting official in connection with the redemption of daughters. Assuming that these legal transactions reflect the palace manager’s duties and functions, the palace manager administered people detained in the palace who were occasionally released on a temporary basis. The palatial detainment of these people was probably due to economic reasons. This stands in contrast to the *rab ekalli* of the Puqudean sheikh, who apparently was in charge of an imprisoned Elamite captive. Nevertheless, since attestations from the Assyrian sphere are comparatively rare and derive from 7th century only, it is plausible that the Assyrian *rab ekalli* was also in charge of political prisoners (also bearing in mind the deportees and refugees residing at the Assyrian court, see section 9 Foreigners at court). Perhaps the best indication therefore is the Babylonian Sulāia who is said to be kept in the Review Palace of Nineveh by royal command (SAA 16 21 r. 9–16).

1.1.8.5 Managing commodities

According to several everyday documents—including administrative records, legal texts, and letters—the palace manager was involved in the transfer of commodities such as livestock, grain, oil, reed, and textiles. In most cases it is fairly clear that the transactions were conducted in his official capacity. Owing to the terminology, this is also true for transactions recorded as legal transactions (cf. Dalley and Postgate 1984: 62, 64). There are only a few conveyance documents possibly involving a palace manager which lack any administrative term and therefore are not treated here (CTN 3 41, ND 2088, see above). The palace manager (or his department) occurs as a provider and as a recipient of commodities, and it seems that these records are the remnants of a fairly regular movement of goods administered by this official in the palace sphere.

1.1.8.5.1 Provision of commodities

In a legal document, dating after the reign of Assurbanipal from Isseme-ilī’s dossier, it is said that he gave two *emāru* of barley to the commander-of-fifty of the *rab ša-rēši*, to be taken from the fodder (*kissutu*) of a certain Rēmūtu

(CTN 3 12:2–3). The corn owed to the palace manager Nabû-šarru-ušur in ND 2088 might bear a similar background, though there are no indications in the text itself. Another palace manager, Emūqi-Aššūr, active in the Review Palace, is again associated with fodder (*kissutu*) in a conveyance document dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (CTN 3 10*:5). He was owed two minas of silver, for feed (*kissutu*) for the birds, *iškāru* of the Review Palace, by the deputy (governor) of Kalhu on 15 Araḥsamnu (= 8th month). The debt has to be paid on 1 Kislīmu (= 9th month). In case of failure to pay, 60 *emāru* of barley have to be paid “inside the Review Palace” (ll. 8 [tablet] and r. 11 [envelope]: *ina qabsi ekalli | ekal māšarti*). Dalley and Postgate (1984: 62) reconstruct the following scenario on the basis of this transaction: for the two minas of silver given out by the palace (in the person of the palace manager) the deputy (representative of the provincial administration) has to deliver fodder for the birds within two weeks. The amount of the required fodder is not specified but is possibly indicated by its qualification as *iškāru* of the palace. As established by Postgate (1974a: 107), the term *iškāru* stands for an entire system by means of which the Assyrian craft production was organised. It refers to both raw materials given out for production and either the finished products or the revenue in silver handed in. In the present case *iškāru* apparently refers to the raw material (fodder) while the final product would be the fed birds whose fattening was in the care of the palace. Judging by the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur who traded in birds in 7th-century Kalhu (see section 8.1.3 Business activities and properties), the palace in return may have outsourced this business to courtiers who acted quite independently from the palace. This would also explain the qualification “*iškāru* of the palace”, indicating that the palace was the central provider and consumer in the context of an *iškāru*-based bird-business.

The *rab ekalli* apparently also had access to stocks of reed. In a letter (CTN 3 2) written to Isseme-ilī by a lower-ranking individual (presumably not active within the sphere of the *rab ekalli*, according to its tone), the palace manager is asked for ten bundles of reed for the *kurḫu*-building, probably to be used for its roof.²⁵ The sender of this letter demands that the palace manager hurry up with this delivery. There are also administrative supplies of textiles attested for the *rab ekalli*. According to a clay *bulla* containing a royal seal impression (SAA 11 67), *kuzippu*-garments²⁶ and other (woollen) textiles (*šipirtu*) were provided by the palace manager Mannu-kī-Adad rather than delivered to this official, as indicated by the wording (l. 2: *ša [T]A* M.*). Since this delivery denotes palace income, Mannu-kī-Adad was manager of another

²⁵ According to Radner (1997a: 274–5) *kurḫu* is probably a Hurrian loanword referring to a kind of workshop.

²⁶ For a discussion of this term see Gaspa 2018: 250–3.

palace rather than the one supplied here (cf. the possible role of the palace manager in Arrapha in ND 2640 below). Apart from supplying or organising textiles, reed, and corn, the *rab ekalli* could also initiate the disbursement of iron, as shown in the letter CTN 3 84, written by Ubru-Nabû who is probably to be identified as the *rab ekalli*. In this letter Ubru-Nabû commands the recipient to hand over 15 minas of iron to a certain Nabû-šarru-ušur and to “the man of Kalhu” (each receiving half of the total).

1.1.8.5.2 Receipt of commodities

We shall now discuss the texts where the palace manager appears as a recipient of commodities in his official capacity. In the badly damaged administrative list ND 2640, dated to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II, two palace managers are mentioned (r. 24–25, 33). One is the palace manager of Arrapha and the other one also seems to be designated by his sphere of activities, but the text is too broken to draw any definite conclusions.²⁷ The latter (or his department) received goods including oxen, sheep, and other commodities, that, judging by other sections of the tablet, could have included oil and textiles (r. 28). The origin of these goods is possibly recorded in the preceding lines where the provincial centres Šibaniba and Talmusu and the governor of Rašappa are mentioned. The phrase *ša KUR*, twice mentioned in this section (ll. 10, 19), suggests that the commodities partly stem from palace estates located in the various provinces (cf. Parker 1961: 40). The palace manager of Arrapha is listed next to the governors of surrounding areas including Arbail and Kilizi.²⁸ He is mentioned here in the same function as the provincial governors and represents the administrative unit Arrapha. Though they must have been connected to the transfer of the aforementioned commodities, it is unclear whether they are also listed as the providers of these goods. It is also unclear whether the preceding phrase “cattle, sheep, oil (and) textiles [...] FROM the palace” (r. 28–9: 'GUD.MEŠ' UDU.MEŠ Ì.ME 'TÚG.MEŠ' [x] TA* É.'GAL') is related to these entries (which would indicate that they are provided with goods redistributed by the palace). However, the palace managers, as representatives of palace institutions receiving and possibly also providing goods, played an essential role in the entire process. They took up the role of provincial governors but also had to cope with provincial authorities (cf. SAA 1 99 discussed above) and therefore it was they who linked the palace administration with the provincial system by the transfer of commodities such as livestock, oil, and textiles (also in order to cover palatial needs).

²⁷ The line following the entry for the palace manager reads *ša URU.ʿx* which possibly forms part of this title (ND 2640 r. 3–4).

²⁸ Note that also the *rab ša-rēši* is mentioned along with the city Sarê (see Mattila 2009: 65–6 for a discussion of the *rab ša-rēši*'s connection with Sarê).

The *rab ekalli* is once again (see SAA 1 99 above) associated with the *ilku*-service. According to the heading of the document ND 3467 *ilku* payments of the grooms had been given to the unnamed palace manager.²⁹ The listed amounts of straw, flour, wine, oil, and salt, particular plants as well as textiles and textile-related products and also silver seem to give these *ilku*-payments in detail, about which it is further said “he receives from me” (l. 14, r. 3: *i-ma-ḥar-ra-an-ni*). The list of contributed items is closed by the statement “all this is for his campaign” (Postgate 1974a: 400, r. 9–10: PAB *an-nu-u ša ina KASKAL-šú*). Unfortunately it is uncertain who is meant by the third person and who is meant by the first person singular (also with regard to the direct address in r. 12–15). According to the heading, the third person singular, presumably also the person referred to as *bēli* in r. 12, might refer to the *rab ekalli* as recipient of the items handed over (cf. Postgate 1974a: 401). The first person singular, on the other hand, seems to be the individual liable to *ilku* who provided these commodities instead of performing military service. Apparently he was wealthy enough to compensate for his physical duty by supplying military provisions, a phenomenon mainly attested in Late Babylonian times (Postgate 1974a: 87, 222). A few chronological indicators seem to divide the listed items into three groups: the first group is said (to have been handed over) “now, during my days” (l. 11: *ú-ma-a ina ŠÀ-bi UD.MEŠ-ia*), which might refer to days of actual *ilku*-service as proposed by Postgate (2007: 22–3). The second statement refers to a monthly supply (ll. 4, 13: *ša ITI-šú*), while one may interpret the sum “for his campaign” as a third category, denoting a unique delivery for the duration of one entire campaign. However, it seems as if the *rab ekalli* received or was intended to receive these payments in order to distribute them to the troops (Postgate 1974a: 87), either chariotry or cavalry. Hence, the palace manager was also concerned with the supply of military troops.³⁰ Though this document at first states a commodity movement towards the *rab ekalli*, the items listed must then have been redistributed by this official. It reveals a key function of the *rab ekalli*, oscillating between the issue of goods and the acceptance of goods within the interaction of different administrative spheres, as is also indicated by the administrative record ND 2640.

According to an account of the consumption (*akiltu*) of linen fibre, madder, and wool possibly dating to the 7th century, the palace manager of the Central

²⁹ Ll. 1–2: *il-ku ša LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša ina ŠÀ-bi LÚ.GAL-É.GAL ana(?) pa-ni-i(?)*. The *ana pa-ni-i* remains obscure. While Postgate read ^m*pa-ni-i*, as a reference to a man named Panī, *pa-ni-i* could stand for the adverb *pani*, meaning “later” (CAD P 81–2 s.v. *pani*), though the vertical wedge remains unsolved then. Alternatively, the phrase might be connected to the recurrent first person singular (see below), with *ana pa-ni-ia*¹ (*ana pāniya*) meaning “to me, before me” but one would expect “from me”, in consideration of the remaining text.

³⁰ For another case where the *rab ekalli* provides a military official with corn see CTN 3 12. Here Isseme-ilī delivers two *emāru* of corn to Nabū-da’inanni, team-commander of the *rab ša-rēši*.

City as well as his colleague from the [Review] Palace received [x talents] of linen fibre (SAA 7 115 i 16–7). Subsequently listed in the section dealing with the distribution of flax, they occur along with various establishments: beginning with palaces and palace sections in Nineveh (Central City, Review Palace, [Review] Palace of the New Corps, “House of the Queen”) and Kalhu (New Palace, Review Palace), the section continues to list cities such as Adian, Našibina, and Kilizi and further includes departments such as the *bēt kāširi* and the *bētu šaniu*. On comparison with the two separate references to the palace of the Central City of Nineveh and the Review Palace of Nineveh (SAA 7 115 i 2–3), both palace managers may have been active in Nineveh (also judging by the archival background of the tablet); at least this must be true for the palace manager of the Central City. For the same reason, it is suggested that they received the flax for their own department rather than for the palace as a whole. Since there is no evidence for the *rab ekalli*’s department serving as a facility for the production of garments and the like, the linen fibre supplied was required for its internal needs. As to the supplies meant for the palaces, however, one would also expect the palace manager to have been concerned with them.

The two items, *iarītu*-textiles and goat hair, appear prominently in the context of the interaction between the palace manager Isseme-ilī and his subordinate Šēp-Issār.³¹ In the legal document CTN 3 6 (623*), it is said that Isseme-ilī is owed 14 *iarītu*-textiles of goat hair by the scribe Šēp-šarri. As stated in line 2, these textiles are stock (*šibtu*) of the previous year (eponym Kanūnāiu, CTN 3 6:1–2),³² so this document, formulated as a legal contract, records an administrative obligation. This is further supported by two letters (CTN 3 4 and 5) sent by Šēp-šarri to his superior (and probably his father) Isseme-ilī, which are concerned with goat hair and the textiles made out of it. In CTN 3 4 Šēp-šarri states that he had delivered two talents of goat hair and 17 *iarītu*-textiles. In CTN 3 5 he informs Isseme-ilī about his planned delivery of *iarītu*-textiles to a certain Marduk-zēru-ibni as well as the delivery of twelve *iarītu*-textiles to Sāsī which had already taken place. Since Šēp-šarri states that both Marduk-zēru-ibni and Isseme-ilī should draw up the accounts (*nikkassū*) of the delivery to Marduk-zēru-ibni (r. 13), the deliveries presumably took place within the administrative sphere in which the palace manager was active.

Apparently the collection was not an easy task since Šēp-šarri complains that there is nobody to be found in the houses where he should collect this material (CTN 3 4). From the legal text as well as from the letters it seems that the goat hair had to be delivered within a period not longer than one year (CTN 3

³¹ For a discussion on *iarītu*-textiles see Gaspa 2018: 282–3.

³² For *šibtu* translated as “stock” see Postgate 1974a: 168, 172; otherwise, it mainly seems to refer to a tax on livestock, see section 12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock.

6:1–2), and thus Šēp-šarri was presumably under pressure because of the time limit. His failure to deliver on time is recorded by the debt note CTN 3 6. Additionally Šēp-šarri was liable for the amount of items delivered, as indicated by the letter CTN 3 5 referring to the procedure for accounting. From the three texts it becomes clear that it was the palace manager who was in overall charge of the procedure for obtaining goat hair or *iarītu*-textiles, while his subordinate had to collect and deliver these items. Whether the collected textiles and the goat hair were meant for the internal use of the department of the palace manager or whether these commodities were also distributed to other palace departments is not made explicit. Since the palace manager was central to the palace administration, however, the latter possibility is more likely (also in view of the aforementioned recipients Marduk-zēru-ibni and Sāsī).

Another record of the transfer of goods administered by the *rab ekalli* is the administrative note CTN 3 77. It is said in this sealed document from after the reign of Assurbanipal that 30 *emāru* of grain “of the last year” (*ša šaddaḳiṣ*) had come in (l. 5: *ētarba*). Right after the seal impression it reads “responsibility of the palace manger” (l. 4: ŠU.2 LÚ.GAL–É.GAL). The receipt of barley happened under the responsibility of the palace manager, who must have also sealed the transaction. Right before the stamp seal a certain Nabû-šumu-lēšir is mentioned (l. 3). He either belonged to the staff of the palace manager and handled the transaction on behalf of his master, or he was the actual deliverer from outside. In either case the present tablet supports the impression that the palace manager was central to the goods received for the supply of the palace.

1.1.8.5.3 Miscellaneous

Perhaps related to the question of the *rab ekalli*'s responsibilities over palatial goods is the letter CTN 3 3 written by Tartīmanni, otherwise known as *rab ekalli*, to an unnamed *rab ekalli* in the reign of Assurbanipal or later. The sender denies that he had taken vessels from the “house of the scribe”, as was stated by a farmhand. In fact, he argues, it was the cutter (*nākisu*) who had taken different sorts of corn, grapes, and other food from the scribe's house. Hence, the *rab ekalli* should make the cutter speak to the scribe. This incident apparently took place within the sphere of responsibilities of the palace manager and thus the *bēt tuṣšarri* may refer to a scribal office within or related to the palace, presumably the Review Palace. The involvement of the palace manager in this case, however, is perhaps also owed to the commodities under discussion.

In the six-column tablet StAT 3 35, found in a private archive from Assur, it is said that the palace manager Tukultī-Aššūr is responsible for a certain Nabû-[...] (ii 12–13). According to the edition this document is an account of corn, as indicated on the reverse of the tablet. However, on the obverse this is less obvious; twenty oxen are mentioned in line ii 22. It remains unclear as to

why various individuals are said to be in charge of other persons. This document might reflect an involvement in the transfer of moveable goods, but it is too broken to reconstruct its background.

1.1.8.5.4 Summary

Most of the transfers described in the preceding sections were carried out in order to cover the needs of the palace especially in terms of foods and clothing. In the course of securing the supply of the palace, the palace manager (or his department) controlled the supply of goods, had authority over and access to the stored goods of the palace, and was concerned with the distribution of goods within the palace sector. Apart from the possibility that the palace benefitted from its own estates, the income of goods administered by the palace manager derived from tax revenues collected in the provinces. In his capacity as supplier of the palace sector, the palace manager seems to have also taken care of the upkeep of businesses in the charge of the palace. Based on his involvement in the supply of fodder and goat hair we gain some idea of the entire circulation of the goods. Such a circulation is also indicated by the document of the *ilku*-payments of the grooms received by the palace manager and it is the very same document which provides us perhaps with the most concrete picture of incoming and outgoing goods with the palace manager's department as the administrative centre where the commodity flows intersected.

1.1.8.6 Military activities

There is no direct evidence for the palace manager being involved in military activities, but this is indicated by the affairs of one of his subordinates. In a Babylonian letter probably dating to the reign of Assurbanipal, Zabāba-erība, a recruit (*raksu*) of the palace manager, is mentioned with a total of 209 men in his charge (SAA 21 136 r. 16'–17'). This contingent is composed of foreign auxiliaries such as Labdudeans or Puqudeans, with some of them (81 persons) described as archers. Apart from the title of Zabāba-erība, it is also the context which shows that this individual was engaged in military arrangements. Though we lack comparable evidence for a military involvement of the *rab ekalli* active in Assyria, he seems to have been concerned with the preparation for campaigns as suggested by the archival remains of the bureau of the palace manager found in the Review Palace at Kalhu. Out of the 27 texts assigned to this department according to their find-spot, there are at least two sealings (CTN 3 21 and 22) recording reviewed royal troops (*šāb šarri*), troops which were usually under the command of provincial governors (see section 6 Military aspects of the royal household). Based on these two sealings, the editors of the texts suggested that the palace manager of the Review Palace was responsible for reviews or had to provide the soldiers with food, lodgings, and equipment

during their stay in the Review Palace (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 8–9). This reconstructed background brings to mind the already discussed document ND 3467 where the *rab ekalli* appears as interim recipient of *ilku*-payments intended for the troops. The two sealings also indicate that the palace manager of the Review Palace was associated with military affairs in particular. Since this palace was built for a military purpose, as clearly expressed in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon in connection with the Review Palace in Nineveh (RINAP 4 1 v 40–43), it is assumed that its manager had particular tasks that distinguished him from his counterparts in other palaces.³³

1.1.9 Subordinates

The following subordinates of the palace manager can be found: scribes, *ša-rēši*s, a recruit and a common servant. The scribes are attested from the reign of Adad-nērāri III on and mainly occur as witnesses in various legal documents. The scribe Rēmāni-Šamaš witnesses two private donations dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 92 r. 8 and 94 r. 15') also witnessed by two *rab ekallis*. The second scribe of a *rab ekalli* witnessing a legal document was Ḫanūnu in the reign of Adad-nērāri III (Edubba 10 6 r. 11–12). The subordinate of the *rab ekalli* Isseme-ilī named Šēp-šarri, discussed above, who dealt with textiles, is also once described as scribe in a legal document (CTN 3 6:4). Although he is not explicitly designated as scribe of the *rab ekalli* in the present text, he is attested as Isseme-ilī's subordinate (as well as probably his son elsewhere, see section 1.1.1 Family). The scribes subordinate to the palace managers can easily be related to the aforementioned tasks of the palace manager, which certainly involved a rather extensive amount of documentation.

There is at least one probable attestation of a *ša-rēši* in the service of a palace manager from the 8th century (CTN 2 223:5–6). He is mentioned in an administrative document listing different amounts of wool (expenditures or deliveries). There is also a tanner and probably a *ša-rēši* of the lady-of-the-house (*bēlat-bēti*) mentioned. As this fragment is somewhat restored, neither the *ša-rēši* of the lady-of-the-house nor the *ša-rēši* of the *rab ekalli* are certain. Nevertheless, the involvement of the office of the *rab ekalli* in transfers of various goods, especially textiles, supports this reading. Otherwise, we find an individual witnessing a slave document (VAT 9582 l.e. 2) who is described as servant of the *rab ekalli*. The only other subordinate of the *rab ekalli* is

³³ The commander-of-fifty mentioned as recipient of barley given by a *rab ekalli* in CTN 3 12 is subordinate to the *rab ša-rēši* who was the commander of the king's troops, see section 6 Military aspects of the royal household. Based on this incident and the two sealings, a military use of the Review Palace of Kalhu also in the 7th century was suggested (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 8–9).

the recruit (*raksu*) Zabāba-erība to whom 81 archers and another 128 men (designation lost) are assigned according to the letter SAA 21 136.

Apart from these subordinates bearing an explicit title, there are three additional individuals whose explicit title is broken or who express their subordinate status vis-à-vis the *rab ekalli* in a different way. The former is true for the witness Balātu, who was a subordinate of the *rab ekalli* according to the preserved designation [*ša*] *rab ekalli*; his specific title is lost (CTN 2 92 r. 11–12). As to the latter case, this is true for a certain Mannî who wrote a letter (CTN 3 2) to his master, the palace manager Isseme-ilī. He calls himself “servant” of the recipient, either because he was actually a subordinate within the department of the *rab ekalli* or because he was lower in rank and active in another palace department. Possibly from the reign of Sennacherib (Dietrich 2003: XXIII), two broken letters written by Ina-tēšî-ēṭir to the king are preserved. He may have been the priest of the Esagil Temple in Babylon as indicated by the headings referring to the well-being of Esagil and Babylon and all temples (Dietrich 2003: XXIII). In one of the two letters Ina-tēšî-ēṭir describes himself as being in the service (*ina pāni uzuzzu*) of the governor and the palace manager (SAA 17 33 r. 7–9), a statement which probably expresses that he is committed to the two main spheres of administration of the Assyrian system, also applied to Babylonia: the palatial sphere and the provincial sphere.³⁴ Thus Ina-tēšî-ēṭir was not a subordinate of the *rab ekalli* in the proper sense.

As suggested by Dalley and Postgate (1984: 8) for the archive of the *rab ekalli* from the Review Palace, it is possible that witnesses repeatedly occurring in legal documents assigned to the archive of the *rab ekalli* were also subordinates of the *rab ekalli*.³⁵ This is probably also the case with the legal document SAAB 9 75 in which the house of the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi is sold to a temple tailor. Several witnessing priests are followed by different palace personnel such as a “son of a female palace servant”, a palace tailor, and gatekeepers of the palace. The section of the witnessing palace personnel is introduced by Bēl-lāmur, deputy of the palace. Since sole “deputies of the palace” are rarely attested (I am only aware of one other, in SAA 6 26 r. 4) and also because of the common habit of shortening the titles of the deputies of governors (to *šaniu*), it is very likely that he was in fact the deputy

³⁴ Assuming that the assignment of this letter to the reign of Sennacherib is correct, this letter was apparently not written at the time (699–694) when Aššūr-nādin-šumi, son of Sennacherib, ruled over Babylonia since one would expect him to have been mentioned in this context.

³⁵ E.g. Nabû-ušalli (Luppert-Barnard, PNA 2/II 900 s.v. Nabû-ušalli 6), who witnesses CTN 3 10, 12, 15 and 16. Note that in CTN 3 12 he witnesses a transaction of the *rab ekalli* Isseme-ilī, and likewise for the *rab ekalli* Emūqi-Aššūr in CTN 3 10. As both are known as palace managers of the Review Palace, he must have remained active in the department of the *rab ekalli* during two different terms of office.

of the palace manager. Representing the highest-ranking witness from among the palace sphere here, he was followed by lower-ranking palace personnel who did not necessarily form part of palace manager's own department but who were ultimately answerable to him on account of his overall responsibility for the palace.

1.1.10 Rank and jurisdiction

We lack substantive information on the relative rank of the *rab ekalli*. There are no hierarchically ordered lists mentioning the *rab ekalli*, on the basis of which one might assess his rank. Furthermore, the amounts of wine given to the palace manager are too rarely attested and too uncertain to draw any conclusions from them. Nevertheless, it is clear that he was lower-ranking than the magnates and the governors. This is reflected by the royal order meant for the palace manager of Arrapha which was communicated via the governor of Arrapha who corresponded with the king directly (SAA 15 9). Also according to the letter SAA 1 99 a royal order was originally passed on to the palace manager (of the Inner City) by the governor of Assur. As for the case of the priest(?) Ina-tēšī-ētir, who stated in the letter SAA 17 33 that he stays in the service of the governor and the *rab ekalli*, the order here is perhaps due to the fact that the *rab ekalli* was of lower rank than the governor. It becomes clear from this letter that while the governor represents the provincial sphere, the *rab ekalli* represents the palatial sphere (on an administrative level). As to the chief scribe who addressed a document (SAA 16 50) to the *rab ekalli*, he was one of the scholars and thus was beyond the sphere of influence of the palace manager. It is likely that he was of higher status, thanks to his expertise, and that this is indicated by the heading of the document which mentions the chief scribe first.³⁶ As with the magnates and the governors, there was only one chief scribe whereas several palace managers existed at a time, a fact which strengthens the idea that the chief scribe enjoyed greater prestige and influence (as long as his work was appreciated by the king), though not necessarily more wealth (see section 10 The king's scholars). As head of the palace administration the palace manager nevertheless enjoyed considerable rank and power over the palace personnel in general and over his own department in particular. His status is also reflected by his relatively frequent appearance as first witness in legal texts.³⁷

Since otherwise the *ša-pān-ekalli* appears as highest official in charge of a palatial establishment, the question arises, how the two officials were related to one another with regard to their rank and also their functions. It is also to be

³⁶ The chief scribe was presumably also higher in rank than the palace scribe (Luukko 2007: 229). Some of the chief scribes were master scholars (*ummānu*) of the king (Luukko 2007: 232).

³⁷ E.g. ND 3422 r. 9; CTN 2 74 r. 3'-4'; SAAB 1 24 r. 2-3.

asked if there was a difference at all, or if the two titles refer to the same office. Though a synonymous use seems not to be supported by the diverging contexts in which the two appear, a detailed comparison is undertaken under section 1.3 The *rab ekalli* versus the *ša-pān-ekalli* below.

1.1.11 Assignment to palaces

The *rab ekalli* was always attached to a specific palace. According to the preserved titles an affiliation is known for the following *rab ekallis* (given in chronological order):

Bāni-Aia-šarru	Adad-nērāri III	Central City of Nineveh (<i>qabsi āli ša Ninua</i>)	Edubba 10 5
Šil-Issār	Shalmaneser IV (and probably later)	New Palace (of Kalhu) (<i>ekallu eššu</i>)	CTN 2 68
Šil-Nergal	Shalmaneser IV	Old Palace (of Kalhu) (<i>ekallu labīrtu</i>)	CTN 2 68
u n n a m e d	Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II	Arrapha	ND 2640
u n n a m e d	Sargon II	Arrapha	SAA 15 9
Nabû-dūru-ušur	Esarhaddon	[...] from the town Maškala (<i>Maskalāiu</i>)	SAA 7 131
Bēl-ana-marruqi	Sennacherib	Inner City (Assur) (Libbāli)	SAAB 9 75
Emūqi-Aššūr	Assurbanipal	Review Palace (<i>ekal māšarti</i>)	CTN 3 10
Isseme-ilī	after Assurbanipal	Review Palace of Kalhu (<i>ekal māšarti ša Kalhu</i>)	CTN 3 12
u n n a m e d	7 th century(?)	Central City (of Nineveh) (<i>qabsi āli</i>)	SAA 7 115
Mannu-kī-Adad	d a t e u n k n o w n	[New Palace?] [<i>ekallu eššu</i>]	SAA 11 67

Table 2: *rab ekallis* associated with a particular palace

According to these titles, *rab ekallis* were employed in the imperial centre, namely in Kalhu (New Palace, Old Palace, Review Palace), Nineveh (Central City), and Assur (Inner City) as well as in the provincial capital Arrapha and probably in the town Maškala (location unknown). Furthermore, we know that a palace manager was active in (the area of) Ekallate (SAA 1 99). The direct evidence for a palace manager of the New Palace and Old Palace of Kalhu is restricted to the reign of Shalmaneser IV, while the *rab ekalli* of the Review Palace of Kalhu is only attested for the reign of Assurbanipal and later. The palace of the Central City in Nineveh had a *rab ekalli* employed in the reign of Shalmaneser IV and probably in the reign of Sargon II, while evidence for a *rab ekalli* of Assur is only available from a legal document dating to the reign

of Sennacherib. We lack this information for most *rab ekallis*. Although a concrete statement of the place of action is only unevenly recorded, one can nevertheless wonder why this official is rarely associated with Nineveh when it was the imperial capital, and whether *rab ekallis* were only appointed to certain palaces. Almost the entire evidence for the *rab ekalli* derives from Kalhu; the title is rarely attested in the sources from Nineveh and Assur. The attestations of the *rab ekalli* are unevenly distributed in terms of the origin of sources and chronologically. While they are frequently attested in the 9th century (Aššurnāṣirpal II) and the 8th century, the majority of attestations derives from the reign of Assurbanipal and later.

The frequency of late attestations is due to the comparatively abundant evidence from Kalhu, especially from the Review Palace. Though it is otherwise not possible to connect a *rab ekalli* with a particular archive, this can be done in the case of the remains from the Review Palace. Dalley and Postgate (1984: 4) ascribe in total 27 texts to the department of the *rab ekalli*.³⁸ Because of the find-spots of the tablets they located this department in rooms SE 1, 8, 10, 11 and NE 2, assuming that these tablets did not fall down from an upper storey. The documents from this archive only date to the reign of Assurbanipal or later. Six palace managers are attested in this archive, of whom only two are actually attested with the title *rab ekalli ša ekal māšarti* (see Table 3).³⁹

Emūqi-Aššūr , palace manager of the Review Palace	650 or post-canonical date
Ubru-Nabû , palace manager	656–634* (Reade: 656–639*)
Nabû-aḥu-ušur , palace manager	638*–634* (Reade: 639*–636*)
Isseme-ilī , palace manager of the Review Palace	625*–620* (Reade: 628*–620*)
Tartimanni , palace manager	626*–615* (Reade: 618*–617*)
Urdu-Issār , palace manager	613* (Reade: 616*)

Table 3: Palace managers mentioned in tablets from the Review Palace at Kalhu

The time spans of activity overlap in the case of Nabû-aḥu-ušur and Ubru-Nabû (according to Parpola's schedule of post-canonical eponyms) who also occur together in the witness lists of the same documents.⁴⁰ Assuming that there was only one *rab ekalli* active in a palace, they must have been employed in different palaces at the same time. Their affiliation to the Review Palace of Kalhu is not only made explicit for Isseme-ilī and Emūqi-Aššūr by their titles

³⁸ The individuals occurring in these texts (CTN 3 1–27), however, are occasionally also attested in other texts from the Review Palace (e.g. Nabû-šēzibanni witnesses CTN 3 17 and 29, with the latter assigned to the “*šakintu* group”). The coherence was also doubted by Dalley and Postgate (1984: 7).

³⁹ Only those attestations are included where the title is given.

⁴⁰ SAA 12 92 r. 5, 6; 93 r. 13, 14 and ND 2314 r. 4, 5.

but is also clear from their preserved records where they appear as creditors or recipients of letters. This is in contrast to the other palace managers who most often appear as witnesses. In the case of Ubru-Nabû and Nabû-aḥu-uṣur, the majority of attestations derives from documents not found in the Review Palace itself but elsewhere in Kalhu. Presumably they were active in another palace and were only incidentally involved in the same transactions as their colleagues from the Review Palace (cf. Dalley and Postgate 1984: 6–7). There are additional *rab ekallis* attested in 7th-century legal records not found in the Review Palace but from elsewhere in Kalhu (North-West Palace, Town Wall houses, Nabû Temple). These include Ilu-paḥḥir (ND 2332:2; 3422 r. 9) and Ilu-lipḥur (ND 3460 r. 7),⁴¹ Nabû-šarru-uṣur (ND 2093 r. 7), Ṭāb-ṣil-šarri (ND 3460 r. 6), Ḥarṣû (SAA 12 96 r. 18) and In[...]i (SAA 12 96 r. 17). According to the preserved dates they were active as palace managers in 642*–634* (Reade: 645*–639*, Ilu-paḥḥir), 629* (Reade: 624*, Nabû-šarru-uṣur) and 621* (Reade: 619*, Ḥarṣû, In[...]i). In view of the dates given in Table 3, overlaps existed and one gets the impression that a substantial number of palace managers was active at the same time or at least over a short period of time. Either this was due to a fluctuation of office holders or it is to be explained by palace managers of other cities staying in Kalhu, or even to the fact that more than one palace manager was appointed to a palace at this time. None of these possibilities can be excluded for the moment, but the appointment of more than one palace manager per palace seems nevertheless fairly unlikely.

1.1.12 Summary

Judging by the available sources, the main task of the palace manager was to oversee and manage the goods which entered and left the palace he was appointed to. The upkeep of this traffic of goods guaranteed the palace's supply of foods, oil, and clothing presumably for final processing and consumption. Another concern of the palace manager in his official capacity was to temporarily release people who seem to have been detained in the palace on account of debts. Since palace managers were not necessarily employed in palaces serving as the main seat of the royal family, they sustained the regular businesses of the individual palace households, regardless of whether the king and his family were present or not. Judging by the palace manager's engagements, the palace household was an economic entity, possibly even aiming at generating economic benefit. This is to be compared with the role of the *šakintu*, the manageress of the queen's household, whose representatives were employed in the various

⁴¹ Although the two names are clearly written differently, Ilu-paḥḥir (^mDINGIR-*paḥ-ru* in ND 2332 and ^mDINGIR-*paḥ¹²-ḥir¹²* in ND 3422) and Ilu-lipḥur (^mDINGIR-*lip-ḥur*) in fact may be identical, also because this type of personal name is uncommon.

different palaces located in the Assyrian heartland and beyond.⁴² As Svärd (2015: 100) observes, the daily business (mainly financial matters) of the scattered units under the nominal guidance of the queen was actually handled by the *šakintu*. As a sort of female counterpart of the palace manager, she was responsible for a sub-unit of the palace administered. The 7th-century archival remnants from the Review Palace in Kalhu give a good impression of the two officials working side-by-side (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 4–10), and a few legal records even testify that they did business with each other (CTN 3 29; ND 2344). The palace manager’s activity in the Review Palace also suggests that he was concerned with preparations for campaigning. Though he is usually not involved in campaigning as such, this seems to have been the case in Babylonia in the reign of Assurbanipal and later. As also suggested for the *ša-pān-ekalli* who was active in Babylonia (see section 1.2.8.7 Activities in Babylonia), this might be due to the specific circumstances of this region at that time and is not the case for the Assyrian heartland.

1.2 The *ša-pān-ekalli* (palace supervisor)

Literally meaning “the one in front of the palace”, the title *ša-pān-ekalli* is translated as “overseer of the palace” (CAD E 62), “Palast-Vorsteher” (AHw 139), “Hofmarschall” or “Obersthofmeister” (Klauber ²1968: 26). It is first attested in sources dating to the Neo-Assyrian period and continued in use during the Neo-Babylonian era. In texts dating to the Neo-Assyrian period the title is written (LÚ/LÚ*).šá-IGI-É.GAL, (LÚ/LÚ*).ša-IGI-É.GAL, (LÚ/LÚ*).šá-IGI-KUR and LÚ*.ša-IGI-KUR. Occasionally the title is written with a syllabic form of *pān(u)*, with the following variants: LÚ*.šá-pa-ni-É.GAL (ABL 270:5), LÚ.šá-pa-ni-É.GAL (SAA 18 162 r. 1), [LÚ*.ša]-pa-an-É.GAL (SAA 15 136:6) and LÚ.šá-pa-an-É.GAL (ABL 521 r. 3, 8; SAA 18 109 r. 3’).⁴³

The first scholar to study the office of *ša-pān-ekalli* in detail was Klauber, who published his studies on Neo-Assyrian officialdom based on the Sargon letters in 1910 (Klauber ²1968: 25–32). Later attempts to describe the basic functions of the *ša-pān-ekalli* were made by Kinnier Wilson (1972: esp. 73–4), who additionally consulted the wine lists for this purpose. Mattila (2009: 162–4) as well as Barjamovic (2011: 40–1) discussed this office on the basis of an updated knowledge of the available sources. For the *ša-pān-ekalli* in Neo-Babylonian times there is a brief description by Jursa (2010: 83–4).

⁴² See Teppo 2007: 258–63. Not surprisingly, their distribution in the Assyrian heartland is partly comparable with the distribution of palace managers.

⁴³ Note also the broken LÚ.ša-pa-[an-x x x] attested in another letter (SAA 1 37 r. 5).

1.2.1 Family

A Neo-Babylonian letter (SAA 21 156) from an unnamed palace(?) supervisor may be addressed to his sons. This palace supervisor asks for a report from a certain Inda[bia] and Uraš[...], who both are qualified by DUMU.MEŠ-[ia] in line 4.⁴⁴ The restored first person singular pronominal suffix *-ya* indicates that the two addressees were the sons of the palace supervisor.⁴⁵ Another indication of a personal relationship is that the two recipients are not only asked to send a report but to inform about their well-being via the messenger sent by the *ša-pān-ekalli*. If this suggestion is correct it would indicate, as one expects anyway, that belonging to a family of an official facilitated access to office.

1.2.2 Appointment and career

There are few references to the appointment of the *ša-pān-ekalli*. Starting chronologically, the first is in a letter of the fort commander Nabû-šumu-iddina who reports to the king (Sargon) that the palace supervisor was successfully appointed (SAA 15 136:6–11). The appointment apparently took place in the city of Lahiru, whose citizens and neighbouring population are said to be delighted about this act of political assurance. The incident presumably happened against the background of the incorporation of the city Lahiru of the land of Iadburu, located in the south, into Assyrian territory by Sargon in 710. This is supported by the fact that Nabû-šumu-iddina also refers to Mušēzib who is mentioned as one of the sheikhs of the conquered land of Iadburu bringing tribute to Sargon.⁴⁶ According to the edition, this palace supervisor was placed in charge ([*ina* IGI]) of a certain Maḥumāiu.⁴⁷ The letter states that the palace supervisor was appointed by the king which, in view of the nature of the office, is not surprising.

Such royal appointments were very likely recorded at the centre, as was presumably done on the badly broken tablet RA 17 194. On the reverse of this administrative text it is documented that [...]jeme was appointed to the office of palace supervisor (*ana ša-pān-ekallūti*), followed by another entry on the

⁴⁴ Waters (PNA 2/I 542 s.v. Indabia) identifies this Indabia with a homonymous commander-of-thousand who was active in the reign of Sargon in Babylonia. This is unlikely, if the letter was indeed drawn up in the reign of Assurbanipal.

⁴⁵ We cannot exclude the possibility that “(my) sons” is just an expression for the addressees being subordinate to the palace supervisor.

⁴⁶ Fuchs 1994: 151, Ann. 298–300. This city is not to be confused with the homonymous city which was already integrated into the Neo-Assyrian territory in the reign of Tiglath-pileser and became provincial capital during the reign of Sargon; see Radner (2006a: 57) and Fuchs (1994: 444).

⁴⁷ He is presumably identical with a Maḥumāiu mentioned in other letters who was active in Babylonia (Åkerman, PNA 2/II 675).

appointment of a chief cook (*ana rab nuḥatimmūti*); the remainder of the reverse is broken. The records on the obverse must have a different background since the professional titles are listed along with numbers and without the abstract marker *-ūtu*.

Another *ša-pān-ekalli* was possibly promoted to provincial governor: Grayson (1993: 35) suggested that the palace(?) supervisor Qurdi-Aššūr, mentioned as land-owner in a land grant (SAA 12 1) dating to 788 BCE, was identical with the homonymous governor of Arzuhina, who was eponym in the year 767. Provided that this is true, the office *ša-pān-ekalli* may have been an ideal starting point for gaining one of the highest positions of state. It also brings to mind Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a who is designated palace manager, city overseer of Kalhu and governor of *Irmeriti* on his stele (see section 1.1.2 Appointment and career).

1.2.3 Property

According to a land grant of Adad-nērāri III, the village (*kapru*) of Qurdi-Aššūr, palace supervisor, adjoined the 1,000 hectares taken from the province of Assur founded as a separate town called Qibīt-Aššūr for the Aššūr Temple (SAA 12 1:6). Like the land granted here, the village of Qurdi-Aššūr may also once have been granted to him; it could then be regarded as a type of remuneration. On the other hand, it remains a possibility that he purchased the land in question and named it after himself. The ownership of an entire village indicates that the palace supervisor was a wealthy man, especially if he bought it himself. Assuming that he carried out his office in the imperial capital Kalhu, this property was distant from his primary sphere of activities, a phenomenon which is especially well attested in the case of properties acquired by military functionaries of the Assyrian court of 7th-century Nineveh.⁴⁸

1.2.4 A storehouse of the *ša-pān-ekalli*

There is evidence that the *ša-pān-ekalli* had a storehouse (*bēt qātē*), possibly forming part of the palace complex in one of the main cities in the Assyrian heartland: in a letter to the king (Sargon) (SAA 1 137), Amar-ili reports that the granary (*bēt karmi*) between the storehouse of the palace supervisor and the city wall fell down during reconstruction works. Judging from the date of the letter, this collapse may have taken place in the old provincial capital Kalhu, while construction works in Dur-Šarrukin were under way. The predominant association of Amar-ili with Arbail (Radner, PNA 1/I 98 s.v. Amar-ili 1), however, suggests that he was informing the king about events in Arbail. After

⁴⁸ Note e.g. the distribution of land bought by the chief chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad (Fales 1987c).

a break in the text, the *bēt qātē* is mentioned twice in a broken passage on the reverse of the letter, possibly in relation to the temporary repository of the grain which had previously been stored in the collapsed granary. According to this letter the palace supervisor had his own storehouse located within the city walls and thus in a secured and exclusive area not far from the royal residence. It may have belonged to his palatial department.

1.2.5 Allocations

The palace supervisor was provided with wine on special occasions and presumably also at regular intervals. He also benefitted from palace income such as audience gifts and tribute, especially in the form of allotments of precious metal and clothing.

1.2.5.1 Wine allocations

A total of twelve 8th-century wine lists from the Review Palace at Kalhu mention an unnamed *ša-pān-ekalli* as recipient of wine rations. In most cases he is said to receive five *qû* but in one case he receives one *šapputu*-bowl.⁴⁹ According to Gentili (2002–5: 92, 103) this amount refers to a total of 25 individuals within the department of the palace supervisor, assuming a standard daily quota of 0.2 *qû* of wine. This quota is, for instance, not compatible with the numerous individuals recorded by name who received 1 *qû* of wine (for instance CTN 1 18:9′–13′), though Gentili (2002–5: 93) assumed that single individuals or officials listed had to share their allocation with the members of their departments. As convincingly argued by Fales (1994: 368–70), the wine lists, furthermore, rather document disbursements of wine on the occasion of a yearly event and not wine rations handed over at shorter intervals or on a daily basis. It is unlikely that the palace supervisor would have been content with 0.2 *qû* of wine, giving the remainder of 4.8 *qû* of wine to his subordinates, when attending festivities held once a year. For the same reason the amount was presumably only meant for a selected group of the palace supervisor's department or even only for himself.⁵⁰ The latter is suggested by the fact that the palace supervisor, his deputy and his scribe each received one *šapputu*-bowl of wine in the course of the redistribution of tribute (SAA 11 36 ii 7–8, 16–7, iii 1–2). As with the entries in the wine lists, this seems to denote a one-time

⁴⁹ CTN 1 2 i 13; 3 ii 8; 4 r. 6; 6 r. 45; 11 r. 16′; 13:14′; 15:3′; 33 ii 3. 1 *šapputu*-bowl: CTN 1 22:8′. For the reading of DUG.ŠAB as *šapputu* rather than *šappu* see Gaspa 2007: 168, fn. 169. The capacity of a *sapputu*-bowl apparently went up to 2 *sūtu* 5 *qû* (StAT 2 233), but lower amounts are attested (see Gaspa 2007: 160–2, Chart 1 on p. 177).

⁵⁰ There is no concrete indication that the *ša-pān-ekalli* had to share his allocation of wine; the *rab ša-rēši* and queen, by contrast, are occasionally mentioned along with their household (*bētu*) here.

allotment. In a section on the reverse of the same undated document this official is listed along with four(?) *šapputu*-bowls of wine which, by contrast, possibly denote the monthly allocation of wine given to him (according to r. i 28: [x x] DUG.ŠAB ITI).

One of the twelve references (CTN 1 33 ii 3) occurs in a wine list drawn up during the substitute king (*šar pūhi*) ritual. Notably, the *ša-pān-ekalli* again receives five *qū* of wine. The amounts for groups of professionals like bakers or confectioners are lower, which is more likely owed to a reduced number of professionals at the disposal of the substitute king than to a reduced unit per person.⁵¹ One wonders if the *šar pūhi* had the personnel of the king, though on a reduced scale, or if other individuals were recruited as his entourage. Most likely experienced men formed the entourage of the substitute king, so that business could be continued as usual. Presumably individuals normally belonging to the entourage of the king were temporarily assigned to the substitute king.⁵²

1.2.5.2 Redistributed palace income

According to a letter written by the crown prince Sennacherib to his father Sargon, the palace supervisor received five minas of silver, three togas (*šaddīnu*), and two linen-garments (TÚG.GADA) of redistributed tribute (*maddattu*) or redistributed audience gifts (*nāmurtu*) or both.⁵³ He is mentioned after a sequence listing the palace, the queen, the crown prince, the grand vizier, the commander-in-chief, the chief bailiff, the second vizier, and the *rab ša-rēši* as recipients of redistributed income. The chamberlain, the palace scribe, the chariot driver, and the “third man (on chariot)” are listed as recipients after the palace supervisor. Precisely the same list of officials is, as far as preserved, given on the obverse, but it breaks off after the entry for the second vizier. Judging by the different amounts and types of allocations preserved on both the obverse and the reverse, we are dealing with two separate donations to the same officials, and thus also the *ša-pān-ekalli* was presumably twice supplied with items such as clothing and silver. Apart from the high value of the commodities received by this official, the clothing handed out to him was presumably a sort of insignia, worn only by an exclusive group of officials and dignitaries. Though the order of the recipients corresponds to their relative rank

⁵¹ See Parpola (1983a: XXVIII) who calculates on the basis of this text that the entourage of the substitute king would have consisted of about 320 persons.

⁵² This assumption is supported by the possible identification of Šil-Issār (CTN 1 33 ii 4) with the homonymous *rab ekalli* of the New Palace attested in a legal record from Kalhu (CTN 2 68 r. 11'–12').

⁵³ SAA 1 34 r. 17'. There is a single reference to a “tribute master” (*rab maddatti*) mentioned in a letter to the king (Tiglath-pileser III), according to which this official was active locally (SAA 19 91 r. 10). For the term *šaddīnu* see Gaspa 2018: 261–3.

(see below), the amounts and types of commodities given out to individuals only partly reflect this scale. The compilation of the individual allocations may have been also determined by factors such as the type of income, and the occasion.

An administrative document dating to the reign of Sargon or later lists precious stones, with a *ša-pān-ekalli* mentioned along with a subtotal (SAA 7 83 i 12'). It is not clear from the tablet whether these items are given to him as a kind of remuneration, or whether these are owed by him, or whether they are items supplied to the king or the palace. The tablet is in poor condition, with neither the heading nor the end preserved. No other officials or individuals can be identified in their entirety. Since the *ša-pān-ekalli* is otherwise not attested as being involved in the handling and administering of precious stones, I would suggest that this tablet records what was given as a kind of remuneration to various officials (as seems, for instance, also to be true for SAA 7 73). As with the previously discussed letter SAA 1 34, these stones might have been redistributed tribute or audience gifts.

The administrative document SAA 11 36 records redistributed tribute according to the heading (l. 1:[x x] 'ma¹-da-te). This undated record mentions the palace supervisor three times, in each case with different items: first, he receives two *qirsu*-donkeys together with six *gulēnu*-garments,⁵⁴ 4 belts (*sāgāte*),⁵⁵ two pairs of saddlebags (*zurzu*),⁵⁶ one sheep, and a bowl of wine (ii 11–17); second, he receives the standard amount of one sheep and a bowl of wine according to another section (iii 1–2); third, he is listed along with four bowls of wine (see above). Since the second reference occurs in a section which otherwise lists supplies to the queen and her cupbearer, the *ša-pān-ekalli* might rather refer to the one attached to the queen instead of the one mentioned earlier (cf. Postgate 1974a: 332). The recurring allotment of one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine seems to have been the standard allotment, also handed over to various other men including the deputy and the scribe of the palace supervisor (see below). The receipt of clothing by the palace supervisor (ii 13–5), by contrast, may be aligned with the requirements of this office;⁵⁷ it also corresponds to his allotment of other types of garments in the aforementioned letter (SAA 1 34).

⁵⁴ These garments seem usually to have been worn by soldiers (Fales and Postgate 1992: XXVIII–XXIX); Postgate in a more recent discussion of this term defines it as “shirt” or “tunic” (Postgate 2001a: 385–6). See also Gaspa 2018: 277–8.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of this term see Postgate 2001a: 384–5; see also p. 474 fn. 1210. It could have been worn as insignia: *Milki-nūrī*, probably to be identified with a *ša-rēši* of the queen, is forced to remove the *sāgu* from his waist, at least figuratively, when he is reprimanded (SAA 16 20).

⁵⁶ According to CAD Z 167 “a double pack sack made of goat hair”, attested already in Old Assyrian texts. See also Gaspa 2018: 341.

⁵⁷ Note e.g. the allocations given to the chief confectioner, who receives almonds and terebinths.

1.2.6 Responsibility for sheep

In an administrative record of sheep from Kalhu dating to the second half of the 8th century, the palace supervisor is listed along with 192 missing or dead (LAL) sheep, out of 752 in total (ND 2414 r. 3). Assuming that these sheep constitute a (fiscal) debt to be discharged at the creditor's—that is, the central government's—domicile, it was the *ša-pān-ekalli* who was responsible for these missing sheep. Like other debtors(?) listed here, mainly including agents (*ša-qurbūti*) but also a team commander, the palace supervisor was probably supplied with a contingent of sheep relating to which the accounts were made in the present document. Whether this was a one-time issue or whether the palace supervisor was regularly in charge of sheep remains unclear.⁵⁸

1.2.7 Legal transactions

The palace supervisor is occasionally involved in legal transactions, both as an active party and as a witness.⁵⁹ As active party he occurs as buyer and seller of slaves: according to a legal document probably dating to the 7th century, the palace(?) supervisor [...]bil buys a slave for half a mina five shekels of silver (SAA 14 347:4). As a seller of a slave another palace supervisor is recorded in an administrative document, either dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon: [...]ia (probably Aplāia), gardener of the *ša-pān-ekalli* Bēl-ilā'ī, is purchased by a certain Ḥašdāia (ND 2605 r. 7–9); further transactions of this kind with officials, such as the village manager of the queen, are recorded on this tablet. A legal text documents a certain Nabû-iqīša as seller of an unknown commodity to the chief of accounts (SAA 6 285:5). As suggested by Baker (PNA 2/II 836 s.v. Nabû-iqīša 3 and 6), Nabû-iqīša may be identical with the homonymous palace(?) supervisor who witnesses a legal document drawn up in 672 BCE (SAA 6 283 r. 19).

Apart from purchases there are also other legal transactions attested in connection with palace supervisors. Bābilāiu, whose title is probably to be restored as *ša-pān-ekalli*, had taken two *emāru* of wine according to a legal document from Nineveh dating to 658.⁶⁰ This transaction is related to the 1 ½ minas of

⁵⁸ The *rab ekalli* is also once recorded in association with sheep (CTN 3 9; see section 1.1.8.4 Releasing people).

⁵⁹ The latter is the case with Nabû-iqīša (SAA 6 283 r. 19 [672]), [...] (SAA 6 328 r. 7 [dl], "(of) the crown prince"), and Tuqūn-Issār (TH 110 r. 7 [613*]). The witnesses Aḥu-[...] (BT 101a r. 11 [710]) and Mannu-kī-Nīnua (SAA 14 129 r. 1' [668]) may have also been palace supervisors, provided that their broken titles refer to the palace supervisor. The witness Šamaš-issē'a (CTN 2 108 r. 11 [728]) is possibly identical with the homonymous palace supervisor mentioned in an administrative record (ND 2803 r. i 13).

⁶⁰ SAA 14 80:4–5. It remains uncertain, however, whether the title *ša-pān-ekalli* serves as a designation for Bābilāiu. Bābilāiu is usually interpreted as the one from whom the wine was taken (Postgate 1970a: 150–1).

silver, accounts (*nikkassū*) of Nabû-rēši-išši, placed at the disposal of Gabbu-ilāni-ēreš, as described at the beginning of this document (SAA 14 80:1–3), though the exact circumstances cannot be established.⁶¹ There is another legal text where the role of the palace supervisor involved remains unclear. In a legal document dating to the reign of Aššūr-nērāri V several plots of land are sold to Gabbu-ana-Aššūr, treasurer of the queen. In the broken *Erwerbkslausel*, a palace supervisor (possibly unnamed) is mentioned (Edubba 10 31:10). His relevance for the transaction is also indicated by his seven servants who witness the legal document. We shall neither ignore here the reference to the (unnamed) *ša-pān-[ekalli]*—provided that the restoration of the title is correct—in another text (which lacks a witness list) recording the loan of 10 (*emāru*) of barley rations (CTN 2 105:5). The department of the palace(?) supervisor is to receive the barley owed by Na’i, son of a female palace servant, to Sāme’.

1.2.8 Functions

1.2.8.1 Master-of-ceremonies

The unique text about the procedure for the royal meal (*naptunu*) contains interesting information on the role of the palace supervisor. Here, the *ša-pān-ekalli* appears as the first person before the king, reporting on news (SAA 20 33 i 5, 6). It is also he who introduces high-ranking officials, namely the palace herald as well as the vizier, to the king (SAA 20 33 i 6–7, 10). After various preparations are made and the dinner is under way, it is again the *ša-pān-ekalli* who orders the cupbearer (*šāqiu*) to fill the heavy beakers (*kāsāti dannāti*) of the princes and the magnates (SAA 20 33 r. i 46’). Unfortunately huge parts of this highly informative text, which appears to be a “Dienstanweisung” (Müller 1937: 84) for the personnel involved, are broken. It is likely that the *ša-pān-ekalli*, acting here as a “Zeremonienmeister” (Müller 1937: 70) or “chief of the palace protocol” (Barjamovic 2011: 40), had additional tasks to perform within this ceremonial meal.

There is another unique text in which the *ša-pān-ekalli* takes on a specific role. In the “Victory and Lion-Hunt Ritual”, describing the ritual killing of an enemy, it is the *ša-pān-ekalli* who, together with his deputy and the “Left House man” of Adad, helps to kill the enemy figuratively with bow and arrow (SAA 20 18:34). Due to its thoroughly ritual character, this procedure does not necessarily reflect the palace supervisor’s real involvement in battles. However, in the 7th century he does seem to have taken over such tasks in Babylonia (see below).

⁶¹ At least, the reference to *nikkassu* suggests an administrative background.

1.2.8.2 Supervising access to the king

As is clear from the aforementioned text about the royal meal, it was incumbent upon the palace supervisor to introduce officials to the king. Apart from this descriptive text, this duty of the palace supervisor is also reflected in everyday documents, such as a letter of Nabû-šumu-iddina, mayor of the Aššur Temple, who petitions the king Esarhaddon for an audience. He asks for an order to be given to the palace supervisors to arrange for him to face the king and vice-versa when “the elders pass by beneath the terrace” (SAA 13 80 r. 14), possibly denoting a particular event which took place in the palace and which caused more than one palace supervisor to be present. Also according to a letter sent by the king (Assurbanipal) to the Nippureans, the palace supervisor effected the accessibility of the king: the king argues that it was the fault of a certain Issār-bāni (position unknown), the *šandabakku*, their prefect (*šaknu*), and the *ša-pān-ekalli* (stationed in Babylonia?) that only one half of the fifteen elders of the Nippureans obtained an audience with him (SAA 21 17:11–r. 7). The palace supervisor of the Succession House, presumably inhabited by the crown prince (see Part III, section 1.1 Types and locations), who is said to refuse to receive the sender of a fragmentary letter (SAA 18 109), supports this impression of the palace supervisor being responsible for access to the king and to other royal family members. For the sake of completeness a broken letter of the temple official Dādī to the king Esarhaddon should be mentioned here too, since it probably also refers to the *ša-pān-ekalli* in connection with access to the king (SAA 13 24), though it is too fragmentary to draw any firm conclusions from it.⁶²

Barjamovic (2011: 40), in his recent article about the Assyrian court, defines the palace supervisor as “introducer to the king” based on his occurrence in the text about the royal meal. The unique position of the palace supervisor led to his greater closeness to the king and his greater authority in the context of the royal meal compared with the palace herald and the great vizier, two high-ranking state officials, who take part in the event. Barjamovic compared this Assyrian official with a Persian court official who was called *chiliarch* (literally, “commander-of-one-thousand) by the Greeks.⁶³ Like the *ša-pān-ekalli*, his role as an important mediator for royal audiences gave the impression that he was higher in rank than was actually the case. The palace supervisor’s prominent role in the matter of palace access led Barjamovic to assume (also in view of the aforementioned letter SAA 21 17) that he resided at the palace and perhaps, in the case of the North-West Palace, had his bureau in the reception

⁶² Dādī was possibly temple cook or chief cook of the temple, see section 12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock.

⁶³ For a discussion see Briant 2002: 258–61.

suite situated north of the main entrance (Barjamovic 2011: 41, Fig. 1). Although this may be a plausible location for the bureau of the palace supervisor, considering also the scribe of the palace supervisor who was concerned with herders selling donkeys in front of the palace entrance (SAA 16 88), it is by no means certain that he actually resided in the palace, though his residence may have been located in the vicinity of the palace. In comparison with the palace manager, who is once concerned with enterers (to the palace?), the palace supervisor is in each case particularly concerned with access to the king. This is what distinguishes him also from other officials and personnel concerned with access to and within the palace including, gatekeepers, entrance supervisors, and lock masters (and the palace manager).

1.2.8.3 Treaty ceremonies

The palace supervisor's association with loyalty treaties is mainly indicated by two letters dating to the reigns of Sargon and Assurbanipal respectively. Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, reports to the king (Sargon) about the treaty tablet (*tuppi adê*) of the vassal Gurdî which was picked up on the first of Ābu (= 5th month) by the adjutant (*rādi qātē*) of the palace supervisor.⁶⁴ Furthermore, it was a messenger of the *ša-pān-ekalli* together with an agent (*ša-qurbūti*) who went with the emissaries (of Gurdî) and let them enter the courtyard of the temple in the Inner City, where the ceremonies took place.⁶⁵ The messenger of the *ša-pān-ekalli* later retrieved the *tuppi adê* to bring it back, as he was ordered to. It is not clear from the letter where the tablets were to be picked up and delivered. Although the loyalty treaties of Esarhaddon were found in the Nabû Temple in Kalhu, the tablets mentioned in the letter seem to have been collected from the governor of Assur and, finally, stored in the palace (in Kalhu). In a Neo-Babylonian letter, presumably written after the revolt of Šamaš-šumuukîn (Frame 1992: 102, fn. 4), it is the palace supervisor himself who appears in connection with treaty ceremonies (SAA 18 162 r. 1). The Babylonian official Kabtīa explains to the king that he missed the treaty (ceremonies) of Babylon because of a royal order to keep watch in Araši. He therefore went to the palace supervisor to join the treaty (ceremonies) in Nippur and Uruk, where they must have also taken place in temples.⁶⁶ These texts illustrate the palace supervisor's engagement in the conclusion of loyalty treaties for both vassals and officials, either in the Assyrian heartland or in Babylonia. There is another reference to a palace supervisor active in Babylonia who was involved in the taking of loyalty

⁶⁴ SAA 1 76. Gurdî may have been king of Kuluman or ruler of Tilgarimmu; both areas are located in Anatolia (Parpola 1987: 70–1; Aro-Valjus, PNA 1/II 431 s.v. Gurdî 1–3).

⁶⁵ These ceremonies only took place on specific days (see SAA 10 6).

⁶⁶ Note the phrase “by your gods” (r. 6: *ina ŠÀ-bi DINGIR.MEŠ-ka*) and the aforementioned letter SAA 1 76; cf. Cole 1996: 77, fn. 55.

oaths: Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, reports to the king (Assurbanipal) that men from the Sealand were disposed to take loyalty oaths in order to join Bēl-ibni and the palace supervisor on their way to the Sealand (ABL 521 r. 7–12).

1.2.8.4 Overseeing building materials

There is a single reference to a palace supervisor involved in the procurement of building materials: in a letter to Sargon (SAA 5 295) the sender whose name is lost reports that he is dealing with beams of fir tree (*meḥru*), which are—in comparison with those of cedars (*erēnu*)—too thin. He asks the king whether they should be used anyway and, if so, whether they should be cut in two or not. The sender assures the king that he will do as he orders and will give the beams to the palace supervisor in order to be measured (SAA 5 295:11–12). The construction works in question were presumably related to a palatial establishment to which the *ša-pān-ekalli* was appointed. It was not the process of taking measurements itself but the palace supervisor’s association with and authority over the establishment in question, which caused him to be the contact person in the matter of measuring beams. A similar case is also known for the palace manager who had to take care of the construction of a house of the queen in Ekallate (SAA 1 99, see section 1.1.8.3 Providing labour).

1.2.8.5 Covering a chariot with silver

In the 8th century an unnamed palace supervisor ordered the governor of Kalhu in a letter to arrange for the covering of the wheels of the rickshaw (*ša-šadādi*) with silver (CTN 2 191). This type of carriage was used in the course of ceremonies and for representation, especially by the king,⁶⁷ and we even find the title *ša-pān-ša-šadādi* in a few Neo-Assyrian texts,⁶⁸ a designation which seems to refer to the “Rikschazieher” rather than an official in charge of this vehicle.⁶⁹ The palace supervisor, writing as the representative of the palace, gave this order in fulfilment of the needs of the king. It is not the covering of the chariot itself that fell under the responsibility of the palace supervisor, but the maintenance and support of his royal master.

⁶⁷ CAD Š/I 32; for the Neo-Assyrian period in particular see Radner 1999a: 137–8 (also taking into account the Assyrian reliefs). She stresses that the use of a rickshaw was restricted to the king.

⁶⁸ Evidence: Šumma-ussēzib and Bēl-Ingal-šēzib are subsequently listed in a witness list (StAT 1 34 r. 15, 16 [tablet] and StAT 1 34* r. 6', 7' [envelope] = StAT 2 237; 633*). Another reference to this office is found in an administrative record about linen fibre and wool consumption according to which this official receives [x] minas of flax (SAA 7 115 r. ii 10).

⁶⁹ Though this is not supported by the title of the type *ša-pān-x*, the interpretation “Rikschazieher” was convincingly argued by Radner (1999a: 138).

1.2.8.6 Dealing with deportees

Apart from the tasks described so far, where the palace supervisor mainly appears in association with the main palace in the imperial centre, the following aspects of his office concern his activities in the provinces, which are quite different from his other functions. They involve mainly two spheres, the management of deportees, and activities in Babylonia (discussed in the subsequent section).

Concerning the former there is first an administrative document from Kalhu, presumably dating to the reign of Sargon, according to which the palace supervisor Šamaš-issē'a together with the tracker Šamaš-aḫu-iddina received twenty *emāru* of grain (or a cereal product) for the deportees of Bit-Daltâ for two days (ND 2803 r. i 13). Moreover, three texts are preserved from the palace supervisor Aššūr-balti-niše that clearly demonstrate his concern with captives and deportees. The letter SAA 1 257, addressed to the king (Sargon), reports that not only did Aššūr-balti-niše check and receive 277 persons from the sender, but that the sender himself, another palace(?) supervisor (name lost), checked and received 160 “healthy persons” from the city of Si’immê.⁷⁰ According to the king’s order he should bring them to Marqasa, provincial capital in the area of Gurgum, to have them fed. He does not seem to be convinced about this royal order and wonders about the amounts of grain and oil to be given to the deportees.⁷¹ The letter SAA 5 242 contains a message to Sargon written by Aššūr-balti-niše himself. He reports on captives whom he has brought to the place as ordered. Together with a deputy (governor) he placed them in the region between Kar-Šamaš and Tahal.⁷² Additionally he informs the king that the captives have received food for a whole month. In a third reference, Aššūr-balti-niše is mentioned in a letter of Sargon written to a certain Nabû-dūru-ušur (SAA 1 10 r. 1). The king informs the recipient that he sent Aššūr-balti-niše so that he should keep the Uartian women in Arrapha until the king arrives. Apart from the activities of Aššūr-balti-niše there is the palace supervisor [...] same who is associated with captives too. In the fragmentarily preserved letter SAA 1 259, sent to the king, he is said to bring captives to the unknown sender of the letter, as the sender had been told by the king. Another possible hint as to the *ša-pān-ekalli*’s task of administering captives was assumed for the badly broken administrative document SAA 7 20 (Mattila 2009: 162), where the

⁷⁰ Provincial capital situated ca. 50 km east of Našibina.

⁷¹ According to Fales the sender refers to 3 *sūtu* of stored grain and one *šapputu*-bowl of sesame oil in ll. 15–6. The said amount of grain may refer to a monthly ration per person which corresponds to a daily ration of one *qû*, the “minimal measure of grain rations” (compared to a usual daily grain ration of two *qû*); see Fales 1990a: 28–30.

⁷² Kar-Šamaš is located on the eastern bank of the Tigris, north of the mouth of the river Radanu. The location of Tahal is unknown.

ša-pān-ekalli is mentioned on the otherwise broken obverse and various professions on the reverse: “4 gardeners, 3 brewers, (1) tailor, 2 carpenters, (1) “farm-hand”, (1) gate-guard, and (1) musician”. As the *ša-pān-ekalli* doesn’t appear in the heading but is apparently listed like the professional groups on the reverse, this is less plausible. It might have been rather a palace internal record of officials and employees.

The attestations of the palace supervisor engaged in the movement, lodging and provisioning of captives and deportees are limited to the reign of Sargon (owing to the uneven distribution of the sources). For this time span it is mainly the evidence of Aššūr-balti-niše that shows that the palace supervisor took care of deported people in the area of Arrapha as well as in and around Kar-Šamaš situated further south; his colleague(?), author of the letter SAA 1 257, was active in the more distant area of Gurgum in the west.

1.2.8.7 Activities in Babylonia

The second sphere in which the *ša-pān-ekalli* is attested with regard to tasks outside of the palace is Babylonia. Judging by Neo-Babylonian letters dating to the reign of Assurbanipal, the *ša-pān-ekalli* was a central figure in Assyrian-Babylonian relations at that time.

In a letter (SAA 18 202) of the *šandabakku*, that is the governor of Nippur,⁷³ to the king (Assurbanipal) it is said that when the *ša-pān-ekalli* together with the magnates went to Chaldea in the preceding year, brothers of the Elamite king tried to persuade their sovereign to try to remove Assyrian control over Chaldea. Though he did not listen to them last year, he is now preparing for campaign.⁷⁴ Concerning the *ša-pān-ekalli*, it is noteworthy that he was on mission with the LÚ.GAL.MEŠ, the highest officials of state, and thus was involved in the most important state affairs. Assuming that the palace supervisor in question was employed in Babylonia (presumably as a subordinate of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn), this may have given rise to his leading role here since he would have been familiar with Babylonian territory. Further evidence for the association of the palace supervisor in Babylonia with the magnates can be found in the Babylonian letter SAA 18 153, written by a certain Nergal-ibni to Assurbanipal. If the restoration in line 13 is correct, it is the palace supervisor together with the magnates who was incited by a haruspex against the sender. Otherwise, Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, reports to the king

⁷³ This may have been Nabû-šumu-ēreš, who later became disloyal to Assyria (Cole 1996: 54, fn. 67).

⁷⁴ For further details see Frame 1992: 88–9, fn. 123; Reynolds 2003: XXXIII. The letter was presumably drawn up prior to the invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite king Urtaku in 664, thus at a time when Šamaš-šumu-ukīn ruled over Babylonia; therefore it is remarkable that he is not mentioned here.

(Assurbanipal) that the palace supervisor has arrived in Kissik (about 15 km south-east of Eridu) on the 16th day. If restored correctly, he was accompanied by troops (*emūqu*), to which numerous men from the Sealand were added after they had sworn loyalty oaths on the 17th day. Bēl-ibni further states that they set out to the Sealand together on the 18th day.⁷⁵ Additional evidence, underlining the connections of the palace supervisor to the Sealand, is provided by another letter (CT 54 507) probably written by Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk, to the king (Assurbanipal): the sender suggests sending his messenger together with that of the *ša-pān-ekalli* to the Sealand.⁷⁶ In another letter (ABL 270) to the king (Assurbanipal) Nabû-ušabši mentions presumably the same palace supervisor, here called by name, Aḫu-ilā'ī. However, the letter is too broken to gain any further information about the palace supervisor Aḫu-ilā'ī.

From the reign of Esarhaddon we learn that in the house of Ṭāb-šil-šarri, palace supervisor of the crown prince (of Babylon), a conspiracy took place (SAA 18 101 r. 6–9). Also referring to criminal affairs is the letter ABL 1387 from Babylonia (presumably from Uruk) sent to the king (Assurbanipal). The unknown sender informs the king that a group of three men together with the *rab banūti* of Uruk tried to persuade him to kill the *ša-pān-ekalli*. They offered him two minas of gold and promised to lock the city gate and to turn their faces towards Assyria.⁷⁷ According to Frame (1992: 158) the palace supervisor in question might have been sent by Šamaš-šumu-ukīn to gain support from Uruk, governed by the aforementioned Nabû-ušabši.

The references to the *ša-pān-ekalli* discussed in this section all deal with an official who was active in Babylonia during the reign of Assurbanipal (and slightly earlier). The letters demonstrate Assyria's concern to strengthen its power and establish peace in Babylonia, particularly in its south, and it is apparently the palace supervisor who played a central role in this matter. Palace supervisors specifically active in Babylonia are known since the reign of Sargon, when a palace supervisor was appointed to the city of Lahiru (SAA 15 136).⁷⁸ Otherwise, palace supervisors active in Babylonia are especially known from the reign of Sennacherib, when his son Aššūr-nādin-šumi reigned over Babylon from 699 to 694, and later. For this reign we learn of a palace supervisor from a legal document recorded on a *kudurru*. This palace official appears as first witness followed by further officials known from the Assyrian court, including the chamberlain and the palace scribe. Two similar documents also date from

⁷⁵ ABL 521 r. 7–13. The letter was drawn up around the year 649 (Baker, PNA 1/II 308 s.v. Bēl-ibni 18.c).

⁷⁶ CT 54 507:8–9. This letter was drawn up during the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn revolt (Frame 1992: 160–1).

⁷⁷ See on this letter Dietrich 1970: 179, no. 105 and Frame 1992: 158, 280.

⁷⁸ Note also the letter SAA 21 156 sent by a *ša-pān-ekalli* which might or might not date to the reign of Sargon; see p. 74 fn. 44.

the time of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn (drawn up before the revolt), where the witness list mentions the *ša-pān-ekalli* after the vizier, the governor, and the *rab ša-rēši*.⁷⁹ The *ša-pān-ekalli* mentioned in these documents was in the service of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, as was possibly the case with the *ša-pān-ekalli* attested in the aforementioned letters predating the revolt of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. During the war, however, the *ša-pān-ekalli* active in Babylonia mainly features as a pro-Assyrian official in a leading position. In any case, the dominant presence of the palace supervisor in 7th-century Babylonia might have been impelled by the appointment of such an official in the court of the Assyrian junior king residing in Babylon, though we can trace its predecessors already in the reign of Sargon. The specific situation in Babylonia, as well as the specific relationship between Assyria and Babylonia, involving special claims on the latter by the Assyrian kings, brought about a difference in the tasks of the palace supervisor active in Babylonia compared with his counterpart in Assyria who, however, was also involved in important political procedures, especially the taking of loyalty oaths. Remarkably, there is no evidence for the palace supervisor being engaged in military activities or the like in the Neo-Babylonian empire. At that time he was responsible for levies and compulsory service, mainly related to the construction work on palaces (Jursa 2010: 83–4).

1.2.8.8 A post-canonical eponym

The palace supervisor Bēl-aḫu-uṣur was appointed as eponym for the year 616* (or 621*). This corresponds to the appointment as eponym of other palace officials, including the palace scribe and the chamberlain, only in the post-canonical era and implies an enhancement in rank in the late 7th century (see below).

1.2.9 Subordinates

Several subordinates are attested for the palace supervisor. As with other officials, we may note his deputy and his scribe as his two main employees who, together with his messenger, his *rādi qātē*, and presumably—he is only attested as a witness—his dispatch rider, helped him take care of his responsibilities. Furthermore, he was possibly assisted in the palace by the watchmen and staff-bearers. The palace supervisor's gardener, tailor(s), and musician, by contrast, do not seem to be related to his official tasks but rather served within his personal household, for which he even had a household overseer (*ša-muḥḫi-bēti*) at hand. A chariot fighter (*mār damqi*) was in the service of the palace supervisor of the crown prince (ND 2325:1–2).

⁷⁹ See Frame 1992: 232–5. The texts dating to the time of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn are: VA 3614 and BM 87220, while the *kudurrū* from the reign of Aššūr-nādin-šumi is Ashmolean 1933.1101.

1.2.9.1 Deputy

There are three attestations of deputies of the *ša-pān-ekalli*. In the description of the “Victory and Lion-Hunt Ritual” he acts by the side of his master (SAA 20 18:35). In an administrative document a *ša-pān-ekalli šaniu* is listed on the obverse, after a team commander and before a cohort commander (RA 17 194:4’), while on the reverse it is recorded that someone (no personal name given) was appointed to the office of a palace supervisor. Unfortunately the purpose or background of the obverse of this list remains unclear. According to the administrative list of tribute allotments mentioning the *ša-pān-ekalli*, there is also his deputy receiving allotments (SAA 11 36 ii 8). The deputy palace supervisor receives, apart from one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine, a wagon (*tallaktu*), described as *a-na ma-šar²-te* (“for the review[?]”).⁸⁰ Assuming that this wagon was intended for at least one of his tasks,⁸¹ he must have been responsible for the review of some commodity or people. Interestingly, the *rab tallakti* (ii 10: GAL–GIŠ.tal-lak-te) is mentioned just after this entry for the *ša-pān-ekalli šaniu*. Translated as “wagon master”, this is the only known attestation of this particular official.⁸² He is the recipient of one *šapputu*-bowl of wine and it stands to reason that he was connected with the wagon given to the deputy.

1.2.9.2 Scribe

The deputy and the scribe of the palace supervisor were allotted with the standard amount of one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine in the course of the redistribution of tribute (SAA 11 36 ii 18). Otherwise, we learn of Nabû-zēru-ušur, scribe of the palace supervisor, who wrote a letter (SAA 16 88) to the king (Esarhaddon) concerning shepherds who used to sell covered donkey mares in front of the palace entrance. According to what they say, they stopped doing it since the governor (of Nineveh) barred them from it. The shepherds will only continue selling their donkey mares when an agent (*ša-qurbūti*) comes to place them in front of the palace entrance again. Part of the letter is broken, but Nabû-zēru-ušur presumably asked the king to send an agent by order of his master, the palace supervisor. Kabtî, who introduces himself as “scribe who the king has appointed in the house of the palace supervisor”, reports to the king (Esarhaddon) that “the ordinances of the palace are dissolved and

⁸⁰ Postgate (1974a: 128, 329) reads *ma-da-te* and thus interprets it as “tribute-chariot”.

⁸¹ This is also the case with other officials listed here; e.g. the chief confectioner receives terebinths and almonds (cf. Fales and Postgate 1995: XX).

⁸² CAD T 99 s.v. *tallaktu* 4 and *rab tallakte*.

neglected”⁸³ and that no one listens to him, though he behaved as he should and “kept the watch of the king” since he was appointed (SAA 16 98 r. 7’–10’). This scribe might be identical with the homonymous scribe and servant of Aššūr-da’-in-aplu mentioned in the broken letter SAA 16 99, probably written to the king (Esarhaddon), where he is said to have given an Aramaic letter to the sender. This identification is even more plausible as a similar phrase corresponding to the one in SAA 16 98 appears again in the mouth of the unknown sender: “I have heard that all the ordinances which were dissolved have become stable again.”⁸⁴ Moreover, as it is Kabtī who informs the sender about a certain offender’s son going in and out of the palace (unchallenged), it is quite certain that the individual referred to in SAA 16 99 was engaged in the palace, as was the case with Kabtī in SAA 16 98. However, the entire issue is complicated by the qualification of Aššūr-da’-in-aplu as son of Salmānu-ašarēd who was identified with Shalmaneser III or, alternatively, with Shalmaneser V.⁸⁵ The latter is preferable judging by the involvement of Kabtī, but it is questionable whether Aššūr-da’-in-aplu is to be identified as the palace supervisor, and thus Kabtī may have changed office.⁸⁶

1.2.9.3 Messengers and an aide

Apart from a deputy and scribes, messengers, an adjutant(?), and possibly a dispatch rider were active in the service of the palace supervisor. In the letter CT 54 507, probably written by Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk, to the king (Assurbanipal), the sender suggests sending his messenger together with that of the *ša-pān-ekalli* to the Sealand (CT 54 507:9). This is preceded by a visit of the elders of the Sealand, out of whom five persons were sent to the king. According to the letter SAA 1 76 it was a *mār šipri* of the palace supervisor together with an agent (*ša-qurbūti*) who brought the emissaries of a certain Gurdī to the *adê*-ceremonies in the temple (SAA 1 76 r. 4, 8). Not only was the messenger of the palace supervisor involved in the transfer of the treaty tablet of Gurdī but also his adjutant (*rādi qātē*), who picked it up, possibly from the governor of Assur (SAA 1 76:10–11). Notably this is the only attestation of this title, which can be compared to those formed with one of its two elements: first, those with *rādu* such as *rādi kibsi*, *rādi gammali*, *rādi imāri* or

⁸³ SAA 16 98 r. 4’–6’: *ri-ik-sa-a-ni ša É.GAL pa-tu-ru ra-am-mu-u me-me-ni la-a i-šam-man-ni*. Compare the translation of Deller (1961: 352): “die Verbindungen zum Palast sind gelöst (und) aufgelassen”.

⁸⁴ SAA 16 99:2’–4’: *as-se-me ri-i[k-s]a-t[i] am-mar ša pa-aṭ-ru-u-ni i-sa-ḥu-ru i-ku-u-nu*; cf. Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XLV.

⁸⁵ Parpola 1983a: 256, no. 258; cf. Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XLV.

⁸⁶ Other possible references to the same Kabtī are found in a broken passage of a letter (SAA 10 328:19) and in a witness list (SAA 6 265 r. 7, [679], specified as scribe).

rādi arḫi; and second, those with *qātu*, such as *mār qātē* (cf. Parpola 1987: 71). According to these associations the *rādi qātē* may have been a “riding adjutant”; thus, a mobile assistant active on behalf of the palace supervisor, which would also correspond to his activity, as described in the letter SAA 1 76. Though the dispatch rider (*kallāp šipirti*) is only attested as a witness (Edubba 10 31 r. 26, 29), this type of profession also suggests an association with the palace supervisor’s official concerns.

1.2.9.4 Staff-bearers and watchmen

In two queries to the sun-god Šamaš (SAA 4 142, 144) from the reign of Esarhaddon it is asked if anyone will make a rebellion against the king or against the crown prince Assurbanipal. With the aim of covering each possible source of danger, both texts enumerate different types of court officials, court personnel, and military functionaries as possible agitators of rebellion against the Assyrian crown. The focus lies on the potential dangers within the Neo-Assyrian empire, especially within the palace; enemies from beyond the Assyrian border are not envisaged.⁸⁷ As is the case with the other references, the *ša-pān-ekalli* is mentioned in the plural. In both texts he precedes staff bearers (*ša-ḫuṭāri*) and watchmen (*ša-maṣṣarti*). The fact that the section is introduced and closed with *lū* (may it be.../ or...), though this is missing within the section, indicates that these three types of functionaries were related. Judging by the functions of the palace supervisor in the palace it is plausible that the staff-bearers and watchmen were counted among his permanent staff, although there is no further evidence to confirm this suggestion.

1.2.9.5 Military functionaries

Qurdi-Issār, who sold his female slave for one mina of silver in 629* BCE, is designated “chariot fighter of the palace supervisor of the crown prince” (ND 2325:1–2). Such a position is not surprising, judging by the palace supervisor’s engagements beyond the palace walls and his association with military operations, especially in the 7th century (see above). Since the palace supervisor seems to have gained in importance towards the end of the Assyrian empire, he may have had a chariot at his disposal for prestige and representation.

⁸⁷ Following the murder of Sennacherib in 681 and the conspiracy against Esarhaddon among the innermost circles, these precautionary measures are not surprising (see e.g. Radner 2003c).

1.2.9.6 Household staff

In order to maintain his personal household, the palace supervisor had a household overseer (*ša-muḥḥi-bēti*) in his service; he is attested as a witness in a legal document dating to the reign of Sennacherib (CTN 2 96 r. 11–2). Otherwise, we learn of one or two tailors of the palace supervisor, also attested as witnesses, in a legal text from the reign of Aššūr-dān III (CTN 2 4 r. 12–4). As recorded in an administrative document dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II, [...]ia (probably Aplāia), gardener of the *ša-pān-ekalli* Bēl-ilāī, is purchased by a certain Ḥašdāia (ND 2605 r. 7–9). According to a section of an administrative record accounting for dead (or old) donkeys given out by the palace administration Meia', the musician of the *ša-pān-ekalli*, receives one out of 202 animals.⁸⁸ The background to these entries remains unclear.

1.2.9.7 Miscellaneous

There are additional subordinates of the palace supervisor attested, but either their title is lost or they are simply defined as *urdus*. It remains unclear whether they worked in his private household or in his office, or both. According to a conveyance document dating to 669 BCE Mukīn-Aššūr, [x] of the palace supervisor, sells his servant, the baker Nabû-bēlu-ušur, for one mina of silver to Rēmanni-Adad, chief chariot driver (SAA 6 305:4–5). This document is witnessed by various military functionaries associated with the buyer. It has a duplicate (SAA 6 306) and at least SAA 6 305 bears an impression of what one suspects to be Mukīn-Aššūr's cylinder seal. It seems as if Mukīn-Assūr acted in his own interest and not that of his master. Various individuals simply described as *urdu* (servant) of the palace supervisor are attested as witnesses in documents dating to 754 and 736 BCE (Edubba 10 31 r. 25, 27–9; 36 r. 13'–4') and in a document presumably dated to the 7th century.⁸⁹

1.2.10 Rank and jurisdiction

As becomes clear from the functions of the *ša-pān-ekalli* as well as from the literal meaning of his title the palace supervisor was the highest official of the palace. He was higher-ranking than other palace personnel such as the

⁸⁸ ND 2451:21; for a transliteration, translation and discussion of the text see Postgate (1974a: 376–9). The messenger (A-KIN) mentioned along with the same entry may have received the donkey at the central place of issue in Meia''s stead, as his delegate, cf. section 12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock.

⁸⁹ SAA 14 215 r. 3–4. Note also a broken reference to a subordinate of the palace supervisor in an administrative record (SAA 11 139:2') and the sender of a letter to the palace supervisor who introduces himself as his servant; the narrative part of the letter is broken (CT 53 174:3). Aššūr-mātu-taqqīn, [...] of the palace supervisor of the queen, witnesses a dedication to Nabû (SAA 12 96 l.e. 3).

gatekeepers, entrance supervisors or the chamberlain. On the other hand, he was clearly lower in rank than the magnates, including the governors. This is also demonstrated in the letter SAA 1 34 of (the crown prince) Sennacherib to the king (Sargon) listing recipients of redistributed tribute and audience gifts. The sequence of recipients given twice in this letter (as far as preserved) is as follows: palace, queen, crown prince, grand vizier, commander-in-chief, chief bailiff, second vizier, *rab ša-rēši*, palace supervisor, overseer of the inner quarters, palace scribe, chariot driver, and “third man (on chariot)”. Also with the wine lists similar observations can be made. Based on a comparison of the amounts of wine given out, one can determine the relative ranking of the *ša-pān-ekalli*. Whereas the palace supervisor usually receives 5 *qû*, the (household of the) *rab ša-rēši* is normally listed along with 1 *sūtu* (i.e. 10 *qû*) and the (household of the) queen along with 3 *sūtu* (i.e. 30 *qû*) of wine. By contrast, the chamberlain receives 2 *qû* (CTN 1 18 r. 14) and the standard amount for other people at court usually is 1 *qû*.⁹⁰ Also the arrangement of the heading of the letter CTN 2 191 seems to take account of the fact that the governors were higher in rank than the palace supervisor. The palace supervisor, who sent the letter, introduces himself only after naming the addressee, the governor (of Kalhu). It is possibly because both administrative officials were active in different spheres and thus were not directly interrelated that the palace supervisor uses the imperative towards the governor. Furthermore, this was probably because of the role of the palace supervisor as “representative of the royal establishments” *par excellence* (Postgate 1973: 23), as with the text about the royal meal where the palace supervisor features as the predominant figure among the magnates.

A few letters show how the relative rank of the palace supervisor and his primary authority among the palace manifest themselves in actual situations. First, there is the broken letter SAA 13 185—due to its stylistic parallels, assigned to Šumu-iddina who was active in Esagil in Babylon (Cole and Machinist 1998: 153)—probably indicating the influence and power of the *ša-pān-ekalli* at court. The sender explains to the king that “the whole palace has turned against” him and petitions the king to help him out. While the sender continues to beseech the king, he also mentions the *ša-pān-ekalli* in a broken passage. He may have referred to this official in view of his influence at court and in the hope that he will relieve his misery. The limits of the *ša-pān-ekalli*’s authority and influence are denoted in a letter (SAA 16 88) of [Nabû]-zēru-ušur, scribe of the *ša-pān-ekalli*, written to the king (Esarhaddon). [Nabû]-zēru-ušur reports that the shepherds, who used to sell their donkeys in front of the palace entrance, were driven off by the governor (of Nineveh) with the words “Should I (henceforth) see you in the palace, I shall crush your skulls.” (ll. 12–14: *ina ŠÀ É.GAL a-ta-mar-ku-nu gul-gu-lat-ku-nu ú-mar-ra-qa*).

⁹⁰ Higher amounts were given out to groups of professionals, indicated by the plural.

The shepherds are said to have asked for an agent (*ša-qurbūti*) who may return them to their place in front of the palace. On the one hand, this indicates that the palace supervisor's authority was limited to the area within the palace walls, while outside, even at the entrance, it was already possible for the governor to give orders. On the other hand, such a clearcut limit of jurisdiction did not exist and it was rather out of order of the governor to decide on what is going on in front of the palace entrance and even in the palace (*ina libbi ekalli*). It may be because of the lower rank of the palace supervisor that, although the governor exceeded his authority, the palace supervisor was not able to put his foot down.

Not only within the walls of the palace in the imperial centre was the palace supervisor an important official, as is clear in view of his provincial engagements. Though the political dimensions of this office mainly emerge from the palace supervisor's engagement in Babylonia, they are also vividly demonstrated in the letter (SAA 15 136) from the fort commander Nabû-šumu-iddina to the king (Sargon) about the situation in Lahiru, which was presumably only just incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian territory (see above): while reporting on the king's successful appointment of a *ša-pān-ekalli*, it is further stated that "Lahiru, the towns [bey]ond and those around them" are satisfied (by this appointment), saying: "Now we know [th]at [w]e are servants of the king, our lord." (SAA 15 136:6–11). Judging by this statement of the inhabitants, the appointment of a palace supervisor was regarded as a sign of political stabilisation and pacification under the Assyrian crown. Furthermore, the appointment of a *ša-pān-ekalli* implies the existence of a palace. Assuming that this is true,⁹¹ it must have meant a great honour for the local population and the region.

It seems that the power and influence of the palace supervisor grew towards the end of the empire. In the 7th century, but especially in the reign of Assurbanipal and later, this rise in importance becomes clear through the engagement of the palace supervisor in Babylonia, where he occasionally appears in cooperation with the magnates. This development may have caused changes in the hierarchy, as is also reflected by the appointment of the palace supervisor Bēl-aḥu-ušur as eponym for the year 616* (or 621* according to Reade). This honorific office or dedication, originally reserved for the king and his magnates (including governors), was also assigned to other palace officials such as the palace scribe in the 7th century. Apart from Babylonian affairs, the appointment of Bēl-aḥu-ušur as eponym presumably also reflects the increasing focus of the Assyrian king on palace life, accompanied by an upgrade in the rank of palace officials, as argued by Mattila (2009: 165–6).

⁹¹ Since even the precise location of the city itself is unknown, we do not have any evidence for this.

The influence and importance of the *ša-pān-ekalli*, especially the one active in the centre, occasionally even gave rise to worry for the crown. Since he maintained direct contact to the king and was a person of trust for the king, his loyalty was of great importance. Especially in the 7th century, when we get the impression that the Assyrian king paid more attention to potential dangers for the crown, it was also the palace supervisor whose loyalty was questioned. In the two queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 142, 144) concerning a possible rebellion against the king Esarhaddon or his son Assurbanipal the *ša-pān-ekalli* is enumerated as a possible transgressor. One could assume a similar background for the letter SAA 10 116 sent to the king (Esarhaddon) by the exorcist Bēl-ušēzib. The author tells the king at the very end of the letter that he has sent four tablets to the king, probably “concerning” (*ina* UGU) the *ša-pān-ekalli*, just in case the king has not heard them yet. Provided that the restoration *ina muḥḥi* is correct,⁹² the tablets were about the *ša-pān-ekalli*, and since a scholar has sent the tablets, these texts were very likely scholarly texts. The tablets in question might have been omens or the like concerning the *ša-pān-ekalli* and his behaviour. There were concrete reasons for such an investigation, as is clear from the broken Babylonian letter in which Esarhaddon was informed about a conspiracy taking place in the house of Nabû-ēṭir, probably the son of the well known conspirator Ērišu, and in the house of Ṭāb-ṣil-šarri, palace supervisor of the crown prince, apparently of Babylon (SAA 18 101 r. 6–10). Nevertheless, the crucial point remains the prepositional phrase *ina muḥḥi*, and thus a final conclusion is impossible. Because the preceding passage deals with an appointment of a scribe, Mattila (2009: 163) suggested that the four tablets and thus also the palace supervisor were related to this appointment. As this passage ends up with the phrase “let the lord of kings do [as he] deems best”, which in most cases is used at the very end of a conclusive passage,⁹³ this seems unlikely to me.

1.2.11 Institutional affiliation

Judging by the contexts in which the palace supervisor occurs, we often seem to be dealing with the one who was active in the imperial centre (Kalhu, Nineveh). Another area where a palace supervisor was active is Babylonia. Especially for the 7th century we have information about his activities there, but already in the reign of Sargon we learn of a placement of a palace supervisor in a neighbouring area (Lahiru). From the same reign we also hear of palace supervisors who

⁹² Another possible restoration is [*ina* ŠU.2], “in the hands of”, which according to Parpola (1993: 97) is less likely.

⁹³ E.g. SAA 5 6 r. 7’–8’; 16 r. 5’–6’; SAA 16 115 r. 13–l.e. 1; 134 r. 4’–5’; 152 r. 3’–4’ (at the very end of the letter) and SAA 15 162 r. 9–10; SAA 16 32 r. 15–16.

were engaged east (Arrapha) and west (Kar-Šamaš) of the Assyrian heartland. Of these, Aššūr-balti-niše seems to have been active in the immediate entourage of the king since the latter sent him to take care of women in Arrapha until his own arrival. Otherwise, these palace supervisors may have been associated with provincial palaces and active in their surrounding territories.⁹⁴ There must have been more than one palace supervisor active at a time, as indicated by the letter SAA 1 257 whose author introduces himself as palace supervisor (if restored correctly) and who refers to the palace supervisor Aššūr-balti-niše in the very same letter. Furthermore, collectives of palace supervisors are referred to in two queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 142:8; 144:8), along with numerous other title-bearers given in the plural, and in a letter of the scholar Nabû-šumu-iddina to the king (Esarhaddon) in which he asks the king to give order to the palace supervisors so that they may let him see the face of the king (SAA 13 80). The two references date to the reign of Esarhaddon and it is only from this reign on that we learn of palace supervisors active in the service of the crown prince, the queen, and the king's mother. As to palace supervisors on behalf of the crown prince, they bear either the title [*ša-]pān-ekalli ša bēt rēdū[ti]* or the designation [*ša-]pān-ekalli (ša) mār šarri*.⁹⁵ The former occurs in a fragment of a letter (SAA 18 109 r. 3') and the latter designates a witness (name lost) in a legal record from Nineveh (SAA 6 328 r. 7). The same title is also borne by Ṭāb-šil-šarri who was involved in a conspiracy in Babylonia in the reign of Esarhaddon (SAA 18 101 r. 7–8); he presumably was in the service of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. A *ša-pān-ekalli ša mār šarri* was also the master of the chariot fighter Qurdi-Issār, who sold a female servant in 629* (ND 2325:1–2). There is one more subordinate attested for the palace supervisor of the queen. A certain Aššūr-mātu-taqqin, witnessing a dedication to Nabû in the year 621*, is designated “[... of? the] palace supervisor of the queen” (SAA 12 96 l.e. 3). No direct evidence of the queen's *ša-pān-ekalli* is known so far, but a possible reference to a palace supervisor in her service can be found in an administrative record about redistributed tribute (SAA 11 36 iii 1–2). His affiliation is indicated by his occurrence between the queen and the cupbearer of the queen in a separate section and the fact that there is already another entry apparently referring to the palace supervisor of the main palace (SAA 11 36 ii 11–7). For the palace supervisor of the king's mother there is at least one attestation from Neo-Assyrian sources: Nabû-[...] appears in an administrative document recording court personnel, where he is listed between the treasurer of the king's mother and a *ša-qurbūti* (SAA 7 5 i 36). Though it is still uncertain whether

⁹⁴ Note also the two palace supervisors attested as witnesses of legal transactions from Imgur-IIIil (BT 101, 710 BCE) and Guzana (TH 110, 613* BCE).

⁹⁵ By the time of Esarhaddon the *bēt rēdūti* likely refers to the residence of the crown prince, or at least to the dwelling of the royal offspring (see Part III, section 1.1 Types and locations and Groß 2015c: 254, fn. 13).

this document dates to the end of the reign of Esarhaddon or to the early years of Assurbanipal, it seems that Naqī'a, mother of Esarhaddon, is meant (Svärd 2015: 64). From the time of the introduction of the *ša-pan-ekalli* on, at latest in the reign of Adad-nērāri III (when the title is first attested), there may have been a steady growth in the number of active palace supervisors. This growth may have reached its peak in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal when even other members of the royal family—whose departments seem to have developed considerably in the 7th century—had such an official in their service.

1.2.12 Summary

The palace supervisor was a central figure at the Assyrian court who operated in the immediate environment of the king and on behalf of the king.⁹⁶ Apart from various different procurements, the organisation and control of access to the king was a central concern of his. This was presumably subjected to strict regulation as can be observed for ceremonial banquets and rituals in which the palace supervisor played a leading role. The tasks which the palace supervisor took over in the context of royal meals were presumably fulfilled by him at other times too. Apart from the introduction of applicants to the king, the reporting to the king and the command over court personnel may have been relevant in his daily routine. It seems that the main representative of this office formed part of the king's entourage and that his primary point of reference was the king in person and not the king's residence, suggesting that he accompanied the king *en route*. Mobility seems to be also a central characteristic of the palace supervisor when active in the provinces, taking care of deportees and especially in Babylonia where he was central for Assyria's military operations. The role of the palace supervisor in 7th-century Babylonia differs from what we otherwise hear about this office and is due to the specific circumstances in the south in the 7th century. Nonetheless we can observe the political dimensions of this office, such as the palace supervisor's central involvement in the taking of loyalty oaths by the king's subjects (including vassal states), to be traced in both Assyria as well as in Babylonia.

1.3 The *rab ekalli* versus the *ša-pān-ekalli*

As has been mentioned above, the question arises whether the terms for the two palace officials *rab ekalli* and *ša-pān-ekalli* were used interchangeably. In the earliest detailed study of Neo-Assyrian officialdom, Klauber (1968: 32) suggested that the two terms were used synonymously, like other pairs of terms

⁹⁶ The suggestion of Reade (1972: 95) that the *ša-pān-ekalli* is identical with the beardless man depicted closest to the king and introducing others into the presence of the king is plausible.

such as *ša-muḥḫi-āli* and *rab āli*. Postgate (2003–5b: 223), on the other hand, stated more recently that “it is not usually possible to determine whether these are different positions or merely variant terms for the same post”. Despite this negative assessment, such an attempt is made here.

The suggestion of synonymous usage is evoked by the literal meaning of the titles, indicating that they both held responsibility for palatial establishments. As already suggested by Klauber, a possible analogy is indicated by the format of their titles. Both types of designation, *rab-x* and *ša-pān-x*, are attested for other offices such as *rab bēti* (major-domo) or *ša-pān-nērebi* (“entrance supervisor”). It is rarely the case that both formats refer to the same general sphere of responsibility. A rare case is that of the *rab bēti* and *ša-pān-bēti*.⁹⁷ In Neo-Assyrian sources an equivalent to *rab-x* seems rather to be *ša-muḥḫi-x*.⁹⁸ A synonymous use of the formats *rab-x* and *ša-pān-x* is *a priori* neither proven for the *rab ekalli* and the *ša-pān-ekalli* nor for any other similar compound pair.

Before comparing the two offices in more detail, two basic observations should be made. First, no document clearly mentions both terms,⁹⁹ which could be due to their distinct spheres of responsibility and consequently their limited points of contact. Second, no individual attested as *rab ekalli* is designated *ša-pān-ekalli*, and vice-versa,¹⁰⁰ which suggests that the two titles were kept separate because of their distinct implications.

Beginning with the distribution of the two palace officials, the *rab ekalli* is rarely attested in documents from Nineveh. He mainly occurs in texts from 7th-century Kalhu and occasionally in texts from Assur. From the reign of Shalmaneser IV on he is sometimes designated by reference to the actual palace for which he was responsible, referring to palaces in Kalhu, Nineveh, Assur and others. The *ša-pān-ekalli*, lacking any such affiliation, is mainly attested in texts from Nineveh dating to the reign of Sargon and to the 7th century; comparatively few attestations derive from Kalhu from the first half of the 8th century on. This distribution shows that, beginning with the first appearance of the *ša-pān-ekalli* in the 8th century, he is mainly associated with the current

⁹⁷ *ša-pān-bēti* does not seem to have been a common title in the Neo-Assyrian empire, if it was used at all; for an unclear attestation see CTN 2 105:5 (LÚ*.’ša’⁷¹-IGI-É), but this is presumably to be interpreted as *ša-pān-ekalli* (see section 1.2.7 Legal transactions).

⁹⁸ E.g. *ša-muḥḫi-bēt-šarrāni* (SAAB 9 75 r. 28) and *rab bēt-šarrāni* (StAT 1 19 r. 8’-9’), see section 11.1 The *bēt šarrāni*. This is also true for Middle Assyrian times (*rab ekalli* equals *ša-muḥḫi-ekalli*) when a *ša-pān-x* office seems not to be attested at all (Jakob 2003: 574).

⁹⁹ Two wine lists list an unnamed *ša-pān-ekalli* (CTN 1 4 r. 6; 33 ii 3) as well as Šil-Nergal (CTN 1 4:12; 33 ii 4) who is probably identical with the homonymous *rab ekalli* attested in CTN 2 68 r. 11’-12’.

¹⁰⁰ There are Ṭāb-šil-šarri, palace supervisor of the crown prince (of Babylon), mentioned in a Babylonian letter to the king (Esarhaddon) (SAA 18 101 r. 7–8) and a homonymous palace manager attested in a legal record from Kalhu from the reign of Assurbanipal or later (ND 3460 r. 6). The divergent times of activity, and especially their different spheres of activity, do not support an identification.

imperial capital of the Assyrian empire, while the *rab ekallis* are related to the other important cities in the heartland. This corresponds to the divergent responsibilities of the two officials. The main function of the *rab ekalli*, especially judging by his activities in 7th-century Kalhu, was the management of distinct palace households. While the *rab ekalli* never occurs in direct connection with the king, a close connection with the Assyrian sovereign is evident for the *ša-pān-ekalli*. In fact, the focus of the *ša-pān-ekalli*'s attention was the king to whom he gave report and introduced high-ranking officials. Furthermore, it was the *ša-pān-ekalli* who was involved in state affairs, especially Babylonian matters, and who was even appointed as eponym in the post-canonical era. Whereas *rab ekallis* kept the various palaces running, *ša-pān-ekallis* (or at least their main representative) formed part of the royal entourage. This close connection with the king also explains why we encounter the *ša-pān-ekalli* in the service of other key members of the royal family from the reign of Esarhaddon onwards, something that is not attested for the *rab ekalli*. Also, it is only the *ša-pān-ekalli* who is regularly mentioned in the wine lists and who is listed among other court personnel as recipient of redistributed tribute and audience gifts (SAA 1 34; 11 36). Likewise, it is only the *ša-pān-ekalli* for whom various personnel, presumably of his private household, including a household overseer and a musician, are attested. All this suggests that the *ša-pān-ekalli* was a more influential official compared to the *rab ekalli*, as is also indicated by the distribution of their responsibilities.

Looking at the chronological development of the two offices, it seems that the office of *rab ekalli*, including its basic tasks, was taken over from Middle Assyrian times. While in Neo-Assyrian sources the term *rab ekalli* already appears in the reign of Aššurnāširpal II, the *ša-pān-ekalli* is first attested in the reign of Adad-nērāri III only. Although this distribution may be owed to the available sources, the case of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, attested as an influential figure in general and as *rab ekalli* in the reign of Aššurnāširpal II, shows that *rab ekallis* were employed close to the nucleus of power in early Neo-Assyrian times (as in Middle Assyrian times), while the office of a *ša-pān-ekalli* was probably not yet introduced. The innovation of leaving *rab ekallis* at the various palatial bases, while appointing *ša-pān-ekallis* to the main centre of power may have been initiated in the reign of Adad-nērāri III while also the title *rab ekalli* is first combined with the actual place of activity in the reign of this king.

1.4 The *tuṣṣar ekalli* (palace scribe)

The *tuṣṣar ekalli* represents another key figure in the palace administration. The title is only written logographically, either as (LÚ/LÚ*).A.BA-É.GAL or (LÚ/LÚ*).A.BA-KUR or (especially in Babylonian texts) (LÚ/LÚ*).DUB.SAR-É.GAL. In a few cases the palace or palatial establishment in question is specified. This section takes also into account scribes who were affiliated with

palaces or palace departments. These are the LÚ.A.BA ša É.GAL-*ma-šar-te* (SAA 6 31), scribe of the Review Palace, as well as a LÚ*.A.BA ša É-GIBIL (SAA 16 107), scribe of the “New House”. According to further evidence the palace scribe is described as Assyrian (ND 3441 r. 7: A.BA-KUR *aš-šur-a-a*; StAT 3 18 r. 30: LÚ*.A.BA-KUR *aš-šur-a-a*). Judging by the writing LÚ*.A.BA KUR.LÚ*.*ar-ma-a-a* (in SAA 6 127 r. 3') there was also an Aramean palace scribe named Abā-gû; however, according to Breckwoldt (PNA 1/I 1) followed by Luukko (2007: 232, fn. 23), this describes Abā-gû as an Aramean scribe, with the KUR as additional determinative of the gentilic, rather than as Aramean palace scribe. A phonetic complement is given in LÚ*.DUB.SAR (...) É.GAL-*lim* (Hunger 1968: 79–80, no. 235) and LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL-*lim* (Edubba 10 6). As exceptional or defective writings of the title one may note LÚ*.A.BA-É.KUR (ND 2339 r. 2) as well as LÚ.DUB-É.GAL (IM 63773), the latter omitting the SAR-sign.¹⁰¹

Though the *tupšar ekalli* is first attested in the Middle Assyrian period (MARV 3 52:6, Jakob 2003: 236), most of the evidence derives from documents dating to the Neo-Assyrian period. Already a member of the Babylonian court in the 7th century, this official is also attested in Neo-Babylonian times. Since Luukko (2007) studied the office of the Neo-Assyrian palace scribe in detail, there is no need for detailed analysis here. While retaining the format established for the other chapters, I will adhere to Luukko's results by pinpointing or adding particular details and giving alternative ideas when these arise.

1.4.1 Equipment

In a memorandum from Kalhu dating to the year 788 BCE the palace scribe, presumably Nabû-tuklatū'a as suggested by Luukko (2007: 245), is mentioned along with a stylus “of vine (wood)” (ND 5421:5: GI-*tup-pi ša GEŠTIN*). Although the actual procedure remains unclear, this object seems to be attributed to the palace scribe. Other utensils corresponding to the function of the palace scribe are the two scrolls of papyrus assigned to him in the redistribution of tribute and audience gifts (SAA 1 34 r. 19').

1.4.2 Property

Evidence for land possibly owned by the palace scribe is found in a letter which contains a reference to another letter sent by the palace scribe to the treasurer concerning a plot of land (SAA 19 123:16–r. 4). The fields mentioned along with an unnamed palace scribe who is said to be compensated in silver may also denote his property (ND 2778:14).

¹⁰¹ The writing LÚ*.A.BA-É.KUR clearly refers to the palace scribe since it is Sīn-šarru-ušur, eponym of 625*, who bears this title.

1.4.3 Allocations

As already summarised by Luukko (2007: 245), the palace scribe is attested as recipient of wine rations (CTN 1 12:3', 19:21, 35 ii 9'). He was allocated one mina of silver, a toga, and two scrolls of papyrus according to a letter (SAA 1 34 r. 19') from the crown prince Sennacherib to his father Sargon listing redistributed tribute and audience gifts. Additionally, a sheep, a lamb as well as barley and straw were destined for the palace scribe according to the 7th century letter KAV 120.

1.4.4 Supplies

A reference to the contribution of the palace scribe to temple offerings can be found in a collection of decrees from various reigns (SAA 12 77), where the king, perhaps Sennacherib, is said to have taken one ram out of the 3,000 sheep of the palace scribe for Ištar. Also, according to a fragmentary letter to the palace(?) scribe sent by a subordinate (name lost), the palace scribe has initiated the supply of rams for sacrifices to Bel (Marduk) and Zarpanitu (SAA 19 124). This action might have been also due to a royal decree, but in view of the final sentence of this letter “May Marduk and [Zarpanitu] ble[ss the palace] scri[be], my lord!” (SAA 19 124 r. 4'–6') this was rather a personal donation of the palace scribe. In any case, the palace scribe's association with sheep in both texts, and in other documents,¹⁰² is striking and reminds us of another palace official, namely the palace supervisor, who was also concerned with sheep (see section 1.2.6 Responsibility for sheep).

1.4.5 Legal transactions

Regarding the active participation of the palace scribe in legal transactions there is Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, palace scribe of Sargon, who in 709 purchased land in the territory of Buruqu, a town located in the land of Halahhu (i.e. the Dur-Šarrukin area), for six minas of silver (SAA 6 31 r. 4). This purchase of land seems to be connected to the construction of Dur-Šarrukin for which purpose Sargon acquired land in the area by purchase or exchange from the local owners (Postgate 1976: 81). This transaction is witnessed by Qurdi-Adad, scribe of the Review Palace in Kalhu, who is further described here as *šābit danniti* which refers to him as the writer of the tablet.¹⁰³ Apart from that we also have the comprehensive dossier of Nabû-tuklatū'a. He purchased numerous slaves

¹⁰² SAA 16 48: the palace scribe intervenes for this friend, the sheep-tax master, and SAA 19 123: 25 sheep were given to Marduk-apla-iddina by a servant of the palace scribe.

¹⁰³ SAA 6 31 r. 26–27. For the meaning of *šābit danniti* see Part I, p. 13 fn. 23.

as well as a house and gardens from 800 BCE down to 765 BCE.¹⁰⁴ As with Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, it is questionable whether Nabû-tuklatū'a was engaged in these businesses for his own benefit or on behalf of the palace. Though usually the former possibility is preferred by modern scholars (Ahmad and Postgate 2007: xviii), this is by no means certain. Also according to a legal document from Imgur-Ilil the palace scribe Nabû-aḥu-iddina acted in his official capacity; he is recorded as guarantor (*bēl qātāte*) for the king's barley rations to be given out for the festival (*qarītu*) of Arbail by the scribe Mannu-kī-Arbail.¹⁰⁵

1.4.6 Functions

In his discussion of the palace scribe Luukko describes this official primarily as the chief of the palace chancery and “secretary of state”, who reported messages to the king as well as to high-ranking officials, probably also through his subordinates. As such he, together with the chief scribe, is regarded as having “developed and maintained the bureaucratic idiom of the Neo-Assyrian empire” and built the “cornerstone of administration” (Luukko 2007: 228). In contrast to the chief scribe, the palace scribe does not necessarily seem to have been a scholar but was more concerned with practical and mundane tasks as described below.¹⁰⁶

In the context of his function as head of chancery and secretary of state the palace scribe seems to have drawn up (administrative) documents himself, as suggested by Luukko (2007: 246) based on SAA 7 18 and SAA 11 140: both tablets mention a palace scribe (with personal name) at what seems to be the end of a section or of the tablet, indicating that this particular individual or official was responsible for their recording. Similarly, Qurdi-Adad, scribe of the Review Palace in Kalhu, might have drawn up the aforementioned legal record (SAA 6 31) concerning the purchase of land in the area of Halahhu by Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, palace scribe of Sargon, which was made in connection with the construction of Dur-Šarrukin. Otherwise, the palace scribe is thought to have been responsible for filing and keeping the palace chancery and its archives up to date. The latter is indicated by the letter SAA 15 32 according to which Nabû-bēlu-ka'in, governor of Kar-Šarrukin, informs the king that the palace scribe is in possession of an outdated version of a report (*tēmu*) only (r. 5'–8'). Further evidence for the palace scribe as head of chancery can be

¹⁰⁴ See tables below. There is a considerable gap between Edubba 10 9, dated to 765 BCE and the earlier document Edubba 10 18, dated to 779 BCE. Edubba 10 9 was not known to Luukko (2007: 239).

¹⁰⁵ BT 117 r. 1. According to Luukko (2007: 244), Nabû-aḥu-iddina was probably collecting *ilku*-dues from the scribe Mannu-kī-Arbail connected to the Mamu Temple.

¹⁰⁶ See Luukko 2007: 251. In SAA 10 60 it is suggested that a scribe reading *Šumma izbu* omens to the king actually did not understand how to read them.

found in the letter SAA 16 80, where his deputy, Kanūnāiu, is said to have taken out and brought in the “document of reimbursements” (*egirtu ša tašlimāti*) to be paid by the king. According to its scribal characteristics this message was ascribed to the chief scribe Issār-šumu-ēreš, probably palace scribe at that time.¹⁰⁷ Otherwise, the palace scribe is attested as the recipient of comparatively numerous letters (SAA 10 130; SAA 19 13, 14, 123, 124 and probably K 18872), some being petitions (SAA 16 48, 49) or responses to palace orders.¹⁰⁸ It is due to these letters, found in the main palaces of Kalhu and Nineveh, that we can place the palace scribe’s activities in the immediate vicinity of the king. This is also supported by the fact that correspondence between the king and the palace scribe is not preserved. Only from Ubru-Nabû, scribe of the New House in Nineveh, letters to the king (SAA 16 105, 108–110) and the crown prince (SAA 16 106–107) are known. According to his title Ubru-Nabû was not the scribe of the main palace and he too had to correspond with the king through letters. Thanks to his proximity to the king as well as his primary function as head of chancery and secretary of state, the palace scribe (of the main palace) was not only regarded as a reliable informant (SAA 16 87, SAA 10 82) but also as an appropriate middleman for royal intervention (SAA 16 105). Lower-ranking scribes, who must have been active under his aegis in the palace chancery, could apparently play a similar role: in a petition to the king, Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, “overseer of the white frit”, addresses the anonymous scribe who is going to read out his message and begs him not to withhold it from the king and to put in a good word for him (SAA 16 32 r. 17–22).

The palace scribe is associated with the movement of deported people (Kushite girls in SAA 16 78:22–23, Puqudeans in SAA 19 56:4), horses (SAA 7 118 r. ii 14), and precious materials (SAA 13 61:15). His involvement in these matters is due to his role as head of palace chancery and secretary of state since detailed records (about numbers, amounts and the like) must have been compiled, forwarded, and archived. As for his concern with precious materials, the palace scribe was, together with the treasurer, responsible for the weighing and storing of gold according to SAA 13 61 written by the priest Urdu-Nabû. There is also other material which suggests that the palace scribe’s tasks were (at least partly) interrelated with those of the treasurer. Although this might rather reflect a “private matter” of the palace scribe, we learn of the treasurer who comments on the construction works on a revetment ordered by the palace scribe from the letter SAA 19 123, written by Naḥiši to the palace scribe. Additional evidence for collaboration between the two officials comes from

¹⁰⁷ Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: 77; Luukko 2007: 245, 254.

¹⁰⁸ SAA 19 56. See Luukko 2007: 236–9, Table I. For K 18872 see in particular Luukko 2007: 236, fn. 58.

the North-West Palace, where the dossier of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a, dating to the first half of the 8th century, was found together with documents recording the legal transactions of a number of treasurers working for the queen. A direct relationship has previously been doubted because it was thought that the documents of the treasurers (mainly only dating to the second half of the 8th century) post-dated the dossier of the palace scribe (see Luukko 2007: 233). With new documents from the same find-spot edited by Ahmad and Postgate (2007), legal activities of treasurers are now also evident for the same time range as those of Nabû-tuklatū'a (note in particular the treasurer Nabû-šimanni in Edubba 10 19–22, dating to 794 and 779). This supports the idea of interaction between the two officials who apparently used the same storage place for their legal records. The palace scribe's at least occasional concern with the treasury may also be indicated by the aforementioned message SAA 16 80, ascribed to Issār-šumu-ēreš, known as chief scribe but probably only a palace scribe at that time. It was Issār-šumu-ēreš who regarded himself as responsible for repaying the reimbursements to be made by the king. When it is stated that a payment of 80 minas of bronze is made in the house of the palace scribe (CTN 2 95:3), it might have been something to do with the palace scribe's association with the treasury as well. Considering these involvements, we might define the palace scribe also as "chief bookkeeper".

According to Luukko (2007: 248) there is also another official with whom the palace scribe worked, namely the chief of accounts (*rab nikkassi*). This assumption is based on the aforementioned letter SAA 16 48, according to which a certain Tabnī intercedes for his friend, the sheep-tax master (*rab šibti*) from Arpad,¹⁰⁹ with the palace scribe. It is the chief of accounts who should come and help the sheep-tax master out. In my opinion the chief of accounts is primarily invoked here because he was superior to the sheep-tax master in the province of Arpad, assuming that the chief of accounts stationed in the province is meant and not his representative in the main palace. In any case, the concerns of this office (see section 14.7 The *rab nikkassi* (chief of accounts)) certainly gave rise to points of contact between the two officials. One should therefore perhaps also mention a document recording the administrative procedure of "making the accounts" (*nikkassū epēšu*), where the palace scribe is mentioned along with the sum of 13 horses.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ The office *rab šibti* is not attested elsewhere in the Neo-Assyrian sources but occurs in texts dating to the Neo-Babylonian period (CAD Š 167).

¹¹⁰ SAA 7 118 r. ii 14. The fact that also the "scribe of the merchants" is mentioned along with a total of horses (SAA 7 118 r. i 29–ii 2) supports the idea that he is recorded here in his official capacity.

1.4.7 Rank

The relative rank of the palace scribe is indicated by his correspondence, according to which he received a few letters from higher-ranking officials and comparatively numerous messages from lower-ranking individuals. While he was certainly lower in rank than the governors (SAA 19 13; SAA 19 56),¹¹¹ he was superior to numerous individuals described as servant (*urdu*, *amtu*) of the palace scribe (including Nabû-šumu-iddina, commander-of-ten [of the scribes]) who presumably belonged to his domain. The letter (SAA 1 34) of Sennacherib to his father and king Sargon concerning redistributed tribute and audience gifts not only confirms this impression but makes it clearer. According to the number of distributed items as well as the order of the enumeration, it is clear that the palace scribe is lower in rank than the key figures of royal family and the governors as well as the palace supervisor. While the latter receives five minas of silver, three togas, and two linen-garments, the palace scribe is allocated only one mina of silver, and one toga (SAA 1 34 r. 17'). Exactly the same amount is given to the chamberlain, listed before the palace scribe, as well as the chariot driver and “third man (on chariot)”, listed after him. According to this one would assume that while there is a considerable gap between the *ša-pān-ekalli* and the other palace officials, the latter were of similar rank. As regards the relative ranking of chief scribe and palace scribe, it is suggested, based on the assumption that the chief scribe Issār-šumu-ēreš previously held the office of the palace scribe (see above), that the palace scribe was lower in rank. Direct involvement with one another seems limited, thanks to the different spheres of activity of the two officials. It might have been that the chief scribe, also formal head of the scribes, was regarded as higher-ranking but that in practice this was less significant.

Like other palace officials such as the palace supervisor and the chamberlain, the palace scribe only became eponym in the late 7th century. Both Nabû-šarru-ušur (629* BCE) and Sīn-šarru-ušur (625* BCE) were appointed as eponyms (cf. Mattila 2009: 160, 165). These appointments were possibly evoked by a growing focus on the inner circles of the late Neo-Assyrian kings which led to an increase in rank and status of palace officials.

1.4.8 Subordinates

According to the 7th century sources the palace scribe was in charge of a deputy (SAA 6 86 r. 11; 14 135 r. 4; 16 78 r. 2). We can regard him as a “right-hand man” who supported his master in carrying out his various tasks. To name

¹¹¹ The identification of Šarru-dūrī, the sender of the letter SAA 19 13, with the governor of Kalhu is plausible (Baker, PNA 3/II 1233–4 s.v. Šarru-dūrī 1. and Luukko 2012: 16). The lower rank of the recipient, the palace scribe, is clear from the fact that Šarru-dūrī addresses him as his son (DUMU-*ia*, in ll. 3, 5).

an example, the deputy Kanūnāiu was concerned with the archiving of documents (SAA 16 80). From legal records dating to the 7th century, we learn that the palace scribe also had chariot drivers (BT 117 r. 5–6; SAA 16 78:4) and a “third man” (SAA 16 78:4) at his disposal, indicating that he was in possession of a chariot. This was not necessarily used as military equipment by the palace scribe, but rather was in his possession on grounds of prestige and mobility.¹¹² As for other subordinates of the palace scribe, a village manager of his witnessed a legal document (CTN 2 95 l.e. 1–2) dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, and there were a few individuals described as ordinary slaves or servants of the palace scribe (SAA 16 49:8 and 78:20).

As the contents of their letters suggest, the various correspondents of the palace scribe who introduce themselves as his “servants” acted on his behalf and therefore seem to have also formed part of the palace scribe’s domain (rather than being lower-ranking individuals belonging to other spheres). Men such as Bēl-abū’a, who reports to the palace scribe about the well-being of the “house” in Assur and the availability of waist-belts suiting his master’s taste (SAA 19 14), seem to have also represented the personal interests of the palace scribe. Among the correspondents of the palace scribe we also find Nabû-šumu-iddina, commander-of-ten (of the scribes), who is also known as author of letters to the king Esarhaddon. He addresses the palace scribe as his master and reports about the well-being of the “house” (possibly referring to the palace, according to the edition) and the people of Nineveh (SAA 10 130). Either the palace scribe was absent from the main palace or Nabû-šumu-iddina reports about another department located in Nineveh. However, it is generally indicated by these letters that subordinates of the palace scribe could also be active in some distance to the palace scribe and that they kept their master informed via letters.

1.4.9 Institutional affiliation

Only one palace scribe was active at a time. While his central place of activities was the main palace, several other scribes were employed in the various palace establishments throughout the empire contemporaneously. This is indicated by supplementary designations such as “of the New House” (SAA 16 107) or “of the Review Palace” (SAA 6 31).¹¹³ The clear distinction between the palace scribe (of the main palace) and the various other scribes who were active in palaces is underlined by the occurrence of the palace scribe

¹¹² Cf. section 6.5 Military functionaries of palace officials. As to the chariot driver Abdā who witnessed BT 117, Luukko (2007: 244, fn. 113) suggested that the palace scribe mentioned in the very same document was only visiting Imgur-Ilil in the context of a short trip.

¹¹³ Cf. Luukko 2007: 232, fn. 23. Luukko (2007: 253, Table III) provides a list of known palace scribes in chronological order.

of king Sargon and the scribe of the Review Palace in the text SAA 6 31.¹¹⁴ In addition, there is one individual, Dādijû, who is described as scribe of the palace and of the temple in some colophons.

Generally, palace scribes occur in texts from Assur, Kalhu, Nineveh, Dur-Šarrukin, and Imgur-Ilil. They occur in Neo-Assyrian sources from the reign of Adad-nērāri II down to the reign of Assurbanipal and later. Apart from the dossier of Nabû-tuklatū'a, found in room 57 of the North-West Palace at Kalhu, there is no comprehensive dossier of a palace scribe available. While the legal documents of Nabû-tuklatū'a were stored here, the actual location of the bureau of the palace scribe or the palace chancery might have been in and around rooms 4 and 5 of the north-eastern ZT area of the North-West Palace, judging by the hundreds of letters dating to the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II and the mud-brick structures possibly used for the storage of tablets found in room 4.¹¹⁵ In the case of Nabû-tuklatū'a we have a palace scribe's activity attested over a period of twenty years, presumably even thirty-five years.¹¹⁶ Since he held the post during the reigns of either two or even three different kings, the office of palace scribe was a well-established one which continued even after a change of ruler. In this respect one not only has to note the seamless transition but also we may assume that the crown relied upon this well-established institution in the palace.

1.5 The *ṭupšar šarri* (royal scribe)

There is also evidence for royal scribes. Judging from a restored passage in the letter SAA 15 37, the royal scribe was also responsible for the managing and archiving of tablets. It is stated that the whole story told in this letter had also been sent to Balāssu, the king's scribe (SAA 15 37:23'–24'). On the other hand, the tasks of the king's scribe are rather of a scholarly nature. The chief royal scribe Nabû-šallimšunu is mentioned in a colophon (Hunger 1968: 86, no. 264:1), and the scribe of the king of Babylon, Mušēzib-Nabû, contributed a tablet on anti-witchcraft to the royal library in Nineveh in the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 7 50 ii 7'–8'). Nabû-šallimšunu was also involved in offering activities in the context of which he received pieces of meat for consumption

¹¹⁴ The *bēt ṭupšarri* mentioned in a 7th-century letter from Fort Shalmaneser (CTN 3 3 r. 16) may have been the bureau of the scribe of the Review Palace.

¹¹⁵ Oates and Oates 2001: 45–6, 197, Fig. 120. As to the possible location of the palace chancery in the South-West Palace of Nineveh, Parpola (1986: 226–7, fns. 22–23) suggested that room XXXIV might have been used for this purpose. For a recent discussion about the location of palace bureaus of key palace officials see Groß and Kertai 2019.

¹¹⁶ There is a gap of fourteen years between the last two datable documents, but—apart from the fact that the latter possibly records the name Inūrta-tuklatū'a instead of Nabû-tuklatū'a (see the Prosopographical Catalogue)—the earliest as well as the latest datable document indicate that Nabû-tuklatū'a was palace scribe.

(SAA 20 55). As assumed by Luukko (2007: 230, fn. 17), the royal scribe probably stood next to the chief scribe and might have borne an honorary title. It is not out of question that overlaps existed between palace scribes and royal scribes, since the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a is once designated royal scribe instead (Edubba 10 8:9).¹¹⁷

2 STORAGE FACILITIES

There is some evidence for common storage facilities (*bēt qātē*) located in the palace and for an associated supervisory official called *ša-pān-bēt-qātē*; both are discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.1 On the *bēt qātē*

The term *bēt qātē* is attested from Neo-Assyrian times on and is associated with private buildings as well as with temple and palace complexes. It is interpreted as “building wing” or “Seitenflügel” and especially thought to denote a storehouse (for tablets, barley, beams, silver and probably other metals and clothing), based on the Neo-Babylonian evidence.¹¹⁸ Radner (1997a: 267–9) discussed this term on the basis of the Neo-Assyrian evidence with particular respect to private housing.

The *bēt qātē* is mentioned among building parts enumerated in house sale documents from the reign of Sennacherib on.¹¹⁹ In some cases the *bēt qātē* was sold on its own,¹²⁰ or it lay adjacent to a house sold (SAAB 9 75:5 [683 BCE]), something which is not attested for the *bētu šaniu*. Taking into account that it could also be located in a courtyard (*ina tarbāši*, StAT 2 201:5), such a unit seems either to have been built on its own or as an annex, or it was integrated into a house complex. Apart from sales, there are further types of legal documents mentioning the *bēt qātē*. In two records it is part of a(n inheritance) share (SAA 14 59 b.e. 8 [675 BCE]; StAT 2 201:5 [622* BCE]), while according to a judicial decision a crime was committed inside a *bēt qātē*, probably a theft (*sartu ina bēt qātē*, SAAB 5 66:3 [644* BCE]).

¹¹⁷ Note also Nabû-kabti-ahḫēšu who bore the title “palace scribe of Sargon, king of Assyria” (SAA 6 31 r. 4).

¹¹⁸ AHW 134 s.v. *bītu(m)* B.21; CAD Q 198–200 s.v. *qātu* in *bīt qātī*; cf. Menzel 1981 I: 50 and Radner 1997a: 268. Note also the discussion about the location of *bīt qātīs* in the Hellenistic Rēš Temple in Uruk by Baker 2013.

¹¹⁹ In the reign of Sennacherib: StAT 3 73:4 (698 BCE), SAAB 9 73:5 (698 BCE) and SAA 6 42:6 (692 BCE). In the reign of Esarhaddon: Radner 2016 I.8:10 (broken). In the reign of Assurbanipal: StAT 2 14:7' (date lost) and CTSHM 30:11 (date lost). 7th century: SAA 14 249:4, 6.

¹²⁰ CTN 2 22:4, 10 (756), SAA 6 154:3 (687) and SAA 14 144:3 (date lost, probably 650).

While these legal documents do not provide information about the actual function of the *bēt qātē*, evidence for the use of this type of building as a storehouse is provided by a letter from the reign of Sargon, according to which 420 talents of bronze scraps, taken from the treasury (*bēt nakkamti*) situated at the entrance of a house of the palace upon the terrace, are stored in the *bēt qātē* of the cupbearer (SAA 5 206:9–10). In the letter SAA 13 61, written by the Nabû priest Urdu-Nabû to the king, it is said that 7 talents of gold were weighed by the treasurer, the palace scribe, and the sender and were deposited in the *bēt qātē* of the chief victualler, a palace official (see section 13.3 The *rab danībāti* (chief victualler)). Also according to an administrative record from the private archive of Dūrī-Aššūr silver, namely 176 minas 13 shekels of purified silver, was kept in such a facility (Radner 2016 I.50 r. 2); 8 minas 12 shekels (of silver) were kept in a *bēt qātē* according to another record from the same archive (Radner 2016 I.53:1). Additional evidence comes from the letter SAA 16 89 according to which equipment from the house of the *mār banī* Aššūr-nāšir is stored in the *bēt qātē* and the bedroom (*bēt maiāli*) of the sender (name lost),¹²¹ and the broken letter SAA 15 365, where some items (lost) are said to be stored in the *bēt qātē* of someone (name lost). According to another record from the archive of Dūrī-Aššūr it was used to store textiles (Radner 2016 I.47 r. 5–6) and there is also a private letter with the same archival background which mentions a *bēt qātē* used for the storage of corn (Radner 2016 I:7, r. 7). Similarly, an administrative document, forming part of a private archive of Egyptians, records 6 *sūtu* 2 *qû* of wine stored in the *bēt qātē*.¹²² Also the scholar Marduk-šākin-šumi, who reports to the king (Esarhaddon) that he collected (items) for the king’s funeral burning in one *bēt qātē* of the [Inner] City (SAA 10 233:14), apparently used this facility for storage purposes. According to these attestations the *bēt qātē* was used to store metal (bronze, silver, gold), textiles, wine, corn, and household equipment (such as furniture or kitchen utensils, presumably). The *bēt qātē* turns out to have been used as a kind of repository also by the king who places his jewellery there during the performance of a ritual (SAA 20 16 i 3’, r. iv 8). The *bēt qātē* is associated with different tasks according to a letter from Assur dating to the reign of Sennacherib, where it is said that the two officials Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr are acting unjustly. Among other crimes they appointed a tanner in the *bēt qātē* of the king to make shoes for their households. In addition, they eat meat-offerings and drink wine in the *bēt qātē* of the merchant.¹²³ Since the whole letter is a complaint about the misdeeds of the two officials, these actions reportedly performed in *bēt*

¹²¹ Since in StAT 2 201 the *bēt qātē* has a “bedroom on the right” (l. 6: É-KI.NÁ *ina* ZAG; though the edition interprets ZAG as *pūtu*, *imittu* is equally plausible), the two room types may have been typically situated next to each other.

¹²² StAT 2 233:5, for the archival background see Pedersén 1986: 125–9, no. 30.

¹²³ KAV 197 r. 9, 15, see Postgate 1974a: 363–7.

qātēs are to be seen as unusual and undesirable (cf. Radner 1997a: 268). It is plausible that the merchant too usually used this facility for the storage of goods (to be sold).

From among these references to the *bēt qātē* as a storage facility, the *bēt qātē* of the cupbearer, used to store bronze scraps, was not only associated with the palace but also located in the palace area. The same is probably true for the *bēt qātēs* mentioned in the letters SAA 16 89 and SAA 15 365. The *bēt qātē* of the chief victualler, in which amounts of gold were stored, was administered by a palace official but may have been situated in the temple area, a location which is also possible for the remainder of the aforementioned attestations. Other *bēt qātēs* presumably located in palace areas are mentioned in the context of construction works in a few instances: Dūrī-Aššūr, governor of Tušhan, reports to the king (Tiglath-pileser) that a *bēt qātē* (if restored correctly) will be finished soon and that the *bēt qātē* for the garrison troops have been completed (SAA 19 60:15, 19). Both references to *bēt qātēs* are immediately followed by detailed statements concerning construction works. There are baked bricks and bitumen for coating mentioned (broken passage), while with the finished *bēt qātēs* of the garrison troops it is said that roofs have been plastered, gutters have been installed and yards have been paved. Hence the *bēt qātēs* of the garrison troops must have been a building complex containing yards. Further evidence for the construction works on such buildings is provided by another letter according to which beams are destined for the *bēt qātēs* (SAA 19 213 r. 7). Also in an astrological report the Borsippean astrologer Nabû-iqīša refers to the construction of a *bēt qātē* in the Review Palace undertaken by him and his brothers (SAA 8 296:9).

Against another background we learn of the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšāni* from two letters to the king. Though their headings are not preserved, both are assigned to the aforementioned scholar Marduk-šākin-šumi (Parpola 1983a: 180, 358). As already suggested by Parpola (1983a: 185), the two letters were probably related to each other, judging by their contents. In SAA 10 270 the sender announces the rituals to be done on certain days since the *rab ša-rēši* had told him to perform rituals against *ka[...]e* in the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis* on the occasion of a palatial order.¹²⁴ In SAA 10 247 it is reported on the rituals which had already taken place in the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis*. Parpola (1983a: 184) suggests that the rituals are concerned with the renewal of Babylonian statues, but I propose that the rituals are made against a kind of fungus as attested in another letter: according to SAA 13 71 a *kamunû*-fungus appeared in the courtyard of the Nabû Temple and a *katarru*-fungus in the central storehouses

¹²⁴ The traces are given as 'ka-x'-[x-t]e in the edition (SAA 10 270:1), but the reading of both the sign *ka-* and the sign *-[t]e* is questionable, cf. the photograph (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P314342.jpg>) and the copy CT 53 933.

(*abusāte qabassāte*) against which the performance of rituals is planned for the following day. Hence, the rituals may have been performed in the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis* because of a fungus and not because it was a place for cultic performances in general. Whether the *bēt qātē* in question formed part of the temple or the palace, cannot be decided here. An assignment to the palace is supported by the fact that we are dealing with an establishment meant for *ša-rēšis*, but since *ša-rēšis* were active in temple environments in order to take care of royal concerns (see especially the personnel concerned with the royal tombs in Assur, section 11 The royal tombs), a localisation in the temple area is possible, even more so if one thinks of the “house of the *ša-rēšis*” associated with the Nabû Temple in a broken letter (SAA 13 134:24', s. 3).

In texts associated with the temple sphere distinct *bēt qātēs* are referred to as divine habitats such as the *bēt qātē* of the storehouses (*abusāte*) (of the Aššur Temple) which was occupied by the god Madanu.¹²⁵ Otherwise, *bēt qātēs* located in the Nabû Temple were available for the king and the priest respectively,¹²⁶ and *bēt qātēs* were visited by the king during the performance of rituals.¹²⁷ Remarkably, all the references to a *bēt qātē* used by or even restricted to the king indicate a localisation in the temple area. From among the aforementioned people associated with a *bēt qātē* the cupbearer, the chief victualler, the *ša-rēšis*, the garrison troops, and the merchant suggest a palace connection. They seem to have been related to or in charge of these facilities in the context of their official employment. The same may be true for the palace supervisor whose *bēt qātē* was situated next to the granary adjoining the city wall (SAA 1 137:10). Though this was possibly a location in the vicinity of the palace or even within the palace area, the localisation of the *bēt qātē* associated with the other palace-related figures is not entirely conclusive and in the case of the chief victualler, the *ša-rēšis* and the merchant the said establishment may have been in the temple area instead.

As to the function of this type of facility, it seems to have been primarily used for the storage of different kinds of commodities, but it apparently was not regarded as a suitable place to eat and drink (consecrated foodstuffs) or for manufacture.¹²⁸ This holds true especially for the palace area. For the *bēt qātēs* belonging to temples alternative interpretations have been suggested.

¹²⁵ SAA 20 52 r. iv 40', cf. r. iv 35', 37', 38', 44', 46', 47', 48'; SAA 20 49:15, 16, 27.

¹²⁶ ND 4318:14, r. 1, 19 (in Postgate 1974b: 64–5). Note also the royal *bēt qātē* mentioned in the letter KAV 197.

¹²⁷ SAA 20 9 ii 7, 32, r. ii 14'; SAA 20 10:6, b.e. 11, r. 9; SAA 20 11:15, 17; SAA 20 16 i 3', r. iv 8.

¹²⁸ This is supported by the fact that the people associated with *bēt qātēs* do not include craftsmen but servants (e.g. cupbearer) and administrators (e.g. chief victualler). By contrast Postgate (1974a: 365, 1976: 176, 1987a: 266, fn. 24) interpreted it as workshop because the tanner was said to make shoes inside the royal *bēt qātē*.

Van Driel (1969: 38) interpreted it as a chapel built as a wing close to gates,¹²⁹ considering its function as a storehouse to be secondary. Postgate (1974b: 66, 68), examining the architectural features of Assyrian Nabû Temples with the help of ND 4318, concluded that the *bēt qātē* was “neither a ‘storehouse’ nor the ‘wing’ of a building (...) but a room in which business was conducted or visitors received”.¹³⁰ Judging from the occurrences of the *bēt qātē* associated with the religious or cultic sphere, its function as a storehouse, although traceable, may be less significant than is the case with its secular counterpart and indeed a secondary issue. This corresponds to the assumption that the literal meaning “house of the hands” does not refer to a specific function but to its spatial integration and therefore basically refers to a wing or “Seitenflügel” (Radner 1997a: 226–7). Owing to its basic characteristic as an adjoining room or annex, it was used for different purposes including storage, various preparations, and worship. This contrasts with the conclusion of Postgate and his assumption that the royal *bēt qātē* of the Nabû Temple was its throne room (Postgate 1974b: 73, Fig. 1); it was rather an adjacent chamber used by the king to prepare himself for audiences or ceremonies. For *bēt qātēs* in the palace sphere, their storage facilities were central. Judging by the precious metal stored there, it must have been a lockable facility equipped with a roof and plastered floors, and in the case of an agglomerate of more than one *bēt qātē* it could also include yards. Although forming part of a greater institutional building complex, it denotes a distinct room or unit. It is clear from the various different functionalities associated with a *bēt qātē* as well as the wording *1-en bēt qātē* in a letter (SAA 10 233:14) that several such side rooms or side buildings could exist within an institutional complex and thus also within the palace.

SAA 19 60:15, b.e. 19	Dūrī-Aššūr, governor of Tušhan, writes to the king on the construction of a garrison at the Tigris: the <i>bēt qātēs</i> for the garrison troops have been built.	Tp III	of the <i>ša-bīrāti</i> (garrison troops)
SAA 19 213 r. 7	Letter (sender lost) to the king: 212 beams are for the <i>bēt qātēs</i> .	Tp III or Sg II	(of the palace)
SAA 1 137:10, r. 1', 2'	Amar-ili to the king: the granary between the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the palace supervisor and the city wall fell down.	Sg II	of the <i>ša-pān-ekalli</i> (palace supervisor)

¹²⁹ According to van Driel (1969: 38) the proximity of the *bēt qātē* to gates seems significant (see CAD B 22 s.v. *bābu*). Similar observations were made in connection with the *bīt qātīs* in the Rēš Temple in Hellenistic Uruk (Baker 2013: 25–36).

¹³⁰ Postgate (1987a: 266, fn. 24), however, later rejected the assumption that it was a room for reception.

SAA 5 206:9	Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua, to the king: 420 talents of bronze scraps were weighed in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the cupbearer.	Sg II	of the <i>šāqiu</i> (cupbearer)
SAA 15 365:4'	Letter (sender lost) to the king: a commodity (lost) is stored in the <i>bēt qātē</i> .	Sg II	of PN
KAV 197 r. 9, 15 (TCAE: 363–7)	Oil-pressers to the king: the two officials Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr appointed a tanner in the royal <i>bēt qātē</i> and eat meat and drink wine in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the merchant.	Senn	of the <i>šarru</i> (king) of the <i>tamkāru</i> (merchant)
SAA 10 233:14	Scholar Marduk-šākin-šūmi to the king: items for the king's funeral burning are collected and stored in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the [Inner] City.	Esar (673)	of Libbāli (Inner City)
SAA 10 247 r. 3	Scholar Marduk-šākin-šūmi to the king: the sender went through a purification ritual in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the <i>ša-rēšis</i> .	Esar (670)	of the <i>ša-rēšāni</i>
SAA 10 270:2	Scholar Marduk-šākin-šūmi to the king: the sender has to carry out rituals in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the <i>ša-rēšis</i> .	Esar (c. 670)	of the <i>ša-rēšāni</i>
SAA 13 61 b.e. 20	Urdu-Nabû, priest of the Nabû Temple, to the king: 7 talents of gold were stored in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the chief victualler.	Esar	of the <i>rab danibāti</i> (chief victualler)
SAA 16 89 r. 4	Letter (sender lost) to the king: equipment collected in the house of the <i>mār banî</i> Aššūr-nāšir is piled up in the <i>bēt qātē</i> and the bedroom of the sender by a <i>ša-rēši</i> .	Esar	of PN
SAA 8 296:9	Report from Nabû-iqīša, astrologer from Borsippa: he built a <i>bēt qātē</i> in the Review Palace.	probably Esar	in the <i>ekal māšarti</i> (Review Palace)
SAA 20 9 ii 7, 32, r. ii 14'	Ritual text: the king enters and leaves the <i>bēt qātē</i> during a ritual.	Asb (650)	(of the king)
SAA 13 194 r. 2	[broken letter]	not dated	-
ADD 546:5'	[fragmentary letter]	not dated	-
SAA 20 10:6, b.e. 11, r. 9	Ritual text: the king enters and leaves the <i>bēt qātē</i> during a ritual.	-	(of the king)
SAA 20 11: 15, 17	Ritual text: the king enters and leaves the <i>bēt qātē</i> during a ritual.	-	(of the king)

SAA 20 16 i 3', r. iv 8	Ritual text: the king temporarily deposits his jewellery in the <i>bēt qātē</i> .	-	(of the king)
SAA 20 49:15, 16, 27	Ninurta and Kaka in the right <i>bēt qātē</i> of the <i>hilāni</i> -building, Nusku in the left of the same. Haya and Kusu in the <i>bēt qātē</i> in the courtyard.	-	(of the gods Ninurta, Kaka, Nusku, Haya, Kusu)
SAA 20 52 r. iv 35', 37', 38', 40', 44', 46', 47', 48'	Kaka lives in the <i>šaḥūru</i> -building in the <i>bēt qātē</i> to the right of Aššur, Nusku in the <i>šaḥūru</i> -building in the <i>bēt qātē</i> to the left, Enlil in the <i>bēt qātē</i> opposite Bel-labria and Madanu in the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the “storehouses” (<i>abusāte</i>). Other gods are said to live in the right and left <i>bēt qātē</i> of the temple of Šamaš, in the <i>bēt qātē</i> between the temple of Sin and the temple of Šamaš and in the <i>bēt qātē</i> to the right of the temple of Adad.	-	(of the gods Kaka, Nusku, Madanu, ...)
ND 4318:14, r. 1, 19 (Postgate 1974b: 64–5)	Among the building parts of the Nabû Temple recorded here we find the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the king and twice the <i>bēt qātē</i> of the priest.	-	of the <i>šarru</i> (king) of the <i>sangû</i> (priest)

Table 4: Evidence for the *bēt qātēs* (excluding the private sphere)

2.2 The *ša-pān-bēt-qātē*

The title *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* is only attested twice in Neo-Assyrian sources; it is translated “supervisor of the storehouse” or “overseer of the storehouse”.¹³¹ The attested writings for this title are LÚ*.*ša*-IGI-É-ŠU.2 (SAA 16 91:7'–8') and [*šá*'-IG]I²-É-ŠU.2 (StAT 3 35 ii 9). According to its literal meaning “the one in front of the *bēt qātē*” this official was in charge of the *bēt qātē*. Though *bēt qātēs* are attested for private and public buildings, we are dealing here with an official active either in the temple or the palace sphere.

The title first occurs in a broken letter (SAA 16 91) written to Esarhaddon (author lost). Together with the entrance supervisor (see section 5.3 The *ša-pān-nērebi* (“entrance supervisor”)), the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* Mannu-kī[...] is cited in indirect speech (speaker lost); both are probably directly involved in an appointment (l. 10': *i-ba*¹-*qi-du*-^r*šú*²-*nu*²¹-[*ni*]). The general concern of the letter with appointments is indicated by the abstract nouns “tutorship” (l. 4': *murabbānūtu*) and “courtiership” (l. 5': *mazzāz panūtu*), both referring to groups operating

¹³¹ CAD Q 200. Only in Neo-Babylonian texts is there also a *ša-bīt-qāti* attested.

in proximity to the royal family.¹³² Although we can hardly reconstruct the original contents of the letter, it therefore seems to deal with court-related appointments involving the palace officials *ša-pān-nērebi* and *ša-pān-bēt-qātē*. Also Nabû-šallim-[...], official (title lost) in charge of the *bēt dannāte*, who is mentioned on the reverse of this letter, was possibly a palace official involved in the same matter.¹³³ The second attestation of this official is even less illuminating. Provided that the restoration is correct, this official is mentioned in what seems to be an account of barley (at least on the reverse, StAT 3 35). According to an entry on the obverse the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* Aššūr-iqbi is said to be under the responsibility of a certain Nabû-abu-ušur (StAT 3 35 ii 9). While we cannot establish the background to this tablet, it indicates that this official was of moderate rank and that he was assigned to a superior. Although this is supported by the *rab ekalli* recorded as being in charge of another individual (mentioned by name only) in the same document, the text is too fragmentary to draw any definite conclusions as to the rank of the supervisor of the storehouse. However, the appearance of the *rab ekalli* in the same context as Aššūr-iqbi suggests that he was related to the palace sphere (though there are also priests and deputy priests mentioned in the same document), just like his colleague in SAA 16 91. Since the meagre evidence for the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* is limited to the 7th century, this official may have been introduced only then as also assumed for the entrance supervisor (see Radner 2010b: 280) in connection with whom the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* once appears. In view of the fact that many *bēt qātē* are assigned to distinct officials and personnel, a *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* may have been appointed to unassigned *bēt qātē* (of the palace). Due to their well attested usage as storage facilities, including for precious items, a separate supervisory authority was perhaps employed for safety reasons.

¹³² This is clear for the *mazzāz pāni* (see also Part III, section 2.6 Hierarchies and the exertion of influence), but the term *murabbānu* is more problematic. Translated as “foster father” or “tutor” (CAD M/II 216 s.v. *murabbānu*), it is interpreted as “(horse) raiser” in the SAA series. The existence of a *murabbānu* of the crown prince (Sama’) and a *murabbānu* of Ḫundāru, known as king of Dilmun (‘Idru), and the absence of any other details for these individuals indicates their proximity to the ruling class. There is no definite sign that they were concerned with the rearing of horses; instead, they may have been some sort of educators of royal offspring (though they are not to be confused with the royal tutor [*ummānu*], see section 10 The king’s scholars); cf. a Middle Assyrian reference according to which the *murabbānu* is contrasted with the *ālidu* (i.e. the natural father) as cited in CAD M/II 216.

¹³³ Notwithstanding the *status constructus*, this official might have been concerned with the throne room area since the term *bētu dannu* seems to refer to this area of the palace, see Part III, section 2.2 Process of appointment. This title does not occur elsewhere in the Neo-Assyrian sources.

3 THE INNER QUARTERS

In the textual sources the inner area of the palace is usually referred to with the term *bētānu*. Administered by a separate official, namely the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni*, this area also accommodated musicians and employed separate gatekeepers. In the following, the personnel associated with this area are examined and the term *bētānu* is discussed in more detail.

3.1 On the *bētānu*

Adhering to the denotation “the interior”, *bētānu* contrasts with the term *bābānu* (cf. Oppenheim 1965: 328–9) which can be translated as “the outside” and is, like its counterpart, attested from Middle Babylonian times on. From this period there are also texts preserved where the two terms *bētānu* and *bābānu*, describing palatial areas, are contrasted with each other (Sassmannshausen 2001: 153). The term, denoting a substantive, is not known for the Neo-Assyrian period, though the adjective *bābānû*, meaning “outer”, does occur.¹³⁴ Once the term is used in a description of a temple, referring to the outer cella of Bel (SAA 13 162:17). Evidence comes also from an inscription of Sennacherib, where he describes the rebuilding of the Rear Palace (*ekal kutalli*) in Nineveh because it had become too small for the preparation of the troops and the review of horses. Besides the lack of a terrace (*tamlūu*) the king objects to its outer court (*kisallu bābānû*) which had become too small to let horses show their mettle (*šušmuru*) (RINAP 3/1 34:55–59). The term does not occur in the description of houses sold or in other private contexts. It is thus in large public buildings, either of secular or religious character, where outer areas are contrasted with inner areas. The pattern of a *bābānu* contrasting with a *bētānu*, as is revealed in the Middle Babylonian texts, has been applied to interpretations of the architectural remains of the Neo-Assyrian palace. Though there is not a single document with the two terms contrasting each other in Neo-Assyrian sources, the term *qannu* (“outside”) appears as a counterpart to *bētānu* when gatekeepers of the inner and the outer area of the palace are distinguished from each other.¹³⁵

The term *bētānu* is often referred to in the genitive as *É-a-ni*, while the following writings can be found occasionally: *É-a-nu*, *É-an-ni*, and *É-an-nu* or entire syllabic writings such as *bé-ta-nu*, *bé/be-ta-ni* or *bé/be-ta-a-ni*. These are distinct to references to the “main house”, *bētu dannu* (usually written *É-dan-nu*),¹³⁶

¹³⁴ CAD B 7 s.v. *bābānu* and s.v. *bābānû*.

¹³⁵ SAA 4 139:7; 142:7; 144:7. Cf. SAA 10 182 r. 15–16: *qa-an-ni ma-šar-ti* [...] *ma'-šar-ti*, probably to be restored as *bētāni maššarti*.

¹³⁶ The administrative document StAT 2 133 reads *É-tin-nu* in line 2 and it remains unclear as to what this writing actually refers.

and to “this house”, *bētu anniu* (written e.g. É *an-nu-u* or É *an-ni-ú*).¹³⁷ The term *bētānu*, basically meaning “inner part, interior”,¹³⁸ is used to describe the innermost parts of things. It is first attested in Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian texts and its use continues in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Late Babylonian dialects.¹³⁹ In sources dating to the Neo-Assyrian period it can be found in various contexts: it refers to the “interior” of a region or a particular area, either of a city,¹⁴⁰ or of a province (probably SAA 1 178:7 and SAA 5 83:5), or of a whole country (for instance Adad-nērāri II referring to the interior of the land Nairi: RIMA 2 A.0.99.2:30), or even of a river (SAA 19 60 r. 5). It is also used to describe the innermost part of the human,¹⁴¹ or animal body (SAA 20 16 r. iv 6). Apart from these attestations, the term mainly occurs in descriptions of buildings. The *bētānu* can form part of private buildings, temples, and palaces.¹⁴² While a *bētānu* associated with the temple sphere is attested in letters, royal inscriptions, and ritual texts,¹⁴³ the term is used in legal documents to refer to a particular part of a private house. These legal documents mainly record house sales where the individual parts of the sold building are enumerated.¹⁴⁴ Attestations where *bētānu* probably refers to a part of the palace are comparatively rare and in most cases not conclusive. However, there is a significant reference in a letter written by the official Bēl-iqīša (title unknown) to the king (Esarhaddon). Here, a certain Nabû-..., scribe of the major-domo (*rab bēti*), said to Bēl-iqīša (after a request for fodder for horses) “I will cut you off from the inner quarters.” (SAA 16 112 r. 2–3: *a-na-ku TA* É-an-ni a-pa-ra-as-ka*). Taking this statement in literal sense, it is the involvement of the *rab bēti*, usually appointed to the households of high-ranking state

¹³⁷ Oppenheim (1965), discussing the *bētānu*, repeatedly refers to attestations of the *bētu dannu* or the *bētu annū* instead (Heather D. Baker by oral communication). The same is true for the discussion of this term by Turner (1970: 78–80) and also in more recent years scholars have adopted Oppenheim’s idea, like, for instance, Novák (2002: 447, 451).

¹³⁸ CAD B 274. Cf. Radner 1997a: 264: it is a “lokalisiertes Lokaladverb” basically meaning “in the house”. She further it as “Privatraum”, particularly with respect to private houses.

¹³⁹ For the Middle Babylonian attestations see Sassmannshausen 2001: 152–7.

¹⁴⁰ SAA 15 116 r. 7’ and probably SAA 19 22 r. 10, where the sender reports on the construction of a city gate (*abullu*) of the inner area.

¹⁴¹ SAA 10 302 r. 6; 328 r. 17; SAA 15 47 r. 4’. Either referring to the physical or the emotional part.

¹⁴² CAD B 274–5 distinguishes between a general use of *bētānu* in the context of buildings and a specific use in connection with temple and palace buildings.

¹⁴³ SAA 13 71:9: the *kamunū*-fungus appeared in the inner courtyard (*tarbāšu ša bētāni*) of the Nabû Temple; probably SAA 15 135:3’; RINAP 4 57 iii 35: “inner cella” of Aššur Temple (*bēt papāhu bētānū*); cf. SAA 20 52 v 9’ and ND 4318:17, r. 12 (in Postgate 1974b: 64–5).

¹⁴⁴ House sales mentioning *bētānu* are: StAT 3 73:3; VAT 19537:6; SAAB 5 33:6; SAAB 9 73:3; KAN 4 22:3. Additionally there is a judicial document dealing with the inheritance share of a house (StAT 3 3:5), another document concerning the division of inheritance (Radner 2016 I.9:6) and a broken legal text where a bedroom as well as a *bētānu* are placed as a pledge, in which the recipient is said to live for five years (SAA 14 440:7).

officials,¹⁴⁵ that suggests that the innermost part from which Bēl-iqīša was to be excluded was the residence of a governor or a magnate stationed in the province rather than the main residence of the king at the imperial centre. This is supported by the complaint of Bēl-iqīša saying that he has no authority over anybody in the household of his master to which he was appointed; thus, clearly not referring to the king as his master but perhaps to a provincial governor.¹⁴⁶ Assuming that the provincial governors' residences in fact were provincial palaces, serving as temporary residences for the king, the *bētānu* area in question could nevertheless be counted among the innermost areas of the palace, albeit of a provincial palace. On the other hand, however, this phrase may have been meant as a metaphor with which the warning was expressed that Bēl-iqīša will be removed from the inner area of the household of the king. In this case the unspecified *bētānu* is understood as an abstract term which refers to the immediate environment of the king and the imperial nucleus of power. Another, more explicit, reference is SAA 10 44 in which the king (Esarhaddon) receives advice from the two astrologers Nabû-aḥḥē-erība and Balasī to stay in the inner quarters (l. 10: *ina É-an-ni*) and only to go to a certain city (name lost) in the 7th month. The innermost area in question was that of the main palace, serving as a secure place for its royal residents which is supported by its association with the queen's establishment: on a textile label (SAA 7 93), bearing the date 2nd Ayyaru 658 BCE, it is noted that "two domestic *maqātu*-textiles,¹⁴⁷ the front red, of the port" (ll. 1–2) are "from Ibbāia, in the inner quarters, care of Aššūr-killanni" (ll. 3–r. 1: TA IGI PN₁, *ina É-a-ni ŠU PN₂*).¹⁴⁸ This delivery of two *maqātu*-garments by a certain Ibbāia to the *bētānu* area under the responsibility of Aššūr-killanni was confirmed by a sealing. The stamp seal, presumably affixed to the label by Aššūr-killanni,¹⁴⁹ depicted a scorpion which clearly refers to the bureau of the queen, as discussed by Radner.¹⁵⁰ Although the *bētānu* itself is not to be equated with the queen's household, this is nevertheless a clear sign of that the inner area of the palace housed this establishment which also corresponds to the functional purpose ascribed to the inner area of the North-West Palace (also judging by the archival

¹⁴⁵ See Postgate 2007: 27; Groß 2015c: 254–5.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Postgate 2007: 24–8 on the phrase "masters' house" (*bēt-bēlē*) and especially pp. 25–6 on the present letter. He, however, reads *É annī* and translates "this house".

¹⁴⁷ The edition translates "house gowns"; for further attestations see CAD M/I 251 s.v. *maqātu*. For a discussion of this term see Gaspa 2018: 278–80 (s.v. *maqātu*).

¹⁴⁸ For the qualification "of the port" see section 17.1.2.5 Professional skills and organisation, p. 394 fn. 937.

¹⁴⁹ Possibly the same Aššūr-killanni is listed along with one horse in the account of precious items and equids (SAA 7 118 r. ii 17).

¹⁵⁰ Radner 2008: 494–5, with reference to Herboldt 1992 as well as Parker 1955 and Mallowan 1966 who both suggested a close connection between the queen and the symbol of a scorpion.

remnants from this area).¹⁵¹ In connection with meat supplies the inner area of the palace is mentioned in three accounts of ceremonial banquets, possibly all related to one big event in the reign of Esarhaddon.¹⁵² Like the various distinct palaces listed here, it is recorded as a separate institution receiving meat. Further attestations of the *bētānu* of the palace are probably to be found in the wine list CTN 1 4 where it is once mentioned along with sheep (1 UDU. MÍ.ÁŠ.QAR.MEŠ É-*a-ni*, r. 13) and once along with an ethnic group (K[UR.x] x-*ni-i* ša É-*a-nim*, r. 17). These few references to the *bētānu*, as the inner area of the palace, indicate its secluded character as well as its residential purpose in combination with deliveries for consumption (clothing and foods). These aspects are also underlined by the personnel assigned to that area: the “[gatekeepers] of the inner quarters”, originally mentioned in three queries to the sun-god,¹⁵³ imply that the palatial *bētānu* area was faithfully guarded, and the musicians who are assigned to that area according to a wine list (CTN 3 133 i 13) underline its residential use.

Oppenheim (1965) already pointed out the basic meaning of *bētānu*, but he additionally proposed another specific meaning for some instances of the term. Inspired by two Biblical references in the Book of Esther (1:5 and 7:8) he concluded that *bētānu* can also refer to a kind of (royal) kiosk or summerhouse (Oppenheim 1965: 331) which is, however, not tenable for the Assyrian period (because his results are based on misreadings, see above). Nevertheless, the two references in the Book of Esther are of some interest. First it is stated that a public banquet is given by the king Aḫasveros (Xerxes) in the garden of the royal *bētānu* (in Susa). In the same palatial area it is said that king Aḫasveros went after he became angry when being told about the misdeeds of his court official Ḫaman. According to these references the *bētānu* was a palatial area with a special connection to the king, and thus these references basically have similar implications to the Neo-Assyrian evidence discussed above.

3.2 The *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni*

Literally meaning “the one in charge of the ‘inner quarters’”, *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* is usually translated as “chamberlain” (SAA series). Hence, he was the official in charge of the management of the king’s internal household. The title is attested only from Neo-Assyrian times on, down to Neo-Babylonian

¹⁵¹ Oates and Oates 2001: 61–8. The archival remnants of the treasurers of the queen active in the 8th century were found in room 57 (Oates and Oates 2001: 65, Ahmad and Postgate 2007: 5).

¹⁵² SAA 7 148 ii 11’; 149 ii 2’, 6’; 153 i 5’. Mattila (1990: 16, fn. 5) suggested that this might have been in early 672 when Esarhaddon assembled Assyria to take loyalty oaths relating to his succession plans; cf. Fales and Postgate 1992: XXXIII.

¹⁵³ SAA 4 139, 142 and 144. The restoration is made analogous to the subsequent entry of the gatekeepers of the outer area (*qannu*), best preserved in SAA 4 142:7.

(CAD B 275 s.v. *bētānu*). In the sources dating to the Neo-Assyrian period the title is written LÚ/LÚ*.šá-UGU-E-a-ni and (LÚ).šá-UGU-E-a-ni. The following variants can also be found: ša-LÚ*.UGU-É-a-ni (CTN 1 18 r. 14'; 23 r. 3'), LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-nu (SAA 10 179), šá-UGU-ḫi-É-a-na (SAA 18 121), and, if restored correctly, [LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-n]a (SAA 17 103). For the only eponym bearing the title *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* there are two additional writings attested in date formulae: ša-UGU-É-an-ni (CTN 3 40) and [LÚ.šá-UGU]-É-an-ni (SAAB 1 20). Mattila (2009: 164–5) discussed this office in brief.

3.2.1 Property

It is evident from a land grant (SAA 12 30) dated in the reign of Assurbanipal that the *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* was in possession of land. Here it is recorded that land owned by the *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* is tax-exempt: “The fields, gardens, and people which he had acquired under my protection and made his own estate, I exempted from taxes, wrote down and sealed with my royal seal (...)” (e.g. SAA 12 29:23–26, cf. e.g. SAA 12 25:23–26). According to this stereotypical phrase, not preserved in the present document but reconstructed on the basis of similar land grants from the reign of Assurbanipal, the land in question was presumably not granted to the *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* but was rather acquired by him through legal transactions, as the verb *qanû* suggests. Its meaning “to acquire”, only attested in the Neo-Assyrian period (CAD Q 91), is perhaps more specifically “to purchase”, as seems appropriate for *qanû* in SAA 10 294 (*aq-ṭu-nu* in r. 23). It implies that he had sufficient resources to acquire real estate. The fact that the chamberlain was a wealthy man is supported by his subordinate, the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni, who bought houses, land and people and apparently was a wealthy man too (see below). This circumstance must have derived largely from his employment beneath the chamberlain.

3.2.2 Allocations

The *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* is attested three times as recipient of wine rations given out by the palace in the 8th century. In two cases (CTN 1 4 r. 8 and 23 r. 3') the amount of wine given to the *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* is lost, but he receives two *qû* of wine according to CTN 1 18 (r. 14'). In CTN 1 4 the office may or may not be connected to a certain Adad-uballiṭ mentioned in the previous line; this cannot be verified since the first part of the line is missing. Otherwise, the *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* is mentioned before the cupbearer (CTN 1 23) or after the *ša-pān-ekalli* (CTN 1 4). The *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* is also allocated redistributed tribute or audience gifts. The letter SAA 1 34, written by (the crown prince) Sennacherib to his father, enumerates two different allocations to high-ranking officials of state, some of which are described either as audience gifts or tribute.

The *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni* occurs after the *ša-pān-ekalli* (see section 1.2.5.2 Redistributed palace income, with a more detailed analysis of this letter) and is listed along with one mina of silver and one toga (*šaddīnu*).

3.2.3 Legal transactions

According to a legal document dating to 668, the chamberlain Urdu-Issār bought a mother and her son for 1 ½ minas of silver from a certain Salmānu-immē whose background remains unclear (SAA 14 65:2′). Another chamberlain witnessed a silver loan document from Imgur-Illil (BT 101a r. 14).

3.2.4 Functions

3.2.4.1 Involved in Babylonian affairs

Aqār-Bēl-lūmur, a well-known author (alone or jointly) of several letters to the king, addressed a letter (SAA 17 103) to an unnamed chamberlain in the reign of Sennacherib. Unfortunately only a fragment is preserved and thus, apart from the reference to a certain Bādāia, we lack the contents of the letter.¹⁵⁴ There are two more fragmentary Neo-Babylonian letters, probably dating to the reign of Esarhaddon, where a *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni* is mentioned. Almost nothing can be said about SAA 18 15; SAA 18 121 is an appeal made by deaf people. According to the heading, the situation described took place in a time span between the 10th month (Kanūnu), when the chief of sheep offerings (*rab darī*) arrived, and the first month (Nisannu) (of the following year). The sender of this message (without address header) reports that he and others are suffering from famine and that is why “the sealed house of the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni*” was opened four times (r. 5′–6′). Hence, the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni* was in charge of a locked house or department containing institutional supplies, and the repeated unlocking in the present case was possibly done without his authorisation. Judging by the reference to the chief of sheep offerings, the situation described is related to the temple sphere, and thus this is probably also true for the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni*. Basically I would, however, suggest that since the *rab darī* apparently only visited the place in question, he may have brought foodstuffs which then were locked away.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Bādāia is also known to have written two letters to the king (SAA 17 101, 102). In SAA 17 102 it seems that Bādāia introduces Aqār-Bēl-lūmur to the king by promoting the latter, who probably became his successor (see Parpola 2002: 566). Aqār-Bēl-lūmur himself seems to have been active in Gambulu, a region north-east of Babylon, at least in the years 704 to 693 (see Dietrich 2003: XXVII). Parpola (2002: 566–8) assumes that Aqār-Bēl-lūmur’s seat of office was in Dur-Abihara, capital of Gambulu, and that he was probably the governor of that province.

¹⁵⁵ Judging by the function of the *rab darī*, these might have been consecrated foodstuffs. But it is questionable whether this was sheep meat since its shelf-life is limited (unless it was conserved by drying or so).

In another Babylonian letter written by Kudurru, a Babylonian diviner, to Esarhaddon (SAA 10 179), a *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* participated in a conspiracy against the king. Apart from the chamberlain the chief cupbearer Nabû-killanni, the chief tailor, and the overseer of the city (*ša-muḥḥi-āli*) are involved.¹⁵⁶ In the context of the conspiracy Kudurru was brought to the Sin Temple in Harran, where he had to perform an oracle query to Šamaš concerning the question of whether the *rab ša-rēši* was going to take over the kingship.¹⁵⁷ Kudurru explains to the king that he simulated the ritual and told them a positive answer of Šamaš in order to save his life. This letter is one of those documents that inform us about the conspiracy of a certain Sasî emanating from Harran area in the year 670 BCE (Radner 2003c). It shows that the chamberlain was cooperating with high-ranking state officials such as the chief cupbearer.

From these attestations of the chamberlain occurring in Babylonian letters dating to the reign of Sennacherib and later, it is possible that the chamberlains in question were active in Babylonia, at the court in Babylon. This is supported by a *kudurru* fragment listing palace officials of Aššūr-nādin-šumi, son of Sennacherib, who was installed as regent over Babylonia. These officials included a *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni*.¹⁵⁸

3.2.4.2 A post-canonical eponym

As with the offices of the *ša-pān-ekalli* and the *tuṣṣar ekalli*, it was only in the post-canonical period that a *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* (Sīn-ālik-pāni) became eponym. According to the schedule established by Parpola, this was in the year 615*; according to Reade (1998: 257), 617*. Thus a *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* functioned as eponym only a few years before the fall of the Neo-Assyrian empire, which implies a certain increase in rank in late Neo-Assyrian times (cf. Mattila 2009: 165).

3.2.5 Rank and influence

The list of distribution of tribute and audience gifts in a letter to the king (Sargon) (SAA 1 34) demonstrates the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni*'s place beneath the key royal figures, highest-ranking state officials and the palace supervisor. When

¹⁵⁶ The edition prefers to translate “cohort commander” (*rab kišri*), though it is three times written LÚ.GAL-*ka-šir*, since he appears to fulfil menial jobs (see commentary ad no. 179 in Parpola 1993: 142). I believe that it is indeed the *rab kāširi* who is acting here, see section 6.7.3.2 Prominently active in Babylonia.

¹⁵⁷ The *rab ša-rēši* in question is Aššūr-nāšir (Mattila, PNA 1/I 204 s.v. Aššūr-nāšir 11). According to Radner (2003c: 173, fns. 65, 66) this need not mean that the *rab ša-rēši* might become king but rather that the *rab ša-rēši* was the one who might enthrone someone instead of Esarhaddon (like the *rab ša-rēši* Sīn-šumu-lēšir who supported Aššūr-etel-ilāni in succeeding Assurbanipal). I would prefer to take the claim on the Assyrian throne by the *rab ša-rēši* seriously here (also Sīn-šumu-lēšir occupied the Assyrian throne, albeit only for a short period).

¹⁵⁸ Ashmolean 1933.110 iii 8' (Brinkman and Dalley 1988: 82).

comparing the different amounts given to the officials listed, it appears that there was a considerable break between the extent of allocations provided for these high-ranking figures and the allocations meant for the remaining functionaries, including the chamberlain, the palace scribe as well as a chariot driver and a “third man (on chariot)”.¹⁵⁹ The association of the chamberlain with the highest-ranking personnel, as shown in the present case, also emerges in the case of conspiring officials referred to in the aforementioned Babylonian letter SAA 18 121. The chamberlain cooperated here with the chief cupbearer, the city overseer (of Harran), and the chief tailor.

The aforementioned royal grant (SAA 12 30), according to which the land of a *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* was tax-exempt, indicates that the chamberlain enjoyed material wealth as well as a certain closeness to the king. As this document was written according to a formula known only from the reign of Assurbanipal,¹⁶⁰ one can easily reconstruct the whole document although only about thirteen lines are preserved on the reverse. It reads in the standard formula that royal favour of tax exemption was accorded to individuals who were “devoted to the king from succession to kingship”, served the king “in faithfulness” and “grew with a good repute” in the king’s palace. Apart from the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* a fodder master (SAA 12 25), a *rab ša-rēši* (SAA 12 26) as well as a *ša-rēši* (SAA 12 29) can be identified as court officials favoured in this way according to similar grants from the reign of Assurbanipal. Another statement in these stereotypical grants, which is also preserved in the one dealing with the land of the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni*, expresses that the grantee can choose the place of his burial (in the palace), which must have been a great honour. This document indicates that the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* (stationed in the centre) was quite close to the king and constitutes a central official within the palace, even being buried there. This land grant as well as the appointment of the chamberlain *Sīn-ālik-pāni* as eponym after the reign of Assurbanipal indicate that the influence and rank of this official increased towards the end of the Neo-Assyrian empire. While the king together with the magnates and the governors formerly held office as eponym exclusively, palace officials such as the palace supervisor and the palace scribe occur as eponyms especially towards the end of the Neo-Assyrian empire. According to Mattila (2009: 265–6) this reflects the late Neo-Assyrian kings’ increasing focus on palace life and an upgrading of palace officials. Another reason for the enhancement of the position of the chamberlain in the 7th century was perhaps the employment of such an official in Babylonia. On comparison with the palace supervisor, whose role was central

¹⁵⁹ The latter two must have been selected charioteers, see also section 6.2 Military functionaries “of the palace”.

¹⁶⁰ This need not necessarily mean that the particular schedule was invented in the reign of Assurbanipal since there is a general lack of preserved private grants between 730 and 657; see Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXV–XXVI.

for the control of Babylonia in times of Assyrian supremacy, the chamberlain may have taken over additional tasks in correspondence with the circumstances in the south which gave reason to honour him with the appointment as eponym.

3.2.6 Subordinates

Two “third men (on chariot)” and a common servant are attested as subordinates of the chamberlain. Additionally there is the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni who was probably also a subordinate of the chamberlain. All these functionaries are only attested in legal documents, either as witnesses or as active parties to legal documents.

The legal transactions of the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni form a substantial dossier dating from the years 709 down to at least 680.¹⁶¹ His assignment to the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* is only indicated once, in SAA 6 42, according to which he bought a house for three minas of silver. Judging from the first three listed witnesses (Urdu-Aia, weaver of multicoloured trim; Ilu-ibni, brother of the mayor; and Kēnū'a from the Inner city) as well as the penalty clause, the house in question was located in Assur (cf. Deller and Millard 1985: 48). Šumma-ilāni most likely bought this house on his behalf. The same seems to be true for the other properties Šumma-ilāni dealt with. According to his dossier he bought numerous people as well as land (including vineyards) and another house. From among the bought people there are three identified as gardener, as royal farmer (in the context of the purchase of land and vineyards) and as donkey driver. Šumma-ilāni also appears as creditor of silver and oil. The latter, an amount of six *emāru* (= more than 1,000 litres!), was owed by the *rab bēti* of Carchemish. Among the other business partners of Šumma-ilāni there is only Il-amar who is known by his office, chief of granaries (*rab karmāni*). Bēl-ibni, also a subordinate of the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni*, appears twice as business partner of Šumma-ilāni. Judging from all these transactions where Šumma-ilāni appears either as purchaser or as creditor, he must have been a wealthy man (Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XX–XXVI). A judicial document concerning a theft in a house of Šumma-ilāni suggests that this was also known by his contemporaries.

As already stated, Šumma-ilāni was subordinate to the chamberlain, according to SAA 6 42. In the other documents he either appears without any title or as *mukil appāti*. Only in the earliest text (SAA 6 34) dating to 709 BCE is he described as chariot driver of Kišir-šarri (with *Personenkeil*). Assuming that it was indeed the same Šumma-ilāni, he either was assigned to another official over the years, or Kišir-šarri was the personal name of the chamberlain referred to in SAA 6 42. But since the *Personenkeil* for Kišir-šarri is probably to be

¹⁶¹ Note that there is only one legal text from the year 709. The next transaction from Šumma-ilāni is only attested from the year 700.

doubted (cf. Kwasman and Parpola 1991: 38), it might be that he was a chariot driver of the royal cohort (*kišir šarri*).¹⁶² Be that as it may, the reference to the chamberlain in SAA 6 42 seems clear especially considering that the fourth witness of this legal transaction is described as a servant of the chamberlain. The fact that Šumma-ilāni's full title is given especially in this text might be owed to the place of origin of the transaction, since he was probably less well known in Assur.

Otherwise, two “third men”, Bēl-dān and Šār-Issār, who witnessed legal transactions (SAA 14 19, 21) of the royal *ša-rēši* Nīnuāiu in the reign of Assurbanipal, are designated as subordinates of the chamberlain. Apart from military functionaries there is only Bēl-ibni left, said to be the servant of the chamberlain in the aforementioned house sale document SAA 6 42, dating to 692 BCE. Ten years later the same Bēl-ibni appears as seller of a female slave for one mina of silver to Šumma-ilāni (SAA 6 45). Assuming the identification is correct, he deals with Šumma-ilāni again in SAA 6 55 according to which Bēl-ibni sells him a donkey-driver for 1 ½ minas of silver. The latter text refers to Bēl-ibni as a subordinate of Kišir- [...]. This could refer to the already discussed designation of the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni in SAA 6 34 either to be read Kišir-šarri or to be interpreted as *kišir šarri* (royal cohort). Taking the repeated connections between Bēl-ibni and Šumma-ilāni into account as well as the fact that they are both subordinates of the chamberlain, the partly preserved personal name might refer to Kišir-šarri in SAA 6 34. The assignment to the *kišir šarri* could be excluded and the chamberlain in question was in office at least from 709 to 692 BCE.

Whereas the two “third-men” Bēl-dān and Šār-Issār only appear in the reign of Assurbanipal, the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni is already attested in the reign of Sargon, though he is only definitely identified as subordinate of the chamberlain in the reign of Sennacherib. Judging by the fact that the status of palace officials, including the chamberlain, increased (see above), this range of subordinates is a late development. The military functionaries may have been assigned to the *ša-muḥḥi-bētāni* either as a sign of increased prestige or because of altered functions, including military tasks and other duties or both. His deployment in Babylonia implies a functional reason, but the general assumption that the chariot disappeared from the central battlefield in the 7th century (Noble 1990: 66–7; Postgate 2000b: 97–8) suggests that also prestige was a significant factor to be taken into account in the case of palace officials who had equipped chariots at their disposal (see also section 6.5 Military functionaries of palace officials).

¹⁶² There is one individual bearing the personal name Kišir-šarri in A 2485 (r. 10) according to Baker (PNA 2/I 629); however, the edition (StAT 2 182) reads ^m*ki-din*-20 (Kidin-Šamaš).

3.2.7 Summary

Apart from the title of the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni* itself, there is little evidence that this official was occupied in the innermost palatial area. It is at least clear that he was responsible for the storage of institutional supplies. Otherwise, we can only guess what his particular tasks in the palace were. Judging from his title, he had supervisory functions and was responsible for the *bētānu* area.¹⁶³ The *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni*'s association with the palace is indicated by the wine lists, where he appears occasionally, and by the royal grant according to which he was granted with a burial plot in the palace. Another hint as to his primary sphere of activities is the one and only letter addressed to such an official in the reign of Sennacherib. Since this document was found either in the North Palace or the South-West Palace in Nineveh, one may assume that it was originally sent to the department of the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni* in the palace.

3.3 Other personnel associated with the *bētānu*

Apart from individuals explicitly stated to be in the service of the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni*, there is further evidence of personnel active in the *bētānu* area (of the palace): in one wine list (CTN 3 133) the musicians from the “inner quarters” receive two *šapputu*-bowls of wine. Moreover, one broken line in CTN 1 23 (r. 5') also mentions this term, where it is probably to be read together with the cupbearers mentioned in the previous line.¹⁶⁴ In three exemplars of queries to the sun-god concerning a possible rebellion either against the king Esarhaddon or the crown prince Assurbanipal, gatekeepers of the “inner (area)” are mentioned in a passage enumerating every potential transgressor against the Assyrian crown (SAA 4 139:7; 142:7; 144:7). They are mentioned after the personal guard (*ša-šēpē*) and before the gatekeepers of the “outer (area)” and it seems as if functionaries concerned with the security of the king are being named consecutively here.¹⁶⁵

4 THE DOMESTIC SECTOR

The composition of the domestics employed by the palace is clear from enumerations of professional titles provided in letters, administrative texts, and queries; the same designations repeatedly occur in almost the same order,

¹⁶³ Barjamovic (2011: 59) describes him as “senior manager of the royal abode”.

¹⁶⁴ Note that in r. 3' the *ša-muḥḫi-bētāni* is mentioned.

¹⁶⁵ See also section 5.2 The *atû* (gatekeeper). For the references to the gatekeepers assigned to the inner and the outer palace area as well as to the musicians of the inner area see the Prosopographical Catalogue.

as demonstrated in Table 5. In a letter of Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, the 69 domestics (*nišē bēti*) forming part of the king's troops (*šāb šarri*) stationed in Mazamua are said to consist of 8 *ša-bēti-šanīe*, 12 tailors, 20 cupbearers, 12 confectioners, 7 bakers, and 10 cooks.¹⁶⁶ In two almost identical administrative lists from Nineveh, dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal, the *ša-bēti-šanīe* are followed by the tailors, the cupbearers, the cooks, and the confectioners (SAA 7 21:7'-r. 1; 22:4'-r. 2). The numbers which are given along with the professional titles are quite high, and it remains unclear whether these refer to the actual number of office-holders or rather to some sort of commodity supplied to these office-holders.¹⁶⁷ Similar arrangements can be found in two queries to the sun-god addressing possible rebellions against Esarhaddon or the crown prince Assurbanipal.¹⁶⁸ In the query concerning rebellion against Esarhaddon (SAA 4 139) the *ša-bēti-šanīe* precede the cooks, the confectioners, and the bakers. In the query concerning rebellion against Assurbanipal (SAA 4 142) the *ša-bēti-šanīe* would appear, if the restoration is correct, before the tailors, the cupbearers, cooks, confectioners, and bakers.¹⁶⁹

SAA 5 215	SAA 4 139	SAA 4 142	SAA 7 21	SAA 7 22
8 <i>ša-bēti-šanīe</i>	<i>ša-[bēti-šanīe]</i>	[<i>ša-bēti-šanīe</i>]	[300] <i>ša-bēti-šanīe</i>	300 <i>ša-bēti-šanīe</i>
12 <i>kāširī</i>	<i>nuḫatimmī</i>	[<i>kāširī</i>]	300 <i>kāširī</i>	400 <i>kāširī</i>
20 <i>šāqê</i>	<i>karkadinnī</i>	<i>šāqê</i>	220 <i>šāqê</i>	220 <i>šāqê</i>
12 <i>karkadinnī</i>	<i>āpiāni</i>	<i>nuḫatimmī</i>	400 <i>nuḫatimmī</i>	400 <i>nuḫatimmī</i>
7 <i>āpiāni</i>		<i>karkadinnī</i>	400 <i>karkadinnī</i>	400 <i>karkadinnī</i>
10 <i>nuḫatimmī</i>		<i>āpiāni</i>		

Table 5: Sequences of domestics

¹⁶⁶ SAA 5 215:16–8. For a detailed discussion of this letter and its implications for the composition of the Neo-Assyrian army see Postgate 2000a.

¹⁶⁷ Fales and Postgate (1992: XIX, 28) suggest that the numbers could refer to the “entire body of military, administrative or domestic personnel at Nineveh at that time”. For a short discussion of the possible size of the Neo-Assyrian court see section Part III, 1.3 Composition and organisation.

¹⁶⁸ SAA 4 139:8–9; 142:9. A similar passage is entirely restored in a query similar to SAA 4 139. It lists “[tailors, cupbearers, cooks, confectioners and bakers]” (SAA 4 144:9).

¹⁶⁹ In both queries the enumeration of the domestics is immediately followed by the phrase “all the *kitkittū(-workers)*” which may refer to skilled workers of different kind, also including craftsmen according to other texts (see, for instance, Billa 85). For *kitkittū* as an overall term for kitchen staff see also CTN 2 199. The term is a Sumerian loanword and occurs already in Old Akkadian texts (CAD K 453–4 s.v. *kiškattū*).

The consistency within these enumerations of domestic functionaries or professionals associated with the Assyrian court (regarding the king's troops as an external branch of it) is by no means accidental. The domestic area at court basically comprised employees of the "Second House", functionaries concerned with the preparation and supply of foods and drinks, and functionaries associated with clothing.¹⁷⁰ The fact that the *ša-bēti-šanie* are always mentioned first suggests that they were regarded as the highest ranking category among the domestics. A different observation may be made for the bakers, who only occur in the letter and the queries but not in the administrative documents. Together with the fact that they constitute the lowest number of individuals forming part of the domestics of the army of Mazamua, this indicates that the bakers were comparatively less important for the palace than the other types of domestics, which is supported by the relatively high number of bakers (including chief bakers) associated with the temple instead. For each type of domestic an associated department is attested, including the *bētu šaniu* ("Second House"), *bēt nuḫatimmi* ("House of the Cook"), *bēt karkadinni* ("House of the Confectioner"), *bēt āpie* ("House of the Baker"), *bēt šāqie* ("House of the Cupbearer"), and *bēt kāširi* ("House of the Tailor"). In the following sub-sections the individual categories of domestics as well as their associated departments are discussed.

4.1 The *bētu šaniu* ("Second House")

The term *bētu šaniu* is interpreted as "servant quarters" in CAD B 297 or as "domestic quarters" in recent editions (SAA series) and refers to sectors either to be found in private houses or in representative buildings. Discussing the various parts of private buildings found in the descriptions of houses in sale contracts, Radner (1997a: 272–3) translates the term *bētu šaniu* as "Nebenhaus" (similar to AHW 134) and contrasts it with the term *bētu dannu* ("Haupthaus").¹⁷¹ With regard to the *bētu šaniu* of the palace, Ahmad and Postgate (2007: 6) suggest that it was the domestic sector.¹⁷² This is plausible in view of the tasks and the association with cooks, confectioners, and other domestics of the *ša-bēti-šanie* (as discussed below) and is partly supported by the references to the department itself (given in Table 6). However, alternative ideas especially in view of the archaeological evidence, are discussed below.

¹⁷⁰ A very similar composition of the domestic personnel of the Persian court is handed down by Greek authors (Briant 2002: 292–3).

¹⁷¹ Additional translations for *bētu šaniu* are given in Paley 1989: 141.

¹⁷² They also suggest that the *bētu šaniu* housed the queen's establishment itself, for which there is no indication at the moment.

RIMA 2 A.0.101.103	inscription on stone slabs from the North-West Palace	Aššurnāṣirpal II
CTN 3 96:14	administrative document: a new “driving-platform” is taken from the Review Palace to install it in the <i>bētu šaniu</i>	Sg II
SAA 1 107:12	letter concerning the feeding of horses	Sg II
SAA 15 10:6'	badly broken letter (concerned with barley rations)	Sg II
SAA 7 115 i 12, r. ii 9 ¹⁷³	administrative list: the <i>bētu šaniu</i> receives linen fibre	7 th century(?)
SAA 7 64 r. 13'	administrative list of precious items: weighing process in the <i>bētu šaniu</i>	-

Table 6: Neo-Assyrian evidence for the *bētu šaniu* (except for attestations in legal documents, i.e. private context)

The *bētu šaniu* occurs six times in legal documents as part of private houses from the reign of Sennacherib on.¹⁷⁴ As to the *bētu šaniu* in public buildings, it is stated after the summation in the administrative document SAA 7 64, listing precious items and accounting for the quantities of gold used, that “the sample in the domestic quarter was not weighed” (r. ii 13': *lit-ku ina É-2-e la' ḥi'-ṭi*). While we lack a concrete background, this statement at least indicates that the *bētu šaniu* was not only concerned with domestic tasks but was associated with precious metals. This brings to mind the royal letter TH 7 sent to the governor of Guzana, according to which a *ša-bēti-šanie* was ordered to transport 40 minas of gold (see below). The letter SAA 15 10 apparently deals with barley but is too broken to shed light on the role of the *bētu šaniu* mentioned. In the letter SAA 1 107 Ṭāb-ṣil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, explains to Sargon how he feeds his horses when staying at home (which seems not to be appreciated by the king). He states that one half of his horses are fed in the province of Barhalza while the other half “eat at the [...] of the ci]ty of Issete in the *bētu šaniu* of [...]” (ll. 11–12: 'ina' [x x x] 'URU'.1-te [ina] É-2-'i' [x x x] e-ku-lu). In both letters the *bētu šaniu* is associated with crops. This connection is supported by the *ša-bēti-šanie* in ND 2803 who is responsible for the transfer of food to the Philistines. While SAA 1 107 documents the feeding of horses by the “Second House” and may also remind us of the *ša-bēti-šanie* several times listed in proximity to the mule-stable attendant (*ša-bēt-kūdini*, see below), ND 2803 rather records the responsibility of the “Second House” for the feeding of humans. In an administrative record (CTN 3 96) from Kalhu

¹⁷³ This is contra Postgate (2007: 26, fn. 52) who interprets it as “house of the deputy” in both cases.

¹⁷⁴ SAAB 9 73:4 (698); SAA 6 42:5 (692); Radner 2016 1.9:14 (654); StAt 3 69:5 (636*) and CTSHM 30:8 (after the reign of Assurbanipal); cf. Radner 1997a: 272–3.

dating to the reign of Sargon it is stated that one new floorboard of a chariot was taken from the Review Palace for the *bētu šaniu* (localisation unknown).¹⁷⁵ It is summed up together with three old floorboards said to be “at the entrance of the palace(?)”. Perhaps this refers to a type of trolley used in the course of the banquets which seem to have taken place in the *bētu šaniu* (see below).

The association of the *bētu šaniu* with the domestics is indicated by an administrative document from Nineveh, probably dating to the 7th century, which deals with the consumption of linen fibre, madder, and wool. Here, the *bētu šaniu* is twice recorded as recipient of an amount (lost) of linen fibre, presumably meant for its internal needs (SAA 7 115 i 1, r. ii 9). The two allocations are apparently meant for two distinct departments since the second entry belongs to a section dealing with recipients of linen fibre connected to the “New House” (SAA 7 115 r. ii 16), whereas the Second House mentioned first might have belonged to one of the palaces in Nineveh and Kalhu enumerated at the beginning of this record.¹⁷⁶ Apart from palaces and provincial centres, the “House of the Tailor” (SAA 7 115 i 13, r. ii 7) and the “House of the Cupbearer” (SAA 7 115 r. ii 8) are here recorded as recipients of linen fibre. The latter two immediately precede or succeed the entries for the Second House and therefore underline the connection of these departments and their associated professionals.

Apart from these attestations from everyday documents, the term *bētu šaniu* appears on a label of Aššurnaširpal II engraved on the reverse of two stone seats covering door-sockets of a double-winged door from the North-West Palace.¹⁷⁷ It describes the threshold between as *kisirtu ša bēti šanie*, “paving block of the *bētu šaniu*”. It is not clear to which entrance it originally belonged, but owing to its length possible doorways were identified to the north, south, and west of courtyard Y, situated beyond the outer area (*bābānu*) and the throne room section.¹⁷⁸ Suggesting an original localisation of the threshold at the gateway connecting the northern room F with the courtyard Y, Paley (1989: 142, fn. 33) concluded that the large rooms surrounding courtyard Y were called *bētu šaniu* and that they were used for “social affairs of the state” such as

¹⁷⁵ The “floorboard” is written GIŠ.KI.KAL, see CAD S 195 s.v. *sassu* 1 “floorboard of chariot”.

¹⁷⁶ These include the Central City (Palace) and the Review Palace of Nineveh, the Review Palace of the “New Cohort”, the New Palace and the Review Palace of Kalhu (SAA 7 115 i 2–4, 6–7). The Second House in question possibly belonged to the main palace at that time which might have been the palace listed first, the Central City Palace in Nineveh.

¹⁷⁷ These labels were not visible. Paley (1989: 137) notes that the surface on the reverse was not smoothed as that on the obverse. Probably they were intended as an annotation as to where to install the particular threshold.

¹⁷⁸ Paley 1989: 137. According to the ground plans in Oates and Oates (2001: 36, Fig. 15 and 60, Fig. 33) doorways between courtyard Y and rooms F, WG, WH and WK as well as S are proposed.

audience and banquet. Russell (2008: 181), by contrast, suggested (on the basis of the relief decoration) that the suite west of courtyard Y was called *bētu šaniu*.¹⁷⁹ Identifying this suite as a place where banquets took place, he argued that whereas the throne room was regarded as the “first house”,¹⁸⁰ the west suite was the “second most important suite in the palace” and therefore called “second house”. As an alternative idea, I would not exclude the possibility that the southern doorway leading to the large-scale room S is to be identified as the original place of the inscribed stone seats. Although Russell (2008: 190–3) identified room S and its adjacent chambers as the “residential suite” of the king, room S also provides access (via the central room AJ) to the more private area of the palace (also identified as the *bētānu* area by Oates and Oates 2001: 61–8). Comprising small-scale rooms, this area not only housed the queen’s establishment but presumably also the domestic sector, including utilities such as the “House of the Cook”.¹⁸¹ Hence, the *bētu šaniu* possibly served as a designation either for the entire domestic quarters (housing the “House of the Cook” and so on), as is supported by a baker assigned to the *bētu šaniu* or formed part of the domestic quarters itself. However, weighing all the information we have carefully, Russell’s proposal remains the most plausible one, and thus the *bētu šaniu* indeed seems to have usually designated the chamber where banquets took place. This still accords with its association with the domestic quarters and the *ša-bēti-šanie*’s definition as domestic personnel, and it corresponds perfectly with their prominent presence in the dining chamber according to the royal meal text (see below).

4.1.1 The *ša-bēti-šanie*

The title *ša-bēti-šanie* is only attested in Neo-Assyrian times.¹⁸² Literally meaning “the one of the Second House”, it is interpreted as “palace servant” (CAD B 296), “Lakai”,¹⁸³ “domestic servant” or “lackey” (SAA series). Due to the involvements of the *ša-bēti-šanie* (see below), a literal translation of the title is preferred here. The office was addressed in brief by Klauber (²1968: 18), referring to him as “Beamter des Nebenhauses” and mainly concentrating on its occurrence in the text about the royal meal SAA 20 33. More recently it was

¹⁷⁹ This is also the area where the majority of fitting doorways (providing access to or exit from rooms WG, WH and WK) was identified by Paley, see p. 129 fn. 178.

¹⁸⁰ The term *bētu dannu*, which is found in house sale documents, was also used for the throne room, see section Part III, 1.2 Functions, p. 496 fn. 32.

¹⁸¹ Oates and Oates (2001: 65, Fig. 33) identified rooms 42 and 60 together with the “bathroom suite” (rooms 58, 59 and 61) as the residence of the queen. Room 42 is directly accessible from the central room AJ. Room ZZ in this area, containing cooking pots, a bread oven and glazed vessels, was identified as a kitchen (Oates and Oates 2001: 65).

¹⁸² CAD B 296 cites the occurrence of this term in the Neo-Assyrian text about the royal meal (SAA 20 33) as Middle Assyrian.

¹⁸³ Müller 1937: 75; AHW 132–4 s.v. *bītu(m)* B.31.

discussed by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 84–5). The title is written (LÚ/LÚ*), ša-É-2-e, LÚ/LÚ*.ša-É-2-e, and LÚ*.ša-É-2-i. From the title itself it is not clear if one or more than one individual is meant. In almost every case it is possible to decide by means of the verbal form given along with the term (when appearing as subject) as well as the association with personal names and cardinal numbers (e.g. in the text about the royal meal, where it is often written *ša-bēti-šanie issēn*) and the context in general. As will be seen below, uncertain cases are found in the wine lists as well as in the administrative documents SAA 7 21 and 22.

4.1.1.1 Allocations

The *ša-bēti-šanie* occur(s) in numerous wine lists receiving one *sūtu* of wine (according to the amounts preserved). Among these wine lists there is also CTN 1 33, recording wine amounts given out during the substitute king ritual, which indicates that this functionary was essential to the king's household, being attached to the substitute king.¹⁸⁴ The term *ša-bēti-šanie* itself does not clarify whether the amount of 1 *sūtu* of wine was meant for an individual or for a group of employees from the *bētu šaniu*. Judging by the fact that this amount remained the same over decades, probably only one person was intended here. The constant amount, however, could instead imply that the department *bētu šaniu* remained unchanged in size or that only a particular group from the *bētu šaniu* was supplied with wine, regardless of the size of this department. Moreover, the *rab ša-rēši* (sometimes the entry is qualified as “household of the *rab ša-rēši*”) also receives one *sūtu* of wine and it is less likely that a single *ša-bēti-šanie* was provided with the same amount. Although the wine lists do not provide a strict order, the repeated occurrence of the *ša-bēti-šanie* in the immediate proximity of the functionaries *ša-bēt-Qiqî* (“(he) of the house of Qiqî”)¹⁸⁵ and *ša-bēt-kūdini* (“(he) of the mule stable”) seems significant. Otherwise, the term frequently occurs next to agents (*ša-qurbūti*), recruits (*raksu*), and chariot fighters (*mār damqî*). Similar associations can be observed from the administrative record ND 2803 (see below).

¹⁸⁴ The amount of wine given out according to CTN 1 33 is lost.

¹⁸⁵ Qiqî originally referred to a person, as indicated by the *Personenkeil* written in some attestations of *ša-bēt-Qiqî* (CTN 1 3 i 15; 6:10). Writings without *Personenkeil* are attested more frequently, namely in CTN 1 8:17; 9:11; 13:5'; 16:10' (collated by Parpola 1976: 168) and 20:4' as well as in the letter fragment SAA 15 332:5'. Since CTN 1 3 dates to the year 784, while CTN 1 8 and CTN 1 9 were written not before 751 and 754 respectively, we might observe here a development from a department originally defined through an individual. Kinnier Wilson (1972: 73–4) suggested that it might have been a synonym for *ša-bēt-kutalli* (“of the Rear House”). This is obsolete since its unique attestation in CTN 1 16 (l. 10': *ša-É-ku-tal-li*) was collated to read *ša-bēt-Qiqî* (*ša-É-qi'-qi'-i'*) by Parpola (1976: 168). The meaning and function of this department remains unclear for the moment.

4.1.1.2 Legal transactions

While never occurring as active party to legal documents, the *ša-bēti-šanie* is occasionally attested as a witness. He witnesses transactions of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (Edubba 10 5 r. 19, 20 and, if restored correctly, Edubba 10 16 r. 7') in the reign of Adad-nērāri III, as well as a purchase of slaves of the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (SAA 14 65 r. 10'; 66 r. 7') in the reign of Assurbanipal. In the witness list of Edubba 10 5 we also find the cohort commander of the *bētu šaniu* (see below).

4.1.1.3 Functions

4.1.1.3.1 Domestic tasks

The assignment of the *ša-bēti-šanie* to the domestic personnel is based on his repeated association with cooks, confectioners, bakers, cupbearers, and tailors, as demonstrated in the introduction. A particularly clear statement in this respect can be found in the letter of the governor Adad-issē'a where the *ša-bēti-šanie* are counted among the domestics (*nišē bēti*) of the troops stationed in Mazamua (SAA 5 215). This is the only direct evidence for domestic staff taken on campaign,¹⁸⁶ something we otherwise only see in the military camps depicted on the reliefs and on the bronze fittings of the Balawat Gates.¹⁸⁷ Apart from similar enumerations (see above), the association of the *ša-bēti-šanie* with the domestics is also reflected by the administrative document ND 2498, dating either to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II, where *ša-bēti-šanie* are recorded together with cooks, palace servants, and "bearded courtiers".¹⁸⁸ The perhaps most illuminating document concerning the functions of the *ša-bēti-šanie* as domestic personnel is a tablet bearing detailed instructions on the course of action involved in the royal meal.¹⁸⁹ Here the *ša-bēti-šanie* occurs in connection with the following activities: supply of incense (*riqqu*) for burning; clearing away embers (*pe'ettu*) and charred wood (*gumāru*) while putting it back into the fireplace (*kanūnu*) with the help of an iron scrapper (*nēsupu parzillu*), a fire rake (*mutirru*) and fire tongs (*maššānu*); feeding and controlling the fire (together with a colleague);¹⁹⁰ keeping [perfumed] water for hand-washing (*mê qātē*) ready as well as keeping a palm frond (*sāru*) and

¹⁸⁶ This might be contrasted with the *ša-bēti-šanie ša e[kalli]* as restored in a badly broken legal document (SAA 14 396:7').

¹⁸⁷ E.g. Barnett et al. 1998: Pl. 348 (South-West Palace, room XXXVI) and King 1915: Pl. LI.

¹⁸⁸ This is clear for the cooks, but also the "palace servants" usually seem to have been domestics (see section 8.3 The *urad ekalli*).

¹⁸⁹ There is also a single reference to an attendant of the royal meal (*ša-naptini*) in a witness list (StAT 3 36 r. 11).

¹⁹⁰ This is expressed by *amēl meḫrišu*. See CAD M/2 *meḫru* A.2 54–5 "(person of) equal rank".

a wooden box (*kakkullu*, see p. 327 fn. 755) ready to clean up and collect together refuse. During sunset, when torches (*zīqtu*) are set alight, it is the *ša-bēti-šanīe* who is concerned with it. He bears the torches while standing between the tables and brings out the burnt down torches. After the meal is dished up, the *ša-bēti-šanīe* again occurs with palm fronds and a wooden box for cleaning. When it is announced that the meal is dished up, the crown prince and magnates are set in motion. The tables of the princes and the magnates are carried away, and the tables of the crown prince and the king are picked up. A third time the *ša-bēti-šanīe* enters with the fronds for cleaning. With this last activity the text breaks off. From what is preserved the *ša-bēti-šanīe* mainly appears in connection with the fireplace and torches as well as with the cleaning up. During the whole meal the servants, including the *ša-bēti-šanīe*, were only in the “dining-hall” when they had to carry out their duties; otherwise, they stayed outside.¹⁹¹ Although this text is about a special meal nevertheless I suspect that the *ša-bēti-šanīe* appears here in his regular function as manservant of the palace.

Judging by the aforementioned concern of the *ša-bēti-šanīe* with fire, a similar connection is probably indicated by a letter written by Sennacherib to his father (Sargon). If the restoration is correct, the *ša-bēti-šanīe* staying in Dur-Šarrukin were told that nobody, including them, is allowed to make fire (SAA 1 39 r. 9'). The reason for this prohibition, however, remains unclear.

4.1.1.3.2 Transfer of goods

The earliest attestation of a *ša-bēti-šanīe* occurs in a letter from Guzana (TH 7 b.e. 8–9), written by the king (Adad-nērāri III) to Mannu-kī-māt-Aššūr, governor of Guzana. According to the king's order, Mannu-kī-māt-Aššūr should check forty minas of gold before Adda-iāpū', put them into his chariot and hand it over to the *ša-bēti-šanīe* Mannu- [...]. The latter should leave with the loaded chariot together with the messenger (of the governor), presumably to go to the king. In these early Neo-Assyrian times the *ša-bēti-šanīe* is entrusted with a completely different task from his domestic concerns as described in the text about the royal meal. Though *ša-bēti-šanīe* were also stationed in the provinces as part of the royal troops, Mannu- [...] may have belonged to the king's main household rather than to the provincial domain of Guzana. This is indicated by the king, who refers to a specific *ša-bēti-šanīe*, and the assumption that the gold was brought to the king. However, while *ša-bēti-šanīe* are usually attested with less important tasks, this shows that they

¹⁹¹ Cf. Müller 1937: 87. The entire text does not mention any cook or confectioner, because it only describes what is going on in the dining hall. The two professions are, however, associated with the preparation of the royal meal in a ritual text (SAA 20 52 r. iii 18', cf. van Driel 1969: 74–119 [BM 121206]).

could have been chosen for delicate missions which required considerable royal trust. This incident corresponds to what we learn from an administrative record about precious items where it is said that a sample (of gold) was not weighed in the *bētu šaniu* (SAA 7 64 r. ii 13'). A *ša-pāni-šanie* with less exclusive items was entrusted in the reign of Sargon II. According to an administrative document (ND 2803 r. i 20) on the consumption (*akiltu*) of [bread], beer, and grain of the year [...], four *emāru* 85 *sūtu* are given to the *ša-bēti-šanie* Dādi- [...]. This allocation is destined for the Philistines going to the city of Arrapha. As person responsible for distributing food to deportees, Dādi- [...] is in good company. Among the other functionaries entrusted with this task there are a royal *ša-rēši*, (royal) agents (*ša-qurbūti*), agents of the crown prince, a tracker, and *ša-bēt-kūdinis* ("of the mule-stable"). This selection of Neo-Assyrian functionaries recalls the wine lists, where the *ša-bēti-šanie* is either mentioned next to agents and *ša-rēšis* or alongside the *ša-bēt-kūdini* (and the *ša-bēt-Qiqī*), which supports the impression that the approximate order given in the wine lists bears some significance.

4.1.1.4 Rank

Forming part of the domestics, the *ša-bēti-šanie* seems to have been of low rank; this is supported by their lack of subordinates.¹⁹² Nevertheless, among the domestic personnel they enjoyed the highest position, as indicated by the order of domestic personnel given in the texts (see above, Table 5). This is supported by the text about the royal meal according to which the *ša-bēti-šanie* are repeatedly present in the dining hall fulfilling their tasks, while other domestic staff members are rarely mentioned (and were rather hidden in the kitchen). Although the *ša-bēti-šanie* did not communicate with the king and the nobles during dinner and thus had no direct access to them, they at least were physically present within this exclusive society. Also in the wine lists they are provided with a comparatively high amount of wine, although we do not know for how many individuals the amount of one *sūtu* of wine was actually meant. In at least two wine lists (CTN 1 2 and 4) the *ša-bēti-šanie* are listed immediately after the entry for the household of the *rab ša-rēši*. This proximity to high-ranking officials may be even more comprehensible in view of the missions the *ša-bēti-šanie* was involved in the 8th century, namely the transport of gold and the supply of deportees. It appears therefore that the interpretation as "lackey", as cited in the introduction, does not seem to have the right connotation, and a literal translation of the title is preferred here.

¹⁹² Only a fragment of a letter (SAA 15 127) of Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Arzuhina, to Sargon indicates that someone was in the charge of a *ša-bēti-šanie*.

4.1.2 Further personnel associated with the *bētu šaniu*

Apart from the *ša-bēti-šanie*, other personnel are associated with the *bētu šaniu*. There is the baker Šulmu-bēli “(of) the Second House” who witnesses a sale of a female slave in the reign of Assurbanipal (ND 3424 r. 9). While we lack information as to the active parties’ profession or title, the first witness is designated as cook. In addition to Šulmu-bēli, there are probably two cohort commanders assigned to this palatial department. Both occur as witnesses in legal texts dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III (Edubba 10 5) and to the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 6 270) respectively. While the reading of the latter is clearly collated as *rab kišri*, the attestation in Edubba 10 5 is ambiguous due to the logographic writing KA.KÉŠ, either read *kāširu* (tailor) or *kišru* (cohort, see section 6.7 The *rab kāširi* (chief tailor)). Since I suspect that the high-ranking chief tailor was not assigned to the *bētu šaniu* exclusively, *rab kišri* is preferably read here too (also supported by its occurrence in SAA 6 270). Assuming that both attestations refer to a *rab kišri ša bēti šanie*, it is to be questioned what exactly was the function of a cohort commander of the “Second House”, which usually seems to have been the official dining area of the palace, bearing in mind that the *rab kišri* is normally regarded as a military functionary. In view of the fact that cohort commanders perhaps from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III onwards also commanded cohorts of craftsmen and other professionals,¹⁹³ the employees present in the “Second House” may have been supervised by cohort commanders.

4.1.3 Summary

The role of the *ša-bēti-šanie*, as displayed in the description of the royal meal as well as the fact that the baker was assigned to the *bētu šaniu*, indicate that the “Second House” was associated with the domestic quarters of the palace. This is supported by its association with other domestic departments and the association of the *ša-bēti-šanie* with other domestic personnel. Taking into account archaeological evidence, it is likely that the *bētu šaniu* did not form part of the domestic area itself but was the official dining chamber of the palace, and that the *ša-bēti-šanie*’s main task was to attend these meals while taking care of lighting and cleaning. Other concerns of the *ša-bēti-šanie* as well

¹⁹³ Note, for instance, the cohort commander of the weavers (see section 17.1.1 The *rab ušpāri* (chief weaver)); for a general discussion see Postgate 1979: 210–1; 1987a: 259–60 and 2007: 348, fn. 33. Though Postgate 1987a considers the time of invention to be around the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, elsewhere he supposes a later date. However, we indeed have evidence for the second half of the 8th century (see, for instance, section 27.1.1 for the cohort commander of the shepherds Ilu-pīja-ušur (SAA 1 235 and 236)). If my interpretation is correct, Edubba 10 5 would be the earliest example of this phenomenon.

as other involvements of the *bētu šaniu*, such as the provision of foods for deportees and fodder for horses, may be related to the association with the domestics, but they also demonstrate that the function of the *bētu šaniu* and its representatives went beyond the domestic affairs of the palace. This is especially demonstrated by the association with considerable amounts of gold which may have been stored in this area. Since this creates a completely different picture to what we learn in particular from the text about the royal meal, one wonders whether the function of the “Second House” was inconsistent and varied from building to building (cf. Paley 1989: 141). Nevertheless, its association with the domestics emerges as a primary characteristic, and the mission of a *ša-bēti-šanie* to transport gold may simply reflect his enhanced and closer position to the crown in comparison with the other domestic staff.

4.2 The *bēt nuḫatimmi* (“House of the Cook”)

The “House of the Cook” is attested for both the temple and the palace sphere. In the temple this department was under the responsibility of *sangûs*.¹⁹⁴ The *bēt nuḫatimmi* associated with the palace is only attested three times (as far as I am aware). Two of the documents bear the same background, of *ilka-kâte* payments made or to be made by the treasurer (of Arbail) to the palace, as indicated by the heading.¹⁹⁵ It is the heading in particular which suggests that the items subsequently listed along with the functionaries or departments were delivered to these individuals or institutions. This is supported by the fact that the *bēt nuḫatimmi* as well as the *bēt karkadinni*, together with the specialists they employed, are supplied with specific ingredients. Since they were the ones who prepared the food, it seems unlikely that they had to provide the ingredients. According to CTN 3 87 the department of the cook was supplied with leeks, grapes and also copper, partly sub-divided according to specific personnel who were active in this department: the cutter (*nākisû*), the salt-meat man (*ša-midlēšu*) and possibly also a confectioner (see below). Since CTN 3 88 is badly broken, it remains unclear what was distributed to the cook’s house here. At least it appears that the schedule was not completely the same: while distributions to the cook’s house in CTN 3 87 are summarised under one separate section, here the household of the cook and its allotment appear in the same section as the household of the confectioner and its allotment. From the context it is clear that the household of the cook was associated with the palace (the Review Palace). The third document mentioning a *bēt nuḫatimmi* is less

¹⁹⁴ SAA 10 96 r. 2, 6; SAA 20 11 r. 17 and 51 i 13. See Parpola 1983a: 319–21.

¹⁹⁵ The tense of the verbal form remains open since it is written [SUM]-*u-ni* (in CTN 3 87) and SU[M-*u-ni*] (in CTN 3 88). Although the heading is not preserved, CTN 3 89 belongs to the same group. For the reading of “treasurer” instead of “deputy treasurer”, as proposed by Dalley and Postgate 1984: 144, see p. 365 fn. 855.

informative and might be a list of debts (SAA 7 40:3', for the possible background see Fales and Postgate 1992: XX–XXI). The house of the cook appears along with a certain Arbailāiu, very likely the person to whom the designation *bēt nuḫatimmi* applied. Since there is a break between the personal name and the designation, Arbailāiu's connection with this department remains unclear.¹⁹⁶

É LÚ*.MU	CTN 3 87:20	nd (8 th century)
É LÚ*.MU	CTN 3 88 r. 4'	nd (8 th century)
É LÚ*.MU	SAA 7 40:2'–3'	nd (probably 7 th century)

Table 7: References to the “House of the Cook” possibly associated with the palace

Since according to CTN 3 87 the *bēt nuḫatimmi* engaged *nākisus* and *ša-midlēšus*, these professionals together with other functionaries presumably connected with this department are addressed in the following sections, beginning with the palace cook. A discussion of the confectioner, who was probably also active in the department of the cook, is to be found in the section on the *bēt karkadinni* (see below). Also firewood men (*ša-gaššātēšu*) belonged to the domestic area of institutional households. While their employment in the palace cannot be excluded, their contextualisation places their activity in the temple,¹⁹⁷ thus they are not further discussed here.

4.2.1 Cooks

The Akkadian term *nuḫatimmu* is a Sumerian loanword which can also be found in Aramaic and Hebrew (*naḫtōm(ā)* for “baker” or “cook”).¹⁹⁸ The attested writings for *nuḫatimmu* in Neo-Assyrian texts are LÚ*.MU, LÚ.MU or MU.

4.2.1.1 *nuḫatimmus* of the temple

The cooks discussed in the subsequent section were cooks active for the palace; a few others are temple personnel (of Ištar, Aššur, Nabû or Ninurta) or subordinates of high-ranking officials, while the remaining majority has no explicit sphere of activity. The distinction between palace and temple sphere

¹⁹⁶ From what is preserved one could infer that Arbailāiu was a *ša-bēt-nuḫatimmi*; however, this office is otherwise not attested.

¹⁹⁷ References: SAA 12 95 r. 15 and 96 r. 21 (they mention Nabû-aḫu-iddina, firewood man of Nabû); SAA 20 50 ii 4, r. i 20'. Also the *ša-gaššātēšu* in SAA 12 83 r. 9 and in MSL 12 238 r. v 32 may have been related to the temple sphere. For a discussion on the *ša-gaššātēšu* associated with the temple see Menzel 1981 I: 272; for the range of Neo-Assyrian attestations in general see Radner 1999c: 122.

¹⁹⁸ AHw 801 and CAD N/II 216.

remains a crucial point (also in connection with other professionals and officials). Apart from the cooks designated as temple personnel, as well as cooks clearly associated with the temple sphere according to contextualisation, the remaining evidence is listed and discussed in the following sections. This evidence still includes cooks who might have been active in the temple (rather than in the palace or in other spheres) but this cannot be clarified. To gain a comprehensive picture, significant attestations of cooks associated with the temple sphere will be outlined here in brief; detailed analysis is provided by Menzel (1981 I: 259–60) and Deller (1985).¹⁹⁹ Apart from temple cooks sealing (StAT 2 102:1, presumably as a seller) and witnessing legal documents and donations,²⁰⁰ two cooks (names lost) are themselves donated to Nusku (SAA 12 91:6, 7) together with numerous other individuals (of whom two are designated as confectioners) in the 7th century. According to an inscription to be assigned either to Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal cooks, together with gardeners, bakers, and brewers, are probably taken from the provinces such as Rašappa, Mazamua, and Uppumu and donated to Ištar of Arbail (SAA 12 89:3'). Cooks active in the temple are otherwise mentioned in some letters written by priests or other temple functionaries to the king. While two references are too broken to give any information (SAA 13 160:3'; 194:9'), a letter to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) by an unknown author (heading broken) reports on the cook Nabû-abu-da''in (SAA 13 157:24'). After confessing the theft of a golden Erra statue, he was beaten to death. As to decrees of palace expenditures provided for the temples and their ritual performances, the reference to a cook in SAA 12 77 ii 8' is too broken, while a decree of expenditures given to the Aššur Temple in the reign of Adad-nērāri III records some details concerning the cooks' involvement (SAA 12 69). The cook takes four *sūtu* of barley and one *sūtu* four *qû* of ordinary lentils (ŠE.ab-še sa-ad-ru-ti in l. 10) for the preparation of food in the context of the *paṇdugāni* ceremony (SAA 12 69:10), while he takes one *sūtu* five *qû* of barley and six *qû* of ordinary lentils for another ceremony (described as *ba-te* in l. 18, interpreted as *baiādu*, nocturnal ceremony or vigil according to HAD 12, cf. CAD B 34 s.v. *bajātu*).²⁰¹ As suggested by Gaspa (2009: 124–5), the cook might have used the two ingredients to prepare a “cereal-based” dish. It is not only from the decrees that the cook is associated with the preparation of food, this is also indicated by his attestations in descriptions of rituals. He appears together with the confectioner as the one responsible for the meal (= *naptunu*; SAA 20 52 r. iii 18'). Otherwise, he is described as the one who has the usufruct of the inner organs (UZU.ú-nu-ut-ŠÀ-bi in

¹⁹⁹ An analysis of the Middle Assyrian evidence for cooks is offered by Jakob 2003: 399–401.

²⁰⁰ Legal documents: ND 5403 l.e. 1, 2; StAT 3 32 r. 21'. Donations: SAA 12 92 r. 14, 17; 95 r. 13; 96 b.e. 1; ND 3426 r. 32.

²⁰¹ With reference to this document Deller (1985: 349–50) noted that while the cook and the confectioner are mentioned in the singular, the baker and the brewer are referred to in the plural.

SAA 20 55 r. 14'; cf. Deller 1985: 350) when a sheep is slaughtered on the occasion of the installation of a socket in the Aššur Temple in the reign of Sargon.²⁰² As pointed out by Deller, only from the reign of Assurbanipal is a *sangû* of the *bēt nuḫatimmi* (like a *sangû* of the *bēt karkadinni*) attested, apparently marked with shaved hair and specific headgear (*kubšû*).²⁰³

4.2.1.2 *nuḫatimmus* of the palace

The few attestations of cooks associated with the palace according to their titles are attested from the (second half of the) 8th century on. The title *nuḫatimmu ša ekalli* occurs in the case of Nabû-dūru-ušur who witnesses a legal document (SAA 6 31 r. 15), where he is additionally designated as *ša-rēši*. The document records the purchase of vast areas of land by Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, palace scribe of Sargon, from four inhabitants of Buruqu in the year 709, probably in connection with the acquirement of land by Sargon to build his new capital Dur-Šarrukin (Postgate 1976: 81). In view of the context, it is not surprising that along with Nabû-dūru-ušur significant officials such as the scribe of the governor of Kalhu and the scribes of the queen and the *rab ša-rēši* appear as witnesses. Another cook who was apparently active in the palace was Barzūtu. He is one of five cooks and is described as servant of the palace in an administrative document (ND 2498 r. 23'), dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II. Judging by the tailors (some of whom are also designated as palace servants or as "bearded courtiers"), palace servants, "bearded courtiers" (*ša-ziqni*), and servants "of the Second House" (*ša-bēti-šanie*) listed here too, this document deals with palace personnel in particular, and thus also the remaining four cooks presumably had a palace connection.²⁰⁴ There seems to be third reference to the palace cook in the administrative text CTN 3 87 introduced above. As already pointed out, this document (like CTN 3 88 and 89) lists *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer to the palace (the Review Palace of Kalhu). While the departments of the cook and the confectioner are treated in two separate sections, according to which various functionaries active in these departments are supplied with allotments (see above), the supplies made to the cook (and) the confectioner of the palace (r. 48: LÚ.MU LÚ.SUM.NINDA ša É.GAL) are recorded in another section. While these designations could refer

²⁰² Another reference in a ritual text is to be found in SAA 20 9 ii 42. Unfortunately the passage is broken. Further references to the cook active in the temple are in SAA 20 1:36 and SAA 20 51 ii 14'.

²⁰³ Attestations: SAA 10 96 r. 1, 6; SAA 20 11 r. 17 and 51 i 13; BaM 16 1 r. 4', 5' and 2 r. 8. For a discussion on the appointment of priests in the Neo-Assyrian period see Löhnert 2007; cf. Waerzeggers 2008.

²⁰⁴ These are Atkal-Bēl, Issār-dūrī, Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti and Na'di-ilu. For the designations *urad ekalli* and *ša-ziqni* see sections 8.3 The *urad ekalli* and 8.5 The *ša-ziqni*.

to only one individual, as suggested by the single allotment, the possibility of two recipients, palace cook and palace confectioner, seems more likely since such a double function is not attested elsewhere in the Neo-Assyrian sources. The two(?) officials are supplied with altogether [x] *qû* of *titipu*-plants, 1 ½ *qû* of grapes (*išunnu*), and 1 ½ *qû* of leeks (*karšu*). Although listed separately, these officials might have been the heads of the two palace departments (*bēt nuḫatimmi* and *bēt karkadinni*). Possibly there was only one cook, designated palace cook, who supervised the *bēt nuḫatimmi* and this department employed also lesser cooks and specialised employees such as the salt-meat man. The aforementioned cook Barzūtu, who is designated *urad ekalli*, is not necessarily to be equated with the palace cook but was of lower rank.

There are some more administrative documents which seem to deal with cooks connected to the palace. Apart from the ration lists of bread or beer and the wine lists, this is the case with the two almost identical documents from 7th-century Nineveh (SAA 7 21 and 22) which list cooks among other domestics (see above). Another attestation of cooks associated with the palace appears in SAA 7 5 where the three cooks Mušēzib[...] (l. ii 40), Šēp-Issār (l. r. i 5), and Šulmu-bēli-lašme (l. ii 36) are listed among other functionaries connected with the palace or its satellite households (mainly prefects, cohort commanders, charioteers, and *ša-qurbūtis*). Šulmu-bēli-lašme is also mentioned in two records about the assignment of lodgings (*mūšubu*) to various officials connected with the palace or its satellite households (SAA 7 8:3; 9 r. i 30). In both cases he is assigned to the “residences beneath the window” (SAA 7 8 r. 2': [...]x 'ša²-pal²' ap¹-ti and SAA 7 9 r. ii 3: [PAB x] mu-še-bi KI.TA ap-ti'), while the other functionaries assigned to this particular lodging differ in each case. Assuming that these lodgings were “temporary ‘hotel rooms’” provided on a special occasion which required the attendance of the crown’s closer subjects from all over the country in the imperial capital (Fales and Postgate 1992: XVII–XIX), Šulmu-bēli-lašme was usually active in an establishment outside of Nineveh.²⁰⁵ References to cooks connected with the palace can also be found in queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 139:9, 142:9, 144:9) concerning possible rebellions against the crown. Like many others, they are treated as a potential danger for the king Esarhaddon and the crown prince Assurbanipal.

4.2.1.3 *nuḫatimmus* of the royal family

There is a single attestation of a royal cook in the letter SAA 19 147 written to the king in the second half of the 8th century. Reporting on an intriguer, the sender wonders if it is really possible that this intriguer, “[worth] as much

²⁰⁵ The editors suggest the treaty ceremonies of Esarhaddon in the year 672 as a possible occasion. The occurrence of Šulmu-bēli-lašme may support a dating to the late reign of Esarhaddon since he is also mentioned in two legal texts of which SAA 6 204 is dated to the year 679.

as a cook of the king” (ll. 14–15: *ma-la* LÚ.MU *šá* LUGAL), is able to make a successful rebellion against the king. Since it was apparently regarded as very unlikely that a cook of the king was able to incite a serious rebellion against the crown, the importance and influence of a royal cook was esteemed comparatively low. Another reference to a cook of a key member of the royal family is found in a text known as “The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince”, where the cook of a prince is mentioned in connection with mountain beer (SAA 3 32:5). Real evidence for cooks in the service of key members of the royal family is provided by the aforementioned document on *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer. Here the cook of the queen is mentioned in a section otherwise dealing with the male and the female confectioner of the queen (CTN 3 87 r. 40). Assuming that the amounts of food listed are supplies made to these functionaries, the cook of the queen received *puršīnāte* (either pomegranate seed, grape-stone or raisins, HAD 85 s.v. *puršīnu*) as well as leeks and pistachios mentioned in the preceding line.

4.2.1.4 *nuḫatimmus* of high-ranking officials

Apart from the reviewed cooks of the king’s troops stationed in Mazamua, who were under the command of the governor of Mazamua (SAA 5 215:18), there are other references to cooks who were subordinate to high-ranking officials rather for their personal benefit. The cook Bēl-dēnī-amur is mentioned as one of four *ša-rēšis* of the household of Aššūr-ilā’ī (SAA 1 184:10). As subjects (*urdu*) of the city Til-Barsip they were sent to the palace by the sender of this letter, Adad-ibni, an official active in northern Syria, for investigation. Two of the remaining three *ša-rēšis* are cupbearer and confectioner. Among the magnates, the *rab ša-rēši* and the commander-in-chief are attested as having cooks in their service. The cook of the *rab ša-rēši* (CTN 2 21 r. 3’) as well as a cook of the commander-in-chief (CTN 2 92:7–8) act as witnesses, while another cook assigned to the commander-in-chief is listed together with a confectioner and a baker as *kitkittū* (an overall term for skilled workers) of the commander-in-chief in the letter CTN 2 199. They are taken under the command of the letter’s writer Adad-aḫu-iddina, probably identical with a recruitment officer mentioned in CTN 3 99 r. i 14 (Gentili, PNA 1/I 21 s.v. Adad-aḫu-iddina 3).

4.2.1.5 *nuḫatimmus* in general

4.2.1.5.1 Legal transactions and business involvements

Various cooks who may have been part of the palace household are found as witnesses from the 8th century onwards, though the majority of attestations derives from the 7th century (see the Prosopographical Catalogue). One cook is probably attested as item of sale in the legal transaction ND 3428, according to which Mannu-kī-Šamaš, described as LÚ.IGI–LÚ.MU, is sold to the *ša-rēši*

Šamaš-šarru-ušur. Since this title is unique and the text is not fully published (Wiseman 1953: 141), doubts remain with regard to the correct reading of the title. Taking the title as it stands, Mannu-kī-Šamaš was not a cook as such but higher ranking, assuming an Akkadian title such as (*ša*)-*pān-nuḫatimmi*. While this makes a sale implausible here, there is a high probability that cooks were occasionally transferred via legal transactions since they were also donated to temples, i.e. there were dependent cooks. Cooks, on the other hand, usually do not occur as active parties in legal documents. An exception is SAA 14 442, where a cook gives the son of his daughter, a *ḥarimtu*, in adoption for ten shekels (of silver). In addition, an administrative text documents that the cook Kī-Mama invested in an overland trading enterprise also financed by a goldsmith, a kettle man, and a cap man (Radner 2016 I.42:5). Also the cook Aššūr-erība was apparently involved in such an enterprise (Radner 2016 I.43:4).

4.2.1.5.2 Allocations

Some cooks received allotments of wine, as is attested in some wine lists (CTN 3 145 r. iv 11; 129:6'; CTN 1 1 r. iii 11); according to CTN 1 1 a Chaldean cook receives one *qû* of wine. In two lists recording bread or beer rations a group of cooks appears along with one *emāru* two *sūtu* [x] *qû* (CTN 1 34:2') and six *qû* (CTN 1 35 iii 3') of bread or beer.²⁰⁶ Whereas the allotments of wine were presumably provided for yearly events (Fales 1994: 370), the rations of bread or beer may have been distributed at shorter intervals. While both types of lists refer to supplies handed over to the cooks for their personal needs, other administrative records mention the cooks along with commodities possibly related to their function. Apart from the administrative record CTN 3 87, documenting foodstuffs handed over to the cook connected with the palace establishment (see above), this might be the case when a cook is mentioned along with one mare (*atānu*, CTN 2 222:5') and along with one leather hide (TH 65:9), as is the case with the tailor preceding this entry. Similarly, the cook is mentioned along with one *kappu*-bowl of tamarisk (ND 2461 r. 21), while the confectioners are subsequently mentioned along with five *kappu*-bowls of tamarisk.

4.2.1.5.3 Taxes and obligations

The cooks also occur in a record from Šibaniba (Billa 86:12') drawn up in the reign of Shalmaneser III. The heavily damaged tablet is an account of straw (*šibšu*) and corn tax (*nusāhu*) according to which five “houses” of the cooks

²⁰⁶ The reference in CTN 1 35 is followed by 'KUM'.A, probably qualifying the cooks as “crushing cooks” (KUM for *ḥašālu*). The same term is applied to the confectioner in the same document (CTN 1 35 ii 5'). Kinnier Wilson (1972: 79) suggested that they were some sort of millers.

are recorded along with an amount of corn tax handed over to the government. The origin of the tablet indicates that these taxes were taken in from the rural countryside by the provincial centre Šibaniba.²⁰⁷ Hence, there were cooks in Šibaniba that were obliged to pay corn tax apparently due to the land (five estates) at their disposal. A similar concern of the cooks is indicated by the broken letter CTN 2 207 dating to the 8th century. When reporting to his master, perhaps the governor of Kalhu, on persons who escaped from the forced labour of cultivating land the unknown sender refers to the yield of the threshing floor of the cooks (*te-lit ad-r[i]* in r. 14'). With both documents we gain an insight into procedures of tax collection by provincial centres that apparently also involved collectives of cooks. Assuming that the chief cook was the formal head of the cooks, these matters may be related to the involvement of the chief cook in the levy of corn tax (*nusāhu*) in the province of Isana according to the letter SAA 19 39 (see section 12.1.3 Property).

4.2.1.5.4 Function

The cook's assignment to the domestics is reflected by his repeated association with other domestics. Apart from the texts mentioned in the introduction, this can also be observed in a ration list of beer or bread where the entry for the cook is immediately followed by the confectioner, the cupbearer, and the tailor (CTN 1 34:2'–5'), and in the decree concerning the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a in the reign of Aššurnaširpal II, where the cook is enumerated among professionals such as the "cooking pot polisher" (*kāpir diqāri*, see below) and the "milk man" (*ša-zizibēšu*) (SAA 12 83 r. 10). The cook's involvement in the preparation of dishes is indicated by the allotments of foodstuff such as leeks and pistachios given to the cook of the queen as well as the palace cook (CTN 3 87). What we suspect to be the cook's main task is otherwise mainly illuminated through the evidence for cooks active in the cultic sphere, when the cook of the Aššur Temple takes barley and lentils for the preparation of dishes for particular ceremonies. It is in this context that Gaspa (2009: 108–9), based on a observation made by Deller (see above), pointed out the complementary nature of the ingredients handed over to the cook and the confectioner (receiving oil, honey, chickpeas, and lentils) which not only indicates "single spheres of responsibility" but also "two different complementary phases in the food processing". Although the cook is not provided with meat (apart from his usufruct of inwards of a slaughtered sheep), he nevertheless seems to have been the one who was responsible for the cooking of meat (as also indicated by the Middle Assyrian evidence, see Jakob 2003:

²⁰⁷ In a broken section the document mentions the place Išpallurê (in l. 8') which was located in the Izalla region north-west of the Assyrian heartland (Radner 2006b: 295–6) and thus at a distance to the area of Šibaniba. The background of this reference, however, remains unclear.

399–401). It is worth noting that we otherwise lack a professional responsible for this task. This is supported by the fact that the chief cook, the formal head of the cooks, was especially concerned with the acquisition and supply of meat. Assuming that the attested allotments of corn or legumes given to the cook only represent a selected range of ingredients used by the cook, there is at least no evidence to the contrary.

4.2.1.5.5 Rank

The cook usually appears as a low-ranking employee,²⁰⁸ but the case of the cook Sīn-ēreš shows that the status of individual cooks was occasionally enhanced. In a Harran Census tablet Sīn-ēreš is said to have been promoted by Adad-rēmāni, chief cook of Harran, whereby apparently 6,000 stalks of vine together with the necessary human labour for cultivation were assigned to him.²⁰⁹

4.2.2 Butchers and cutters

The term *tābiḫū* is known from the Old Babylonian period on and is usually translated as slaughterer or butcher. One of the logographic writings known since early times is LÚ.GÍR.LÁ, still used in Neo-Assyrian (LÚ/LÚ*.GÍR.LÁ), while another, LÚ.ŠAḪ.ŠUM.MA is recorded in a lexical list from Huzirina.²¹⁰ The associated verb is *ṭabāḫū* meaning “to slaughter”, which can be used to express the slaughter of animals and of men or gods.²¹¹ Von Soden (AHw 1376 l.b) also mentions one Standard Babylonian (BWL 160, 9) text where the *tābiḫū* is associated with wooden objects. There is a *rab tābiḫi* first attested in Neo-Assyrian times in a lexical list, written LÚ.GAL–GÍR.LÁ (MSL 12 233 iii 11’). While there is no actual *rab tābiḫi/i* attested in the Neo-Assyrian period, these officials rose to prominence in Neo-Babylonian in connection with military affairs, and thus we find the translation “Kommandant der Leibgarde”.²¹² It is not only the *rāb tābiḫī* which developed into an honorific title in the Neo-Babylonian period but probably also the *tābiḫū*, or at least its logographic writing LÚ.GÍR.LÁ is occasionally rather to be transcribed as

²⁰⁸ Even the royal cook, according to the aforementioned proverb (SAA 19 147:14–15).

²⁰⁹ SAA 11 203 iii 7–9. The promotion is expressed with *šēlū* which alternatively could refer to the dedication of the land, as suggested by Postgate (1989: 146) for the present case. This would mean that land at the disposal of Sīn-ēreš was dedicated (to the temple) by the chief cook Rēmāni-Adad. This scenario seems less likely to me but nevertheless has to be considered.

²¹⁰ It is clear from a lexical list from Huzirina, where the syllabic equivalent for LÚ.GÍR.LÁ is given as *ṭa-bi-ḫu*, that LÚ.GÍR.LÁ is still read *tābiḫū* in Neo-Assyrian times (and not *nākisu*). Note also the writing LÚ.ṭa-bi-ḫa-ni in an administrative record from Assur (VAT 20414:6).

²¹¹ CAD T 1 s.v. *ṭabāḫū* and CAD T 6 s.v. *tābiḫū*; cf. AHw 1376 “Schlächter, Metzger” for *tābiḫū(m)* and AHw 1375 “schlachten, abschlachten” for *ṭabāḫū(m)*.

²¹² CAD T 8 and Jursa (2010: 85–7) with updated references and discussion. LÚ.GÍR.LÁ also serves as a family name in Babylonia (SAA 18 161 r. 1’–2’).

nāš paṭri, “dagger-bearer” (Stolper 2007: 252). As indicated by LÚ.GÍR.LÁ listed twice in a lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238), similar developments took already place in the Neo-Assyrian period. In the first place this title is mentioned after the *rab ša-rēši* and the *ša-rēšis* and before the “exempts” (*zakkū*), the Gurraeans, and the Itu’eans (MSL 12 238 i 11). Second, he appears after the barber and before the *nākisu* who is in turn followed by the temple cook (MSL 12 238 r. v 29). As Deller (cited by Postgate 1973: 91) already suggested, the two divergent contextualisations of the term may indicate two different sorts of functionaries, both expressed by the same title or at least by the same writing (while read differently: *nāš paṭri* and *ṭābiḫu*). Whereas the first entry may represent an honorific title, the latter seems to be associated with the task of cutting (probably in particular in the domestic area of the temple since the temple cook is listed in the same context). Similar to the latter, the logographic writing LÚ.GÍR.LÁ together with its alternative writing LÚ.ŠÁḪ.ŠUM.MA and its syllabic writing *ṭābiḫu* is listed in a section of another lexical list of professional titles including other domestic personnel, namely the *kāpir diqāri* (“dish-washer”, see below) as well as the *rab ṭābiḫi* (MSL 12 233 iii 8’–11’). The domestic association in MSL 12 233 is supported by the sections immediately preceding—listing the cook, the confectioner, and the chief cook—and following—containing an entry for the baker and the chief baker—the present one.

The term *nākisu*, on the other hand, is only known from Neo-Assyrian onwards, written LÚ/LÚ*.na-ki-su, LÚ.na-ki-si and, in the plural, LÚ*.na-ki-su-te (SAA 1 98:11).²¹³ According to translations such as “to slaughter” or “to cut off” (CAD N/I 171–80; cf. AHw 720–1) for the verbal form *nakāsu*, the *nākisu* presumably had functions similar to the *ṭābiḫu* (as a professional). As this term was probably only introduced in Neo-Assyrian times, the question arises whether both titles, literally referring to a similar operation, were used synonymously or not.²¹⁴ This, and the question of whether it is possible to identify the LÚ.GÍR.LÁ as an honorific as well as a professional title in the Neo-Assyrian sources (aside from the hints given by the order of the lexical lists), is considered in the following section.

4.2.2.1 The *ṭābiḫu* (butcher)

Assuming that all the logographic writings of LÚ.GÍR.LÁ refer to *ṭābiḫu* (or *nāš paṭri*) and not *nākisu*, it is only the *ṭābiḫu* who is repeatedly mentioned as witness in various legal documents dating from the first half of the 8th century

²¹³ The latter, however, refers to woodcutters, see section 20 Carpenters.

²¹⁴ Kinnier Wilson (1972: 29) assumes the two terms to have been used synonymously.

down to the time after the reign of Assurbanipal.²¹⁵ Further attestations are to be found in two administrative texts from Assur listing amounts (of silver). In StAT 2 251:3' the butcher Aššūr-šumu-iddina is mentioned along with one shekel (of silver), and in VAT 20414 a group of butchers occurs along with 7 ½ shekels (of silver). Since the latter document also lists a *sangû* with an amount (of silver), the butchers were probably connected to the temple sphere, as is plausible for attestations deriving from Assur. Apart from these attestations in legal and administrative documents, the LÚ.GÍR.LÁ is mentioned in Babylonian letters. In ABL 1106, probably written by the governor of Uruk, Nabû-ušabši, to the king (Assurbanipal) during the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn revolt, there is a *ṭābiḫū* (name lost, son of Iddināia) of Sīn-balāssu-iqbi, governor of Ur, said to have been sent to the king of Babylon.²¹⁶ The majority of these attestations seems to refer to the profession *ṭābiḫū*, but the LÚ.GÍR.LÁ in ABL 1106, functioning as delicate messenger, rather refers to the honorary title (*nāš paṭri*) which is also supported by the fact that the title bearer was active in Babylonia.

4.2.2.2 The *nākisu* (cutter)

In the record of *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer to the Review Palace (discussed above) there is also a *nākisu* mentioned as the recipient of 6 *qū* of leeks (CTN 3 87:18). He appears in the section of payments made to the *bēt nuḫatimmi*, and thus he seems to have been part of this department. The use of the verb *nakāsu* to express the slaughter or slicing of meat, as for instance in some administrative letters (SAA 15 168:13'; 16 21:20), suggests that this was also part of the *nākisu*'s tasks. Though the *nākisu* is clearly associated with (the cutting of) foodstuffs here, the same title is used in connection with cutting timber in a letter (SAA 1 98) dated to the reign of Sargon: the governor of Assur, Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, and the chief cupbearer, Na'di-ilu, wrote to the king (Sargon) that *nākisūte* are now cutting the chosen timber in Lurisiite as was ordered by the king. The process of cutting the wood is described with the verb *nakāsu*, as is also the case in several other letters.²¹⁷ Another *nākisu* is recorded in a list (SAA 7 5 ii 46) of court personnel probably dated to the late reign of Esarhaddon (or early reign of Assurbanipal). Judging by the other professionals listed, such as cooks or shepherds, it remains open whether the *nākisu* in question was meant to cut meat or other food in the palace kitchen, or to cut wood. From after the reign of Assurbanipal a *nākisu* as well as his

²¹⁵ CTN 2 53 r. 14'; SAA 6 6 r. 9, 10; KAN 4 7 l.e. 1; StAT 2 326 r. 7'.

²¹⁶ The reasons are not clearly understood (Frame 1992: 159, fn. 119).

²¹⁷ E.g. SAA 1 248:7'; 5 47:12. In SAA 5 47:11–12 the cutting of hay is expressed with *nakāsu*.

apprentice boy (*šeḫru*) are mentioned in a letter (CTN 3 3) written to an unnamed palace manager by Tartīmanni, later also known as palace manager. The apprentice boy of the cutter is said to have brought different sorts of grain, grapes, and other foodstuffs (probably to his master). Probably for the carriage of these items he used vessels from the house of the scribe, for which now Tartīmanni has been indicted by a “farmhand” (*qatinnu*) and ordered by the scribe to bring back the vessels. Tartīmanni now explains the case and begs the palace manager to ask the *nākisu*, superior of the apprentice, to clear the case with the scribe.

4.2.2.3 Summary

The attestations of the *nākisu* are limited to the governmental and palatial sphere where this professional either functions as a woodcutter or is associated with foodstuffs, possibly also including meat. By contrast, the LÚ.GÍR.LÁ (*ṭābiḫū*) appears in legal transactions or administrative records often bearing a private archival background and deriving from Assur. A LÚ.GÍR.LÁ, rather referring to a *nāš paṭri*, is mentioned in a Babylonian letter. This distribution reflects the fact that the term *ṭābiḫū* was the more conventional one, being retained in Babylonia and in the temple sphere.²¹⁸ Although the Neo-Assyrian attestations of *ṭābiḫū* do not provide any information about the tasks of this professional, the literal meanings of both titles as well as their subsequent listing in the lexical list MSL 12 238 demonstrate their close connection. But judging by their distinct spheres of activity, the two professions were not identical: while the *ṭābiḫū* may have been responsible for actual slaughtering (in the temple), the *nākisu* was concerned with the slicing of meat and other foodstuffs (in the palace).

4.2.3 The *ša-midlēšu* (salt-meat man)

The term *midlu* was discussed by Deller (1983), who recognised that it not only refers to the “process of salting” but also to the product of this process itself and thus can also mean “pickled meat”. According to Radner’s analysis of the *ša-x-šu* professions, this professional specialised in the production or supply of salted meat or both.²¹⁹ While other domestic functionaries listed in this document are recorded along with foodstuffs, the salt-meat man is mentioned along with four minas of copper which he may have used for the acquisition

²¹⁸ Note therefore also the god Bibbu who is described as *ṭābiḫū* (SAA 3 32 r. 19).

²¹⁹ Radner 1999c: 123, 125. The conventional interpretation of *ša-x-šu* professions as peddlers (especially with regard to the Neo-Babylonian evidence) does not hold true for the Neo-Assyrian period, as argued by Radner (1999c: 120, with reference to Landsberger 1967).

of meat or the processing of large vessels, assuming that he received it (rather than paid it out).

In his analysis Deller (1983: 35–7) already cited two attestations of the *bēt midli* in the letters SAA 13 18 r. 8 and SAA 13 22:5'. Both letters were written by a certain Dādī, whose title is unknown but who, according to his letters to the king (SAA 13 18–24), was concerned with the offerings of the Aššur Temple in particular. He was mainly engaged in the acquisition of sheep (in the care of shepherds) through taxation. Since these concerns are similar to those of the chief cook and to some extent of the cooks, Dādī might have been a temple cook or even a chief cook in the temple sphere himself (cf. Deller 1985: 363). In any case, because Dādī is clearly associated with the temple, the *bēt midli* was part of the Aššur Temple; its counterpart is not attested for the palace. Since the temple appears as the central institution for the initial treatment (through offerings) of meat, as also indicated by the numerous cooks assigned to the temple sphere, a *bēt midli* is not necessarily to be assumed for the palace; a circumstance which also affects the *ša-midlēšu* discussed here. Assuming that he was responsible for the procurement of salted meat (as possibly supported by the copper assigned to him), he did not actually produce it but may have received it from the temple where its place of production, the *bēt midli*, was accommodated. This is more plausible in view of SAA 13 18 where the *šakintu* of the Inner City is mentioned as the intended recipient of meat assigned to the *bēt midli* (of the Aššur Temple) in the previous year.

4.2.4 The *kāpir diqāri* (dish-washer)

Since this profession has been studied in detail by Gaspa (2009), only a summary will be given here. Based on its two attestations exclusively deriving from the Neo-Assyrian period as well as the study of the two components *kapāru* and *diqāru*, Gaspa suggested the translation “cooking pot polisher” (2009: 97).

Assuming that the participle *kāpiru* derives from *kapāru* referring to the process of “wiping off or smearing down” (CAD K 178–80 s.v. *kapāru* A), Gaspa notes that the two meanings should be kept separate (as was done by HAD 22 by the two translations offered for *kāpir diqāri* as “pot caulker” and “dishwasher?”).²²⁰ Analysing the term *diqāru*, Gaspa (2009: 87, fn. 22, 89) notes that these cauldrons were mainly used to “prepare boiled meat” which explains why the *kāpir diqāri* is listed together with the butcher and chief butcher in a lexical list. Gaspa also refers to a copy of a donation to Šarrat-nipḥa

²²⁰ CAD (K 184) proposes a meaning solely based on the attestation in MSL 12 233. By emending ÚTUL to UZU! because the section otherwise deals with slaughterers, it translates it with “one who trims meat”. As pointed out by Gaspa (2009: 84), with the second attestation of this title available in SAA 12 83 the reading ÚTUL is confirmed.

from the reign of Shalmaneser III (SAA 12 68), originally drawn up in the 13th century (Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXXI–XXXII), from which single steps in the process of cooking meat can be extracted (cf. Deller 1985: 370). The procedures “cleaning or smearing the copper bowl” (l. 17: UTÚL ‘URUDU *i’-kap-pu-ru*; and l. 29: UTÚL URUDU *i-ka-par*) and “filling the bowl with water” (l. 17: A.MEŠ *ú-mal-lu-[u]* and l. 29: A.MEŠ *ú-mal-la*), mentioned twice, are followed by the acts of “burning wood under the copper bowl” (l. 31: GIŠ.MEŠ KI.TA UTÚL URUDU *i-šar-ru-pu*) and of “cooking the meal” (l. 18: *nap-tu-nu ú-^ršab¹-šu-lu*). Not only in view of the subsequent action of filling the bowl with water, but also because the priest of Šarrat-nipḫa is said to perform these tasks, the cleaning of the bowls seems crucial.²²¹ While the process of “cleaning *diqāru*-pots” is attested for cultic performances (in the temple), the occurrence of the *kāpir diqāri* in the decree on the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a refers to a specific profession. As Gaspa already noted, this profession is mentioned in a passage also listing professions associated with foodstuffs, such as the milk man and the cook. Assessing the association of the *kāpir diqāri* with the cook and the butcher as significant, Gaspa (2009: 88) suggests that the scarce occurrence of the *kāpir diqāri* along with the two professionals is due to the fact that he served the palace and the temple kitchen only on a temporary basis. As he argues, it is possibly due to a lack of specific personnel (assumed for minor temples, cf. Menzel 1981 I: 272) or because it constituted a specific act of purification during the ritual (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 155) that these tasks are attested as performed by priests.

In terms of the verb *kapāru* Gaspa (2009: 89–92) points out its meaning “to polish” in connection with metalworking, as is evident from the sources (e.g. SAA 7 89 r. 6–12). Since the term *kapāru* is here also associated with containers made out of metal, such a connotation seems logical for the compound *kāpir diqāri* (in contrast to the possibility of interpreting *kapāru* as the process of coating something with bitumen here, as proposed by CAD K 184 and also evident from the sources). Gaspa (2009: 93–4) suggests that the polishing was undertaken with oil or stones (occasionally crushed into powder) as a measure against oxidation. As another reason for the polishing *diqāru*-pots Gaspa (2009: 94–5) suggests that it was undertaken to remove the soot resulting from their continuous use, probably with the help of a rag. Gaspa concludes that the *kāpir diqāri* was a craftsman “engaged in polishing of the kitchen’s copper cooking pots whose surface had become oxidised or just sooty”. Furthermore, it seems that this professional was only temporarily engaged, since his task of polishing pots was presumably performed as a purification measure by

²²¹ Gaspa (2009: 86) suggested that also the cleaning of the copper bowl in the first reference might have been carried out by priests, assuming that the [priest] of Šarrat-nipḫa and the priest of the *bēt ēqi* mentioned in l. 11 are still the subjects of the description.

cultic personnel in the context of rituals. While the *kāpir diqāri*'s association with the temple is clear, his engagement in the domestic area of a palace is not proven, nor can it be ruled out.

4.2.5 Summary

Judging from the meaning of the titles the connection with meat (slaughtering, cutting, and salting) is self-explanatory except for the *kāpir diqāri*, who presumably polished the cooking pots. While he is mentioned in the same section as those responsible for slaughtering and cutting the meat (*tābiḫu*, *nākisu*), the association of the *nākisu* and *ša-midlēšu* with the cook's house is clear from CTN 3 87. This administrative document derives from a palatial context and indicates that the cook's house was part of the Review Palace where the previously mentioned professionals have been active. These observations suggest that it was the *nuḫatimmu* who was concerned with the actual preparation of meat, assuming that the ingredients such as corn, legumes, and fruits the cook is actually associated with represent only a selection of foodstuffs. The following facts support the idea that the cook's main concern was the preparation of meat. First, his nominal superior, the chief cook, was responsible for the supply and management of meat (see section 12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock). Second, there is no other profession available this task could be ascribed to. In terms of a distinction between a department of the cooks employed in the temple and one employed in the palace, it appears that while the actual slaughtering as well as special treatments such as salting were primarily carried out in the temple, the concerns of the palatial "House of the Cooks" may have been limited to the actual preparation of meat. As is also clear from the evidence for the chief cook, the temple was the centre for the treatment of meat (mainly in the context of ceremonies and rituals), which suggests that the palace usually received meat from the temple.²²²

4.3 The *bēt karkadinni* ("House of the Confectioner")

Though the *bēt karkadinni* is attested for the temple sphere in the letter SAA 10 96, written by Akkullānu, priest of the Aššur Temple, to the king (Assurbanipal), the fact that a department of the confectioner also belonged to the palace is clear from the administrative documents CTN 3 87 and 88. Dating to the 8th century, they record *ilkaḫāte* payments of the treasurer (of Arbail, in the case of CTN 3 87) to the palace, as described in their headings. The confec-

²²² Apart from a *bēt nuḫatimmi*, the Aššur Temple comprised a *bēt ḫuršē* (where meat was cut) and a *bēt Dagan* (where animals were ritually slaughtered, i.e. sacrificed); see Deller (1985: 353–64) who, however, argued for an equation of the departments. The *bēt midli*, where the meat was salted, can be added as another meat processing department of the Aššur Temple.

tioner's department in CTN 3 88 is only mentioned along with five talents (of x-commodity) and does therefore not provide relevant information. Assuming that the account of foods given or to be given to the palace after the heading in CTN 3 87 refers to the actual recipients (housed in the Review Palace in Kalhu) and not to the providers (from Arbail),²²³ there is an entire section listing the allotments given out to the employees of the "House of the Confectioner" of the palace (CTN 3 87:21–28). After the confectioner, who received leeks, grapes, and copper, the "soup man" (*ša-akussēšu*) receives one *sūtu* of grapes, the "beer man" (*ša-billēšu*) 5 *qû* of leeks, the "aromatics man" (*ša-endēšu*) 3(?) *qû* of leeks, and the "ziqqurrat-shaped cake man" (*ša-seqqurrātēšu*) [x] *qû* of grapes, 5 *qû* of pistachios, 5 *qû* of probably "crushed" chickpeas (r. 26: ŠE.šu-'i *ha-še-ú-te*),²²⁴ and 100 pomegranates(?) (r. 26: GIŠ.NU[?].[ÚR.MA^(?)] for *nurmû*).²²⁵ From among these professionals the "soup man" and the "beer man" also occur in the section dealing with the domestic staff of the queen (r. 43). Here they receive 5 *qû* of grapes (the "soup man") and 3 *qû* of leeks (the "beer man"), and thus both are provided with a smaller amount of foods compared with the domestics of the main household. Examining professions bearing titles of the type *ša-x-šu* Radner (1999c: 120–6) concluded that these men were "subordinate members of households" who either collected, processed or manufactured the commodities their title refers to and were not peddlers (as indicated by the Neo-Babylonian evidence). The types of foods distributed to the *ša-x-šu* professionals listed in the section of the "House of the Confectioner" correspond to the remainder of the tablet and are fairly restricted. They do not necessarily include foodstuffs which were central to the activities of the confectioner and the *ša-x-šu* professionals.

As for other references to the professionals listed here, the "beer man" is also mentioned in the decree concerning the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (SAA 12 83 r. 13). He is followed by the gardener and the vegetable gardener, which may support the interpretation that he was concerned with beer, or its refinement by the addition of vegetal stuff.²²⁶ In a record of bread or beer rations, these employees are listed after the bakers and the "milk men" (*ša-zizibēšu*), though the entries which originally followed are destroyed.²²⁷ Also the amount

²²³ For a brief discussion see section 4.2 The *bēt nuḫatimmi* ("House of the Cook").

²²⁴ The edition refers to the verb *hašû* rendering onions and the like as "chopped" which, as also stated in the edition, does not really fit in the present context. The verb *hašû* is otherwise attested in medical texts (CAD H 145).

²²⁵ The transcriptions as well as the translations follow to Radner 1999c: 125, as does the restored "aromatics? man" (Radner 1999c: 121).

²²⁶ For *billu* meaning beer see Radner 1999c: 121, fn. 79. Jakob (2003: 406, fn. 93, with reference to Maul), on the contrary, stressed that *billu* denotes wort ("Bierwürze") but not beer itself.

²²⁷ CTN 1 35 ii 20'–22'. The *ša-zizibēšu* is also attested in the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a where he is enumerated before the cook (SAA 12 83 r. 10), and in a record of barley rations provided for equids and personnel of the stables (*ma'āssu*) (CTN 3 89:14',

(of bread) handed over to them is lost. There might be another “beer man”, namely Lū-šakin designated LÚ.šá-pi-li-šu in ND 3463 r. 20 (see Radner 1999c: 121) although the title is otherwise interpreted as *ša-pūlēšu* (“limestone man”).²²⁸ Since he follows three bakers in the witness list, I interpret him as beer man too. As for the “aromatics man”, such a functionary was also witness to a dedication of a man to Ninurta for labour duty and corvée work in 641* (SAA 12 92 r. 12). Together with priests of Ištar and Adad, the chief musician of Ninurta and the cook of Ninurta, he is qualified as temple enterer(?) ([*ērib*] *bēti ša ili*), provided that the restoration is correct. The strong association of the “aromatics man” with the temple is supported by a text listing the tasks of personnel during rituals in the Aššur Temple, where he is said to be responsible for the mixing of incense.²²⁹ Although the contexts in which all the other *ša-x-šu* professions concerned with foods occur do not indicate such a temple connection, the type of foods they are concerned with nevertheless point into such a direction. This is true for the “beer man”,²³⁰ the “soup man”,²³¹ the “sweet cake man”,²³² and the “salt-meat man” (see section 4.2.3 The *ša-midlēšu* (salt-meat man)), and possibly also for the “ziqqurrat-shaped cake man”. Since the *ša-x-šu* professionals recorded in CTN 3 87 are clearly associated with the palace and not with the temple (as is also indicated by the domestic personnel of the queen that are explicitly listed here), I suggest that they were concerned with the procurement, supply, and final treatment of the products prepared in the temple and claimed by the palace, but not necessarily with the basic preparation.²³³

É LÚ*.SUM.NINDA	CTN 3 87 r. 28	nd (8 th century)
É LÚ*.SUM.NINDA	CTN 3 88 r. 4'	nd (8 th century)

Table 8: References to the “House of the Confectioner”

presumably part of CTN 3 88). The latter indicates that the “milk man” was active in the stables (of the Review Palace) which is plausible in view of his concern with milking.

²²⁸ Berlejung, PNA 2/II 671 s.v. Lū-šakin 6, listing some other evidence for the same man.

²²⁹ SAA 20 50 ii 5–7. For a discussion of the title see also Menzel 1981 I: 271.

²³⁰ Beer seems especially to have been produced in the temple (see section 15.2 Brewing).

²³¹ *akussu* frequently occurs in the records concerning Aššur Temple offerings (SAA 7 182–219) and it is provided for offerings by the *rab qaqqulāti* (see section 12.4 The *rab qaqqulāti*, p. 328 fn. 757).

²³² Adūnu-izzī, debtor of silver, is qualified as *ša-mutqītēšu*, “sweet cake man” (SAA 6 262:4; for the translation see Radner 1999c: 125). *mutqītu* denotes sweets associated with the cult (CAD M/2 301).

²³³ This suggests that they frequently switched between temple and palace, which may remind us of the *ša-kurummat šarri* active in Late Babylonian times who transferred cultic leftovers to the king (Kleber 2008: 304–5). Gaspa (2009: 88) assumed that several of the professions bearing *ša-x-šu* titles were employed on a temporary basis.

4.3.1 General remarks

The term *karkadinnu* appears first in Old Babylonian sources from Alalah. Despite a possible Hurrian affix *-den(n)u*, the root is neither Hurrian nor Akkadian and probably not even West Semitic and thus its origin remains unknown.²³⁴ In Neo-Babylonian times it was realised as *kaškadinnu* due to the phonetic change of /rk/ to <šk> (Jursa 2003: 235–6). Jakob (2003: 396) translates it as “Konditor” while CAD K 42 gives a range of meaning between “cook” and “baker”, probably “producing special dishes” such as pastries (cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 81–2). There are both syllabic and logographic writings for the *karkadinnu* attested in the sources of the Neo-Assyrian period. The syllabic variants of writing are LÚ/LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-nu*, LÚ*.*kar-ka-din* and, for the plural, LÚ.*kar-ka-di-na-te*, LÚ.*kar-ka-din-[a-te]*, LÚ.*kar-ka-di-na-a-te*, and LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-ni*. The logographic writings are SUM.NINDA, LÚ/LÚ*.SUM.NINDA, LÚ*.NINDA.SUM, and LÚ*.SUM.NA.NINDA and for *karkadinnutu*, the female confectioner, MÍ.SUM.NINDA-*tú* (attested in CTN 3 87 r. 46). The logographic writing is presumably owed to a late (probably Neo-Assyrian) development (Menzel 1981 I: 238). While the confectioner relating to the temple sphere was discussed by Menzel (1981 I: 238–40), the Middle Assyrian evidence for the confectioner was studied by Jakob (2003: 395–8). No detailed study of the Neo-Assyrian evidence for the confectioner has been undertaken so far.

4.3.2 *karkadinnus* of the temple

Although there is not a single confectioner specifically designated via his title as active in the temple, his employment in the temple becomes clear from contextualisation (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 238). While there are some confectioners listed as witnesses in documents from Assur who were possibly employed in the temple (e.g. StAT 1 21 r. 16, 18–19, 21), an association with the temple is clear in other cases. In a record of votive donations there are two confectioners (Našuh-ma’ādī and Sē’-ma’ādī) listed as given to Nusku (SAA 12 91 r. 21). Otherwise, the confectioner appears repeatedly in a decree of expenditures for the Aššur Temple dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 69). Here he receives amounts of honey (or syrup), oil, chickpeas, and also lentils and sesame for different ceremonies to be held throughout the year, as provided via the treasurer of Aššur. As stated in the text, honey and oil were used to prepare NINDA.ḫar-še, some sort of barley bread (Gaspá 2009: 114–5), and ZÍD.ḫi-in-ḫi-ni (ll. 8, 9, cf. Menzel 1981 I: 239), a kind of flour (according to the sign

²³⁴ See more recently Jakob 2003: 396 but also Menzel 1981 I: 238 and CAD K 42. AHw 421 suggests the meaning “Truchseß?” for *karkadinnu*.

ZĪD for *qēmu*). Another text concerning offerings in the Aššur Temple is the administrative document SAA 7 182, according to which the confectioner Āmur-ilūt-Aššūr together with others takes care of oxen, (cuts of) meat, sheep, *ḫinḫinu*(-seeds),²³⁵ *budê*(-confection),²³⁶ milk, chickpeas, sesame, and wine on the fifth day (of offerings).²³⁷ The confectioner's engagement in the temple is also clear from the occurrence of the priest of the confectioner's (house), as attested in the letter SAA 10 96 (in r. 2, 12)—also referring to the priest of the cook's house, in the legal document StAT 1 22 (witness Sukkāia in r. 22, also attested in VS 1 99 r. 2) and in an administrative record from Assur (Radner 2016 I.48:9).²³⁸ Finally, there are a few ritual texts which refer to the involvement of the confectioner as the one who sets up his meal (SAA 20 55 r. 5') and who, together with the cook, seems to be responsible for the meal.²³⁹

4.3.3 *karkadinnus* of the palace and the royal family

Although most cases lack details of the actual sphere of activities, two confectioners are designated as palace confectioners, one is assigned to the king, and a male and a female confectioner are associated with the queen. The evidence derives exclusively from documents from Kalhu dating to the 8th century. The palace confectioner Kulu'u acts as a witness when the palace servant Marduk-šarru-ušur sells his sister to Nabû-šimanni,²⁴⁰ possibly identical with the treasurer Nabû-šimanni attested in Edubba 10 19:4 which bears the same archival background. While a palace servant is an active party to this transaction, the palatial background (as already indicated by the archival background) is further supported by witnesses such as the tanner of the palace and the household overseer of the queen. In Edubba 10 51, another document found in room 57 of the North-West Palace at Kalhu, a royal confectioner (name broken) acts as a witness to a slave sale. He too is to be found among other witnesses

²³⁵ In contrast to its appearance in SAA 12 69, *ḫinḫinu* seems not to be meant as the final product; also the determinative ZĪD is missing. According to CAD H 194 it refers to seed for seasoning. HAD 39 proposes as a definition *hummus* or at least “a cereal preparation made with oil”, defining *ḫinḫinu* as a product thus finished; cf. Gaspa 2009: 109–13.

²³⁶ HAD 18 proposes “a fruit confection or sweet sauce”. See also Gaspa 2009: 110, fn. 77.

²³⁷ According to these items, including meat, the other individuals with whom the confectioner is attested might have been butchers or cooks (though their titles are either not preserved or not given).

²³⁸ For the interpretation as “priest of the confectioner's house” or “priest of the confectionery” see Parpola 1983a: 320. For the consecration of priests in Neo-Assyrian times, for which the letter SAA 10 96 is an important source, see Löhnert 2007.

²³⁹ SAA 20 52 r. iii 18'. Cf. Menzel 1981 I: 239.

²⁴⁰ Edubba 10 20:7–8. The personal name Kulu'u otherwise serves as a designation for cultic personnel of Ištar whose differentiation from men (*zikāru*) also led to the assumption that they were some kind of “transvestites” or were even emasculated (CAD K 529 s.v. *kulu'u* and 558–9 s.v. *kurgarrû*, discussion; HAD 51 s.v. *kulu'u*).

connected with the palace (r. 2–3, title broken) as well as the tailor of the governor of Kalhu (r. 8–9). Apart from witnessing legal transactions there is a single attestation of the palace confectioner in the record of *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer of Arbail (CTN 3 87 r. 48). While this document refers to the department of the confectioner, it also mentions the confectioner of the palace together with the cook of the palace along with [x] *qû* of *titipu*-plants, 1 ½ *qû* of grapes, and 1 ½ *qû* of leeks in a separate section. It seems that the two received these commodities jointly. The palace confectioner's separate receipt of foodstuffs suggests his importance among the palatial domestics and it is to be questioned if and how he was related to the department of the confectioner. As suggested in the section about the palace cook, it could be that the palace confectioner was responsible for the *bēt karkadinni* and received an individual amount of foodstuff for his own needs thanks to his elevated position. The same document also records the male confectioner and the female confectioner of the queen as recipients of foodstuffs such as leeks, grapes, and pistachios. The amounts given to the female confectioner are considerably lower than those provided for the male confectioner.²⁴¹

Confectioners who may have had a palace connection are mentioned in some administrative records from Nineveh, as is the case with the almost identical documents listing the confectioner among other domestic personnel (SAA 7 21:10'; 22 r. 1). A palace connection is also clear for the confectioner (name lost) who is assigned to the “[residences] beneath the window” in the administrative document SAA 7 8:5 (restored according to SAA 7 9 r. ii 3), presumably referring to temporary lodgings established in Nineveh for a unique event (Fales and Postgate 1992: XVII–XIX) in the late reign of Esarhaddon or early reign of Assurbanipal. Apart from these administrative documents, the references to the confectioners in three queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 139:9; 142:9; 144:9) and in the lists of wine and beer or bread may have had a palace connection.

4.3.4 *karkadinnus* of high-ranking officials

Apart from the governor of Mazamua who reviewed among the domestics of the *šāb šarri* in his care 12 confectioners (SAA 5 215:17), other high-ranking officials are known to have had their own cooks in their service, this was the case with the commander-in-chief: in the letter CTN 2 199 the sender, Adad-aḥu-iddina, explains to the governor of Kalhu that, according to a royal command, he should take the cook, the confectioner, and the baker, described as *kitkittû* of the household of the commander-in-chief, under his command. Unfortunately we do not know the function of Adad-aḥu-iddina, as is also

²⁴¹ CTN 3 87 r. 42, 46. For a detailed description see below.

the case with Aššūr-ilā'ī from whose household a cupbearer, a cook, a confectioner, and *ša-rēši*, summarised as *ša-rēšis*, were sent to the palace for interrogation. This is clear from the letter SAA 1 184 sent by Adad-ibni to the king (Sargon). Since these professionals are also called as “subjects of the city of Til-Barsip” (r. 6–7), Aššūr-ilā'ī was active in this area, presumably holding a higher-ranking office.

4.3.5 *karkadinnus* in general

4.3.5.1 Legal transactions

In legal documents the confectioner occurs mainly as a witness, occasionally together with other domestic personnel such as the cook, the brewer, and the butcher.²⁴² Otherwise, he was rarely involved in legal transactions. There is the confectioner Nabû-tartība-ušûr who owed 17 shekels of silver to Nanāia-balliṭi after the reign of Assurbanipal (VS 1 99:3). Assuming that the confectioner Zīzī who witnesses a slave sale in StAT 1 21 is identical with Zīzī mentioned in the legal documents StAT 1 4 and FNALD 40, the (confectioner) Zīzī owes nine shekels of purified silver in the year 646* BCE according to StAT 1 4, and he appears as one of four creditors in a receipt for a partial repayment of debts of 3 ½ minas of silver dating to the year 634* (FNALD 40:5). And, according to another legal record (CUSAS 34 56), the confectioner Nabû-ušabši's tablet is one of four documents (*egirtu*) placed as a pledge. As pointed out above, the confectioners mentioned in legal texts from Assur may be connected to the temple (of Aššur).

4.3.5.2 Allocations

In more than ten wine lists the confectioners receive either 2 ½ (CTN 1 1 r. iii 17) or 2 *qû* (CTN 1 6 r. 43; 8:29; 11 r. 10') of wine (where the recorded amount is preserved). Judging by its comparatively frequent appearance, two *qû* may have been the standard amount of wine given out to the confectioners. The amount of wine given to the confectioners during the *šar pūhi* ritual is considerably lower, namely only one *qû* (CTN 1 33 ii 10), which supports the idea that a diminished royal household was provided for the substitute king. According to the so-called bread lists, presumably dating to the reign of Sargon, the confectioners received 8 *sūtu* 6 *qû* (CTN 1 34:3') and 8 *sūtu* (CTN 1 35 ii 16') of bread or beer. In CTN 1 35 ii 5' the confectioner (now in the singular)

²⁴² Aḫu-lū-balaṭ (CTN 2 11 r. 11'), (?)Bēl-aḫḫē (CTN 2 53 r. 10'), Ēdī-lēšir (StAT 1 21 r. 19), Marduk-balliṭ (StAT 1 21 r. 21), (?)Mušēzib-ilu (CTN 2 53 r. 9'), Rēmāni-Ililil (SAA 6 204 r. 11'; 205 r. 5'), Ubru-Aia (StAT 1 21 r. 16), Zīzī (StAT 1 21 r. 18).

appears once again, with the qualification KUM.A, receiving one *sūtu*. KUM.A may refer to a specific sort of confectioner, probably “crushing confectioner”, but its exact meaning remains unclear.²⁴³ Again presumably recorded as recipients are the confectioners mentioned in the administrative document ND 2461 r. 23 along with five *kappu*-bowls of tamarisk. They follow the cooks who receive one *kappu*-bowl of tamarisk. Otherwise, the administrative record about *ilkakāte* payments, CTN 3 87, refers to the confectioner as a recipient of various foods in connection with his official tasks.

4.3.5.3 Taxes and obligations

The confectioner is mentioned in a broken administrative document (Billa 86:7') dealing with corn tax (*nusāḫu*) and straw tax (*šibšū*), probably recorded as provincial income of Šibaniba. Due to the broken state of the tablet, the amount handed over by the confectioner [...]rēmāni remains open, but apparently he had taxable land at his disposal. While the cooks appear also in other documents dealing with the levy of corn, this is the only such evidence for the confectioner (apart from the broken document StAT 3 35 which probably deals with barley). Instead he is listed along with [x] talents 40 minas in a section concerned with Nineveh in an account (ND 2475) probably of metal (silver). This text is broken and one can otherwise only note that the palace, the treasurer and the temples are repeatedly mentioned in the various account sections dealing with Nineveh, Kālu and other places (names broken or lost) along with amounts of silver(?).

4.3.5.4 Functions

So far we have not learned much about the actual activities of the confectioner. These are mainly illuminated by the administrative document CTN 3 87, which records the *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer of Arbail. This document records two, possibly even three, confectioners in different sections (while also mentioning a male and a female confectioner of the queen as well as a confectioner of the palace). In the section involving the department of the confectioner (*bēt karkadinni*), the confectioner Aššūr[...] is mentioned along with 2 *sūtu* 7 *qū* of leeks, 2 *sūtu* 7 *qū* of grapes as well as five minas of copper which he probably received from the treasurer. In the same section there are also a “soup man”, a “beer man”, an “aromatics man”, and probably a “ziqurrat-shaped cake man” recorded as recipients (see above). Clearly the

²⁴³ The meaning “to crush” derives from KUM, read *ḥašālu*. The same qualification is also applied to the cooks in the same document (CTN 1 35 iii 2'). Kinnier Wilson (1972: 79) suggested that both may have been a type of miller.

confectioner listed in this section belongs to the department of the confectioner, as do the *ša-x-šu* functionaries listed here. Since he is the one mentioned first, he might have occupied the major role among these professionals, as supported by the designation of the department as well as the comparatively large quantity of food listed with him. However, judging from these foodstuffs, the confectioner was concerned with the treatment of leeks and grapes, and he might have used the copper to buy further foodstuffs for his needs. According to a broken ditto-sign in the section concerning the department of the cook, there seems to be another confectioner, in the cook's department. This is supported by the equal commodities and amounts given along with this entry. In a separate section the confectioner described as "in charge of the leather bags" (l. 16: *ša IGI KUŠ.DU₁₀.GAN.MEŠ*, to be read as *tukkannē* or *tukkannāte*, see Dalley and Postgate 1984: 147) receives four *sūtu* of *titipu*-plants and six minas of copper.²⁴⁴ Similar food is given to the male and the female confectioner of the queen, namely [x] *qû* of leeks, 1 *sūtu* 6 *qû* of grapes, 1 *sūtu* of *titipu*-plant, 2 *sūtu* of pistachios, and 1 *sūtu* 6 *qû* of *puršīnu* (probably pomegranate seed, HAD 85) to her male confectioner and 2 *qû* of leeks, 4 *qû* of grapes, 2 *qû* of *titipu*-plant, 2 *qû* of pistachios, and 4 *qû* of *puršīnu* to her female confectioner. In general one might compare these foodstuffs with the food destined to the confectioner (of the temple) for different ceremonies in the Aššur Temple, namely honey (or syrup), oil, chickpeas, lentils, and sesame in SAA 12 96, which is partly identical with the foodstuffs listed in SAA 7 182 (see above). Though the ingredients associated with the confectioner according to CTN 3 87, SAA 12 96, and SAA 7 182 might have constituted those types of foodstuffs the confectioner was mainly responsible for, it is also possible that we only get to know selected ingredients the confectioner dealt with. This is suggested by the fact that the cook of the queen received almost the same foodstuffs as the queen's confectioner in CTN 3 87. On the other hand, Gaspa suggested on the basis of SAA 12 96 that the cook, who received barley and lentils, complemented the range of ingredients taken by the confectioner (including lentils but not barley). Based on that, he stressed the cooperation between the cook and the confectioner, who may even have produced the same dish with each profession responsible for a particular step of procedure (Gaspa 2009: 108–9). While this is plausible in the case of the dishes prepared for the ceremonies treated in SAA 12 69, it is likely that we only get to know a selected group of the ingredients that the cook and the confectioner dealt with (see above). Nevertheless, the Middle Assyrian evidence (MARV 3 49 in Jakob 2003: 397) supports the impression that honey (or syrup) was a central commodity for the confectioner.

²⁴⁴ Dalley and Postgate (1984: 147) note that, rather than qualifying the confectioner himself, this could refer to a separate profession instead. Since there would be no distinct foodstuff assigned to this official I prefer to interpret it as belonging with the *karkadinnu*.

4.3.6 Summary

The Neo-Assyrian evidence suggests that the confectioner was concerned with the preparation of specific dishes made of ingredients such as honey, oil, leeks, and pistachios (as is partly already indicated in the Middle Assyrian sources). He is frequently associated with other domestics, especially with cooks but also cupbearers and bakers, while within the temple sphere he appears *inter alia* together with the brewers. As part of an institution the confectioner received wine and rations of beer or bread, and had land at his disposal. As becomes clear from CTN 3 87, the palace (Review Palace) consisted of different units including confectioners. Apart from the department of the confectioner, the department of the cook as well as the queen's domain employed confectioners, while the palace confectioner may have been the head of the "House of the Confectioner", which possibly employed additional confectioners of lower rank. In general it was a profession of low rank, and the confectioners clearly differed in rank among themselves. Hence, a confectioner active in the palace or the confectioners attested as assigned to temporary lodgings in Nineveh enjoyed a higher rank than those which seem to have been listed as deportees (e.g. SAA 11 195:2). This differentiation in status may have also implied a different degree of education, assuming that a palace confectioner was comparatively well-trained in contrast to a confectioner recruited from among the common deportees.

4.4 The *bēt āpie* ("House of the Baker")

The "House of the Baker" (É LÚ*.NINDA) is only attested once in a letter of 17 blacksmiths to the king (Esarhaddon) (SAA 16 40:9). A blacksmith was apparently employed therein and it is possible that the baker's department in question formed part of the royal household. However, we do not have any other information about a bakery in the palace, which corresponds to the fact that bakers in general occur more often in association with the temple rather than the palace.

4.4.1 General remarks

There has been a long debate on the Akkadian reading of LÚ.NINDA (and LÚ.GAL–NINDA), which only came into use in the Middle Assyrian period (Menzel 1981 I: 252). The proposed reading (*a*)*lahḫinu* (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 80–1; CAD A/I 296) is out of date since Menzel observed that the (*a*)*lahḫinu*'s range of activities differs from that of the LÚ.NINDA. Moreover, she refers to a legal document describing one witness as *lahḫennu* (ND 3426 r. 31) and another as LÚ.NINDA (ND 3426 r. 37), thus keeping the two terms separate.

Parpola refers to a similar phenomenon in a text recording the areas of responsibility of temple personnel mentioning an (*a*)*lahḫinu* and a LÚ.GAL–NINDA (SAA 20 50 ii 13, r. i 4', 16'). Additionally, he argues that while we lack evidence for a *rab* (*a*)*lahḫini*, several attestations of the LÚ.GAL–NINDA are preserved, and whereas the (*a*)*lahḫinu* usually appears in the singular, Neo-Assyrian texts refer to the baker in the plural (Parpola 1983a: 320). Also Deller's (1964: 95 and 1984b: 234–5) suggestion that LÚ.NINDA is to be read *ḫundurāiu*, which was supported by Menzel (1981 I: 252–3), is now obsolete.²⁴⁵ As argued by Parpola (1983a: 321), this is also clear with the spelling LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* in the bread list CTN 1 35 ii 6'.²⁴⁶ As indicated by the sign NINDA and as is clear from the aforementioned text studied by Menzel, the LÚ.NINDA (together with the LÚ.GAL–NINDA) is associated with the production of bread and thus is to be identified as baker (Menzel 1981 I: 250–3; Parpola 1983a: 320–1). Based on that identification, Parpola suggested that the logographic writing LÚ.NINDA might refer to the Akkadian term *ēpū* used to designate bakers in the Babylonian dialect from Old Babylonian on.²⁴⁷ While Parpola was not able to prove this by reference to a syllabic writing in this Neo-Assyrian sources known to him, the syllabic writing LÚ*.*a-pi-u* has since come to light in a legal document from Ma'allanate (O 3705 r. 14). Therefore (LÚ/LÚ*).NINDA is transcribed here as *āpiu* and MÍ.NINDA as *āpītu*.²⁴⁸ In addition, one has to bear in mind that the NINDA sign can also be read as GAR and thus, in combination with LÚ, refer to the title *šaknu*, designating either a provincial governor or a military official. Fortunately, we can usually distinguish between LÚ.NINDA and LÚ.GAR thanks to syllabic complements and context.²⁴⁹

In contrast to the Neo-Assyrian period, Jakob (2003: 391–4) identified the *alahḫennu* as a professional concerned with the tasks of bakers and millers for the Middle Assyrian period, while there is only one Middle Assyrian attestation of *āpi'u*. Since this single case clearly shows an association with the

²⁴⁵ See section 17 Textile production and processing. This suggestion is mainly based on the *ḫundurāiu* Mudammiq-Aššūr identified with the (chief baker) Mudammiq-Aššūr witnessing STAT 1 22 r. 13. Actually the professional title LÚ.GAL–NINDA.MEŠ refers to Dūrī-Aššūr while the ditto-sign mentioned along with Mudammiq-Aššūr refers to the goldsmiths mentioned in r. 12. See Åkerman, PNA 2/II 760–1 s.v. Mudammiq-Aššūr 7 and 8.

²⁴⁶ The writing LÚ/LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* is also attested in CTN 1 11 r. 12'; 20:18'; 35 ii 20'; ZTT 14:3 and in the compound URU–LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* in SAA 12 19:23', r. 10.

²⁴⁷ In Old Babylonian times this is only attested in Mari; otherwise, this term mainly occurs from Middle Babylonian on (CAD E 248 and AHW 231).

²⁴⁸ Postgate (1980: 68) suggested to read LÚ.NINDA as *muraqqiu* and interpret it as a "specialist bread-maker or pastry-cook" on the basis of a single-line entry of the two designations in a lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238 r. vi 29). However, *muraqqiu* basically means perfume maker and there is no reason to doubt that for the Neo-Assyrian period.

²⁴⁹ See the article of Postgate 1980 dealing with the title *šaknu* in general and p. 68 in particular.

baker too, Jakob (2003: 394–5) suggested that the two titles were not used synonymously but that both professions performed distinct tasks in connection with bread. A shift of responsibilities may have taken place between the Middle Assyrian and the Neo-Assyrian period.

4.4.2 Institutional affiliation

There is not a single attestation of a “palace baker”, but the baker’s appearance in the wine and bread lists indicates his connection with the palace (Review Palace), especially since the bakers belonging to the class of palace servants (CTN 1 35 ii 6´). This is also the case with bakers listed together with other employees as a potential danger to the crown in queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 139:9, 142:9, 144:9). Also the baker Šulmu-bēli, who witnessed a legal transaction, is described as baker of the Second House and thus was active in a palatial department (ND 3424 r. 9). Otherwise, the baker of the *šakintu*, who reported on a theft in the palace according to a letter written by Ašīpā to the king (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) (SAA 19 114:5), apparently belonged to the palace (presumably to the household of the queen); clearly he knew about internal matters. Similarly, the female bakers listed together with female musicians may have belonged to the women’s quarters of the palace (SAA 7 26:3´). For bakers recorded in a few other administrative documents from Nineveh (SAA 11 155, 157) the institutional assignment remains unclear.

A temple connection, on the other hand, is assumed for the bakers attested in documents (mainly legal texts) from Assur. This is even more plausible if functionaries clearly connected with the temple sphere appear in these texts, as is the case with some legal records whose witness lists contain references to both bakers and priests and other temple personnel,²⁵⁰ and with another legal text which records the sale of 25 people by four sons of the priest Bātānu and mentions a baker as a witness (KAN 4 8 r. 20´). In addition to the goldsmiths and the *hundurāiu*, Radner (1999a: 30–3) refers to the bakers as one of the hierarchically organised professions of Assur which were associated with the Aššur Temple.²⁵¹ Otherwise, those bakers who were donated to Ištar, Nabû, Nusku or Šarrat-nipḥa belonged to the temple (SAA 12 68, 89, 91, 98), as did the Town of Bakers donated to provide offerings for Aššur in the reign of Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 19). In addition, the attestations of baker(s) in the decrees SAA 12 68 and 69 represent to bakers active in the temple sphere, as is once made explicit in SAA 12 69 r. 22 with the title LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ *ša É-DINGIR*. Similarly, precise titles are attested in SAAB 9 73 r. 29, referring

²⁵⁰ StAT 2 101; SAAB 9 71; cf. the legal record O 3705 from Maʿallanate.

²⁵¹ Note in particular StAT 1 22 r. 13–16 where the chief baker is followed by a number of bakers in the witness list. For the chief baker see section 12.3 The *rab āpie* (chief baker).

to a baker of the temple, and in ND 3426 r. 18 mentioning Inūrtānu, the baker of (the) Ninurta (temple).²⁵²

Beyond the basic distinction between bakers active in the palace and in the temple, these professionals can be found subordinate to magnates and provincial governors. There is a baker mentioned as *kitkittû* of the commander-in-chief together with a cook and a confectioner in a letter of Adad-aḥu-iddina written to the governor of Kalhu (CTN 2 199:6–9). The sender, whose specific function remains unknown, explains to the governor that according to a royal order he should take the three professionals under his command. Another official who is attested with a baker as subordinate is the great treasurer, according to the document SAA 6 209, referring to a male and a female baker of the great treasurer (who are related to each other). Also the baker Sīsiā, who acts as witness when a servant of the great treasurer sells his daughter (CTN 2 4 r. 17), might belong to the domain of the great treasurer, as suggested by Postgate (1973: 33). Furthermore, the baker Šarru-lū-dārī, listed in a schedule belonging to a grant of tax-exemption from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 27), can be counted as subordinate of the *rab ša-rēši* Nabū-šarru-ušur. In the letter SAA 1 171 Bēl-dūrī, governor of Damascus, reports on Ilu-mušēzib, baker of Bēl-ēmuranni, employed by the king in the neighbouring provincial capital Hatarikka. According to this letter Ilu-mušēzib was made to run away by some of the king's travel companions and it is now the governor of Damascus who reclaims him. Other bakers who were handed over as inheritance (StAT 2 101, SAA 14 155) or were released (ND 2605) apparently also served for the private benefit of individuals.

While the aforementioned bakers attached to high-ranking officials were presumably active in the individual households of their masters, the following bakers subordinate to officials were rather assigned to that official's jurisdiction in the state administration. This is the case with the seven bakers belonging to the domestics of the military unit of Mazamua who were under the authority of Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, as reported by the latter to the king (Sargon). Also the bakers enumerated in two broken exemplars of the decree concerning the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a from the reign of Aššur-naṣirpal II are assigned to this high-ranking official who was responsible for the establishment of the new capital, Kalhu. In the context of his appointment the bakers, together with several other professionals and functionaries, were taken from Assur and assigned under Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a's authority (SAA 12 83 r. 23). Also the aforementioned baker subordinate to a *šakintu*

²⁵² Although the Aramean baker Adda-sūrī and another, unnamed baker recorded in ND 5457 do not bear a specific title mentioning their sphere of activity, they seem to have been active in the Nabū Temple judging by the context (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 251). Also the bakers in SAA 12 68 and 69 were those of the Aššur Temple to which, in general, the majority of temple bakers belonged.

might have been active for her in the household (of the queen) that she supervised (SAA 19 114). While a similar background cannot be ruled out for the baker Nabû-bêlu-ušur, who used to be engaged by Mukîn-Aššûr, servant of the palace supervisor, before he was sold to the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad (SAA 6 305 and 306), this baker was possibly active for Mukîn-Aššûr and Rēmāni-Adad on account of their personal needs. In view of all these different types of affiliation of bakers, which denote relatively low-ranking professionals, their relative rank and degree of dependence differed and depended on their individual sphere of activities and their relative position within that sphere.

4.4.3 *āpius* in general

4.4.3.1 Legal transactions

In legal documents the baker is mainly attested as a witness. Beginning with the reign of Adad-nērāri III, he witnesses legal transactions from Kalhu (CTN 2 102 r. 5, 6). From the reign of Sennacherib there is also evidence of bakers as witnesses from Assur (StAT 2 104 r. 9'). These are the two cities from where the most attestations of bakers as witnesses derive, with the majority dating to the reign of Assurbanipal or later. In the case of Kalhu these are frequently legal transactions involving the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur, such as the purchase of a house (ND 3463) or the adoption of the daughter of the fowler, Matī'il-ilā'ī (ND 3423). Also from Nineveh we have evidence for bakers witnessing legal documents. They date from the reign of Sennacherib down to after the reign of Assurbanipal. Otherwise, there is a single tablet from Ma'allanate according to which the baker Adnî witnesses a slave sale (O 3705 r. 14). Occasionally more than one baker witnessed the same legal transaction. This is mainly true for documents from Assur (e.g. FNALD 26 and StAT 1 22) but also for texts from Kalhu (e.g. CTN 2 102) and Nineveh (SAA 6 274).

There is only scarce evidence for the baker as an active party to legal documents. In this respect the baker appears as a seller or a buyer of slaves or land and as creditor or debtor of silver and corn. While the baker's involvement in legal (and administrative) transactions concerned with corn seems to reflect the baker's concern with making bread (discussed below), there are a few legal documents recording the baker as a creditor or a debtor of silver. The baker Issar-iqbi is jointly owed 14 shekels of silver (CUSAS 34 51:2). Assuming that the baker Urdu-Issār (FNALD 26; StAT 1 22) is identical with Urdu-Issār mentioned in StAT 1 4, the baker is attested as creditor of nine shekels of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal. In ZA 73 8 the baker Aššûr-erība owes four shekels of silver, first-fruits of Aššûr, to Aššûr-nādin-aḥḥē after the reign of Assurbanipal. There is also the broken document CTN 2 97 which might be a legal record. It shows that the baker Bûnî was involved in economic matters

since he is listed among others along with one mina (of what might be silver), probably owed by someone.

While no other texts concerning the active engagement of the baker in silver loans are known, it is not only in ZA 73 8 that the baker appears in a text concerning the “first-fruits” of Aššur. Similarly, bakers witness what seems to be a loan of corn designated “first-fruits of Aššur” (SAAB 5 63 r. 12–13), and a loan of silver qualified as “first-fruits of Ištar of Arbail” (SAA 14 169 r. 5). As pointed out by Postgate (1983: 155–9), loans qualified as “first-fruits” (also referred to as “Tempelschuldscheine” by Menzel 1981 I: 11–20) are “loans or debts qualified in some way as temple offerings” and thus the first-fruits (*rēšāti*, see Postgate 1983: 156–7) are similar to *ginû*, meaning “regular offering”. As Postgate concluded, these “Tempelschuldscheine” record the loan of commodities (mainly silver and corn) stored in the temple but belonging to an individual person referred to with the preposition *ša*. In the case of ZA 73 8, the only evidence of a “Tempelschuldschein” recording a baker as an active party, four shekels of silver belonging to Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē but stored in the Aššur Temple are owed by the baker Aššūr-rība. While this evidence does not add much to the economic situation of bakers, in general, Tempelschuldscheine mentioning a baker suggest that the bakers in question were active within the temple sphere.

Bakers are also attested as sellers of slaves. In KAN 4 20 the woman Nanāia-ilā’ī together with her daughter is sold for one mina of silver by ten men, including the baker Šēp-Aššūr and Urdu-Issār, probably identified with the baker Urdu-Issār (attested in FNALD 26 and StAT 1 22). The two sold individuals are described as “booty of Elam which the king had given to the Inner City”.²⁵³ According to SAA 6 209 a baker (name lost) together with a female baker (name lost), sells a [house, a field and a threshing] floor. Both sellers are described as bakers of the great treasurer; the female baker is either the daughter of the male baker listed as seller or the daughter of the father of the selling baker, i.e. the sister of the selling baker. In any case, we learn that the two bakers sold land, though the price as well as the purchasing party is lost. In the house sale document CTSHM 30, the baker Gīrītu is recorded as owner of a house adjoining the one sold. It is located next to the house of a gardener and a diviner of the crown prince, and is sold by a fuller. As recorded in another document from Assur (B 110), dating to the reign Assurbanipal, the baker Bibī bought Aḥu-lē’i, servant of the *ša-rēši* Ilī, for ½ mina 5 shekels of silver. This rather scanty evidence for the bakers as owners of slaves and land indicates that bakers occasionally enjoyed moderate wealth.

²⁵³ For an edition of KAN 4 20 and a discussion about the transaction’s background see Faist 2009.

4.4.3.2 Allocations

Allocations to the bakers are represented by wine and probably bread rations, as repeatedly recorded in the wine lists from the 8th century. It appears that the bakers usually received two *qû* of wine (according to CTN 1 8, CTN 1 11; the amounts in CTN 1 6 and 20 are not preserved), but they received only half of it during the ritual of the substitute king as attested in CTN 1 33. In other exemplars of wine lists the bakers are listed separately according to their origin. CTN 1 1 differentiates between Assyrian bakers receiving $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *qû*, Aramean bakers receiving $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *qû*, bakers from Suhu listed along with $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *qû* and a single Chaldean baker who obtained $\frac{1}{2}$ *qû* of wine. Similarly, CTN 3 145 lists the Assyrian bakers with $1 \text{ s}ûtu \frac{1}{2}$ *qû* of wine while the Aramean bakers probably received one *qû*. With regard to CTN 1 35, recording rations of bread or beer allocated in the reign of Sargon, the bakers are listed along with one *emāru* five *sûtu* (CTN 1 35 i 13') and four *sûtu* (CTN 1 35 ii 20'). There is a third entry for the bakers in CTN 1 35 ii 6', according to which the bakers, described as palace servants (*urdu ekalli*), receive five *qû* of bread or beer. Since we do not know the number of bakers involved in each case, no further statements on the basis of the different amounts of allocated foodstuffs can be made. While these ration lists rather refer to bakers connected to the palace sphere, allocations given to bakers active in the temple are recorded in a copy of a decree of expenditures for the temple of Šarrat-nip̄a from the reign of Tukultī-Inūrta I (SAA 12 68, presumably dating to the reign of Shalmaneser III; Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXXI–XXXII). Here the baker is mentioned along with one *qû* of [...]bread in l. 7, along with meat “from the rear part” together with the brewer in l. 13, and is said to take 20 [...]skins in l. 19. These items presumably constituted the remains of foodstuffs provided for the offerings, already given away before the actual preparations for the offerings were made.²⁵⁴ After describing the steps of preparation, the baker together with the brewer receives leftovers of intestines (*irrī*) and *bugurru* from the bull offered in the third month (SAA 12 68:35). Similarly, the baker and the brewer receive the intestines and the *bugurru* of the bull offered on the second days of the 12th month (Addaru) and the 7th month (Tašritu) (SAA 12 68 r. 2). From the offerings for Šarrat-nip̄a, apparently maintained over centuries (as also claimed in section r. 22–27), the baker obtained specific portions of meat together with some bread. His allocations are usually similar to those received by the brewer.

²⁵⁴ Note therefore l. 15: *ta-a-a-ru*, interpreted as “leftovers” in the edition.

4.4.3.3 Functions

The functions of bakers are mainly illuminated through texts dealing with the expenditures provided for the temple for ceremonies (SAA 12 68, 69). After the section dealing with the distribution of leftovers in SAA 12 68, also taken by the baker, the baker is mentioned when describing different steps in the preparation of meals to be offered in the 4th (Du'ūzu) and the 3rd (Simānu) month. In line 27 the baker is said to cut the thornbushes and acacia for making bread, as does the brewer to produce beer. Afterwards, the baker is said to give porridge (*pappāsu*). Moreover, the governor is said to give barley to the baker and the brewer “on the quay of the Inner City” in r. 13 so that they can provide two *qû* of bread and two *qû* of beer in the temple of Labria for the regular offerings of Šarrat-nip̄a. The ten minas of copper the baker, like the brewer, received twice a year (12th and 7th month) according to r. 15 may have been handed over so that the baker could procure additional ingredients for the preparation of bread or related dishes (cf. CTN 3 87, e.g. l. 15: the confectioner Abu-lēšir receives six minas of copper). In the decree of expenditures for the Aššur Temple from the reign of Adad-nērāri III, the bakers are said to take barley for bread and wheat for *qadūtu*-bread for the “journey of the gods” relating to the *pandugāni*-ceremony (SAA 12 69:10–12) and the vigil (SAA 12 69:20–21), for the divine council (SAA 12 69:28), for the *kalmartu* festival (SAA 12 69:37) and for the month of Tašritu (= 7th month, SAA 12 69:44).²⁵⁵ Moreover, the bakers of the temple receive six bundles (probably of firewood) daily from the *gaddāius*,²⁵⁶ three *emāru* of bitumen (*qīru*) from the guards of the well, something made of clay (lost) from the potters, as well as three *qû* of coriander (*kisibarru*) and one *qû* of probably fresh *samēdu*-plant²⁵⁷ from the [...] of the lower gardens (SAA 12 69 r. 20–22), and it is to be assumed that these commodities too were given to the bakers in order to prepare meals to be offered. It becomes clear from both decrees that the baker's main concern was the preparation of bread from different sorts of corn (barley and wheat), at times flavoured with coriander.²⁵⁸

This main concern of the baker is apparently the reason for his repeated association with barley in other texts. According to a land grant of Adad-nērāri III, renewed in the reign of Sargon, the Town of the Bakers was originally

²⁵⁵ For a discussion about the different amounts of barley and wheat taken by the bakers see Gaspa 2009–10: 116–7. Gaspa (2009–10: 132) offers a calculation of bread amounts produced in the reign of Adad-nērāri III according to SAA 12 69: 25 *emāru* (i.e. 2,000 kg) may have yielded 1,200–1,300 kg bread.

²⁵⁶ To my knowledge this term is otherwise unknown; perhaps the *ša-gaṣṣāēšu* (firewood man, see p. 137 fn. 197) is meant here.

²⁵⁷ For further evidence and literature see Gaspa 2009–10: 122, fn. 137.

²⁵⁸ For baking bread as the main task of the baker cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 81, and Menzel 1981 I: 251–2.

exempted from taxation and given to Qannunu, Aḥu-lāmur and Mannu-kī-abi in order to provide ten *emāru* of crushed grain (*imāru ḥašlātu*) for offerings of Aššur.²⁵⁹ Since Sargon required an area of 95 hectares of the Town of the Bakers for the construction of Dur-Šarrukin, he cleared 95 hectares in the Town of the Temple-enterers in the district of Nineveh instead, so that the sons of Qannunu, Aḥu-lāmur and Mannu-kī-abi were able to provide the crushed grain as was done by their fathers. Apart from its historical background, the construction of the new capital Dur-Šarrukin, this text again shows the bakers' association with grain mainly designated for the production of bread. This is otherwise clear from administrative and legal documents. According to the document ND 5457 an unnamed baker is said to have given 51 *emāru* two *sūtu* (of barley) to a certain Mutī. This expenditure is summed up as [110] *emāru* two *sūtu* together with an amount of 59 *emāru*, given by an unnamed brewer to Mutī. These [110] *emāru* two *sūtu* of barley are described as "regular offerings" (*ginū*) for Nabû. To this sum are added 30 *emāru* (of barley) by the Aramean baker Adda-sūrī. The entire amount of 140 *emāru* two *sūtu* (of barley) is then summed up as barley of the granary of Nabû given to Mutī. This record clearly refers to an administrative procedure within the temple sphere. While we do not learn about the role of Mutī, barley stored in the granary of the Nabû Temple was assigned to the baker and the brewer presumably on account of their tasks of making bread and beer for ceremonies and rituals, as is clear from SAA 12 68 and 69. Also in two documents from Tušhan, the baker appears along with barley. In ZTT 13 the baker Lidbubū is mentioned along with four (*emāru*) of barley and the date 27th of Simānu. As to the other entries, there is also the granary of the "house" of the skilled craftsmen, the *akītu*-house, the "house of the women" and a groom listed along with an amount of barley.²⁶⁰ Since prepositions in other entries (*ana* in r. 2, 5 and *ina* in ll. 8, r. 3) indicate that the amounts of barley listed were distributed to the subjects they are listed with, the bakers received the four (*emāru*) of barley. In the legal record ZTT 14 it is recorded that the bakers received two barley rations (*kurummatu*) on the 29th of Simānu "for the presence of the governor (of Tušhan)". The latter statement may or may not express a (temporary) employment of the bakers subordinate to the governor (Parpola 2008: 75), but it demonstrates that the transfer of barley to the bakers was an administrative procedure (similar

²⁵⁹ SAA 12 19. Tax exemption is also involved in the case of the bakers preparing offerings for the Aššur Temple in SAA 12 69.

²⁶⁰ As argued by Parpola (2008: 75), É LÚ*.um-ma-nu here is better interpreted as "house of the craftsmen" than "house of the scholars". The same author (2008: 18–25, 89–90) assumed that all these might have been part of or associated with a local Ištar Temple. Based on textual references, he suggested that rooms 9 and 10 belonged to the Ištar Temple, featuring its central bureau headed by the local treasurer. While the textual evidence might perhaps lead to such an assumption, the ground plan of the building is not suggestive of a religious building, cf. section 14.8.4 Treasurers appointed to cities.

to ND 5457 and ZTT 13), as underlined by the references to *kurummatu* and *kaqqudu, ina SAG.DU-ša* in line 2, which can be interpreted as “to be paid back in its capital (amount)”, implying that the bakers did not need to pay interest (Parpola 2008: 78). Apart from these documents with an institutional background, there is a legal document referring to an unspecified group of bakers as creditors of barley (SAAB 9 80) from after the reign of Assurbanipal. While the actual loan of barley by the bakers from a certain Imdī-amat is documented on another tablet (referred to as *egirtu*), the present tablet records that these debts, including the unusual high percentage of 1,000 % interest, will be repaid by the baker Rēmāni-Issār provided that he is appointed as chief of the bakers. This document represents another item of evidence for the baker’s association with barley and it suggests that gaining the position of chief of bakers was dependent on the financial situation of the potential candidate (at least on a local level).

4.4.3.4 Ethnic and geographical origin

Apart from the baker’s identification according to their sphere of activity, such as the temple household or the domain of the commander-in-chief, bakers are occasionally described by their origin. This phenomenon is attested in the wine lists, where we encounter Assyrian, Aramean and Suhean bakers as well as a Chaldean baker. An Aramean baker is also attested in the document ND 5457, and bakers are qualified by their origin in SAA 11 157 where there is a baker from Kiš and probably from Kutha listed (further details are lost). In addition, the legal transaction SAA 14 169 is witnessed by Šamšanni-ilu, baker from Kilizi. The latter simply refers to Šamšanni-ilu’s home town, as is the case with Dadusu, merchant of Kilizi, in the same witness list. The same seems to be true for the bakers from Kiš and Kutha mentioned in SAA 11 157. On the other hand, the Assyrian, Aramean, Chaldean and Suhean bakers attested in the wine lists and in ND 5457 may refer not only to the origin of the different groups of bakers but may also signify different types of bread which they prepared. The references to bakers recruited from different geographic areas or different ethnic groups implies that the requirement for bakers in the Assyrian homeland was partly covered by foreigners. On the one hand, this might be owed to a lack of bakers in the homeland but, more likely, it might reflect an interest in the consumption of different, exotic sorts of bread.

4.4.3.5 Summary

To sum up the Neo-Assyrian evidence for bakers, they repeatedly occur as witnesses but only rarely as active parties to legal transactions, illustrating that bakers could have some financial means (silver) and some property (such as

slaves or land) at their disposal. The baker is repeatedly attested as a recipient of wine, and he also obtained rations of bread. As regards offerings, the baker (active in the temple sphere) is attested as recipient of leftovers of meat and also bread. In the decrees for offerings the baker's main concern, the preparation of bread (and also his association with corn of different types), becomes clear. A concern with corn is also reflected in the baker's involvement in corn loans and administrative transactions concerning corn which usually have an institutional background. With regard to their institutional connections, bakers were certainly active in the palace sphere but primarily appear in connection with the temple. The particular connection with the religious sphere is supported by the baker's prominent association with the brewer, who was himself closely connected with the temple. While bakers are in a few cases described according to their sphere of activity, they form distinct groups regarding their origin, including Assyrian, Aramean and Chaldean bakers, perhaps specialised in providing different types of final products.

4.5 The *bēt šāqie* ("House of the Cupbearer")

There is one clear reference to the "House of the Cupbearer" as a domestic unit of the palace. It occurs in a record about the consumption (*akiltu*) of linen fibre, madder and wool from Nineveh, probably dating to the 7th century. Here the "House of the Cupbearer" is listed between the "House of the Tailor" and the "Second House" and is said to receive [x] minas of linen fibre (SAA 7 115 r. ii 8), presumably to be used in the fulfilment of its departmental tasks. All three departments together with others are listed in a section dealing with recipients related to the "New House" (SAA 7 115 r. ii 16) which may constitute a (newly established) palace building or section of a palace. As to other references to the "House of the Cupbearer", they might actually refer to the "House of the Chief Cupbearer" instead. In an administrative record from Assur a white ox of the people of the "House of the Cupbearer" is said to be in the care of Šalam-šarru-iqbi, probably chief outrider stationed in Ubasê (close to Assur).²⁶¹ In the same text the "[House(?) (of the) Cup]bearer" is said to have given one horse(?) to Qurdi-Nergal, cohort commander of the cupbearer, stationed in Ubasê (VAT 20401 l.e. 1–3). While this document apparently records livestock handed over to military officials stationed in Ubasê, on two occasions it is the "House of the Cupbearer" which provides quadrupeds. Despite the unknown background of this administrative procedure, this action does not necessarily refer to the domestic department of the cupbearer but rather to the chief cupbearer's own household. Also, a cohort commander was more likely

²⁶¹ VAT 20401:17–20. Alternatively one may interpret the phrase UN É ša KAŠ.LUL as "domestics" (*nišē bēti*) of the cupbearer".

the subordinate of a chief cupbearer than a cupbearer. Similarly, the “House of the Cupbearer” mentioned in a broken letter from the second half of the 8th century (SAA 19 197:11) may also rather refer to the domain of the chief cupbearer. The “House of the Cupbearer” is recorded as a creditor of an unspecified amount of silver owed by four individuals after the reign of Assurbanipal (SAAB 5 47:1). It remains uncertain whether this actually means the domain of the chief cupbearer (as proposed by Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991: 101) or the department of the cupbearer as part of the domestic quarters of the palace (or the temple).

É 'LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL	SAA 19 197:11	nd (Tp III or Sg II)
É LÚ.KAŠ.LUL	SAAB 5 47:1	617*
É LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL	SAA 7 115 r. ii 8'	nd/dl (probably 7 th century)
É KAŠ.LUL	VAT 20401:18, l.e. 1, 2	nd

Table 9: References to the “House of the Cupbearer”

4.5.1 The *šāqiu* (cupbearer)

The *šāqiu* is attested from the Old Akkadian period on (CAD Š/II 28–9; cf. AHW 1182). Deriving from the verb *šaqu*, meaning “to give to drink, to water” (CAD Š/II 24–8; cf. AHW 1181), it is usually translated as “steward” or “cupbearer”. The feminine form *šāqītu* is also attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. The title is usually expressed with the logographic writing (LÚ/LÚ*). KAŠ.LUL, occasionally with the writings LÚ*.ŠU.DU₈, LÚ/LÚ*.ŠU.LIŠ.DU₈ and LÚ*.ŠU.QA.DU₈. A syllabic writing, LÚ.šá-qu-ú, is only attested in a Babylonian letter (SAA 18 65:6'). The *šāqītu* is written MÍ.KAŠ.LUL (SAA 7 26:2'). For the Neo-Assyrian period the *šāqiu* was discussed in brief by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 26–9) as one of the domestics (*nišē bēti*). The cupbearer associated with the temple sphere in Assyria was studied by Menzel (1981 I: 282–3). While clear references to temple-related cupbearers are available for the Neo-Assyrian period, the majority of attestations refers to the cupbearer active in the palace or in other secular households. Apart from the cupbearer himself, the “son(s) of the cupbearer”, already attested in Old Babylonian texts (AHW 1182), occur in the Neo-Assyrian sources. This functionary is attested with the logographic writings LÚ.DUMU–ŠU.LIŠ.DU₈, DUMU–LÚ*.ŠU.LIŠ.DU₈, DUMU–LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL and (LÚ).DUMU–KAŠ.LUL. Although Kinnier Wilson (1972: 82–3) and Menzel (1981 I: 282–3) already discussed this official, a brief summary based on the Neo-Assyrian attestations is offered here.

While the chief cupbearer, in view of his title, ought to belong to the present section, his actual rank (as one of the seven magnates), his functions

(commander of the north-eastern army), as well as his sphere of action and influence (he governs his own province, at least from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III on), show that he was in the first place a state official.²⁶² A similar situation is already observable for the Middle Assyrian period.²⁶³

4.5.1.1 Cupbearers of the temple

An activity in the temple is clear for the cupbearer mentioned along with five *qû* of honey, probably intended for the refinement of beverages, in an edict of expenditures for temple offerings and ceremonies.²⁶⁴ The cupbearer's association with the Aššur Temple is made explicit by a text dealing with the responsibilities of the personnel of the Aššur Temple (SAA 20 50 r. i 20', ii 2'). The Babylonian Zārūtî, listed together with his sister in an administrative record from Nineveh, is designated cupbearer of the goddess Belet-Babili (SAA 11 154:16). The cupbearer Nabû-iddina, who owed barley to the Nabû Temple in the reign of Assurbanipal twice(?), might be counted among the temple personnel.²⁶⁵ Two other cupbearers (names lost) are donated to Nusku together with other professionals such as cooks, bakers and confectioners.²⁶⁶ Regarding the scholarly sphere, [Aššūr-da''in]-šarru, probably to be identified with the homonymous diviner attested in other queries, is designated as a cupbearer in a fragment of a query to the sun-god performed in Arbail in the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 4 324 r. 7'). While these queries are usually signed by individuals described as diviners (*bārû*) and reporters (*bēl tēmi*), this is the only reference to a cupbearer in this context. I assume that the designation cupbearer refers to the particular tasks Aššūr-da''in-šarru fulfilled in the course of the ritual here and that he was not generally employed as a cupbearer.

4.5.1.2 Cupbearers of the royal family

Adi-māti-ilu, cupbearer of the queen, is attested as purchaser of land in the 8th century (CTN 2 44:5–6). An unnamed cupbearer of the queen is, furthermore, recorded as a recipient of wine and copper in an administrative document

²⁶² He might occasionally have had representative functions in the palace environment, as is e.g. clear for the chief cook in SAA 20 33 r. iii 33', 48'. For a detailed discussion of the chief cupbearer in the Neo-Assyrian period see Mattila 2000: 45–60, 155, 163.

²⁶³ See Jakob 2003: 94. Cf. the RAB SAGI of the Hittites who basically seems to have had functions corresponding to the literal meaning of his title; there are indications that he was involved in military actions too and thus might have had only representative functions as a "chief of the cupbearers" (Beal 1992: 357–60).

²⁶⁴ SAA 12 69 r. 2; cf. SAA 20 51 i 18 (reference to the cupbearer in a collection of royal decrees).

²⁶⁵ ND 5453:6–7; probably also ND 5451:3. However, there was, for instance, also a tailor of the queen owing silver to the Nabû Temple in the 7th century (ND 5448:1–2).

²⁶⁶ SAA 12 91:4–5. For a discussion of cupbearers in the temple sphere see Menzel 1981 I: 282.

concerning redistributed tribute possibly drawn up in the 7th century (SAA 11 36 iii 4). Apart from the queen, also the king's mother is attested as having her own cupbearers: Nušku-šarru-ušur, deputy cupbearer of the king's mother, is assigned to the dwellings (*mūšubu*) of the governor according to an administrative list from Nineveh (SAA 7 9 i 24'–25', 28'). Assuming that these lodgings were provided temporarily, on the occasion of a special event in the reign of Esarhaddon of Assurbanipal (Fales and Postgate 1992: XVII–XIX), he was presumably normally active outside the capital city Nineveh. The same document also mentions another, unspecified cupbearer who is assigned to the dwellings of the brewer (SAA 7 9 ii 3', 5'). He was presumably also connected to the palace, as seems to have been the case with cupbearers (including female ones) recorded in other administrative documents with a palatial background.²⁶⁷ In addition, also the queries to the sun-god concerning possible rebellions against the king Esarhaddon or the crown prince Assurbanipal list among many other functionaries cupbearers as possible insurgents from among the inner circles (SAA 4 140:9, 142:9).

4.5.1.3 Cupbearers of high-ranking officials

There is a cupbearer of the vizier attested in the reign of Sargon (SAA 6 12, 13) and a cupbearer of a governor in the 9th or 8th century (Edubba 10 47 r. 5'). In addition, cupbearers appear subordinate to other individuals whose function and position remains uncertain. This is the case with the cupbearer Lēšeru of a certain Dannî (CTN 2 102 r. 3–4) and the cupbearer and *ša-rēši* Urdu-Issār who was employed in the household of Aššūr-ilā'ī, the latter apparently active in the area of Til-Barsip (SAA 1 184). As to the localisation of other cupbearers, the cupbearer Qibīt-Aššūr is described as an Arraphean in a legal document from Assur (StAT 3 27 r. 7'–8') and the cupbearer Aqru is described as a citizen of Nineveh in a legal record from Nineveh (SAA 14 215 r. 10). In addition, the cupbearer Nabû-ṭēr-kišrī was in the service of an official according to a broken schedule of a grant of tax exemption from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 63:5').

4.5.1.4 Cupbearers

4.5.1.4.1 Legal transactions

The cupbearer is frequently recorded as a witness, from the reign of Sargon down to the reign of Assurbanipal, in legal documents from Assur,²⁶⁸ from

²⁶⁷ SAA 7 21:9'; 22:5' and the ration lists of wine and bread or beer from Kalhu, see below.

²⁶⁸ StAT 3 27 r. 7'–8'; StAT 2 1 r. 2.

Nineveh,²⁶⁹ and from Tušhan (ZTT 8 r. 1). Furthermore, a cupbearer of the vizier (SAA 6 12 r. 3'; SAA 13 r. 1), of the governor (Edubba 10 47 r. 5') and of another unknown official (CTN 2 102 r. 2–3) appear as witnesses. As an active party Adi-māti-ilu, cupbearer of the queen, occurs in a land sale document sealed by the local authority (mayor of village [...]). He buys a plot of bare ground for 6(?) minas of copper in the 8th century (CTN 2 44). The cupbearer Nabû-iddina is attested as a debtor of barley of (the temple of) Nabû in the reign of Assurbanipal. He owes one *emāru* of barley (ND 5453:6–7) and, if the identification is correct, one *emāru* five *sūtu* of barley (ND 5451:3).

4.5.1.4.2 Allocations

As a recipient of allotments of natural produce, the cupbearer features prominently in the 8th-century wine lists where he receives either five *qû* or two *qû* of wine. Apart from wine rations (presumably only given out on a special occasion), the cupbearer is also attested as a recipient of bread or beer, either one *emāru* [x] *qû* (CTN 1 34:4') or one *emāru* only (CTN 1 35 i 12'). The female cupbearers are also recipients(?) of one jar of beer according to an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 26:2'). Otherwise, there is the cupbearer of the queen who is provided with one *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) and one mina of copper, according to an administrative document recording the redistribution of tribute to court personnel (SAA 11 36 iii 3–4). While the allotments of wine and the beer are meant for the cupbearer's individual consumption,²⁷⁰ the provision of copper may have been related to the cupbearer's official tasks: they could have been meant for the acquisition or the manufacture of commodities such as vessels.²⁷¹ In a broken administrative record the cupbearer is possibly recorded as a recipient of redistributed audience gifts,²⁷² though details are not preserved. In an administrative document from Guzana dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III an unnamed cupbearer is mentioned as recipient of tunics and so is Aššūr-taklāk (TH 63:3, 4, b.e. 7), who is presumably identical with the homonymous cupbearer mentioned in TH 35. Similarly, the "House of the Cupbearer" received an amount (lost) of linen fibre for consumption (SAA 7 115 r. ii 8).

²⁶⁹ SAA 14 61 r. 6/60 r. 7; 441 r. 7; 215 r. 10.

²⁷⁰ With the bowl (of wine) recorded in SAA 11 36 this is made explicit through the designation *akullû* (consumption), occasionally written along with the wine and bread allocations in this tablet.

²⁷¹ Alternatively, the copper was intended as a means to buy a certain commodity needed by the cupbearer. Such a procedure is indicated by an account of *ilku*-contributions where copper is meant for oil for the lamp (CTN 2 141: 6–7).

²⁷² CTN 3 89:33'. The tablet is possibly part of the same document as CTN 3 88 (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 152) which lists *ilkaâte* payments made by the treasurer to the palace (cf. CTN 3 87).

4.5.1.4.3 Functions

The domestic function of the cupbearer, suggested by his title and the numerous associations with other domestic personnel (see introduction), is confirmed by evidence for his actual tasks. Most illustrative in this respect is the description of the royal meal (*naptunu*). Here the cupbearer is ordered by the palace supervisor to fill the heavy beakers (*kāsāte dannāte*), presumably either with wine or beer, after everything is prepared for dinner (SAA 20 33 r. i 46'). This corresponds to the order of some wine lists where the cupbearer is immediately listed after, or close to, the palace supervisor.²⁷³ The type of beaker or cup referred to in SAA 20 33 (*kāsu*) is also mentioned in the wine lists, where they are in some cases listed next to the cupbearer.²⁷⁴ The cupbearer's concern with the supply of beverages is also indicated by his association with other professionals and officials responsible for drinks: together with a brewer, he witnesses a legal document according to which the wine master and his deputy owe silver. While the cupbearer traditionally provided beer, as indicated by the KAŠ (for *šikāru*) as part of the logographic writing of his title, it is likely that he also poured out other beverages, particularly including wine. The cupbearer is associated with a different matter in a letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua, to the king (Sargon) (SAA 5 206). It says that 420 talents of bronze scraps were taken from one of the palace treasury houses (*bēt nakkamti*) and stored in the storehouse (*bēt qātē*) of the cupbearer. The metal could have been used for the production of metal vessels (needed by the cupbearer), as was possibly also the case with the copper allotted to the cupbearer according to SAA 11 36. In any case, the cupbearer in question was apparently active in the provincial palace in Mazamua.²⁷⁵

The cupbearers among the reviewed troops in Mazamua were taken on campaign as part of the domestics (SAA 5 215, see above). The captured(?) cupbearer A[...], assuming that the interpretation of this broken passage is correct, was even introduced into the king's cohort (*kišri ša šarri*) to replace a cavalryman in the reign of Sargon (SAA 1 194:4'–5'). The cupbearer mentioned in a fragment of a Babylonian letter from the reign of Esarhaddon seems to have been involved in the recruitment of people (SAA 18 65:6'). This latter case may correspond to the fact that many Assyrian officials are involved in different tasks in 7th-century Babylonia, compared with their counterparts in their homeland. Even in his homeland the cupbearer does not seem to have been only

²⁷³ Listed subsequently: CTN 1 2 i 13–14; 8:25–26. Listed in proximity to the palace supervisor: CTN 1 3 ii 6, 8; 6 r. 45, 47; 11 r. 16', 18'; 16:20', 22'; 19:22, 23.

²⁷⁴ CTN 1 2 i 14, 15; 3 ii 3, 6; 6 r. 47, 49. The association of the cupbearer with *kāsu* (GÚ.ZI) is already observable in Old Babylonian sources (CAD Š/II 28 s.v. *šāqû* A.a).

²⁷⁵ Other cupbearers seem to have been active in the province Guzana: An unnamed(?) cupbearer and Aššūr-taklāk (TH 63:3, 4), who is presumably identical with the homonymous cupbearer mentioned in TH 35.

responsible for the supply of beverages in institutional households. This is indicated by his association with the feeding of deportees, as emerges from a testimony concerning the theft of an Erra statue in a letter to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) (SAA 13 157:11'). Perhaps, though, the chief cupbearer is meant here instead, as is also possible for the reference in SAA 18 65. Despite that, the cupbearer may have been related to the watering (and feeding) of cattle, as indicated by his frequent association with the fodder master (*rab kissiti*) in the wine lists.²⁷⁶

4.5.1.4.4 Rank

Apart from cupbearers whose dependent status was owed to the Assyrian policy of conquest, as indicated by the aforementioned letter mentioning the cupbearer A[...] introduced into the cavalry of the king's cohort (SAA 1 194:4'-5'), some other dependent cupbearers are mentioned in donations (to temples, SAA 12 91:4-5) and grants (to officials, SAA 12 63:5'). The cupbearer serving the king's mother, by contrast, was presumably a higher rank. The relative status of a cupbearer, as was the case with other types of domestics, depended on the household or domain in which he was active. These discrepancies are also clear with regard to the subordinates attested for some cupbearers, who were certainly not active for low-ranking representatives of this profession.²⁷⁷ In the reign of Sennacherib the chariot driver of the cupbearer, Zāzî, is attested as witness in three legal documents.²⁷⁸ Sukkāia was another subordinate of the cupbearer, probably once designated as the latter's "servant" when witnessing a legal transaction (SAA 6 342 r. 12-13).

4.5.2 The *mār šāqie* (son of the cupbearer)

In addition to the cupbearer, the "son of the cupbearer" is attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. Abu-ilā'ī, *mār šāqie* of the Nabû Temple, acts as a witness when two brothers are donated by their uncle to Nabû of Kalhu (SAA 12 95 r. 16). Otherwise, "sons of the cupbearer" are assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a in the context of his appointment to oversee the establishment of Kalhu (SAA 12 82:4-5; 83 r. 3). They are enumerated together with domestic personnel, as is clear from the fact that the confectioner is listed immediately before the "sons of the cupbearer" (the remainder of this section is broken in both exemplars). Like the cupbearer, the "son of the cupbearer" is listed as a recipient of wine in the wine lists. He is usually provided with ½ *qû* of wine as

²⁷⁶ CTN 1 6 r. 47, 48; 8:24, 26; 11 r. 17', 18'; 13:21', 22'.

²⁷⁷ Perhaps they were even meant to be in the service of the chief cupbearer.

²⁷⁸ SAA 6 39 r. 8-9; 40 r. 15-16; 41 r. 7-8.

a single person, while four *qû* of wine are handed over to a group of cupbearers (CTN 1 1 r. iii 16). Compared to the wine rations given to the cupbearer, the ration given to a single “son of the cupbearer” is only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount the cupbearer was provided with, or even less (compared with the five *qû* sometimes listed along with the cupbearer). Judging by their occurrence in the wine lists, the “sons of the cupbearer” were active in the palace sphere, though they were also employed in temples, as is clear from the title of Abu-ilā’ī. The cultic involvement of the “son of the cupbearer” is also evident from a ritual text according to which one “son of the cupbearer” steps to the right of the king and deposits an *arzallu*-implement(?) before the king (SAA 20 16 i 10’–11’). While there are no additional attestations available, this functionary might be compared with the LÚ.DUMU–SANGA who functioned as a sort of assistant of the SANGA, as Menzel (1981 I: 283) pointed out.²⁷⁹ While the subordinate position of the “son of the cupbearer” to the cupbearer is indicated by the title, his comparatively small wine rations support the idea that he was a sort of assistant, probably even apprentice, of the cupbearer. In view of the common practice of transferring a profession or function from father to son, the literal meaning of *māru* may have been justified.

4.6 The *bēt kāširi* (“House of the Tailor”)

The “House of the Tailor” is mentioned three times in an administrative document from Nineveh recording the distribution of linen fibre, madder and wool for consumption. It receives an amount (lost) of linen fibre and two talents of madder, the first entry being listed immediately after the “Second House” (SAA 7 115 i 13, ii 21). In addition, the “House of the Tailor” receives another amount ($[x+]$ 5 minas) of linen fibre which, together with the other allocations of linen fibre in this section, is described as (for the) “New House” (SAA 7 115 ii 7, 16). The other recipients mentioned here include the “House of the Cupbearer” and the “Second House” which are immediately listed after the “House of the Tailor”. We deal here with two separate “Houses of the Tailor”. One was presumably accommodated by one of the palaces of Nineveh and Kalhu that are listed as recipients of linen fibre at the beginning of this record. The other one formed part of the “New House” (É–GIBIL) which was translated as “New Palace” by the edition. I do not necessarily believe this interpretation, because the New Palace of Kalhu is clearly rendered as KUR–GIBIL in the same text (SAA 7 115 i 6). However, the “New House” presumably was a palatial establishment, and if not a palace itself then it may have formed part of a palace. The fact that the “House of the Tailor” is recorded in proximity to the “House of the Cupbearer” and the

²⁷⁹ On the *mār sangî* see Menzel 1981 I: 197–8.

“Second House” underlines the close connection of these departments, as can be also observed for the associated professional groups (see above).

É' LÚ. <i>ka-šir</i>	SAA 7 115 i 13	nd (probably 7 th century)
É LÚ. <i>ka-šir</i>	SAA 7 115 ii 21	nd (probably 7 th century)
É' LÚ*. <i>ka-šir</i>	SAA 7 115 r. ii 7	nd (probably 7 th century)

Table 10: References to the “House of the Tailor”

4.6.1 Tailors

The word *kāširu*, as the participle form of the verb *kašāru* (“to tie, knot”), denotes a “craftsman producing textiles” from Old Babylonian times on. According to CAD, the *kāširu* not only describes the craftsman but can refer alternatively to an official from the Middle Assyrian period on.²⁸⁰ This was rejected by Jakob (2003: 426) for the Middle Assyrian period, where the *kāširu* only appears as a craftsman. In the Neo-Assyrian sources palace and temple tailors had official tasks (in view of their apparently enhanced position), though we lack any concrete proof in this respect (see below). The title is either written syllabically as LÚ/LÚ*.*ka-šir*; or logographically as (LÚ/LÚ*).KA.KÉŠ, (LÚ/LÚ*).TÚG.KA.KÉŠ and (LÚ).KÉŠ. The supposedly related office of “chief tailor” is not included here but is discussed as part of the military since he mainly features as a military official active in Babylonia and thus he bears an honorific and not a professional title.

4.6.1.1 *kāširus* of the temple

The only known tailor who was temple tailor according to his title is Šumma-Aššūr, designated “tailor of Aššūr” in a legal record from Assur (SAAB 9 71:3). Here he is named as the father of the three brothers Aššūr-lē'i, Mudammiq-Aššūr and Šamaš-rē'û'a who divided up his estate in the reign of Assurbanipal (650 or later). He passed on to his three sons a few slaves, 60 emāru of barley and “debt notes” (*egirtu*) amounting to 1 ½ minas 6 shekels of silver (indicating that he was active as creditor) in equal parts, while the house itself apparently remains shared property, also inhabited by his widow. The house in question may have been the one the same(?) Šumma-Aššūr bought 33 years earlier from Bēl-ana-marruqi, palace manager of the Inner City, for 30 shekels of silver (SAAB 9 75:9). It was probably also the same Šumma-Aššūr who owed ten minas of copper in the year 687 (StAT 2 67:1).

²⁸⁰ CAD K 257–63 s.v. *kašāru*; CAD K 264–5 s.v. *kāširu* A: “(a craftsman producing textiles by a special technique)” and CAD K 265 s.v. *kāširu* B: “(an official of low rank in a household)”; cf. AHw 458 “Knüpfen, Gewandschneider(?)”.

4.6.1.2 *kāširus* of the palace and the royal family

Tailors explicitly described as palace tailors only occur in legal transactions, either as active parties or as witnesses, from the reign of Sennacherib on: the palace tailor Šār-Aššūr is witness when a house in Assur is sold by Bēl-anamarruqi, palace manager of the Inner City, to Šumma-Aššūr, tailor of the Aššur Temple (SAAB 9 75 r. 32). He is listed among priests and also other palace employees such as the gatekeeper of the palace and the fowler of the palace. The same Šār-Aššūr, though lacking a title, occurs as witness in another house sale document (SAAB 9 73 t.e. 51). According to another legal document from the reign of Esarhaddon the palace tailor Ammi-rāmu was witness when 27 persons together with their belongings including land and cattle in the town of Dadi-ualla, located in the province of Talmusu, were placed as a pledge, for 20 minas of silver, for an unnamed *sekretu* by Milkia, governor of Talmusu (SAA 6 91 r. 2', 681). The transaction is also witnessed by Nabūtī, cohort commander of the weavers. As active parties to legal transactions there are the palace tailors Kalhāiu and Adda-pisia attested, both selling slaves. According to a document from Ma'allanate (reign of Sennacherib), the palace tailor Kalhāiu sells his slave for 1 ½ minas to Ḥandī (O 3695:1–2), a man well attested in documents from Ma'allanate. In addition, there is the palace tailor Adda-pisia, said to come from the town Daria, who, together with his son, sells a female servant for one mina four shekels of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal (StAT 2 169:1–2). Adda-pisia is not only designated palace tailor but royal palace tailor.

Apart from these attestations of palace tailors who took part in legal transactions, there is an administrative document dealing with the domestic sector of the palace, from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II, which records palace servants and bearded men who are additionally described as tailors (ND 2498:1'–7'). Here, Mannu-kī-[...] and his two colleagues (names lost), are summed up as palace servants (*urad ekalli*), members of the class of *ša-rēši* (see section 8.3.5 The *urad ekalli* and other classes). Furthermore, these three palace servants are summed up together with three bearded men (*ša-ziqni*), namely Aḥu-dūrī, Šērānu and Šumma-Adad, as six tailors. This administrative document additionally not only records 10 *ša-bēti-šanīe* and five cooks but once again four palace servants and two bearded men (though without further details). The two court classes *ša-rēši* (and thus also the *urad ekalli*) and the *ša-ziqni*, on the one hand apparently acted side-by-side (also judging by their depiction in pairs on the reliefs),²⁸¹ and, on the other hand seem to have been

²⁸¹ E.g. the two scribes depicted on a relief from the reign of Sennacherib (BM 124956, South-West Palace, in Barnett et al. 1998: Pl. 255) and the depiction of Assyrian officials in a procession of prisoners from the reign of Aššurnāširpal II (BM 124539, North-West Palace, see <https://www>).

distinguished in terms of their operational areas, with especially the palace servants operating in the home environment and in the immediate vicinity of the king and the bearded men being *en route* (see section 8.5 The *ša-ziqni*). Apart from these categories of tailors there is a third one attested with the royal palace tailor Adda-pisia. Assuming that the tailors classified as palace servants were specifically active in the palace, it is the royal palace tailor, probably the personal tailor of the king, who was closest to the crown and enjoyed a higher rank. Also the queen had her own tailor: Sukkāia, tailor of the queen, owed 21 *emāru* of barley belonging to the god Nabû in the reign of Assurbanipal and placed the woman Lā-abāši as a pledge (ND 5448:1–2, 5). The tailors enumerated as possible intriguers against the crown in two queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 142:9; 144:9) dating to the reign of Esarhaddon are those who were active in close proximity to the crown. Other tailors who lack any description but seem to have been also related to the royal household are those listed in the ration list of beer or bread CTN 1 34 and also those listed in administrative records from Nineveh (SAA 7 21:8ʹ; 22:4ʹ). The background of an administrative document from 8th-century Kalhu that lists ten tailors as “additional [crafts-men](?)” (ND 2728+ r. 14ʹ and l.e. 1: [PAB x LÚ.um-ma]-ni tar-di-tû) remains unclear, as is the case with some other texts from Nineveh listing tailors (SAA 7 20 r. iʹ 3; SAA 11 177:6ʹ, r. 7).

4.6.1.3 *kāširus* of high-ranking officials

Individual tailors who were in the service of particular officials are only known from the witness lists of legal documents. These include NA4.ŠÚ-aḥu-iddina and probably Ḥuṭusu (if the single designation refers to him too), palace tailor(s) of the palace supervisor (CTN 2 4 r. 3, 4); [...]mudammiq, tailor and servant of the governor of Kalhu (Edubba 10 51 r. 8–9); and Gidgiddānu and Sūsī, tailors and servants of the deputy governor of Kalhu (SAA 6 31 r. 23–24). These tailors may have been either granted to these officials or purchased by them; sold tailors (together with their families) are attested in a few legal documents from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III on.²⁸² While another tailor occurs as seller of a tailor in CTN 2 6,²⁸³ in SAA 6 312 it is the royal chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad who purchases such a professional. All these tailors may have been individual personnel of these officials rather than being assigned to them for the official’s duties. In addition, three tailors, according to a broken

britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=805214&partId=1&searchText=124539&page=1).

²⁸² CTN 2 6:3; SAA 6 312:4; 14 186:3.

²⁸³ The seller is Nīnuāiu, URU.NI[NA]-a-a without the personal determinative given in CTN 2 6:3, while this is the case in CTN 2 6:2 (URU.NINA-a-a). It was suggested that this was not the seller’s real name but rather a designation as to his origin Nineveh (Postgate 1973: 35).

letter written to an official (heading lost), actually belonged to the “son of Zērī” who is identified as Marduk-apla-iddina, king of the Sealand (SAA 15 214). They ran away and were sold to a certain Ina-tēši-ēṭir.

Apart from being purchased and thus either constituting permanent slaves or temporarily enslaved individuals (due to a financial crisis), tailors were also employed in return for wages. This is indicated by a plaintive letter of Urdu-Gula, presumably to be identified with the homonymous exorcist, demonstrating to the king (Esarhaddon) his urgent needs and complaining about the fact that he had fallen in disgrace. He states that he is even not able to pay the wages (*igrē*) of a tailor (SAA 10 294 r. 27–28). While this is the only evidence of a tailor associated with the payment of wages,²⁸⁴ the context suggests that these wages were rather low since Urdu-Gula wanted to stress his financial ruin. A man of his class could usually be expected to afford a tailor.

4.6.1.4 *kāširus*

4.6.1.4.1 Legal transactions and business engagements

Many tailors attested by name feature as witnesses to legal documents from the reign of Aššūr-dān III on.²⁸⁵ As an active party the tailor is once attested as seller of another tailor for [x] minas of copper in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (CTN 2 6:2). Otherwise, the tailors attested as active parties to legal transactions include the tailor of the queen, Sukkāia, who owed barley to the Nabû Temple (ND 5448) and the palace tailors Adda-pisia and Kalḥāiu who sold slaves (StAT 2 169, O 3695). Also Šumma-Aššūr, presumably identical with the homonymous tailor of Aššūr whose inheritance was divided up according to SAAB 9 71, bought a house (SAAB 9 75) and owed 10 minas of copper (StAT 2 67). In addition, the tailor’s economic involvement is clear from an administrative document from a private archive from Assur. A tailor (unnamed), son of Lā-tubāšanni-Aššūr, is listed along with 4 1/8 shekels of what might be silver (StAT 1 47 ii 8′). Probably the tailor, and the other individuals listed here, are recorded as debtors.

4.6.1.4.2 Allocations

As a recipient of institutional distributions the tailor occurs twice. Tailors obtained [x] amount of bread or beer according to a ration list from Kalhu (CTN 1 34:5′). In an administrative document from Huzirina, the tailor Līt-ili,

²⁸⁴ For the professions attested as hired labourers in the Neo-Assyrian sources see Radner (2007b: 189), including discussion of the present case (Radner 2007b: 192).

²⁸⁵ Aššūr-ia[...] (KAN 4 62 r. 29), Aššūr-erība (SAAB 5 35 r. 24), Ilu-ṭāba (BATSH 6 13 r. 6), Tarība-Issār (SAA 6 124 r. 8), Zabīnu (SAA 6 81 r. 6), Zaḥaṭuṭu (SAA 6 124 r. 7), Ulūlāiu (SAA 14 21 r. 8), name lost (SAA 14 202 r. 4′). For tailors of the palace and subordinate to high-ranking officials attested as witnesses see above.

probably assigned to a particular city as indicated by the restored URU following his title, is said to have received ten shekels of silver(?) in the year 638* (STT 48 r. 8'). While the tailors referred to in the wine lists had a palace connection, Līt-ili may have been assigned to the municipal sphere (STT 48 mainly refers to temple personnel such as a priest and *lahhennus*). An unnamed tailor is recorded as a recipient(?) of one leather hide in an administrative record from Guzana (TH 65:10).

4.6.1.4.3 Functions

As demonstrated in the introduction to this chapter, the tailor is often associated with other domestic personnel as is the case in administrative records (SAA 7 21, 22; CTN 1 34), queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 142, 144) and letters (SAA 5 215). The same observation can be made for legal records where the tailor occurs together with bakers (SAA 6 81, SAAB 5 35, CTN 2 4). Otherwise, the tailor is frequently associated with professionals concerned with textiles and clothing in everyday documents, either with other tailors (CTN 2 6, SAA 6 124, SAA 6 31), with weavers (SAAB 5 35, ND 5448, ND 2728+, ZTT 22), or with tanners (SAA 6 31, ND 2728+, Radner 2016 I.53). Moreover, the tailor, together with the chief tailor, is listed in a section of a lexical list devoted to professions concerned with textiles and clothing, including weavers and fullers (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 7).

The tailor's concerns are otherwise indicated by the deliveries of linen fibre and madder to the *bēt kāširi*, as well as the task of handing in dirty towels and giving out clean towels that was carried out by a *ša-bēt-kāširi* (see below). In addition, the tailor is, together with the tanner, mentioned along with undergarments (*šupālītu*) which are valued at 17 minas 18 shekels (of silver) (Radner 2016 I.53:5–6). We lack any concrete Neo-Assyrian evidence about the actual tasks of the tailor. Based on the Middle Assyrian evidence, the *kāširu* was concerned with the production and supply of textiles. He appears in connection with carpets as well as garments made out of wool and linen (Jakob 2003: 426–8), which corresponds in part to the material delivered to the Neo-Assyrian *bēt kāširi*. Originally proposed by Köcher, Jakob (2003: 426, fn. 33) assumes the translation “knotter” to be the most suitable. Such a translation would correspond to the literal meaning of the term and might basically be correct also for the first millennium BCE.²⁸⁶ However, it seems too narrow if we assume that the *kāširu*'s responsibilities in a palatial context in the Neo-Assyrian period include the cleaning, storage and supply of textiles and clothing as well as the sewing of the wardrobe of the residents of the palace.

²⁸⁶ There might be another term for “knotter” attested in a Neo-Assyrian record, namely *hādilu* (written *ha-di-li*), see Radner 2016 I.52 r. 2 and comment.

Tailors were not only employed in the various large households (see above), they were also taken on campaign, as the letter of Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, to the king (Sargon) shows. Here twelve tailors among other domestics are recorded as domestic personnel (*nišē bēti*) reviewed as part of the troops (*šāb šarri*) stationed in Mazamua (SAA 5 215:16). Tailors were also involved in the arrangement of military equipment, as is clear from a letter from Tušhan (ZTT 22). Mannu-kī-Libbāli, probably writing to the treasurer (if restored correctly), complains about the difficulties of commanding the functionaries and professionals, including tailors and probably the chief tailor(?), who are with him without assistance. They were concerned with the repair and preparation of military equipment, as indicated by the references to “those who scour the tools” (*tillu kapāru*) and “those who make the repairs” (*batqu kašāru*) (ZTT 22:9–10, 13).

4.6.2 The *ša-bēt-kāširi* (“of the House of the Tailor”)

The *bēt kāširi* occurs only once, as part of a compound referring to an employee, namely the *ša-bēt-kāširi*. According to its writing (LÚ*.šá-É-KA.KÉŠ) it could also be read as *ša-bēt-kiširi*.²⁸⁷ Since this profession is referred to in a single text containing instructions about the royal meal (*naptunu*), where mainly the tasks of the *ša-bēti-šanie* are described, an interpretation as *ša-bēt-kāširi* seems more likely. This is not only supported by the fact that the Second House and the department of the tailor as well as their personnel are associated with each other (see above) but also by the task that the LÚ*.šá-É-KA.KÉŠ carries out here: he is ready to receive the dirty towels (TÚG.sa-su-up-pa-a-te) and the dirty hand towels (TÚG.šá-ŠU.2.MEŠ) to give out the clean ones.²⁸⁸

5 SECURITY AND GUARD

A crucial aspect of the administration of Neo-Assyrian palaces was the organisation and supervision of their access. This does involve the access to the palace itself and to various units within the palace complex. As for the personnel and officials who were concerned with gateways to and within the palaces, the following titles are attested in Neo-Assyrian sources: *rab atê* (“chief gatekeeper”),²⁸⁹ *atû* (“gatekeeper”), *ša-pān-nērebi* (“entrance supervisor”),

²⁸⁷ Müller 1937: 62–9, 77, translating it as “Zeugmeister”, “Beamter des Vorratshauses, Depots”, cf. Klauber ²1968: 18. Also the edition SAA 20 33 reads *ša-bēt-kiširi* and translates it as “special stock-room assistant”.

²⁸⁸ For towels, *sasuppu*, see CAD Š/III 376 s.v. *šusuppu*; see also Gaspa 2018: 332–3. For hand towel, *šubātu ša qātē*, see CAD Q 200 s.v. *qātu* in *ša qāti*.

²⁸⁹ The *atû rabû* is only attested for the Aššur Temple (see Menzel 1981 I: 230, referring to SAA 20 51 i 10).

sukkallu ša nērebi (“vizier of the entrance”) and *rab sikkāti* (“lock master”). The *atû*, probably a Sumerian loanword, is already attested in Old Babylonian texts; the first references to the *rab atê* (*rab etê*) can be found in Middle Assyrian sources. The *sukkallu ša nērebi*, the *ša-pān-nērebi* and the *rab sikkāti* occur first in Neo-Assyrian sources, with the *rab sikkāti* being also attested in Neo-Babylonian sources.²⁹⁰ As to the Neo-Assyrian writings, the *atû* is written (LÚ/LÚ*).Ì.DU₈,²⁹¹ the *rab atê* LÚ/LÚ*.GAL-Ì.DU₈.(MEŠ), GAL-Ì.DU₈.MEŠ and GAL-LÚ*.Ì.DU₈.MEŠ, and the *rab sikkāti* LÚ.GAL-GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ, LÚ/LÚ*.GAL-GAG.MEŠ, LÚ*.GAL-GAG,²⁹² GAL-GAG.(MEŠ) and LÚ.GAL-*si-ka(-a)-te*. The LÚ.GAL-SIG (in SAAB 3 67 r. 5') may refer to the *rab sikkāti* too (Finkel 1989: 66, fn. 4). The *ša-pān-nērebi* is attested with the syllabic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).šá-IGI-né-re-bi and LÚ*.ša-IGI-né-re-bi. For the *sukkallu ša nērebi* we have LÚ*.SUKKAL ša né-re-bi. The Neo-Assyrian evidence for gatekeepers and chief gatekeepers in temples was discussed by Menzel (1981 I: 230). In 2010, Radner published an article about gatekeepers and lock masters in the Neo-Assyrian palaces. Since she examined the chief gatekeeper, the entrance supervisor and the lock master in detail (with comprehensive lists of attestations),²⁹³ the present section only offers a summary of Radner's observations, with occasional additional comments. Only for the “vizier of the entrance” and the “gatekeeper” are the entire Neo-Assyrian data given below. As for the latter, those who clearly had a temple connection—judging by their title—are excluded,²⁹⁴ as are the gatekeepers concerned with city gates.²⁹⁵ The affiliation of several gatekeepers listed below remains uncertain; they were not necessarily palace personnel.

²⁹⁰ For the latter see Bongenaar 1997: 134. For *atû* and *rab atê* see CAD A/II 516–8, cf. AHw 88, HAD 28 s.v. *etê* and Jakob 2003: 224–9; for *ša-pān-nērebi* see CAD N/II 175–7 s.v. *nērebu* = “entrance”, cf. AHw 780. The *rab sikkāti* was identified as “lock master” by Radner 2010b: 275–6, see below.

²⁹¹ The reading *pētiu* (plural: *pētiute*) proposed by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 7, fn. 2, 102) is obsolete, see Menzel 1981 I: 230 and II: 188, n. 3058–9.

²⁹² Writings which lack a plural marker and/or the determinative GIŠ cause ambiguous readings thanks to the GAG-sign which can alternatively be read DÛ, thus referring to the Babylonian title *rab bāni* (see therefore Jursa 1995: 57–8).

²⁹³ A few attestations were omitted: for the chief gatekeeper; add [...], SAA 14 264 r. 1'; [...] šun, VAT 19510 r. 9 and the aforementioned reference to the lock master (SAAB 3 67 r. 5').

²⁹⁴ In everyday documents we encounter the following references: STAT 3 23 r. 3 (Līt-Aššūr, “of the Aššūr Temple”), SAA 14 39 r. 11 (Ḫirišāiu, “of Bit-Kidmuri”, he occurs in several legal documents involving cohort commander Kakkullānu), Aḫi-lārim (SAA 14 169:9, “of the Ninurta Temple”), Sukkāia (Radner 2016 I.41:7, “of Nabû”; for other attestations of this man see Radner, PNA 3/I 1155–6 s.v. Sukkāia 43), [...] (SAA 14 264 r. 4', “of Nabû”) and Aḫḫūtu (STAT 3 63 r. 7' (“of the god(?)”). In addition, there are gatekeepers of the temple attested in the land grant SAA 12 48 r. 12; they also occur in a text recording the duties of the personnel of the Aššūr Temple (SAA 20 50 r. i 16', ii 3', 4', 5').

²⁹⁵ Adda-ḫāti, employed in the former kingdom of Hamat, informs the king (Sargon) that there are neither city overseers nor gatekeepers in Šupat (SAA 1 176 r. 9–11). As a witness we encounter Silim(m)u, keeper of the city gate of Nineveh (ND 2306 r. 18–19), Zizī, keeper of the city gate (STAT 3 23 r. 14), Sākip-Aššūr, keeper of the Aššūr Gate (of Assur) (Radner 2016 I.33 r. 15),

In addition to the aforementioned titles, we encounter a few designations formed with the term *bābu*, denoting a door or a gate (CAD B 14–26). These are the *ša-muḥḥi-bābi* (LÚ.šá-UGU-KÁ), the *ša-pān-bābi/bābāte* (šá-IGI-KÁ.MEŠ), the *ša-bābi* (LÚ/LÚ*(.šá-)KÁ) and the *maššar-bābi* ([LÚ.EN].NUN-KÁ).²⁹⁶ We may translate these as “overseer of the gate(s)”, “gate supervisor”, “janitor” and “gate guard”. The *ša-bābi* and the *maššar-bābi* are already known from before the first millennium, while the *ša-muḥḥi-bābi* and the *ša-pān-bābi* seem to have been only introduced in Neo-Assyrian times.²⁹⁷ Although these references remain ambiguous as to whether they were employed in the palace (rather than at city gates and the like), they too are briefly discussed below. The same is true for the commander-of-the-guards (*rab mašširi*) and common personnel performing guard duty referred to with the designations *ša-maššarti* and *maššaru*.

5.1 The *rab atê* (chief gatekeeper)

The Neo-Assyrian attestations of the chief gatekeeper are restricted to the 7th century, when they only occur as witnesses to legal transactions involving men such as the royal chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad (e.g. SAA 6 297), the cohort commander Mannu-kī-Arbail (e.g. SAA 6 206), the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (SAA 14 65 and 66), the royal *ša-rēši* Ilu-šabtanni (SAA 6 283) and the unnamed *šakintu* of Kilizi (SAA 6 247). As already pointed out by Radner (2010b: 272–3), Ḫā-bāštī is by far the best known chief gatekeeper whose activity as witness can be traced from 679 down to 663.²⁹⁸ She also notes that there was apparently more than one chief gatekeeper active at a time since Ḫā-bāštī is occasionally recorded together with the chief gatekeepers Nabū-šumu-ušur (SAA 6 278 r. 9, 11; 307 r. 3, 5; 308 r. 7, 8) and Tarība-Issār (SAA 14 65 r. 7', 11'; 66 r. 4', 8'). Although we lack any sort of affiliation for

and Rēmāni-Aššūr, keeper of the Suhu Gate (of Assur) (StAT 3 69 r. 21'; see Faist 2007: 111 with additional attestations such as in StAT 3 84:6 and StAT 2 14 r. 17 presumably referring to the very same Rēmāni-Aššūr). [...], “gatekeeper of the main gate”, was probably concerned with a city gate too (SAA 14 202:11). An official concerned with city gates was apparently also the *rab abullāti* (“overseer of the city gates”, attested in the letter SAA 13 128 r. 17). Note also the Arab leader Idibi'ilu who was appointed as border guard (referred to as *atû*) towards Egypt by Tiglath-pileser III (RINAP 1 42:34', cf. nos. 44:16', 47 r. 6'). The term *atû* was used here in a figurative sense.

²⁹⁶ Apart from the *maššar-bābi* we encounter numerous Neo-Assyrian attestations of *maššuru* (“guard”) and *ša-maššarti* (“watchman”); these mostly did not guard gateways but other things, see below. Note also the “commander-of-ten of the gate of Aššur” (*rab ešerti ša bāb Aššur*) who together with a gatekeeper is witness to a purchase of a house (StAT 2 14 r. 13').

²⁹⁷ See HAD 12 s.v. *bābu*, cf. CAD B 27 s.v. *ša-bābi* and *ša-muḥḥi-bābi* and CAD M/I 342 s.v. *maššaru* 1.b. Note that a *rab bābi* is attested in a Middle Assyrian text (Jakob 2003: 230, also referring to a single Middle Babylonian reference).

²⁹⁸ Radner, PNA 2/I 435–6 s.v. Ḫā-bāštī 2. For a study of the chief gatekeeper Ḫā-bāštī see also Lipiński 1983, especially focussing on the meaning and background of his personal name.

the chief gatekeepers, their association with the palace is indicated by the types of officials whose legal transactions they witnessed (see above). Likewise, they seem to have been active in the temples,²⁹⁹ and we may therefore assume that larger institutions which employed a considerable number of gatekeepers usually appointed a chief gatekeeper. Regarding their career path, it is indicated by the chief gatekeeper Nabû-šumu-ušur (attested in 674 and 668) that they were recruited from among the gatekeepers since he is likely to be identified with the homonymous gatekeeper listed in an administrative document possibly dating to the reign of Esarhaddon.³⁰⁰ Together with a chariot driver and a prefect, he is assigned here to the “residences” of the scribes, presumably denoting temporary lodgings (Fales and Postgate 1992: XVII–XIX).

Chief gatekeepers attested in the reign of Sennacherib do not occur in later sources.³⁰¹ This may reflect measures at court, such as dismissals or even executions, following the murder of Sennacherib, according to Radner (2010b: 273). Since gatekeepers made a major contribution to the security of the court and its dwellers, this seems plausible. Although the chief gatekeepers are only attested in the 7th century, it seems likely that they were employed before then. This is supported by the fact that the *rab atê* already occurs in Middle Assyrian sources (Jakob 2003: 227, in KAJ 102). Neither from this nor from the Neo-Assyrian evidence do the specific tasks of the chief gatekeeper emerge. Like the other *rab-x* officials, he was presumably an administrative official (appointed to palaces and temples) who supervised the activities of the gatekeepers and bore responsibility for the gateways of his institution.

5.2 The *atû* (gatekeeper)

Among the numerous references to gatekeepers in Neo-Assyrian sources, we encounter comparatively many gatekeepers qualified as “of the palace”. They are almost exclusively attested as witnesses to legal transactions, where they usually appear with colleagues. This is especially the case in the two legal documents from Assur (SAAB 9 75) and Nineveh (SAA 6 59) from the reign of Sennacherib, each listing six gatekeepers of whom four are identical (Aššūr-lē’āni, Bānāia, Muqallil-kabti and Zīzī). Those who witness the sale of a house by Bēl-ana-marruqī, palace manager of the Inner City (SAAB 9 75), may have

²⁹⁹ Note e.g. the gatekeeper (name lost) recorded as the first witness in SAA 14 264 r. 1’. He is associated with both spheres since he is followed by the exorcist, chief exorcist, the gatekeepers of Nabû and “of the palace”.

³⁰⁰ SAA 7 9 i 17’. However, this document possibly dates to the reign of Assurbanipal instead. Assuming that this refers to Nabû-šumu-ušur before he was appointed chief gatekeeper, SAA 7 9 (and the contextually and/or prosopographically related texts, SAA 7 5–8, 10–2) would have been drawn up in the reign of Esarhaddon, before 674.

³⁰¹ These are Arbailāiu (SAA 6 130 r. 8) and Nabû’a (SAA 6 163 r. 11).

been active (together with Bēl-ana-marruqi) in Assur (rather than in Nineveh). Apart from the majority of attestations dating to the reign of Sennacherib, there is a reference preserved from the 8th century (Edubba 10 15 r. 22') and another one from after the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 14 169:8). The latter serves as a designation for Nabû-issē'a who is qualified as gatekeeper of the New Palace, probably of Nineveh. Zizî, who is three times attested as a witness,³⁰² is also mentioned in an administrative document from Nineveh listing court officials drawn up either in the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal (SAA 7 5 r. i 13).

Regarding the numerous other gatekeepers attested by name, the majority occurs as a witness to legal transactions. Beginning with the reign of Adad-nērāri III they appear in legal documents from Kalhu,³⁰³ Assur,³⁰⁴ Nineveh,³⁰⁵ and Imgur-Ilil;³⁰⁶ the majority of attestations dates to the 7th century (especially to the reigns of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal or later).³⁰⁷ Like the gatekeepers of the palace, they occasionally witness legal transactions together, as is the case with Nergal-iddina who occurs together with his colleagues Marduk-šarru-ušur,³⁰⁸ Mutaqqin-Aššūr (SAAB 5 35, FNALD 18) and Ubru-ili (StAT 2 181). Active parties involved in the legal transactions witnessed by gatekeepers include the treasurer of the queen (Edubba 10 32), a palace manager

³⁰² SAA 6 59 r. 11'; 152 r. 5; SAAB 9 75 r. 36, 37.

³⁰³ CTN 2 84 r. 3' ([...]); 94 r. 7 (Kēnu-šallim); CTN 3 8 r. 17 (Nabû-taqqinanni); 30 r. 15 (Šēp-Inūrta-ašbat); Edubba 10 27 r. 10' (Adad-uballit); 32 r. 27 (Bēl-ku[...]); ND 2306 r. 15, 16, 17 (Ḥakkubāia, Silimmu, Abī-Hūru); ND 2315 r. 8 ([...]-SAR); ND 2323 r. 10 (Tuttāia); ND 2331 b.e. 7 (Rēmāni-ilu); ND 3426 r. 14, l.e. 2 (Nūr-Šamaš, Tuttāia); ND 3429 r. 11, 15 (Nūr-Šamaš, Tuttāia); ND 5453 r. 11–12 (Daia); ND 5475/8 r. 5'–6' (Nabû-balāssu-iqbi); SAA 12 95 r. 17 ([...]).

³⁰⁴ StAT 1 20 r. 3' (Nabû-na'id); StAT 2 3 r. 7 (Qabūrū'a); 8 r. 3, 5 ([...]); 36 r. 2 (Ḥaldiaiu); 37 r. 9 (Šulmu-Aia); 73 r. 9 (Rība-zēru); 81 r. 18 (Mannu-kī-Aššūr); 110 r. 4' ([...]); 181 r. 16, 21 (Nergal-iddina, Ubru-ili); 198 r. 2 (Nergal-iddina); 201 r. 6 (Nergal-iddina); 207 r. 14, 25 (Marduk-šarru-ušur, Nergal-iddina); 209 r. 6, 7 (Nergal-iddina, Marduk-šarru-ušur); 211 r. 6 (Nabû-šumu-iddina); StAT 3 5 r. 3', 18' (Šābu-[da]mqu, Aḥī-Iāu); 19 r. 1' (Anu-rubū); 36 r. 21, 22 (Aššūr-mudammīq, Immeru); 88 r. 13' (Nergal-gimilli); FNALD 17 r. 10 (Aššūr-mušabši); KAN 4 8 r. 27' (Tabālāiu); KAN 4 20 r. 25 (Kandalānu); KAN 4 26 r. 10 (Rēmāni-Ilil); KAN 4 44 r. 42 (Lidbubū-līpušū, "of the governor of Assur"); VAT 9866 r. 4 (Nabû-šarru-ušur); VAT 19537 r. 24 (Aššūr-mātu-taqqin); VAT 21000 r. 27', 28' ([...]-iddina, [...]-erība); SAAB 5 23 r. 3 (Nergal-iddina); 35 r. 32, 33, 34 (Marduk-šarru-ušur, Mutaqqin-Aššūr, Nergal-iddina); 39 r. 6 (Nergal-iddina); FNALD 18 r. 15, 16, 17 (Nergal-iddina, Marduk-šarru-ušur, Mutaqqin-Aššūr); KAV 189 r. 8' (Nergal-iddina); Radner 2016 I.11 l.e. 2 ([...]); II.4 r. 6 (Šulmū).

³⁰⁵ SAA 6 6 r. 14–15 (Silim-Issār, servant of the governor of Kalhu); 89 r. 11, 12 (Kubābu-erība, Inūrta-kibsi-ušur); 130 r. 9 (Ubru-[...]); 133 r. 11 (Šamšūa); 167 r. 5 (Nabû-bēl-šumāti); 169 r. 14' ([...]-ašbat); 174 r. 10 (Sīn-abu-ušur); 177 r. 6 (Nuḥšāia); 188 r. 3' (Ullu); 239 r. 4' ([...]-iqbi); 247 r. 7 (Nuḥšāia); 249 r. 3' (Nuḥšāia); 299 r. 7–8 (Zārūtī, "(of the) crown prince"); SAA 14 10 r. 4' (Inūrta-taklāk); 38 r. 4'–5', 6' (Aššūr-qāssu, Aḥūlamma); 81 r. 6–7, 10 (Nabû-rēši-išši, Mannu-kī-Adad); 145 r. 4 (Zēru-kēn); 169:10 (Nabû-kudurrī-ušur, "of the commander-in-chief"); 373:1' ([...]-Šamaš).

³⁰⁶ BT 107 r. 9 (Nergal-abu-ušur); 139 r. 3 (Sikkatu-lāmur?, this personal name seems to reflect its bearer's profession, see section 5.5 The *rab sikkāti* ("lock master")).

³⁰⁷ Only those references are given here which include the title.

³⁰⁸ SAAB 5 35, FNALD 18, StAT 2 207, 209.

(CTN 3 8), *šakintus* (SAA 6 89, 247) and their subordinates (CTN 3 30),³⁰⁹ and the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3426, 3429, 3434, 3439), indicating that at least some of the unspecified gatekeepers were employed in palaces.³¹⁰ The comparative abundance of gatekeepers attested as witnesses leads to the impression that this is not necessarily coincidence but is related to the fact that transactions were in many cases processed at gates, either of representative buildings or cities, as is also clear from the letter SAA 16 88 according to which shepherds used to sell donkeys in front of the entrance of the palace.

Gatekeepers are also attested as active parties to legal transactions. Mutaqqin-Aššūr, probably to be identified with the homonymous gatekeeper attested in SAAB 5 35, buys a slave for three(!) minas of silver (SAAB 9 109:6). Otherwise, the gatekeeper Ubru-Sebetti, together with Šēp-Nabû-ašbat, sells a woman to the palace manager Ubru-Nabû for one mina of silver (ND 3425:2–3). Another gatekeeper (name lost) is mentioned as father of the brothers selling a vegetable garden (SAA 14 252:3–4). Apart from being involved in purchases, gatekeepers are recorded as creditors and debtors. Mutaqqin-Aššūr, otherwise known as gatekeeper, occurs as a creditor of barley (Radner 2016 I.10:3). As a debtor of barley we encounter the gatekeeper Arzāni (ND 5459:2–3). The gatekeepers Mannu-kī-Adad (StAT 2 17:3), Aššūr-mātu-taqqin (Radner 2016 I.19:4) and Mutaqqin-Aššūr (SAAB 9 115:5; StAT 2 88:5) are recorded as debtors of silver. In the case of Mutaqqin-Aššūr, the silver is owed jointly, in StAT 2 88 both debtors are characterised as caravan entrepreneurs. The involvement of Mutaqqin-Aššūr in such enterprises is also indicated by his occurrence in a document listing silver amounts (VAT 20414 r. 6). Similarly, the gatekeeper Kišir-Nabû invested in trading enterprises.³¹¹

All these references show that gatekeepers could enjoy some wealth and were able to engage in trading enterprises. Their commercial relevance is also supported by the possible identification of the aforementioned Mutaqqin-Aššūr with a homonymous man recorded as guarantor (*bēl qātāte*) in a debt note of 11 shekels of silver (SAAB 9 108:11). Furthermore, the gatekeeper Aššūr-mātu-taqqin engaged a temporary worker for harvesting purposes and paid him ½ shekel of silver for 18 days (Radner 2016 I.13).

The latter case indicates that gatekeepers had cultivated land at their disposal, otherwise though we learn almost nothing about property owned by

³⁰⁹ The gatekeeper Nuḥšāia witnesses a transaction involving, if the restoration is correct, a royal *sekretu* (SAA 6 99 r. 11).

³¹⁰ Especially for the attestations in documents from Assur it is likely that they occasionally refer to the gatekeepers in temples. The gatekeeper Daiāi, who witnesses a loan of barley owed to the Nabû Temple (ND 5453 r. 11–12), might also have belonged to the temple.

³¹¹ Radner 2016 I.37 r. 1 (12 shekels); I.47:3 (3 ½ shekels); I.56:14 (6 shekels). Other texts dealing with trading enterprises from the same archive also mention a Kišir-Nabû, but it is unclear whether this is the same man, since there were other homonymous men, including the fowler Kišir-Nabû.

gatekeepers. A house is assigned to the gatekeeper Šumma-tašēzib according to an administrative document from after the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 11 221:9). It is taken from the estate of the *rab ša-rēši*, Issarān-mušallim. We lack further details, but it seems as if this was a transfer of property by the palace administration and represented a type of remuneration meant for the personal usufruct of the gatekeeper. The purpose of an allocation(?) of 4 *sūtu* 5 *qû* of fodder for sheep to a gatekeeper(?), according to an administrative document from Assur, remains unclear.³¹²

Many of the unspecified gatekeepers discussed here were engaged in temples or at city gates (see introduction). However, thanks to the association of some gatekeepers with palace personnel in legal documents (see above), it is likely that they, like the gatekeepers qualified as “of the palace”, were attached to palaces. Otherwise, palace-related gatekeepers seem to be recorded in administrative lists from Nineveh dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal. Together with the gatekeeper Zīzī, otherwise known as gatekeeper of the palace, there are four gatekeepers mentioned in an administrative document listing court personnel.³¹³ In addition, a gatekeeper (name lost) is assigned to the residence of the *rab ša-rēši* according to an administrative document presumably recording temporary lodgings on a special occasion (SAA 7 9 r. ii 4). Furthermore, there is a reference to gatekeeper(s) in a broken administrative document also listing gardeners and brewers (SAA 7 20 r. i’ 6). Four gatekeepers occur on the reverse of another administrative record, otherwise listing individuals by name.³¹⁴ Apart from gatekeepers of the royal household, we also encounter gatekeepers in the service of the crown prince (SAA 6 299 r. 7–8), the commander-in-chief (SAA 14 169:10), the governor of Assur (KAN 4 44 r. 42) and the governor of Kalhu (SAA 6 6 r. 14–15), officials of the highest rank who certainly had complex buildings (if not provincial palaces) at their disposal which required personnel guarding their doors.

The gatekeeper’s general function is not only indicated by his title but is also confirmed by his association with the entrance supervisors (CTN 3 30, ND 3426) and lock masters (StAT 1 20, ND 2315, 3425, 3426) in legal documents. Apart from the fact that the latter two were of higher rank (as their titles *ša-pān-x* and *rab-x* suggest), the gatekeeper also seems to have had slightly different tasks in connection with gates. The title “entrance supervisor” indicates that its holder’s

³¹² VAT 8605 r. 26. Jakob (2003: 227–8), discussing the Middle Assyrian references to the *atû* (*etû*), mentions a text (NTA A.2611) according to which keepers of city gates were (temporarily) entrusted with sheep. It is possible that the present case bears a similar background. As addressed in the relevant sections, also palace officials such as the palace supervisor and the palace scribe had contingents of sheep at their disposal.

³¹³ SAA 7 5 ii 24, r. i 6, 22, 28.

³¹⁴ ND 2371 r. 2’. The obverse was edited as CTN 1 34 and identified as a ration list of bread or beer in Kinnier Wilson 1972: 154–5. The reverse does not seem to be related, however.

main concern was the access to a certain area; the gatekeeper rather guarded entry and exit at gateways. The latter corresponds to a passage in the so-called “The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince” (called Kummāiu)³¹⁵ where the god Lugalšula is described as the gatekeeper who allows exit from the underworld through the gate of Ištar and Aia (SAA 3 32 r. 19). The god Nedu, described as “gatekeeper of the underworld” in the same text, may represent the opposite (SAA 3 32 r. 7): since he is said to have a lion’s head, human hands and feet of a bird, he may remind us of the apotropaic spirit *ugallu*, and thus he rather guarded the entrance to the underworld.³¹⁶ Concerning gatekeepers active in the palace, there is a single reference to the gatekeeper *Ātanḥa-ilu* in a letter to the king (Esarhaddon) written by Nabû-saḡībi, goldsmith of the household of the queen (SAA 16 81 r. 5′). The sender investigates whether the king received the precious stones he had given to *Ātanḥa-ilu* together with a written order saying that it should be delivered to the king. From this incident we learn that the gatekeeper was not only responsible for who entered and left areas (of limited access and egress), but also he played an intermediary role, transferring messages and goods.³¹⁷ We may suspect that the gatekeepers had a certain degree of power, especially over those who, like the goldsmith, did not enjoy (permanent and unlimited) access to the king. As indicated by the present appeal to the king, some people evidently tried to circumvent the gatekeepers by trying to contact the king directly.³¹⁸

Gatekeepers “of the inner area (*bētānu*)” and “of the outer area (*qannu*)” are, if restored correctly, enumerated in queries to the sun-god dealing with possible rebellions against either the king Esarhaddon or the crown prince Assurbanipal.³¹⁹ They are listed after the agents (*ša-qurbūti*) and the personal guards (*ša-šēpē*) and before other guards such as the *ša-maššarti* and the domestics, including servants of the “Second House” and cooks, which indicates their position within the personnel structure of the palace.³²⁰ Belonging to the security forces, they were active at the passages between different palace spheres. There was a basic distinction made between an outer and an inner area of the palace, and also between the gatekeepers appertaining to these two spheres (see also section 5.2 The *atû* (gatekeeper)). The inner gates secluded the innermost area of the palace which was primarily reserved for the king and

³¹⁵ According to von Soden (1936: 8) he is to be identified with Assurbanipal.

³¹⁶ For the *ugallu* in general see Wiggermann 1992: 169–72; he already pointed out the similarities between the *ugallu* and Nedu described here (p. 170).

³¹⁷ Cf. Jakob (2003: 227–9) for the Middle Assyrian gatekeepers, occasionally appointed to city gates.

³¹⁸ Note also the astronomical report SAA 8 157, written by the astrologer Nabû-mušēši, who asks for a sealed order to allow him to enter (cf. Radner 2010b: 280).

³¹⁹ SAA 4 139:7, 8 (cf. SAA 4 144:7, 146:3′, 147:5′); SAA 4 142:7.

³²⁰ Similarly, gatekeepers occur together with *ša-qurbūti* in the witness lists (e.g. in SAA 6 89, 133).

his family,³²¹ whereas the outer gates led to the less protected outside world, as we can read in a letter of the astrologer Balasî to the king (Esarhaddon) wondering whether the crown prince goes out of the outer gate or not since he should avoid doing so on special days (SAA 10 52 r. 1–2).

5.3 The *ša-pān-nērebi* (“entrance supervisor”)

The *ša-pān-nērebi* is not attested before the reign of Esarhaddon and mainly occurs as a witness. The majority of references involve the entrance supervisors Šalmuḫtu and Mannu-kī-Inūrta. The latter repeatedly witnesses the legal transactions of the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur.³²² Šalmuḫtu is a witness when either Attār-paltī, female scribe of the household of the queen, or Kabalāia, female deputy of the household of the queen, are owed silver or are involved in court procedures.³²³ Assuming that Mannu-kī-Inūrta is identical with the homonymous man who occurs as active party to two legal documents from the Governor’s Palace, he is also twice attested as a buyer (CTN 2 219:5, 221:5).

Judging by the entrance supervisor’s association with other palace-related persons,³²⁴ he was presumably only active in the palace (and not in the temple, cf. Radner 2010b: 274). His concern with gateways is generally indicated by his association with other personnel such as gatekeepers (CTN 3 30, ND 3463) and lock masters.³²⁵ Though the available sources remain silent regarding his precise tasks, the entrance supervisor’s title, literally meaning “(he) in front of the entrance”, indicates that he was especially concerned with the access to certain areas. According to Radner (2010b: 274), he presumably had administrative functions—as indicated by the title *ša-pān-x*—and was “responsible for the organisation of the guard of the various entrances of the palace”. Since his title explicitly refers to an entrance in the singular, he may have been particularly responsible for the main entrance of the palace or for the entrance to the inner area (*bētānu*) of the palace housing the women’s quarters, judging by

³²¹ This is underlined by the fact that the gatekeepers “of the inner (area)” are mentioned first.

³²² He occurs with his title in ND 3426 l.e. 3 and is otherwise witness in ND 3453 r. 6, ND 3445 r. 6/B r. 7, ND 3441 t.e. 8 and ND 3463 r. 16.

³²³ For Attār-paltī see CTN 3 39 r. 15 // 39* r. 14, 40 r. 12. For Kabalāia see SAAB 1 24:2 and CTN 3 30 r. 14. In the latter she is described as female deputy “of the *šakintu* of the Review Palace”. Radner (2010b: 274) refers to Kabalāiu as a man. Šalmuḫtu also occurs in CTN 3 38 r. 11 involving other individuals.

³²⁴ See above; note also personnel such as the palace manager Tartīmāni, once described as *mār ekalli*, who is also attested in the witness lists of CTN 3 30, 39, 40 and SAAB 1 24. Also the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* (“overseer of the storehouse”, see section 2.2 The *ša-pān-bēt-qātē*), who is mentioned together with an unnamed entrance supervisor in the fragmentary letter SAA 16 91, indicates a palatial environment.

³²⁵ CTN 3 39, 40; ND 3426; SAAB 1 24. Cf. Radner 2010b: 274, fn. 38, she only gives those attestations which include the title.

Šalmuḫtu's association with female officials. Both possibilities are plausible on comparison with other occurrences of the term *nērebu*: apart from mainly referring to mountain passes, *nērebu* is used as a term for the main palace entrance in the letter reporting on herders selling donkeys before the palace.³²⁶ In another letter *nērebu* is used to describe an entrance to an area or building (*bētu*) within the palace (SAA 5 206:6) as well as the *nērebu* of the *bētānu* area of the Nabû Temple (in Kalhu), along with the *nērebu* of the *bēt akīti*, is mentioned in a text recording men (*šābu*) appointed to the various distinct areas of this temple.

Judging by the palace supervisor's presumed supervisory functions, he—like the chief gatekeeper—had gatekeepers in his service, as assumed by Radner. She is presumably also right in assuming that such an official was employed in each palace. According to her, this office together with the *rab sikkāti* was probably an innovation of Assurbanipal, constituting a measure taken following the traumatic events of the murder of Sennacherib and the conspiracy against Esarhaddon.³²⁷ Since the aforementioned letter SAA 16 91 was possibly already written in the reign of Esarhaddon, its introduction could have been taken place earlier.³²⁸

5.4 The *sukkallu ša nērebi* (“vizier of the entrance”)

Aḫu-lē'i and Našuh-aiālī, who witness a debt note of silver, are designated “viziers of the entrance”, *sukkallu ša nērebi* (SAA 14 94 r. 4–6). The title is not attested elsewhere, but the designation *sukkal-atû* occurs in a lexical list.³²⁹ Its literal meaning implies that its bearers presided over the entrance. Following the suggestions put forth for the *ša-pān-nērebi* above, the said entrance might have been the main entrance of the palace or the one leading to the inner quarters. The *sukkallu ša nērebi* seems to have been superior to the *ša-pān-nērebi*. However, there are not enough references to permit us to draw any definite conclusions and it also remains uncertain whether or not the *ša-pān-nērebi* and the *sukkallu ša nērebi* were distinct offices.

³²⁶ SAA 16 88; the main entrance of the palace is possibly also denoted by *nērebu* in CTN 3 96:17 and SAA 7 115 ii 8, r. i 6.

³²⁷ Radner 2010b: 279–80. She argues that this is supported by the fact that both offices are not named as possible dangers for the crown in the queries to the sun-god dating to the reign of Esarhaddon.

³²⁸ An invention in the reign of Esarhaddon would, however, also support the idea of certain measures implemented following an attack against the crown.

³²⁹ CAD S 354; cf. *sukkal-atûtu* attested in Neo-Babylonian texts (cf. CAD A/II 522 s.v. *atûtu*).

5.5 The *rab sikkāti* (“lock master”)

Radner discussed the *rab sikkāti* in detail and convincingly argued that the plural term *sikkātu* refers here, *pars pro toto*, to a type of lock which consisted of a transverse bar (*aškuttu*), a holding bar (*sikkūru*), a bolt-pin (*sikkatu*) and the key (*namzāqu*).³³⁰ She established the translation “lock master”. This official occurs as a witness in legal documents dating to the reign of Assurbanipal and later and originating from Kalhu and Assur.³³¹ Apart from Indû and Šulmu-bēli, who are qualified as lock masters “of Nabû” and “of the gods” respectively,³³² we may be dealing with lock masters engaged in the palaces of Kalhu (and Assur). Radner tried to assign distinct lock masters to the New Palace of Kalhu and the Review Palace of Kalhu. Hence, for the lock master Aššūr-mudammiq and Nabû-bēlu-ušur, “lock master of the house of the female palace servant”,³³³ who are subsequently listed as witnesses in a marriage contract (ND 2307 l.e. 2, 3), she assumed that they were both active in the New Palace, with a superior Aššūr-mudammiq being responsible for the entire palace and Nabû-bēlu-ušur for a part of it. Although this is plausible, it is worth noting that an association with women is also observable for almost all the other lock masters: primarily they are witnesses to legal transactions involving women, either the *šakintu* and other female officials of the queen’s household as active parties,³³⁴ or female servants of the king and female slaves as witnesses.³³⁵ Therefore I suggest that lock masters were employed in palaces in order to control access to (and exit from) the women’s quarters in particular (though perhaps not exclusively), which would necessitate only one lock master to be

³³⁰ Radner 2010b: 275–6, cf. Fig. 2 on p. 270. Inūrta-aḥu-iddina, once designated *rab sikkāti*, occurs along with LÚ.GAL–*si*-KUR in another document (CTN 3 39A r. 4). Apart from emending it to LÚ.GAL–*si-ka*-(*a*)-*te* (see Watanabe 1989: 275), it can be read as *rab sikkūri*, which could then refer to the holding bar of the lock described here (cf. HAD 100). However, since both titles are attested for the same man, they refer to the same office anyway.

³³¹ The two documents said to come from Nineveh (SAA 6 95; 14 62) may originate from Assur (see Radner 2010b: 278–9). For a list of attestations of the lock masters see Radner 2010b: 277–9; she only refers to those attestations that include a title; the lock masters Inūrta-aḥu-iddina and Nabû-bēlu-ušur also occur without their title.

³³² StAT 1 20 r. 6'; ND 2314 r. 8. Šulmu-bēli has the ambiguous writing LÚ*.GAL–GAG (see introduction) in ND 2314, but his title is clear thanks to another reference qualifying him LÚ*.GAL–GAG.MEŠ (ND 2316 r. 6).

³³³ Radner (2010b: 278) reads É MÍ.KUR KUR (instead of É GÉME–KUR) and gives the designation “household of the queen”; this is not supported by Frahm, PNA 2/II 818 s.v. Nabû-bēlu-ušur 12; cf. Postgate 1976: 105, no. 14 and Svärd 2015: 119.

³³⁴ SAA 6 95 r. 6 (Kablu-Issār); ND 2307 l.e. 2, 3 (Aššūr-mudammiq, Nabû-bēlu-ušur); CTN 3 29 r. 22, 36 r. 14, 39 r. 14/39A r. 12, 40:11, SAAB 1 24 r. 5 (Inūrta-aḥu-iddina).

³³⁵ Female servants of the king: ND 2316 r. 6, 8 (Šulmu-bēli, Nabû-bēlu-ušur); ND 2308 r. 1 (Nabû'a). Female slaves: ND 3425 r. 17 (Šulmu-šarri); ND 2315 r. 11 ([...]–kēnu); ND 2314 r. 9 (Nabû-bēlu-ušur). Note also ND 3426 r. 16 (Ṭūr-dalâ) who witnesses the sale of a woman together with her son. Apart from SAA 14 62, which is too broken, there is the LÚ.GAL–SIG left who is possibly to be interpreted as *rab sikkāti*. He witnesses a land sale not involving women (SAAB 3 67 r. 5').

employed in a palace. As for the employment of lock masters in temples, this might correspondingly have been related to its accommodation of dedicated women such as the *šēlūtu* (the subject matter of ND 2316). In case the lock master's particular association with women is correct, Ṭūr-dalâ, lock master of the crown prince (ND 3426 r. 16), may have looked after the women's quarters of the crown prince's establishment.

As for the nature of this office, the *rab sikkāti* was apparently responsible for the locking of doors with the help of the *sikkatu*. Judging by his title of the type *rab-x*, he had supervisory functions and presumably bore responsibility for the locking and unlocking of distinct palace and temple areas. Radner (2010b: 277) suggested that he was “responsible for the safekeeping of the bolt-pins (...) and for the keys necessary for unlocking the locks (...)”. The *rab sikkāti*'s concern with doors corresponds to the fact that he is repeatedly associated with gatekeepers and entrance supervisors.³³⁶ Judging by the order of the witness lists (e.g. in CTN 3 39, 40) he was subordinate to the palace manager and superior to the entrance supervisor.

Since this title is not attested before the reign of Assurbanipal, Radner (2010b: 279–80) suggested that the office was (together with the *ša-pān-nērebi*) an invention of that king, as a reaction to the traumatic events of royal murder and conspiracy. A reinforcement of the security measures at court seems indeed plausible. Nevertheless, it is striking that we only observe this official in Kalhu and Assur; he is absent from the imperial capital Nineveh where we would expect these measures to have first been implemented. In view of the palace manager (*rab ekalli*), who—in contrast to the palace supervisor (*ša-pān-ekalli*)—appears as another dominant official of the palaces in 7th-century Kalhu (see section 1.1.11 Assignment to palaces), we may assume that the cooperation between the two palace officials *rab ekalli* and *rab sikkāti* constituted a temporal and local peculiarity which nevertheless may have been provoked by the aforementioned events. As argued by Radner (2010b: 279–80), the introduction of new offices concerned with the surveillance of palace gateways may have helped to distribute power to prevent abuse. In view of the nature of the administrative posts introduced, it is worth noting that it was possibly of special interest to employ supervising authorities, also effecting a more complex chain of command.

5.6 Functionaries concerned with gates (*bābu*)

Terms for offices containing the element *bābu* are rarely attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. A *ša-muḥḫi-bābi* is mentioned in a Babylonian letter from Kudurru, governor of Uruk, to the king Assurbanipal (ABL 277 r. 7'). One of the two known *ša-bābis* is said to be in the sender's service in a Babylonian

³³⁶ StAT 1 20 r. 4'; ND 2315 r. 8; ND 3425:2–3; ND 3426 r. 14, l.e. 2 (gatekeepers). CTN 3 30 r. 5; CTN 3 39 r. 15/39A r. 16; CTN 3 40 r. 12; ND 3426 l.e. 3 (entrance supervisors).

letter to the king Assurbanipal, presumably written by Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand (ABL 1222:6). Qāt-ili-qabbu, the other janitor, is recorded as seller of his inheritance share, that is, an unbuilt plot, for 35 minas of copper to his brother (StAT 3 5:3). The transaction is among others witnessed by two gatekeepers (StAT 3 5 r. 3', 18'). While these references do not necessarily imply a palace position, a palace connection is possible for the unnamed *ša-pān-bābi/bābāte* ("overseer of the gate[s]") recorded in an account of flax, madder and wool distributed to distinct palaces and palace departments (SAA 7 115 ii 12). Here they (or he depending on whether the MEŠ refers to several gates or to several individuals bearing this title) receive(s) three talents of madder via a certain Epā.³³⁷ The same section also records the allocation of 30 talents of madder for the "gate" and the "entrance" (SAA 7 115 ii 7–8) and leather men (*ša-šallēšu*) "of the entrance" (*ša nērebi*) receiving five talents of madder (SAA 7 115 r. i 5–6). As for the *maššar-bābi*, he is only listed after the *maššuru* ("guard") in a lexical list of professions from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 r. v 19'). Judging by his title, he might have occasionally reinforced the number of gatekeepers, as suggested by Radner (2010b: 274) for the *ša-maššarti* (watchman), a profession which is discussed in the next section.

5.7 The *rab mašširi* (commander-of-the-guards)

The *rab mašširi*, to be translated as "commander-of-the-guards", is only attested in Neo-Assyrian times.³³⁸ He occurs twice in the wine lists, written LÚ.GAL–EN.NUN.MEŠ, according to which he received 6(?) *qû* of wine. In both cases he is listed in close proximity to the commander-of-fifty, and he also appears either next to the chariot fighter of the gods (*mār damqi ša ilāni*) and the cupbearer (CTN 1 12:6'), or next to the chariot owner of "bearded men" (*bēl narkabti ša-ziqni*) and the tracker.³³⁹ Most of these associations suggest the *rab mašširi*'s closeness to the sphere of armed personnel. They correspond in part to those of the *ša-maššarti* who is twice mentioned in other wine lists (see below). Regarding the literal meaning of his title, the *rab mašširi* was the chief of the guards (*ša-maššarti* and *maššaru*, see below) and may have been of middle rank among the Assyrian officials. The appointment of a "commander-of-the-guards" in Babylonia in the 7th century is indicated by Sīn-nūr-ili, who acts as a witness in a broken legal document from Babylon, and who is

³³⁷ A homonymous man is attested as being in charge of men receiving 200 cloaks in the reign of Sargon (SAA 1 193) which suggests that SAA 7 115 was also drawn up at that time (Radner, PNA 1/II 397 s.v. Epā). According to the palatial establishments listed in SAA 7 115 (see Part III, section 1.1 Types and locations), however, a later date seems more plausible.

³³⁸ CAD M/I 344 s.v. *maššaru*, *rabi maššarī*.

³³⁹ CTN 1 14:25; according to the restoration by Parpola (1976–7: 168).

designated *rab maššari* (written LÚ.GAL–*ma-ša-ri*).³⁴⁰ His entry is accompanied by a reference to Nisannu of the 9th year of the reign of Assurbanipal, that is 661/660.

5.8 The *ša-maššarti* and *maššaru* (“watchman” and “guard”)

The title *ša-maššarti*, literally meaning “(he) of the guard”, already occurs in Old Assyrian texts and can be translated as “guard” or “watchman”.³⁴¹ In Neo-Assyrian times the term is usually written (LÚ/LÚ*).*ša/šá*–EN.NUN, also sometimes (LÚ/LÚ*).*šá–ma-šar-ti*, while there is also a single reference to a [LÚ].*ma-aš-šar-ti ša* URU.³⁴² In addition, we encounter the writing LÚ/LÚ*.EN.NUN which is usually to be read *maššuru* (or *maššaru*).³⁴³ This is supported by the syllabic writing *ma(-aš)-šar* which we occasionally also encounter for guards with further qualification, such as *maššar-ēni*, “guard of the wells”,³⁴⁴ and *maššar-qabli*, “guardian of the grove”.³⁴⁵ Other specific guards who are attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources are the *maššar-bābi* ([LÚ.EN.N] UN–KÁ), gate guard, and the *maššar-bēt-ili* (LÚ.EN.NUN É–DINGIR), “guard of the temple”. Apart from a brief examination of the *ša-maššarti* by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 40), this title and his Neo-Assyrian representatives were discussed by Radner (2010b: 273–4) in her recent article about the personnel guarding the gateways of Neo-Assyrian palaces. She differentiates between the compound *ša-maššarti* and the term *maššuru*, which she identifies as an “official of more far-reaching competence”. As a basic distinction this proves to be true, but overlaps seem to have existed (also caused by ambiguous writings, see below).

As to the *ša-maššartis*, we find these functionaries in the service of the magnates, including the commander-in-chief and several provincial governors (CTN 3 86:20), and the augurs.³⁴⁶ The astrologer Balasî asks the king for a watchman after his orchards located in the land of the chief cupbearer were devastated by the chief cupbearer’s servants (SAA 10 58 r. 19). Otherwise, watchmen are deployed to guard a river ordeal (SAAB 9 111:9–10), construction

³⁴⁰ Nassouhi 1927: 33–4, no. 14 r. 6.

³⁴¹ CAD M/I 341; cf. CAD M/I 333–40 s.v. *maššartu* (meaning “watch” or “guard” and deriving from *našāru*). *maššartu* is not restricted to these literal meanings but is also a general key term for assigned duties (for a recent discussion see Baker and Groß 2015c: 80–1).

³⁴² SAA 21 160 r. 9. Note also the LÚ*.ERIM.ME EN.NUN.ME *ša* URU.MEŠ–*ni* (ND 2384 r. 9) and the scribe of the guard (*tuššar maššarāte*) in StAT 3 51 r. 12.

³⁴³ CAD M/I 341–4 s.v. *maššaru*; cf. AHW 621 s.v. *maššāru(m)*; HAD 62 s.v. *maššuru*.

³⁴⁴ *ma-šar*–IGI.MEŠ (SAA 12 69 r. 21).

³⁴⁵ LÚ.*ma-šar-qab-li* (SAA 11 201 ii 38–9; 218:6), in contrast to LÚ*.EN.NUN–MURUB₄ (ND 5456:3).

³⁴⁶ SAA 5 163:5; for the possible implications of augurs being watched by guardsmen see Radner 2009: 235.

works of palaces (SAA 1 99 r. 17'), and harvest matters,³⁴⁷ and they were entrusted with paraphernalia associated with a ritual against a demon (SAA 10 282:13), Egyptian horses (SAA 19 160:4–5, Nabû-ētiranni) and 2,900 talents (commodity not mentioned) to the temple of Sin (CTDS 5:2–3, Salāmānu). All these occurrences show that the watchmen were active throughout the empire where they were engaged in guarding persons, properties and commodities as well as in attending particular operations and events. In addition, they not only guarded but actually transferred particular items, which led them to cooperate with *ša-rēšis* (CTDS 5) and military functionaries, such as a recruit of the team-commander (SAA 19 160). As is clear from the latter case, their tasks of protection and also surveillance and control brought about the watchman's association with the military sphere, as also indicated by the case of a watchman who is said to have discovered 400 raiding Gurraeans (SAA 19 26:9'). Note also the entry for "guard" in a lexical list of professions, before the commander-of-fifty and the commander-of-ten (MSL 12 238 iii 21). Their mobility also led to an association with outriders (*kallāpu*) and trackers (*rādi kibsi*), as is evident from queries to the sun-god (SAA 4 142:8, 144:8, 145:4'), as well as with messengers (*mār šipri*) and dispatch riders (*kallāp šipirti*) together with whom they occur in a broken letter.³⁴⁸ The queries also indicate a connection between the palace supervisors, the staff-bearers (*ša-ḥuṭāri*) and the watchmen since they are mentioned in the same passage bracketed by the particle *lū* (SAA 4 142:8; 144:8). The staff-bearers and the watchmen may have assisted the palace supervisor at court, though otherwise we do not encounter the watchmen as part of the palace personnel proper. Rather, they were engaged as representatives of the palace throughout the empire,³⁴⁹ often on temporary duties. We may compare these general characteristics with those of the *ša-qurbūtis* in whose stead a watchman is requested in the aforementioned letter SAA 1 99, though the watchmen were certainly of lower rank and did not enjoy the same privileges (cf. Radner 2010b: 273–4). However, their connection with the palace is supported by their sporadic occurrence in the wine lists, where they once precede the staff-bearers and the "bearded men".³⁵⁰ Although we lack any direct evidence that the watchman was appointed to doorways, his general tasks suggest that he was (cf. Radner 2010b: 274). This

³⁴⁷ ND 2460 r. 12'; probably also SAA 15 124:7.

³⁴⁸ SAA 16 6 r. 3. The watchman Nabû-rēšūwa is also summarised as one of six *ālik-pāni* (SAA 12 63:3', 4') "escorts" or "leaders" (see HAD 80). In fact, the term *ālik pāni* usually describes a military leader (e.g. RIMA 2 A.0.101.19:4; SAA 4 301:10').

³⁴⁹ Their temporary deployment was also stressed by Radner (2010b: 274). This is indicated also by other references to the watchman in letters (SAA 15 2:4, where a watchman is said to have been hired; SAA 15 224 r. 3; SAA 16 205 r. 1).

³⁵⁰ CTN 3 122:24'; CTN 1 21 r. 14' (according to restoration by Parpola 1976–7: 168).

is supported by the fact that the watchman Inūrta-šarru-ušur witnessed a legal transaction together with a gatekeeper and a lock master (StAT 1 20 r. 9').

As with the incident reported in the aforementioned letter SAA 19 26, the guards referred to by the term *maššaru* are also occasionally associated with the military sphere: We learn of guards employed in forts.³⁵¹ Otherwise, we encounter guards of oxen (SAA 13 28:11'), of the river (SAA 3 18:6') and of the gate of Esagil (SAA 3 34:12 and 35:43). The latter corresponds to the fact that there is a *maššar-bābi*, a “gate-guard”, listed in a lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 r. v 19'). It is highly likely that guards were occasionally employed in doorways like the gatekeepers (see above). Nevertheless, this seems to have been one of numerous different operational areas of the guards (whether designated *ša-maššarti* or *maššaru*).³⁵² The section of the lexical list from Huzirina containing the entries for the *maššaru* and the *maššar-bābi* records two further terms, namely (*ša-*)*darri* (LÚ.*da-a[r-ru]*) and (*ša-*)*ziqni* (LÚ.SU₆.[LÁ?]), for “(he) of the beard” or “bearded man”, which reminds us of the *ša-maššarti* who is associated with the “bearded man”.³⁵³ The fact that the “bearded man”, like the “guard”, is written here without *ša*, supports the impression that a clear distinction between the logographic writings such as LÚ.*ša*-EN.NUN (*ša-maššarti*) and LÚ.EN.NUN (*maššaru*) was not strictly maintained in Neo-Assyrian texts.

Apart from the aforementioned *maššar-bābi* (see also section 5.6 Functionaries concerned with gates (*bābu*)), we encounter the “guard of the wells” (*maššar-ēni*) who is to deliver bitumen, according to a decree of expenditures for ceremonies of the Aššur Temple (SAA 12 69 r. 21), and the “guardian of the groves” (*maššar-qabli*).³⁵⁴ In addition, there is the *maššar-bēt-ili*, “guard of the temple”, twice referred to in letters from temple personnel to the king (SAA 13 128 r. 11; 138:12), who was discussed in detail by Menzel (1981 I: 245–6). While the temple guard Nabû-nādin-apli caught a temple thief, according to SAA 13 138, his colleague Gallulu is said to have participated in a temple theft himself (SAA 13 128).³⁵⁵ As noted by Radner (2010b: 274), the concerns of the *maššarus* and their specialised colleagues were not necessarily of a temporary nature, as seems to have been often the case with the *ša-maššarti*.

³⁵¹ SAA 1 31 r. 7, 23; SAA 19 198:8'; cf. SAA 3 34:19; 35:17.

³⁵² Also, the term *maššaru* is applied to gods and spirits: SAA 3 34:12; 35:43. The latter may be compared with four statues, “guardian of the gates”, taken as booty from Urartu by Sargon (Fuchs 1998: 35, Ass.1); cf. RINAP 1 47 r. 31'; SAA 20 49:134–8. A “guardian of health (...) for the king” is mentioned in a few blessing formulas of letters to the king (SAA 10 132 r. 1; 245:8; 13 66:12; 56:13; 58:13; 16 87:6; 86:5; 52:6).

³⁵³ MSL 12 233 r. vi 1–2; for *darri*, and *ša-ziqni* see section 8.5 The *ša-ziqni*.

³⁵⁴ For the latter see section 26 Gardening, concerned with gardening. Note that in Middle Assyrian texts we also encounter the *maššar-qilte* (see Jakob 2003: 232–3, translating this title as “Waldwächter”).

³⁵⁵ Also the *ša-maššarti*, said to be with the augurs, was accused of theft in SAA 5 163.

6 MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

This section deals with those aspects of the Neo-Assyrian military which affected the royal household directly. It is not the intention here to provide the reader with a detailed study of the military system of the Neo-Assyrian empire and its various functionaries. Such an attempt, which is in many aspects still reliable, was undertaken by Manitius already in 1910 (parts I and II) on the basis of the royal inscriptions. A monograph about the organisation of the Neo-Assyrian military based on the Sargonid letter corpus from Nineveh was published by Malbran-Labat (1982), though with certain shortcomings (Postgate 1984).³⁵⁶ In recent times, scholars including Dezső (2006a and b, 2012), Mattila (2000: 149–57), and Postgate (2000a, 2007: 13–23) discussed or commented on the structure of the Neo-Assyrian army, relying either on written sources or on pictographic evidence, or both.

As for the basic structure of the Assyrian army, it consisted of two types of standing forces, namely the forces of the provincial governors (including some of the magnates) and the “royal cohort” (*kišir šarrūti*).³⁵⁷ The provincial forces were sustained by the “king’s troops” (*šāb šarri*) recruited from the provincial population via the *ilku*-system. Based on the so-called horse lists from the Review Palace in Kalhu dating to the reign of Sargon (CTN 3 85, 95–118), the *kišir šarrūti* is thought to have been subdivided into the *qurubtu*-forces,³⁵⁸ consisting of *ša-qurbūti* and *ša-šēpē* and belonging to the immediate entourage of the king, and the “palace forces”, headed by the *rab ša-rēši* and accommodated by the Review Palace.³⁵⁹ I will focus the following discussion on the bodyguard members *ša-qurbūti* and *ša-šēpē* as well as on the role of military functionaries assigned to principal members of the royal family and to palace officials. The section also contains a brief re-examination of military functionaries qualified as “of the palace” who, according to Postgate’s model, formed part of the aforementioned “palace forces”. In addition, the term *bēl narkabti* is discussed and the chief tailor (*rab kāširi*), who played a central role in military affairs in the south, is examined in the final section.

³⁵⁶ Note further the monograph of Mayer (1995), which was critically reviewed by Bagg (1998).

³⁵⁷ The *kišir šarrūti* is only attested from the reign of Sargon on (apart from Old Babylonian precursors, Postgate 2007: 17); thus, the reconstructed system presented here mainly relates to the last 150 years or so of the Neo-Assyrian empire.

³⁵⁸ *qurubtu* seems to be the feminine variant of the adjective *qurbu* (“close”); judging by the writing *qur-ru-* an alternative rendering would be *qurrubtu*, possibly deriving from D-stem adjective (Postgate 2007: 20). Apparently the term is not identical with the designation *ša-qurbūti* (cf. Postgate 2007: 20, fn. 39).

³⁵⁹ This basic reconstruction is adopted from Mattila (2000: 153–4); elementary contributions mainly stem from Dalley and Postgate 1984: 35–9. See Dezső (2006a: 125, Fig. 7) for a more complex reconstruction of the *kišir šarrūti*.

6.1 Bodyguard

Since both principal classifications of the bodyguard, the *ša-qurbūti* and the *ša-šēpē*, denote both status and sector, individuals within these units often bore additional titles referring to either their military rank, such as “cohort commander” (*rab kišri*), or function, such as “groom” (*sūsānu*).³⁶⁰ It was not necessarily the individual rank or function which differentiated individual members of the two groups, but their affiliation.

6.1.1 The *ša-šēpē* (“personal guard”)

Literally meaning “(he) of the feet”, the *ša-šēpē* is usually translated as “personal guard” in the SAA series. Apart from references in Nuzi texts, the title is only known from Neo-Assyrian sources,³⁶¹ from the reign of Shalmaneser IV or Aššūr-dān III on (Edubba 10 8 r. 23, dating either to 780 or 770). References to the actual tasks of the *ša-šēpēs* are rare, but we find a statement in a letter of Nabû-rēhtu-ušur to the king (Esarhaddon) dealing with the conspiracy of Sāsî where the sender proposes that they be engaged as delegates. The sender asks the king to let *ša-šēpē*-guards, who brought a female slave into the house of Sāsî, bring her out again (SAA 16 59 r. 6’). Since she is announcing that Esarhaddon’s name will be forgotten in favour of the expense of Sāsî, to whom the kingship will pass over, they shall bring her to the palace so that a ritual can be performed on her. Since delicate errands were otherwise carried out by *ša-qurbūtis* (or in some cases by *ša-rēšis*), this seems to be an unusual involvement of *ša-šēpēs*. The *ša-šēpēs*’ closeness to the king’s household is indicated by their references in the wine lists (e.g. CTN 1 8 r. 11’) and their frequent occurrence in legal documents from the palace environment of 7th-century Nineveh. Otherwise, there is the personal guard Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina who is qualified as son of the chief bailiff Asalluḫi-aḫḫē-iddina in a legal contract (SAA 14 425:19–21), indicating that *ša-šēpēs* were recruited from the upper echelon of society. These observations are rather weak points to emphasise the *ša-šēpēs*’ particular closeness to the king since they apply too to other functionaries. However, a few references to the *ša-šēpēs* in the horse lists indicate that they formed part of the royal corps and, furthermore, that they belonged to the royal bodyguard.³⁶² In this respect I shall also mention Gaddijâ who is probably identical with an homonymous *ša-šēpē* (SAA 7 8:1): he is mentioned in a broken letter to the king (Assurbanipal) which deals with the royal forces

³⁶⁰ Postgate (2007: 13–5) distinguishes between four different types of titles; cf. Radner 2002: 14 (regarding the *ša-qurbūti*).

³⁶¹ AHw 1215 s.v. *šēpu(m)* 13.b and c; CAD Š/2 307 s.v. *šēpu* in *ša šēpi*. Cf. Dalley and Postgate 1984: 39.

³⁶² See Dezső (2006a: 114–5) listing all the references in the horse lists.

(*emūqi ša šarri* in SAA 21 136:3', 20'). A clear distinction from the *ša-qurbūtis* is primarily indicated by the numerous activities of the *ša-qurbūtis* throughout the empire which are by no means attested for the *ša-šēpē*. Hence, the latter were perhaps permanently based in the immediate environment of the king which would also explain their almost entire absence from the royal correspondence. Also the literal meaning of the title "(he) of the feet" indicates an extra close connection with the king, assuming that the feet of the king are meant here: according to the phrase "to grasp the feet of the king" (*šēpē ša šarri šabātu*) and similar phrases addressing the king's feet, this royal body part was a popular element in expressions of the devotion of the king's subjects, which one would especially expect from the personal guards of the king.

The horse lists do indicate the *ša-šēpēs'* placement in the military system and show that they consisted of equestrian units.³⁶³ This is supported by the fact that some *ša-šēpēs* are known to have been grooms (*sūsānu*) concerned with both cavalry and chariotry horses.³⁶⁴ Their association with the chariotry is also indicated by *ša-šēpēs* listed along with the titles "(he) of the open chariot" (*ša-pattūti*) and "(he) of the armoured chariot" (*ša-taḥlīpi*) in the 8th-century wine lists.³⁶⁵ Postgate (1990: 35) even defined the *ša-šēpēs* as a "chariot contingent attached to the king". In an inscription of Sargon, however, we detect the *ša-šēpēs* in association with both chariotry and cavalry. On the one hand, Sargon refers to his chariotry of the personal guard (GIŠ.GIGIR ĠİR.2), who always stands by and with whom he captured Ashdod and other cities in the west (Fuchs 1994: 133–4, Ann. 248–250). On the other hand, the cavalry of the personal guard (ANŠE.pēt-ḫal ĠİR.2) is said to have accompanied Sargon on his way to Muṣaṣir (Fuchs 1994: 114, Ann. 150), and there are also a few other attestations of the cavalry of the personal guard in royal inscriptions and administrative documents.³⁶⁶ The references in Sargon's inscriptions also demonstrate the main function of the *ša-šēpēs* as attached to the king. Whether this function only applied to campaigning or whether they accompanied the king also when he resided in his palace and on other occasions remains unclear, but they are likely to have been considered a permanent force of the king.

Corresponding to the general hierarchies in the Neo-Assyrian army,³⁶⁷ the *ša-šēpē*-unit was divided into cohorts (*kiṣru*) headed by cohort commanders

³⁶³ Note also ND 2768:9', where the *ša-šēpē* are listed next to 10 horses.

³⁶⁴ E.g. Marduk-šumu-iddina (SAA 6 53 r. 8). The *sūsānu* was, notwithstanding the logographic writing LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (reading established by Parpola 1988b: 78, fn. 2), also part of the cavalry and not just of the chariotry (Postgate 2000a: 92, 100).

³⁶⁵ E.g. CTN 1 6 r. 34–6. Note also the reading EN-GIŠ.GIGIR ša ĠİR?²? in a fragment of a wine list (CTN 3 136 r. 3'). Since this is the only reference to "chariot-owners" of the *ša-šēpē*, the reading remains doubtful (see p. 262 fn. 570). ĠİR.2 can also denote a type of chariot (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 34–5, 39; cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 48 and Dezső 2006b: 124).

³⁶⁶ Fuchs 1994: 114, Ann.150; SAA 11 36 r. i 6.

³⁶⁷ See Postgate 2007: 14, Diagram 1.

(*rab kišri*). This is clear from the designation “cohort commander of the personal guard” and from the *ša-šēpēs* Bīrtāiu and Ibašši-ilā’ī commanded by the cohort commander Kišir-Aššūr (CTN 3 101 i 7–8). An administrative note from Nineveh, dating to the post-canonical era, records that a certain Qarḥâ is in the care of a Kakkullānu (SAA 11 143:1). Following Lipiński (PNA 3/I 1007–8 s.v. Qarḥâ 4 and 7), it is likely that Qarḥâ is to be identified with the homonymous *ša-šēpē* who witnessed a legal transaction of the cohort commander Kakkullānu and thus we have another case of a *ša-šēpē* subordinate to a cohort commander. A hierarchical relationship is also attested for the personal guards Quili, Sarsâ and Zaliāiu who were assigned to a certain Ḥarrānāiu (SAA 11 140:1–4, 5). Although Ḥarrānāiu lacks a title, it is plausible that he too was cohort commander.

A few individuals bearing the title *ša-šēpē* are also referred to with the title *ša-qurbūti*. The “cohort commander of the personal guard” Aqru and his colleague Balasî, who was in the service of the crown prince, are designated *ša-qurbūti* elsewhere.³⁶⁸ And the *ša-šēpē* Gaddâ (SAA 7 9 r. i 26) is possibly identical with the contemporary *ša-qurbūti* Gaddâ (SAA 7 5 ii 33). In addition, the title *ša-qurbūti ša-šēpē* (“agent [of the] personal guard”) was borne by Kabar-il (SAA 14 100:6–7), and the title *ša-qurbūti ša-šēpē pattūti* (“agent [of the] personal guard of the open-chariotry”) occurs in a banquet account.³⁶⁹ This indicates that the *ša-šēpē* unit itself incorporated *ša-qurbūti*, although the latter otherwise formed a separate group. However, this aspect remains obscure.

6.1.2 The *ša-qurbūti* (“agent”)

Functionaries called *ša-qurbūti* are only known for the Neo-Assyrian empire (CAD Q 315–7). Built with the abstract rendering of the adjective *qurbu* (or *qerbu*, meaning “near”, cf. AHw 929 s.v. *qurbu(m)* 4.d), its literal translation is “(he) of the closeness” or “(he) who is close”,³⁷⁰ which expresses the closeness to the king. In contrast to the *ša-šēpēs*, this pertains to their function as the extended arm of the king rather than (just) physical closeness.³⁷¹ Although the compound is usually translated “(royal) bodyguard” (as in the SAA series),³⁷² I prefer to use here the more neutral term “agent” in view of their tasks as summarised below.

³⁶⁸ Aqru: SAA 14 27 r. 8’ (640*); Balasî: 40 r. 13 (625*); 42 r. 30 (625*); 43 r. 14 (624*). The designation “cohort commander of the personal guard” for both is only attested in SAA 14 49 (date lost).

³⁶⁹ SAA 7 150 ii 4’; cf. Dezső 2006a: 132.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Postgate (2007: 11) who translates “the one of proximity”.

³⁷¹ Cf. Radner (2002: 13–4), discussing the *ša-qurbūti* attested in legal documents from Dur-Katlimmu.

³⁷² Malbran-Labat (1982: 141) calls them “gardes-nobles” or “gardes-royaux”. Another English translation is “king’s standby” (e.g. occasionally given in the PNA volumes).

Discussing the *ša-qurbūti* (here referred to as *mutīr-pūti*) on the basis of the correspondence of Sargon, Klauber (1968: 105–11) already called attention to their involvement in the investigation of irregularities and the supervision and transport of captives.³⁷³ Postgate (1974a: 194) defined the *ša-qurbūti* as “a general ‘trouble-shooter’ and paramilitary agent”. In view of their functions such as the representation of the king, the transfer of messages and the escort of troops and horses, Postgate described this “aide-de-camp” as “the oil between the different cogs of the administrative machinery”. He concluded that these highly mobile officials were deployed flexibly by the king and on behalf of the king and executed fresh instructions throughout the empire.³⁷⁴ This synthesis of the *ša-qurbūtis*’ occurrences gives a fairly good impression of these men. Usually concerned with matters not related to the royal household proper, these royal delegates can nevertheless be regarded as court members, as also shown by their prominent appearance next to the households of the queen and of the *rab ša-rēši* in the wine lists (e.g. CTN 1 4:7–9). In fact, they are central for understanding the palace’s role within the overall structure of the Neo-Assyrian empire and the palace’s ways and means of interaction with the provincial domains. On account of their intermediate role between the palace and the provinces, we can assume that they were occasionally also engaged with missions on behalf of the royal household proper. As the king inevitably combines private and state interests, so his agents were involved in both private and state concerns. An incident known from a letter of the scholar Mār-Issār to the king (Esarhaddon) demonstrates this two-fold nature: here, the *ša-qurbūti* Nabû-lē’i is said to have transferred 26 “eyestones” of the king and one mina of gold of the king’s mother to Mār-Issār in Babylonia for the production of a tiara for Nabû.³⁷⁵

The highly mobile *ša-qurbūtis* were in need of appropriate means of transport in order to reach the places to where they were sent to fulfil tasks such as the escort of troops. Actually, there is some information concerning the provision of riding animals and chariots for *ša-qurbūtis* available from the correspondence of Sargon: from a letter of Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Arzuhina, we learn that mules were harnessed for the *ša-qurbūti* Ubru-Ḥarrān (SAA 5 277). According to another letter to Sargon, written by Ammi-ḥātī, governor of Nineveh, the *ša-qurbūti* Nabû’a was driven to the city Šabirešu by chariot (SAA 5 74). Otherwise, [x] cavalrymen of the *ša-qurbūti* (SAA 11 36 r. i 10: [x BA]D.ḪAL ša LÚ*.*qur-bu-te*¹) are mentioned in an administrative record of

³⁷³ The latter concern is also attested for the *ša-ziqni* and there are also other indications of an overlap between the two classes (see section 8.5 The *ša-ziqni*).

³⁷⁴ Postgate 2007: 11–3 (for references to similar attempts in previous studies see Dalley and Postgate 1984: 32).

³⁷⁵ SAA 10 348:11–14. Religion and cult *per se* were a central issue of the Assyrian king, both in private and in public.

tribute distributed to court personnel where we also find an entry for two cavalymen of the *ša-šēpē* (SAA 11 36 r. i 6). Unlike the range of duties of the *ša-qurbūti* addressed above, which do not include direct military engagement on the battlefield, these entries rather refer to army members. In a similar manner a few references to grooms of the *ša-qurbūti* (SAA 6 112 r 7: 'LÚ*¹.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.qur¹-bu¹-[ti]; 14 397 r. 10'-11': LÚ*.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.qur-bu-te) and to *kallāpu*-soldiers of the *ša-qurbūti* (SAA 11 126:9': *qur¹-bu¹-[te]*; SAA 16 90:7': *qur-bu*) exist, also indicating a direct connection with the army. It remains unclear if and how these references are related to the *ša-qurbūti* who were engaged as troubleshooters.³⁷⁶

6.1.3 Addendum: the *kišir šarri*

A few individuals who witnessed legal transactions in the 7th century are designated “(of the) royal corps” (Table 11).³⁷⁷ As we might expect anyway, they occur together with a cohort commander (SAA 6 192 r. 4') and members of the chariot unit (SAA 6 192 r. 1'-2': chariot driver and “third man (on chariot)”; 14 314 r. 6': chariot fighter). In addition, the four men (of the) royal corps listed in SAA 6 192 are followed by the merchant Palḫu-šēzib. This association corresponds to the merchant Aḫi-qāmu who is qualified as *kišir šarri* (SAA 6 246 r. 1'). Since merchants operated as agents of the crown and were connected to the armed forces,³⁷⁸ I suspect that their association with the royal corps was the norm. It was perhaps only with the introduction of the “new corps of Sennacherib”, especially affecting the satellite households (see Part III, section 6.4 Satellite households), that merchants became active under the crown prince and the queen.³⁷⁹ The case of the merchants shows that the royal corps consisted of the bodyguard and army and included other types of functionaries.³⁸⁰

Men belonging to the royal cohort are attested in legal records from the imperial capital Nineveh but also occur in a legal document from Dur-Katlimmu

³⁷⁶ However, the “close” chariotry and the “close” cavalry mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 16': 'LÚ'.[EN-']GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te* LÚ.pēt-ḫal *qur-ub-te*) would, according to Mattila's scheme (2000: 153–4), mean that the *qurubtu*-forces, consisting of *ša-qurbūti* and *ša-šēpē*, included chariotry-unit and cavalry-units.

³⁷⁷ In contrast to Postgate (2007: 17, fn. 29) I believe that the designation *kišir šarri* refers to the same institution as *kišir šarrūti* (cf. Mattila 2000: 149, fn. 2), with the restriction that the singular refers to one single “knot” within the *kišir šarrūti*, which apparently comprised several “knots”.

³⁷⁸ Elat (1987: 251–3), followed by Radner (1999c: 102); cf. Radner 2002: 10–1.

³⁷⁹ Elat 1987: 253; Radner 1999c: 103 (both also refer to merchants active for governors). Inūrta-malakka, merchant of the household of the crown prince (BATSH 6 8 r. 12–13), can be added now.

³⁸⁰ Among those added to the royal corps by Esarhaddon we also find farmers and gardeners (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 16'–20').

and in another one from Burmarina. The latter is drawn up in Aramaic and the three men “of the cohort of the king” Ša’il, Maya’ and Palṭî, who owed eight shekels of silver to the local Še’-‘ušnî, are qualified as originating from far-off Bit-Zamani. In view of the qualification of the witnesses listed here, they may have been stationed in the closer provincial capital Til-Barsip (Fales 2005b: 620). Likewise, Zimâ, the member of the king’s army in Dur-Katlimmu, is said to come from the provincial capital Kipšuni. Men of the king’s army were thus stationed at several strategically important places in the western Assyrian territory.

Aḫūnî	<i>ki-šir</i> -MAN	SAA 6 192 r. 8’ [682]
Ḫinnumu	<i>ki-šir</i> -MAN	SAA 6 192 r. 5’ [682]
Rēmūtu	<i>ki-šir</i> -MAN	SAA 6 192 r. 7’ [682]
Šumāia	<i>ki-šir</i> -MAN	SAA 6 192 r. 6’ [682]
Zimrâ	<i>ša ki-šir</i> -MAN T[A* Š]À URU.kip-š[u-n]i	BATSH 6 56 r. 18–19 [639*]
Aḫi-qāmu	[LÚ].’DAM.QAR ¹ [0] <i>ki-šir</i> -MAN	SAA 6 246 r. 1’ [dl]
Il-dūsu?	<i>ki-šir</i> -MAN	SAA 14 314 r. 1’–2’ [dl]
Ša’il, Maya’, Palṭî	’gbr’n zy kšr. mlk’ mn bny zmn.	TSF 47:2 [dl]

Table 11: Individuals designated “(of the) royal corps”

6.2 Military functionaries “of the palace”

According to Postgate (1984: 424; 2007: 19), military functionaries qualified as “of the palace” represent the “palace forces” of the royal cohort under the supervision of the *rab ša-rēši*. This assumption originates from the recruitment officers of the GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL (“chariotry of the palace”) who were contrasted the recruitment officers of the GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te* (“close chariotry”) in a horse list.³⁸¹ Other 8th-century references to military functionaries “of the palace” already mentioned by Postgate are a chariot fighter (SAA 1 205:12), Itu’eans (SAA 5 3 r. 10), foot-soldiers(?) (*zūku*, SAA 1 11:6), outriders (*kallāpu*, SAA 16 90:10’) and chariotry (SAA 1 10 r. 14). Looking at the 7th-century sources, the following attestations from legal contracts and an administrative record can be added:

- prefect of the palace: Ḫandî (O 3682:10–11 [691 or 681]),³⁸² Aḫu-lāmur and Arbailāiu (Jiménez, E., Adalı, S.F. and Radner, K. 2015 no. 4 r. 23, 24 [641*])

³⁸¹ CTN 3 103 iii final line, r. ii 5–6.

³⁸² Rendering of the title: LÚ.GAR-*nu*. Kanūnāiu, eponym of 666*, was rather a “governor” of the New House since his title is rendered EN.NAM, LÚ.NAM and GAR.KUR); see Mattila, PNA 2/I 602 s.v. Kanūnāiu 18. Nevertheless, their responsibilities may correspond to each other.

- prefect of the horses of the New House: Mušēzib-Marduk (SAA 6 301:1–3 [670])
- cohort commander of the palace: Sīn-bēlu-ušur (SAA 6 287 r. 8 [670]), a group of cohort commanders, also mentioned by Postgate (SAA 11 36 iii 19–20)³⁸³
- chariot driver of the palace: Šamaš-ilā’ī (SAA 6 37 r. 12 [694]), Šamaš-šallim (SAA 6 309 r. 7 [667]), unnamed chariot driver (SAA 11 36 iii 24)³⁸⁴
- “third man (on chariot)” of the palace: Bēl-šarru-ibni (SAA 6 46 r. 1 [681]), Rāpi’ (SAA 6 287 r. 9 [670]), [...]Bēlti (SAA 14 319:3’ [dl]), unnamed “third man” (SAA 11 36 iii 13)

Though Postgate’s assumption is basically plausible, not all the data added here supports his idea. Both the prefect Mušēzib-Marduk, who was active in the New House, and the prefect Ḥandī, who was involved in legal transactions drawn up in Ma’allanate in the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (Radner et al., PNA 2/I 452 s.v. Ḥandī 2), rather did not form part of the palace forces headed by the *rab ša-rēši*. The same is true for the two palace prefects Aḥu-lāmur and Arbailāiu attested as first and second witness in a purchase document from the provincial capital Marqasa. Also, the chariot drivers and the “third men (on chariot)” “of the palace” may have been charioteers chosen to transport inhabitants of the main palace (if not the king himself) instead. This is also likely the case with the chariot driver and the “third man” who are listed along with some magnates and palace officials as recipients of audience gifts and tribute in a letter of (the crown prince) Sennacherib to his father (SAA 1 34 r. 20’–1’). On the other hand, military functionaries such as recruitment officers and commanders-of-fifty listed in the 8th-century wine lists from the Review Palace in Kalhu may have formed part of the “palace forces” based at the Review Palace.³⁸⁵

6.3 Royal military functionaries

Military functionaries in the service of the king include cohort commanders, chariot drivers, “third men” and grooms (see Table 12). Most of them are attested as witnesses, while a few occur in administrative records or are mentioned in letters. In a query to the sun-god royal grooms are explicitly listed

³⁸³ Note also the unique designation “cohort commander of the personal guard of the palace”, borne by Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina (SAA 14 425:19–21), who is otherwise known as “cohort commander of the personal guard” (SAA 14 424:14–15).

³⁸⁴ The latter is not qualified as “of the palace”, but he likely belongs here in view of the “third man” and the cohort commanders “of the palace” listed in the same text listing palace personnel.

³⁸⁵ Note also some administrative records from 7th-century Nineveh concerning court personnel that also list military functionaries including men of the bodyguard (SAA 7 21, 22; 11 36).

after the *ša-qurbūti* and the *ša-šēpē* (SAA 4 139:7). The majority of attestations dates to the 7th-century, a time when the role of the chariot on the battlefield had certainly decreased and other types of use had become more dominant. Postgate (2000a: 98) assumed that chariots were especially used as military headquarters which seems to be especially true for the king whose chariot is depicted next to the battle scenes on the reliefs (Noble 1990: 66). Postgate also referred to the chariots' role as "communication centre" with the "third man (on chariot)" functioning as a messenger, as is the case with the royal "third man" mentioned in a letter to the king (SAA 5 21:7). In addition, the king's personal chariot, equipped with driver and "third man", was presumably also important in view of its role in transport and representative performances.

cohort commander (<i>rab kiṣri</i>)	Nabû-šarru-uṣur (SAA 14 48 r. 19–20 [dl])
chariot driver (<i>mukil appāti</i>)	Nabû-šumu-iškun (SAA 6 57:6'–8' [dl])
chief chariot driver (<i>mukil appāti dannu</i>)	Rēmāni-Adad (SAA 6 309:5–7 [667; for his entire dossier see SAA 6 296–350])
"third man (on chariot)" (<i>tašlišu</i>)	Aḥu-lā-amašši (SAA 6 317 r. 2 [666]); unnamed (SAA 5 21:7; 18 72:13')
groom (<i>šušānu</i>)	Abdūnu (SAA 6 235 r. 1 [671]); Šamaš-šarru-uṣur (O 3704 r. 2–3 [653]); Aššūr-killanni (SAA 14 34 r. 12 [630*]); Nabû-tariṣ (SAA 14 34 r. 10 [630*]; 37 r. 4' [630*]; 48 r. 21 [dl]); [...] (SAA 14 310 r. 4 [dl]); Bābu-šaddū'a (BATSH 6 69 r. 9 [dl]); Dādi-ilā'i (BATSH 6 95 r. 7 [dl]); Aššūr-aḥḥē-balliṭ, Aššūr-ilā'i, Būdā, Sukkāia, [...]erība (SAA 7 18 i 10 [Esar/Asb]); Unnamed (SAA 4 139:7, 145:3', 146:2 [Esar])

Table 12: Military functionaries of the king

6.4 Satellite households

In administrative documents listing governors and high-ranking officials from Nineveh drawn up in the reign of Assurbanipal, the "new corps" of Sennacherib" are mentioned (SAA 7 3 i 6'; 4 i 8').³⁸⁶ Based on these references and the military functionaries in the service of the crown prince, the queen and the king's mother from the 7th century, Dalley and Postgate (1984: 41) suggested that the *kiṣir šarri* was divided between the king and his closest relatives in the reign of Sennacherib. Discussing the range of subordinates of the crown prince on the basis of legal documents from Nineveh (SAA 6 and 14), Mattila (2002: XX) confirmed this assumption for the crown prince. Like Dalley and Postgate, she (among other scholars such as Lanfranchi 1998: 107; Radner 2008: 510,

³⁸⁶ Note also the references to the "Review Palace, New Cohort" in SAA 7 23:4; 115 i 4; 148 ii 15' (Postgate 2007: 18).

fn. 60) assumed that also the queen had her own military establishment, as stressed by Svärd (2015: 73) on the basis of the military functionaries in her (and the king's mother's) service.

Examining the military functionaries of key members of the royal family (see Table 13), it turns out that the queen and the king's mother only had a limited range of functionaries in their service including cohort commanders, a cohort commander of the chariot fighters, chariot drivers and "third men". This contrasts with the crown prince who also had his own prefects, a commander-of-fifty (if restored correctly), chariot fighters and grooms.³⁸⁷ At least from the reign of Assurbanipal he had his own *rab ša-rēši*, which indicates that his military forces approached the size and complexity of the king's forces (cf. Mattila 2002: XX). This information is not only gained from legal contracts but also from administrative records and it is the latter which confirm that the distribution of functionaries presented here is not by accident. From a document (SAA 7 5) listing, among others, officials of the crown prince and the king's mother we learn of several prefects in the service of the crown prince, but not a single one is assigned to the queen.³⁸⁸

Although the queen (and the king's mother) only had a selection of military functionaries at their disposal, it is nevertheless clear that they had their own military units under their command since the existence of a "cohort commander of the chariot fighter of the queen" hardly offers any other solution (as is, for instance, the case with chariot drivers and "third men" who could have been simply engaged for representative purposes). Furthermore, the military activities of selected royal women such as Sammu-rāmat, king's mother of Adad-nērāri III, and Naqī'a, king's mother of Esarhaddon, is also clear from royal inscriptions and letters, regardless of the military functionaries in their service (Svärd 2015: 49–50). Although these were rather unusual engagements of two royal women whose political involvement was extraordinary in general, one has to take these cases seriously in themselves and also in terms of their potential to demonstrate future tendencies. In the 7th century also the lady-of-the-house (*bēlat-bēti*), a title which in most cases refers to the wife of the crown prince (Svärd and Luukko 2009: 292), seems to have had her own military unit: she had a chariot driver and chariot fighters in her service.³⁸⁹ In spite of all this, however, I would like to stress that individual chariot drivers and "third men" assigned to individual royal women were not only involved in campaigning but could have also supported their mistress in her daily businesses

³⁸⁷ Note also the cavalry of the crown prince listed in SAA 7 150 ii 4'; 152 r. i 12'.

³⁸⁸ The lack of military functionaries of the queen in this record is possibly owed to the fact that Ešarra-ḥammat had already died and the king's mother Naqī'a has taken over her functions (Svärd 2015: 65).

³⁸⁹ Chariot driver: SAA 6 339 r. 9 (dl, Asb according to Svärd and Luukko 2009: 288). Chariot fighters: SAA 6 200 r. 7' (dl, probably Sennacherib, see Svärd and Luukko 2009: 283, fn. 28); 14 169 r. 1 (619*).

including transport and representation, as was also pointed out in the section about the military functionaries “of the palace” and the king. The appearance of members of the chariot unit of royal women in the 7th century is perhaps not only due to their newly assigned military responsibilities but goes together with the increasing size of chariots which made them less useable on the battlefield (Noble 1990: 61). The purpose and meaning of chariots presumably shifted and caused them to have been vehicles of prestige, as stressed by Noble. On the other hand, chariots may have been increasingly used as “communication centres” with the “third man” functioning as a messenger (e.g. SAA 5 217 r. 11–5) as well as “mobile headquarters” by commanding officers during battles, as pointed out by Postgate (2000a: 98). Therefore it is worth noting that chariots together with their operating crew do not only indicate a military engagement but point to their owner’s enhanced status, with this vehicle being used also for other purposes.

As to the bodyguard of royal family members, the crown prince had both *ša-šēpē* and the *ša-qurbūti* in his service (including the associated cohort commanders), of whom the latter is already attested in the reign of Sargon.³⁹⁰ For the queen and the king’s mother, on the other hand, we only detect *ša-qurbūti* in the 7th century. Expecting similar tasks for the *ša-qurbūti* in satellite households as for those active for the royal household (see above), the concern of these households with state affairs may have increased or may even have been newly established. Indeed, the central role played by the crown prince Sennacherib in the intelligence service during Sargon’s reign is well known (Frahm 1997: 2–3). It matches his *ša-qurbūtis* who were concerned with the provision and transport of captives and deportees.³⁹¹ We lack such information for the 7th century, but in view of influential individuals such as Naqī’a, the appointment of *ša-qurbūtis* beneath key royal figures seems to be a logical measure. Assuming that the assignment of the *ša-šēpē* only to the king and to the crown prince is not by accident, it is possibly owed to the fact that one of their main tasks was to form the immediate environment of their master on campaign and in battle (see above) which, apart from the king, is especially expected for the crown prince from among the royal family members. Although the development of the domains of the royal women, like that of the crown prince, approached that of the king, it is nevertheless clear that the crown prince had more far-reaching responsibilities than his female relatives: as attested for the crown prince Assurbanipal, he not only had his own palace in Tarbišu (RINAP 4 93:22–39) and his own province in the Assyrian heartland (Radner 2006a: 49) but also had a military unit commanded by his own *rab ša-rēši* (SAA 7 4 i 16) and thus also his own *ša-šēpē* unit.

³⁹⁰ This suggests that the development towards “new cohorts” already began in the reign of Sargon (when Sennacherib was crown prince).

³⁹¹ Taking into account the general tasks of the *ša-qurbūti* throughout the empire (see below).

	queen	king's mother	crown prince
<i>rab ša-rēši</i>	-	-	Assurbanipal and later: Šamaš-šarru-ušur (SAA 7 4 i 16') Aššūr-rēmanni (eponym of 617*/625*)
prefect (<i>šaknu</i>)	-	-	Esarhaddon and later: Ibni-[...] (SAA 7 5 i 33) Qurdi-Aššūr (SAA 7 5 r. i 31; 6 i 5') Rēmanni-ilu (SAA 7 5 i 34) Nabū-erība (SAA 7 30 r. ii 19'–20') etc. unnamed (SAA 7 148 r. ii 4', 149 r. ii 5, 150 ii 17)
commander-of-fifty (<i>rab hanšē</i>)	-	-	Assurbanipal: ?Kur-ilā'ī (SAA 14 425 r. 23 [630*])
cohort commander (<i>rab kišri</i>)	Sennacherib and later: Banūnu (SAA 6 164 r. 5 [686]; 165 r. 8 [dl]) Mannu-kī-Issār-lē'i (SAA 164 r. 3–4 [...]) (SAA 6 165 r. 6) Šumu-kēn (SAA 12 96 l.e. 2 [621*]) etc.	Esarhaddon and/or later: [...] (SAA 6 253 r. 9) Salāmānu (SAA 7 5 ii 30) [...] (SAA 7 9 i 7')	Esarhaddon and later: Aḫu-dūr-enši (SAA 16 148 r. 14–15) Kīnanni-Issār (SAA 7 5 r. i 38) Nabū-šarru-ušur (SAA 7 5 r. ii 9; 9 r. i 21) Urdu-Nabū (SAA 7 5 r. ii 7) Kakkullānu (SAA 14 45 r. 1–2 [623*]; 46:6' [623*]) Lūqu (SAA 14 24:7–8 [659]) Zārūtī (SAA 6 323 r. 9) Unzarḫu-Aššūr (SAA 14 50 r. 7) etc. unnamed SAA 7 152 r. i' 10'
cohort commander of the chariot fighter (<i>rab kišri ša mār damqi</i>)	Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal: Līt-il (SAA 14 7 r. 7–8)		
chariot fighter (<i>mār damqi</i>)	-	-	Assurbanipal and later: Adda-taqan (BATSH 6 47 r. 12–13 [649]) Zārūtī (Stat 2 181 r. 17 [629*]) [...]? (SAA 11 132:1')

	queen	king's mother	crown prince
chariot driver (<i>mukil appāti</i>)	Assurbanipal: Marduk-šarru-ušur (SAA 6 329 r. 13–14 [660], ...)	Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal: Bir-lamā (SAA 7 5 r. ii 5) Iltadaia (SAA 7 5 r. ii 10)	Esarhaddon and later: Mannu-kī-Aššūr (SAA 6 329 r. 15 [660], ...) Zabāba-erība (SAA 6 299 r. 2) Zārūtī (SAA 6 323 r. 8 [664],...) Šarru-šumu-ka''in (SAA 14 32 r. 5 [618*]) etc. unnamed: SAA 7 150 ii 5' <i>mukil appāti dannu:</i> Rēmāni-Adad (SAA 6 309:5–7)
“third man (on chariot)” (<i>tašlišu</i>)	Sennacherib and later: Nabū-šarru-ušur (SAA 6 164 r. 11–12 [686]) Adda-rāmu (O 3691 r. 4 [622*])	Esarhaddon and/or later: [...] (SAA 6 253 r. 8) Bēl-aḥḥēšu (SAA 7 5 r. i 7)	Sennacherib and later: Aplāia (SAA 6 103:4–5 [694]) Bur-Silā (SAA 16 136:11) Hanisiku (SAA 7 5 r. ii 8) Nabū-aḥu-iddina (SAA 7 5 i 47) etc. <i>tašlišu dannu:</i> Sīn-ašarēd (SAA 6 317 r. 1 [666],...) [...] -ušur (SAA 7 5 ii 2) etc.
groom (<i>šušānu</i>)	-	-	Possibly Sargon and later: [...] (SAA 14 287 r. 6') etc. <i>sūsānu ša-šēpē</i> (in the care of the crown prince, possibly referring to the royal <i>ša-šēpē</i> , cf. Dezső 2006a: 132); SAA 1 37 r. 7–8 unnamed SAA 7 15 ii 8'; 152 r. i 11
<i>ša-qurbūti</i>	after Assurbanipal: [...] -Nabū (VAT 19510:2 [626*])	Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal: Inūrta-ilā'ī (SAA 7 5 r. i 42) Issār-na'di (SAA 7 5 i 43) Mutakkil-Aššūr (SAA 7 5 ii 32) Uazaru (SAA 7 9 r. i 22) [...] (SAA 7 5 i 42)	Sargon and later: Bānāia (ND 2803 ii 26') Gaiā (ND 2803 r. ii 14) [...] (SAA 7 5 r. ii 8) etc. <i>rab kišri ša-qurbūti:</i> Kišir-Aššūr (SAA 14 29:6–7 [636*], ...) etc.

	queen	king's mother	crown prince
<i>ša-šēpē</i>	-	-	Assurbanipal(?) and later: Urdu-Bēltu (SAA 14 50 r. 12) Arbailāiu (SAA 14 50 r. 11) Manzarnê (SAA 14 157 r. 8') <i>rab kišri ša-šēpē:</i> Nabū-šarru-ušur (SAA 6 325 r. 20' [663])

Table 13: Military functionaries in the service of the queen, the king's mother and the crown prince

6.5 Military functionaries of palace officials

In the sources dating to the 7th century one basically finds the same types of military functionaries in the service of some of the palace officials, as were observed for the queen and king's mother (and the palace household, see above). A cohort commander was in the service of the chief confectioner; chariot drivers were subordinate to the palace scribe, the chief cook, the chief fuller, the chief tailor and the cupbearer Zāzî; and "third men" were active for the palace scribe and the chamberlain. In addition, there is a chariot fighter subordinate to the palace supervisor of the crown prince, an outrider (*kallāpu*)³⁹² attested as subordinate of the chief fuller and a recruit (*raksu*) was assigned to the palace manager. The reasons for palace officials to have their own chariot driver and "third man (on chariot)" at hand could have been transport and representation, while the cohort commanders alternatively supervised cohorts of craftsmen. For the palace scribe, the chamberlain, the chief confectioner and the cupbearer, whose references do not suggest any military involvement, this is fairly undisputed. By contrast, references to both the chief cook and the chief tailor suggest military involvements (in Babylonia). This seems even to have been one of the main concerns of the chief tailor. With the chariot drivers under their service they probably went on campaign and functioned as military headquarters. Nevertheless, an alternative use for transport or representation remains plausible. As for the recruit of the palace manager who is mentioned in a Babylonian letter according to which he had 209 men (including 81 archers) at his disposal, an involvement in military preparations is clear (see section 1.1.8.6 Military activities). Also the chariot fighter of the palace supervisor of the crown prince suggests military concerns. This is supported by the fact that

³⁹² See HAD 45, Radner (2002: 11) and Fales (2009a: 92) who defined these men as cavalry members. By contrast Postgate (2000a: 104–5) interpreted them as foot-soldiers.

	palace manager	palace supervisor	palace scribe	chamberlain	chief cook	chief confectioner	chief fuller	chief tailor	cupbearer
cohort commander (<i>rab kišrī</i>)						Aššūr-šumu-iddina (SAA 14 81 r. 11–12 [657])			
chariot fighter (<i>mār damqī</i>)		<i>crown prince's household</i> Qurdi-Issār ND 2325:1–2 [629*])							
chariot driver (<i>muklī appātī</i>)			Abda (BT 117 r. 5–6 [691 / 686]); unnamed (SAA 16 78:4 [Esar])		Zārūtī (SAA 6 36:5–6 [695])		[...] (SAAB 9 72:1–2 [probably 7 th century])	Bēl-abhēšu (SAA 14 39 r. 5–6 [694], 40 r. 13–14 [693]; 41 r. 10–11 [693])	Zāzī (SAA 6 39 r. 8–9 [694], 40 r. 15–16 [693], 41 r. 7–8 [693])
“third man (on chariot)” (<i>taššišu</i>)			unnamed (SAA 16 78:4 [Esar])	Bēl-dān (SAA 14 21 r. 5 [dl])					
foot-soldier(?) (<i>kallāpu</i>)							Nabū-šumu-iškun (StAT 1 2:3–5 [654])		
Recruit (<i>raksu</i>)	Zabāba-erība (SAA 21 136 r. 16’–17’ [Asb])								

Table 14: Military functionaries in the service of palace officials

supervisors of the royal palace were involved in military affairs in Babylonia in the reign of Assurbanipal (see section 1.2.8.7 Activities in Babylonia). Because of the *kallāpu* who was subordinate to the chief fuller, Radner argued for an identification of the chief fuller mentioned in StAT 1 2 with the treasurer, since she saw a military association for the latter as more appropriate. Because an identification of the title *rab ašlāki* with the title *masennu* remains doubtful (section 17.2.1 The *rab ašlāki* (chief fuller)), another explanation for the *kallāpu* of the chief fuller is needed. Therefore, I refer to the still uncertain definition of the *kallāpu*. The compound *kallāp šipirti*, referring to a *kallāpu* specialised in the transfer of messages (“dispatch rider” according to HAD 116), shows that the tasks of the *kallāpu* was not restricted to a military purpose and that the *kallāpu* of the chief fuller could have been a (mounted) envoy.

6.6 The *bēl narkabti* (“chariot owner”)

Examining the military functionaries who show up in the Neo-Assyrian texts from 7th-century Dur-Katlimmu, Radner assumed that the LÚ.EN-GIŠ.GIGIR, to be read *bēl narkabti*,³⁹³ is used synonymously for *mār damqi*. She especially based her assumption on the close connection of the Middle Assyrian *mār damqi* with the *rākib narkabti* attested in Nuzi texts who formed part of the elite group of chariot fighters called *mariyannu*.³⁹⁴ Although the *mār damqi* is commonly understood as chariot fighter in Neo-Assyrian times, forming part of the chariot unit together with *mukil appāti* (chariot driver) and the *tašlīšu* (“third man”), he maintained his elite character in view of the high value of chariots in first millennium BCE. In contrast to Radner, Postgate (2000a: 94–5) suggested that in Neo-Assyrian times the *bēl narkabti* denoted a “social status” (or “charioteers” in general) and the *mār damqi* a “specifically military function”. He thus retained two distinct terms, which occasionally both apply to one person but were not synonyms.³⁹⁵ Judging from the Neo-Assyrian evidence for the *bēl narkabti*, in comparison with references to the *mār damqi*, it indeed seems advisable to keep the two terms separate.

Several entries in the 8th-century wine lists refer to “chariot owners” of the “palace servants”, the “bearded courtiers” and the *ša-qurbūti*,³⁹⁶ with the latter

³⁹³ Radner 2002: 10, fn. 100.

³⁹⁴ Radner 2002: 10, fn. 101 with reference to Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996; Postgate 2000a: 91.

³⁹⁵ As an example he refers to the 31 chariot owners mentioned in SAA 5 251 r. 3, consisting of ten chariot owners and 21 “king’s troops” (*šāb šarri*); cf. SAA 5 68:4–5 (charioteers from Quê). The 10 chariot owners here may be fulfilling the role of the *mār damqi*. *bēl narkabti* as charioteers involved in battle also appear in the royal inscriptions (e.g. RINAP 1 20:5’, RINAP 4 33 r. iii 13’) and in a treaty of Aššūr-nērāri V with the king of Arpad next to the cavalry (SAA 2 2 iii 21’).

³⁹⁶ References: for the “palace servant” and for the “bearded courtiers” see the Prosopographical Catalogue; *bēl narkabti ša-qurbūti*: CTN 1 6:12; 11:4’; 19:15, CTN 3 134:10’.

two alternatively forming the counterpart of the “palace servants” (see section 8.3.5 The *urad ekalli* and other classes). From among the two possibilities for interpreting these entries—either these classes counted “owners of chariot” among them or “chariot owners” were subordinate to them—the former is more plausible in view of the missing *ša* between the two designations and the fact that an assignment of subordinates to an entire class seems less practical. As shown in the relevant sections, these classes basically consisted of domestics, including domestics *en route* (palace servants, *ša-ziqni*) and royal troubleshooters active all over the empire (*ša-qurbūti*, *ša-ziqni*). The main concerns of these men were not on the battlefield but in the palace, the military camps and the provinces, and thus it seems less reasonable for them to have chariot fighters among them. Taking the term literally, “master of the chariot”, it probably refers to those among these classes who owned a chariot or had a chariot in their care and thus were presumably more important than the ordinary members of their group. Hence this would also explain why usually the chariot owners of these groups are listed as recipients of wine and not the entire group.³⁹⁷ As for the use of these chariots, I suggest that they were at their disposal for transport and representation. Whether the chariot owners participated temporarily in campaigning remains open for discussion, but in view of the changing modes of use for the chariot this was not necessarily the case. Also the ten *bēl narkabti* from the queen’s household who were sent to the king, according to a letter assigned to the crown prince Sennacherib to the king Sargon (SAA 19 158:13–14), refer to chariot owners literally. I do not necessarily suspect them to have had any military responsibilities when associated with the household of the queen in the second half of the 8th century. Also the “chariot-owner”, who has gone to Arbail together with a “third man”, according to a letter of the deputy of the palace herald, does not seem to be involved in a military operation but in an errand (SAA 5 141 r. 1).

Although the term *bēl narkabti* is used to describe charioteers on the battlefield (see fn. 395), it is only the designation *mār damqi* which is used to refer to individual chariot fighters active on the battlefield (e.g. SAA 15 369:7; ND 2365 r. 9) and to the chariot fighter as part of the chariot unit (SAA 5 215:10). In addition, the turning of “able-bodied” men into chariot fighters, as described in a letter of Sargon (SAA 1 11), would not work with “chariot owners”. Also, the *bēl narkabti* do not occur as subordinates (see above), whereas *mār damqi* were in the service of, for instance, the crown prince (BATSH 6 47 r. 12–13) and his spouse (SAA 14 169 r. 1) and the governor of Kalhu (SAA 6 151 r. 6’–7’). Furthermore, the two titles are kept strictly separate in the wine

A possible reference to the *bēl narkabti ša-šēpē* is not included here since its reading remains uncertain (CTN 3 136 r. 3’; see p. 262 fn. 571).

³⁹⁷ There is for instance not a single entry for the palace servants as such in the wine lists.

lists. The aforementioned courtier groups only occur along with *bēl narkabti*, whereas *mār damqē* and *mār damqē ša ilānī* are frequently listed on their own. Similarly, a legal record dating to the 7th century mentions both titles: in SAA 6 204 the “chariot owner” Bibī sells a garden which adjoins that of the “chariot fighter” Nabū-kēnu-dugul. I refer here also to the lexical list of professions in which the entry for the *mār damqi* (with the writings LÚ.A.SIG and LÚ.A.SIG₅) is followed by a line mentioning the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR and the LÚ.EN-GIŠ.GIGIR (MSL 12 238 r. v 11). Although the subsequent listing refers to their close connection, this section rather demonstrates their distinct use, especially in view of the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (*sūsānu*, groom) mentioned in between.³⁹⁸

Following Postgate, I prefer to treat the two terms *mār damqi* and *bēl narkabti* separately. The latter designation refers neutrally to their keepers or owners and indicates that the chariot was not only military equipment but was also used for other purposes. Therefore the chariot owners of the different types of courtiers do not refer to their military activities but rather designate a selected group among them.

6.7 The *rab kāširi* (chief tailor)

The title *rab kāširi*, literally meaning “chief tailor”, only appears from the Neo-Assyrian period on and continues to be used in Neo-Babylonian times.³⁹⁹ It also persists into the Persian era when it is used interchangeably with the Iranian loanword *ganzabarru* which is usually translated as treasurer.⁴⁰⁰ In Neo-Assyrian times the title is written either syllabically, (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL-*ka-šir* and GAL-LÚ.*ka-šir*, or logographically, LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ and LÚ/LÚ*.GAL-KA.KÉŠ. The latter writing is also used to refer to the *rab kišri*, as is clear on the grounds of prosopographical data and lexical entries.⁴⁰¹ This ambiguity causes many uncertainties concerning the assignment to one or the other office. At least it is clear that the *rab kišri* and the *rab kāširi* were two different officials. While the former is translated as “cohort commander” was a military functionary leading *kišru*-units of soldiers and later also *kišru*-units of craftsmen (see *inter alia* Postgate 1979: 210–1 and 1987a: 259–60),

³⁹⁸ In Middle Assyrian times the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR is read *ša-muđerre* and possibly refers to the chariot driver (Jakob 2003: 210–1).

³⁹⁹ CAD K 265 “head of the *kāširu*-officials” (ad *kāširu* B), cf. AHw 458 “Knüpfen-Obermeister”.

⁴⁰⁰ The identification was established on the basis of the treasurers Mithradāta and Bagasarū attested with both the Akkadian and the Iranian variants of the title (Briant 2002: 413, 485). There is also a sub-treasurer (**upa-ganzabara*) attested (Briant 2002: 428–9, 433).

⁴⁰¹ Parpola 2008: 92, fn. 168. For instance, Aššūr-ilāṭī, usually attested along with the syllabic writing LÚ.GAL-*ki-šir*, appears in a duplicate as [LÚ.GAL]-‘KA.KÉŠ’ (SAA 6 324 r. 8, duplicate of SAA 6 323); cf. Zārūtī (Schmidt, PNA 3/II 1437–9 s.v. Zārūtī 20). Note that the lexical lists, apart from the semi-syllabic writing LÚ*.GAL-*ka-šir*, only record the logographic variant LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.

the *rab kāširi*, a honorific title, denoted a high-ranking state official who functioned as a military commander. Both having a military background, they are to be distinguished by their rank and range of responsibilities. While there were numerous *rab kišri* officials employed throughout the empire, it is suggested that there were only a few *rab kāširis* active at one time.

As to the ambiguity concerning the writing LÚ/LÚ*.GAL–KA.KÉŠ, the following individuals are not integrated into the discussion below since they can be identified as *rab kišri* according to the context in which they appear.⁴⁰² Since it is unlikely that two or possibly even three chief tailors witnessed the same legal transactions (SAA 6 247, 249), Qurdi-Issār, Nabû’a and Māmî can be identified as cohort commanders (moreover, Māmî is designated LÚ*.GAL–*ki-šir* in SAA 6 206 r. 5). In other cases an additional qualification identifies the office-holder as a cohort commander; hence, Salāmānu and Aplu-ēreš are described as *ša raksūte* (“of the recruits?”), CTN 2 18 r. 24–25; Edubba 10 7 r. 22–23). A less clear-cut case is that of Bēl-aḥḥē who witnesses a broken legal document (CTN 2 51 r. 9), but judging from the witnesses immediately following the entry for Bēl-aḥḥē, that is, a recruitment officer and a recruit, an identification as cohort commander seems more likely. Bēl-dān, witnessing a legal document from Imgur-Ilil (BT 101 r. 13), is listed together with a palace supervisor, a goldsmith and a chamberlain and there is nothing in particular which suggests that he was the high-ranking chief tailor rather than a cohort commander. Among the attestations lacking a personal name, a cohort commander is more likely in a badly broken administrative text (ND 2393 r. 4’). The same is true for a plural variant attested in an oracle query (SAA 4 144:6), enumerated between members of the chariot team (chariot drivers, “third-men” and chariot fighters) as well as the *ša-qurbūtis* and the personal guards. The remaining evidence for LÚ.GAL–KA.KÉŠ, suggesting an interpretation as *rab kāširi* (though occasionally not without uncertainties), is integrated into the tables and the discussion below. While no study of the Neo-Assyrian evidence for this official has been published so far, the Neo-Babylonian “chief tailor” was discussed in brief by Jursa (2010: 82–3).

6.7.1 Allocations and supplies

In an administrative document from the 7th century the chief tailor Abdi-milki is mentioned along with two lower “reinforced” undergarments of Phrygian style (TÚG.KI.TA–*ḥal¹-lu¹-pat mu¹-us-ki*).⁴⁰³ Although the remainder of the

⁴⁰² Individuals, who are attested along with this writing but can be identified as cohort commanders since they also occur along with a distinct writing for *rab kišri*, are not included here.

⁴⁰³ SAA 7 126:4–5, “Reinforced” is expressed with *ḥalluptu*, female form of *ḥallupu* (CAD H 46: adjective “describing garments”; cf. CAD H 35 s.v. *ḥalāpu* 2 “to cover, clothe”). Associated with the military sphere (cf. CAD H 46 s.v. *ḥalluptu* referring to “equipment (of

obverse is broken, we encounter the treasurer Mannu-kī-Aššūr, mentioned with a golden necklace, and the cohort commander Mār-Issār, mentioned with two horses. Since both entries suggest a certain association between the official's responsibilities and the commodities he is recorded with, the two Phrygian garments for military use suggest that the chief tailor was either concerned with (particular) clothes, as indicated by his title, or that he was associated with the military sphere; the latter is supported by additional evidence for the chief tailor (see below). On comparison with the administrative document SAA 7 127, mainly listing garments including "reinforced" lower garments as well as torcs made of silver that were given to the emissaries of Urartu (SAA 7 127:11'–12'), the commodities recorded here were handed over to rather than supplied by the officials in question (cf. Fales and Postgate 1992: XXIX). Furthermore, it seems more likely that the chief tailor received such special garments from the central administration, presumably obtained as booty, tribute or audience gifts.⁴⁰⁴ Although it was suggested that Abdi-milki's title should be interpreted as cohort commander (Parpola 2008: 92, fn. 169), I prefer to follow the reading LÚ*.GAL-ka'-šir. First, this is supported by the order of the officials as given in the text, namely treasurer, chief tailor and cohort commander, indicating a hierarchical structure. Second, one might suspect that the type of allotment given to Abdi-milki was reserved for a few high-ranking officials and was not intended for the numerous military functionaries.⁴⁰⁵ There is another document listing a possible chief tailor, written LÚ*.GAL-KA.KÉŠ, along with commodities either given to or handed over by the central administration (SAA 11 85). Four Temanite sheep, which probably refer to a certain breed (Fales and Postgate 1995: XXIII), "of" (expressed with *ša* in l. 2) the chief tailor (or cohort commander) Aššūr-ēṭir may have been supplied by this official. If both of these administrative documents do indeed refer to a chief tailor, it can be noted that he had in his possession commodities such as garments and sheep, but we cannot make a definite conclusion as to whether he received or rather supplied them.

6.7.2 Legal transactions

The chief tailor is rarely attested in legal transactions. Since a few individuals witnessing legal documents with the title LÚ*.GAL-KA.KÉŠ (in CTN 2 51

soldiers and chariots"), this was a lower garment for the military (for men and/or horses). For a recent discussion see Gaspa 2018: 272–4.

⁴⁰⁴ Though note the administrative document SAA 7 172, also mentioning the treasurer Mannu-kī-Aššūr, which records commodities possibly handed in by officials.

⁴⁰⁵ However, the subsequently listed cohort commander Mār-Issār received two horses and we would not suspect every cohort commander to have been provided with such a valuable audience gift.

and BT 101) have already been excluded from the discussion because an identification as cohort commander seems more likely, there is only one similar attestation left. A possible chief tailor (name lost), again written [LÚ*].GAL–KA.KÉ[Š], witnesses the purchase of the village Bahaia by Milki-nūrī, *ša-rēši* of the queen (SAA 14 2 r. 2'). This transaction is also witnessed by two cohort commanders (written LÚ*.GAL–*ki-šir*), three “third-men”, two *ša-qurbūtis* and a village manager, and the witness list (as far as preserved) is headed by the possible chief tailor, immediately followed by the treasurer. Owing to the majority of functionaries who act as witnesses here, at first sight it seems more plausible to interpret the man in question as cohort commander. However, the interpretation as chief tailor is preferred on account of his position in the witness list and the writing of his title, which may be intended to distinguish him from the cohort commanders mentioned further down in the list. It is perhaps not by accident that the legal transaction seems comparatively significant, involving the sale of an entire village. According to another legal document from 7th-century Nineveh, the chief tailor (name lost) appears as former owner of an entire village, if restored correctly (SAA 14 229:5'). He sold land together with 18 persons to the “third man” [...]ilāī. This is the only evidence of landed property owned by this official. Assuming that Milki-rāmu, mentioned in the broken legal document SAA 14 135, is identical with Milki-rāmu, chief tailor and eponym of the year 656, the chief tailor acted as joint guarantor in a loan (commodity broken) dating to the year 663.

6.7.3 Functions

6.7.3.1 Involved in military affairs

According to several letters referring to the chief tailor, this official was mainly involved in military activities from the reign of Sargon on. In the Babylonian letter SAA 17 150 eleven named sheikhs from Tubliaš (Babylonian area, east of Tigris) request that the chief tailor persuade the magnates to fight for the defence of the land and to arrive there in five days. Speed is required since rumours are afoot that people are rising up against Assyria. SAA 17 151 has the same background since it is again written by sheikhs of Tubliaš, with at least four out of seven individuals identifiable with those named in SAA 17 150. Also in this letter, destined for the “magnates of the king of Assyria”, the sheikhs request a quick arrival (on the 5th day of Simānu), probably referring here to the Assyrian king, also stating that “the king will lose us” (ll. 5'–6'), i.e. that otherwise they are going to defect. Since the chief tailor, representing Assyria, apparently constituted the direct contact for these sheikhs, he presumably was stationed in Babylonia or he was at least responsible for the critical

area in question.⁴⁰⁶ Although it is not the chief tailor's military engagement that is required, his military concerns, at least as a coordinator, are clear. This coordinating task as well as his occurrence as a recipient of letters, makes a reading of [LÚ.GA]L–KA.KÉŠ as cohort commander unlikely here.

Apart from this evidence from the reign of Sargon, the military engagement of the chief tailor is mainly attested with respect to the chief tailor Milki-rāmu, eponym of the year 656. He is attested in two documents dealing with the Elamite war. In a heavily broken epic-style narrative concerning the Elamite war and the description of the conquest by the Assyrians, Milki-rāmu is mentioned with his title *rab kāširi* and is also described as *ša-bit-su* (SAA 3 20 r. 6), probably referring to Milki-rāmu as the “catcher” of the king. As suggested by Hämeen-Anttila (1987: 14), first editor of this text, this passage might deal with the arrest of a *ša-rēši* by Milki-rāmu. This literary text is too broken to gain more information on Milki-rāmu's role in Elamite affairs, but his part becomes clearer in a literary letter addressed to the king Assurbanipal.⁴⁰⁷ In the context of the appointment of various Assyrian officials over Elamite districts such as Indaru, Susa and Rašû following their conquest, Milki-rāmu is promoted to be in charge of the towns (and their tributary areas) Araši (close to Ellipi), Bit-Burnakki and another town whose name is not preserved.⁴⁰⁸ While Araši is also mentioned on the obverse of the fragmentary tablet SAA 3 20, the *ša-rēši* Marduk-šarru-ušur, likewise, occurs in both texts. He was another important Assyrian official involved in the Elamite war and the establishment of the Assyrian administrative organisation there (Baker, PNA 2/II 728–9 s.v. Marduk-šarru-ušur 21). The appointment of Milki-rāmu over Elamite areas suggests that he had been active in the Elamite war as a military commander. Like the chief tailor attested in the reign of Sargon, he was a high-ranking state official concerned with the Assyrian policy of war in the reign of Assurbanipal. In addition to his involvement with Elam, Milki-rāmu was active in Babylonia in the reign of Assurbanipal. In the letter SAA 21 4, written by the king Assurbanipal to the Babylonians, the recipients are ordered to come before the chief tailor Milki-rāmu. This incident denotes a similar role to that played by the chief tailor vis-à-vis the sheikhs of Tubliaš in the reign of Sargon II. Milki-rāmu has been interpreted as cohort commander (instead of chief tailor) based especially on the reading of his title as LÚ.GAL–KI-šir in SAA 21 4 (cf. Parpola 2008: 92, fn. 169). However, since the writer of this particular letter certainly wrote KA (not KI),⁴⁰⁹ this argument is now obsolete

⁴⁰⁶ Since these letters were found in Nineveh, the chief tailor presumably was at court at that time, provided that the letters were not forwarded to the Assyrian heartland only later.

⁴⁰⁷ CT 54 490. There are divergent opinions concerning the exact date of CT 54 490, cf. Waters 2000: 58, fn. 13. Probably it was just written after the conquest of Susa in 646.

⁴⁰⁸ The act of promotion is expressed with *rubbiš*, cf. CAD R 45 s.v. *rabû* A.6.

⁴⁰⁹ The KA is clearly visible on the photograph (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P393854.jpg>).

and there is nothing against the interpretation of Milki-rāmu as chief tailor. On the contrary, Milki-rāmu's specific role in Babylonia and Elam supports the assumption that Milki-rāmu was chief tailor, making an interpretation as a simple cohort commander implausible.

In addition to the chief tailor's involvement in military affairs in Elam and Babylonia, there is a letter from Tušhan probably referring to the chief tailor in connection with military affairs (ZTT 22). The author, Mannu-kī-Libbāli, who wrote this letter to the treasurer(?), complains about his limited possibilities to command a military unit preparing for campaign owing to the fact that his co-workers, in particular Nabû-kēnu-ušur, are not available. Mannu-kī-Libbāli enumerates the following functionaries and equipment he is in charge of, though apparently without being able to command them properly. Beginning with horses, he continues with Assyrian and Aramean scribes, chief tailor(s) (written LÚ.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ-*ni*), "officials" (*bēl piqitti*), "craftsmen" (*ummānu*), copper-smiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, makers of bows and arrows, weavers and tailors (written LÚ*.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ). All these are those who "scour the equipment" (ll. 9–10: [G]IŠ.til-li.MEŠ *i-kap-pa-ru-ni*) and who "make the repairs" (l. 13: *bat-qu i-ka-š[a-ru-ni]*). According to Parpola, the LÚ.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ-*ni* do not refer to the chief tailor(s) but to cohort commanders. This conclusion is based on the plural ending -*ni*, which corresponds to an attested syllabic plural writing for *rab kiširāni*, while we lack an attestation for a syllabic plural writing for the chief tailor (Parpola 2008: 92, fn. 167). Also the context, including the fact that this individual is enumerated as one of those who were in the charge of Mannu-kī-Libbāli, at first sight supports an interpretation in favour of the cohort commander. What strikes me, however, is that the writing, which according to the element TÚG clearly refers to the chief tailor, is echoed by the same writing for the tailor in the same letter. Furthermore, while a syllabic form of the chief tailor or rather the "chief of tailors" is not yet attested, a *rab kāširāni* is nevertheless possible. And the evidence for the chief tailor's involvement in military affairs actually also corresponds to his role in the present case.

The engagement of the chief tailor in military affairs is underlined by the administrative document SAA 7 126 discussed earlier, where the chief tailor Abdi-Milki is listed along with two Phrygian lower garments presumably meant as military clothing. One should also mention the letter SAA 5 91 written by Aššūr-rēšūwa, who was involved in the Assyrian intelligence service, to the king (Sargon). According to the report of Aššūr-rēšūwa, the Urartian chief tailor Naragê conspired against the (Urartian king) and was arrested with twenty of his fellows. In addition, 100 men, including *ša-rēšis* and bearded courtiers involved in the plot, were killed in Turušpa. As reported in the same letter, other high-ranking officials such as the deputy commander-in-chief, were assumed to have been involved in the conspiracy too but were set free after

interrogation (cf. Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990: XIX). This incident suggests that the Urartian chief tailor was related to the military, assuming that especially those officials from within the military sphere could encourage armed men to support them. Also the involvement of the deputy commander-in-chief indicates a rebellion emanating from the military sphere.

6.7.3.2 Prominently active in Babylonia

As is clear from the chief tailor's military engagement, his geographical and administrative area of concern was Babylonia (and Elam), as is supported by several Babylonian letters. From the reign of Esarhaddon we encounter the chief tailor as responsible for carrying out the transfer of silver in a Babylonian letter (SAA 18 21) written by a certain Nūrāia, probably to the great vizier. As ordered by the great vizier(?), Nūrāia dispatches the great vizier's(?) silver to him via the chief tailor. This incident indicates that the chief tailor was a trustworthy official of Assyria who functioned as an intermediary between locally stationed Babylonians and the Assyrian state (i.e. the royal household). Also, that the chief tailor was ordered to transfer silver suggests that he was armed and had armed forces at his disposal, which corresponds to his military concerns (see above). In another document drawn up in the reign of Esarhaddon (SAA 18 123), the chief tailor is mentioned in connection with deaf people and the shortage of bread. While the author of this document, written in the first person singular (apparently a letter without a heading), did engage in the acquisition of bread, there are still deaf people, including himself. The whole matter seems to have been evoked by intrigues and it is the chief tailor, described as one of the retainers of the crown prince's household,⁴¹⁰ i.e. the household of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, to whom the author invites the affected Babylonians to speak. It is not entirely clear whether the chief tailor is viewed here as a trustworthy Assyrian official or as an intriguer who abused his authority. The latter case might have been facilitated by the geographical distance, enabling the chief tailor to act independently from the Assyrian crown. There is at least one letter (SAA 10 179), either from the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal, which clearly refers to the chief tailor as a participant in a conspiracy against the Assyrian king. The Babylonian diviner Kudurru reports to the Assyrian king that he was kidnapped by the chief cupbearer Nabû-killanni and his followers, including the chief tailor. First, Kudurru was released as a deportee by the chief tailor(?), if restored correctly, who was sent by the chief cupbearer Nabû-killanni. This was a misleading act, as emerged when Kudurru was taken to the temple of Bel-Harran. Standing in the temple, he was brought

⁴¹⁰ SAA 18 123 r. 9: LÚ.*lab-bit-tu-ú* šá É DUMU–LUGAL, with *labbitû* probably meaning “retainer” according to the edition.

to an upper room by the chief tailor, where he was interrogated by the chief cupbearer in the presence of the chief tailor, the chamberlain and the city overseer. After being offered wine, Kudurru was finally ordered to perform a divination whereby Šamaš should be asked whether the *rab ša-rēši* would take over the kingship. As Kudurru explained to the king, he performed the ritual, for which he was brought two skins of oil by the chief tailor, and fabricated a positive answer to save his life. According to Kudurru's confession, the chief tailor participated in a conspiracy which was apparently led by the chief cupbearer and joined by the chamberlain and a city overseer (possibly of Harran). Since the potential kingship of the *rab ša-rēši* was raised, I assume that the *rab ša-rēši* was part of the conspiracy too.⁴¹¹ According to the edition,⁴¹² it is unlikely that the chief tailor, always referred to as LÚ.GAL-*ka-šir*, was really meant here. But since this letter describes the chief tailor taking over tasks in an extraordinary situation with only a few insiders, these low-ranking acts of an agent appear in another light. Furthermore, the chief tailor's concern with Babylonia and its inhabitants makes it plausible that it was exactly this official who took up Kudurru. Also, that this happened according to the chief cupbearer's order fits with the chief tailor since the chief cupbearer was clearly higher-ranking (note therefore also the letter SAA 18 21, according to which it was probably the great vizier for whom the chief tailor functioned as intermediary). Moreover, it seems more plausible for the chief tailor to be referred to without personal name, indicating that he held a more significant position than that of a common cohort commander.

From the reign of Assurbanipal there is further evidence for the chief tailor being active in Babylonia. While we encounter a chief tailor of the king of Babylon (Šamaš-šumu-ukīn) in a fragment of a Babylonian letter (SAA 18 168), another Babylonian letter refers to the chief tailor as being concerned with internal matters of Babylonia after the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn war. In the letter SAA 18 157 written to the king (Assurbanipal), the sender (heading not preserved) reports on the chief tailor who performs cultic measures in the course of restoration works on the city wall of Kutha. Closing it with bitumen(?)⁴¹³ and sweet-scented oil, he is said to have told the god Nergal (of Kutha) that it is not Assyria which should be blamed for the destruction of the city wall but Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. This incident portrays the *rab kāširi* as a legitimate and well-established Assyrian official, bearing an important role in Babylonian matters. His central role is supported by the Babylonian letter SAA 18 178 with only its heading preserved, written by a certain Marduk to the (unnamed) chief tailor, which may remind us of the letter SAA 17 150 addressed to the chief tailor in the reign of Sargon.

⁴¹¹ For a different interpretation of the *rab ša-rēši*'s role here by Radner see p. 121 fn. 156.

⁴¹² Parpola 1993: 142; cf. Parpola 2008: 92, fn. 169.

⁴¹³ [*it-t*]e-e in l. 8', probably referring to *ittū*: "crude bitumen" (HAD 43).

From the reign of Assurbanipal there are two additional Babylonian letters which mention the chief tailor. In ABL 1246+, written to the king (Assurbanipal) and presumably deriving from Ur (heading lost) in the time of the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn war, the chief tailor is said to have gone to Ur where he was concerned with gifts for Nikkal. The chief tailor's activity in Babylonia is also clear from the letter ABL 274, written by Kudurru, governor of Uruk, to the king (Assurbanipal), presumably post-dating the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn war. Here the (unnamed) chief tailor, said (to be) from the palace, is mentioned as bearer of a royal message to the sender. This letter, also referring to the chief cook, confirms the impression that the chief tailor stationed in Babylonia was a significant intermediary between the Assyrian crown and the Babylonians. Both letters, ABL 274 and ABL 1246+, contain the writing LÚ.GAL–KA.KÉŠ and it is due to the specific role of the chief tailor in both texts that an interpretation in favour of *rab kāširi* (instead of *rab kiširi*) is more plausible.

6.7.3.3 Custody of precious items

Apart from the numerous Babylonian letters referring to the chief tailor's activities in Babylonia, there is a letter (SAA 16 63) from an "anonymous informer" (Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XXX–XXXV) written to the king (Esarhaddon). When reporting about the crimes of six men and one woman, all servants of the governor of (Guzana), the unknown author also informs the king about Tarši, scribe of Guzana (who is not enumerated as one of the seven criminals, though his wife Zāzā is). This Tarši is said to have given his son to the household of Aššūr-zēru-ibni, who must have been a high-ranking official active in Guzana or its environment (Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XXXI, see section 14.7 The *rab nikkassi* (chief of accounts)). The crime lies apparently in the fact that the said son of Tarši holds two positions, namely that of chief of accounts and that of chief tailor, when Aššūr-zēru-ibni is with the king's sons in Nineveh (SAA 16 63 r. 12–18). It remains unclear whether Aššūr-zēru-ibni is aware of the misbehaviour of his subordinate or not.⁴¹⁴ Adhering to the fact that at least Tarši's son (together with Tarši) is aware of his illicit acts, it is questionable whether the offices described as taken up by Tarši's son are real offices or rather figuratively express the illegal unsteadiness of this man (also because a chief tailor was otherwise not subordinate to other officials or nobles).⁴¹⁵ In any case, that Tarši's son, as a chief tailor, is said to hold (expressed with *kullu*) his master's golden bracelet, golden dagger and parasol is compatible with the office of chief tailor. The association of the office of chief tailor

⁴¹⁴ Fales (1980: 143–6) translates it with the idea that Aššūr-zēru-ibni is innocent, while the recent edition (Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XXXI, 61) leaves it open to the reader.

⁴¹⁵ It might even be that the approved office of Tarši's son was that of "chief of accounts", and only the reference to the office "chief tailor" expresses his misbehaviour.

with the custody of precious items may be comparable with the chief tailor who transferred silver to the great vizier(?) in the letter SAA 18 21. In both cases it is presumably the trustworthy position and the armed condition of the chief tailor which makes him suitable for such tasks. These attributes also correspond to the chief tailor's role as treasurer in Neo-Babylonian times (see below).

6.7.3.4 Late-Assyrian eponym

Among the officials attested as eponym in late Neo-Assyrian times there is the chief tailor Milki-rāmu, otherwise mainly attested as being active in Elam, who was eponym of the year 656. As this is the only chief tailor known as eponym, one may compare him with those officials, including the palace scribe, the palace supervisor, the chamberlain and the chief cook, who appear as eponyms only in the post-canonical era. As argued by Mattila (2009: 165–6), this development is presumably owed to changes in Neo-Assyrian policy, with an increasing focus on the immediate circle of the king. As to the chief tailor, who, in contrast to the palace scribe, the palace supervisor and the chamberlain, was rather active at a distance from the Assyrian crown, we may regard him as a trustworthy delegate of the king and as such he also was intended to reinforce the royal establishment. Since also the chamberlain and the palace supervisor were associated with Babylonian affairs, the late enhancement of these officials may be related to the modified control Assyria exercised over Babylonia in the 7th century in general. On the other hand, Milki-rāmu may have simply been a favourite of the king who honoured him with the appointment as eponym.

6.7.4 Subordinates

There is only scarce evidence for the subordinates of the chief tailor, which is not so surprising as he was usually active outside the Assyrian centre from where the majority of Neo-Assyrian written sources derives. The earliest attestation of a subordinate of the chief tailor, namely his deputy, dates to the reign of Shalmaneser IV and thus predates the first reference to the chief tailor himself (dating to the reign of Sargon). Inūrta-ilā'i, deputy of the chief tailor, acts as the first witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a buys a house for 80 minas of copper from Šil-Nabû, palace servant of the Central City (Edubba 10 18).⁴¹⁶ Apart from a deputy, the chief tailor is probably also attested as having a chariot driver. The chariot driver Bēl-aḥḥēšu is attested three times as witness for the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni who buys slaves (SAA 6 39–41). In each case he is qualified with the ambiguous writing *ša LÚ/LÚ*.GAL-KA.KÉŠ*.

⁴¹⁶ For a possible location of this Central City Palace in Nineveh see Part III, 1.1 Types and locations.

Since there is no cohort commander attested with his own chariot driver—something which is otherwise well attested for *rab-x* officials such as the chief cook—Bēl-ahḫēšu may plausibly be interpreted as a chariot driver of the chief tailor here.

6.7.5 Honorific title versus professional title

Judging from the majority of attestations, the chief tailor was a high-ranking official mainly stationed abroad and concerned with military or foreign affairs. Since the literal meaning of the title “chief tailor” does not correspond to the actual tasks he was concerned with, it can be identified as an honorific title. On comparison with offices such as that of chief cook or chief confectioner, whose functions also differ from their literal meaning but who nevertheless maintained a basic connection with it, the office of chief tailor appears to be entirely divorced from its meaning. It is only with the lexical list MSL 12 233, where the chief tailor is listed at the end of a section dealing with professions concerned with textiles and clothing such as the weaver and the tailor. Judging by other sections in the same lexical list, the highest position within a section is always mentioned at its very end, which suggests that the chief tailor was conceived as responsible for the professionals listed therein. Despite its stereotypical nature, this single case may indicate that the chief tailor was originally responsible for these types of professions, probably already in particular within the military sphere, but later emerged to become an important state official. Owing to this possible original function are probably those attestations where he is associated with precious accessories (as is the case in SAA 16 63) and precious garments (SAA 7 126). Also the possible reference to the chief tailor(s) or chief of tailors in ZTT 22 becomes more plausible in view of his original association with craftsmen concerned with textiles and clothing since we also encounter here weavers and tailors.

6.7.6 Summary

Bearing a honorific title, occasionally with an ambiguous writing, the chief tailor was a military official active in Elam and Babylonia. In addition, he was a central administrative official stationed in Babylonia, serving as an intermediary between the Babylonians and the Assyrian authorities. Owing to this important and comparatively independent position beyond the Assyrian heartland, the chief tailor seems to have enjoyed great influence, which he occasionally abused by conspiring and intriguing. The chief tailor’s dominant connection with Babylon is supported by his assignment to the king of Babylon, according to a title attested in the reign of Assurbanipal. Like the chief tailor mentioned in SAA 18 123, this is a reference to Šamaš-šumu-ukīn apparently having a

chief tailor at his disposal. It might be due to his increasing importance in Babylonia that the chief tailor Milki-rāmu became eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal. The chief tailor's association with precious accessories and garments could be a remnant of the fact that he was perhaps originally indeed "chief of the tailors" in its literal sense, while his involvement in the transport of precious metals suggests that he was an armed functionary, which corresponds to his military tasks. It might be only due to the uneven distribution of sources that the chief tailor is mainly attested with Babylonian matters, whereas the office had different tasks in Assyria. This phenomenon can also be observed for the palace supervisor, for instance, who appears to have been involved in military affairs when stationed in Babylonia (section 1.2.8.7 Activities in Babylonia). Because of the specific circumstances in Babylonia, the Assyrian officials employed there were concerned with different matters which were not necessarily related to their usual duties. The chief tailor's dominant appearance in Babylonia in Neo-Assyrian times corresponds to the aftermath of this office in the Neo-Babylonian empire. The chief tailor seems to have held the function of the treasurer and as such controlled and managed the royal silver. Since he had his own establishment with a *rab bēti*, one suspects that he enjoyed considerable wealth (Jursa 2010: 82-3, cf. Bongenaar 1997: 136-7). The designation "treasurer" is confirmed by the Persian evidence, where the Akkadian title *rab kāširi* is used synonymously with the Iranian loanword *ganzabarru*. In the Persian period this official was responsible for the management of capital (Briant 2002: 67).

7 MUSICIANS

The two Akkadian terms *zammāru* and *nuāru* refer to the staff concerned with making music in Neo-Assyrian sources. The word *zammāru* derives from the verb *zamāru* meaning "to sing" and occurs already in Middle Assyrian texts. In Neo-Assyrian sources it is written LÚ*.za-ma-ri, LÚ*.za-ma-ru and LÚ.za-am-ma-ru. We also find the *rab zammāri* in documents dating to the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods,⁴¹⁷ written LÚ*.GAL-za-ma-ri, LÚ.GAL-za-am-ma-ri and LÚ.GAL-[LÚ.za-ma]-ri in the latter. The profession is also known from Neo-Babylonian sources (Jursa 2010: 70, 89). While Jakob (2003: 518-20) discussed the Middle Assyrian evidence for the *zammāru* and the *rab zammāri*, Kinnier Wilson (1972: 76-8) addressed some of the Neo-Assyrian attestations.

⁴¹⁷ CAD Z 36-8 s.v. *zamāru*, CAD Z 39 s.v. *zammāru*, CAD Z 40 s.v. *rab zammāri*; cf. AHw 1509. CAD separates the term *zammāru* from *zammeru* (feminine *zammertu*) which is known from Old Babylonian texts from Mari and in Standard Babylonian texts. This separation may be redundant and misleading.

As to the term *nuāru*, it is a Sumerian loanword and is already attested in Old Akkadian texts. Usually translated as “musician”, it is normally written (LÚ/LÚ*).NAR and once LÚ.NU.LUL (CTN 2 17 r. 47) in Neo-Assyrian sources.⁴¹⁸ Its feminine *nuārtu* is also attested, written MÍ.NAR.⁴¹⁹ In Neo-Assyrian sources we also encounter a few attestations that may be read *rab nuāri*, written LÚ.GAL–NAR, GAL–LÚ*.NAR or LÚ.GAL–NU.LUL.⁴²⁰ Otherwise, references to the *nargallu* are far more common. This Sumerian loanword is known from its occurrence in Old Akkadian texts on and is written (LÚ/LÚ*).NAR.GAL, LÚ.NAR.GAL–lum, (LÚ/LÚ*).NÀR.GÁL and LÚ.NÀR.GAL in the Neo-Assyrian sources.⁴²¹ Its feminine counterpart, *nargallutu*, is written MÍ.NAR.GAL. There are indications to suggest that the two terms *rab nuāri* and *nargallu* denote different positions. The *nargallu* reflects a long tradition, especially in connection with cultic events and ceremonies,⁴²² and in Neo-Assyrian times the title usually denotes the chief musician active in the temple sphere.⁴²³ This is less clear for the *rab nuāri* although he occasionally has a temple connection. Similarly, the *nuāru* and *nuārtu* were occasionally related to the temple rather than to the palace sphere. Though we lack more specific titles, their institutional affiliation is nevertheless indicated by their role in cultic events.⁴²⁴ The temple-related musicians were discussed in detail by Menzel (1981 I: 254–8); I shall focus here on those musicians who had a palace connection. These were partly also examined by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 76–8) and Svärd (2015: 121–3), who

⁴¹⁸ CAD N/I 376–9; cf. AHw 748–9 s.v. *nāru(m) / nu'āru(m)*. Since the sign NAR can also be read LUL, the same combination of signs, (LÚ/LÚ*).LUL, occasionally refers to criminals (*parrīšu*); e.g. in TH 110 = Jas (1996) no. 48 r. 10', 11'; probably in ND 3410:4'.

⁴¹⁹ CAD N/I 363–7; cf. AHw 748 s.v. *nārtu(m) / na'ratu(m)*.

⁴²⁰ SAA 12 92 r. 13. The reading *rab nuāri* is supported by the writing LÚ.GAL–NU.LUL which could also be realised as LÚ.GAL–nu–NAR, with NU serving as a syllabic marker. Cf. LÚ.NU¹.LUL in CTN 2 17 r. 47.

⁴²¹ CAD N/I 352 s.v. *nargallu*; cf. AHw 746.

⁴²² See e.g. Jakob (2003: 521–2), who discussed the Middle Assyrian attestations of the *nargallu*.

⁴²³ Menzel 1981 I: 255; cf. below. Neo-Assyrian *nargallus* belonging to the temple sphere are found in StAT 2 114 r. 1' (“of Sin and Šamaš”); SAA 12 95 r. 12 (“of Nabû”); SAA 20 51 i 16–17 (“of the Aššur Temple”); StAT 2 7 r. 8, 10 and StAT 2 8:4–5 (“of Aššur”); StAT 2 7 r. 11 (“of Adad”). In colophons: Hunger 1968: nos. 238 (“of Aššur”, colophon of SAA 20 32, see fn. 424) 259 (colophon of LKA 37:2; presumably identical with the *nargallu* Aššūr-šumu-iškun attested in StAT 3 22, see Faist 2007: 52); in addition, Menzel (1981 I: 254 and II: 209, n. 3439) refers to LKA 32. Furthermore, they occur in ritual texts and other temple-related documents: SAA 12 68: 20, 23, 33, r. 5 and 20 16 i 24'. The feminine title *nargallutu* is attested in SAA 20 9 r. iii 22' (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 254 and II: 209, n. 3436).

⁴²⁴ Menzel 1981 II: T 109–10, no. 52:1'. SAA 3 4 i 7' and 37:21'. SAA 20 15 ii 51'; 16 i 12', r. iv 19, 25; 17 r. 8, 11; 18:14'; 19 ii 6, 7, r. i 18', ii 4', 11', 14', 23', 28'; 21 r. 1'; 25:49' (= reference to the eating-bowl of the singer); 31:6', 15', 16', 17', 21', 22', 24', r. 5, 9, 11, 18, 20; 32:5, r. 2, 4, 17; 51 ii 16'; 52 r. i 31'. RINAP 4 53 r. 1, 105 vi 24, 110 i' 4' (given to rebuild Esagil). *nuārtu*: SAA 20 21 r. 7'. *rab nuāri*: SAA 12 92 r. 13 (“of Ninurta”); SAA 20 16 i 24'.

focussed on the female musicians. The affiliation of several individuals included here remains uncertain.

It has been suggested that the logographic writings for *nargallu* in Neo-Assyrian documents should rather be read *rab zammāri*, a term which was only introduced in Middle Assyrian times (CAD Z 40). Judging by the writings LÚ.NAR–GAL–*lum*, this proposal cannot hold true. It has also been suggested that the logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).NAR and MÍ.NAR rather denote the Akkadian terms *zammāru* and *zammartu* since we lack any syllabic writing for *nuāru* and *nuārtu* in Neo-Assyrian sources (CAD N/I 379; cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 76). However, this suggestion is based on an *argumentum e silentio* and is contradicted by the possible explanation for the writings LÚ.GAL–NU.LUL and LÚ.NU¹.LUL (see p. 227 fn. 420). Therefore in this section all the references to musicians will be treated separately according to their readings as differentiated above. Assuming that different terms were in use, this does not necessarily mean that each refers to a different type of musician since some may have been used synonymously—a possibility that will be addressed below.

7.1 The *rab zammāri* (chief singer) and the *zammāru* (singer)

The *rab zammāri* and the *zammāru* only appear sporadically in Neo-Assyrian sources, assuming that the logographic writings with NAR should be read *nuāru* and *rab nuāri* (see above). The two attestations for the *rab zammāri* derive from legal documents dating to the reign of Assurbanipal.⁴²⁵ The chief singer Šulmu-māti twice acts as a witness for the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (SAA 14 65 r. 8'; 66 r. 5'), and, Bēl-aplu-iddina, chief singer of Til-Barsip, sold a tailor together with his family to the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad for three minas of silver (SAA 6 312:2; 313:1–2). In both cases the *rab zammāri* appears together with palace officials and military functionaries, occasionally indicating a close connection with the king or his closest relatives.⁴²⁶ We may safely assume that the *rab zammāris* themselves also formed part of the palace household, though in the case of Bēl-aplu-iddina this was the palace at Til-Barsip rather than the main palace in the imperial capital Nineveh where the present texts were found. Hence, as in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (Ziegler 2011: 297), a chief singer may have been employed in each provincial capital. The presence of officials, such as the great vizier, first witness in SAA 6 312, and the chamberlain, suggest that the *rab zammāri* was a comparatively high-ranking official who kept company with the upper stratum

⁴²⁵ The GAL–GIŠ.za¹-ma¹-ri¹ in SAA 11 36 i 28 is rather to be interpreted as *rab zamri*, meaning “fruit master”; see section 12.8 The *rab zamri* (“fruit master”).

⁴²⁶ This is the case with the active parties attested in the present documents and with those mentioned in the witness lists (e.g. SAA 6 312 lists military functionaries of the crown prince). Though note that in SAA 14 65 and 66 the majority stems from the circle of Rēmāni-Adad.

of Assyrian society. This is supported by his *rab-x* title and the fact that he used to have servants, including whole families, at his disposal. Regarding the servants' profession, the fact that he used to have a tailor at hand might reflect his particular need for well-prepared clothes for his performances. Unfortunately we have no concrete information about the tasks of the *rab zammāri*. These might have been similar to what is known from the chief musician (*nargallu*) who supervised the musical establishment of the Old Babylonian palace at Mari: he was responsible for the training, the appointment, the performances and the production and maintenance of the musical instruments (Ziegler 2011: 290).

Apart from a reference in a fragment of a Babylonian letter (SAA 18 50 r. 5'–6'), the *zammāru* is twice attested as a witness. Once he occurs in a broken legal document from Dur-Katlimmu (BATSH 6 134 r. 8), and another time in a legal document from Kalhu recording the payment of 21 minas of copper (CTN 2 98 r. 11–12). The latter, named Urartāiu, is qualified as singer “of the governor” and is listed after another subordinate of the governor, namely the chief outrider (*rab kallāpi*). Since the present text was found in the Governor's Palace of Kalhu, it is reasonable to assume that the governor in question was that of Kalhu. Hence, singers were not only reserved for the royal court but were also maintained in the households of high-ranking officials (either for their personal amusement or to fulfil their cultic obligations or both).⁴²⁷ All the references we have for the *rab zammāri* as well as for the *zammāru* indicate a secular background, with the *rab zammāri* belonging to the palace. This corresponds to the Middle Assyrian evidence where the best known reference to a *rab zammāri* occurs in the so-called “Royal Coronation Ritual”. After the grand vizier, the second vizier and the commander-in-chief dropped their insignia, it was the *rab zammāri* who dropped his lyre (*sammû*) in front of the king.⁴²⁸ However, the evidence for the moment is too meagre to judge whether the titles *rab zammāri* and *zammāru* denote musicians to be kept distinct from the *rab nuāri* and the *nuāru* who occasionally (but not in every case) are associated with the temple sphere. Though their precise tasks are not mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian sources, we may assume, based on the title's derivation from the verb *zamāru*, that they were primarily defined by their vocal skills but were apparently also familiar with musical instruments such as the lyre.

⁴²⁷ Cf. the *nuāru* Qišāia in SAA 16 95 (discussed below) for the latter purpose.

⁴²⁸ SAA 20 7 r. iii 10. As to the *zammāru* in Middle Assyrian sources, there is a *zammāru ša nīqē* (“Opfersänger”) which suggests that he could also have been part of the temple sphere. Note, however, that the reference occurs in a document of secular type (Jakob 2003: 519, fn. 56).

7.2 The *rab nuāri* (chief musician) and the *nuāri šarri* (royal musician)

References to the *rab nuāri*, as with the *rab zammāri* (and the *zammāru*), are rare in Neo-Assyrian sources. The chief musician Astār-gaddī is recorded along with ten minas (of silver) in an administrative document from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 7 30 ii 5′). According to a summation (ii 8′–10′), these constitute debts from “old documents” (*egirtu labīrtu*), which also affect a scribe of a team commander and a deputy cohort commander. Otherwise, an unnamed *rab nuāri* is probably mentioned as a possible opponent of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a in the decree of his appointment in the context of the construction of the new imperial city Kalhu in the reign of Aššurnāširpal (SAA 12 82:8′). Although the passage is too broken to draw any definite conclusions, his occurrence after the chief physician might follow a certain logical order. The most illuminating individual designated as *rab nuāri* is Bulluṭu. Although we lack any information about his activities, we at least know that he was an eponym in the late 7th century (634*, Reade: 639*). Only attested in date formulae, he is once qualified as [LÚ].GAL–NAR (SAA 14 112 r. 16–17); he was the only chief musician to be appointed eponym. As pointed out by Mattila (2009: 165), the appointment of palace officials such as the chief musician and the palace scribe as eponyms in the late 7th century might reflect an increasing focus by the king on his innermost circles. This general centralisation of power also affected the officials’ hierarchy, elevating the chief musician who might otherwise be counted among the middle-ranking officials. While a deployment in the palace sphere is clear in the case of Bulluṭu and seems also plausible for Astār-gaddī; *rab nuāris* otherwise belonged to the temple sphere. One *rab nuāri*, written LÚ.GAL–NU.LUL, is qualified “of Nabû” and is also said to be a “temple enterer” (SAA 12 92 r. 13). Additionally, the chief musician, who is mentioned in a ritual with the king as central actor, is associated with the cultic sphere (SAA 20 16 i 24′). This is supported by the fact that several other figures involved here, such as the temple scribe and the priest, are also related to the temple sphere while the king himself acts in his role as priest of Aššur. The same text also mentions a group of *nargallus* immediately after the *rab nuāri* and therefore it is clear that the two terms denote different types of musicians (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 255). By contrast, a distinction was not necessarily made between the *rab nuāri*, known for both the secular and the religious sphere, and the *rab zammāri*, who is so far only attested in the secular sphere.

Assuming that the writing LÚ.NU.LUL should be read *nuāru*, there is a musician of the king known from the reign of Adad-nērāri III: his name is Šunu-qardū and he is witness when the royal *ša-rēši* Šamaš-kūmū’a buys land from the *ša-rēši* Ilu-eppaš (CTN 2 17 r. 47). Since the personal name Šunu-qardū is rare, he is very likely identical with the man who is recorded as recipient of wine (amount lost) in two 8th-century wine lists (CTN 1 18:21′; CTN 3 124 r. 2).

7.3 The *nuāru* (musician)

7.3.1 Legal transactions and properties

Numerous *nuārus* are attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. Most of the named musicians are attested as witnesses to legal transactions and court proceedings. Beginning with the reign of Adad-nērāri III, we encounter them in legal documents from Kalhu,⁴²⁹ Nineveh,⁴³⁰ Assur,⁴³¹ and Dur-Katlimmu (BATSH 6 122 r. 12). Among the texts from Assur, constituting by far the largest group here, we note three judicial documents recording not only numerous musicians but occasionally also identical musicians (especially Qabbuḫu).⁴³² Their interconnections are especially confirmed by the fact that identical individuals are involved in StAT 3 110 and ZA 73 9 (Bēl-šumu-iškun and Nabû-muṣabši, see Faist 2007: 166).

As to an active participation in legal transactions, musicians are twice attested as sellers of property. First, there is the case of four musicians—Bēt-šašširāiu, Gula-balāṭi, Inūrta-aḥḥē-šallim and Šarru-balāṭu-iqbi—who together with the chanter (*kalū*) Kurbailāiu sell land in Kurbail to the village manager Bēl-isse'a.⁴³³ Based on the figures witnessing this transaction, such as a “temple steward” and a priest, the musicians presumably formed part of the temple staff of Kurbail (Postgate 1973: 74–5). While the land in question may have been jointly owned by them, there is an administrative document according to which the unnamed musician had a sort of prebendary land at his disposal.⁴³⁴ Mentioned along with one *bētu* and two ERIM.MEŠ, it seems as if the musician had to maintain two workmen or soldiers in return for (the usufruct of) one estate. Otherwise a house, adjoining the house of an architect and presumably located in Assur, was jointly sold by the musician Pī-aḥi and four other men for 150 minas of copper (StAT 3 20:8). Apart from selling properties, we

⁴²⁹ Edubba 10 3 r. 15, 16 (Ēreš-ilu, Qū).

⁴³⁰ SAA 6 196 r. 5' (Bēl-Ḥarrān-dūri); SAA 6 183 r. 3' (Šarru); SAA 14 262 r. 5' ([...]); SAA 14 169 r. 3 (Muqallil-kabtī, Assyrian musician).

⁴³¹ StAT 2 104 r. 11' (Nanīa, also attested in StAT 3 110, Tarība); StAT 3 110 r. 32 (Nanīa: also attested in StAT 2 104, Nergal-šēzibanni: also attested in ZA 73 9, Qabbuḫu: probably also attested in StAT 3 23 and ZA 73 9); StAT 3 23 r. 12, 15–21 (Aššūr-šarru-ušur, Aššūr-šumu-iddina, Nergal-šumu-iddina, Qibīt-Aššūr, Šarru-ēmuranni, Tukultī-Aššūr, Qabbuḫu: probably also attested in StAT 3 110 and ZA 73 9); AfO 42 A1 r. 3 (Mannu-kī-abi); ZA 73 9 r. 6 (Nergal-šēzibanni: also attested in StAT 3 110 r. 32, Qabbuḫu: probably also attested in StAT 3 23 and 3 110); StAT 2 14 ([...]-Aššūr); SAAB 9 103 r. 12' (Aššūr-[...]); StAT 2 7 r. 23 (Zārūtī); StAT 2 302 r. 5'–6' ([...]-jāni, musician of the governor).

⁴³² The documents are StAT 3 23, 110 and ZA 73 9. StAT 3 23 stems from archive N3 which is ascribed to the musicians.

⁴³³ CTN 2 35:2–5. According to a restored passage in l. 7, the land in question was “of the musician”. Although this seems likely and would confirm what is said in the heading, it remains uncertain.

⁴³⁴ Billa 85:15. Since several other professionals are listed here in the plural, the singular rendering LÚ.NAR should be taken seriously.

encounter the musician Rapâ as debtor of ten shekels of silver owed to the cohort commander Kišir-Aššūr, as recorded on an unopened envelope from after the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 14 32:1–2). He commits himself to deliver 100 bales of straw to the city of Šiddiasika, while the delivery of 40 bales is taken over by two other men. Rapâ, who sealed the present transaction,⁴³⁵ is here the main debtor and guarantor (*bēl qātāte*) of the silver (cf. Postgate 1976: 138). Judging by Rapâ’s profession, he was not acting here in his professional capacity, but the scenario seems to reflect an administrative background. Also Nabû-gammuli, musician of the household of the governor, owes 25 shekels of silver to Kanūnāiu (SAAB 5 25:3–5). A certain Daia acts as a guarantor (*bēl qātāte*) for its repayment.

7.3.2 Wine rations and other allocations

Numerous musicians are recorded as recipients of wine in the 8th-century wine lists. Among the collectives of common musicians listed (in CTN 1 12, 25, 30 and CTN 3 144), there is only one case where the amount of wine (almost entirely preserved) can be identified as 5 *qû* (CTN 3 120:13’). Another group of musicians, comprising women if restored correctly, was provided with one *šapputu*-bowl of wine (CTN 3 145 r. iii 18). Since we are dealing here with groups of unknown size, it remains unclear how much a single musician actually received (to compare these amounts with those given to others such as the palace supervisor receiving 5 *qû* of wine). From a broken administrative document from 7th-century(?) Nineveh, we learn that 15 female musicians were given ½ *qû* of wine each (SAA 7 140 r. 5), which may correspond to what a single musician received according to the wine lists.⁴³⁶

In most of the other wine lists referring to musicians, they are differentiated according to their origin. Basically distinguishing between Assyrian, “Kassite”, “Hittite” and Aramean musicians, the wine lists also record musicians from Kummuhu, Melid(?) and Tabal as well as female musicians from Arpad and Hatti. As to the amounts of wine given to these separate groups, a standard amount of 2 *qû* of wine was handed over to the Assyrian musicians (CTN 1 11 r. 8’) and the “Kassite” musicians (CTN 3 145 r. iii 20, CTN 1 11 r. 7’). The “Hittite” musicians, on the other hand, are attested with various different

⁴³⁵ The stamp seal impressions only show shadowy shapes which are nevertheless similar (though not identical) to those found on SAA 6 312 deriving from the stamp seal of Bēl-aplu-iddina, chief singer of Til-Barsip (see above). For a description of the two seal impressions see Herbordt 1992: 221 (Ninive 63), 227–8 (Ninive 89).

⁴³⁶ On comparison with the five *qû* of wine received by the musicians according to CTN 3 120, they constituted a group of ten individuals here. Analysing the rations evident from the wine lists, Gentili (2002–5: 92, 95–6) defines a standard amount of 1/5 *qû* of wine, which seems to me far too low.

amounts of wine: 6 ½ *qû* (CTN 1 15:7'), probably 2 *qû* (CTN 1 11 r. 9') and 1 *qû* (CTN 1 1 r. iii 6) of wine. For the remainder we encounter 1[+?] *qû* for the Aramean musicians (CTN 1 16:29'), 4 *qû* for the Chaldean musicians (CTN 3 145 r. iii 23), 1 *sûtu* 5(?) *qû* for the musicians from Kummuhu (CTN 3 145 r. iii 22), 9 *qû* for those from Melid(?) (CTN 1 13:11') and 1 *qû* for those of Tabal (CTN 3 145 r. iii 21). The female musicians from Arpad received 5 ½ *qû* (CTN 1 8 r. 7') and 6(?) ½ *qû* (CTN 1 21 r. 6') and those from Hatti 6 ½ *qû* (CTN 1 8 r. 6'; 21 r. 5'). The majority of these preserved amounts of wine stems from different wine lists since the quantity is lost for most of the entries. Assuming that these groups varied in size from time to time, a comparison, either in the same group or between groups, is less expedient (since we cannot be sure about the amount meant for one person, see above). At least from the preserved entries of CTN 1 11, for instance, it appears that they were of equal size (and enjoyed equal rank). Looking at CTN 3 145, though, the amounts given to the distinct groups varied considerably. However, judging from the frequency of their general appearance in the wine lists, musicians qualified as Assyrians, "Kassites" and "Hittites" may have been the most common groups of musicians at the Assyrian court in the 8th century, whereas female musicians mainly originated from Arpad and Hatti (see below).

Apart from musicians qualified as to their origin, the wine lists distinguish other collectives of musicians. We additionally encounter groups of "clothed", hence uniformed(?), musicians (*nuāru labbašu*) who used to receive 1 ½ *qû* of wine.⁴³⁷ Otherwise, there is one entry according to which musicians, qualified as *ina bētāni*, are provided with two *šapputu*-bowls of wine.⁴³⁸ This designation indicates that the musicians in question were active in the inner area of the palace and thus also suggests that the numerous other musicians related to the palace were not necessarily active there but in its more easily accessible areas instead. While we mainly encounter evidence for rations of wine handed over to palace musicians, they are once recorded as recipients of 2 *emāru* 5(?) *qû* of bread or beer (CTN 1 35 ii 4'). This is the highest amount given out according to this list (apart from the ration of five *emāru* provided for the queen), so we might expect that it was intended for a comparatively high number of individuals.⁴³⁹ Apart from rations for personal consumption, musicians are once

⁴³⁷ CTN 1 15:8'; 16:28'. For *labbašu* see CAD L 23 "fitted out"; cf. SAA 11 122:1, 5, r. 3 where they are contrasted with *ša-UD.MEŠ* whose reading and meaning remains unsolved. Note that the wine lists (CTN 1 8:23, 10:7'; 16:14') also mention "clothed" chariot drivers (*mukil appāti labbašu*) besides the "chariot drivers of the chariots" (*mukil appāti ša mugirrate*). The two groups qualified as *labbašu* might have been dressed in particular clothes (cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 76, suggesting "royal cloth").

⁴³⁸ CTN 3 133 i 13, see section 3.3 Other personnel associated with the *bētānu*.

⁴³⁹ Rather temple-connected are the male and female musicians who are attested as recipients of bread and beer in another administrative document which also refers to chanters and temple stewards (SAA 7 142:6, 7). Cf. the musicians mentioned in SAA 11 151 ii 10' and 152 r. 3',

recorded as recipients of redistributed(?) tribute together with numerous other palace officials (SAA 11 36 i 25). According to a broken section of this administrative document, probably dating to the 7th century, they receive copper (amount lost).

7.3.3 Ethnicity and origin

As noted above, the majority of musicians recorded in the wine lists is qualified according to an ethnic background or particular origin. Among them we first encounter the Assyrian and Aramean musicians, a distinction which we also know well from the qualification of scribes and which—not least made on the basis of a different mother tongue—represents the two most important ethnicities within Assyria.⁴⁴⁰ Similarly, there are musicians of the land of Arpad (situated in the north-west) and Hatti (a historical toponym, situated in the north-west), “Kassite” musicians (a historical toponym, possibly Zagros bordering Babylonia), and musicians of the land of Kaldu (south Babylonia) present. Together with the musicians from Kummuhu, Melid and Tabal, most of these designations refer to regions which were not under secure control in the first half of the 8th century when many of the wine lists were written.⁴⁴¹ These musicians may have come to the Assyrian court as diplomatic gifts or were, as ethnic groups, already present in Assyria. With the various groups of women featuring a different origin and summed up as 61 musicians in an administrative document dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or later, we encounter additional qualifications for the origin of musicians (SAA 7 24). Apart from designations already known from the wine lists (3 Aramean, 11 “Hittite”, 9 “Kassite” women), we learn of 13 Tyrean and 4 women from Saḫ[...]. The 13 *nargallutus* (see below) and 8 corybantes (*kurgarrutu*),⁴⁴² also counted among the 61 female musicians, indicate that this account is also concerned with temple personnel. According to Radner (2006a: 63), Tyre (ancient Ṣurru) was never annexed by the Assyrians, but we learn from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon that he first imposed tribute on its ruler Ba’alu (RINAP 4 1 iii 17–19) and later on conquered the city (RINAP 4 60:7’). For that reason we may assume that these Tyrean musicians were tribute or booty.

who—judging by their association with temple personnel here—were temple personnel themselves too.

⁴⁴⁰ An Assyrian musician is also attested as a witness in SAA 14 169 r. 3.

⁴⁴¹ Although we lack the precise date of many wine lists, we know for instance that CTN 3 145 (the only wine list mentioning the musicians from Kummuhu, Melid, Tabal and Kaldu) dates to the year 784. On the other hand, it could be that the female musicians from Arpad represent booty taken after the conquest of Arpad by Tiglath-pileser (Radner 2006a: 56) since the wine lists in question (CTN 1 8, 21) may date to this reign (see on the date recently Svärd 2015: 132–3).

⁴⁴² For a discussion of the *kurgarrû* and the *rab kurgarrê* see Menzel 1981 I: 241–2.

The latter case matches well with what we learn from the royal inscriptions from the reign of Aššurnāṣirpal II on, which tell us about male and female musicians who were either received as tribute or taken as booty by the Assyrian kings. Aššurnāṣirpal states that he received 10 female musicians from Lubarna of the land of Patina located in the far west (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 76'). After that we read in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III that Ḫīram, ruler of Tyre, brought male and female musicians as tribute (RINAP 1 49 r. 8). Also Sennacherib received male and female musicians as tribute from Hezekiah of Jerusalem (RINAP 3/1 4:58). The same king is also said to have taken male and female musicians from the palace in Babylon belonging to the defeated king Marduk-apla-iddina (RINAP 3/1 1:32). There is only a doubtful reference to male musicians taken as booty in the reign of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 9 i' 12'), but Assurbanipal states in his inscriptions that he took male and female musicians as booty from Gambulu located in the south-east (RINAP 5/1 3 vi 21). With all these references we detect a tendency from musicians received as tribute to musicians taken as booty, which might be due to changes in the Assyrian policy of conquest under the Sargonids, also affecting other people originating from abroad.⁴⁴³ In any case, judging from these references, the interest in musicians from different areas apparently remained unchanged from the 9th down to the 7th century. While musicians, in particular female musicians,⁴⁴⁴ were valuable goods from early Neo-Assyrian times on, they remained an important aspect of cultural exchange during the first millennium BCE and we suspect that they contributed to a lively music scene at court. Since musicians in particular appear to have originated from abroad, other references to foreigners may occasionally refer to musicians too, without them being explicitly designated as such.⁴⁴⁵

7.3.4 Skills and tasks

As to the actual skills of the musicians, there is some Neo-Assyrian evidence available in this respect. From a letter (without heading) dating to reign of Esarhaddon, we learn that the musician Qišāia sang (expressed with *zamāru*)

⁴⁴³ Especially with the inscriptions of Sargonid kings the list of human booty increases in quantity and quality (e.g. also listing military functionaries), whereas the description of tribute received by Aššurnāṣirpal II only mentions female musicians as personnel taken from foreign courts.

⁴⁴⁴ This phenomenon is not restricted to first-millennium Assyria; Kinnier Wilson (1972: 77) refers to a Kassite text mentioning Elamite and Subarean musicians. Female musicians were desired diplomatic gifts and spoils of war also in Old Babylonian Mari (Ambos 2008: 502; Ziegler 2011: 290). For the Neo-Assyrian period note also the two female musicians who are, together with clothes, jewellery, animals and a wagon, given to Aḫu-erība, the king's relative, after his arrival in Babylonia (SAA 17 122:11).

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Svärd (2015: 122), who suggested this for the foreign women recorded in SAA 7 24 apart from the 61 female musicians.

together with his daughters before the festively dressed *ša-rēšis* of the governor (of the Inner City) in a ceremony taking place after the king had died (SAA 16 95:10). Especially from royal inscriptions we learn that they also made music by playing the lyre (*sammû*). In his letter to the god Aššur, Sargon reports that he entered his camp together with musicians (playing) lyres after he defeated Mitatti, ruler of Zikirtu in the east (TCL 3:159). Otherwise, it is Esarhaddon who states in his inscription that he celebrated the beheading of two enemies by parading in Nineveh together with musician(s) and (*û/u*) lyre(s).⁴⁴⁶ Also on another occasion, namely the refurbishment of the Marduk statue, musicians with lyres participate in the ceremonies in the reign of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 45 iii 8). In addition, musicians are mentioned with lyres in an inscription of Assurbanipal.⁴⁴⁷ Menzel (1981 I: 256–7), analysing the role of the *nuāru* within the cultic and religious sphere (note therefore the references in p. 227 fn. 424), stresses that this professional’s main task was singing (also referring to some attested incipits). In addition, she points out that the singing may have occasionally been accompanied by certain gestures and symbolic acts; reciting (*qabû*) seems also to have been something the *nuāru* did. As we learn from the royal inscriptions discussed above, Menzel points out that the only instrument he is attested with is the lyre: the kettledrum (*lilissu*) is rather played by the chanter (*kalû*).⁴⁴⁸ As for all these references to the *nuāru* involved in cultic activities, Menzel (1981 I: 255) suggested that the writing LÚ.NAR actually refers here to the LÚ.NAR.GAL who was only active in the temple sphere. Comparing the *nuārus* (whether *nargallus* or not) active in the temple with those related to the palace, we learn that the *nuāru* sang and played the lyre in both spheres. In a hymn to Nanāia the *nuāru* is, besides the lyre, associated with the small harp (*šebītu*), the clapper (*kanzabu*), the flute (*malīlu*), the double-pipe (*šinnutu*) and the long (pipes) (*arkātu*).⁴⁴⁹ In view of these various different instruments it is less surprising that the musicians are here referred to as “skilled musicians” (*nuāru palkû*). It is rather not accidental that the kettledrum is not listed since it is reserved for the *kalû*. Generally speaking, we suspect that the *nuāru*, apart from being skilled in singing and playing the lyre

⁴⁴⁶ RINAP 4 1 iii 37; 2 i 55. These narratives vividly demonstrate the performative aspects of victory.

⁴⁴⁷ RINAP 5/2 73 iii 4’ (see <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/>). Some of these references were also addressed by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 76).

⁴⁴⁸ The *kalû*, on the one hand, was one of the five categories of scholars of the Assyrian court (see section 10 The king’s scholars) and, on the other hand, he belonged to the temple (here often referred to as LÚ.GALA.MAḤ, see Menzel 1981 I: 233–7). Especially the LÚ.GALA.MAḤ seems to have been specialised in Sumerian songs (in contrast to the *nuāru*); see Menzel 1981 I: 233–4, 257.

⁴⁴⁹ SAA 3 4 i 7’–9’. For musicians with instruments depicted on the reliefs note, for instance, the panel BM 124533 with two bearded men playing lyre when Aššurnaširpal pours libation over a captured bull and BM 124802c depicting Elamite musicians of different type; see Schmidt-Colinet 2002.

(and other instruments), had a wide repertoire of compositions and lyrics at hand which needed an advanced education (cf. Ambos 2008: 500–1). While this must have been particularly true for his engagement within cultic operations and rituals, advanced skills were certainly also needed for the musician entertaining at performances for the royal court, during festivities and banquets.⁴⁵⁰ Since a cultic aspect was inherent to most of the various different festivities (not least on military occasions) and ceremonies where musicians were engaged, they operated at the junction between the religious and the secular sphere.

7.3.5 Affiliation and social rank

Although musicians were engaged by the palace and the temple, there is not a single musician “of the temple” or the “of the palace” attested. Nevertheless, their association is occasionally indicated by the context in which they appear. As already argued, those musicians who sold land in Kurbail together with a chanter (CTN 2 53) where rather related to the temple sphere, whereas we may identify the musicians who witnessed a transaction of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū’a as personnel of the palace.⁴⁵¹ For all the cultic and ceremonial events a clear separation cannot be made, but a temple connection is in most cases to be tentatively assumed. Otherwise, we encounter a few designations which indicate that some musicians were attached to particular officials. Apart from the royal musician Šunu-qardū discussed above, the musician Meia’ was in the service of the palace supervisor (ND 2451:21) and two, possibly even three, attestations show that musicians as attached to the governor of Assur. Nabû-gammali, musician “of the household of the governor (of Assur)”, and the [...] āni, musician “of the governor (of Assur)”, are attested in two legal documents (SAAB 5 25:3–5; StAT 2 302 r. 5’–6’). A third reference might be found in the aforementioned letter SAA 16 95 according to which the musician Qišāia sings together with his daughters in a royal funeral ceremony organised by the governor (of the Inner City).

As to the musicians’ status, it appears from the wine lists and from their occasional engagement in legal transactions that they enjoyed some influence and wealth. Though they might have been admired for their artistry, their influence was certainly limited and we might define them as lower-ranking personnel. The limited possibilities of action are particularly observable for the female musicians who are not attested as active parties to legal transactions at all. This,

⁴⁵⁰ Nevertheless, they were not necessarily literate, as assumed for the *nargallu* whose library was identified in Assur (= N3, see Pedersén 1986: 34–41). Among others this library includes the ritual text SAA 20 32 which contains several references to the *nuāru*’s tasks (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 254–5).

⁴⁵¹ Edubba 10 3. Similarly, musicians listed in administrative documents from Nineveh may be counted as belonging to the palace sphere (SAA 7 20 r. i’ 7; 26:7’; 150 ii 12’).

however, is not a peculiarity of the musicians but correlates with the fact that apart from female administrators (*šakintu*, note here also the *sekretu*) hardly any other women are known as active parties to legal transactions.⁴⁵²

7.4 The *nargallu* (chief musician)

As pointed out in the introduction to this section, several *nargallus* attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources were clearly active for the temples of Aššur, Sin, Šamaš and Nabû. The remainder of the Neo-Assyrian attestations will be briefly discussed here although none of the individuals was clearly connected to the palace but—rather to the contrary—they also had a temple connection. As to those mentioned with their personal name, they mostly occur in legal documents where they are either listed as witness,⁴⁵³ or involved in judicial settlements.⁴⁵⁴ Except for one document from Dur-Katlimmu, these are all records from Assur, a fact which on its own suggests a temple connection. This is supported by the occasional accompaniment of the *nargallu* with other temple personnel such as the priest (StAT 3 111) and the brewer “of the house of [...]” (StAT 3 27), recorded as witnesses too. In addition, the *nargallu* who occurs in a badly broken letter from the 7th century perhaps had a temple connection since he is enumerated together with two individuals from Arbail, an important religious centre (SAA 16 123:5′). Also the three references to unnamed *nargallus* suggest an employment in the temple. First, this is the case with the *nargallu* whose son occurs in connection with the temple steward (*lahhennu*) and who is said to have written a letter to the palace together with the said son, according to a fragment of a letter (SAA 13 195 r. 1′, 3′). Second, there are the *nargallus* who were placed before Aššur according to an inscription of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 54:12′). Furthermore, the chief musician’s residence is mentioned in an administrative document from Nineveh, probably recording temporary lodgings on the occasion of a special event (SAA 7 9 ii 26′); the *ša-qurbūti* Rēmāni-Adad was accommodated there. While some of the lodgings such as the “central residences” and the “residences of the governor” formed part of the palace or other secular buildings, the residences of the temple steward and the chief musician, listed subsequently, rather belonged to the temple complex, as is presumably the case with the lodging of the *nargallu*. Finally, there are eight *nargallutus*, “chief female musicians”, summed up together with other women of different origin as “61 female musicians”

⁴⁵² Though note the considerable number of women, especially Egyptian women, who invested in trading enterprises according to the texts from the private archive of Dūrī-Aššūr (Radner 2016).

⁴⁵³ StAT 3 27 r. 5′ (Aššūr-aḫu-iddina); 3 111 r. 16′ ([...]ētir); StAT 2 114 r. 1′ ([...]); BATSH 6 108b r. 4 (Kattei).

⁴⁵⁴ StAT 3 22: 3, 5, i.e. 14′ (Aššūr-šumu-iškun); concerning the mutual payment of debts. StAT 3 31:1 ([...]); it is too broken to draw any conclusions as to the role of the *nargallu* here.

(SAA 7 24:20). As already pointed out above, these may constitute cultic personnel, as is supported by the fact that corybantes (*kurgarrutu*) are also listed here.⁴⁵⁵ To conclude, there is not a single reference to a *nargallu* or a *nargallutu* who clearly belonged to the palace household.

8 COURTIERs

The following discussion examines terms serving as general expressions for palace personnel. Apart from the *ša-rēši* and the *ša-ziqni*, this involves the designations *urad ekalli* and *zarriqu*. To the discussion of the *ša-rēši* is added a short examination about the term *tīru*, which seems to have a similar connotation. Furthermore, people designated *mār ekalli* and *mār-amat-ekalli* as well as some miscellaneous terms for palace personnel are discussed here.

8.1 The *ša-rēši*

The title *ša-rēši*, known from the Old Babylonian period on, literally means “(he) of the head”. In Neo-Assyrian times it is usually written (LÚ/LÚ*).SAG and also (LÚ).šá-SAG,⁴⁵⁶ *ša-SAG* (ND 2329 r. 12) and šá-LÚ.SAG (SAA 3 20 r. 10). The fully syllabic writing *šá-re-ši* is attested in a Babylonian letter which also has a fully syllabic writing in the plural, namely *šá-re-šá-ni* (SAA 17 139 r. 19, 20), to be transcribed *ša-rēšāni*. In a broken administrative record there is another variant of the plural attested. Written LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-te (ND 2386+ r. ii 4), it might be read *ša-rēšūti* which is otherwise known as an abstract term (see below). In Standard Babylonian sources of the Neo-Assyrian period (mainly comprising the royal inscriptions), we often encounter the writings (LÚ).šu/šú-ut-SAG and once *šu-ut-re-še-e*.MEŠ (K 8862:9', Lambert 1988: 171, 174) for *šūt-rēši* instead, another designation for the same class.⁴⁵⁷ The abstract term *ša-rēšūti* is mentioned in a land grant of Adad-nērāri III in connection with the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-nāšir (SAA 12 1:4: LÚ*.SAG-ti-šú) and in a query to Šamaš (Lambert 2007: 106–9, no. 18: 4, 5, 11, 12: *ša-LÚ.SAG-ti*). Among the various proposed interpretations of the title *ša-rēši* we find simply “official” or “attendant” and “eunuch”. Scholars basically agree that the *ša-rēši* were attendants at court (and other households),⁴⁵⁸ but the question of whether

⁴⁵⁵ Contra Menzel (1981 I: 254 and II: 208–9, n. 3432) who counts them among the palace personnel. Judging by other women listed here, such as the *lahhennutus* (see Svärd 2015: 123–4), the list indeed seems to involve personnel related to the household of the queen.

⁴⁵⁶ RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 92; A.0.101.2:92; Watanabe 1993: 112–3, no. 5.2:2 (sealing on CTN 2 66), see also Niederreiter 2015: 136–7, no. 1; SAA 4 142:4; SAA 12 6 r. 2.

⁴⁵⁷ *ša-rēši* is used here as a generic term, also for attestations of *šūt-rēši*.

⁴⁵⁸ As proposed by Hawkins, the title *ša-rēši* seems to be connected to the expression *ina rēši uzuzzu*, “stand at the head, attend upon”. The literal meaning “(he) of the head” probably refers

they were eunuchs and therefore castrates is debated. The latter interpretation is based specifically on the Middle Assyrian evidence and then applied to the *ša-rēši* in the succeeding Neo-Assyrian period.⁴⁵⁹ I shall argue below that this interpretation is basically valid. The following examination of the extensive Neo-Assyrian evidence for the *ša-rēši*, however, focusses on their functions in connection with the Assyrian court and their status within society. Klauber (²1968: 88–94), analysing the *ša-rēšis* based on their occurrence in Sargonid letters, already made an attempt similar to that undertaken here; however, we have the advantage of new sources, and a better understanding of them.⁴⁶⁰

8.1.1 Status and functions

As Klauber already observed, individuals designated *ša-rēši* form a very heterogenous group in terms of tasks and status. The *ša-rēši* included those who were subordinate to officials but also members of the highest ranks of society could be *ša-rēši* themselves. This is particularly true for governors, who are frequently designated *ša-rēš-šarri* in the sources. From the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and his successors we learn that *ša-rēšis* of the king were appointed as provincial governors over conquered or reorganised territories.⁴⁶¹ In a few cases these men additionally held a high-ranking office, such as that of palace herald;⁴⁶² a few other magnates were also designated royal *ša-rēšis*.⁴⁶³ Governors designated *ša-rēš-šarri* are also attested in royal grants and other sources.⁴⁶⁴ Other *ša-rēš-šarris*, who are not specifically described as governors,

to an intimate attendant who was also present in his master's bed-chamber. This idea corresponds to the literal meaning "bed-keeper" of the Greek term *eunuchos* (Hawkins 2002: 218, fn. 15).

⁴⁵⁹ CAD R 277–89 s.v. *rēšu* and 292 s.v. *rēšu* in *ša-rēši* (*šūt rēši*); cf. AHw 973–6 s.v. *rēšu(m)* 9 *ša*, *šūt r.*, where the meaning "eunuch" is rejected; in contrast, HAD 94, 107 only gives the translations "eunuch, castrate" for the Neo-Assyrian *ša-rēši*.

⁴⁶⁰ More recent discussions are among others those of Garelli (1974: 133–7) and Barjamovic (2011: 57–9). Several other studies focussed on the question of whether *ša-rēšis* were eunuchs and therefore castrates or not (see below).

⁴⁶¹ This is usually expressed by adding the title *pāhutu* as in RINAP 1 39:19, or it is merely stated that a royal *ša-rēši* is placed over a conquered or re-established place, as e.g. in RINAP 1 39:7. Sargon states in his inscription that his *ša-rēši* that he had appointed to the land of Karalla were chased away by its inhabitants (Fuchs 1994: 117, Ann. 166). Another example is the *ša-rēši* employed in Egypt in the reign of Assurbanipal, who successfully defeated a conspiracy against Assyria (RINAP 5/1 7 ii 35'').

⁴⁶² Fuchs 1994: 116, Ann. 164; a similar reference is available for the commander-in-chief "of the left" (Fuchs 1994: 179, Ann. 409), cf. Mattila 2000: 131.

⁴⁶³ Apart from the *rab ša-rēši*, whose membership of the class of *ša-rēšis* is likely (note especially the case of Ša-Nabû-šû who was designated *ša-rēši* after holding the post *rab ša-rēši*, Mattila 2000: 62–3), Mannu-kī-šarri, palace herald and eponym of 665, and the chief cupbearer Aššūr-būnā'ī-ušur (Mattila 2000: 131) fall into this group.

⁴⁶⁴ The *ša-rēši* Bēl-tarši-ilumma, later known as governor of Kalhu (Brinkman, PNA 1/II 332–3 s.v. Bēl-tarši-ilumma 1), is qualified as *ša-rēši* of Adad-nērāri and scribe in an inscription on a mace head (RIMA 3 A.O.104.2004:1–2). Ilu-ittija, governor of cities such as Assur and

are known to have taken central actions in military events.⁴⁶⁵ The *ša-rēšis* who, together with others such as the provincial governors, magnates and the elders of Assyria, are said to have celebrated the completion and inauguration of the new capital Dur-Šarrukin, must have been of high rank too (Fuchs 1994: 186, Ann. 448). Similarly, Assurbanipal states with reference to his accession to the throne that his noblemen(?) (restored) and his *ša-rēšis* desired his governance.⁴⁶⁶ As to *ša-rēšis* occupying other, lower-ranking posts, there is Inūrta-ahīa-šukšid(?), chief of the cooks and the herdsmen, who is qualified as “*ša-rēši* of Adad-nērāri, king of the land of Aššur” on his inscribed seal (Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2:1–4; Niederreiter 2015: 137–8, no. 2; see section 12.1.2 Personal equipment). Officials who were granted with the tax exemption of their land and people by Assurbanipal are generally designated *ša-rēši* according to the standard formula used here. Apart from the *rab ša-rēši* (SAA 12 26:7, 11–2), these include the king’s fodder master (*rab kissiti*) Baṭi-Aia (SAA 12 25:7, 11–2) and the chamberlain (*ša-muḥḥi-bētāni*), though the grant concerning the latter is badly broken and the said line is not preserved.⁴⁶⁷ Similarly, we encounter Šil-Bēl-dalli, household overseer of the crown prince, who is once said to be a *ša-rēši* (ND 3426 r. 8). Also the *ša-rēši* mentioned in a Sargonid letter is said to be household overseer of the city lord

Ekallate, is designated *ša-rēši* of the king according to his amulet (RIMA 3 A.0.103.2001:1–2). Pālil-ēreš was *ša-rēši* as well as governor of Nemed-Ištar and Rašappa according to an inscription on a stone cylinder (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2006:1–2; Niederreiter 2015: 141–2, no. 7). Nabū-ušalla, governor of Tamnuna, is qualified as royal *ša-rēši* on a seal of unknown provenance (N.A.B.U. 1991/86; Niederreiter 2015: 147–8, no. D). According to a literary letter *ša-rēšis* were appointed over conquered Elamite territories (CT 54 490 r. 12, 14, 20). Sīn-šarru-ibni was *ša-rēši* of Aššūr-etel-ilāni and governor of Kar-[...] (SAA 12 35:17–18; 36:12). Two royal *ša-rēšis* employed in the land of Akkad together with the desired royal *ša-rēši* to be appointed to Elam are mentioned in a Babylonian letter from the reign of Esarhaddon (SAA 18 105 r. 8, 11).

⁴⁶⁵ E.g. RINAP 4 41:13’ (the royal *ša-rēši* Aššūr-da’inanni was sent against the Medes); cf. RINAP 1 47 r. 14’. Telling about the conquest of Mušašir, Sargon states that he sent one of his *ša-rēšis* to the temple of Haldi to take precious items (Fuchs 1998: 33, IV.b-d.52). Sargon sent seven *ša-rēšis* against Nibē, king of Ellipi (Fuchs 1994: 225, Prunk. 120). The *ša-rēši* Marduk-šarru-ušur may have been involved in military events in Elam before he came to the Assyrian court together with the displaced Elamite king Tammarītu (RINAP 5/1 3 vii 51; see Baker, PNA 2/II 728–9 s.v. Marduk-šarru-ušur 21). Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, is designated royal *ša-rēši* in a Babylonian letter (ABL 267 r. 11–12). *ša-rēšis* are referred to in the queries to the sun-god about whether military actions should be taken or not (SAA 4 105:3; possibly 113:1’).

⁴⁶⁶ RINAP 5/1 2 ii 3’; cf. RINAP 5/2 73 ii 8’, 12’ (see <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/>). For *ša-rēšis* belonging to the upper echelons of society see also the reference in an inscription of Aššurnaširpal (RIMA 2 A.0.101.2:39).

⁴⁶⁷ SAA 12 30 r. 19. In his article, where he favours the idea that *ša-rēši* were always castrates, Deller (1999: 307) concluded that all the grants of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 25–34) are “genuine eunuch grants not applicable to any other person”. According to the preserved grants (also dating to former reigns, see section 8.1.3 Business activities and properties), the number of which is limited, this seems to have been the case indeed, but the lack of an alternative formula does not mean that non-*ša-rēšis* were not granted with tax-exemption.

Suitkâ (SAA 5 245:9–10). In addition, domestic personnel are occasionally qualified as *ša-rēši*, as in the letter to the king (Sargon) written by Adad-ibni who sent four *ša-rēšis* of the household of Aššūr-ilā'i, including a cook, a confectioner and a cupbearer, to the palace (SAA 1 184:8–12). Apart from the palace cook Nabû-dūru-ušur, who is also qualified as *ša-rēši* (SAA 6 31 r. 15), it is clear from the close relationship between the terms *ša-rēši* and *urad ekalli*, usually denoting domestics of the palace, that *ša-rēšis* were prominently deployed in this area. It seems to have been also a particular feature of the royal tombs that they were staffed with *ša-rēšis*.⁴⁶⁸ Working in the proximity of the temple, these *ša-rēšis* represented the king's interests and actually belonged to the royal household. Similarly, the *ša-rēši* and temple supervisor (*ša-pān-bēt-ili*) Abdâ (SAA 14 62 r. 5') as well as the treasurer of the Aššur Temple Šamaš-nāšir, addressed as *ša-rēši* of Adad-nērāri in a royal grant (SAA 12 1:3), were royal officials active in temples (in order to control the temple household).⁴⁶⁹ The two extispicy reporters (*bēl tēmi*) Aššūr-da' in-šarru and Dannāia are once qualified as *ša-rēšis*.⁴⁷⁰ This is also true for Nabû-aḥu-iddina, who drew up incantation texts and was a scribal teacher according to some colophons (Baker, PNA 2/II 799 s.v. Nabû-aḥu-iddina 5), as well as for some other scribes.⁴⁷¹ Like the clerics, however, scholars usually were not *ša-rēšis*. As for military-related functionaries, there is a commander-of-fifty (Edubba 10 18 r. 27–28), a team-commander,⁴⁷² a fort commander (of the governor of Šimirra, SAA 19 22 r. 12), and possibly a *rab-x* of the grooms (Ṭāb-šar-[...], SAA 8 528 r. 1) designated *ša-rēši* or *ša-rēš-šarri* in Neo-Assyrian sources.⁴⁷³ We also learn of *ša-rēšis* subordinate to governors and employed as village managers and mayors;⁴⁷⁴ also Amurru-ētir, delegate (*qēpu*) of Dur-Ilil, is qualified as *ša-rēši* (ABL 963:4'–5').

To conclude, magnates and provincial governors, *rab-x* officials and household overseers could be *ša-rēšis*. We also find *ša-rēšis* among the domestics,

⁴⁶⁸ See section 11 The royal tombs. Note that bearers of the Elamite title *lipte kutip*, which is thought to correspond to the Persian title *ustarbaru* (Babylonian rendering) and thus to *ša-rēši*, are attested as guarding the royal tomb (Jursa 2011: 168–9).

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Kleber 2008 for the Neo-Babylonian period. Note also the *ša-rēši* Bar-ūri who was active for the god Ba'al-Rakkab in Sam'al who is referred to as *maqaltānu*. According to HAD 60 this might be a sort of priest (SAA 16 63 r. 10–11).

⁴⁷⁰ SAA 4 337 r. 1'; 300 r. 2'. Note also the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šabtanni who is mentioned after the date formula of another query (SAA 4 285 r. 8').

⁴⁷¹ Aššūr-rēšūwa (SAA 6 31 r. 14) and Sīn-ētir (CTN 2 47:7–8). Also in the Hittite sources LÚ.SAG are qualified as scribes (Hawkins 2002: 227, Table I).

⁴⁷² Atar-ili; see Brinkman, PNA 1/I 233 s.v. Atar-ili 2.

⁴⁷³ Dalley and Postgate (1984: 28) suggested that the *mušarkisu* (recruitment officer) were *ša-rēšis* as well. Although the prosopographical connections they presented are partly outdated (Pān-Aššūr-lāmur) or remain too uncertain (Nergal-šarru-ušur), as is also the case with the reference to *ša-rēšis* in ND 2386+ r. ii 4, there is no reason to deny that a *mušarkisu* could be a *ša-rēši*.

⁴⁷⁴ Bēl-issē'a was *ša-rēši* and village manager of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu (CTN 2 33:6, 34:6); the governor (of the Inner City) employed his *ša-rēši* as *ḥazannu* (SAA 16 95:6–7).

in the scholarly milieu as well as in the military sphere, and in the provincial and municipal administration.⁴⁷⁵ Numerous *ša-rēšis* are attested as subordinates of magnates,⁴⁷⁶ provincial governors,⁴⁷⁷ city lords,⁴⁷⁸ sheikhs,⁴⁷⁹ and foreign rulers.⁴⁸⁰ There are also *ša-rēšis* of *rab-x* officials,⁴⁸¹ the palace scribe,⁴⁸² scholars,⁴⁸³ *šakintus*,⁴⁸⁴ the treasurer of the queen,⁴⁸⁵ a royal chariot driver,⁴⁸⁶ and others whose titles are unknown.⁴⁸⁷ Since the following discussion focusses

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Jursa (2011: 161–3) listing *ša-rēšis* and their offices attested in first millennium Babylonia. The spheres of responsibility correspond quite well with what we can observe for the Neo-Assyrian period, though Jursa points out that middle-ranking functionaries are attested as *ša-rēši* but not high-ranking officials.

⁴⁷⁶ Of the *rab ša-rēši*: Ilu-eppaš (CTN 2 17:2); Šulmu-šarri (Edubba 10 7 r. 16–17). Of the great vizier: Ibašši-ilā'ī (Niederreiter 2015: 148–9, no. E). Possibly of the treasurer: *ša-rēšis* (SAA 16 112:7). Of the commander-in-chief: Issār-dūrī (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2009:1–2; Niederreiter 2015: 139–40, no. 5). An uncommon case is Inūrta-bēlu-ušur who, according to inscribed gate lions in Hadattu (Arslan Taš), was governor of Til-Barsip and *ša-rēši* of the commander-in-chief Šamši-ilu (Röllig 2000: 182).

⁴⁷⁷ Inūrta-bēlu-ušur (*ša-rēši* of the governor Inūrta-ašarēd, Watanabe 1993: 115–6, no. 6.4:1–3; Niederreiter 2015: 145–6, no. A), Bēl-issē'a (village manager and *ša-rēši* of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, CTN 2 33:6, 34:6), Rēmāni-ilu (*ša-rēši* of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, RIMA 3 A.0.104.2005:1–2; Niederreiter 2015: 144, no. 10), Adad-našhira (*ša-rēši* of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, who is presumably identical with the aforementioned governor of Kalhu bearing the same personal name; Niederreiter 2016), Adad-nāšir (*ša-rēši* of Mannu-kī-māt-Aššūr, governor of Mazamua, Watanabe 1993: 117, no. 6.8:1–2; Niederreiter 2015: 146, no. B), Aššūr-bēlu-ušur (*ša-rēši* of Pālil-ēreš, RIMA 3 A.0.104.2008:1–2; Niederreiter 2015: 142–3, no. 8), [...]ušur (*ša-rēši* of the governor, CTN 2 14 r. 19–20), Aššūr-dūru-ušur (*ša-rēši* of Bēl-dān, governor of Kalhu, CTN 2 99:1–2), Nabū-šarru-ušur (*ša-rēši* of the governor, SAA 19 116:2'), *ša-rēši* of governor of Šimorra (SAA 19 22 r. 12), *ša-rēši* of the governor of Kalhu (SAA 1 82 r. 10), 2 *ša-rēšis* of Ša-Aššūr-dubbu, governor of Tušhan (SAA 5 32:7), Nabū-zēru-ibni, Ru'uean *ša-rēši*, who was in the service of Bēl-dūrī, governor of Damascus (SAA 15 1:4) and *ša-rēšis* of the governor of Assur (SAA 16 95:6, 7).

⁴⁷⁸ *ša-rēši* and household overseer (*ša-muḥḥi-bēti*) of the city lord Suitkâ (SAA 5 245:9–10).

⁴⁷⁹ *ša-rēši* of Luldīri-ilu, son of the sheikh Ilu-tardannu (ABL 964:13).

⁴⁸⁰ *ša-rēšis* of Elamite kings: Marduk-šumu-ibni (Baker, PNA 2/II 731–2 s.v. Marduk-šumu-ibni 3) and Itunī (Fuchs, PNA 2/I 590). Other Elamite *ša-rēšis*: ABL 462 r. 4' (in de Vaan 1995: 261–4); possibly Nazia (Baker, PNA 2/II 939 s.v. Nazia 2) and Ḥumbappi (SAA 16 146:1', 9'). *ša-rēšis* of other rulers: *ša-rēši* of Aššūr-lē'i, ruler of the city Karalla (SAA 5 218 r. 2); *ša-rēšis* of Tutammū, king of Unqi (SAA 19 55 r. 2). *ša-rēšis* of other territories: 20 fellow *ša-rēšis* of the Urartian chief tailor and other *ša-rēšis* are mentioned as co-conspirators (SAA 5 91:5, 11); possibly Uartian *ša-rēši* (SAA 5 182:9); *ša-rēšis* and royal *ša-rēšis* of conquered Suru in Bit-Halupē (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 92) and a deserter from Mannea is qualified as *ša-rēši* (SAA 16 148 t.e. 21).

⁴⁸¹ Ilâ (*ša-rēši* of the *rab* [...]), Edubba 10 7 r. 19, 788); *ša-rēši* of the palace manager (CTN 2 223:5–6); Inūrta-šarru-ušur (*ša-rēši* of the *rab* [...]), SAA 6 30 r. 2', 710).

⁴⁸² Possibly the *ša-rēši* mentioned in SAA 16 49 r. 8, see section 1.4.8 Subordinates.

⁴⁸³ The exorcist Šumāia refers to his father, identified as the chief scribe Nabū-zēru-lēšir (Luukko, PNA 3/II 1280–1 s.v. Šumāia 6), who was assisted by the *ša-rēši* Aššūr-bēlu-ka'in (SAA 16 34 r. 7).

⁴⁸⁴ Rēmūt-Nergal (SAA 14 177:5–6); Ruradīdi (SAA 6 152 r. 2–3).

⁴⁸⁵ Šamaš-issē'a (Edubba 10 29:7–8; 30:9–10).

⁴⁸⁶ Rēmāni-Adad, chariot driver of Assurbanipal, buys the *ša-rēši* Aḥu-lāmur (SAA 6 309:3).

⁴⁸⁷ Aḥu-lāmur, *ša-rēši* and servant of Šamaš-abū'a (SAA 6 309:3–4); [...], *ša-rēši* of Bēl-lēšir (SAA 6 92 r. 9); [...], *ša-rēši* of Tūrī[...] (K 13105:5'); Tikasu, if restored correctly, *ša-rēši* of Sm[...] (BT 100a:3–4); 4 *ša-rēšis* of Aššūr-ilā'ī (SAA 1 184:4–5, 8–12); *ša-rēši* of the letter's

on the *ša-rēši*'s role in the palace household, these subordinate *ša-rēšis* are only occasionally discussed below (and they are not included in the tables). By contrast, the *ša-rēšis* of the king, the queen, the king's mother and the crown prince are examined in detail. Also the aforementioned high-ranking *ša-rēš-šarris*, as well as the *ša-rēšis* belonging to the temple or scholarly sphere are rarely addressed and do not appear in the tables below. This is also true for several references to *ša-rēšis* in badly broken documents which do not provide any information.⁴⁸⁸

8.1.2 Ethnic origin and family connections

As with, for instance, musicians, *ša-rēšis* were received as tribute and taken as booty from conquered territories, as we learn from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.⁴⁸⁹ The Urartian *ša-rēši* (CTN 3 136:1), the Ru'uean *ša-rēši* (SAA 15 1:4) and the Kushite *ša-rēšis* (SAA 7 47 i 1, ii 3–4) may have entered Assyria through these channels. Otherwise, we are rather left in the dark as to the social origins and family backgrounds of *ša-rēšis*. The lack of information about family ties is a general issue of the Neo-Assyrian sources: though specifically in view of the scholarly sphere (thanks to the colophons) and the craftsmen from Assur (thanks to their private archives) some information is available in this respect, we—also due to the type and archival background of the sources—get to know the individuals' official and professional titles. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that there is particularly meagre evidence for fathers of *ša-rēšis*,⁴⁹⁰ though I am aware of a single reference to an unnamed mother of the *ša-rēši* [...]—Issār in a broken administrative document (SAA 11 196:2). Another, anonymous reference to a *ša-rēši*'s father is preserved in a query to Šamaš about the appointment of “so-and-so” (*annanna*), son of “so-and-so” (*mār annanna*), to *ša-rēši* (*a-na ša-LÚ.SAG-ti-šú ... GAR[-in[?]]*, Lambert

sender (SAA 15 257:6'; 302:2'); *ša-rēši* of [...] (SAA 21 152:2); the *ša-rēši* Lā-mašê “at the disposal” (*pānu*) of Ḫanda-larīm (ND 2440 r. ii 4'); *ša-rēšis* of the recipient (name lost) of a royal letter (CTN 2 203:4', r. 14'); *ša-rēšis* for officials (*piqittu*) (SAA 16 87:8); Išme-ilu, *ša-rēši* of Nergal-ēreš (inscription of cylinder seal; Niederreiter 2015: 143, no. 9) and Bēlu-lū-dāri, *ša-rēši* of Šulmu-šarri (inscription of a cylinder seal whose authenticity is, however, questionable; Niederreiter 2015: 150, no. G).

⁴⁸⁸ SAA 8 355:3–4 (possibly named Marda[...]); 5 183:3'; 15 89:4'; 195 r. 9'; 215:2'; 233 r. 5'; 17 115 r. 1; 204:4'; CT 53 449:6'; 54 9 r. 1'; 148 b.e. 5'; 158 r. 3'; 239:2'; 253 r. 2; 262:5', 6'; 579:9'; ND 2413 r. 1; 2755 r. 4; K 20092:3' (royal *ša-rēši*).

⁴⁸⁹ *ša-rēšis* were handed over by the defeated Ḫīram, ruler of the land of Tyre, according to an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (RINAP 1 49 r. 8). Esarhaddon took *ša-rēšis* from conquered Šubria (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 17') and Assurbanipal from Gambulu (RINAP 5/1 3 vi 23), Elam (RINAP 5/1 9 v 62) and the court of his brother Šamaš-šumu-ukīn in Babylonia (RINAP 5/1 viii 67).

⁴⁹⁰ The *ša-rēši* 'kdbn is qualified as son of *grbd* on his cylinder seal (Watanabe 1993: 117, no. 6.10). Watanabe (1993: 117) assumes that his father was meant as the *ša-rēši* here. This is not supported by the way one usually reads descriptions of the format “PN₁, son of PN₂, title”.

2007: 106–9, no. 18: 11). Brotherhood might have occasionally played an important role instead, as indicated by Bēl-tarši-ilumma, *ša-rēši* and governor of Kalhu, and his brother, the *ša-rēši* Sīn-ēṭir, who is qualified as brother of Bēl-tarši-ilumma even on his cylinder seal.⁴⁹¹ A similar closeness between two *ša-rēšis* may be indicated by Bīrtāiu, of Adad-nērāri (III), who donates a cylinder seal to his protector (EN-*kit-ri-šú*) Issār-dūrī, *ša-rēši* of the commander-in-chief Nergal-ilā'ī (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2009, cf. Grayson 1995: 96). Whether recruited from among the Assyrians or from foreign populations, it was assumed by Parpola (1987: XXXIV, fn. 9) that the *ša-rēšis* were typically given names containing the lemma /*šarru*/, such as Nabû-šarru-ušur, Šarrumunammir, and Dāri-šarru and Šulmu-šarri, borne by the two Kushite *ša-rēšis*. Baker has convincingly shown that names with an element /*šarru*/ were common in general and are by no means restricted to *ša-rēšis*, admitting though that references to father-son relationships are avoided.⁴⁹²

8.1.3 Business activities and properties

ša-rēšis frequently appear both as witnesses and active parties to legal transactions: numerous *ša-rēšis* are attested as witnesses in legal records from Nineveh,⁴⁹³ Kalhu,⁴⁹⁴ Assur,⁴⁹⁵ Dur-Katlimmu,⁴⁹⁶ and Guzana,⁴⁹⁷ from the reign

⁴⁹¹ Nimrod 29 in Herbordt 1992: 178-9 (impressed on CTN 2 64); Niederreiter 2015: 145, no. 11. Note therefore also the litigation clauses of legal texts only referring to the brothers and nephews of *ša-rēši* and not to their sons and grandsons, see below.

⁴⁹² Baker 2002a: 4–5, Appendix 1, pp. 12–3 (listing all names out of PNA 1–2 containing the element /*šarru*/ and the known number of *ša-rēšis* among them) and Appendix 2, pp. 14–8 (giving an alphabetical list of Neo-Assyrian *ša-rēšis* known by name, including persons who are thought to have been *ša-rēšis* by context only).

⁴⁹³ Mannu-kī-aḥḥē (SAA 6 22 r. 4); Aššūr-rēšūwa (SAA 6 31 r. 14, “of the queen”); Nabû-dūru-ušur (SAA 6 31 r. 15, also palace cook); Kaqqadānu (SAA 6 120 r. 3’); [...] and [...] -ilu (SAA 6 96 r. 4, 5); Nabû-dūru-ušur (SAA 6 228:1–2); Nabû-šēzibanni (SAA 14 60 r. 3–4 and 61 r. 1–2, also royal *ša-rēši* and overseer of the *bēt šarrāni*); Nabû-gāmil and Šulmu-šarri (SAA 14 62 r. 9’–10’, “of the *bēt kimahḥi*”); Aššūr-issē’a and Kunāia (SAA 14 62 r. 14’, 15’); Nabû-killanni (SAA 14 473 r. 13); [...] and Nabû-qātī-šabat (SAA 6 318 r. 1, 2); Nušku-ilā’ī (SAA 14 95 r. 4/94 r. 1); Tardītu-Aššūr (SAA 14 146 r. 10’); [...] -ilā’ī (SAA 14 100 r. 10); Nabû-šarru-ušur and Šumāia (SAA 14 473 r. 8, 12); the same Nabû-šarru-ušur (SAA 14 54 r. 7); [...]šu (SAA 14 364 r. 2’); [...] (SAA 14 324 r. 4’, royal *ša-rēši*). In addition, there are the witnesses Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē (SAA 6 1 r. 16), Iadī’ and Nabû-nāšir (SAA 6 277 r. 7–8) said to be from the Town of the *ša-rēšis*.

⁴⁹⁴ Šarru-munammir (CTN 2 51 r. 8); Šallim-ilu (CTN 2 7 l.e. 3’); Tardītu-Aššūr (Eduzza 10 18 r. 27–8, royal *ša-rēši*); [...] (Eduzza 10 51 r. 6); Dāgil-ili (ND 3426 r. 10); Šil-Bēl-dalli (ND 3426 r. 8, also “household overseer of the crown prince”); Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3454 r. 4); [...] (SAA 12 96 r. 12, royal *ša-rēši*).

⁴⁹⁵ Nabû-nādin-aḥi (StAT 3 3 r. 37, “of the *bēt kimahḥi*”); Tardītu-Aššūr (StAT 3 15 r. 8’); Sīn-šarru-ušur, Kummāiu and possibly Sadūnu (StAT 3 32 r. 3’, 4’; royal *ša-rēšis*); Nergal-nāšir and Ilu-pīja-ušur (KAN 4 8 r. 13’, 17’); Mannu-kī-Arbail (SAAB 9 77 r. 10); Ḥur-ašu (StAT 2 198 r. 1).

⁴⁹⁶ Ḥibalali (BATSH 6 43 r. 11); Našīr-ilu (BATSH 6 95 r. 6).

⁴⁹⁷ Mār-šarri-ilā’ī and Milkī (TH 113 r. 3, 4).

of Adad-nērāri III down to the late 7th century. As active parties they are attested as creditors of silver,⁴⁹⁸ as sellers of houses and land,⁴⁹⁹ and as sellers of slaves.⁵⁰⁰ There is also a judicial document from Assur according to which the woman Arbail-ḥammat together with her son Nabû-erība was released from debt slavery in the house of an (unnamed) *ša-rēš-šarri* (VAT 5606 b.e. 8). Otherwise, the royal *ša-rēši* Idrāia paid [x] shekels of silver to Mannu-kī-Arbail in order to have him serve him for 100 days (StAT 2 176:3). In a broken letter to the king, the sender (name lost) reports that he had sold four camels at 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ minas each to the *ša-rēši* Nabû-ēpuš, who in turn sold them to the *ša-qurbūti* Mādāiu (SAA 15 182:4'). *ša-rēš-šarris* are repeatedly attested as buyers of land, occasionally estates of considerable size.⁵⁰¹ Judging by legal texts such as SAA 6 27 recording the sale of land in the town of Hanuru, these estates were scattered throughout the empire, a phenomenon that can be generally observed for the ownership of land in the 7th century. Atar-ili, *ša-rēši* of the crown prince of Babylon (Šamaš-šumu-ukīn), leased the village Bahaia in the year 670 (SAA 6 287:13–14) and later, now qualified as team-commander, sold the very same village to Milki-nūrī, *ša-rēši* of the queen, in the year 666.⁵⁰² One should also note the case of an unnamed *ša-rēši* who buys land in the unknown town Mezê (SAA 6 23:6).

All of the legal acts discussed so far are single transactions made by various *ša-rēšis*, but there are also dossiers of *ša-rēšis* which provide us with a more comprehensive picture of their business affairs. The most impressive one is the collection of business records of Šamaš-šarru-ušur, whose archive was found in one of the so-called Town Wall houses in the north-eastern part of the citadel mound of Kalhu. His business activities can be observed over a timespan of 42 years (660–618*) and mainly include credits of silver,⁵⁰³ of barley,⁵⁰⁴ of

⁴⁹⁸ Pān-Issār-lāmur (SAA 14 441:2, 1 mina) and Zāzī (SAA 6 26:2, 20 minas), assuming that the creditor Zāzī is identical with the homonymous royal *ša-rēši* attested in SAA 6 27. Other attestations of *ša-rēšis* participating in businesses involving silver: SAA 7 32 r. ii' 5'–6'; 33 i 5'–6'; 47 i 1, 7, 12, ii 3–4, 11; 17 139 r. 13.

⁴⁹⁹ Houses: Šammu-balāti (SAA 14 54:2); [Mannu-kī]-Adad (SAA 14 262:1–2). Land: Bēl-Ingal-dūri (SAA 14 205:5', "of the crown prince").

⁵⁰⁰ Nabû-dūru-kušur in SAA 6 228:1–2; Ilī in B 110:5.

⁵⁰¹ Zāzī (SAA 6 27 r. 4); Ilu-šabtanni (SAA 6 283 r. 4); Šamaš-kūmū'a (CTN 2 17:7). As buyer of an unknown commodity the same(?) Šamaš-kūmū'a also appears in CTN 2 57 r. 3; cf. [...] in ND 5473:2'. Note also Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē, *ša-rēši* of the crown prince, who redeemed a house (SAA 14 178:1').

⁵⁰² SAA 14 2:1; note also Ilu-eppaš, *ša-rēši* of the *rab* [*ša-rēši*], who sold land (CTN 2 17:2). For another case of two *ša-rēšis* doing business with one another note also the royal *ša-rēši* Šamaš-kūmū'a who buys land from the *ša-rēši* Ilu-eppaš (CTN 2 17).

⁵⁰³ ND 3440:3; 3430:4; 3435:4/B:2; 3437:4; 3434:3; 3452:2; 3459:2; 3444:2/B:4; 3432:4; 3462:1; 3451:2; 3441:4; 3438:4; 3453:2; 3461:2; 3431:5. These activities are attested from 652 down to 623*. Šamaš-šarru-ušur was also creditor of 35 chains and a *ḥutuqu*-implement in 625* (ND 3445:3/B:5).

⁵⁰⁴ ND 3449:3; 3447:4; 3446:3; 3456:3; 3464:6; 3450:3. These transactions took place between 640* and 620*.

silver and barley together,⁵⁰⁵ and of birds such as doves and geese.⁵⁰⁶ Šamaš-šarru-ušur once also occurs as a creditor of wages to be given to the junior (*šeḫru*) Nāšir-ēdi by Mannu-kī-Arbail (ND 3433:3). These wages are not specified in terms of a commodity and amount, therefore it may have been a standard payment in silver. He also bought men including a “bought (slave)” (ND 3427:6) and a cook (ND 3428:5) as well as women including Aḫāti-lē’i and her son (ND 3426:6) and the aged woman Urkittu-ḫammāt.⁵⁰⁷ He adopted Gallussu, daughter of the fowler Matī’-il-ilā’ī, for 16 shekels of silver (ND 3423:6). According to another record, the wife of Sa’altī-il was given as a security into the house of Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3443:3). Šamaš-šarru-ušur also bought a house in the year 641* BCE and received land for cultivation for three shekels of silver (ND 3457:3; 3466c:3). Šamaš-šarru-ušur repeatedly conducted business with bird fatteners (ND 3437:4; 3441:4; 3442:5) and fowlers (ND 3423:6) which is certainly related to his concern with birds perhaps destined for temple offerings (see section 27.2 The *mušākīlu* (fatteners)).

We also learn of the substantial business activities of the *ša-rēš-šarri* Nīnuāiu and the aforementioned Milki-nūrī, *ša-rēši* of the queen. Nīnuāiu, active in the reign of Assurbanipal, is attested as buyer of slaves (SAA 14 16–22), and is once involved in a lawsuit concerning pledges he was entitled to (SAA 14 15:2–3). Milki-nūrī too is attested as buyer of slaves (SAA 14 3–5), but he also bought people together with land (SAA 14 6:3’–4’) and two entire villages (SAA 14 1:12, see above; 2:6–7). An entire village was originally dedicated to Sin by the *ša-rēši* Il-iāba, though he seems to have misappropriated it according to its rededication to Sin by Assurbanipal (SAA 12 90:6). Sīn-ētīr, who is once designated scribe and, if restored correctly, *ša-rēši*, bought and acquired land through exchange (CTN 2 47:7–8). According to another broken legal document of land exchange, he was the brother of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, *ša-rēši* of Adad-nērāri and governor of Kalhu (see above).⁵⁰⁸ Judging by all these legal transactions involving *ša-rēšis*, they mainly occur as creditors of silver, but also frequently dealt with slaves and bought considerable amounts of land, including entire villages. All this suggests that at least some of these men were prosperous.⁵⁰⁹

Wealth in the form of landed property can also be observed for royal *ša-rēšis* who, apart from having acquired land independently, are attested as beneficiaries of land grants. First, this is true for land granted in the reign of Adad-nērāri

⁵⁰⁵ ND 3442:5; 3458:5.

⁵⁰⁶ ND 3436:3; 3439:4; 3448:2; 3465:2.

⁵⁰⁷ ND 3420:8. Other purchases of slaves of Šamaš-šarru-ušur are recorded in ND 3422 and ND 3429.

⁵⁰⁸ For the text see CTN 2 64:2–3 (including the sealing); cf. CTN 2 20:5; 37:7; 42 r. 2; 60b r. 4’; 65:4’.

⁵⁰⁹ Note therefore also Bēl-issē’a, village manager and *ša-rēši* of the governor Bēl-tarši-ilumma, who bought land and slaves (Perroudon, PNA 1/II 317 s.v. Bēl-tarši-ilumma 2).

to a *ša-rēši* named [Nabû-dû]r-bēlīja.⁵¹⁰ There is another fragment of a land grant from the 8th century with the beneficiary qualified as *ša-rēši* (SAA 12 18 r. 2'). We also learn of land placed at the disposal of *ša-rēšis* in letters dating to the reign of Sargon. From these it is also clear that land was provided in connection with the beneficiaries' appointment (SAA 19 195 r. 12–14) and it could well be that the provision of land was linked to certain obligations. A possible criticism about the custom of granting land to *ša-rēš-šarris* is made in a broken passage of a letter of Mannu-kī-Aššūr-lē'i, possibly the governor of Guzana, to the king Sargon, according to which this practice was the reason why land had become rare.⁵¹¹ From the standardised formula of the grants of Assurbanipal (e.g. SAA 12 25) we do not learn of granted land as such but the royal grant of tax exemption of property that already belonged to *ša-rēšis* (Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXVI). Assuming that *ša-rēšis* indeed had no offspring (either biological or adopted), their property presumably reverted to the crown or was transferred to their successors. Another possibility is that they were handed over to the temples, as in a grant dating to Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 1:3–4) and indicated by a broken phrase in the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a.⁵¹²

8.1.4 Personal seals

Comparatively many cylinder seals are preserved which belonged to *ša-rēšis*, according to their inscriptions. Many of these seal owners were governors or their subordinates active in the reigns of Šamšī-Adad V and Adad-nērāri III.⁵¹³ Another seal was given to Issār-dūrī, *ša-rēši* of the commander-in-chief, by the *ša-rēš-šarri* Bīrtāiu (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2009:6–7) in the reign of Adad-nērāri III. From the latter reign we also encounter cylinder seals belonging to the royal *ša-rēšis* Bēl-daiāni,⁵¹⁴ Nabû-šarru-ušur,⁵¹⁵ and Inūrta-aḫīa-šukšid(?),⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁰ SAA 12 6 r. 1–2; cf. 8:25; restored in 7 r. 16.

⁵¹¹ SAA 1 233 r. 10. In an administrative record 20 *emāru* of land are mentioned along with *ša-rēšis* or rather non-*ša-rēšis* (according to the NU preceding SAG.MEŠ); its meaning remains unclear (SAA 11 219 i 23').

⁵¹² SAA 12 83:25'–27'; cf. Deller 1999: 308.

⁵¹³ Governors: Ilu-ittīja (RIMA 3 A.0.103.2001, Šamšī-Adad V), Pāil-ēreš (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2006, Adad-nērāri III), Nabû-ušalla (N.A.B.U. 1991/86, Sargon II); subordinates of governors: Inūrta-bēlu-ušur (Watanabe 1993: 115–6, no. 6.4:1–3, Šamšī-Adad V), Rēmāni-ilu (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2005, Adad-nērāri III), Adad-nāšir (Watanabe 1993: 117, no. 6.8:1–2, Adad-nērāri III), Aššūr-bēlu-ušur (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2008:1–3, Adad-nērāri III). Note also the impression of the seal of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, on CTN 2 170 and of his brother Sīn-ētir, also *ša-rēši*, on CTN 2 64.

⁵¹⁴ RIMA 3 A.0.104.2017; Niederreiter 2015: 138, no. 3.

⁵¹⁵ RIMA 3 A.0.104.2015; Niederreiter 2015: 139, no. 4. He is very likely identical with Nabû-šarru-ušur, governor of Talmusu (cf. Grayson 1995: 98, Appendix A).

⁵¹⁶ Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2:1–2. Furthermore, he is chief of the cooks and of the herdsmen.

as well as Pān-Aššūr-lāmur, governor of Assur and *ša-rēši* of Sargon (Watanabe 1993: 116, no. 6.7:1–3). In addition, there are the cylinder seals of the unspecified *ša-rēšis* Šamaš-aḫu-ušur (Watanabe 1993: 117, no. 6.9:1–2; Niederreiter 2015: 147, no. C), Qurdi-ili (Niederreiter 2015: 149, no. F), Ilu-ušur (BM 105158:1–2) and *'kdbn* (Watanabe 1993: 117, no. 6.10:1–3) whose time of activity is unknown. The temporal concentration of these inscribed seals in the reigns of Šamši-Adad V and Adad-nērāri III corresponds to the fact that many of the land grants favouring *ša-rēšis* date to the reign of Adad-nērāri III. Apart from the possibility of an uneven distribution of sources, this period seems to be characterised by a temporary strengthening of the role of the highest-ranking state officials, including *ša-rēšis*.⁵¹⁷ Otherwise, there are a few seal impressions of uninscribed cylinder seals or stamp seals belonging to *ša-rēšis* preserved on legal documents, recording their activity as sellers of slaves (B 110) and houses (SAA 14 54, 262) or as recipients of “king’s corn” (CTN 2 99). The depiction of beardless worshippers on many of these seals is a central characteristic of seals belonging to *ša-rēšis*.⁵¹⁸

8.1.5 Allocations

According to the wine lists from 8th-century Kalhu individual *ša-rēšis* were provided with wine rations. The *ša-rēši* Nabû’a received one *qû* of wine (CTN 1 3 ii 4), as did his colleagues Urdu-Aia (CTN 1 3 ii 15) and Šamaš-upaḫḫīr (CTN 1 3 ii 19). The latter is also recipient of 2 *qû* of wine according to another wine list (CTN 1 1 ii 14), which may mention him twice, the amount of wine in the second entry being lost (CTN 1 1 ii 22). In the very same wine list we also encounter the *ša-rēši* Adad-issē’a receiving one *qû* of wine (CTN 1 1 ii 8), and the *ša-rēši* Iqbi-Bēl two *šapputu*-bowls of wine (CTN 1 1 ii 10). It is perhaps no coincidence that the order of *ša-rēšis* listed in CTN 1 1 corresponds to the actual amounts they were provided with, assuming that two *šapputu*-bowls correspond to or surpass the amount of two *qû*.⁵¹⁹ In what seems to be another remnant of a wine list, an Urartian *ša-rēši* is listed as recipient of wine, amount lost (CTN 3 136:1). Apart from these apparently exceptional *ša-rēšis*, amounts of wine were several times handed over to *ša-rēšis* as a collective. These anonymous *ša-rēšis* are listed along with either one *šapputu*-bowl (CTN 1 1 ii 17; 2 i 11; 4:15; 14:6), one *sūtu* 4 *qû* (CTN 1 3 i 12) or one

⁵¹⁷ Grayson (1993) defines “four strong men” for this period: Pānil-ēreš, governor of Rašappa, the palace herald Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur, the commander-in-chief Šamši-ilu and the commander-in-chief Daiān-Aššūr. For a more recent discussion on this phenomenon see Fuchs 2009a. See also Niederreiter 2015.

⁵¹⁸ Watanabe 1993: 128; 1996: 319. She concluded that every seal depicting a beardless worshipper belonged to a *ša-rēši*, even when the title is not mentioned in the inscription.

⁵¹⁹ This is indeed fairly likely, see p. 76 fn. 49.

sūtu (CTN 1 8:11; CTN 1 5:4[?]) of wine.⁵²⁰ According to a list recording amounts of wine given out during the substitute king ritual, they receive two *šapputu*-bowls of wine (CTN 1 33 ii 2). In contrast to professions such as confectioners and bakers, the amount provided for *ša-rēšis* during the substitute king ritual increased which may be a hint that the number of *ša-rēšis* in the service of the substitute king was deliberately increased, perhaps because more trusted individuals were required in such a precarious situation. Apart from the wine lists, *ša-rēšis* were allocated with foods according to accounts of ceremonial banquets.⁵²¹

8.1.6 Attendance at court

The formal attendance of *ša-rēšis* at court is clear from an administrative text which records gifts presented to the lady-of-the-house (*bēlat-bēti*), who is usually to be identified with the main wife of the crown prince (here: Assurbanipal).⁵²² Here the *ša-rēš-šarri* [...]erība gives a special kind of bird ([tar]-^rma¹-zi-li.MUŠEN, SAA 7 130:7–8) and Milki-nūrī, presumably identical with the aforementioned *ša-rēši* of the queen, presents one lamb, 20 birds of another type (MUŠEN.MEŠ *qu-li*¹) and a bunch of pomegranates (SAA 7 130 r. 5′–7′). The same Milki-nūrī is possibly also mentioned in another list of audience gifts according to which he gave a vessel made of silver and a gold band. As an integral part of the palace, *ša-rēšis* appear in administrative records from 7th-century Nineveh listing court personnel.⁵²³ Furthermore, *ša-rēšis* participate in a royal ritual along with the king (SAA 20 5:3′). Their dominance at court and their close contact to the crown is also indicated by statements where *ša-rēšis* are made responsible for the fact that a letter did not reach the king (SAA 8 502:5) and when they are mentioned together with the “seed of the king” (SAA 5 291 r. 7). In this respect it is also worth noting that *ša-rēšis* of the king, of the crown prince, of the queen and the king’s mother are attested in the sources and that *ša-rēšis* subordinate to royal family members enjoyed an enhanced position in contrast to their colleagues. This is especially clear for *ša-rēš-šarris* in view of their responsibilities (see below). Although numerous

⁵²⁰ The amounts in CTN 1 20 r. 2′ and CTN 3 143 ii 5′ are lost.

⁵²¹ SAA 7 148 r. ii 3′; r. ii′ 5′ and 150 ii 16′.

⁵²² For a discussion of the term *bēlat-bēti* see Svärd and Luukko 2010.

⁵²³ Dādi-iqbi, Mušēzib-Aššūr, Būlu-zakaru, [...], [...]dammiq (SAA 7 5 i 22, 38, ii 48, r. i 9, 10); [...] (SAA 7 7 r. ii′ 2). The *ša-rēši* Mušēzib-Aššūr is also mentioned in SAA 7 9 ii 22, as is the case with [...]šarru-ušur and [...]erība (SAA 7 9 i 4′, 5′). SAA 7 5 also records *ša-rēšis* of the king’s mother: Aššūr- [...], Nabū-dūru-ušur, Pan- [...] and [...]jin (SAA 7 5 i 32, 46, ii 16, r. i 46). Note also Marduk-šarru-ušur, *ša-rēši* of the crown prince, who was assigned to the lady-of-the-house (SAA 7 4 r. ii′ 8′).

officials are known to have had *ša-rēšis* in their service (see above), the royal family had a special claim on them.⁵²⁴

Two letters of the scholar Marduk-šākin-šumi to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) deal with the storehouse (*bēt qātē*) of the *ša-rēšis* (SAA 10 270:2; 247 r. 3). The sender addresses rituals to be performed (or already performed) because of some sort of contamination, perhaps a fungus (see section 2.1 On the *bēt qātē*). Although one would first think of a unit in the palace, it is possible that the *bēt qātē* in question formed part of the temple complex: this is supported by the fact that *ša-rēšis* were appointed to temples to take care of the king's concerns (especially the royal tombs in Assur) and we also get the impression from another letter (heading lost) that a "house of the *ša-rēšis*" was connected to the Nabû Temple (SAA 13 134:24', s. 3). Provided that the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis* was indeed located in the temple area, these *ša-rēšis* were palace delegates and actually belonged under the aegis of the king, as is supported by the fact that the *rab ša-rēši* was concerned with this matter (SAA 10 270:4).

8.1.7 Missions and fields of operation

As representatives of the palace household, *ša-rēšis* were distributed all over the empire to exercise regular functions or to fulfil temporary tasks.⁵²⁵ Therefore the central administration could revert to a pool of *ša-rēšis* who must have existed in great numbers, as is also apparent from the fact that when a *ša-rēši* is in demand, we repeatedly come across expressions such as *issēn (ša) ša-rēšāni* (SAA 10 283 r. 5'; 16 90:4'; also restored in SAA 2 4 r. 6'), *issēn ša-rēši* (SAA 10 84 r. 7; CT 54 26:9'), *issēn ša-rēši ša šarri* (SAA 17 123 r. 13') and *issēn ša-rēš-šarri* (SAA 18 103 r. 18), referring to one representative from among the class of *ša-rēšis* or *ša-rēš-šarris*. As to the actual missions of *ša-rēšis*, they are repeatedly demanded by the king's correspondents, usually high-ranking officials such as magnates and governors. They especially ask for royal *ša-rēšis* so that they may verify (SAA 1 124:10), examine,⁵²⁶ investigate and clarify matters abroad which the officials are not able or not authorised to manage themselves. Investigation and clarification happened through arbitration (SAA 18 131 r. 19) and juridical oversight (SAA 13 128 r. 8). The latter can also be observed in the case of a *ša-rēš-šarri* sent to Arrapha in order to

⁵²⁴ Note references to *ša-rēšis* sent to the king in letters: SAA 15 1:4–10, r. 3'–17; 13 178 r. 4, 16; 18 56:8 (SAA 13 178 and 18 56 deal with fugitive *ša-rēšis*).

⁵²⁵ Note therefore the *ša-rēšis* who may be qualified with their place of activities, either towns (CT 54 26:9') or lands (ND 2496:7).

⁵²⁶ ND 2783 l.e. 2; SAA 1 11 r. 5, 7; 16 100 r. 17.

attend to a dispute.⁵²⁷ Another mission was delegated to the *ša-rēš-šarri* Nabû-erība together with the royal “third man (on chariot)” Nergal-šarru-ušur and Akkullānu, here designated “enterer of the Aššur Temple” but otherwise known as astrologer and priest of Aššur (SAA 21 28 r. 13). They were sent to the royal letter’s recipient Nabû-ušabši (name restored), governor or Uruk, to let him swear a loyalty oath. The *ša-rēš-šarris*’ concern with the organisation of deportees is evident from an administrative list from the reign of Sargon. Therein the *ša-rēš-šarri* Rēmānni-Adad, together with a mule-stable attendant (name lost), is listed along with 1 *emāru* 3 *sūtu* of grain or a cereal product to be given to deportees of [...] whom they had brought to Arrapha.⁵²⁸ *ša-rēš-šarris* are also considered as commanders of recruited men (SAA 15 54 r. 17) and of men deployed for construction works (SAA 15 84 r. 17). Additionally, they were requested for the supervision of a quay (SAA 18 103 r. 18, 22).

ša-rēšis without any qualification (although they might have actually had one) functioned as delegates (SAA 5 95 r. 4) and were engaged on errands, including the transfer of documents,⁵²⁹ of construction materials (ND 2651 r. 7) and other objects (CTDS 5 b.e. 4–5), of animals ([Na]nū in SAA 5 137:2’) and of human beings (Na’di-ilu in SAA 18 20:11’; 10 222:11). The *ša-rēši* Ēreš-ilu even took somebody into custody (SAA 15 182:14’). The deployment of *ša-rēšis* on other delicate missions such as the vacating of the house of the *mār banī* Aššūr-nāšir (SAA 16 89:16), the supervision of the unsealing and correction of an Akkadian writing board (SAA 8 19 r. 8), and the verification of a special constellation of stars indicating bad fortune (SAA 10 84 r. 7), supports the impression that they were considered reliable individuals.⁵³⁰ *ša-rēšis* were also in demand for supervisory tasks on the occasion of construction works (SAA 16 90:4’) and were appointed over others (ND 2496:7). In two queries to the sun-god the “armed (or equipped) *ša-rēšis*” (*ša tilli inaššūni* or *našūni*) were mentioned in a section separate from the *ša-rēšis* without qualification.⁵³¹ Together with the “armed *ša-ziqni*”, who are listed immediately afterwards, they are said to “stand guard for the king” (*a-na EN.NUN šá LUGAL GUB.MEŠ-ú-ni*). The *ša-rēšis* described here evoke the depictions of beardless attendants of the king bearing arms (mace, bow and filled quiver) on the

⁵²⁷ SAA 17 173:4’; cf. the *ša-rēši* Marduk-šarru-ušur, possibly identical with a homonymous *ša-rēši* of the crown prince, who imposed a judicial decision in Ma’allanate (O 3686:1).

⁵²⁸ ND 2803 ii 23’–25’. Also according to another administrative document *ša-rēšis* seem to have had deportees in their care (ND 2443+ iv 8); cf. Middle Assyrian texts (Jakob 2003: 89, 91).

⁵²⁹ Šarru-nūrī in SAA 10 294 r. 3; SAA 5 32:7; possibly SAA 5 48 r. 2.

⁵³⁰ Cf. Parpola 1983a: 20. It was asked for royal *ša-rēšis* also in SAA 5 181:6; 15 132 r. 2’; ABL 1311+ r. 28. Here, the matters they were engaged with remain unclear.

⁵³¹ SAA 4 142:12; 144:12. Note also the LÚ.SAG.MEŠ *rak-ku-ú-ti* in SAA 4 142:7, the meaning of which, however, remains unclear (it might be connected to the term *raksu* and thus means something like “recruited”).

Assyrian reliefs (Reade 1972: 99–100, Pl. XXXIII no. a) who were meant to protect the sovereign.⁵³² The four *ša-rēšis* Bēl-Ḥarrān-dūrī, Nuḥšāia, Šulmu-bēli-lašme and Dādi-[...] listed in a horse list,⁵³³ may also have been such royal attendants. Also in another administrative document *ša-rēšis* occur in connection with horses: the two BAD-ḤAL (*pēṭhallu*) “of the *ša-rēšis*”, probably referring to (cavalry-)horses rather than cavalymen (or cavalry-teams), receiving 52 *emāru* 2 *sūtu* of grain (ND 2803 ii 6’), indicate that *ša-rēšis* were equipped with horses. This is possibly because of a military action, but alternatively they may have used them to run their numerous errands.

Although *ša-rēšis* were considered loyal servants of the king, we learn from the treaties and queries dating to the reign of Esarhaddon that they were also regarded as a potential danger to the crown. A similar reference to *ša-rēšis* is found in a letter of Nabû-rēḫtu-ušur to the king Esarhaddon (SAA 16 60 l.e. 3) and also a letter of Nabû-bēlu-ka’ in refers to the disloyalty of *ša-rēšis* (SAA 19 193:14). As we learn from the sources, they sometimes acted illegally, for example by misappropriating property (Ṭāb-šar-[...] and Aḥḫēšāia in SAA 8 528 r. 1, 2) and silver.⁵³⁴ Milki-nūrī, *ša-rēši* of the queen, is possibly identical with a Milki-nūrī who is involved in a conspiracy (SAA 16 60 r. 12’) and is said to tell lies (SAA 16 63 l.e. 1). His misdeeds may have caused the crown prince Assurbanipal to tell him to remove his insignia, a sash (SAA 16 20 r. 2’).

8.1.8 Subordinates

As for the subordinates of *ša-rēšis* without an explicit affiliation, we encounter Ubru-Nabû, servant of a *ša-rēši*, who witnesses a legal document (ND 2329 r. 12), and three servants of the *ša-rēš-šarri* Šalam-šarri-iqbi who are involved in a court case.⁵³⁵ Asalluḫi-nādin-aḫi, who underwent a river ordeal, was an official (*bēl piqitti*) in the service of Milki-nūrī, who is possibly identical with the homonymous *ša-rēši* of the queen (SAAB 1 68:2). The limestone man (*ša-pūlēšu*) Kišir-Issār seems to have been temporarily engaged by the Kushite *ša-rēši* Šulmu-sarri.⁵³⁶ Judging by Rībāti, mule-stable man “of the *ša-rēšis*” (ND 2646:3–4), and grooms “of the *ša-rēšis*” listed as recipients of 5 *qu* of bread or beer (CTN 1 35 iii 4’–5’), these functionaries may have stood at

⁵³² Beardless men depicted with other staff such as sunshades or towels (see Reade 1972: 100) may have been designated *ša-ḫutāri* (“staff-bearer”) who are also mentioned in this query (SAA 4 142:8). See therefore also Groß and Kertai 2019: 19.

⁵³³ CTN 3 101 i 9–13. A *ša-rēši* is possibly also mentioned in the horse list CTN 3 110 i 1’.

⁵³⁴ According to a memorandum (SAA 7 47), the two Kushite *ša-rēšis* Dāri-šarru and Šulmu-šarri took amounts of silver from officials such as the deputy of the governor of Rašappa by force (*da-an-at-te* in i 8, ii 8). Dāri-šarru is possibly also mentioned in another record of silver amounts (SAA 7 48 r. 6’).

⁵³⁵ BATSH 6 71:3–4, 13–14.

⁵³⁶ SAA 7 47 ii 1–2, the phrase is *ina šapal PN erābu*.

the disposal of the *ša-rēšis*. More likely, however, the qualification “of the *ša-rēšis*” expresses the fact that the mule-stable man and the grooms belonged to the class of *ša-rēšis*. Similarly, Mannu-de’iq, who dedicated his son to Ninurta, is referred to as shield owner (of the) *ša-rēši*. Except for the improbable possibility that he was a shield owner belonging to the class of *ša-rēši*, Mannu-de’iq presumably was subordinate to a *ša-rēši*.⁵³⁷

8.1.9 *ša-rēši* and other classes of courtiers

The *ša-rēši* stood in opposition to the class of *ša-ziqni*. Initially, this is indicated by the literal meanings of the two titles, with *ša-rēši* meaning “(he) of the head” and *ša-ziqni*, “(he) of the beard”. They suggest that the Assyrian depictions of beardless men represent *ša-rēšis* and men wearing beards constitute *ša-ziqnis*.⁵³⁸ As to the written sources, in the treaties drawn up in the reign of Esarhaddon the *ša-ziqni* and the *ša-rēši* are referred to as possible offenders against the crown.⁵³⁹ The two classes are similarly referred to in queries to the sun-god about whether there will be attacks against the crown.⁵⁴⁰ This also includes the opposing pairs *ša-ziqni* and royal *ša-rēši* (SAA 4 148:6) and *ša-ziqni* and *ša-rēši* “who bear arms or equipment” (SAA 4 142:12; 144:12). Also in an administrative document from Kalhu the *ša-rēši* occurs next to the *ša-ziqni* (ND 2443+ iv 8), as is the case in three letters (SAA 5 91:11; 10 283 r. 5’; 16 200 r. 7’) and possibly in the partly restored penalty clause of a royal dedication.⁵⁴¹ The perhaps most striking reference to this dichotomy derives from a collection of prophecies according to which Mullissu said to the crown prince Assurbanipal that he will once rule over the “sons (*mar’u*) of the *ša-ziqni*” and the “‘successors’ (*ḫalputu*) of the *ša-rēši*”.⁵⁴² The members of the two classes are here distinguished by their type of successor, implying that the *ša-rēši* did not produce physical sons (and therefore were indeed eunuchs, see below). The divergence between the two classes, in accordance with the special status of the *ša-rēši*, is underlined by the *ša-ziqni* who are contrasted

⁵³⁷ SAA 12 93:3. Accepting the first suggestion, we would have another attestation of a *ša-rēši* with a son. In addition, note the BAD-ḪAL of the *ša-rēšis* (ND 2803 ii 6’) which, however, might denote horses rather than cavalymen (see section 8.1.7 Missions and fields of operation).

⁵³⁸ Cf. Klauber ²1968: 89; Reade 1972: 91–2.

⁵³⁹ SAA 2 4 r. 6’ (accession treaty of Esarhaddon); SAA 2 6 § 6 78, § 14 163, § 20 221, § 22 238, § 27 321, § 29 338 (succession treaty of Esarhaddon); SAA 2 8:7, r. 21 (treaty of Zakūtu concerning the succession to the throne).

⁵⁴⁰ SAA 4 139:4; 142:4; 144:4; 145:2’.

⁵⁴¹ SAA 12 87 r. 16. If restored correctly, *ša-rēšis* may have been contrasted with the *ša-ziqni* also in SAA 11 164 r. 3’.

⁵⁴² SAA 9 7:4. There is no other reference to *ḫalputu* (either in Neo-Assyrian sources or elsewhere). It is an Aramaic loanword meaning “substitute” (see Parpola 1997a: 38, comment on l. 4).

with the royal *ša-rēši*, implying a special closeness to the king.⁵⁴³ The *ša-ziqni* is never given as a title to individuals recorded in legal documents and therefore it was not a relevant designation in daily life, though the *ša-rēši* certainly was. The classification *ša-ziqni*, referring to the common appearance of men, was only established as a counterpart to *ša-rēši* and would not make sense without its opposite. The application of the title *ša-rēši* as a designation in legal records as well as for human booty taken from conquered areas shows that *ša-rēši* was not just a honorary attribution or temporary circumscription but functioned as an accurate and a binding classification.

As observed in the section dealing with the *urad ekalli*, this term too was a counterpart to the *ša-ziqni*, particularly in the earlier texts of the Neo-Assyrian period. It stands to reason that the two expressions, *urad ekalli* and *ša-rēši*, overlapped in as much as a *urad ekalli*, in particular denoting domestic personnel, formed part of the highly diverse *ša-rēši*-class. The designation *ša-qurbūti* is another term with a peculiar relationship to the *ša-rēši*. In the lists of court personnel from Nineveh, individuals designated *ša-rēši* are usually listed next to *ša-qurbūtis*.⁵⁴⁴ Although a royal *ša-rēši* is requested or, as an alternative, a *ša-qurbūti* in a letter to Sargon (SAA 15 54 r. 17), Sargonid letters otherwise rather show that the two groups were distinct from one another (SAA 15 182:4'), each having separate tasks (SAA 15 182:14'). Another basic difference between the two terms is that the *ša-qurbūtis* seem to have been a homogeneous group judging by their members' tasks and status, which was not the case with the *ša-rēši*. The latter circumstance leads to cases where *ša-qurbūtis* appear either higher (SAA 18 56:8) or lower (SAA 7 47 ii 3–4) in rank compared to the *ša-rēši*.

8.1.10 *ša-rēši* as a designation for eunuchs

Judging by the many contributions to the question of whether *ša-rēši* denotes a castrated man or not, the majority of scholars, particularly on the basis of the Neo-Assyrian evidence, prefer to understand this term as a(n exclusive) designation for eunuchs.⁵⁴⁵ Oppenheim (1973), Garelli (1974: 133–7), Dalley

⁵⁴³ This is also indicated by the iconography of the palace reliefs. Hence, men depicted in military camps as occupied with domestic tasks are usually bearded (e.g. relief from the South-West Palace in Nineveh, room VIII, cf. Barnett et al. 1998: Pl. 138). In contrast, the man attending the royal pavilion is depicted beardless (e.g. relief from the South-West Palace in Nineveh, throne room, cf. Barnett et al. 1998: Pl. 35; King 1915: Pl. LI, upper register).

⁵⁴⁴ *ša-rēšis* who follow or are immediately followed by *ša-qurbūtis* are Aššūr-[...] (SAA 7 5 i 32), Mušēzib-Aššūr (i 38), Pān-[...] (ii 16), Būlu-zakaru (ii 48), [...] (r. i 9). Although the logical order of SAA 7 5 remains obscure, the regular sequence of *ša-rēšis*, *ša-qurbūtis*, and prefects and charioteers nevertheless seems to follow certain regularities.

⁵⁴⁵ Parpola 1979b: 33, 1983a: 20–1, Grayson 1995, Radner 1997a: 156, Deller 1999, Tadmor 2002, Barjamovic 2011: 57–9. This is not meant to be a complete enumeration of all contributions to this subject.

(2001), Pirngruber (2006) and Siddall (2007), on the other hand, doubted this and proposed alternative ideas.⁵⁴⁶ The aforementioned reference to the “sons of the *ša-ziqni*” and the “successors of the *ša-rēši*” is perhaps the most striking indication that the *ša-rēši* usually did not have biological sons and indeed were castrates in Neo-Assyrian times (cf. Parpola 1983a: 21). Another argument proposed in this respect is the fact that litigation clauses of conveyances involving *ša-rēši*s do not refer to their sons and grandsons, something which we can otherwise frequently observe in these clauses.⁵⁴⁷ Although this does not entirely hold true, since sons and grandsons of the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur are referred to in three legal records,⁵⁴⁸ contrary cases still seem to be meaningful.⁵⁴⁹ Curiously, the most remarkable case again derives from a purchase of Šamaš-šarru-ušur: in the litigation clause of ND 3429 Šamaš-šarru-ušur is mentioned with his brothers and nephews, whereas his business partner Abu-lēšir is mentioned together with his sons, grandsons, brothers and nephews. Taking this latter case seriously, those cases mentioning Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s sons and grandsons can be explained by the possibility of adoption at a later time (or simply the scribe forgot and wrote out the more usual formula). Šamaš-šarru-ušur is indeed attested as having adopted the daughter of Matī’-il-ilā’ī (ND 3423) and as having purchased the woman Aḫātī-lē’i together with her son (ND 3426).⁵⁵⁰ Although not every individual designated *ša-rēši* need to have been a castrate *per se*, this term indeed seems to have denoted eunuchs in the proper sense of the word. Siddall (2007: 234–6), in his re-examination of the title, stresses the symbolic character of the office *ša-rēši* (and *rab ša-rēši*) and its connection with the Ištar cult and therefore its ambiguous (since beardless) appearance. This is his main argument for an interpretation of its office-holders not being castrates, but such a symbolic background, which is plausible, by no means contradicts the impression that *ša-rēši*s were eunuchs. To the contrary, this may have reinforced the requirements on the office-holders regarding their physical appearance.⁵⁵¹ Although castration *a priori* does not

⁵⁴⁶ Hawkins (2002: 217–21) offers a clear and condensed discussion about the scholarly debate up to the 90s.

⁵⁴⁷ This argument was adduced by *inter alia* Parpola 1983a: 21; Deller 1999: 308; Watanabe 1996: 318–9. For a general discussion of this clause see Postgate 1976: 18–9.

⁵⁴⁸ ND 3426:14 (649); 3422 r. 5–6 (642*); 3427 r. 1–2 (622*). Note also SAA 14 7 r. 2, referring to the sons of the *ša-rēši* Nīnuāiu.

⁵⁴⁹ SAA 14 21:14’–15’; CTN 2 17:17; ND 3429 r. 3–4. In SAA 14 1 r. 1 and ND 3463 r. 4 (641*) *ša-rēši*s are addressed without any other relatives. Note also the discussion under section 14.8.2 Treasurers of members of the royal family.

⁵⁵⁰ Also another official, possibly a local treasurer, whose private archive was found in Assur, is known to have adopted a son (see section 14.8.4 Treasurers appointed to cities), whereas adoptions seem to have been less common among professionals, judging by the private archives of goldsmiths, oil-pressers and other craftsmen in Assur.

⁵⁵¹ Note therefore also the devotees of Ištar, designated *kulu’u* and *kurgarrū*, who are thought to have been emasculated, cf. p. 154 fn. 240.

exclude the possibility of *ša-rēšis* having their own families (with adopted children), the concept of employing heirless men who owed their loyalty to the king is something which fits quite well with the organisation and structure of the Assyrian state and is also compatible with the Neo-Assyrian evidence.⁵⁵²

8.1.11 Concluding remarks

The concentration of *ša-rēšis* active throughout the Neo-Assyrian empire must have been much higher than is evident from the sources, since titles may be omitted entirely, or the official title may have been preferred. Formally headed by the *rab ša-rēši*, these men traverse all levels of Assyrian administration, both within and beyond the palace proper, and are also attested in the military sphere. Although it is indicated by the sources that specific posts were restricted to *ša-rēšis*, it is conceivable that certain areas, such as the royal household, primarily deployed this class of men. Moreover, it could well be that the primary deployment of *ša-rēšis* was in their master's household where they either fulfilled administrative posts such as "household overseer" or served as domestic personnel, as is evident for officials such as *ša-muḥḥi-bētis* who were *ša-rēšis*, and is supported by the fact that palace managers or personnel of the queen (*šakintu*, treasurer) had *ša-rēšis* in their service. Dealing with a period lasting more than 300 years, this central aspect of Assyrian society was certainly subject to changes which, for instance, include the increase in the power of high-ranking *ša-rēšis* in the first half of the 8th century. Despite such changes, the class of *ša-rēši* continued to be an important (if not the most important) class of men, originating from and maintaining a strong relationship with the palace.

8.2 The *tīru*

The Babylonian term *tīru* (LÚ.GAL.TE) first appears in Old Akkadian texts. Its meaning "courtier" or "attendant" is clear from lexical lists according to which it corresponds to designations such as *mazzāz pāni*, *mār ekallim* and *ērib ekalli*.⁵⁵³ As for the Neo-Assyrian period, it only occurs in some Standard Babylonian inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. According to the most

⁵⁵² The evidence for *ša-rēši* being eunuchs in the Middle Assyrian period is more controversial and especially derives from the Middle Assyrian Laws and the Middle Assyrian Palace Edicts (for recent discussions see Jakob 2003: 85–7 and Pirngruber 2011: 288–96). Searching for the origin of the phenomenon of deploying eunuchs as court attendants, it seems to have been common with the Hittites but must have developed earlier than that (Hawkins 2002: 232); see therefore also the Sumerian loanword *tīru* discussed below.

⁵⁵³ CAD T 429 s.v. *tīru* A; cf. AHW 1361. For a discussion of *mazzāz pānis* (vs. *ša-rēšis*) see Groß and Pirngruber 2014.

comprehensive account of human booty taken from the court of Marduk-apla-iddina in Babylon, Sennacherib took his wife, his palace women, “female treasurers” (*masennutu*),⁵⁵⁴ *ša-rēšis*, *tirus*, *mazzāz pānis*, male and female musicians, all artisans (*ummānu*) and palace personnel (*muttabbil ekalli*).⁵⁵⁵ Other royal reports of the same incident either omit the “female treasurers”, the *ša-rēši* and the musicians,⁵⁵⁶ or do not mention Marduk-apla-iddina’s wife, the “female treasurers” and the *ša-rēšis*.⁵⁵⁷ After the conquest of Memphis, Esarhaddon states that he took the wife of the Egyptian king Taharqa, his palace women, his crown prince as well as *tīru* and *mazzāz pāni* as booty (RINAP 4 103:13). As shown by George (1997), examining the meaning of *tīru* with respect to its occurrence in the Epic of Gilgameš, it particularly refers to heirless men and thus seems to be another term for “eunuch”. Since *ša-rēšis*, with one exception, are not mentioned in the passages discussed here although they are otherwise listed as booty taken from conquered courts (in inscriptions of Assurbanipal, see above), it may have been used as a synonym for *ša-rēši* or, at least, denotes a very similar type of a member of court.

8.3 The *urad ekalli*

We encounter the compound *urad ekalli* already in Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian texts. In Neo-Assyrian texts it is written (LÚ/LÚ*).ARAD-É.GAL, (LÚ).ARAD-KUR, LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL-*lim* and LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-É.GAL. It can be translated as “servant of the palace” or “palace servant” and thus literally denotes palace personnel.⁵⁵⁸ As a class designation, it often occurs in the singular when clearly referring to more than one individual.⁵⁵⁹

8.3.1 Legal transactions and properties

A few “palace servants” are recorded as witnesses in legal texts from Kalhu dating to the 9th or 8th century.⁵⁶⁰ As active party to a legal transaction, we

⁵⁵⁴ For its meaning in the Neo-Assyrian sources see p. 295 fn. 674, in the section about foreigners.

⁵⁵⁵ RINAP 3/1 1 32–33. The *muttabbil ekalli* may serve here as a collective term for all the palace-related people listed before, cf. the brief discussion of this term in section 8.8.3 The *muttabbil ekalli*.

⁵⁵⁶ RINAP 3/1 2:9 // 3:9 // 4:8 // 8:8 // 9:8.

⁵⁵⁷ RINAP 3/1 15 i 6’–10’ // 16 i 43–47 // 17 i 36–39 // 22 i 31–34 // 23 i 28–30.

⁵⁵⁸ AHW 1464–6 s.v. (*wardu(m)*) B.4; cf. CAD A/II 210–1 s.v. *urad ekalli* 1. In Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian sources it is a designation for a profession concerned with construction works instead (see s.v. 2.; Oppenheim 1949; Baker 2005: 7–12). In contrast to Radner (1997: 203, fn. 1074), I do not necessarily believe that the *urad šarri* or *urad ša šarri* is a synonym of *urad ekalli*, especially because the latter primarily denotes a court class.

⁵⁵⁹ See in particular ND 2498, where the summation of domestics such as the cooks is in the plural, whereas the summations of the *ša-ziqni* and the *urad ekalli* are in the singular.

⁵⁶⁰ Edubba 10 47 r. 6’ ([...]nī); CTN 2 63 r. 6’ (Išme-ilu); possibly also Šarru-de’iq in Edubba 18 r. 24, though he may be designated “royal servant”.

encounter Šil-Nabû, “palace servant” of the Central City, who sold a house for 80 minas of copper to the nephew of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatû’a (Edubba 10 18:1–2). This transaction is witnessed by the deputies of the chief tailor and of the chief confectioner and possibly also by another “palace servant” (see fn. 560). The “palace servants” Ērisu and Ma?u?d[a?..] sold a plot of unbuilt land in the town of [...], according to a broken document from 7th-century Kalhu (CTN 3 56:1–3). Another possible piece of evidence for land at the disposal of the palace servant is found in a document recording the sale of various fields to the royal *ša-rēši* Zāzî. One of these fields, located in the town Hanuru, is said to adjoin the (estate of) the “palace servant” (SAA 6 27:5’). Since it occurs without any personal name, this could denote a type of “prebendary land” intended for the usufruct of individuals bearing the title *urad ekalli*.⁵⁶¹ Another possible explanation is related to what we learn from a broken letter to the king, possibly Sargon. Here a “palace servant” is said to have been appointed “before” (*ina pāni*) distributed fields, apparently to organise the levy of part of their yield.⁵⁶² Another involvement in the harvest of crops is indicated by a contract from 7th-century Assur where the “palace servant” Šuliḥ is recorded as owing ten shekels of silver (SAAB 5 49B:3–4). Šuliḥ has to repay his debts of five *emāru* of barley and it is also stated that he bears responsibility for the people. Fales and Jakob-Rost (1991: 105) assumed that these UN.MEŠ may denote “harvesters or other categories of agricultural personnel who are to supply the required amount of barley”. Since one would usually expect the term “harvester” (*ēšidu*) in such a case, I wonder whether this rather refers to people to be fed with the outstanding amount of barley and thus reflects an official concern of the palace servant.

8.3.2 Allocations

Apart from possibly having prebendary lands at their disposal, “palace servant(s)” are also attested as recipients of food rations. In an administrative document from Kalhu dating to the reign of Sargon II, palace servants are recorded as recipients of grain or a cereal product in three subsequent sections on its obverse: 38 “palace servants” stationed in Arbail receive 102(?) *emāru* 7(?) *sūtu* (ND 2803 i 4), 39 “palace servants” in Kilizi are provided with 105 *emāru* 3(?) *sūtu* (ND 2803 i 12) and 77 “palace servants” in Adian are the recipients of 208(?) *emāru* 8 *sūtu* (ND 2803 i 23) of grain or cereal products. Each of these sections is headed by an allocation for the local *šakintu* and lists rations handed over to women and professionals such as weavers and bird

⁵⁶¹ See Postgate (1989: 146–7) and his proposal how to identify “prebendary land”.

⁵⁶² SAA 19 209:5’; also in the broken letter SAA 19 193 (ll. 10, 18) the “palace servant” is associated with a field.

fatteners. Hence, these “palace servants” formed part of palace households in different cities of the Assyrian heartland and were in the charge of female administrators thought to have headed the queen’s household (*inter alia* Svärd 2015: 100). An allotment of grain or a cereal product for the “palace servant” is possibly also recorded in a broken document from Guzana according to which the “palace servant(s)” receive(s) 14 *emāru* 3 *sūtu* (not qualified).⁵⁶³ Another allocation for the personal consumption of “palace servants” is found in a Nimrud wine list according to which a “Kassite” *urad ekalli* is recorded as a recipient of [x] *qû* of wine (CTN 1 1 r. iii 8). He is listed amidst other foreigners such as “Hittite” musicians and Chaldean cooks and bakers. Otherwise, an unnamed palace servant is recorded as recipient of one tunic (*gulēnu*) for the campaign (*ša* KASKAL) in an administrative document from Guzana, dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III (TH 63 b.e. 7, 8).

8.3.3 Functions

It is clear especially from the aforementioned administrative document ND 2803 that “palace servants” constituted palace personnel active in specific palaces (and special areas therein). There are other sources which underline this impression, such as the fact that Šil-Nabû was designated “palace servant of the Central City” (Edubba 10 18:1–2).⁵⁶⁴ In a record of personnel from 8th-century Kalhu individuals mentioned by name are summed up as “palace servants”.⁵⁶⁵ Judging by some further qualifications, they constituted domestic personnel of the palace: three “palace servants” are qualified as tailors (ND 2498:1’–2’, 7’) and the “palace servant” Barzūta was a cook (ND 2498 r. 18’, 23’). In addition, we encounter bakers (of the) “palace servant” in a ration list of beer or bread (CTN 1 35 ii 6’); instead of being subordinate to a “palace servant” they were rather bakers from among the class of the *urad ekalli*. Also the “Kassite” “palace servant” who is listed in the proximity to foreign cooks and bakers in CTN 1 1 underlines the impression that “palace servants” specifically included domestic personnel of the Neo-Assyrian palaces. Another occasion where *urad ekalli* (here rather *urdāni ekalli*) probably serves as a reference to domestics of the palace is found in an inscription of Sennacherib (RINAP 3/1 1:32). At the end of an enumeration of human booty taken from the court of the defeated Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina

⁵⁶³ TH 58 r. 10’; cf. CTN 3 130 where 62 “palace servants” are summed up after amounts of [x] *emāru* and [x] *sūtu* are subsequently listed and specified as given in charge of individuals mentioned by name who are possibly meant with the qualification “palace servant”, though this remains uncertain.

⁵⁶⁴ This Central City Palace may have been located in Nineveh, see Part III, section 1.1 Types and locations.

⁵⁶⁵ ND 2498: Mannu-kī-Arbail, Šil-Nabû, Bēl-lēšir, Nabû-tukulti-enši (PAB 4 ARAD-KUR, r. 24’–28’); Mannu-kī-[...] and two names missing (PAB 3 A[R]AD-KUR, ll. 1’–2’); Bazūta (ARAD-‘KUR’, r. 18’).

we encounter the compound LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-É.GAL. It is listed after the king's wife, his palace women, "female treasurers", the *ša-rēšis*, the courtiers (*tīru*), the *mazzāz pāni* and male and female musicians and is immediately followed by the phrase "who cheered up his princely mind" (*mu-nam-mi-ru ṭè-mu ru-bu-ti-šú*), which, in return, precedes the reference to a completely different category of men, namely the skilled craftsmen. The type of palace-related groups (including women) and the order in which they are given here enables us to interpret the *urdāni ekalli* as a distinct category of members of the royal household (rather than a generic term for all the royal household members),⁵⁶⁶ and they likely represent here the domestic sphere of the palace. An indication of the palace servant's outdoor activities, as also denoted by his concern with fields and their crop yield, is found in a broken letter in which the sender (name lost) asks the king (Sargon) to send "palace servants" or "bearded men" to "stand guard" (*maššartu uzuzzu*) with him (SAA 5 294 r. 9). The sender seems to be involved in construction works on a temple and the reference to palace servants may function here as an alternate expression for the availability of either non-bearded or bearded courtiers.

8.3.4 Recruitment

Both categories of personnel, *urad ekalli* and *ša-ziqni*, asked for in the letter just mentioned, are referred to as LÚ*.ERIM.MEŠ. Also in an 8th-century account from Kalhu "palace servants" appear as LÚ.ERIM: eight "palace servants", of whom one is missing, together with other individuals including some known as *urdu*, formed part of 836 LÚ*.ERIM.MES, of whom 145 were missing.⁵⁶⁷ Eight is a comparatively small number of "palace servants", but it is clear from the aforementioned record ND 2803, counting 38, 39 and 77 "palace servants" per palace, that there were quite a lot from among the palace personnel who were defined as "palace servants"; this is also clear from the sum of 62 "palace servants" (CTN 3 130:7'). As indicated by the "Kassite" "palace servant" recorded in CTN 1 1, these people could originate from different cultural areas.⁵⁶⁸ The king's policy of employing foreign palace personnel is well known from the royal inscriptions where especially musicians (see section 7.3.3 Ethnicity and origin) and palace women are said to have been taken from conquered areas. As evident from the inscription of Sennacherib, also the *urdāni ekalli* are enumerated as booty taken from the court of the defeated king Marduk-apla-iddina (RINAP 3/1 1:33).

⁵⁶⁶ Also in a Middle Babylonian record (CBS 8500) the palace servants and the musicians are listed separately (Sassmannhausen 2001: 120).

⁵⁶⁷ ND 2485:1', 11'-12'; LAL is interpreted here as *maṭū* for "to be missing".

⁵⁶⁸ Note therefore also the palace servant, listed in what seems to be a record of deportees, who possibly originates from Carchemish (SAA 11 170:11).

8.3.5 The *urad ekalli* and other classes

In the letter SAA 5 294 the term *urad ekalli* contrasts with the designation “bearded man” (*ša-ziqni*). We detect the same counterparts in the administrative document ND 2498, where the fact that they contrasted each other is clear especially from the case of six tailors, of whom three are qualified as *urad ekalli* and three as *ša-ziqni* (ll. 1’–8’). Similarly, we encounter the chariot owners (*bēl narkabti*) of the *urad ekalli* accompanied by the chariot owners of the *ša-ziqni* in some exemplars of the Nimrud wine lists.⁵⁶⁹ In other wine lists, though, the chariot owners of the *urad ekalli* occur together with those of the *ša-qurbūti*.⁵⁷⁰ Similarly, the *ša-qurbūti* is listed before the *urad ekalli* in a collection of decrees from the kings Šamšī-Adad V and Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 76:14’). Discussing the wine lists, Kinnier Wilson (1972: 49–50) already pointed out this phenomenon and also referred to a Late Babylonian text listing garments of the *urad-ekalli* and the *qurubūtu*. Apart from mentioning the well known contrasting pair *ša-rēši* and *ša-ziqni*, he also refers to the so-called bread lists which record chariot owners of the *ša-rēši* and of the *ša-qurbūti*.⁵⁷¹ In conclusion, he proposes two contrasting groups, the “court eunuchs” (*urad ekalli* or *ša-rēši*) and the “*qurubūtu*-emirs” (*ša-qurbūti* or *ša-ziqni*), whose alternative designations are used interchangeably.⁵⁷² Though this seems basically valid (especially in view of the 8th-century wine lists), it turns out that the *urad ekalli* formed only part of the *ša-rēši* who constituted a much larger and more diverse group (see section 8.1.1 Status and functions). Also with the *urdāni ekalli* mentioned in the inscription of Sennacherib discussed above, the terms *urad ekalli* and *ša-rēši* are not used synonymously but appear next to each other.

8.4 The *zarriqu*

The title *zarriqu* (alternatively rendered *zarīqu* and *zāriqu*) is only known from Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian sources. The Neo-Assyrian writings, which come solely from texts dating to the reign of Aššurnāširpal II, are

⁵⁶⁹ CTN 1 3 i 25, 27; 10 r. 3, 10; 13:18’, r. 6’. These chariot-owners presumably formed part of the class of *urad ekalli* and the class of *ša-ziqni* and are rather not to be understood as chariot-owners standing at the disposal of these palace groups (cf. section 6.6 The *bēl narkabti* (“chariot owner”)).

⁵⁷⁰ CTN 1 6:12, 13; 11:4’, 5’; 19:14, 15; CTN 3 136 r. 3’, 4’. In CTN 3 136 r. 3’ the edition reads EN-GIŠ.GIGIR *ša* GĪR².2’ (“the chariot owner of the *ša-šēpē*”). Since this is the only reference to a chariot owner of the *ša-šēpē*, this might be read as *ša-ziqni* or *ša-qurbūti*; especially in view of the subsequent line referring to the “palace servant”.

⁵⁷¹ CTN 1 34:8’; 35 iii 4’–5’. Although the writing in CTN 1 34 (EN-GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ru-’ub-tū*) rather refers to the alternative term *qurubtu* (see section 6.1.2 The *ša-qurbūti* (“agent”)), the *ša-qurbūti* must actually be meant here.

⁵⁷² See above; the *ša-rēši* referred to in SAA 19 193 (l. 14) is perhaps also synonymously also to *urad ekalli*, twice mentioned in the same letter.

LÚ/LÚ*.za-ri-qi, LÚ*.za-ri-qi, LÚ*.za-riq-qi and LÚ*.zar-ri-qi. Its translations range from “sprinkler” or “Wegbesprenger”,⁵⁷³ “(a functionary at the Assyrian court)”,⁵⁷⁴ to “Aufseher” or “Kolonnenführer”.⁵⁷⁵ Hence, it was either interpreted as type of palace personnel or translated literally according to the meaning of the verb *zarāqu* (“to sprinkle”). Alternatively, Deller and Millard (1993: 238) proposed an etymological connection with the Hittite title ERIM.MEŠ or LÚ.MEŠ *sarikuwa-*. Jakob, discussing the Middle Assyrian evidence, does not exclude this possibility since the title is first attested in the reign of Shalmaneser I in the 13th century, a time when the two countries were in close contact (Jakob 2003: 80). This proposed background is supported by the fact that the term’s use is more or less limited to the period of its invention, when we also encounter a *rab zariqī*, and only survives until the earlier 9th century BCE.

Concerning the Neo-Assyrian evidence from the 9th century, the term *zarriqu* occurs in an inscription of Aššurnaširpal II and in the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a assigned to the same reign. In his inscription about the festivities on the occasion of the inauguration of the new capital Kalhu, Aššurnaširpal enumerates the masses of foodstuffs served to his guests for ten days and gives details about the celebrating participants, in sum 69,574 people. Among them were 5,000 emissaries (*šīru*) (described as envoys, *šapru*), 16,000 people from Kalhu and 1,500 *zarriqu* of the king’s palaces (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30:148). In the decree of appointment we observe the *zarriqu ša hūli* “who resides in the province” where he is enumerated after the envoy (*šapru*), the palace manager and the overseer of the *bēt šarrāni* and is said to have been assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a.⁵⁷⁶ Perhaps listed also as personnel assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a, there are the *zarriqus* possibly described as “of the governors” (SAA 12 83 r. 21). Apart from the fact that the interpretation of the decree and its references to the *zarriqu* remain problematic, we learn from the Neo-Assyrian sources that there were *zarriqus* active in the provinces called *zarriqu ša hūli*. As concluded by Deller and Millard (1993: 238) on the basis of the Middle Assyrian and the Neo-Assyrian attestations, the *zarriqu* were bound to the palaces located throughout the Assyrian territory. The decree concerning Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a together with the information we gain from the contemporary royal inscription also indicates that these palaces were inhabited by the provincial governors, who thus also benefitted from their personnel. We also encounter the *rab zariqī ša hūli* in

⁵⁷³ HAD 133 s.v. *zarriqu*; AHW 1515 s.v. *zāriqu*. The rendering *zarriqu* was established by Deller and Millard (1993: 237–8) based on the Neo-Assyrian writings.

⁵⁷⁴ CAD Z 68 s.v. *zariqu*; cf. AHW 1515 which, in addition, gives “Palastarbeiter”.

⁵⁷⁵ Jakob 2003: 78, rendering the term *zāriqu*.

⁵⁷⁶ SAA 12 83 r. 16. The *zarriqu ša hūli* is also mentioned on the broken obverse of the same tablet (SAA 12 83:7’; cf. SAA 12 84:11’), a *zarriqu* is again mentioned in the broken line SAA 12 83:8’.

§ 9 of the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees where it is said that a *ša-rēši* who should bring a royal message to the women's quarters has to ask the palace manager and the *rab zarīqī ša hūli* when they are *en route*; if the women are staying in Assur, it is enough to ask the palace manager. Based on this occurrence, Deller and Millard (1993: 238) defined the *zarriqu ša hūli* as a royal escort who accompanied the king when travelling from palace to palace. In view of this latter function they also thought of counting these men among the military sphere, which would correspond to the Hittite official *sarikuwa-*, who—apart from basically being defined as a low-ranking palace official—was engaged in military operations. Although the *zarriqus en route* may be regarded as being active at the interface between the administrative and the military sphere (a feature which is inherent to the Assyrian system), following Jakob (2003: 82) I would not necessarily define them as military functionaries. In any case, we can conclude that the *zarriqus* were personnel of the palaces situated throughout the empire and that they also accompanied the king when travelling or campaigning.

Like all the other designations discussed in this section, the term *zarriqu* does not denote a particular profession or function but helps to classify people, as indicated by the Middle Assyrian evidence where a *zarriqu* is otherwise known to have been a fattener (*ša kurulti'e*, see Jakob 2003: 83). A basic characteristic of the class of *zarriqus* is certainly their affiliation to the palace, including its provincial establishments and the king's court *en route*. Their court connection is supported by the fact that individuals known as *zarriqus* occasionally appear as *ša-rēši*, *urad ekalli* and once as *ša-muḥḥi-ekalli* in Middle Assyrian sources (Jakob 2003: 78–9). Judging by the total absence of the term *zarriqu* after the reign of Aššurnaširpal, there was a change of designations possibly accompanied by structural changes among the court personnel. While the overlap between *ša-rēši* and *urad ekalli* is still observable in Neo-Assyrian times and we also find a few attestations of the *urad ekalli* (and other palace personnel) *en route*, parallel to the old-fashioned designation *zarriqu en route*, there was no need for another term for the same type of court personnel. The disappearance of the term, on the other hand, may be related to the introduction of the court classes *ša-ziqni*, *ša-qurbūti* and *ša-šēpē*, with especially the latter two having a close relationship to the king as his bodyguard.

8.5 The *ša-ziqni*

The title *ša-ziqni*, literally meaning “(he) of the beard”, is only known from the Neo-Assyrian sources where it is contrasted with the title *ša-rēši*, “(he) of the head”.⁵⁷⁷ It is either written with the logographic sign for *ziqnu*, (LÚ*).*ša/*

⁵⁷⁷ CAD Z 125 s.v. *ziqnu*, CAD Z 126–7 s.v. *ša-ziqni*; cf. AHW 1530–1 s.v. *ziqnu(m)* 1.b Bärtiger; cf. HAD 107.

šá-SU₆ and ša-SU₆-ni,⁵⁷⁸ or written syllabically, (LÚ/LÚ*).šá-zīq-ni, LÚ*.šá-[zīq]-ni and ša-zīq-ni. For the syllabic writings šá-zīq-nu (ABL 1311+ r. 36), ša-zīq-nu (ND 2498:6'), LÚ.zīq-ni (SAA 2 6 § 20 221) and ša-zī-zīq-ni (CTN 1 3 i 27) we only have single references. This is also the case with LÚ.zīq-na-nu (SAA 10 257 r. 12), the only syllabic writing which accounts for the plural and which is transcribed ša-zīqnāni.⁵⁷⁹ The two writings omitting the ša correspond to writings attested for titles such as ša-qurbūti and ša-rēši and it is clear that they refer to the usual renderings that explicitly include the ša (see Parpola 1983a: 168). For the ša-zīqni there is probably another such writing, namely LÚ*.SU₆?.[LÁ?],⁵⁸⁰ attested in a lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 r. vi 2), where it occurs after the LÚ*.da-a[r-ru], which presumably is a synonym for ša-zīqni.⁵⁸¹

Like other terms discussed in this chapter, the designation ša-zīqni denotes a social class rather than a distinct profession or office and therefore serves as a general expression. In contrast to the ša-rēši, however, individuals qualified as ša-zīqni are not attested in legal documents, nor as active parties or as witnesses. This circumstance is explained by the fact that the concept of ša-zīqni only works in conjunction with ša-rēši and is meaningless on its own. In view of the appearance of common men in everyday life in Assyria “bearded men” were standard, whereas the ša-rēši were a special class of beardless men, highly distinct from the ordinary population. Therefore the designation ša-rēši could be used on its own in contexts not directly related to the palace, but references to ša-zīqni only made sense in association with ša-rēši (or the *urad ekalli*, see below) and the institutional sphere, in particular the palace sphere from where the ša-rēši originated from.

We encounter the ša-zīqni in a wine list from 8th-century Fort Shalmaneser as recipients of [x] amount of wine (CTN 1 16:26'). According to another wine list the “chariot owners (of the) ša-zīqni” received 5(?) *qū* of wine (CTN 1 14:26); other amounts given to them are lost (CTN 1 3 i 27; 10 r. 10; 13:18'). As with the “chariot owners (of the) *urad ekalli*” attested in the wine lists, I suggest that these constituted a group among the ša-zīqni who had chariots at their disposal and therefore enjoyed an enhanced status (see section 6.6 The *bēl narkabti* (“chariot owner”). In other administrative documents and in letters dating to the second half of the 8th century or later, men defined as “bearded

⁵⁷⁸ See already Klauber (²1968: 89) and Meissner 1937: 27–8.

⁵⁷⁹ There is also a single logographic writing given in the plural: LÚ*.ša-SU₆.MEŠ (SAA 5 91:11).

⁵⁸⁰ Meissner (1937: 28) refers to the two entries SU₆.LAL and SÚḫ.LUL, equated with *zīq-na-[tu?]* in another lexical list (K 2037 i 13–14).

⁵⁸¹ The adjective *darru*, otherwise known from Standard Babylonian texts, means “bearded”, see CAD D 115.

courtiers” contrast with those men designated *ša-rēši*.⁵⁸² Both titles are possibly also mentioned next to each other in a penalty clause of a dedication of Sennacherib (SAA 12 87 r. 16), provided that the restoration given in the edition is correct (LÚ.[SAG]). There is another reference to *ša-ziqni* accompanied by *ša-rēši* in a prophecy text from the reign of Esarhaddon (SAA 9 7:4). Most of the evidence referring to both terms together is found in treaties and queries from the reign of Esarhaddon. Both types of texts provide other dichotomies and give us an insight into the hierarchical classification of the *ša-ziqni*. In the accession treaty of Esarhaddon, probably drawn up in the year 681,⁵⁸³ it is said that the one who takes the oath on the occasion of the accession of Esarhaddon has to swear that he will inform Esarhaddon in the case he hears an ugly word from either the magnates, the governors, the *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 4 r. 6´) or the *ša-rēši*. In the loyalty treaty of Esarhaddon, dating to the year 672 and concluded with Ḫumbarēš and other city-rulers from the “eastern periphery”,⁵⁸⁴ it is similarly said that one should tell it to the crown prince Assurbanipal in case he hears an improper word from either an individual belonging to the royal family (Assurbanipal’s brothers, uncles and other relatives are listed here), the magnates, the governors, the *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 6 § 6 78), the *ša-rēši* or the scholars. In the same treaty, Assyrians, vassals of Assyria, *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 6 § 14 163), *ša-rēši*, citizens of Assyria and of another country are enumerated as possible insurgents against the king whom the treaty-partner should defeat. Later on, the treaty refers to Assurbanipal’s relatives, whether in Assyria or abroad, and whether belonging to the closer palace area (*ina kal-zi É.GAL qur-bu-ti*) or the more remote palace area (*ina kal-zi É.GAL pa-ti-ú-ti*), great or small, old or young, rich (*mār damqī*) or poor (*mār muškēnūti*), a *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 6 § 20 221), a *ša-rēši*, a servant (*urdu*), or a “bought (slave) (*ša-šīmi*)”, either an Assyrian citizen or a foreigner, out of whom someone might take the throne illegitimately. Then, as possible murderers of Assurbanipal, only the *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 6 § 22 238) and the *ša-rēši* are mentioned. Finally, there is also a clause concerning the case that someone who conspires against Assurbanipal, either from among Assurbanipal’s relatives, a *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 6 § 29 338), a *ša-rēši*, an Assyrian or a foreigner, tries to involve the one who is bound to this very treaty. There is also the treaty of Zakūtu, otherwise known as Naqī’a, mother of Esarhaddon, from after Esarhaddon’s death in 669, whose purpose was to secure Assurbanipal’s succession to the throne. According to what is written in the text, Zakūtu concluded this treaty with Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, Šamaš-mētu-uballit and the remaining brothers, with the royal seed, the

⁵⁸² Administrative records: ND 2443+ ii 3 (sum of 6 *ša-ziqni*), iv 1 (sum of 4 *ša-ziqni*), 8 (sum of 25 *ša-rēši*), 9 (sum of 32? *ša-ziqni*), v 13 (sum of 13 *ša-ziqni*). For the preserved personal names see the tables below. Letters: SAA 5 91:11; 10 294: 21, 30; 16 200 r. 7’.

⁵⁸³ Parpola and Watanabe 1988: XXVIII.

⁵⁸⁴ See Parpola and Watanabe 1988: XXX; cf. Radner 2003a: 60.

magnates, the governors, the *ša-ziqni*, the *ša-rēši*, the royal entourage (LÚ.GUB-IGI, i.e. *mazzāz pāni*), the “exempts” (*zakkū*) and all who enter the palace (LÚ.TU-KUR *gab-bu*), with Assyrians high and low (SAA 2 8:3–9). On the reverse of this tablet the *ša-ziqni* (SAA 2 8 r. 21), the *ša-rēši*, Assurbanipal’s brothers and the whole royal line are mentioned as possible insurgent, whose plans against Assurbanipal should be revealed in the presence of Zakūtu. Apart from these treaties, the *ša-ziqni*, together with the *ša-rēši*, are also enumerated as possible insurgents in the queries to Šamaš about whether there will be rebellion against the king Esarhaddon or the crown prince Assurbanipal. These texts bear the same background as the treaties, namely they relate to Assurbanipal’s accession to the throne. In contrast to the enumerations in the treaties, the *ša-ziqni* follow the *ša-rēši* who are in two of the four queries mentioned at the very beginning of the enumeration (SAA 4 139:4; 142:4). The remaining two fragmentary queries, like the treaties, list the magnates and the governors first (SAA 4 144:4; 148:6). However, in each case (apart from broken SAA 4 148) they are followed by the *mazzāz pāni* and the king’s relatives; thereafter distinct functionaries from among the military and the domestic sphere are enumerated, as well as foreigners. These are either accompanied by their *ša-rēšis* and their *ša-ziqnis* (SAA 14 139:15) or are followed by the armed *ša-rēši* and the armed *ša-ziqni* who stand guard for the king (SAA 4 142:12; 144:13).⁵⁸⁵

From all these enumerations, but especially from those available in the treaties, we can extract the following hierarchical order: royal family, magnates, governors, *ša-ziqni* and *ša-rēši*, who are either followed by the scholars or the *mazzāz pāni*, who are in turn followed by military and domestic functionaries. On the other hand, we observe contrasting pairs such as “old and young”, “Assyrian citizens and foreigners” or “close and remote palace areas”. In view of the purpose of these treaties and the claim of not omitting anyone (see especially SAA 2 6), it is clear that these enumerations of different groups of individuals had to cover all possibilities, encompassing the entire population. The *ša-ziqni*, together with the *ša-rēši*, usually mentioned therein, apparently represent the Assyrian court personnel divided into two distinct groups. Also in the previously mentioned evidence for the *ša-ziqni* accompanied by the *ša-rēši* there was a central concern to refer to the court personnel in its entirety. The enumeration in the succession treaty SAA 2 6, where the “closer palace area” and the “more remote palace area” are listed together with the *ša-ziqni* and *ša-rēši*, indicates that the Assyrian court was not only understood as a conglomerate of “bearded ones” and “non-bearded ones” but was a more complex system. Nevertheless, the division between *ša-rēšis* and *ša-ziqnis* was

⁵⁸⁵ For a detailed enumeration and a comparison of the listed officials and personnel in SAA 4 139 and 142 see Fales 2001: 59–61.

significant for court society and as such was also applied to foreign court societies by the Assyrians or, more likely, was actually a widespread concept at that time. In a letter to the king (Sargon), Aššūr-rēšūwa reports that 100 men including *ša-rēšis* and *ša-ziqnis*, who conspired against the Urartian king together with his *rab ša-rēši*, have been killed (SAA 5 91:11). Also the four “bearded courtiers” Kudû, Sambî, Lillu and Ula[...] are listed as part of the booty taken from the the town of Sal[...] (SAA 11 164 r. 4’–8’). As a central group among the personnel of Assyrian palaces they presumably underwent special training, as indicated by a letter to the king in which the exorcist Urdu-Gula states that he taught the *ša-ziqni* (together with the *ša-rēši*) in obeisance, toil and fear (SAA 10 294 r. 30). Furthermore, it is indicated in a prophecy text that the vacant post of a *ša-ziqni* was usually filled by his son. The crown prince Assurbanipal, who is addressed here, is told by Mullissu that he will rule over the sons of the *ša-ziqni* and the successors (*ḫalputu*) of the *ša-rēši* after this accession to the Assyrian throne (SAA 9 7:4).

Apart from the well known distinction between *ša-ziqni* and *ša-rēši*, the title *ša-ziqni* twice appears as contrasting with *urad ekalli* (see also section 8.3.5 The *urad ekalli* and other classes). In an administrative list from Kalhu, groups of *ša-ziqni* and of *urad ekalli* are subsequently listed; among them three *ša-ziqni* together with three *urad ekalli* are summarised as six tailors.⁵⁸⁶ Similarly, the sender of a letter to the king (Sargon) asks for either *ša-ziqni* or *urad ekalli* to stand guard with him during construction works (SAA 5 294 r. 8). As pointed out above, the terms *urad ekalli* and *ša-rēši* overlap, as is possibly also the case with the *ša-qurbūti* and the *ša-ziqni*, their contrasting terms. The *urad ekalli* denotes here a class similar to the *ša-rēši*, who are usually contrasted with the *ša-ziqni*.

The activities of the *ša-ziqni* support the impression that they are related and partly identical with the *ša-qurbūti* since both had deportees and the like in their care: according to the administrative document ND 2443+, dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, “bearded men” are in charge of ZI.(MEŠ), possibly denoting deportees, to be brought before several officials.⁵⁸⁷ One of these officials, mentioned by name only, is Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur, who is probably identical with the homonymous palace herald under the kings Shalmaneser IV and Tiglath-pileser III (Radner, PNA 1/II 301 s.v. Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur 2.c). However, the *ša-ziqni*’s concern with deportees is also indicated by a fragment of a letter to the king (Sargon) dealing with barley for deportees which also refers to the *ša-ziqni* Aššūr-ašarēd in the town of Ni[...] (SAA 1 260 r. 18–19).

⁵⁸⁶ ND 2498:1’–7’, the *ša-ziqni* are named Šērānu, Aḫu-dūrī, Šumma-Adad; in addition, there are the *ša-ziqni* Nabû-dūru-ušur and Šamaš-bēlu-ušur listed (ND 2498 r. 29’–31’).

⁵⁸⁷ Almost all numbers of ZI.(MEŠ) in the charge of individual *ša-ziqnis* are lost; Šiṣi is listed along with four *nišē* (ND 2443+ ii 1).

As with ND 2443+, although apparently not related to deportees, we observe a *ša-ziqni* as a supervisor in a royal announcement concerning Aššūr-nāšir, servant of the governor of Nuhub, who is also said to be in the charge of the *ša-ziqni* Quia (ABL 307:3). In contrast to the *urad ekalli*, the *ša-ziqni*'s missions outside the palace, including the supervision of deportees, emerge more clearly from the sources. Otherwise, it is clear from a letter of the scholar Marduk-šākin-šumi to the king that “bearded courtiers” were deployed as exorcists. Since the exorcist Rēmūtu, who is in the service of the crown prince, is ill, the sender proposes the “bearded men” Nabû-tartība-ušur, Šumāia, Urdu-Gula, Nabû-lē'ūtī and Bēl-nāšir as candidates to fulfil the post in his stead.⁵⁸⁸ Apart from these distinct functions ascribed to the *ša-ziqnis*, we only learn from two queries that they (and the *ša-rēšis*), could have been armed or equipped and as such stood guard for the king.⁵⁸⁹ The *ša-ziqni*'s involvement in the latter task is also indicated by the fact that the “bearded man” (*darru*) is listed in a section of a lexical list of professions together with the guard and the gate-guard (MSL 12 233 r. vi 1–2). Furthermore, the “commander-of-the-guards” is immediately followed by the “chariot owners (of the) *ša-ziqni*” in a wine list (CTN 1 14:26). The three *ša-ziqni* described as tailors (ND 2498) are the only evidence for *ša-ziqni* being domestics. Contrasted here with the tailors of the *urad ekalli*, they possibly constitute those tailors who were taken on campaign and other journeys, which would correspond to the fact that bearded men are depicted in military camps as being occupied with domestic tasks.⁵⁹⁰

8.6 The *mār ekalli*

The compound *mār ekalli* is first attested in the Old Babylonian period and is also found in Nuzi texts among others. Literally meaning “son of the palace”, it is usually translated as “courtier”. Already in texts from the second millennium it is attested in both administrative and scientific texts (on omens) (AHw 616; CAD M/1 258). This is also the case in the Neo-Assyrian period, as will be shown below. While the most common writing for the title is DUMU-É.GAL, it is also written LÚ/LÚ*.DUMU-É.GAL, (LÚ).DUMU-KUR, (LÚ).A-É.GAL and A-KUR. It is perhaps no coincidence that several references are written without LÚ or LÚ* since the DUMU (or A) on its own is significant enough. Occasionally the title is qualified by giving the actual sphere of activities. There is one courtier twice described as “of the New Palace” *mār ekalli ša/šá É.GAL GIBIL* (SAA 14 426:2–3, 431:4), as well as two *mār*

⁵⁸⁸ SAA 10 257 r. 6–12. Nabû-lē'ūtī, Šumāia and Urdu-Gula are also known from other documents.

⁵⁸⁹ SAA 4 142:12; 144:12–13.

⁵⁹⁰ E.g. a relief from the South-West Palace in Nineveh, room VIII, cf. Barnett et al. 1998: Pl. 138.

ekallis said to be “of the Succession House” (*ša É-UŠ-te* in SAA 14 426:4–5 and *ša É-UŠ.MEŠ-te* in SAA 14 166 r. 3–4). There is also a *mār-amat-ekalli* of the New Palace attested (SAA 11 221 r. 18’–19’), but it is not clear from the available sources that *mār ekalli* is a shortened variant of *mār-amat-ekalli*; thus, both are kept separate here. No detailed study of this title in Neo-Assyrian times has been undertaken so far. From the comparatively meagre evidence it has been assumed that *mār ekalli* was used synonymously with the title *rab ekalli*. This matter, as well as the question of whether the designation *mār ekalli* refers to a certain status or a particular office, will be addressed in the following analysis.

8.6.1 Origin

There are two types of personal names attested for *mār ekallis*. On the one hand, common Assyrian personal names such as Inūrta-šarru-ušur and Mutaqqin-Aššūr, on the other hand, Akkadian names formed on a gentilic. The best evidence therefore is given in the message SAA 16 50, where the two listed courtiers Arbāiu and Mušurāiu bear personal names implying an Arabian and Egyptian origin (ll. 5–6). Another similar phenomenon can be found in a legal record from Assur, where a certain Akkāiu (“from Akkû”) bears the title *mār e[kalli]*.⁵⁹¹ The three personal names all refer to areas or places to the far west and it could be that these individuals originally came from these places, or at least their names imply such an ethnic background, provided that they did not receive these personal names because of a temporary fashion. The *mār ekallis* were presumably not always of Assyrian extraction, but rather they or their ancestors came or were brought to Assyria from remote areas. Looking at the royal inscriptions of Sargon and especially of his successors, human booty taken from captured areas is not only listed in more detail, but it is also said to have been distributed to the Assyrian palaces.⁵⁹² Since the first attestations of the title *mār ekalli* do not occur before the reign of Sargon, it might be that some of the *mār ekallis* indeed represent such human booty (in their childhood or youth) taken from captured countries, brought to the Assyrian heartland and integrated into Assyrian court society. We must consider whether the designation *mār ekalli* generally refers to individuals with foreign origin or background who were brought to and kept in Assyrian palaces in particular. With regard to courtiers like Inūrta-šarru-ušur, he may have gained his well-established Assyrian name, literally meaning “Inūrta, protect the king!”, only

⁵⁹¹ VAT 21000 r. 36’. A place called Akkû is located at the mediterranean coast of Israel, modern Tell al-Fuhhar at ‘Akko (Bagg 2007: 3–4 s.v. Akkû).

⁵⁹² The best example therefore is an inscription of Esarhaddon where human booty from Šubria is said to have been distributed to the various different spheres of Assyria including the forces of Aššur, the palaces and the nobles (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 14’–22’).

secondarily. As appears from the dossier of Inūrta-šarru-ušur found in Nineveh, he was interrelated with individuals bearing either Egyptian names or at least West Semitic names. The business partners of Inūrta-šarru-ušur occasionally had West Semitic names (e.g. SAA 14 435: Ḥallabēše and SAA 14 442: Abdi-Kurra), while individuals who witnessed legal transactions involving Inūrta-šarru-ušur bore West Semitic (e.g. SAA 14 428: Aia-aḥī) or Egyptian (e.g. SAA 14 436: Abī-Ḥūru) names. Moreover, the dossier of Inūrta-šarru-ušur includes legal documents recording transactions of persons with Egyptian names without involving Inūrta-šarru-ušur (not even as a witness) (e.g. SAA 14 442: Puṭi-aḥiṣ). We shall take Inūrta-šarru-ušur's association with a social stratum including individuals associated with the west and sometimes even Egypt as a hint that this man derives from a background, similar to his colleagues Mušurāiu, Arbāiu or Akkāiu.⁵⁹³ Hypothetically it could be that Inūrta-šarru-ušur, attested as a wealthy person living outside the palace walls,⁵⁹⁴ acquired such living conditions after he was kept as a foreigner in the palace for years. Such a career becomes even more plausible in view of the groups of foreign background like the *ḥundurāius* (archives N9 and N10) and the Egyptians (archive N31) in Assur.⁵⁹⁵ Granted, this is uncertain and contradicts the suggestion of Postgate and Ismail (n.d.: 4) that Inūrta-šarru-ušur, based on his title, was the offspring of Assurbanipal and a royal concubine of the New Palace. Both suggestions are at least consistent with the fact that the title refers to status and social origin but not to the actual function of its bearer.

8.6.2 Connection to the palace

Nabû-zēru-lēšir, to be identified with the chief scribe (Baker, PNA 2/II 911 s.v. Nabû-zēru-lēšir 4.b), created a list (SAA 16 50) of altogether fourteen “enterers” (*ēribūte*) for the *rab ekalli* (unnamed). Among these people including a *rab pilkāni* (chief of public works), there are two *mār ekalli* mentioned consecutively: Arbāiu and Mušurāiu. As the document was written for the *rab ekalli*, these two *mār ekalli* together with the others designated as “enterers” were probably supposed to enter the palace or a particular part of it (perhaps on a particular day).⁵⁹⁶ Assuming that the *mār ekalli* was associated with the

⁵⁹³ However, for instance, the son of Puṭi-ḥutapiša (Egyptian name) was called Urdu-Aššūr (StAT 2 207), while, in contrast, the two sons of the commander-of-fifty Lā-turamanni-Aššūr bore the names Ḥuṭ-naḥti and Puṭi-Mūnu (FNALD 18).

⁵⁹⁴ At least his archive was found near private houses and is assigned to one of those. See therefore also Part I, section 6.2.4 Archives from Nineveh (Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus).

⁵⁹⁵ For a brief discussion of the *ḥundurāius* see section 17 Textile production and processing.

⁵⁹⁶ Although there is a date (8th of Du'ūzu, = fourth month) given in l. 12, this does not seem to refer to the day on which they are allowed to enter. Rather it seems that the date belongs to the enumeration of the fourteen enterers, as it shows the same two *Winkelhaken* at the beginning of the line. To count altogether fourteen enterers it is necessary to assign Nabû-zēru-lēšir, again

palace anyway, it is remarkable that his access to the palace was limited, and thus one might indeed think of a particular (otherwise closed) part of the palace to which the fourteen enterers gained access. Although it appears from the clear distinction of the title *rab ekalli* in the heading and the *mār ekallis* listed that the two titles were not used synonymously, we have to explain another reference to the title *mār ekalli* in line 14 of the same document. With the preposition *ana*, this was either meant as a partial repetition of the heading, which would by contrast mean that *mār ekalli* was an alternate term for *rab ekalli* and thus would support the suggestion already made with regard to the *rab ekalli* Tartīmāni, once described as *mār ekalli* instead.⁵⁹⁷ On the other hand, it could mean that fourteen enterers temporarily became courtiers for the time of their visit. Both attempted explanations bear difficulties. The first suggestion seems doubtful with regard to the two *mār ekallis* listed, for whom it is less likely that they had the same position (in another palace) as the recipient of this document. On the other hand, it is curious why two individuals, already described as *mār ekallis*, are another time designated as such only for a limited time span. Furthermore, the latter possibility would actually require an abstract form of *mār ekalli* (*mar'ūt ekalli*). Considering the problems that both interpretations evoke, the conclusion cannot be definite. As to a possible identification of the title *mār ekalli* with *rab ekalli*, it is clear that even SAA 16 50 does not provide clear evidence for such an assumption. Otherwise, the text indeed indicates an interrelation between the *mār ekalli* and the palace. This impression is also supported by the fact that the *urad ekalli* is immediately listed before the term *mār ekalli* in a lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238 r. vi 27).

8.6.3 Witnesses to legal transactions

As to *mār ekallis* as witnesses, Nabû[...] is listed as a witness to a house sale of the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi in the reign of Sennacherib (SAAB 9 75 r. 30). Though Inūrta-šarru-ušur is mainly attested as a party to legal transactions, he first appears as a witness in the year 634* (SAA 14 442 r. 2). Apart from this well-known individual, further courtiers occur as witnesses in various legal documents dating to the 7th century. The two *mār ekallis* Tartīmāni and Bēl-dān are listed as first witnesses in legal documents. While Bēl-dān, *mār ekalli* of the Succession House, is listed together with other personnel of the crown prince (SAA 14 166 r. 3–4), Tartīmāni is witness to a court procedure involving the deputy *šakintu* of the Review Palace which, furthermore, lists a gatekeeper and an entrance supervisor as witnesses

mentioned in line 13, to the sum (see also section 1.1.8.1 Supervising palace access). Since this is an unsatisfying explanation, the sum of fourteen might simply be an error.

⁵⁹⁷ See section 1.1.2 Appointment and career; see Radner 1997a: 206–7, fn. 1112 with further literature Dalley and Postgate 1984: 81 and Deller 1984c: 79.

(CTN 3 30 r. 4). One courtier witnesses a sale of a female slave, together with a gatekeeper and a lock master, in the reign of Assurbanipal (ND 2315 r. 12). From after the reign of Assurbanipal there is the courtier Mutaqqin-Aššūr, twice attested as a witness to sales of unbuilt land in Assur to the *hundurāiu* Mudammiq-Aššūr (SAAB 5 35 r. 27, VAT 21000 r. 37'). He appears along with gatekeepers and craftsmen such as tailors, weavers, bakers and architects as well as with a man belonging to the household of the crown prince. In VAT 21000 also his colleague Akkāia is mentioned as a witness. It is presumably the same Akkāia who witnesses two other legal documents (SAAB 9 106 r. 12, StAT 2 269 r. 12), the former of which records a gatekeeper as creditor of silver. It might be that the *mār ekalli* was in particular related to gatekeepers and similar functionaries since he is associated with them in documents from Kalhu as well as from Assur. Although a definite conclusion is not possible since the number of attestations is small, it may be a general indicator of the *mār ekalli*'s connection with and residence in the palace.

8.6.4 Economic activities

Among the attested *mār ekallis* it is almost exclusively Inūrta-šarru-ušur, courtier of the New Palace, who is attested as an active party to legal transactions. According to his dossier, the only one assigned to a private archival find-spot in Nineveh, Inūrta-šarru-ušur appears as a party to legal transactions from 630* down to 612*.⁵⁹⁸ He mainly acts as a creditor of silver and barley but also of uncommon items such as 15 *kakkabnāt*-[birds?] (SAA 14 427) and 220 legs of [donkey mares?] (*rittāte ša* [...], SAA 14 428).⁵⁹⁹ In 612*, the final year of documentation, he is involved in different types of legal activities. He buys a female slave for 50 shekels of silver (SAA 14 435) and leases a complete field in Smith Town on the 28th of Elulu (= sixth month) (SAA 14 434), which he is to cultivate and harvest, for two shekels of silver.⁶⁰⁰ Inūrta-šarru-ušur owes this field temporarily to Ilā-erība, village manager of the household of the great treasurer, who seems to appear here in his official function. The field was most likely located within the domain of the great treasurer, where Ilā-erība functioned as municipal administrator. It was probably the same Ilā-erība who owed the [donkey]? legs to Inūrta-šarru-ušur in the year 626*. Another significant legal partner of Inūrta-šarru-ušur was a *mār ekalli* of the Succession House who owed ½ mina of silver to his colleague from the New Palace.

⁵⁹⁸ According to Reade's schedule the time span would be 623* down to 615*.

⁵⁹⁹ Silver: SAA 14 426, 428, 429, 433; barley: SAA 14 431, 436.

⁶⁰⁰ See, for a discussion of the phrasing and further examples, Postgate and Ismail n.d.: 14–5 as well as Dalley and Postgate 1984: 101–2 on no. 45. It is not entirely clear who has to pay the silver. It was also interpreted as being in favour of the one who leased and cultivated the field.

Judging from these legal activities, which may represent private business transactions of Inūrta-šarru-ušur, this courtier of the New Palace of Nineveh seems to have been a wealthy and well-connected man, perhaps because of his close connection to the palace (as assumed by Postgate and Ismail n.d.: 4, who suggested that he drew his subsistence from the palace). The chronological change in his legal role was perhaps owed to his increasing age which resulted in diminished business activity and influence. On the other hand, as in the year 612* Assur had been already conquered and Nineveh was about to be captured soon, so the political circumstances might have had their impact on legal activities in the final year of the Neo-Assyrian empire too, especially for someone like Inūrta-šarru-ušur who was active in the imperial capital.

As for other *mār ekallis* involved in business, a courtier (name lost) is listed as one out of twelve men who altogether owed [1]5 *emāru* of grain to Mušēzib-Aššūr in 623*; although the amount he owed is lost, it was very likely one *emāru*, like with the other debtors (ND 2334 r. 1). The courtier Kurû is listed in an administrative document (SAA 7 31 i 6') along with three minas (of silver), probably referring to a legal transaction which had taken place in the past. As assumed in the edition, this list, together with SAA 7 27–30 and 32–48, is connected to the expenditures for the construction works in Dur-Šarrukin in the reign of Sargon (as referred to in the letter SAA 1 159). It probably records debts of the palace or the state administration owed to various individuals, including Kurû.⁶⁰¹ Hence, the phrase “3 *manê ša* Kurû *mār ekalli*” in line i 6 may express that the palace owes three minas of silver to the *mār ekalli* Kurû. If this interpretation is correct, it would be another hint of the wealth *mār ekallis* might have enjoyed.

Additional evidence for considerable amounts of silver at the disposal of *mār ekallis* is derived from some administrative documents dealing with overland trading enterprises from the private archive of Dūrī-Aššūr from Assur. We encounter the recurring reference to the “wages of the courtier” (*ig-ri A-KUR*) which amount to high sums of silver.⁶⁰² Instead of simply being investments to these enterprises, it seems that in the course of these trading activities *mār ekallis* were employed and that they therefore received wages. This is particularly indicated by the texts nos. I.46, I.49 and I.50 which list the expenditures and in text no. I.46 the wages of the courtier are said to have been paid (l. 4: *ig-ri maš-qil*). This employment may be connected to (obligatory) offering activities, since in I.49 the wages of the courtier are associated with offerings

⁶⁰¹ See Fales and Postgate 1992: XX–XXI. This assumption is based on the similarities of the lists no. 27–48, among which some bear the term *habullu* or *hibiltu* or phrases like *ina pān PN*, parallel to the phrasing in contract type texts.

⁶⁰² Radner 2016 I.41 t.e. 10 (1 ½ minas 4 ½ shekels, assuming that the previous line belongs to this entry); I.46:1 (1 mina 7 shekels), 3 (19 x ¼ shekels), 5 (53 shekels); I.49:4 (9 mina 5 shekels); I.50:4 (10 ½ minas 1 shekel, title is restored).

(l. 4: *šá mar SISKUR*) and also in I.46 r. 4 offering sheep (UDU.SISKUR), to be acquired, are mentioned. According to I.41, which lists the contributions (in silver and in kind) of various individuals to a trading enterprise of Mušēzib-Aššūr, the *mār ekalli* may have reinvested part of his wages into a trading enterprise, since it records 1 ½ mina 4 ½ (shekels of silver) FROM (TA*) the wages of the courtier (in ll. 9–10).⁶⁰³ In another text from the same archive the courtier (now written A-É.GAL) does not occur in connection with wages but is simply listed along with ¼ shekel of silver (Radner 2016 I.48:7). The text bears the heading KÚ.BABBAR *maḥ-ru* (“silver received”) and may record the silver which was received from the courtier and the other individuals listed here, though it is also possible that the silver was received by them. All these references to the *mār ekalli* remain obscure. One at least infers from this attestation that the *mār ekalli* operated with “earned” silver.

8.6.5 Subject matter in omens

As briefly addressed in the introduction to this chapter, in Neo-Assyrian sources the *mār ekalli* appears in scholarly texts. There is one tablet (SAA 8 241) bearing two entries of the omen series *Šumma izbu* where the second entry reads that if an anomaly is male and female and has no testicles, a *mār ekalli* will command (*wāru*) the land or will revolt (*bāru*) against the king (SAA 8 241:5–7). The scenario might express the basic fear of the king that someone from among his immediate circle, and thus someone whom he trusts, might gain sufficient power to be able to take over the rule of the whole country or at least to arrange serious rebellion against the crown. Assuming that *mār ekalli* particularly designates foreigners brought up at court (see above), a possible danger may have been especially expected here from outsiders forming part of the royal household. What is clear from this statement is that, although the *mār ekallis* were “sons of the palace”, they were by no means regarded as legitimate claimants to the Neo-Assyrian throne.

8.6.6 Summary

The meagre Neo-Assyrian evidence for individuals with the title *mār ekalli* presents only a few clues as to the background of its bearers. The title itself clearly indicates an association with the palace, which is further supported by the list of enterers (SAA 16 50). While its literal meaning would suggest that the *mār ekalli* was born and raised in the palace, the personal names of these individuals imply a foreign origin or background. Though the latter need not

⁶⁰³ For a different interpretation see the translation of the text by the editor (Radner 2016 I.41).

to be incompatible with a palatial birth, one might also think of foreigners brought to the palace (in their childhood or youth) to be re-educated in the Assyrian sense so as to integrate them into Neo-Assyrian ruling class.⁶⁰⁴ Because of their alliance with the palace, either way the translation “courtier” seems appropriate.

Assuming that the title *mār ekalli* is not a synonym for *rab ekalli*, *mār ekalli* refers to the status of the bearer and not to a particular function. Indeed, there is no evidence for the *mār ekalli* being responsible for a particular task. From the evidence for the *mār ekalli* as active party to legal transactions, as well as from some other sources, it appears that they enjoyed material wealth, perhaps on account of their strong association with the palace. For the same reason they seem to have been well-integrated into Assyrian urban society, as is clear from the case of the courtier Inūrta-šarru-ušur, who perhaps acquired his personal name following his successful integration. It is also evident from his case that *mār ekallis* were not necessarily resident in the palace but had their own dwellings, beyond the palace walls but within the walled city.

For three *mār ekallis* the palace or residence they were associated with is stated. Inūrta-šarru-ušur is occasionally described as courtier of the New Palace (in Nineveh), while two of his colleagues are assigned to the Succession House which is predominantly associated with the crown prince.⁶⁰⁵ The earliest evidence for a *mār ekalli* dates probably to the reign of Sargon II, though definite attestations only come from the reign of Esarhaddon. Is its late appearance accidental, or does it have some significance? Assuming that individuals described as *mār ekalli* were brought as booty to the Assyrian palaces, this time-range might not be accidental although the possibility remains that the uneven temporal distribution is accidental (especially in the light of the use of this term already in the second millennium). Considering that *mār ekalli* served as a designation to express status and social background, one reason for the meagre evidence could be (as seems to be the case with the *rab ekalli* Tartimanni) that such people were normally referred to by their profession or office.

8.7 The *mār-amat-ekalli*

The *amat ekallis* (“female palace servants”) themselves are only attested in the title “lock master (*rab sikkāti*) of the ‘house’ of the female palace servants” borne by Nabû-bēlu-ušur (ND 2307 l.e. 3, see section 5.5 The *rab sikkāti*

⁶⁰⁴ See Parpola 2007b on the internationalisation of the Assyrian ruling class; cf. section 9 Foreigners at court.

⁶⁰⁵ For a recent discussion of the *bēt rēdūti*’s connection with the crown prince see Groß 2015c: 254, fn. 13. It is *inter alia* indicated by the witness list headed by Bēl-dān, *mār ekalli* of the Succession House, where a diviner as well as a master builder are said to be in the service of the crown prince (SAA 14 166 r. 3–4).

(“lock master”), but the *mār-amat-ekallis* are attested as active agents. Literally meaning the “son of the female palace servant”, the title is written (LÚ/LÚ*).DUMU–GĒME–É.GAL, LÚ*.DUMU–GĒME–KUR and once DUMU–*a-mat*–KUR (SAAB 9 77 r. 11) in Neo-Assyrian sources. The term has been discussed by Radner (1997a: 206–7) and also by Svärd (née Teppo) (Teppo 2005: 67–8; Svärd 2015: 127), who took into account almost every available attestation. Only a summary of the evidence listed in the tables below will be given here, accompanied by some further thoughts.

All “sons of a female palace servant” attested with their proper name occur in legal documents dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser and the 7th century, where they are either listed as witnesses,⁶⁰⁶ or recorded as debtors of silver and corn,⁶⁰⁷ and house owners.⁶⁰⁸ One of these houses was located in the centre of Kalhu and adjoined a house bought by the well-known *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3463:7). The other one stood in Assur, close to the house of a *ša-qurbūti* and adjoined an unbuilt plot sold by 30 *hundurāius*.⁶⁰⁹ In addition to the fact that these men lived in their own city houses, *mār-amat-ekallis* of the New Palace are attested as being provided with four estates (or houses?) which previously belonged to three cohort commanders and a *ša-qurbūti*.⁶¹⁰ Since we gain this information from a 7th-century administrative document kept in one of the palaces in Nineveh, this clearly arises from an official procedure (based on a royal decision). The property in question was handed over to members of the *mār-amat-ekalli* group presumably only for use during their lifetime. As suggested with regard to the land at the disposal of the (unnamed) *urad ekallis* (see above), the “sons of the female palace servant” may have received it to cover their own basic needs. Apart from references to their properties, the *mār-amat-ekallis* occur as low-ranking palatial manpower. This is indicated by their entry alongside labourers such as farmers and gardeners in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a, to whom they were assigned. It is also indicated by two letters of Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, to the king (Sargon). In one instance they are concerned with repair works on the iron brazier of the palace of the Inner City, including the plastering of its roof (SAA 1 77:16). In the other letter, dealing with the construction of the “House of the Queen” in Ekallate, they are said to be listed together with the “sons of the bought (slaves)” (as available workforce) on a writing board sent to the

⁶⁰⁶ SAAB 9 77 r. 11 (Nabūtu); ND 3426 r. 15 (Nabū-lē’i).

⁶⁰⁷ CTN 2 105:2 (Na’i, debtor of grain); ND 2078:2–3 (Ubru-Nabū, debtor of silver).

⁶⁰⁸ ND 3463:7 (Nabū-lē’i); SAAB 5 35:6 (Kakki-Aia).

⁶⁰⁹ SAAB 5 35:6. Because the record is sealed by the mayor, the city overseer and the commander-of-ten of the scribes the house was located in Assur (see Klengel-Brandt and Radner 1997).

⁶¹⁰ SAA 11 221:18’–19’. Note that the edition translates DUMU¹–GĒME–É.GAL here as “princess”.

king (SAA 1 99 r. 13'). On the said list altogether 370 men are recorded, subdivided into 90 men (*šābū*) of the king, 90 reserve men (*kutallu*), and 190 who should do the king's work. Although it is not made clear in the letter how the "sons of the female servant(s) of the palace" and the "sons of the bought (slaves)" are distributed among these three categories, it may be assumed that both are found within each of these categories. In any case, with SAA 1 77, the *mār-amat-ekallis* were workmen engaged in construction works. Since direct evidence is scarce, this might not have been their only sphere of activity.

Remarkably, the entire evidence for the *mār-amat-ekalli* is associated with Assur and Kalhu. We lack any clear evidence for such men being active in Nineveh, although most of the evidence we are dealing with dates to the 7th century when Nineveh was the empire's capital. The only exception is perhaps the "son of the female servant of the New Palace" recorded as recipient of land in SAA 11 221, though it remains unclear whether the said New Palace refers to a palace in Nineveh or Kalhu. Although the concentration of available attestations might be owed to coincidence, it is possible that these men were particularly associated with the subsidiary palaces.

As to the status and social background of the *mār-amat-ekalli*, Radner (1997a: 207) defined him as a slave "der seit seiner und durch seine Geburt dem Palasthaushalt angehört". She also stresses that no such man is attested as being sold, a significant point considering they are explicitly distinguished from the "sons of bought (slaves)".⁶¹¹ Both Radner and Svärd point to the impression that these men enjoyed a certain amount of wealth although they were engaged in construction works as rather low-ranking workmen. Radner solves this contradiction by distinguishing between high-ranking palace members and palace slaves designated *mār-amat-ekalli*. Svärd, on the other hand, describes them as an ambiguous, semi-free class, with the fact that they were apparently sons of female palace servants suggesting that they only enjoyed limited liberty. Based on their title as well as their work, I also conclude that they were of low rank, without considerable influence. As to the property at their disposal and their involvement in silver and grain transactions, this is may be owed to their close connection to the palace, resulting from their mothers' status.⁶¹² I do not necessarily assume that the *mār-amat-ekallis* were a very diversified group in terms of rank and status.

⁶¹¹ Though it is not the "sons" who are said to have been bought, but their fathers, the latter's role here correlates with the role of the female palace servants and not with that of their sons.

⁶¹² Note that the *mār-amat-ekalli* Ubru-Nabû is also designated "son of Nabû-dürî" (ND 2078:2-3).

8.8 Other terms for palace personnel and other associates of the palace

In the following pages, the terms *nišē ekalli*, *nišē bēti*, *muttabbil ekalli*, *kalzi ekalli* (as well as *kalzāni ekalli*), *ērib ekalli*, *libīt ekalli*, *libīt šarri* and *unzarḫu* are discussed.⁶¹³ From among these, *nišē ekalli* and *nišē bēti* seem to refer to the domestic personnel of the palace. The terms *libīt ekalli* and the *libīt šarri* were rather used to refer to high-ranking associates of the king. Subjects of the king refer to themselves as *unzarḫu* (of the king) to express their status as confidants (of the king).⁶¹⁴

8.8.1 The *nišē ekalli*

The term *nišē ekalli*, “palace people”, is written UN.MEŠ É.GAL in Neo-Assyrian sources.⁶¹⁵ Serving as a general designation for personnel belonging to the palace, the compound seems to refer particularly to the domestic sphere of the palace, as is the case with the term *nišē bēti* (see below).

The majority of attestations stems from royal inscriptions listing human booty taken from conquered areas. Sargon states in his inscription that he took *nišē ekalli* from Kiakki, the defeated ruler of Šinuhtu (a region in Tabal), along with Kiakki’s wife, sons and daughters (Fuchs 1994: 92, Ann. 70). Similarly, Esarhaddon took the wife, sons, daughters and *nišē ekalli* as human booty from Abdi-Milkūti, defeated king of Sidon (RINAP 4 1 ii 75; cf. 6 ii’ 19’). From the reign of Assurbanipal we find the *nišē ekalli* in a letter to the “farmer”, thus a letter to the king during the substitute king ritual, according to which the “farmer” should perform an apotropaic ritual in which it is prayed that the evil shall not affect the king, his country, the people of his palace and his army (SAA 10 381 r. 1). From after the reign of Assurbanipal there is an administrative document which lists precious items such as bowls of silver, golden dresses, cylinder seals and jewellery as gifts of the *nišē ekalli* to the gods Nabû and Tašmetu (SAA 7 81 r. 6). Assuming that the UN.MEŠ KUR mentioned in the broken letter SAA 19 167 from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II also refer to the *nišē ekalli* (rather than to the *nišē māti*), we learn that the people from the palace together with the master craftsmen (*ummānu*) in the care of the treasurer as well as skilled workers (*kitkittû*) of the palace(?) had been given grain rations of the king which are now used up (SAA 19 167:5’–r. 2).

⁶¹³ Other terms signifying a close connection with the royal household are *šāb ekalli* (designation of Aḫu-dūrī mentioned in a fragment of a letter; Fabritius, PNA 1/I 73 s.v. Aḫu-dūrī 13) and *ša-pānīti* (listed along with the *ša-qurbūti* of the right and the left as well as the chief “third-man” and the second “third-man” in a horse list; CTN 3 108 i 9).

⁶¹⁴ Also the terms *mazzāz pāni* and *mazzāz ekalli* fit into this category.

⁶¹⁵ See CAD N/II 287–8 s.v. *nišū* 3.a “serfs, retainers belonging to an estate, a household, a palace or a person”. For MÍ.UN.MEŠ–É.GAL.(MEŠ) as a reference to *sekretus* see Svärd 2015: 105, fn. 511.

This in a way contrasts with the *nišē ekalli* mentioned in a legal document where their field adjoins land that is sold (SAA 14 126:9'). It may bear a background similar to the (land) of the *urad ekalli* said to adjoin land being sold in another legal document (SAA 6 27:5'). As suggested for the latter, these lands ascribed to an anonymous group might be some sort of prebendary land, i.e. land and its usufruct placed at the disposal of palace servants and “people of the palace” respectively. It is likely that the basic sustenance of palace employees was covered by the palace household, which—apart from handing over grain rations—may have accomplished this by providing land, possibly to be cultivated by the palace personnel themselves.

8.8.2 The *nišē bēti*

There are a few Neo-Assyrian references to the *nišē bēti* (see p. 279 fn. 615), written UN.MEŠ É. Apart from being a general expression for people of a household or a tribe,⁶¹⁶ it was also used to refer to the domestic staff of a household in particular. Where it denotes palace domestics, it very likely refers to the same staff as the *nišē ekalli* (or at least, the two terms overlap in meaning).

The term is attested in an account of a ceremonial banquet from the 7th century where it occurs along with two oxen which probably were provided by the *nišē bēti* (SAA 7 151 ii' 1), assuming that this record is a balanced account and comprises a debiting and a crediting side, i.e. an obverse listing the givers and a reverse listing the recipients.⁶¹⁷ In a related text, the *nišē bēti* are, on the contrary, attested as recipients of the remainder(?) of the tables perhaps comprising leftovers of offerings in the first place and leftovers of the king in the second place.⁶¹⁸ Also in another record the *nišē bēti* are presumably recorded as consumers of leftovers from offerings in the Aššur Temple, including sheep and wine (SAA 7 159 r. i 8'). Judging by the origin of the tablets, Kuyunjik, and the contents of the tablets themselves, it is clear that the *nišē bēti* represent institutional personnel belonging to the palace (and not to the temple). Other occurrences of the term *nišē bēti* refer to the military sphere, as is the case with the 69 *nišē bēti* reviewed as part of the troops stationed in Mazamua according to a letter of Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, to the king (SAA 5 215:18). They include 8 *ša-bēti-šanie*, 12 tailors, 20 cupbearers, 12 confectioners, 7 bakers and 10 cooks and thus constitute the domestics among the king's men (*šābī šarri*), as the troops are referred to in the summation (SAA 5 215:23). Similarly, 95 *nišē bēti* are among the military functionaries forming part of

⁶¹⁶ See ABL 792 r. 17 (in de Vaan 1995: 284–7) and possibly ABL 964:8.

⁶¹⁷ Note the discussion of the texts SAA 7 148–57 by Fales and Postgate 1992: XXXI–XXXIV.

⁶¹⁸ SAA 7 157 r. ii 16; see also Parpola 2004: 291–5.

the cohort of Nabû-[...] according to a broken letter to the king, possibly Assurbanipal (SAA 21 136 r. 21'). By comparison with the letter SAA 5 215, they also represent the domestics among the troops.

8.8.3 The *muttabbil ekalli*

As a Gtn-Participle of the verb (*w*)*abālu*, the Babylonian term *muttabbilu* can refer to a type of servant, “(one) who fetches and carries” (CAD M 302–3 s.v. *muttabbilu* b), so we may translate *muttabbil ekalli* as “palace servant”. Written *mut-tab-bi-lu-tu/tú*, it occurs a few times in the inscriptions of Sennacherib as part of the human booty taken from the court of the defeated king Marduk-apla-iddina. These people are enumerated together with the palace women, the *tīru*-courtiers, the *mazzāz pāni* and the *ummānu*-artisans.⁶¹⁹ In another royal report about the same incident, the same types of palace people are accompanied by male and female musicians.⁶²⁰ In the most comprehensive version this range is supplemented by the “female treasurers”, the *ša-rēšis* and the palace servants (RINAP 3/1 1:32–3). Since the designation *muttabbil ekalli* is always mentioned at the very end of these enumerations, it may be meant as a collective term for all the other types of palace-related groups listed here, i.e. it stands in apposition to them. However, it may refer particularly to the common personnel of the palace and is perhaps comparable with the designations *urad ekalli* and *nišē ekalli*.

8.8.4 The *kalzi ekalli* and the *kalzāni ša šarri*

The compound *kalzi ekalli* only occurs in the succession treaty of Esarhaddon, which addresses the close palace area (*kal-zi* É.GAL *qur-bu-ti*) and the more remote palace area (*kal-zi* É.GAL *pa-ti-ú-ti*), in an enumeration of potential adversaries of the crown (SAA 2 6 § 20 217, 218). They are followed by the *kal-za-a-ni* GAL.MEŠ (and) TUR.MEŠ, “groups (of) greater (and) smaller (ones)”. As pointed out by Watanabe (1987: 184), *kalzē* and *kalzānē* are two distinct terms, with *kalzē* referring to a physical area or place and *kalzānē* denoting a group of people. The latter also occurs in the expression *kalzāni ša šarri* (*kal-za-a-ni ša* 'LUGAL') in a broken letter (SAA 15 233:6). The *unzarḫu* of the *kalzāni* are attested in a document from Nineveh which is a memorandum on its reverse (SAA 11 29 r. 6'). The term *unzarḫu*, which is used to denote either home-bred horses or house-born humans (see below), is usually interpreted as a reference to “house-born slaves” of the *kalzāni*. However, I wonder whether this could refer to the horses of the *kalzāni*-courtiers.

⁶¹⁹ RINAP 3/1 2:9 // 3:9 // 4:8 // 8:8 // 9:8.

⁶²⁰ RINAP 3/1 15 i 6'–10' // 16 i 43–7 // 17 i 36–9 // 22 i 31–4 // 23 i 27–30.

Following the translation of the whole entry in the SAA edition,⁶²¹ we learn of “3-year old home-bred horses of the *kalzāni* which were not brand-marked yet”. According to Deller (1984a: 237, followed by Radner 1997a: 206, fn. 1104), by contrast, the entry refers to *unzarḫu* of the *kalzāni* whose maintenance was not established for three years. The crux lies in the word *si-in-nu-tú* which has been interpreted as an Assyrian *hapax legomenon* for the Babylonian word *isinnūtu*,⁶²² or alternatively as an Assyrian rendering of the Babylonian term *zinnātu* which, together with *šakānu*, means “to establish maintenance” (CAD Z 123 1.b). Although Deller’s etymological explanation is convincing, I suggest that this is a note about 3-year old horses of the *kalzāni*-courtiers,⁶²³ as is supported by the subsequent entry concerning cavalry teams. If this suggestion is correct, then the *kalzāni*-courtiers were equipped with prestigious and valuable commodities, thanks to the palace.

8.8.5 The *ērib ekalli*

Corresponding to the term *ērib bēti* (LÚ.TU-É), a designation for people allowed to enter the temple,⁶²⁴ there is a single Neo-Assyrian reference to the *ērib ekalli* (LÚ.TU-KUR), “palace enterer”, a term already found in Old Babylonian texts.⁶²⁵ It is mentioned in the treaty of Zakūtu which was drawn up in order to secure Assurbanipal’s succession to the throne. Here, the *ērib ekalli* are addressed as contractual partners of Zakūtu together with Assurbanipal’s brothers, the royal seed, the magnates, the governors, the *ša-ziqni* and the *ša-rēši*, the royal entourage, the “exempts” and Assyrians high and low (SAA 2 8:8). The purpose of this enumeration is to address every possible candidate who might potentially oppose Assurbanipal. Apart from Assurbanipal’s relatives, the highest officials of state, the king’s confidants as well as the entire population, palace courtiers (*ša-rēši* and *ša-ziqni*) and palace-enterers are of special interest in this respect. The term was apparently not used systematically and thus, instead of referring to a specific group of individuals, it may denote people who were authorised to enter the palace in general. In contrast to the palace personnel proper, however, this term may particularly denote individuals who entered the palace at irregular intervals or in exceptional cases

⁶²¹ SAA 11 29 r. 6–9: *ina UGU un-zar₄-ḫi ša kal-za-ni ša 3 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ si-in-nu-tú la šak-nu.*

⁶²² Fales and Postgate 1995: 28.

⁶²³ Radner (1997a: 206, fn. 1041) pointed out that the age of humans was never given in years. The alternative interpretation would surmount this obstacle since the age of horses is given in years (Middle Assyrian text KAJ 171:5, CAD S 333 s.v. *sisū* 1.j; cf. Weszeli 2003–5: 470–1).

⁶²⁴ This term is well-known for Babylonia; there is only scarce evidence for the *ērib bēti* in Assyrian society (e.g. SAA 13 128:12; 7 174 r. 1). In Neo-Babylonian letters of the Neo-Assyrian corpus we find references to *ērib bēti* in Babylonia (e.g. SAA 13 4:3–4; 5:3–4; 176:12–14).

⁶²⁵ CAD E 290–2 s.v. *ērib bīti*; CAD 292 s.v. *ērib ekalli*.

only.⁶²⁶ This is supported by the message of Nabû-zêru-lêšir, identified with the homonymous chief scribe, to the unnamed palace manager concerning “14 enterers (*ēribūte*)” (SAA 16 50 r. 1). Those listed, including the “chief of public works” as well as family members of the palace manager and of the chief scribe, and the message itself suggest that this was a rather unscheduled entry to the palace. However, in comparison to the meaning *ērib bēti* in Babylonian sources, *ērib ekalli* might have been also used to refer to the entire staff of the palace.⁶²⁷

8.8.6 The *libīt ekalli*

There are two references to the *libīt ekalli* (written *li-bit É.GAL*), “palace entourage”, in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions.⁶²⁸ Esarhaddon states that he had distributed part of the human booty taken from Šubria to his palaces, his magnates and the *libītu* of this palace (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 21′). His successor Assurbanipal states in one of his inscriptions that he had taken palace women, magnates, *ša-rēšis* and the “people surrounding the palace” from the court of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn (RINAP 5/1 7 viii 68′). Judging from these two occurrences, *libīt ekalli* is a general expression for people attached to the palace. In the inscription of Assurbanipal the expression qualifies the term *nišē* (UN.MEŠ) and thus possibly refers here to ordinary palace personnel. Their occurrence in the inscription of Esarhaddon, on the other hand, indicates that the *libīt ekalli* were privileged people next to the magnates, something we can also observe for the *libīt šarri* (see below).

8.8.7 The *libīt šarri*

There are a few Neo-Assyrian attestations of the *libīt šarri*, written *li-bit-MAN/LUGAL*. Apart from being mentioned in a broken letter from Nabû-ēṭiranni to the king (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) (SAA 19 66 r. 3′), they occur in two letters to the king (Sargon) whose headings are lost. In the first letter it is said that apart from the commander-in-chief, the chief cupbearer and

⁶²⁶ Cf. Menzel (1981 I: 289) assuming a similar connotation for *ērib bēti* in Neo-Assyrian sources (in contrast to the Babylonian meaning of this designation). However, she relies especially on the scholar Akkullānu who was also identified as a priest in the meantime (Pearce and Radner, PNA 1/I 95–6 s.v. Akkullānu 1).

⁶²⁷ Bongenaar 1997: 147–9. Note that it also served as a synonym for *tīru*, a term very similar to (or even identical with) the designation *ša-rēši* and corresponds to *gerseqū*, a designation once mentioned in the astrological report SAA 8 103:13 (CAD E 292 s.v. *ērib ekalli*). According to Old Babylonian Mari texts, this term denotes courtiers with a close connection to the king (Ziegler 1999: 10–1).

⁶²⁸ CAD L 191–4 s.v. *limītu (libītu)*, meaning 1. “perimeter, circumference”; 5. p. 194: “persons who attach themselves to the palace”, a meaning only attested in Neo-Assyrian sources.

the governors of Si'immê, Tillê, Guzana and Isana, the remaining magnates and the whole “entourage of the king” (*libīt šarri*) did not yet arrive in Kar-Aššur (SAA 5 250:11). The second letter deals with bricks and their distribution and the sender states that he had taken bricks to be given to the magnates from the *ša-rēšis* and the “royal entourage” (SAA 5 291 r. 2). Since it is clear that they will inform the king about this action, the sender reminds the king that he had also given bricks to the “royal entourage” in the past (SAA 5 291 r. 13). Like the *libīt ekalli* mentioned in the inscription of Esarhaddon, the *libīt šarri* mentioned in the two letters appear next to the magnates and seem to have been high-ranking people surrounding the king. Judging by the evidence we have, the two terms *libīt ekalli* and *libīt šarri* may have been used interchangeably.

8.8.8 The *unzarḫu*

The Hurrian loanword *unzarḫu*, which first occurs in Old Babylonian Mari texts, was discussed by Parpola (1983a: 240–1, fn. 426), Deller (1984a) and more recently Radner (1997a: 205–6). Parpola interpreted it as a synonym for *urdu* and *amtu*. Its basic meaning “native” or “house-born” was established by Deller.⁶²⁹ In Neo-Assyrian sources the term is written LÚ*.*un-za-ar-ḫu*, LÚ.*un-za-ra-aḫ*, [*un-za*]-*ar-ḫu*, *un-za*-[*ar-ḫi*] and *un-zar*₄-*ḫi*. On the one hand, it is used to qualify home-bred horses,⁶³⁰ and on the other hand it is applied to humans in a dependency relationship. Apart from denoting “house-born” slaves in individual households,⁶³¹ it was also used to signify indigenous servants of the Assyrian crown (often by the individuals in question themselves). In a letter to the crown prince (Assurbanipal), Tabnī, who used to be in the service of the crown prince, complains that he has fallen into disgrace and a foreigner is favoured instead (SAA 10 182 r. 12). Tabnī stresses that he, in contrast to the new favourite, is an *unzarḫu* of the king and of the crown prince, and that his father had been appointed chief exorcist by the king Esarhaddon (SAA 10 182:13). Also, in the letter of the chief physician Urdu-Nanāia to the king (Esarhaddon), the term *unzarḫu* is used to refer to the vigilant, indigenous household servants, including the sender himself, in whom the king should trust.⁶³² Similarly, the unnamed *šandabakku* (governor of Nippur) refers to

⁶²⁹ Cf. CAD U/W s.v. *unzarḫu* 156–7. AHw 1420 s.v. *unzar|ḫu* translates “ein Freigelassener” which is not appropriate for the Neo-Assyrian evidence.

⁶³⁰ CTN 3 103 r. iii ; ND 2482:3 and possibly SAA 11 29 r. 6, see section 8.8.4 The *kalzi ekalli* and the *kalzāni ša šarri*.

⁶³¹ This is discussed by Radner 1997a: 205–6; note therefore the attestations in two legal documents (SAA 6 283 b.e. 20', 21'; StAT 2 322:3'). As to the latter, I wonder whether the fields (*eḫlu*) qualified as *unzarḫu* refer to paddocks instead (based on the fact that *unzarḫu* is also used as a qualification for horses).

⁶³² SAA 10 316:16, cf. Radner 1997a: 206.

himself as a royal *unzarḫu* in a letter to the king (SAA 18 201 s. 2), as is also the case with Šarru-ēmuranni, an official stationed in the city Qunbuna in the reign of Sargon. He stresses that he is not a “son of the city lord of [Qunbuna]” but an *unzarḫu* (and) servant of the king.⁶³³ In addition, there is a renegade *unzarḫu* of Assyria, named Nabû-..., mentioned in a Babylonian letter of the commander Bēl-ibni to the king (Assurbanipal).⁶³⁴ Judging by these attestations, the term *unzarḫu* was also used to express the exclusive relationship of Assyrian subjects to the crown regarding their origin, suggesting the connotation “insider” or even “client”.⁶³⁵ Certainly serving as a more powerful expression than *urdu*, it is a keyword perhaps evoking associations similar to the compound *mazzāz pāni* (and *mazzāz ekalli*) in these contexts.

8.8.9 Miscellaneous designations

The É.GAL-*lim-ma* mentioned in a decree of expenditures for ceremonies in the Aššur Temple from the reign of Adad-nērāri III may be used similar to terms such as *nišē ekalli* (SAA 12 69:16). They are said to provide the *pandugāni* ceremony with four *qû* of *ḥinḫinu*-flour and 4 *sūtu* of refined sesame oil. Other general references to palace personnel are found along with named individuals in two legal documents. Lā-imūt, who witnesses a house sale in the reign of Esarhaddon, also was connected to the palace according to his designation URU.*ni-nu* *ša* É.GAL (BATSH 6 121 r. 10–11). Based on the fact that the transaction took place in Dur-Ḳatlimmu, it is less surprising that people belonging to the palace in Nineveh are qualified as such.⁶³⁶ Similarly, Bānāia (edition: Ibnāia), debtor of eight shekels of silver, is said to be the son of Mannu-kī-abi and is designated *ša-ekallāti* in a legal record from 7th-century Assur (StAT 2 193:3–5). The implications of this title remain unknown, but Bānāia is clearly associated with the king’s households.

9 FOREIGNERS AT COURT

Assyria was an ethnically varied country whose diversity, going beyond the basic distinction between Assyrians and Arameans, increased over the centuries on account of intensive campaigning activities. Conquered areas were annexed

⁶³³ SAA 5 243:4–6. According to Radner (PNA 3/II 1236 s.v. Šarru-ēmuranni 7), Šarru-ēmuranni himself was city lord of Qunbuna, which is not clear from this letter.

⁶³⁴ ABL 1311+ r. 40–41; see Baker, PNA 2/II 914 s.v. Nabû-... 10.

⁶³⁵ Note also personal names of the type “Unzarḫu-DN” such as Unzarḫu-Aššūr (“‘Freedman’(?) of Aššūr” according to Baker, PNA 3/II 1388) and compare with personal names of the type “Ubru-DN”, such as Ubru-Aššūr, which are translated as “Client of DN” in PNA 3/II.

⁶³⁶ Radner (2002: 163) suggested that URU.*ni-nu* alternatively refers to a city located in the vicinity of Guzana.

to the Assyrian provincial system or subjugated as tributary vassal states. The ordinary population of conquered areas was deported and scattered throughout the empire (Oded 1979). Personnel of foreign courts were either handed over as tribute or taken as booty or hostages. Principal residents of foreign courts were taken to Assyria by force or handed over to Assyria by submissive rulers. A few foreign dignitaries are even known to have taken refuge at the Assyrian court. All this, as we learn from the royal inscriptions, leads to the impression that the Assyrian court accommodated various ethnicities (of different types and status) in substantial numbers. Apart from these rather long-term visitors at the Assyrian court, we have to take into account also the short-stay visits of delegations and emissaries from distant areas bringing tribute and audience gifts with them.⁶³⁷

As to foreigners accommodated by the palaces over a longer period, the Assyrian kings proudly enumerate in their inscriptions the types of booty taken from conquered areas and the types of tribute received from vassals. This also included humans, and it is stated in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions from Aššurnāṣirpal II on that palace women from distant places were taken or given to Assyria.⁶³⁸ Hence, Aššurnāṣirpal states that he had taken palace women from the city of Suru in Bit-Halupê (in the Laqê territory).⁶³⁹ His successor Shalmaneser III carried palace women off from the city Paddira in the land of Allabria in western Iran,⁶⁴⁰ from cities in the land of Namri,⁶⁴¹ and from the city Til-ša-turahi in the Balikh river region.⁶⁴² Šamšī-Adad V brought palace women from the city Dur-Papsukkal in the land of Akkad,⁶⁴³ and—if restored correctly—from the city Nibu[...] located in Babylonia.⁶⁴⁴ Also, from the inscriptions of Sennacherib we learn of palace women taken from the court of the defeated Marduk-apla-iddina of Babylon,⁶⁴⁵ and of palace women received from Hezekiah of Jerusalem.⁶⁴⁶ His successor Esarhaddon took palace women from

⁶³⁷ This section is only a survey of foreigners at the Assyrian court and does not aim to include all available references (though I tried to collect and offer an extensive amount of data). For a brief enumeration of relevant spheres affected by the entry of foreigners into Assyrian society, including references to similar phenomena in the Middle Assyrian period, see Parpola 2007b: 259–61.

⁶³⁸ The Akkadian term for palace women is *sekretu*. For its different renderings in the royal inscriptions see Svärd 2015: 105; for women in royal inscriptions see Svärd 2015: 127–30.

⁶³⁹ RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 85 (ruler: Aḫi-iababa, “son of a nobody”); RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 22 (governed by Kudurru).

⁶⁴⁰ RIMA 2 A.0.102.6 iv 1 (ruler: Ianzi-Buriaš).

⁶⁴¹ RIMA 2 A.0.102.6 iv 19 (ruler: Marduk-mudammiq; the cities are Šumurza, Bit-Nergal and Niqqu).

⁶⁴² RIMA 2 A.0.102.16:30 (city lord: Gē-ammu).

⁶⁴³ RIMA 2 A.0.103.1 iv 32.

⁶⁴⁴ RIMA 2 A.0.103.2 iv 18’ (ruler: Bābu-aḫu-iddina).

⁶⁴⁵ E.g. RINAP 3/1 1:32 // 16 i 43.

⁶⁴⁶ E.g. RINAP 3/1 4:58, 15 iv 10’ and 16 iv 33.

defeated Taharqa, king of Kush,⁶⁴⁷ and Assurbanipal carried off palace women from the city of Ša-pî-Bel of Dunānu, leader of the Gambulu tribe in southern Mesopotamia.⁶⁴⁸ Apart from palace women, musicians are frequently mentioned in the same or similar contexts: Aššurnaširpal II received ten female musicians from Lubarna from the land of Patina in the far west, male and female musicians are mentioned in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III as tribute from Ḫiram, ruler of Tyre, and are enumerated among the tribute from Hezekiah and the booty taken from Marduk-apla-iddina's court by Sennacherib. Musicians also form part of the booty taken by Esarhaddon from Egypt (if the assignment of the fragmentary report RINAP 4 9 to Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaign is correct) and of Assurbanipal's booty taken from Ša-pî-Bel.⁶⁴⁹ Palace women and musicians are the most frequent and most constant category of court members said to have been taken or received from distant areas. This impression we gain from the royal inscriptions is partly reflected in the everyday documents. The wine lists from 8th-century Kalhu frequently list male and female musicians with different ethnic backgrounds (see section 7.3.3 Ethnicity and origin), and palace women who, though usually not qualified as to their origin, very likely included various ethnicities corresponding to what is said in the royal inscriptions.⁶⁵⁰ However, there is a letter of Mannu-kī-Libbāli according to which female servants from Kush were settled in the house of the king (SAA 16 78:22–23). Also an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 24), possibly dating to the reign of Esarhaddon, lists women from places such as Tyre and Kush. On its reverse the same tablet mentions female musicians from Tyre and Hatti as well as female musicians qualified as Aramean and "Kassite". Judging by the evidence of the wine lists, the Aramean and "Kassite" musicians among others must have developed into well-established communities at court (and were not necessarily a result of recent deportations).

Aššurnaširpal was not only provided with female musicians by Lubarna, but he also took chariotry, cavalry and infantry with him (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 76–7). More details about human booty or tribute are given in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, and such descriptions become even more elaborate in the reigns of their successors. While palace women and musicians remain a regular component of the foreign palace personnel, Tiglath-pileser III is said to have also received *ša-rēšis* from Ḫiram, ruler of Tyre (RINAP 1 49 r. 8) and Sargon is the first to state that he incorporated chariotry, cavalry and infantry units from defeated Pišīri, king of Carchemish, into his "royal corps" (*kišir šarrūti*, see section 6 Military aspects of the royal household).⁶⁵¹ The

⁶⁴⁷ RINAP 4 15:7' // 98 r. 43 // 103:12.

⁶⁴⁸ RINAP 5/1 3 vi 20 // 4 vi 22 // 6 vii 23 (restored).

⁶⁴⁹ For the references see section 7.3.3 Ethnicity and origin.

⁶⁵⁰ For the palace women's (*sekretu*) occurrence in the wine lists see Svärd 2015: 130–2.

⁶⁵¹ Fuchs 1994: 94, Ann. 75.

enumerations of human booty in inscriptions of Sennacherib and his successors include *ša-rēši*, palace servants, skilled workers (*kitkittū*), artisans (*ummānu*) and military functionaries.⁶⁵² Assuming that the remnants of a report on a prism fragment from Nineveh deal with Esarhaddon's campaign to Egypt, this provides us with the most comprehensive list of booty. Apart from various types of military functionaries, scholars and craftsmen, it refers also to domestic personnel including tailors, bakers and brewers (RINAP 4 9 i' 12'–13'). Like Sargon, Esarhaddon states regarding the human booty taken from Šubria that he added it to his royal forces, to the ancestral royal forces and the forces of the god Aššur, and distributed the remainder to his palaces, his magnates (*rabūtu*), his palace entourage (*libīt ekalli*) and the citizens of Nineveh, Kalhu, Kilizi and Arbail (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 14'–22'). Assuming that this is not just because a different compilation style was adopted and because exceptional specialists developed in certain areas (such as Egyptian scholars and Elamite soldiers), the interest of the Sargonid kings in specialised human booty widened and increased. Special attention was apparently drawn to foreign court members for their personal benefit and amusement in early Neo-Assyrian times, whereas skilled craftsmen and military functionaries seem to have gained in importance over the centuries.⁶⁵³ As is clear from the aforementioned statement of Esarhaddon, the human booty was distributed to various establishments, and thus the impact of these deportations on the royal household was limited. Nevertheless, royal household personnel remained an integral part of the human booty, judging by the *ša-rēšis* and domestics listed among the booty taken from elsewhere. Consulting the everyday documents, we find some references to exotic domestics in the 8th-century wine lists such as Chaldean cooks (CTN 1 1 r. iii 11), Suhean bakers (CTN 1 1 r. iii 20) and "Kassite" palace servants (CTN 1 1 r. iii 8), but comparable material from the 7th century is rare. Kushite *ša-rēšis* are recorded in an administrative text from Nineveh (SAA 7 47 i 1–2, ii 3–4). An indicator of foreign origin, albeit an unsafe one, are the personal names and it is therefore possible that, for instance, the cook Barzūtā, a palace servant (ND 2498 r. 18', 23'), originated from the east (Schmitt, PNA 1/II 274–5 s.v. Barzūtā). Otherwise, we mainly detect West Semitic names such as Adda-pisia, borne by the royal palace tailor said to come from the town of Daria.⁶⁵⁴ The crown also benefitted from skilled men (*ummānu*) such as the

⁶⁵² E.g. RINAP 3/1 1:32–33 (Sennacherib: taken from Marduk-apla-iddina's court at Babylon); RINAP 4 33 iii 8'–23' (Esarhaddon: taken from Šubria); RINAP 5/1 3 vi 18–24 // 4 vi 20–29 (Assurbanipal: taken from the city of Ša-pî-Bel after the defeat of Dunānu, leader of the Gambulu tribe); RINAP 5/1 9 v 57–65 // 11 vi 81–95 (conquest of Elam).

⁶⁵³ This is because of the possibility that the incorporation of these types of foreigners mainly began in the reign of Sargon or later, but also because of the simple fact that they were now considered worth mentioning.

⁶⁵⁴ StAT 2 169:1–2. For studies of West Semitic onomastics in Neo-Assyrian sources see *inter alia* Garelli 1982 (especially discussing the military sphere, scribes, administrative and palace officials); Tadmor 1982: 449–51; Fales 1991.

“Kassite” master builders who were involved in their huge building projects (SAA 15 151:20–r. 1). One might expect royal claims for the Elamite bow-maker listed in a wine list drawn up in 784 (CTN 3 145 r. iv 13), who had presumably just arrived in Assyria together with the Elamite emissaries mentioned in the same record (CTN 3 145 r. iv 26). Other special skills that were more developed in foreign areas on to which the royal family laid a special claim include perfume makers (see section 16.1 The *muraqqiu* (perfume maker)) and physicians (Ši-Ḫuru, SAA 7 1 ii 15), representatives of whom bore Egyptian names.⁶⁵⁵ Moreover—like Babylonian scholars—Egyptian scholars (*ḥarṭibu*) and Egyptian scribes (*tupšarru muṣrāiu*), who are together with snake charmers (*mušlahḫu*) and “veterinary surgeons” (*muna’išu*) listed in the fragmentary report possibly dealing with Esarhaddon’s invasion of Egypt (RINAP 4 9 i’ 9’, 10’), were integrated into the well-established range of scholars active at the Neo-Assyrian court, as is confirmed by contemporary archival documents. Radner, discussing this phenomenon, also drew attention to the “Syro-Anatolian school” of augurs from Kummuhu and Šubria who first occur in the 8th-century wine lists but who may have formed part of the royal entourage only from the reign of Sennacherib on (Radner 2009; 2011: 267–8; see section 10 The king’s scholars). In connection with the Egyptian scribes, it is also worth noting the well known distinction between Assyrian and Aramean scribes who are already accompanied by Egyptian scribes in a wine list dating to the second half of the 8th century.⁶⁵⁶

According to the aforementioned inscription RINAP 4 33, Esarhaddon added fighters (*mundahṣu*) to his royal cohort, possibly in order to serve as his personal guards. While these men were taken from Šubria, a region north-west of the Assyrian heartland, Liverani (1995) argued that members of the Median tribes in the east were incorporated into the Assyrian court as an “armed guard” to protect the crown prince Assurbanipal.⁶⁵⁷ His assumption is based on the loyalty treaties of Esarhaddon concluded with seven city lords who, as stressed by Radner, in fact not only include Median city lords but also city lords from Ellipi, Mazamua and Elam.⁶⁵⁸ Hence, the guard of the crown prince was maintained by various different ethnicities who, however, had a common origin “from regions east of central Assyria”, as Radner pointed out. She supported a proposal made by Lanfranchi (1998: 107), according to which these contracts may arrange the incorporation of foreign forces into the *kiṣru* of the crown prince, presumably established in the reign of Sennacherib. This may have been the case, but most important is that foreign forces were appointed to the crown

⁶⁵⁵ Note that Egyptian scribes also took Assyrian names (e.g. Šilli-Aššūr, SAA 6 142:11–2), and thus a judgement based only on the etymology of personal names is not meaningful.

⁶⁵⁶ CTN 1 9 r. 18’–20’; possible dates: 751, 747 or 735.

⁶⁵⁷ Liverani 1995: 60; followed by Lanfranchi 1998: 105.

⁶⁵⁸ Radner 2003a: 60; cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1988: XXX.

prince for the sake of his well-being and security, as demonstrated by Liverani. It is also clear from the enumerations of foreigners in the queries to the sun-god dealing with possible rebellions against the king Esarhaddon (SAA 4 139:10–2; 144:10–2) and the crown prince Assurbanipal (SAA 4 142:10–1) by court members that such forces did not only include the Medes. They included Itu'eans, Elamites, "Hittites", Gurraeans, Akkadians, Arameans, Manneans, Medes, Philistines, Cimmerians, Sidonians, Egyptians, Nubians, Qedarites (from the Syrian desert) and Šabuqueans and were defined as "specialised guard or policing units" by Liverani (1995: 61). While some of them (Itu'eans, Gurraeans) are well known to have formed part of the military forces (as infantry, Postgate 2000a: 100–4), others are not that well represented, but in view of the campaigning activities of Esarhaddon and other Assyrian kings it is less surprising that ethnic groups such as Egyptians and Elamites were available and incorporated into the Assyrian forces (in order to guard the crown or to engage in campaigning and battles).⁶⁵⁹

As to administrative and supervisory posts, it is to be assumed that, parallel to the establishment of the Aramaic language, the Aramaic script and the associated writing utensils, some members of the Assyrian administrative apparatus had Aramaic or West Semitic roots, as indicated by names such as Abi-qāmu for the fodder master (CTN 3 121:11–2), Il-amar, borne by the chief of granaries of the city of Maganuba in the area of Dur-Šarrukin (SAA 6 37:2–3), and the chief of accounts Nērī-Iāu, bearing a Hebrew name and active in the Guzana region (SAA 16 63:4). Also the female administrators of the queen's establishments, the *šakintus*, occasionally seem to have originated from the west in view of their personal names.⁶⁶⁰ Apart from these middle-ranking officials, also high-ranking officials such as provincial governors may have had a western origin according to their personal name, as pointed out by Tadmor (1982: 450) and Garelli (1982: 443–4). Furthermore, the royal family acquired an ethnic mixture in the maternal line, judging by the main wives of Tiglath-pileser III and his successors who presumably originated from the west (possibly also from Judah, see below). Parpola (2007b: 259) even talks about the "internationalization of the royal court and the entire ruling elite class". We do not know, however, to what extent officials comprised such an "international" background since they usually bore Assyrian names (which they may have only received when appointed) and we lack information about their family background. The absence of this kind of information, especially in connection with officials—such a lack is less notably with craftsmen and other professionals—

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. Lanfranchi (1998: 107–9) who stressed the "multiethnicity of all levels of the Assyrian army" and concluded that the Medes did not play a special role among these various ethnicities. For an overview of the various sources from the reign of Sargon and later which testify to the "multiethnic composition" of the Assyrian army see Lanfranchi 1998: 106; cf. Oded 1979: 51–3.

⁶⁶⁰ E.g. Amat-Ba'al (ND 2309:6–7) and Amat-Astārti (ND 2307:1–2).

is, on the one hand, due to the administrative contexts in which they occur, but, on the other hand, it leads to the impression that strong ties to Assyrian elite families were not always demanded or even desired from the candidates for official posts. Therefore foreigners may have been a welcome instrument to fill posts with people who were impartial, as being devoted to the Assyrian crown, a concept which also reminds us of the possible role of *ša-rēšis* in the Assyrian empire who at least occasionally originated from captured areas.

From the lists of deportees and tribute in the royal inscriptions we also learn of foreign rulers and members of their families who were taken or given to Assyria. This phenomenon is already known for the Middle Assyrian period (e.g. the family of Kili-Tešup, king of the land of Katmuḫu, was taken off by Tiglath-pileser I, RIMA 2 A.0.87.1:25–29) and occasionally attested in early Neo-Assyrian times, as in an inscription of Aššurnaširpal II who, in addition to palace women, took the daughters of Aḫi-iababa from the city of Suru in Bit-Halupê (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 85) and who, along with female musicians, received the daughter of the brother of the king Lubarna, together with her dowry (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 76–7). Shalmaneser III received the daughter of Mutallu, ruler of Gurgum, as tribute, together with her dowry (RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 40–1) and Šamšī-Adad V states that he deported the sons and daughters of the defeated Bābu-aḫu-iddina from the city of Nibu[...] in Babylonia (RIMA 3 A.0.103.2 iv 18'). Presumably related to the fact that several territories were incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system only during the reign of Sargon,⁶⁶¹ the deportation of foreign ruling elites seems to have increased at that time. Rulers taken to Assyria together with their families in his reign include Kiakki of Šinuhtu in the region Tabal (Fuchs 1994: 92, Ann. 69–70), Pisīri(s), king of Carchemish (Fuchs, PNA 3/I 997), Ambaris, king of the land of Bit-Purutaš in south Anatolia (Fuchs 1994: 125, Ann. 201–202) and Marduk-apla-iddina of Bit-Iakin (Fuchs 1994: 228–9, Prunk. 131–3). Also Tarḫun-azi, ruler of the land of Kammanu in south-eastern Anatolia, is said to have been taken together with his family to Assur (Fuchs 1994: 127, Ann. 211–13), and Mutallu, crown prince of Tarḫu-lara, king of Gurgum, was taken together with his relatives to Assyria (Fuchs 1994: 131–2, Ann. 238–9). Occasionally ruling families were taken without the defeated ruler since he managed to flee, as in the case of Iāmānī, king of Ashdod (Fuchs 1994: 220, Prunk. 105), and Urzana, ruler of Mušašir (Fuchs 1994: 113–4, Ann. 152–4). Also the family of the fugitive Mutallu, king of Kummuhu, was taken to Kalhu (Fuchs 1994: 178, Ann. 404–8). In other instances the defeated ruler is explicitly stated to have been deported with no other relatives being mentioned. We can observe this for Ḥanūnu, king of the city Hazzat (modern Gaza), who was taken to the

⁶⁶¹ For a detailed discussion of the Neo-Assyrian provinces, their localisation and their period of establishment, see Radner 2006a.

city of Assur (Fuchs 1994: 90, Ann. 56), for Gunzinānu, predecessor of the aforementioned Tarḥun-azi, who was taken from his capital city Melid (Fuchs 1994: 76, XIV.9–10), and for Bēl-šarru-ušur, ruler of the city of Kišesim in western Iran (Fuchs 1994: 102, Ann. 94–95). Also the two Elamite fortress commanders Sa[...]nu and Singamšibu were led away (Fuchs 1994: 150–1, Ann. 295–7). Sargon’s successors continued this policy: in the course of his first campaign against the south Sennacherib took off the wife of fugitive Marduk-apla-iddina (RINAP 3/1 1:32) and captured alive Adīnu, a nephew of Marduk-apla-iddina, and he took away Basqānu, brother of Iati’e, queen of the Arabs (RINAP 3/1 1:28). In his fourth campaign Sennacherib also captured Marduk-apla-iddina’s brothers whose escape attempt did not succeed (e.g. RINAP 3/1 15 iv 24’). Furthermore, daughters of Hezekiah, the submissive king of Judah, were brought to Nineveh (e.g. RINAP 3/1 16 iv 34) and Šidqā, king of Ashkelon, was deported to Assyria together with his wife, sons and daughters (RINAP 3/1 4:39). One of the best known cases of foreign ruling elites taken to Assyria in the reign of Esarhaddon is that of Taharqa, king of Kush, whose wife and crown prince Uš-Anaḥuru as well as other sons and daughters were taken to Assyria; he himself was seriously wounded but is known to have fought against Assurbanipal.⁶⁶² Also in the reign of Esarhaddon Abdi-Milkūti, king of Sidon, was beheaded, but his wife, sons and daughters were taken as booty (RINAP 4 1 ii 65–80) and defeated Asuḥili, king of the city Arzâ at the border of Egypt, was taken to Assyria (RINAP 4 1 iii 42). The latter is said to have been placed near the gate of the city centre of Nineveh and exposed to bears, dogs and pigs (RINAP 4 1 iii 42). Assurbanipal not only deported the wife, sons and daughters of defeated Dunānu, leader of the Gambulu tribe, to Assyria, he also took off Dunānu himself together with his brother Samgunu (Šama’gunu); Dunānu was tortured to death in Nineveh (RINAP 5/1 3 vi 75–76). From Elam Assurbanipal took “king’s daughters” and “king’s sisters” together with other family members.⁶⁶³ Ba’alu, king of Tyre, gave his daughter and his nieces to serve Assurbanipal as *masennutus* (“female treasurers”, see below) in order to appease the Assyrian king who besieged his city, cutting it off from water and food supply (RINAP 5/1 12 ii 21’–24’). Ba’alu was also willing to give his son, but Assurbanipal was generous and gave him back to his father.⁶⁶⁴ Also Uallî, king of Mannea, sent his daughter to serve Assurbanipal as a *masennutu* after he had sent his crown prince Erisinni to Nineveh as his envoy.⁶⁶⁵ Similarly, the tributary Mugallu,

⁶⁶² E.g. RINAP 4 98 r. 37–43; for Taharqa’s activities during both reigns see Baker, PNA 3/II 1317–8 s.v. Tarqû.

⁶⁶³ RINAP 5/1 9 v 57–65 // 11 vi 81–95.

⁶⁶⁴ RINAP 5/1 3 ii 50–57 // 6 iii 73’–81’ // 11 ii 56–62.

⁶⁶⁵ RINAP 5/1 3 iii 80–88. According to Zawadzki (1995: 457–8) Erisinni was detained by the Assyrian court. However, this is not clearly expressed in the inscription.

king of Tabal, sent his daughter together with her rich dowry in order to serve the Assyrian king as *masennutu* (RINAP 5/1 3 ii 68–72).

Many of the Assyrian conquests ended up with the removal of the local dynasts and their families, provided they did not manage to flee and were not killed during battle. Although their transfer to the main cities of the Assyrian heartland such as Kalhu (the family of Mutallu of Kummuhu) and Assur (Tarḥun-azi from Kammanu; Ḫanūnu from Hazzat) is only occasionally made explicit, this was presumably part of the usual procedure. The purpose of actions such as those described for the Gambulean Dunānu and Asuḫīli in the capital city Nineveh was to demonstrate Assyria's and its ruler's omnipotence in the known world in order to intimidate and to preserve the support of the population of Assyria and perhaps especially of the Assyrian elites who were residing in these cities. Furthermore, such acts seem to have been highly valuable in view of their ceremonial and religious character. Although we lack information about the further treatment of deported local dynasties, defeated rulers may have usually met their unnatural death in Assyria. Since their integration at court or elsewhere in Assyria would have been rather problematic—from a cultic as well as a practical point of view (e.g. they could try to mobilise anti-Assyrian powers)—isolation and murder may have been the most popular alternatives. One might even conclude that the sole reason for their transfer to Assyria was to stage and celebrate their murder. Although also other family members possibly suffered the same fate (as was perhaps the case with Samgunu, brother of Dunānu), individuals like Uš-Anaḫuru, crown prince of the Kushite king Taharqa, may have been absorbed into the Assyrian court, as was the case with the Arabian woman Tabū'a who was taken from the Arabs and raised in the palace in the reign of Sennacherib. After her "Assyrianisation", she was installed as queen of the Arabs by Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 1 iv 15–16). Also Bēl-ibni, a member of the Rab-bānī family and a scion of a Babylonian, is said to have grown up in the palace of Sennacherib (RINAP 3/1 1:54) and was set on the throne of Babylon around 703. A long-term presence at the Assyrian court was also suggested for Nabû-šallim, son of the Bit-Dakkuri tribal leader Balāssu, who was placed on the Babylonian throne by Esarhaddon.⁶⁶⁶ Hence, a central purpose of the incorporation of descendants of foreign elites into the Assyrian court was to raise pro-Assyrian puppets in order to make them

⁶⁶⁶ RINAP 4 1 iii 69–70; see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/diplomats/royalmarriage/>. Also the son of the Egyptian king Necho I spent time in Nineveh, was named Nabû-šēzibanni and installed as king of Arthribis in the reign of Assurbanipal (Radner 2012: 477). The two sons Abī-Ba'al and Adūnī-Ba'al of the deceased king of Arwad, Iakīn-Lū, are said to have been clothed by the Assyrian king and given into his entourage (RINAP 5/1 3 ii 84–95). Furthermore, inhabitants of the cities Papa and Lalluknu, who planned to make an anti-Assyrian coalition with the land of Kakme, are described as "dogs raised in the palace" of the Assyrian king Sargon (Fuchs 1994: 94–5, Ann. 76–78). For other well-known men educated at the Assyrian court see Parpola 2007b: 261, fn. 20, 267, fn. 43.

fit to rule over their homelands,⁶⁶⁷ and, as Radner (2012: 474) put it, the fact that they were brought to the Assyrian court as children certainly facilitated “pro-Assyrian indoctrination”. Another object of this policy was to force the loyalty of their distant home countries and tribes, subject to Assyria, for the sake of their lives.⁶⁶⁸

Such individuals can be defined as hostages who in Babylonian dialects, including Standard Babylonian, are referred to as *lītu* (CAD L 223). Zawadzki (1995: 450–4) examined the occurrences of this term in the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and noticed accumulations in the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I and Aššurnāširpal II, the latest reference dating to the reign of Sargon. As for the Neo-Assyrian attestations, Adad-nērāri II took hostages from the land of Nairi (RIMA 2 A.0.99.2:32); Aššurnāširpal II from the land of Nirbu (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 ii 11), from Aḫūnu of Bit-Adini and Ḫabīnu of the city of Til-Abni (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 56), from Lubarna, king of Patina (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 77) and from Labṭuri, ruler of Nirdun, provided that the term *šapru* is used synonymously here for *lītu*.⁶⁶⁹ Shalmaneser III took hostages from Tullu, ruler of the city of Tanakun in the land of Quē (RIMA 3 A.0.102.14 134). According to the latest reference to *lītu*, Sargon took hostages from sheikhs of the tribes Puqudu (in the south), Ru’ua and Hindanu (Fuchs 1994: 147, Ann. 286). All these hostages are either vaguely described as “their sons” or lack any specification, and thus *lītu* designates a rather loose selection of (male) descendants of the local elites, perhaps owed to the fact that the local elites in question were less well known by the Assyrians. A possible reason for the appearance of the term *lītu* in texts from after the reign of Sargon is that—similar to the increasing tendency to give more details about the human booty taken from abroad at this period—members of defeated elites taken off to Assyria were now preferably specified by name and status. This may be due to an alternative fashion in the compilation of royal inscriptions evoked by an increased interest in such details but is probably also owed to the fact that Assyria dealt with well-established court societies, with well-known power structures, which were also less easily kept under the yoke or under vassalage. In any case, the purpose of foreign elite members kept at the Neo-Assyrian court, either defined by name and family status or just referred to as “hostage”, was the same.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1988: XXI, also for additional, though less explicit, evidence.

⁶⁶⁸ Zawadzki 1995: 456; Radner 2012: 473. Possibly also the *mār ekallis* bearing the names Mušurāiu, Arbāiu and Akkāiu were deportees brought from conquered areas in their childhood and raised in the palace (see section 8.6.1 Origin).

⁶⁶⁹ RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 ii 99; for *šapru* see Zawadzki 1995: 450. As a more neutral term, however, it is otherwise used to refer to envoys, as, for instance, in SAA 1 1:5 or in Aššurnāširpal’s account of the inauguration festivities in Kalhu (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30:143), and thus denotes temporary visitors at the Assyrian court instead, see below.

Apart from being taken by force (booty) or given under Assyrian pressure (tribute), some descendants of foreign ruling families “voluntarily”—pressured by the political situation in their homelands—sought out the Assyrian court: in the reign of Assurbanipal there seem to have been two incidents of elite Elamites seeking refuge at the Assyrian court together with their families and dignitaries. First, the sons (Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammarītu) and nephews (Kudurru, Parrû = sons of Ummanaldašu) of Urtaku fled after Teumman ascended the Elamite throne.⁶⁷⁰ Second, Assurbanipal hosted another Tammarītu, an Elamite king whose throne was usurped by Indabibi, in his palace.⁶⁷¹

Members of foreign ruling families came to the Assyrian court also through a mutual exchange of royal children, in order to seal the favourable relationship between two states as happened between Esarhaddon and the Elamite king Urtaku.⁶⁷² For the same purpose dynastic marriages were arranged, a practice which is well known for the diplomatic relationships between Egypt, the Hittite kingdom, Mittanni, Assyria and Babylonia in the second half of the second millennium. For the first millennium BCE such arrangements are known for Adad-nērāri II and the Babylonian king Nabû-šumu-iškun (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: XVIII), and may be indicated (though not proven) by Assyrian queens bearing West Semitic names, as is the case with Iabâ (wife of Tiglath-pileser III), Atalia (wife of Sargon) and Naqī’a (wife of Sennacherib). For each of the three queens observations have been made as to possible connections with foreign dynasties and it is especially Atalia for whom a descent from the Judean royal family is assumed.⁶⁷³ Similar arrangements are indicated by submissive kings who handed over their daughters together with their dowry (*nuduntû*) to the Assyrian king, as was, for instance, the case with the ruler Lubarna in the reign of Aššurnaširpal II and the ruler Mutallu in the reign of Shalmaneser III (see above). Another example is Ḥadiānu, ruler of Damascus, who handed over his sister together with her dowry in the reign of Shalmaneser IV (RIMA 3 A.O.105.1:4–10). In the reign of Assurbanipal subject rulers are said to have handed over their nieces and daughters together with dowry to the Assyrian king in order to serve him as “female treasurers” (*ana epēš abarakkūtu*).⁶⁷⁴ In the present context this term may refer to a pool of second

⁶⁷⁰ RINAP 5/1 3 iv 68–79 // 7 v 35–47. There are three letters preserved which were written by Tammarītu. They show that he was educated at the Assyrian court (Parpola 2007b: 261, fn. 20).

⁶⁷¹ RINAP 5/1 9 iii 12–20 // 11 iv 3–12. See Baker and Waters, PNA 3/II 1306–8, for the two distinct Elamites named Tammarītu attested in the reign of Assurbanipal.

⁶⁷² Note the introduction formula of SAA 16 1; cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1988: XVII.

⁶⁷³ See Dalley 2008: 171; the same family relationships were assumed for Iabâ (Dalley 2008: 171) and Naqī’a (for a critical discussion about her origin see Melville 1999: 13–6).

⁶⁷⁴ The designation MÍ.IGI.DUB is already attested in Old Babylonian sources and translated as “house-keeper” or “female steward” (CAD A/I 31–2 s.v. *abarakkatu*); on her engagement in the kitchen of the palace in Mari see Ziegler (1999: 98–9). Here, we have a Standard Babylonian reference, but—analogueous to the reading of LÚ.IGI.DUB as *masennu* in Neo-Assyrian sources

wives of the king who were incorporated into the women's quarters of the palace. Their position in comparison to the ordinary palace women was possibly enhanced, as one assumes for female descendants of foreign elites at the Assyrian court in general. Such intercultural liaisons were usually arranged by the sending of female family members,⁶⁷⁵ but we also learn of a marriage of a male descendant of the Egyptian court into the Assyrian court: the Egyptian Susinqu (Shoshenq), first witness to a house sale which took place in the reign of Sennacherib, is qualified as "brother-in-law (*ḥatnu*) of the king" (SAA 6 142 r. 12). As a possible member of one of the Delta dynasties, he may have been married to Šadditu, daughter of Sennacherib, or another female relative of his (Radner 2012: 472–3).

In view of these data, foreigners deployed by or residing in the Assyrian palaces must have been numerous, and their numbers presumably increased in the last 150 years or so of the empire. Such a development not only led to Assyrians, Arameans and other ethnicities fulfilling their tasks side-by-side, but also to an ethnic mixture which even encompassed the Assyrian elites, including the king's immediate family. Otherwise, foreign delegations had their short-stay visits at the Assyrian court on the occasion of festivities, mediations or routine visits in order to hand over audience gifts or tribute. We may first think of the 5,000 emissaries (*šīru*), specified as envoys (*šapru*), from the lands of Suhu, Hindanu, Patina, Hatti, Tyre, Sidon, Gurgum, Melid, Hubuškia, Gilzanu, Kumme and Mušašir who attended the banquet on the occasion of the inauguration of the new capital Kalhu in the reign of Aššurnāširpal II (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30:143–7). Especially from the correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II we learn of individual foreign delegations visiting the king at court, as is the case with the emissaries of the land of Quê who were on their way to the palace together with an interpreter (*targumānu*) and audience gifts to greet the king on the 30th of Addaru (SAA 19 54). In another letter, the king is informed about Iala[...], crown prince of Andia, who is approaching (the king's palace) (SAA 5 171). He is accompanied by an Assyrian agent (*ša-qurbūti*) and brings altogether 51 horses. The same group is joined by the Mannean emissary Abat-šarri-ušur. Though tribute was also handed over to state officials (and not necessarily to the king himself),⁶⁷⁶ a central purpose of foreign delegations approaching the king was to hand over gifts (rewarded by

(see section 14.8 The *masennu* (treasurer))—it is read *masennutu* (and *masennūtu* for the abstract term) in Neo-Assyrian texts. For other references see an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 26:5') and the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 r. viii 53).

⁶⁷⁵ Also the Assyrian kings married their daughters into foreign courts, as is well-known for Aḥāt-abīša, daughter of Sargon, who became wife of Ambaris, king of Tabal (Aro-Valjus, PNA 1/I 59 s.v. Aḥāt-abīša 1).

⁶⁷⁶ E.g. according to SAA 19 178, two emissaries from Ekron delivered 7 talents 34 minas of silver to Šarru-[...].

presents in return).⁶⁷⁷ The regular presence of richly-loaded emissaries from abroad in Assyria (and in its palaces) ensured the goodwill of the Assyrian king and sustained mutual agreements (usually referred to as *adê*).⁶⁷⁸ They were a secure sign of the flourishing state under the aegis of the king, as we can read in a letter of the scholar Šumāia to (the crown prince) Assurbanipal who wishes the addressee to receive emissaries from all the lands, as does his father, king Esarhaddon (SAA 16 35 r. 5'–10). Visits of emissaries at court also involved other matters, as is the case with some Šubrian emissaries who were on their way to the king (in the month Addaru) in order to negotiate about Assyrian subjects who had fled to Šubria (SAA 5 52). Judging by their long journey, such delegations may have spent a while in the imperial centre of Assyria where they were presumably accommodated in the vicinity of the palace. Their presence at court is also clear from administrative documents recording food and drink allocations. Unspecified emissaries received sheep, according to a record of tribute distributed to palace officials and others (SAA 11 36 r. i 15), and leeks, grapes and *titipu*-fruits were meant for unspecified emissaries in a record of *ilkakâte* payments settled for the palace (CTN 3 87 r. 29–30). As guests of the court one would expect them to have also been supplied with ordinary food rations by the palace. This is indicated by an administrative record about the consumption of bread, beer and fodder according to which the emissaries staying in Kilizi were provided with foodstuffs or fodder for their horses.⁶⁷⁹ However, we also know about a delegation from Kummuhu, bringing tribute, who stayed in the “house of the Kumuḥeans” and “ate their own bread” (SAA 1 33:8–14). Judging by the aforementioned emissaries from Quê who came to visit the king together with an interpreter as well as the Mannean interpreter listed in a record about envoys (SAA 11 31:7–8), foreign delegations brought their own interpreters with them. There is only a single entry for an unspecified interpreter in a wine list (CTN 1 18 r. 8') and another one in an administrative record about horses(?) (ND 2707 r. 4') which possibly refer to interpreters deployed at the Assyrian court. As with the aforementioned festivities on the occasion of the inauguration of Kalhu, the participation of emissaries in special events at the Assyrian capital is also indicated by Elamite emissaries who are provided with a *šapputu*-bowl of wine according to a wine list dating to 784 (CTN 3 145 r. iv 26). The term *šīru* does not occur elsewhere

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. Radner 2007a: 216–9. She refers to SAA 7 58, which records precious items (mainly jewellery) handed over to visiting delegations, and the letter SAA 1 29 according to which (the crown prince) Sennacherib dressed a Mannean messenger, who had handed over a horse and an audience gift, in purple (SAA 1 29 r. 18–21).

⁶⁷⁸ See e.g. SAA 1 76 about the treaty tablet (*tuppi adê*) of Gurdî brought by his emissaries to the Inner City.

⁶⁷⁹ ND 2803 i 19. Although these references do not include details of where the emissaries come from, it is to be assumed that these were foreign emissaries, provided that the title “emissary” did not denote an office but was bestowed on the occasion of a foreign mission.

in the wine lists presumably relating to yearly events in a military context (Fales 1994: 370), but numerous ethnic groups (apart from the aforementioned musicians and domestics) are listed as recipients of wine here.⁶⁸⁰ Sections dealing with different ethnicities usually occur at the very end of a wine list and are often separated from the remainder by a horizontal line.⁶⁸¹ Another peculiarity pertains to the unit of measurements given along with these entries: in contrast to the remainder of the recipients, whose amounts of wine are usually expressed in the standard measures of capacity *sūtu* and *qû*, the various different ethnic groups are provided with *šapputu*-bowls of wine. As we have seen, this is also true for the Elamite emissaries, who, moreover, are also listed together with other foreigners at the end of a wine list. Therefore, it is likely that the numerous unspecified foreigners also represent foreign delegates who were only temporarily present in the Assyrian capital.⁶⁸² Their visit perhaps coincided with this yearly event and the fact that many of the wine lists date to the months Addaru or Nisannu (Fales 1994: 365–6) reminds us of the emissaries who were on their way to the Assyrian palace in Addaru. This strengthens the impression that emissaries approached the Assyrian capital specifically around the turn of the year, though tribute payments are also known to have been made in the sixth month.⁶⁸³ As to an explanation for the *šapputu*-bowls I suggest that the ordinary recipients, in contrast to the emissaries, had their own drinking vessels at hand.⁶⁸⁴

Judging by the personnel, courtiers and in-laws permanently in the Assyrian palaces and the temporary visitors from abroad, the Assyrian court accommodated numerous ethnicities. This conglomerate of ethnicities was certainly less developed in comparison with what we know from the Persian court, but it may nevertheless be regarded as its forerunner.⁶⁸⁵ As with the Persians, multi-ethnicity at court reflected the great extent of the empire which, apart from its provincial domains, also involved various submissive kingdoms and vassal

⁶⁸⁰ A list of the various different ethnicities mentioned in the wine lists is provided by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 91). A detailed study of the listed ethnicities in comparison with the known campaigning activities is omitted here since the dates of the majority of the wine lists remain unknown or insecure.

⁶⁸¹ For sections separated with horizontal lines see CTN 1 4 r. 14–19; 5 r. 12–14; 8 r. 13'–18'; 23 r. 7'–14'. Other sections of foreigners put at the end of a wine list: CTN 1 9 r. 21'–22'; 14 r. 4'–5'; CTN 3 19 r. 7–12.

⁶⁸² Contra Kinnier Wilson (1972: 91) who interprets them as prisoners of war present in Assyria because of their exotic appearance and their manpower.

⁶⁸³ Sennacherib reports to the king Sargon about tribute delivered by the Ashdodites in Tašritu (SAA 1 29 r. 22–6). Perhaps the emissaries' presence around the turn of the year on the occasion of festivities was kept separate from their visits in order to hand over tribute.

⁶⁸⁴ The references to *šapputu*-bowls meant for pot stands (*kannu*) in the wine lists (CTN 1 3 ii 2; 11 r. 21) suggest that the differentiation results from the fact that bowls were handed out (instead of the liquid only).

⁶⁸⁵ For the various ethnicities associated with the Persian court and imperial administration see Briant 2002: 347–52.

states mainly located in the west (and partly incorporated into the provincial system in the course of expansion). The empire as such comprised a mixture of various different ethnicities (not least thanks to deportations on a massive scale), but this certainly cumulated at its centre, the Assyrian court. The existence of exotic women and foreign specialists not only affected the royal family but also the picture of the Assyrian court gained by outsiders of a prosperous rulership and luxurious court life. As argued by Liverani and Radner, the incorporation of foreigners into the Assyrian court especially in the 7th century was presumably also a tactical move in order to deploy foreign guards for the greater safety of the royal family members. As indicated by people such as the Egyptian Puṭiširi, listed in a record mainly dealing with court personnel (SAA 7 5 r. i 20), foreigners could gain access to the Assyrian power structures and were not restricted to passive roles.

10 THE KING'S SCHOLARS

Scholars as part of the royal court are known at Old Babylonian Mari (Charpin 2011) and in the Middle Assyrian period (Jakob 2003: 522–37). While there is some evidence for their presence at the Assyrian court of the 9th and 8th centuries,⁶⁸⁶ we are especially well informed about scholars active in the 7th century thanks to the correspondence of kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal with their scholars. With Parpola's exhaustive study of this corpus (comprising more than 350 letters) it became accessible to wider scholarship in 1970 (LAS I), followed by the publication of the highly valuable commentaries and appendices in 1983 (LAS II). The letters were re-edited by Parpola in 1993 (as SAA 10).⁶⁸⁷ In addition to these letters, more than 550 contemporary omen reports were edited by Hunger in 1992 (SAA 8), and about 350 queries and extispicy reports (or fragments thereof) from the same period were re-edited in 1990 by Starr (SAA 4). Mainly based on these corpora and with the help of other sources such as royal inscriptions and administrative records, studies dedicated to scholars at court have been published more recently by Luukko (2007), Radner (2009, 2011) and others. In addition to these, my brief remarks here rely especially on Parpola's introductions to LAS II (pp. XIV–XXI) and SAA 10 (pp. XIII–XXVII).

The five principal categories of scholars forming part of the Assyrian court are the *tuṣšarru* (“astrologer”, in full: *tuṣšarru Enūma Anu Enlil*), the *āšipu* (“exorcist”), the *bārû* (“diviner”), the *asû* (“physician”) and the *kalû*

⁶⁸⁶ Radner 2011: 362–3. Note e.g. the wine lists, constantly recording physicians, diviners, exorcists and augurs as recipients of wine.

⁶⁸⁷ SAA 16 (Chapter 10) and 18 (Chapter 9) include additions to SAA 10 (and 13).

(“chanter”).⁶⁸⁸ They were usually well versed in more than one discipline, and they also included Babylonians.⁶⁸⁹ Considered as “wise men”, they held together the basic scholarly disciplines in Assyria, each headed by a “chief” (*rab-x*) and involving “apprentices” (*didabû*, *šmallû*, *šeḫru*). Among the “wise men” Parpola distinguishes between an “inner circle” and an “outer circle”, with only the “inner circle” standing in regular direct contact with the king.⁶⁹⁰ Apart from consisting of representatives of the five well-established scholarly disciplines, the inner circle was complemented by augurs (*dāgil iṣṣūri*), well known from Kummuhu, possibly only in the 7th century, and Egyptian scholars (*ḥarṭibu*) and Egyptian scribes (*ṭupšarru muṣurāiu*) following the conquest of Egypt in 671.⁶⁹¹ For the reign of Esarhaddon, Parpola counts 17 individuals belonging to the “inner circle” (several of them being highest officials), with the number of the entire scholarly staff at court possibly amounting to 45 persons (based on SAA 7 1, cf. Radner 2009: 366–7). In addition to the written communication, periodic face-to-face meetings took place between the king and his scholars, who presumably lived outside but in the vicinity of the palace, though occasionally also in more distant locations.⁶⁹² Furthermore, individuals such as Akkullānu, who was priest of Aššur and astrologer (according to the numerous astrological reports he sent to the king),⁶⁹³ indicate that the scholars were strongly linked with the temple sphere and, hence, spent a considerable part of their time in temples.⁶⁹⁴ Judging by the close blood relationships among the “inner circle” (which is clear especially from the colophons), its members came from a few privileged families who passed on their knowledge from father to son.⁶⁹⁵ The close relationship between these families and the royal family might have been maintained for centuries,⁶⁹⁶ a circumstance

⁶⁸⁸ Parpola 1993: XIII, fn. 1 for further descriptions (the translations do not reflect all their skills and activities); for focussed studies see, for instance, Jean 2006 (*āšipu*) and Robson 2011 (*bārû*).

⁶⁸⁹ E.g. the exorcist Bēl-ušēzib active in the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (Fabritius, PNA 1/II 338–9 s.v. Bēl-ušēzib 1). Note also the wine lists recording “Kassite” diviners, e.g. CTN 1 12:4’.

⁶⁹⁰ Parpola 1983a: XV–XX; 1993: XXV–XXVII, Table 1.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. the compilation of the administrative list SAA 7 1. For a discussion of augurs from Syria and Anatolia and Egyptian scholars present in Assyria see Radner 2009. Although augurs are already recorded in wine lists dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III, she suggests that they were not part of the royal entourage, thus “the inner circle”, before the reign of Sennacherib (see Radner 2009: 231–8; 2011: 367–8).

⁶⁹² The best known example is the scholar Mār-Issār stationed in Babylonia. For the scholars’ accommodation outside the palace but within the capital city, see Parpola (1983a: XX, referring to SAA 10 7, 202, 324).

⁶⁹³ For Akkullānu see Pearce and Radner, PNA 1/I 95–6 s.v. Akkullānu 1.

⁶⁹⁴ Also, the *kalû* (LÚ.UŠ.KU) and especially the *kalamāḫu* (LÚ.UŠ.KU.MAḪ), had a close connection to the temple (see Menzel 1981 233–7).

⁶⁹⁵ Parpola 1983a: XVII; Radner 2011: 363.

⁶⁹⁶ See Radner 2011: 363 with further literature.

which offered great potential for exerting influence and accumulating power at court. These family ties, built up over centuries, are also a strong hint that scholars were rarely *ša-rēšī*s. It has been suggested by Radner (2011: 363) that this is because of an alternative career of “learned men” in the temple, where they undoubtedly had to be physically intact.

Scholars formed an essential part of the Assyrian court. Able to read the divine signs and to react to them, they assisted the king, the earthly representative of the god Aššur, in order to maintain the path intended by the gods which was indispensable for the upkeep of Assyria.⁶⁹⁷ Parpola (1993: XXIV) attributes to them a prophylactic and an advisory function, with the latter leading to their important role within the process of royal decision-making (Radner 2009). This involved state affairs as well as personal matters of members of the royal family, including their physical well-being.⁶⁹⁸ Furthermore, royal inscriptions were compiled with the benefit of the scribal lore and expertise of the chief scribe who, at the same time, could have been a royal tutor (*ummānu*).⁶⁹⁹ The royal tutor was also responsible for the education of the crown prince, who was one of the few (or even the only other) individual(s) (apart from the king) to whom scholars were permanently assigned.⁷⁰⁰ This restriction supports the impression of the crown's unique claim on scholars, as, for instance, pointed out by Frahm (2011: 519).

Tutors maintained an advisory function for their former protégé after the crown prince's accession to the Assyrian throne.⁷⁰¹ The nature of such relationships, already starting in the childhood or youth of the intended successor to the throne, can be regarded as distinct from those maintained between the king and his state officials. The relationship between the crown and his scholars has been characterised as one of patronage, with the king (and the crown prince) being patron(s) and the scholars his (their) clients, involving “mutual exchange of goods and services” (Radner 2011: 363–4, Robson 2011: 605–7, both with

⁶⁹⁷ Parpola 1993: XV–XVII, XXI–XXII; cf. Part I, section 7.2 Assyrian kingship.

⁶⁹⁸ This was in the care of physicians and exorcists judging by Adad-šumu-ušur, exorcist of Esarhaddon (Jean 2006: 117–8, 121–2, on the tasks of the exorcists at court in general see Jean 2006: 115–28). See Jakob (2003: 535–6) for the close connection of the *asûs'* and *āšīpus'* lore.

⁶⁹⁹ Luukko 2007: 228, fn. 5, 232; Frahm 2011: 521–2; Radner 2011: 364.

⁷⁰⁰ E.g. the exorcist Rēmūtu (SAA 10 257 r. 4, SAA 7 1 i 15). We know from several letters to the king that the scholars took care of various royal family members; their treatment, however, seems to have taken place under the auspices of the king (cf. Jean 2006: 124–7). Two possible explanations are offered here for the fact that the physician Bīrtāiu was a subordinate of the *rab ša-rēšī* in the reign of Adad-nērāri III (CTN 2 17 r. 17). It is either due to a change of policies over time (and increasing precautions by the crown) or only physicians (out of the whole range of scholars) were assigned to officials since their knowledge was regarded as less problematic for sharing with others.

⁷⁰¹ The *ummānu*'s remarkable position among the scholars of the “inner circle” is further underlined by lists of Assyrian kings and their tutors, cf. Frahm 2011: 516; Zamazalová 2011: 319–20. According to Parpola (1995: 380) he forms part of the “tree of life”, the royal council, together with the seven magnates (see in short in Part I, section 7.3 The king's magnates).

reference to Westbrook 2005). In contrast to the king's magnates, for whom Radner envisages a bureaucratic link with the king, scholars "had no formal claims to their position" but relied on personal perceptions, as also indicated by the tone of their letters occasionally being mere petitions full of complaints.⁷⁰² While their close relationship to the king, on the one hand, meant a close connection to power, it also caused them to rely on an unpredictable covenant. Their trump, namely their excellent scholarly qualifications—note also the designation "able scholars" (SAA 10 160 r. 35: *ummânî lē'ûti*)—protected them only to a certain extent since the king could easily replace them by other candidates and therefore competition was a daily challenge among the scholars of the Assyrian court. Nevertheless, as long as they did not fall under disgrace but could provide their expertise (either in collaboration or in competition with other scholars), they had a great impact on royal behaviour and action, not necessarily in a negative but in an academic and supporting way.⁷⁰³

Thanks to the elaborate petitions of scholars to the king, one gets the impression that they did not benefit from great wealth but even suffered from poverty. Since these letters are intended to underline the sender's bad situation, one is entitled to be cautious. Also the well known letter of an unknown sender reporting on the tiny house of the chief scribe (SAA 16 89) may indicate this, but it does not serve as a definite proof since we lack its actual background.⁷⁰⁴ As a general scenario, I suggest that as long as scholars maintained a good reputation before the king, they were properly supplied, but they were by no means able to accumulate properties to the extent attested for high- and middle-ranking officials, including military functionaries in the 7th century. They are not to be counted among the upper echelons of Assyrian court society (Radner 2011: 364).

11 THE ROYAL TOMBS

Several men attested in 7th-century sources were affiliated to the establishments *bēt šarrāni* and *bēt kimāḥḥi*, both of which are associated with the burial places of the royal family. These men either bore the titles *rab bēt-šarrāni* and *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* respectively or were qualified as "of the *bēt kimāḥḥi*" and once "of the *kimāḥḥu*".

⁷⁰² The tone of the letters of the scholars differs from those of high-ranking officials certainly also because the scholars wrote their letters themselves, whereas the officials employed a scribe.

⁷⁰³ Radner 2011: 366, with reference to Parpola 1983a. Radner (2011: 374) proposes that in the reign of Esarhaddon the scholars' role developed from passive advisors towards "official policy-makers" and that their relationship to the king approached that between magnates and king.

⁷⁰⁴ Luukko 2007: 246–8; with a contrasting view Frahm 2011: 519.

11.1 The *bēt šarrāni*

There are a few functionaries attested with the titles *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni*, written [LÚ]/LÚ*.šá-UGU-É-MAN.MEŠ(-ni), LÚ*.šá-UGU-É-LUGAL.MEŠ-ni, LÚ.šá-UGU-EN-LUGAL,⁷⁰⁵ and *rab bēt-šarrāni*, written LÚ*.GAL-É-MAN.MEŠ. In addition, the royal *ša-rēši* Nabû-šēzibanni is qualified as *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni*, written šá-UGU-É-LUGAL.MEŠ (SAA 14 61 r. 2) and šá-UGU-É-MAN.MEŠ-ni (SAA 14 60 r. 4). As pointed out by Ebeling (1954: 18–9), the term *bēt šarrāni ma’dūti* (“house of many kings”), twice mentioned in a list of offerings (SAA 12 81 i 7’, r. 5), refers to the burial place of Assyrian kings.⁷⁰⁶ This final resting place for royal ancestors was situated in the Old Palace of Assur, where out of seven known tombs three were identified as the burial places of Aššūr-bēl-kala (who reigned in the 11th century), Aššurnaširpal II and Šamši-Adad V (Haller 1954: 170–81). Attested from the Middle Assyrian period on (reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, 12th century), the *bēt šarrāni* mainly occurs as a recipient of offerings in both the Middle Assyrian and the Neo-Assyrian sources (Donbaz 1992: 121–2). As for the functionaries related to this establishment, to my knowledge only attested in the first millennium BCE, already discussed in brief by Radner (1999a: 96–7), there is an early reference to the *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* in the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a, to whom the official is assigned in the context of the construction of the new imperial capital Kalhu (SAA 12 83 r. 16). An origin in Assur, as with the other functionaries listed here, may be indicated by the broken section at the beginning of the document (SAA 12 83:6’). The presence of the *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* in Assur is better indicated by the other references: Nabû-šēzibanni is attested as a witness in three legal documents dating to the reigns of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, either originating from Assur (SAAB 9 75 r. 28) or said to come from Nineveh but indicating a close connection with Assur.⁷⁰⁷ Here he is twice referred to as *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* and once occurs as (royal) *ša-rēši* overseeing the *bēt šarrāni*. The same man is probably also attested in another legal document, where a *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* (name lost) is recorded as the owner of an estate (house) adjoining the one

⁷⁰⁵ The EN in LÚ.šá-UGU-EN-LUGAL (SAA 14 62 r. 8’) is to be emended to É, and the plural marker for LUGAL is missing: LÚ.šá-UGU-É¹-LUGAL.(MEŠ). This is to be interpreted as *ša-bēt-šarrāni* because the title bearer, Nabû-šēzibanni, is attested with this title elsewhere (SAAB 9 75 r. 28).

⁷⁰⁶ Menzel (1981 II: T 21–2, nos. 18 and 19; cf. Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXXIII) adds that the term *bēt šarrāni ma’dūtim* corresponds well with *bēt šarrāni mētūti*, “house of the dead kings”.

⁷⁰⁷ SAA 14 61 r. 1–2 and 60 r. 3–4; 14 62 r. 8’. Apart from Nabû-šēzibanni, the palace manager Aḥu-eṛība, mentioned in SAA 14 62 r. 6’, is also attested in a document from Assur (StAT 3 104 l.e. 2). Also, the witness Aššūr-issē’a, *ša-rēši* of [...], listed in SAA 14 62 r. 14’, is presumably identical with a homonymous man mentioned in three texts from Assur (SAAB 9 79 r. 5’; 124 r. 11; StAT 3 105 r. 7); cf. Radner, PNA 1/I 190 s.v. Aššūr-issē’a 4.

being sold (StAT 1 23:4´). Judging by the origin of the tablet, the property in question was located in Assur, corresponding to the *ša-muḥḫi-bēt-šarrāni*'s sphere of action. As written on the tablet, it was located next to that of the household overseer and the chief(?) farmhand of the commander-in-chief as well as the carpenter and the brewer of the household of the crown prince. There is only one *rab bēt-šarrāni*, namely Šulmu-aḫḫē, attested as a witness in a broken legal document (StAT 1 19 r. 8´–9´). Although the *rab bēt-šarrāni* must also have been concerned with the royal burial facilities in Assur, it remains uncertain whether the two terms were synonyms.⁷⁰⁸ This is, however, plausible since both titles indicate an administrative function with supervisory responsibilities, probably also including the construction and upkeep of the *bēt šarrāni*, though I do not suppose that construction works were their main responsibility (contra Radner 1999a: 97).⁷⁰⁹

11.2 The *bēt kimaḫḫi*

Functionaries who were concerned with the *bēt kimaḫḫi* were designated *ša-bēt-kimaḫḫi* (written *ša/šá-É-KI.MAḪ*) or bore the title “*ša-rēši* of the *bēt kimaḫḫi*” (written *LÚ.SAG šá-É-KI.MAḪ*). In addition, there is a single reference to the *kimaḫḫāiu* (written *KI.MAḪ-a-a*, in StAT 2 206 r. 6). The *bēt kimaḫḫi*, literally meaning “house of the tomb”,⁷¹⁰ is not attested before the Neo-Assyrian period and is usually translated as mausoleum or burial chamber. Lundström (2000: 13–5) assumed that the *bēt kimaḫḫi* has to be distinguished from the subterranean tomb (*kimaḫḫu*) itself and that it rather constituted an overground place (of one or several rooms) where the ancestral cult and offerings took place.⁷¹¹ He admitted that the *bēt kimaḫḫi* may alternatively also designate the entire grave construction (including the *kimaḫḫu*, with reference to the letter SAA 10 352 mentioning the *bēt kimaḫḫi* for the substitute king), but such a basic distinction is plausible, also (or especially) judging by the personnel associated with it. Though the term *bēt kimaḫḫi* (unlike the term *bēt šarrāni*) does not *per se* denote one specific place, it primarily refers to the royal graves in the Old Palace of Assur,⁷¹² as also pointed out by Menzel (1981 I: 35) who further stresses its connection with the Aššur Temple.

⁷⁰⁸ Such an identification is supported by, for instance, the Middle Assyrian synonyms *rab gīnā'e* and *ša-muḥḫi-gīnā'ē* (Jakob 2003: 175–81).

⁷⁰⁹ Though the *rab ekalli* was concerned with the construction of palaces (SAA 1 99), this was certainly not his main task.

⁷¹⁰ For the Sumerian loanword *kimaḫḫu*, to be translated as grave or tomb, see CAD K 370–8 s.v. *kimāḫḫu*; cf. AHW 478 s.v. *kima(h)ḫu(m)*. It already occurs in Old Babylonian texts (Mari) but is mainly attested in texts dating to the first millennium BCE (cf. Lundström 2000: 9).

⁷¹¹ The same view was only recently taken by Hauser (2012: 65–8).

⁷¹² The *bēt kimaḫḫi* of Assurbanipal is mentioned in a list (drawn up during his lifetime) otherwise referring to various members of Esarhaddon's family (Weidner 1939–41: 213–6). The

Since we therefore expect the “(ša-rēšis/men) of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*” to be active in Assur, it is less surprising that they occur as witnesses in legal texts from Assur.⁷¹³ Also the broken conveyance document said to have been found in Nineveh, listing two ša-rēšis of the *bēt kimaḥḥi* as witnesses (SAA 14 62 r. 9', 10'), rather originates from Assur (see above). These people also occur in another capacity in legal records from Assur: the *ša-bēt-kimaḥḥi* Kišir-Aššūr acts as a surety (*urki'u*) for a “bought (slave)” in a conveyance document from Assur (StAT 3 105 r. 22–23). Assuming that the surety implied possible restitution in the form of commodities (for instance silver), Kišir-Aššūr must have had some financial resources. This is supported by the *ša-bēt-kimaḥḥi* Kakkullānu who is listed along with three shekels (of silver) in a record of joint trading enterprise (Radner 2016 I.37:13'–14'). Nevertheless, these functionaries were rather low-ranking and may have had a status similar to other *ša-(bēt-)* x officials such as the *ša-bēti-šanīe*. As for their tasks, they were presumably concerned with the offerings presented in the *bēt kimaḥḥi*.⁷¹⁴ Lacking clerical functions themselves, as also indicated by the fact that some of them were *ša-rēšis*, they presumably prepared the offerings while the appropriate rituals were performed by priests. Not forming part of the clerics, they were palatial appointees overseeing the cultic procedures for ancestral members of the royal family. Since the terms *bēt kimaḥḥi* and *kimaḥḥu* were not necessarily used as synonyms, the single reference to a *kimaḥḥāiu* (StAT 2 206 r. 6) could refer to an employee making arrangements in the underground crypts, while the others were occupied in the overground structures where the ancestor worship and supply primarily took place. However, it is also possible that *kimaḥḥāiu* is just a sloppy expression for the very same type of employee. Whether the late appearance of the personnel of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*—they are not attested prior to the reign of Assurbanipal—is coincidental or is due to a late development cannot be determined. The general impression of an increasing concern with palace life and family shown by the late Neo-Assyrian kings supports the latter possibility. The care of royal tombs and the ancestral cult must have been a central issue also before the 7th century, but the permanent appointment of separate

bēt kimaḥḥi of Ešarra-ḥammat, queen of Esarhaddon, is mentioned in royal inscriptions and administrative documents and—unlike the tombs of the Neo-Assyrian queens Mullissu-mukannišat-Ninua (Aššurnaširpal II and Shalmaneser III), Iabâ (Tiglath-pileser III) and Atalia (Sargon II) found in the North-West Palace of Kalhu—may have been also located in the Old Palace of Assur (Radner, PNA 1/II 406–7 s.v. Ešarra-ḥammat).

⁷¹³ StAT 3 3 r. 37; note also the *kimaḥḥāiu* Mannu-kī-Nabû (StAT 2 206 r. 6).

⁷¹⁴ SAA 7 197 seems to list offerings made in the *bēt kimaḥḥi*, as indicated by the phrase *an-ni-ú ina É-KI.MAḤ-ḥi* in r. 11' (cf. SAA 7 206 r. 3). Their leftovers may have been meant for the Inner City according to the note *a-na URU.ŠĀ-URU* in r. 12'. Leftovers of offerings meant for the *bēt kimaḥḥi* of Ešarra-ḥammat are attested in SAA 12 81 i 9', r. i 6–7. The “soup (*ašūdu*) of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*” is mentioned in a few legal documents from Assur (SAAB 9 77:8'–9'; 94:4; 82:2'); see Deller et al. 1995: 48.

staff to these funerary facilities and the latter's institutionalisation might have been an innovation of late Neo-Assyrian kings.

In addition to the above discussed functionaries related to the *bēt kimaḥḥi*, there is a shepherd of the regular sheep offerings (*rā'i darī*) attested (name lost) as a witness in a broken legal document (StAT 1 30 r. 4'-5'). Although the [ša] is restored, this shepherd was likely assigned to the *bēt kimaḥḥi* and as such herded the sheep intended for the regular offerings in the *bēt kimaḥḥi*. Since the supply for the antecedents played a dominant role in the *bēt kimaḥḥi*, it is not surprising that shepherds were specifically assigned to this institution. In the light of this shepherd, the emendation of the designation ENGAR šá É-KI.MAḤ to LÚ šá É-KI.MAḤ in SAAB 5 51 r. 31, as proposed by the editors, is not necessary and a farmer of the *bēt kimaḥḥi* corresponds perfectly with the shepherd for regular offerings.⁷¹⁵ While *ša-rēšis* took care of the *bēt kimaḥḥi* and its offering activities, the commodities for these offerings were provided by specific professionals.

11.3 Summary

In contrast to the “of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*”, the personnel associated with the *bēt-šarrāni* had overall responsibilities and may have also commanded the previously mentioned functionaries. This is supported by the impression that the *bēt kimaḥḥi* usually denotes a single burial place, whereas the *bēt šarrāni* rather is an overall term for all the royal graves (including those of other members of the royal family) set up in the Old Palace of Assur. This is supported by a record of meat distribution where the *bēt šarrāni* is followed by the *bēt kimaḥḥi* of Ešarra-ḥamat, queen of Esarhaddon.⁷¹⁶ Furthermore, Nabû-gāmil and Šulmu-šarri, *ša-rēšis* of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*, listed as witnesses in a legal record (SAA 14 62 r. 8', 9'), are preceded by Nabû-šēzibanni, the *ša-muḥḥi-bēt šarrāni*. This witness list also demonstrates that there was more than one *ša-rēši* of the *bēt kimaḥḥi* active at a time, though presumably only one supervisor was appointed over the *bēt-šarrāni*.

Individuals of both offices were occasionally qualified as *ša-rēšis*, which seems to be a relevant characteristic of those concerned with the burial facilities of the royal family. Assuming that the entire staff of the *bēt šarrāni*, including several “(he) of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*”, were *ša-rēšis*, these offices were not part of the temple but rather palatial appointees. This is supported by their association with palace officials, as in StAT 1 23 (referring to personnel of the household

⁷¹⁵ Cf. Menzel 1981 I: 231; Radner 1999a: 129. The “maintenance field of the *bēt šarri*” (SAA 14 460:5': *ma-'u-u-te ša É-LUGAL 'x' [x x]*) which is possibly to be restored as *bēt šarrāni*.

⁷¹⁶ SAA 12 81 i 7', 9', r. i 5, 6, cf. Donbaz 1992: 122.

of the crown prince) and SAA 14 62 (also witnessed by the palace manager). The fact that the latter document also lists temple officials, such as the temple supervisor and the temple scribe, is easily explained by their association with the Aššur Temple because of their place of employ (Assur) and their concerns (offerings).

12 THE MANAGEMENT OF THE FOOD SUPPLY

This section discusses officials who were concerned with the management of different kinds of foods including the “chief cook” (*rab nuḫatimmi*), the “chief confectioner” (*rab karkadinni*), the “chief baker” (*rab āpie*), the *rab qaqqulāti*, the “wine master” (*rab karāni*), the “oil master” (*rab šamni*), the “fruit master” (*rab zamri*), and the “spice master” (*rab raqqūti*).⁷¹⁷

12.1 The *rab nuḫatimmi* (chief cook)

The title *rab nuḫatimmi* first appears in Neo-Assyrian times and continues to be used in the Neo-Babylonian period.⁷¹⁸ It is only written logographically, mainly LÚ/LÚ*.GAL–MU with the variants GAL–MU (VAT 10430 r. 13, K 19013:2), GAL–LÚ*.MU (CTN 2 81 r. 2–3), GAL–LÚ*.MU.MEŠ (Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2:3–4), LÚ/LÚ*.GAL–MU.MEŠ (SAA 11 90:6, 11; Edubba 10 28:8). Hence, both translations “chief cook” and “chief of the cooks” are valid. Since the *rab mūgi*, a military officer (Radner 2002: 12–3), is usually written LÚ.GAL–*mu-gi* the question might occasionally occur whether the GI sign was simply missed out. While this would suggest a potential *rab mūgi* behind each attested chief cook, the ancient writers seem to have kept both titles separate.⁷¹⁹ The Neo-Assyrian chief cook was first discussed by Klauber (1968: 77–8), and a more recent discussion was undertaken in brief by Mattila (2009: 161–2). The meagre Neo-Babylonian evidence for the *rab nuḫatimmi* was addressed by Jursa (2010: 82).

12.1.1 Appointment

An administrative document from Nineveh records the appointment of Aḫī-milki to the chief cook using the phrase “*ana* PROFESSION + abstract ending” on its reverse (RA 17 194 r. 3’–4’). Although the tablet is not dateable,

⁷¹⁷ See also Groß 2015b for a discussion of these offices in chronological perspective.

⁷¹⁸ For the etymology see section 4.2.1 Cooks.

⁷¹⁹ In connection with possible overlaps one should also mention the case of Urdu-Aššūr described as commander-of-fifty in StAT 2 167. In StAT 2 212 it is read LÚ.GAL–MU instead, which is emended to LÚ.GAL–50’; see Jas, PNA 3/III 1399 s.v. Urdu-Aššūr 5.

this appointment probably took place in the reign of Esarhaddon, assuming that Aḫī-milki is identical with a homonymous individual who bought a slave in the year 676 (SAA 6 274:5). On the same tablet there is also the appointment of the palace supervisor (*ša-pān-ekalli*) preserved, and originally there might have been even more such entries at the beginning of the tablet's reverse. The entry for the chief cook on the obverse of the same document (l. 2') might again refer to Aḫī-milki, though this cannot be proven, neither can its purpose be determined.

12.1.2 Personal equipment

In the burial chamber of Mullissu-mukannišat-Nīnua, queen of Aššurnāṣirpal II and Shalmaneser III, located in room 57 of the North-West Palace at Kalhu, a seal was found which once belonged to Inūrta-aḫīa-šukšid(?) (Fischer, PNA 2/I 545), *ša-rēši* of Adad-nērāri III, chief of the cooks and herdsmen, according to its inscription (Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2:1–4). Although the owner of the seal is not only designated “chief of the cooks”, the chief cook presumably had his own seal. While in the present case the seal functioned also as an object of prestige of this high-ranking official at the Neo-Assyrian court in the 9th century, the chief cook may usually have used a seal, either his individual seal or the royal seal, in the context of his office.⁷²⁰

12.1.3 Property

In relation to the chief cook of Harran we gain some information about the property of the chief cook. The property of the chief cook of Harran is attested in two tablets of the Harran Census (SAA 11 203, 213) drawn up in the reign of Sargon. According to the most plausible interpretation of these c. 20 texts, they record land holdings in the rural countryside of the Harran region, probably because of a grant of *kidinnūtu*-status.⁷²¹ Both documents record 6,000 stalks of vine associated with the chief cook Adad-rēmāni, of which 4,000 are said to be in the city Sarugi.⁷²² SAA 11 213 r. i 7–13, apart from the broken enumeration of the people actually cultivating these vines, does not add any further information except that the property in question belonged to the chief cook Adad-rēmāni. SAA 11 203 ii 9–iii 6 additionally records that the stalks of vine and an orchard as well as the people cultivating these lands have been inspected (iii 5: PAB IGI.LAL) and one shepherd is absent.⁷²³ The section

⁷²⁰ Note also the discussion of Niederreiter 2015: 134–5.

⁷²¹ Fales and Postgate 1995: XXX–XXXIV.

⁷²² The city Sarugi was situated north of the province of Bit-Adini (Bagg 2007: 214–5).

⁷²³ This is expressed with 1 LÚ*.SIPA UDU.MEŠ *pa-šu* (iii 6) which is translated by the edition as “1 shepherd - dispersed” (similar to SAA 5 290:8'). The meaning is established based on line iv 8 where it is stated that “one shepherd is missing”: 1 LÚ*.SIPA *ḫal-qu* (CAD P 227 s.v. *pāšu*). Kwasman (1998: 635) proposes the translation “1 shepherd of white sheep”, assuming

concludes with the statement that all this is the estate of the cook Sīn-ēreš who was promoted (Š-stem of *elû*; cf. SAA 16 115) by Adad-rēmāni, chief cook of Harran.⁷²⁴ While 6,000 stalks are in the possession of the chief cook according to SAA 11 213, 6,000 stalks were handed over to the cook Sīn-ēreš, in the context of his promotion, as documented in SAA 11 203 (which, provided that the stalks are the same, suggests that SAA 11 213 predates SAA 11 203, cf. Fales 1973: 37). An estate of 6,000 stalks is impressive and since the chief cook passed it on to the cook Sīn-ēreš this was presumably only a fraction of the land at his disposal. This grant was probably not a voluntary gesture but happened on royal initiative, also because the appointment and promotion of officials and the allocation of land was a matter for the king.⁷²⁵ However, since the chief cook was the formal head of the cooks, he might have had some room for manoeuvre, especially because the promotion of Sīn-ēreš was not a promotion in office but seems to have been a promotion in privileges and remuneration and thus in relative status among the cooks; one could even say that the allocation of land itself represented the promotion.

Other evidence for the property of the chief cook is probably available in the letter SAA 19 39, written by Šarru-ēmurāni, deputy governor of Isana, to the king (Tiglath-pileser III). The chief cook's concern with the extraction of corn taxes in the province of Isana, as indicated in a broken section (SAA 19 39:16-r. 1), suggests that he was either involved by virtue of his official functions or that he owned land there.

12.1.4 Allocations

In an administrative list presumably recording redistributed tribute (according to the broken heading), the chief cook is mentioned as recipient of 100 "tribute sheep" (see below), two sheep and two *šapputu*-bowls of wine (SAA 11 36 i 9–11), while his scribe is supplied with one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine (SAA 11 36 i 12–13). Whereas the two sheep and the wine are meant for the personal consumption of the office-holder, the 100 sheep are rather related to the official task of the chief cook; they were presumably handed over to the chief cook as an intermediary authority (see below).

that the scribe just forgot to add the plural ending (*pa-šu-u-te*). Judging by the general composition of the section and also because the expression "shepherd of white sheep" is redundant, however, a missing shepherd seems more plausible.

⁷²⁴ SAA 11 203 iii 7–9. Postgate (1989: 146), referring to another connotation of *šēlû* (cf. CAD E 130 s.v. *elû* 9.c), concludes from this statement that Adad-rēmāni "dedicated the estate of Sīn-ēreš" and therefore assumes that the relative pronoun *ša* at the beginning of iii 8 refers to the estate (É) and not to Sīn-ēreš. The solution offered by Fales and Postgate (1995: 128) is ambiguous in this respect since, on the one hand, they suggest that the *ša* refers to the estate ("which") but use the translation "promoted" for *ú-še-lu-ni*.

⁷²⁵ Possibly the king originally gave order and it is now up to the chief cook to execute the order (cf. SAA 15 24:10–19).

12.1.5 Temple supplies

In a collection of decrees from various reigns it is recorded that the chief cook of the palace had to supply one sheep for the regular offerings (*dariu*) in the reign of Sargon (SAA 12 77 i 22'–23'). It is further stated that this sheep is to be taken by the chief cook from the cities Hatarikka and Šimirra (i 24'–25': TA* IGI URU.ḫat-rak-k[a] URU.ṣi-mir-ra), two provincial capitals located in the far west.⁷²⁶ The chief cook is described as a palace official, as is the case with other officials mentioned as suppliers of offerings here. The titles of some of these officials such as “chief confectioner” (*rab karkadinni*) and “wine master” (*rab karāni*), indicate that they were officially involved in the supply of food or drink and correspond to the type of their regular provision as recorded here. While the chief confectioner is associated with cardamon in the present text (r. ii 16–17), the chief cook was responsible for the supply of sheep, as he was also concerned with sheep in the context of his office (see below). Nevertheless, the supply of temple offerings was not part of his official concerns (neither was that the case for the other officials) but rather it denotes the fulfilment of general duties imposed upon officials (cf. Kataja and Whiting 1995: XVI).

12.1.6 Legal transactions

There is only one occurrence of a chief cook as a party to legal transactions. Aḫī-Milki, who buys a slave for two minas of silver in the year 676 (SAA 6 274:5), is possibly identical with the chief cook Aḫī-Milki. On the other hand, the chief cook is attested as a witness to legal documents, though in rare cases only. The chief(?) cook⁷²⁷ Nabû-ušalla acts as a witness in a broken legal document (CTN 2 81 r. 2–3) from the year 754. While the chief cook of the crown prince (personal name lost) witnesses a broken conveyance document (SAA 14 307 r. 5', date lost), the chief cook of the queen acts as a witness when Mamu-iqbi, a well-known men from Imgur-Illil, releases Mannu-kī-Arbail (BT 140 r. 14, 685). The latter was detained because he had stolen a female servant of the queen, which also explains why officials of the queen witness this legal document. Two other chief cooks, probably belonging to the temple sphere, are recorded as witnesses in legal documents from Assur: while Nāšī' witnesses a sale of the cook of Ištār in the year 711 BCE (StAT 2 102 r. 5'), [...]uā appears as a witness in a land sale document drawn up in the reign of Sennacherib (VAT 10430 r. 13).

⁷²⁶ Radner 2006a: 58, 62; Bagg 2007: 93–5, 231–2.

⁷²⁷ The tablet is broken and thus the restoration “chief cook” remains uncertain; at least the final horizontal wedge of a possible GAL is visible according to the copy (Postgate 1973: Pl. 38).

12.1.7 Functions

12.1.7.1 Acting as judge

In two judicial documents (StAT 2 165, 166) the *rab nuḫatimmi* acts as a judge. Both tablets, drawn up on the same day, refer to the same settlement but record two different judicial decisions concerning the defendant Nūr-Issār. While according to StAT 2 165 Nūr-Issār is to bring two guarantors to Urdu-Aššūr, in StAT 2 166 he is ordered to bring a servant within one month. In Neo-Assyrian sources only a few types of officials are responsible for judicial decisions. These are, on the one hand, the chief bailiff (*sartennu*) and the vizier (*sukkallu*) and, on the other hand, a municipal official, the mayor (*ḫazannu*).⁷²⁸ The chief cook's appearance in this function is unique and seems rather unusual. As these texts derive from Assur, one may take into account a potential connection with the Aššūr Temple (cf. Mattila 2009: 161). This is supported by a statement in StAT 2 166 according to which five minas of silver of the "house of Nūr-Issār", to be given to Urdu-Aššūr, are destined as a present for the temple of Aššūr if Nūr-Issār fails to bring one of his servants. Assuming that the chief cook was related to the temple sphere, one might compare his role as a judge with priests attested with the same task in a few texts from Assur (Jas 1996: nos. 13 and 31).

12.1.7.2 Domestic tasks

The only evidence which attests to the official activities of the chief cook in accordance with his title is found in the text on instructions for the royal meal (*naptunu*, see section 4.1.1.3.1 Domestic tasks about the *ša-bēti-šanie*'s involvement in this meal). The *rab nuḫatimmi* appears twice. At first, he is standing in front of the dished-up food together with the *rab ša-rēši*.⁷²⁹ Although the preceding section, providing detailed information about the dishes offered, is badly broken, one can at least note that different types of meat were served.⁷³⁰ As to the second reference, the chief cook announces (iii 48–49: LÚ*.GAL–MU ṭè-e-[mu] ú-tar ma-a) that the meal is served (iii 49: *nab-tu-nu qar-ru-ub*).⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ See Deller 1971: 647–50 and more recently Jas 1996: 4, with the whole range of attested officials acting as judges, as well as Radner 2003b: 890. For a recent discussion about the duties of *ḫazannus*, including judicial duties, see Van Buylaere 2010: 234–5, 240.

⁷²⁹ SAA 20 33 r. iii 33'. Müller (1937: 81), following Klauber who wrote in 1910 (see ²1968: 73), interpreted the writing LÚ.GAL–SAG as a "pseudo-ideographic writing" of *rab šāqê*. Though the chief cupbearer would fit perfectly well here, there is no reason to assume that the chief cupbearer is meant instead of the *rab ša-rēši*.

⁷³⁰ Preserved terms are *akburu* (jerboa), *ḫallāni* (hind legs) and *ianūqu* (another type of meat); cf. Parpola 2004: 294, fn. 37.

⁷³¹ For *qarābu* in the present context see CAD Q 238 s.v. *qerēbu* 10.c.

This is apparently proclaimed after the meal has taken place and immediately before the crown prince and the magnates leave the scene. Judging from the two occurrences of the chief cook, he functioned as the representative of the offered meal, appearing at its actual beginning and at its end, for which he even gave the final signal. Since the term *naptunu* in Neo-Assyrian and in Neo-Babylonian refers to the meal served to the gods and (as leftovers from the gods' meal) to the king and his entourage (AHw 741–2; CAD N/I 319–23), the chief cook's appearance here may be also related to his concern for the delivery of livestock to the temple (see below).⁷³²

12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock

As already noted by Parpola (1983a: 134; cf. Mattila 2009: 161), the chief cook appears prominently as a supplier of livestock extracted from the provinces. This activity especially falls within the context of religious and scholarly matters. This is shown in the letter SAA 10 202 in which the chief exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur refers to rams brought for him by the chief cook when explaining to Esarhaddon why he had not sent a letter yet. Since he had to drive the rams to the palace, he was not able to look into the reference work kept in his house in order to answer the cultic matters raised by the king in his previous letter. Cultic procedures such as purification rituals may have been the reason why the rams, destined for the palace, were first brought to the chief exorcist. The chief cook's central role in providing the temple with livestock for offerings is clear from an administrative record from Nineveh, which according to its heading deals with the "distribution of levy (*šibtu*) of oxen and sheep" (SAA 11 90:1–2: *za-uz-zu ša MÁŠ GUD UDU.MEŠ*). Here the "house of the chief of the cooks" is mentioned along with 140 oxen, specified as 40 oxen for the "first-fruit" offerings (*rēšāti*) and 100 oxen of the "regular offerings" (*dariu*),⁷³³ qualified as "for the levy (*šibtu*)" (ll. 3–6). Hence, 140 levied oxen allocated to the department of the chief cook are destined for specific offerings, and thus this institution serves here only as an interim recipient of distributed livestock. Farmers "of the gods" in the care of Sīn-šarru-ibni and farmers in the care of Nabû-šarru-ušur, who are listed subsequently, receive 20 and 110 oxen respectively and may have received these oxen for tilling the ground. Another reference to the chief cook on the broken reverse of the same tablet (SAA 11 90 r. 11) underlines the chief cook's central role within this administrative procedure for distributing of livestock. The task of providing domestic animals for offerings is also indicated by the already discussed collection of

⁷³² This is also supported by the term *qarābu* used in the final statement of the chief cook which also has the connotation "to go up as offering" (CAD Q 234 s.v. *qerēbu* 4).

⁷³³ See Postgate (1983) where he discusses the term *rēšāti*.

decrees according to which the chief cook constantly gave one sheep in the reign of Sargon II (SAA 12 77 i 22'–26'). Although this act of providing offerings itself is rather owed to a general obligation imposed on high-ranking officials, the fact that the chief cook is recorded along with a sheep (while e.g. the gardener in i 11'–13' gave some sort of plants) refers to his official access to domestic animals, as also indicated by the source of the sheep, namely the provincial capitals Hatarikka and Šimirra.

Another record where the chief cook occurs as official administrator of livestock presumably extracted from the provinces is an account (*nikkassu*) of the year [x] according to its heading.⁷³⁴ Here, the chief cook Aššūr-ašarēd is listed along with “71 “stock” (*šibtu*) (of donkeys)”.⁷³⁵ This entry is summed up together with similar entries as “202 dead (donkeys) given out, with reward”.⁷³⁶ Thus, out of 202 donkeys Aššūr-ašarēd was provided with almost a third whereas other recipients in this section occur along with eleven donkeys at most. Like other entries, the entry for the chief cook ends with the obscure statement A–KIN. As a possible explanation I suggest that if the real recipient was not present at the place of issue his messenger confirmed the receipt of the allotment instead,⁷³⁷ which would mean that the musician of the palace supervisor took on the role as a messenger according to another entry (ND 2451:21). However, due to the significantly higher number of animals assigned to the chief cook as well as the fact that they are qualified with the administrative term *šibtu*, the chief cook is particularly relevant in this matter. The chief cook received this comparatively huge amount of sorted out donkeys in association with his official tasks; he may then have kept them in stock until they were needed.⁷³⁸ Whereas he mainly dealt with animals intended for divination, sacrifices and, in a final stage, consumption, the donkeys may have been of interest for the production of leather.

⁷³⁴ ND 2451. It dates to the reign of Sargon according to another *limmu* entry in r. 6' referring to Ša-Aššūr-dubbu (707, governor of Tušhan).

⁷³⁵ ND 2451:19. The term *šibtu* contrasts here with other specifications such as *nakkamtu* (“reserves”), *maddattu* (“tribute”). Other occurrences of *šibtu* in the present text: ND 2451:10, r. 4', 9'; Postgate 1974a: 172, 379. For a discussion of this term see Postgate (1974a: 171–3).

⁷³⁶ ND 2451:23: 'PAB 2' ME 2 BE.MEŠ SUM-tú a-di ri-mu-ti. The SUM-tú is presumably to be read as *tidintu*, i.e. “gift” (Postgate 1974a: 379; cf. Deller 1991: 354). BE could also refer to *labīru*, “old”. In any case, the donkeys in question were commodities (to be) sorted out.

⁷³⁷ Similarly, the *mār šipri* of the chief cupbearer may have received wine as his master's representative according to a wine list (CTN 1 13 r. 16'). Another solution takes into account Postgate's interpretation of QIR-si, specifying donkeys (ND 2451:4, 13), as *bissu* (Neo-Assyrian for *biltu*), meaning “pack” for “pack animals” (Postgate 1974a: 378). The messengers of the various recipients could have been the direct beneficiaries of these pack animals. However, the qualification possibly refers to *qersu* which denotes a “portable shrine” (May 2010: 470) and contrasts with the *ma'assu* (stable) in the present text.

⁷³⁸ This would imply that the animals were still alive and BE refers to “old” donkeys, see above, fn. 736.

Apart from covering his requirements for livestock through provincial tax income, the chief cook benefitted also from the redistribution of tribute, as recorded in the aforementioned document SAA 11 36 where he, apart from wine and sheep for his personal consumption, appears along with 100 “tribute sheep” (*immere maddatte*).⁷³⁹ The comparatively high number of sheep given to the chief cook is not accidental but corresponds to the chief cook’s main responsibilities, as is supported by the commodities distributed to the other officials listed, for instance, the chief confectioner received almonds and terebinths.⁷⁴⁰ The present text features the chief cook as a recipient, and thus one might interpret it as a record of the first step of receipt by the chief cook, to be followed by redistribution. As a sort of tribute also the bulls mentioned in the letter SAA 15 187, written by the Babylonian official Marduk-šarrāni to the king (Sargon), may be mentioned. Marduk-šarrāni reports on the failure of the Labdudeans, a tribe located in the east, to deliver a certain number of bulls. As becomes clear from the letter, it is the chief cook who is waiting for the delivery. Meanwhile 26 bulls have been delivered, while another 81 bulls are still overdue, as stated at the end of the letter. According to this last paragraph (including the phrase *karaphu mahāšu*, meaning “to break fallow land”) the bulls in question are to be used for the ploughing of fallow fields.

The chief cook’s central concern with livestock is underlined by his association with shepherds. While he is once recorded as the person responsible for three shepherds (Edubba 10 28), the title “chief of the cooks and the herdsmen” of Inūrta-aḥīa-šukšid(?), given on his seal (Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2), supports the connection of the chief cook (and also of the cooks in general) with the shepherds. While the shepherds raised and fed the animals, the chief cook took the animals over for further processing (handled by the butchers and cooks). Such an intermediate role is indicated for Dādī who wrote several letters (SAA 13 18–24) to the king (Esarhaddon). Although his title is not attested, this man very likely held the position of a temple cook or a chief cook of the temple (cf. Deller 1985: 363) since he is mainly engaged in the procurement of livestock for offerings, to be delivered by herders (including “herders of the royal meal”) through taxation.

The chief cook’s concern with the organisation and supply of livestock may have also led him to engage in the levy of corn taxes in the provinces in order to secure fodder supplies. This is indicated by the letter SAA 19 39 in which Šarru-ēmuranni, deputy governor of Isana, reports to the king on the difficulties of the exaction of corn taxes in this province. Apart from other incidents where

⁷³⁹ Tribute sheep (to be delivered by the provincial cities Rašappa and Arzuhina) are also mentioned in a letter of Dādī (SAA 13 21 r. 9), possibly temple cook or chief cook of the temple, see below.

⁷⁴⁰ SAA 11 36 i 29–31, cf. Fales and Postgate 1995: XX.

the exaction was disrupted owing to refusals to pay these taxes, he also reports that the chief cook had informed him about a delegate (*qēpu*) who had tried to exact corn taxes (*nusāḥu*) and was chased away (SAA 19 39:16–19). Apart from being officially involved in this matter, however, it is possible that the chief cook's concern with the tax levy was simply because he owned land in Isana.

12.1.7.4 Active in Babylonia

The letter ABL 274, written by Kudurru, governor of Uruk,⁷⁴¹ to the king (Assurbanipal), is mainly concerned with blessing the king because he sent the physician Iqīšâ who has cured the sender. Kudurru states that he had already left in order to see the king in person when he was made to go back to Uruk by the chief cook since a royal order (*unqu*) was brought by the chief tailor (written LÚ.GAL–KA.KÉŠ, see section 6.7 The *rab kāširi* (chief tailor)). The chief cook in question seems to have been active in Babylonia, probably at the court, where he may or may not have had tasks similar to his Assyrian counterpart. At least in the present case the chief cook simply occurs as a high representative of Assyria whom the Babylonian official Kudurru had to obey.

12.1.7.5 A possible military connection

In the letter SAA 16 120, written by a certain Kīnâ to the king (Esarhaddon), the chief cook is mentioned in conjunction with a palatial order. If the missing parts are restored correctly, the chief cook conveyed an order from the palace according to which the sender should “line up” (r. 6: *i-sa-dir*) in the king's presence and “follow” the chief cook (r. 7–8: *i-da¹-tu-uk-ka il-la-ka*). This order is presumably meant for the “exempts” staying outside of Arbail (mentioned in ll. 6–10) who should be lined up in the context of either military preparations or construction works. It is unclear why exactly the chief cook appears as intermediary between the palace and Kīnâ in the matter of (military) recruitment but it may be a hint as to his general involvement in military affairs. Another indication therefore is the possible identification of the chief cook Aššūr-ašarēd with a homonymous individual mentioned in a horse list along with two (horses) (CTN 3 107 i 23'). Judging by these attestations, a military engagement was not a central issue of the chief cook but may have (perhaps even increasingly) bothered him. The existence of the chariot driver Zārūtī, subordinate to the chief cook, does not necessarily support the chief cook's

⁷⁴¹ The present letter was presumably written after the revolt of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn (Frame 1992: 196, fn. 20) when Kudurru is attested as governor of Uruk in the year 644 (Baker, PNA 2/I 633–4 s.v. Kudurru 20).

involvement in military affairs since it may indicate only that the chief cook was an important man who possessed an equipped chariot with the help of which he carried out his daily tasks.

12.1.7.6 A post-canonical eponym

According to the schedules of both Parpola and Reade, the chief cook Sa'ilu was eponym in the year 620*, like other palace officials who were only selected as eponyms in the last decades of Assyria's existence. As Mattila (2009: 161–2, 165–6) pointed out, this phenomenon is an indication of the increasing centralisation of power in 7th century. It is worth noting that the appointment of palace officials is especially apparent either from the last years of the reign of Assurbanipal on or only after the reign of Assurbanipal.⁷⁴²

12.1.8 Subordinates

There is only meagre evidence for personnel of the chief cook. In the reign of Sennacherib there is Zārūtī, a chariot driver of the chief cook, who acted as the first witness for the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni who is owed 30 shekels of silver (SAA 6 36:5–6). Though this is not made explicit, the “third man (on chariot)” immediately following Zārūtī might have been in the service of the chief cook too since the two functionaries, chariot driver and “third man”, are repeatedly attested as subordinates of palace officials in the 7th century. As already pointed out, this is not necessarily an indication for the chief cook's involvement in military activities. Assuming that the importance of the chariot diminished in warfare,⁷⁴³ chariots probably developed more as a vehicle and as a sign of prestige among the palace officials. Apart from the chariot driver, the scribe of the chief cook is attested in the administrative list recording distributed tribute (SAA 11 36 i 12–13). Listed immediately after his master, he receives a sheep and a *šapputu*-bowl of wine, which is a standard allocation for consumption in the present document, among others also given out to the scribe of the treasurer and the deputy of the palace supervisor (SAA 11 36 ii 3–4, 7–8). This standard allocation was also handed over to the chief of accounts (*rab nikkassi*) mentioned in the same section, immediately after the scribe of the chief cook (i 14). With the same allocation, as well as his appearance in the section concerning the chief cook, a particular association of the

⁷⁴² Apart from the chief musician Bulluṭu (634* or 639*), the chief tailor Milki-rāmu (656), the chief of trade Lā-abaši (657) (and the chief fuller Aššūr-gārū'a-nēre, 638* or 636*, otherwise known as treasurer), they occur only after the year 630* (according to the schedule of both Parpola and Reade): palace supervisor Bēl-aḥu-ušur (616* or 621*), palace scribes Nabū-šarru-ušur (629* or 624*) and Sīn-šarru-ušur (625* or 628*) and the chamberlain Sīn-ālik-pāni (615* or 617*).

⁷⁴³ Noble 1990: 66–7; Postgate 2000a: 97–8.

rab nikkassi with the chief cook is indicated. Although the chief of accounts is not necessarily to be counted as a subordinate of the chief cook, he might have been a co-worker of the higher-ranking chief cook. Since the latter was concerned with the collection and distribution of livestock, a chief of accounts seems to be a necessary official in the whole process. The chief cook is said to be in charge of three shepherds of the palace from the town Ikamar. They sold land for 100 (minas) of bronze to ʾĪb-aḥūnu, shepherd of the queen, in the first half of the 8th century (Edubba 10 28). Though the three shepherds belonged to the palace (but not to the queen's department, contra Ahmad and Postgate 2007: 35), the chief cook appears as their immediate supervisor.

12.1.9 Status

As is clear from the inscribed seal of Inūrta-aḥīa-šukšid(?) (Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2), designated chief of the cooks and the herdsman as well as royal *ša-rēši*, individual chief cooks could hold a high position in the vicinity of the king in early Neo-Assyrian times. The considerable importance of the office of the chief cook is also clear from the letter SAA 13 45 written to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal), where the chief cook Nergal-bēlu-ušur is mentioned as *bēl tēmi* ("reporter") of the (unknown) sender (heading broken). This reference is embedded in the following phrase (ll. 2'–8'): "I confirmed the king's order, and gave (what was due) to the king. Now then, Nergal-bēlu-ušur, the chief cook, can report on me. The king's order is now fixed in my mouth, and I keep the king's treaty." While the chief cook is named as someone who can vouch for the sender, the sender also confirms that he adheres to the king's loyalty treaty. The statement is made by the sender in the context of a complaint about Binūnī, priest of Ea-Šarru, who does not behave properly in the temple of Aššur. The introductory phrase not only explains why the problematic circumstances in the Aššur Temple are reported to the king but stresses that these words represent the truth. The chief cook appears here as a reliable authority, reference to whom helped to substantiate the sender's words. This was presumably not just due to his general importance but owed to his official concerns (in the temple). Perhaps most illustrative for the high rank of the chief cook is his appointment as eponym in the 7th century which is probably due to an increasing status of this office, together with other palace offices, at that time.

12.1.10 Institutional affiliation

While officials such as the palace supervisor and the palace scribe were undoubtedly associated with the palace sphere, chief cooks not only had a strong presence in the temple sphere but were also explicitly assigned to temples; for

example, the chief cook of Ištar [...]ru witnessed a sale (StAT 2 102 r. 3') undertaken by a cook of the Ištar Temple in the year 711. Otherwise, there is only a single chief cook "of the palace" in a collection of decrees (SAA 12 77 i 23'), and another one described as "of the city of Harran" in two tablets of the Harran Census (SAA 11 203 iii 8; 213 r. i 12–13). With every attestation lacking information for the actual sphere of activity it is possible that the chief cook in question was assigned to a specific sphere (including the temple sphere), and thus it is clear that there was more than one chief cook active at a time.⁷⁴⁴ Whether each temple, each palace and each city, however, had a separate chief cook is questionable and I would suppose that such an office was only established in the case of particular requirements especially pertaining to the size and complexity of an institution. It is remarkable that there is a chief cook "of the palace" but not a single reference to a chief cook active for a particular palace, as is the case for the palace manager. Assuming that this is not due to a lack of sources, there was only one chief cook *par excellence* working for the royal household. The recurrent association with the temple does not *per se* imply that the chief cook was usually a temple official, rather he was engaged in the temple (especially the Aššur Temple) in the context of his duties (see above) as an official representing the interests of the royal household. This is supported by the fact that chief cooks were also appointed to the service of the crown prince and the queen in the 7th century when their departments seem to have adopted the main palace's concept and gained more importance and power in general. While the evidence for the chief cooks employed in the satellite households does not provide any information about their actual tasks—they only occur as witnesses (see above)—it is assumed that these correspond to the responsibilities of their colleague from the royal household.

12.1.11 Summary

The chief cook is only once attested in a context corresponding to his title. In the course of the royal meal he appears as a representative of the offered dishes consisting of different types of meat. While the chief cook presumably was never the actual main cook of the palace kitchen, he was responsible for the provision of domestic animals mainly intended as food but also needed in the scholarly sphere and as draught animals.⁷⁴⁵ Though a central consumer of the chief cook's produce was the temple, which needed livestock for offerings, it is clear in the case of the royal meal that the final consumers were the king

⁷⁴⁴ This is also confirmed by a legal record from Assur which mentions two chief cooks (including the chief cook of Ištar) in its witness list (StAT 2 102 r. 3', 5').

⁷⁴⁵ Robson (2011: 612) states that "somebody must have been responsible for maintaining a regular source of high-quality animals" for extispicy; it is clear from the above discussion that this responsibility lay in the hands of the chief cook.

and his officials (supplied with the leftovers of offerings). In order to secure these needs in the centre, the chief cook was set up to organise the income and distribution of domestic animals such as oxen and sheep in order of which he also was in conjunction with herders. His requirements were met through taxation (as indicated by the term *šibtu*), but he received domestic animals also through tribute. Although the chief cook was not a cook as such, his function as formal head of this profession is indicated by his care of the supply of meat the cooks prepared for dinner and by the chief cook Adad-rēmāni who promoted the cook Sīn-ēreš.

12.2 The *rab karkadinni* (chief confectioner)

The *rab karkadinni* is attested only in the Neo-Assyrian period. The following logographic variants of writing for the “chief confectioner” or “chief of confectioners” can be found in Neo-Assyrian sources: LÚ*.GAL–SUM.NINDA, (LÚ).GAL–SUM.NINDA and [LÚ.GAL]–SUM.NINDA.MEŠ.⁷⁴⁶ Otherwise, the title is written partly syllabically: LÚ.GAL–*kar-ka-di-ni* (SAA 11 82 r. 3′) and GAL–LÚ.*kar-kad-di-ni* (Edubba 10 18 r. 20).

A related office is the *rab muttāqi*, “chief cake-baker”. This title is only attested in the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 iii 13′: LÚ.GAL–NINDA.[KU₇.KU₇]). Similarly, we encounter entries for the *ša-muttāqi*, the “cake man”, in both the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 iii 12′: LÚ.NINDA.[KU₇.KU₇]) and the lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238 r. iv 12: LÚ.NINDA.KU₇.KU₇).⁷⁴⁷

12.2.1 Allocations

According to a fragmentary list from the 8th century the *rab karkadinni* receives one *qû* of wine (CTN 3 123:11′). Also according to the administrative document SAA 11 36, presumably recording redistributed tribute (*maddattu*) as indicated by the broken heading, the chief confectioner receives a *šapputu*-bowl of wine. In addition, he obtains two *sūtu* of almonds and two *sūtu* of terebinths (SAA 11 36 i 29–32). The allocation of almonds and terebinths is associated with his official function, as is clear also for the other officials listed here (for instance, the chief cook receives 100 tribute sheep).

⁷⁴⁶ See section 4.3.1 General remarks for details about the origin and etymology of the word *karkadinnu*.

⁷⁴⁷ HAD 69; cf. CAD M 309 s.v. *ša-muttāqi* with *muttāqu* referring to a sweet cake and AHw 687–8 s.v. *mutāqu(m)*.

The chief confectioner of the palace is mentioned in a collection of decrees from the reign of Šamšī-Adad V down to the reign of Sargon II (and probably later, judging by the broken sections) along with similar foodstuff, namely cardamon (SAA 12 77 r. ii 17). Because of the broken state of the tablet, the entry for the chief confectioner cannot be assigned to a certain reign. However, the entry for the chief confectioner reads “one glass of cardamon [...] for the use of the chief confectioner of the palace” (r. ii 16–17: 1 DUG.bu-u-zu ku-dim-me a-[x] a-ŠU.2 LÚ.GAL–SUM.NINDA ša KUR). Thus the chief confectioner was supplied with cardamon rather than having to provide offerings with foodstuff, as is recorded for the chief cook and other officials on the obverse of the same document. SAA 12 77 does not only record supplies for offerings made by officials but also the receipt of these goods (and thus is to be identified as a balanced account). This is supported by a section concerning distribution (*za’uzzu*) on the reverse (SAA 12 77 r. iii 24–36) according to which temple personnel are provided with what was presumably previously recorded as income from the provisions supplied by palace officials. While one would expect the chief confectioner, clearly designated as a palace official and not listed in the section on distribution, to be the providing official, this is not expressed in the entry and thus the chief confectioner is regarded as the recipient here.

12.2.2 Legal transactions

Two out of three chief confectioners (originally) recorded by name are attested as witnesses in legal documents from Assur. While in VAT 10430 r. 14 a chief confectioner (name lost) witnesses a purchase of land by Sangi-ili, scribe of the “chief of repairs”, KAN 4 8 r. 12’ records the chief confectioner Ilu-ukallanni as a witness to a sale of 25 people by four sons of a priest in the reign of Assurbanipal. Ilu-ukallanni was presumably active in the temple, as indicated by the family background of the sellers as well as the witnesses, including a “temple steward”. The archival background of the tablet as well as the fact that Ilu-ukallanni is described by his sphere of activity (LÚ*.GAL–SUM.NINDA ša [...]) support this suggestion. The chief confectioner attested in VAT 10430 was presumably also active in the temple since temple personnel including priests occur in the witness list and the broken operative section of VAT 10430. There is no chief confectioner attested as an active party to a legal transaction.

12.2.3 Functions

The possible tasks of the chief confectioner are only indicated by the correspondence of Nabû-de’iq, an official stationed in the west, who twice refers

to this official. Judging from his letters (SAA 1 226–232) Nabû-de'iq was engaged in the acquisition of fruit trees,⁷⁴⁸ cypresses and cedars for the gardens of Dur-Šarrukin, the new imperial capital under construction. From these letters we also know that he was mainly active in or around in the city Nemed-Ištar, probably situated c. 70 km to the west of Dur-Šarrukin, beyond the Tigris. It was apparently his concern with specific trees that led to his interaction with the chief confectioner. In SAA 1 227 Nabû-de'iq responds to a royal command concerning the extraction of cypress and cedar saplings (also referring to the chief confectioner in a broken section) by proposing that he can go with the chief confectioner to pull up and bring the cedars and cypresses. In SAA 1 228 Nabû-de'iq reports to the king (Sargon) that the chief confectioner had told him what he planned to do together with a certain Šulmu-Bēl-lašme. Since almost the entire narrative section of this letter is lost, we lack the details. Together with the records concerning allocations of fruit and spices (SAA 11 36; 12 77), these letters suggest that the chief confectioner was concerned with plants and (their) fruit. Similar to the chief cook, he was probably responsible for the acquisition (from beyond the capital) and distribution of fruits and spices, including also the acquisition of the plants themselves. The fact that the chief confectioner was concerned with foodstuffs and played a role similar to the chief cook in this respect is underlined by the fact that this official immediately follows the chief cook and the cook in the lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238).

12.2.4 Subordinates

For the chief confectioner a deputy, a cohort commander, apprentice-boys as well as common servants are attested as subordinates. In the reign of Shalmaneser IV the chief confectioner's deputy witnesses the purchase of a house of Nabû-zēru-iddina, nephew of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (Edubba 10 18 r. 19–20); he is listed after the deputy of the chief tailor. Also Aššūr-šūmu-iddina, cohort commander of the chief confectioner, acts as a witness in a legal document dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 14 81 r. 11–12). It is concerned with blood money and also records “third men (on chariot)” and porters as witnesses. In another legal text three unspecified servants of the chief confectioner are recorded as witnesses to a land sale presumably dating to the 7th century (SAA 14 215 r. 5–6). They occur along with groups of servants of the palace supervisor, of the great treasurer, and a servant of the chief of granaries. The apprentice boys (*šeḥru*) of the chief confectioner are mentioned in the letter SAA 5 227, written by Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor

⁷⁴⁸ The trees were: apple (*šaḥšūru*), medlar (*šallūru*), almond (*duqdu*), quince (*supurgillu*), plum (*angāšu*) and pomegranate (*nurmū*). Note the broken record SAA 11 22, counting among others 231 peach trees and 195 apple trees.

of Arzuhina. Šamaš-bēlu-ušur reacts here to a royal enquiry concerning apprentice boys of the chief confectioner who have been attacked by criminals in the land of Babiti (province of Arzuhina). Since Šamaš-bēlu-ušur was not able to catch these criminals, he risks paying the price for it, as already warned by the king (r. 21–24). Probably owing to that failure Šamaš-bēlu-ušur endeavours to assure the king that he was able to make some effort with regard to other criminals who were caught near the city of Arzuhina and sent to the king by him. While Šamaš-bēlu-ušur was generally concerned with criminals in his province and also in adjacent areas (as he refers to criminals of Arrapha and of the domain of the palace herald), it seems that the king was particularly interested in the case of the apprentice boys, perhaps because they were subordinates of a palace official.

With these references to subordinates of the chief confectioner, their contextualisation is not informative as to their actual tasks within their master's domain. Judging from their titles and on analogy with similar functionaries subordinate to other officials, the deputy, as the second in office, supported the main office-holder in the fulfilment of his tasks. No specific tasks can be established for the common servants and the apprentice boys, though the latter presumably underwent some sort of training beneath the chief confectioner. The existence of a cohort commander subordinate to the chief confectioner is significant. Does this mean that the chief confectioner was involved in military affairs? Or, his cohort commander did command a cohort of confectioners, on analogy with the cohort commanders appointed to professionals such as weavers and shepherds? Given the lack of further indications, neither possibility can be ruled out, but I would not necessarily assume a military involvement.

12.2.5 Institutional affiliation

As noted above, the two chief confectioners who witnessed legal documents from Assur were associated with the temple rather than the palace. On the other hand, the chief confectioner recorded in the collection of decrees (SAA 12 77) is described as chief confectioner of the palace. In the reign of Assurbanipal a chief confectioner was assigned as a *rab rabûti* to the crown prince, as recorded in an administrative document (SAA 7 4 r. ii' 4', 6'), while a chief confectioner of the king's mother is mentioned in a list of court personnel dating either to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal (SAA 7 6 i 8'). Hence, like the chief cook, a chief confectioner was appointed to the royal household and its satellite households, while other representatives of this office may have been employed in distinct temples if needed.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁹ Remarkably, in one of his letters the scholar Akkullānu refers to a chief baker of the Aššur Temple next to priests of the "House of the Cook" and "(of the) confectioner" (SAA 10 96 r. 1–2).

12.2.6 Summary

The office of *rab karkadinni* is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian period. He was mainly concerned with fruit and spices as well as plants. While the chief confectioner received fruit and spices from redistributed tribute and probably through offerings, he was also engaged in acquiring conifers. As with the chief cook, the chief confectioner does not seem to have actually prepared food (containing the said fruit and spices); rather he was responsible for its organisation and distribution (though evidence here is also scarce). He was presumably regarded as formal head of the confectioners, as also suggested for the chief cook. The chief confectioner's limited appearance in Neo-Assyrian sources suggests that while his tasks were probably similar to those of the chief cook, he was less important. Furthermore, he might have been active on a short-term basis, or at least, his involvement in the acquisition of conifers for the newly erected capital Dur-Šarrukin was temporary. The office's parallels with the chief cook also suggest that the supply of particular types of foodstuffs in the chief confectioner's care also happened for the benefit of the temple (and thereafter for the palace). Despite his possible concern with temple supplies, however, the chief confectioner was a palace official (as confirmed by the attested affiliations).

12.3 The *rab āpie* (chief baker)

For the “chief baker” (*rab āpie*) and the “chief of the bakers” (*rab apiāni*) the logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–NINDA and LÚ/LÚ*.GAL–NINDA.MEŠ are attested.⁷⁵⁰

12.3.1 Appointment

A clear reference to the chief baker of the Aššur Temple is provided by the letter SAA 10 96, written by the astrologer Akkullānu to the king. Akkullānu informs Assurbanipal about the priest of the “House of the Cook”, the priest “(of the) confectioner” and the chief baker who are waiting to be shaved as a sign of their official appointment (and purity, see Löhnert 2007: 276).⁷⁵¹ As to the chief baker, it is said that the office-holder, who was appointed by Sennacherib, died eight years ago and it is now his son who is waiting to be shaved. Since the deceased father is also said to have received the priestly

⁷⁵⁰ For a discussion of the reading of NINDA in the logographic rendering of the title see section 4.4.1 General remarks.

⁷⁵¹ An attempt to explain the three different types of designation, in particular the two officials described as priests in contrast to the chief baker, was made by Menzel (1981 I: 251). She assumed that the title *sangû* was reserved for those who were concerned with cultic activities in particular.

headgear (*kubšū*), the same is expected for his son and successor. The present case documents the conditions pertaining to appointment within the temple sphere. The characteristic shaved hair and *kubšū*-headgear promoted the recognisability of temple personnel but not of the secular palace personnel who, however, also had particular clothes and appearance. From the present document it is also clear that the temple offices were passed from father to son but that it was down to the king to officially introduce the potential successors into their office through an official act.⁷⁵²

The case of the baker Rēmāni-Issār, who seems to have gained the position of chief baker in consequence of the repayment of debts of the bakers, illuminates the procedure of appointment from another angle (SAAB 9 80, see below). Rēmāni-Issār, previously among the bakers himself, presumably only became chief of the bakers thanks to his financial situation which made it possible for him to pay off the debts of his craft. While we suspect that appointments were usually carried out in the manner suggested by the letter SAA 10 96 (with the involvement of the king), this latter example rather implies a sort of communal or local measure, with Rēmāni-Issār proclaimed as chief baker at a lower level of administration than was the case with the chief baker of the Aššur Temple.

12.3.2 Legal transactions

The chief baker is several times attested as witness to legal documents from Assur. While there is a single record (StAT 3 22) dating to the reign of Aššūr-dān III among these texts, the remainder dates to the 7th century. The chief bakers Quqū'a and Ubru-šarri witnessed a house sale (SAAB 9 73 r. 27, 698),⁷⁵³ and the chief baker Dūrī-Aššūr acted as a witness to a land sale (StAT 1 22 r. 13). The latter might be identical with Dūrī-Aššūr who witnessed a repayment of debts owed by the goldsmith Nabû-zēru-iddina (FNALD 40). Rēmāni-Issār, who was promoted to chief baker (SAAB 9 80*, 621*), witnessed two legal records (SAAB 5 35, 629*/625* and SAAB 9 78) as baker. There is a single legal record from Ma'allanate listing Kubābu-idrī, chief baker of the queen, as second witness when the palace prefect Ḥandī buys three people in the reign of Sennacherib (O 3680 r. 10). Van Buylaere (PNA 3/I 1021 s.v. Qurdi-Aššūr 7), suggested that Qurdi-Aššūr, first witness immediately before Kubābu-idrī, is also meant as chief baker. The fact that Kubābu-idrī is only listed after Qurdi-Aššūr makes an assignment of the title to Qurdi-Aššūr, who

⁷⁵² On the appointment of priests in Neo-Assyrian times, also based on the letter SAA 10 69, see Löhnert 2007; cf. Waerzeggers 2008.

⁷⁵³ The baker Quqū'a, witnessing a corn(?) loan in the year 672 (SAAB 5 63 r. 12–13), might be identical with the chief baker Quqū'a attested about 25 year earlier.

otherwise has no explicit affiliation, plausible. This may be underlined by the logographic writing LÚ.GAL–NINDA.MEŠ, though it is clear from other instances and from the literal meaning “chief of the bakers” that this variant of the title does not necessarily refer to more than one individual holding this title. The qualification “of the queen” presumably does not refer to both.

As to the tablets originating from Assur, a temple connection is plausible for each of the chief bakers recorded here. This is supported by the officials along with whom these chief bakers are mentioned in the witness lists. StAT 1 22 first enumerates the master of goldsmiths followed by subordinate goldsmiths, while the chief baker followed by subordinate bakers is listed subsequently. After the section comprising the bakers a potter, grooms of Aššur, a “priest of the confectioner(s)”, a farmhand of the crown prince and a tanner of coloured leather as well as a member of the *šakintu*’s household are mentioned. In StAT 3 22 the palace manager, a brewer, the priest of Aššur, a commander-of-fifty as well as a cook are mentioned in the witness list, with the chief baker listed between the commander-of-fifty and the cook. The document records that the chief musician Aššūr-šumu-iškun and his brother are even with each other after a mutual disbursement (presumably originating from their patrimony). While both StAT 1 22 and StAT 3 22 list temple and palace personnel, the majority of the professionals, partly organised in groups (as is the case with the goldsmiths and the bakers), seems to have been connected to the temple, as does the chief baker recorded here. The chief baker’s temple connection is supported by SAAB 9 73, where the chief bakers Ququ’a and Ubru-šarri not only appear as the first witnesses but are immediately followed by the temple baker Urdu-Aššūr.

The chief baker once occurs as an active party in the conveyance document StAT 2 183 dating to the reign of Assurbanipal or later. Here the chief baker Aššūr-šumu-iddina, son of Silim-Aššūr, sells four persons together with two other people, one of whom is a boatman. Otherwise, there is only the baker Rēmāni-Issār left who, apart from acting as a witness, is a central individual in another, unique legal document (SAAB 9 80). In this text he is said to have annulled a document (*egirtu*) recording corn debts of the bakers (owed to a certain Imdī-amat) before the god Ninurta and to have “taken it up”. This is expressed by the verb *matāhu* which, according to the editors, might refer to the act of keeping safe the tablet. On the inner tablet the matter is expanded by an additional paragraph which says that “if Rēmāni-Issār will serve as the chief of the bakers he shall pay back the barley together with its interest” (SAAB 9 80* r. 10–12: ‘šum¹-ma R. LÚ.GAL–‘NINDA².MEŠ²’¹ *it-ti-ti-iz* (erasure) ŠE.BAR *a-di ru-bé-šá* SUM-an). The following course of events can be reconstructed: as Rēmāni-Issār has “taken up the tablet” it was upon him to pay back the debts, including interest ten times the original amount (of barley), which means an unusually high percentage of 1,000 %. The present record

seems to have been drawn up in favour of Rēmāni-Issār, who became chief of the bakers in consequence of repaying the debts of his collective. Hence, holding the office of chief baker was a privilege and potentially a financial burden.

12.3.3 Functions

The *rab āpie* was concerned with the organisation of bread supplies. This is indicated by the aforementioned letter SAA 10 96 of Akkullānu to the king. When reporting on the son of the deceased chief baker waiting to be shaved, Akkullānu explains to Assurbanipal that the senior chief baker was appointed by Sennacherib so that he may “supervise their food” (SAA 10 96 r. 19–20: *ina* UGU *ak-li-šú-nu i[p-ti-qi-su]*). This concern is made more explicit in a document recording the responsibilities of the personnel of the Aššur Temple. According to that the chief baker of the Aššur Temple carries responsibility for the bread (offerings) of the Aššur Temple and other sanctuaries (SAA 12 50 r. i 2’–4’), while the temple scribe is the final controller (SAA 20 50 r. i 9’–13’; as was also the case with the chief brewer, cf. Menzel 1981 I: 250). Both attestations of the chief baker concerned with the management of bread refer to the temple and are related to offerings. Although we lack evidence, we may assume that chief bakers in secular institutions such as the household of the queen were also responsible for the supply of bread produced by the bakers whom they formally headed.

12.3.4 Subordinates

The titles *rab āpie* and *āpiu* indicate a close connection, as is also underlined by their consecutive entries in the lexical lists. As appears from the legal document SAAB 9 80 discussed above, the chief baker was not only the nominal head of the bakers, but he was actually responsible for them as to financial matters.⁷⁵⁴ In the fragmentary letter SAA 16 93, presumably written to the king (Ešarhaddon) by a collective, the recipient is asked to order the chief baker to release the senders of the letter. Hence, the chief baker was in charge of other individuals. These might have been bakers, though as they pretend to keep watch on the top of the ziqqurat as well as on the roof of another building (name lost), possibly for the purpose of an astrological vigil, as soon as they are released, this seems unlikely.

⁷⁵⁴ This might be partly comparable with the case of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, who repays the debts of various people within his jurisdiction (CTN 2 90–91, 93; cf. CTN 2 92).

12.3.5 Institutional affiliation

As already pointed out, it is particularly the case with the chief bakers in the legal documents from Assur that they were very likely active in the temple rather than in the palace. The employment of a chief baker in the temple, especially in the Aššur Temple, is also clear thanks to a references to the chief baker in a text on the distribution of responsibilities in the Aššur Temple and in the letter SAA 10 96 dealing with filling the vacant post of chief baker in the Aššur Temple (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 250). Also SAA 16 93 refers to a chief baker assigned to a temple, though the divine name is lost. Only the two chief bakers attested as witnesses in a legal document from Ma'allanate had a secular background, since at least Kubābu-idrī was in the service of the queen. Thus, it is to be asked whether the office of the chief baker was usually restricted to the temple sphere, while an office serving the queen represents an exceptional case, only found in the provinces. On the other hand, the chief baker of the queen may indicate that, apart from the temple, it was especially the establishment of the queen that was concerned with the production and provision of bread, also because a baker of the *šakintu* is attested (SAA 19 114:5). In any case, the chief baker's close connection to the temple sphere is supported by a similar close connection of the bakers to the temple and their association with the brewers (Gaspa 2009: 95), who seem to be a special feature of the temple sphere. Although the evidence is too scarce to draw definite conclusions, the dominance of temple-related chief bakers is not necessarily misleading.

Since two individuals are occasionally designated as chief baker in the same document, it is clear that there existed more than one chief baker at the same time. This is further supported by the fact that there existed a chief baker of the Aššur Temple and a chief baker of the queen, and local communities may have also employed their own chief baker. One suspects, however, that there was usually only one chief baker per institution.

12.4 The *rab qaqqulāti*

The office *rab qaqqulāti* is only attested in a few Neo-Assyrian documents with the syllabic writings LÚ.GAL-*qa-qu-lat*, [LÚ.GAL]-*ka-qul-ti* and LÚ*.GAL-*kaq-qul-te*. Assuming that *q/kaqq/kkulāti* derives from *kakkullu*, referring to a “vessel for making beer, for storing liquids” and also to a wooden box keeping fruits,⁷⁵⁵ the compound in its widest sense denotes an official

⁷⁵⁵ CAD K 59 s.v. *kakkullu* and *kakkullu* in *rab qaqqullāte*. In contrast, von Soden (AHw 901) mentions it under *qāqultu*, referring to a weapon; he translates *kakkullu* as “Früchte-, Abfallkorb” (AHw 422–3). In the Neo-Assyrian sources the *kakkullu* mainly occurs as a wooden box for storing or transporting fruits: quinces, prunes and dates (SAA 7 136 ii 2'–3'), pomegranates

concerned with foods (cf. HAD 87, 90: “an official in charge of food”). The translation “Schenker” or “Kellermeister”, as proposed by Klauber (²1968: 115, fn. 2), is a too restrictive definition. I simply adhere to the Akkadian term without translation.

As a witness, the *rab qaqqulāti* is attested twice. In the broken legal document SAA 14 202, dating to the 8th or 7th century, he (name lost) is witness when two people are redeemed. In StAT 2 3 the *rab qaqqulāti* of the queen’s household is listed as a witness when silver is taken as a loan in the reign of Sennacherib.⁷⁵⁶

Significant references to the *rab qaqqulāti*’s functions are only provided by SAA 12 77, a collection of royal decrees in support of cultic activities from various reigns. In the reign of Sargon it was determined that the *rab qaqqulāti* provides two *sūtu* of bread, one *qū* of soup (*akussu*),⁷⁵⁷ one *sūtu* four *qū* of beer and two *qū* of *maṣḥatu*-flour (i 18’–21’). In the same section, for instance, the chief cook of the palace is said to give one sheep for the constant offerings (i 22’–26’). According to another section on the reverse, the *rab qaqqulāti* provides six *sūtu* of bread, one *sūtu* two *qū* of beer for libations and one *emāru* of beer for the *ḥariu* ritual of the 7th day, also in the reign of Sargon (r. iii 12–17). The latter entry’s amounts of bread and beer are summed up, supplemented with three sheep, as “total of the additional (offering, *utru* < *utāru*) that is performed three times a month” (r. iii 21–23). As recorded in another section on the reverse, pertaining to the reign of Adad-nērāri III, the *rab qaqqulāti* is to give one sheep (since) he was appointed to receive the *ilkakāte* of all the temples (r. iii 1–11). The *rab qaqqulāti* may only have been introduced in the reign of Adad-nērāri III, as a palace official especially concerned with the levy of *ilkakāte* payments in kind imposed on temples and the redistribution of these payments to temples. His obligations in the reign of Sargon possibly derive from the same background, i.e. the *rab qaqqulāti* had to provide foods for offerings he previously obtained in the context of his responsibility over *ilkakāte* payments, not only claimed from but also by the temples.⁷⁵⁸ The *rab qaqqulāti* of the queen who is attested in the reign of Sennacherib indicates that the queen’s household had similar responsibilities in this respect to the royal household. Also other officials are known to have dealt

(SAA 7 172:2; 11 40:2’), peaches (SAA 11 85:4–5) and apricots (SAA 11 40:3’). In the text about the royal meal the *ša-bēti-šanīe* uses a *kakkullu*, in the sense of a wooden box, to collect rubbish; see section 4.1.1.3.1 Domestic tasks.

⁷⁵⁶ This entry is accompanied by the reference to a *mār šipri* (StAT 2 3 r. 4). Does it mean that only the messenger of the *rab qaqqulāti* was present? Cf. *inter alia* the chief cook mentioned along with A–KIN in ND 2451 (in section 12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock).

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. the “soup man”, *ša-akussēšu*, attested in CTN 3 87:22; cf. section 11.3. *akussu* does not necessarily refer to soup but some kind of food (for humans and for animals); CAD U/W 62–65 s.v. *ukultu* 1 and 3.

⁷⁵⁸ See also BT 116 discussed in the section 13.3 The *rab danībāti* (chief victualler).

with *ilkakāte* payments in kind, including local treasurers and the *rab danībāti*. It may have been primarily a question of the areas of responsibility as to how all these officials cooperated with each other in order to manage foodstuffs defined as *ilkakāte*-goods. At least the *rab qaqqulāti* may have been the main person responsible for these goods.

12.5 The *rab karāni* (wine master)

The compound *rab karāni* literally means “chief of the wine” or “wine master”.⁷⁵⁹ It is attested only in the Neo-Assyrian period, when viticulture became well-developed in the first millennium BCE in the area along the Tigris.⁷⁶⁰ In each case it is written logographically, with the following variants attested: (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–GEŠTIN and LÚ*.GAL–(GIŠ).GEŠTIN.MEŠ. Although this office was discussed by Kinnier Wilson (1972, in particular pp. 71–2) when analysing the wine lists from Fort Shalmaneser, it has not been studied in detail.

12.5.1 Allocations

The wine master is frequently mentioned in wine lists dating from at least the reign of Adad-nērāri III down to that of Aššūr-nērāri V or even Tiglath-pileser III. According to the amounts preserved, the wine master usually received 1 *sūtu* 5 *qû* of wine (which is probably also to be restored in CTN 1 11, rather than 1 *sūtu* 4 *qû*). This is one of the highest amounts of wine given out, according to the 8th-century wine lists. Higher amounts are consumed by (the household of) the queen (usually 3 *sūtu* of wine), the recruits of the *rab ša-rēši* (usually 2 *sūtu* of wine) and (the household of) the *rab ša-rēši* (usually 1 *sūtu* of wine); these represent either groups of functionaries or entire households. By contrast, the wine master does not necessarily represent his entire department but may have received the amount of 1 *sūtu* 5 *qû* of wine for his personal consumption only. This is indicated by the fact that the wine master’s deputy is once immediately listed after his master as recipient of one *sūtu* of wine (CTN 1 21 r. 10’). The unusually high quantity of wine distributed to the wine master is related to his specific concern with wine (as is also the case with his deputy). This does not correspond to the wine master’s relative position in the wine lists, where he occasionally occurs in the upper part of the obverse of the tablet but is more often listed further down or even on the reverse, whereas,

⁷⁵⁹ CAD K 202–6 s.v. *karānu* and especially p. 206; cf. AHW 446–7, translating it as “Weinmeister”.

⁷⁶⁰ Clear written evidence for wine already appears c. 1800 in the following areas: Mari, the upper Tigris-Euphrates basin (Tell al Rimah) and Anatolia, cf. Powell 1994: 114–6.

for instance, the queen is constantly listed in the first few lines on the obverse. His association with wine caused him to be a prominent recipient in the wine lists; in fact his department might have been responsible for the drawing up of the lists (see below, cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 1). Apart from his occurrence in the wine lists, the wine master is recorded as recipient of what seems to have been redistributed tribute in an administrative document probably dating to the 7th century (SAA 11 36 r. i 32); he obtained one sheep, one *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) and one mina of [...].

12.5.2 Supplies

In the context of temple offerings the wine master occurs as a supplier of wine. If the title is restored correctly, he may have given one *qû* of wine in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III according to a collection of royal decrees from various reigns for offerings in various sanctuaries (SAA 12 77 i 15'). This is likely on comparison with the function-related types of supplies made by other officials recorded in the same tablet, such as the sheep given by the chief cook (in i 22'–26'). The wine master's contribution of wine is clear from SAA 12 80, a record about wine given to the Aššur Temple by the magnates, as described in the heading (SAA 12 80:1: GEŠTIN ša LÚ.GAL.MEŠ ina É-aš-šur SUM-u-ni). The wine master is first listed along with 35 *emāru* (SAA 12 80:4) and a second time along with 10 *emāru* from Izalla (located in the Ṭur 'Abdīn); said to produce "3 *qû* per day" (SAA 12 80:6). As this "standing order" (Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXXIII) records the contributions of the entire year (SAA 12 80:9: PAB an-ni-u ša kal MU.AN.NA), the wine master yearly supplied 35 *emāru* together with 10 *emāru* for the entire year, while at least the contribution associated with Izalla was divided up into daily portions (cf. SAA 12 80:7: "12 jugs, first fruits, for the whole year, 1 per month"). Kataja and Whiting suggested that SAA 12 80 might have been a sort of "working document", probably deriving from a royal decree such as SAA 12 77 but not a royal decree itself since it focusses on the contributions made by the officials and does not present the king as final benefactor. The prominent role of the wine master in relation to the provision of wine is underlined by the fact that in SAA 12 80 he not only occurs as a provider of wine together with the magnates but is himself designated as a magnate. It is due to Izalla's important role as a wine-producing region that he is said to provide wine from this area, which is once again mentioned as source of supply of "15 jugs [...] (of first fruits)".⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶¹ SAA 12 80:10. See Radner 2006b: 294–6. E.g. in his annals, Aššurnāširpal II states that he received tribute from the land of Izalla consisting of sheep, oxen and wine (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 i 106).

12.5.3 Economic affairs

While we lack any attestation of the wine master as a witness to legal transactions, the wine master of the New House, Zārūtî, is attested as a debtor of 9 minas 15 shekels of silver together with his(?) deputy Ulūlāiu in the year 658 (SAA 14 60:1–2). The silver is owed to a certain Aššūr-rēšī-išši and is described as “regular offerings of Aššur” (*ginû ša Aššur*). Since this is presumably related to the general concern of the wine master to maintain the Aššur Temple with wine for offerings,⁷⁶² this legal transaction is related to an administrative procedure. Perhaps the department of the wine master (represented by the wine master and his deputy) owed silver to fulfil its duties towards the Aššur Temple. The wine master is possibly identical with a Zārūtî who occurs as an opponent of the goldsmith Nabû-zēru-iddina in the judicial document StAT 1 35 dealing with silver of the town Lahiru. According to the judgement, Zārūtî is to pay back the silver. There is other evidence for the wine master’s concern with silver. On the sealing SAA 11 52 the wine master Nabû-aḥḥē-[...] is mentioned along with one talent of silver, probably referring to the “light” talent which corresponds to 30.3 kg (Fales and Postgate 1995: XXI). The date formula is broken but, judging by the preserved dates of other similar sealings from Nineveh (Fales and Postgate 1995: XXII), it presumably belongs to the reign of Sargon or Sennacherib. Since this sealing was found in the palace, this is presumably a remnant of a delivery of silver to the palace made by the wine master. This is supported by similar sealings from Nineveh such as SAA 11 50 where Pidî, ruler of Ekron, is mentioned along with one talent of silver, and SAA 11 51 where a talent of silver is specified as “of the orchard of Arbail”. Based on textile marks on its reverse, sealing SAA 11 52 was once fixed to a sack (Fales and Postgate 1995: XXI), and thus I suspect that the silver was delivered in such a sack. This attestation of the wine master handing in silver bears an administrative background, as is the case with the aforementioned debt note of silver. Presumably with all three attestations the wine master dealt with silver in line with his official obligations, though details remain unknown.

12.5.4 Functions

The wine master was, as his title suggests, primarily concerned with wine. This is indicated by his wine contributions for offerings in the Aššur Temple and in other sanctuaries.⁷⁶³ Apart from that there is SAA 10 98, an informative letter about the wine master’s engagement in the Aššur Temple, either from the

⁷⁶² According to the aforementioned record SAA 12 80 the wine handed in by officials (including the wine master) was used for “first fruits” (*rēšāti*) and “regular offerings” (*ginû*).

⁷⁶³ SAA 12 77 and 80 as well as SAA 14 60.

reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal. As reported by Akkullānu, known to have been astrologer and priest of the Aššur Temple, to the king, the wine master together with his deputy and his scribe “filled neither the libation wine nor the vats in front of Aššur” in the 7th month (= Tašritu, SAA 10 98 r. 7–10), as they are on strike. With this mandatory activity the wine master may have contributed also to the regular offerings (*ginû*), according to the legal document SAA 14 60 (and the schedule SAA 12 80). There is no direct evidence for the wine master providing the palace with wine, though its principal residents must have been its main consumers. In this respect it is worth noting the 8th-century wine lists where a whole range of officials and professionals present at the Review Palace of Kalhu receive wine. Among them the wine master is the recipient of a comparatively high amount of wine and it was presumably he who had organised the acquisition, storage and distribution of the wine handed out here. The wine master was presumably only concerned with the final product, the commodity itself being produced in the countryside (mainly in the border regions between modern Syria, Turkey and Iraq, within areas of rainfall agriculture) from where he obtained it. This is supported by the fact that no professional concerned with viticulture and wine-making is attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources.⁷⁶⁴ The only other document which would have presumably provided more information about the duties of the wine master is the fragment of a letter written by Nergal-bēlu-ušur to the king (SAA 15 291): he introduces the wine master at the very beginning when reporting to the king about his whereabouts and travels. We learn that the wine master came to him, but further information is lacking.

12.5.5 Subordinates

As to the subordinates of the wine master, he was accompanied by a deputy and a scribe. In the letter SAA 10 98 the three appear as a unit. Not only is the wine master himself said to be on strike but also his deputy and his scribe. Such a trio features also with other *rab-x* officials, but this evidence for the wine master makes it explicit (cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 72). While SAA 10 98 is the only attestation of the wine master’s scribe, the deputy of the wine master can also be found in two other texts. From the 8th century, a deputy of the wine master occurs as a recipient of wine in CTN 1 21. A third attestation of a deputy, presumably assigned to the wine master, is to be found in the legal document SAA 14 60. Together with the wine master, the deputy Ulūlāiu owes silver, regular offerings of Aššur. Examining all three occurrences of the deputy of the wine master, it appears that he is mentioned together with his master in

⁷⁶⁴ There are a few Neo-Babylonian references to the *šāhit-karāni* (ŠUR.GEŠTIN), “grape-presser” (CAD Š 61–2); cf. the oil-presser, *šāhitu* (LÚ.Ī.ŠUR).

each case (thus, he is referred to as *šaniušu*), as is also the case with the wine master's scribe in SAA 10 98. The deputy and the scribe seem to have usually accompanied their master in order to fulfil his duties.

12.5.6 Institutional affiliation

The wine master appears in connection with both the temple and the palace. The latter is the case with Zārūtî, designated “wine master of the New House”. The wine master Nabû-šarru-ušur, mentioned in a list of court personnel (SAA 7 5), is rather associated with the palace, as is also the case with the wine masters referred to in the administrative document SAA 11 36 and in the wine lists. Based on the archival background of the wine lists “a single administrative department under the *rab karāni*” has been identified for rooms NE 48–49 and SW 6 of the Review Palace in Kalhu (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 1). Associated with the temple, on the other hand, are the wine masters mentioned in SAA 12 77, 80 and SAA 10 98. While the supply of wine for offerings refers to a secular wine master who had to fulfil his duties towards the temple (SAA 12 77, 80; cf. SAA 14 60), SAA 10 98 demonstrates the presence of a wine master in the temple and suggests the existence of a separate wine master and a separate wine master's department in the Aššur Temple (cf. Parpola 1983a: 324). In view of the tax obligations of the wine master of the royal household towards the Aššur Temple (and other temples), however, it is possible that the same wine master personally took care of the supply of wine in the temple. At least, the wine master mentioned in SAA 10 98 fulfils orders of the royal household and was not subject to the temple staff, as indicated by the fact that the priest of the Aššur Temple applied to the king to get things in order. Hence, the existence of a wine master “of the temple” remains uncertain for the moment, whereas the palace had more than one, judging by the qualification “of the New House” attached to the wine master Zārūtî. So far no wine master appointed to a satellite household is attested.

12.6 The *rab šamni* (oil master)

The office of the oil master is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian period, with the logographic writings LÚ*.GAL-Ì.ME and GAL-Ì.MEŠ.⁷⁶⁵

The oil master is witness when the *ša-rēši* of the crown prince, Atar-ili, leases the entire village Bahaia from the governor of Lahiru and his subordinates in the reign of Esarhaddon (SAA 6 287 r. 13). He is listed after the cohort commander of the palace, the “third man (on chariot)” of the palace,

⁷⁶⁵ For *šamnu* see CAD Š/I 321–30 s.v. *šamnu*, **šamanu*: oil, fat, cream, from Old Akkadian on; cf. AHw 1157–8.

the treasurer of the crown prince and a scribe. An association with palace officials is also evident from his occurrence in the administrative document SAA 11 36. Presumably recording the distribution of tribute (according to its broken heading) to palace officials, it lists the oil master as a recipient of ten minas of copper, two sheep and two *šapputu*-bowls (of wine) (SAA 11 36 i 20–22). While the copper may have been meant for his official function, either to produce containers to hold the oil or to purchase oil,⁷⁶⁶ the oil master was provided with sheep and wine for his personal consumption. Compared to other allotments for personal consumption in the present text (occasionally designated as *akullû*), this is the highest amount of sheep and wine provided for an individual office holder,⁷⁶⁷ compared with other officials such as the chief cook. Otherwise, the standard allotment of one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine is repeatedly given, and the sole provision of one *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) is attested twice. The relatively high rank of the *rab šamni* is supported by the existence of a scribe of his, subsequently listed after his master in the same text (SAA 11 36 i 23). According to the ditto-sign mentioned along with the scribe, he received exactly the same allotment of sheep and wine as his master. Judging from this evidence, the oil master was active on behalf of the royal palace, where he was presumably responsible for the acquisition, storage and distribution of oil (the production of oil being under the control of the chief oil-presser).⁷⁶⁸

12.7 The *rab raqqūti* (“spice master”)

According to his title, the *rab raqqūti* was responsible for the management of a specific type of vegetal products.⁷⁶⁹ These *raqqūtu* were served at the banquet convened in Kalhu by Aššurnāṣirpal II (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30:119: *ú-ra-qu-tú*) and are recorded as part of the leftovers from offerings together with garlic, shallots, lentils and other foodstuffs (SAA 7 163 i 5). Since the total of leftovers enumerated here is also described as *raqqūtu*, this term clearly serves as a collective term for specific vegetal goods, but the tablet is too broken to identify them. In a narrow sense *raqqūtu* seems to refer to some sort of herbs or spices, as is also reflected by the translation “spice master”.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁶ The latter is supported by a record of *ilku*-contributions including copper meant for oil for the lamp (CTN 2 141: 6–7).

⁷⁶⁷ The queen receives five sheep and five *šapputu*-bowls (of wine) (SAA 11 36 ii 28).

⁷⁶⁸ A possible storage facility for oil was room ZT 30 of the North-West Palace where 13 large jars were found, presumably once holding oil, as indicated by administrative texts from the same room, dealing with oil (e.g. ND 3482, 3485). See Kinnier Wilson 1972: 71, 73; Oates and Oates 2001: 37 (Fig. 15), 45, 202.

⁷⁶⁹ See HAD 93 s.v. *raqqūtu*: “perfume, spice”; cf. CAD R 420 s.v. *ruqqū*: to prepare perfume; CAD R 179 s.v. *raqqūtu*: “vegetal foodstuff”.

⁷⁷⁰ HAD 93 s.v. *raqqūtu*, cf. see Postgate 1987b: 96.

The *rab raqqūti* is only attested in the administrative document SAA 11 36 which presumably records tribute redistributed to various officials (see Fales and Postgate 1995: XX). Referred to as GAL-*ra-qu-te* (SAA 11 36 r. i 16), he is said to receive [x] talents of copper. In the same, unfortunately broken section, there are also 24 sheep, one *sūtu* of refined sesame oil (*šamnu ḫalšu*) and *raqqūtu* listed subsequently (SAA 11 36 r. i 17–19); presumably they are also meant for the *rab raqqūti*. The types of commodities listed partly correspond to his title, suggesting that he received (among other items) commodities related to his official function (cf. e.g. the fruit master). The sheep possibly handed over to this official are less clear in this respect, but hypothetically their meat was marinated with oil and herbs under the responsibility of or by order of the *rab raqqūti* (which would also underline his function as “spice master”). On the other hand, the refined oil suggests that the spices handed out to the *rab raqqūti* were meant for the manufacture of perfumed oils (cf. Postgate 1987b: 96). As to the copper provided, it was possibly meant either for the production of metal objects such as containers for storage and transport or for the acquisition of additional commodities needed by the *rab raqqūti*.⁷⁷¹ An allotment for individual consumption (*akullū*), as attested for almost every official listed in SAA 11 36, usually consisting of one (or two) sheep and one (or two) *šapputu*-bowls of wine, is not attested for the *rab raqqūti*. In the broken section dealing with the spice master such a statement might originally have been attached at the end of this entry. Since SAA 11 36 seems to record the allotments handed out to court officials, the spice master formed part of the royal household but was not necessarily attached to any other institution. Judging by other food managers (such as the chief cook) as well as the fact that *raqqūtu* comprised material for offerings, he was possibly also responsible for the supply of the temple (for offerings).

12.8 The *rab zamri* (“fruit master”)

According to his title, the *rab zamri* was responsible for some sort of fruits. While the translation “fruit master” must suffice for now, *zamru* seems to have denoted a particular kind of orchard fruit.⁷⁷² This official is only attested once in the 7th-century(?) administrative document SAA 11 36, presumably recording redistributed tribute,⁷⁷³ together with several other officials. Referred to

⁷⁷¹ If the copper was meant as currency, this would conflict with the supposed date of the tablet since the common currency in the 7th century was silver. However, there is an account of *ilku*-contributions which supports this idea since it lists copper for oil for the lamp (CTN 2 141: 6–7).

⁷⁷² CAD Z 40–1 s.v. *zamru*: (a tree or shrub and its edible fruit), probably to be identified with jujube; cf. AHW 1509.

⁷⁷³ Probably this was originally expressed with *za'uzzu* in the broken heading (Fales and Postgate 1995: XX).

as GAL–GIŠ.za¹-ma¹-ri¹, the *rab zamri* received four fig-loaves, two [...] of figs, ten (carrying?-)sticks of pomegranates as well as a sheep and a *šapputu*-bowl (of wine).⁷⁷⁴ In the same section, he is preceded by the oil master and the oil master's scribe, and followed by the chief confectioner, receiving almonds and terebinths. As pointed out by the editors (Fales and Postgate 1995: XX), the items recorded here seem to have been “used in part for professional activities”, as *inter alia* also indicated by the items given to the chief confectioner. While one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine is the standard ration for personal consumption here (occasionally defined as *akullû*),⁷⁷⁵ handed out to the chief confectioner among others, the figs and pomegranates are rather related to the official function of the *rab zamri*. Although his title may refer to a specific fruit, he apparently was concerned with different sorts of fruit with the term *zamru* serving as *pars pro toto*. Lacking any information about what the fruit master actually did with fruits, he may have been responsible for their acquisition and subsequent distribution within the palace. In contrast to the chief cook and the chief confectioner, who were concerned with the supply of foodstuffs to be prepared in the institutional kitchens and so on, the fruit master simply took care of fruits that did not need any further treatment (before consumption). Recording tribute allotments handed over to court personnel, SAA 11 36 presents a comprehensive profile of the Assyrian palace household structure, with the fruit master forming part of it. The scanty evidence for this official may be due to the fact that there was only one office-holder in the royal household. He was probably less important than other *rab-x* officials, as may also be reflected by his ration for individual consumption recorded in the present text. While officials such as the chief cook and the chief fuller receive two sheep and two *šapputu*-bowls of wine, others such as the palace supervisor as well as the fruit master are only provided with one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine, though there were even lower amounts provided for individual consumption.⁷⁷⁶ In contrast to many other *rab-x* officials recorded here, neither a deputy nor a scribe of the fruit master are mentioned, which underlines his low rank among the *rab-x* officials.

⁷⁷⁴ SAA 11 36 i 24–28. The items associated with the figs and the pomegranates are not entirely conclusive, see Fales and Postgate 1995: 32.

⁷⁷⁵ For the qualification *akullû* see i 19, ii 25 and iii 8 (referring to two sheep and two *šapputu*-bowls of wine) and iii 27 (referring to one bowl of wine).

⁷⁷⁶ The chief confectioner received one *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) only (SAA 11 36 i 31–32). The same is true for the wagon master (ii 9–10) and the vessel master (iii 26–27).

13 THE MANAGEMENT OF GRAIN

This section discusses officials who were in different ways concerned with the management of grain, including the chief of granaries (*rab karmāni*), the fodder master (*rab kissiti*), the chief victualler (*rab danībāti*) and the “manager of sustenance (fields)” (*rab ma’utti*).

13.1 The *rab karmāni* (chief of granaries) and the *rab karmi* (granary master)

The *rab karmi* or *rab karmāni* is first attested in the Neo-Assyrian period and persists into Neo-Babylonian times (as *rab karammi*). The noun *karmu* (or *karammu*), usually given in the plural, occurs first in Middle Assyrian texts (together with É) and is translated as “storage area”.⁷⁷⁷ The translation “chief of granaries” for the *rab karmāni* and “granary master” for the *rab karmi* (as given in HAD 47) seems appropriate. In the Neo-Assyrian sources the *rab karmāni* is written (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–kar–ma–ni and LÚ.GAL–kar–man(–ni). LÚ.GAL–kar–me, rather to be transcribed *rab karmi*, is only attested once (ND 2791 r. 17). The functions of this official were briefly discussed by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 17) and by Postgate in his monograph on the Neo-Assyrian taxation system (Postgate 1974a: 191–2).

References to land at the disposal of the chief of granaries suggest that he either acquired land by himself or benefitted from land assigned to his office: Il-amar, chief of granaries of the city of Maganuba in the area of Dur-Šarrukin, is twice attested as business partner of the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni. He sold two vineyards in the city of Šiddi-hiriti together with seven persons (including a gardener and a royal farmer) for 25 minas of silver (SAA 6 37:2–3) and [x] people for ½ mina of silver (SAA 6 38:1’–2’) to this well known chariot driver in the reign of Sennacherib. Il-amar may have processed both transactions on his own behalf, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that he acted here *ex officio* (especially in view of the royal farmer). A field adjoining land sold which is qualified as “of the chief of granaries(?)”, if restored correctly (StAT 3 74:11), on the contrary, indicates land at his disposal thanks to his office.

⁷⁷⁷ CAD K 200 s.v. *karammu* (*karmu*); cf. von Soden who treats *karmu* and the Late Babylonian rendering *karammu* separately, AHW 446 s.v. *karammu* and 449 s.v. *karmu(m)*. The verb *karāmu*, comprising the same root, is already known from Old Babylonian texts where it is translated “to slow down” or “to hinder”; a meaning “to pile up” or “to store” for the same word is not attested from before the Neo-Assyrian period (CAD K 200–1 s.v. *karāmu* A and B). For a discussion of the *karmu* in Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian sources see Faist and Llop 2012.

The concern of the chief of granaries with the levy and storage of barley and straw is illustrated by two administrative documents from 8th-century Kalhu. The chief of granaries Saggil-šarru-ušur is listed along with 4,000 *emāru* (of barley) in an account mentioning the fodder master (*rab kissiti*), the chief victualler (*rab danībāti*) and the city of Nineveh (merging amounts of grain from cities such as Šibaniba and Talmusu and the province Kurbail) with their contingents of grain.⁷⁷⁸ Similarly, 12,800 barley rations, resulting from contributions from various cities including Arbail, are assigned to the treasury (*nakkamtu*) of the unnamed granary master (*rab karmi*) (of the?) land of Birtu (ND 2791 r. 17–18). The tablet concludes with the statement that straw tax is missing (*laššu*). According to a badly broken letter to the king (Sargon), grain of the chief of granaries and some governors is said to have been delivered to various cities by the unknown sender (SAA 1 170 r. 2). The official concern of the chief of granaries is also indicated by three very similar debt notes for barley and straw from Kalhu, dating to the reign of Assurbanipal. First, nine *emāru* of barley rations described as “corn-tax of the royal *ma’uttu*(-land)” which are owed by Šamaš-aḥu-iddina are in the charge of the chief of granaries (CTN 3 14:6). The penalty clause states that in case the debtor fails to deliver at the threshing floor, he is responsible for the soup (*ašūdu*) of the king.⁷⁷⁹ Second, Šamaš-aḥu-iddina is also debtor of 15 bales of straw, qualified as straw tax of the royal *ma’uttu*(-land), also said to be in the charge of the chief of granaries (CTN 3 16:5). Third, five bales of straw, qualified as straw tax of the *ma’uttu*(-land), owed by Šēp-Issār, are in the charge of the chief of granaries (CTN 3 15:5). The latter was drawn up on the very same day as CTN 3 16. These three debt notes reflect an administrative affair, as indicated by the unnamed chief of granaries who is said to be in charge (*ša qātē*) of the indebted grain and straw (cf. Dalley and Postgate 1984: 67). While the actual background of these records is debated between Dalley and Postgate, I follow Postgate’s suggestion that these are “taxation debt notes” which record unpaid tax obligations of Šamaš-aḥu-iddina and Šēp-Issār on account of the royal *ma’uttu*-land at their disposal.⁷⁸⁰ Since the tablets in question are counted among the dossier of the palace manager of the Review Palace, the land was possibly administered by him (Postgate 1974a: 192), while related tax yields were collected and stored by the chief of granaries. Two other debt notes, in contrast,

⁷⁷⁸ ND 3469:14–15; cf. the account of grain deliveries to Nineveh by individuals: SAA 11 23 and possibly 24 (both dating to the 7th century).

⁷⁷⁹ The “soup of the king” is here presumably recorded in connection with offerings, as is the case in another legal record (Radner 2016 II.5:2). There is a *rab ašūdi* (LÚ.GAL-*a-šu-de*) attested in a witness list of a legal record from Dur-Katlimmu (Sukkāia, BATSH 6 8 r. 11). This official is not attested elsewhere.

⁷⁸⁰ For *ma’uttu*-land that was not only at the disposal of the crown but also for the benefit of favoured individuals, see section 13.2 The *rab ma’utti* (“manager of the sustenance (fields)”).

mention the chief of granaries as a debtor of barley rations. We learn that the aforementioned Il-amar owed 200 barley rations (qualified as SAG.DU, “capital”) to the unnamed *šakintu* of [...] (SAA 14 471:3), and the chief of granaries Nashir-Bēl owed 4 *emāru* of barley rations, qualified as fodder (*kissutu*), to Mannu-kī-Arbail in the 7th century (CTN 3 92:4). Due to the purpose of the barley owed as well as the comparatively high amount of barley rations owed to the *šakintu*, it is highly likely that these records too reflect the official concerns of the chief of granaries. It may be assumed that the *šakintu*, as the female administrator of the household of the queen, was regularly provided with barley (for the queen’s household) by the chief of granaries who gathered it via taxation and stored in his granaries. As with the barley owed by taxpayers, the chief of granaries appears in the role of debtor because he could not yet deliver the barley required from him. While we do not learn about Mannu-kī-Arbail’s function, a similar situation is suggested here because of the qualification of the barley rations as fodder, signifying an administrative concern. In view of the latter two debt notes, the chief of granaries was responsible for the collection and storage of grain and for its distribution to departments or particular members of the palace household.⁷⁸¹

As an official among others fulfilling their general obligations to supply temple offerings, the chief of granaries of Nineveh is mentioned in a fragment (SAA 12 72 r. 12) belonging to a decree of regular offerings (*ginū*) for the Aššur Temple by Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 71). We witness here also the chief treasurer, the palace herald and the governor of Si’immê as providers of foodstuff. Exactly such supplies made by high-ranking state officials to the Aššur Temple are the subject of a letter of the astrologer Akkullānu to the king (Assurbanipal). Informing the king about those who had not yet given the regular offerings of barley rations and emmer, he also refers to the chief of granaries who, together with numerous indebted governors, is referred to as magnate because of his special concern with grain.⁷⁸²

As to the spheres of responsibility of the chief of granaries, it is clear from some more specific titles that he was appointed to specific cities or regions. We learn of a chief of granaries of the city of Nineveh (SAA 12 72 r. 12), of the city of Maganuba (SAA 6 37:2–3) and of a granary master who was concerned with the income of grain of the land of Birtu (ND 2791 r. 17–19). Nineveh and

⁷⁸¹ Though the title granary master is absent, the procedure of giving out grain from a granary (*karmu*) by a certain Sukkāia to individuals is recorded in ND 2098 from the North-West Palace (reign of Sargon).

⁷⁸² SAA 10 96:7, 18. Parpola (1983a: 318) suggests that the reference to the chief of granaries here represents a toponym since he is listed among all the different provincial capitals. These are, however, textually related to the LÚ.EN.NAM in l. 13 and the chief of granaries’ particular concern with grain is reason enough to accept his extraordinary role here and to take it as a reference to the actual office-holder. Also the wine master is designated magnate in a schedule of dues of wine for offerings (SAA 12 80:1, 4, 6).

the city of Maganuba, located in the area of Dur-Šarrukin,⁷⁸³ point to Nineveh and its hinterlands to the east; the province Birtu was established by Tiglath-pileser III north of the Assyrian heartland at the Lesser Habur (Radner 2006a: 56–7). Although all three labels date to a different reign (Nineveh: Adad-nērāri III, Birtu: Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II and Maganuba: Sennacherib), we have to reckon with more than one master of granaries being active and supervising stocks of grain for the royal household in the said areas as well as beyond (cf. Postgate 1974a: 198). Judging by the *rab karmāni* who is associated with the magnates (SAA 12 72) and is even described as a magnate (SAA 10 96), there may have existed one main, high-ranking representative of this office and several representative having a lower rank. Also the *rab karmāni* as whose servant (*urdu*) Šil-Adad is described in a witness list in a broken land sale document dating to the 7th century (SAA 14 215 r. 9), may have been the main representative of this office. Other witnesses here are four servants of the palace supervisor, three servants of the chief confectioner, and two servants of the great treasurer; they are given in this order, followed by Šil-Adad.

13.2 The *rab ma'utti* (“manager of the sustenance (fields)”)

There is a single attestation of the *rab ma'utti* in Neo-Assyrian sources (written LÚ*.GAL-*ma-'u-ti*). The term *ma'uttu* (Babylonian *mu'untu*) can be identified as a type of field. According to its presumed derivation from *mānu*, “to provide”,⁷⁸⁴ the translations “Versorgungsfeld” (Radner 2007b: 223), “maintenance field” (SAA series), “prebendary land” (Postgate 1989: 147) and “sustenance (fields)” have been proposed; thus, a possible translation for the *rab ma'utti* is “manager of sustenance field(s)” (HAD 63).

The single reference to the *rab ma'utti* occurs in an administrative document from Kalhu dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II (ND 2782:8). The text bears the heading “decisions about the servants of the queen” (ll. 1–2: *de-na-ni ša* ARA[D.MEŠ]-*ni ša* MÍ.E.GAL) and records properties including people, animals and land in subsequent sections. The *rab ma'utti* is listed along with 40 (*emāru*) of field and is apparently subordinate to Aššūr-bēlu-taqqin. Based on the literal meaning of *ma'uttu*, we can only assume that he was responsible for *ma'uttu*(-land) related to the queen. Considering the Neo-Assyr-

⁷⁸³ The city of Maganuba was a central spot of the area Sargon II had chosen as the location for his new imperial capital Dur-Šarrukin (Fuchs 1994: 38, Zyl.44; SAA 12 19:7'). Russell (1999: 239) suggested that one of the natural mounds on which Dur-Šarrukin was built might be identical with the location of this city. It is remarkable that the chief of granaries associated with Maganuba only occurs when Dur-Šarrukin was abandoned as capital city, in the reign of Sennacherib.

⁷⁸⁴ AHw 637 s.v. *ma'uttu*; 691 s.v. *mu'untu*; AHw 604 s.v. *mānu(m)*; cf. Parpola (1975: 295), contra Postgate (1974b: 75) who first assumed that it derives from *mē* (*mā'ū*), water. This was adopted by CAD M/I 437 s.v. *ma'uttu*; M/II 321 s.v. *mu'untu*; M/I 228 s.v. *mānu*.

ian evidence for the term *ma'uttu*, its association with the royal family is significant. We encounter the *ma'uttu* “of the king” (CTN 3 14:4–5, 16:4–5), *ma'uttāti* “of the king” (SAA 19 19:5) and the *mu'untu* “of the king” in a Babylonian letter (SAA 18 56 r. 9). In addition, there is a reference to the *ma'uttu* “of the palace” (CTN 3 87 r. 36) and the *ma'uttu* “of the É–LUGAL 'x' [x x]” (SAA 14 460:5') which presumably refers to the *bēt šarrāni*, “the royal tombs” in Assur.⁷⁸⁵ Apart from these explicit qualifications, we get a similar impression from the contexts in which the term appears. In a letter to the king Aššūr-šimanni reports that someone erroneously laid claim to a *ma'uttu*(-field) and has already begun to harvest it. Aššūr-šimanni ensures the king that he will place harvesters (*ēšidu*) there to save the remaining yield.⁷⁸⁶ Though this evidence suggests that *ma'uttu* was “sustenance land” for the king and his household, there are indications that the king placed it also at the disposal of selected people (of the elite). In the stereotypical phrasing of the grants of Assurbanipal we can read that *ma'uttu kabistu*, “continuous sustenance”, was one of the privileges probably bestowed upon the beneficiary.⁷⁸⁷ Also the aforementioned *mu'untu* “of the king” was apparently once granted to Nabû-dēnī-āmur.⁷⁸⁸ The *ma'uttu*(-land) of which Aḥīja-qāmu will have the usufruct together with other land in Halahhu, a district in the Assyrian heartland, may have a similar background (SAA 11 224:5, 8), as might also be the case with the *ma'uttu*(-land) from which barley is owed to Bunāia, son of Rēmāni-Adad (CTN 3 11:2). We also know from three other debt notes of barley and straw from *ma'uttu*(-land) from the reign of Assurbanipal (CTN 3 14–16). The items owed are described as either corn taxes or straw taxes of *ma'uttu*(-land) in the care of the chief of granaries. In CTN 3 14 and 16 the *ma'uttu*(-land) is “of the king” and the same debtor, namely Šamaš-aḥu-iddina, is told to deliver the items owed at the threshing-floor. In the penalty clause of CTN 3 14 we can, furthermore, read that in case of failure to pay the debts at the threshing-floor, the debtor will be responsible for the soup of the king, which substantiates the suspicion that the *ma'uttu*(-land) was sustenance land of the crown. The original purpose of *ma'uttu*(-lands) might have been the sustenance of the royal family exclusively, but the king started to make their yields available for chosen people on occasion. A *rab ma'utti* may have been appointed to manage

⁷⁸⁵ Cf. Radner 2000a: 243, fn. 68; see section 11.1 The *bēt šarrāni*. Note also the *ma'uttu ša* [...] in SAA 6 335:4', adjoining land being sold; another reference to *ma'uttu* adjoining sold land is found in BT 107:6.

⁷⁸⁶ Harvesters are also mentioned in the section closing with the sum of 80 *emāru* from the *ma'uttu*(-land) “of the palace” in CTN 3 87; two harvesters are to be delivered by the debtor of two *emāru* of barley of the *ma'uttu*(-land) according to CTN 3 11.

⁷⁸⁷ SAA 12 25, 26 r. 6. The passage is broken, its precise meaning is therefore not entirely clear. For the meaning of *kabsu* / *kabistu* here see Postgate 1989: 147–8, fn. 69.

⁷⁸⁸ SAA 18 56 r. 9. This man apparently gave the land to Bēl-iqīša, known as leader of the Gambulu tribe, who, however, was not entitled to have the usufruct of it.

these lands and their yields, though apparently also the *rab karmāni* (cf. section 13.1 The *rab karmāni* (chief of granaries) and the *rab karmi* (granary master)) bore responsibility for the taxation of these estates, and thus it is possible that his appointment was only temporary.

13.3 The *rab danībāti* (chief victualler)

Presumably deriving from the Hurrian word *k/galteniwa*, which appears often in association with grain in Nuzi texts (Menzel-Wortmann 1986: 213–4), the title *rab danībāti* should strictly speaking rather be transcribed *galdanibate*.⁷⁸⁹ Differing from the formation of the other *rab-x* titles, the compound structure of the latter may have been secondarily adopted to render this term. This reconstruction of the title's origin also corresponds to the main task of the *rab danībāti*, that is the administering of storage facilities. The writing of the office is attested in the following variants: (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL-*da-ni-bat*, LÚ/LÚ*.GAL-*da-ni-ba-te* and LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-ba-tim-ma*. On the basis of the suggested normalisation as *galdanibate*, these variants should be read (LÚ/LÚ*).*gal-da-ni-bat*, LÚ/LÚ*.*gal-da-ni-ba-te* and LÚ.*gal-da-ni-ba-tim-ma*. Nevertheless, I stick here to the common rendering GAL-X, in view of the likelihood of a secondary adoption of that title scheme. The title is usually translated as “chief victualler” or “chief purveyor” (HAD 90) and is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian period, from the reign of Sargon on. Menzel-Wortmann (1986; previously Menzel 1981 II: 11–3, n. 137) examined every significant attestation (apart from SAA 13 154, where the title was formerly read as *rab qaqqulāti*). The office will be discussed in brief here, taking into account her considerations as well as the few relatively new attestations.

The chief victualler is once attested as a witness in a broken legal document from Nineveh recording a purchase (SAA 14 307 r. 4'). He is listed after the governor of Arbail and before the chief cook of the crown prince and the mayor of Arbail. His association with officials from Arbail confirms the general impression that he was especially engaged in this area, as gained from the attestations discussed below. As an active party to legal transactions, the chief victualler is attested in another broken legal conveyance-type document from Nineveh where he may have acted as a seller of people and land (SAA 14 265:2). Otherwise, the chief victualler appears as a creditor of corn in BT 116, clearly in connection with his official tasks.

According to this legal document from Imgur-Ilil, dating to the reign of Sennacherib, the chief victualler Nabû-nāšir, together with two scribes, is a

⁷⁸⁹ This was already pointed out by Kinnier Wilson 1972: 103, fn. 11. Cf. CAD G 20 s.v. *galteniwa*; AHW 427 s.v. *k/galteniwe(š)* and *k/galpurḫu* and AHW 160 s.v. *d/ṭanību* for “Dattelspeise(?)” and thus interpreting the *rab danībāti* as confectioner. Note HAD 20 s.v. *danībāti* accepted this term as a loanword which found its way into the Assyrian vocabulary as *plurale tantum*, probably meaning “greengroceries(?)”.

debtor owing *lahmu*, “king’s corn” (*kurummat šarri*) and “the entire *ilkakāte* (-payments)” of Šumma-ilu, otherwise known as priest of Imgur-Ilil (BT 116:4). The penalty clause states that the *lahmu* is to be returned when the creditor enters Arbail. Each of the three terms not only refers to another commodity owed,⁷⁹⁰ but also represents an administrative keyword. In Late Babylonian times *kurummat šarri* refers to offerings leftovers for the king. In her discussion of this phenomenon in Babylonia, Kleber noted that this could mean both rations to be received by the king and rations given out by the royal administration.⁷⁹¹ This ambiguous meaning seems also to be true for the Neo-Assyrian period where this term, however, is only rarely attested.⁷⁹² In the present case the king’s corn was rather given out by the central administration (as consumption for the king).⁷⁹³ As to the other administrative terms mentioned in BT 116, *ilkakāte* occur as payments in kind towards the palace as well as payments to the temple.⁷⁹⁴ The *lahmu* denotes natural produce of a fixed quantity (Postgate 1974a: 73; Menzel 1981 I: 13–4). In the extant sources it appears especially in conjunction with the *qarītu*-festivities of Ištar in Arbail, as a type of offering material.⁷⁹⁵ The chief victualler also appears in connection with the *lahmu* (here: *lihmu*) in the letter SAA 13 147, written to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal). Here, a certain Marduk-[...] ⁷⁹⁶ demands a “sealed order” (from the palace) to be given to the chief victualler so that the latter may hand him over the necessary *lahmu*(-offerings) for the *qarītu*-festivities in Arbail (possibly in return for a horse).⁷⁹⁷ While the *rab danībāti* is attested as a debtor of

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. Menzel-Wortmann 1986: 218–9. Note also ND 2331 where the “king’s corn” is owed together “with” (*a-du* in l. 3) its(!) *ilkakāte*.

⁷⁹¹ Kleber 2008: 292–310, especially 295.

⁷⁹² Other references known to me are: CTN 2 99:4 and envelope CTN 2 99*:4; BT 117:3; ND 2331:2. Note also the 1,000 (*emāru* of) ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL in the letter of the scholar Šumāia to the king (Esarhaddon) which were at the disposal of the sender and the sender’s father (SAA 16 35:5).

⁷⁹³ Cf. Postgate (1974a: 72–3) who interpreted it as a tax-obligation towards the temple.

⁷⁹⁴ Apart from documents recording *ilkakāte* payments towards the palace (CTN 3 87, 88), *ilkakāte* goods were also owed to temple personnel (BT 117) and used for offerings (SAA 12 77). See *inter alia* section 12.4 The *rab qaqqulāti* and also Postgate 1974a: 88–9.

⁷⁹⁵ Menzel 1981 I: 13, 22–3; cf. BT 117, discussed Menzel 1981 I: 15. For the *qarītu*-festivities in general see Menzel 1981 I: 21–2. These festivities are also attested for Tašmetu, Ištar (either of Kalhu or of Nineveh) and Nabû but appear prominently in connection with Ištar of Arbail.

⁷⁹⁶ According to Menzel-Wortmann (1986: 216, fn. 16), the sender might be identical with the *ša-qurbūti* Marduk-šarru-ušur mentioned in the letter SAA 10 253 r. 12–13. The intermediary role of the *ša-qurbūti*s throughout the empire, who enjoyed mobility and royal authority, does not correspond to the comparatively powerless and locally active man attested here.

⁷⁹⁷ The translation (and the restorations) given in Menzel-Wortmann (1986: 214–5) differ slightly from that of Cole and Machinist (1998: 147). This mainly affects the horse mentioned in the text. According to Cole and Machinist, Marduk-[...] holds a horse to be given to the chief victualler (in return for the *lahmu*?), which the chief victualler refuses to do. Less plausible is the interpretation that the horse just refers to the way Marduk-[...] arrived at the chief victualler (also the syntax in r. 1–2 does not support Menzel-Wortmann’s translation).

lahmu in BT 116, he is rather in charge of state magazines containing this type of natural produce in the present letter. He represents an official who was accountable towards the palace and who generally acted only on behalf of the palace (cf. Menzel-Wortmann 1986: 216). Both documents, however, display the *rab danībāti*'s concern with foods meant for cultic events (and thus for the temple). In view of BT 116, the *rab danībāti* was responsible for the actual storage of natural produce, as is clear from the letter SAA 13 147, as well as for its transfer and distribution. As to a more detailed description of the natural produce referred to as *lahmu*, it was presumably grain or a grain product, as indicated by its association with the "king's corn" and the chief victualler's concern with huge amounts of levied grain to be stored and presumably distributed under his charge. This also clear from two 8th-century administrative documents from Kalhu. Dues of barley from various cities (including Arbail with the highest amount of 17,400 *emāru*) are summed up as 22,531 *emāru* four *sūtu* of barley rations "(for the) treasury" (*nakkamtu*) of the chief victualler (ND 2465). In ND 3469 the chief victualler is listed along with 1,000 *emāru* (of barley), while the fodder master appears with 2,000 and the chief of granaries with 7,000 *emāru*. Similarly, 3,050 *emāru* (of barley) are listed along with the city of Nineveh, which are the result of smaller amounts listed along with various cities including Šibaniba and along with the province of Kurba'il. The broken letter SAA 5 143, written by Šulmu-bēli, deputy of the palace herald, to the king (Sargon), confirms the chief victualler's association with corn (since a ŠE[...] follows the reference to this official) but is too broken to draw further conclusions.

Of the edible goods the chief victualler was not only concerned with grain and grain products but once also with terebinths, or, to be more precise, with terebinth trees. In the letter CT 53 230, presumably dating to the 7th century, the (unnamed) chief victualler reports to the king that he made the necessary arrangements to water the tree trunks of the terebinths following the king's order. Menzel-Wortmann (1986: 226) interpreted this incident as an action unrelated to the official duties of the chief victualler. However, in comparison with food managers dealing with different types of foodstuffs, it seems likely to me that he occasionally had to manage other types of food and their cultivation (as is also attested for the chief confectioner).

Apart from the *rab danībāti*'s concern with the management of corn (and cereal products), he is also associated with the storage of precious metals. In the letter SAA 13 61 Urdu-Nabû, presumably priest of the Nabû Temple in Kalhu,⁷⁹⁸ reports to the king (Esarhaddon) that the chief victualler refuses to

⁷⁹⁸ Radner, PNA 3/II 1408 s.v. Urdu-Nabû 5. Though he is also concerned with arrangements relating to gods such as Ištar and Aššur, the two letters SAA 13 56 and 57 suggest that he was a priest of Nabû.

hand out gold for the statues of the king and the king's mother. The gold in question, three talents of refined and four talents of unrefined gold, was previously weighed by the treasurer, the palace scribe and the sender and deposited in the *bēt qātē* of the chief victualler who sealed it. As in the letter SAA 13 147 discussed above, the chief victualler appears as the only person with access to a storage facility for palatial properties, apparently located in the temple. The fact that an intervention of the king, in the form of an order (*tēmu*) to the treasurer and the palace scribe, was necessary strengthens this impression and it is remarkable that the treasurer and the palace scribe needed authorisation from the palace (provided that they were not involved in the chief victualler's refusal). Judging by the high ranks of the treasurer and the palace scribe,⁷⁹⁹ this does not seem to be due to an equality of rank (as suggested by Menzel-Wortmann 1986: 225) but to the chief victualler's function and responsibility for palace properties. The chief victualler is apparently also associated with metals for royal statues according to the broken letter SAA 13 141, written by a certain Aššūr-ḥamātū'a, possibly employed in the temple of Ištar in Arbail. The association with precious items is evident also from another perspective in the letter SAA 13 154, written by Dādī, the priest of the Kidmuri Temple in Nineveh. The sender reports to the crown prince (Assurbanipal) that the chief victualler has plundered his patrimony, including one talent of refined silver and 20 minas of silver in the form of household utensils, audience gifts of the king and the king's mother. While one gets the impression that this incident involves the chief victualler in a criminal capacity, unrelated to his office, an additional statement in the letter may refer to the official context in which he operated here. Hence, Dādī also complains that he used to receive the *akullû* (alimentation) of his father until the chief victualler chased him away from the temple. Assuming that the incident did not happen because Dādī fell into disgrace, the chief victualler apparently abused his authority to come into possession of precious items and to permanently harm Dādī.

In connection with his role as administrator of magazines storing grain and also precious metals, the chief victualler is associated with two different types of storage facilities *nakkamtu* and *bēt qātē*. *nakkamtu* basically denotes state treasure but can also designate its building(s), the treasury and thus occasionally refers to state magazines which are otherwise called *bēt nakkamti*. The *bēt qātē* denotes smaller units mainly used for storing commodities of different kinds, often in the charge of specific officials including the cupbearer and the palace supervisor.⁸⁰⁰ This size ratio is made clear in the letter SAA 5 206, where it is said that portions of bronze are taken from the "*bēt nakkamti* of

⁷⁹⁹ Concerning the rank of the palace scribe, his significance mainly pertains to the hierarchy within the royal household proper (see section 1.4.7 Rank, especially SAA 1 34).

⁸⁰⁰ See section 2.1 On the *bēt qātē*, Table 4; contra Menzel-Wortmann 1986: 221, fn. 29.

metal scraps” and stored in the *bēt qātē* of the cupbearer. The two facilities were associated with both palace and temple and were used to store among other commodities precious metal, whereas the treasury (*nakkamtu*, *bēt nakkamī*) was also a facility for the storage of grain, as is, for instance, also indicated for the *nakkamtu* of the granary master of the land of Birtu that received deliveries of barley.⁸⁰¹ Hence, the officials were concerned with different commodities and the storage facilities were not reserved for one specific item but rather kept a mixture of goods.

The chief victualler, attested from the reign of Sargon onwards, had to operate in and cooperate with the temple in connection with its need for grain (or cereal products) for cultic events (and also of precious metal), and it seems as if the chief victualler’s storage facilities were occasionally attached to the temple area (e.g. in SAA 13 61). While the association of the chief victualler with (palace) scribes (BT 116, SAA 13 61) supports his administrative function vis-à-vis the state administration, his belonging to the palace is underlined by his appearance in an administrative record listing court personnel (SAA 7 5 ii 50). His direct liability towards the palace is evident from the letter CT 53 230, featuring the chief victualler as correspondent of the king. The heading of this letter, referring to him only by his official title, suggests that there was only one chief victualler at a time (cf. the single reference in SAA 7 5). According to Menzel-Wortmann (1986: 220, 226–7), the chief victualler’s repeated association with Arbail may indicate his activity in that area alone, as also reflected in her proposed translation of the title as “(Verwaltungs)Direktor der königlichen Magazine (im Kreis Arba’il)”. Although the repeated association of the chief victualler with Arbail and Ištar of Arbail is remarkable, he is also concerned with other places and their sanctuaries, including the Kidmuri Temple in Nineveh, the Nabû Temple in Kalhu and the Mamu Temple in Balawat, and thus he took care of the supply of a number of temples in the Assyrian heartland and not only that of the Ištar Temple in Arbail. The lack of evidence for this official acting on behalf of the Aššur Temple may be purely accidental. Since we know of other officials who managed the traffic of goods in connection with the Aššur Temple, such as the treasurer of the Aššur Temple, this finding may be significant. On the other hand, the chief victualler’s specialisation in grain and grain products rather suggests that he was responsible for the management of grain on behalf of all the sanctuaries in the Assyrian heartland.

⁸⁰¹ ND 2791 r. 2–3. Judging by the Middle Assyrian sources and the *rab karmāni* or *rab karmi*, the term *karmu* especially refers to storage facilities for grain (see section 13.1 The *rab karmāni* (chief of granaries) and the *rab karmi* (granary master)).

13.4 The *rab kissiti* (fodder master)

The fodder master is first attested in the Neo-Assyrian period and continues in Neo-Babylonian times (*rab kissati*).⁸⁰² In Neo-Assyrian texts *rab kissiti* is written LÚ*.GAL-ŠE.ki-si-te, LÚ*.GAL-ki-si-ti, LÚ.GAL-ŠE.ki-si-ti, GAL-ki-si-te and once [LÚ].GAL-kis-si-te (SAA 7 29 i 10). Kinnier Wilson (1972: 72–3, 88) discussed this official especially with respect to his occurrence in the wine lists, but the Neo-Assyrian attestations as a whole have not yet been studied in detail.

In Neo-Assyrian sources dating to the 8th century the *rab kissiti* mainly occurs as a recipient of wine. Assuming that the partly restored entries are correct, he either receives three (CTN 1 13:21') or (like the palace supervisor) five *qû* of wine.⁸⁰³ If these wine rations were intended only for his personal consumption (and not also for personnel subordinate to him), this constitutes a comparatively high amount of wine given to a single person in the context of festivities held once a year. The *rab kissiti* is listed in another wine list (CTN 3 121:12) which stands out from the others because of its coarse style and different prosopographical contents (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 238). While the other wine lists do not give a personal name along with the title, Abi-qāmu, who is listed in the previous line here, was probably designated *rab kissiti*. However, both lines lack an entry giving the actual amount.

Also in 7th century the *rab kissiti* seems to have been an influential official and is to be characterised as a palace official. This is indicated by the fodder master Balṭi-Aia who appears as a beneficiary—referred to as one of the *ša-rēšis*—of a grant of tax exemption in the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 25). As is expressed in the stereotypical phrasing of the grant, a general feature of the grants of Assurbanipal (Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXVI), the beneficiary's properties were exempted from the various types of dues such as corn taxes, and also their farm labourers were freed of *ilku*-duty. It is also stated that since he “grew with a good repute” in the king's palace,⁸⁰⁴ he even can decide upon his burial place (in the palace) (SAA 12 25 r. 19–26). Since officials such as the *rab ša-rēši* and the chamberlain were also honoured with such donations, the fodder master was in good company. Apart from this indication that he was of comparatively high status, we also learn from this grant that the fodder master must have had a considerable amount of property at his disposal.

The fodder master's responsibility for fodder, as indicated by his title, is confirmed by an account of grain from 8th-century Kalhu where he is recorded along with 2,000 *emāru* of corn (ND 3469:13). In a separate section this

⁸⁰² CAD K 427–8; AHW 487 s.v. *kissatu(m)*; cf. Bongenaar (1997: 137).

⁸⁰³ CTN 1 15:4'. The remaining entries in the wine lists published by Kinnier Wilson (1972) do not provide us with clear information in this respect.

⁸⁰⁴ SAA 12 25:19: [*qé*]-reb É.GAL-ia i-na MÚ dam-*qí* ir-bu-[*ú-ma*].

document lists various places including the provincial capitals Kurbail, Šibaniba and Talmusu, all situated in the Assyrian heartland east of the Tigris,⁸⁰⁵ as providers of corn for the city of Nineveh, amounting to 3,050 *emāru* in total. In addition, the chief of granaries, the chief victualler and a certain Kabtî, like the *rab kissiti*, are each listed here along with large amounts of corn. Among these officials, who were all concerned with the levy and distribution of corn, the fodder master was specifically concerned with corn for animals. Assuming that he took care of the fodder for particular types of animals, he may have primarily covered the fodder needs for the palace stock of equids, including equids of the cavalry and chariotry units of the home army (*kišir šarri*) led by the *rab ša-rēši*. The home army had its base in the Review Palace of the capital city, which would also correspond to the fact that the fodder master is frequently listed in the wine lists, found in the Review Palace of Kalhu and recording wine rations given out perhaps on the occasion of a yearly military-related event (Fales 1994: 370). The facts that equids were not herded like domestic animals such as sheep, and that *kissutu* was often associated with equids,⁸⁰⁶ support the assumption that supplying equids with fodder was one of the *rab kissiti*'s primary concerns. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that he took care of the supply of fodder for other animals kept by the palace or in the charge of the palace.⁸⁰⁷

A scribe subordinate to the fodder master is (if restored correctly) listed along with an amount (lost) of silver in what was interpreted as a fragment of a debt list probably belonging to SAA 7 28 which may record debts in the province of Si'immê.⁸⁰⁸

14 THE MANAGEMENT OF OTHER GOODS

Apart from managers of foodstuffs, administrative officials concerned with other types of goods are also attested in the sources. These include the “vessel master” (*rab kutāte*), the “coffer master” (*rab šaddāni*), the “linen master” (*rab kitê*), the “leather master” (*rab maški*), the “overseer of reeds” (*ša-muḥḥi-qanāti*), the “chief of repairs” (*rab batqi*), “the chief of accounts” (*rab nikkassi*), and treasurers (*masennu*). There is also an “overseer of white frit” (*ša-muḥḥi-huluhḥi*) named Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir attested as an author of two petitions to the king.⁸⁰⁹ This office is not attested elsewhere and is not discussed here.

⁸⁰⁵ The location of the other places remains unknown.

⁸⁰⁶ CAD K 427 s.v. *kissutu* 2.a.1'.

⁸⁰⁷ *kissutu* appears also in connection with other animals such as birds (e.g. CTN 3 13:4) and sheep (e.g. VAT 8674 r. 25).

⁸⁰⁸ SAA 7 29 i 9–10. See Fales and Postgate 1992: XX–XXI, 40.

⁸⁰⁹ SAA 16 32:2–3; 33:2–3. For *huluhḥu*, interpreted as “light-colored frit”, see CAD H 232.

14.1 The *rab kutāte* (vessel master)

Judging from the meaning of the term *kūtu*,⁸¹⁰ the *rab kūtāti* was concerned with some sort of vessel. Translated as “vessel master” (SAA series), “wine-can master” (HAD 90) or “official in charge of the *kūtu*-wine” (CAD K 612), he may have been responsible for the manufacture and tinkering of *kūtu*-vessels as well as their management; a specific concern is not necessarily implied by the title. This is supported by the single attestation of this official in the administrative document SAA 11 36, presumably recording tribute redistributed to palace officials (cf. Fales and Postgate 1995: XX). The commodities handed over to the vessel master (GAL–DUG.*ku-ta-te*) comprise ten minas of copper and one *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) (SAA 11 36 iii 25–27). Assuming that the copper was handed over in connection with the vessel master’s official duties, as seems to be case with the allotments of other officials here, he may have received it for the manufacture or repair of vessels carried out under his supervision. The *šapputu*-bowl of wine was meant for his personal consumption, as expressed by the addition of *a-kul-la-šú* (SAA 11 36 iii 27). Compared to the allotments of one or two sheep as well as one or two *šapputu*-bowls of wine usually recorded here, this constitutes a low amount for personal consumption and suggests a comparatively low rank. This is underlined by the fact that no subordinates of the vessel master are recorded here, whereas several other officials occur together with their scribes and deputies. Since SAA 11 36 records allotments handed over to court personnel, this document reflects a comprehensive profile of the Assyrian royal household structure and shows that the vessel master was a palace official. Given the lack of additional evidence for the vessel master, he may have been only active in the royal household proper and was not involved in any state affairs.

14.2 The *rab šaddāni* (coffer master)

The *rab šaddāni* is known thanks to a single reference in a Neo-Assyrian legal document where it is written LÚ.GAL–*šad-dan-ni* (SAA 6 201 r. 7). The Akkadian term *šaddu* is first attested in Middle Babylonian sources and continues to be attested in texts from the first millennium BCE. Judging from the contexts in which it appears throughout the periods, it denotes a chest or a coffer holding gold or golden objects, (precious) stones and garments of linen (CAD Š/I 42–3 s.v. *šaddu*). From a Neo-Assyrian letter of Rāši-ili to the king (Esarhaddon) we learn that these chests were sealed (SAA 13 178 r. 125). A translation of *rab šaddāni* as “coffer master” seems appropriate. Since the

⁸¹⁰ CAD K 611–2 s.v. *kūtu* (a container of clay or metal, rarely wood); cf. AHW 519 “eine große Kanne”; HAD 53 (a vessel for wine, beer and oil, “flagon”).

only known individual bearing this title, namely Šēr-uarrī, is a witness to a legal transaction, it remains unclear whether he was concerned with the safeguard of precious contents of such chests, or whether he was responsible for their manufacture. The latter, however, seems less likely and it is possible that the coffer master was a sort of minor treasurer.

14.3 The *rab kitê* (linen master)

While a *rab kita'āti* is also mentioned in Old Babylonian texts, the *rab kitê*, linen master, is not attested in other Akkadian sources.⁸¹¹ In Neo-Assyrian sources we encounter a single reference to a linen master. The *rab kitê* (written GAL–GADA) Kanūnāiu acts as the first witness in a debt note of four minas of silver (StAT 2 1 r. 1). This linen master was presumably responsible for the acquisition and distribution of linen and garments of linen rather than its actual production. Whether he belonged to the temple or the palace remains unclear. However, in both spheres there was a relatively high demand for clothes made of the highly valuable fabric, linen. We encounter scholars dressed in linen (SAA 10 289 r. 3'–8') and palace officials, such as the palace supervisor were provided with linen clothes (SAA 1 34). Also, administrative documents from the palaces of the capital cities, such as SAA 7 115 from Nineveh, reflect the palace's concern with linen and its distribution to palace departments.

14.4 The *rab maški* (leather master)

There is only one *rab maški*, written (LÚ).GAL–KUŠ.MEŠ, attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources, and this title is not known from other periods. Siparrānu, leather master of Kurbail, acts as a witness twice when Bēl-issē'a, village manager of the governor of Kalhu, buys land in Kurbail in the reign of Adad-nērāri III (CTN 2 15 r. 37; 35 r. 22). As he is listed together with priests of Kurbail, for example Bēl-rubā-ilāni, in both texts he might have been appointed to the temple in Kurbail. Siparrānu perhaps organised its acquisition, storage and distribution, after its production (presumably headed by the chief tanner).

14.5 The *ša-muḥḥi-qanāti* (“overseer of reeds”)

With *qanātu* denoting the plural of *qanû* (“reed”), the *ša-muḥḥi-qanāti* can be translated as “overseer of reeds”.⁸¹² This office is only known from a few Neo-Assyrian records where it is written LÚ*.šá–UGU–*qa-na-te*, LÚ*.šá–UGU–*qa-(na)-a-te*, šá–UGU–*qa-na-a-te* and ša–UGU–*qa-[na-te]*.

⁸¹¹ CAD K 473–5 s.v. *kitû* and *rab kita'āti*.

⁸¹² CAD Q 91 s.v. *qanû* in *ša-muḥḥi-qanâte*; HAD 86 s.v. *qanû*.

Provided that the emendation LÚ*.šá-UGU-qa-(na)-a-te is correct,⁸¹³ three office-holders—Arbailāiu, Nabû-kāšir and Sa’īlu—are mentioned in the same witness list of a receipt of silver given in compensation to Šumma-ilāni, otherwise known as chariot driver, whose house was burgled in the reign of Sennacherib (SAA 6 35 r. 1–4). Their colleague Nusku-aḥu-iddina acts as a witness to an agreement over the payment of blood money in a record dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 14 81 r. 8–9). This document is also witnessed by “third men (on chariot)”, gatekeepers and a cohort commander of the chief confectioner. Also in the lexical list from Nineveh the “overseer of reeds” precedes the cohort commander, being listed immediately after the tanner of coloured leather. None of these associations, however, gives a clue as to the functions of this office. This is only the case with Bēl-sama’, whose broken title is possibly to be restored as *ša-muḥḥi-[qanāti]* in an administrative document recording the consumption of corn and cereal products in the reign of Sargon II. According to this record he received 5 *emāru* 5 *sūtu* of corn (or a corn product) for the refugees in Mazamua (ND 2803 ii 19’), and 4 *emāru* 5 *sūtu* 4 *qū* of corn for people (details lost) in the town Šarru-iqbi who were going to the palace (ND 2803 r. i 16). Other types of functionaries who, according to this document, were involved in the provision of food include agents (*ša-qurbūti*), some of them agents of the crown prince. Presumably this was not a primary task of the “overseer of reeds” since, judging by the title, this office was usually concerned with the supervision of reed (presumably its collection and distribution). Lacking any concrete evidence to that effect, one can only speculate that these officials were employed at least from the second half of the 8th century onwards to oversee the reed supply for construction works and for the manufacture of commodities such as boats and baskets made of reed (cf. the products of the reed-worker, *atkuppu*, in section 24.2 The *atkuppu* (reed-worker)). The limited natural occurrence of reed in northern Mesopotamia (compared to the south) was perhaps one of the reasons for the introduction of this office. In order to oversee this material, the office seems to have continued in the last 150 years of the existence of the empire and probably could even engage three individuals at the same time.

14.6 The *rab batqi* (“chief of repairs”)

The *rab batqi* is first attested in the Neo-Assyrian texts and is also known from the succeeding Neo-Babylonian period. Since Postgate (1974a: 52–62) established the meaning “levy” for *batqu* (or rather *bitqu*, see below) in Neo-Assyrian, a possible translation for this title, written LÚ/LÚ*.GAL-*bat-qi* and

⁸¹³ This was proposed by Kwasman and Parpola (1991: 39) and is plausible especially in view of the fact that there is no *ša-muḥḥi-qātē* attested elsewhere.

(LÚ*).GAL-*bat-qi*, is “chief of the levy”.⁸¹⁴ As I hope to show, this translation does not necessarily correspond to the actual tasks of this official; “chief of repairs” may fit better.⁸¹⁵ Bongenaar (1997: 135) lists the occurrences of the title in Neo-Babylonian sources, but the Neo-Assyrian attestations have not yet been collected and examined.

On examining the term BE-*qu*, Postgate (1974a: 56–7) distinguished between *batqu* combined with *šabātu* meaning “(to repair) damage” and *bitqu* occurring together with *kašāru* meaning “(to collect) a levy”. Especially with regard to the latter, Postgate established a new level of meaning which he further defined as the “actual process of assembling or levying” mainly men and equids, presumably carried out annually on a provincial level (Postgate 1974a: 59–61). He also suggested that the *rab batqi*—according to his own interpretation, actually rather the *rab bitqi*—was related to this second group (Postgate 1974a: 51). However, if we look at the attestations according to which this official is provided with trees and decorative elements of metal (see below), it is plausible that these commodities were intended for repair works on buildings and other objects. By contrast, this official is not attested in connection with the levying of men and horses. Furthermore, *batqu* not only appears repeatedly in conjunction with repair works requiring silver and other metals for statues or pedestals,⁸¹⁶ but it is occasionally also associated with the restoration of buildings,⁸¹⁷ once requiring straw (SAA 1 114) and another time beams (SAA 1 77). Since three out of these latter references contain phrases built with *batqu* and *kašāru*, they ought to belong to Postgate’s second group with *bitqu* referring to the process of levying. I suggest that while the term *batqu* (or *bitqu*) may occasionally involve a background relating to some sort of collection, as far as the *rab batqi* is concerned it is connected with procedures of restoration and replacement. Because this official was particularly concerned with raw materials—metal and wood—which are rarely found in the heartland of the Assyrian empire, he may have been especially responsible for materials which had to be raised via booty, tribute and trade (and not necessarily via taxation).⁸¹⁸ To conclude, I suggest

⁸¹⁴ Postgate’s attempt was followed by HAD 14, 90 which offers the translation “official in charge of the levy”, similar translations are given in the SAA volumes; cf. Faist 2007: 24: “Leiter der Rekrutierung” (ad StAT 3 5 r. 17’).

⁸¹⁵ CAD B 166–8 s.v. *batqu* 1. poor, low; 2. deficient, missing; 3. damaged, broken, ruined; cf. AHw 115 s.v. *batqu(m)* 4. Neo-Assyrian “schadhaft”; 6. Neo-Assyrian “Reparatur”; 7. Neo-Assyrian *rab batqi*: “Inspektor der Reparaturen”.

⁸¹⁶ SAA 13 39:5; 10 349:8, r. 6. These are the attestations which Postgate (1974a: 56) treated under his first group; for instance, SAA 10 349 contains the combination of *batqu* and *šabātu*.

⁸¹⁷ SAA 1 77 r. 3, 8 (*batqu kašāru*); 99 r. 4’–5’ (*batqu kašāru*); 114 r. 2; 5 199 r. 14’–15’ (*batqu kašāru*); 16 89:14.

⁸¹⁸ This observation also matches with horses (though not necessarily with men). I also wonder to which extent *batqu* itself, basically being an adjective meaning “deficient” or “missing”, might particularly refer to materials raised from outside that were not available and thus “missing” from the homeland.

that the *rab batqi*'s title primarily refers to repair and restoration work of buildings and objects for which he may have organised the stock of necessary materials, primarily exotic raw materials.⁸¹⁹

As to the *rab batqi*'s occurrence in legal documents, he is only once attested as a witness, to a land sale carried out in the reign of Shalmaneser V (StAT 3 5 r. 17'). Otherwise, he mainly occurs as the recipient of various commodities. Regarding provisions intended for his personal consumption, the *rab batqi* received one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) according to an administrative document from 7th-century(?) Nineveh which, if the heading is restored correctly, records redistributed tribute (SAA 11 36:23). While the two commodities, also handed out to various other officials listed here, are described as his food (SAA 11 36:25: *a-kul-la-šú*), the *rab batqi* also received 200 willows (*šakkullu*) according to the same record. As also suggested for other officials and their allocations in this text (cf. Fales and Postgate 1995: XX), these willows are presumably associated with the official tasks of the *rab batqi*.

As to other references to the *rab batqi*, there is an administrative document from Kalhu where various metal items, including silver stars, are said to be for the *rab batqi* Šamaš-bēlu-ušur in the year 719 (ND 2374 r. 11). Possibly also in the context of his official function the *rab batqi* (without personal name) is mentioned in a memorandum concerning the activities of the Kushite *ša-rēšis* Dāri-šarri and Šulmu-šarri (SAA 7 47:13). Among the recorded actions, each related to amounts of silver (presumably debts, see Fales and Postgate 1992: XXI), Šulmu-šarri is said to have given three minas of silver to the *rab batqi*. This act was possibly related to a criminal action or presents an unusual circumstance.⁸²⁰ However, it is not possible to detect in this text any aspects related specifically to the *rab batqi*'s functions.

Together with 48 other officials the *rab batqi* is assigned to the crown prince according to an administrative document dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 7 4 r. ii' 3', 6', 7'). While his occurrence in the aforementioned document SAA 11 36 indicates that he formed part of the royal household, we otherwise lack indications as to the *rab batqi*'s affiliation. In view of his *rab-x* title as well as his designation as *rab rabûti ša mār šarri* in SAA 7 4, the *rab batqi* may have held a middle-ranking office. Since he had, like other *rab-x* officials, a deputy and a scribe at his disposal (cf. Postgate 1974a: 51), he seems to have been of some importance. They both appear in the same section as their master in the aforementioned document recording the distribution of tribute (SAA 11 36 ii 26, 27). Like their master, they are provided with one

⁸¹⁹ Hence, by contrast to the great treasurer who managed huge building projects and raw materials also in connection with the *iškāru*-system (see Mattila 2000: 26–8), the *rab batqi* dealt with the same raw materials meant for repairs.

⁸²⁰ Note therefore *da-an-at-te* (in SAA 7 47 i 8, ii 8) translated by the edition as “by force”.

sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine for personal consumption. Another scribe of the *rab batqi* is attested as purchaser of land for four minas of copper in a legal document from Assur (VAT 10430:11'). Here he buys land adjoining the side roads(?)⁸²¹ of the villages of the palace herald, the great treasurer and the governor of Kalhu. Judging from the remnants of the broken upper part of the obverse, he may have bought this land from priests from the Inner City. The involvement of clergymen is supported by the various priests mentioned in the witness list, which is headed by municipal authorities, namely the city overseer, the city scribe and the mayor.

14.7 The *rab nikkassi* (chief of accounts)

Compounded with the Akkadian term *nikkassu*, meaning “account” or “accounting”, the *rab nikkassi* can be translated as “chief of accounts”.⁸²² This office is known from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. In Neo-Assyrian texts it is written logographically as (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL-NÍG.ŠID and (LÚ*).GAL-NÍG.ŠID.MEŠ. So far, no attempt has been made to discuss the Neo-Assyrian evidence.

The chief of accounts is occasionally attested as a witness in legal documents from Nineveh (SAA 14 129 r. 2') and Assur.⁸²³ A *rab nikkassi* occurs as purchaser in a fragmentary legal document (SAA 6 285:6'). Another *rab nikkassi* sells a female slave together with eleven provincial officials (Marqasi 1:7). Otherwise, he is attested as a recipient of one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine in the context of (if restored correctly) the redistribution of tribute (SAA 11 36 i 14, iii 22). In contrast to the other officials, usually listed here once, the *rab nikkassi* is recorded twice with the same type of allotment, which suggests that the two entries refer to two separate individuals. Since the first entry appears in a separate section recording the allotment for the chief cook and his scribe, this chief of accounts may be related to the chief cook's sphere of activity.⁸²⁴ The second entry, on the other hand, comes between the cohort commander of the palace and the chariot driver, which suggests an association with the military sphere.

However, it is clear from the titles and other details concerning his affiliation that the *rab nikkassi* was usually appointed within specific units. We encounter a chief of accounts of the palace (SAA 10 313 r. 4–5), of the crown prince

⁸²¹ For *ummu* possibly meaning side road see p. 469 fn. 1201. Note this is not really satisfying in the present case; a “border marker” may be more suitable, though this remains uncertain.

⁸²² CAD N/II 223–9 s.v. *nikkassu*; beginning with Neo-Assyrian texts, this term also denotes “property” or “assets”. For *rab nikkassi* see CAD N/II 230; cf. AHW 789.

⁸²³ STAT 2 73 r. 7; AfO 42 A1 r. 1; EPHE 352 r. 5'; in each case the same person.

⁸²⁴ This is supported by the fact that also in other sections, such as the one dealing with the “chief of repairs” (SAA 11 36 ii 22–27), only the *rab*-x official and his subordinates are listed.

(SAA 7 4 r. ii' 5', 6'; 5 r. i 47) and of the governor of Guzana (SAA 16 63:4, 5). In the latter case the chief of accounts, Nēri-Iāu, is one of seven servants of the governor of Guzana who are accused of criminal acts by the “enigmatic informer” who wrote this letter to the king (Esarhaddon).⁸²⁵ In the narrative part of the letter Nēri-Iāu appears together with the governor’s deputy, Palṭi-Ia’ū (also listed as a criminal in the heading), as consultant of the governor of Guzana who wants to win the elders (of Guzana) over.⁸²⁶ The same letter bears another reference to the office of *rab nikkassi* on the reverse (SAA 16 63 r. 15), where the sender reports to the king that Tarṣi, scribe of Guzana, gave his son (unnamed) to the household of Aššūr-zēru-ibni. As to the son’s role in the latter’s household, it is stated that he is chief of accounts when his master is with the sons of the king. During his master’s ten days’ stay in Nineveh he is also said to be chief tailor. Taken literally, this implies that Tarṣi’s son assumed two positions by unfair means, with or without the knowledge of Aššūr-zēru-ibni. On the other hand, this story could also just serve to protest that Tarṣi’s son exceeded his authority. As to Aššūr-zēru-ibni must have been a high-ranking man, though his title is not attested.⁸²⁷ Another possible example of a chief of accounts active for a governor is to be found in a letter from Nineveh which mentions a chief of accounts possibly active in the province of Arpad (SAA 16 48 r. 12, see below). Very likely also the remaining chiefs of accounts were assigned to particular spheres, but it is not possible to identify them. At least one can note that they are restricted to the secular sphere and were not appointed to temples.

In an administrative document from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 7 4), the *rab nikkassi* is one of 49 *rab rabūti* (“higher-ranking magnates”) of the crown prince, also including a “chief of equipment” (*rab tilli*), a “chief of repairs” (*rab batqi*) and a chief confectioner (*rab karkadinni*); the remainder is broken or entirely lost. This shows that the *rab nikkassi*, although restricted to specific domains, enjoyed a considerable rank. Nevertheless, the enumeration of the *rab nikkassi* of the governor of Guzana after the governor’s deputy (SAA 16 63:27–28) also shows his limits in rank. In general, the chief of accounts’ rank was certainly dependent on his master’s position, and thus a *rab nikkassi* active for the crown prince presumably had more influence and power than his colleague who was subordinate to a governor.

⁸²⁵ For the “enigmatic informer” see Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XXX–XXXV. There is also the *rab nikkassi* Šalam-šarru-iqbi who was apparently working for the province of Marqasa (Marqasi 1:7).

⁸²⁶ SAA 16 63:27–32; for another edition of this letter see Fales (1980: 142–6).

⁸²⁷ Cf. Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: XXXI. His close contact to the “king’s sons” and the reference to the (crown) prince’s palace in l. 32 suggest that Aššūr-zēru-ibni was a close relative or friend of the royal family.

As to the chief of accounts' function, his title indicates that he was responsible for or involved in accounting activities (*nikkassu epāšu*).⁸²⁸ Looking at his attestations, we detect that he is associated with domestic animals, as has also been observed for the Neo-Babylonian *rab nikkassi*.⁸²⁹ In a letter to the king's mother (Naqī'a) the sender, Nabû-šumu-lēšir, proposes the chief of accounts of the palace to be chosen as the recipient of the rams, mentioned by the king's mother in a previous letter (SAA 10 313 r. 4). Another letter indicates the chief of accounts' concern with domestic animals by virtue of his association with the sheep-tax master (*rab šibti*) of Arpad (SAA 16 48 r. 12). In this letter to the palace scribe, the sender Tabnî introduces the sheep-tax master Abnî who is coming to the recipient. Tabnî stresses that the palace scribe should trust Abnî regarding his sheep and asks for help for his friend from the chief of accounts. Possibly something had gone wrong with the accounting for the sheep-tax in the province of Arpad for which Abnî was responsible, and this explains why the chief of accounts as well as the palace scribe were concerned with his case.⁸³⁰ As to the affiliation of the chief of accounts, he may have been assigned to the governor of Arpad (rather than to the palace), where he was superior to the sheep-tax master. However, the present case underlines the impression that the chief of accounts was involved in the accounting for domestic animals, which is further supported by his association with the chief cook in SAA 11 36.⁸³¹ Livestock was apparently not the only concern of the chief of accounts since the *rab nikkassi* Marduk-bēlu-ušur is mentioned in a broken administrative document listing different types of trees with their precise measurements.⁸³² The *rab nikkassi* was involved in the accounts of different commodities, which at least occasionally bears the background of the collection of taxes (in kind). Although the recurrent phrase *nikkassu epāšu* expresses well the main task of the *rab nikkassi*, its occurrence does not necessarily refer to a *rab nikkassi* at work but represents a central procedure of the Neo-Assyrian administration involving several different officials.

⁸²⁸ This phrase was discussed by e.g. Postgate 1974a: 235–6.

⁸²⁹ Jursa (2010: 88) stressed the *rab nikkassi*'s association with accounts of domestic animals in Neo-Babylonian times; cf. Bongenaar 1997: 130–1 (including a list of references).

⁸³⁰ Abnî was probably accused of a misdeed by the provincial governor of Arpad since Tabnî asks the palace scribe to speak with the governor. This case may demonstrate an intervention in the provincial sphere by the imperial centre or its representatives.

⁸³¹ See also section 12.1.4 Allocations. The procedure of *nikkassu epāšu* is also attested in connection with domestic animals, e.g. CTN 2 256. Other objects such as stones and horses also appear in connection with this phrase; e.g. SAA 7 118 r. ii 27. See Postgate 1974a: 235–6.

⁸³² ND 5472:3. There are cedars and *šaššūgu*-trees listed: either 12, 8 or 2 cubits long and ½ cubit thick. Provided that one *ammatu* is 48 cm (see Postgate 1976: 70), this would mean about either 6, 4 or 1 m length and 24 cm thickness.

14.8 The *masennu* (treasurer)

The logographic writing (LÚ/LÚ*).IGI.DUB (also IGI.UM) has to be read *masennu* in Neo-Assyrian sources (and not *abarakku* as in the Old Babylonian period, CAD A/I 32–5). This is clear from syllabic writings and from the Aramaic rendering /mšn/.⁸³³ Since the title *masennu* is also attested in Nuzi texts,⁸³⁴ this was possibly already the case in the Middle Assyrian period.⁸³⁵ For an examination of this title in the Neo-Assyrian period we have to distinguish between the *masennu* or *masennu rabiū*, accompanied by a *masennu šaniū*, who was one of the seven highest-ranking state officials, and other *masennus* of lower rank appointed to temple households, palace households, households of members of the royal family (queen, king's mother and crown prince) and urban centres; only the latter group is discussed here. The former was analysed in detail by Mattila in her monograph on the magnates of the Neo-Assyrian king.⁸³⁶ As to his specific functions, she pointed out that he was a leading official in the construction of Dur-Šarrukin and other building projects; as a supervisor of the use of precious materials, the translation “treasurer” is justified. Like most of his fellow magnates, he was engaged in military activities, governed his own province (on the border with Urartu) and was appointed as eponym.⁸³⁷

14.8.1 Treasurers appointed to palaces

There is a single attestation of a treasurer of the New(?) Palace (name lost) as (the first?) witness in a broken land sale document from Kalhu dating to the reign of Shalmaneser IV.⁸³⁸ Apart from this single title, specific enough to indicate that treasurers were appointed to individual palaces, there is no other clear indication of this phenomenon. On comparison with the treasurer of the Aššur Temple and his colleagues active in other domains (see below), a treasurer

⁸³³ Radner 1999a: 49–50 (noting that *masennu* is the Assyrian [and Nuzi] form and *mašennu* the Babylonian rendering); cf. Mattila 2000: 13, fn. 1. Radner (1999a: 49–52) also suggests that GAL–TÚG.UD, occasionally borne by the chief treasurer Aššūr-gimilli-tēre, rather serves as an alternative rendering for the title “chief treasurer” (see section 17.2 Fulling, bleaching and dyeing). CAD (A/I 32–5; cf. AHW 3–4) discussed all the attestations of IGI.DUB under *abarakku* but concluded from the Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian evidence that IGI.DUB stands for *mašennu* here (A/I 35). The single syllabic writing LÚ*.maš-en-nu in a lexical list may be better read LÚ*.mas-en-nu (MSL 12 238 r. v 9).

⁸³⁴ CAD M/1 363–4 s.v. *mašennu (masennu)*; AHW 625 s.v. *mašennu (masennu)*.

⁸³⁵ Millard 1994: 7, fn. 14; Jakob 2003: 94, fn. 180.

⁸³⁶ Mattila 2000: 13–28, 161–2. An early attempt to examine the role of the Neo-Assyrian IGI.DUB was undertaken by Klauber ²1968: 80–7 (under the heading *abarakku*).

⁸³⁷ This profile corresponds to the treasurer of the royal palace in Assur in Middle Assyrian times; he was also called *masennu rabi'u* and appointed as eponym (see Jakob 2003: 100–8).

⁸³⁸ Edubba 10 27 r. 1'–2'. Although the two lines are broken, it seems quite certain that the statement “of the (New) Palace” qualifies the treasurer in the preceding line.

appointed to a palace may have been responsible for the supply of foodstuffs (especially agricultural products), perhaps in combination with the administration of land assigned to the New Palace. It remains, however, questionable whether each palace had its own treasurer since the supply of foodstuffs was the concern of specialised food managers (in the case of the main palace) or was organised by the palace manager.⁸³⁹ But perhaps the treasurer cooperated with these officials within one household and had also other responsibilities not covered by them. As to the treasurer of the New(?) Palace in particular, he may have been appointed on the occasion of the establishment of the New(?) Palace, like the treasurer Ina-šār-Bēl-allak who was active in Dur-Šarrukin in the reign of Sargon, the new capital under construction (see below).

14.8.2 Treasurers of members of the royal family

As to the treasurers working for key members of the royal family, we encounter an entire group of treasurers of the queen in 9th- and 8th-century documents found in room 57 of the North-West Palace in Kalhu which also contained records referring to other subordinates of the queen (Ahmad and Postgate 2007: xv–xvi, table 5). Adad-mušammer, Ilu-iqbi, Gabbu-ana-Aššūr, Bēl-dūrī, Gabbu-ana-ilāni and Mannu-kī-Bēlīja were designated “treasurer of the queen” or “treasurer of the household of the queen”; Gabbu-ana-Aššūr and Gabbu-ana-ilāni were presumably identical. Furthermore, it is very likely that the treasurer Nabû-šimanni, attested in the same archive, was also a subordinate of the queen. According to the sequence established by Ahmad and Postgate (2007: xvi), there was only one treasurer of the queen active in Kalhu at a time. These men mainly occur as purchasers, either of slaves or of land.⁸⁴⁰ Otherwise, the treasurer Nabû-šimanni is attested as a seller of someone’s wife (name lost) (Edubba 10 19:4), and Mannu-kī-Bēlīja occurs as a seller of land (Edubba 10 46:1–3). Also the treasurer Ilu-iqbi is concerned with land: he seals a record dealing with the engagement of harvesters (Edubba 10 53:1–2). Assuming that all these are private transactions and do not constitute business conducted on behalf of the queen (cf. Ahmad and Postgate 2007: xv), it is worth noting that the litigation clauses never mention the sons of these officials but refer either only to themselves (e.g. Edubba 10 31:22), their brothers (Edubba 10 22:13’–14’),

⁸³⁹ The *rab ekalli* may have also administered land assigned to local palaces, as suggested by Postgate (1974a: 192) in the case of taxed *ma’uttu*(-land) of the king (see section 13.1 The *rab karmāni* (chief of granaries) and the *rab karmi* (granary master)).

⁸⁴⁰ Slaves: Adad-mušammer (Edubba 10 1:6–7); Nabû-šimanni (Edubba 10 20:4 and 22:2’); Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (Edubba 10 32:8–9). Land: Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (Edubba 10 31:11–12); Gabbu-ilāni-Aššūr (Edubba 10 33:7–8); Bēl-dūrī (Edubba 10 34:8–9, 35:14’ and 36:12–13). The purchased commodity in Edubba 10 21, recording another transaction of Nabû-šimanni, remains unknown.

their successor (Edubba 10 34:20: EGIR-šú) or their people (Edubba 10 36:4'–5': UN.MEŠ-šú). Hence, although the documents record private acquisitions judging by their basic form, the property's transmission after the purchaser's death was regulated differently. In view of the significant existence of *ša-rēši* at court, these treasurers likely were *ša-rēši* themselves which would also explain why their sons and grandsons are never mentioned as heirs here (see section 8.1.10 *ša-rēši* as a designation for eunuchs). Although they apparently purchased slaves and property for themselves, the claim of their successors and their department (their people) suggests that these acquisitions were actually for the benefit of the office itself (and, as a result, for the department of the queen).⁸⁴¹ Apart from the treasurers of the queen, we also encounter the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-issē'a, subordinate to a treasurer of the queen, as purchaser of land, as recorded in two documents found in room 57.⁸⁴² Since one of these transactions took place in the year 762, his master must have been the treasurer Ilu-iqbi who was active in the same year (Edubba 10 53:1–2).

There is a single unnamed treasurer of the queen mentioned in one of the numerous letters of Nabû-šumu-iddina (SAA 13 87–123), mayor of the Nabû Temple of Kalhu, to the king (Esarhaddon). Nabû-šumu-iddina, introducing himself with the shortened variant of his name Nādinu, reports that eight Kushite horses from the treasurer of the queen came in today (SAA 13 108:10–11). The unnamed treasurer of the king's mother occurs in the same letter and is said to have delivered twelve Kushite horses (SAA 13 108 r. 3). The latter also occurs in two other reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina about the income of horses to the king according to which he delivered four Kushite horses in each case (SAA 13 89:8; 101:8). Apart from the treasurers of the queen and the king's mother, deliveries of horses to the Nabû Temple were also made by the commander-in-chief, the palace herald, the chief cupbearer and the governors of Kalhu and Nineveh (Cole and Machinist 1998: XVIII) but not by the great treasurer.⁸⁴³ Based on the entire collection of letters written by Nabû-šumu-iddina (SAA 13 78–123), where among others also cavalry horses are repeatedly mentioned (e.g. SAA 13 101:9), it seems that the horses were meant for military action. The fact that they were delivered to an official appointed to the Nabû Temple may be explained by the possible consecration of the horses before their use in campaigning. On the other hand, we also know of performances of rituals

⁸⁴¹ This was noted and discussed by H.D. Baker in her talk *Doing Business in Assyria, Private, State, or a Grey Area?* in the course of the Workshop *Commercial Documents* which was held (on the 19th July) at the 58th *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* in Leiden, 16–20 July 2012.

⁸⁴² Edubba 10 29:7–8; 30:9. Note that the penalty clause of the latter refers to the sons of Šamaš-issē'a (l. 17), so the absence of descendants in the penalty clauses is striking but not consistent, cf. discussion in section 8.1.10 *ša-rēši* as a designation for eunuchs.

⁸⁴³ Though note that the "house of the treasurer" (possibly referring to the magnate) is listed along with four Mannean horses in an administrative document dating to the reign of Sargon II (SAA 11 68:2).

involving horse teams, also from a letter of Nādinu (SAA 13 78:20–r. 5), as well as of the provision of white horses by the king for offering activities in the Aššur Temple (SAA 12 69, see below). Other references to the treasurer of the king’s mother only occur in two lists of officials from Nineveh dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal. First, Aḫu-[…], treasurer of the king’s mother, is listed immediately before the palace supervisor of the king’s mother (SAA 7 5 i 35). Second, his colleague [...]bî is assigned to the “central residences” according to what seems to be document about temporary lodgings.⁸⁴⁴

The treasurer of the crown prince, first attested in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, occurs neither in these lists of officials nor in the aforementioned letters of Nabû-šumu-iddina. Instead, he is listed along with 20 hectares of land at his disposal (or in his care) in a tablet belonging to the Harran Census from the reign of Sargon (SAA 11 219 ii 14’). Other officials listed along with land here mainly include magnates and provincial governors. Also in the letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, deputy (governor) of Isana, to the king (Tiglath-pileser), an unnamed treasurer of the crown prince is associated with land: he is accused of having appropriated 40 hectares of sown land (SAA 19 39 r. 9). It remains unclear whether he acted for his own benefit or on behalf of the crown prince. The only other attestation of a treasurer of the crown prince stems from a legal document dating to the reign of Esarhaddon: Bēl-na’di is witness when the *ša-rēši* of the crown prince Atar-ili leases the village Bahaia, comprising 500 hectares of land which includes sown fields (SAA 6 287 r. 11). He follows the cohort commander of the palace and the “third man (on chariot)” of the palace who witness the transaction first.⁸⁴⁵

Hence, treasurers who served members of the royal family mainly occur in association with land. With both the land bought or sold by the treasurers of the queen and the land at the disposal of the crown prince, it may have been property for the personal benefit of the office holders (probably to be taken over by their successors). Nevertheless, this association with land may be associated with the treasurer’s official concern with (agricultural) land (and its crops), as Jursa (2010: 80–1) pointed out for the *mašennus* active in the Neo-Babylonian empire. Otherwise, the delivery of horses to Nādinu represents an official task of these officials.

⁸⁴⁴ SAA 7 9 i 6’. The treasurer [...]uṣur, witnessing the purchase of the village Bahaia by Milki-nūrī, *ša-rēši* of the queen, in the reign of Assurbanipal, was possibly active for the queen too (since the great treasurer, like the other magnates, usually does not occur in legal documents).

⁸⁴⁵ The treasurer [...]Nabû, witnessing a broken document of sale, was probably also a subordinate of the crown prince, based on the presence of a master builder and a haruspex of the crown prince in the same witness list (SAA 14 166 l.e. 1).

14.8.3 Treasurers appointed to the Aššur Temple

The “treasurer of Aššur”, LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša ^(d)aš-šur, or the “treasurer of the Aššur Temple”, (LÚ/LÚ*).IGI.DUB ša É-aš-šur, is a prominent figure in the sources. Menzel (1981 I: 290–4) discussed most of the Neo-Assyrian evidence for this official, so that only an overview is given here (occasionally benefitting from a better understanding of the texts today). Two decrees of Adad-nērāri III mention Šamaš-našir, both times designated treasurer of Aššur, dating to the years 809 and 788. According to the decree dating to 809, Adad-nērāri entrusted the expenditures of oil and honey needed for distinct ceremonies performed in the Aššur Temple to Šamaš-našir (SAA 12 69:4–6). The allotments (also involving grain, lentils, chickpeas and meat), received by cooks, confectioners, bakers and brewers for processing, are represented as expenditures (*nadbāku*) of the king (who is said “to give”)⁸⁴⁶ and of the palace.⁸⁴⁷ In another, unplaced fragment belonging to the same composite text, this is expressed more precisely with “expenditure for five days of the king” (SAA 12 70 r. 15’: *na-ad-ba-ku ša UD-5-KĀM ša LUGAL*). An unnamed treasurer of the Aššur Temple occurs in a very similar context in the first column on the reverse of another record, possibly from the reign of Sennacherib (van Driel 1969: 79). It lists fruits together with beer to be supplied by the treasurer of the Aššur Temple for festivities held in the *akītu*-house (in Assur).⁸⁴⁸ Again, this official is concerned with the supply of foods for distinct ceremonies, which he may have received as expenditures of the royal household. Two administrative documents recording the contributions to offerings and ritual banquets, in contrast, refer to the treasurer of the Aššur Temple as an official among other officials who had to fulfil their obligations. First, he is recorded as a provider of parts of an ox from the temple of Dagan, as is the case with the commander-in-chief mentioned in the same text, and a sheep for offerings in the Aššur Temple (SAA 7 211:4, 11). Second, he is listed as a provider of [x] sheep among others, mainly including provincial capitals (SAA 11 80:8’). According to this account of sheep, 1522 out of 1998 sheep are at the disposal of the “herder of the royal meal”.

⁸⁴⁶ SAA 12 69:14: LUGAL SUM-*an*. The editors also restored another passage according to this wording (l. 26: [LUGAL?] [’]*i-da-an*). Remarkably, this phrase occurs especially in connection with the provision of white horses, grain-fed bulls and grain-fed sheep (references in ll. 14, 23, 24, 26) which are otherwise not mentioned here. Thus, the king’s role as provider of meat is stressed here.

⁸⁴⁷ An additional allocation for the *pandugāni*-ceremony comes from the “palace personnel” (SAA 12 69:16: É.GAL-*lim-ma*), and on the reverse the magnates (including the chief treasurer) and professionals such as the potters are recorded as providers of distinct commodities.

⁸⁴⁸ SAA 20 52 r. i 19’. An unspecified supplier is already mentioned in r. vi 13’. Van Driel (1969: 75) and Menzel (1981 I: 293) assume another subject here. I wonder whether this too refers to the treasurer which would, however, also imply that he was responsible for the supplies listed after this first section of the column (r. vi 23’–29’).

Apart from his concern with the maintenance of cultic ceremonies, the treasurer of the Aššur Temple occurs in connection with landed property. This is true for [Šamaš-nāš]ir according to the decree of Adad-nērāri dating to the year 788. Here, the towns, fields, houses, orchards and people of the treasurer of Aššur, qualified as royal *ša-rēšis*, are given to Aššur by the king (SAA 12 1:3). Assuming that he did not fall under disgrace, this royal measure suggests that Šamaš-nāšir had died (after holding the office of treasurer of Aššur for at least 22 years, almost the entire reign of Adad-nērāri) and that the land he used to have at his disposal was tax-exempt and transferred to the Aššur Temple. In a tablet belonging to the Harran Census, listing magnates (including the treasurer of the crown prince but not the chief treasurer) and provincial governors along with landed properties, the treasurer of the Aššur Temple is listed along with 40 hectares of land.⁸⁴⁹ In the same entry the treasurer of the Aššur Temple is preceded by the *rab mūgi*, a military officer (Radner 2002: 12–3), and associated with the province Tamnuna (NAM *tam-KU*₆). As proposed by Menzel (1981 I: 292) based on the general structure of this record, the title *rab mūgi* was possibly borne by the treasurer, and he also probably was governor of Tamnuna. Another possibility raised by Menzel is that the treasurer shared the assigned land with the *rab mūgi*. With both possibilities severe doubts remain, but I do not have a better explanation at the moment. Apart from land associated with the treasurer, there is also a prestige object indicating the comparatively high rank of this official: an inscribed mace head of unknown provenance, now in the Louvre (Caubet 2001: 88, Fig. 8), once belonged to Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, treasurer of Aššur.

In her examination of the treasurer of the Aššur Temple Menzel already figured out a central characteristic of this official, by defining him as a state official rather than a temple official. Her conclusion is based on the qualification of Šamaš-nāšir as *ša-rēši* of Adad-nērāri (SAA 12 1:3), and on his recurrent association with high-ranking state officials (SAA 7 211; 11 219). The identification is supported by the fact that he is neither attested in documents recording rations given to temple personnel nor in comprehensive lists of temple personnel.⁸⁵⁰ As state official (or palace official), the treasurer of the Aššur Temple organised the necessary supplies (provided by the royal household) for ceremonies which took place in the Aššur Temple. As a consequence of all this, the appositions *ša Aššūr* and *ša bēt Aššūr* are *genetivus objectivus* (and not *genetivus subjectivus*) in relation to *masennu* in the title “treasurer of (the) Aššur (Temple)”, as pointed out by Menzel (1981 I: 292 and II: 235, n. 3912);

⁸⁴⁹ SAA 11 219 ii 23'. The tablet, together with no. 220, differs considerably from the remainder of the Harran Census tablets, see Fales and Postgate 1995: XXXIII–XXXIV.

⁸⁵⁰ Menzel 1981 I: 292 (she refers to SAA 12 68) and SAA 20 51.

that is, this official was appointed to but did not form part of the Aššur Temple.⁸⁵¹ In the Middle Assyrian period a treasurer of the Aššur Temple, separate from the great treasurer connected to the royal palace in Assur, is first attested in the reign of Aššūr-dān I in the 12th century,⁸⁵² a distinction which apparently was maintained and developed further in the first millennium BCE (especially in view of the chief treasurer whose responsibilities increased).

Identifying the treasurer of the Aššur Temple as a state official, Menzel (1981 I: 293) suggested that his residence was in the palace area (of the imperial capital). While he may have had a “private” residence in the vicinity of the main palace, at least his official department was rather located in Assur, as possibly indicated by a letter of the chief treasurer Ṭāb-šar-Aššūr to the king (Sargon). The sender states that a bed, which is on its way to undergo purification rituals, will be temporarily stored in the “house of the treasurer of the Aššur Temple” which is already occupied by the “gods of the city of Dur-Šarrukin” (SAA 1 54 r. 9). Since the new imperial capital Dur-Šarrukin was still under construction and because of the role of Assur as religious centre (where also the royal statues for the Esagil in Babylon were manufactured in the reign of Esarhaddon, RINAP 4 48 r. 72–79), the said house, functioning as repository of divine statues for Dur-Šarrukin and the bed to be ritually treated, was located in Assur. This is supported by the downstream itinerary (by boat), starting from the palace (in Kalhu?) and leading for an overnight stay to Ubasē (located close to Assur), referred to at the beginning of this letter (SAA 1 54:4–5). Hence, as a state official entrusted with the supply for offerings of the Aššur Temple, the treasurer of the Aššur Temple had his department nearby (or even within) the locus of his official business.

In addition to the individuals designated as treasurers of the Aššur Temple, Menzel (1981 I: 294) suggested that other individuals who had a temple connection and corresponded with the king held this office. Among the men she proposed are Dādī and Iddin-Aššūr.⁸⁵³ The latter is only known from a single letter to the king dealing with offerings for Aššur and a failure in the supplies due from the province of Barhalza (SAA 13 31). Judging from his concerns here, it is plausible that Iddin-Aššūr held this post. In the case of Dādī, author of several letters to the king (SAA 13 18–24), it seems more likely that he was chief cook (or temple cook) since he was primarily concerned with the supply of oxen and sheep for the Aššur Temple (see section 12.1.7.3 Dealing with livestock). Apart from these men, there are some references to treasurers who

⁸⁵¹ The practice of appointing state or palace officials to temples is well-known for Neo-Babylonian times (see Kleber 2008: 26–30, 39–40, 333–5).

⁸⁵² Jakob 2003: 97, 103; his name was Šin-mušallim.

⁸⁵³ As a third person she mentions Marduk-šallim-aḫḫē who was rather a temple scribe (as also suggested by Menzel 1981 II: 236–7, n. 3927; see Baker, PNA 2/II 726 s.v. Marduk-šallim-aḫḫē 3).

lack any details of their place of deployment but seem to have been related to the Aššur Temple, based on the context in which they appear. I assume this for the treasurer Bēl-erība who acts as a first witness to a house sale from Assur dating from the reign of Aššūr-nērāri V (StAT 3 10 r. 21), for the unnamed treasurer who receives 10 minas of copper according to a debt note from Assur (StAT 2 156:5), and for the treasurer(?) Raqqû who is mentioned in an obscure administrative document from Assur (StAT 1 35 i 4). It is possibly also true for the treasurer Ṭāb-šār-Nabû, who witnessed a purchase of slaves undertaken by a servant of the crown prince (VAT 9582 r. 17). He is listed between the *rab kurgarrî* and a *kurgarrû* (corybant), the witness list subsequently also refers to the village manager of the crown prince and a servant of the palace manager. The treasurer Šumma-Aššūr who imposes a judgement in a settlement concerning paternal inheritance is thought to represent a single reference to the chief treasurer acting as a judge (Mattila 2000: 16, 25–6). While the chief bailiff, the vizier and mayors are usually attested in this function, we also know of (deputy) priests who gave judgement in cases drawn up in Assur (Jas 1996: 4, see nos. 13 and 31). It is plausible that Šumma-Aššūr was the treasurer of Aššur instead. Furthermore, there is Aššūr-mātu-taqqin, son of Mannu-kī-Arbail, whose archive was found in the New Town area of Assur and mainly comprises documents recording his legal activities (edited by Ahmad 1996). Usually mentioned without title, Aššūr-mātu-taqqin is designated IGI.DUB¹⁷ once (Rfdn 17 11:6). Assuming him to have been a treasurer, it is likely that he was responsible for the Aššur Temple in view of the fact that his archive was found in Assur. Judging by his activities, he was a wealthy man who bought slaves and a house, was repeatedly a creditor of silver, and was engaged in trading enterprises.⁸⁵⁴ They remind us of the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur, active in Kalhu at about the same time, who was also creditor of silver and buyer of slaves and a house, according to the remnants of his private archive (see section 8.1.3 Business activities and properties). The two men also have in common that they adopted children, in the case of Aššūr-mātu-taqqin a son (Rfdn 17 30:2). In comparison with Šamaš-nāšir, royal *ša-rēši* and treasurer of Aššur, and the treasurers of the queen, who possibly were also *ša-rēšis*, this might have been the case for Aššūr-mātu-taqqin too.

⁸⁵⁴ This was also suggested by Radner, PNA 1/I 195 s.v. Aššūr-mātu-taqqin 5. Aššūr-mātu-taqqin as buyer of slaves: Rfdn 17 9:6 (640*); 11:6 (638*); 4:7 (631*); 8:6 (622*); 7:6 (613*); 3:7 (date lost). A. as buyer of a house: Rfdn 17 10:14 (612*); A. also inherited a house (Rfdn 17 31:10). Involved in overland trading enterprises: Rfdn 17 23:5 (633*). A. as a creditor of silver: Rfdn 17 13:4 (626*); 16:4 (615*); 18:4 (612*); 19:4 (612*); 22:4 (612*). The debt notes Rfdn 17 18 and 22 both date to the 12th of Addaru of the year 612*. Once A. is owed barley, reed and wool (Rfdn 17 15:8, 633*). The memorandum(?) Rfdn 17 29 possibly records other credits of silver undertaken by A. For an overview of Aššūr-mātu-taqqin's transactions see also Fales 2003: 216–9.

14.8.4 Treasurers appointed to cities

Treasurers were otherwise appointed to cities which, like Assur, were often important religious centres. We encounter the treasurer of Harran, city of the moon-god Sin, in two accounts of ceremonial banquets (SAA 7 151 r. i' 7'; 153 r. ii' 1) dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal. In SAA 7 151 he is listed immediately after Balāssu, priest of Harran. Another religious centre whose treasurer seems to be attested in the sources is Arbail, especially known for Ištar of Arbail. The heading of an administrative document from 8th-century Kalhu (Fort Shalmaneser) reads: *il-ka-[ka-t]e ša LÚ.[IGI?].DU]B?* *ša URU.arba-il ina É.É.GAL' [SUM]-nu-ni.*⁸⁵⁵ This is to be translated either as “*ilkakāte*(-payments) which the treasurer of the city of Arbail gave (or is to give) to the palace” or as “*ilkakāte*(-payments) of the treasurer which the city of Arbail gave (or is to give) to the palace”. On comparison with the very similar heading of CTN 3 88 (l. 1: *il-ka-ka-a-ti ša LÚ.IGI.DUB ina É.GAL SU[M-u-ni]*) it is, however, more likely that the treasurer himself was the subject also in CTN 3 87 and so we may conclude that the treasurer of Arbail is meant here. Hence, this record is about the *ilkakāte* payments (either made already or to be made) of the treasurer of the city of Arbail to the Review Palace (based on the actual find-spot of the tablet), whose actual recipients are the domestic departments of the palace, as is outlined in detail beneath the heading.⁸⁵⁶ In contrast to the record about expenditures for the Aššur Temple from the royal household under the responsibility of the treasurer of Aššur, this document records payments from the provincial capital Arbail to the royal household.⁸⁵⁷ This is underlined by the type of dues, namely *ilku*-dues, which constitute obligations towards the king.⁸⁵⁸ As to the fragmentary record CTN 3 88, presumably belonging with CTN 3 89, which has a very similar heading (see above), one cannot decide whether this refers to the chief treasurer or to a minor treasurer. Although he was interpreted as the chief treasurer by Mattila (2000: 28), I would not necessarily assume this on comparison with CTN 3 87.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁵ CTN 3 87:1–2. Instead of LÚ.[IGI?].DU]B? the edition reads LÚ.U[Š?] 'IGI.DUB?' (with reference to the deputy treasurer in CTN 3 90:9). However, on comparison with the heading of CTN 3 88 which refers to the *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer (and not his deputy), this scenario seems also more plausible here (cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 107). This is supported by the limited space left between the intact signs (after personal inspection of the tablet in the BM in 2010). The traces of the tablet according to its copy (Kinnier Wilson 1972: Pl. 49, ND 10009) do not support any particular solution.

⁸⁵⁶ This interpretation differs from those of Dalley and Postgate (1984: 148–9).

⁸⁵⁷ Jursa (2010: 80), discussing the *mašennu* active in the Neo-Babylonian empire, also noted his task of supplying the palace with natural produce.

⁸⁵⁸ Postgate 1974a: 86. There are *ilku*-payments to the temples attested which may usually originate from secular *ilku*-payments to the king (see Postgate 1974a: 88–9).

⁸⁵⁹ However, CTN 3 90, which seems to be related to CTN 3 87–89, refers to the treasurer (r. 14) and the deputy treasurer (l. 9). We do not find any clear attestation of a minor treasurer

Ina-šār-Bēl-allak, active in the reign of Sargon, is designated “treasurer of Dur-Šarrukin” in a yearly account (as outlined in the heading) involving donkeys, oxen and wagons (ND 2451 r. 14′). He is listed along with 20 out of 377 wagons (the remaining 357 wagons are said to be stock, *šibtu*). For whatever reason, he had 20 wagons at his disposal provided by the central administration. From the same man, albeit without title, there are three letters to the king (Sargon) preserved. He reported to the king that he had received oxen and people from Guzana in the city of Šabirešu (SAA 1 128:7–r. 2). Since he refers to a gardener and a farmer who were missing when the transfer took place, the oxen and the people were presumably needed for cultivation. He also informed the crown that the daily amount of three *qû* of bread and three *qû* of beer is reserved for the surplus of the daily offerings (*ginû*) of the Nabû Temple (given to the exorcist and the temple steward) (SAA 1 128 r. 16–21). Also in another, broken letter he deals with offerings, namely sheep offerings: they have been regularly provided (SAA 1 129). His particular concern with the supply of offerings for the Nabû Temple in Dur-Šarrukin suggests that he fulfilled a function similar to the treasurer of Aššur. The 200 additional reed altars for the Nabû Temple with whose manufacture (or supply) Ina-šār-Bēl-allak was charged (SAA 1 128 r. 3–9), were rather general obligations imposed on high-ranking officials, as are particularly attested in connection with the construction works of Dur-Šarrukin. This suggestion is supported by the fact that Ina-šār-Bēl-allak only wants to contribute the reed altars providing the official Ubru-Bābili (otherwise unknown) is similarly obliged. This incident also supports the impression that the “minor” treasurers enjoyed a rank not so much lower than the magnates and provincial governors (cf. the association of the treasurer of Aššur with these men, see above).

While treasurers of other cities are so far not directly attested, the treasurer Sime-Dādi, who is witness in a slave sale document from Til-Barsip (TB 13 r. 5), might also have been employed locally there. This was also suggested for the treasurer Nabû-qāti-šabat, mentioned in a letter of an unknown author to the king (SAA 16 63:15), who was probably employed in Guzana (Mattila 2000: 18). Here, the two scribes Tutî and Kutî are said to have cut off the sealings of the treasurer, the village manager and the scribe as well as the royal seal from a document on which they had written the silver quota (*iškāru*) for the shepherds. We again encounter the treasurer as a central authority in connection with the movement of goods that were demanded.

Parpola (2008: 21) suggested that rooms 9 and 10 of Building G excavated in Ziyaret Tepe (ancient Tušhan) were the remnants of the department of a local treasurer, housed in the local temple of Ištar. This, however, remains uncertain

having his own deputy, though this would not be surprising in view of the fact that middle-ranking palace officials had their own deputies.

since the ground plan of Building G does not support its identification as a temple,⁸⁶⁰ and the only written reference to the treasurer (as recipient of a letter) from the texts unearthed in room 9 and 10 is heavily restored and by no means certain.⁸⁶¹

As to the cities to which treasurers were appointed according to the Neo-Assyrian sources, it is striking that these particularly involve religious centres of the empire but not Kalhu and Nineveh.⁸⁶² On comparison with the treasurer of the Aššur Temple, they may have been responsible for the income and outgoings of the temple households in these cities. Such an exclusive concern with temple households is, however, not indicated by their titles which show that their spheres of action were entire cities (comprising palace and temple households). It is possible that the treasurers helped to keep an eye on key centres beyond the capital city, involving the organisation of the movement of foods for local sanctuaries as well as for provincial palaces (as the administrative and military centres of their province) on behalf of the imperial centre.⁸⁶³ The phenomenon of *masennus* appointed to provincial cities is also known for the Middle Assyrian period and also the *mašennus* active in Neo-Babylonian times were identified as “Distrikt-Schatzmeister” (Jursa 2010: 80–1). Discussing the Middle Assyrian evidence, Jakob (2003: 108) defined them as subordinates of the provincial governors, as assumed for their Neo-Assyrian counterparts by Postgate (1974a: 104). Although the local treasurers were lower-ranking than the governors, they do not seem to have been integrated into the governor’s domains and were rather directly committed to the royal household. Like the treasurer of Aššur, the treasurer of Arbail was active for the palace and represented its interests.

14.8.5 Concluding remarks

Some functional overlaps relating to the basic tasks of the local treasurers can be observed from the Neo-Assyrian references discussed above. Hence, the treasurer of the Aššur Temple was concerned with the organisation of food expenditure for the Aššur Temple, and similar concerns are attested for the treasurer of Dur-Šarrukin. The treasurer of the Aššur Temple is also associated with land, as is the case with the treasurers of the queen and the crown prince.

⁸⁶⁰ H. D. Baker by personal communication.

⁸⁶¹ ZTT 22:1: [LÜ*.IGI.U]M, see Parpola (2008: 88–90), discussing the different possibilities of restoration based on the traces on the tablet as well as contextual indications. This letter deals with the preparation and repair of military equipment by various different types of professionals and thus also the context does not necessarily support this restoration.

⁸⁶² In the Old Babylonian period the IGI.DUB (*abarakku*) occurs in connection with the temple sphere exclusively (CAD A/I 32–3).

⁸⁶³ Cf. Postgate (1974a: 87) who suggested that the treasurer of Arbail was the treasurer of a provincial palace (of Arbail).

Although it is possible that the land they dealt with was for their own benefit, a comparison with the Middle Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian treasurers shows that agricultural land including crown land was a central concern of these officials.⁸⁶⁴ Treasurers were employed to administer the estates and their field crops of the domains or households they were appointed to. Their association with agricultural land is presumably also the reason for their concern with foodstuffs, as is the case with the treasurer of the Aššur Temple and the treasurer of Arbail under whose responsibility vegetables and fruits were sent to the palace.

Already in the Middle Assyrian period a great treasurer, i.e. the treasurer of the main palace in Assur, was distinguished from the minor or local treasurers. This official indicates a close connection with the *bēt nakkamti* in Assur which functioned as storehouse for various different commodities including animal products and raw materials (though rather not edible goods).⁸⁶⁵ The treasurer organised and authorised the income and redistribution which especially happened in the context of the *iškāru*-system, for instance oil was given out for the making of perfume. The *bēt nakkamti* also handed out bronze and tin to merchants to invest in long-distance trade and for purchase, for instance, of horses. The great treasurer of the Neo-Assyrian period, apart from his general duties as provincial governor and military commander, supervised building projects and precious metals (Mattila 2000: 26–8). Like the Middle Assyrian great treasurer, this Neo-Assyrian state official is regarded by Postgate (1974a: 104–5, 230–1) as a figure central to the *iškāru*-system who may have had “ultimate responsibility” over the departments managing distinct goods such as wool. This assumption corresponds to the fact that we only rarely find officials such as the linen master and leather master with similar responsibilities over inedible materials, while officials such as the *rab išpāri* and the *rab naggāri* were formal heads of weavers and carpenters respectively and as such supervised their work assignments. They usually did not bear the ultimate responsibility over the management of the materials their profession processed and of the goods they produced. The *rab batqi*, in contrast to the treasurer, was concerned with the raw materials needed for repair works in particular. On the other hand, however, it is possible that local treasurers to a certain extent took over these responsibilities, since the great treasurer was heavily engaged in other state affairs.⁸⁶⁶ From the activities of the treasurers of satellite households

⁸⁶⁴ Jakob 2003: 108–10 (on local treasurers) and Jursa 2010: 80–1; cf. Postgate (1974a: 104), referring to the treasurer as an official who administered the estates of the members of the royal family in Neo-Assyrian times.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. the *bīt mašenni* of the Neo-Babylonian period (Jursa 2010: 81). As sources of income Jakob (2003: 106–7) lists agriculture and animal husbandry of the state, trade, dues and taxes, booty and tribute. The [house? of the] (chief?) treasurer (as the only magnate) listed as recipient of linen fibre in a Neo-Assyrian account may have been a similar institution (SAA 7 115 i 15–17).

⁸⁶⁶ Note that the distinction between great treasurer and minor treasurers is not always conclusive. This also includes the treasurer Mannu-ki[...] who twice appears along with what

we can observe that they were involved in the procurement of horses which was a concern of the great treasurer in Middle Assyrian times. Despite the fact that this circumstance reflects tasks transferred to minor treasurers, this is especially related to the enhanced role of key royal figures and their departments in the 7th century (while the main treasurer presumably remained responsible for the royal household in this respect).

15 FOOD PRODUCTION

Besides kitchen personnel proper such as cooks and confectioners (discussed in section 4 The domestic sector) and food managers (sections 12 The management of the food supply and 13 The management of grain), there are two types of professionals left who were engaged in the long-term production of specific foods. These comprise the oil-pressers and the brewers for the making of oil and beer respectively; no separate profession for the making of wine, another type of food which requires long-term production, occurs in the sources (since wine was produced in the countryside and imported from abroad).

15.1 Oil-pressing

Assuming that the oil master (*rab šamni*) supervised and organised the oil needed by the palace for consumption and for personal care, those who were involved in the process of producing oil were the oil-pressers and their supervisors, the chief oil-pressers. The type of oil was usually sesame oil (ŠE.Ì.GIS, *šamaššammû*),⁸⁶⁷ though olive oil (*šaman serdi*) presumably gained increasing importance during the Neo-Assyrian period.⁸⁶⁸ The production of sesame oil is described by the two Akkadian terms *ḫalāšum* and *šahātum*; the latter refers to the final stage of production, namely the pressing, and *ḫalāšum* to the de-hulling of the sesame, as is supported by Middle Assyrian evidence.⁸⁶⁹ Like the *rab šamni*, the *rab šahiti* is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian period, while

might have been audience gifts (SAA 11 126:3; 172:5), though he was counted among the great treasurers by Mattila (2000: 15–6). Other obscure references to treasurers are e.g. SAA 14 162:7 and SAA 11 80:3’.

⁸⁶⁷ *šamaššammû* is a compound consisting of *šamnu(m)* (“oil”) and *šammu(m)* (“plant”), see Postgate 1985: 145. The oil-plant is surely to be identified with sesame (cf. Postgate 1985: 147).

⁸⁶⁸ In his inscription Sennacherib states that he prepared fine quality oil out of olive oil and aromatics from the gardens in the context of the inauguration of his “palace without a rival” (RINAP 3/1 15 viii 13’–15’). Planted in the royal gardens, olive trees were still considered as exotic trees in the Assyrian heartland. Their products, in particular the olive oil, remained luxury goods mostly imported from abroad (see Malul 1996: 95–7).

⁸⁶⁹ Postgate 1985: 146–7, Jakob 2003: 410–1. The Neo-Assyrian sources are limited to the references to *šammu* as a commodity and are not informative as regards the cultivation. Postgate (1985: 149) suggested that there was another term for oil in use in the Neo-Assyrian period, namely *ellu* (Ì.KÛ in SAA 11 36 r. ii 6), similar to *elu* known from Old Babylonian texts (Stol 2010: 404). This may have been realised as *šamnu ellu* and thus refers to “pure oil”, as translated by the edition.

the *šāḫitu* is known from the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian periods on.⁸⁷⁰ The term *šāḫitu* only refers to the “presser”, but the common logographic writing LÚ/LÚ*.Ì.ŠUR (with Ì referring to *šamnu* and ŠUR to *šahātu*) makes it clear that “oil-presser” is intended. Similarly, there is also the wine-presser, *šāḫit karāni* (written ŠUR.GEŠTIN or LÚ.GEŠTIN.ŠUR.RA), attested in Neo-Babylonian texts.⁸⁷¹ Analogous to the oil-presser the chief oil-presser is written LÚ/[LÚ*].GAL-Ì.ŠUR. The oil-pressers attested in the Neo-Assyrian period have not been discussed so far, their Middle Assyrian predecessors were analysed by Jakob (2003: 407–11).

15.1.1 The *rab šāḫiti* (chief oil-presser)

The chief oil-presser (LÚ.GAL-Ì.ŠUR) is, if restored correctly, attested in a fragmentary document from Tušhan (Ziyaret Tepe) and mentioned in a lexical list of professional titles from Huzirina but, in contrast to the oil master, does not occur in texts from the imperial capitals. Apart from the association with the provincial area, the entry of this office in the lexical list from Huzirina underlines its main concern with the production of oil since it is recorded in a section otherwise listing the oil-presser and the perfume maker who manufactured oil (MSL 12 233 r. v 15'–17'). The second possible attestation, from 7th-century Tušhan, mentions this official as a debtor of 8(+?) *emāru* of barley-rations(?) described as “additional” or “superfluous” (*utru*, see Parpola 2008: 64) (ZTT 10:3–4). It might be that this legal transaction was concluded in the context of the office of the chief(?) oil-presser, for instance, to provide rations for oil-pressers. Another man who possibly was “chief oil-presser” was Irmulu who received a letter (KAV 197) from twenty oil-pressers dealing with their misery evoked by the misdeeds of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.⁸⁷² Addressed as their master, Irmulu is asked by the oil-pressers to help them out, also because the two delinquents harm Irmulu himself (see below). Lacking additional evidence, I suggest that the chief oil-presser played a role similar to those such as the chief weaver, who seems to have supervised weavers and their manufacture and may have also organised the material to be processed. Unlike officials such as the oil master or the wine master, he was not just concerned with the management of the finished product.

⁸⁷⁰ CAD Š 62–3 “preparer of sesame oil”; cf. translation of von Soden (AHw 1074–5): “Kelterer”.

⁸⁷¹ CAD Š 61–2; AHw 1075. Correspondingly the oil-presser could have been also referred to as *šāḫit šamni*.

⁸⁷² Already Radner (1999a: 31) suggested that Irmulu might have been chief oil-presser.

15.1.2 The *ṣāḥitu* (oil-presser)

In legal documents the oil-presser is mainly attested as a witness from the 9th century on (down to the 7th century). He witnesses legal transactions of the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (Edubba 10 11 r. 19–20), the village manager of the *rab ša-rēši* (SAA 6 2 r. 3–4), the woman Barsipītu (SAA 6 96), as well as three legal documents from Assur, one recording the sale of land by thirty *hundurāius*.⁸⁷³ Occasionally two oil-pressers occur in the same witness list (SAAB 9 73). As to oil-pressers as active parties to legal transactions, there is only Bēl-ēṭir, oil-presser of the Nabû Temple, attested as former debtor of 8 shekels of silver (ND 3412:4, 5). According to this legal record he paid back his debts to Ezbu, major-domo of the crown prince, now apparently more than doubled (17! shekels, Parker 1955: Pl. XXVIII).

The most significant document for the study of the oil-pressers in the Neo-Assyrian period is the letter KAV 197 from Assur, which was written by twenty oil-pressers to their master Irmulu, possibly in the reign of Sennacherib.⁸⁷⁴ Introducing themselves as “all the oil-pressers”, this professional group complains about Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr, who, otherwise unknown, seem to have been responsible for the collection of the oil-pressers' *iškāru* and thus exercised authority over them. The two are said to reduce the oil-pressers' *iškāru*-contributions, handed in at the collection (*pirru*, cf. Postgate 1974a: 166), by delivering only half of them to the king and keeping the other half for themselves (in order to sell it). In addition, they are said to take silver instead of the sesame oil, originally handed in at the collection, or they require additional silver payments from the oil-pressers. Apart from illegally extracting *iškāru*-payments of natural produce and demanding silver, one of the two (the personal name is lost in this section) forges documents in order to misappropriate the patrimony of deceased oil-pressers. In doing so, he sells the widows (they count seven widows) so that Irmulu loses one “house” after the other headed by those “who perform king's *ilku*”. Apart from that, they are said to have appointed a tanner in the royal storehouse (*bēt qātē*) to make shoes for their families. Moreover, they eat different sorts of meat and drink wine, stemming from offerings, in the storehouse of the merchant.⁸⁷⁵ Especially with regard to the incidents related to the *iškāru* and its collection and the misused properties, the oil-pressers refer to the ruin of houses and their own removal

⁸⁷³ SAAB 5 35 r. 18; SAAB 9 73 t.e. 52; 95 r. 13.

⁸⁷⁴ Since SAAB 9 73, dating to the year 698, mentions an Aḥū'a-erība who is possibly identical with a homonymous man recorded in KAV 197 r. 20 (Whiting, PNA 1/I 70 s.v. Aḥū'a-erība 7), an assignment to the reign of Sennacherib is possible. Also, both texts bear the same archival background and stem from the archive of the oil-pressers, N14.

⁸⁷⁵ The reason for claiming misdemeanour for the two incidents which had taken place in storehouses might lay in the fact that the acts described were not suitable for storehouses, see section 2.1 On the *bēt qātē*.

from the charge of Irmulu,⁸⁷⁶ who may have been the *rab šāḫiti* (see above). The letter ends with a plea to Irmulu that he may secure their rights. According to this letter, the oil-pressers had to produce sesame oil per quota (*iškāru*), prescribing time and quantity, which was handed in locally and transferred to the facilities of the central administration. Apart from fulfilling their workloads, they also had to carry out the king's *ilku* duty imposed on the "house" of the master Irmulu (as referred to in l. 31). The oil-pressers' obligation for *ilku* is also indicated by the letter CTN 2 197, written by Mār-Issār to the governor (of Kalhu). The sender seems to reject the city overseer's claim on them and wants them to transport beams with the help of oxen.

The oil-pressers attested in KAV 197 make up one of the temple-related fraternities of Assur.⁸⁷⁷ Connected through kinship and profession, they enjoyed a great degree of social cohesion, also reflected by this letter.⁸⁷⁸ Their association with the (Aššur) temple is plausible; this is also assumed for the other oil-pressers attested in documents from Assur. An employment in the temple is clear for the aforementioned Bēl-ētir, oil-presser of Nabû (ND 3412). The affiliation of other oil-pressers mentioned in documents from Kalhu and Nineveh remains unclear (though note the oil-presser Kabar[...] who witnessed a transaction conducted by the palace scribe in Kalhu, Edubba 10 11). This is also the case with the oil-pressers listed on the reverse of an administrative document from Kalhu (ND 2728+) and, together with professional groups such as the brewers and the tailors, (if restored correctly) summed up as "additional [craftsmen]". Another unsolved case is that of the four oil-pressers attested in what might be a fragment of a land grant schedule from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 65:4'–5'). If the identification is correct, they stood at the disposal of a high-ranking official who was granted tax exemption of his properties here. In conclusion, no direct connection with the palace is proven for the oil-presser, though a temple affiliation is certain. Since attestations are limited, this might be due to the distribution of sources; nevertheless, it is possible that the royal household had outsourced the organisation of this craft to the temple and benefitted from its production via the *iškāru*-system.

15.2 Brewing

The Sumerian loanword for brewer, *sirāšû*, is known from the Old Babylonian period on while the *rab sirāšê* is first attested in documents from the Middle

⁸⁷⁶ This is expressed in Akkadian with the phrase *ina libbi qātē ḫulluqu* (ll. 16–17, 26, 31–32, 69–70).

⁸⁷⁷ For a discussion of guilds in Assur, focussing on the goldsmiths, see Radner 1999a: 25–33.

⁸⁷⁸ This is illustrated by the contrasting terms LÚ.PAP-*u-ni* ("brother of ours") and *na-a-a-lu* (probably "settler") in ll. 58–59. While the latter refers to an outsider, the oil-pressers define themselves as brothers (cf. Fales 1997: 37, Deller et al. 1995: 10–1).

Assyrian period.⁸⁷⁹ In Neo-Assyrian the *rab sirāšê* is attested with the logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–LÚNGA and LÚ*.GAL–LUNGA. The Neo-Assyrian attestations for the brewer are expressed by the logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).LUNGA (= ŠIM), (LÚ/LÚ*).LÚNGA (= ŠIMxA = DUMGAL) and (LÚ/LÚ*).BAPPIR (= ŠIMxNÍG = LÚNGA). Both the chief brewer and the brewer seem to have been mainly temple-related, though some evidence for the brewer indicates an association with other spheres. Since the royal household was a consumer of beer, we shall discuss the profession of the brewer here. For a discussion of the brewers of the Aššur Temple note especially Menzel (1981 I: 267–8).

In connection with the activity of brewing also the *rab šimāni*, chief maltster, and the *barrāqu* (maltster?) will be discussed here. The title *ša-kurunni*, denoting a profession which was concerned with “a choice kind of beer or wine” (CAD K 579–81 s.v. *kurunnu*), is not treated here. There is only a single entry of it, written LÚ.KAŠ.DIN.NAM, in the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 iii 15’).

15.2.1 The *rab sirāšê* (chief brewer)

In a text recording the responsibilities of the personnel of the Aššur Temple, it is stated that the chief brewer of the Aššur Temple bears responsibility for beer, in particular the *ḥammurtu*-beer, of the Aššur Temple and the other sanctuaries. He was accountable to the temple scribe, as is clear from the subsequent section.⁸⁸⁰ Otherwise, the chief brewer is only attested as a witness to legal transactions, and the chief brewer Aššūr-balāssu-iqbi is probably also listed in an administrative document along with 3 *sūtu* of corn(?) (VAT 8667:13) and as the author of a private letter (StAT 2 315:1). The presence of a chief brewer in the Aššur Temple is clear from the aforementioned reference, and in fact it seems that he was primarily active in the temple sphere. This is supported by the fact that all of the Neo-Assyrian evidence for the chief brewer derives from Assur, and some of these documents record temple personnel in the witness lists (StAT 2 164 r. 14; also StAT 2 53 r. 20–1). The “chief brewer of beer” Bur-Aia, however, was apparently subordinate to the governor of Guzana (provided that the *ša* is restored correctly, StAT 2 53 r. 20–21). The employment of chief brewers may or may not have been common among the provincial governors in the provincial centres, but the royal palace in the imperial centre had neither a chief brewer nor accommodated the craft of brewing (see below).

⁸⁷⁹ There is a single attestation in Middle Assyrian sources in MARV 3 39 (Jakob 2003: 401–2); cf. CAD S 306–9 s.v. *sirāšû* (giving Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian evidence).

⁸⁸⁰ SAA 20 50 r. i 5’–8’ and 9’–13’; cf. Menzel 1981 I: 267.

15.2.2 The *sirāšû* (brewer)

Among the brewers whose institutional assignment is uncertain, there are numerous brewers solely attested as witnesses in legal documents from Assur and Nineveh. A temple affiliation may be assumed for those active in the religious centre Assur, as is occasionally supported by temple personnel occurring in the legal documents from that city (StAT 3 22 r. 5'; StAT 2 102:1, r. 3'). There are two brewers attested as witnesses whose temple employment is clear from their titles, namely Aššūr-ēreš, brewer of the Aššur Temple (StAT 3 32 r. 22'), and Ubru-Issār, brewer of the [...] Temple(?) (StAT 3 27 r. 6'). As an active party a brewer is attested as owing silver(?) (amount lost), described as "first fruits of Ištar" (SAA 6 272:4, r. 1'), and as a seller of a slave girl for ten shekels of silver (SAAB 5 29:1, 7, 13) in the 7th century. Concerning the financial means of a brewer, a significant statement can be found in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal (RINAP 5/1 3 viii 13). After successful campaigns in the west, producing substantial booty of livestock and camels, the king states that the camels could be acquired for ½ shekel of silver only and that the brewer could afford it by giving one storage jar (of beer). Though the present statement bears a figurative character, it suggests that brewers and other low-ranking professionals made their acquisitions at the market place also through payment in kind (for want of silver).⁸⁸¹ Brewers of some importance were nevertheless able to buy land for silver, as is clear for Aḫu-lē'i, brewer of the crown prince, who bought a house from Sabību, probably [master] farmhand of the commander-in-chief (StAT 1 23:9'). It was located in Assur and adjoined the houses of the household overseer of the commander-in-chief, the carpenter of the household of the crown prince, and the overseer of the royal crypts. The dwellings (*mūšubu*) "of the brewer" which apparently served as temporary lodgings for five individuals including a cupbearer and a *ša-qurbūti*, according to an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 9 ii 5'), in contrast to the house in Assur, are to be classified as an institutional establishment. Assuming that such lists of lodgings (SAA 7 8–12) were drawn up on occasion of an extraordinary event in the imperial capital in the late reign of Esarhaddon (or early reign of Assurbanipal) (Fales and Postgate 1992: XVIII–XIX), the said lodgings were located in Nineveh, but no definite conclusion can be made as to whether they formed part of a temple complex, a palace complex or whether their location was independent of both spheres; the other types of "residences", such as those "of the governor" and "of the temple steward (*lahhennu*)", indicate that the institutional affiliation varied here considerably. Also, several other references to brewers in administrative records remain silent with respect

⁸⁸¹ According to the same statement a gardener could acquire a camel with a bundle of vegetables.

to their institutional assignment.⁸⁸² Otherwise, the brewer is with numerous other professionals entrusted to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a according to a royal decree about the latter's appointment to organise the establishment of Kalhu as new imperial capital (SAA 12 82:4?; 83 r. 3). In the administrative document CTN 3 87, recording *ilkaḳāte* payments made by the treasurer of Arbail to the palace (cf. its heading), a brewer active in the palace sphere is attested. In this text, dating to the 8th century, the unnamed "brewer *ša ḫūli*" is listed along with 3 *qū* of grapes and 3 minas of an aromatic plant (ŠIM for *riqqu* or *riqiu* in l. 14), which he may have received for the refinement of beer.⁸⁸³ According to Dalley and Postgate (1984: 147), the title "brewer *ša ḫūli*" seems to denote a brewer who was taken on campaign and thus was assigned to the military sphere.⁸⁸⁴ On comparison with the qualification of *ša ḫūli* given along with the *zarrīqu* in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, *ša ḫūli* does not necessarily refer to an employment on campaigns but also simply denotes personnel accompanying the king on his journeys through the empire and during his temporary stays in the provinces.

Apart from these attestations we mainly find references to temple brewers already discussed by Menzel (1981 I: 267–8). The unnamed brewer who is said to have given 59 *emāru 2 sūtu* of barley rations, stored in the granary (*karmu*) of the Nabû Temple, to a certain Mutû in the reign of Sennacherib, acted on behalf of the temple (ND 5457:3). In the same document there are also a baker and an Aramean baker said to provide barley rations for Mutû. A temple connection is also indicated for the brewer Šakil-Aia who is responsible for *ḫammurtu*-beer, *amūmu*-beer, bittersweet beer and beer of bruised grain, one 2-*sūtu* jar each, as Aššur Temple offerings provided by the queen in the context of the wedding night of Mullissu.⁸⁸⁵ While a temple connection is also clear for the brewers of the Aššur Temple who occur in a ritual text,⁸⁸⁶ temple brewers appear also in two royal decrees of expenditures for cultic activities. In SAA 12 69, dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III, the brewers (of the Aššur Temple) take beer (SAA 12 69:13) but usually barley for the preparation of beer, needed for various ceremonies (SAA 12 69:22, 29, 34, 38, 44; 70 r. 14'). It is said that they, together with the bakers and the boatmen, shall not be called

⁸⁸² SAA 7 20 r. i' 2 (3 unnamed brewers); CTN 2 114:5 (brewer Ḫattiānu); ND 2728+ r. 2' (possibly qualified as "additional [craftsmen]").

⁸⁸³ ŠIM is also mentioned as an ingredient for beer when the process of brewing is described in the Hymn to the Beer Goddess Ninkasi (Powell 1994: 98).

⁸⁸⁴ According to CTN 2 141 (ll. 1–8) beer together with wine, bread and copper for oil for the lamp are recorded as *ilku*-contributions for the campaign.

⁸⁸⁵ SAA 7 183 r. 2–3. The items listed might actually be the leftovers of these offerings (cf. Parpola 2004).

⁸⁸⁶ SAA 20 55:14. According to this edition they mix clay (restored) for plastering the altar. Note the discussion, incl. alternative interpretation, in Menzel (1981 I: 268 and II: 219, n. 3632).

(by the herald) for labour and corvée.⁸⁸⁷ According to a late copy of a decree of Tukultī-Inūrta I, probably drawn up in the reign of Shalmaneser III (Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXXI–XXXII), the brewer prepares beer for the regular offerings of Šarrat-nip̄ḥa. He is said to cut thornbushes and acacia together with the baker to make beer (and bread, SAA 12 68:27). Moreover, the governor gives the brewer barley on the quay of the Inner City (probably for 10 minas of copper), in order to prepare two *qû* of beer (SAA 12 68 r. 12–16). Otherwise, the brewer, together with the baker, occurs here mainly as a recipient of leftovers (SAA 12 68:13, 35, r. 2). According to the same document the brewer, together with the baker, received two devotees of Ištar (*ḥarmāku*, SAA 12 68 r. 10). As stated in the last section of this document, presumably added by Shalmaneser III (SAA 12 68 r. 22–30), a brewer is donated together with a baker and “coiffured women”.⁸⁸⁸ Similarly, brewers were dedicated to Ištar of Arbail by the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) according to a broken decree (SAA 12 89:3’).

As it turns out, the brewer’s responsibility for beer is mainly observable through the evidence for temple-related brewers concerned with the preparation of offerings. It seems that these brewers formed a group with the bakers, judging by SAA 12 69 and ND 5457 and probably confirmed by the brewer who might have been enumerated together with the baker in SAA 12 82 and 83, if the restoration is correct.⁸⁸⁹ In view of the raw material (usually barley) that both the brewer and the baker were concerned with, this association is not surprising.⁸⁹⁰ Also, in the lexical list from Nineveh the section listing the brewer, another profession concerned with beer (*ša-kurunni*, see the introduction above), and the chief brewer follows a section dealing with cake-bakers (*rab muttāqi*, *ša-muttāqi*) and is itself followed by a section concerned with cupbearers (MSL 12 233 iii 14’–16’). Similarly, in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a the brewer is listed before the confectioner (SAA 12 83 r. 3). While temple brewers are only specifically attested for the Aššur Temple, the brewer of the crown prince is the only brewer attested as subordinate to a particular palatial domain. It may or may not be coincidence that

⁸⁸⁷ SAA 12 69 r. 26–28. This document was discussed in detail by Gaspa 2009–2010.

⁸⁸⁸ This dedication is accompanied by the statement “The mayor and the town overseer shall not pass through their gates.” (SAA 12 68 r. 30); a similar statement is written in SAA 12 69 r. 26–27 in connection with the exemption of the bakers, brewers and boatmen from labour and corvée.

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. Gaspa 2009–2010: 95, 108. It seems also significant that in SAA 12 69 the cook and the confectioner appear in the singular, whereas the bakers together with the brewers are referred to in the plural (cf. Deller 1985: 349–50).

⁸⁹⁰ While barley was the common grain used for beer production, beer made of wheat was regarded as particularly valuable, as indicated by a hemerology text (SAA 8 231). Happiness is guaranteed if one eats emmer bread, beef, mutton as well as fowl and drinks emmer beer, but avoids garlic, leek and fish (ll. r. 2–4).

he bought a house in Assur and therefore was presumably officially active in proximity to the Aššur Temple. Judging from the evidence for brewers in the Neo-Assyrian period, only in the case of the “brewer ‘of the campaign’” can an employment within the temple sphere be excluded. Otherwise, the evidence suggests that the brewing of beer was primarily in the hands of temple institutions, organised through the *iškāru*-system, as was the case in the Middle Assyrian period (Jakob 2003: 405).

This impression is supported by the evidence for beer in Neo-Assyrian sources in general. Beer is handed out as a ration or wages (together with bread, e.g. ND 2803 i 18, 35; SAA 6 21:6), and provided and prepared for offerings (for the Aššur Temple, cf. lists of offerings SAA 7 182–219; decrees SAA 12 68–69, see above). Also its actual use within offerings and rituals is attested (e.g. SAA 10 74:15). Moreover, the Assyrian kings proudly state that they mixed mud with beer, wine, honey and other valuable ingredients for the consecration of palaces and temples under construction.⁸⁹¹ In Babylonia “first quality” beer was an integral component of offerings, as referred to by a statement found in some Babylonian letters to the king (Sargon). When reporting on Esagil (and other temples), the sender, for instance, proclaims that “the bread is excellent, the best quality beer is good” (SAA 17 34:9–10). Similarly, the king (Sargon) states in a letter to Sīn-iddina, an official of Ur: “May the bread as well as the first quality beer of the temple be good!” (SAA 17 2:3–4). Though the association of Babylonian temples with beer relied on a strong tradition and perhaps was even more significant than in the north, beer was an important product for offerings and rituals also in Assyria. Although rations of beer were also handed out by the palace, even in this respect the temple might have had a higher demand since several crafts seem to have been organised via the Aššur Temple (though it is possible that the impression gained from the unevenly distributed sources is misleading). At least, the main palace in the imperial centre was not directly involved in the craft of brewing, whereas the temple and presumably also provincial domains were. Apart from the fact that the temple was in great need of beer, also its role as traditional place for the production of beer meant that the temple was the main centre of beer production.

15.2.3 The *rab šimāni* (chief maltster?)

There is a single reference to the *rab šimāni* in a legal document from 8th-century Kalhu, written GAL-*ši-ma-ni* (CTN 2 4 r. 15). Here, the *rab šimāni* Šulmu-bēli-lāmur acts as a witness when a servant of the treasurer sells his

⁸⁹¹ E.g. Esarhaddon: RINAP 4 27 v 9 and Assurbanipal: RINAP 5/1 11 x 83–84. For further evidence and its discussion see Novotny 2010: 118–20.

daughter to a servant of Bēl-issē'ā, otherwise known as village manager of the governor of Kalhu. As suggested by Postgate (1973: 32), the title's component *šimānu* presumably derives from *isimmānu* denoting a malt-ingredient for beer (CAD I/J 193). The approximate meaning of the title might be chief maltster(?).⁸⁹² According to Postgate, this is supported by the fact that Šulmu-bēli-lāmur is followed by two barmen (*sābiu*, HAD 96) who also witness the transaction. As to the *rab šimāni*'s affiliation, he probably was subordinate to the treasurer, as suggested by Postgate (1973: 33). Another possibility is that he was part of the household of the governor; an employment in the palace is less likely.

15.2.4 The *barrāqu* (maltster?)

The term *barrāqu*, denoting a profession, is only known from the 8th-century wine lists, where it is written LÚ/LÚ*.*bar-ra-qu*. Assuming that the restoration in CTN 1 11 is correct, the standard amount of wine given to this palace-related professional was probably one *qû*; with all the other entries the amount is lost. Kinnier Wilson (1972: 81), who briefly discussed this title, suggested that it refers to the brewer or maltster. He argued that *barrāqu* serves as a synonym for *sirāšû* since it occurs next to the baker (CTN 1 6 r. 37; 11 r. 13'), a profession closely connected with the brewers.⁸⁹³ Kinnier Wilson wondered whether the *barrāqu* could derive from *buqlu* meaning malt (CAD B 323–5), assuming that its derivation included a metathesis. The translation “maltster” was cautiously adopted by the Assyrian-English-Assyrian dictionary (HAD 14). While the *barrāqu*'s association with the baker suggests that he was involved in the production of barley products, his frequent occurrence together with the confectioner (CTN 1 9:30; 17:5'; 19 r. 5; 27:2'; CTN 3 129:3') may indicate that he also dealt with other ingredients. Assuming that the *barrāqu*'s association with both the baker and the confectioner is not accidental, he might have refined beer with spices and herbs.⁸⁹⁴ Since the sources suggest that brewing activities primarily took place in the temple, the refinement of beer, after its delivery to the palace by the temple, seems plausible. Whether the *barrāqu* was concerned with barley or other ingredients, the term was not necessarily a synonym for *sirāšû* but may have designated a specialisation associated with the process of brewing or seasoning beer.

⁸⁹² This is followed by CAD Š/III 2. Contra HAD 116, where it is thought to be related to *šimu* for “price”, “cost” or “purchase” and is translated as “purveyor”.

⁸⁹³ Kinnier Wilson supported his argument with reference to the *sirāšû* who occurs together with the baker in a bread list (CTN 1 35 i 12'–13'); however this is rather to be read “cupbearer”.

⁸⁹⁴ Note *barraqītu* (*paraqītu*) designating a plant in Standard Babylonian texts; it seems to have been mixed with beer according to a Standard Babylonian medical text RA 15 67:7 (CAD B 113; cf. AHw 107).

16 PERSONAL CARE

Under the heading “personal care” there are only two professionals to be discussed: the *muraqqiu* (“perfume maker”) and the *gallābu* (“barber”), both of whom also had female representatives.

16.1 The *muraqqiu* (perfume maker)

The *muraqqiu* (or *muraqqû*) is first attested in Middle Assyrian sources and continued into the Neo-Assyrian period. Like the Babylonian term *raqqû*, it designates manufacturers of scented oil and is usually translated as “perfume maker”. Female perfume makers (*muraqqītu*) are attested (a single attestation stems from a Late Babylonian text), and a “chief of the female perfume makers” (*rab muraqqiātu*) is known from the Middle Assyrian sources from which the majority of the references to this profession come.⁸⁹⁵ The few attested Neo-Assyrian writings are LÚ*.Ì.DU.DU, LÚ.mu-raq-qi-u, and LÚ.mu-ra-qi-u for the male perfume maker, and MÍ.mu-raq-qi-tú for the female perfume maker. The Middle Assyrian evidence for this profession was discussed by Jakob (2003: 476–86).

The perfume maker Pašhâ is witness in a broken sale document from Kalhu dating to the reign of Sennacherib (ND 2306 r. 13). He is accompanied by a baker, merchants and oil-pressers. The perfume maker Sa-ḥpi-māu acts as a surety (*urkū*) together with Bēl-šumu-iddina and the fuller Ubru-Mullissu for Mullissu-ḥāšinat, daughter of the Nabû-rēhtu-ušur, who is married to Ši-ḥû (SAA 14 161 r. 9). A single female perfume maker is listed in an administrative document from the 7th century which records female musicians (including foreign women) and female cultic personnel (SAA 7 24 r. 8). She is accompanied by two female servants of her own (SAA 7 24 r. 9). All these perfume makers may have been of foreign origin, as suggested either by their personal name, being Egyptian (Sa-ḥpi-māu) or West Semitic (Pašhâ), or by the people with whom they are associated: Sa-ḥpi-māu occurs together with other individuals bearing Egyptian names (e.g. Ši-ḥû) and the female perfume maker is accompanied by various female collectives of foreign origin (e.g. from Dor or from Tyre). Since perfume makers also processed exotic aromatics such as incense (to be imported from north-east Africa, the Arabian peninsula or India), this might be a reason for the dominant occurrence of foreign perfume makers.

We lack any Neo-Assyrian evidence as to the tasks of the perfume maker, but we may safely assume that they were similar to those recorded in the Middle Assyrian recipes for the manufacture of scented oil (edited by Ebeling

⁸⁹⁵ CAD M 218; cf. AHw 675 s.v. *muraqqītu* and *muraqqiu*. See also CAD R 173–4 s.v. *raqqû*.

1950). From these recipes we learn about the three basic ingredients—oil, water and aromatics such as myrtle and calamus—and about the processes, including heating and resting phases, which lasted for days.⁸⁹⁶ The facts that oil-pressers witnessed a marriage contract together with the *muraqqiu* Sa-ḥpi-māu and that the perfume maker is listed together with the oil-presser and the chief oil-presser in a lexical list (MSL 12 233 r. v 15'–17') point to the perfume maker's use of sesame oil. As indicated by the existence of female chief perfume makers and the fact that distinct recipes were created by women (e.g. KAR 220, going back to Tappūtī-Bēlat-ekalle), women played an important role in this field in the Middle Assyrian period. A similar emphasis on women cannot be ruled out for the first millennium BCE. Similar to what we learn from the Middle Assyrian period (Jakob 2003: 477–9), the perfume makers working for the Neo-Assyrian palaces may also have been organised on the basis of the *iškāru*-system: they were provided with raw oil and produced fine oil according to the prescribed quantity.

16.2 The *gallābu* (barber)

The title *gallābu* is known from the Old Akkadian period on and is translated “barber”.⁸⁹⁷ In the Neo-Assyrian sources it is written LÚ/LÚ*.ŠU.I. A female barber, MÍ.ŠU.I (*gallābtu*), is attested once. In Babylonia *gallābu* is also known as a family name (e.g. in SAA 13 178 l.e. 1).

The barber Nabû-erība witnesses a court decision involving the farmer Aḥu-lā-amašši (SAA 14 104 r. 9). The barber [...]Adad receives [x] amount of barley according to an account from the Aššur Temple dealing with 10 *emāru* of barley in total (StAT 2 2 b.e. 11). Among the other recipients there is Rēḥāti, gardener of the *akītu*-house, who is provided with one *emāru* of barley. The barber Bēl-šarru-ušur occurs in a section dealing with 2,000 stalks of vine in a tablet of the Harran Census (SAA 11 213 iv 13'). He may have been responsible for these stalks together with the other individuals listed in the same section. The only reference to a female barber occurs in an administrative record dealing with women who include also foreigners, musicians, perfume makers and cultic personnel (SAA 7 24 r. 6).

In a letter of the exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur to the “farmer” (Esarhaddon) during the substitute king (*šar pūḥi*) ritual we hear of a *gallābu* who cuts the king's fingernails after he had visited a reed hut in the *qirsu* in the course of an apotropaic ritual.⁸⁹⁸ The royal nails were to be put in a bottle which was to

⁸⁹⁶ E.g. KAR 220 (Ebeling 1950: 27–32, re-translated by Jakob 2003: 480–3). For a collection of Akkadian terms referring to aromatics see Ebeling 1950: 5–14.

⁸⁹⁷ AHW 274–5; CAD G 14–7. See also CAD G 129–31 s.v. *gullubu* (“to shave”).

⁸⁹⁸ SAA 10 210: 13. In her examination of the *qersu*, May (2010: 468–71) concluded that this tent-like structure functioned as a portable shrine in which banquets and (purification) rites took

be sealed and brought to the border of the enemy land. As argued by Parpola, the ritual was presumably performed to prevent an earthquake (and is not related to the substitute king ritual).⁸⁹⁹ In the same role a *gallābu* is also mentioned in another letter of Adad-šumu-ušur (SAA 10 211 r. 1), which is thought to refer to the crown princes Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn who had to undergo the same performance as their father (Parpola 1983a: 125). Two more letters of the exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur deal with the shaving (*gallābūtu*) of king Esarhaddon in connection with ritual performances (SAA 10 193:12; 209 r. 6). Judging from these letters, the barber and the necessity of shaving were integral to cultic procedures involving the king and his sons, just as with the priesthood.⁹⁰⁰ The letter SAA 10 210 also shows that the *gallābu* removed hair and nails, suggesting that this profession was defined by his recourse to cutting tools. This corresponds to the fact that the barber is listed before the butcher (*ṭābiḫū*) and the cutter (*nākisu*) in the lexical list from Nineveh.⁹⁰¹

17 TEXTILE PRODUCTION AND PROCESSING

This section discusses crafts concerned with the production of textiles (chief weavers and weavers), felting (felt-workers), and the processing and cleaning of textiles (chief fullers, fullers, and bleachers). A few other professionals, of the type *ša-x-šu*, who were also concerned with textiles or their fabrics, are not discussed here: these are the *ša-kubšēšu* (“cap man”),⁹⁰² the *ša-sāgātēšu* (“belt man”),⁹⁰³ the *ša-ḥalluptēšu* (“lower garment man”),⁹⁰⁴ and possibly the *ša-ḥusinnēšu* whose meaning is unknown. The “cap man” is mainly attested as a person of low rank and was either sold (SAA 6 342:3’–4’), inherited (SAA 14 155:8), owned by an official (SAA 12 63:2’) or bound to an estate

place. It was used as a “camp chapel” especially in early Neo-Assyrian times (as depicted on the metal strips of the Balawat Gate and the palace reliefs) but was also installed, for ritual purposes, in the precincts of temples and palaces. The latter was presumably the case here, as argued by May (2010: 452).

⁸⁹⁹ Parpola (1983a: 123–4), with regard to its striking parallels with a *namburbi* ritual; cf. May (2010: 450–2) who additionally refers to the *bēt rinki* ritual.

⁹⁰⁰ For shaving as part of the procedure for consecrating priests see Löhnert 2007: 276.

⁹⁰¹ MSL 12 238 r. v 28. From the written remnants of other periods we know that the tasks of the *gallābu* are not restricted to “cosmetic treatments” in the course of ceremonies but also involve the marking of slaves (CAD G 17 s.v. *gallābu*: discussion).

⁹⁰² He is associated with hats made of textiles: *kubšu* is often written with the determinative TÚG (CAD K 485–6 s.v. *kubšu* 1). This type of headgear was worn by priests (see section 12.3.1 Appointment).

⁹⁰³ For the precise meaning of *sāgu* see p. 474 fn. 1210, judging by the determinative TÚG it was made of textiles (CAD S 27–8).

⁹⁰⁴ For the term *ḥalluptu* referring to lower garments of men or horses see p. 216 fn. 403.

(SAA 11 213 iii 2').⁹⁰⁵ The “cap man” *Dādīa* invests in trading enterprises (Radner 2016 I.37 b.e. 12'; I.42:15; cf. I.56:7),⁹⁰⁶ and unspecified “cap men” are twice mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king Sargon (SAA 15 73 r. 11'–12'). The “belt man” is only once attested in a letter of Ina-šār-Bēl-allak, treasurer of Dur-Šarrukin, to the king Sargon (SAA 1 128:17). He and his family are missing from the writing board and are not among the people from Guzana whom the sender has checked and received in Šabirešu. The “lower garment man” and the *ša-ḥusinnēšu* are both mentioned in the administrative document recording the consumption of linen fibre, madder and wool: the “lower garment men” received one talent of madder (SAA 7 115 r. i 8) and the *ša-ḥusinnēšu* one mina of linen fibre.⁹⁰⁷ Another two references to the latter are found in the witness lists of legal records involving the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (SAA 14 65 r. 9'; 66 r. 6') and the “lower garment man” is also listed after the donkey driver and the groom in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (SAA 12 83 r. 14). Most of these men operated within a relationship of strong interdependence. Apart from the “lower garment men” and the *ša-ḥusinnēšu* attested in SAA 7 115, there is no indication that these men were particularly associated with the royal household. Judging by the general nature of *ša-x-šu* professions, they were concerned with either the production, the processing or the collecting and supply but were by no means peddlers of the x-commodities (Radner 1999c: 120–6).

I shall also mention here the professional group of the *ḥundurāius* who are so far only known in association with the Aššur Temple in Assur. A discussion of their social background, economic activities and type of profession is provided by Fales and Jakob-Rost (1991: 21–5, with reference to Deller 1964); therefore, I will be very brief in my examination which basically relies on their results. Most, if not all, of the references to *ḥundurāius* date to the 7th century and derive from the private archives N9 and N10,⁹⁰⁸ where among others the *ḥundurāius* Mudammiq-Aššūr (N9) and Aššūr-erība (N10) are former archive-owners. According to these two archives the *ḥundurāius* had strong kinship ties and regularly conducted business with each other.⁹⁰⁹ Like other professional groups known from the private archives of Assur, they included *rab ḥundurāie* and thus were hierarchically organised. As to the actual meaning

⁹⁰⁵ Note also the Town of the Capmen (*Āl ša-kubšātēšu*) in a fragment of a schedule to a grant document (SAA 12 28:35).

⁹⁰⁶ He is accompanied by the “kettle man” (*ša-dūdēšu*) Sinqi-Aššūr (Radner 2016 I.37:5'; I.42:4); this title is otherwise not attested in Neo-Assyrian sources.

⁹⁰⁷ SAA 7 115 r. ii 11. The edition reads *ša-ḥu-pa-ni-šú*, I follow here the emendation *ša-ḥu-si'-ni-šu* made by Radner (1999c: 122).

⁹⁰⁸ As far as I am aware, the evidence is restricted to the 7th century: the attestation (KAN 4 62 r. 32) of the *ḥundurāiu* Aššūr-aplu-iddina dates to 686 (Faist and Llop 2012: 30) rather than to 724, contra Jas, PNA 1/I 154 s.v. Aššūr-aplu-iddina 2.

⁹⁰⁹ Note therefore especially the sale of unbuilt land SAAB 5 35.

and implication of the title, this gentilic refers to the town of Hundir located in the Mannean territory (as mentioned in an inscription of Sargon, see Postgate 1995b: 405), and scholars also agree that it denotes a particular craft or profession (introduced into Assyria by immigrants from the east). On the basis of a letter of a temple steward to another temple steward about TÚG.*ma-si-ki* to be handed over to *hundurāius* in duplicate so that they can do the king's work (SAA 13 41), and *hundurāius* "covering over" (= *šuppu*, otherwise translated as "to rub" [Van Driel 1960: 200–1] or "to polish" [SAA 20 55]; cf. CAD Š 250) the floor after it has been plastered in a ritual (SAA 20 55: 17), Fales and Jakob-Rost (1991: 23–4) suggested that the *hundurāius* were carpet-weavers. Although this suggestion is not entirely conclusive in the light of the available sources,⁹¹⁰ it is so far the most plausible explanation and is favoured here in preference to Postgate's (1995b: 405–6) suggestion "professional transporters".⁹¹¹ As to the *hundurāius*' relevance for the palace, no direct connection is indicated in the sources. Like other professional groups particularly attested in the private archives of Assur, they were engaged by the temple but presumably also worked for the direct benefit of the royal household.⁹¹²

17.1 Weaving

The Akkadian term *i/ušpāru* for weaver is a Sumerian loanword, or a so-called Kulturwort, attested since Old Babylonian times, as is the feminine form *i/ušpārtu*. The compound *rab i/ušpārī* only appears from the second half of the second millennium on.⁹¹³ In Middle Assyrian texts one recognises in particular the feminine variant *rab ušparāte* which designates the majority of female weavers attested in this period (Jakob 2003: 412–6). This contrasts with the Neo-Assyrian evidence where no female chief weaver is directly mentioned and only a few female weavers are known. There is only one writing of the term for chief weaver attested in Neo-Assyrian times, namely LÚ*/LÚ.GAL–UŠ.BAR.MEŠ. Thus, one should bear in mind that the more precise Akkadian term is *rab ušpārī* (and not *rab ušpāri*) and, likewise, the more accurate translation is "chief of the weavers". The weavers are usually referred to as (LÚ/LÚ*).UŠ.BAR and in a few cases as LÚ.UŠBAR₅. A single syllabic writing, LÚ.*uš-pa-ru*, is attested (ND 2306 r. 9). The female weavers are designated

⁹¹⁰ The TÚG.*ma-si-ki* is not necessarily a term for "carpet" (cf. AHW 619 s.v. *massaku(m)*) but for a tent-like structure (as suggested in SAAo, viewed 25th July 2013) which would also fit better with the fact that the said *hundurāius* are supposed to do their work in it (*ina libbi*, l. 12).

⁹¹¹ Cf. Åkerman 1999–2000: 222–3, fn. 34; Radner 1999a: 30, fn. 91.

⁹¹² The phrase *dullu ina pānāt šarri* (SAA 13 41:11) basically supports this, but one has to bear in mind that such phrases are quite commonly used to refer to work done on behalf of the state.

⁹¹³ CAD I/J 254–7 and AHW 396–7.

MÍ.UŠ.[BAR]. In the Neo-Assyrian period the weavers occasionally occur with two distinct qualifications, either as *ušpār šiprāti* (“scarf weaver” or “sash weaver” according to HAD 105) or *ušpār birmi* (“weaver of multicoloured cloth” or “weaver of multicoloured trim” according to HAD 17).⁹¹⁴ When building a compound with weaver, *birmu* is either written syllabically (*bir-me*) or logographically (GÜN); *šiprātu*, on the other hand, is only written syllabically, with the variants *šip-rat*, TUG.š*i-pìr-a-ti*, *šip-ra-a-te* and TUG.š*ip-rat* attested. In addition, there is a single reference to the weaver’s craft, *ušpārūtu* (LÚ.UŠ.BAR-ú-tu), in a royal inscription (RINAP 3/2 228, Fragment K:2’). The Middle Assyrian evidence for both the (female) chief weavers and the (female) weavers was discussed by Jakob (2003: 412–20). The Neo-Assyrian evidence has only been analysed where it concerns the weavers within the temple sphere (Menzel 1981 I: 232).

17.1.1 The *rab ušpāri* (chief weaver)

The meagre evidence for the chief weaver is limited to attestations in legal documents dating to the reign of Sennacherib, where he either occurs as a witness or (once) as a debtor owing textiles. The chief weaver Arbailāiu acts as a witness when land and people are sold (SAA 6 163 r. 14’). He is listed among military functionaries such as chariot drivers and a cohort commander, a goldsmith, scribes and a chief gatekeeper. The chief weaver Zēr-Issār is a witness when Aḫi-ṭallī, *šakintu* of Nineveh, buys 17 persons from the village manager of the queen(?) and a certain Mardî (SAA 6 90 r. 10); both sellers are described as servants of the governor of Barhalza. The witness list also mentions scribes, a chariot fighter and a weaver, immediately following the chief weaver. Neither legal document suggests that the chief weaver was a high-ranking official, based on the order of personnel named in the witness lists.

Chief weaver Urdâ, who owes altogether eight pieces of textiles to the god [...] ⁹¹⁵ is known only once as an active party to a legal transaction. Apparently he needed these textiles to prepare a napkin for the (king’s) shoulders, as noted at the very end of this document. ⁹¹⁶ As he has not yet paid the value of 125 minas of copper, it is recorded in the document that he is to pay it quickly.

⁹¹⁴ CAD I/J 253–4 s.v. *išpar birmi* “weaver of multicoloured fabrics” attested in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian sources (cf. CAD B 257–8 s.v. *birmu* “trim woven of several colors”, attested from Old Babylonian times on). CAD I/J 254 s.v. *išpar šiprāti* “weaver of *šiprātu*-garments” (cf. CAD Š 201–2 s.v. *šipirtu* “(a sash woven or treated in a special technique)”, attested only in Neo-Assyrian sources). In Neo-Babylonian texts there is also the linen weaver (*išpar kitê*) attested (CAD I/J 254).

⁹¹⁵ SAA 6 190:1–2: 4 pieces of [...] and 4 pieces of TÚG.nik-si, “cut cloth” according to the edition.

⁹¹⁶ SAA 6 190 l.e. 1–2: TUG.sa-su-pu ša UGU MAŠ.QA. This item might refer exclusively to a royal garment (Kwasman and Parpola 1991: 152).

Hence, the chief weaver had to acquire the material necessary for what seems to be contract work (for the king). Since the institution which gave the necessary textiles to the chief weaver was a temple, the chief weaver may have been assigned to the temple. In any case, the whole transaction clearly bore an administrative background. It might be that, as with other *rab-x* profession officials such as the chief cook, it was the chief weaver who acquired the necessary materials for his nominal subordinates, the weavers. It is less clear whether he had to supervise the weavers, usually organised in groups to produce quotas according to a state order, as was apparently the case for the Middle Assyrian period (Jakob 2003: 417).

The clarification of the question whether the chief weaver had to supervise the weavers in fulfilling their work quota also depends on the interpretation of the title *rab kiṣri ša ušpāri* (cohort commander of the weavers). This title is only attested once as a designation for Nabūtī, who witnessed the legal document SAA 6 91 (681). Like the chief weaver Zēr-Issār who witnessed the legal transaction SAA 6 90 (683) involving the *šakintu*, the cohort commander of the weavers is a witness when the *sekretu* buys 27 persons including their properties and livestock. Nabūtī himself also occurs in the legal document SAA 6 90 where he is qualified as weaver and listed as a witness immediately after the chief weaver Zēr-Issār. While Nabūtī apparently already operated in close association with the chief weaver Zēr-Issār, he seems to have been promoted two years later to a position either close or identical with that of the chief weaver. As argued by Postgate (1987a: 259–60), possibly from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III on the cohort commander, formerly active only within the military sphere, now also supervised cohorts of craftsmen.⁹¹⁷ With the *rab kiṣri* of the weavers supervising a cohort of weavers, it is to be questioned if this office is identical with *rab ušpāri*, as suggested by Postgate (1979: 219, fn. 32; cf. Svārd 2015: 126). Either the two titles refer to distinct offices, with the *rab ušpāri* being of higher rank than the *rab kiṣri ša ušpāri*, or the two titles refer to the same office, and thus *rab ušpāri* would just be a mere alternative of *rab kiṣri ša ušpāri*. The almost contemporaneous appearance of the chief weaver and the cohort commander of the weavers, as well as the assumption that, for instance, the chief oil-presser supervised oil-pressers at work, suggests such an identification. On the other hand, it is plausible that the chief weaver was the head of an overarching contingent of weavers, whereas cohort commanders of the

⁹¹⁷ Note also Postgate's previous and later discussions about this invention (Postgate 1979: 210–1 and 2007: 348, fn. 33), where he supposes a later date for the introduction of the *kiṣru*-system into the civilian sphere. However, the evidence indeed dates back to the second half of the 8th century (for instance, Ilu-pīja-ušur is cohort commander of the shepherds (SAA 1 235 and 236), see section 27.1.1 The *rab rā'i*, the *rā'iu rabiū* and the *rab kiṣri ša rā'i*. Also, cohort commanders seem to have been employed in the *bētu šaniu* of the royal palace (see section 4.1.2 Further personnel associated with the *bētu šaniu*).

weavers, as lower-ranking men, had smaller groups of weavers in their care. Though a synonymous use remains possible, the two titles are kept separate here, since we do not have sufficient evidence.

As suggested by Svärd (2015: 126), the woman Damqâ, mentioned in an astrological report drawn up by the Babylonian astrologer Zākīru (SAA 8 305), can be identified as female overseer of the weavers. At least it appears from a broken section that she is given women who are to weave (expressed with *maḥāṣu*, see below) under her supervision (SAA 8 305 r. 4–8). Apparently this incident does not belong to the astrological report proper but relates to Zākīru's other concerns. Although female weavers are rarely attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources, the specific connection between women and the craft of weaving (as is clear from the Middle Assyrian sources) is also indicated by the Neo-Assyrian evidence.

17.1.2 The *ušpāru* (weaver)

17.1.2.1 Economic affairs

Examining the role of weavers in legal documents, they mainly appear as witnesses and only rarely as active parties to legal transactions, as is also the case with other professional groups. In a single case also the son of a weaver, namely Adda-atar, witnesses a legal transaction from Ma'allanate (O 3664). As active parties weavers are attested as sellers, debtors and possibly creditors. In the reign of Assurbanipal the weaver Il-dalâ, originating from Hašinihe, owes 30 *emāru* of barley to a certain Bēssū'a (RA 24 6:3–4). Iqbi-Aššūr, who is creditor of five shekels of silver (SAAB 5 13:4, 9), is possibly identical with the homonymous weaver who witnessed SAAB 5 35. As sellers, weavers transferred people such as Mannu-kī-Šamaš, probably a cook (though his profession reads *ša-pān-nuḥatimmi*, see section 4.2.1.5.1 Legal transactions and business involvements), to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3428) and a female slave (AfO 42 A9); both transactions were settled in the reign of Assurbanipal or later. Also in the reign of Assurbanipal, two sons of Issār-šumu-iddina, weaver of the queen, sold Šumma-Nabû, weaver of multicoloured cloth, to Iddin-Aia, priest of Ninurta (SAA 12 94). Related to the weavers' involvement in legal transactions is the case of Urdu-Issār, weaver of multicoloured cloth, whose debts of over 53 ½ minas of bronze were paid off by Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu (CTN 2 91), in the reign of Adad-nērāri III. While the document serves as a receipt of payment with regard to the original creditors (23 in number), it also provides proof for Bēl-tarši-ilumma, to whom Urdu-Issār now owes the bronze (cf. Postgate 1973: 119, cf. CTN 2 90). Assuming the broken tablet CTN 2 97 to be a similar document (Postgate 1973: 125), a weaver is in turn, among others, recorded as creditor of one mina (of silver). Apart from these

legal documents Šamaš-na'di, weaver of the queen, is mentioned along with five minas of silver in an administrative text otherwise recording sold estates from different reigns (SAA 11 222 r. 11). The five minas are summed up together with other amounts of silver listed along with individuals such as a goldsmith and a horse trader, amounting to 26 ¼ minas of silver. It remains unclear whether these amounts were credited by these individuals or, on the contrary, owed by them (to the palace administration). If the silver was handed out by the palace administration, this was probably related to investments the recipients had to undertake *ex officio*. There is little evidence for the weaver as land owner. Qibinnî, described as a weaver in SAA 6 13, is recorded as owner of an estate adjoining that sold by Inūrta-ilā'ī (SAA 6 10/11).

17.1.2.2 Allocations

The weavers are attested as recipients of wine and grain (probably processed into bread and beer) within the context of administrative acts. According to a few wine lists dating to the 8th century, the weaver Mannu-kī-aḥḥē obtained one *qû* of wine (CTN 3 145 r. iii 6), his colleague Mušallim-Marduk, twice mentioned in CTN 1 1, is once listed along with five *qû* and a second time along with one *qû* of wine. In addition, an unnamed scarf weaver is listed as a recipient of wine (amount lost) in CTN 3 145. In the administrative document ND 2803 (reign of Sargon II), recording the consumption of [bread], beer and grain in the year [...] (as given in the heading), groups of weavers are repeatedly mentioned as recipients. Separated into sections dealing with geographically distinct units, the document records 20 weavers stationed in Kilizi receiving 54 *emāru* (ND 2803 i 15) and 25 weavers stationed in Adian obtaining 63 *emāru* (ND 2803 i 25). By analogy, weavers may be restored in the first section according to which 20 [weaver]s stationed in Arbail again received [54] *emāru* (ND 2803 i 7). All three sections are headed by an entry concerning the allocation made to the local *šakintu* and they also mention women and palace servants, suggesting that they refer to palatial departments headed by a *šakintu* (and thus presumably belonging to the jurisdiction of the queen, see Svärd 2015: 100). While both the wine lists as well as the administrative document ND 2803 record allocations for the individual consumption of weavers, they differ regarding to the numbers of provided individuals; wine was allocated to higher-ranking individuals while ND 2803 records the consumption of food by groups of weavers. The stored grain, apparently also belonging to a scarf weaver (name lost), which was sold(?) without authorisation by an Egyptian to Egyptians (SAA 16 55), may have been originally delivered to the scarf weaver via a similar administrative procedure. The two talents of madder distributed to the scarf weavers for “consumption” (SAA 7 115 r. i 7) may not have been for personal consumption but constituted material they worked with to fulfil their workload.

17.1.2.3 Institutional affiliation and dependencies

Female weavers of the king are mentioned in the letter SAA 1 33 written by (the crown prince) Sennacherib to the king (Sargon). Here, the Commage-neans claimed that the selection of red wool should be left to the female weavers of the king rather than to the merchants. This is not necessarily a reference to the personal weavers of the king but to weavers of the royal household domain who are, interestingly, addressed as women. Apart from this attestation, there is no weaver qualified as weaver of the palace or as weaver of a specific palace, but there are several references to weavers associated with the palace. The record ND 2803 and the wine lists refer to weavers apparently connected with the palace sphere, as is also the case with the scarf weavers provided with madder in the administrative record SAA 7 115. Moreover, according to ND 2803, weavers are especially active for the *šakintu*, in departments established at different places in the Assyrian heartland. As suggested by Svärd (2015: 100–2, cf. Teppo 2007: 266), the *šakintu* ran the day-to-day business of the establishments of the queen throughout the empire, and these played a significant role in textile production. Apart from ND 2803, Svärd (2015: 101–2) refers to SAA 7 115 according to which palaces known to have had a *šakintu*, received considerable amounts of linen fibre. She also mentions textile labels from Nineveh (SAA 7 93–94, 98, 100, 102) bearing the scorpion seal which clearly refers to the queen. From the archaeological perspective Svärd points out that in the section of the North-West Palace of Kalhu housing the archive of the *šakintu*, loom weights and spindle whorls were found. At first glance the administrative document SAA 7 23, dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal, would serve as an additional proof in this respect since it counts 13 *šakintus* on the obverse and lists altogether 145 weavers on the reverse. But, as argued by Svärd (2015: 100, with reference to Fales and Postgate 1992: XIX), the two faces seem to have been written at different times and even by different scribes, and thus the *šakintus* and the weavers in SAA 7 23 are not related (which is supported by the fact that none of the geographical references given on both sides are interchangeable). Nevertheless, the 145 weavers, distributed to various provinces (25–the chief cupbearer, 20–Rašappa, 10–the palace herald, 10–Arzuhina, 5–Mazamua, 25–Arrapha, 30–Kar-Aššur and 20–Lahiru), presumably formed part of the provincial palace domains like the weavers in Kilizi, Adian and Arbail recorded in ND 2803. The same is probably true for the weavers provided with workload who seem to have been under the jurisdiction of the magnates (if [*š*]a[?] is restored correctly in SAA 16 83:8), according to a letter of Marduk-šarru-ušur to the king, assuming that the provincial domains of the magnates aligned with the provincial palace domains. Additional indications for the queen's dominant association with the weavers is provided by two individual weavers qualified

as “of the queen” and “of the household of the queen” who seem to have had a higher status compared to their ordinary colleagues. Issār-šumu-iddina, weaver of the queen, is mentioned as the father of two brothers who sell Šumma-Nabû, weaver of multicoloured cloth, to Iddin-Aia, priest of Ninurta (SAA 12 94). Šamaš-na’di, weaver of the household of the queen, is recorded in the administrative document SAA 11 222 along with five minas of silver. Also the weaver Nabûti, who, together with the chief weaver Zēr-Issār, witnesses the legal transaction involving the village manager of the queen and a *šakintu*, indicates that the art of weaving was especially related to the queen’s establishment (SAA 6 90, cf. SAA 6 91, ND 5448 and probably SAA 6 96). The two talents of wool taken from the “house of the women” according to the letter TH 115 found in Guzana from the reign of Assurbanipal point to the fact that the women’s domain of the royal household was especially involved in weaving and textile production. This strong connection manifests itself also through the occurrence of female weavers in the sources. Apart from the aforementioned weavers of the king, there are four Egyptian women summed up as female weavers in the administrative document SAA 11 169, probably dating to the 7th century. They may have been deported, as might be true for those “knowing the weaver’s craft” (LÚ.UŠ.BAR-ú-tu mu-du-ú) who are mentioned in an inscription of Sennacherib at the aqueduct of Jerwan.⁹¹⁸ The background of the weavers who are listed together with other professionals and are possibly summarised as “additional [craftsmen]” remains unclear (ND 2728+ r. 16’, i.e. 1–2).

The weaver’s association with the temple is twice made explicit by the titles “weaver of the temple” (SAA 13 145:7: LÚ*.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ša É.KUR) and “weaver of Ištar of Arbail”.⁹¹⁹ The temple weavers in SAA 13 145 are said not to have fulfilled the *iškāru*-quota yet since they are performing masonry duty (*urāsūtu*), as reported by a certain Nabû-mušēši to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal). Also in the letter SAA 13 186, written by Aplāia, priest of Kurbaal, to the king (Esarhaddon), weavers appear in conjunction with the temple and are again associated with the *iškāru*. Since the clothing (SAA 13 186 r. 4’, see below) is [not] given (yet), Aplāia explains that in the past the *iškāru*, that is the *iškāru*-working-material in the form of wool, was issued by the palace and woven by the weavers of Arbail. As this is the end of the letter and the preceding narrative part is broken, its background remains unclear.

⁹¹⁸ RINAP 3/2 228, Fragment K:2’. Jakob (2003: 416) also suggests for the Middle Assyrian period that many of the attested female weavers were deportees, based on their non-Assyrian names.

⁹¹⁹ SAA 16 84 r. 8–9. The temple weavers attested in SAA 13 145 were presumably active in the Ištar Temple of Arbail, since the writing É.KUR does serve as a designation for the Temple of Ištar of Arbail also in another letter (SAA 13 138:7), and in the Hymn to the City of Arbela (SAA 3 8:7), see Menzel 1981 I: 232 and II: 190, n. 3095.

At least it seems that the delay in producing particular textiles is due to the fact that this is no longer being done by the weavers of Arbail. Since Aplāia is employed in Kurbail, we suspect that he is reporting about matters relating to that place, and thus it might be the weavers stationed in Kurbail who have failed to produce the clothing on time. The matter is illuminated by the letter SAA 16 84, written by a certain Nabû-šarru-ušur to the king (Esarhaddon). Having been ordered by the king to catch up on the delivery of robes, the author reports that a certain Balāsî told him that red wool will be supplied from the palace. This was confirmed by Aplāia, to be identified with the priest of Kurbail and author of the letter SAA 13 186, who stated that the weavers of Ištar of Arbail will come to make (the fabrics) in Kurbail. Hence, also the weavers of Arbail mentioned in SAA 13 186 used to perform the weaving in Kurbail but not any longer. While these letters deal with weavers related to the temple sphere, they refer especially to weavers stationed in Arbail, which is associated with the art of weaving also according to other documents. In CTN 2 91 Bēl-issē'a, weaver of Arbail, is recorded as a witness when Bēl-taršilumma, governor of Kalhu, pays off the debts of Urdu-Issār, weaver of multi-coloured cloth. Also, the administrative document ND 2803 records weavers stationed in Arbail (if restored correctly) who received grain. Both documents refer to weavers of Arbail but not explicitly to temple weavers from that city and in the case of the weavers mentioned in ND 2803 it is clear that they worked under the aegis of the *šakintu*. Also in the letter SAA 13 186 weavers are simply qualified as “sons of (DUMU) Arbail”. As to the references indicating a connection to either the palace or the temple, the organisation of the weavers in Arbail might have changed over time. While ND 2803 reflects circumstances from the second half of the 8th century, the aforementioned letters were only written in the reign of Esarhaddon. On the other hand, one could imagine the two spheres employing weavers at the same time. Perhaps the two spheres were even not kept separate in *sensu stricto* and primarily the weaver's affiliation to the city of Arbail was significant, as indicated by the remainder of the qualified weavers. In any case, apart from Arbail, Kurbail occurs in the aforementioned texts, especially through Aplāia, priest of the Adad Temple of Kurbail. Menzel (1981 I: 111, 232) suggested that Kurbail constituted an important centre for textile production since weavers of Arbail had to perform their duty there. By contrast, I would assume that Arbail was the important centre of the craft of weaving, as indicated by weavers affiliated with that city, and that Arbail's weavers had to go to Kurbail to produce fabrics needed by the Adad Temple in Kurbail since Kurbail itself or its temple did not have skilled weavers.⁹²⁰ Weavers related to the temple are otherwise

⁹²⁰ The demand for multi-coloured textiles to dress the god Adad (SAA 13 186 r. 12–13) also indicates that the fabrics to be produced in Kurbail were meant for the Adad Temple.

identified when being sold to priests, as is the case in SAA 12 94 where the weaver of multicoloured cloth Šumma-Nabû is sold for 1 ½ minas of silver by two sons of Issār-šumu-iddina, weaver of the queen, to Iddināia, priest of Ninurta. Here, persons associated with the department of the queen and the temple are doing business with each other, perhaps owed to the fact that both domains were particularly related to the art of weaving and its craftsmen. A similar case in this respect is the document ND 2316, from the reign of Assurbanipal, according to which the woman Milki-ḫaiāia is dedicated as votaress (*šēlūtu*) to Mullissu by the royal female servant of the New Palace of Kalhu and married to the weaver Turši-Issār. The latter might have been related to the temple (as was probably also the case with his colleague Qibīt-Issār who witnessed the transaction).⁹²¹ Marriages of *šēlūtus* are comparatively often attested in Neo-Assyrian sources and there might have been a particular connection with the household of the *šakintu*, as suggested by Svärd (2015: 103–4).⁹²² The case of the *šēlūtu* married to Puṭu-eši, whose dedication is only sustained as long as Puṭu-eši lives, implies that the dedication of a votaress and the marriage of the very same person are directly related to each other. This is also indicated by the present case where it seems that the marriage and the donation took place at the same time.⁹²³

After analysing the evidence for weavers as to their possible palace and temple connections, we shall summarise the weavers who were subordinate to individual officials. For the establishment of the new imperial capital Kalhu in the reign of Aššurnaširpal II, a common weaver and a scarf weaver were assigned among other craftsmen to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a according to the decree concerning his appointment (SAA 12 83). While these weavers were at the disposal of an Assyrian official in the context of his official tasks (to establish the new capital), weavers are also attested as servants of high-ranking officials who rather used them for their personal needs, as is probably the case with [...]–Issār, female weaver(?), who is listed in a broken schedule to a grant of tax exemption from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 63:7'). In the schedule to the contemporary grant of tax exemption for the benefit of *rab ša-rēši* Nabû-šarru-ušur we encounter two weavers of multicoloured cloth, namely Aḫu-lē'i and Īn-ili (SAA 12 27:24). Also among the sold weavers

⁹²¹ I adopted here the idea of Svärd (2010: 253; 2012: 154) that it was the female palace servant who actually dedicated Milki-ḫaiāia (Svärd also suggests that the female palace servant is to be interpreted as *šakintu*). Otherwise, it has been accepted that Milki-ḫaiāia was described as palace servant herself (e.g. Lipiński, PNA 2/II 751).

⁹²² Usually this concerns votaresses of Ištar of Arbail; cf. Radner (1997a: 157–8, 207–11), counting all together 16 documents. Further marriage contracts concerning votaresses are: StAT 2 164, 184 and SAA 14 443.

⁹²³ A particular duty of a *šēlūtu* seems to have been to act as medium in revealing prophecies (SAA 9 1, probably SAA 13 148). For an analysis of the attestations of the *šēlūtu* see Teppo 2005: 90–1; for the “Tempelweihe” in general see Menzel 1981 I: 23–33.

we encounter high-ranking owners who may have employed them in their individual households. These are the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a who bought a weaver of multi-coloured cloth in the year 765 (Edubba 10 9), the royal chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad who bought a scarf weaver in the year 670 (SAA 6 301) and the aforementioned priest Iddināia who bought a weaver of multicoloured cloth in the year 637* (SAA 12 94).⁹²⁴ Also Urdu-Issār, weaver of multicoloured cloth, whose debts were paid off by the governor Bēl-tarši-ilumma might as a consequence have been temporarily in debt bondage (CTN 2 91). Judging from a few titles, weavers were, moreover, active in the household of the vizier (SAA 6 19 r. 10'–11': Lā-tubašanni-ilu) and the household of the commander-in-chief (CTN 2 91 t.e. 35–36: Ubru-ilāni and probably Bēl-issē'a). The relative rank and affiliation of weavers seem to have been fluid to a certain extent and especially common weavers circulated among the different departments and households.⁹²⁵ Though normally denoting low-ranking professionals, weavers could reach higher positions depending on their actual spheres of activity and their position therein but do not seem to have operated independently of institutions.

17.1.2.4 Socialisation

Weavers are often associated with other weavers, including scarf weavers and weavers of multicoloured cloth. Occasionally weavers associated with each other belonged to different domains (e.g. CTN 2 91 records a weaver of Arbail and one or two weavers of the household of the commander-in-chief), and once a weaver follows the chief weaver in a witness list (SAA 6 90). Otherwise, weavers occur together with other craftsmen concerned with textiles and clothing, such as tailors and fullers. Especially significant is the order given in the decree concerning the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, where the weaver follows the bow-maker and is himself immediately followed by a fuller, while a scarf weaver mentioned in the next line is followed by a tanner of coloured leather (SAA 12 83 r. 7–8). Also the lexical list from Huzirina offers some clues in this respect when listing the weaver in a section containing the following professionals (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 7–16): *kāširu* (tailor), *mugabbû*,⁹²⁶ *ašlāku*

⁹²⁴ Sold weavers are otherwise attested in SAA 6 294:1' (Sagībi together with his family).

⁹²⁵ The scarf weaver Ḥannî was even employed as a farmer according to a tablet of the Harran Census (SAA 11 202 ii 17').

⁹²⁶ The entry gives the logographic writing LÚ*.TÚG.KAL.KAL and the syllabic rendering *mu-ga-bu-u* (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 8). In the Neo-Assyrian corpus it is otherwise only attested in the lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238 r. v 26), before the *kāmidu* (knitter). Translations such as stitcher or clothes mender are given in the dictionaries (HAD 86; CAD M 181 s.v. *mukabbû*).

(fuller), weaver, *huppu*,⁹²⁷ scarf weaver, *ša-ebissēšu*,⁹²⁸ *kāmidu*,⁹²⁹ *sēpiu* (felt-worker) and chief tailor (*rab kāširi*; significantly, no chief weaver is listed here). The weavers' association with tailors is also indicated by their occurrence as witnesses in texts recording tailors as active parties (ND 5448), associated with the active parties (SAAB 9 71), and as witnesses (SAAB 5 35). Also the administrative document ND 2728+ lists the weaver after the fuller and the tailor, while tailors are enumerated after the weavers in the letter ZTT 22. In the latter they are listed after the carpenter and the makers of bows and arrows, indicating that these professions are associated with the weavers, as for instance the bow-maker is also listed before the weaver in SAA 12 83, while the carpenter appears in witness lists also mentioning weavers (CTN 2 91 and SAA 6 96). These associations are partly owed to the weaver's involvement in the preparation of military equipment, as is clear from the letter ZTT 22.

17.1.2.5 Professional skills and organisation

The particular tasks of the weavers are indicated by some letters dealing with their workload. They had to manufacture "clothing",⁹³⁰ robes,⁹³¹ garments (SAA 16 83 r. 3': *ku-zi-pi*) and napkins (SAA 6 190 l.e. 1: *TÚG.sa-su-pu*). Furthermore, the weaver Ešrāiu is recorded along with two *zazabtu*-garments that he probably brought with him when visiting the Assyrian court (SAA 7 172 r. 9–10). Judging by weavers who bore a more specific professional title, some were specialised in making scarfs (*šipirtu*, *ušpār šiprāte*) and others were particularly concerned with coloured fabrics (*birmu*, *ušpār birmi*), as is also clear from a broken passage of the letter SAA 16 84. In Akkadian the weaver's central task is expressed with *maḥāšu* with its basic meaning "to hit", which refers to the central movement of the hand during the process of weaving.⁹³²

⁹²⁷ It is written *LÚ*.húp'-pu'* (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 11) and seems not to be attested elsewhere in the Neo-Assyrian sources. It is translated as wickerworker (HAD 38) or, more cautiously, interpreted as "a type of weaver" (CAD H 240 s.v. *huppū*).

⁹²⁸ It is written [*LÚ*.š*]*a'-e¹-bi¹-si¹-šú¹* (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 13) and occurs a second time in the same list (MSL 12 233 iii 2': [*LÚ*].*š**a-e¹-bi-si-šú*) but is otherwise not attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. HAD (p. 106) gives the vague translation bundle-carrier(?), cf. CAD I/J 2 s.v. *ibissu*, interpreting it as a sort of container.

⁹²⁹ It is written logographically as *LÚ*.TU.DU₈.DU₈* and syllabically as *ka-me-du¹* (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 14) and also occurs in the lexical list from Nineveh, after the *mukabbū* (MSL 12 238 r. v 27: *LÚ*.TU.DU₈.DU₈*). Possible translations are knitter or carpet-knitter (HAD 45); CAD K 121 prefers to give a more general description: "a craftsman making a special type of woven cloth".

⁹³⁰ SAA 13 186 r. 4': *TÚG.la-b[u-su]*, cf. *labāšu* in HAD 53.

⁹³¹ SAA 16 84:8: *TÚG.BAR.DIB.MEŠ*, read *kusītu*. *kusītu*-garments as items manufactured by weavers are also attested in the Middle Assyrian period, where they are associated with coloured textiles (*birmu*) (Jakob 2003: 417–20 with reference to MARV 3 5).

⁹³² CAD M/I 78 3.a, cf. SAA 13 186 r. 10'. From the Middle Assyrian period there is one attestation of a *LÚ.ma-ḥi-šu* known (Billa 61:21); building a participle form from *maḥāšu* it refers

Although not explicitly clear from the texts, I suspect wool to be the weavers' main working material, while black wool (*šāptu šalimtu*) but especially red wool (*šāptu sāntu*) constituted luxury sorts of wool for producing luxury textiles and clothing.⁹³³ In the sources available to us the weavers are particularly associated with red wool.⁹³⁴ Due to its high value, as also indicated by the effect of purple garments,⁹³⁵ its supply was presumably strictly controlled and limited.⁹³⁶ While weavers received it from the central palace (SAA 16 84 r. 2), the palace administration itself acquired it via tribute and trade (with the help of merchants, see SAA 1 33).⁹³⁷ Though wool seems to have been intensively produced in Assyria (see section 27.1.3.6 *iškāru*, *ilku* and *taxation* about shepherds), the dyeing of wool is not so well attested in the sources. Nevertheless, the administrative document SAA 7 115 shows that red wool was imported but also fabricated in Assyria itself. It records allocations of madder for the dyeing of different types of clothes (including 600 *urnutu*-garments) as well as a few *ša-x-šu* professions concerned with textiles and scarf weavers received madder.

The weavers' work for the palace was organised via the *iškāru*-system. As indicated by the letters SAA 13 145 and 186, weavers stationed in provincial capitals produced out of the raw materials provided by the central palace administration whatever was ordered through the central palace administration. The palace administration's role here is underlined by the intervention of a *ša-qurbūti* as evident from the letter SAA 16 83. Finally, the weavers had to deliver the fixed workload on time, which apparently was not always achieved. As governmental workforce attached to different institutions weavers could also be deployed for other duties, as shown in the letter SAA 13 145 according to which temple weavers were temporarily committed to do masonry work,

to the weaver (Jakob 2003: 421). In Neo-Assyrian times the *māhiṣu* (occasionally written LÚ.GIŠ.BAN.TAG) rather denotes an archer.

⁹³³ Red and black wool are occasionally recorded together, as is for instance the case in SAA 16 82 r. 6–7; SAA 11 26 r. 11–13; SAA 7 111:3–11. For other types of dyed wool see Gaspa 2013: 226.

⁹³⁴ SAA 16 83: r. 1'?, 5'; 84 r. 1, 6 and probably SAA 1 33:19: SÍG.MEŠ LUM.LUM.MEŠ.

⁹³⁵ See, for instance, SAA 16 63:29. *kuzippu*-garments made of red wool are specified as such (SAA 16 83 r. 3'–6'; ND 2307:15); likewise, we find *urnutu*-garments of red wool (ND 2307:16).

⁹³⁶ The purchase of red and black wool according to an administrative document (SAA 11 26 r. 11–13) seems to have been illegal, judging by the repeated denials of the merchants in question; cf. Fales and Postgate (1995: XIX) referring to "non-state-controlled commercial activities".

⁹³⁷ As suggested by Radner (2004: 156–7), the qualification "of the country" (KUR) seems to refer to commodities originating from tribute, in contrast to "of the port" (KAR), presumably referring to commodities originating from trade. These contrasting terms can be found with wool and textiles, e.g. SAA 16 82 r. 6–7; 83 r. 1'?. SAA 7 96 and 105–109; also horses are qualified as "of the country" (see Part III, section 1.3.2 The king's servants). Radner (2004: 156) also refers to SAA 7 115 as another example for defining commodities obtained via trade, since it states at its very end "We are not receiving (it) from the magnates; we buy (what) we give." (SAA 7 115 r. ii 21–23). Contra Fales and Postgate (1992: XXVIII, followed by Gaspa 2013: 235–6), who interpret these phrases as indicators for the different qualities (naturally and commercially dyed) of red wool.

characterised as *ilku*-duty. Related to *ilku*-duty, the weaver also appears in a broken administrative document from Šibaniba dealing with the payment of grain-, straw- and *miksu*-tax.⁹³⁸ According to the section referring to the weaver, the *miksu*-tax had been paid together with other taxes, but the *ilku*-duty had not been fulfilled (Billa 86:4': *il-[ku i]š-tu* [UR]U *la-a i[l-lu-ku]*). Recording the tax-income on a provincial level (registered at the provincial centre), it may have been on account of the weaver that the *ilku*-duty was still outstanding. The weavers' participation in repair works and the cleaning of military equipment, according to a letter from Tušhan written by Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?), may have also been related to his performance of *ilku*-duty.

17.1.3 Summary

Judging from the scarce evidence of the chief weaver in the Neo-Assyrian period, his basic function might have been the supervision of the weavers and their work. On the other hand, it is possible that the *rab kišri ša ušpārī* directly supervised cohorts of weavers, while the chief weaver was the formal head and overall representative of the weaving craft. The existence of weavers enjoying a certain degree of self-determination and influence at court is, furthermore, indicated by the presence of individual named weavers who received wine on the occasion of yearly festivities in the Review Palace in 8th-century Kalhu. The association of women with this craft is indicated by a possible reference to a female head of the weavers and is supported by the concern of the queen's establishments, led by a *šakintu*. Apart from the queen's establishment, the temple played an important role with regard to the organisation of weavers and their production which was handled through the *iškāru*-system (as was the case in the Middle Assyrian period). The weavers constituted a low-ranking class of craftsmen who were also subject to the *ilku*-system. As institutional employees they were provided with rations of barley for their personal consumption as well as with raw materials to work with (as part of the circulation of *iškāru*). The main raw material the weavers worked with was wool, and red wool constituted a particularly valuable material, which was acquired by the palace also through payments of tribute and via trade.

17.2 Fulling, bleaching and dyeing

The term *ašlāku* is a Sumerian loanword (A.ZA.LAG), already attested in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian texts. In Neo-Assyrian sources the variant logographic writings are (LÚ/LÚ*).TÚG.UD. On the basis of this common

⁹³⁸ For *miksu*-tax see Postgate 1974a: 134. He interpreted it as a general term for taxes such as corn- or straw-taxes.

realisation (known from its first appearance on) and its attested contexts, it is usually translated as “fuller”, “washerman” or “bleacher”.⁹³⁹ The *rab ašlāki* seems to have been introduced only in Neo-Assyrian times and is usually translated as “chief fuller”.⁹⁴⁰ Analogous to the writings of “fuller”, “chief fuller” is written (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–TÚG.UD, once (erroneously) LÚ*.GAL–TÚG.KUG¹.UD (StAT 1 2:5). Based on the references to Aššūr-gimillu-tēre, who is designated either GAL–TÚG.UD (SAA 14 424 r. 25; B 79 r. 5/B 79* r. 4) or LÚ.IGI.DUB (= LÚ.AGRIG), attempts were made to identify these as writings of the same term (Radner 1999a: 49–52, with reference to K. Deller). These attestations clearly involve the same individual and it has been suggested that both logographic writings are to be read *masennu*,⁹⁴¹ usually interpreted as “treasurer”. A possible explanation therefore (provided by K. Deller) is that the Akkadian term *masû*, meaning “to wash”, may constitute the background for the Assyrian realisation of the LÚ.TÚG.UD (**māsiānu*/*māsiannu*) and the LÚ.GAL–TÚG.UD (**rab māsiānē*/*rab māsiannē*), which is supported by the fact that no syllabic writing for *ašlāku* or *rab ašlāki* is attested for Neo-Assyrian times. Also arguing that the chariot driver and the outrider attested as subordinates of a (LÚ*).GAL–TÚG.UD (possibly referring to Aššūr-gimillu-tēre) would be more appropriate for a treasurer than for a chief fuller, Radner postulates that the chief treasurer Aššūr-gimillu-tēre was occasionally designated GAL–TÚG.UD because of the similar rendering of the chief fuller’s title.⁹⁴² Although I prefer the possibility that he fulfilled both offices contemporaneously (see below), this hypothesis cannot be ruled out, and thus for Neo-Assyrian one should bear in mind the possible alternative reading *māsiānu* and *rab māsiāne* instead of *ašlāku* and *rab ašlāki*. In addition to Deller’s proposal, it was suggested by Parpola (2008: 50, fn. 100) that LÚ.TÚG.UD should rather be read *pūšāiu*, meaning “bleacher”, which would imply that the LÚ.TÚG.UD, and thus the LÚ.GAL–TÚG.UD were not active as common fullers but specifically as white-washers in Neo-Assyrian times. Since the Neo-Babylonian evidence does not necessarily support Parpola’s suggestion,⁹⁴³ the lack of syllabic writings of *ašlāku* in Neo-Assyrian might just be owed to a lack of sources. Nevertheless, both Deller’s and Parpola’s suggestions remain

⁹³⁹ CAD A/II 445–7; HAD 11; cf. the translation of von Soden (AHw 81): “Wäscher”.

⁹⁴⁰ The reference in KAJ 287:11 (= SAAB 9 72), cited by CAD A/II 247 and AHw 81 as a Middle Assyrian reference to the *rab ašlāki*, dates rather to the Neo-Assyrian period.

⁹⁴¹ For the reading of LÚ.IGI.DUB as *masennu* instead of *abaraku* (and *mašennu*) see section 14.8 The *masennu* (treasurer).

⁹⁴² See more recently also Radner, PNA 1/I 186 s.v. Aššūr-gimillu-tēre 1.

⁹⁴³ A syllabic writing for *ašlāku*, previously unknown (cf. CAD A/II 447, Bongenaar 1997: 301, fn. 267, 312), is very likely attested in the Neo-Babylonian work contract BM 29228:2 (Waerzeggers 2006: 84).

plausible.⁹⁴⁴ Since a definite decision cannot be made, we retain the traditional rendering *ašlāku*, “fuller”. The Middle Assyrian evidence for fullers was discussed by Jakob (2003: 428–9), while the Neo-Assyrian fuller was discussed in brief by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 69) and the chief fuller by Radner (1999a: 51).

Related to the activities of fulling and bleaching is the process of dyeing. In Neo-Assyrian times this seems to have been the main task of the *mušappiu* (female *mušappītu*) and the *šāpiu* respectively. Both titles are only attested in Neo-Assyrian sources and seem to have been used synonymously, whereby the term *mušappiu* is a participle form of the verb *šabû* (meaning “to soak”) in the D-stem.⁹⁴⁵

17.2.1 The *rab ašlāki* (chief fuller)

In SAA 11 36, a 7th-century(?) administrative document presumably recording tribute redistributed to palace officials,⁹⁴⁶ a chief fuller is mentioned twice. First, he receives seven *sūtu* of honey, 4 minas of wax and one talent of copper together with two sheep and two *šapputu*-bowls (of wine) for his personal consumption (SAA 11 36 i 19: *a-kul-la-šū*). According to the second entry, he is provided with 20 minas of red dye(?) (GIŠ.ĤÉ.MED, *tabribu*) and two *sūtu* of *tubāqu*, a kind of plant not identified so far (AHw 1364; CAD T 445), which was perhaps also used for dyeing textiles. The two sheep and two bowls of wine constitute the highest amount for individual consumption handed out to officials according to the present document;⁹⁴⁷ such an amount is here otherwise only attested for the chief cook and the cohort commander of the palace. The remaining commodities handed out to the chief fuller may be related to his official tasks (see below), as is the case with allocations made to other officials in the present document.

In SAA 12 77, a collection of decrees from various reigns, the chief fuller of [the palace], as restored according to analogous entries, is recorded as a supplier of natural produce for offerings. As established by Shalmaneser IV, he is responsible for the supply of one *sūtu* of oil and one *sūtu* of another commodity (lost). As with SAA 11 36, it appears that the commodities provided by the different officials from the various reigns are related to their official tasks. Since, for instance, the chief cook provides sheep for the regular offerings, the chief fuller’s supply of oil might have some official background too (see below).

⁹⁴⁴ It might even be that the Assyrians themselves realised this logographic writing in different ways.

⁹⁴⁵ CAD M/II 241 and CAD Š 45, 98; cf. AHw 678; HAD 68, 103.

⁹⁴⁶ This is indicated by the partly preserved heading SAA 11 36 i 1: [x x m]a¹-da-te. As suggested by Fales and Postgate (1995: XX), a possible restoration would be [za’uzzu], for “distribution”.

⁹⁴⁷ The queen is mentioned along with five sheep and five bowls of wine (SAA 11 36 ii 28–29).

According to his title (including the alternative renderings discussed above) and the commodities he is associated with, the chief fuller's function may have been to supervise the bleaching, cleaning or fulling of textiles and clothes. The oil he contributes may be for the making of soap (together with ash as a lye) to clean textiles.⁹⁴⁸ The chief fuller's association with textiles is supported by the allotment of red dye(?), but why this official was given honey and wax remains unclear in this respect. As also assumed for other officials receiving amounts of copper, the chief fuller received copper possibly for the purchase of commodities associated with his official responsibilities. In addition, the chief fuller is together with a commander-of-fifty and a "third man (on chariot)" listed in an administrative record dealing with tanned or dyed leather (KUŠ.duḥ-ši-i),⁹⁴⁹ which indicates that he was not only concerned with textiles but also with leather. This may particularly apply to dyed leather, in view of the aforementioned red dye.

Since the chief fuller occurs in SAA 11 36, listing court officials such as the oil master and the fruit master,⁹⁵⁰ he formed part of the royal household. This is underlined by the fact that the chief fuller is attested in SAA 12 77, where he originally may have been qualified "of the palace", as is also the case with others such as the chief cook and the gardener. Judging from other titles, at least in the 7th century a chief fuller was active for the king's mother (SAA 7 12:3'-4'), while another chief fuller was assigned to the lady-of-the-house (SAA 7 4 r. ii 9, 12'), i.e. the main wife of the crown prince.⁹⁵¹ The chief fuller of the king's mother (Naqī'a, cf. Svärd 2015: 64), Nušku-šarru-ušur, is assigned to the residences (*mūšubu*) of the governor(?) in a fragmentary record dealing with temporary lodgings for officials in Nineveh, possibly assigned on the occasion of an extraordinary event either in the late reign of Esarhaddon or in the reign of Assurbanipal (Fales and Postgate 1992: XVII-XIX). The case of the chief fuller Nabû-rēšūwa, who, together with other officials (including a [*ša-rēši*] of the crown prince), is summarised as "[All] (assigned) to the household of the lady-of-the-house", in an administrative document dating to the reign of Assurbanipal, presents more difficulties. If SAA 7 4 belongs to the group of administrative documents recording the assignment of temporary

⁹⁴⁸ Cf. Waetzoldt 1972: 169-72 for the Ur III period.

⁹⁴⁹ Radner 2016 I.55:2. For *duḥšū* meaning tanned or dyed (goat) leather, see section 18 Leather production and processing.

⁹⁵⁰ Although the chief fuller in SAA 11 36 is twice mentioned along with distinct allotments, presumably only one individual is recorded here as chief fuller since the second entry does not include an allotment of wine and sheep for personal consumption.

⁹⁵¹ Cf. Svärd and Luukko 2010: 286. They assume that this is a reference to Libbāli-šarrat, main wife of Assurbanipal. The tablet dates to the reign of Assurbanipal, according to the reference to the treasurer Aššūr-gimillu-tēre (Mattila 2000: 17, 64; she proposes a time span from 644* down to 625*).

lodgings (SAA 7 9–12), as assumed by Fales and Postgate (1992: XVII),⁹⁵² the chief fuller was not actually active in the household of the lady-of-the-house but was rather only housed there temporarily. However, while SAA 7 4 is prosopographically related to SAA 7 3, there are no prosopographical connections between SAA 7 4 (together with SAA 7 3) and SAA 7 9–12. While I doubt that SAA 7 4 is another list of lodgings, it is clear from the subscription that the chief fuller and others were assigned to the *bēlat-bēti*'s household but did not belong to her household prior to that assignment. Hence, the chief fuller together with the major-domo, the village manager and the *ša-rēši(?)* of the crown prince, may have been just appointed to the household of the main wife of the crown prince. In any case, all the references to the chief fuller discussed so far suggest that he was a palace official.

Now it is only the case of Aššūr-gimillu-tēre which raises questions. This official is well known as treasurer and eponym of 638*, and as an eponym he is three times called GAL-TÚG.UD. Considering *rab māsiānē* as a possible reading of (LÚ).GAL-TÚG.UD, the case of Aššūr-gimillu-tēre might be due to the similar realisation of the two logographic writings (GAL-TÚG.UD and IGI.DUB). This is supported by the fact that he is always designated treasurer in significant attestations,⁹⁵³ whereas we learn nothing about Aššūr-gimillu-tēre's functions as a chief fuller. Nevertheless, it is plausible that Aššūr-gimillu-tēre held both titles contemporaneously, considering other post-canonical eponyms bore titles such as “chief cook”, which are not attested as being held by eponyms earlier. Also, the existence of a chief fuller besides the treasurer in the Neo-Assyrian period is quite clearly indicated by SAA 11 36 which also records the treasurer (LÚ*.IGI.DUB) as a recipient of sheep and wine (SAA 11 36 i 4), and, although we cannot explain every allotment given to the chief fuller (LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.UD) here, his concern with the treatment of textiles is fairly clear in view of this document.

As to the subordinates of the chief fuller, there is a chariot driver and an “outrider” or “foot-soldier” (Postgate 2000a: 104–5) of the chief fuller attested. The chariot driver (name lost) is recorded as seller, probably of a female slave, in a badly broken 7th-century(?) document from Assur (SAAB 9 72:1–2). The outrider of the chief fuller,⁹⁵⁴ Nabû-šumu-iškun, owes four shekels of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal (StAT 1 2:3–5). Radner (1999a: 51)

⁹⁵² Svärd and Luukko (2009: 285–6) follow this assumption by adding the assignment of the commander-in-chief to the crown prince as another argument. Since the commander-in-chief is mentioned in i 2' and the summary of the “49 higher-ranking magnates of the crown prince” only appears in r. ii' 6', the officials listed in the first column on the obverse are unlikely to be those summarised two columns later (with two completely destroyed columns in between).

⁹⁵³ SAA 7 3 i 2'; 4 i 6'; SAA 21 22:6; 543 r. 12; 1108 r. 9.

⁹⁵⁴ The *šá* relating “outrider” to “chief fuller” (written 'LÚ*'.GAL-TÚG.KUG'.UD) is restored, and thus the relation between the two term is not entirely proven.

assumed that both may actually have been subordinate to the treasurer Aššūr-gimillu-tēre, in view of the possibly corresponding realisation of the title of the treasurer and the chief fuller (see above). She further argued that both types of functionaries, involving a military background, would perfectly fit with a treasurer but not with a chief fuller (in the literal sense). Concerning the chariot driver, an assignment to a chief fuller active in the palace is nevertheless plausible, especially in the light of other officials such as the palace scribe who had charioteers (and a chariot) for transport and for reasons of prestige (see section 1.4.8 Subordinates). The “outrider”, on the other hand, is indeed unlikely for a chief fuller. However, the phenomenon of palace officials associated with the military sphere is also clear in connection with others and it is obvious that no clear-cut line can be drawn between a military and a non-military sphere in Assyria. There is, for instance, the chief cook concerned with “exempts” (*zakkû*) (SAA 16 120), possibly denoting full-time soldiers who were used for military actions and construction works (see sections 12.1.7.5 A possible military connection and 1.1.8.3 Providing labour). Besides it is possible that the outrider simply ran errands and was not (only) a soldier in the narrow sense of the word.

17.2.2 The *ašlāku* (fuller)

In legal transactions the fuller is attested as a witness and also as an active party. As a witness he occurs in 7th-century documents from Assur and Kalhu.⁹⁵⁵ As an active party, the fuller is attested as a debtor of barley, a seller of slaves and is involved in the releasing and leasing of people, perhaps related to his need of assistants. The fuller Adad-milki-ēreš sells a female slave for $[x+]\frac{1}{2}$ minas four shekels of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal or later (SAAB 9 78). The fuller Aḥu-erība owes eight *emāru* of barley to (the temple(s) of) Aššur and Nabû in the reign of Assurbanipal (ND 5447). An after-effect of an obligation of the fuller Gabbu-qāt-Aššūr appears in the legal document StAT 3 34 (drawn up as a memorandum, from the perspective of the creditor), according to which Gabbu-qāt-Aššūr releases a woman he had presumably once given as a pledge. Apparently the debt was not paid off, as he was obliged to bring Urdu-Nabû as another pledge (see Faist 2007: 66). This record is witnessed by the fuller Dadūsu. The fuller Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-uṣur leases a man, probably a devotee of Ištār named Šarru-bāni (Parpola 2008: 48–50), from Sāsī, scribe of Ištār of Nineveh.⁹⁵⁶ He is obliged to give him back “on the day of state service”

⁹⁵⁵ Assur: SAAB 9 73 r. 36 (698); StAT 2 141 r. 15 (623*); StAT 3 34 r. 13 (617*); 3 r. 28 (615*). Kalhu: ND 5452 r. 16 (661); CTN 3 36 r. 16 (622*).

⁹⁵⁶ ZTT 7:4–5/ZTT 6:5. According to Parpola (2008: 47) this is a strong hint that there was an Ištār temple at Tušhan, especially since Sāsī seems to have been resident in Tušhan.

(ZTT 6:5: UD-*mu* 'il-ki' and ZTT 7 b.e. 7: UD-*mu* il-ku-u-ni), i.e. the day when the devotee(?) has to fulfil *ilku*-duties. As to the missing purchase price, Parpola (2008: 50) assumed that Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur was a servant of Sāsī himself and that is why he did not need to pay. Concerning the penalty clause stating that the price will be doubled if Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur fails to bring the devotee(?) back in time, Parpola (2008: 51) suggested that this is owed to the standard formula of work contracts and was only written down by the scribe out of habit. While the economic possibilities of fullers may have been limited, judging by the evidence discussed so far, the fuller Ubru-Mullissu is together with a perfume maker and another man referred to as a surety “against a fine, stolen property and debts” for a woman sold for 18 shekels of silver (SAA 14 161 r. 11). Acting as a surety occasionally meant replacing the sold slave in person (Postgate 1976: 27), but the present case suggests that the three men guaranteed compensation in the form of silver, indicating that they had some financial means available. However, fullers were basically of low rank and were occasionally also owned by others. This is the case with the fuller Lā-dāgil-ili, who was given to the woman Ba'altī-iābatu as part of her inheritance (SAA 14 155:5). Also, the fullers (personal names lost) who were listed in a broken schedule of a grant of tax exemption from the reign of Assurbanipal apparently belonged to the property of a high-ranking official (SAA 12 63:2').

The Town of the Fullers, from where a certain Nabû-rēhtu-ušur is said to come from in a legal record also mentioning the fuller Ubru-Mullissu (SAA 14 161:4, r. 11), indicates that fullers lived and were organised in greater communities so that perhaps also their access to agricultural land and thus to sources of food was secured (cf. the Town of the Carpenters, section 20 Carpenters). The majority of fullers is attested in texts from Assur where they are associated with other craftsmen such as smiths (StAT 3 3 r. 27, 33), bakers (SAAB 9 73 r. 29; 78 r. 5', 12'; StAT 3 3 r. 31) and brewers (StAT 2 141 r. 9, 12). Likely the fullers attested here, together with the other craftsmen, were connected with the temple. A temple connection was also assumed for the fuller Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur active in Tušhan (ZTT 6/7, see above). In addition, the two debt notes of barley, owed to Nabû and Aššur, from Kalhu (ND 5447, ND 5452), involving fullers either as witnesses or as debtors, also imply a temple connection. By contrast, the fuller Iqbi-Adad, who is witness when a subordinate of the *šakintu* buys a woman, occurs in a palatial environment (CTN 3 36), which is supported by the presence of witnesses such as the lock master. The latter and Iqbi-Adad were probably active in the household of the *šakintu*. The fullers' affiliation to the palace is, furthermore, indicated by their appearance in the ration lists of bread or beer, where they were provided with 2 *sūtu* (CTN 1 35 ii 17'). They are listed after the confectioners and precede the tanners, the bow-makers and the bakers (always referred to in the plural). Their association with all the other textile-related professions is clear from their

entry in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina dealing with textile-related functionalities exclusively (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 9, see above under the section of the weavers) and from the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a where the weaver is immediately listed before the fuller (SAA 12 83 r. 7).

While the latter association refers to the fuller's concern with textiles and clothing, this is otherwise not clear from the Neo-Assyrian sources; there is not a single reference dealing with the actual tasks of the fuller. As with the chief fuller, we are forced to rely on the meaning of the title or rather its Sumerian writing TÚG.UD (since its Akkadian realisation in Neo-Assyrian times remains controversial, see above). According to the commodities the chief fuller, their nominal supervisor, obtained and supplied, the fullers may have used among others the following materials for their work: honey, wax, oil and dye. Assuming that the LÚ.TÚG.UD cleaned and fulled clothes using soap made of ash and oil or fats, the oil associated with the LÚ.GAL-TÚG.UD could be explained that way. As stated above, it is less clear if (and how) honey (or syrup) and wax were used to clean textiles and clothes or treat textiles in another way, such as the pre-shrinking and the degreasing of wool (see Kinnier Wilson 1972: 69, with further literature; cf. CAD A/II 447). According to the attestations of the LÚ.TÚG.UD throughout Near Eastern history, they cleaned and fulled finished, woven textiles and also cleaned dirty clothes, while the concern with newly finished woven textiles must have led to a particularly close association with the weavers.⁹⁵⁷ Apart from oil and ash (for soap), they also used commodities such as plaster and beer for their work (Jakob 2003: 428, with further literature) as well as natron (*nitiru*, see SAA 16 82 r. 10).⁹⁵⁸ As Jakob (2003: 429) observed from a Middle Assyrian text (AfO 12, Tf. VI r. 4), the fuller's task is expressed with *masā'u*, which corresponds to Deller's suggestion that the Neo-Assyrian term for fuller was *māsiānu* (see above). Other central terms referring to the activities of washermen (apart from the LÚ.TÚG.UD/*ašlāku* including also the *kāširu*), as observed in Neo-Babylonian work contracts, are *zukkū* ("to clean") and *hāru* ("to whiten") (see Waerzeggers 2006: 92–4). Owing to this evidence the LÚ.TÚG.UD was probably also concerned with the bleaching of linen and new woollen garments in Neo-Assyrian times which suggests that he was also close to the *pūšāiu* (see below). On comparison with the Neo-Babylonian evidence, it seems likely that also in the Neo-Assyrian period laundry activities were fulfilled by professionals bearing different titles and that a clear distinction among these was not made.

⁹⁵⁷ In the Ur III period the fullers were occasionally subject to the "supervisor of the female weavers" (Waetzoldt 1972: 154; this is the case with Lagash).

⁹⁵⁸ The Romans used urine for the fulling of clothes. The terminology for the utensils such as sticks and baskets for these kinds of activities was collected by Salonen 1965: 299–300; cf. AHW 81. Otherwise, they simply may have stamped on the textiles and clothing.

17.2.3 The *pūšāiu* (bleacher)

Attested from the Neo-Assyrian period on, the *pūšāiu* is also known from Neo-Babylonian texts with the logographic writing LÚ.TÚG.BABBAR. Parpola suggested the reading *pūšāiu* also for the Neo-Assyrian attestations of LÚ.TÚG.UD, but this remains uncertain and the writing is commonly read *ašlāku* in Neo-Assyrian texts (see above; cf. CAD P 538 s.v. *pūšaja*). Deriving from the verb *pešû* meaning “to become white” (cf. the adjective *pešû* meaning “white”, CAD P 328–5), *pūšāiu* refers to the whitewasher or bleacher. There is only one syllabic writing for *pūšāiu* attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. The bleacher Našuḥ-sagab appears as a dependent individual who, together with his family, is recorded with a field of 25 hectares in the town of Hansuri in the vicinity of Harran, according to a Harran Census tablet. While usually agricultural professionals such as farmers, gardeners and shepherds appear as bound to agricultural land (as observable in the Harran Census and in legal documents recording land sales), the presence of the bleacher remains obscure in this context. He can be compared with similar uncommon cases such as the gatekeeper Sē'-aqāba mentioned in the same document (SAA 11 209 r. iii 3').

17.2.4 The *mušappiu* and the *šāpiu* (dyer)

Among the few Neo-Assyrian attestations of *mušappiu*, *mušappītu* and *šāpiu* little information is available for this professional. A *šāpiu* is once mentioned together with stone-cutters in a fragment of a letter reporting on the construction works in Dur-Šarrukin (SAA 5 296) and thus seems to have been engaged through the state service (*ilku*) system. In another letter we encounter the female *mušappītu* who it to receive half a mina of silver, perhaps as a compensation for goods sold or services offered (SAA 16 54). Otherwise, the *mušappiu* is mentioned in the lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238 r. v 15), where he occurs between the *mubarrimu* (polychrome dyer) and the tanner.⁹⁵⁹ In view of this association it might be that he was engaged in the dyeing of leather and not only wool and textiles.

⁹⁵⁹ This translation follows HAD 66. Cf. CAD M/II 158; AHw 665 “Buntweber”. It is a D-participle of *barāmu* (CAD B 103 s.v. *barāmu* B.2 *burrumu*: “to color, twine in several colors”; AHw 105 s.v. *barāmu(m)* I: “bunt, mehrfarbig sein”). The term occurs in connection with the colouring of wool and of clay. According to my knowledge this term is only attested here.

18 LEATHER PRODUCTION AND PROCESSING

Craftsmen who were concerned with the production (i.e. tanning) and the treatment of leather to produce shoes as well as military equipment such as shields are referred to as *aškāpu* already in Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian texts. The term *aškāpu*, a Sumerian loanword, persisted into Aramaic (*e/uškāfā*) and Arabic (*iskāf*) and is translated as “leatherworker”, “shoemaker” or “cobbler”.⁹⁶⁰ Although there are syllabic writings attested in preceding periods, the *aškāpu* is only known with the logographic writing (LÚ/LÚ*).AŠGAB in Neo-Assyrian texts. Analogous to the writings of *aškāpu*, the *rab aškāpi* is written [LÚ].GAL–AŠGAB and the “commander-of-ten of the tanners”, *rab ešerti aškāpāni*,⁹⁶¹ LÚ.GAL–10-te AŠGAB?.MEŠ; each is attested only once in Neo-Assyrian sources. The *aškāpu* can be qualified with KUŠ.a-ri-te and KUŠ.da-la-te according to a lexical list from the Neo-Assyrian period (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 18’–19’), indicating that some leather-makers were particularly concerned with shields (*arītu*) and doors (*daltu* or *dassu*) in this period.⁹⁶² From these attributions it is clear that the *aškāpu* produced various objects out of leather, but tanning activities also seem to have been a central task of the *aškāpu*, as indicated by the attestations discussed below.

Otherwise, the *šāripu*, apparently only attested in Neo-Assyrian texts, seems to have been concerned with the task of tanning exclusively. It derives from the verb *šarāpu*, meaning “to dye (red)” or “to burn”, which might either refer to the process of colouring the leather or soaking it in tannin or dye, and is usually translated as tanner.⁹⁶³ The closeness of tanning to dyeing is also reflected in the title *šārip duḥšī*. First attested in the Neo-Assyrian period and also known from Neo-Babylonian sources, it is usually translated as “tanner of coloured leather” (or “Bunterberber”, see Radner 1997a: 301, fn. 1692) with the *duḥšiu* or *dušū* referring to dyed and tanned (goat?) leather.⁹⁶⁴ The *šāripu* is written syllabically (LÚ).ša-rip and the *šārip duḥšī* is written either LÚ/LÚ*.ša-rip–(KUŠ).duḥ-ši-e, LÚ*.ša-rip–duḥ-ši-a or LÚ/[LÚ*].ša-rip–KUŠ.DU₈.ŠI.A. Since the *šāripu* is only rarely attested in Neo-Assyrian sources (and not

⁹⁶⁰ CAD A/II 442–4; HAD 11, cf. AHw 81.

⁹⁶¹ *aškāpāni* as the plural form of *aškāpu* is indicated by writings such as LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ-ni (e.g. in CTN 1 1 r. iii 3).

⁹⁶² Doors manufactured by the tanner do not seem to make sense, but it is possible that they mounted the wooden doors with leather. Also according to an Old Babylonian letter *aškāpū* seem to have been concerned with wooden doors (TCL 17 1:31, see CAD D 55 s.v. *daltu* 1.e). The Middle Assyrian texts provide evidence for the *aškāp suḥuppāte* (shoe-maker), the *aškāp ari’āte* (shield-maker) and the *aškāp sari’āne* (producer of coats of mails), see Jakob 2003: 436.

⁹⁶³ CAD Š 104–5; AHw 1083–4; HAD 103.

⁹⁶⁴ For the *šārip duḥšī* see CAD Š 110–1 and for *duḥšū* see CAD D 200–2 s.v. *dušū*; AHw 179 s.v. *dušū(m)*; HAD 22 s.v. *duḥšiu*. *du(h)šu* seems to refer to goat leather of green colour; see Stol (1980–3: 528, 534). According to Dalley (2000: 8–9) it is of Hurrian origin.

elsewhere), and there are several references to the *šārip duḥšê*, both *šāripu* and *šārip duḥšî* may refer to the same professional.⁹⁶⁵ Dalley made an attempt to interpret the *šārip duḥšî* as a “refiner of frit, faience and glass, shaping beads and inlays” for leather, linen or metals and, like the *šarrāpu* (“refiner of gold and silver”), of a higher rank than one would expect for a leather dyer.⁹⁶⁶ She suggested that while this task was formerly conducted by the *aškāpu*, it was later taken over by the *šārip duḥšî* (Dalley 2000: 11). There is otherwise no Neo-Assyrian designation known for “bead-worker”, but—owing to the basic meaning of *šāripu* and the fact that *duḥšû* is only accompanied by the determinative KUŠ (and not NA₄ for stone) within the professional designation *šārip duḥšî*—the translation “tanner of coloured leather” is preferred here.⁹⁶⁷ While the Middle Assyrian evidence for *aškāpu* was discussed by Jakob (2003: 436–41), and the Neo-Babylonian *aškāpu*, as part of the Ebabbar Temple personnel, was studied by Bongenaar (1997: 397–9, 411–5), the Neo-Assyrian attestations of the *aškāpu* have so far not been examined in detail.

For the preliminary treatment of leather, namely the de-carnalisation and de-hairing of hides, Jakob identified the *sāpi’u* (including the *rab sāpi’e*) for the Middle Assyrian period which he translated as “Abdecker” (Jakob 2003: 432–3, fn. 1, citing Deller 1987c). Another aspect of the profession was felting and the manufacture of felt into semi-products or final products, as argued by Cancik-Kirschbaum (1999: 82–5). *sēpû* or *sēpiu* attested in Neo-Assyrian times seems to refer to the very same profession.⁹⁶⁸ Though we lack attestations that shed light on actual tasks, its association with professions concerned with textiles and leather support this suggestion. Both logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*: MUG) and syllabic writings (LÚ.se-pi-ú, se-pu-u) are attested, and the reading of LÚ.MUG as *sēpû* is confirmed by a lexical entry (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 15). The *rab sēpî* (written LÚ.GAL–MUG), comparable with the *rab sāpi’e* in Middle Assyrian times, occurs once as in a Neo-Assyrian lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 28’).

In an administrative text documenting the consumption of linen fibre and madder, we find two more professionals associated with leather which are not further discussed here. These are the *ša-kurrēšu*, the “tanning fluid man”, and the *ša-šallēšu*, the “leather man”,⁹⁶⁹ who is qualified as “of the entrance” (SAA 7 115 r. i 3–6). The “tanning fluid man” receives 20 talents and the

⁹⁶⁵ Since no syllabic writing for *aškāpu* is available in Neo-Assyrian sources, one might suggest that AŠGAB be read *šāripu*. But since *šāripu* only refers to the process of tanning, while the AŠGAB also produced final products made of leather, there is no reason to insist on this idea.

⁹⁶⁶ Dalley 2000: 15–7, followed by Faist 2007: 156.

⁹⁶⁷ Otherwise, *duḥšû* is combined with KUŠ but *inter alia* also NA₄ and SÍG (see Dalley 2000: 6). Note the 25 goats handed over to *šārip dūḥšîs* in SAA 11 36 r. ii 1–2.

⁹⁶⁸ CAD S 227 s.v. *sēpû* (an artisan), AHw 1037 s.v. *sēpû* “ein Handwerker?”.

⁹⁶⁹ For the translations and the *ša-x-šu* type of professionals in general see Radner (1999c: 120–6).

“leather man” 5 talents of madder. Judging by the nature of this record, associated with the palace administration of Nineveh, these professionals were connected to the palace household. Likely they needed the madder to pursue their profession and to treat and dye leather on behalf of the palace.

18.1 The *rab aškāpi* and the *aškāpu* (chief tanner and tanner)

The *rab aškāpi* is only attested in a lexical list from Huzirina, but surely reflects a real office, since professional groups were hierarchically organised and usually included a *rab-x* official (for instance, chief weaver and the chief oil-presser) who had administrative and representative functions. Also, a “commander-of-ten” of the tanners is attested as a witness in a slave sale document (BaM 16 2 r. 10) which is also witnessed by a “commander-of-ten” of the fishermen. Presumably such men directly supervised small groups of tanners, while a chief tanner could have been the overall head of the tanners.

The *aškāpu* (AŠGAB) is well attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. He often occurs in legal documents, either as a witness,⁹⁷⁰ or as an active party. Apart from Nabû-rā’išunu, tanner of the Aššur(?) Temple, who sold a house in Assur, the tanner Aḫu-damqu acquired someone’s (name lost) wife from the town of Birtu instead of Šulmu-aḫḫē, the treasurer’s servant, for one talent of bronze. Sîn-na’di, probably to be identified with the tanner who witnessed the legal document CTN 2 78, is attested as one of thirteen creditors of the weaver Urdu-Issār whose debts were repaid by Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu (CTN 2 91). The fact that the tanners Aššūr-išdīa-ka’ in and Aḫu-kēnu invested silver in trading enterprises supports the impression that tanners disposed of some financial means.⁹⁷¹ Judging by an administrative document from Šibaniba (Billa 85), which reads (l. 19): 12 É.‘MEŠ’ LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ-ni 22 ERIM.‘MEŠ’, tanners were provided with land. Judging by other entries, for instance, referring to one *bētu* of the musician, this may mean that for the benefit of the yield of 12 estates the tanners had to provide 22 workmen or soldiers. Assuming that this interpretation is correct, the land in question was a sort of prebendary land attributed to an entire professional group.

As is clear from the wine lists from the Review Palace of Kalhu, tanners (usually referred to as a collective) are repeatedly provided with wine, the amount ranging from four *qû* (CTN 1 1 r. iii 13) to 2 *qû*,⁹⁷² and 2 *šapputu*-bowls

⁹⁷⁰ Kalhu: CTN 2 13 r. 16; probably CTN 2 78 r. 6’; Edubba 10 20 r. 11–12 and ND 3415 r. 9 (tanners of the queen). Assur: StAT 2 53 r. 18; StAT 3 3 r. 25; BaM 16 1 r. 12’. Nineveh: SAA 6 134 r. 8’ and 31 r. 25 (tanner of the governor). Tušhan: ZTT 7 r. 4/ZTT 6 r. 2.

⁹⁷¹ Radner 2016 I.37:9’; I.39:6; I.41:9. The homonymous man, bearing no title, in some other records of the same type might be identical with our Aššūr-išdīa-ka’ in: Radner 2016 I.34 r. 2’; I.35 r. 8’; I.36:3.

⁹⁷² CTN 1 2 ii 15; 6 r. 39; 11 r. 11’ and CTN 3 133 ii 5.

of wine (CTN 1 22:5'), possibly depending on the actual group size. The amount of two *qû* constitutes the usual amount of wine given to the tanners; this amount is also distributed to the tanners qualified as "of the Inner City" (CTN 1 1 r. iii 22; CTN 3 145 r. iii 8), thus tanners originating from Assur. In addition, the Aramean tanner Abdâ is attested as recipient of one *qû* of wine (CTN 1 1 r. iii 14; CTN 3 145 r. iii 25) and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine (CTN 1 1 ii 1–2) respectively. Otherwise, the tanners are attested as recipients of one *sûtu* of bread or beer (CTN 1 35 ii 18'). While the latter might document bread rations handed over to the tanners on a regular basis, the wine was distributed on the occasion of a yearly event. A tanner is listed in a fragment of an administrative document apparently recording distributed(?) amounts of wool (CTN 2 223:4). [...]ri seems to have received here two talents of wool in connection with his professional tasks. A professional background is also true for the tanner who, together with the tailor, is mentioned along with undergarments (KI.TA.MEŠ) which are valued at 17 minas 18 shekels (of silver) (Radner 2016 I.53:5–6). Similarly, four minas of "hoof tendons" (*šašallu*) are listed along with the tanner Erênu in an administrative document from Guzana.⁹⁷³

While the tanner's institutional affiliation in most cases remains uncertain, a palace connection is indicated for those listed in the ration lists of wine and bread (or beer), and the queen had tanners in her service (Edubba 10 20 r. 11–12; ND 3415 r. 9). Other tanners were associated with high-ranking officials such as Bêl-uballit, who is said in an administrative record from Kalhu to be under the authority of the treasurer together with his four sons (CTN 2 114:1–2). Similarly, tanners listed in another record from Kalhu (CTN 2 155) and a text from Guzana (TH 54+) might have been active in the jurisdictions of the governors in Kalhu and Guzana respectively. Otherwise, tanners who were subordinate to high-ranking officials, like the tanner Ubru-Issâr who was servant of the governor of Kalhu (SAA 6 31 r. 25), might have been active for the personal benefit of their masters. This is possibly also true for the tanner Mini-aḫi who was the subordinate of Il-nemēqi (StAT 2 53) and for the tanner Il-idri who was sold together with others to the cohort commander Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina (SAA 14 424). While the background of the six tanners who are summarised together with other skilled men such as carpenters and tailors as additional craftsmen(?) (ND 2728+ r. 13') remains uncertain, other tanners seem to have been summoned as workforce for state works. Hence, ND 2744 records three (or two?) individual tanners (Adad-zêru-ibni(?), [...]ḫâ-idin and [...]dirâiu) who together with other men are counted as workforce or soldiers (ERIM). Tanners are again referred to as ERIM in the administrative document from Šibaniba (Billa 85), assuming this does not refer to replacements.

⁹⁷³ TH 54+:2. According to texts from other periods (e.g. Old Babylonian Mari) *šašallu*-tendons are handed over to tanners (see attestations CAD Š/II s.v. *šašallu* 1.c).

We encounter two attestations which provide a glimpse into the *aškāpu*'s tasks. First, a tanner is mentioned in a proverb quoted in a letter written by the chief physician Urdu-Nanāia to the king (Esarhaddon) (SAA 10 316). Referring to a speech of the king criticising the king's well-behaved servants, the sender states that the criminals "made all other people hateful in the eyes of the king", adding "as if the tanner smears them with the oil of fish" (SAA 10 316 r. 7–8). Here, the tanner appears in connection with the process of tanning by using fish oil. This procedure, carried out with malodorous fish oil, is used to create a negative picture and, though the tanner may have occasionally used fish oil, he must have also tanned leather with other types of oil including sesame oil (as is attested for the tanners of coloured leather, see below). As to the second hint concerning the tanner's tasks, there is a tanner mentioned in the letter of complaint from twenty oil-pressers to their master Irmulu (KAV 197). Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr are, among other misdemeanours, accused of having appointed a tanner in the royal storehouse (*bēt qātē*) and having had shoes made to give to their "houses". The connection between the oil-pressers and the tanner is not necessarily accidental but may suggest that oil-pressers, apart from producing oil for consumption, also provided tanners (and other crafts such as perfume makers) with oil; the quality of oil transferred presumably differed in each case. However, this letter shows that the tanner not only produced leather but also processed it into finished goods. This corresponds to the Middle Assyrian evidence (see above) and the Neo-Babylonian sources,⁹⁷⁴ and is underlined by the tanner of shields and the tanner of doors recorded in the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 18'–19'). The latter also indicates that specialised tanners existed and it is possible that tanners recorded as common tanners in the everyday documents in reality were specialised tanners, qualified only with an abbreviated form of their professional title. Also the Aramean tanners attested in the wine lists may have had specific skills.

18.2 The *šāripu* and the *šārip duḥšī* (tanner and tanner of coloured leather)

Like the *aškāpu*, men designated *šāripu* and the *šārip duḥšī* occur in legal documents as witnesses,⁹⁷⁵ and as active parties. The latter is the case in Edubba 10 7 where two (or three) tanners of coloured leather, apparently all brothers, sell their sister to the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a for five minas of copper. Similarly, the tanner Iqīša-Issār sells the female slave Šapūnu together with two other men for 25 ½ shekels of silver (CUSAS 34 48:2). Aššūr-šēzibanni is

⁹⁷⁴ Bongenaar (1997: 398) also stresses the *aškāpu*'s concern with shoes (sandals) in the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple.

⁹⁷⁵ *šāripu*: Assur: SAAB 9 73 r. 34; StAT 2 7 t.e. 22; StAT 3 104 t.e. 39. *šārip duḥšī*: StAT 1 22 r. 24; StAT 2 102 r. 11'; 234 r. 12; probably StAT 3 103 r. 29. Nineveh: SAA 6 1 r. 10 (of the *rab ša-rēšī*); 29 r. 4–5 and SAA 14 472 r. 6–7.

attested as buyer of a “bought slave” for 1 mina 3 shekels of silver (StAT 3 105:5). The same man paid 2 minas 55 shekels of silver to his brother Aššūr-šaddû’a for a house they jointly inherited in order to be the sole owner of it (StAT 3 103). Three years later the same two brothers took a new house for 9 minas of silver (StAT 2 235). Assuming that the tanner Nabû’a recorded as a witness in StAT 1 22 is identical with Nabû’a attested in StAT 2 235, he enjoys the usufruct of one third of an inherited house worth nine minas of silver. The tanner of coloured leather Kassupu is attested as an owner of land in a land grant from the reign of Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 1:5). His property (details lost) adjoins the 1,000 hectares of land situated in the province of the Inner City which were established as the town of Qibīt-Aššūr and given to the Aššur Temple. Apparently there were also tanners who were treated as property themselves. The tanner Aḫ-immê is sold to a certain Lā-qēpu for 30 shekels of silver (Marqasi 2:4).⁹⁷⁶

While some of the *šārip duḫšīš* recorded as witnesses as well as Kassupu may have had a temple connection, in view of their association with Assur, the aforementioned brothers who sold their sister are qualified as either “servant of the palace herald” (Ḫūrapu) or “servant of Marduk-šaddūni” (Bēl-lāmur and Sīn-aḫu-iddina), presumably also an official. In addition, the tanner Siparrānu is one of nine servants of the *rab ša-rēši(?)* (SAA 6 1). The qualification “servant” in each case underlines the tanner’s subordinate position and also that he was in their service for their personal benefit. The tanners who, together with numerous other professionals, are mentioned in the decree of Nergal-āpilkūmū’a were rather assigned to him in his official capacity to manage the establishment of Kalhu as the new imperial capital (SAA 12 83 r. 8).

Tanners of coloured leather with a definite connection to the palace are rare. In the case of those who are provided with 25 goats in what seems to be a record concerning the distribution of tribute to court personnel, a palace connection is fairly clear (SAA 11 36 r. ii 2). The 6 ¼ minas of copper,⁹⁷⁷ 20? *emāru* of sesame oil and one *emāru* 4 *sūtu* of pure oil listed in the same section immediately after the entry concerning the goats were presumably also meant for the tanners of coloured leather since oil was another central commodity they needed for the production and treatment of leather. The copper may have been handed over for the acquisition of additional commodities needed for processing the leather. The *šārip duḫšīš*’s primary concern with leather is further supported by the fact that this profession is listed after the *aškāpu* (MSL 12 238 r. v 17) and in a section devoted to terms for tanners and chief tanners (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 20’) in two lexical lists.

⁹⁷⁶ Compare with the purchase price of 30 shekels of silver for a weaver of multicoloured cloth in SAA 12 94:5.

⁹⁷⁷ This is specified as *ša bir-te bir ni* (in r. ii 4), which remains unclear for the moment.

18.3 The *rab sēpie* and the *sēpiu* (felt-worker)

Like the *rab aškāpi*, the *rab sēpie* is only attested in the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 28'), and it is therefore unclear whether the actual office existed in the Neo-Assyrian period. In the lexical list he is mentioned in a separate section together with the *sēpiu*. The latter is also listed in another section of the same list together with other functionaries concerned with textiles such as weavers and tailors (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 15). Apart from entries in lexical lists, felt-workers are mainly attested as witnesses.⁹⁷⁸ Otherwise, Sāmidu, designated *sēpiu(?)* of the Aššur Temple, bought a woman and her son for one mina of silver (StAT 2 140:4). The *sēpiu* Kī-lamši was subordinate to a high-ranking official according to his occurrence in a broken schedule of a grant of tax exemption from the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 65:3'). We lack actual evidence for felt-workers working in and for the royal household.

19 CONSTRUCTION WORKS

This section discusses professionals who were explicitly involved as planners, assessors and builders in the construction and repair works of representative buildings initiated by the Assyrian king. It includes the *etinnu* (together with *rab etinni/etinnāti*), the *šelappāiu* (together with *rab šelappāie*) and the *urāsu* (together with *rab urāsi/urāsāni*).⁹⁷⁹

19.1 The *rab etinni*, the *rab etinnāti* and the *etinnu* (chief master builder and master builder)

The term *etinnu* is a Sumerian loanword and is already known from Old Akkadian texts. It is well attested in Old Babylonian documents as well as in Middle Assyrian sources and persists into Neo-Assyrian times. Although its Sumerian origin remains unclear, it is usually translated as “house builder”, “master builder” or “Baumeister”.⁹⁸⁰ In an article published in 1966, Deller and Parpola convincingly established that (LÚ/LÚ*).TIN is the most frequent writing of *etinnu* in Neo-Assyrian sources, as already proposed by Landsberger in 1915.⁹⁸¹ Their argument was based especially on contextual analysis, but this identification is supported by the syllabic writing LÚ*.e-tin-[na-ka] in a letter

⁹⁷⁸ Kalhu: Edubba 10 11, 17–18. Assur: StAT 3 10 r. 28.

⁹⁷⁹ Note also the unique reference to *rab šiknāni*, translated as “designers” by the edition, mentioned in a broken letter (SAA 1 72:5').

⁹⁸⁰ CAD I/J 296–7 s.v. *itinnu* A (*etinnu*); cf. AHw 404; HAD 28.

⁹⁸¹ Deller and Parpola 1966: 59, fn. 3. According to a possible explanation of Deller and Parpola, the sign TIN may have gained the phonetic value **itin* (Deller and Parpola 1966: 68).

(SAA 15 151:12) that also contains numerous writings of LÚ*.TIN.⁹⁸² In addition, we encounter two other Neo-Assyrian letters with the syllabic writings LÚ*.e-tin-nu (SAA 10 349 r. 24) and LÚ.e-tin-na-ti (SAA 1 138:13). The writing LÚ.e-dul-nu in a lexical list from Nineveh (MSL 12 238 iii 10) may be a defective writing (or a misreading) of the same title. While the writing LÚ.e-tin-na-ti shows that the plural form of *etinnu* was *etinnāti*, we learn from the writing LÚ.TIN.MEŠ-ni(-ia) (SAA 5 56:7, r. 9) that there also existed the plural form *etinnāni*.⁹⁸³ The title *rab etinni* ([LÚ*].GAL-TIN) or *rab etinnāti* (LÚ*.GAL-TIN.MEŠ), to be translated as “chief master builder” or “head of master builders”, is exclusively attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. In Babylonian dialects the same or a similar function, interpreted as “chief (house) builder”, was represented by the *šitimgallu*, written LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL(-la/-le/-li) and ŠITIM.GAL-lum.⁹⁸⁴ Although this term does not occur in Neo-Assyrian texts, it is mentioned in the Standard Babylonian inscriptions of Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon when reporting on their huge building projects in Assyria and Babylonia (see below).

The profession of the master builder and his functions are comparatively well attested for the Neo-Assyrian period. Apart from a few attestations as witnesses in texts from Kalhu(?), Nineveh and Assur, from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III down to the late 7th century,⁹⁸⁵ an informative picture emerges from the *etinnu*'s remaining occurrences in the letter corpus of Sargon. From these letters it is clear that the *etinnu* was primarily engaged by the king and the Assyrian government for the realisation of huge building projects. Since the majority of the Neo-Assyrian references was already profitably examined by Deller and Parpola in 1966, I will keep my discussion of them brief.

As to their primary concerns we learn that the master builders were engaged in the construction of ditches (SAA 1 65:4), city walls (SAA 5 56:10) and representative buildings. They seem to have been particularly responsible for, and skilled in the laying out foundations, as is clear from the letter SAA 1 165 according to which this was done with limestone.⁹⁸⁶ Also in a letter from the reign of Esarhaddon the sender Bēl-iqīša asks the king to send the chief of the master builders so that he may lay the foundations (with bricks) for the house

⁹⁸² The occurrence of different writings in the same text, however, does not *per se* indicate their synonymous usage and is at times used as a counter-argument.

⁹⁸³ According to Deller and Parpola (1966: 69) **etinnī* seems less likely, considering the plural endings of other titles.

⁹⁸⁴ CAD Š/III 129–30 s.v. *šitimgallu*; cf. CAD Š/III 130 s.v. *šitimmaḥu* (only attested lexically); cf. AHW 1251.

⁹⁸⁵ SAA 6 48 r. 14 (Lā-tubāšanni-ilu); SAA 14 166 r. 8 (Barruqu, “of the household of the crown prince”); StAT 3 3 r. 38 (Sākip-Aššūr); if interpreted correctly, also CTN 2 6 r. 21 (name lost). SAA 14 262 r. 13 lists a *rab etinnāti* as a witness (name lost).

⁹⁸⁶ SAA 1 165:3; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966 no. 4, pp. 63–4; note their comment on the entirely restored term *pūlu* (cornerstone) which is a central one here.

of the queen in Kilizi.⁹⁸⁷ Apparently known for their skills, the scholar Mār-Issār even proposed that the king employs an Assyrian master builder together with a *ša-qurbūti* in Der, so that the works on the temple of Der might finally be carried out properly.⁹⁸⁸ The master builders were also called as consultants to inspect damage, as in the case of a wall which caved in apparently after an image of Ištar was attached to it.⁹⁸⁹ The master builder was a skilled professional whose involvement in construction works was in high demand. His importance and indispensability is also clear from the letters which show that the magnates were in great need of these professionals to fulfil their work assignments. While this is indicated by the broken letter SAA 1 164, it is especially clear for the correspondence of Sargon with the treasurer Aššūr-dūr-pānīja dealing with construction works on the new capital, Dur-Šarrukin. After being ordered by the king to give junior master builders to the magnates so that they could perform their work assignment, Aššūr-dūr-pānīja argued that out of his sixteen master builders three were in the service of the palace herald, three were working in the city centre and the remaining ten were with him at the city wall to fulfil his own work assignment. In addition, he was reluctant to send junior master builders since they would not be able to help the magnates adequately.⁹⁹⁰ Deller and Parpola also identified another letter as being sent from Aššūr-dūr-pānīja to the king, though its heading is not preserved. However, again the sender reacts to a royal order according to which master builders were to be given to those magnates who did not have one at their disposal. Again, the sender was not willing to hand over one of his six master builders “doing the king’s work”, and he complained about those who had failed to bring their own master builders with them (as he had told them in advance). Nevertheless, he gave in, stating that he had brought with him his six master builders together with a runaway “Kassite” master builder and that he would give two of his six master builders to Badâ and Lansî.⁹⁹¹ The demand for master builders is also clear from a letter of Nabû-ušalla, governor of Tamnuna (SAA 19 183 r. 15’). He reports to the king that the ten master builders and the 100 men (LÚ*.ERIM) who were sent from the Ukkean ruler had run away.

It is likely that the 100 men sent with the master builders were meant to work for them. It is clear from a letter of the treasurer Ṭāb-šār-Aššūr, predecessor of the aforementioned Aššūr-dūr-pānīja, that the master builders usually did not

⁹⁸⁷ SAA 16 111 r. 3; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966: no. 3, p. 62.

⁹⁸⁸ SAA 10 349 r. 24; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966: no. 7, pp. 67–8.

⁹⁸⁹ SAA 1 138:13; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966: no. 6, pp. 65–6. The passage immediately before the title is broken and it remains unclear whether the *etinnus* are identified with their personal names or whether another individual (mentioned by name) came together with them.

⁹⁹⁰ SAA 5 56; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966: no. 2, pp. 60–2.

⁹⁹¹ SAA 15 151; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966: no. 5, pp. 64–5. Deller and Parpola refer to a third letter, a fragment, dealing with master builders, again written by Aššūr-dūr-pānīja. The letter has been read and interpreted differently in a recent edition (SAA 15 367).

supervise workmen directly. Ṭāb-šār-Aššūr reports to the king that the master builder Paqaḥa complained that there were no work leaders (*rādiu*), and thus he had to supervise 100 men personally, which also meant that only a limited number of workmen could be engaged.⁹⁹² Although *etinnus* had a superior position themselves, we also have a few references to the *rab etinni* or *rab etinnāti*, one of whom was required for laying out the foundations (SAA 16 111). On comparison with the typical Assyrian hierarchical structures, it is plausible that the master builders were united under a “chief of master builders”, equivalent to the Babylonian *šitimgallu*.⁹⁹³ The latter, as pointed out in the introduction, is only found in the Standard Babylonian inscriptions of Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon where he occurs as a central figure skilled in laying out the plans for representative (secular and religious) buildings to be constructed in Assyria and Babylonia. In the case of the reconstruction of Esagil in Babylon under Esarhaddon, the “skilled master builders” (*šitimgallī lē’ūte*) were accompanied by the “wise experts” (*ummānī enqūte*).⁹⁹⁴

As regards the aforementioned letter of Aššūr-dūr-pānīja to the king (SAA 5 56), Deller and Parpola (1966: 69) concluded that the master builders were organised in a kind of guild. When the king asked for junior (QĀL.MEŠ) master builders here, the treasurer replied that their junior sons (DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu QĀL.MEŠ) were only apprentices (LÚ.tal-mi-da-[ni]),⁹⁹⁵ capable of carrying utensils (*unūtu*).⁹⁹⁶ Whether “guild” is an appropriate term or not, presumably there existed some sort of internal organisation of the master builders which oversaw their training and thus ensured their professional continuity. In this respect it is only natural that family ties played an essential role, as also indicated by the wording of SAA 5 56.⁹⁹⁷ Guild-like structures with a high degree of kinship ties were also observed for the goldsmiths (and other craftsmen) who lived in 7th-century Assur (Radner 1999a: 31). It is not surprising that we encounter such characteristics here too, and that this especially involves

⁹⁹² SAA 1 65; cf. Deller and Parpola 1966: no. 1, pp. 59–60, 69. For *rādiu* see CAD R 246–51 s.v. *rēdū*; HAD 91 s.v. *rādiu*. Similarly, Jakob (2003: 460) observed for the Middle Assyrian period that *etinnus*, interpreting them as “Baumeister”, were called *bēlē perre* supervising *šābū perrūte* and probably also *šābū urāse*, whereas *perru* seems to denote an “Arbeitskommando” (cf. Jakob 2003: 30–1 with reference to J.N. Postgate).

⁹⁹³ For the *etinnu* (or *itinnu*) in Old Babylonian times it was also noted that they were organised in guilds involving an overseer called *aklu* or *šitimgallu* (CAD I/J 297).

⁹⁹⁴ RINAP 4 54:32’; 104 iii 36 (cf. 105 iv 30); 116 r. 14. For the events pertaining to the reconstruction of Babylon under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal based on contemporary letters see Streck 2002.

⁹⁹⁵ See CAD T 103; in Neo-Assyrian sources this term is only rarely attested; it occurs once in a Harran Census tablet along with blacksmiths (SAA 11 220 r. ii 3).

⁹⁹⁶ According to Deller and Parpola (1966: 61–2), the *qallūtu* contrast in line 5 with *rabūtu* and thus they infer that masters and apprentices of master builders are demanded by the king; their translation can no longer be sustained.

⁹⁹⁷ It is clear that DUMU does not necessarily refer to a biological son; nevertheless, this is likely here.

professions which required high qualifications and skills. Since these were subject to local influences, it is clear why we encounter a “Kassite” master builder (SAA 15 151), while the scholar Mār-Issār explicitly refers to an Assyrian master builder to be deployed in Der.⁹⁹⁸ In this respect it is also worth noting the master builders sent from the Ukkean ruler (see above), and pinpointing the fact that the personal name of the master builder Paqaḥa is Hebrew.⁹⁹⁹ In view of the master builder’s high degree of qualification, it is also clear that the availability of such skilled professionals was limited, a factor that was critical at times of huge building projects such as the establishment of Dur-Šarrukin.

19.2 The *rab šelappāie* and the *šelappāiu* (chief architect and architect)

There is another profession attested in Neo-Assyrian sources concerned with professional tasks very similar to those of the *etinnu*, namely the *šelappāiu*. There have been different attempts to interpret the Neo-Assyrian *šelappāiu* and its Middle Assyrian origin *šalimpāju*. With Freydank’s (1985) examination of the Middle Assyrian term, it became clear that the word actually derives from the personal name Šalim-pî-Ea, thought to have been borne by the founding father of this profession. Shortened to the gentilic *šalimpāju* already in the 13th century, it persisted, slightly changed through regressive assimilation to *šelappāiu*, into the Neo-Assyrian period. Although the term’s origin as a personal name does not provide any hints concerning the actual profession, Freydank, looking at the Middle Assyrian occurrences, proposed that the *šalimpāju* served as a designation for “architect” and “structural engineer”.¹⁰⁰⁰ This definition was accepted by Jakob who discussed the Middle Assyrian evidence for the *šalimpāju* (Jakob 2003: 461–5). Since we can safely rely on this reconstruction of the term’s development from Middle Assyrian times on, previous suggestions according to which the Neo-Assyrian *šelappāiu* denotes iron-smiths from the Pontus area,¹⁰⁰¹ or ancestors of the Šlubba-tribe who were skilled in metal-working (Postgate 1987a: 268–9), can be discounted and the translation “architect” can be retained for Neo-Assyrian *šelappāiu*.¹⁰⁰² In the Neo-Assyrian sources the syllabic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).še-lap-pa-a-a, [LÚ]/LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a, še-lap-a-a, LÚ.še-lap[-a-a], LÚ.še-e-[lap-pa-a-a],

⁹⁹⁸ SAA 10 349. The emphasis on an Assyrian master builder, however, is rather politically motivated and reflects territorial claims of Assyria to be defended.

⁹⁹⁹ Fuchs, PNA 3/I 987 s.v. Paqaḥa. Jakob (2003: 458) observed for the onomasticon of the Middle Assyrian *etinnu* that the majority bears non-Assyrian names.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Freydank 1985: 363. Deller (1987c: 60–1), following Freydank’s explanation regarding the term’s origin, interprets it as carpenter instead.

¹⁰⁰¹ See Kinnier Wilson 1972: 98–100; he argues for a connection with the Greek term Chalybes denoting a tribe thought to have invented ferrous metallurgy. This proposal is, with reservation, also given in AHW 1210 s.v. *šele/appāju/a*.

¹⁰⁰² Cf. CAD Š/2 270; HAD 114.

LÚ/LÚ*.še-la-pa-a-a (LÚ).še-lap and the very shortened form še are attested.¹⁰⁰³ The *rab šelappāie*, “chief architect”, which is only known from Neo-Assyrian sources (CAD Š/II 270), is written LÚ/LÚ*.GAL–še-lap-pa-a-a and LÚ*.GAL–še-lap-a-a. Apart from a discussion by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 98–100), no detailed examination of the Neo-Assyrian attestations has been undertaken to date.

The *rab šelappāie* is only attested as a witness in legal documents from Assur,¹⁰⁰⁴ Nineveh,¹⁰⁰⁵ and Imgur-Ilil (BT 106 r. 4, Urnî), dating to the reigns of Tiglath-pileser, Sargon and Assurbanipal. Similarly, the majority of references to the *šelappāiu* derives from witness lists. From the late 9th century on they occur as witnesses in legal documents from Kalhu,¹⁰⁰⁶ Assur,¹⁰⁰⁷ Nineveh,¹⁰⁰⁸ and Imgur-Ilil (BT 106 r. 6, Ḥaḥâ). As to their properties, the *šelappāius* dealt with slaves as in the case of Adad-kurbanni who sold six slaves to the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatû’a for five talents of copper in the reign of Shalmaneser IV or Aššūr-dān III (Edubba 10 8:2–3). The *šelappāiu* Qurdi-Gula, on the other hand, bought a slave for 1 ½ minas of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal (SAAB 9 127:7–9). According to a judicial document dating to the year 626*, a female slave was awarded to the architect Nabû-šallimšunu to the detriment of Ubrî, *ša-qurbūti* of the queen (VAT 19510:3). Assuming that the aforementioned architect Qurdi-Gula is identical with a homonymous man attested as a creditor in a contract from Assur, this architect was also owed two *emāru* one *sūtu* five *qū* of wheat (StAT 2 97:2). The architects’ involvement in trading is indicated by Sîn-šarru-ušur, listed along with 4 shekels (of silver), and Aššūr-lē’i, listed along with ½ mina (of silver), in records about commercial enterprises (Radner 2016 I.33:10; I.35:2). Apart from movable property, we learn that the house of the architect Nikuki adjoined one that was sold, presumably in Assur (StAT 3 20:5).

As to his professional tasks, the *šelappāiu* was a skilled professional. This may be also indicated by an account of “additional craftsmen(?)” which

¹⁰⁰³ For such shortened titles in 7th-century texts from Assur see Radner 2016: 97, comment on text no I.21.

¹⁰⁰⁴ SAAB 5 39 r. 8 (Nabû-dūrî); 9 103 r. 13’ (Ḥadudu); 127 r. 35 ([...]i); 136 r. 12 (Issār-šumu-iqīša).

¹⁰⁰⁵ SAA 6 11 r. 13’ ([...]bēlu-ka’în).

¹⁰⁰⁶ CTN 2 2 r. 20–21 (Lā-qēpu); 22 l.e. 31 (Abu-lēšîr); Edubba 10 4 r. 6’, 7’ (Sîsî, Ubru-lēšîr).

¹⁰⁰⁷ StAT 2 101 r. 12 (Šamaš-šumu-ušur); 102 r. 8’ (Abu-ul-îdi); 114 r. 6’–7’ (Adad-nāšîr); 141 r. 7 (Ulûlāiu); 181 r. 5 (Aššūr-bessūnu); 263 r. 17 (Sîn-na’di); StAT 3 2 r. 31 ([...]Issār); SAAB 5 35 r. 22 (Nabû-dūr-makî); 39 r. 9 (Mušallim-Aššūr); SAAB 9 103 r. 14’ (Šamaš-šumu-iddina); KAN 4 8 l.e. 2 (Silim-Aššūr); VAT 21000 r. 30’–31’, 40’ ([...]šumu-iddina, Nabû-dūr- [...]); Radner 2016 I.26 l.e. 1 (name lost).

¹⁰⁰⁸ SAA 6 132:13 (Na’di-Aššūr); 158 r. 2–3 (Baṭîti); 195 r. 1’ ([...]); SAA 14 120 r. 6, 7, 8 (Urdu-Nabû, Mušēzib-Aššūr, Nabû-šallimšunu); 169 r. 4 (Mîqtu-adur).

includes the *šelappāiu*.¹⁰⁰⁹ As pointed out in the introduction, the interpretation “architect” or “engineer” established for the Middle Assyrian *šalimpāju* seems also suitable for the Neo-Assyrian *šelappāiu*. In two letters to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) from Urdu-aḥḥēšu, an official stationed in Babylonia, we learn about the tasks of the architect Dīdī. He was appointed for the work on Esagil and was to lay the foundations.¹⁰¹⁰ However, Dīdī refused to do so in the absence of a royal order. In a broken section of the second letter it is reported that the same(?) Dīdī would not release the cedar roof beams, presumably for the work on Esagil (SAA 13 163:15). The association of the *šelappāius* with scribes underlines the impression that especially their planning and calculating skills were in demand. They are listed together with scribes in an administrative document (SAA 7 13:1–7), and are immediately followed by the scribes in the enumeration of professionals assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a in the decree concerning his appointment (SAA 12 83 r. 4). In the same text the *šelappāiu* is preceded by the cartwright, a profession with which he also appears in another document (ND 2728+ r. 11’). Similarly, he occurs together with carpenters (SAA 1 95 r. 1–2), different types of smiths (SAA 7 19:6’; CTN 3 87 r. 34) and stone manufacturers (SAA 7 19). Also in the lexical list from Nineveh he is listed immediately before the goldsmith (MSL 12 238 ii 2). These associations with craftsmen support our idea that the *šelappāiu* was active as a sort of architect, working at the interface between design, engineering and handicraft. As with the previously discussed *etinnu*, the laying out of the foundations appears to have been central to this profession too. Jakob, discussing the Middle Assyrian evidence for both terms, proposed that while the *šalimpāju* might have been especially concerned with the theoretical planning and measuring of plot and building, the *etinnu* was probably responsible for the supervision of the operations itself. Nevertheless, Jakob also points out that their skills presumably overlapped (Jakob 2003: 463–4). Although no clear distinction between the responsibilities associated with the two professions can be made based on the Neo-Assyrian evidence, the two terms are used rather differently when the type and background of the sources are taken into account. The *etinnu* is especially mentioned in the royal correspondence of Sargon with his magnates, whereas the *šelappāiu* is mainly attested in legal documents from Assur and occurs also in letters from the temple sphere to the king (SAA 13 29 l.e. 1; 161; 163). Since the latter term was established in Assur, it might be a question of local (linguistic) traditions rather than distinct professions.

¹⁰⁰⁹ ND 2728+ r. 11’. Note also the passage following the one mentioning the *šelappāiu* in CTN 3 87 according to which two towers are to be built by “craftsmen” (*ummānu*, CTN 3 87 r. 37).

¹⁰¹⁰ Expressed with the phrase *uššē karāru*, SAA 13 161:17’.

Presumably the architects, as assumed for the *etinnus* and other professional groups such as the goldsmiths (see Radner 1999a: 25–33), were organised in guild-like structures centred around family relationships. This is also based on the assumption that the career as an architect required an advanced education and that the necessary skills were usually passed on from father to son. Although this is primarily because they are well represented in the texts from the private archives of Assur, it is striking that comparatively many architects are known also with their father's name. Apart from scholarly professions, including scribes, as well as craftsmen such as goldsmiths, such an affiliation is in most cases omitted from the texts when they mention Neo-Assyrian individuals identified by a title, especially by an official one. A possibly case which reflects the *šelappāiu*'s close ties, by profession and kinship, is the architect Adad-kurbanni. He is said in a legal document dating to the year 780 or 770 to be the son of Lā-qēpu (Edubba 10 8:2-3), who in return is possibly identical with the architect Lā-qēpu who acted as a witness in the year 817 (CTN 2 2 r. 20–21). Their close ties are also reflected by the fact that many architects witnessed legal transactions jointly, with the chief architect and an architect occasionally acting together (SAAB 5 39 r. 8, 9). It also happened that the chief architect witnessed legal transactions involving an architect, such as the chief architect [...]i who was a witness when Qurdi-Gula bought a slave (SAAB 9 127:7–9). Assuming that we are dealing with guild-like structures, we may identify the chief architect with the profession's master who was regarded as the overall administrator and representative of the architects. Although we lack any proof, it is highly likely that the chief architect was recruited from among the architects.¹⁰¹¹

The excellent skills of the *šelappāiu* suggest that he was a comparatively privileged man in Assyrian society, as noted by Jakob for the Middle Assyrian *šalimpāju*.¹⁰¹² As to the Neo-Assyrian period, this is indicated by the fact that the *šelappāiu* is once recorded as a recipient of [x] amount of wine (CTN 1 4 r. 9). His ration, together with that of the ironsmith recorded in the same wine list, is qualified as “additional” (*tišābu*); the implications of this are unknown. According to an account of donkeys, architects were apparently provided with four dead (or old?) donkeys;¹⁰¹³ the background or purpose of this action, however, remains unclear (ND 2451:22). Notwithstanding the architect's rather privileged status, they—together with smiths and carpenters—seem to have been used for the harvesting of *ma'uttu*(-land) of the palace, as indicated by

¹⁰¹¹ Note therefore the chief architect Nabû-dūrī (SAAB 5 39 r. 8, 641*) who is possibly identical with the architect Nabû-dūr-makī (SAAB 5 35 r. 22, 629*/625*); see Cancik, PNA 2/II 823 s.v. Nabû-dūrī 5. and Nabû-dūr-makī 2.

¹⁰¹² Jakob 2003: 462–3, cf. already Freydanck 1985: 363.

¹⁰¹³ The donkeys are specified with BE which either refers to *mītu* (read ÚŠ), “dead”, or *labīru* (read TIL), “old”. The former, which is more likely, was assumed by the editor (Postgate 1974: 376–7).

the administrative document CTN 3 87 (r. 33–6). Their treatment as craftsmen among other craftsmen is also reflected in administrative documents from Nineveh and Kalhu where they are listed together with other skilled professionals (SAA 7 19:6'; ND 2728+ r. 11'). The document from Nineveh (together with SAA 7 13) also reveals their organisation via the palace. In addition, contingents of architects seem to have been kept by the governors, as suggested by the five architects of the governor of Kalhu mentioned in a letter probably written by Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur (SAA 1 95 r. 1–2). Also Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, appointed as organiser and supervisor of the establishment of Kalhu as the new imperial capital, was provided with architects (SAA 12 83 r. 4). The architects' temporary engagement in individual cities is perhaps also reflected when they are said to be "in Kummuhu" (ND 2451:22). Their occasional description as "from Kalhu" (Adad-kurbanni in Edubba 10 8:2–3), "from the Inner City" (VAT 19510:3), and possibly also "(from) the town of Ku[...]" (VAT 21000 r. 30'–31'), however, may rather refer to their geographical origin or administrative background. This possibly also implies kinship structures, which in the case of Assur is confirmed by the numerous references to architects in documents found in that city.

19.3 The *rab urāsi*, the *rab urāsāni* and the *urāsu* (chief mason and mason)

The term *urāsu* occurs first in texts dating to the second half of the second millennium (Middle Assyrian, Nuzi) and later appears in Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian sources (in the latter case as *urāšu*). The term's etymology is debated but it may be of Hurrian origin.¹⁰¹⁴ First, *urāsus* were defined as "städtische Beamte" who were active in the field of construction,¹⁰¹⁵ or as "Arbeitsleiter" (AHw 1428). In his article about the *urāsu*, Ahmad (1987–8: 60) similarly described the *urāsu* as an "overseer concerned with building operations". In the meantime it became clear that the *urāsus* were recruited from the lower levels of society and were to be understood as corvée workers and brick masons.¹⁰¹⁶ In the Neo-Assyrian period and later there is also a *rab urāsi*, a "foreman of the corvée workers" or a "chief mason", and we also find a single reference to an *ummān urāsi*, a "master of corvée workers" or a "master of brick masons", written *um-man ú-ra-si* (SAA 7 154 ii 15'). As to the Neo-Assyrian attestations

¹⁰¹⁴ Parpola 1983a: 267 (with reference to K. Deller), arguing against Postgate's proposal that *urāsu* (as **warrāsu*) may be related to the term *ursūtu* ("deposit").

¹⁰¹⁵ Klauber ²1968: 103, fn. 1. This was based on a misinterpretation of the *urāsu* mentioned in the inscriptions of Aššurnāširpal II (see tables below), where it is said that *urāsu*(-work) was imposed upon the conquered cities, i.e. that they had to deliver work force but not that *urāsus* were appointed there as authorities. Cf. Postgate (1995a: 3), arguing against Forrer's idea that *urāsus* were sub-governors.

¹⁰¹⁶ Note, however, that already Deller (1966: 194) expressed the "vague notion of a profession engaged in building operations".

of *urāsu*, it is written (LÚ/LÚ*)*.ú-ra-si*, while the *rab urāsi* or *rab urāsāni* appears as LÚ.GAL-*ú-ra-si* and LÚ.GAL-*ú-ra-sa-ni*. From a Neo-Assyrian letter (SAA 13 145 r. 1) we learn of the abstract term *urāsūtu* (LÚ**.ú-ra-su-tú*), translated as “brick masonry” or “corvée work”.¹⁰¹⁷ In the following paragraphs the *urāsu* and its related titles are translated “(brick) mason” and so on since such work appears to have been central to the *urāsu*’s activities.

The *rab urāsi ša Libbāli* is said to be in charge of the brick masons in a broken royal ritual text (SAA 20 55:26). *rab urāsis* without further qualification are attested in two letters: a fragmentary letter from the reign of Sargon mentions him together with the men (LÚ.ERIM) of the city of Nampigi (SAA 1 185:5). In a broken letter dating to the 7th century, the king is informed that the sender (name lost) issued an order concerning the *rab urāsi* (SAA 13 7:1’); we do not learn anything about the contents of this order. Another person supervising the brick masons apparently was the *ummān urāsi* (“expert of the (brick) masons”) listed as recipient of [x] sheep for consumption in a banquet account.¹⁰¹⁸

It is clear from the *urāsu*’s repeated occurrence especially in letters but also in other documents that they were construction workers deployed on building projects of the Assyrian state and employed at palace gates (StAT 2 252:10’–11’), at city gates (CTN 2 193:4), in city centres (CTN 2 193 r. 18), and at temples (SAA 5 294:1’, if restored correctly). Furthermore, we learn from a letter of Sargon addressed to 100 brick masons that they had just finished their work in Dur-Šarrukin (SAA 1 25:2), and we also encounter brick masons to be deployed in Assur (SAA 1 77 r. 2; 148 r. 7’). As to their precise function, they seem to have been engaged in the preparation and glazing of bricks. In a broken administrative document they are listed along with 400 prepared bricks (ND 2705:2). According to a letter from Urdu-aḥḥēšu to the king (Assurbanipal), the king of Babylon (Šamaš-šumu-ukīn) had given order that the *urāsu* should glaze baked bricks for the enclosure of Esagil (SAA 13 168 r. 13), while glazed bricks are mentioned in a broken letter also referring to the *urāsus* (SAA 16 204:8’). In a letter of the scholar Mār-Issār, the masons are once more associated with the glazing and the gilding of burnt bricks, though it remains unclear whether they did this here themselves or not.¹⁰¹⁹ Otherwise, it is stated in the letter to the governor of Kalhu that bricks were to be glazed at the city quay and, afterwards, probably to be taken by the masons.¹⁰²⁰ This suggests that they were not only glazing bricks themselves but were also responsible for their transport (and probably their subsequent laying). The *urāsu*’s involvement

¹⁰¹⁷ For the translations of *urāsu* as “corvée worker” see CAD U/W 208–9; for *urāsu* as “brick mason” see HAD 130.

¹⁰¹⁸ SAA 7 154 ii 15’. The [x] *’ša¹³ É-UŠ-u-te* in line ii 16’ is rather a separate entry.

¹⁰¹⁹ SAA 10 368 r. 9’, for the letter’s background see Parpola 1983a: 276–8.

¹⁰²⁰ CTN 2 193 r. 18; the reading [L]Ú₆.*ú-ra-se li-ši-ú²¹*, though, is uncertain and Postgate states that it is also possible to read LÚ.MÁ.LAH₆ ŠE *li-ši-u* (Postgate 1973: 192).

in the supply of materials for construction works is also indicated by other letters. According to a letter of the governor of Assur to the king (Sargon), it was arranged by the mayors, the *urāsus* and the elders that the *urāsus* of the Inner City should supply beams as a replacement for broken beams, for the wood store for the iron brazier in the palace of the Inner City (SAA 1 77 r. 2). Similarly, the masons together with the “sons of the bought (slaves)” are referred to as suppliers of materials (for construction) for the Inner City.¹⁰²¹

As to the recruitment of *urāsus*, we learn from the inscriptions of Aššurnāṣirpal that he imposed (the supply of) labourers (*urāsu*) together with tribute and taxes upon conquered lands,¹⁰²² though this term does not occur in similar passages of inscriptions of the succeeding kings. The *urāsus*’ engagement via the *ilku*-system is clear from a broken conveyance document from Assur. A certain Bēl-mutaqqin, apparently obliged to deliver *urāsus* for construction works in the Inner City, bought people to provide the required workforce.¹⁰²³ Brick masons qualified as “of Kutha” (SAA 13 166:18) and “of Libbāli” (SAA 1 77 r. 2; StAT 2 120:6’–7’) were apparently recruited from these geographical areas or rather administrative domains. Otherwise, *urāsus* are (if restored correctly) recorded together with “bitumen workers” in an administrative document and are said to “give (i.e. perform) work” (*dullu tadānu*) in the house of the deputy treasurer.¹⁰²⁴ From a broken letter written to the king (Esarhaddon) we learn that the need for *urāsu* was also covered by the deployment of *kallāpus* (SAA 16 90:6’). Usually translated as “outrider”, recent attempts to interpret this title have tried to show that it denotes a particular type of soldier, either a foot-soldier (Postgate 2000a: 104–5) or an un-armoured cavalry member (Fales 2009a: 92–3). However, the *urāsus* usually were not skilled specialist workers, as was the case with the *ummān urāsi* (SAA 7 154) but included manpower recruited from different spheres via the *ilku*-system for temporary commitments.¹⁰²⁵ This is also evident from a letter of Nabû-mušēši according to which the king (Esarhaddon) is informed that the temple weavers are doing masonry duty (*urāsūtu*) (SAA 13 145 r. 1). Regarding the *urāsu*’s association with “sons of the female palace servants” (SAA 177 r. 2), “sons

¹⁰²¹ SAA 1 148 r. 7’. In both letters (SAA 1 77 and 148) the task of supplying materials (for repair works) is expressed with the phrase *batqu kašāru*, cf. section 14.6 The *rab batqi* (“chief of repairs”).

¹⁰²² RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 ii 90, 100; cf. A.0.101.19:99.

¹⁰²³ StAT 2 120:6’–7’. According to CTN 2 193 it seems that a certain Kišir-Aššūr had to provide *urāsus* for the work in the city centre (CTN 2 193 r. 18).

¹⁰²⁴ CTN 3 90:9–10. For the bitumen workers it is restored ‘LÚ*²¹.qī-¹ru²-te²¹’ in line 10, rendering a term which is otherwise not attested but may refer to *qīru* (“bitumen”), see Dalley and Postgate 1984: 154. Also the letter SAA 10 368, bearing a reference to the *urāsus*, deals with the transport of bitumen (*kupru*).

¹⁰²⁵ For the Neo-Babylonian period Jursa (1995: 121, fn. 234) defines the *urāsu* as “Fron-dienstarbeiter”.

of bought (slaves)” (SAA 1 148 r. 7’), workmen (*ṣābū*, SAA 1 185:5; CTN 2 193:4) and, if restored correctly, bitumen workers (CTN 3 90:10), it is all the more clear that they were dependent labourers. In contrast to the workmen recruited for construction works and military service, they were specifically employed for construction works and for the supply of material for construction works. The royal letter SAA 1 25, addressed to 100 masons, suggests that they were organised in groups comprising 100 individuals, possibly supervised by a *rab urāsi/urāsāni*. Although we lack any clear indication, it is likely that the previously discussed *etinnus* and *šelappāius* had *urāsī* at their disposal (see also p. 413 fn. 992).

20 CARPENTERS

The title *naggāru* is a Sumerian loanword (NAGAR) known already in Old Akkadian texts. It designates professionals skilled in the manufacture of wooden items and is usually translated as “carpenter”. The chief carpenter (*rab naggāri*) is not attested before the Neo-Assyrian period and the term continues to be in use in the Neo-Babylonian period.¹⁰²⁶ In the Neo-Assyrian sources the title is usually written (LÚ/LÚ*).NAGAR, but it occurs once with the syllabic writing LÚ*.na-gi-ri (ND 2760:17’). The *rab naggāri* is written (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–NAGAR and, if restored correctly, GAL–NAGAR.[MEŠ]. As to specialised carpenters, the “cartwright” (*naggār mugirri*), the “wagon-maker” (*naggār tallakti*) and the “axe-maker” (*naggār pāši*) are attested in Neo-Assyrian texts.¹⁰²⁷ Among the comparatively frequent references to the cartwright we find the writings LÚ*.NAGAR–GIŠ.mu-gir/gír-ri, (LÚ/LÚ*).NAGAR–mu-gir, LÚ*.NAGAR–GIŠ.UMBIN.MEŠ, LÚ.NAGAR–UMBIN, NAGAR.GIGIR and possibly NAGAR–GIŠ.[GIGIR]. The wagon-maker is only attested once, with the writing LÚ.NAGAR–GIŠ.tal-lak.MEŠ. The single axe-maker attested in Neo-Assyrian sources is written LÚ*.NAGAR–pa-a-ši (SAA 5 71:5–7). As to other professionals concerned with wood, in a letter of Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, and the chief Na’di-ilu to the king cutters (of wood) are sent to the city of Luriste to cut timber (SAA 1 98:11: LÚ*.na-ki-su-te). The term *nākisu* usually refers to cutters of meat, hence butchers, who are discussed in section 4.2.2 Butchers and cutters. Jakob (2003: 442–3) examined the Middle Assyrian records dealing with carpenters, but the Neo-Assyrian evidence has not previously been discussed.

¹⁰²⁶ CAD N/1 112–14 s.v. *naggāru*; cf. AHW 710 s.v. *naḡāru(m)*.

¹⁰²⁷ CAD cites attestations of carpenters concerned with boats, doors, wagons, chariots, statues and figurines (CAD N/1 113–4 b.1’–4’); cf. Jakob (2003: 450–2) on the Middle Assyrian evidence.

Chief carpenters occur twice as witnesses. The chief carpenter Qali is attested as a witness in the reign of Aššūr-nērāri V (StAT 3 10 r. 22), and his colleague Šaiādu witnessed a legal transaction in the reign of Esarhaddon where he is listed after the treasurer (SAA 6 265 r. 6). Carpenters witnessing legal transactions are attested in texts from 8th- and 7th-century Kalhu,¹⁰²⁸ 7th-century Nineveh,¹⁰²⁹ and 7th-century Assur.¹⁰³⁰ As active parties to legal transactions, carpenters are attested as debtors of silver. The carpenter Nūr-Šamaš owed 4 shekels of silver to Issār-nādin-aḥḥē (KAN 4 39:4–5) and the cartwright Gīrītu owed 8 ½ minas of silver to the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (SAA 14 169:3). Both transactions date from the reign of Assurbanipal. Possible evidence for the carpenter's involvement in trading enterprises is provided by a record of silver amounts from Assur where an unnamed carpenter is listed along with 1 ¾ shekels (of silver) (StAT 1 47 ii 3'; cf. 48 r. 3'). In another document from Assur a cartwright is listed along with 30 shekels (of silver) of income (Radner 2016 I.52:2), the background though remains unclear. Other occurrences of carpenters concerned with amounts of silver are found in administrative documents from Nineveh. The chief carpenter Padī is listed alongside [x] amount of silver owed to the province of Si'immē, represented by its deputy (governor) Sime-ilā.¹⁰³¹ The entry for the cartwright [...]bi? along with [x] amount of silver and 50 (*emāru* of) barley rations in another, broken administrative list from Nineveh (SAA 7 39 i' 7') might bear a similar background and possibly records [...]bi? as a debtor of silver and grain.

We learn from a broken conveyance document from Burmarina of a carpenter, Sepi', who acted as a joint seller of an unknown commodity (TSF 5:2). As to properties owned by carpenters, we encounter the carpenter of the domain of the crown prince as owner of a house (in Assur) adjoining that being sold to the brewer [Aḥu]-lē'i, also a member of the crown prince's household (StAT 1 23:5'). Another reference to a house owned by a carpenter is possibly found in an early text from Guzana according to which 4 donkeys therein are mustered (TH 39:10). However, the "house" here could also refer to the domain of the carpenter, instead of a building owned by the carpenter. In an administrative record from 8th-century Šibaniba carpenters are listed along with two estates possibly provided to them by the state (via the provincial

¹⁰²⁸ 8th century: Gīr-Aia (CTN 2 43 r. 19), Zilī (CTN 2 91 l.e. 37, cartwright). 7th century: Pušḥu (ND 3424 l.e. 1).

¹⁰²⁹ Rēmāni-Adad (SAA 6 96 r. 9), Urdu-Inūrta (SAA 6 244 r. 8'), Abdī (SAA 14 136 r. 5'). Cartwrights: Bābānu (SAA 6 124 r. 9).

¹⁰³⁰ Urdu-Aššūr (SAAB 9 124 t.e. 27), [...]ālik (SAAB 5 44 r. 3'), Nabū-šumu-iškun (SAAB 5 58 r. 12'). Cartwrights: Issār-na'di (FNALD 17 r. 5), Lā-turammāni-Aššūr (StAT 3 3 r. 26; 18 l.e. 33, without title). Cartwright of the temple: Gidgiddānu (VAT 10491 r. 6').

¹⁰³¹ SAA 7 28 i 9. It is the phrase *ina pāni* in i 6 which suggests that the silver (and other commodities) listed here are owed to the province Si'immē and not vice versa (Fales and Postgate 1992: XX).

administration). The same entry also includes the reference to four ERIM.ME which presumably denote the number of workmen or soldiers the carpenters had to provide in return for usufruct of the two estates which therefore can be described as a sort of prebendary lands (Billa 85:16).

If restored correctly, an unnamed chief carpenter is listed as a recipient of wine in a record from 8th-century Kalhu (CTN 3 122 r. 17'). In addition, an unnamed cartwright is provided with an unknown amount of wine according to a wine list dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III (CTN 3 145 r. iv 23). Although these instances suggest a palace connection, no carpenter is explicitly designated as a member of the royal household; in contrast, there are single attestations of a carpenter of the domain of the crown prince (StAT 1 23:5') and of a temple carpenter (Gidgiddānu, VAT 10491 r. 6'). The royal household prevailed over these skilled men, regardless of their current affiliation. Since their employment was controlled by the palace, it is not surprising that we hear of carpenters who were sent to the palace by royal order. This is the case with the carpenters of the temple-enterers Iddin-aḥi and Ina-qībi-Bēl sent to the king by the Babylonian scholar Rāši-ili (SAA 13 177:10). Similarly, the axe-maker Šimkī-Aia from Damascus was sent to the king, accompanied by a messenger, by the chief cupbearer Na'di-ilu (SAA 5 71:5–7). While cartwrights among other craftsmen may have been brought from Assur to Kalhu under the aegis of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a in the course of the establishment of the new capital in the reign of Aššurnāširpal II (SAA 12 82:5; 83 r. 4),¹⁰³² an increased use of carpenters in construction works for the new imperial capital Dur-Šarrukin is indicated by the correspondence of Sargon. In a letter of Bēl-liqbi, governor of Šupat, to the king, the sender gives reasons (escape and illness) for the diminished number of carpenters of his who were brought to Dur-Šarrukin, as ordered by the king (SAA 1 179 r. 13). Also from another letter to Sargon (sender lost) we learn that carpenters (together with potters) should have been provided by sheikhs for their work in Dur-Šarrukin (SAA 15 280:14'), but the sheikhs did not agree to this. Apart from these central places of action, Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, reports on carpenters who insisted on doing their work in the city Sapirritu located in the province Suhu on the middle Euphrates (SAA 1 96:6, r. 7).

As to the different types of wood the carpenters worked with, the letter of Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, to the king refers not only to carpenters but also to stakes (*ziqpu*) (SAA 1 96 r. 1). In a broken proverb cited in a Babylonian letter of Bēl-iqīša to Sargon kindling wood (*gibillu*) is mentioned along with a carpenter (SAA 17 27 r. 14–15), and the governor of Šupat, Bēl-liqbi,

¹⁰³² The recruitment of professionals from Assur in this context may be indicated by a broken passage of one of the exemplars of the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (SAA 12 83:6'), see also Radner 1999a: 11–2.

refers to *gumakilu*-wood (GIŠ.gu-ma-ki-li) in a letter also dealing with the commitment of his carpenters (SAA 1 179 r. 13, 20). According to Neo-Assyrian sources they created wooden (offering) pipes for the gods Adad and Babu, as is evident from a letter of the priest Taqīša to the temple steward Aššūr-šarru-ušur (SAA 13 40:13). Furthermore, they (together with the engravers) are said to have finished their work on (presumably wooden) divine statues which are now waiting to be overlaid with gold (SAA 10 349:21). Also in an inscription of Esarhaddon about the refurbishment of divine statues for Babylon, selected carpenters are, together with other skilled craftsmen including the goldsmiths, said to have been employed by the king in the workshop (*bēt mumme*) of Aššur.¹⁰³³ Specific items manufactured by carpenters, judging by their titles, include carts, wagons and axes. As for the distinction between the *naggār mugirri* and the *naggār tallakti*, I assume that the former manufactured the wooden parts (wheels and vehicle body) of war chariots and the latter of heavier vehicles for other purposes such as transport (cf. CAD T 99 s.v. *tallaktu* 4). A *naggār pāši* is also attested in Middle Assyrian sources and was, in contrast to the translation given here (following HAD 82), interpreted as a carpenter whose primary tool was an axe to prepare wood for covering palace walls (according to MARV 2 17: 99–100, Jakob 2003: 452). Although one cannot rule out the informative Middle Assyrian reference, it would nevertheless be exceptional for *pāšu* in this context to denote the instrument of his craft rather than its product, also because one would expect other types of carpenters to work with the help of axes. Moreover, it seems plausible that the manufacture of wooden shafts of axes (and other tools and weapons) necessitated a specialised craftsman, so I retain here the translation “axe-maker”. Apart from manufacturing new objects and assisting in construction work (for instance, in Dur-Šarrukin), repair works were another task of carpenters, as is clear from a letter of Mannu-kī-Libbāli of Tušhan to the treasurer(?). The sender complains about the lack of supervisory officials to guard the smiths, carpenters and other craftsmen who should clean and repair military equipment (ZTT 22:10).

On account of their professional concerns, the carpenters are recurrently associated with a few other types of craftsmen in particular. In a fragment of a letter from Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, to the king, carpenters and architects are mentioned (SAA 1 95:9′). In the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a architects are enumerated immediately after the carpenters (SAA 12 82:5; 83 r. 4). Apart from being associated with architects, carpenters particularly occur alongside smiths (including goldsmiths). The carpenter Rēmāni-Adad is listed after the chief goldsmith Ḫambī in the witness list of a conveyance document (SAA 6 96 r. 8, 9). In a legal document from Assur

¹⁰³³ RINAP 4 48 r. 81. For a discussion of the *bēt mumme* of the Aššur Temple and the craftsmen (*ummānu*) working therein see Menzel (1981 I: 287) and Radner (1999a: 36).

the carpenter Urdu-Aššūr precedes the smith Urdu-Aššūr in the witness list (SAAB 9 124 t.e. 27, 28). Another witness list, headed by the carpenter Issār-na'di, records two smiths.¹⁰³⁴ Furthermore, the cartwright Gīrītu does business with the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (SAA 14 169:2, 3). Also in the lexical list from Huzirina this strong association of the carpenters with smiths is confirmed: the (broken) section dealing with the carpenters (including the chief carpenter) is followed by a section listing different types of smiths (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 1'–12'). Carpenters together with goldsmiths and a few other craftsmen are said to have been employed in the workshop of Aššur by Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 48 r. 81). In a letter of Bēl-liqbi, governor of Šupat, to the king, the sender reports about what Abattu, cartwright of Bēl-šarru-ušur, and the smith Qannî, in the service of the same man, told him (broken) (SAA 1 179 r. 21–22). The strong association of carpenters with smiths is clearly based on their related tasks and their involvement in the manufacture of the same objects such as chariots and statues.

In the letter SAA 15 280 carpenters were demanded from the sheikhs in order to command Samaritans stationed in Dur-Šarrukin. Similarly, Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, asked for 50 out of 100 Itu'eans of the governor of Arrapha stationed in Šibtu to be brought to Assur "to serve" (*ina pāni uzuzzu*) the carpenters.¹⁰³⁵ As skilled craftsmen, carpenters were in demand to instruct and guard unskilled (or differently trained) men, including deportees. They are occasionally referred to as skilled men, *ummānu*, in everyday documents such as the two aforementioned letters to the king (Sargon).¹⁰³⁶ Furthermore, [x] cartwrights and four wagon-makers are among other professionals listed probably as "additional craftsmen(?)" (ND 2728+ l.e. 1: [LÚ.um-ma]-ni tar-di-tú) on the reverse of another record (ND 2728+ r. 10', 12'). Note also the witness list, mentioning the carpenter Nabû-šumu-iškun, which is headed by the *rab ummāni* Sangi-Issār (SAAB 5 58 r. 10', 12').

Apart from their professional engagements, carpenters had to fulfil state service in the context of which they are rather referred to as workmen (or soldiers). Hence, the carpenter Za[...]tu who is counted as one out of 31 LÚ*.ERIM.MEŠ in a record from Guzana may have been recruited as manpower (TH 114 r. 10'). Similarly, carpenters had to provide manpower, either in person or by a substitute, in return for having land at their disposal (Billa 85:16). In general it seems that the carpenters fulfilled state service especially by harvesting activities. According to the account of *ilkakāte* payments made

¹⁰³⁴ FNALD 17 r. 5, 7–8; cf. the witness list of StAT 3 18 which records two smiths and Lā-turamanni-Aššūr, to be identified with the homonymous cartwright in StAT 3 3 r. 26 who is also accompanied by smiths (including blacksmiths and goldsmiths).

¹⁰³⁵ SAA 1 97 r. 10'; cf. the letter fragment SAA 1 95 where Itu'eans and 22 (out of 30) carpenters are mentioned too.

¹⁰³⁶ SAA 15 280:14': LÚ*.um-ma-ni; SAA 1 179 r. 18: LÚ*.UM.ME.A.MEŠ.

by the treasurer of Arbail to the palace, carpenters were engaged as harvesters for *ma'uttu*(-land) of the palace together with other craftsmen such as smiths and architects (CTN 3 87 r. 34). In another record from contemporary Kalhu, possibly with similar background, the carpenters are recorded as harvesters of the town Nirgi; they were also obliged to give barley rations and straw as an audience gift (*nāmurtu*), as was done by their fathers and grandfathers (CTN 3 90:13). Possibly related to this issue is another reference to carpenters in an account of barley rations from 8th-century Kalhu. Here “one town (of) the carpenters” is recorded as having handed over 300 out of 12,800 *emāru* of grain rations to the treasury of the granary master of the land of Birtu (ND 2791:6'). Like in the text from Šibaniba, the carpenters might have had land at their disposal for the benefit of which they had to hand in part of their crop yield (instead of providing man power). In addition, the four donkeys in the “house” of the carpenter, which are said to be mustered, might refer to another obligatory contribution made by a carpenter (or a contingent of carpenters) to the army (TH 39:10).

21 MAKERS OF BOW AND ARROWS

The term *sasinnu* (*zazinnu*) is first attested in Old Akkadian texts and is interpreted as “maker of bows and arrows”.¹⁰³⁷ In the Neo-Assyrian sources it is written (LÚ/LÚ*).ZADIM, ZADIM-*ni* (SAA 14 97:5), LÚ*.*sa-si-nu* (SAA 14 271 r. 11') and also *za-zi-ni* (in a Babylonian letter).¹⁰³⁸ In Neo-Assyrian the *sasinnu* is often qualified depending on whether he specialised in the manufacture of either bows or arrows. Hence we encounter the *sasin qašāti* (“bow-maker”), with the writings LÚ*.ZADIM–BAN.(ME), LÚ*.ZADIM.(MEŠ)–GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ and LÚ.ZADIM–GIŠ.BAN.(TAG.GA).MEŠ, the *sasin ušši* (“arrow-maker”), written LÚ.ZADIM–GIŠ.GAG.TI.MEŠ and LÚ*.ZADIM–GAG.TI, and the *sasin šiltāhi* (also “arrow-maker”), written LÚ.ZADIM–GIŠ.GAG.TAG.GA.MEŠ.¹⁰³⁹ The latter only occurs in the lexical lists. Also, the *rab sasinni*, written (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–ZADIM, is attested in Neo-Assyrian texts.

¹⁰³⁷ CAD S 191–2; cf. AHw 1032.

¹⁰³⁸ SAA 17 199 r. 3'. The *sasinnu* is not to be confused with the *zadimmu*, either written (LÚ).ZA.DÍM but also LÚ.ZADIM. Since after the Ur III period it mainly appears in lexical lists (CAD Z 10), the reading of LÚ.ZADIM as *sasinnu* is assured for the Neo-Assyrian period.

¹⁰³⁹ CAD Q 147–54 s.v. *qaštu*; CAD U/W 289 s.v. *ūšu* (*uššu*); CAD S/II 448–50 s.v. *šiltāhu* 1.

As a witness the *sasinnus* (including a *rab sasinni* and a *sasin qašāti*) occur in documents from 8th-century Assur,¹⁰⁴⁰ 7th-century Assur,¹⁰⁴¹ and 7th-century Nineveh.¹⁰⁴² As to *sasinnus* attested as active parties to legal transactions, Inūrtī, Rēmū'a and Šēp-Issār, *sasinnus* of the governor of Kalhu, owe five *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabû (ND 5452:3–5). Also, Tuqūn-Issār, bow-maker of Aššur, owes 30 shekels of silver in the reign of Assurbanipal and therefore gives his servant Nabû-nādin-aḫi as a pledge (SAA 14 97:4–5). Ilumma-lidgul, attested as *sasinnu* in Radner 2016 I.11, invests in a business enterprise (Radner 2016 I.35; amount of invested silver is lost). With regard to purchases, the *rab sasinni* Issār-šarru-ibni is recorded as a seller in a broken legal document (SAA 14 459:1) and the *sasinnu* Ulūlāiu occurs as a seller of land on another broken tablet (SAA 14 140:2). Otherwise, we learn that the *sasinnu* [...]–Aššūr owned a house (in Assur) adjoining one sold in the reign of Assurbanipal (StAT 3 69:8). Possibly also the *sasinnu* Ilumma-lidgul is attested as an owner of a house next to the one being sold (in Assur), assuming that the man bearing the same name is identical with him (Radner 2016 I.8:6).

Similar to other types of craftsmen, the majority of the evidence from legal transactions indicates that the *sasinnus* were particularly well-established in Assur, where they were presumably related to the temple sphere. While this is certainly owed in part to the uneven distribution of sources, their association with Assur and thus with the temple sphere is supported by the fact that a *rab sasinni* is only attested in Assur. Furthermore, the bow-maker Tuqūn-Issār is qualified as “of Aššur” (SAA 14 97) and an account of barley rations from the Aššur Temple bears an entry for the *sasinnu* [...]–bēlu-ušur who was provided with one *emāru* of barley (StAT 2 2:8). On the other hand, different types of *sasinnus* are also attested as recipients of wine in lists from 8th-century Kalhu. This is true for Nabû-šumu-lēšir who occurs in a fragment of a wine list (CTN 3 125 r. 1) and is possibly identical with a homonymous man recorded in another broken wine list (CTN 3 133 i 7). In both entries the given amount of wine is lost. Otherwise, we learn of a group of bow-makers (*sasin qašāti*) receiving two *qū* of wine (CTN 3 145 r. iii 12), and an Elamite bow-maker (*sasin qašāti*) provided with [x] amount of wine (CTN 3 145 r. iv 13). From the reign of Sargon we learn of an unspecified group of *sasinnus* who received one *sūtu* of bread or beer (CTN 1 35 ii 19'). Apart from these rations of (food and) drink recorded and provided by the palace, a deployment of the *sasinnu* outside the temple sphere is also evident from a letter from Tušhan from the late 7th century. Here, the treasurer(?) receives a letter from the despairing Mannu-kī-Libbāli

¹⁰⁴⁰ Nūnī (StAT 2 234 r. 11), Aḫi-nāši (StAT 2 102 r. 7'), Aššūr-šumu-iddina (SAAB 9 136 r. 19).

¹⁰⁴¹ Issār-šarru-ibni (SAAB 9 132 r. 10, *rab sasinni*), Aššūr-bēl-ilāni (StAT 2 284 r. 5), Ilumma-lidgul (Radner 2016 I.9 l.e. 1), Ilumma-lidgul and Iqbi-Aššūr (Radner 2016 I.11 r. 5, 6), Ātanḫa-ilu (StAT 2 81 b.e. 23).

¹⁰⁴² Aššūr-šarru-ušur (SAA 14 271 r. 11'–12'), Makkamê (SAA 6 97 r. 11, *sasin qašāti*).

who is apparently left alone with all the skilled workmen including makers of bows and arrows, who are to clean and repair military equipment (ZTT 22:11). While these men presumably worked under the jurisdiction of the governor of Tušhan, three bow-makers who owed barley from the temple are qualified as “of the governor of Kalhu” (ND 5452:3–5). Although the temple of Aššur seems to have been a relevant institution for the placement and organisation of bow-makers, especially within the Review Palace in the imperial capital and in the provincial domains bow-makers were employed in order to prepare military equipment.

It is noteworthy that bow-makers (with or without further qualification) repeatedly occur alongside professionals concerned with textiles, leather and felt. This is the case in the wine list CTN 3 145 where they are mentioned next to weavers (including scarf weavers). In the bread or beer list CTN 1 35 bleachers and tanners are listed before the *sasinnus* and in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a the bow-maker is listed before the weaver, the fuller and the scarf-weaver (SAA 12 83 r. 7). Similarly, weavers and tailors are enumerated immediately after the bow- and the arrow-makers in the letter of Mannu-kī-Arbail to the treasurer(?) (ZTT 22:11). Also in the lexical list from Huzirina the section listing the makers of bows and arrows is placed between the sections dealing with tanners and felt-workers (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 17’–28’). These associations may be owed to the fact that the products of the makers of bows and arrows formed part of the soldier’s outfit, and that also leather (for the quiver) and tendons were needed by the *sasinnus*.¹⁰⁴³ A stronger association with their actual product is reflected in the lexical list from Nineveh, where the makers of bows and arrows are followed by the archers (MSL 12 238 r. iv 6–11). The separate listing of an Elamite *sasinnu* in a wine list (CTN 3 145 r. iv 13) indicates that specialists from the east were in particular in demand for the manufacture of bows for the Assyrian army. The present Elamite bow-maker may have been engaged for the royal equipment in particular. Whether there is any special significance in the fact that two *sasinnus* are said to be from Donkey-Driver Town (Ulūlāiu in SAA 14 140:2, Aššūr-šarru-ušur in SAA 14 271 r. 11’–12’) remains open.

22 SMITHS

In Neo-Assyrian sources we find smiths without specification and smiths specialised in iron, copper, bronze, silver and gold, though the latter two seem to have been usually united under one profession. The basic Akkadian word

¹⁰⁴³ Cf. a passage in the Ugaritic epic of Aqhar where the material for the manufacture of a (composite-)bow, including wood, tendons, horn and reed, is listed (KTU 1.17 VI 20–23, in Jakob 2003: 471).

for smith is *nappāhu* (Sumerian SIMUG), deriving from the verb *napāhu* (“to blow, to hiss”) and already attested in Old Akkadian texts. The titles attached to specialised smiths are compounds formed with *nappāhu* and the type of metal in question. From the Neo-Assyrian sources we learn of the *nappāh parzilli* (ironsmith, LÚ.SIMUG–AN.BAR),¹⁰⁴⁴ the *nappāh erê* (coppersmith, LÚ.SIMUG–URUDU),¹⁰⁴⁵ and the *nappāh siparri* (bronze-smith, LÚ.SIMUG–UD.KA.BAR). Similarly, the logographic writing LÚ.SIMUG–KUG.GI for “goldsmith” in Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources was used to be read *nappāh hurāši*.¹⁰⁴⁶ However, Parpola (1988b) established the reading *šarrāpu* (LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI), deriving from the verb *šarāpu* (“to refine”) instead;¹⁰⁴⁷ gold- and silversmiths were referred to by the same term.¹⁰⁴⁸ Analogous to that, the female gold- and silversmith was designated *šarraptu*.¹⁰⁴⁹ Parpola’s proposal was adopted by Radner (1999a: 42–3) and Jakob (2003: 446) and is followed here. Apart from the logographic writing LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI, we also encounter the Babylonian (from Old Babylonian onwards) writing KUG.DÍM for the goldsmith in Neo-Assyrian sources. Despite the use of the loanword *kutimmu* in Babylonian dialect (CAD K 608–9 s.v. *kutimmu*), it was suggested by Radner that LÚ.KUG.DÍM may also be read *šarrāpu* in Neo-Assyrian sources.¹⁰⁵⁰ Whether or not this is the case, both writings designate the same profession.¹⁰⁵¹ Apart from the copper-smith, all these different types of smiths are listed in a section of a lexical list dealing with smiths (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 5’–12’). In addition to these specialisations, there is a “smith of the chariot” (*nappāhu ša mugirri*) of the household of the commander-in-chief attested in a broken legal document (StAT 1 46:9’–10’). As

¹⁰⁴⁴ The *nappāh parzilli* is already attested in Middle Assyrian sources (Jakob 2003: 442). Note in particular the letter BATSH 4/1 16 from the 13th century (Jakob 2003: 444–5), which deals with the processing of iron. There are also two references to the *ša-parzillēšu* (“iron man”) in a broken administrative document (ND 2440 r. ii 7, 9). Like other *ša-x-šu* professions, they may have either processed, collected, transferred or supplied iron or commodities made of iron; see Radner 1999c: 120–6.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Similar to the *ša-parzillēšu* (see fn. 1044), we find a single *ša-erêšu* (“copper man”) in the sources (SAA 14 430 r. 2). He is attested as a surety (*urki’u*).

¹⁰⁴⁶ CAD N/I 307–10 s.v. *nappāhu* and CAD N/I 263–4 s.v. *napāhu* 1; cf. AHw 739 and Kinnier Wilson 1972: 64.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Parpola particularly based his conclusion on syllabic writings (SAA 11 222 r. 4, 13; OrNS 37 8:3), see below. It is supported by the Syriac term *šarrāpa* meaning “refiner of silver” and Hebrew *šōrēp* “gold- and silversmith” (see Parpola 1988b: 78–80).

¹⁰⁴⁸ To simplify matters the term is translated here as “goldsmith”.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Mullissu-taqiša, designated KUG.DIM (StAT 2 45:2), is the only female representative of this profession in the Neo-Assyrian sources.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Radner 1999a: 42–3. Her suggestion is mainly based on the legal document StAT 1 22 which gives both logographic writings.

¹⁰⁵¹ To simplify matters the few references to KUG.DIM/DÍM are listed under the *šarrāpus* below. Kwasman (2001–2: 222) did not agree with Radner’s hypothesis and assumes that the *kutimmu* was a “subcategory or professional speciality” related to the SIMUG.KUG.GI, in the light of StAT 1 22. Such a specialisation is by no means proven and does not seem very likely.

with other professional groups, we also find *rab*-x officials among the smiths: we learn of the “chief smith” or “master of smiths” (*rab nappāḫi*) and the “chief goldsmith” or “master of goldsmiths” (*rab šarrāpi*) from Neo-Assyrian sources; neither title is known to me from other periods.¹⁰⁵²

The title “chief smith” is written LÚ.GAL–SIMUG (StAT 3 14 r. 21; MSL 12 233 ii(B) 12′) and GAL–SIMUG.MEŠ (StAT 3 35 i 8), and the title “chief goldsmith” is written (LÚ/LÚ*).GAL–SIMUG.KUG.GI, and once LÚ*.GAL–SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ (SAA 6 96 r. 8). With both titles a translation “master of the (gold)smiths” may be more appropriate, judging by the occasional plural marker. For smiths without specification in Neo-Assyrian sources the logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).SIMUG and once LÚ.NIN.[Á].GAL (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 6′) are attested, while a fragment of a Babylonian letter bears the syllabic writing LÚ.nap-pa-ḫ[a-ni] for the plural rendering *nappāḫāni* of this professional title, if restored correctly.¹⁰⁵³ Female smiths, as attested in an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 24 r. 5), are written MÍ.SIMUG, *nappāḫtu*. We find the logographic writings (LÚ/LÚ*).SIMUG–AN.BAR for the blacksmith (*nappāḫ parzilli*), (LÚ/LÚ*).SIMUG–URUDU for the copper-smith (*nappāḫ erê*) and (LÚ/LÚ*).SIMUG–UD.KA.BAR for the bronze-smith (*nappāḫ siparri*). The writings of goldsmith in Neo-Assyrian sources are (LÚ/LÚ*).SIMUG.KUG.GI, (LÚ).KUG.DIM/DÍM and once LÚ.KUG.GI.BÀN.DA in a lexical list (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 10′); also the shortened form (LÚ*).KUG is attested.¹⁰⁵⁴ In addition to these logographic writings, we find the syllabic writings *ša-ra-pu* (OrNS 37 8:3) and LÚ*.ša-rap-kás.2-[pi], apparently referring to the silversmith in particular (SAA 11 222 r. 4).

For references to smiths without any specification, there are basically three possible explanations: either these are abbreviations of more precise titles, or they are used as generic terms, or they indeed refer to another type of smith. As to the majority of these references found in witness lists of legal records, there is nothing to be said against the possibility that they are just abbreviated designations. As a generic term, on the other hand, *nappāḫu* is for example possibly used in the section dealing with smiths in a lexical list of professional titles (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 5′, 12′) and in the decree about the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a where references to the goldsmith, the copper-smith and

¹⁰⁵² There seems to be also no *rab kutimmi* in Babylonian sources.

¹⁰⁵³ Thus, the *rab nappāḫāni* is an alternative rendering of the title “master of smiths”.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Deller (1985: 372) pointed to this shortened variant for the “goldsmith” by referring to the attestations in BaM 16 1 r. 13′ (Aššūr-ḫusanni) and SAAB 9 114:3–4 (Šulmu-māt-Aššūr) with a single KUG emended to KUG.DÍM¹ and KUG.GI¹ respectively. For a slightly revised comment, referring to possible traces of the GI in SAAB 9 114:3, see Deller et al. 1995: 100–1. However, the scribes of these texts indicate a tendency towards shortened writings in general. For instance, the cook is solely referred to with MU in Radner 2016 I.42:5 and BaM 16 1 r. 6′–10′ and the *šelappānu* is simply referred to with *še* in Radner 2016 I.33:10); note the comment on that phenomenon in Radner 2016: 97 (comment to text no. I.21).

the blacksmith follow (SAA 12 83 r. 5–6). In view of these two attestations, however, the possibility of separate types of smiths—possibly manufacturing more than one type of metal or concerned with simple repairs of metal objects—cannot be excluded. The fact that we learn of a chief goldsmith and a chief smith but do not have a reference to another type of smith indicates that the bronze-smiths, copper-smiths and blacksmiths could be subsumed under the generic term “smith”, whereas the goldsmiths (and silversmiths) stand out from all the different types of smiths. This is supported by the document of a purchase of a *kurḫu*-building by an unspecified smith from a goldsmith (StAT 3 14) and corresponds to the fact that the goldsmiths were also distinct from the others in terms of their Neo-Assyrian title and their social status (see below). However, a distinction was apparently also made between an unspecified smith and a bronze-smith in the witness list of legal records (SAA 6 26 r. 5–6), and thus the indication of a distinct craft (also in terms of smiths with a broader spectrum of skills) is not out of the question. We may therefore conclude that in view of the Neo-Assyrian evidence all the aforementioned possibilities have their justification and it has to be decided individually in each case which possibility is more likely.

The goldsmiths active in 7th-century Assur were examined in detail by Radner in her monograph (StAT 1) about the archive of the goldsmiths (= archive N33, Pedersén 1986: 131–5). The other types of smiths attested in Neo-Assyrian sources have not yet been discussed in detail. Goldsmiths were closely related to the temple sphere in Assur and this seems to some extent to be true for other types of smiths. The following discussion gives an overview of the evidence for the smiths and focusses on their relationship with the palace. The tables below list all references to smiths, except for the smiths tied to property according to the Harran Census.¹⁰⁵⁵

The majority of smiths (including chief smiths), with or without specialisation, are named in the witness lists of legal documents. We learn of smiths witnessing legal transactions from 8th- and late 7th-century Kalhu,¹⁰⁵⁶ from 8th- and 7th-century Nineveh,¹⁰⁵⁷ from Imgur-Ilil (BT 101a r. 3, goldsmith

¹⁰⁵⁵ SAA 11 220 i 6' (in sum seven bronze-smiths: Našuḫ-ma[...], Me'isu, Il-lassu, Huniṣa, Garīdā); t.e. ii 1, 3 (in sum 22 blacksmiths are listed here by name, preserved are Adad-šallim, Sē'-ḫāri).

¹⁰⁵⁶ 9th or 8th century: [...]lanipu? (Edubba 10 47 r. 8). 8th century: Aššūr-iqbi and the goldsmiths Marduk-aplu-iddina, Ubru-aḫḫē and [...]āia (Edubba 10 2 r. 3, 9–11); other goldsmiths: Ilu-erība (Edubba 10 6 r. 4), Adad-ibni (Edubba 10 12 r. 24) and Zīzī (CTN 2 57 r. 12). 8th or 7th century: [...] (ND 3415 r. 12). 7th century: Adūnī (ND 5447 r. 4–5, bronze-smith), Aḫu-bāni and Gula-ētir (ND 5452 r. 1–3, 5469 r. 7–8, blacksmiths), Gallulu (ND 5447 r. 2, 5452:9, 5469 r. 5, goldsmith, erroneously designated blacksmith in ND 5469).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Master of the goldsmiths: Ḫambī (SAA 6 96 r. 8). Smiths: Sē'-ṭūrī (SAA 6 26 r. 4), Sukkāia (SAA 14 442 r. 20) and Amru-Issār (SAA 14 214 r. 1). Goldsmiths: Nabū'a (SAA 6 65 r. 11'), Nabū-rēmāni (SAA 6 163 r. 10'), Urdu-Issār (SAA 6 164 r. 9), Abi-iasūbu (SAA 14 104 r. 11), Mannu-ka-Sē' (SAA 14 71 r. 5 and its envelope 70 r. 2), Nūr-Šamaš (SAA 14 53 r. 5')

Qibīt-Aššūr) and from Dur-Katlimmu (BATSH 6 10 r. 8, goldsmith Šarruna'di). The majority of smiths attested as a witness derives from Assur, either dating to the 8th century,¹⁰⁵⁸ or, more frequently, from the reign of Assurbanipal or later.¹⁰⁵⁹ Out of the numerous legal transactions from 7th-century Assur witnessed by smiths, there are two which name ten and more goldsmiths. The first is a broken house sale document (StAT 1 22) witnessed by the master of goldsmiths, Issār-na'di, followed by 18 goldsmiths.¹⁰⁶⁰ The second is a division of a paternal estate among seven sons of Sīn-na'di, known to have been master of goldsmiths before Issār-na'di,¹⁰⁶¹ and two sons of Sukkāia (AfO 32 42). The transaction is confirmed by the municipal authorities and the “entire ‘guild’ of the goldsmiths”,¹⁰⁶² comprising the master of goldsmiths Issār-na'di and the goldsmiths Aššūr-šumu-ušur, Aššūr-ḥussanni, Dindi, Aššūr-balāssu-iqbi, Nabū-zēru-iddina, Qibīt-Aššūr, Aššūr-ši'i, Šulmu-māt-Aššūr, Qurdi-Gula and Gula-ēreš.¹⁰⁶³ Comparing the personal names listed in each of the two records, it does not escape the reader that there are many overlaps and it is from this 7th-century material that we gain quite a comprehensive picture about the business and family connections of the goldsmiths active in Assur (see Radner 1999a: 14–25).

For these goldsmiths in 7th-century Assur, whose business engagements are not discussed here in detail, Radner pointed out that they occur as active parties

and [...] (SAA 14 287 r. 7'). Goldsmiths of the vizier: Ilumma-lē'i and his son Sūsia (SAA 6 19 r. 7'–8'). Bronzesmiths: Mannu-kī (SAA 6 26 r. 5), Ḥallabēše (SAA 14 442 r. 14; 436 l.e. 1), if he is identical with the homonymous smith attested in SAA 14 435:1–2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Master of the smiths: [...]bušu (StAT 3 14 r. 21). Master of goldsmiths: Lalfi and Silim-Aššūr (StAT 3 32 r. 11', 15'). Smiths: [...] (StAT 2 100 r. 9'); Ḥabbušu (StAT 3 5 r. 4'); Aḥu-illika and Šaddāiu (StAT 3 5 r. 5'–6'). Goldsmiths: [...]di, Bēl?-[...]nišē, Ku[...]meme and Dadida (StAT 3 36 r. 16–20).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Smiths: Aššūr-balliṭanni (SAAB 5 22 r. 24); Aššūr-balliṭ and Nabū'a (FNALD 17 r. 7–8); Urdu-Aššūr (SAAB 9 124 t.e. 28); Zizī (SAAB 5 30 r. 24); Aššūr-rēši-išši (StAT 2 229 r. 3); Nabū'a (TIM 11 36 r. 6); Amar-ili (VAT 21534:3'); Aššūr-iqbi and Šumma-ilāni (StAT 3 18 r. 19, 23); Šumma-Aššūr, Nabū-mudammiq, Qunī, Aḥūlamma and Aḥu-lāmur (StAT 3 3 r. 33, 34, 35); Sīn-aḥu-iddina and Aššūr-šumu-ka''in (StAT 2 214 r. 6, 7; 215 r. 4, 5); Aia-šarru-ibni (George 2010 no. 5 r. 3). Goldsmiths: Aššūr-ḥussanni (BaM 16 1 r. 13'); Nabū-zēru-iddina (SAAB 5 27:18); Abu-balliṭ (BaM 16 2 r. 16); [...] (StAT 2 271 r. 9'); Mušallim-Aššūr (StAT 3 3 r. 27); Mannu-kī-Aššūr and [...] (KAN 4 22 r. 25, t.e. 10'); Silim-Aššūr (VAT 9767 r. 4'). Blacksmiths: Šēp-šarri (StAT 3 3 r. 12). Many of the smiths listed here are also attested elsewhere, though without title (see tables below).

¹⁰⁶⁰ StAT 1 22 r. 6–13: Aššūr-šumu-ušur, Aššūr-šaddūni, Qibīt-Aššūr, Aššūr-ši'i, Šulmu-māt-Aššūr, Aḥūlamma, Aššūr-kurubšunu, Nabūtu, Nabū-šumu-ka''in, Tardītu-Aššūr, Aššūr-bēssunu, Nabū-mušēši, Nabū-kēnu-(e)rība, Kakkussu, Kišir-Aššūr, Erība-Aššūr, Lā-qēpu and Mudammiq-Aššūr.

¹⁰⁶¹ In an Aramaic document Sīn-na'di is designated *hzn 'ghl*, presumably referring to Akkadian *ḥazan-ekallāte* which is otherwise not attested. Radner (1999a: 16, fn. 51) interpreted it as a synonym for his well-known title “mayor of the Aššūr Gate” (*ḥazan-bāb-Aššūr*).

¹⁰⁶² AfO 32 42 r. 27–28. *qinnu* is here translated as “guild” (viz. Deller and Millard 1985: 49–50, followed by Radner 1999a: 33).

¹⁰⁶³ These personal names are listed after the section containing the reference to their “guild”; many of these are known from other documents and that is why they can be identified as goldsmiths.

to sales of property and slaves,¹⁰⁶⁴ but are mainly engaged in silver loans,¹⁰⁶⁵ and in trading enterprises.¹⁰⁶⁶ As for the active involvement of other kinds of smiths in legal transactions, they are attested as sellers of slaves,¹⁰⁶⁷ and of houses, as is once the case with the smith Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē who sells a house jointly (SAAB 5 33:14). The smith Nabû-balliṭ bought a *kurḫu*-building for 70 minas of copper from the goldsmith Erība-...¹⁰⁶⁸ An administrative document from Nineveh records the purchase of two orchards by the silversmith (*ṣarrāp kaspī*) Nabû'a (SAA 11 222 r. 3). Provided that he is identical with the goldsmith Nabû'a listed afterwards along with two minas of silver (SAA 11 222 r. 13), this may have been the price for the two orchards. Apart from references to their involvement in sales, smiths are also involved in loans of silver, either as creditors, as is the case with the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (SAA 14 169:2), or as debtors.¹⁰⁶⁹ Their engagement in trading enterprises is indicated by the smiths Rēmāni-Adad and Amar-ili, who are listed along with their invested amounts of silver.¹⁰⁷⁰ In addition, smiths are involved in temporary work agreements, possibly as employers, as seems to be the case according to a single legal record from Assur,¹⁰⁷¹ but certainly as employees receiving wages. Hence, the smith Aššūr-šumu-ka'in receives 5 2/3 shekels as wages (StAT 2 202:3), and an unnamed goldsmith is recorded along with 1 shekel of silver specified as wages (ND 2310 r. 22). In addition, Urdu-Bēssī, of the household of the goldsmith Aššūr-šarru-ušur, is employed for harvesting purposes for one month and receives 1 shekel of silver as his wages (Radner 2016 I.18:2).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Out of the rare evidence there is e.g. Nabû-zēru-iddina who bought a female slave (StAT 1 19 r. 2') and the goldsmith Inūrta-na'di who bought a house from his colleague Nabû-zēru-lēšir (KAN 4 22:7–8). The goldsmiths Abu-lēšir and Sākip-Aššūr are joint sellers of a woman and her daughter (KAN 4 20:8, 10).

¹⁰⁶⁵ E.g. Aššūr-ḥussanni is debtor of silver (StAT 1 7:3), cf. Šulmu-māt-Aššūr (SAAB 9 114:2–3) and Qibīt-Aššūr, Nabû-zēru-iddina and others in StAT 1 16:3–8. Nabû-zēru-iddina, for instance, is also creditor of silver (StAT 2 239:2), cf. the female goldsmith Mullissu-taqīša (StAT 2 45:2).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Such as Aššūr-bēssunu (SAAB 9 87:3–4), Aššūr-mudammiq (Radner 2016 I.36:14), Lā-qēpu (Radner 2016 I.33 r. 7), Nabû-zēru-iddina (SAAB 5 27:18) and Silim-Aššūr (Radner 2016 I.42:6). Note also the broken references in Radner 2016 I.38 r. 3 and I.40:4, and the goldsmiths (together with the *kurḡarrūs*) in Radner 2016 I.36:13, which possibly refers to the individuals mentioned in the previous lines.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Coppersmith Ḥallabēše (SAA 14 435:1–2). Blacksmiths: Tabālāiu (BATSH 6 46:3) and the four sons of the blacksmith Tartība-Issār, possibly selling paternal estate (SAA 14 38:6–7).

¹⁰⁶⁸ StAT 3 14:9–10. *kurḫu* is possibly a Hurrian loanword denoting a workshop (Radner 1999a: 274–5).

¹⁰⁶⁹ Smith Aššūr-urkittu-ušur, StAT 3 6:3–4 and its envelope 6*:1–2. Note also the receipt according to which an unspecified group of smiths had repaid their debts in full (SAAB 5 37:3', b.e. 4).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Radner 2016 I.33:20; I.56:12 and StAT 1 43:5; cf. the smith [...]ašua (StAT 1 48:4'); the tablet, however, is too broken.

¹⁰⁷¹ StAT 3 11:7–9, r. 13, Qunī, Nabû-mudammiq, Aḫulamma and Aḫū-lāmur are known as smiths from the legal document StAT 3 3 r. 34–35. They receive together 10 shekels out of 15 shekels of silver, wages of Parrūtu, as compensation (for work not performed).

The aforementioned transfers of properties and a few records concerning the smiths' inheritance matters involving houses (StAT 3 3; AfO 32 42) indicate that they could enjoy some wealth. It is supported by the case of the goldsmith Padūwa who was guarantor for Il-iādi' (O 3701:1). Furthermore, there is the goldsmith Kākīa, who had at his disposal land adjoining property sold to the royal *ša-rēši* Ilu-šabtanni (SAA 6 283:16'-17'). Also the bronze-smith Panzî(?) had land at his disposal, possibly conveyed by the palace, according to an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 11 219 iii 10'-11'). The smiths' wealth was coupled with a certain degree of importance and influence, especially judging by the case of the goldsmiths. Apart from the fact that not a single goldsmith is attested as being sold or tied to land, this is indicated by the fact that goldsmiths acted as first witnesses to legal transactions. Apart from the chief smith [...]bušu (StAT 3 14 r. 21) and the master of goldsmiths Issār-na'di (StAT 1 22 r. 6; AfO 32 42 r. 29), this is true for Zīzī (CTN 2 57 r. 12), Gallulu (ND 5452:9; 5469 r. 5) and Šarru-na'di (BATSH 6 120 r. 6, though without title here). The goldsmiths' enhanced position compared to the other smiths is particularly obvious from the legal documents recording the aforementioned Gallulu as first witness: he is followed by the blacksmith Gula-ētir (ND 5452 r. 1-2; 5469 r. 7). Also the order "smith, bronze-smith, blacksmith, goldsmith and chief smith" in the section of the lexical list from Huzirina supports this impression.¹⁰⁷² In this respect it is also worth noting that we have a *rab šarrāpi* (and a *rab nappāhi*) attested but no master of the bronze-, copper- and blacksmiths. Also the fact that several goldsmiths from Assur are known to have been mayors in 7th-century Assur stresses their important position.¹⁰⁷³ In spite of this, the goldsmiths, as subjects of the king, had to follow certain rules. Although he apparently had enough financial resources at hand to employ a Babylonian scholar, the queen's goldsmith Parrūtu was not allowed to let his son (possibly his son Nabû-sagībi, known from SAA 16 81:2-4, is meant here) be taught exorcistic literature (SAA 16 65:2-12); such knowledge and its transmission was restricted.

As for the different types of smiths listed in administrative records found in palace buildings, it often remains unclear whether they were deployed therein or in other areas.¹⁰⁷⁴ The wine lists from Fort Shalmaneser and a record of rations of grain or cereal products for palace personnel indicate that blacksmiths

¹⁰⁷² It is a general feature of these sections that the highest ranks (*rab*-x officials) are listed at the end.

¹⁰⁷³ (Chief) goldsmiths who are known to have been mayors in Assur are Aššūr-šaddūni, Aḫūlamma and Sīn-na'di. Radner (1999a: 21) also counts Issār-na'di among these, identifying the chief goldsmith Issār-na'di with the homonymous mayor (Baker, PNA 2/I 574 s.v. Issār-na'di 19 and 23).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Unspecified smiths and copper-smiths (SAA 7 14:1-5; 19:1', 5'), the goldsmith Inūrta-taklāk (CTN 2 118:5-7), 10 copper-smiths and 14 blacksmiths (ND 2497 r. 1').

and goldsmiths were employed by (or were active in association with) the Review Palace and the provincial palaces. Either as a group of unspecified individuals or as single men, smiths are recorded as recipients of wine. An unnamed chief smith once occurs as a recipient of [x] amount of wine (CTN 1 10 r. 1). One *qû* of wine was provided for the goldsmith Sebeti-il-māti (CTN 3 145 r. iii 14) and, according to the same list (dated in 784), for the blacksmith Birānu (CTN 3 145 r. iii 26). Also the goldsmith Sīsīa received one(?) *qû* of wine (CTN 1 1 r. iii 23), another goldsmith (name lost) received two *qû* of wine (CTN 3 120:10'). Two *qû* of wine are also handed over to an unspecified group of goldsmiths (CTN 1 1 r. iii 15), and the same text also records a group of blacksmiths who are provided with five *qû* of wine (CTN 1 1 r. iii 18). The higher amount of wine given to the blacksmiths is presumably because they were more numerous than the goldsmiths since the amounts given to single blacksmiths do not exceed those provided for single goldsmiths. According to another reference to the blacksmith(s), they received an “additional (amount)” (*tišābu*) of wine, comprising one *šapputu*-bowl (CTN 1 4 r. 12). Apart from rations of wine probably given out on the occasion of a yearly event in the imperial capital, twelve blacksmiths stationed in Kilizi are provided with [3]4 *emāru* of grain or cereal products according to an administrative text recording rations given out to palace personnel stationed in Kilizi, Adian and Arbail and headed by the local *šakintus* (ND 2803 i 14). For smiths deployed by the palace it is to be assumed in general that their basic needs were covered by the palace.¹⁰⁷⁵ A failure in this respect is possibly indicated by the letter of seventeen blacksmiths to the king, where they among other things complain that they have no field and therefore no seed corn (SAA 16 40 r. 4–6). As with other palace employees, it seems that smiths were provided with land (and seed corn) for cultivation to cover their own needs (in addition to or instead of the receipt of food rations).

There is not a single smith explicitly assigned to the palace according to his title. Likewise, there is only Gabbu-ilāni-ēreš who describes himself as goldsmith of Aššur, on the inscribed Pazuzu head which he made of clay.¹⁰⁷⁶ In comparison with this lack of explicit institutional affiliation, the number of smiths (and especially goldsmiths) described as “from the Inner City” (*ša Libbāli, Libbālāiu*) is striking. Apart from the goldsmith Nabû-[...] who is said

¹⁰⁷⁵ Note also the provision of the Goldsmith Town with grain rations according to a document from Dur-Šarrukin (CTDS 1 i 13', ii 5'). The Goldsmith Town is also attested in two legal records, as location of sold land and place of origin (SAA 6 19:6, r. 9'; SAA 14 183 r. 2). A Town of the Smiths is recorded in another legal record, as location of the rented land (SAA 14 434:7).

¹⁰⁷⁶ OrNS 37 8:2–3. There are some broken references to goldsmiths of [...]: Nabû-rēmāni (SAA 6 163 r. 10') and—in a Babylonian context—Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba and Kudurru (VAT 4923:13–15).

to be from Kar-Šalmaneser (SAA 11 178:11'–14'), the chief goldsmith Silim-Aššūr (StAT 3 32 r. 11'), the goldsmiths Adad-ibni (Edubba 10 12 r. 24–25), Sīsīa (CTN 1 1 r. iii 23), Erība-[...] (StAT 3 14:1–2) and an unnamed blacksmith (SAA 11 26:3') originate from the Inner City according to the sources. Radner (1999a: 11–2) already pointed out two of these cases and drew a connection with Adad-ibni, who must have been active in the first half of the 8th century, and the earliest known Neo-Assyrian references to smiths in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a from the reign of Aššurnāširpal II. Here, the smiths (SAA 12 82:7; 83 r. 5), the goldsmiths (SAA 12 82:7; 83 r. 5), the bronze-smiths (SAA 12 82:7; 83 r. 5) and the blacksmiths (SAA 12 82:7; 83 r. 6) are among many other craftsmen assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a who was apparently appointed to establish the new imperial city Kalhu. Given the context, all the necessary labourers and functionaries must have been recruited from Assur, as may be suggested by broken passages (SAA 12 83:6', r. 21–22). This is not surprising since Kalhu was being newly re-established and Assur was the former political and administrative centre. Especially the goldsmiths seem to have maintained a fairly strong relationship with the religious centre, Assur, throughout the Neo-Assyrian period.

We learn of goldsmiths working for or in the temple in letters from the reign of Sargon and later, where also the supply of gold by the palace was an issue. The supply of gold for the works of goldsmiths, requested in a letter of an unknown official (heading broken) to the king, was needed for the construction works on a temple, as indicated by references to Bel and the “house of the gods” (SAA 5 294:18'). In a letter to king Assurbanipal (heading lost), one talent of silver is said to have been sealed by the chief goldsmith Sīn-na'di and is described as part of his *iškāru*-allotment (SAA 13 28 r. 4). This letter otherwise deals with the stored amounts of precious metal and votive gifts in the treasuries of Sin and Nikkal. Also three letters to the king are preserved from Sīn-na'di himself, introducing himself as mayor of Libbāli, where he reports about temple thieves stealing gold (SAA 13 25, 26), about the removal of the goldsmith Šēp-Aššūr-ašbat (SAA 13 27 r. 9–15), and mentions the goldsmith Bassālu (SAA 13 26 r. 6–7). Although Sīn-na'di refers to himself here as mayor of Assur, his concerns as master of the goldsmiths are clearly indicated by these letters. When reporting on the misdeeds of the chanter Pūlu, the sender (name lost) reports to the king that Pūlu appointed a goldsmith to create a new table for Marduk and removed the old one installed by Sargon (SAA 13 134:11'). In an inscription about the refurbishment of statues of Babylon's tutelary gods, Esarhaddon claims to have employed selected carpenters, goldsmiths, copperworkers (*qurqurru*) and stone-carvers in the workshop (*bēt mumme*) of the temple of Aššur,¹⁰⁷⁷ and it is clear that the production and maintenance of

¹⁰⁷⁷ RINAP 4 48 r. 81. For craftsmen working in the *bēt mumme* of the Aššur Temple see Menzel 1981 I: 287.

divine statues was a central concern of goldsmiths (working for the temple).¹⁰⁷⁸ The aforementioned goldsmith Šēp-Aššūr-ašbat is described as “servant of the king” (SAA 13 27 r. 9–10). He used to attend to the (offering) pipes of Aššur and of the king but was removed from his service under Aššur and the king by a certain Bēl-nāšir (SAA 13 27:13–15). Šēp-Aššūr-ašbat, active in the Aššur Temple, was primarily a royal servant who represented the king’s interests. Judging by this case, we should expect more such royal servants working within the temple sphere on behalf of their master.¹⁰⁷⁹ Goldsmiths were also engaged by high officials and the king’s closest relatives in their individual households. Hence, we can find them in the service of the queen’s household (Nabû-sagībi and his son Parrūtu, SAA 16 81:2–4; 65:2–3) and of the vizier’s household (Sūsīa and his son Ilumma-lē’i, SAA 6 19 r. 7’–8’).¹⁰⁸⁰ Judging by the precious metals (gold and silver) they worked with, it is clear that the goldsmiths were concerned with highly-skilled works, including the manufacture of jewellery, as is likely to have been the case with the goldsmiths of the queen. Parrūtu, one of her goldsmiths, also sent precious stones to the king, possibly for a royal assessment prior to their actual working. We learn of this incident because Parrūtu sent a letter to the king since he was worried whether the gate-guard, to whom he had given the stones, had actually delivered them to the king (SAA 16 81). Some of the individual goldsmiths listed in the wine lists might also have been subordinate to the queen, as is possibly the case with 15 smiths listed together with other female professionals in an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 24 r. 5).

Apart from the blacksmiths under the aegis of the *šakintu* (ND 2803 i 14) and the blacksmiths listed in the wine lists (CTN 1 1 r. iii 18; 4 r. 12; CTN 3 145 r. iii 26), we also learn from other texts that particularly blacksmiths were engaged by the palace. In a letter from the reign of Assurbanipal or later, found in the Governor’s Palace, the sender Nabû-balliṭanni orders the recipient Šil-Nabû to release the blacksmith Aššūr-mātu-taqqin since he has to do repair works (expressed with *batqu*) in the Review Palace (CTN 3 1:6). The sender also states that he will pay back the sum owed by the blacksmith, the reason for the latter’s detention by Šil-Nabû. Unfortunately we do not know which posts the two correspondents held, but it was clearly an official matter that lay behind this order. Blacksmiths and bronze-smiths are enumerated in the letter of Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the unnamed treasurer(?) drawn up after the reign of Assurbanipal and found in Tušhan (ZTT 22:8). It seems that the sender is in

¹⁰⁷⁸ See Radner 1999a: 34–42. In the same passage Esarhaddon goes on to discuss a crown manufactured out of gold and precious stones for the god Aššur, cf. the fragment of a letter SAA 13 51:3’.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See therefore the officials concerned with royal graves in Assur in section 11 The royal tombs.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Note also the goldsmiths Ḥalīmu and Ubru-Ḥarrān in the service of a certain Dādāia (CTN 2 114:3–4) and the smith Qannī working for Bēl-šarru-[...] (SAA 1 179 r. 21–23).

charge of these blacksmiths and bronze-smiths together with others, such as bow-makers, carpenters and tailors; they are to carry on with cleaning and repairing (*batqu kašāru*) military equipment. Apparently he lacks supervisors to help him guard all these men. In a letter of seventeen blacksmiths to the king, 200 swords of iron, 100 *purtû*-weapons of iron, 25 nails of iron and 200 *pakkus* of iron are said to have been made for the palace (SAA 16 40:1–5, r. 3). Concerning another 200 *pakkus* of iron, they state that they are not able to produce them since they have been withdrawn to fulfil their *ilku*-duty, they lack firewood and suffer from poor food supply. They go on to stress that the work of the palaces has become a burden to them.

Apparently the palace was especially interested in employing blacksmiths (and bronze-smiths) to produce, repair and prepare military equipment and (perhaps to a minor extent) to undertake repair works on palatial buildings. Based on this evidence, we learn of two modes of palatial employment for the (black) smiths. They were either engaged for repair works (*batqu kašāru*) or for the manufacture of new products organised via the *iškāru*-system, as with other professionals such as the weavers. The smiths were supplied with the raw materials needed and had to deliver their products in prescribed amounts at a fixed time; this production was under the supervision of cohort commanders.¹⁰⁸¹ Although the term *iškāru* never occurs in connection with blacksmiths (cf. once with the goldsmith Sīn-na'di, SAA 13 28 r. 4), the operation of the *iškāru*-system is indicated by SAA 16 40 as well as by two incidents involving the prohibited sale of iron by ironsmiths. In the first case an administrative document from Nineveh recording purchases of metals, leather and garments says that four talents of iron were sold for one mina of silver by an ironsmith from the Inner City in the city of Harran (SAA 11 26:3'–5'). As argued by Fales and Postgate (1995: XIX), this seems to be a record of a trial about uncontrolled commercial activities. This is also indicated by the fact that almost every interrogated purchaser stressed that he did not know his business partner; likewise, with the ironsmith. In the second case, a similar incident is reported to the king in a Babylonian letter dating to the 7th century: iron which was given to the smiths to do their work was sold by them to the merchants of Kalhu for silver.¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁸¹ Note therefore the reference to the cohort commanders in the letter of the 17 blacksmiths to the king (SAA 16 40 r. 12). Abdi-Samsi, prefect of the copper-smith Ḫallabēše, who witnessed the sale of a woman by Ḫallabēše, may have had a similar function (SAA 14 435 r. 12–13). Although the title *šaknušu ša Ḫ.* given along with Abdi-Samsi indicates that he was subordinate to Ḫallabēše, it is unlikely that a copper-smith, even if he was a comparatively high-ranking man among his profession, had a middle-ranking military official in his service (see diagram in Postgate 2007: 14). Abdi-Samsi is the second witness of this transaction and his function here might be related to the anonymous *šaknus* who together with other anonymous officials such as mayors and governors are mentioned as possible claimants in the penalty clauses of conveyance documents (Postgate 1976: 19, § 2.1.3b no. 3); for instance, in SAA 6 326 r. 1.

¹⁰⁸² SAA 18 115:3'. For another letter indicating a stringent inspection policy regarding commercial activities see SAA 1 179.

Apart from deploying smiths as skilled workers, the palace recruited them to do their *ilku*-duty which was also an issue in the aforementioned letter of the seventeen blacksmiths (SAA 16 40). Evidence for the smiths' use as unskilled labour otherwise comes from an account of *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer of Arbail to the palace. According to a broken section the copper-smiths and the blacksmiths together with the carpenters and the architects harvested *ma'uttu*(-land) of the palace (CTN 3 87 r. 34–35). On the obverse of another tablet, belonging to the same group of records as CTN 3 87, the duties of the carpenters, again including harvesting activities, are listed. The copper-smiths and blacksmiths, by contrast, are said to be exempted from work to be done in the house of the deputy treasurer (CTN 3 90:11).

As with other skilled professionals, the smiths are more often identified by their family ties than is the case with officials. This is true for unspecified smiths,¹⁰⁸³ and goldsmiths.¹⁰⁸⁴ Radner was able to establish entire family trees for the goldsmiths Nabû-zêru-iddina and Sîn-na'di in her examination of the goldsmiths of 7th-century Assur (Radner 1999a: 15, 19). With respect to their “guild-like” organisation, involving a hierarchical structure with a master of goldsmiths at the top,¹⁰⁸⁵ she stresses that the goldsmiths were particularly interrelated to each other on the basis of their business concerns. However this may be, profession and family were linked to each other and the usual career for a smith's son was to become a smith himself. This is evident for the goldsmiths active in the households of the queen and the vizier. The goldsmith Nabû-sagîbi, in the service of the queen, refers to himself as son of Parrûtu (SAA 16 81:2–4), who is designated “goldsmith of the queen's household” in another letter (SAA 16 65:2–3). Sūsîa, goldsmith of the household of the vizier, is said to be the father of Ilumma-lê'i who bears the same title.¹⁰⁸⁶ Another possible way of ensuring a supply of smiths was to take them from conquered areas, as is the case with the goldsmiths from Memphis (Egypt) in the reign of Esarhaddon (RINAP 4 103:27). Such smiths taken from abroad may have been also of interest because of their different style of manufacture and techniques.

With or without family ties, the strong interconnections among the smiths is indicated by their frequent joint occurrence in legal documents, either as

¹⁰⁸³ Amar-Aššûr (STAT 2 165:4–5), Aššûr-balliṭ (FNALD 17 r. 8), Nabû-nâdin-aḥḥê (SAAB 5 33:14), Aššûr-urkittu-ušur (STAT 3 6:3–4 / 6*:1–2).

¹⁰⁸⁴ E.g. Šulmu-mât-Aššûr (SAAB 9 114:2–3), Inūrta-taklāk (CTN 2 118:5–7), Abi-iasūbu (SAA 14 104 r. 11), Inūrta-na'di and Nabû-zêru-lêšir (KAN 4 22:7–10).

¹⁰⁸⁵ These masters may have been employed per administrative domain since in a legal record two masters of goldsmiths with different affiliations are listed. Silim-Aššûr “of the Inner City” and Lafî with another, though broken, qualification (STAT 3 32 r. 11', 15').

¹⁰⁸⁶ SAA 6 19 r. 7'–8'. The KLIMIN may only refer to the title “goldsmith” and not to the institutional affiliation.

witnesses,¹⁰⁸⁷ or as business partners, as in the house sale among goldsmiths KAN 4 22. Though this is particularly true for smiths with the same specialisation, the sale of a *kurḫu*-building by a goldsmith to an unspecified smith (StAT 3 14) indicates that smiths of different types were also connected to each other. Similarly, legal transactions were jointly witnessed by different types of smiths, as is the case with the goldsmith Gallulu, the bronze-smith Adūnī and the blacksmiths Gula-ēṭir and Aḫu-bāni (ND 5447 r. 2, 4–5; ND 5452:9, r. 1–3). As for the smiths' association with other professions, they often occur alongside with craftsmen such as stoneworkers (e.g. CTN 2 118:2, 7; ND 5452:9–11; SAA 7 19:1'–5'), carpenters (e.g. SAAB 9 124 t.e. 27–8; SAA 6 96 r. 8–9; SAA 1 179 r. 21–22; CTN 3 87 r. 34–35) and architects (SAA 7 19:1', 5'–6'; CTN 3 87 r. 34–35). Similarly, the section concerned with smiths in the lexical list from Huzirina is preceded by a section dealing with carpenters and followed by a section listing stoneworkers (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 1'–16').

23 PROCESSING OF STONE

In Neo-Assyrian sources we can detect three professions engaged in the processing of stone, namely the *pallišu*, the *parkullu* and the *kapšarru*. As for the term *pallišu*, it is already attested in Old Babylonian texts and derives from the verb *palāšu* meaning “to pierce” or “to bore”. However, at that period the term primarily denotes a burglar; it seems to be used to refer to the profession of a “stone-borer” or “stone-driller” only in Neo-Assyrian sources where it is written LÚ/LÚ*.GAR.U.U, as in preceding periods.¹⁰⁸⁸ In addition, there is a single Neo-Assyrian reference to a female stone-borer, written MÍ.GAR.U.U and to be read *pallissu* (HAD 97). The Akkadian title *parkullu* is already attested in Old Akkadian texts. As in previous periods, it is written logographically in Neo-Assyrian sources, (LÚ/LÚ*).BUR.GUL. As a Sumerian loanword it is associated with (stone) vessels—viz. the element BUR—and is translated “stone-carver”, “stone-cutter” or “Siegelschneider”.¹⁰⁸⁹ In an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III, written in Standard Babylonian, we also encounter the abstract noun *purkullātu* (written LÚ.pur-kúl-lu-ti), a term otherwise only attested in Late Babylonian texts.¹⁰⁹⁰ Also the title *kapšarru*, already attested

¹⁰⁸⁷ E.g. StAT 3 5 r. 4'–6' lists three smiths; StAT 3 36 r. 16–19 lists four goldsmiths; cf. the above mentioned records StAT 1 22 and AFO 32 42.

¹⁰⁸⁸ CAD P 68–9 s.v. *pallišu* 2; cf. HAD 97; CAD 58–62 s.v. *palāšu*. The traditional reading is LÚ.NÍG.BÛR.BÛR, with BÛR referring to *palāšu*. This title was previously misunderstood as (LÚ).GAR MAN, read *šakin šarri* (Postgate 1973: 69, 1980: 69).

¹⁰⁸⁹ CAD P 519–21 s.v. *purkullu*; cf. HAD 81; cf. AHw 834 s.v. *parkullu(m)*.

¹⁰⁹⁰ CAD P 521; cf. AHw 880–1.

in Old Babylonian sources, is a Sumerian loanword. It is attested with the writings (LÚ/LÚ*).KAB.SAR in Neo-Assyrian sources and a possible translation is “engraver”, with SAR referring to the verb *šaṭāru* (“to write”).¹⁰⁹¹ While Kinnier Wilson (1972: 65–6) discussed the *parkullu* and the *kapšarru* based on the Neo-Assyrian sources, the Middle Assyrian references to these two professions were discussed by Jakob (2003: 467–9). In the lexical list from Huzirina the three professions *pallišu*, *parkullu* and *kapšarru* are listed in a separate section together with the *qurqurru* (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 14’: [L]Ú.URUDU.NAGAR), a professional processing objects made of metal and wood.¹⁰⁹² Two other functionaries associated with stone and minerals are the *ša-pūlēšu* (“limestone man”) and the *ša-gabêšu* (“alum man”). They may have been responsible for the procurement and supply of limestone and alum respectively; another possibility is their involvement in the actual processing of these materials.¹⁰⁹³ The “limestone man” is only attested twice, as a subordinate of the Kushite *ša-rēši* Šulmu-šarri (Kišir-Issār, SAA 7 47 ii 1–2) and as a witness (Ilu-rēmanni, SAA 14 23 r. 7–8).¹⁰⁹⁴ The “alum man” is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a on his appointment; he precedes the merchant (SAA 12 83 r. 15). Neither are discussed here further.

23.1 The *pallišu* (stone-borer)

The majority of Neo-Assyrian references to the stone-borer are to be found in witness lists of legal documents from Kalhu, Nineveh and Assur dating to the reign of Assurbanipal or later.¹⁰⁹⁵ We lack any evidence for their active involvement in legal transactions, but they are listed together with other professionals in administrative lists from Nineveh (SAA 7 19:2’; 24 r. 5) and are said to have been sent to the king (Sargon) according to the latter’s order in a fragmentary letter from Zēru-ibni, governor of Rašappa (SAA 1 206:4, 7). The purpose of the eight donkey mares who appear along with the stone-borer Bēl-iddina in an administrative note remains unknown (ND 2068:2–3). Apart from being associated with stone-carvers and engravers, as is the case in the aforementioned record SAA 7 19 and the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12

¹⁰⁹¹ HAD 46; cf. CAD K 23 s.v. *kapšarru*, giving translations such as “jeweller” or “stone mason”; cf. AHW 418, proposing “Schreiber auf Metall”?

¹⁰⁹² CAD G 137–9 s.v. *gurgurru*. The only other two references to the *qurqurru* from the Neo-Assyrian period occur in two inscriptions of Esarhaddon, once as booty taken from Taharqa, king of Kush (RINAP 4 103:27), and another time as people involved in the refurbishment of divine statues for Babylon (RINAP 4 48 r. 81).

¹⁰⁹³ See Radner (1999c: 120–6) for a detailed discussion of the *ša-x-šu* professions.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Note also the Town of Limestone men (*Āl ša-pūlēšu*) in Billa 82:7’.

¹⁰⁹⁵ ND 5447 r. 3; ND 5452:10–11 and ND 5469 r. 6 (Mannu-kī-abi); SAA 6 345 r. 8’ (Hū-bāšāti); 14 169 r. 6 (Nergal-nāšir); StAT 3 3 r. 22 and 13 r. 39 (Mutakkil-Aššūr); SAAB 5 58 r. 15’ (Dugul-ili).

233 ii(B) 13'), the stone-borer usually occurs together with smiths of different kinds (cf. Postgate 1973: 69). They either witness transactions and judicial settlements involving smiths (SAA 14 169; StAT 3 3) or they are listed as witnesses to legal transactions together with smiths.¹⁰⁹⁶ Also in the lexical list from Huzirina and in the administrative records SAA 7 19 and 24 they are listed together with smiths.

As to this specialist's affiliation, there is not a single stone-borer who bears a title that includes an institutional affiliation although the stone-borer Nergal-nāšir is said to be from Kurba'il (SAA 14 169 r. 6), which suggests a temple connection. Otherwise, a temple connection is indicated for the stone-borer Mannu-kī-abi who witnesses three loans of barley owed to Aššur and/or Nabû, all recorded in the 12th month of the year 661.¹⁰⁹⁷ Also the female stone-borers in SAA 7 24 are accompanied by temple personnel such as female corybantes (*kurgarrutu*). The most striking reference to a stone-borer active in the temple derives from a broken letter, probably written by the scholar Akkullānu (Parpola 1983a: 322). The king, presumably Assurbanipal, is told that the stone-borer who was shaved (that is, he was permanently appointed to the temple) by the royal father of the king (that is, Esarhaddon), has died but has left a son who might be shaved and thus appointed instead.¹⁰⁹⁸ In contrast to this evidence suggesting a temple connection, there is not a single stone-borer with a close connection to the palace.

As to the tasks of the stone-borer, we learn from the letter SAA 10 97 that the deceased stone-borer was put in charge of the statues. In addition, he is said to have been appointed to enter the ablution chamber (*bēt rimki*), according to which Parpola (1983a: 322) assumes that he was responsible for the temple drainage. It is also worth noting that we find the writing GAR.U.U qualifying NA₄.KIŠIB in an administrative document listing various items of precious stone (SAA 7 118 i 1), where it perhaps refers to a perforated cylinder seal and it is likely that the perforation of cylinder seals was a central task of the stone-borer.

23.2 The *parkullu* (stone-carver)

The stone-carver is not attested in legal documents but is listed together with other skilled craftsmen such as stone-borers and smiths in a few administrative records (SAA 7 19:3'; CTN 2 118:1–2) and two lexical lists (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 15'; 238 ii 4). As with the stone-borer, we are dealing mainly

¹⁰⁹⁶ ND 5447; ND 5452; ND 5469; StAT 3 3.

¹⁰⁹⁷ ND 5447; ND 5452; ND 5469.

¹⁰⁹⁸ SAA 10 97:5'. For appointments within the temple see also SAA 10 96 and the general discussion by Löhnert 2007.

with stone-carvers who seem to have been related to the temple. The stone-carver Qurdi-Nergal is accused of the theft of a golden plate from the Aššur Temple by the astrologer Akkullānu (SAA 10 107:8–9). Also, the stone-carver Mannu-kī-Arbail is requested by Nabû-bāni-aḥḥē, an official stationed in Babylonia, and apparently concerned with the completion of (divine) statues (SAA 13 127 r. 13). Another reference to stone-carvers deployed in Assur for the refurbishment of statues of Babylon's gods is found in an inscription of Esarhaddon. Here, the king states that he employed stone-carvers together with carpenters, goldsmiths and *qurqurrus* (metal- and woodworkers, see above), all chosen by the gods, in the workshop (*bēt mumme*) of Aššur (RINAP 4 48 r. 81). A clear reference to stone-carvers deployed in building a palace can be found in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III where he describes the construction of his palace in Kalhu. He states that he fashioned stones of the stone-cutter's craft for the gates (RINAP 1 47 r. 27'). From this we deduce that it was the stone-carver who formed the heavy stone sculptures placed at the entrances of the representative buildings of Assyria. In the aforementioned letter SAA 13 127, referring to the stone-carver Mannu-kī-Arbail, it is clear that this professional also worked with lapislazuli since the lack of this material is addressed in the very same section dealing with this man. In the fragment of a letter to the king from Nineveh the stone-carver is associated with a golden board (SAA 16 197:6'). Based on the admittedly scarce contextual indications, Kinnier Wilson (1972: 5–6) was probably right to assume that the *parkullu*, basically a stone-cutter, cut seals to be engraved by the *kapšarru*, produced stone bowls and created statues.

23.3 The *kapšarru* (engraver)

There is a single reference to the *kapšarru* in a record concerning a trading enterprise in which the engraver Sukkāia invested 1/6 shekel (of silver) (Radner 2016 I.33:14). Otherwise this profession is listed together with the stone-borer and the stone-carver in an administrative list (SAA 7 19:4') and in a lexical list (MSL 12 233 ii(B) 16') where he occurs close to the smiths. This is also the case in the decree about the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a where the *kapšarru* is immediately listed after the goldsmith, the copper-smith and the blacksmith (SAA 12 83 r. 6). Otherwise, he is said to transport stone thresholds, very likely destined for Dur-Šarrukin, together with the chief outrider and the prefects in a letter of the treasurer Ṭāb-šār-Aššūr to the king (SAA 1 59:5'). Also in a badly broken letter, referring to an engraver, different types of stones are mentioned (SAA 5 205:12), and he is possibly also recorded in an inventory of items made of wood and metals (CTN 2 155 i 11). Perhaps the most illuminating attestation in the Neo-Assyrian sources comes from a letter of the scholar Mār-Issār, stationed in Babylonia, to the king (SAA 10 349:21).

The king (Esarhaddon), being informed about the status quo of the divine statues in Uruk, is told that the work of the carpenter and the engraver is finished and that the statues (apparently made of wood) are now waiting to be overlaid with gold. In two administrative records from Nineveh we encounter the engraver Bulluṭu from Babylon. Possibly a deportee (SAA 11 154 r. 1), he was apparently given into the charge of the baker Marduk-iqbi (SAA 11 155:3). Judging from these sources, the *kapšarru* was skilled in engraving objects made of stone, wood and metal, as can also be concluded from the *kapšarru*'s association with smiths and from an episode in the Gilgamesh epic about the creation of a metallic statue of the deceased Enkidu involving a *kapšarru*, as pointed out by Jakob (2003: 467). In sources dating to the Neo-Babylonian period the *kapšarru* is associated with jewellery such as beads as well as cylinder seals. Although this is not evident from the Neo-Assyrian texts, these may have been also concerns of the Assyrian *kapšarru*.¹⁰⁹⁹ Above all, the *kapšarru* was not only a skilled craftsman but was literate and as such counted among the scribal professionals.¹¹⁰⁰

24 PROCESSING OF CLAY AND REED

In this section I shall discuss the two professionals whose basic working materials were the primary raw materials of Mesopotamia: clay and reed.

24.1 The *paḥḥāru* (potter)

Like many Akkadian professional titles, the designation *paḥḥāru* for potter, attested from the Old Akkadian period on, is a Sumerian loanword.¹¹⁰¹ In the Neo-Assyrian sources it is usually written (LÚ/LÚ*).DUG.QA. BUR (= BAḤĀR). Once it is written LÚ*.DUG.LIŠ.BUR (SAA 12 69 r. 21),¹¹⁰² and occurs with the syllabic writing *pa-ḥa-ri* in the Standard Babylonian inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings. The *rab paḥḥāri*, “chief potter”, is only known from Neo-Assyrian sources where it is written LÚ.GAL–DUG.QA.BUR.

A few attestations from 8th-century Kalhu and 7th-century Assur concern the potter in the role of a witness.¹¹⁰³ Out of these Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē is also attested

¹⁰⁹⁹ According to CAD K 4 s.v. *kapšarru* a.3' and the final discussion the *kapšarru* in Neo-Assyrian sources is not to be compared with the *kapšarru* mentioned in Neo-Babylonian and Standard Babylonian texts.

¹¹⁰⁰ See Kinnier Wilson 1972: 66 and Jakob 2003: 467 (according to AHw 418 s.v. *kapšarru*).

¹¹⁰¹ CAD P 21 s.v. *paḥḥāru* (*paḥḥāru*); cf. AHw 810 s.v. *paḥḥāru(m)*.

¹¹⁰² I wonder whether this is only a miswriting or misreading of QA.

¹¹⁰³ Kalhu: Pūlu from Šabirešu, north of the Assyrian heartland (Edubba 10 10 r. 20'–21'). Assur: Mutaqqin-Aššūr (SAAB 9 103 l.e. 1), Bēl-nāšir (StAT 1 22 r. 17), Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē (BaM 16 1 r. 11'), he is also attested as a witness elsewhere but without title, see tables below.

as a debtor of four shekels of silver owed to the baker Aššūr-erība (ZA 73 8:3) and is listed along with one shekel of silver which he perhaps invested in a trading enterprise (StAT 1 44:5). Otherwise, potters are mainly recorded as craftsmen in administrative documents kept in the palaces of the Assyrian heartland. In a broken record from Nineveh that also lists ironsmiths, the potters Lip[ḫur-...], Bazāzu and Uarbīsi are summarised (SAA 7 14 r. 4–6). In another fragment of an administrative document from Nineveh the potters Issār-[...], Aḫ-immê and Qurdi-[...] are mentioned (SAA 11 179:1, 2). In a document from 8th-century Kalhu two potters are summed up together with numerous other craftsmen as “additional [craftsmen]” (ND 2728+ r. 8’, l.e. 1: [LÚ.um-ma]-ni tar-di-tú). This restoration seems reasonable if we take into account another attestation of the potters designated *ummānu*: a letter to the king (Sargon), assigned to Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua (Fuchs and Parpola 2001: 176), refers to the carpenters and potters using the term *ummāni* (SAA 15 280:14’, r. 3). These two types of craftsmen were demanded from the sheikhs for the supervision of Samaritans in Dur-Šarrukin. The sheikhs, however, did not agree to this request. Judging by the fact that the potters were needed for the new capital under construction and by their association with the carpenters, their mission was perhaps not to make pottery but to plaster, a task which was done by potters as we learn from a text dealing with offerings (SAA 20 55:16, see below).

As to the exercise of the potter’s profession we only gain indirect insight from Neo-Assyrian sources. A proverb cited by the king Esarhaddon in a letter he addressed to the non-Babylonians reads: “The potter’s dog, having entered the kiln, will bark at the potter.” (SAA 18 1:5–7). This proverb implies that lowly creatures such as dogs tend to make demands after entering their master’s property, something of which the addressees are accused here by Esarhaddon (SAA 18 1:8–12). Apart from the potter’s kiln, a central implement of the potter’s work, a reference to the potter’s raw material, clay, can be found in a broken section of the literary text known as “The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince” (SAA 3 32:10). Also in a decree of expenditures for ceremonies in the Aššūr Temple from the reign of Adad-nērāri III, potters occur as providers of clay (SAA 12 69 r. 21). The big and the small mash-pot (*namzītu*), which are said to have been given by the chief potter in the course of offerings performed in Assur (SAA 20 55:16), also served as tools for the potter to mix the clay (with chaff). This is also clear from the present reference where the contents of these mash-pots were used for plastering. The potter’s primary product, the vessel, serves as a metaphor in royal inscriptions of Sargon and Esarhaddon. Here, the destruction of the stone walls of the enemy’s establishments is compared to the smashing of the potter’s vessel.¹¹⁰⁴ This emphasis on

¹¹⁰⁴ Najafehabad ii 27; RINAP 4 1 v 5.

the potter's vessel (in contrast to vessels made of stone or metal) denotes the fragility of the enemy's walls at the hands of the Assyrians.

As with other crafts, the everyday life of the potters is particularly clear from the sources from 7th-century Assur (a factor which is also owed to an uneven distribution of the texts). Apart from their involvement in legal transactions, we learn of some family ties of the potters from Assur. From among the two sons Mutaqqin-Aššūr and Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē of the potter Bēl-našir, at least Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē also bore this professional title himself, and it is likely that his brother too was a potter. Bēl-našir's family occurs in tablets from the archive of the goldsmiths, with whom they were apparently in regular contact. The context suggests a temple connection for these potters, though this is less clear in other cases. It may be significant that the chief potter and the potter only occur in the lexical list from Huzirina, which possibly reflects the nomenclature of the Aššūr Temple in Assur (see Part I, section 6.1.5 Lexical lists of professions), and that the only other attested chief potter is involved in the performance of offerings in Assur. So far there is no evidence for a chief potter operating in the secular sphere.

24.2 The *atkuppu* (reed-worker)

The title *atkuppu* is a Sumerian loanword mainly known from Babylonian sources from the first half of the second millennium on. The translation "reed-worker" is based on the fact that these professionals manufactured various objects out of reed, including mats and containers; they were also concerned with boatbuilding.¹¹⁰⁵ Since reed is found mainly in the south, the *atkuppu* is rarely attested in Assyria (and there is no need to assume an alternative Assyrian term for the same profession). From the two occurrences of *atkuppu* in Neo-Assyrian sources we encounter the logographic writing LÚ*.AD.KID and the syllabic rendering LÚ.at-kup.

The reed-worker is only attested in a lexical list (MSL 12 238 ii 6) and in a royal decree (SAA 12 83 r. 11) in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus. According to the decree, reed-workers were assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a on his appointment to high office in the new imperial capital Kalhu under Aššurnāširpal II. Like the other professionals listed here, the reed-worker seems to have been recruited from Assur, the former political centre of Assyria. His occurrence immediately after the boatman (*mallāhu*) corresponds to the fact that the *atkuppu* was also engaged in boatbuilding, as indicated by the Babylonian sources. It is worth noting that we lack any explicit references to the *atkuppu*.

¹¹⁰⁵ CAD A/II 494; cf. AHw 87.

25 AGRICULTURE

In addition to farmers (*ikkāru*), this section discusses the *rab ḥarbi* (“chief of cultivation”), the *ša-epinni* (“ploughman”) and the *qatinnu* (“farmhand”).

25.1 The *rab ikkāri* and *ikkāru* (chief farmer and farmer)

The Sumerian loanword *ikkāru* already occurs in Old Assyrian texts and is usually recorded with the logograph ENGAR, whose basic reading APIN denotes the plough, as is recognisable from its original pictograph.¹¹⁰⁶ Apart from the writings (LÚ/LÚ*).ENGAR, it is also written LÚ.*ik-ka-ra-a* (SAA 8 296 r. 3) and (LÚ).*ik-ka-ru* in two Neo-Babylonian astrological reports from Neo-Assyrian times.¹¹⁰⁷ The *rab ikkāri*, “head farmer” or *rab ikkarāte*, “head of the farmers”, is first attested in Middle Assyrian texts (Jakob 2003: 329–38). In Neo-Assyrian sources the profession only occurs in two lexical lists, written LÚ.GAL–ENGAR.MEŠ (MSL 12 238 iii 3; 233 r. v 5′). Jakob (2003: 328–41) listed and discussed the Middle Assyrian evidence for farmers *in extenso*. The Neo-Assyrian evidence is examined here with regard to their relationship with the palace, omitting those who are clearly designated as temple farmers.¹¹⁰⁸

The *ikkārus* usually occur as labourers bound to land which was held by the state, its representatives and its officials. We especially encounter farmers assigned to land at the disposal of officials in the Harran Census,¹¹⁰⁹ presumably drawn up in the reign of Sargon,¹¹¹⁰ and in the detailed schedules of grants

¹¹⁰⁶ CAD I/J 49–54, especially 51–2; cf. AHw 368.

¹¹⁰⁷ SAA 8 460 r. 3. The writing (LÚ).*ik-ka-ru* occurs also in the designation LÚ.DUMU–*ik-ka-ru* (*mār ikkāri*) which is only known from Babylonia (CAD I/J 54). Although there is no syllabic equivalent attested in Neo-Assyrian texts (cf. Radner 1999a: 115–6), there is no particular reason to doubt its Akkadian rendering *ikkāru*.

¹¹⁰⁸ Evidence (not listed in the tables below): “of the gods of Nineveh” (SAA 11 90:7–8), Rēmāni-Issār and Urdu-Issār dedicated to Nabū (SAA 12 98:5, 8), Balātu “of Bel” (SAA 13 178:27). Naturally, the references to the “farmer” when used to denote the king during the substitute king ritual are excluded here (see therefore Parpola 1983a: XXII–XXXII).

¹¹⁰⁹ Possibly it includes royal land holdings since it also records labourers and properties belonging to the *Kapar-šarri*, i.e. the “king’s village” (SAA 11 201 i 25–40).

¹¹¹⁰ For the date see Fales and Postgate 1995: XXXIII. Evidence for farmers listed here (not included in the tables below): A[...] (SAA 11 203 ii 9), Adad-bēlu-ušur (SAA 11 203 r. i 2′ and 213 r. ii 5), Adda-ḥutnī (SAA 11 211:3′, 6′), Adda-lūkidī (SAA 11 213 iii 13′), Addī (SAA 11 203 ii 14′), Aḥā (SAA 11 206 18′), Asanūnu (SAA 11 203 iv 11), Bēl-dān (SAA 11 202 r. iv 9′), Bēl-Ḥarrān-idrī (SAA 11 214:3′), Ḥalmusu (SAA 11 202 ii 5′, 10′), Ḥannī (SAA 11 202 ii 16′–17′, formerly of the scarf weavers), Idrī-Anu (SAA 11 213 iii 8′), Idrī-lī (SAA 11 211:4′, 6′), Il-Dādī (SAA 11 209 r. iv 10′), Il-Našūḫ-milkī (SAA 11 202 i 10′–11′), Issār-dūrī (SAA 11 203 ii 1), Kamāmu (SAA 11 207 ii 5′, 7′), Līt-ilī (SAA 11 202 r. iii 2′–3′), Mannu-kī-Sē’ (SAA 11 207 ii 4′, 7′), Mušallim-Našū (SAA 11 202 i 2′), Salāmu (SAA 11 206 i 13′), Sāsī (SAA 11 207 ii 2′, 7′), Sē’-nūrī (SAA 11 203 i 1), Sūrā (SAA 11 207 ii 1′, 7′), Sūrāia (SAA 11 203 iii 10), Ta’lā (SAA 11 205 i 6′), [...]ilāni (SAA 11 202 ii 3′, 10′), [...]sunu (SAA 11 207

of tax exemption from the reign of Assurbanipal and later.¹¹¹¹ One of these schedules was identified as part of the grant made to the *rab ša-rēši* Nabû-šarru-ušur.¹¹¹² The Harran Census occasionally refers to land holders such as Adad-rēmāni, chief cook of Harran (SAA 11 213 r. i 12–13), and also includes a tablet mainly listing the magnates and governors who had estates at their disposal (SAA 11 219). Because of the farmers' status, it is not surprising that they were sold together with land. Active parties involved here were village managers of the stewardess (*lahhennutu*), of the queen, and of the king's mother, the scribe of the king's mother and the *ša-rēši* of the queen as well as the royal chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad.¹¹¹³ The royal farmer Aḥ-immê was sold by the

r. i 15), [...] (SAA 11 201 ii 46; 202 i 14' and iii 2'; 205 ii 8'; 207 ii 7'; 208:9'; 213 ii 4', 7', iii 1'; 219 ii 25', iii 14', 17', 22'; cf. SAA 11 228 ii 1' and CTN 2 222 r. 2').

¹¹¹¹ For the identification as grants of tax exemption see Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXVI. *Inter alia* the personnel of the official's fields, including the farmers, were exempt from *ilku* duties. Evidence (not listed in the tables below): Abi-Aia (SAA 12 50 r. 16'), Abi-salamu (SAA 12 50 r. 3'), Adad-eriba (SAA 12 50:37), Adad-milki-ēreš (SAA 12 50 r. 22'), Adda-anā (SAA 12 27:37), Adda-sagab (SAA 12 60:16'), Aḥā (SAA 12 50 r. 30'), Aḥ-abū (SAA 12 50:13), Aḥ-immê (SAA 12 50 r. 17'), Aḥu-iddina (SAA 12 50: 1, 4), Aḥu-ilā'i (SAA 12 50 r. 9'), Aḥu-lē'i (SAA 12 50:36), Aia-abu (SAA 12 50 r. 30'), Aia-ṭāba (SAA 12 50:35), Aqru (SAA 12 50 r. 21'), Asalluḥi-dūrī (SAA 12 50 r. 27'), Attā-idrī (SAA 12 50:19), Baiadi-il (SAA 12 27:37), Balti-Aia (SAA 12 50:17), Bassūnā (SAA 12 50:16), Bēl-dīpārī (SAA 12 50:5), Bēl-dūrī (SAA 12 50 r. 13'), Bēl-[epuš] (SAA 12 50:37), Bēlet-na'dat (SAA 12 50:6), Bēl-lū-balaṭ (SAA 12 50 r. 17'), Bēl-ukīn (SAA 12 50 r. 12'), Bi'ā (SAA 12 50:38), Dādī (SAA 12 50 r. 4', r. 24'), Dīdī (SAA 12 50:2, r. 5'), Ēšidāiu (SAA 12 50 r. 12'), Gabbu-ana-Issār (SAA 12 50 r. 28'), Gurdī (SAA 12 50 r. 18'), Ḥadīa (SAA 12 50:34), Ḥansī (SAA 12 50:36), Ḥašdānu (SAA 12 50 r. 5'), Ilī-atkal (SAA 12 50:14), Il-immī (SAA 12 50:22), Ilu-zunu (SAA 12 50 r. 17'), Itti-Adad-aḥḥūtu (SAA 12 50 r. 28'), Kabar-il (SAA 12 50:23), Kanūnāiu (SAA 12 50 r. 25', 31'), Kettirā (SAA 12 50:37), Kīnanni-Issār (SAA 12 50:3, 7), Kīqillānu (SAA 12 50 r. 10'), Kir-aḥḥē (SAA 12 50:20), Kurbānu (SAA 12 50 r. 34'), Laba'ū (SAA 12 50:15), Lā-qēpu (SAA 12 50 r. 27'), Mannu-kī-Adda (SAA 12 50:22), Mannu-kī-Issār (SAA 12 50:35), Mārīddi (SAA 12 50 r. 35'), Milki-nūrī (SAA 12 27:36), Mušallim-ilu (SAA 12 50 r. 15'), Nabū'a (SAA 12 50:5), Nabū-salim (SAA 12 63:15'), Nabū-šēzib (SAA 12 50:14), Natīnī (SAA 12 50:23), Palḥu-ušēzib (SAA 12 50:20), Qīrī-mūtī (SAA 12 27:37), Qurdi-Nergal (SAA 12 50 r. 21'), Rēmāni-Adad (SAA 12 50:36), Rēmāni-Marduk (SAA 12 50 r. 2'), Salāmānu (SAA 12 50:24), Sāsī (SAA 12 50 r. 25'), Sīn-ēreš (SAA 12 50 r. 29'), Sinqi-Issār (SAA 12 50:6, 18), Šalmūti (SAA 12 50 r. 28'), Šappulu (SAA 12 50 r. 13'), Šarrī (SAA 12 27:36), Šulmu-aḥḥē (SAA 12 50:11), Šumma-ilu (SAA 12 50 r. 11'), Ta'lā (SAA 12 50:21, 40), Tuqūnu-ēreš, (SAA 12 50: 1, 4, 25, r. 12', 32'), Ṭāb-šar-Issār (SAA 12 50 r. 26'), Urdu-Issār (SAA 12 50 r. 22'), Zāban-iddina (SAA 12 50:14), Zabdī (SAA 12 50:34), Zēru-kēn (SAA 12 50:17), Zizī (SAA 12 50:39), [...] -Issār (SAA 12 27:36), [...]mur (SAA 12 50 r. 31'), [...] -Nabū (SAA 12 50:3), [...]ru (SAA 12 50 r. 7'), [...] -šumu-iddina (SAA 12 50 r. 15'), [...] (SAA 12 50:20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 39, 41, 44, 45, r. 1', 6', 8', 30', 33', 35', 38'; 52:3', 4'; 59:9', 14'; 60:16', r. 9', 10', 15'; 61:7'; 63:8', 12', 13'), cf. [...] (SAA 12 16:1').

¹¹¹² SAA 12 27, see Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXVII.

¹¹¹³ The order is according to the enumeration in the main text: SAA 6 65:8 ([...]); ND 2605:10', 11' (Bēl-lēšir, Nergal-ētir); SAA 6 255:4, 5 ([...]); SAA 6 253:3 (Gabbu-āmur); SAA 14 2:4 (unnamed); 6 315:4'/316:6 (Qarḥā); 326:8' (Šulmu-bēli), 10' (Kamāsu); 334:27 (Nabū-aḥu-ušur), 29 (Abdūnu). SAA 14 254:2' ([...]); BATSH 6 180:11–13 (Iaḥime, [...]la, [...]) are too broken. These references are not included in the tables below. These involve only those sold people who are explicitly described as farmers, but also several unspecified people sold together with land actually were employed as farmers.

chief of granaries of Maganuba to the chariot driver Šumma-Aššūr.¹¹¹⁴ In addition, farmers were subordinate to the chief bailiff (SAA 14 104 r. 4–5), to a major-domo (SAA 14 463 r. 10–11) and to other individuals (SAA 14 104 r. 3). Apart from these sources, references to dependent farmers mainly occur in letters from the reign of Sargon on. In letters from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal we encounter two farmers in the service of scholars, said to have been mistreated (SAA 10 173:14) or even killed.¹¹¹⁵ Another scholar, Urdu-Gula, stresses his misery by complaining that he has no farmer (SAA 10 294 r. 25). The majority of these cases suggests that the farmers, together with the cultivated land in question, were held by the officials privately, either acquired through purchase or granted by the king, and that the state laid its claims on these properties only in the form of taxes (provided that there was no tax exemption, as was the case with the land referred to in the grants and also with the land in the Harran Census, see Fales and Postgate 1995: XXXIII). The transactions of subordinates of the queen and the king's mother, however, may have been conducted on behalf of these royal women (see also section 14.8.2 Treasurers of members of the royal family). This is supported by the fact that the documents derive from royal palaces in Nineveh and Kalhu and that especially their village managers (and scribes) took an active role here.

To cover its needs for crops the state must have relied on the vast areas of state land which, together with its labourers was administered through the provincial system and its officials. Since we almost entirely lack provincial archives, we are mainly thrown back onto scanty references in the royal correspondence. Ina-šār-Bēl-allak, treasurer of Dur-Šarrukin, informs the king (Sargon) that from among the people sent to him from Guzana, fifteen individuals are missing. As established from the writing board, these missing people included a wineskin-raft man (*mallaḥ maškiri*), a vegetable gardener, a belt man (*ša-sāgātēšu*) and a farmer together with their families (SAA 1 128:16). These people were put at the treasurer's disposal, apparently for state employment (in connection with the construction of Dur-Šarrukin). Similarly, farmers are among the personnel assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a on his appointment to supervise and organise the establishment of the new capital Kalhu (SAA 12 83 r. 12). Farmers who are said to be "in the charge" (*qātē*) or "at the disposal" (*ina pāni*) of certain individuals also seem to have been state employees.¹¹¹⁶ As with the organisation of other state employees, the Assyrian king relied on a network of supervisors at different levels to distribute and deploy farmers.

¹¹¹⁴ SAA 6 37:8. Maganuba was located in the area of Dur-Šarrukin, see section 13.1 The *rab karmāni* (chief of granaries) and the *rab karmi* (granary master).

¹¹¹⁵ SAA 8 296 r. 3. A farmer is also said to have been killed in SAA 10 120 r. 4.

¹¹¹⁶ Such as Nabū-šarru-ušur, SAA 11 90:11–12 (restored); the cohort commander Aššūr-rā'im-šarri and Šarru-lū-dāri, SAA 7 30 r. iii 9', 22'. Note also the transfer of 32 farmers according to a broken letter (SAA 15 317:7').

From an inscription of Esarhaddon we learn that farmers were organised into cohorts (*kiṣru*) (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 14'–22'), something which is well known for the military sphere.¹¹¹⁷ These cohorts may have been supervised by cohort commanders (as indicated by the entry in SAA 70 r. iii 22'–23') or by *rab ikkarāte*, a title which is twice mentioned in the lexical lists but not attested elsewhere in Neo-Assyrian sources.¹¹¹⁸ However, the farmers mentioned by Esarhaddon were human booty taken from Šubria and it is clear that farmers were recruited from conquered areas on a large (and perhaps even increasing) scale in general (see below).¹¹¹⁹ Once established in their fields, the king's main interest lay in the success of the harvest rather than the individual farmer, as is also illustrated by a few references to farmers in letters reporting on harvest matters.¹¹²⁰

The royal household must have been in possession of its own estates to cover its needs, as indicated by farmers “of the palace” attested in texts dating to the reign of Sargon and later. The majority, namely Aḥu-lā-amašši, Aḥu-lā-amašši from the town Mera, Nabû-nāšir, Bēl-šarru-ušur and Ēšidāiu, occur (often jointly) as witnesses in land sale documents from Nineveh.¹¹²¹ Otherwise, the palace farmer Ammi-rāmu is said to own a field next to an estate sold to the cohort commander Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina by an archer (SAA 14 425:10). Another (unnamed) palace farmer of Kalhu is listed along with a special kind of bird in an administrative document (SAA 7 131 r. 2). Also mentioning the palace manager of Maškala and the village manager of Esarhaddon's son Šamaš-mētu-uballit, this text probably records gifts brought to the palace. The ownership of land suggests a better status in comparison to the majority of farmers, and the possibility that a palace farmer was bringing an audience gift indicates a closer connection to the royal household, corresponding to the title itself. However, incidents such as the one described by Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, according to which palace farmers were (justifiably?) seized by the prefect Aššūr-bēlu-taqin, show that also palace farmers were labourers rather than officials. In this respect it is also significant that a royal farmer could even be sold by a chief of granaries (SAA 6 37:8). The designation “royal farmer” is possibly identical with the title “palace farmer”. In this respect it is also worth mentioning the farmer associated with the “royal

¹¹¹⁷ For cohorts of craftsmen and labourers supervised by cohort commanders, perhaps as early as the of reign of Tiglath-pileser III, see Postgate 1987a: 259–60.

¹¹¹⁸ MSL 12 233 r. v 5'; 238 iii 3. The Middle Assyrian evidence for the *rab ikkarāte* gives a better insight into his responsibilities (Jakob 2003: 338–41); this title was possibly outdated in Neo-Assyrian times.

¹¹¹⁹ Farmers with such a background are probably recorded in some administrative documents: SAA 11 173:6–7 (Minu-aḫti), 13 ([...]-nu-ili); 180:2' ([...-b]āni-zēri); 181:7, r. 1 ([...]) and 194:8 (Mannu-lū-zittī).

¹¹²⁰ SAA 19 15:3; SAA 10 69:13; SAA 15 318:5'.

¹¹²¹ SAA 6 28 r. 5'–7'; 115 r. 2'; 125 r. 12–14.

mausoleum” (SAAB 5 51 r. 31, see section 11.2 The *bēt kimaḥḥi*). Also, the satellite households of the king’s closest relatives had their individual farmers (and therefore their individual properties), as is evident for the crown prince (SAAB 5 51 r. 35).¹¹²²

Like the palace farmers, a number of farmers attested by name, lacking any affiliation, occur as witnesses. In contrast to the palace farmers, though, they did not necessarily witness land sales but rather slave sales in the 9th century (Edubba 10 22 l.e. 1′) and later (SAA 6 109 r. 5′, 7′; 116 r. 2′–5′; 289 r. 11). Since they witnessed transactions involving palace-related people (e.g. the *ša-qurbūti* in SAA 6 116), some of these might also have belonged to the palace. In addition, Aḥu-iddina, farmer of Lā-qēpu, was a witness when the farmer Aḥu-lā-amašši was sentenced to imprisonment because he had stolen an ox (SAA 14 104 r. 3). This judgement was also witnessed by Parutāni, farmer of the chief bailiff (SAA 14 104 r. 4–5). In contrast to the palace farmer, we have no evidence for the ownership of land by ordinary farmers, but a few farmers are attested dealing with barley and silver. Hence, the farmer Aḥu-lā-amašši is recorded as debtor of three *emāru* of barley owed to the gods Nabû and Aššur in the reign of Sargon (ND 5449:3). According to an administrative document from Huzirina the farmer Māti’-Sē received five shekels of silver in exchange for a woman in the year 636* (STT 48 r. 12′–13′). Mušallim-Marduk, in the charge (*qātē*) of an unnamed farmer (if interpreted correctly), invested seven shekels of silver in an overland trading enterprise of Mušēzib-Aššūr.¹¹²³

As pointed out earlier, the demand for farmers was mainly covered by human booty deported from conquered areas and distributed all over the rural lands of Assyria.¹¹²⁴ Esarhaddon states in his inscription that he gave farmers, together with other professionals from Šubria, to the forces of Aššur, the cohort of ancestral kings, his palaces and magnates (*rabātu*), his palace entourage and the citizen of Nineveh, Kalhu, Kilizi and Arbail (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 14′–22′). Several different spheres, including the temple, the palace and the cities, that had agricultural land available were provided with deported farmers. Their widespread distribution corresponds to the fact that farmers are repeatedly defined by the place where they were employed. Numerous villages (*kapru*) and towns are especially mentioned along with the farmers in the Harran

¹¹²² Another indication, for instance, are the references to barley of the crown prince (SAA 14 23; 98/99). Postgate (1989: 146) also distinguishes between state land and land owned by the king individually.

¹¹²³ Radner 2016 I.41 r. 8. This is a unique reference to a farmer being in charge of another individual; note also the translation of Radner: “M., im Gewahrsam des Bauern”. Brinkman (PNA 2/II 776) takes the “farmer” as a designation for Mušallim-Marduk himself.

¹¹²⁴ See Postgate 1987a: 264; he assumed that “the population of conquered lands was the principal source of the helot class in the 7th century at least”.

Census,¹¹²⁵ and similar specifications are also given elsewhere.¹¹²⁶ Apart from being assigned to specific institutions and individual landowners, farmers were subject to the provincial administration, like the land they cultivated. In a letter from Esarhaddon, farmers occur as subjects of the village manager Aḥ-abû.¹¹²⁷ Probably in the light of a transfer of an estate from one official (removed or deceased?) to another, the addressee (name lost) is told by the king to let Aḥ-abû bring the farmers, shepherds and gardeners so that their accounts can be made. Farmers were central for the provincial administration in connection with the crop yield and the levy of corn taxes (*nusāḥu*) and straw taxes (*šibšu*). This also gave rise to disputes about the areas of responsibility, also caused by the fact that the official's land holdings were distributed all over the country and thus in provinces administered by others.¹¹²⁸ The same circumstance also provoked the mistreatment of a farmer pointed out earlier.¹¹²⁹

It might be that the comparison made in a Babylonian letter to the king (Sargon) that people worked on the damming of the river of Bit-Deraia “like one farmer” served to express the hard work done by farmers (SAA 17 120 r. 25). Since the damming seems to have been a seasonal issue, the comparison could also reflect that aspect. Apart from the time of ploughing and sowing the crop seeds in autumn,¹¹³⁰ the main work of an Assyrian farmer had to be done at harvest time in the spring, which must have required a lot more workers than in autumn. This explains why we have a separate expression for the “harvester” (*ēšidu*), and why numerous legal documents record the temporary disposition of such harvesters.¹¹³¹ In addition, the personal name *Ēšidāiu*, literally meaning “the one of harvest time”, is twice attested for farmers (SAA 6 125 r. 13; SAA 12 50 r. 12'); it is possibly that other attested *Ēšidāius* (Reynolds,

¹¹²⁵ The locations of farmers are also given in grants, legal documents and administrative documents (e.g. SAA 7 30 r. iii 9', 22').

¹¹²⁶ SAA 19 15:3 (of the town Aššūr-nirka-aḥu); SAA 6 28 r. 6'–7' (of Mera, an individual from Mera also witnesses SAA 6 115 together with the palace farmer Nabû-nāšir); 109 (probably from Kaprabi); SAA 7 131 r. 2 (Kalhu) and SAA 14 104 r. 3, 6 (from Bit-Hurapi).

¹¹²⁷ SAA 16 5:22, r. 13. Otherwise, village managers of royal family members occur together with farmers (see above): SAA 6 109 (of the crown prince), SAA 6 255 (of the king's mother), ND 2605 (of the queen), SAA 7 131 (of the prince Šamaš-mētu-uballit), cf. the village manager of the stewardess in SAA 6 65.

¹¹²⁸ CTN 2 196 r. 16, cf. commentary Postgate 1973: 195–6. For a recent discussion of this matter see Galil 2009.

¹¹²⁹ SAA 10 173:14. Note also the case of the farmer(s) and gardener(s) of the Arab leader Ammi-lētī who were driven out of the town of the governor of Šupat. The latter promises to the king to provide A. with other land and gardens since Ammi-lētī is a “king's servant” (SAA 1 179:8).

¹¹³⁰ Note therefore also the letter ND 2671 according to which it is almost too late for cultivation since the year has reached its end.

¹¹³¹ Radner 1997a: 14–8. The majority of legal documents listed in her table on pp. 16–17 was drawn up in the twelfth (Addaru), first (Nisannu) and second (Ayāru) months of the year. Hence, the majority of harvesters was hired between February and May.

PNA 1/II 406) also were farmers or at least involved in the process of harvesting.¹¹³² The oxen and the ploughs, which are associated with the farmer,¹¹³³ especially relate to the farmer's activities in autumn. The logographic sign used for writing *ikkāru* shows that the plough was his central piece of equipment, as is also reflected by the statement that a farmer was killed over the plough in an elegy about the death of Tammuz to describe unproductive land.¹¹³⁴ The farmer's elementary role in the crop yield and therefore in the well-being of the land is also reflected by a curse in the treaty of Aššūr-nērāri V with Matī'-il, king of Arpad. It states that if Matī'-il does not provide his military forces, his farmers shall not sing work songs (*alāla*) anymore.¹¹³⁵ Together with the shepherd and the gardener, with whom he is occasionally mentioned,¹¹³⁶ the farmer built the foundation of Assyrian society and secured its basic needs.

25.2 The *rab ḥarbi* ("chief of cultivation")

The *rab ḥarbi*, written LÚ.GAL-*ḥar-bi* and LÚ*.GAL-*ḥir-bi*, is only attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. The term is translated either as "chief of the untilled land" or as "official in charge of the ploughs", depending on how the term *ḥarbu* is interpreted. It is either an adjective deriving from the verb *ḥarābu* ("to lie waste") and means "waste" and in consequence "wasteland", or it refers to a special type of plough. The latter is preferred by CAD, but von Soden and HAD give a translation based on *ḥarbu* meaning "wasteland".¹¹³⁷ Although a definite decision cannot be made, both possibilities suggest that this office was responsible for the cultivation of (waste-)land.

¹¹³² This assumption, however, only works if the personal name Ēšidāiu was not already given in infancy, but on occasion of the harvest time (to men not well integrated, such as captives and deportees).

¹¹³³ SAA 1 128:16; SAA 15 318:5'; SAA 11 90:9; VAT 8699:18; Edubba 10 54:1: CTN 2 222 r. 2'.

¹¹³⁴ SAA 3 16:17. The importance of the plough, and the logistics involved, are well illustrated by the letter ND 2671 where the sender (lost) reports to the king that he is organising ploughs (from Barhalza) and oxen (from Arpad) in order to cultivate seed, as he was ordered to by the commander-in-chief. For Neo-Assyrian finds and pictographic references to ploughs and other agricultural tools such as sickles see Curtis 1999. Note also the plough as an astroglyph (*lumāšu*) for AN.ŠĀR, representing the Assyrian landscape under cultivation, in the epithet of Esarhaddon (Roaf and Zgoll 2001: 283–4).

¹¹³⁵ This curse might especially refer to the harvest time. SAA 2 2 r. iv 19'. For *alāla* see CAD A/I 328–9 "interjection, (an exclamation for joy, refrain of a work song)"; HAD 6 "harvest song, work song".

¹¹³⁶ With shepherds: SAA 15 257 r. 7'; SAA 16 79:10; with gardeners (SAA 1 128:16; SAA 6 37:8; SAA 12 83 r. 12); with both: SAA 16 5:22; SAA 3 16:17; RINAP 4 33 r. iii 18'; the Harran Census and the grant schedules.

¹¹³⁷ CAD H 87 s.v. *ḥarābu*, 97 s.v. *ḥarbu*, *ḥarbu* A, 98 *ḥarbu* in *rab ḥarbi*, *ḥarbu* B; cf. AHw 324–5; HAD 90.

The earliest reference to a *rab ḥarbi* is found in a collection of decrees from various reigns according to which the *rab ḥarbi* of the palace is the provider of one glass (*būzu*) of cardamon (*kudimmu*, HAD 51) for offerings as determined in the reign of Shalmaneser IV.¹¹³⁸ Otherwise, he (if interpreted correctly) occurs as a recipient of [x] *qû* of wine in a wine list dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (CTN 1 9 r. 17'). A third reference is from a judicial decision imposed in the reign of Assurbanipal upon the farmer Aḥu-lā-amašši (SAA 14 104:4–5). Aḥu-lā-amašši, said to be in the charge of (*qātē*) Aḥu-uqur, *rab ḥarbi* of the chief cupbearer, is sentenced to imprisonment since he did not pay the fine imposed upon him for an ox he had stolen from the estate of the scribe Nabû-šarru-ušur.¹¹³⁹ The judgement, which was passed by the deputy mayor of Nineveh and is witnessed by two farmers, also states that Aḥu-lā-amašši may be set free as soon as he replaces the oxen.¹¹⁴⁰ The fact that he was only in the charge of Aḥu-uqur but not owned by him, might explain why we do not read of a restitution made by Aḥu-uqur.

Judging by the affiliations of the *rab ḥarbi*, he was employed in the domains of high-ranking state officials and the royal household, as is supported by his possible occurrence in a wine list. Considering the presence of a farmer in his charge and his title (regardless of its exact interpretation), he was concerned with land intended for cultivation.¹¹⁴¹ On comparison with Dagān-šīmti, referred to as “manager of the garden, field, road and ploughs (*epinnu*)” (SAA 6 22:7–8, see section 25.1 The *rab ikkāri* and *ikkāru* (chief farmer and farmer)), also other officials were appointed for the management of ploughs.

25.3 The *ša-epinni* (ploughman)

The *ša-epinni*, literally meaning “(he) of the plough”,¹¹⁴² is attested twice in Neo-Assyrian sources, both times written LÚ.GIŠ.APIN.¹¹⁴³ The ploughman

¹¹³⁸ SAA 12 77 i 7'. The same text (in r. ii 16–17) records the chief confectioner of the palace as a recipient of a glass of cardamon.

¹¹³⁹ As pointed out by Jas (1996: 29–30), there must have been a previous judgement upon this matter.

¹¹⁴⁰ The text seems to be contradictory. First it seems that the farmer is imprisoned instead of paying back the ox (SAA 14 104:11–12). Then, it continues with the statement that he is only to be freed if he brings an(other) ox (SAA 14 104:12). As suggested by Postgate (1976: 158), the previous statement rather refers to an additional fine.

¹¹⁴¹ If the title refers to the plough, the *rab ḥarbi* was perhaps associated with “breaking up the soil” in particular since the *ḥarbu*-plough, in contrast to the *epinnu*-plough, was especially used for that operation (CAD H 98 s.v. *ḥarbu* A).

¹¹⁴² CAD E 235–7 s.v. *epinnu*; cf. AHW 229. In Neo-Babylonian texts there is also a *rab epinni* attested (CAD E 328).

¹¹⁴³ Note also the single reference to *errēšē* (“tenant farmers” or “cultivators”) said to have cultivated (*erēšu*) a field of the scholar Rāši-ili together with two horses in a letter of the very same scholar to the king Esarhaddon (SAA 10 167:8); see CAD E 304–6 s.v. *errēšu*, mainly attested in the Babylonian dialects.

[...]lâ is sold in the reign of Sennacherib according to a fragmentary legal document (SAA 6 149:5). Šulmu-mât-Aššūr, ploughman of Kišir-Aššūr, who is otherwise known as cohort commander, owes five shekels of silver to a certain Sinqi-Issār. Although these professionals were of low rank (comparable with that of the farmer), they could engage in business transactions. Regarding their function, it is clear from their title that they ploughed the land in autumn and therefore were only active seasonally, which also suggests that the designation was a temporary one (like “harvester”).¹¹⁴⁴

25.4 The *qatinnu* (“farmhand”)

The obscure title *qatinnu* is first attested in Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian texts and thereafter in Neo-Assyrian sources where it is written LÚ/LÚ*.*qa-tin(-nu)*, LÚ*.*qa-tin-ni*, (LÚ).*qa-ti-nu*, LÚ*.*qa-ti-en-nu* and—in a Babylonian letter—LÚ.*qa-at-tin*.¹¹⁴⁵ Regarding its etymology, Deller (1965: 477) suggested that it is a formation of the Akkadian term *qātu* and the Hurrian ending *-tinnu/tennu* designating a profession. He described this profession as “mit Bauarbeiten befassten Handwerker”. Menzel (1981 I: 263), based on the etymological explanation of Deller, defined it as “Handlanger” or “ungelehrter Handwerker” and thus not as a specific professional designation. Furthermore, it was interpreted as “Landarbeiter” or tiller according to the Neo-Assyrian sources.¹¹⁴⁶ In her discussion about the *qatinnu* attested in Neo-Assyrian texts, Radner (1999a: 115–6) doubted Deller’s suggestion and the translations proposed. She proposed that *qatinnu* could be the reading of LÚ.ENGAR since a syllabic writing for *ikkāru* is missing from the texts of the Neo-Assyrian period (see section 25.1 The *rab ikkāri* and *ikkāru* (chief farmer and farmer)). Nevertheless, it seems unlikely to me that such a deeply-rooted term could be easily replaced. Although it is not accepted as a counter-argument by Radner (1999a: 116), the single reference to a *qatinnu* among numerous LÚ.ENGAR (in SAA 12 50 r. 37′) does not necessarily support her assumption. Perhaps the most crucial point against such an identification is that we encounter syllabic writings for both the *ikkāru* and the *qatinnu* in Middle Assyrian sources.¹¹⁴⁷ Understanding the LÚ.ENGAR and the *qatinnu* as two different designations, I stick to Menzel’s translation “Handlanger” or “henchman”, and additionally propose the translation “farmhand” based on the majority of contexts in which it appears. According to the restoration [GAL]–LÚ.*qa-ti-ni* in the legal document StAT 1 23:6′, there probably also existed a *rab qatinni* in

¹¹⁴⁴ Since the *epinnu*-plough was used to draw the furrow (after the soil was broken up with the *harbu*-plough, see fn. 1141), this might have been the task performed by the *ša-epinni*.

¹¹⁴⁵ SAA 17 126 r. 7′; it is translated as woodcutter in the edition.

¹¹⁴⁶ See AHW 908 s.v. *qattinu* (*qatinnu*) 3; HAD 87 tiller, serf, peasant; CAD Q 172 s.v. *qatinnu* (*qattinu*) just proposes “(a profession)”.

¹¹⁴⁷ Jakob 2003: 328–9, 558–9.

Neo-Assyrian times. Since this is the only possible reference to a *rab qatinni* and judging by the comparatively rare type of writing (GAL-LÚ.X), it has to be doubted, though its existence remains plausible.¹¹⁴⁸ Menzel (1981 I: 263–4) examined the Neo-Assyrian references which indicate a temple connection.¹¹⁴⁹ Deller (1965: 473–4) discussed the Neo-Assyrian evidence in an excursus.

The *qatinnu* seems to have been a low-ranking workman, usually of dependent status. Apart from being listed in a tablet of the Harran Census,¹¹⁵⁰ he repeatedly occurs in schedules to grants of tax exemption made to high-ranking officials by Assurbanipal.¹¹⁵¹ The majority of the remaining *qatinnus* mentioned by name is attested as a witness.¹¹⁵² Otherwise, we learn that the *qatinnu* (possibly *rab qatinni*, see above) of the commander-in-chief, Sagību, was in the possession of a house which he sold to the brewer of the household of the crown prince (StAT 1 23:6′). The house in question adjoined those of the household overseer of the commander-in-chief, the “overseer of the royal crypts” and the carpenter of the household of the crown prince. Sagību enjoyed a better position and more wealth than did his ordinary colleagues for whom we have no evidence for any type of properties.¹¹⁵³ The *qatinnu* Aššūr-na’di was in the service of the crown prince according to his affiliation (StAT 1 22 r. 23). This man might have enjoyed an enhanced position like Sagību. The *qatinnu* listed along with other professionals in a fragmentary administrative document was, however, perhaps rather employed by the royal household (SAA 7 20 r. i’ 5).

As for his functions and sphere of activity, we cannot rely on the title since its interpretation is uncertain (see above). Also the contexts in which the *qatinnu* occurs give only a vague impression. According to a letter from Tartīmāni, later known as palace manager, to the current palace manager, a *qatinnu* accused the sender of having taken vessels from the “house” of the scribe, with which the boy (*ṣeḥru*) of the *nākisu* (cutter) brought different types of corn portions (CTN 3 3 r. 17). In a short note from Kalhu, the *qatinnu* Bēl-aḥḥē-iddina is said to have brought a document (*egirtu*) concerned with Aššūr-da’īnanni, probably

¹¹⁴⁸ Radner (1999a: 115) also cites SAA 11 77 i 21 (obviously a mistake for SAA 12 77) as a reference for the *rab qatinni*, which is read as LÚ.GAL-*qa-qu-lat* in the edition.

¹¹⁴⁹ ND 3463:2 (Nabû-pī-aḥi-uṣur, “of Nabû”); StAT 1 12:5–7 (Aššūr-aplu-iddina, “of the temples”); SAA 12 24 r. 7 (Sīn-kēnu-uṣur); 87 r. 12–13 (41 people are given as farmhands (*ana LÚ.qa-tin-ú-te*) to Zababa); very likely also the 60 *qatinnus* mentioned in SAA 7 142:4 and the farmhand receiving leftovers in SAA 12 68:15. These references are not included in the tables below.

¹¹⁵⁰ SAA 11 209 r. iii 1’, 2’ (Nergal-ilā’ī, in sum 8 farmhands). Not listed in tables below.

¹¹⁵¹ SAA 12 27:29 (Qurdi-Nergal); 50 r. 37’ (Nabû-kēnu-uballit); 62:10 (two unnamed farmhands). Not listed in tables below.

¹¹⁵² StAT 1 22 r. 23 (Aššūr-na’di); StAT 2 234 r. 19 (Sūḥiru); CTN 2 82 r. 9, 10 (Mannī, Ḥidā) and SAA 6 154 r. 10 (Urdu-[...]).

¹¹⁵³ Some temple-related *qatinnus* are otherwise attested with their former properties (ND 3463:2) and involved in other business transactions such as loans of garments (StAT 1 12:5–7).

identical with the homonymous governor of Mazamua, to the mule express (*ana kallie*) (ND 2345:1–2). Together with this title’s entry in the lexical list from Nineveh, mentioned after the oil-presser and before the unclear title *edulnu* (CAD E 38, see section 15.1 Oil-pressing), there emerges a scanty picture of different tasks. An occasional involvement in farming is indicated by the *qatinnu*’s association with fields (and farmers) as in the grants, the Harran Census and the incident of the lightning striking a field (see below) as well as with field crops, namely barley, in the letter of Tartīmani.¹¹⁵⁴ We may define the *qatinnu* not as farmer *par excellence* but as a handyman employed on different occasions, including errands and especially agricultural activity.

Regarding the marginal significance of such a “henchman”, there is a reference to the “house” of an unnamed *qatinnu* in a letter of the astrologer Balasī to the king (SAA 10 42:11). Balasī argues against the king’s worry about an evil in the palace, evoked by the incident of lightning striking a field in the city of Harihumba. Apparently he tries to convince the king that the place where this incident happened is distant and of no importance. He underlines this with the phrase “why does (the king) look (for trouble) in the ‘house’ of a farm-hand”, the last thinkable place of any interest for the king (and thus the empire). The majority of the attestations involve individuals designated *qatinnu*; only *qatinnus* associated with the temple are attested in double digits (SAA 7 142, SAA 12 87).

26 GARDENING

The central professional in connection with gardening is the *nukaribbu*, usually translated as “gardener”. This Akkadian term, a Sumerian loanword, is already known from Old Akkadian texts. The chief gardener, *rab nukaribbi*, is first attested in documents dating to the first half of the second millennium.¹¹⁵⁵ As for the Neo-Assyrian attestations, the *nukaribbu* is usually written (LÚ/LÚ*).NU.GIŠ.SAR, with the shortened variants LÚ*.NU.SAR (ND 5453:2) and NU.GIŠ (Radner 2016 I.33:17; I.56:8) attested in a few records.¹¹⁵⁶ For the *rab nukaribbi* we find the logographic writings LÚ.GAL–NU.GIŠ.SAR.(MEŠ); the term LÚ*.GAL–GIŠ.SAR is rather read *rab kirie* and under-

¹¹⁵⁴ Also for the Middle Assyrian evidence an association with agriculture was pointed out (Jakob 2003: 559); cf. the Middle Babylonian evidence examined by Sassmannshausen (2001: 128).

¹¹⁵⁵ CAD N/II 323–7; cf. AHw 802.

¹¹⁵⁶ For shortened writings of professions in texts from 7th-century Assur in general see comment in Radner 2016: 97 (comment to text no. I.21). The writing LÚ*.NU.GAR.MEŠ in SAA 11 29 r. 11 rather refers to prefects, judging by the other titles recorded here and thus requires the erasure of the sign NU, or, as proposed by H.D. Baker (by oral communication), it could be a metathesis of signs, to be read LÚ*.GAR-*nu*.MEŠ.

stood as “garden manager”.¹¹⁵⁷ The Neo-Assyrian evidence for *nukaribbu* associated with the temple household was discussed by Menzel.¹¹⁵⁸ I will primarily focus on gardeners as professionals related to the palace, and on the *rab nukaribbi* and the *rab kirie* who held supervisory positions.

Since many of the references to gardeners do not give their institutional affiliation, either explicitly or by context, the discussion below necessarily involves some uncertain cases. Due to their limited significance for the present study, many gardeners are only discussed here briefly and are not listed in the tables below. This includes the gardeners who, together with the farmers and shepherds, occur in the tablets of the Harran Census.¹¹⁵⁹ Similarly, the gardeners attested in grants (and their schedules) from the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and Assurbanipal were dependants of high-ranking officials (including the *rab ša-rēši Nabû-šarru-ušur*).¹¹⁶⁰ In addition, gardeners are frequently attested as objects of sale. In the second half of the 8th century the gardener [Aplā]ia was sold by the palace supervisor Bēl-ilā’ī to Kudāia (ND 2605 r. 7, see section 1.2.9.6 Household staff), who also bought the gardener Nergal-na’di according to the same text (ND 2605 r. 1). Sales of gardeners are also attested in the reigns of Sennacherib,¹¹⁶¹ Assurbanipal,¹¹⁶² and later.¹¹⁶³ Also in administrative documents we encounter gardeners who are treated as property or as deportees.¹¹⁶⁴

¹¹⁵⁷ The translations are taken from HAD 50 s.v. *kiriū* and HAD 78 s.v. *nukaribbu*.

¹¹⁵⁸ Menzel 1981 I: 261–2. There is Rēhāti, gardener of the *akītu*-house attested in StAT 2:5–6, while another gardener (unnamed) is donated to Ištar of Arbail according to SAA 12 89:3’.

¹¹⁵⁹ Evidence: Adī-māti-ilu (SAA 11 201 i 45), Aḫū-abū (SAA 11 201 i 4), Aḫūnu (SAA 11 201 i 16), Arnabā (SAA 11 201 i 1–2), Attār-bi’dī (SAA 11 209 r. iii 19’), Ḫušazā (SAA 11 207 i 1), Idrī-Anu (SAA 11 201 i 32–33, formerly of the confectioners), Il-idrī (SAA 11 214:8’), Il-nūrī (SAA 11 201 i 25), Il-šumkī (SAA 11 201 ii 33), Ilu-ba[...] (SAA 11 202 i 20’), Našūḫ-sa[...] (SAA 11 201 ii 8–10, formerly of the [...]), Nušku-ilā’ī (SAA 11 201 i 13), Nušku-ilā’ī (SAA 11 201 i 41–43, formerly of the cooks), Padī (SAA 11 213 iv 3’), Sē’-idrī (SAA 11 201 ii 1), Sē’-nāpi (SAA 11 201 i 30), Sē’-šumkī (SAA 11 205 i 11’), Sīn-na’di (SAA 11 201 i 12), Sūrī-rāmu (SAA 11 209 r. iv 4’), Ša-lā-Bēl-mannu (SAA 11 207 r. iii 1’–2’, in sum 4 gardeners), Tela-il (SAA 11 209 r. iv 12’), Uašī (SAA 11 203 r. i’ 13’–14’ and 213 r. ii 9), Urdu-Issār (SAA 11 209 r. iii 16’), [...]šī (SAA 11 208:2’), [...] (SAA 11 203 r. ii 4’–5’), [...] (SAA 11 219 r. iv 8–9, in sum 3 gardeners), [...] (SAA 11 219 r. iv 12, in sum 13 gardeners), “sum of 11 gardeners” (SAA 11 201 ii 47).

¹¹⁶⁰ Tiglath-pileser III: Arḫī (SAA 12 15:4’). Possibly Bānī (SAA 12 16:3’), if we restore LÚ.GIŠ.[SAR] and not LÚ.GIŠ.[GIGIR], as in the edition. Considering the context, one would expect a gardener here (Baker, PNA 1/II 263 s.v. Bānī 3). Assurbanipal: Abassa-na’id (SAA 12 63:17’), Abdī (SAA 12 50:26), Aḫ-immē (SAA 12 50:30), Aḫū-lē’i (SAA 12 50:31), Atunāiu (SAA 12 50:31), Bēlu-lū-balaṭ (SAA 12 50 r. 15’), [Ḫul]ī (SAA 12 50:27), Idrī-aḫā’ū (SAA 12 50:28), Issār-nāmarī (SAA 12 50:32), Kabar-il (SAA 12 50 r. 23’), Mannī (SAA 12 50:29), Nabū-nādin-aḫī (SAA 12 50 r. 23’), Qumānāiu (SAA 12 50:32), Rēmānī-ilu (SAA 12 63:16’), [...]Inūrta (SAA 12 27 i 6), [...]nu (SAA 12 27 i 3), [...]si (SAA 12 27 i 4), [...]šallim (SAA 12 27 i 5), [...] (SAA 12 27 i 1, 2 and 50:30).

¹¹⁶¹ Aššūr-bēlu-taqqīn (SAA 6 37:7–8), Zabīnu (SAA 6 90:8), unnamed (SAA 6 123:4, 10).

¹¹⁶² Ba’al-azūrī (SAA 6 314:9), Lussumu (SAA 6 329:12), [...] (SAA 14 6:2).

¹¹⁶³ Mardī (SAA 14 49:3). According to another legal document, dating to the reign of Assurbanipal or later, blood money had to be paid for a murdered gardener Tamūzāiu (SAAB 9 77:5–6).

¹¹⁶⁴ SAA 7 28 r. iii’ 4’ (probably 39 gardeners listed). SAA 11 222:9’ (one gardener, unnamed), 11’ (two gardeners, unnamed), r. 5 (one gardener, unnamed). Note also the farmers

Apart from the gardener himself, who was certainly the central gardening specialist, there are a few other professional titles which suggest an employment connected with gardens. First, there is a unique attestation of an “appointee of the garden irrigation” in a legal document dating to late 7th century.¹¹⁶⁵ Here Nabû-zēru-iddina, the “appointee of garden irrigation” (written LÚ**pa*²-*qid*²-*di* A.MEŠ ša GIŠ.¹SAR¹-šú), seems to be responsible for the collection (*pirru*) of the levy for the irrigation of a garden of the son of Kamba[...]. As pointed out by Faist (2007: 120–1), this is the only attestation of such an official in Neo-Assyrian sources and it is also the first clear indication of the existence of irrigation taxes at this time. Corresponding to the known system of tax-collection in general, Nabû-zēru-iddina was a local appointee who was presumably active on behalf of municipal or provincial officials and did not form part of the royal household.

A connection with the palace cannot be entirely excluded for the *mašsar-qabli* who was another professional associated with gardens. The title can be translated as “guardian of the grove” and is written LÚ*.*ma-šar-qab-li* or LÚ*.EN.NUN–MURUB₄.¹¹⁶⁶ Two title bearers, namely Mannu-lā-amīni and Sē²-aqāba, are attested in the Harran Census and thus rather denote local personnel.¹¹⁶⁷ A third reference records a *mašsar-qabli* active in the Assyrian heartland, though it remains open whether he was employed by the palace or the temple. A closeness to the latter is indicated by the fact that the “guardian of the grove” in question, namely Aḥu-erība, owes three *emāru* of barley rations to Aššur and Nabû.¹¹⁶⁸ Judging by their title, *mašsar-qablis* seem to have been primarily concerned with the protection of groves against destruction and theft, with gardening playing a less important role (see section 5.8 The *ša-maššarti* and *maššaru* (“watchman” and “guard”). According to the Harran Census they guarded groves of poplars (*šarbutu*) and of *šašugu*-trees.¹¹⁶⁹

and gardeners belonging to the Arabian ruler Ammi-lētī according to the letter SAA 1 179:8. As deportees gardeners probably are recorded in SAA 11 177:7' (one vegetable gardener); SAA 11 181 r. 2, 3 (Urdu-Issār, [...]nu); SAA 11 194:9 (Nanī) and possibly in the letter SAA 1 128:15 (Sanda-pī, vegetable gardener).

¹¹⁶⁵ StAT 3 75:2–3, 5. It either dates to the year 612* (according to Parpola) or 615* (according to Reade); in her edition Faist (2007: 121) prefers the earlier date (though she mistakenly refers to 614*).

¹¹⁶⁶ CAD Q 16 s.v. *qablu* C (only encountered in Neo-Assyrian texts). HAD 85 translates “forester, ranger”.

¹¹⁶⁷ SAA 11 218:6'; SAA 11 201 ii 38–9.

¹¹⁶⁸ ND 5456:3. Parker's (1957: 126) interpretation of the logographic writing LÚ*.EN.NUN–MURUB₄ as *kablitu* for “man of the night-watch” is not followed here.

¹¹⁶⁹ Apart from these titles I shall also briefly introduce the *rab bānī*, an office well-known for the Neo-Babylonian period where it represents a prebendary orchard keeper (Jursa 1995: 57–8).

26.1 The *rab nukaribbi* (chief gardener) and the *rab kirie* (garden manager)

Both the *rab nukaribbi* and the *rab kirie* are only rarely attested in Neo-Assyrian sources. Dagān-šīmti, “manager of the garden, field, road and ploughs”, is recorded as owner of a field adjoining 13 hectares of land sold in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (SAA 6 22:7). According to the location of the land, the field of Dagān-šīmti was situated in the town of Allī which is to be found in the “domain” (*bētu*) of the commander-in-chief. While the precise location of the town Allī is unknown, the “domain” of the commander-in-chief refers either to his province in the north-western part of the empire or, alternatively, to an estate located in another province since it is well known that the magnates and governors used to have land spread all over the country (cf. *inter alia* Postgate 1989: 146–7). It is impossible to determine with certainty the approximate localisation of the field. Nevertheless, Dagān-šīmti was active in a rural environment, as his designation “manager of garden, field, road and ploughs” suggests. The location of his sphere of responsibility remains unclear, but Šarru-lū-dāri, addressed as a possible transgressor in a legal document, is designated as “chief gardener of the city of Kalhu” (CTN 3 32:1, 2, 4). Whether active in the centre or outside of it, it appears with both attestations that garden managers or chief gardeners were active within limited geographical or administrative areas. As local officials they may have gained some degree of importance and wealth, as indicated by their ownership of a field (Dagān-šīmti) and perhaps by the use of their own stamp seals, as is evident for Šarru-lū-dāri. Because of the lack of sources concerning their actual tasks, we can only assume that the garden manager and the chief gardener supervised the maintenance of gardens, with the latter (also “chief of gardeners”) having the gardeners under his jurisdiction.

26.2 The *nukaribbu* (gardener)

There are two attestations for the palace gardener in Neo-Assyrian sources. According to a legal document dating to the reign of Assurbanipal, the palace gardener Isputu sells the bought slave (*šīmu*) Šamaš-ilāī to the royal *ša-rēši* Nīnuāiu for one mina of silver (SAA 14 18:1–2, 4). The qualification “bought (slave)” supports the suggestion that the two officials associated with the king’s household did “private” business with each other. The second attestation derives from a collection of decrees from various reigns, according to which the palace gardener has to supply five *kuruppu*-plants for offerings.¹¹⁷⁰ As with the various other palace officials recorded here, the gardener is appointed to

¹¹⁷⁰ SAA 12 77 i 12’–13’. The term *kuruppu* for a particular plant (determined by Ú) only occurs here. *kuruppu* otherwise denotes a basket or a reed structure (CAD K 581; cf. AHW 513).

supply food relating to his official responsibilities. We may suspect that the *kuruppu*-plants, apparently also in demand for the purpose of offerings, grew in the palace gardens under his care. Unfortunately the date of the entry is not preserved, but it may have been the second half of the 8th century since the preceding entry concerns decrees from the reign of Shalmaneser IV and the following entries those from the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II.

Though not designated “palace gardener”, the (unnamed) “gardener of Nineveh” and, if restored correctly, another gardener ([from? ...]?) are recorded as providers of fruits and *Ḥabur* (wine) for the queen on the 7th day of the 7th month, probably on the occasion of offerings.¹¹⁷¹ As for the numerous other gardeners without any institutional qualification, many gardeners attested with their personal name occur as witnesses in legal documents dating to the reign of Assurbanipal or later.¹¹⁷² As an active party the gardener is attested as seller, buyer and debtor. The latter is the case with the gardener Bēl-abu-ušur who owes two *emāru* of corn to the Nabû Temple (ND 5453:2). Otherwise, the gardener Ze[...] sells his garden according to a broken legal document from Nineveh (SAA 6 304:1–2). Based on the preserved witnesses, the purchaser of the said garden was the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad. As seller of a slave the gardener Parānu[...] occurs in a text from Nineveh (SAA 14 364:1–2). The gardener [...]–Aššūr is recorded as buyer of a house in a broken document (StAT 2 259:6’); since the price was given in copper, the transaction may have taken place before the 7th century.¹¹⁷³ Also from after the reign of Assurbanipal we encounter the gardener Aššūr-maqtu-šatbi as owner of a house in Assur (CTSHM 30:14). Together with the houses of the diviner of the crown prince, of a baker and of another professional (designation lost), his house adjoins one which is bought by a tanner. While these are the only attestations of gardeners’ legal transactions, the gardener Isseme-ilī acts as a surety (*urki’u*) for the girl Tamūzītu who is given in adoption by her brother (StAT 3 18 r. 16). This does not necessarily mean that Isseme-ilī acted as a surety in person, but that he committed himself to bring some sort of compensation in case of her loss (cf. Faist 2007: 46). Like several other professions, the gardener was also involved in joint trading enterprises (Radner 2016 I.33:17; I.56:8). From this evidence it is clear that gardeners played a role in urban society and could bear legal responsibilities and own their own property.

¹¹⁷¹ SAA 7 132 i 4, 7. The *Ḥabur* (wine) certainly refers to the area where the Habur river flows and thus must have been cultivated in this region, which was—especially further to the north—an important wine-growing area. *Ḥabur* (wine) is also attested in SAA 7 172:1. Note also the region of Izalla, see section 12.5 The *rab karāni* (wine master) and Radner 2006b: 294–6.

¹¹⁷² Assur: SAAB 9 136 r. 14–17 (Adad-šimanni, Tataia, Šamaš-nāšir, Quddudānu); 103 r. 11 ([...]). Kalhu: ND 5452 r. 15 (Ḥambāru). Nineveh: SAA 6 201 r. 9 (Ḥaldi-ilā’i); SAA 14 314 r. 4’–5’ (Unzarḫu-Issār); 422 r. 4 ([...]). Ma’allanate: O 3705 t.e. 16 (Šarru-ālī).

¹¹⁷³ Cf. Ahmad and Postgate 2007: ix. This may be the earliest reference to a gardener as a party to a legal contract.

Though the references discussed so far indicate a degree of independence for the professional group of gardeners, they—whether employed in large households or subordinate to officials—were usually treated as a workforce bound to the land they cultivated. Most of these attestations are given above in the introduction. They include those gardeners attached to land in the Harran area, those working in gardens owned by high-ranking officials, and those bought and sold by other functionaries (see introduction). If the properties of their masters were liquidated, gardeners were liable for their yield which was collected and controlled at the threshing floor (SAA 16 5:18–19). According to one of his inscriptions, Esarhaddon took gardeners as booty from Šubria and distributed them to the forces (*emūqu*) of the god Aššur and to the cohort (*kišru*) of the ancestral kings, possibly reflecting temple and palace forces (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 18'). Possibly as palace workforce four gardeners are together with *inter alia* brewers and carpenters listed in a fragmentary administrative record (SAA 7 20 r. i' 1). Thirty gardeners are listed in an administrative record (ND 2497:2), where they are numbered among 697 soldiers or workmen (ERIM), including two herders of camels. They were possibly recruited here for the fulfilment of their *ilku*-duties. Occasionally we encounter gardeners in the care of individuals such as Ṭāb-Bēl who was in charge of some gardeners who in return were responsible for 21 individuals according to an early text from Guzana (TH 27:7). Note therefore also the gardener and the vegetable gardener who are both assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a on his appointment (SAA 12 83 r. 13). There are a few indications that gardeners could be professionally active on their own behalf. When the gardener Ze[...] is recorded as seller of a garden (SAA 6 304), he might have cultivated his own garden whose harvest he sold, assuming that this reflects his “private” business. In doing so he may have exchanged his vegetables, as suggested by an inscription of Assurbanipal: after his victory over an Arabian ruler, the king states that he took so many camels that even a gardener could acquire one for a bunch of vegetables (RINAP 5/1 3 viii 13). Nevertheless, since Ze[...] is also designated as servant of [...], he might have been acting for his master instead.

In Neo-Assyrian sources the gardeners are associated with particular types of plants (*kuruppu* in SAA 12 77), vegetables (*urqu* in Assurbanipal Prisms A and B), fruits (*zamru* in SAA 7 132) and *Ḥabur* wine (SAA 7 132). A concern with vegetables is reflected by the occasional occurrence of specialised vegetable gardeners (*nukarib urqi*), for example in the aforementioned decree about the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (SAA 12 83 r. 13). Furthermore, gardens (*kiriū*) are often qualified either as vegetable gardens (*kiriū ša urqi*, e.g. SAA 6 204:3), as vineyards (*kiriū ša tilliti*, e.g. SAA 6 188:3) or as orchards (*kiriū ša zamri*, e.g. SAA 11 203 ii 5).¹¹⁷⁴ These types of gardens correspond

¹¹⁷⁴ A “garden of an ox” is attested in SAA 14 468 r. 2. It is located in the town of Hulī in the “domain” of the commander-in-chief. For a general discussion see CAD K 411–5 s.v. *kiriū*, especially a.3'.

well with the foods attested in conjunction with gardeners, and thus we can safely assume that gardeners mainly cultivated vegetables, fruits and vines.¹¹⁷⁵ The latter is also indicated by the fact that some sales of gardeners (see above) are accompanied by the sales of vineyards (e.g. SAA 6 27 and 329), and the Harran Census records gardeners particularly along with stalks of vine (see e.g. SAA 11 201). In addition, there is even a “gardener of a vineyard” attested as a witness in a legal document from Nineveh (SAA 14 422 r. 4). In view of the *kuruppu*-plant, we may also think of spices and herbs which the gardener cultivated in his garden. All this suggests that the gardener took care of kitchen gardens, while flower gardens are not represented.¹¹⁷⁶ However, in the royal inscriptions conifers are enumerated next to fruit trees and aromatic plants (see below) and thus presumably no strict distinction was maintained between useful plants and ornamental plants. Gardeners presumably have been responsible for every kind of plant or tree, but the primary concern of those attested in the documentation was to cultivate food, as is underlined by a reference to the gardener in an elegy about the death of Tammuz (SAA 3 16:18, 20, 21). In addition to the murdered shepherd, farmer and canal inspector, the gardener is said to have been murdered in his garden, and thus all those responsible for maintaining the basic food supply were gone.

Concerning the location of gardens and vineyards, it is clear that they were distributed all over the empire, whereas vineyards were concentrated in the north-west. The geographical spread of the gardeners is occasionally reflected in their titles. Apart from the chief gardener said to be “of Kalhu”, we encounter a gardener of Ekallate (StAT 3 35 ii 14), a gardener of the town [...] (SAA 14 364:1–2), and one of Nineveh (SAA 7 132 i 4). As to the administrative context of gardens, we encounter gardens defined as properties of temples (Menzel 1981 I: 261), but “palace gardens” seem not be attested. However, the Assyrian kings pride themselves on their efforts in the installation of water-courses along with the establishment of royal gardens containing all types of plants. Beginning with Tiglath-pileser I the creation of gardens (close to or surrounding the elevated royal residences) for the kings’ lordly leisure (*a-na mul-ta-a’-it EN-ti-ia*, RIMA 2 A.0.87.10:71–72) is a recurring issue in the inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings and is also reflected in the depictions on the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs (North Palace, Assurbanipal, BM 124939a).¹¹⁷⁷ Initially these gardens are simply referred to as *kiriū*, Sargon and his successors in addition use the poetic term *šippatu* as well as the more elaborate designation

¹¹⁷⁵ The gardener’s concern with grapes and wine is also reflected in an elegy about the death of Tammuz (SAA 3 16:17–23).

¹¹⁷⁶ For a brief discussion of flower gardens versus kitchen gardens in the Neo-Assyrian sources cf. Menzel 1981 I: 261–2.

¹¹⁷⁷ Oppenheim (1965: 331) has identified a royal building called *bētānu* as being placed in the middle of such gardens, but his results are based on misreadings, see section 3.1 On the *bētānu*.

kirimāḫu.¹¹⁷⁸ Sennacherib, states that he “gathered every type of aromatic tree of the land of Hatti, fruit trees of [all lands], (and) trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea” and that he “(...) planted vines, every type of fruit tree, and olive trees” in the *kirimāḫu*.¹¹⁷⁹ Some of these gardens were populated by wild animals including herons and wild boars (RINAP 3/1 16 viii 32) and must have been the showplaces of the royal hunt; they are referred to with the foreign word *ambassu* (RINAP 3/1 16 viii 4).¹¹⁸⁰ Apart from being the personal pleasure of the king and his entourage, these luxurious parks (together with the royal hunt) were also part of the royal program and displayed the king as cultivator and master of all lands, their vegetation and their creatures.¹¹⁸¹

27 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

This section discusses professions concerned with the breeding, keeping, feeding (i.e. grazing) and fattening of livestock. In the Neo-Assyrian period this mainly involves different kinds of herders or herdsmen, including shepherds (*rā’iu*), and fatteners (*mušākilu*) of domestic animals such as birds and oxen. Also the “keepers of dogs”, who are only attested in the wine lists dating to the 8th century, are briefly discussed here.

27.1 Herders

In view of the beginning of livestock farming in the Fertile Crescent about 10,000 years ago, it is clear that the role of a shepherd belongs to a well-established specialisation in human societies, one that was adopted as an image of protection by gods and kings. Not surprisingly, the Akkadian term for shepherd, *rā’iu*, is already known from Old Akkadian texts. Specific kinds of herdsmen—“herdsman” (*rē’i sagulli*),¹¹⁸² oxherds (*rē’i alpi*), cowherds (*rē’i arḫi*),

¹¹⁷⁸ *kirimāḫu* is only known from the Standard Babylonian inscriptions as well as Neo-Babylonian texts (CAD K 406). *šippatu* was already used in Old Babylonian texts and seems to be the poetic equivalent of *kiriū* (CAD S 202–3 s.v. *šippatu* A).

¹¹⁷⁹ RINAP 3/1 16 viii 4–11. The plants and trees in such gardens are also enumerated in more detail, as, for instance, in Aššurnaširpal’s inscription where he lists cedars, cypresses, almonds, dates, figs and pomegranates and several more types of fruit trees (RIMA 2 A.101.30:36–52).

¹¹⁸⁰ CAD A/2 44 s.v. *ambassu*. Note in particular a letter from the priest Nergal-šarrāni in which it is said that Nabû will go to the *ambassu* and kill wild oxen (SAA 13 70 r. 3–4). Cultic activities in this environment are also indicated in a letter from the priest Urdu-Nabû (SAA 13 58 r. 1–9). For the Akkadian terminology of gardens see also Glassner 1991: 10.

¹¹⁸¹ For the gardens of the Assyrian kings cf. Glassner 1991: 11–6 and Novák 2002: 445–52 (especially focussing on the spatial organisation in the capital cities).

¹¹⁸² CAD S 345 s.v. *sugullu* “herd” of cattle, horses and others; cf. AHW 1053–4 s.v. *sug/kullu(m)*; HAD s.v. *sagullu* 96.

shepherds (*rē'i immeri*), goatherds (*rē'i enzi*), donkey-herds (*rē'i imāri*) and swineherds (*rē'i šahī*)—are attested in these early Akkadian texts or in Old Babylonian and later texts. In addition, we encounter horse-herds (*rē'i sissê*) from the second half of the second millennium as well as herders of camels (*rē'i gammali*) and fowl (*rē'i iššūri*) mainly known from the first millennium BCE.¹¹⁸³ In Neo-Assyrian sources all of these specialist herders are attested with the exception of swineherds, horse-herds and donkey-herds (though a herder of donkey mares is attested), and the Akkadian terms for the camel and the poultry herders are comparatively well represented for the first time. As to the Neo-Assyrian writings, *rā'iu* is only written logographically as (LÚ/LÚ*).SIPA. The various qualifications which follow it are: ÁB.GUD.ĤI.A, *sa-kul-lat* or *sa-kul-la-te* (*sagullu*) for the herdsman; GUD.(NÍTA) (*alpu*) for the oxherd; ÁB (*arĥu*) for the cowherd; UDU (*immeru*) for the shepherd; ÛZ (*enzu*) for the goatherd; MÍ.ANŠE (*atānu*) for the herder of donkey mares; MUŠEN (*iššūru*) for the fowl-herd and *gam-mal* (*gammalu*) for the herder of camels. These qualifying terms are usually given in the plural in the Neo-Assyrian sources. Apart from these designations, *nāqīdu* denotes a herdsman or stock-breeder (CAD N/I 333–5). Already attested in Old Akkadian texts, it occurs in Middle Assyrian (including the *rab nāqīdi*) as well as in Neo-Babylonian texts but does not seem to have been at all common in Neo-Assyrian.¹¹⁸⁴ From early Neo-Assyrian times, however, we encounter one significant reference to this term, in an official title inscribed on the seal of Inūrta-aĥīa-šukšid(?). This man bore the title “chief of the cooks and of the herdsman” (GAL–LÚ*.MU.MEŠ LÚ*.NA.GADA.MEŠ, Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2:3–4); it is discussed in section 12.1.7.3 which deals with the chief cook and his association with domestic animals.

In addition to specialisations involving different species, we encounter specialists for specific occasions, these include the *rā'i naptini*, “herder of the (royal) meal”, written LÚ/LÚ*.SIPA–*nap-ti-ni* and (LÚ/LÚ*).SIPA–BUR,¹¹⁸⁵ and the *rā'i darī*, “shepherd of the regular (sheep) offerings”, written LÚ/LÚ*.SIPA–*da-ri-i* and ([LÚ]).SIPA–*dà-ri-i/u*, neither of which is attested before

¹¹⁸³ CAD R 303–12; cf. AHW 977–8.

¹¹⁸⁴ There is only one individual possibly designated *nāqīdu* in a legal document from Nineveh ([...]inu LÚ*.na-qid 'x' [...], in SAA 14 422 r. 6). Since the sign after NA clearly has three vertical wedges preserved (see the photograph: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P337168.jpg>), QID cannot be read as SI which otherwise would suggest a reading LÚ*.na-si-[ku] for *nasīku* (sheikh), attested as witnesses elsewhere (SAA 14 214 r. 2–3). Otherwise, the term appears in an inscription probably to be assigned to Esarhaddon, “in contemporary Babylonian script” written on a tablet found in Uruk (RINAP 4 1010:5').

¹¹⁸⁵ See CAD N/I 319–23, especially 323: “In NA [Neo-Assyrian] and NB [Neo-Babylonian], *naptanu* usually refers to the meal served to the gods and (as leftovers from the god's meal) to kings, and thence comes to denote, as a literary term, a sumptuous meal or banquet.”

the first millennium.¹¹⁸⁶ The title *rā'i naptini* has been interpreted as “Hirte für die Palastversorgung” (Radner 1999a: 92), but this is not entirely suitable. Although *naptunu* certainly denotes a royal meal, it clearly had a cultic background. The *rā'i darī*, on the other hand, was concerned with the supply of sheep for *dariu*-offerings.¹¹⁸⁷ Although the *rā'i darī* was connected with the temple, this professional will nevertheless be discussed here, as his role is relevant for the study of the king's household. This is indicated by the shepherd of *dariu*-offerings “[of the *bēt*] *kimaḥḥi*” which refers to the royal tombs (see section 11.2 The *bēt kimaḥḥi*). Other shepherds who are designated as temple personnel are not discussed in the following section.¹¹⁸⁸ In addition, the numerous herders listed in the tablets of the Harran Census, usually recorded as heads of families, are only listed in the footnotes or referred to when relevant.¹¹⁸⁹

Besides the *rā'iu* and its specific variants, also the *rab rā'ī* occurs in Neo-Assyrian sources. Known from Old Akkadian sources on (CAD R 312), the term for chief shepherd or “chief of the shepherds” is written LÚ/LÚ*.GAL–SIPA.MEŠ in Neo-Assyrian. In addition, there is also the *rā'iu rabiu* (LÚ.S[IP] A² GAL, SAA 6 42 r. 13) which is probably synonymous with *rab rā'ī*. Another official exercising a supervisory function over shepherds was the cohort commander of the shepherds, written LÚ.GAL–*ki-šir ša* LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ. We also encounter a chief shepherd of the temple, who is not discussed here.¹¹⁹⁰ Analogous to the *rā'i sagulli*, the title *rab sagullāti* is attested; this is not known from preceding and succeeding periods.¹¹⁹¹ In Neo-Assyrian sources, where it occurs once (possibly twice, if restored correctly) as a designation for men

¹¹⁸⁶ Especially in Neo-Babylonian times we encounter other shepherds responsible for the supply of particular offerings, namely the *rē'ū sattukki*, shepherd for *sattukku*-offerings (CAD S 200 s.v. *sattukku* e.3'), and the *rē'ū ginē*, shepherd of the regular offerings (CAD G 81–2 s.v. *ginū* A.2.c.1'). The titles were discussed by Bongenaar (1997: 416–22, including prosopography) who pointed out that both refer to the same function.

¹¹⁸⁷ See Parpola 1983a: 317. Radner (1999a: 92–3) interprets him as “Hirte für die Tempelversorgung”, which again seems to me too broad. There is also a *rab darī* attested in a Babylonian letter without heading, reporting on deaf people (SAA 18 121:1).

¹¹⁸⁸ The following attestations are not considered here in detail: TH 106 r. 10–11 (= Jas 1996: no. 24 and FNALD 47): Adda-*rapā* and *Sē'-nūri*, both shepherds of Adad, witness a settlement about 60 sheep; SAA 12 98:6: *Šil-Nabū*, dedicated to Nabū. The same is true for SAA 20 32 r. 8.

¹¹⁸⁹ Evidence: *rā'iu*: Abdā (SAA 11 203 iv 15), *Ḫāna-Sē'* (SAA 11 213 iv 16), Mannu-kī-ili (SAA 11 213 iv 10'), name unknown (SAA 11 218:12'). *rā'i alpi*: *Ḫan*[...] (SAA 11 201 ii 16–17), Il-*aqab* (SAA 11 209 r. iii 4'), Issā (SAA 11 213 iii 16'). *rā'i immeri*: *Dannāia* (SAA 11 203 r. iv 6'), *Ḫu*[...] (SAA 11 206 i 3'–5'), *Kurzā* (SAA 11 209 r. iv 17'), *Mār-šarri-ilā'i* (SAA 11 205 ii 3'–4'), *Sūrā* (SAA 11 209 r. iii 9'), [...]*a* (SAA 11 213 iv 7'), “one shepherd is missing” (SAA 11 203 iii 6). *rā'i imāri*: Il-*aqab* (SAA 11 209 r. iii 4'), Mannu-*iādi*' (SAA 11 202 iii 15–16). *rā'i enzi*: *Raḥimā* (SAA 11 201 ii 27). Other references not discussed here are SAA 18 181 r. 9 (Babylonian family name) and SAAB 5 44 l.e. 2 (too fragmentary).

¹¹⁹⁰ *Zākiru*, chief shepherd of Nabū (SAA 18 56 r. 4–5).

¹¹⁹¹ AHW 1053 s.v. *sug/kullu(m)*; cf. CAD S 346 s.v. *rab sakullāte*.

witnessing legal transactions, it is written LÚ*.GAL-*sa-gul-la-a-te*.¹¹⁹² It is usually translated as “overseer of the herds”.

The Middle Assyrian evidence for chief shepherd, shepherd and stockbreeder (*nāqīdu*) was collected and examined by Jakob (2003: 357–73). For Neo-Assyrian times shepherds associated with the temple were studied by Menzel (1981 I: 265), while Radner (1999a: 92–3) briefly examined the Neo-Assyrian attestations of the *rā'i naptini* and the *rā'i darî* (cf. Deller 1987a: 184).

27.1.1 The *rab rā'î*, the *rā'iu rabiū* and the *rab kišri ša rā'î*

As to the attestations of the chief shepherd, he is once attested as a witness in a slave sale document from Assur, alongside the chief physician and his deputy (StAT 2 99 r. 8'). Otherwise, the chief shepherd Nabû-dēni-ēpuš is listed as a supplier of one ram and one lamb to the lady-of-the-house in an administrative document also recording the governors of Barhalza, Kalhu and Arzuhina as well as the *ša-rēšis* of the king and the queen as providers of goods such as sheep, birds and wine.¹¹⁹³ There is not a single “chief shepherd of the palace” explicitly attested, but Nabû-dēni-ēpuš seems to have been related to the palace. This is also suggested for the chief shepherd [...]Aššūr who is mentioned in a list of court officials, including those assigned to the king's mother and crown prince (SAA 7 5 r. i 36). The temple had chief shepherds (see p. 466 fn. 1190), and this official also occurs as a subordinate of the commander-in-chief.¹¹⁹⁴ The affiliation of another higher-ranking shepherd remains unclear: provided that the restoration is correct, the title *rā'iu rabiū* was held by Bibî who acts as a witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys a house.¹¹⁹⁵ As stated in the introduction, *rā'iu rabiū* might have constituted a rank similar to the *rab rā'î*.

Another person with supervisory functions over shepherds was Ilu-pīja-ušur, the subject of two letters written by Taklāk-ana-Bēl, governor of Našibina, to the king (Sargon). While first stating that the shepherd Ilu-pīja-ušur still holds the office of a cohort commander, he accuses this man of having stolen sheep designated *iškāru* at the shearing. In addition, he brought only half of the necessary men (ERIM) to do work in Dur-Šarrukin and did not deliver the straw and reeds needed for their work (SAA 1 235). Furthermore, the sender rejects

¹¹⁹² SAA 6 100 r. 9; and, possibly, SAA 14 473 r. 7.

¹¹⁹³ SAA 7 130 r. 3'–4'. The unspecified Milki-nūrî recorded here (SAA 7 130 r. 7') is very likely to be identified with the homonymous *ša-rēši* of the queen (Lipiński, PNA 2/II 752 s.v. Milki-nūrî 1).

¹¹⁹⁴ His name is Sē'-lanṭūru and he is recorded in what seems to be a fragment of a sheep list (SAA 11 83:2–3).

¹¹⁹⁵ SAA 6 42 r. 13. The “land of the *rā'iu(?) rabiū*” is restored in a broken letter of Aššūr-rēšūwa, intelligence agent, to the king (Sargon) (SAA 5 96:7). This, however, remains quite doubtful (considering also by the context).

the reproach that he told Ilu-pīja-ušur to exact one talent of silver. The latter is also mentioned in the second letter, according to which Ilu-pīja-ušur told the king that he had to exact three talents of silver last year and was asked for another two talents of silver this year by Taklāk-ana-Bēl (SAA 1 236). Again, Taklāk-ana-Bēl refutes this reproach and points out the misdemeanours of Ilu-pīja-ušur, now designated cohort commander of the shepherds. He again refers to the theft of sheep and the fact that Ilu-pīja-ušur did not deliver any of the 300 bales of straw and reeds needed for the bricks (for construction works in Dur-Šarrukin). Finally, Taklāk-ana-Bēl proposes that this case be settled before the treasurer. As already pointed out by Postgate (1979: 212), this case perfectly illustrates that the *iškāru*-system was applied to finished products, such as woven textiles delivered by weavers but also to raw materials such as wool. Apparently, shepherds had a contingent of sheep at their disposal which they had to hand in, probably annually, for shearing. The person responsible for these *iškāru*-dues on a local level, here apparently paid in kind,¹¹⁹⁶ turns out to be the *rab kišri*. The final consultation of the treasurer is presumably due to the fact that it was he who supervised the construction works in Dur-Šarrukin for which the shepherds, as their *ilku*-dues, had to provide building materials and manpower. However, the treasurer's general concern with *ilku*-dues might also be relevant here (Mattila 2000: 26, 28).

27.1.2 Shepherds of the king, the palace and the satellite households

There is a single reference to a royal herdsman (Bēl-usāti) in a Babylonian letter of Nergal-nāšir to the king (Esarhaddon) (SAA 18 17:14–15). The sender reports that Bēl-usāti was arrested by Šillāia, a well known political opponent of Assyria who was active in Babylonia. This royal shepherd was apparently employed far outside of the Assyrian heartland, but palace shepherds otherwise only appear in legal documents found in the North-West Palace of Kalhu, so presumably they were employed in Kalhu or its surroundings: three palace shepherds, said to be in the care of the chief cook, sold 100 hectares of land in cultivation to Ṭāb-aḥūnu, shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper (Edubba 10 28). As already addressed in the section dealing with the chief cook, this association is not accidental but underlines the chief cook's concern with the meat supply, as is also supported by the fact that Inūrta-aḥīa-šukšid(?) bore the title “chief of the cooks and of the herdsmen”. In view of the size of the sold land and the affiliations of the parties involved, this transaction may have been conducted on behalf of the department of the queen and perhaps of

¹¹⁹⁶ Postgate (1974a: 106–10) repeatedly stresses that *iškāru*-payments in silver not only appear first in Neo-Assyrian times, but that they seem to increase in this period to the detriment of payments in kind.

the royal palace (and was not a “private” sale). Another palace shepherd, namely Sīnuā, is witness in a fragmentary document probably recording a land sale (Edubba 10 48 r. 15′). Apart from the queen, also the crown prince is attested as having his own shepherd, according to a legal document listing such a professional as a witness (SAA 14 415 r. 10′). It is also worth mentioning in this connection that a Shepherd Town of the crown prince is mentioned as a location of tax-exempted land (SAA 12 50 r. 18′).

27.1.3 Shepherds of different kinds

27.1.3.1 Economic affairs and ownership of land

As to shepherds recorded in legal documents, we encounter oxherds,¹¹⁹⁷ fowl-herds,¹¹⁹⁸ shepherds of *dariu*-offerings,¹¹⁹⁹ and herdsmen without qualification¹²⁰⁰ as witnesses. As an active party, the shepherd of *dariu*-offerings seems to be recorded as a creditor of ½ mina of silver among other creditors in a memorandum (StAT 1 18:4). While no herder is otherwise attested as a buyer, a creditor or a debtor, the oxherd Apladad-na’di sold a female slave for 34 shekels of silver (BATSH 6 3). Ilu-ušur, herder of the royal meal, sold land to the treasurer Bēl-dūrī for 50 minas of copper in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (Edubba 10 36). Few other indications of shepherds having land at their disposal can be found. The herdsman Šil-Bēl is eponym of a village adjoining the leased village Bahaia (SAA 6 287:10) which was situated in the land of Lahiru, as is clear from the document of its final sale to the *ša-rēši* Milki-nūrī four years later (SAA 14 2). Otherwise, the side road(?), *ummu*,¹²⁰¹ of the shepherds is mentioned twice as adjoining land purchased by Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, palace scribe of Sargon (SAA 6 31 b.e. 27, 28). While the village of Šil-Bēl seems to have been personally owned by Šil-Bēl, the side road(?) may refer to some sort of landed property held by the shepherds by right of office. The latter was apparently also the case with the town Harbat-niari, adjoining 1,000 hectares of granted land in the province of Assur, which is said to be “of the herder of the royal meal” of the town Šabbu (SAA 12 1:8).

¹¹⁹⁷ BATSH 6 124 r. 9′–13′ (Salmānu-aḥu-iddina and Šamaš-ēreš); BATSH 6 13 r. 8 (name lost).

¹¹⁹⁸ CTN 2 25 r. 22 (Silim-Adad); SAA 6 81 r. 7 (Šamaš-aḥu-ušur).

¹¹⁹⁹ StAT 1 30 r. 4′ (name lost): *rā’i darī [ša bēt] kimaḥḥi*, see therefore section 11.2 The *bēt kimaḥḥi*.

¹²⁰⁰ Edubba 10 r. 26 (Bazu); StAT 2 258 l.e. 1 ([...]bu-Apladad); VAT 9742 r. 12′ (Aššūr-iddina); StAT 3 3 r. 38 (Sākip-Aššūr); SAA 6 42 r. 14, 15 (Danqā-dibbī-Issār, Qalunzu); SAA 14 472 r. 9 (Gāla-Gūsu) and 232 r. 2 (Ḥanāna); O 3685 r. 17 (Kumurī). Also [...]jinu in SAA 14 422 r. 6, possibly *nāqīdu* (see above).

¹²⁰¹ Cf. HAD 129 and CAD U/W 133 s.v. *ummu* E: “(a topographical feature)”. Fales (1990b: 134–5) defines it as “border mark, boundary line”.

A reference to a similar type of collective land at the disposal of shepherds is provided by an administrative document from Šibaniba (Billa 85:11, 13). Like other professionals recorded here, the herders are listed along with [x] estates and [x] soldiers or workmen (ERIM) and the fowl-herds along with [x] estates and five soldiers or workmen. These entries seem to refer to prebendary land at their disposal for which they had to provide a specific number of workmen (five, in the case of the fowl-herds). These estates were presumably assigned to the herders as maintenance land and rather not in order to secure pasture land for the animals in their care, judging by the other types of professionals listed here such as scribes and musicians.

27.1.3.2 Allocations

In a few cases we find shepherds provided with rations of different kinds. In a section of an administrative document dealing with personnel stationed in Kilizi, apparently under the responsibility of the local *šakintu*, fowl-herds are listed along with 4(?) *emāru* (ND 2803 i 17). Judging by their official tasks, it is likely that the given amount constituted fodder, one of the three types of goods distributed according to the intersectional summation, the other two being bread and beer. Three *qû* of bread and five *qû* of beer are distributed to the Babylonians and, if restored correctly, to the shepherds according to a fragmentary ration list from Nineveh (SAA 7 142:9). In an account of a ceremonial banquet the shepherds are, if restored correctly, recorded as beneficiaries of leftovers of offerings (commodities unknown) (SAA 7 150 iii 18', 19'). Otherwise, the shepherd Ilu-erība is provided with one *qû* of wine (CTN 1 21 r. 13'). Apart from these references, the *rā'i darī* is listed in what seems to be a record of redistributed tribute (SAA 11 36 i 8). According to the list's first section, the shepherd received five *sūtu* of flour, five *sūtu* of barley and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine. The *šapputu*-bowl of wine was meant for his personal consumption, but the provision of flour and barley is presumably owed to the shepherd's care for *dariu*-sheep. Although flour seems inappropriate as sheep fodder, this is supported by the other officials receiving commodities associated with their official tasks here and by the treasurer who is recorded as a recipient of [x] *dariu*-sheep, one sheep and one *šapputu*-bowl of wine immediately before the said shepherd, in the same section. The allocated flour and the allocated barley seem to have been specifically meant for the *dariu*-sheep handed over to the treasurer.

27.1.3.3 Palace employees and government forces

While Ilu-erība and the shepherd of *dariu*-offerings seem to have been higher-ranking and possibly had supervisory or administrative functions, the

remainder of the aforementioned herders provided with rations of grain and cereal products rather were shepherding workforce, with the shepherds mentioned in ND 2803 being related to the palace. Collectives of herders are also attested in various other administrative documents. Two camel-herders are summed up together with other professional groups, including seven merchants and thirty gardeners, as 697 workmen or soldiers who in turn are added to 138 “servants” (ND 2497). In a document of unknown provenance, probably a letter without heading, two fowl-herds are also listed among LÚ*ERIM.MEŠ (N.A.B.U. 2002/90). The sender(?) complains on the reverse of this letter(?) that the fowl-herd Lā-qēpu, as well as four persons (ZL.MEŠ) who probably constituted the remainder of the family of the dead fowl-herd Qallusu, were sold. Otherwise, four fowl-herds together with professionals such as fowlers and tanners are recorded as “additional craftsmen(?)” (ND 2728+ r. 5′). From among these shepherds designated ERIM especially those recorded in ND 2497 seem to have been deployed as soldiers for construction works in the context of the *ilku*-system, rather than as herders.¹²⁰²

As to how the Assyrian palace supplied its demand for herders, this was partly accomplished using human booty, as is clear from an inscription of Sennacherib according to which shepherds as well as farmers and gardeners were taken as booty from Šubria (RINAP 4 33 r. iii 18′). Herders taken as booty are also attested in a letter of Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, to the king (Assurbanipal) (ABL 520 r. 23). After winning a fight against Elam, Bēl-ibni sent 100 well-fed cows together with 40 captured herders to the palace. A broken administrative document from Nineveh may also list herdsmen originally brought to the country as booty (SAA 11 195:5′).

27.1.3.4 Animals in the shepherds’ care

Among the shepherds mentioned in two fragmentary administrative texts from Guzana (TH 31+, 42), those listed in TH 31+ had sheep and horses and those TH 42 had flocks in their care. According to a sealed docket from Kalhu, flocks were also in the care of the shepherd Bānî, from the town of Same[...].¹²⁰³ In another administrative text from Kalhu, shepherds are listed along with fed sheep which they had probably given to the governor of Kurbaïl (ND 2638 r. 7). Another docket from Kalhu lists 35(+x) sheep stock (*šibtu*) along with shepherds of Nabû-dūr-bēlīja (CTN 2 257). Otherwise, the herder of the royal meal is listed along with 36 (sheep?) which were apparently assigned to him.¹²⁰⁴

¹²⁰² See below and cf. SAA 1 235, 236 discussed above.

¹²⁰³ CTN 2 132:2. CTN 2 133 is a similar sealed docket referring the rams.

¹²⁰⁴ CTN 3 90 r. 24. The same text also mentions 100 (sheep?) assigned to 50 rams (perhaps for the purpose of fertilisation) and 50 sheep to be processed into salted meat.

In addition, the herder of the royal meal appears in charge of 1,522 grain-fed sheep (SAA 11 80 r. 7'). From a letter written by Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk in the reign of Assurbanipal, we learn that sheep of the temple and the town Puqudu were grazing in the town Ru'ua and were being herded by two shepherds, one of whom was a temple shepherd (ABL 268:11). Apart from these texts explicitly referring to shepherds, there is the debt note CTN 3 17 which may be mentioned here too. Drawn up on the 15th day of Addaru in 7th-century Kalhu, one breeding ram of Abu-erība is at the disposal of Asqūdu. The ram together with its offspring is to be returned at the beginning of the new month. As suggested by Postgate and Dalley (1984: 70), this records an obligation in an administrative context rather than a legal transaction and it is possible that Asqūdu was a shepherd.

In the context of their professional tasks shepherds were repeatedly involved in judicial procedures. The shepherd Apladad-ilā'ī had to be brought to court to give testimony in a dispute between his master Nergal-šarru-ušur and the chariot owner Raḥīmi-il concerning sheep and eight persons (BATSH 6 110:5). According to another document dating to the 7th century, the shepherd Ḥanūnu was accused of having taken seventeen sheep from Ḥubašati (StAT 3 54:1–2). A third judicial document stating that no debts of silver were left between the two disputing parties also involved shepherds, but nothing is said about their role (SAAB 5 16:6). According to a judicial document from Nineveh, a certain Ḥannî owed 300 sheep including their fine as well as the blood money of a shepherd, amounting to two talents of copper, to the crown prince.¹²⁰⁵ Judging from these references the herding of sheep was not only a basic feature of the Neo-Assyrian empire and its agriculture but seems to have repeatedly been the subject of disputes, even ending in the murder of a shepherd. A common background of such disputes likely was sheep rustling; such an incident is recorded in CTN 2 119 according to which eleven men (including seven Ruqahaeans) were caught red-handed after the theft of 70 sheep.

27.1.3.5 Supervisors and superiors

Animals (mainly sheep) as well as pasture land were provided by the state (via provincial authorities), while specific officials were responsible for the shepherds' fulfilment of the quota. In the light of the aforementioned Ilu-pīja-ušur, these may usually have held the position of cohort commander (of the herders). Candidates who probably also bore such a title are Aššūr-rēmanni, who had shepherds at his disposal according to a fragment of a letter (ND 3477 r. 4); Līt-ili, who seems to have been responsible for shepherds and a total of

¹²⁰⁵ SAA 6 264. According to editors' comment (Kwasman and Parpola 1991: 212) the crime may have taken place when Esarhaddon was still crown prince.

333 sheep in their care, if interpreted correctly (TH 42 r. 4); and Nabû-dûr-bēlīja, who was the superior of shepherds with 35(+x) sheep at their disposal (CTN 2 257). Oxherds and fowl-herds were, among other professionals, also assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a on his appointment in order to establish the new imperial capital Kalhu (SAA 12 83 r. 9, 10). Other men were superior to individual shepherds, as was the case with Nabû-šarḫi-ilāni whose servant(?), the shepherd Mutaqqin-ilu, is recorded in an administrative document (CTN 2 114:8–9). Another case would be Bēl-šarru-ušur who was the superior of the shepherd Sākip-Aššūr (StAT 3 35 ii 32). Also Marduk-bāni-aḥḥē from the town Surduranu, whose sheep are said to have been grazing in the towns Šibrapa and Karbanapa, may have been a supervisory official (ND 2638:2–3). There is also Nergal-šarru-ušur together with his shepherd Apladad-ilā'ī involved in a court case (BATSH 6 110:5). Shepherds forming part of private estates include the six shepherds who were listed as property of the *rab ša-rēši* Nabû-šarru-ušur in a schedule of a royal grant dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (SAA 12 27:21; 28:37').

27.1.3.6 *iškāru*, *ilku* and *taxation*

With the majority of attestations it seems that we are dealing with shepherds engaged by the state (i.e. the royal household) rather than independent herders or herders of “private” households. As already addressed when discussing the case of Ilu-pīja-ušur, shepherds in the state sphere were organised via the *iškāru*-system which involved regular accounts handled via the provinces.¹²⁰⁶ Their commitment to the *iškāru*-system is also clear from the tablets of the Harran Census, where sheep recorded along with the shepherds (*rā'i immeri*) are qualified as *iškāru*.¹²⁰⁷ Remarkably, this term does not occur here in connection with other types of herders and their animals.¹²⁰⁸ Possibly the *iškāru*-system was specifically applied to shepherds who had wool sheep at their disposal but not to those herding animals for the meat-supply.¹²⁰⁹ However, in a letter of Balasī, probably identical with the Balasī who was concerned with

¹²⁰⁶ The official concern of the provincial authorities in this business seems to be also reflected by a legal record according to which 10 minas of silver, 75 rams and one heifer are owed to the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad by the deputy governor of Barhalza, a scribe and two “third men (on chariot)” (SAA 6 323).

¹²⁰⁷ Cf. Postgate 1974a: 101. Attestations: SAA 11 203 r. iv 9; 205 ii 5; 206 i 10; 210 r. iii 1.

¹²⁰⁸ Horses, being *iškāru* of the king, were owed by cohort-commanders according to legal records from Assur (StAT 2 210 // 211; 212; 213). They were also rather not meant as meat supply, as indicated by the military background of the debtors. Although we have little evidence for the consumption of horse meat (SAA 11 68, cf. brief discussion in Gaspa 2012: 98), horses primarily were prestigious riding animals

¹²⁰⁹ Another explanation is given by Postgate (1974a: 101–2) who suggests that the description of sheep as *iškāru* sheep in the Harran Census characterises them, in contrast to the remainder, as government property assigned to a government official.

the delivery of red wool in the letter SAA 16 84, the king (Esarhaddon) is asked to have the treasurer receive *sāgāte*, possibly referring to (textile-)belts, and ^{kuš}*mazā'u*, which might denote water-skins,¹²¹⁰ as *ilku*(-payments) from the shepherds (ABL 75). The sender further states that the shepherds should not sell everything for silver and hand in the skins of dead animals as *iškāru*.¹²¹¹ Apart from the fact that *iškāru*-dues were to be made in the form of hides here, this letter also shows that shepherds were bound to contribute *ilku*, apparently for the Assyrian army in the form of equipment.¹²¹² As to the *iškāru*-quota of the shepherds to be paid in silver, there is the well-known letter of the “enigmatic informer” to the king (Esarhaddon) about the crimes of the servants of the governor of Guzana (SAA 16 63). The scribes Kutī and Tutī are accused of having taken bribes (*tātu*) in order to annul the fixed silver quota for the shepherds which was written on an Assyrian and an Aramaic document and sealed by the treasurer, the village manager, the scribe and with the royal stamp seal in the reign of Sennacherib. Those who bribed Kutī and Tutī may have been the shepherds themselves, on analogy with a report by the scholar Mār-Issār to the king (Esarhaddon) from Babylonia (SAA 10 353:19–27): Mār-Issār states that the *šatammu* and the *šākin tēmi* of Borsippa were bribed (*šulmānu*) by the shepherds and that is why the accounts of bulls and sheep have not been made, nor have the king’s sacrificial offerings been made, although they were ordered to do the accounts by a *ša-qurbūti*. In contrast to the letter SAA 16 63, however, this may refer to the making of accounts (*nikkassū epēšu*) in the context of tax-collection (and not the *iškāru*-system) since this letter refers to the supply for offerings deriving from the estates of the citizens of Babylonia (see Parpola 1983a: 273). From two letters written by the official Dādī we also learn that the herders of the royal meal, Arbailāiu, Gīrītu and possibly Šamaš-abu-ušur, together with the shepherd serving in the house of the sons of the diviners(?), refused to attend the tax collection (*pirru*) (SAA 13 19, 20). In view of what was suggested above, it is probably

¹²¹⁰ CAD S 27 s.v. *sāgu* “(a piece of clothing)”, also attested in Middle Assyrian texts; cf. HAD 96 “sackcloth”. Gaspa (2018: 260–1) interprets it as garment made of sackcloth. The term is translated as belt by Deller (1987b: 11). For the water-skin see CAD M/I 438 s.v. *mazā'u*; cf. HAD 63 *mazzā'u*: squeezer, water-skin. Cf. Postgate 1974a: 68–9 (interpreting *sāgu* as a type of garment for soldiers). The combination of the two terms is also found in two lists of *ilku*-contributions: SAA 11 28:14 and ND 3467 r. 14–15 (Postgate 1974a: 399–401); for other attestations see CAD M/I 438 and Parpola 1983a: 43. The translation “sackcloth” for *sāgu* is less likely and “belt” seems more plausible in view of the letter SAA 16 20, see section 1.2.5.2 Redistributed palace income. According to the present text, both items were made of sheep, perhaps of wool and skin.

¹²¹¹ See Postgate 1974a: 68–9, 101–2, 248; Parpola 1983a: 43; Deller 1987b: 11–3. Also in the fragmentary letter SAA 13 172 the shepherds of the *dariu*-offerings stress that they do not sell sheep for silver. Note also an administrative text from Guzana where an unnamed brewer is mentioned along with a hide (TH 65 b.e. 11).

¹²¹² Note also an administrative text from Guzana where an unnamed brewer is mentioned along with a hide (TH 65 b.e. 11).

not accidental that their contributions are not designated *iškāru* since they were supplying animals for consumption. Also in a letter from the reign of Esarhaddon the shepherds are called for account. The recipient (lost) was told to let Aḥ-abû, presumably identical with the homonymous village manager of Rašappa,¹²¹³ bring the farmers, shepherds and gardeners with him so that their accounts could be made (SAA 16 5). As argued by Fales (2002: 249), the letter seems to deal with the basic measures involved in the liquidation of an estate; perhaps it constituted state property which had originally been at the disposal of a now deceased (or otherwise removed) official. The workmen tied to this land had to make their final accounts before they were assigned to another official or another domain.

Due to the general nature of Neo-Assyrian letters, we mainly learn of difficulties in connection with the shepherds and their obligatory contributions. In one of these cases (SAA 13 19), the sender Dādî states that he had to buy the necessary sheep at the (city) gate instead. This reminds us of the case of the herders of donkey mares who used to sell donkeys in front of the entrance (*nērebu*) to the palace until the governor (of Nineveh) expelled them, as reported to the king (Esarhaddon) by Nabû-šarru-ušur, scribe of the palace supervisor (SAA 16 88:7). Also the shepherd of *dariu*-offerings, Marduk-ibni, seems to have been described as “before the Tisarru Gate (of Assur)” which may mean that he actually also sold sheep there.¹²¹⁴ Nevertheless, there are indications that the selling of sheep (or other animals) was not always welcomed or even allowed (see SAA 13 172, involving another shepherd of the *dariu*-offerings). The herder’s occasional involvement in selling livestock might also be owed to the demand for contributions made in silver.

27.1.3.7 Rank

As to the rank of shepherds, they usually appear as groups of low-ranking labourers. Some individuals among them, however, seem to have enjoyed a somewhat higher rank, as seems to have been the case with the recipients of wine and redistributed tribute (including a *rā’i darî*). It appears that especially shepherds who were concerned with offerings and cultic meals (*rā’i naptini* and *rā’i darî*) were regarded as more important and may have had a higher rank than other shepherds. This is indicated by the great number of animals assigned to them—as is the case with Šamaš-abu-ušur, *rā’i naptini*, who was provided with 1,522 grain-fed sheep—and by the fact that they are attested as creditors (*rā’i darî* Marduk-ibni, StAT 1 18:4).

¹²¹³ Fabritius, PNA 1/I 58 s.v. Aḥ-abû 16.

¹²¹⁴ StAT 1 18:4–5. This phrase is meant as a designation for Marduk-ibni, as indicated by the fact that the list of creditors(?) continues after his entry. The Tisarru Gate is to be identified with the “Südtor” situated between the “Neustadt” and the “Binnenstadt” (Radner 1999a: 93).

27.1.3.8 Geographical distribution

Shepherds, like the farmers together with whom they are occasionally mentioned (SAA 16 5, 63, 79; 15 257), were scattered throughout the empire. This is only natural in view of their task of herding, and it is confirmed by the fact that issues with shepherds are often attested in the administrative letters sent to the palace from the various parts of the empire, and in administrative records such as SAA 11 80 accounting for sheep from scattered provincial areas. In addition, we find shepherds qualified by their origin, such the shepherd Bānī from the town of Same[...] (CTN 2 132), and Arbailāiu and Gīrītu, herders of the royal meal, coming from Luddin-ilu (SAA 13 20:6–8). This widespread distribution entailed their deployment in peripheral areas, where individual shepherds sometimes acted as intelligence agents. This seems to be the case with a shepherd who has come to Kalhu according to a broken letter of Nanī to the crown prince (Assurbanipal) and is referred to as an informer (*bātiqū*) (SAA 16 124 r. 3'). Otherwise, we learn of two shepherds who were sent to the king since they had brought three white horses belonging to an Elamite scribe that they found when herding sheep in Babylonia (ABL 268).

27.1.3.9 Concluding remarks

Since in Assyria the shepherd was the herder *par excellence*, he was often simply referred to as herder (*rā'iu*), without further qualification. In various records, such as administrative and judicial texts, the shepherd is associated or concerned with sheep (either flocks, ewes or rams). As is clear from the case of the cohort commander Ilu-pīja-uṣur, the interest in sheep originates from their wool, but also sheepskin must have been of some value. In addition, certainly the sheep's role as a source of meat was important, especially considering their frequent use for offerings, as well as for divination. As for other animal species, the oxherds and the fowl-herds also appear quite frequently. The increasing appearance of fowl-herds is owed to a comparatively late development in the context of animal husbandry, especially clear in the first millennium BCE.¹²¹⁵ Judging by the unique designation TUR–MUŠEN for nine individuals in an administrative record from Assur, fowl-herds were probably trained in the exercise of their profession (which was hardly necessary for shepherds).¹²¹⁶ Among the oxherds there are two specifically concerned with *naṣ/zapi*-oxen; this term seems to be a *hapax legomenon* (Radner 2002: 167). The herders of sheep, goats, cattle and birds were in charge of animals needed

¹²¹⁵ See also sections 28.1 The *sandū* (fowler) and 27.2 The *mušākīlu* (fatteners), concerning the fowler and the bird-fattener respectively.

¹²¹⁶ StAT 2 319; with TUR = *ṣeḫru*.

for their fur, skin, feathers, meat, milk and eggs.¹²¹⁷ Milk production may have been also relevant in the case of the donkey mares but the main reason for their keeping was presumably breeding. Herders of camels were concerned with animals needed as riding or pack animals. Their comparatively rare occurrence, as well as the absence of herders of male donkeys in the Neo-Assyrian sources, seems to be owed to the fact that herding was less significant for these animals since they were normally in the hands of donkey and camel drivers (*rādi imāri* and *rādi gammali*).

As pointed out in the introduction, the good shepherd guarding his sheep is a widespread image in the Ancient Near East, one which was consciously adopted by the Assyrian kings who often referred to their shepherdship, *rā'ūtu*, in their inscriptions.¹²¹⁸ This imagery is, for instance, also used in a literary text about the death of Tammuz, with the statement that the “shepherd has been killed amidst the sheep” (SAA 3 16:17). Furthermore, in an inscription Sargon states that Rē'e, the Egyptian commander-in-chief, fled “like a shepherd whose flock is robbed” after his defeat.¹²¹⁹ Kudurru of Bit-Ibâ is characterised as one who abandoned his people “like sheep without a shepherd” (SAA 18 156:10'). Hence, in order to denigrate foreign commanders their shepherdship is presented as a failure.

27.2 The *mušākilu* (fatteners)

The word *mušākilu*, Š-participle of *akālu*, is known as a professional title from Old Babylonian times on and is attested in the Middle Assyrian period. Only from the second half of the second millennium on do we encounter specialised fatteners, namely the *mušākil iššūri* (bird fattener), the *mušākil immeri* (sheep fattener) and the *mušākil alpi* (ox fattener), the latter not being attested before the Neo-Assyrian period.¹²²⁰ Judging from the Neo-Assyrian sources, where the title *mušākilu* without further qualification is (almost) entirely lacking, it appears that fatteners were usually specialised in one particular species. For the ox fattener we encounter the writings LÚ/LÚ*.mu-šá-kil-GUD, LÚ*.mu-šá¹-kil-GUD.MEŠ and LÚ*.mu-šá-kil-GUD.NÍTA.ME, while the title of bird fattener is written LÚ/LÚ*.mu-šá-kil-MUŠEN.MEŠ, ([LÚ*]).mu-šá-kil-MUŠEN and once, in a lexical list, LÚ*.mu-šá-kil-iš-šur (MSL 12 238 r. iv 1).

¹²¹⁷ Also tendons and fat were an important part of these animals for further manufacture and use. For the use of goatskin cf. section 18.2 about the *šārip duḥšī*.

¹²¹⁸ We also find the alternative term *nāqidu* (see above) used to describe the king (e.g. RINAP 4 48:34).

¹²¹⁹ Fuchs 1994: 90, Ann. 55. The Akkadian rendering of the Egyptian personal name, written ^mSIPA-ʿe(-e), is inspired by the Akkadian term *rā'ū* for shepherd. In Egyptian it may be associated with the sun-god Re.

¹²²⁰ CAD M/II 254; cf. AHw 680.

An alternative writing for the fattener as such is probably attested in SAA 6 278, namely *mu-sa-kil-a-te*, though this remains doubtful.¹²²¹ The Middle Assyrian evidence was collected and examined by Jakob (2003: 379–80) and the profession was briefly discussed by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 88–9) based on selected Neo-Assyrian attestations.¹²²²

The majority of Neo-Assyrian attestations for the fattener comes from legal documents from Kalhu dating to the reign of Assurbanipal. Furthermore, most of these documents are part of the archive of the *ša-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur*, found in a residential area by the city wall. As pointed out in section 28.1 discussing the fowlers, this man is attested as creditor of silver and corn as well as of doves and geese. His particular concern with birds is strengthened by the frequent occurrence of fowlers and bird fatteners in his dossier, either as witnesses or active parties. As for *mušākil iššūri* we encounter Il-iađīni,¹²²³ Nūr-Šamaš (ND 3426 r. 22), Urdu-Issār (ND 3426 l.e. 1) and Mar-lihja¹²²⁴ as witnesses of transactions involving Šamaš-šarru-ušur, either as purchaser or creditor. Il-iađīni is also listed as witness when the fowler Mātī-il-ilāī gives his daughter in adoption to Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3423 r. 32). Like the fowlers, the bird fatteners are also attested as business partners of Šamaš-šarru-ušur. Il-iađīni owes him 1 ½ minas of silver (ND 3440:4), Mannu-kī-Nabû 16 shekels of silver (ND 3437:1–2, 5), Nabû-erība 8 shekels of silver (ND 3441:1–2, 5) and Urdu-Issār 5 1/3 shekels of silver together with 3 *emāru* 4 *sūtu* of barley rations (ND 3442:1–2, b.e. 6). Nabû-aḥu-ušur who is attested as owing 3 *emāru* 2 *sūtu* of barley rations to this man (ND 3456:4), might be identical with the homonymous ox fattener recorded in ND 3454. The loans of barley and silver to bird and ox fatteners are probably related to their official duties (cf. CTN 3 10 and 13, discussed below). Apparently playing a central role therein, Šamaš-šarru-ušur was likely linked to the palace, as his title and the palace officials who witnessed his transactions suggest.¹²²⁵ The latter, however, is also due to the social surroundings and neighbourhood of the area of Town Wall houses, situated between temple and palace buildings, which explains why so many people related to the temple were involved in Šamaš-šarru-ušur's transactions.¹²²⁶

Apart from records relating to the transactions of the *ša-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur*, bird fatteners are also attested as witnesses in other legal documents from Kalhu (ND 2323 r. 11) and in texts from Assur (StAT 1 29 r. 4'). In addition,

¹²²¹ Zadok 1991: 43–4; cf. von Soden 1994: 137.

¹²²² Kinnier Wilson (1972: 88) also refers to ND 3476 as a source for the *mušākil iššūri*, but the signs in question are rather to be read LÚ*.da-gil-MUŠEN.ME (ND 3476 r. 2').

¹²²³ ND 3426 r. 23; ND 3423 r. 32; ND 3450 r. 3.

¹²²⁴ ND 3440 r. 5; ND 3426 r. 21; ND 3429 l.e. 3.

¹²²⁵ E.g. ND 3422 r. 9: *rab ekalli* (palace manager); ND 3426 l.e. 3: *ša-pān-nērebi* (entrance supervisor).

¹²²⁶ Note, for instance, references to representatives of the Nabû Temple: ND 3463:1–2: farmhand of the Nabû Temple (seller) and ND 3426 r. 14: cook of the Nabû Temple (witness).

the aforementioned Il-iađīni owed one *emāru* of barley to Mušēzib-Nabū (ND 2334:7). As for the ox fatteners, they too are attested as witnesses in 7th-century documents from Kalhu.¹²²⁷ Otherwise, the aforementioned Nabū-aḥu-ušur owed 5 ½ shekels of silver to Gūria (ND 3454:3–4), and, assuming that it is the same man, he is also attested as owing 3 *emāru* of barley (ND 2302:5). Fatteners usually appear as debtors, but there are two fatteners (either of birds or oxen) attested as creditors of corn and harvesters, assuming that the title is restored correctly (ND 5469:1–4). In addition, we encounter Aḥu-lāmur, ox fattener of the palace, as joint seller of a vacant plot of land in the year 640* (SAA 14 27:2–3).¹²²⁸ Another indication for fatteners having land at their disposal is perhaps to be found in a land sale document according to which (property of) the *mu-sa-KIL-a-te* adjoins 35 hectares of land under cultivation located in the city of Sairi which is sold (SAA 6 278:8). Though its reading remains doubtful, it could reflect some sort of prebendary land at the disposal of fatteners, to guarantee the fodder supply for animals in their care (if not provided for their own supply).

Apart from the fatteners' engagement in legal transactions, presumably partly arising from their professional tasks, representatives of this profession are said to have been taken as booty from Gambulu by Assurbanipal (RINAP 5/1 7 vi 39'). He enumerates them together with *ša-rēšis*, courtiers (*mazzāz pāni*) and skilled workers (*kitkittū*). Except for this late reference, bird-fatteners are recorded as recipients of rations of grain or a cereal product in an administrative document dating to the second half of the 8th century (ND 2803 i 6, 16, 26). They are subsequently listed in the first three sections, each of which deals with personnel employed in another city in the Assyrian heartland. The bird fatteners of Arbail and probably those of Kilizi receive three *emāru*, while their colleagues in Adian are provided with two *emāru* of grain or cereal products. It remains open whether these rations were meant for the bird fatteners' own consumption or were provided for the feeding of the birds. The mention of fodder in the section dealing with Kilizi (*ŠE.ki-su-tú*, in l. i 18) and the professional task of the bird fatteners suggest the latter, as might also have been the case with the fowl-herds listed in the section concerned with Kilizi.¹²²⁹ Fodder (*kissutu*) mainly appears in connection with horses, but there is also some evidence for fodder for birds in Neo-Assyrian sources. Apart from an

¹²²⁷ ND 2326 r. 28; ND 5475/7 t.e. 4–5 and probably ND 2320 l.e. 1.

¹²²⁸ The title is written LÚ*.mu-(šá')-kil-GUD.MEŠ ša É.GAL. Since the ŠÁ is missing, one would tend to interpret it as LÚ*.mu-kil-PA'.MEŠ (as e.g. in SAA 6 50 r. 13) for chariot driver (*mukil appāti*). For both readings an emendation is necessary. Though I stick to the reading given in the edition, this solution is by no means certain.

¹²²⁹ Given the references to bird fatteners and fowl-herds in the very same document, the suggestion that bird fatteners may have superseded fowl-herds (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 62) is obsolete.

administrative record listing two *sūtu* of “fodder of the *iššūru rabiū* (duck)” (VAT 8605 r. 22), two debt notes from the Review Palace of Kalhu dating to the reign of Assurbanipal show that the Review Palace had reserves of fodder for the birds at its disposal. First, silver for bird feed, qualified as *iškāru*-material of the Review Palace, is owed to the palace manager (*rab ekalli*) of the Review Palace (CTN 3 10). Second, wheat for bird feed is owed to the Review Palace (CTN 3 13) itself, though the debts must have been repaid in amounts of barley.¹²³⁰ Also one *emāru* of barley rations owed to Šamaš-šarru-ušur is qualified as given in the *sūtu* of *kissutu* of the “house? of the crown prince” (ND 3446:1–2), and three *emāru* of barley rations owed are said to be in the *sūtu* of *iškāru* (*iš-GÀR*, ND 3447:2–3, according to the transliteration of Postgate 2000: 11, no. 3). The debt note of silver might be compared with the amounts of silver owed by various (bird) fatteners to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur, also active in 7th-century Kalhu.

Although we lack information concerning the debtors’ professions, their tasks were clearly related to the feeding of birds while the Review Palace provides the institutional context. Moreover, the fodder for the birds, and thus their fattening, seems to have been organised via the *iškāru*-system. The aforementioned bird fatteners from Arbail, Kilizi and Adian support the impression that palatial establishments were central for the organisation of poultry farming. They not only received rations on an institutional basis, but also they are listed in sections each headed by the local *šakintu*, that is, the central administrative official of the household of the queen. In addition, Aḫu-lāmur, ox fattener of the palace, and the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur indicate that the feeding and fattening of birds and oxen was a palatial concern, with the specialists being involved via the *iškāru*-system. While there is no clear evidence that the fattening of animals was handled in the private sphere, it was the temple which must have had a great interest in this business too (in connection with the supply of offerings), as indicated by the interrelations of Šamaš-šarru-ušur. It remains uncertain to which extent the temple was engaged in the organisation of this business, thanks to the lack of relevant sources. Assuming that the main responsible institution was the palace, it is plausible that only certain palaces such as the Review Palace were directly involved in this business. The professions ox- and bird-fattener, fattening stationary oxen and birds with fodder, are to be distinguished from the ox- and fowl-herds who herded grazing animals. Both indicate a palace connection (both are listed in ND 2803), whereas the documents of Šamaš-šarru-ušur especially refer to bird fatteners and fowlers

¹²³⁰ According to Dalley and Postgate (1984: 65–6) the use of ŠE.BAR in CTN 3 13 suggests that it served as a general term for corn such as wheat or barley. I rather assume that the debtors could pay back their debts in barley since wheat was less common and perhaps mainly in the hands of the palace.

but do not mention fowl-herds; this is possibly because they reflect an urban business.

Thanks to the business transactions of the fatteners in 7th-century Kalhu, numerous impressions of their seals are preserved. Whereas SAA 14 27, ND 2334 (Herbordt 1992: 179, Nimrud 30), ND 3456, ND 3441 (Parker 1955: 120; cf. Herbordt 1992: 186, Nimrud 57) and ND 3442 depict different stamp seal impressions, ND 3437 and ND 3440 show distinct impressions of cylinder seals.¹²³¹ Their frequent use of seals, instead of confirming their transactions with fingernail impressions, indicates that these men were of some importance, probably also connected with their close professional relationship to the palace.¹²³² Apart from a palace connection they also seem to have maintained a strong social fabric among themselves, also arising from their family ties. As was usually the case with professional groups in Assyria, their continued existence seems to have been ensured by passing on the profession from father to son, as in the case of the bird fattener Urdu-Issār whose son Nabû-erība is also attested as a bird fattener.¹²³³

27.3 The *ša-kalbāni* (“keeper of dogs”)

Literally meaning “(he) of the dogs”, the *ša-kalbāni* is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian wine lists dating to the 8th century. It is written *ša-UR.KU.(MEŠ)* and has been interpreted as “keeper of (hunting) dogs”.¹²³⁴ As to his occurrence in the wine lists, there is one entry referring to the single “keeper of dogs” Maši-ilu (CTN 3 120:14′). Otherwise, the profession is referred to in these texts as an anonymous group.¹²³⁵ Judging by the personal suffix *-šunu* once attached, this collective is here probably assigned to particular individuals, who seem to be mentioned in the preceding broken line (CTN 3 124 r. 3). Unfortunately we cannot tell from a single entry how much wine they received since all relevant entries are broken.

The fact that the fodder master (*rab kissiti*) is usually listed after the *ša-kalbāni* supports the idea that the main concern of the *ša-kalbāni* was to keep dogs and

¹²³¹ For ND 3437 see Parker (1955: 117); cf. Herbordt (1992: 181–2, Nimrud 41–42). In SAA 14 27 and ND 2334 joint sellers or debtors are recorded and thus we cannot assign their sealings to the fatteners in particular. Note also CTN 3 10 and 13: both depict distinct stamp seal impressions.

¹²³² Though note that the usage of fingernail impressions does not per se indicate a low-ranking social status, see Radner 1997a: 38.

¹²³³ Since both occur as debtors of silver (ND 3441, 3442), it would have been interesting to compare the two seal impressions. Unfortunately I was not able to find a depiction or at least a description of the one visible on ND 3442.

¹²³⁴ Kinnier Wilson 1972: 87; cf. CAD K 371 s.v. *ša-kalbē*. According to syllabic writings of *kalbu* in the plural in Neo-Babylonian letters (e.g. SAA 18 157 r. 1), we read *ša-kalbāni* instead.

¹²³⁵ CTN 1 17:6′; 19 r. 6; 27:3′; CTN 3 129:4′.

thus to feed them. As to the place where the dogs were kept and where the *ša-kalbāni* was active, the Review Palace of Kalhu, the actual find-spot of the wine lists, seems appropriate judging by its function as an armoury that also included stables. Forming part of the royal household, the *ša-kalbāni* were provided with wine on specific occasions (cf. Fales 1994: 370). The dogs may have been kept for hunting purposes. Such a purpose is depicted in the lion hunt scene on reliefs of Assurbanipal (cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 87, Pl. 4), but the written sources are less informative in this respect. In an elegy about Tammu-*zū*'s death it is indicated that dogs were used as sheep dogs (SAA 3 16:3). Otherwise, dogs do not seem to have played an important role in the Assyrian empire. While the domestic dogs were certainly regarded with some value, stray dogs, which must have been numerous, served as an image to express someone's unfortunate situation in Assyrian letters.¹²³⁶ In addition, we learn from a passage of Esarhaddon's inscriptions that dogs are to be found together with bears and pigs in front of the city gate of Nineveh, where the captured Ašūhīli, king of Arzā (at the border of Egypt), is said to have been placed.¹²³⁷

28 HUNTING AND FISHING

In Neo-Assyrian sources we encounter two types of professionals who were concerned with hunting, namely the comparatively well attested fowler (*ušandū*) and the fisherman (*bā'iru*). As to the *ušandū*, it constitutes a Sumerian loanword (MUŠEN.DŪ) and is already known from Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian sources (AHw 1437; CAD U/W 274). In Neo-Assyrian times its logographic rendering is read *sandū*, as recorded in a lexical list from Huzirina.¹²³⁸ Otherwise, the fowler is written logographically (LÚ/LÚ*). MUŠEN.DŪ and LÚ/[LÚ*].DŪ.MUŠEN in Neo-Assyrian sources. This profession was briefly discussed by Kinnier Wilson (1972: 87–8) with regard to its occurrence in the wine lists. Fowlers in the Neo-Assyrian temple sphere were examined by Menzel (1981 I: 266). Evidence from other periods was, for instance, analysed by Jakob (2003: 380–2) for Middle Assyrian, and Janković (2004: 92–101) for first millennium Sippar. In both the Middle Assyrian texts as well as the documents of the Neo-Babylonian period we also encounter the *rab ušandī* (CAD U/W 275; Jakob 2003: 381), but this title is not attested in Neo-Assyrian sources.

The *bā'iru*, participle of the verb *ba'āru* (“to catch fish”, “to hunt”), already appears in Old Babylonian sources and is usually translated as fisherman, but

¹²³⁶ E.g. SAA 16 31 r. 3'; 34 r. 17.

¹²³⁷ RINAP 4 1 iii 42 (cf. 2 i 62, 3 ii 13').

¹²³⁸ MSL 12 233 ii(A) 2; cf. Menzel 1981 I: 266.

it occasionally also more generally denotes the “hunter”.¹²³⁹ In Neo-Assyrian sources the title is written LÚ/LÚ*.ŠU.ḪA (*bā'iru*) or, more precisely, (LÚ*).ŠU.ḪA.KU₆.MEŠ (*bā'ir-nūni*), and once (in a lexical list) *ba-'i-ru*.¹²⁴⁰ Besides the ordinary fisherman, there is a single reference to the “commander-of-ten of the fishermen” (*rab ešerti bā'iri*), written LÚ.GAL–10-*te* ŠU.ḪA.MEŠ (BaM 16 2 r. 10).

28.1 The *sandû* (fowler)

The majority of attestations of fowlers derives from legal documents where they usually appear as witnesses. As such we find them in legal documents from Nineveh,¹²⁴¹ Kalhu,¹²⁴² Assur,¹²⁴³ Dur-Katlimmu,¹²⁴⁴ and Ma'allanate,¹²⁴⁵ all dating to the 7th century. Other occurrences in legal documents involve fowlers as sellers of slaves, debtors of silver, and perhaps also creditors of silver. The fowler Mušēzib-Aššūr owes ½ minas five shekels of silver, of the *ginû*-offering of Aššūr, and places his female servant as a pledge (StAT 3 113). Urdu-Nanāia is a joint creditor of silver in a fragment of a legal document (ND 3478:3); he is probably to be identified with the homonymous fowler who witnesses ND 3420. Bēl-aḫu-ušur, fowler of the queen, is recorded as selling an old woman for 17 shekels of silver to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (ND 3420). Also Matī'-il-ilā'i, fowler from the city of Rapâ, does business with Šamaš-šarru-ušur by giving his daughter Gallussu in adoption for 16 shekels of silver (ND 3423). Another cross-link is observable for the fowler Adad-tarradi-šallim who acts a guarantor for the release of a field of black cumin for five minas of silver (BATSH 6 108); the transaction is witnessed by the fowler Garrušu. Apart from that fowlers appear in connection with joint trading enterprises from Assur. Among the trading ventures recorded in the archive of Dūrī-Aššūr at least three were organised by the fowler Ḫabil-kēnu (Radner 2016 I.33:1; I.34:1) in the course of which he received 19 *qû* and 2 *qû* of wine (Radner 2016 I.33 r. 4; I.34 r. 8').¹²⁴⁶ Also in two other records concerning trading enterprises

¹²³⁹ This is also due to the fact that there is no other Akkadian term for “hunter”.

¹²⁴⁰ MSL 12 233 ii(A) 4. CAD B 31–3 and CAD B 2–4 s.v. *ba'aru*; cf. AHw 96 s.v. *bā'el iru(m)*.

¹²⁴¹ SAA 6 52 r. 14–15 and 257 r. 6, 7.

¹²⁴² ND 3426 l.e. 1. In addition, Urdu and Urdu-Nanāia, both fowlers of the queen, repeatedly occur as witnesses in legal documents from Kalhu in the reign of Assurbanipal.

¹²⁴³ StAT 1 129 r. 7'; VAT 9742 r. 9'–11' (fowler(s) of the Aššūr Temple); probably KAN 4 24 r. 15; SAAB 9 75 r. 31 (palace fowler).

¹²⁴⁴ BATSH 6 89 r. 15 and 108 r. 7.

¹²⁴⁵ O 3706 r. 13 and O 3708 r. 14.

¹²⁴⁶ The trading enterprises are qualified by ordinal numbers, namely “second enterprise” (I.33) and “third enterprise” (I.34). According to Radner it is possible that the first of Ḫabil-kēnu's trading enterprises was recorded in I.37 (though this is tentatively ascribed by her to Muqallil-kabti).

(organised by other men) he is listed along with two *qû* and three *qû* (of wine) respectively (Radner 2016 I.41:6; I.37:11'), which he received after the successful mission. Other fowlers were rather recorded along with their investment shares in silver, as was presumably the case with the fowlers [...]–Aššūr (share lost, Radner 2016 I.37 r. 5') and Kišir-Nabû (share lost, Radner 2016 I.36 r. 6). The badly broken document StAT 1 46, listing the fowler Aššūr-lē'i, might have a similar background.

As to rations of wine handed over to fowlers according to the wine lists unearthed in the Review Palace of Kalhu, they were provided with 3 *qû* and 2 *qû* of wine respectively (CTN 1 1 r. iii 25; 2 ii 8; 4 r. 5). In addition, a separate entry in CTN 1 1 refers to the fowler Aḫu-damqu receiving 2 *qû* of wine (the amount issued for the collective of fowlers here is 3 *qû*). Kinnier Wilson (1972: 88), attempting to explain the separate entry for Aḫu-damqu, suggested that he represented an external or extramural group of fowlers, which is possible. Above all, however, I would suppose that Aḫu-damqu was a higher-ranking man, perhaps with supervisory functions among the fowlers. Another fowler who apparently had a palace connection is Bēl-dūrī, designated specifically as “fowler [of] the palace”. He acts as a witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi sells a house (SAAB 9 75 r. 31). The fowler enumerated among others in the decree concerning the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a was apparently assigned to this official (SAA 12 83 r. 11). The type and context of employment of the seven fowlers listed together with other professionals and summed up as “additional craftsmen(?)” in an administrative document from Kalhu (ND 2728+ r. 4') remains unclear. Otherwise, we encounter fowlers who were sold (BATSH 6 180, Nabû-dūrī; and possibly in the letter SAA 15 181, Iqīša and Rēḫānu). Engaged by the royal household (or the state), fowlers could have formed part of the low-ranking work-force but could also reach higher ranks, as indicated by the aforementioned Aḫu-damqu or the palace fowler. This is supported by their involvement in legal transactions and trading enterprises as well as the two seal impressions deriving from fowlers. While Matī-il-ilā'i, fowler of the city of Rapā, used a cylinder seal depicting two worshippers flanking a tree (Parker 1955: 115, Pl. XXIII, ND 3423), the fowler of the queen, Bēl-aḫu-uṣur, impressed a stamp seal showing a quadruped and fish.¹²⁴⁷

While there are fowlers of the temple attested in texts from Assur, we encounter fowlers qualified as “of the queen” in 7th-century documents belonging to the dossier of the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-uṣur, found in an area of private

¹²⁴⁷ See BM 131983: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=792349&partId=1. Though note that seals made of frit were quite cheap and could have been easily afforded by people with limited means (Radner 1997a: 38, with reference to Herbordt 1992: 43–4). Unfortunately we do not know the material of the seals under discussion.

housing in Kalhu by the city wall. They either acted as witnesses to the transactions involving Šamaš-šarru-ušur or they did business with him themselves (see above). The association of Šamaš-šarru-ušur, who mainly appears as a creditor of silver and barley, with fowlers is strengthened by his occasional occurrence as creditor for birds owed.¹²⁴⁸ We may conclude that these birds were issued to Šamaš-šarru-ušur by fowlers. Šamaš-šarru-ušur seems to have been particularly involved in the business with birds, as suggested by his connections with fowlers and bird fatteners (see section 27.2 The *mušākīlu* (fatteners)). As to the purpose of these birds owed (and of the birds in general, whether caught or farmed), it is likely that they were needed for offerings (and divination), the main reasons for the interest in birds (and in bird-catching) in Assyria.¹²⁴⁹ This is evident from numerous lists of offerings for the Aššur Temple or their leftovers, among other things, usually recording one goose and ten turtledoves (SAA 7 190, 201, 206 etc.). These amounts reflect a ratio similar to that found in the aforementioned legal documents (see fn. 1248). They demonstrate the relative value of the two types of birds and support the birds' suggested destination for offerings, and ultimately for consumption, as is best illustrated by the banquet scene on the occasion of the inauguration of the new imperial capital Kalhu in the reign of Aššurnāširpal II.¹²⁵⁰ As to birds for offerings, there is also a descriptive passage preserved in an astrological text concerning a hemerology for the first day of Nisannu. One of the cultic measures to be undertaken on that day was to go to the house of the fowler and offer a male and a female dove (SAA 8 38:6). Apart from birds intended for divination, offerings and consumption, we can assume that there also existed an interest in exotic birds to be housed in (royal) gardens (cf. Menzel 1981 I: 266). The employment of fowlers in gardens is indicated by a private letter of Nabû-aḥḥē-erība to his master Dīdīa from Assur (VAT 9770). Referring to a trading enterprise (via water) of silver and wine in a water-skin on the way to the letter's recipient, Nabû-aḥḥē-erība tells his master that he shall give the empty water-skin to the house of the fowler Šumma-Aššūr who is responsible(?) (*ina rēši*) for the garden of the god Aššur. This also indicates that fowlers were not only active in the countryside, as the fowler from the city of Rapâ might suggest. However, to conclude, it is clear from the literal meaning of the title that the main task of the *sandû* was to catch birds, while the bird fattener (*mušākīl iššûri*) and the fowl-herd (*rā'i iššûri*) kept birds. As with the fisherman (next to whom the fowler is twice listed in lexical lists:

¹²⁴⁸ ND 3436: 230 turtledoves; ND 3448: 36 turtledoves; ND 3439: 2 geese and ND 3465: 1 goose; cf. Radner 1997a: 313–4.

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. for first millennium Babylonia, Janković 2004: 23.

¹²⁵⁰ RIMA 2 A.0.101.30:102–115, especially ll. 111–114 listing 1,000 ducks (*iššûru rabīu*), 500 ducks (*usū*), 500 geese, 1,000 *mesukku*-birds, 1,000 *qāribu*-birds, 10,000 pigeons, 10,000 turtledoves and 10,000 small birds.

MSL 12 233 ii(A) 2–3; 238 r. iv 17), the main task of fowlers is expressed with the verb *ba'āru*, as is clear from a ritual text where the caught bird (AfO 12 40+ r. 19': *i-ba-a[r-ka]*) is set free.

28.2 The *rab ešerti ša bā'irī*, the *bā'iru* and the *bā'ir-nūni*

We encounter 14 ordinary fishermen in a broken administrative document from 8th-century Kalhu which might be a remnant of a schedule of workforce (ND 2497 r. 6'). While they are mentioned after the cooks, the text also records professionals such as smiths and gardeners. Apart from that, there are only the lexical entries in the two lists from Huzirina and Nineveh respectively. These lists record both logographic (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 4–5; 238 r. iv 18) and syllabic (MSL 12 233 ii(A) 4) variants of writing for the fisherman (or hunter, see above). In both lists the title immediately follows the fowler, which underlines their professional closeness to each other. In addition, in the lexical list from Huzirina (MSL 12 233), the fisherman and the fowler—listed together in a separate section—are accompanied by the archer (*māḥiṣu*). This indicates that the latter was not necessarily a military functionary but is also to be identified as a hunter, though I am not aware of any other Neo-Assyrian reference to the *māḥiṣu* as hunter of animals rather than military fighter. Otherwise we only encounter the title *bā'iru* in connection with Babylonian family names.¹²⁵¹ There is a single reference to a “commander-of-ten of the fishermen” in a legal document from Assur (BaM 16 2 r. 11). This title indicates that the fishermen were, like other professionals, organised in groups (of ten), and thus the exercise of their profession was at least partly state-controlled. This corresponds to the impression one gains from other periods such as the Neo-Babylonian era where we also encounter chief fishermen (*rab bā'iri*).¹²⁵²

¹²⁵¹ SAA 11 155:1 (Bēl-aḥu-iddina); cf. SAA 3 29:3 (Šamaš-ibni): both sons of the Fisher (family).

¹²⁵² Bongenaar 1997: 209; cf. CAD B 32 s.v. *bā'iru* 1.b “chief of the fishermen” in Old Babylonian texts.

PART III

SYNTHESIS

1 THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PALACE

This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the royal household in the Neo-Assyrian period. Therefore the different types and locations as well as the basic functions and requirements of Neo-Assyrian palaces are discussed and defined. We will then have a closer look at the composition of the palace household and discuss the immediate environment and staff of the principal residents of the palace. The main part of this chapter concentrates on the organisation and structure of the royal household and tries to create a more precise and condensed picture, especially pertaining to its economic processes, on the basis of the prosopographical analysis undertaken in Part II. This also involves the palace's relationship with the provincial and temple spheres.

1.1 Types and locations¹

Discussing the textual evidence of Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian palaces, Postgate (2003–5b: 217–9) distinguished between the “royal palace”, “secondary palaces” and “provincial palaces”. There was only one royal palace *par excellence* at a time, understood as the main residence of the king and the administrative centre of the empire. Established in the heart of the imperial capital (on the acropolis), its location shifted from Assur, to Kalhu, to Dur-Šarrukin and, finally, to Nineveh.² In the reign of Aššurnāširpal II the traditional capital Assur with its main royal residence was replaced by Kalhu, situated c. 80 kilometres further to the north, and the so-called North-West Palace was created as the “royal palace” on its citadel. Aššurnāširpal's immediate successors retained Kalhu as imperial capital but nevertheless conducted their own building projects in this city and beyond. Among these Tiglath-pileser III built his own principal palace, as reported in his inscriptions and

¹ This section is intended as a survey; not all of the available philological and archaeological data is cited.

² Due to longer construction phases, these transitions were actually less seamless. This is, for instance, indicated by political captives who were brought to Kalhu (family of Mutallu of Kummuhu) and Assur (Tarḫun-azi from Kammanu and Ḫanūnu of Hazzat) in the reign of Sargon, who moved into his palace in Dur Šarrukin only in the year 706. Similar observations were made for the reign of Aššurnāširpal II by Kertai (2013: 20).

recovered through excavation: the so-called Central Palace at Kalhu.³ About 150 years after Aššurnāširpal, Sargon not only moved house but established an entire new city called Dur-Šarrukin, c. 50 kilometres north of Kalhu, housing his royal residence which he called “Palace without an Equal”.⁴ His efforts were hardly worth it since his son Sennacherib chose the already well-established city Nineveh, only about twenty kilometres away from Dur-Šarrukin, as the imperial centre where he built his “Palace without a Rival”,⁵ the so-called South-West Palace, in the southern corner of the citadel mound Kuyunjik, as his principal palace. The *bēt rēdūti* (Succession House), commonly identified with the North Palace on the other side of the mound, was according to Assurbanipal used by Sennacherib when he was crown prince as well as during his kingship (after renovation). Describing it as *tēnē ekalli*, which possibly means “alternative palace” (CAD T 345 s.v. *tēnū* 2), Assurbanipal states that Esarhaddon grew up and ruled in this “house” and that he himself spent his time as a child and as a crown prince there before he renewed the building in order to establish it as his royal palace.⁶ Hence, the North Palace seems to have first served as an extension of the main palace, housing the king’s offspring,⁷ and only became the principal royal palace in the reign of Assurbanipal.⁸

The category “secondary palace” applies to the Review Palaces (*ekal māšarti*) which were built by the Neo-Assyrian kings as military centres in their imperial capitals. Forerunners of this concept of separating the royal seat and administrative centre from the military headquarters can be traced back to the Middle Assyrian period and it seems that Nineveh played a central role for the Assyrian

³ See Oates and Oates 2001: 71–4, Fig. 41; for a description through the king’s lens see RINAP 1 47 r. 17’–34’. Note, however, Kertai (2013: 17–8, with reference to Tadmor 1994) who argues that the Central Palace was never finished and that therefore the North-West Palace remained the principal palace up to the reign of Sargon.

⁴ *é-gal-gaba-ri-nu-tuku-a* (Fuchs 1994: 237, Prunk. 159), cf. Postgate 2003–5b: 215.

⁵ *é-gal-za-di-nu-tuku-a* (Frahm 1997: 217, cf. Postgate 2003–5b: 215) and the Akkadian variant *É.GAL šá-ni-na la i-šu-u* (RINAP 3/1 17 vii 51).

⁶ RINAP 5/1 11 i 23–34, x 51–108; cf. Groß 2015c: 254, fn. 13. For Esarhaddon’s residence in the *bēt rēdūti* as king see the reference in a collection of oracles (SAA 9 1 i 30’–4’). That the *bēt rēdūti* was used and regarded as a palace is also clear from the courtier (*mār ekalli*, SAA 14 426:4–5 [630*]) and, if restored correctly, palace supervisor ([*ša-]pān-ekalli*, SAA 18 109 r. 3’) assigned to it (cf. Postgate 2003–5b: 218). For a reference to the *bēt rēdūti* when Assurbanipal was crown prince see SAA 16 95 r. 16’. Note, however, that Esarhaddon used the *bēt kutalli* as a residence when crown prince, according to the letter SAA 16 143 r. 4’–8’ see p. 489 fn. 12.

⁷ In the letter SAA 16 28 to Libbāli-šarrat, main wife of Assurbanipal, Šeru’a-ētirat describes herself as eldest daughter of the *bēt rēdūti* of Esarhaddon.

⁸ Note, however, that this is rejected by Kertai (2013: 18–9) who assumes that the South-West Palace remained the principal palace also in Assurbanipal’s reign, mainly because of the smaller size of the North Palace. Kertai (2013: 22) further argues that there is no archaeological proof that the North Palace existed before the reign of Assurbanipal. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of earlier building activities at this place. In Assurbanipal’s words, he entirely pulled down the former palace (RINAP 5/1 11 x 75).

army from this time on.⁹ For Neo-Assyrian times archaeological evidence for a Review Palace is first available with the so-called Fort Shalmaneser, built by Shalmaneser III in the south-eastern corner of Kalhu. The designation *ekal māšarti*,¹⁰ however, dates from after the reign of Shalmaneser III. In a wine list found in Fort Shalmaneser dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III (784), palace women (*sekretu*) of the Review Palace (of Kalhu) are listed immediately after the women of the Central City (of Nineveh).¹¹ The designation *ekal māšarti* was retained for Fort Shalmaneser and is especially attested in late 7th-century texts unearthed in this palace (e.g. CTN 3 12:2–3). When succeeding kings transferred the imperial capital, the establishment of a new royal palace was accompanied by the installation or re-installation of a Review Palace in the same city, as was the case in Dur-Šarrukin and in Nineveh. The Review Palace of Dur-Šarrukin is possibly referred to in letters (for instance, SAA 1 39 r. 7') and is presumably to be identified with Palace F adjoining the south-western city wall (Postgate 2003–5b: 218). As with the other capitals, it was thus located at a distance from the citadel housing the royal palace. Sennacherib designates the predecessor of the building he enlarged and renovated in Nineveh (mound Nebi Yunus), in order to serve him as his military centre (*ekal māšarti*), the “Rear Palace” (*ekal kutalli*) whose literal meaning may according to Frahm (1997: 275) reflect its function as accommodation for military reserve troops.¹² It was

⁹ Whereas the royal palace was situated in Assur, the military centre seems to have been in Nineveh since several campaigns are said to have started from this city (Russell 1999: 221–3). The *bēt kutalli* restored by Aššūr-rēši-išši I according to his inscription on a clay cone found in Nineveh (RIMA A.0.86.4:4) may have been a forerunner of the Review Palaces of the first millennium BCE, on analogy with the *ekal kutalli* built as *ekal māšarti* in Nineveh by Sennacherib, though the *bēt kutalli*, in contrast to the *ekal kutalli* attested in Neo-Assyrian texts, is not associated with military affairs, see fn. 12.

¹⁰ *ašāru* means “to muster”, “to organise” (CAD A/II 420–2); cf. *māšartu*, translated as “place or occasion for issuing arms” (CAD M/I 358).

¹¹ CTN 1 3 i 10–1; note also CTN 3 141 r. 15. The identification of the Central Palace with a palace in Nineveh is supported by Bāni-Aia-šarru, palace manager “of the Central City of Nineveh”, active at the same time (Edubba 10 5:1–2, 788) and also in later texts this designation refers to a palace in Nineveh (see below). Remarkably, the women from the Central City Palace received 2 *sātu* 2 *qū* and the women from the Review Palace only 8 *qū* of wine; no other palace women are mentioned here.

¹² Sennacherib uses both designations for the same building, see e.g. RINAP 3/1 34:55 (*ekal kutalli* in the centre of Nineveh) and 85 (*ekal māšarti*). The term *bēt kutalli* attested in SAA 7 148 ii 19' (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) and repeatedly in letters of the chief exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur to Esarhaddon (SAA 10 214, 217–219) does not refer to the same building (contra Kertai 2013: 22) since SAA 7 148 also refers to the *ekal māšarti* (of Nineveh) and the *ekal māšarti* of the “New Cohort” (of Nineveh); moreover, the letters deal with the health of royal family members (Luppert-Barnard, PNA 1/I 39 s.v. Adad-šumu-ušur 5.c; the translation “Rear Palace” is here incorrectly equated with *bēt rēdūti* which is also mentioned in SAA 7 148 ii 17'). Parpola (1983a: 110, fn. 234) assumed that the *bēt kutalli* mentioned in Adad-šumu-ušur's letters refers to Assurbanipal's palace in Tarbišu. Although an association with the crown prince is indicated by the phrase *bēt mār šarri ša kutalli* (especially if the *ša* refers to *bētu*) in a letter of Adad-šumu-ušur (SAA 10 213:10), there is no definite proof of this assumption. Also, the establishment in Tarbišu

constructed for this purpose already before the 7th century and it thus underlines Nineveh's traditional relevance for military affairs as well as the existence and use of at least two Review Palaces in the Assyrian heartland at a time. Thanks to Sennacherib's inscriptions we also get an idea of the purpose of these buildings when he states with regard to the Rear Palace in Nineveh that its outer courtyard (*kisallu bābānū*) became too small for the horses to show their mettle and he thus enlarged it for the inspection of horses, mules and donkeys as well as of military equipment such as chariots, bows and arrows. Also the review of enemy booty was undertaken there.¹³ When reporting on restoration works on the *ekal māšarti* "of the centre of Nineveh" (RINAP 4 2 iv 32), Esarhaddon may be referring to the very same building only recently renovated and enlarged by Sennacherib, but it is possible that this refers to the construction of another *ekal māšarti* in Nineveh in Esarhaddon's reign. In administrative documents from Nineveh dating to the reign of Esarhaddon (or later), the Review Palace of the "New Cohort" (*kišru eššu*) is listed each time in the same sequence: Central City (MURUB₄-URU), Review Palace (É.GAL-*ma-šar-te*), Review Palace of the "New Cohort" (É.GAL-*ma-šar-te ki-šir* GIBIL).¹⁴ In the case of SAA 7 23 this is made more explicit since the palaces of the Central City and the Review Palace are qualified by their location in Nineveh. Though the location is not given for the Review Palace of the "New Cohort", it is likely that Nineveh actually accommodated this palace since in SAA 7 23 this sequence is followed by provincial centres such as Našibina and Šibaniba and since in SAA 7 115 this sequence is followed by the "House of the Queen" (understood as her main establishment in Nineveh in the reign of Esarhaddon) and only afterwards come the palaces of Kalhu and some provincial centres; on the reverse the "New House" is mentioned (SAA 7 115 r. ii 16). Similarly, the sequence is followed by the "New House", the Succession House, the "New House of the Central City" and the "Rear House" in SAA 7 148 (ll. ii 16'-19'), which were presumably all establishments within Nineveh since the administrative document in question is an account from a ceremonial banquet which must have taken place in the capital city Nineveh. Apparently, a second military headquarters was established in Nineveh in the reign of Esarhaddon, whereas the cities Kalhu and Dur-Šarrukin each housed one of these "secondary palaces"

is clearly defined as a palace while Adad-šumu-ušur refers exclusively to the "Rear House". The *bēt kutalli* is mentioned in a letter dealing with the foundation stone for the palace in Tarbišu, but the sender refers here to the *bēt kutalli* as residence of the crown prince during Sennacherib's reign (SAA 16 143 r. 6').

¹³ RINAP 3/1 22 vi 39-71 (especially vi 65-71) and 34:55-90.

¹⁴ SAA 7 23:2-4; 115 i 2-4 and 148 ii 13'-15'. SAA 7 115 was thought to date to the reign of Sargon because of a possible identification of Epā (SAA 7 115 ii 11) with a homonymous man attested in a letter to Sargon (SAA 1 193 r. 3); see Radner, PNA 1/II 397 s.v. Epā. However, I prefer a later date in view of the striking parallels with respect to the buildings listed.

and at least the Review Palace in Kalhu was still in use perhaps also for military preparations.

Also other palaces in the Assyrian heartland were built for special purposes. A palace in Tarbiṣu (referred to as the “Small Palace”, É.GAL.TUR.RA, RINAP 4 93:22), situated close to Nineveh, was renovated and enlarged by Esarhaddon in order to serve the crown prince Assurbanipal as his residence.¹⁵ It has already been noted by other scholars that it is only this establishment built for a late Neo-Assyrian crown prince that is designated É.GAL. This is not the case with other residences assigned to princes or other royal family members.¹⁶ The residences Sennacherib established for his sons in Assur are only called “house”,¹⁷ and also the queen’s establishment in Ekallate (situated close to Assur), which was under construction according to the letter SAA 1 99, is only designated “house” (*bēt sēgalli*), as is the case with the queen’s establishment in Kilizi (SAA 16 111:7) and in Nineveh (SAA 7 115 i 5).¹⁸ Judging by the 8th-century North-West Palace in Kalhu, the queen’s establishment usually formed part of an entire palace complex, and thus the *bēt sēgalli* mentioned in SAA 7 115 was possibly housed by one of the palaces at Nineveh referred to in the preceding entries. Also the queen’s establishment in Ekallate may have formed part of the palace of this city which is mentioned on the reverse of the same letter (SAA 1 99 r. 9’). This is less clear for other local centres where departments headed by *šakintus*, the female administrators of the queen’s domain, apparently existed,¹⁹ but their incorporation into larger palace complexes seems likely. Another building intended for members of the royal family was apparently the aforementioned Succession House (*bēt rēdūti*), presumably to be identified with the North Palace in Nineveh. Judging by its literal meaning it accommodated the royal offspring and especially the designated heir to the Assyrian throne (before it became the royal palace under Assurbanipal).

Compared with the Middle Assyrian period, when kings already developed the policy of constructing and maintaining more than one palace and initiating large building projects (Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta under Tukultī-Inūrta I), an even greater effort was expended on the construction and restoration of palaces in

¹⁵ For a recent description of the excavated architectural remains, including a palace whose origins reach back to the reign of Sargon, and the Nergal Temple, see Miglus 2003.

¹⁶ See Postgate 2003–5b: 218. In a letter to the king (Esarhaddon) there is also the palace of the crown prince (Assurbanipal) mentioned (SAA 16 63:32).

¹⁷ Frahm 1997: 142. This also includes Sennacherib’s eldest son Aššūr-nādin-šumi who was installed as ruler over Babylonia. Also “Palace L” in Dur-Šarukīn, which was identified as residence of Sargon’s brother and *sukkalmahhu* Sin-aḫu-ušur, is referred to as É in the inscriptions of its thresholds (Fuchs 1994: 285, L.3).

¹⁸ Note, however, Kertai (2013: 20, with reference to Melville 1999) who suggested that the palace which Naqī’a built for Esarhaddon according to her inscription (RINAP 4 2003), was possibly inhabited by her.

¹⁹ Note the places listed with a *šakintu* in SAA 7 23:1–14; for a collection and discussion of all the places known to have had *šakintus* see Teppo 2007: 258–63.

the first millennium BCE. With the increasing expansion of the empire, palaces not only became more numerous but were also distributed over a greater area, not least in order to have supply bases for the army and to help resettle the conquered countryside. Although the majority of the provincial capitals of more than fifty provinces (Radner 2006a) are not explicitly known to have housed palaces referred to as É.GAL, it is likely that they did. It is suspected that these palaces served as residences and administrative headquarters for the provincial governors,²⁰ serving as the king's substitutes,²¹ and that they were used only as temporary or secondary domiciles by the king and his entourage. There are a few explicit references to palaces built by Assyrian kings in cities which were set up as provincial centres of Assyria.²² For example, in royal inscriptions of Aššur-naširpal II and Shalmaneser III the palaces established in the conquered cities Tušhan and Til-Barsip (renamed Kār-Salmānu-ašarēd) are defined as “royal residences”. Archaeological excavations at both Tušhan (Ziyaret Tepe) and Til-Barsip (Tell Aḥmar) have brought to light representative buildings, and in both cases the architectural remains are likely to be identified as Assyrian palaces.²³ Also the other cities mentioned here together with Til-Barsip, i.e. Nappigu (renamed Līta-Aššūr), Alligu (renamed Ašbat-lā-kunu) and Rugulitu (renamed Qibīt-[Aššūr]), are said to house “royal residences”. Other places that never functioned as provincial centres but which nevertheless housed palaces are Ekallate (SAA 1 99 r. 9') and Imgur-Ilil (Balawat)—as we learn from an inscription of Aššur-naširpal (RIMA 2 A.0.101.51:28–30)—which is otherwise known for its Mamu Temple (RIMA 2 A.0.101.51:22–5).

In the major cities of the Assyrian heartland royal palaces and Review Palaces were maintained even though they were replaced by other palaces and, as a consequence, lost their former primary functions. Apart from archival remnants from such “degraded palaces” (such as the Review Palace and the North-West Palace at Kalhu in the 7th century), this is clear from the need to use specific terms for palaces such as “Old Palace” (*ekallu labīru*), “New Palace” (*ekallu eššu*), “Central City” (*qabsi āli*) and “Inner City” (*Libbāli*), which occasionally serve as affiliations for palace officials (mainly *rab ekalli*, *šakintu*) and other members of the palace household (mainly *sekretu*, *mār*

²⁰ Cf. Postgate 2003–5b: 218–9; note, for instance, also the *zarrīqu* (i.e. court personnel) of the governors (SAA 12 83 r. 20–1, see Part II, section 8.4 The *zarrīqu*).

²¹ This is reflected by the designation *pāḥutu* for “governor” (see Radner 2007a: 213–4).

²² Apart from constructing entire new palaces, they also adopted already existing building complexes of the defeated rulers (Postgate 2003–5b: 222, with reference to Mušasir).

²³ For a recent discussion about the preserved structures of the so-called “Bronze Palace” in Ziyaret Tepe, including an analysis of the faunal remains therein, see Wicke and Greenfield 2013. For a brief description of the palatial building remains in Til-Barsip see Miglus 2003–5: 252–3. Here, Miglus (2003–5: 253–4) also shortly introduces other sites with partly excavated provincial palaces including Arslan Taš (Hadattu), Tell Ta'yinat (Kunulua), Ayyaleth ha-Šahar and Tell Halaf (Guzana), with especially the latter featuring a different, western-influenced layout.

ekalli). The “Inner City” is an ambiguous term and often simply refers to the city of Assur,²⁴ but in relation to the people discussed here, it clearly refers to a palace in Assur, presumably its so-called “Old Palace”, situated between the ziqqurrat and the Anu-Adad Temple, where the tombs of Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian kings are located.²⁵ The “Central City” refers to a palace in Nineveh, as is made explicit, for instance, by the designation “palace manager of the Central City of Nineveh” borne by Bāni-Aia-šarru in a legal record from the reign of Adad-nērāri III (Edubba 10 5:1–2). The contemporary references to the “Central City” in a wine list (CTN 1 3 i 10, palace women) and in another legal record (Edubba 10 18:1–2, “palace servant”) presumably refer to the very same palace building in Nineveh (Kuyunjik), as is the case with the aforementioned references to the “Central City” in SAA 7 23, 115 and 148. The designations “Old Palace” and “New Palace” are more ambiguous and seem to reflect “snapshots” of the construction activities of the Neo-Assyrian kings. Newly established and equipped palaces are contrasted with palace buildings that were established earlier and had been in use for a long time, as is clear from texts where both terms occur.²⁶ At least in the case of the “Old Palace” it is possible that it usually refers to the North-West Palace of Kalhu; first, because the designation occurs only after the reign of Aššurnaširpal II, and second, because there is no clear indication of a palace called “Old Palace” in Nineveh, and third, because the North-West Palace was in use also in the 7th century, judging by the tablet finds (legal records) from the ZT area as well as the archaeological evidence.²⁷ As for the term “New Palace”, it is applied to more than one palace in the course of the c. 300 years of Neo-Assyrian construction works. First, it occurs in the reign of Shalmaneser IV, as a place of affiliation for a treasurer if restored correctly (Edubba 10 27 r. 1’–2’) and for a palace manager (CTN 2 68 r. 11’–12’). Second, it serves as a designation for a gatekeeper (SAA 14 169:8), a courtier (SAA 14 426:2–3 and 431:3–4), a son of a female palace servant (SAA 11 221 r. 18’–19’), a *šakintu* (ND 2307:1–2) and a female servant of the king (ND 2316:1–4) in the reign of Assurbanipal

²⁴ This is, for instance, certainly the case with municipal authorities such as the *ḫazannu* “of Libbāli” (e.g. SAA 13 27:3). In accordance with the types of officials and personnel assigned to other distinct palaces (see Table 15), craftsmen “of Libbāli” such as the architect (VAT 19510:3–4) and tanners (CTN 1 1 iii 22 and CTN 3 145 iii 8) are rather not meant as personnel of the palace of the Inner City, but simply originate from the city of Assur or were related to the municipal or temple institution. The same may be true for the two scribes (StAT 3 32 r. 8’, 16’) and a third-man (SAA 14 169:6) “of Libbāli”. Note in particular the *urāsu ša Libbāli* mentioned together with the *mār-amat-ekallis* (SAA 1 77:16, r. 2), therefore implying a palace connection. Also, a *rab urāsi* of Libbāli is attested, see Part II, section 19.3 The *rab urāsi*, the *rab urāsāni* and the *urāsu* (chief mason and mason). However, these cases remain unclear.

²⁵ However, other Neo-Assyrian palace structures were also identified in Assur (for a recent overview see Hauser 2012: 68–73).

²⁶ CTN 1 18 and CTN 2 68, see Table 15.

²⁷ See Oates and Oates 2001: 201–2.

and later. In the case of the *šakintu* and the female servant of the king, the “New Palace” is qualified as “of Kalhu”. The references dating to the 8th century may refer to a new establishment of Shalmaneser IV in Kalhu, but those from the 7th century which lack further details may perhaps reflect building activities in the capital city Nineveh.²⁸ The correct assignment of the affiliation “New Palace” is even more complicated since functionaries are occasionally qualified as “of the New House” instead, which is usually but perhaps wrongly interpreted as “New Palace”. Judging by its occurrence in the aforementioned administrative record SAA 7 148, it was located in Nineveh. The “New Palace” may occasionally (but not necessarily, in view of the 7th-century references to the New Palace in Kalhu) refer to the recently built principal palace of the king, but it is not clear from the sources that they were built and maintained for special purposes (as is clear for the Review Palace). Otherwise, the simple designation *ša ekalli* for officials, charioteers and guards, domestic employees, professionals and labourers may have applied particularly to personnel of the royal palace household. But it certainly also served as a general qualification for personnel of the royal household (independent of their assignment to specific palaces), to be distinguished from the personnel of the temple, of satellite households and the domains of the provincial governors.

Palace	Reference
Review Palace of Kalhu	scribe (SAA 6 31:26 [709])
	<i>šakintu</i> [of the household] of the queen (CTN 3 34:5–7 [638*])
	palace manager (CTN 3 12:2–3 [623*])
Review Palace (of Kalhu)	<i>sekretu</i> (CTN 1 3 i 11 [784])
	<i>šakintu</i> (CTN 3 30:1–2 [631*])
Review Palace of Nineveh	<i>šakintu</i> (SAA 7 23:1, 3, 14 [Esar/Asb])
Review Palace (of Nineveh)	palace manager (SAA 7 115 i 17 [probably 7 th century])
Review Palace of the “New Cohort”	<i>šakintu</i> (SAA 7 23:1, 4, 14 [Esar/Asb])
Old Palace of Kalhu	deputy (SAA 6 26 r. 3 [711])
Old Palace (of Kalhu)	palace manager (CTN 2 68 r. 9’–10’ [779])
	<i>šakintu</i> (ND 2309:6–7 [7 th century])
New Palace of Kalhu	female servant of the king (ND 2316:1–4 [641*])
	<i>šakintu</i> (ND 2307:1–2 [622*])
New Palace	palace manager (CTN 2 68 r. 11’–12’ [779])
	treasurer (Edubba 10 27 r. 1’–2’ [777])

²⁸ A palace in Kalhu cannot be ruled here out neither: Esarhaddon is known to have built a palace in Kalhu, the so-called South-West Palace, see Oates and Oates 2001: 74–7.

Palace	Reference
	courtier (SAA 14 426:2–3 [630*] and 431:3–4 [621*])
	gate-guard (SAA 14 169:8 [619*])
	son of a female palace servant (SAA 11 221 r. 18'–19' [after Asb])
New House	prefect of the horses (SAA 6 301:2–3 [670])
	scribe (SAA 16 107:2–3 [Esar])
	wine master (SAA 14 60:7 [658])
Inner City = Assur (Libbāli)	palace manager (SAAB 9 75:1–2 [683])
	<i>šakintu</i> (SAA 13 18 r. 12 [Esar])
Central City of Nineveh	palace manager (Edubba 10 5:1–2 [788])
	<i>šakintu</i> (SAA 7 23:1, 2, 14 [Esar/Asb])
Central City (of Nineveh)	palace women [<i>sekretu</i>] (CTN 1 3 i 10 [784]) [together with the <i>s.</i> of the Review Palace]
	palace servant (Edubba 10 18:1–2 [779])
	<i>šakintu</i> (SAA 6 85:7 [692]; 86:7' [dl]; 87:1' [dl] and 94 r. 4 [dl])
	palace manager (SAA 7 115 i 16 [probably 7 th century])
	<i>šakintu</i> (SAA 14 159:7–8 [625*] and 175:3'–4' [dl])
Succession House	overseer (Stat 2 132:3–4 [645*])
	courtier (SAA 14 426:4–5 [630*], 166 r. 3–4 [621*])
	palace supervisor (SAA 18 109 r. 3' [7 th century])

Table 15: Palace personnel attached to specific palaces

1.2 Functions

Regardless of the different categories of palaces discussed above, a Neo-Assyrian palace had two basic functions. On the one hand, it served as a residence, on the other hand, it was used for administrative purposes. Especially with the royal palace in the imperial centre, the twofold character of these households becomes clear since it served as the main seat of the king and his family and was the administrative and political centre of state. In theory also the provincial palaces were meant as royal residences, but they were presumably inhabited by the provincial governors, acting as the king's representatives in the provinces. Apart from their residential purpose, they were the administrative centres of provinces and were in regular contact with the imperial centre (via the provincial governors). The twofold character of palaces is also indicated by

the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. When reporting on the construction of new royal palaces, they repeatedly use phrases such as “for my royal residence (and) for my lordly leisure,” as was the case with Aššurnāṣirpal II concerning the North-West Palace.²⁹ Similarly, Sennacherib refers to his “Palace without a Rival” as being “for the seat of my kingship” and states that the *bēt ḫilāni* he built there was for his lordly pleasure.³⁰ As for its predecessor building, Sennacherib refers to the “seat of lordly dwelling” (RINAP 3/1 1:68: *ri-mit be-lu-tú*). The kings themselves understood these buildings as places of work, where they performed their kingship, and also as places to spend free time and relax (cf. Postgate 2003–5b: 217). Although Sennacherib built the “Palace without a Rival” as his royal palace, the *bēt rēdūti* is also said to have been built by him for the seat of his kingship (*a-na mu-šab LUGAL-ú-ti-šú*) in the inscription of Assurbanipal (RINAP 5/1 9 vi 24–25). Concerning the same building, Assurbanipal states that it “became old with rejoicing and joy” (RINAP 5/1 9 vi 26: *ina ḪÚL.MEŠ u ri-šá-a-ti la-ba-riš il-lik*). Also the palace “for the residence” (RINAP 4 95:7: *a-na mu-šab*) of the crown prince Assurbanipal in Tarbiṣu, built by king Esarhaddon, was meant “for the pleasure” (RINAP 4 93:25: *a-na mul-ta-'u-ú-ti*) of Assurbanipal. One detects here a tendency to emphasise the joyful side of life within buildings accommodating members of the royal family, to underline their privileged status. As with the aforementioned palaces, the Review Palace in Nineveh, which was enlarged and renovated by Esarhaddon, comprised palace areas for the seat of his kingship and his lordly leisure (RINAP 4 1 vi 11). However, in contrast to the palace buildings meant for the king’s family, its meaningful name “Palace that administers everything” emphasises this palace’s role as a centre of administration.³¹

The twofold nature of Neo-Assyrian palaces, their use as both residences and as administrative centres, is also reflected in their layout. They comprised an inner area (*bētānu*) and an outer area (*bābānu*), with the throne room (*bēt šarri*, *bētu dannu*) and adjacent chambers forming the transitional area between the two sectors.³² Generally speaking, palaces offered space for living and domestic

²⁹ RIMA 2 A.0.101.2 iii 58: *a-na šu-bat MAN-ti-ia ana mul-ta-'i-it EN-ti-a*.

³⁰ RINAP 3/1 1: 79: *a-na mu-šab LUGAL-ti-ia*; RINAP 3/1 1: 82: *a-na mul-ta-'u-u-ti be-lu-ti-ia*. The *bēt ḫilāni* is a special type of palace imported from the west (Neo-Hittite palaces), known already from the second millennium BCE. Characteristic features are the terrace-like sub-structure and the portico with columns. Tiglath-pileser III was possibly the first who integrated this structure into an Assyrian palace (Postgate 2003–5b: 217).

³¹ RINAP 4 1 vi 42–3: *É.GAL pa-qi-da-at ka-la-mu az-ku-ra ni-bit-sa (Ešgalšiddudua)*. For a brief discussion of palace names in general see George 2004.

³² Two letters to the king (Sargon) deal with bull colossi to be installed in front of the *bēt šarri*, which may refer to the throne room (SAA 1 150:13, 16; 15 283:8–9). The *bētu dannu* (*É dan-ni*) of the rebuilt palace of Esarhaddon is said to measure 95 large cubits by 31 large cubits (RINAP 4 2 v 18), which approximately corresponds to the dimensions of excavated throne-rooms

facilities in the inner area, for banquets and other ceremonies as well as ritual performances and audiences in the throne room area,³³ and for administrative bureaux and orderly offices as well as storage in the outer area.³⁴ However, the inner area was presumably also equipped with storage facilities (for instance, possibly the *bēt qātē* of the cupbearer, SAA 5 206:9), while the outer area might have offered some space for living for the palace personnel, and thus the functional arrangements presumably overlapped to some extent.³⁵ The dimensions of the different functional areas, as well as their precise division and placement in the palace building, certainly differed from palace to palace and depended on the specific purpose of the palace in question. Review Palaces, for instance, required space for the storage of military equipment and booty in particular,³⁶ whereas in the royal palace storage facilities were needed for food-stuffs, clothes and other essential goods for internal use as well as for archiving tablets. The treasury or the treasuries containing precious items must have been located in more private or secured areas of palace buildings (including the royal palace and the Review Palace) and it might not be by accident that the *bētu šaniu* (of the royal palace), possibly denoting the banquet hall, together with its employees is occasionally associated with precious metals (see Part II, section 4.1 The *bētu šaniu* (“Second House”)). Apart from palace buildings we have to reckon with temple buildings containing depositories for precious materials, organised by the royal household, on account of their needs and for the manufacture of divine statues and other cultic objects (for instance, SAA 13 61, see Part II, section 22 Smiths). Aššurnāṣirpal II states in his inscription that the North-West Palace should neither be misused as a “treasury” or “storehouse” (*bēt nakkamti*) nor as a “prison” (*bēt kīli*) (RIMA 2 A.0.101.17 v 35–6), which is possibly to be understood as referring to the misappropriation of palaces in their entirety for one of the two purposes. On the other hand, this passage may be stressing that the royal palace should primarily serve as the king’s residence

(e.g. the throne room of the North-West Palace in Kalhu measures about 45 by 10 metres), assuming that one large cubit is about 0.50 metres.

³³ Analysing the ground-plan of the North-West Palace in Kalhu, Oates and Oates (2001: 37, Fig. 15) defined the throne room area as “state apartments”. Especially in view of the palace reliefs found here, Russell (2008) identified a banquet suite (presumably *bētu šaniu*, see Part II, section 4.1 The *bētu šaniu* (“Second House”)), a ceremonial suite and a royal residential suite adjacent to court Y.

³⁴ Cf. Barjamovic (2011: 31–8). The dichotomy between an inner and outer area has also been observed for other court cultures (Duindam 2011: 18–9).

³⁵ Also domestic activities might not have been limited to the inner area, as concluded by Barjamovic (2011: 31) based on finds of carbonised corn and linseed as well as utensils such as grindstones (and also spindle whorls and loom weights) found in the outer area of the North-West Palace (rooms 11–17, Oates and Oates 2001: 46). This, however, may be a peculiarity of a late phase of use of this area where also about sixty 7th-century legal records were found.

³⁶ Fort Shalmaneser also contained a number of residence suites surrounding the south-eastern courtyard which adjoins the throne-room suite in the south (Kertai 2011: 74, Fig. 2).

and official seat, and indeed the evidence for people being kept in custody in the palace refers not to the royal palace but to the Review Palaces.³⁷ Another essential part of Review Palaces were the stables which presumably mainly housed horses but also donkeys and mules for military purposes including transport and communication. As to the palace as a place of production in terms of craftsmanship and industries, it is particularly indicated for provincial palaces and Review Palaces—by contrast to the royal palace—that they were directly engaged in the organisation and upkeep of certain crafts (see below). Apart from the textual sources this is also indicated by the plan of Fort Shalmaneser, with workshops in its northern outer area which was partly still in use in the 7th century (Oates and Oates 2001: 155–62).

The recurring description of palaces as “residences of kingship” and “(places) of lordly leisure” points to the basic functions of palaces and reflects their powerful and splendid character. Palaces were not only of practical use but were central symbols of the supremacy (Postgate 2003–5b: 217) of the Assyrian king and represented the Assyrian sovereign and the Assyrian state, not only in the centre but also (or even in particular) in the provinces where the king together with his entourage was usually absent. I cite here Irene Winter (1993: 38) in her article about the palace as a construct in the Ancient Near East:

“The palace is (...) set up as a mirror of the king. It is a physical manifestation of the ruler’s power and ability to build; and at the same time, by having built so impressively, the ruler has further demonstrated his power and ability to command resources, induce astonishment—in short, to rule.”

The furnishing of Assyrian palaces, which the kings described in their inscriptions in some detail, not only ensured comfort but illustrated their wealth and their exercise of Assyrian power over vast areas. Beginning with Tiglath-pileser I, Assyrian kings used to name distinct palace areas (either referred to as É or É.GAL) after distinct types of wood, such as cedars and cypresses, obtained from abroad, which were used for their panelling (Postgate 2003–5b: 216–7). Other architectural features which are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions include knobbed nails made of bronze and wooden doors (fastened with bronze bands), again features made of raw materials not available in Assyria.³⁸ While the outer facade and the extent of Assyrian palaces was not without effect for its beholder, their integral fittings were no less impressive.

³⁷ In a letter of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn to his father, king Esarhaddon, the Babylonian Surāia is said to be kept in the Review Palace of Nineveh (SAA 16 21 r. 9–16). Note also palace managers (some of them employed by the Review Palace) in 7th-century Kalhu who were concerned with people detained in the palace (see Part II, section 1.1.8.4 Releasing people). The vaulted chambers beneath rooms 74 and 75 of the North-West Palace were interpreted as a “palace prison” but may have been treasuries instead, according to Oates and Oates (2001: 66–7).

³⁸ E.g. RIMA 2 A.0.101.30 23–32 (Aššurnaširpal II). The importance and desirability of these features is taken into account in the curse formula, where Aššurnaširpal’s successors are warned

1.3 Composition and organisation

The palace household can be divided into its residents, so to say its non-productive members, and its personnel. In the case of the royal palace, the residents comprised the king, his immediate family and confidants, presumably an extended circle of more distant relatives of his as well as his guests, including political hostages and short-stay visitors from near or afar. Furthermore, we have to reckon with a great number of palace women at court as well as male and female musicians (with separate musicians employed in the *bētānu* area). Though not necessarily residing at court but to be counted among the non-productive court members are the scholars with whom the king had regular face-to-face meetings. All this is complemented by palace administrators, domestic managers and personnel as well as guards and courtiers, while the associated Review Palace accommodated the king's own army and stables under the supervision of the chief eunuch. From among these groups a considerable proportion did not stay in or in the immediate vicinity of the palace buildings throughout the year, but went on campaign and travelled with the king. Apart from the army, this group could include members of the king's family, foreign guests, palace women and musicians and the king's personal servants and confidants.³⁹ Though the itinerant court also exercised its role as central state institution and household of the king, palace officials and stationary palace personnel must have kept the royal palace running for exactly these purposes as well as for its own sake as an economic entity. Essential areas for the upkeep of the royal palace were its chancery, its guard as well as the administration of its possessions. Apart from provincial governors occupying provincial palaces with their own staff, the maintenance of subsidiary palaces, including the Review Palace, was accomplished primarily by the departments of the palace manager and the *šakintu*; also security personnel were essential.

It would be desirable not only to know who formed part of the royal household but also how many individuals belonged to the Assyrian court as a whole and to individual palaces. Unfortunately we have hardly any written evidence on the basis of which useful estimates could be made. An attempt to reconstruct the size of the staff of the Review Palace on the basis of the lists of wine and bread (or beer) found in Fort Shalmaneser was made by Gentili. Admitting that some of the people listed in these records were only temporarily present in the palace, he concludes with a total of 2,230 individuals, assuming a standard amount of 1/5 *qû* of wine for a single person (Gentili 2002–5: 92, 109–10). But his calculation of such a standard amount is not convincing and one wonders

not to take them away from the North-West Palace in order to install them in another palace (RIMA 2 A.0.101.17 v 29–31).

³⁹ Note the Middle Assyrian letter BATSH 4/1 10 according to which palace women and hostages relocated along with the king.

whether the assumption of a standard amount of wine given out to various different types and ranks of palace household members is expedient since we have to reckon with variation in the individual amounts handed over to, for instance, a fodder master (with or without his department) compared to a musician (cf. van Driel 1981: 263). Furthermore, it is clear from subsequent entries such as “palace women” from the Central City and “palace women” from the Review Palace (CTN 1 3 i 10–11) that the people listed here are not limited to the household of the Review Palace itself. Hence, apart from the fact that I would, for instance, at least expect an amount of $\frac{1}{2}$ *qû* of wine to be for a single musician (see Part II, section 7.3.2 Wine rations and other allocations), and because the wine lists include extramural people, the Review Palace ought to have held fewer than 2,230 people in the 8th century. This is also supported by the moderate number of 1,500 personnel (*zarriqu*) of Aššurnaširpal’s palaces who participated in the festivities on the occasion of the inauguration of the new imperial capital Kalhu (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30:148), though palace households were presumably smaller in size at that time and *zarriqu* may not include the entire palace staff. In any case, the Review Palace was primarily occupied by the king’s army and the stables, and thus neither the total number of its household members nor its composition (according to Gentili 2002–5: 110, about 50 % percent were military or military-related personnel) is representative of the royal palace or indeed of other palaces.⁴⁰ The only other sources which may give us a hint in this respect are two almost identical administrative records from 7th(?) century Nineveh listing military, administrative and domestic staff along with three-digit numbers.⁴¹ Fales and Postgate (1992: XIX) assumed that these reflect the actual numbers of personnel active in Nineveh at that time (rather than referring to a particular commodity). Assuming that they are right (which is questionable), these numbers involve more than one palace household and we cannot establish the number of people active in a single palace household. Nevertheless, these records together with the wine lists indicate that the overall number of staff of one palace household easily passed the thousand mark and that the overall numbers of palace personnel in the capital cities (housing more than one palace) must have counted several thousand people, especially in view of the fact that 7th-century Nineveh housed several palaces and palatial establishments. Also, it seems that palace households grew bigger in the course of time and reached their peak in the 7th century.⁴²

⁴⁰ However, some of Gentili’s figures may be useful, such as the number of 205 musicians. This is comparable to up to about 200 female musicians at the court of Zimrilim in Mari (Ziegler 2011: 289–90).

⁴¹ SAA 7 21, 22. For instance, it lists 400 cooks and 200 scribes (SAA 7 21: 10’, r. 2 and 22 r. 2, 3).

⁴² According to Svärd (2015: 109–10, fns. 532–4), the number of women at court ranged from 50–150 women (8th century Kalhu, wine lists) up to c. 250 women (7th century Nineveh, SAA 7 23–26).

In accordance with this overview of the composition and size of the royal household, the following sections deal with the king together with his personal servants and other important people residing in the palace or palace-related establishments, especially the crown prince, the queen and the king's mother. Thereafter, the organisation of the palace household is examined in more detail. The fields discussed here include the overall administration, the chancery, the management of access as well as the supply of foodstuffs, of textiles and clothing as well as other goods. Among these especially the overall administration and the chancery were important contact points with the outside world since they were central aspects of the royal palace in its role as the seat of imperial government. The supply of foodstuffs involves their production via cultivation and animal husbandry, their management, and their final preparation and serving. In discussing the supply of textiles, clothing and other goods I attempt to reconstruct their circulation, taking into account the organisation of the production of the commodities and their subsequent management and final treatment and use. This examination tries to take into account the fact that different types of palaces with different functions existed, but the lack of appropriate sources makes it impossible to go into too much detail here. The same is true for the question of chronological development, bearing in mind the duration of the Neo-Assyrian empire (over 300 years). Some changes are reflected in the sources, but there might have been many more which, however, cannot be identified since for many aspects of the palace household we are only provided with snapshots.

At the end of the chapter Figure 1 presents the composition of the royal palace household and its connections to the provincial and other palaces, the satellite households and the temple. It demonstrates the basic production sources for the supply of the royal household with food, clothing and other goods. In order to gain a better understanding of the distribution of the basic sectors, the different areas are assigned (by colour) to one of the five categories "household management", "central administration and control", "military", "manufacture and craft production", "food production" and "non-productive sector".

1.3.1 The itinerant king

Considering the high density of active palace households, one wonders to which extent and how frequently the king changed place and switched from one palace to the other in the Assyrian heartland, and visited the provincial palaces. With the available sources it is hardly possible to get a concrete idea of his whereabouts throughout the year. The king usually spent part of the year (the summer) on campaigns and especially around the turn of the year (from Šabaṭu to Nisannu), when the most important festivities took place in Assyria,

the king was present in its heartland.⁴³ From among the palaces the king had at his disposal, he mainly resided in his main palace in the imperial capital but also spent some time in the associated Review Palace when inspections and preparation of the Assyrian army (especially the royal cohort lead by the *rab ša-rēši*) took place. Furthermore, the king must have spent some time in the palace of the Inner City (= Assur) when cultic performances took place in the religious centre of the empire around the turn of the year. Although we lack details, it seems that the king's way of life was quite mobile, on account of his campaigning activities and the associated long-distance journeys and because of his religious duties which required his presence in Assur and other religious centres such as Arbail and Harran. Furthermore, the high mobility of the king ensured the regular visibility of the king or at least his entourage around the empire, thus demonstrating pomp and power to the people. Similar strategies were employed by the "nomadic" Persian kings who not only migrated seasonally but took their entire court and high-ranking officials with them when leading the army on campaign (Brian 2002: 186–91). This "custom led to the extension and relativization of the very notion of a capital in the Achaemenid Empire", as Briant put it, stressing that "power was where the king was, whether he was residing in a palace or his tent, at Persepolis or in a paradise, at the heart of the Empire or at Sardis or even Memphis or Bactria" (Briant 2002: 189). It seems that the Seleucid kings expanded on this system of "an itinerant state" (Briant 2002: 187), lacking a fixed capital and a central court and regularly moving from palace to palace (Strootman 2011: 71). The Neo-Assyrian court certainly did not reach such a high degree of mobility but maintained a clearly defined political as well as religious centre of the empire. Nevertheless, the Neo-Assyrian king moved around on a regular basis and in doing so must have been accompanied by at least part of his court.

1.3.2 The king's servants

Since the numerous palaces stood primarily at the king's disposal, their personnel in principle mainly served the king. In addition to these employees tied to specific palaces, the king had his own, personal servants. The staff of the royal palace in particular must have maintained a closer connection to the king, including above all the palace supervisor, the chamberlain, and the palace scribe, and it is to be questioned who from among his household actually accompanied the king on his campaigns and journeys and whether this is in one way or the other indicated in the sources. Apart from relatives and confidants, palace women and musicians as well as scholars and court officials, he must

⁴³ For the chronological sequence of the cultic festivities around the turn of the year see Maul 2000a.

have been accompanied by his bodyguard and personal assistants to protect him and supply his basic needs. Since we do not have direct evidence for the itinerant king and his court, possibly professionals and other servants qualified as *ša šarri* formed part of this permanent royal entourage. Hence, those who attended the king while he was travelling may have included royal cooks (SAA 19 147:14–15, though only mentioned in a metaphor), the royal confectioner [...]*nu*[...] (Edubba 10 51 r. 7), the royal palace tailor Adda-pisia (StAT 2 169:1–2, 641*), the royal musician Šunu-qardū (CTN 2 17 r. 47, 783), the royal scribe Balāssu (SAA 15 37:23'–4') and Bābu-gāmilat, the female servant of the king (SAA 16 26:8–9). However, the qualification *ša šarri* (and sometimes *ša RN*) does not necessarily indicate members of the permanent entourage of the king; alternatively, it serves as an apposition for honorary titles,⁴⁴ especially in combination with *ša-rēši* (here often with *ša RN* instead of *ša šarri*, see Part II, section 8.1 The *ša-rēši*), or simply reflects the assignment to the royal household. Hence, the female servant of the king who formed part of the staff of the New Palace in Kalhu (ND 2316:3–4), and Nabû-kabti-aḥḥēšu, palace scribe of Sargon (SAA 6 31 r. 4), possibly bore an honorific title. On the other hand, the female weavers “of the king”, for whom the emissaries from Commagene called in order to select wool according to a letter of (the crown prince) Sennacherib to the king (Sargon) (SAA 1 33:24–r. 1), may have simply been female weavers of the palace (working under the aegis of the queen, see below). Furthermore, the qualification *ša šarri*, analogous to *ša ekalli*, may have gained importance as a demarcation from the satellite households whose structure and complexity had developed in line with the king’s palace in the 7th century. Possibly for the same reason we read of a royal merchant (CT 54 502 r. 6) in a letter to the king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal), since also the crown prince, the queen and governors began to employ them in the 7th century (see Part II, section 6.1.3 Addendum: the *kišir šarri*). There are also military functionaries “of the king” (cohort commanders, grooms, “third men” and chariot drivers, see Part II, section 6.3 Royal military functionaries) and a mule-stable attendant “of the king” (SAA 19 60 r. 16) attested, and it is especially likely for the charioteers that they actually accompanied the king on his travels and campaigns,⁴⁵ rather than bearing merely an honorary title, as is also clear for the *ša-šepē*-guards and *ša-qurbūtis*. Other personnel qualified with *ša šarri* likely were active for—but at a distance from—the king. These include the royal farmer Aḥ-immê, attested as object of sale (SAA 6 37:8, 694), and the royal herdsman Bēl-usāti who was arrested in Babylonia (SAA 18

⁴⁴ Honorary titles, however, also express a certain closeness to the king (but not necessarily spatial proximity).

⁴⁵ Note here also the charioteers “of the palace” in Part II, section 6.2 Military functionaries “of the palace” which may have the same function.

17:14–5). Both may have taken care of land (and crops) and livestock respectively for the benefit of the king, but especially with the herdsman it is likely that he was employed for cultic reasons on behalf of the king. This is also the case with the goldsmith and royal servant Šēp-Aššūr-ašbat who took care of the offering pipes of Aššur and the king in the Aššur Temple (SAA 13 27 r. 9–10). He was a royal servant who represented the king’s interests as regards his cultic obligations in the Aššur Temple (assuming that the title “servant of the king” is a formal title and not just a casual expression of the writer). In fact, people who took care of the personal concerns of the king (which were also relevant for the perpetuation of the Assyrian state) in the sphere of the Aššur Temple are well attested in association with the royal tombs located in the so-called “Old Palace” of Assur (= Libbāli). In order to sustain the necessary cultic performances for royal ancestors and to take measures for the afterlife of living kings (in the case of Assurbanipal), a distinct department comprising *ša-rēši*-functionaries, farmers and shepherds, presumably taking care of the foodstuffs to be offered, was set up in Assur.

The fact that the Assyrian king was travelling quite extensively throughout the year made the availability of a mobile staff indispensable. However, as we have seen, direct evidence for this is comparatively rare and remains unclear. The only other indication of travelling palace personnel is the term *ša KASKAL* (i.e. *ša hūli*) attached to *zarriqu*-personnel (not attested after the reign of Aššurnaširpal II) (SAA 12 83:7', r. 16 and 84:11') and to an unnamed brewer in the second half of the 8th century (CTN 3 87:14). Otherwise, the designation *ša hūli* refers either to horses, as in the horse lists (CTN 3 107–10), or to amounts of grapes and juniper (CTN 3 87), or amounts of wine (CTN 3 141). In the horse lists and CTN 3 87 this qualification contrasts with *ša KUR*, either to be understood as *ša ekalli* or *ša māti*.⁴⁶ Based on the horse lists, Dalley and Postgate (1984: 204) assumed that both designations refer to the origin of the horses, with “*from the campaign*” contrasting with “*from the land*”. Radner (2004: 156–7), also interpreting the two terms as references to the horses’ origin, proposed that these refer to horses obtained either via tribute (*ša māti*) or via overland trade (*ša hūli*), with the latter denoting an alternative to (*ša*) *kāri* (“of the port”) which may indicate commodities obtained via sea-trade (as seems to have been the case with wool, cf. p. 394 fn. 937). Though Radner’s proposal seems likely with regard to the horses and the other commodities, this does not work with the aforementioned palace personnel. Independently of its meaning in association with horses and foodstuffs, I suggest that *ša KASKAL* refers to palace personnel *en route*, possibly accompanying the king on his

⁴⁶ As a third, though less plausible, transcription Dalley and Postgate (1984: 204) propose *ša kišitti* (“of booty”), an expression which occurs mainly in the Standard Babylonian royal inscriptions but not in everyday documents.

journeys and campaigns or operating in the provinces on behalf of the king (but not in his company).⁴⁷ References to this type of personnel are rare and they are not attested at all in the 7th century, which is either owed to a lack of sources or to the introduction of another terminology and system. The latter is suggested by the establishment of a well-defined bodyguard of the king comprising *ša-qurbūtis*, acting in the provinces on behalf of the crown, and *ša-šēpē*-guards, taking care of the king *en route*, while personal servants of the king, whether qualified as *ša šarri* or not, took care of his basic needs.

1.3.3 Satellite households and associated departments

In the following two sections the households of the crown prince and the queen (and the king's mother), together with the women's quarters, and their personnel are briefly outlined. This is done especially on the basis of the sources dating from the 7th century when these households developed into complex institutions, even including their own military branches and using their own bureau seals similar to the royal seal (Radner 2008: 510–1). The enhancement of these departments was not only a matter of enlarging households for individual benefit but of being increasingly involved in state affairs, side-by-side with the king, to a much greater extent than was usually the case in earlier times. On the other hand, the queen's particular involvement in the textile industry was a constant during the Neo-Assyrian period, building on forerunners of the second millennium BCE (Mari).⁴⁸

1.3.3.1 The queen, the king's mother and palace women

In her detailed discussion of the terms *sēgallu* (MÍ.É.GAL) and the *ummi šarri* (AMA-LUGAL) and their implications, Svärd demonstrated that the queen (*sēgallu*), the main wife of the king, could be the mother of the designated heir to the throne (as is clear for queens Sammu-rāmat and Naqī'a) but that this was not necessarily the case. On the other hand, the mother of the reigning king (*ummi šarri*) did not necessarily bear the title *sēgallu*. Since the title *sēgallu* was borne for life, more than one woman was occasionally called *sēgallu* at a time. This is especially observable from the reign of Sennacherib on when Naqī'a, queen of Sennacherib and mother of Esarhaddon, was a dominant woman at court down to the reign of Assurbanipal (for a detailed discussion see Svärd 2015: 42–4). The household of the *ummi šarri* as well as her

⁴⁷ Note especially the discussion about the *zarriqu* in Part II, section 8.4 The *zarriqu*.

⁴⁸ See Teppo 2007: 264 (with reference to Barber 1994). Also in connection with the queens Šulgi-simtī and Abī-simtī of the Ur III period was it questioned whether they let produce textiles for their personal need only or whether they controlled the textile production on a larger scale (Weiershäuser 2008: 103–5, 148–50).

staff is especially attested during the reign of Esarhaddon and possibly later, when Naqī'a fulfilled this role, and it seems that the concept of a household of the *ummi šarri* was a temporary phenomenon associated particularly with Naqī'a. This contrasts with the household of the queen, which Svärd (2015: 62) defined as a “permanent fixture in Neo-Assyrian society”, with the *sēgallu* as an “institution of the realm rather than a title referring to the personal relationship with the king” (Svärd 2015: 46). Her establishment formed part not only of the royal palace in the capital city but of palaces located at various different cities throughout the empire. Assuming that the queen was mainly present in the royal palace, she functioned as a nominal head of these palace institutions while local *šakintus* managed the daily business.⁴⁹ This included concluding legal transactions such as purchases of slaves (on behalf of the queen's establishment) as well as the management of “large-scale textile production” involving a staff of weavers, which may have not just covered internal needs but produced surpluses in order to “generate further resources for the household” (Svärd 2015: 102). The household of the queen was not just the personal sphere of the queen but an essential part of the Neo-Assyrian palace domain, comprising a comprehensive economic network (Svärd 2015: 74, 100). Staff who were assigned to the queen and her household, for the most part also discussed in Part II, included craftsmen and labourers (weaver, tanner, goldsmith, fowler, shepherd), domestic personnel (cupbearer, cook, confectioner, tailor), administrative personnel (*šakintu*, scribe [e.g. SAA 14 29 r. 7], palace supervisor [attribution based on context: SAA 11 36 iii 2], household overseer [Edubba 10 20 r. 13–4], chief cook, chief baker, *rab qaqqulāti*, treasurer), village managers (e.g. Edubba 10 30 r. 23–4) and military functionaries.⁵⁰ These people seem to have included the queen's personal servants such as the cook and the goldsmiths as well as staff employed in the queen's household as an administrative entity (such as the treasurer). For some professional groups such as cupbearers, confectioners and scribes, female representatives are also known and, as is sometimes indicated by their affiliations, they worked for the

⁴⁹ For the association of the queen with the *šakintu* see Svärd 2015: 69–71, 91–105 (92, Fig. 4: distribution of *šakintus* all over the empire); cf. her article about the *šakintu* in SAAB 16 (= Teppo 2007). Usually *šakintus* are (if at all) qualified according to the palace they were appointed to, but there is a title that reflects the *šakintu*'s engagement in the queen's household (CTN 3 34:5–7: [M]Í.šá-kín-tú [ša É M]Í-KUR [ša É.GAL-ma]-šar-ti ša URU.kàl-ḫi).

⁵⁰ See Part II, section 6.4 Satellite households (also merchants were active for the queen). For a more detailed discussion (taking into account the chronology of attested personnel and assignment to specific queens) see Svärd 2015: 61–74. Except for labourers, the *ummi šarri* (Naqī'a) is attested with similar staff including domestic personnel (cupbearer [his deputy]), common servants (female servant: SAA 13 76 r. 7) and *ša-rēšis*, as well as administrators and officials (scribe, palace supervisor, chief confectioner, chief fuller, chief of trade [his deputy: SAA 7 9 r. i 27–28], treasurer) and military functionaries (see Part II, section 6.4 Satellite households). Note also the village manager of the town of Lahiru of the household of the queen mother (SAA 6 255:1–2).

queen.⁵¹ Apart from military functionaries, whose presence indicates the existence of the queen's own army in the 7th century, Svärd also emphasised the fact that *ša-rēšis* served the queen (and the king's mother). Although the service of *ša-rēšis* is not restricted to royal women but was a central aspect of the royal household in general (as is clear from the simple fact that numerous *ša-rēš-šarri* are attested in the sources), they were an integral part of the queen's establishment, either serving the queen directly or serving other subordinates of the queen, such as the *šakintu* and her treasurer (Svärd 2015: 72–3).

In spite of the desire to avoid stereotypes such as that of the oriental despot and his court housing secluded women in his *harīm*, guarded by castrated men, it cannot be denied that the Assyrian palaces housed not only the queen and her staff but also a large number of palace women. In the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees we learn of women of the palace (MÍ *ša* É.GAL) who apparently lived in palatial areas with limited access and were not expected to work (Svärd 2015: 108; Roth 1995: 195–209). Although we lack comparable texts for the first millennium BCE, the same seems to have been true for the Neo-Assyrian court. The women in question were designated *sekretu*, though this term according to Svärd has a wider connotation and denotes “general female residents and personnel of the palace” (Svärd 2015: 106). *Sekretus* could attain considerable rank and influence and are even attested as having gained the position of *šakintu*.⁵² A great many of these palace women seem to have come to Assyria as booty taken from conquered areas, as was also the case with male and female musicians. Thanks to references to the *bēt isāti* (“house of the women”), to the *rab isāti* (“master of women”) as well as to a lock master (*rab sikkāti*) of the “house of the female palace servant” it is clear that separate quarters for women existed. The latter seems to refer to women working at court.⁵³ Svärd (2015: 119, 127) assumes that the “house of the women” is applied to provincial establishments comprising labouring women headed by the *šakintu* and that the “master of women”, like the aforementioned lock master, looked after female palace servants. According to her, these terms are not related to the palace women (*sekretu*), though this is possible, given that the meagre evidence does not allow definite conclusions. In any case, it is clear from the sources that we have to distinguish between the queen's (and the king's mother's) personal circles comprising their attendants, the queen's widespread departments with labourers employed in the textile industry, and the

⁵¹ E.g. Attār-paltī, female scribe of the household of the queen (CTN 3 39:3–4; 40:2–3), and an unnamed female confectioner of the queen (CTN 3 87 r. 21); cf. Svärd 2015: 124–7, Table 4. In the *Gartenlaubenszene* of Assurbanipal with his wife Libbāli-šarrat it seems that while women are attending the queen, men (*ša-rēšis*) serve the king.

⁵² Bord, PNA 1/I 67–8 s.v. Aḫi-ṭallī 1; cf. Svärd 2015: 105–9.

⁵³ See Part II, section 8.7 The *mār-amat-ekalli*; for the references to *bēt isāti* and *rab isāti* see Svärd 2015: 118–9, 127, fn. 623.

palace women without a specific function, grouped together in the women's quarters, from where *šakintus* and presumably also royal women usually originated. Whereas royal women and their attendants as well as palace women are to be counted among the palace residents, this is less clear for the labourers headed by the *šakintu*. They might have lived in the palace precincts or close to the palace area but not in the palace itself. These labourers as well as the "unemployed" palace women were usually appointed to specific palaces on a more or less permanent basis, though selected palace women may have accompanied the itinerant king (judging by the aforementioned Middle Assyrian letter BATSH 4/1 10). The queen and her personal staff presumably changed place on a regular basis and from time to time visited the various palaces (which included her departments led by *šakintus*) spread over Assyrian territory. Nevertheless, the queen and the king's mother are to be associated primarily with the main palace and, provided that they did not have their own separate buildings in the capital city, that is where they mainly lived. By contrast, the textile industry was specifically established in the provincial palaces and it may have played (if at all) a minor role in the royal palace which in general does not seem to have housed large facilities for craftsmanship.

1.3.3.2 The crown prince

As noted above, the *bēt rēdūti* (and the *bēt kutalli*) which was established by Sennacherib in Nineveh seems to have served as a residence for the royal family and especially for the crown prince in the 7th century. Furthermore, we have seen that crown prince Assurbanipal even had his own palace, located in Tarbišu (near Nineveh), at his disposal. These establishments required personnel, but even apart from these buildings it is clear that the crown prince's household developed into an extensive and more complex department in the 7th century. Judging by the officials and professionals provided with an affiliation, the crown prince (*mār šarri*)⁵⁴ had skilled craftsmen and labourers (master-builder, carpenter, shepherd, farmer, farmhand), domestic personnel (brewer, cook), courtiers (*ša-rēši*, *mār ekalli*), scholars (exorcist, diviner, physician), administrative officials and personnel (scribe, treasurer, palace supervisor, lock master, household overseer [i.e. *ša-muḫḫi-bēti*, SAA 12 92 r. 7], chief cook, chief confectioner, chief of equipment,⁵⁵ chief of repairs, chief of accounts),

⁵⁴ For *mār šarri*, usually denoting the crown prince and not a prince, see Kwasman and Parpola 1991: XXVII–XXIX.

⁵⁵ I.e. *rab tilli*, SAA 7 4 r. ii' 2'. This official seems to be only attested in Neo-Assyrian texts: Sē'-naqamī, "of the commander-in-chief", SAA 14 146 r. 5'–6'; Lā-teggi-ana-Aššūr, StAT 2 73 r. 8; MSL 12 238 iii 28. A similar official was possibly the Middle Assyrian *ša-muḫḫi-būt-tillē* (CAD T 411 s.v. *tillu* B).

provincial and municipal authorities (mayor, city overseer, governor) as well as military staff including merchants in his service.⁵⁶ By comparison with the staff in the service of the queen (and the king's mother), discrepancies are mainly observed with regard to the scholars and the military functionaries as well as the provincial and municipal authorities. Although also the queen's household approached a similar degree of complexity, the military branch of the crown prince was more complex and was led by his *rab ša-rēši*, only the crown prince oversaw his own province (cf. Radner 2006a: 49), and only the crown prince shared the king's privilege of counting scholars including exorcists and diviners among his personal assistants. As argued elsewhere (Groß 2015c), this may be related to the general enhancement of the crown-princehood beginning at the latest in the second half of the 8th century, as is clear from the involvement in state affairs of the crown princes Shalmaneser V, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal as well as from the appointment of Assyrian princes as rulers over Babylonia. First, this is true for Aššūr-nādin-šumi, eldest son of Sennacherib, who ruled over Babylon from 699 to 694 and, second, this also pertains to Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, son of Esarhaddon, who ruled over Babylonia after his father died and his brother Assurbanipal succeeded to the Assyrian throne (though he was active in Babylonia already as crown prince of Babylonia). Thanks to their role as rulers over Babylonia, these princes not only had their own palace in Babylon but also the associated palace officials, including palace supervisor and palace scribe, at their disposal, as is clear from a few contemporary Babylonian legal documents. Along with these developments, also the position of the heir to the Assyrian throne and his household approached that of the king and the royal household. This seems to have had an impact on the status of the main wife of the crown prince, to whom the designation *bēlat-bēti* is usually applied (Svärd and Luukko 2009): like the queen, she had a *šakintu* administering her household, as well as charioteers at her disposal.⁵⁷

1.3.4 Overall administration

The various palaces situated in the heartland and beyond were managed and maintained by palace managers (*rab ekalli*). While these officials seem to have been mainly engaged in the traffic of goods related to the palace (see below),

⁵⁶ For the military functionaries see Part II, section 6.4 Satellite households; this also includes the major-domo, *rab bēti* (attested in SAA 7 148 ii 2'; ND 3412:1), an official who is in general often concerned with military matters (cf. Postgate 2007: 27), which was not necessarily the case with the *ša-muḥḫi-bēti*. For a detailed discussion of the household of the crown prince and its personnel (including detailed data about references to the scholars, provincial and municipal authorities) see Groß 2015c; cf. Mattila 2002: XVI–XX.

⁵⁷ *šakintu*: SAA 7 23:1, 13–14. Chariot fighters: SAA 6 200 r. 7' and SAA 14 169 r. 1. Chariot driver: SAA 6 339 r. 9.

their overall responsibility for a palace also caused them to be responsible for palace access and to preside over the various officials and personnel concerned with gateways and other palace staff. Their duties partly overlap with those of the palace supervisor (*ša-pān-ekalli*) whose main focus was the king (and other royal family members). The main representative of the latter was presumably especially active in the royal palace, primarily in order to serve the king. We lack any evidence for the interaction between the two officials. It seems that they were not active within the same sphere, and thus we may basically distinguish between two similar offices, one engaged in the royal palace and the other in the other palaces. The employment of the palace supervisor in connection with the main palace is also reflected by the fact that he was not concerned with the supply of the palace with foods and other commodities since this was managed by specialised managers and the treasurer (see below). It is possible that the king was accompanied by this official on his journeys and campaigns; otherwise, one would expect him to have overseen the royal palace establishment also when the king was away. While both offices had comprehensive responsibilities, the chamberlain (*ša-muḫḫi-bētāni*) administered the inner sphere of the palace. He was of lower rank than the palace supervisor and presumably took orders from him. The sources do not indicate any connection with the palace manager, perhaps either because of the meagre evidence for the office of *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* or because the palace manager operated especially in palaces subsidiary to the royal palace, where a *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni* was not necessarily employed (owing to the palace's smaller size and more simple household structure).

1.3.5 Correspondence and documentation

An essential part of Neo-Assyrian palaces were their chanceries, as well as their facilities for archiving everyday documents. Judging by the number of about 3,000 letters unearthed in Kalhu and Nineveh, which represent the meagre remnants of the correspondence of Neo-Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser III on, the daily volume reaching and leaving the royal palace by messengers (*mār šipri*) and other delegates must have been considerable. The handling of this correspondence as well as other everyday documents, such as administrative records dealing with distributed rations or debts owed to the palace, took place under the supervision of the palace scribe (*tuṣṣar ekalli*) who was active in the main palace and aptly called “head of chancery” by Luukko (2007). Apart from handling the palace correspondence, his department was also concerned with bookkeeping as well as with filing the tablets and thus keeping the records up to date. From the so-called “filing boxes” found in room 4 of the ZT area of the North-West Palace in Kalhu,⁵⁸ one gets a vivid insight into the daily business of

⁵⁸ For the “filing boxes” see Oates and Oates 2001: 45, 197, Fig. 120. Also the surrounding chambers (especially room 5) are considered to have formed part of the same department.

the palace scribe and the numerous scribes who were presumably subordinate to him, perhaps organised into groups of ten (headed by a commander-of-ten, *rab ešerti*). Another office that seems to have been related to the palace scribe's department was the chief of accounts (*rab nikkassi*) of the palace. Engaged in accounting for commodities and livestock, such as domestic animals and wooden beams, it is likely that he interacted with the palace scribe for bookkeeping purposes; it is not clear whether he belonged to the palace scribe's department. For similar reasons we can also detect collaboration between the palace scribe and the treasurer, for example in the weighing of gold. As for the required documentation from the different sectors of the palace, all threads came together at the office of the palace scribe. Since this also included state matters (especially the royal correspondence with provincial governors and other high-ranking officials), the palace scribe can also be characterised as a "secretary of state", as Luukko (2007: 231) put it. Primarily this was true for the palace scribe in the royal palace, but also the Review Palace and other palaces or palatial establishments had a scribe for the supervision of their chancery and their archival facilities. One would assume that especially the palace scribe (of the main palace) enjoyed a close connection to the king and that he delivered the messages meant for the king personally. This may have been generally the case and it is also clear that the palace scribe of the main palace formed an integral part of the king's court, but we have to reckon with the palace supervisor as the primary contact person of the king, since he may have accompanied the king whereas the palace scribe remained active in the palace throughout the year, independent of the king's actual whereabouts. It is striking that the palace supervisor took on the role of a reporter (*ṭēmu turru*, according to the text about the royal meal) to the king,⁵⁹ and that it was also the palace supervisor and his subordinates who were engaged with concluding loyalty treaties and the transport and storage of the associated treaty tablets. From the list of recipients of tribute and audience gifts in a letter of (the crown prince) Sennacherib to his father (Sargon), it is clear that the palace supervisor was regarded as higher-ranking than the palace scribe, thus the distribution of duties did not simply depend on their nature but also on proximity to the king. Matters highly important to the king, either as a private person or as a ruler, were handled by the palace supervisor. Similarly, the chief scribe, together with the other scholars, functioned as an advisor of the king in state matters and personal issues. Furthermore, the compilation of royal inscriptions was not in the hands of the palace scribe but was rather a concern of the chief scribe (Luukko 2007: 228, 251) and the chief scholar (*ummānu*) (Tadmor 1997: 328), an office which was at least occasionally held by men also known as chief scribes (Luukko 2007: 232). These scholars were presumably also responsible for the upkeep of the royal library.

⁵⁹ Note therefore also the broken letter of the king (Esarhaddon), where he explains that his "reporter" (*bēl ṭē[mi]*) is reading out the messages to him (SAA 16 6:6').

1.3.6 Guards and gateways

In the curse formula of the inscription of Aššur-naširpal II concerning the establishment of his palace in Kalhu (North-West Palace), he states that his successor shall not “rend the lock, (for) there must not be open access” (RIMA 2 A.O.101.17 v 41–42: *nap-ṭar-tú la i-ra-si-pi ina ŠÀ la e-ra-ba*). Access to Assyrian palaces was restricted, and accessibility diminished as one approached the quarters situated in the inner areas. As for the management of access to the various different palaces, the main responsibility, especially regarding bureaucratic procedures, seems to have been upon the palace manager (*rab ekalli*) and the palace supervisor (*ša-pān-ekalli*), but especially in the 7th century specialist officials (*rab sikkāti*, *ša-pān-nērebi* and possibly the *sukkallu ša nērebi*) concerned with doorways and entrances were employed, in some cases for distinct areas such as the “house of the female palace servant,” and it is possible that the palace administration was particularly concerned with the limited accessibility of palace areas inhabited by women. The main gate of the palace was perhaps under the supervision of the “overseer of the gate” (*ša-pān-bābi*) since a specific concern with the main gate does not feature among the duties of the aforementioned officials. Alternatively this was a central task of the chief gatekeeper (*rab atê*), but we lack any definite proof in this respect. The guarding of the entrances to the palace and its various sectors and the gateways within the palace was performed by the gatekeepers (*atû*)—possibly helped by watchmen (*ša-maššarti*)—who were divided into those working in the inner and the outer area of the palace. They do not occur in direct connection with the chief gatekeeper (*rab atê*), but the existence of this official suggests that the gatekeepers were hierarchically organised per institution, provided that the institution was complex enough (which was certainly true for the royal palace). Though the chief gatekeeper was their formal superior, their direct supervision was at least partly taken over by the aforementioned specialist officials. As observed in the preceding section, access to the king, which was highly restricted and precisely managed,⁶⁰ was treated as a particular issue and was organised and controlled by the palace supervisor. As a central member of the king’s entourage he organised audiences with the king and introduced guests and visitors to the king (also in ceremonial contexts).

1.3.7 The supply of foodstuffs

In order to supply the palaces with food and drink, foodstuffs passed through three basic stages. First, agricultural land, gardens and orchards were cultivated and harvested, and domestic animals were bred and fattened in order to produce

⁶⁰ This subject was *inter alia* addressed by Liverani (2009: 89–90) and Radner (2011: 370–4).

foodstuffs such as grain, vegetables, fruit and meat. Second, these products were collected, transferred and distributed to the central or departmental facilities of the royal household. Third, they were prepared in the domestic quarters and served for dinner. Looking at this basic model in more detail, these procedures turn out to be far more complex and involve not only the palace but also the provincial domain, especially relevant in the first step, and the temple, particularly in connection with the third stage.

1.3.7.1 Agriculture, gardening and animal husbandry

The cultivation of grain (usually barley) mainly involved farmers (*ikkāru*) who were bound to the estates they had to cultivate and who were helped by ploughmen (*ša-epinni*), “farmhands” (*qatinnu*) and, in spring, harvesters (*ēšidu*) who were either hired or had to fulfil *ilku*-duty (the draft animals for ploughing may have been organised by the chief cook, SAA 15 187). The gardeners (*nukaribbu*), also bound to their gardens and vineyards, cultivated vegetables, herbs and spices, fruits and grapes. While this is clear especially from the tablets of the Harran Census, we know almost nothing about the status of the lands from where the palace obtained the necessary crops. There are two basic possibilities. First, the royal household benefitted from the revenues earned by the provincial administration, including the yields of state lands administered by the provincial governors and the tax income from individual land owners. Second, the palace sector had its own agricultural lands in order to secure the food supply for its residents and personnel. There are at least some indications for the latter possibility, but we must distinguish here between the provisioning of the principal residents, that is the king, his family and his entourage, and the palace staff. The latter seem to have been provided with land in order to cover their basic needs, as indicated by a few references in legal documents where fields of palace servants (*urad ekalli*, SAA 6 27:5´), of palace personnel (*nišē ekalli*, SAA 14 126:9´) and possibly of fatteners (*mušākilu*) (SAA 6 278:8) are said to adjoin the sold estates.⁶¹ Furthermore, a text from Šibaniba, dating to the reign of Shalmaneser III, lists estates assigned to various different professional groups and court groups, including scribes, fowl-herds, carpenters, women and musicians, together with what seems to be the obligatory share of compensation for these lands in terms of soldiers or workmen to be provided.⁶² On the other hand, there are a few documents which record rations of foods for consumption, probably handed out regularly. For instance,

⁶¹ Note, however, that only with the palace personnel is this qualified with *eqlu*; the others lack any specification.

⁶² Billa 85. The ratio is about 1:2, that is for one estate (É) two workmen or soldiers (ERIM) are required.

we learn of members of palace households in Kilizi, Arbail and Adian, including women, palace servants, bird-fatteners and weavers, who were provided with grain or cereal products for consumption. The distributed grain may have been obtained from a central storage facility (supervised by the chief of granaries), but it is unclear whether these storage facilities were filled with grain resulting from tax yields or harvested from separate palace land.

The few references to palace farmers and palace gardeners support the impression that the palace had its own land, cultivated by its own personnel. We also learn of a plough manager of the palace(?), if restored correctly, and of the threshing floor of the palace situated in Kalhu, as mentioned in a letter of the mayor of the Nabû Temple in the reign of Esarhaddon (SAA 13 78:15). Furthermore, there is a royal farmer (sold by the chief of granaries) attested, and the crown prince had his own farmer and “farmhand” in his service. Officials such as village managers of the queen and the king’s mother, the scribe of the king’s mother and the *ša-rēši* of the queen bought and sold farmers, possibly on behalf of the households of royal women, and it is clear from the fact that they had village managers (as well as treasurers) in their service that they also had land at their disposal, as was also the case with the crown prince’s domain. Since large-scale textile production was under the aegis of the queen’s department, the comparatively well attested employment of village managers and treasurers by the queen from the 9th or 8th century onwards might be down to the maintenance of the textile labourers spread all over the empire.⁶³ Also for the royal tombs (*kimahhu*) separate farmers were active apparently for the maintenance of offerings in the context of the ancestor cult. If restored correctly, the royal tombs (here referred to as *bēt šarr[āni]*) had *ma’uttu*(-land) available that is otherwise also qualified as “of the king” (and “of the palace”) and hence meant primarily for the benefit of the king and his household. The estates cultivated by or under the supervision of palace gardeners and palace farmers as well as the threshing floor and the maintenance land of the palace were not necessarily only associated with the food supply for the principal palace residents. They could have been also meant for the food supply of palace employees, for catering for guests, for the running of palace production (such as *iškāru*-production) or for the fulfilment of obligations (especially in the case of provincial and local palaces). It is possible that the individual palace households had their own resources and labourers to cover their food requirements, but it remains unclear to which extent palaces benefitted from the income of other institutions. The latter is indicated by *illakāte* payments of vegetables and fruits made by the treasurer of Arbail to the Review Palace in Kalhu. It is not only

⁶³ The rations of grain and cereal products consumed by bird-fatteners, weavers and the like according to the aforementioned administrative record ND 2803 possibly originated from such a background since these labourers were working under the aegis of local *šakintus*.

indicated by these payments from Arbail that palaces situated in the Assyrian heartland obtained their foodstuffs from the immediate surrounding areas: this is also observable for the master of granaries who was active in this area.

Apart from crops, also animal products were part of the menu of the Assyrians, especially for the elite level of society. In his description of the banquet on the occasion of the inauguration of Kalhu, Aššurnaširpal II enumerates different types of meat including cattle, sheep, deer and birds as well as fish, eggs and milk (RIMA 2 A.O.101.30:102–140). As for the animals that were caught in the wild, fishermen (*bā'iru*) are rarely mentioned in the sources, but their profession was organised by the state, judging by the existence of a commander-of-ten of the fishermen. While deer may have been hunted by archers (*māḥiṣu*), most of the information about hunted animals applies to birds. Comparatively many fowlers are attested in the sources, occasionally qualified as fowlers “of the palace” or “of the queen”. While fowlers were also employed by the temple, the palace fowlers seem to have been significant since they are frequently mentioned in the wine lists (in contrast to several other professional groups which are rarely or not at all mentioned here). Though the palace may have engaged fowlers to catch birds for the royal gardens or for augury purposes, consumption was clearly another reason. Also fatteners occur in association with the palace; we are dealing especially with bird fatteners but also with ox fatteners. The bird fatteners are attested for the local palaces of Arbail, Kilizi and Adian in the second half of the 8th century where they seem to have been active under the aegis of local *šakintus*. Otherwise, the business with the fattening of birds (and other animals) is known from documents from 7th-century Kalhu, namely from the Review Palace and the private archive of the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur. We do not know whether the royal palace was similarly involved in the fattening business; it is likely that this palace household covered its needs via the other palaces. The fattening business was organised via the *iškāru*-system which, at least in the case of the Review Palace in 7th-century Kalhu, was handled via the bureau of the palace manager. The palace's involvement here may arise from its special interest in the meat supply, also in connection with the temple and its offerings which were an important issue for the king as representative of the god Aššur on earth and which therefore partly also ended up in leftovers destined for the king and his household.

By contrast to the fattening business, which presumably took place in stables close to or in the cities, the herding of cattle, sheep and birds took place in the countryside. The pasturing of wool sheep was carried out under the jurisdiction of provincial governors but was organised via the palatial *iškāru*-system with the help of local cohort commanders. Similar dynamics seem to have applied to the herding of animals meant for the meat supply, with the same basic aim as the fatteners, namely fattening for consumption. Apart from

cohort commanders also the chief cook was in charge of shepherds who may have taken care of animals after their delivery to the central cities, thus shortly before their slaughter. Also animals supplying milk and eggs may have been in the charge of herders, though they were rather accommodated in stables with which the milk-man, who was presumably responsible for the procurement of milk, is also associated. Like the farmers, shepherds are also occasionally qualified as “of the palace”, “of the king”, “of the queen” and “of the crown prince”, suggesting that animals meant for consumption by members of the royal family and their households were looked after separately.⁶⁴ In addition, there are also two distinct types of shepherds who took care of sheep for the regular (*dariu*) offerings and of domestic animals for the (divine and/or royal) meal (*naptunu*) respectively.

1.3.7.2 The management of foodstuffs

The royal household administration comprised various different administrative officials who were concerned with the procurement, storage and supply of selected foodstuffs. These included the chief cook (*rab nuḫatimmi*), who was concerned with meat, and the chief confectioner (*rab karkadinni*), who was associated with fruits and spices. Furthermore, a fruit master (*rab zamri*), a spice master (*rab raqqūti*), a wine master (*rab karāni*), an oil master (*rab šamni*), a master of granaries (*rab karmāni*) as well as a chief victualler (*rab danībāti*) concerned with grain and a *rab qaqqulāti*, also associated with cereal products, are attested. Similarly, the chief baker (*rab āpie*) and the chief brewer (*rab sirāšē*) were concerned with the preparation and supply of bread and beer respectively, but they only rarely occur in connection with the palace; rather, they were associated with the temple.

The chief of granaries was active in the Assyrian heartland and beyond in order to manage grain (barley) reserves for the imperial centre. Apart from supervising storage facilities, he was concerned with the distribution of barley to departments of the palace. His concern with corn meant for the royal household is underlined by the fact that he took care of its yield. Apart from this official taking care of a basic food item, the fruit master, the spice master, the oil master and the wine master dealt with specific foodstuffs (or at least commodities intended for consumption)⁶⁵ which, in the case of the oil master and the wine master, resulted from an elaborate process. Judging by the existence of a separate “chief of the oil-pressers”, the oil master was rather not involved in the production of oil but only concerned with its management, as seems to have been the case with the wine master who obtained wine from the Izalla

⁶⁴ Note, for instance, also the the 300 sheep which Ḫanni owed to the crown prince (SAA 6 264).

⁶⁵ Oil was also needed for other products such as perfumes.

region, the Habur region and other wine-growing areas in the west. Also the fruit master and spice master were apparently not involved in cultivation and harvest but in procurement and distribution on behalf of the royal household. Like the fruit master (associated with pomegranates and figs) and the spice master (associated with *raqqūtu*-plants, possibly some sort of herbs or spices), the chief confectioner was concerned with the procurement of fruit trees (terebinth, almond, medlar, apple, pomegranate, quince, plum) and associated with their fruits (terebinths, almonds) as well as with spices (cardamon). Since all three officials occur in the same administrative document (SAA 11 36), they were active contemporarily and were each concerned with distinct tasks and commodities. The fruit master managed fruits for immediate consumption whereas the chief confectioner dealt with fruits which could be eaten immediately but which, judging by his title, were perhaps usually further processed in the domestic area (by confectioners and others). Although he supplied the domestics, the chief confectioner himself was rather not active in this sphere. This parallels the activities of the chief cook, who was responsible for the procurement (via taxation and tribute) and supply of domestic animals (for meat consumption) but, apart from his representative role during the royal meal (*naptunu*), was not involved in the actual preparation of meat. Because of his concern with meat, he dealt with shepherds and from the 9th century we even know of a royal *ša-rēši* who bore the title “chief of the cooks and herdsmen” (according to his cylinder seal), implying that in the early stages of the Neo-Assyrian empire one man was responsible for the two sectors. The lack of this elaborate title in later times, however, might be due to the preference for concise titles in the factual administrative language of the everyday documents which contain the majority of references to the chief cook.

The chief cook’s concern with meat arises especially in connection with the temple and the scholarly sphere. Stocks of domestic animals in his care, of which possibly a chief of accounts kept tally, were meant for offerings and ritual performances. It is possible that this phenomenon was also related to the fact that the consumption of meat was not only restricted to the gods and the king and his entourage, but also meat seems to have been consumed by the latter group also in the form of leftovers of offerings to the gods; thus, we are often dealing with consecrated meat (as was presumably also the case in the text concerning the royal meal). It is not necessarily by accident that facilities for slaughtering (as well as butchers) and facilities for the conservation of meat, namely the salt-meat house, are known for the Aššur Temple but not for the palace. The temple emerges as the central place for the production and processing of meat, whereas the palace (including the satellite households) took care of its procurement via the chief cook and was its consumer. Though chief cooks were also appointed to temples and cities, they can be classified as palace officials who controlled the movement of domestic animals on behalf of and

in cooperation with the central administration since the king, in addition to his culinary needs, was concerned to maintain cultic practices. Also, representatives of the office of wine master took care of the supply of wine for regular offerings to Aššur. Again, the personnel in question were palace officials and the supply was arranged by the central administration, as is clear also from the decrees concerning expenditures for temple offerings according to which food managers were obliged to regularly deliver the foodstuffs that they specialised in. Although these obligations are distinguished here from their official duties, such a distinction was not necessarily implemented in antiquity, especially with offices such as the chief cook employed by the royal household, which was itself concerned with supplies for the Aššur Temple. It is perhaps due to the exclusive foodstuffs, namely meat and wine, that the close relationship between palace and temple in the context of food management especially emerges from the activities of the chief cook and the wine master. There is, however, another administrative official attested, namely the *rab qaqqulāti*, whose few attestations suggest an engagement with the supply of temples with foodstuffs such as bread, soup and beer and an involvement in the temple-related circulation of goods known as *ilkakāte*, as was the case with the local treasurers (see below). Similarly, the chief victualler (*rab danībāti*) seems to have been introduced to control and manage grain (or cereal products) which was collected and stored (in temples or their vicinity) for religious purposes. Both the *rab qaqqulāti* and the chief victualler were palace officials but were concerned with supplying the temples with grain and cereal products. As also indicated by their association with *ilkakāte* dues and the “barley rations of the king” (*kurummat šarri*), these officials managed the exchange of foods between palace and temple (not simply the supply of the temple arranged by the palace). Assuming that the *rab qaqqulāti* employed in the household of the queen in the 7th century had the same basic functions, this would imply that not only was the king’s household engaged as provider of foodstuffs for offerings, but that also other royal family members took on cultic responsibilities, especially in the 7th century when the departments of the queen and the crown prince gained more significance.⁶⁶ Possibly for the same reason, separate chief cooks were active for the crown prince and the queen, and chief confectioners were in the service of the crown prince and the king’s mother (though a temple connection is not necessarily clear in these cases). On the other hand, this could have been simply owed to the increased demand for meat (whether consecrated or not) for consumption by the satellite households.

⁶⁶ Note therefore also the supply of offerings goods for the Aššur Temple and the consumption of their leftovers by key members of the royal family, as indicated by the administrative records SAA 158–181.

Although we are provided with an incomplete picture of the affiliation of these food managers, there was usually more than one representative of the individual offices active at a time. First, there were those active for the royal palace, who in many cases were therefore also engaged in supplying the temple (though occasionally separate food managers were appointed to individual temples). Apart from a wine master of the “New House”, it is not clear from the sources whether the entire range of food managers was appointed to all the individual palaces or palace-related households. Palace households whose scale and cultic responsibilities were less extensive compared to the royal palace, however, have usually rather not employed these specialist officials. Here, the palace manager was a central person taking care of the movement of goods on behalf of his palace. The same can be observed to some extent for palaces in provincial capitals; however, these were usually represented by the provincial governors in this respect. Though the range of responsibilities of individual food managers and the extent of their cross-institutional operations are unclear, they may have occasionally arranged deliveries to the provincial and local palaces.

Another type of official who is known to have been concerned with the movement of foodstuffs was active in the New Palace (in Kalhu), namely the treasurer (*masennu*). Such local treasurers are known to have been appointed to the Aššur Temple, to the cities Harran, Arbail and Dur-Šarrukin, and to the departments of the queen, king’s mother and crown prince, but their appointment to individual palaces is otherwise unknown. Judging by the official responsibilities of local treasurers, such as the supply of foodstuffs for the palace (in case of the treasurer of Arbail delivering foodstuffs to the Review Palace) and for temple offerings as well as the management of land (and its crops) of royal family members, these local treasurers are also to be counted among the food managers. As for the single reference to a treasurer of the New Palace, it is possible that he was employed in addition to—rather than instead of—a palace manager, since only the latter seems to have had overall responsibilities over palaces. As for the co-existence of food managers and local treasurers, they presumably worked side-by-side in cities such as Harran where both a treasurer and a chief cook were employed.⁶⁷ The office of chief cook, with its concern with meat, seems (like the office of wine master) to have had quite clearly defined responsibilities and it is possibly no coincidence that wine and meat only rarely occur among the products dealt with by local treasurers. The management and organisation of such distinct products was presumably reserved for specialist food managers. Another possible scenario is that the food managers functioned as suppliers of distinct foodstuffs to the institutions and

⁶⁷ The chief cook appointed to Harran is only known from the reign of Sargon, while the treasurer of Harran is only attested for the 7th century.

administrative spheres, while the local treasurers acted as internal distributors. Furthermore, we know that the chief cook obtained livestock via taxation and allocations of redistributed state income (such as tribute), whereas a basic feature of the office of the treasurer was the concern with land at the disposal of his own institution. However, it is possible that the appointment of these different types of officials concerned with foodstuffs was influenced by ad hoc decisions. So we have to be aware of a certain fluctuation in the distribution of responsibilities among these officials.

Assuming that the food managers primarily formed part of the royal palace and were responsible for its food supply (occasionally via the Aššur Temple and other temples), there need not necessarily have been another food administrator (such as a treasurer or palace manager) active here. Also the mobile character of these officials corresponds to the mobile life of the king and the fact that daily business, especially that of the royal palace, was subject to fluctuation according to the presence or absence of the ruler and his court. The food managers did not only function as suppliers, with palace managers, treasurers and other local authorities taking care of storage and further distribution, but they were themselves also responsible for these steps. Judging by the main palace's (and other palaces') individual food managers, they presumably had their own bureaux, accompanied by a deputy and a secretary, in the outer area of the palace building incorporating (or close to) storage facilities for the products in question. This seems particularly applicable for officials such as the wine master and the oil master, whereas the chief of granaries supervised storage facilities located beyond the imperial cities and thus was rather not provided with a bureau in the royal palace. Since we do not have information about appropriate storage facilities for meat (and other perishable foods), these were presumably for the most part consumed immediately after their delivery to the royal palace, if not preserved by salting, drying and so on. Regarding the intra-palatial distribution, I suggest that foodstuffs were delivered to the domestic quarters either via the chamberlain or directly.

1.3.7.3 Preparation of foodstuffs

Before discussing the personnel of the palace kitchen and the final preparation and serving of dishes, I shall say a few words about professional groups who were concerned with the production of foodstuffs involving longer processing. Judging by the written sources, this mainly involved the *iškāru*-based crafts of the brewers (*sirāšû*) and the oil-pressers (*ṣāḫitu*). The craft of the brewer was traditionally accommodated by the temple, in Neo-Assyrian times as in other periods. Although the household of the crown prince employed a brewer (active in Assur), the royal palace in the capital was not directly involved in this business. The traditional beverage for palace residents and their

visitors seems to have been wine; their demand for beer may have been especially related to the leftovers of offerings, which would correspond to the assumption that the demand for beer in the royal palace and its associated Review Palace was met by the (Aššur) temple. These palaces may have only housed personnel for the refinement of beer after it had been brewed, as suggested for the *barrāqu* who is frequently mentioned in the wine lists from Fort Shalmaneser, and the beer man (*ša-midlēšu*). By contrast, governors living in the provincial palaces had chief brewers and what might have been a chief maltster (*rab šimāni*) in their service, suggesting that their domains produced beer in considerable amounts. This may be an indication that the households of provincial governors drank beer rather than wine, but it could be also due to the governors' obligation to produce beer for the supply of their employees and the army. This would complement the possible engagement of brewers on journeys or on campaigns, as indicated by the specification *ša hūli* of a brewer, perhaps because beer is a nutritious beverage. Also the craft of oil-pressing is known from the provinces as well as from Assur. Again, the royal palace was not directly involved in the production of the foodstuffs it consumed, but obtained it via the *iškāru*-system (which it ultimately controlled). Although we are challenged by the uneven distribution of sources, it is presumably not coincidence that with both the oil-pressers and the brewers the traces lead to Assur. I suggest that this is related to Assur and its role as capital city in Old Assyrian and Middle Assyrian times and therefore to its well-established structures. Furthermore, it kept its role as the religious centre and thus remained a central point of interest for the Assyrian ruler who, as the representative of the god Aššur, also had to live and behave according to cultic rules (which also applied to his consumption of food). Though these considerations focus on the Aššur Temple (thanks to the available sources), other temple households may have participated in this sort of exchange system (as indicated by the *ilkaḳāte* payments mentioned in the previous section).

The final preparation and serving of foodstuffs were handled by the personnel employed in the domestic quarters located in the inner palace area (which was administered by the chamberlain). Basically one can distinguish between the cooks (*nuḫatimmu*), confectioners (*karkadinnu*) and bakers (*āpiu*) who prepared foodstuffs, and the cupbearers (*šāqû*), the personnel of the "Second House" (*ša-bēti-šanie*), and representatives of the "tailor's house" (*ša-bēt-kāširi*) who served food and drink and attended at the meals. We can distinguish between the following domestic sub-sections employing these personnel: the "House of the Cook", the "House of the Confectioner", the "House of the Baker", the "House of the Cupbearer" and the "House of the Tailor". The "Second House", on the other hand, seems to refer to the dining hall of the palace where banquets took place and where the *ša-bēti-šanie* cleaned the tables. As for the basic professionals preparing foodstuffs, the main ingredient

processed by the cook and his department was meat, the confectioner and his department seem to have been concerned with spicy starters and side dishes as well as with sweets, and the baker was concerned with different types of bread. It is clear from the text about the royal meal that they were not visible in the dining room but active in a separate area. Judging by the professionals assigned to the houses of the cook and the confectioner, these departments are characterised by a high degree of specialisation. The *bēt nuḥatimmi* also employed a “cutter” (*nākisu*) and a salt-meat man (*ša-midlēšu*) and the *bēt karkadinni* a soup man (*ša-akussēšu*), a beer man (*ša-billēšu*), an aromatics man (*ša-endēšu*) and a ziqurrat-cake man (*ša-seqqurrātēšu*). These *ša-x-šu* professions, however, were not necessarily involved in the preparation of the goods they were associated with but rather with their procurement (from the temple, see above) and refinement. As emerges from the text concerning the royal meal for the other functionaries, the cupbearers (perhaps supported by the “sons of the cupbearer”) supplied drinks (presumably wine), the *ša-bēti-šanie* took care of the fire place, lighting and cleaning, and the representatives of the “tailor’s house” handed out towels for cleaning the hands (the actual tailor was concerned with clothes). The palace supervisor gave orders to the cupbearers and the chief cook bore responsibility for the food offered (mainly meat) and represented the professional group of the cooks and their creations. The situation described here reflects a very specific event which took place in the royal palace, but the domestic personnel were certainly also occupied with the daily routine of the royal palace and other palaces such as the Review Palace (from where the information about the *ša-x-šu* professions occupied in the domestic houses derives). With all the domestic personnel working for the royal palace and other palaces, including the provincial domains, as well as for royal family members, the sources indicate that they belonged to the classes of *urad-ekalli* or *ša-rēši*. Both classes had similar connotations and are contrasted with the *ša-ziqni*; they seem to have been eunuchs, which in view of their place of employment in the private sphere of the palace is not so surprising. We also know that some of the kitchen personnel were of foreign origin; for instance, Aramean bakers and Chaldean cooks were employed by the palace. The bakers, furthermore, especially occur in association with the queen and her household (note also the “chief of the bakers” assigned to her); otherwise, their traditional sphere of activity seems to have been the temple. This observation corresponds to the fact that bakers are usually associated with the brewers, whose specific connection with the temple is without doubt. The baker may have been less important for the royal palace kitchen compared to the cook and the confectioner, though he undoubtedly was part of it; there was even a baker specifically assigned to the “Second House”.

1.3.8 The supply of textiles and clothing

Besides the food supply for the palace, the second most important category of commodity needed by the palace and its household members comprised textiles and clothing. An attempt to reconstruct similar procedures of production, management and preparation is more difficult since, although we have some information about the production and final preparation, we lack clear information about the personnel involved in the management of textiles, leather and clothing.

1.3.8.1 Production, processing and cleaning of textiles, leather and clothing

The manufacture of woollen items was the main task of Neo-Assyrian textile production and the weavers (including specialist weavers concerned with multicoloured cloth and scarfs) were the main craftsmen producing textiles in Assyria. Organised via the *iškāru*-system, the weavers received their working material (wool obtained via shepherds bound to the *iškāru*-system, as well as imported wool) from the palace and were supervised by cohort commanders and possibly chief weavers who seem to have also taken care of the procurement of the working materials. Contingents of weavers were distributed to several distinct provincial centres of the empire where they worked under the aegis of local *šakintus*, as is evident for some of these cities such as Arbail. According to these and other indications, such as the fact that comparatively many women (including deportees) are attested as weavers, the weaving industry was primarily associated with the queen's domain. Svärd (2015: 102) refers to large-scale production and it seems that this extensive network of weaving factories did not exist only to serve the queen's and the palace's own needs but may have been developed as a profit-oriented industry, likely also meant for export. Also the temple seems to have been involved at places such as Arbail, where weavers occur in association with the *šakintu* and with the temple; it remains unclear how this business was organised between the two institutions. I suggest that the local palace maintained overall control, while the actual work was partly done in the local temple facilities (by temple weavers). Apart from woollen cloth and clothing, weavers may have also produced textiles made of flax and goat hair. The latter was, for instance, under the control of the palace manager of the Review Palace in 7th-century Kalhu. Otherwise, it seems that textiles (especially linen) were to a considerable extent obtained from abroad, as indicated by the textile labels and lists of textiles found at Nineveh (SAA 7 93–109). Here the textiles are repeatedly qualified as “of the land” and as “of the port”, specifications

which, according to Radner (2004: 156–7), refer to tribute payments and the trade market.⁶⁸

As to the further treatment of textiles such as linen, there is an account of the consumption of linen fibre and madder by individual palaces and palatial sub-units. It records 20 talents of madder provided for the dyeing of 600 gowns and 600 *urnutu*-garments (SAA 7 115 ii 9–10), possibly made of linen (see ND 2307:18). The House of the Tailor is provided with linen (like the House of the Cupbearer and the Second House) and madder, showing that tailors were involved in the further treatment of textiles. Some professions of the type *ša-x-šu* seem to refer to craftsmen producing and/or procuring specific types of clothing, such as caps (*ša-kubšēšu*), (textile-)belts (*ša-sāgātēšu*) and lower garments (*ša-ḥalluptēšu*); the latter also received madder according to the aforementioned document. Textiles and clothes were washed (after their production) and cleaned (when contaminated) by the fullers (*ašlāku*) who, however, rarely occur in connection with the palace; the same is true for the bleacher (*pūšāiu*). This contrasts with the fact that chief fullers (*rab ašlāki*), once even designated “of the palace”, are repeatedly mentioned among the court officials (in contrast to the majority of *rab-x* officials of other professional spheres, for instance, the chief tanner and the chief architect). There was also one in the service of the king’s mother and another one assigned to the lady-of-the-house. It seems that the chief fuller obtained and provided commodities needed for the fuller’s work but was otherwise not involved in the actual process of fulling. Similar phenomena can be observed for other *rab-x* officials, such as the chief cook, and it is even possible that the chief fuller had military functions. The tailor belonged to the domestic sphere of the royal palace, but this was not the case with the fuller, a craft that seems to have been outsourced, either to the palace precincts or to local palaces (and temples) in the immediate environment, likely in association with the weaving industries (of the queen).

Among the professionals concerned with textiles and clothing, only the tailors formed part of the domestic sector of the royal palace. An employee of their department, the “House of the Tailor”, exchanged dirty hand towels for clean ones during the royal meal (*naptunu*). Tailors were presumably concerned with the sewing and fitting of clothes, primarily for the palace residents—a royal palace tailor as well as a tailor of the queen is attested—but also for the higher-ranking palace personnel (for instance, the palace supervisor had his own tailor). Furthermore, they might also have been responsible for the processing and preparation of any other kind of textiles needed in the palace

⁶⁸ Note also the garments made of linen which were (illegally?) purchased in the city of Haran, according to an administrative document (SAA 11 26 r. 5–10). Also the redistributed audience gifts and tribute payments included togas and tunics (SAA 1 34).

household (such as the hand towels). Like the other domestic personnel of the palace who were primarily concerned with food and drink, the tailor could belong to the class of *ša-rēši*. On the other hand, there also existed tailors who were bearded courtiers (*ša-ziqni*). It is possible that particularly the *ša-rēši* tailors served in the inner area of the royal palace and in the vicinity of the king. Remarkably, tailors do not belong to the professional groups who are frequently mentioned in the wine lists, although this is the case with those of the Second House, the confectioners and the cupbearers from among the domestic personnel. The reason for this remains unclear.

The manufacture, treatment and processing of leather was in the hands of tanners (*aškāpu*) who, like the weavers, were organised in smaller groups headed by commanders-of-ten. The animals needed for the leather production originated from different sources, including tribute and revenue of dead animals handed in by *iškāru*-bound herders. It seems that the chief cook, who also otherwise dealt with livestock, was central to the administration of this income. Unspecified collectives of tanners are frequently listed in the wine lists from the Review Palace of Kalhu, including an Aramean tanner and tanners from the Inner City. Apart from individual tanners working for the royal family—we know of tanners working for the queen (perhaps for the manufacture of commodities such as shoes)—these professionals formed part of the personnel of the Review Palace but not of the royal palace. They certainly were an important craft for the manufacture of military clothing and equipment. Another important profession involved in treating leather is the “tanner of coloured leather” (*šārip duḥšī*) who dyed goat(?) leather and might have represented a small but exclusive craft (working for the palace); the *mušappiu* or *šāpiu*, another type of dyer of textiles or leather, is only rarely attested. In association with leather there are also two *ša-x-šu* professions attested, namely the *ša-šallēšu* (“leather man”) and the *ša-kurrēšu* (“tanning fluid man”), who may have produced and/or procured leather and the commodities needed for the treatment of hides respectively.

1.3.8.2 Management of textiles and clothing

In addition to officials supervising the production and processing of wool, textiles and leather, an official who took care of the collection, storage and final distribution of these commodities (as well as the deliveries to the imperial centre, in the case of provincial palaces) was the palace manager. The royal palace seems to have had more specialist officials and departments for this purpose, but there is hardly any suitable official known except for a linen master (*rab kitê*) and a leather master (*rab maški*), though the latter is only attested in a provincial context (Kurbail) and the linen master occurs only once, as a witness. In view of SAA 7 115, an account of the consumption of linen

fibre and madder, one would assume that such a document was drawn up on the orders of the linen master and stored in his bureau, but the distributed madder recorded in the same tablet is not entirely conclusive in this respect. Assuming that the lack of specialist officials is not due to a lack of sources but reflects reality, the movement of goods may have been managed by those who also oversaw the production. This is, however, rarely proven for officials such as the chief weaver and the chief tailor. Although the chief tailor mainly features as a state official who was involved in military actions in the south, the department of the chief tailor of the royal palace may have originally been (and perhaps still was) responsible for the palace stocks of garments and armour (like the “Intendant” listed as a traditional court official by Weber ⁵1972: 594). Otherwise, there was perhaps no need for a separate bureau concerned with wool and textiles, and it is likely that these commodities were stored either directly in the House of the Tailor or in other palatial storage facilities housing different types of commodities.⁶⁹ While the movement of textiles and clothing to and from the palace, as well as its storage in the palace, was documented by the palace chancery, the final responsibility over these palace goods was borne by the chief treasurer who, as in the Middle Assyrian period, bore the ultimate responsibility for the movement of goods (also in connection with the *iškāru*-system). Noble garments made of linen and the like, which were mainly obtained from abroad, may have even been stored in the palace treasury.

1.3.9 The supply of other goods

Apart from foodstuffs, textiles, leather and clothing, the goods needed by the palace household included various different craft products such as pots and dishes of clay and metal as well as boxes and caskets of metal, stone or ivory. Furthermore, the palaces were equipped with furniture and also the construction of the palaces themselves involved the creation of stone bases and brick walls, pavings, (double-winged) doors, beamed ceilings as well as reliefs and statues. In contrast to the foodstuffs and clothing, these did not require the constant presence of appropriate professionals, and it is striking that from among these particular professions we do not encounter any representatives qualified as “of the palace”. Beginning with the construction of the palace buildings themselves, the king relied here on the technical and creative skills of “master builders” (*etinnu*) and “architects” (*šelappāiu*). They were the masterminds of the huge building projects initiated by the Assyrian king, under whose general supervision hundreds of construction workers were deployed and commanded by intermediate overseers. Both the master builders and the architects seem to

⁶⁹ Note e.g. the inventory CTN 2 155 which enumerates items made of metal (including vessels), wooden objects, textiles and even edible goods.

have comprised guild-like structures built on kinship ties which secured the continuity of their profession. Instead of being an integral part of the royal household, they were employed on a temporary basis, depending on demand, in the various different Assyrian cities. Some master builders were recruited from abroad (being requested sometimes from submissive kingdoms), but presumably there was also a permanent contingent living in the Assyrian heartland, as indicated by a master builder of the household of the crown prince. Architects, on the other hand, seem to have maintained their traditional connection with Assur (from Middle Assyrian times on) and were mostly obtained from there, as can be observed also for other crafts. Common construction workers comprised deportees and subjects bound to the *ilku*-system. These also included brick masons (*urāsu*) who were engaged in the glazing of bricks and the transport and supply of construction materials. We know of contingents of brick masons who were recruited from the Inner City and who comprised skilled specialists (namely weavers) who fulfilled their *ilku*-duty by doing masonry work. Skilled workers were apparently redeployed in order to compensate for the lack of available workforce.

For these construction works also carpenters (*naggāru*) for doors, roofs and pipes were engaged, as well as smiths (*nappāhu*) for the creation of door fittings, stone-carvers (*parkullu*) for the creation of the stone guardians (and possibly the reliefs), engravers (*kapšarru*) for inscribing the reliefs, “potters” (*pahhāru*) for plastering the floors and the manufacture of pipes as well as reed-workers (*atkuppu*). All these professionals were also needed for other purposes such as the manufacture of wagons and chariots (carpenters, smiths), boats and baskets (reed-workers), statues (carpenters, smiths, stone-carvers, engravers), pots and dishes (potters, smiths, stone-carvers), tools and weapons (carpenters, smiths), cylinder seals (stone-borer, stone-carver) and jewellery (goldsmiths, stone-carver). Also the bow- and arrow-makers (*sasinnu*) are to be added to these types of craftsmen. Being in need of these crafts, either in the course of construction works or in connection with their other products, the palace seems to have recruited these craftsmen in ways similar to the recruitment of master builders and architects; for instance, potters and carpenters were also demanded from sheikhs. These craftsmen did not form part of the royal household, nor were they organised by the royal household throughout the year. The majority of them was presumably organised in guild-like structures—as suggested for the architects and master-builders and as demonstrated for the goldsmiths by Radner—a form of organisation that secured the continuity of the craft and facilitated the passing on of specialist know-how. For the carpenters, the goldsmiths, the stone-workers and the makers of bows and arrows, a particular association with Assur is indicated by the documents (as with the architects). This might just be owed to the uneven distribution of sources, but it is possible that their close connection with Assur is owed to

the role of this place as capital city in Middle Assyrian times and therefore the traditional anchoring of crafts there which was, to a certain degree, maintained in the Neo-Assyrian period. With the movement of the capital city from Assur to Kalhu, representatives of all the various different functionaries and craftsmen active in Assur were employed in Kalhu under the supervision of Nergal-āpil-kumū'a, as is clear from his decree of appointment (SAA 12 83). Despite this movement, however, Assur remained a significant place of origin since several craftsmen (architects, tanners, goldsmiths and ironsmiths) bear the qualification "of Libbāli".⁷⁰ Since this phenomenon cannot be observed in connection with other cities, it is likely that Assur remained the traditional seat of several crafts in the Neo-Assyrian period. This is related to Assur's past as capital city but seems to be also due to the fact that Assur was a religious centre where the goldsmiths in particular were closely connected to the Aššur Temple. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is either that goldsmiths produced many items for the temple, such as divine statues, or that their products had to be consecrated before being set up in the palace, or both. Also, we know of the *bēt mumme*, designating the workshop area in temples, where the skilled craftsmen manufactured statues and the like; such a facility is not known for the palace. Despite this clear association with the temple sphere in Assur, however, some of the crafts had a closer connection with the palace. This is especially the case with the blacksmiths who, in the second half of the 8th century, seem to have formed part of the queen's department in Kilizi (headed by the local *šakintu*) and were temporarily committed to repair works (*batqu kašāru*) in the Review Palace. In view of the raw material they dealt with and the products they manufactured, it is not so surprising that they occur in connection with the palace and with the military sphere, and did not maintain such a close connection with the temple as the goldsmiths did. The blacksmiths also belong to those craftsmen who are recorded in the wine lists, which only mention some of the craftsmen discussed in this section. These, apart from the blacksmiths, include carpenters, architects, bow-makers (including an Elamite bow-maker) and goldsmiths. All the references to craftsmen in the wine lists, however, only occur sporadically; they are not mentioned regularly, unlike others (such as the cupbearers), a fact which supports the impression that all these crafts for the most part were not integral to the palace infrastructure. Apart from the blacksmiths, the goldsmiths were of particular interest to the palace since the king and also the queen had individual goldsmiths in their service, presumably not least for the manufacture of all the precious accessories they wore. For similar reasons I suggest that the industry of the perfume makers (*muraqqiu*) was organised in close connection with the palace since luxury products such as

⁷⁰ This is not to be confused with Libbāli as a designation for the palace in Assur, see section 1.1 Types and locations.

scented oils were mainly used by the upper echelons of society (though also needed in the context of cultic performances).

Except for the perfume makers, the reed-workers and the stone-workers, masters of all the professions discussed in this section are attested. Exhibiting a hierarchical organisation, they functioned as representatives of their professional groups and were presumably responsible for the fulfilment of work quotas imposed by the palace. These men, like their associated professions, did not form part of the palace household proper (especially not of the royal household), but there are a few administrative officials attested who may have administered the products or services of these craftsmen in the palace or on behalf of it. Apart from the chief treasurer who bore the ultimate responsibility for the management of raw materials obtained from abroad and their manufacture, this includes the “chief of repairs” who, according to SAA 11 36, had his own bureau with his own deputy and scribe. He seems to have been responsible for the stock of materials such as the metal and wood needed for repair works, and there was also a separate “chief of repairs” appointed to the crown prince. Though he does not occur in direct association with the aforementioned craftsmen, it is very likely that he actually interacted with these crafts (and their masters). Despite this, there is a single reference to a vessel master (*rab kutāte*, also in SAA 11 36) who might have managed the distribution and storage of vessels and perhaps also their manufacture. In addition, the “overseer of reeds” presumably oversaw the procurement and distribution of reed. The coffer master (*rab šaddāni*), like the vessel master, is only listed in the administrative record SAA 11 36 and it is uncertain whether he organised and managed the manufacture and distribution of coffers or whether he was a sort of treasurer keeping an eye on sealed coffers and their precious contents (cf. the *ša-muḫḫi-quppi* in Neo-Babylonian times, Bongenaar 1997: 104–5). There is also another official attested in the sources who looked after storage facilities, namely the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē*. As we have seen in Part II, section 2.2 The *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* concerning the *bēt qātē*, this facility was mainly used for storage purposes (of metal, furniture, wine, etc.) and individual *bēt qātēs* stood at the disposal of, or were used by, people such as the king, the cupbearer, the palace supervisor and the chief victualler. These facilities were not restricted to the palace buildings but are also mentioned in connection with temples and private houses. Assuming that the *ša-pān-bēt-qātē* was active in the palace, however, he oversaw the various storage facilities of the palace, though not the treasury (*nakkamtu*, *bēt nakkamti*), with which the great treasurer was concerned.

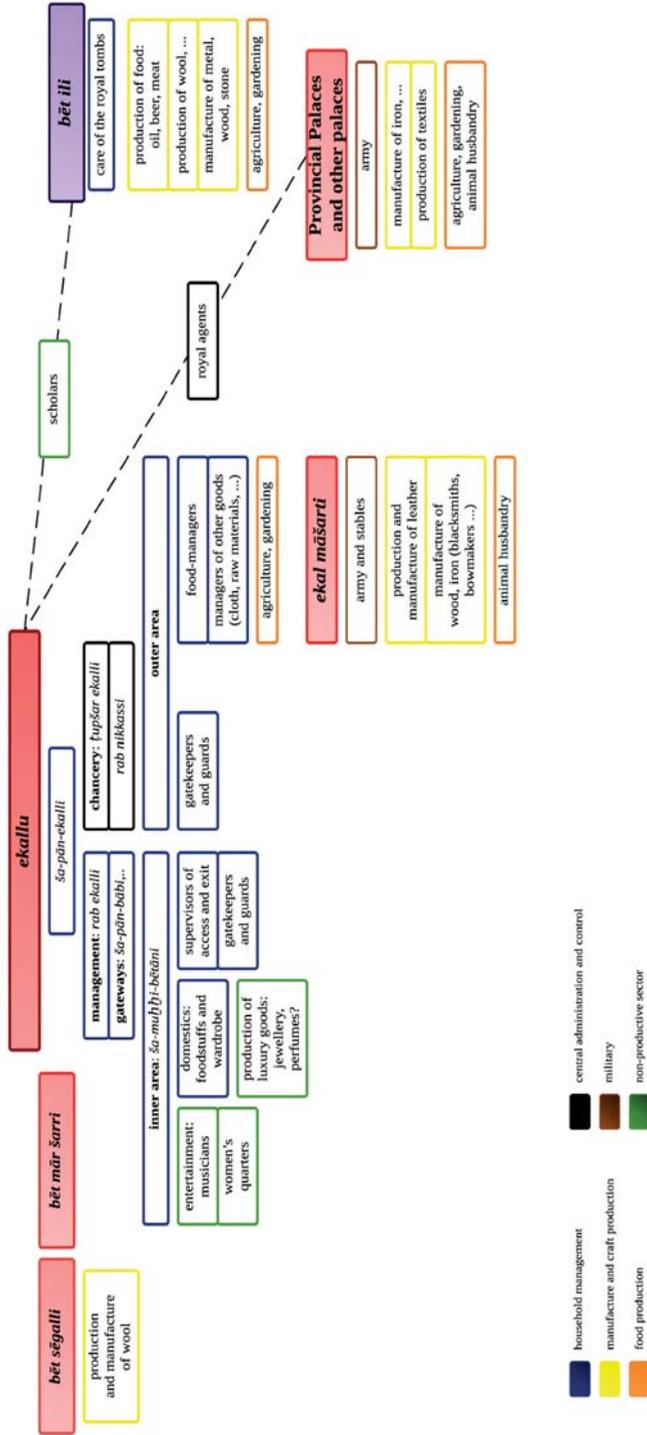


Figure 1: The structure of the Neo-Assyrian royal household

1.4 The palace as an enterprise

In view of the organisation of the supply of foodstuffs, textiles and other products for the palace, the palace household was by no means run as a self-sufficient *oikos*. On the one hand, it delivered some of its own surplus TO the “outside”, considering the likelihood of the existence of a profit-oriented textile industry under the aegis of the queen. On the other, it obtained part of its required commodities FROM “outside”. Apart from obtaining raw materials and manufactured goods from abroad via booty, tribute, gifts and trade, the palace organised the production of goods via sectors that were not integral to it by applying the *iškāru*-system, a system that was also widely operated in the Middle Assyrian period and earlier.⁷¹ For the Neo-Assyrian period weavers, oil-pressers, shepherds (especially those herding wool sheep), (bird-)fatteners and smiths (goldsmiths, blacksmiths) are known to have produced commodities for the palace according to *iškāru*-quotas imposed by it. On comparison with the Middle Assyrian period this was presumably also the case with the perfume makers and the brewers, as well as perhaps with professional groups such as the tanners and the makers of bows and arrows (though we lack concrete evidence). Basically this system worked by handing out raw materials to the specialists, who handed in the (semi-)final products according to their assigned quota. In discussing this system for the Neo-Assyrian period in detail, Postgate (1974a: 108–9) noted for specialists such as the oil-pressers and the shepherds that silver payments partly substituted for the processed commodities, implying that the specialists had to sell the items they produced in order to procure the silver. It seems that while the *iškāru*-system was still used to cover the needs of the palace,⁷² surplus production was desired in order to obtain silver for the palace (for investment in trade, for instance). This “misappropriation” of the original system in order to obtain silver seems unnecessarily complicated and led the original idea of *iškāru* to a certain extent *ad absurdum*, if one identifies it as the central means by which the palace fulfilled its needs for food, clothing, etc. However, Postgate (1974a: 109) may have been right when he assumed that the system was maintained because of its long tradition and in order to keep control over these craftsmen. This alteration in the system and emphasis on direct out-sourcing implies that the professional groups which were engaged in order to gain money also had other customers for their products (and not only the palace), and underlines the existence and relevance of an open market (which otherwise is hardly indicated by the sources),⁷³ where commodities

⁷¹ Jakob 2003: 26–8 for the Middle Assyrian period; cf. CAD I 244–9 s.v. *iškaru* A.

⁷² For instance, the blacksmiths who had to produce weapons for the palace (presumably as *iškāru*-work-assignment) handed in the weapons (and did not make payments in silver) (SAA 16 40).

⁷³ Though note the trading enterprises (*ḥarrānu* or *ḥūlu*), as recorded in several documents from the private archives in Assur (*inter alia* in the archive of the Dūrī-Aššūr, see Radner 2016).

could be bought and exchanged, and implies a degree of monetisation of the economy. Such an open market, however, was restricted, especially the sale of valuable, rare goods such as iron (SAA 11 26), whereas the sale of agricultural produce may have been less problematic. Surplus production was possibly an aim of the bird-fatteners, as indicated by the few legal documents recording administrative activities of the palace manager of the Review Palace in 7th-century Kalhu. Furthermore, it has been assumed that the large-scale production of the weavers under the direct control of the queen's domain exceeded the palace's own requirements.

1.5 The royal palace as seat of government

All the Assyrian palaces were not only residences but also administrative centres, though it was especially the royal palace which functioned as the political centre of state. Regarding the palace personnel, this aspect is reflected by two administrative officials, the palace scribe and the palace supervisor. Archiving administrative documentation from all over the empire and dealing with the royal correspondence involving the state officials, the chancery of the royal palace was a central link between the outside world, the empire, and the palace household proper. The second palace official whose activities especially reflect the royal palace's function as governmental centre as well as the king's role as the empire's ruler is the palace supervisor. Apart from being engaged in political affairs (the contracting of loyalty treaties), he was the link between the king and the world outside of the palace and also, to some extent, with the rest of the palace. Whereas the chancery of the royal palace interacted daily with the outside world and represented the government (i.e. the king) throughout the year, the palace supervisor was an integral part of the king's entourage. He presumably formed part of the mobile court of the king and accompanied the monarch on his journeys which were usually undertaken for political (internal and external) and military reasons. In order to maintain control and secure peace in the vast imperial territory administered by the governors, and to enforce the king's (the central palace's) interests in areas distant from the imperial centre, mobile delegates of the palace were sent out and constituted an omnipresent sign of the central household in the provinces. Apart from *ša-rēšis* occasionally sent out on missions, this task was mainly fulfilled by the *ša-qurbūti*-agents whom Postgate (2007: 11–3) accurately defined as “the oil between the different cogs of the administrative machinery”.

1.6 The palace in provincial capitals

The fact that many palaces were located in the provincial capitals led to direct contact between the palace sphere and the provincial sphere, giving rise

to interaction between palace managers and provincial governors as indicated, for instance, by the governor of Arrapha who refers to the palace manager of Arrapha (SAA 15 9). As demonstrated by the governor of Assur complaining about the palace manager of the Inner City who refused to provide labour forces for construction works, this co-existence of two officials presiding over distinct administrative domains in the same environment also caused conflicts over the divisions of responsibilities.⁷⁴ Whereas in central cities such as Assur the palace manager of Libbāli and the governor of Assur presumably resided in two separate buildings, this was not necessarily the case in cities such as Arrapha; provincial governors presumably dwelled in the provincial palaces, side-by-side with their managers. It remains unclear, however, whether each provincial palace had a *rab ekalli* because, apart from the *rab ekalli* in Arrapha and another one in the otherwise unknown city Maškala, we only know about these officials' activities in the major cities of the imperial heartland.⁷⁵ While one assumes that palace managers formed an integral part of most palaces,⁷⁶ it can happen that palace managers bore responsibilities similar to provincial governors. This is clear from an account of livestock, oil and textiles, where the palace manager of Arrapha is listed as a contributor (or, less likely, recipient) of these commodities along with provincial governors (ND 2640). It is also clear in view of the letter where the palace manager was to have provided labour force (instead of the governor of Assur). Hence, provincial palaces were not only residences and local administrative centres, but their domains had tax obligations towards the state (the royal palace) similar to the provincial domains, which also led their officials to take up roles similar to the provincial governors.

2 NEO-ASSYRIAN OFFICIALDOM

In his pioneering work about Neo-Assyrian officials first published in 1910, Klauber (²1968: 37–45) already discussed the basic characteristics of officialdom and the ways and means of appointment and remuneration in the Neo-Assyrian empire. In his introduction, with reference to the persistent despotism of the Assyrian state, he denied the formation of a well-organised and regulated bureaucracy in Assyria (Klauber ²1968: 37). In stressing the despotism of

⁷⁴ Also in a letter of the scribe of the palace supervisor to the king (Esarhaddon) about the governor (of Nineveh), who sent away the herders selling donkeys in front of the (royal) palace entrance, a clash between the two spheres is clear.

⁷⁵ However, to a large extent we lack provincial archives where one might detect these people.

⁷⁶ Since provincial centres such as Arbail and Harran (and their palaces) were equipped with local treasurers, these may have occasionally taken over the role of palace managers.

Ancient Near Eastern society, Klauber was a “child of his time” who picked up a stereotypical picture circulating in his day (but which persisted later in the 20th century) and it is clear that we cannot follow him in this respect; nevertheless the degree of organisation and conscious definition of officialdom in the Neo-Assyrian empire has to be questioned. Speaking in Weberian terms, the Neo-Assyrian empire is basically to be categorised as a “patrimonial empire”, according to Weber’s original definition a “traditionale Herrschaft” (Weber ⁵1972: 130), which, however, included also more rational or bureaucratic aspects. In analysing basic aspects of Neo-Assyrian officialdom, we are able to determine traditional and rational elements in order to evaluate the general degree of rationalisation in that period. According to Weber (⁵1972: 131), the patrimonial empire lacks fixed responsibilities (assigned on objective grounds), a fixed hierarchy, fixed conditions of employment, fixed training requirements and fixed remuneration (in the form of money). Instead, it was principally incumbent upon the ruler to define official tasks, to delegate and to appoint according to his will in the patrimonial system. Empirical training to a certain degree replaced fixed training, and remuneration was by the provision of meals and redistributed revenues (Weber ⁵1972: 131–2). According to the prosopographical analysis presented in Part II, the impression is ambiguous as to whether distinct offices had fixed responsibilities. Although the sources are not entirely suitable for such an attempt since they (especially the letters) reflect exceptions rather than the routine, palace offices had fixed core areas of responsibility but ad hoc missions and extraneous tasks were not excluded. This especially applies to palace officials who seem to have taken over military tasks in Assyria (chief cook, palace manager) and Babylonia (palace supervisor, chamberlain), a circumstance which reminds us of the fact that high-ranking state officials (magnates, provincial governors) combined administrative and military responsibilities, corresponding to Klauber’s description of Assyria as a “Militärmonarchie” (Klauber ²1968: 37). The numerous distinct official titles attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources suggest, on the one hand, a high degree of specialisation and thus refined structures at the administrative level (in comparison with preceding periods). On the other hand, however, this makes the overlapping of responsibilities and therefore an arbitrary introduction of offices more likely and indeed it is questionable whether the concerns of offices such as the fruit master and the chief confectioner, who was also concerned with fruits, were strictly kept separate or not. However, I assume that the sheer size of the empire forced the king not only to define offices in a more consistent way, and also to do so in a more factual manner rather than just acting according to personal reasons.

The following sections discuss the themes of access to office (social background and education), appointment, tenure and career steps, and remuneration. They also deal with the concept of service, hierarchies and delegation of

responsibilities as well as the rendering of titles in more detail. Especially in connection with access to office and the question of education, as well as with the established hierarchies (together with the wide range of titles) and delegation of responsibilities, a more rational approach is indicated. On the other hand, remuneration seems to have basically followed traditional patterns, similar to what is described by Weber, though also in this respect some regular features seem to have been introduced. Generally speaking, attempts to rationalise Neo-Assyrian officialdom were made at different points, but the pervading power of these endeavours seems to have been limited, also because, as a monarchy, the Assyrian empire, and thus its officialdom was principally defined by the person of the king who was perceived as being—and to a considerable extent, was—omnipresent in Assyria. The following examination focusses on officials, scholars and other employees at court but also takes into account the highest-ranking state officials, military functionaries and craftsmen.

2.1 Access to office and training

A priori one has to take into account social background and family ties as well as education and training as basic factors influencing access to office. Their effects are fundamental for determining whether and to what extent Neo-Assyrian officialdom was organised by rational rather than patrimonial principles. The more personal relationships and family background defined the likelihood of an appointment to an office instead of training, the more the system was based on non-rational decisions and cronyism.

Despite the meagre evidence, one assumes that social background was a decisive factor in whether one was appointed to an office and therefore also whether one was admitted for training. For the magnates Mattila (2000: 129) has stated that affiliations are entirely absent from the sources, and only for a few individuals do we have any information about their family background, including the *sukkalmahḫu* Sīn-aḫu-uṣur who was the brother of Sargon. One would generally expect that especially high offices were held by members of the royal family or other influential families forming part of the urban elites, as might be true for Bēl-dān, otherwise identified as governor of Kalhu, whose son Mīšaru-nāšir refers to their old(?) family lineage from Kalhu.⁷⁷ Family feuds and competing aspirations to power would then have caused fluctuations in the degree of contact individual families had with the king and his family and thus would have affected their access to offices. This holds true especially for the scholars, but, as Radner (2011: 359) has argued about the influence of

⁷⁷ CTN 2 201 (ll. 6–7: *i-na šar-re-e URU.ka-lāḫ É-ni šú-ú*). This could refer to the “old” (with *šar-re-e* for Babylonian *šurrū*) family lineage from Kalhu, or, alternatively, to the “royal” lineage originating from Kalhu (Mattila 2000: 129–30, fn. 4).

magnates and scholars on the process of royal decision-making, high-ranking administrative offices in first-millennium Assyria, in contrast to the Middle Assyrian period, were “preferably drafted from a class of professional administrators rather than the members of ancient noble families” and were no longer hereditary.⁷⁸ She considers this to be a “key strategy for stabilizing the expanding state” and stresses (with reference to Deller 1999) that many (though not all) of these administrators were eunuchs (*ša-rēši*). Radner established her idea also on the basis of the way the magnates communicated with the king in their letters using a factual and impersonal tone in contrast to the scholars. We are left in the dark as to the detailed dynamics, but it is plausible that strategies changed in the early first millennium BCE and that the system in this respect became more rational. This might also explain why we gain so little information about the family background of these officials, a matter which possibly was less important compared to class membership and training for administrative posts. Admittedly, however, most of the information on high-ranking officials derives from letters and other contexts which require no further details about the office-holders involved. Although the family origin of the magnates is unknown, we at least know a few magnates whose sons and brothers held lower-ranking offices: Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina, cohort commander of the *ša-šēpē*, was the son of the chief bailiff Asalluḫi-aḫḫē-iddina, and Apladad-sī’a, presumably also holding a military post, was brother of the great vizier Silīm-Aššūr (Mattila 2000: 130). As to the military sphere in general, involving well-known charioteers such as the royal chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad, information about social background is rather meagre. A letter (SAA 1 205) of Zēru-ibni, governor of Rašappa, to the king (Sargon) deals with two brothers belonging to the army (one is a chariot fighter of the palace), and the deceased father of the recruitment officer Šumma-īlu was a military commander (SAA 16 105:14–16). As to palace officials, we learn of a son(?) of a palace manager who was possibly regarded as a future candidate for his father’s office. Generally speaking, however, we almost know nothing about the family backgrounds of court officials such as the palace supervisor, the chamberlain and chief cook. This is likely due to the sources and the fact that there was usually no need to add an affiliation when a person was qualified by office. It is worth noting, however, that palace officials such as the “chief of the cooks and the herdsman” as well as household overseers of royal family members and high-ranking officials

⁷⁸ Cf. Parpola 2007b: 258–9. This corresponds well with an observation made by Lauinger (2012: 113) regarding the loyalty treaties (*adē*) of Esarhaddon. Whereas the contract parties in the east comprised city lords (known by name), their families and their tribes (SAA 2 6), Esarhaddon concluded the same type of treaty with the anonymous governor of Kunulua and his officials according to a fragmented large-size tablet found in Tell Ta’yinat (ancient Kunulua, capital of the homonymic province, formerly the country Unqi or Patina). Hence, governorship was an impersonal and non-hereditary state office at that time.

were qualified as *ša-rēši* (like the aforementioned magnates). *ša-rēšis*, qualified by having “successors” in office rather than being followed by sons, were first of all devoted to the palace, and their family ties (except for brothers) may have diminished after entering the service of the palace (cf. van Driel 1981: 264). The sources keep silent as to the families *ša-rēšis* originated from and it is possible—though by no means proven—that also foreigners played a role here,⁷⁹ and that the demand for *ša-rēšis* also constituted a chance for outsiders to become part of the court society. Otherwise, it is likely that palace officials were often chosen from among the palace community, as seems to have been the case with Tartīmāni who bore the titles *mār ekalli* and *rab ekalli*. For representatives of the office *tuṣṣar ekalli* (and also the royal scribe), by contrast, the ancestral lineage is comparably well known,⁸⁰ and it is clear that they stemmed from the scholarly sphere whose self-conception is also based on long-lasting family traditions, with scholarly sons following scholarly fathers in positions at court or in the temple or both (judging by the title “scribe of the temple and the palace” in a colophon, Hunger 1968: 79–80, no. 235:7–9).⁸¹ The same principles were applied to the filling of priestly offices,⁸² but also non-clerical positions in the temple apparently circulated among selected families. Hence, as we can read in a letter from the reign of Sargon (SAA 1 75), suitable candidates for the administrative office of the household overseer (*ša-muḥḫi-bēti*) of the Aššur Temple included the former office-holder’s son and nephew as well as a second cousin of the deputy priest.⁸³

In contrast to high-ranking and middle-ranking officials, family affiliations are more often given with low-ranking people associated with the royal household, including gatekeepers, a son of a female palace servant, a palace servant as well as an employee of the royal mausoleum. Especially in the cases of the palace servant and the man of the royal mausoleum, this is remarkable since these types of employees usually seem to have been *ša-rēšis*. The supply of and

⁷⁹ In later periods, for which the existence of eunuchs is not debated, this seems to have been a common issue (see, for instance, Metin Kunt 2011: 295–6 on the Ottoman empire). Personal names—*ša-rēšis* mainly bore Akkadian names—are misleading since they may have obtained an Assyrian name after appointment. However, note, for instance, the *ša-rēši* Uaianara who received land and who might have been recently appointed (SAA 19 195 r. 2).

⁸⁰ This is particularly the case for the palace scribe Issār-šumu-ēreš whose paternal ancestors as well as other relatives were scholars (see Luukko 2007: 229).

⁸¹ Note therefore also the letter of the haruspex Tabnī to the crown prince (Assurbanipal), according to which being educated by his own father (and thus stemming from a scribal family) was regarded as better than being a “foreigner” and having learnt from non-canonical(?) (*aḫītam*?) texts (SAA 10 182 r. 11–28).

⁸² Note, for instance, Bēlāiu, priest of Aššur, whose ancestors were also priests or scholars (Radner, PNA 1/II 285 s.v. Bēlāiu 5), and Bēl-aplu-iddina, priest of Adad of Kurbail, who was son of Bēl-rubā-ilāni, likewise priest of Kurbail (Fuchs, PNA 1/II 286 s.v. Bēl-aplu-iddina 2).

⁸³ This is even more remarkable since a similar official, namely a *ša-pān-bēt-ili*, was a *ša-rēši* (SAA 14 62 r. 5′) which, to the contrary, does not imply a deeply-rooted family background.

demand for palace personnel, especially the domestic personnel, must generally have been determined by its division into *ša-rēši* and *ša-ziqni* classes. Perhaps it is not coincidence that we mostly lack affiliations for those who prepared and served foods and drinks since they were recruited from among the class of *ša-rēši*. Another possible explanation is that their geographical or cultural origin was decisive for their employment, judging by the fact that especially those who prepared foodstuffs in the palace kitchen were occasionally qualified according to their ethnic background and thus presumably their style of cooking. Otherwise, affiliations are comparatively often given with craftsmen (e.g. carpenters, smiths and bow-makers) and labourers (e.g. farmers and fowlers). We often do not know whether the fathers had the same function or profession as their sons, but it was most likely common for sons to be engaged in the same business and the same environment as their fathers.⁸⁴ Especially in the case of craftsmen, who were organised in guild-like structures, family ties seem to have been a central, though not a sole, characteristic (Radner 1999a: 31–3). While family trees of the goldsmiths could be reconstructed by Radner (1999a: 14–9), we also know of a bird-fattener (Nabû-erība) whose father (Urdu-Issār) was also a bird-fattener. It is to be assumed that the craftsmen and labourers basically reproduced themselves but their numbers were from time to time boosted by the incorporation and settlement of deportees and captives.

The scholars and scribes in particular had to undergo intensive education and training. Their expertise counted for the king, and thus their exact skills were emphasised to the king, either by themselves (SAA 10 182 r. 29–31) or by others (SAA 10 160). In the house of the exorcist excavated at Assur, which contained a large library, also tablets with writing exercises were found (Maul 2010: 199), and it seems that the next generation of the exorcist's family was taught by the father's generation (Maul 2010: 206–7). But we do not have detailed knowledge about how the education of apprentice scholars was organised. The Old Babylonian period is known for its well-established education system and its tablet houses (*é-dub-ba-a*, *bēt tuppī*),⁸⁵ but the Neo-Assyrian era does not provide such an in-depth insight. However, the *bēt tuppī* is mentioned as a place central to the god Nabû in hymns and prayers (SAA 3 6:10; 12:8; 14:16) and from a letter lacking a heading we learn that the boys (*qallu*) in Kalhu cannot go to “school” (to the “tablet house”) without funerary offerings (SAA 16 52). The *bēt tuppī* is also mentioned in a private letter of Nabû-šulmu-ēreš to his mother Bāia (KAV 215). There is also Etel-pī-Marduk, scribe of the *bēt tuppāti*, mentioned in the colophon of a ritual description from Kalhu (SAA 20 55 r. 21'), and the scribes from Kilizi inform the king (Esarhaddon)

⁸⁴ For the transmission of offices and professions within Neo-Assyrian families see also Baker 2014b.

⁸⁵ Also, the Neo-Babylonian education system is comparatively well understood (Gesche 2001).

that because they are committed to *ilku*-duty and corvée work they cannot teach the pupils (*didabû*) the scribal craft (*tuṣṣarrūtu*). From the terminology involving expressions for apprentices (*šamallû ṣeḥru* [“junior apprentice”], *šamallû agašgu* [“novice apprentice”]) and for experts (*ummânu*) it is clear that the education of scholars and scribes was a well-defined undertaking in Neo-Assyrian times.⁸⁶ Also among craftsmen one distinguished between skilled craftsmen (*ummânu*) and those still in training (*talmîdu*), as we learn from a letter about master builders and their apprentices (SAA 5 56) as well as in a tablet of the Harran Census listing ironsmiths (SAA 11 220 r. ii 3). For scholars and craftsmen education was indispensable, whereas the requirements in this respect are less clear for the officials engaged in state and palace administration. We do not learn from the sources whether they underwent a similar process of education and training before their appointment. Advanced training was, however, assumed for the magnates by Radner (2011: 359), who defined them as “professional administrators” who not only received basic instructions as a guide to carrying out their official duties (contra Grayson 1991e: 202). Although administrative officials were equipped with their own scribes, they seem to have been capable of basic reading and writing (Parpola 1997b on SAA 15 17), which might have been also advisable in order to have some control over the scribes’ activities. The processes of training and education for palace officials presumably were similar to those of the magnates, especially in considering the possibility that palace officials were promoted to state officials (see below). Judging by such men as the *rab ekalli* Tartîmanni, however, potential candidates for palace offices may have become familiar with the requirements of palace offices through their engagement in the palace prior to their appointment. In general, I assume that such a scenario was the most common one in order to introduce a future office-holder into his professional environment. There is no definite answer as to their literacy, but in general also palace officials might have had basic skills in reading and writing; advanced knowledge is at least certain for the palace scribe and the other scribes working in the palace. Literacy was not a central issue for the common palace personnel, especially the domestic staff. Since they prepared meals for the royal family and their guests, they likely had special skills and were acquainted with foreign techniques in cooking, baking and so on, so that the consumers obtained the most delicious and digestible food. Again, we do not know how training took place, but it is likely that this happened on the job or that trained domestic personnel were taken as booty from conquered areas.

⁸⁶ See Robson 2011: 564–5; for illustrative examples see the career steps of the palace scribe Issār-šumu-ēreš (Luukko 2007: 254 [Appendix A]) and the careers of the members of the exorcist’s family in Assur (Maul 2010: 208–10). Cf. Löhnert 2007: 278–9 (focussing on priests but also taking into account scholars in general).

2.2 Process of appointment

In his brief examination of the terminology of appointments according to the Neo-Assyrian sources, Postgate (2007: 4–5) refers to the verb *paqādu* (“to entrust, appoint”), its derivative *piqittu* (“appointment”) as well as the compound *bēl piqitti*, for an unspecified appointee, which is usually used in ad hoc situations (and is therefore found almost exclusively in letters). The abstracts *piqittūtu* and *bēl piqittūtu* denote the “office” (cf. HAD 83). This terminology (together with the verb *šakānu*) is also used in the standard forms of the appointment queries to the sun-god from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (672–657) which are the most illustrative documents we have regarding appointment policy in Neo-Assyrian times. Judging by these queries, final decisions as to whether a candidate for the crown-princehood (SAA 4 149), the king’s and the king’s mother’s (Naqī’a) entourage (*ina pāni šazuzzu*) (SAA 4 151, 152, 154), the office of *rab ša-rēši* (SAA 4 299), temple offices (SAA 4 150: *šatammu*, 306–8: priests, 310: *qēpu* of *bēt* [...]), and provincial offices in Babylonia (SAA 4 300–302) was suitable were made in accordance with the judgement of Šamaš, as figured out by diviners (*bārû*).⁸⁷ Basically two questions emerge from these queries: first, was this strategy only introduced in the reign of Esarhaddon, at a time for which we generally observe a close relationship between the king and his scholars? Second, does the range of offices attested in these queries give a representative impression of what kind of offices were staffed according to Šamaš’s decisions, or was this policy also applied to other types of officials and functions (including all the state and palace officials)? First, although the standard form as such was probably only created in the reign of Esarhaddon, the custom of querying the gods is known from the Old Babylonian period on,⁸⁸ and it is therefore to be assumed that the appointment of officials depended on divine will already before the 7th century in Assyria. Second, since a central purpose of these appointment queries was to assure the loyalty of future office-holders,⁸⁹ state and palace officials may have commonly been only appointed if Šamaš gave a positive answer. However, the types of offices treated in the preserved queries required extremely trustworthy and loyal officials or clerics; thus, this selection might be representative of the actual situation. Esarhaddon states in his inscription that he had an extispicy performed as to in which workshop (*bēt mumme*) and by which

⁸⁷ Note also the Babylonian oracle questions (*tamītu*) about the appointment of a priest and the appointment of a *ša-rēši* in the service of a private person in Lambert 2007: 52–3 and 106–9, nos. 3a and 18.

⁸⁸ Starr 1990: XIV. See Lambert’s book on Babylonian oracle questions; note especially text no. 1 dealing with the question of whether Hammurabi should go on campaign towards Kasalluḫḫu and with other matters of later kings of the Old Babylonian dynasty (Lambert 2007: 21–41).

⁸⁹ E.g. note the passage SAA 4 154:5–10.

group of specialist craftsmen (*ummânu*) the restoration of divine statues of Esagil was to be carried out (RINAP 4 48 r. 73–74). Clearly, this was a special case and in general we do not have to suspect that craftsmen were only appointed after such procedures. Loyalty to the royal house was not only prominently referred to in the appointment queries but was also the central issue of the treaties (*adê*) of Esarhaddon that were concluded with city lords and their tribes from the east (to guard the crown prince) (SAA 2 6) and provinces in the west (Kunulua, Tell Ta'yinat).⁹⁰ Considering a few statements of officials according to which they concluded the treaty (SAA 18 162: Babylonian official Kabtā, cf. SAA 10 6 and 7: scribes and scholars) or kept the treaty (SAA 13 45:6'–8'), it is likely that a loyalty oath was an integral part of each royal appointment to a permanent office (particularly in the 7th century when the kings seem to have put more effort in securing the royal house).

There is a short note, drawn up on the reverse of an administrative document (RA 17 194), about the appointments of [...]jeme as palace supervisor (*[ana] ša-pān-ekallūti*) and Aḥī-milki as chief cook (*ana rab nuḥatimmūti*). In this document abstract terms are used to describe the actual office to be filled or just recently filled. Also in other instances we come across abstract terms marked with the ending *-ūtu* which describe distinct offices including military posts such as cohort commander and third-man, municipal posts like the mayor and others such as scribe and farmhand.⁹¹ Some of these references occur in association with appointments expressed with the phrase *ana OFFICE-ūtu paqādu*, as is the case, for instance, with Issār-na'di who should not be appointed as mayor, according to authorities of Assur in a letter to the king.⁹² Another letter, dealing with an appointment to the office of *tuḫšar bēti*, uses the expression *OFFICE-ūtu nadānu*, thus “to give office” (SAA 10 116 r. 8'–9'), and the appointment of a mayor in Assur is phrased *ana OFFICE-ūtu ušābu*, “to appoint to office” (SAA 16 95:6–7). Apart from the divine judgement, it was the king who actually determined and executed appointments (despite the claim of Assurbanipal to have participated in Esarhaddon's decisions as crown prince, see RINAP 5/2 73 i 26'–29').⁹³ This was not only the case with posts from which the king benefitted directly (e.g. SAA 1 205 r. 3–8: palace charioteers), but the king, for instance, also appointed a scribe to the house of the palace supervisor (SAA 16 97 r. 11–13) and removed kitchen personnel from

⁹⁰ See the edition of Lauinger 2012. Note also the central concern with the loyalty of the king's subjects in the queries to Šamaš about whether there will be rebellions against the king Esarhaddon and the crown prince Assurbanipal (SAA 4 139, 142).

⁹¹ For a collection of these abstract terms for professions and offices see Baker and Groß 2015: 74–6 (Table 1).

⁹² SAA 16 97 r. 11–13: *šum-ma a-na LÚ.ḥa-za-na-ti i-pa-qi-du-ni-ši LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-ka ÚŠ* (the edition translates: “If he is appointed to the mayorship, your servants will die.”).

⁹³ RINAP 5/2 is not yet published, but see <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/>.

the household of the commander-in-chief (CTN 2 199).⁹⁴ The unauthorised appointment (and unauthorised dismissal) of individuals with any kind of impact on royal interests and state concerns by officials and scholars was inadmissible.⁹⁵ But it was possible, and might have been even common, to suggest suitable candidates to the king.⁹⁶ Appointments upon the order of the king and ad hoc appointments for specific missions, which were also expressed with the term *paqādu*, were permitted (e.g. SAA 10 222 r. 8–9; 19 22:10–4). Otherwise, the system would not have worked properly and would have lacked the basic dynamics of delegation, a policy which played a central role in the Neo-Assyrian system.⁹⁷

The royal act of appointment included the equipping of the chosen individuals with insignia, of specific or general type, and possibly also with a new name, appropriate to their office and henceforth to their particular loyalty towards the king. The Middle Assyrian description of a coronation ceremony may give us an idea about such acts when high-ranking state officials laid down their insignia before the new king and waited for royal confirmation of the position (and thereby the return of their insignia) they apparently held during the reign of the predecessor (SAA 20 7 r. iii 1–14). The handing over and subsequent regaining of their insignia resembles an initiation rite. Especially at the succession to the throne of a new king, this must have been an important symbolic act, but the receipt of distinctive insignia was presumably central to every appointment to office. According to the coronation text the great vizier and the deputy vizier were equipped with sceptres (*haṭṭu*), the commander-in-chief with a purse(?) (*kīsu*) and the chief musician with a harp (*sammû*), and thus these items were aligned with the type of office. There is only little information about such distinct insignia bestowed on officials in Neo-Assyrian times, but according to the broken decree about Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a's appointment he obtained a dagger (*patru*) and a golden ring (*semērû*) as his insignia (SAA 12 83:22'). The stylus "of vine (wood)", along with which the palace scribe (Nabû-tuklatū'a) is mentioned in an administrative record (ND 5421:5), might have had a similar background. Also, inscribed mace heads, such as that of Tāb-šil-Ešarra, treasurer of Aššur (Caubet 2001: 88, Fig. 8), marked their bearer as a high-ranking official. Specific clothing and accessories served as

⁹⁴ Note therefore also the phrasing *ina pāni PN paqādu*, i.e. "to appoint into the service of PN" (according to SAA 10 175:8–9).

⁹⁵ E.g. SAA 13 134: among other misdeeds the priest Pūlu had appointed officials (*bēl piqitti*) of his own choosing in the temple (ll. 16'–17'). For a possible unauthorised dismissal see SAA 1 235:4–11.

⁹⁶ Note therefore the "bearded men" listed as possible replacements for Rēmūtu, scholar of the crown prince, in a letter of the scholar Marduk-šākin-šumi (SAA 10 257 r. 2–16) and the charioteers proposed to Sargon by the governor of Raṣappa (SAA 1 205).

⁹⁷ See also Postgate 2007: 6–9 (including a brief discussion about the concept of authority expressed with the verb *šalātu*).

visible signs of status and rank; thus, when Milki-nūrī, presumably identical with the homonymous *ša-rēši* of the queen, is told by the crown prince Assurbanipal to remove the belt (*sāgu*) from his waist (SAA 16 20), this seems to be an act of degradation and perhaps even dismissal from office. While the *kubšu*-headgear was a well-known item of insignia for shaved clerics (Löhnert 2007: 281–3), the haruspex Tabnî complains in a letter to the crown prince Assurbanipal that the crown prince has dressed another [haruspex] in purple and thus favours another haruspex as his consultant (SAA 10 182 r. 4–6). As to clothing as a “mark of status”, Postgate (1994: 237) referred to the “robed” (*labbasūte*) officials, as are attested in the wine lists (musicians, chariots drivers) as well as in two administrative lists from Nineveh where it is also applied to military functionaries (SAA 11 29 r. 5, cohort commander; 122:1, 5, r. 3). Precious items such as jewellery and fine clothes are not only to be regarded as insignia but accounted also for a considerable part of the remuneration of officials, not just handed over at the time of their appointment but bestowed to them during their tenure (see section 2.4 Remuneration). Also, principal equipment needed in order to fulfil official tasks, including bureaux and assistants, mules and vehicles for transport, and seals, were presumably handed over or assigned to the new office-holder on his appointment.

The custom of renaming men in the context of their appointment is observed already for the third millennium.⁹⁸ For the Neo-Assyrian period such a phenomenon is specifically proven by the throne names of kings, occasionally differing from the personal names they bore during their princehood and crown-princehood.⁹⁹ The identification of officials bearing names, they only received on their appointment is comparatively difficult since we cannot trace their former names we only encounter one name (and its abbreviated variants), a circumstance that is due to the fact that we can hardly follow up entire life stories and that the individuals in question only appear on the scene after their appointment. The attempt to address this matter, traversing all periods, via analysis of the literal meanings of the names, is only partly successful since elements such as */šarru/* are too common to identify them as “official names”.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, the high share of programmatic names in the Neo-Assyrian sources, however, is owed to the fact that we mainly deal with the remnants of palace archives and therefore in most cases with individuals in one way or

⁹⁸ Radner (2005a: 31) mentions a particularly illustrative example: The cupbearer Lā-maḥār (“Ohnegleichen”) is attested from the third regnal year of Šū-Suen on as Šū-Suen-lā-maḥār (“Šū-Suen ist ohnegleichen”).

⁹⁹ Shalmaneser V was known as Ulūlāiu before his succession to the Assyrian throne (Radner 2003–4), whereas the throne name of Esarhaddon (Aššūr-aḥu-iddina) actually is Aššūr-etel-ilāni-mukīn-apli (Radner, PNA 1/I 184).

¹⁰⁰ Note the examination of Baker (2002a: 4–6) regarding personal names of *ša-rēšis* which are by no means necessarily characterised by the element */šarru/*.

the other associated with the upper level of society and the royal sphere. Assumptions have been made as to specific names that may have been conferred on the occasion of appointment. Deller and Millard (1993: 227), for instance, assumed that Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, palace manager and city overseer of Kalhu, only got his name (meaning "Nergal stands up for me") on his appointment since the name is unique. This might have been the case, but a definite answer can be given neither in the case of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a nor in the case of other officials.¹⁰¹ However, since the custom is known for other periods, and since it is clear that it was applied to the royal family, the awarding of official names in Neo-Assyrian times seems likely, but it was not an indispensable component of appointments.¹⁰² Given that officials, and specifically *ša-rēšis*, from outside were appointed to offices, the awarding of a new name might have been a common issue, whereas the offspring of scribal families were given personal names appropriate to the scholarly sphere.¹⁰³

2.3 Tenure and career steps

In the Neo-Assyrian empire the tenure of office was not subject to a fixed schedule but depended on royal decisions. For the state officials in the Neo-Assyrian empire Mattila (2000: 135–6) could reconstruct tenures of up to almost 50 years and an average tenure of c. 25 years, noting that the actual average tenure might have been lower than that. This seems to be particularly true for the 7th century for which she could generally observe shorter tenures compared with the 8th century (which, however, might be due to the uneven distribution of sources). Judging by selected palace officials, their tenures might have been comparable to those of the high-ranking officials, though evidence is rare. One of the most illuminating examples is Nabû-tuklatū'a who is attested as palace scribe of the North-West Palace in Kalhu for 36 years (800–765) and thus was active as palace scribe in the reigns of Adad-nērāri III, Shalmaneser IV and Aššūr-dān III. As for comparison, the palace manager Ubru-Nabû was active for 23 years (656–634*) according to Parpola's reconstructed schedule of post-canonical eponyms. However, also in the 7th century individuals held the same office in three different reigns: the royal *ša-rēši* Nabû-šēzibanni was overseer of the royal tombs in Assur for at least 26 years in the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (683–658). Otherwise, we can especially trace

¹⁰¹ The case of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a is not particularly useful to shed light on this issue, since personal names from the early Neo-Assyrian period are underrepresented in general.

¹⁰² Cf. Radner (2005a: 31) on name-giving practices in general; she concluded that since also wives, priests and slaves were renamed, such a custom is also plausible for palace officials. This also indicates that the renaming of individuals was not necessarily regarded as an extraordinary procedure.

¹⁰³ Cf. Stamm (1939: 315) suggesting this for families of officials.

individual gatekeepers over some years thanks to their frequent occurrence as witnesses in legal records; for example, the palace gatekeeper Aššūr-le'āni (698–683) and the gatekeeper Nuḥšāia (684–679/4). Higher-ranking officials, as suggested for the chief gatekeepers (Radner 2010b: 273), might have lost their offices (or even their lives) after Sennacherib's murder and Esarhaddon's troubled succession to the throne. Such decisive points in the history of the Neo-Assyrian empire certainly influenced the tenure and career patterns (and possibly even the lifespan) of individual officeholders, but it is clearly indicated by the sources that successions to the throne as such did not routinely entail dismissal from offices (which also corresponds to what we can read in the Middle Assyrian coronation ritual). Especially when the accession to the throne was not affected by traumatic events (as in the case of Sennacherib) or internal riots or usurpation, it was presumably regarded as an advantage to take over office-holders from the predecessor since they ensured that the daily business continued as usual and was not interrupted. Such continuities maintained internal stability and thus prevented the empire from being regarded as vulnerable from outside. The habit of keeping the traditional officeholders is also observable for scholars and military functionaries active in the court in Nineveh in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Among the scholars for whom Parpola (1983a: 467–71) could establish detailed career patterns, there is, for instance, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina who was active as astrologer in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (674–666); an early career stage as a common scribe may, if the identification is correct, even be traced in a legal record dating to the year 698.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Rēmanni-Adad is attested as royal chariot driver in the late reign of Esarhaddon and the reign of Assurbanipal (Fales, PNA 3/I 1038–41 s.v. Rēmanni-Adad 4), and there are several other military officials who can be traced in both reigns. However, even with smooth accessions to the throne, the new king is to be suspected of having effected at least some changes in accordance with his personal interests and opinions.

The career of an official is determined by promotions as well as by transfers into and dismissals from office. Promotions in office are expressed with the verb *elû* in the Š-stem (*šūlû*), while sackings are referred to with *petû* in the D-stem (*puttû*) and are mainly attested in the royal correspondence. Perhaps the best known case of a promotion derives from a letter of Bēl-iqīša to the king (Esarhaddon), who denigrates three military functionaries whom the king has promoted, namely Tabālāiu (promoted to cohort commander), Nabû-sagībi (promoted to permanent [*kayyamānu*] “third man (on chariot)”), and Ātamar-

¹⁰⁴ See Parpola 1983a: 469, though note Radner (PNA 2/II 794–6 s.v. Nabû-aḥḥē-erība 4 and 6) who keeps the two men separate.

Marduk (promoted to royal agent, *ša-qurbūti*).¹⁰⁵ In view of the designation *ša-qurbūti* and the qualification *kayyamānu*, this promotion seems to primarily involve a bestowal of honorary titles and promotion in status, as is commonly attested among military functionaries (Mattila 2002: XIII–XV). Professional advancement (along with status enhancement) is attested for scholars (e.g. Issār-šumu-ēreš, Luukko 2007: 254, partly reconstructed), also some magnates are known to have held lower-ranking offices (including the office of *rab mūgi*) prior to their appointment to highest state office (Mattila 2000: 134–5). Regarding palace officials and their opportunities for advancement, it is possible that the palace scribe was promoted to chief scribe later in his career (Luukko 2007: 229), and that officials such as the palace supervisor and the palace manager had opportunities to become provincial governors (see Part II, sections 1.1.2 Appointment and career and 1.2.2 Appointment and career). The *rab-x* officials presiding over professional groups may have usually been recruited from among the collectives they represented. This seems especially true for *rab-x* as well as *rab kiširi ša x* (supervising *x* effectively).¹⁰⁶ It is less clear but seems likely for those *rab-x* who only seem to have been the formal heads of *x* (e.g. chief cook, *rab ša-rēši*). Similarly, one suspects that deputies (*šaniu*) were chosen as successors of their masters (Grayson 1991e: 202). Though no clearly defined career path was scheduled for officials, the concept of a career ladder apparently basically existed. This also involved the appointment as eponym which was originally reserved for state officials, but also palace officials enjoyed that honour in the 7th-century (Mattila 2009). This appointment involved cultic obligations (Millard 1994: 9), but it was also meant as a great honour. As to transfers of officials, there is a sequence of events described in a broken royal(?) letter concerning Bēl-nūrī (SAA 1 12): this untrustworthy man, initially appointed as major-domo and dismissed from this post, was transferred to the provincial capitals Arrapha and Lubda (about 40 km south of Arrapha) subsequently but continued to put people to the sword. The transfers were meant as punitive measures and had the purpose of moving an unpleasant official further and further away to less important places.¹⁰⁷ Also, Šēp-Aššūr was transferred from the post of governor of Dur-Šarrukin to provincial governor of Šimirra, according to a letter of his successor in Dur-Šarrukin to the king.¹⁰⁸ Possibly, this transfer reflects a conscious demotion by the king since

¹⁰⁵ For further references to *kayyamānu* as a qualification for “third men” see Postgate (2007: 21). So far, no other post is qualified with this term.

¹⁰⁶ The weaver Nabūtī (SAA 6 90 r. 11, 683), for instance, is qualified as cohort commander of the weavers (SAA 6 91 r. 3', 681) two years later.

¹⁰⁷ Apparently Bēl-nūrī was not regarded as dangerous for the state apparatus; otherwise, one would expect him to have been settled closer to the centre, so that the central administration could keep an eye on him.

¹⁰⁸ SAA 1 124. Note also Šil-Issār, attested as palace manager of the New Palace in 779, who possibly was governor of Arbail and eponym for the year 787 (see Part II, section 1.1.2 Appointment and career). Likewise it was suggested that Il-iada', governor of Der, later became

the governorship of Dur-Šarrukin was presumably regarded more highly. On the other hand, such transfers of high-ranking officials might have taken place preventatively, as a means of control and against misappropriation of power, a tactic which was employed in the Mughal empire where changes in office were scheduled after three or at the most four years (Blake 1979: 90). Though occasional removals from office and transfers to other, lower-ranking offices may have happened in order to preserve the given balance of power in the Neo-Assyrian empire, such measures were not exercised on a regular basis. Apart from tactical considerations, also ill health and age were reasons for dismissal or transfer in post, and thus a demotion did not necessarily mean that one had fallen into disgrace.¹⁰⁹ Natural death, as we can read in a letter dealing with the possible candidates to succeed the deceased household overseer of the Aššur Temple (SAA 1 75), was possibly one of the most frequent occasions for the appointment of a new man. According to the Babylonian chronicles Esarhaddon put his magnates (*rabûtu*) to the sword in his eleventh year (670), which apparently was an answer to a conspiracy instigated by a certain Sāsī from Harran (Radner 2003c). Since we otherwise do not find evidence for the killing of office-holders by order of the king, such measures were presumably taken only in very extreme situations. Also the case of Bēl-nūrī suggests that the killing of individuals was not the usual way of handling unpleasant officials in times of internal peace. The simple dismissal from post along with the confiscation of the accompanying properties and assets might have been punishment enough for former office-holders who had fallen into disgrace.

Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, who was active in the reign of Aššurnasirpal II, is designated "palace manager, city overseer of Kalhu and governor of *Irmeriti*" on his stele. Also other high-ranking officials active in the 9th and 8th centuries cultivated an increased self-expression and held wide-ranging responsibilities contemporaneously. For instance, the commander-in-chief Bēlu-lū-balaṭ describes himself also as great herald, *šatammu* of the temples, commander of the vast troops and governor of the cities Harran, Huzirina, the lands Qīpanu and Azalla and other places in the region surrounding Harran.¹¹⁰ It seems that they had gained strength to such an extent that the balance of power threatened to tip over.¹¹¹ The fact that such men are not common in the reigns of the Sargonids may be owed to an altered policy towards high-ranking officials

governor of Dur-Šarrukku in the reign of Sargon (Jursa, PNA 2/I 515–6 s.v. *II-iada'* 1). This is, however, not confirmed by Postgate and Mattila (2004) in their detailed study on the political circumstances in this area under Sargon, which examined the life of *II-iada'* (Postgate and Mattila 2004: 237–9, 247–8, 253–4).

¹⁰⁹ Note the case of the *rab ša-rēši* Ša-Nabū-šū (Mattila 2000: 136).

¹¹⁰ RIMA 3 A.O.102.2002. The toponyms listed, however, pretend a large territory but actually cover an area later known as the province of Harran, which resulted from its separation from the province of the commander-in-chief (Radner 2006a: 54–5, 59, Karte 3).

¹¹¹ Cf. *inter alia* Grayson 1993; Fuchs 2009a. For a different interpretation of this phenomenon see Blocher 2001 (in particular his discussion on pp. 305–10).

intended to restrict their power, perhaps also supported by the introduction of additional control mechanisms employing agents (*ša-qurbūti*). On the other hand, a development towards greater specialisation seems to have taken place in the course of c. 300 years. Perhaps because of these processes we hardly find good evidence for people holding two or more offices at the same time. A possible exception includes the treasurer and chief fuller(?) Aššūr-gimillu-tēre, though his case is strongly debated (see Part II, section 17.2 Fulling, bleaching and dyeing). Although there might have existed others holding more than one functional post, this was not a common habit (presumably also for practical reasons) and was also not desired.

2.4 Remuneration

The remuneration of officials in the Neo-Assyrian empire was carried out in two ways: the provision of land and other properties, and the allocation of precious goods such as precious metal and clothing. Furthermore, the participation in royal banquets and the consumption of leftovers of the king's table are to be identified as a reward for office-holders.

The granting of tax-exempt land to high-ranking officials is attested in royal grants and decrees dating to the reign of Adad-nērāri III at least down to Tiglath-pileser III. The beneficiaries are usually referred to as *ša-rēš-šarri* and include provincial governors.¹¹² Royal grants to officials from after the reign of Tiglath-pileser III mainly come from the time of Assurbanipal and his successor Aššūr-etel-ilāni. But in contrast to the earlier examples, Assurbanipal's decrees guarantee the tax exemption of land already owned by his beneficiaries (including the *rab ša-rēši*, the fodder master and the chamberlain, SAA 12 25–27, 30) and are thus not land grants as such. The same is presumably true for the decrees of Aššūr-etel-ilāni who endowed cohort commanders (SAA 12 35, 36). The formulaic decrees of Assurbanipal on tax exemption contain a passage according to which the beneficiary additionally enjoyed the privilege of permanent access to *ma'uttu*(-land) which seems to primarily denote royal sustenance land, on occasion bestowed to chosen subjects of the king (see Part II, section 13.2 The *rab ma'utti* (“manager of the sustenance (fields)”). In contrast to the other granted land, this was not necessarily tax-exempt but may nevertheless have been regarded as a special reward provided by the crown. The royal custom of dedicating land is also reflected in some letters, as, for instance, in a letter of Mannu-kī-Aššūr-lē'i, governor(?) of Guzana, to the king (Sargon) in which the author confirms that he has given 80 hectares of

¹¹² Kataja and Whiting 1995: XXII–XXIV, Table I, note especially SAA 12 6–8 and 14.

land to Bēl-nūrī, governor of Damascus, according to the king's order.¹¹³ Mannu-kī-Aššūr-lē'i goes on to state the total amount of land Bēl-nūrī is now holding in his province, namely 580 hectares, and it seems that he is somewhat annoyed about the fact that more and more land of his province is being provided for others (referred to as *ša-rēši*) and nothing is left for him (according to the broken section r. 10–19).¹¹⁴ This is fairly understandable considering the fact that he still had to meet the tax quota imposed by the central administration, notwithstanding the reduced amount of taxable land within his jurisdiction. The distribution of provincial (i.e. state-owned) land to various different officials goes along with the practise of officials holding land scattered all over the empire and was also a strategy that aimed to restrict the power of provincial authorities and counteract territorial ambitions.¹¹⁵ These measures were not unfounded, in view of the ways in which provincial governors expanded their territories in the 9th and 8th centuries (see above) and defended them at a later time, as is clear from letters according to which estates standing at the disposal of scholars were misappropriated by the authorities of the provinces in which their lands were situated (SAA 10 173: chief diviner Marduk-šumu-ušur, SAA 10 58: astrologer Balasî). In the case of Marduk-šumu-ušur, the property comprised ten *emāru* of cultivated land that he has received from Esarhaddon fourteen years ago. The fact that the land is qualified as “cultivated” indicates that land was provided but also agricultural labourers for the actual cultivation, which corresponds to the complaint of the exorcist Urdu-Gula that he has “no farmer, no farm equipment, no farm” (SAA 10 294 r. 25–26). Granted land seems to have usually been tax-exempt, as indicated by the decrees as well as by a letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, deputy governor of Isana, to the king (Tiglath-pileser III) who distinguishes between tax-exempt fields dedicated by the king and taxable fields which were bought (SAA 19 39). While all these lands presumably reverted to the state after the death of the beneficiary and were in principle not hereditary, this had a different outcome in practice. A Babylonian letter may give us an insight into the actual procedure in the case of death of the beneficiary and may lead to a better understanding of the entire dynamics: the Babylonian Amēl-Nabû, reporting on his harvest (barley, straw, garlic) which had been burnt by a certain Mannu-kī-Arbail, describes

¹¹³ SAA 1 233. Similarly, land of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, was dedicated to the royal *ša-rēši* [Nabû-d]ūr-bēlīja by Adad-nērāri III (SAA 12 6).

¹¹⁴ Royal dedications of land were not welcomed in other cases too (see e.g. SAA 19 47).

¹¹⁵ Mattila 2000: 141; cf. Radner 2000a: 243; note also the article about the appropriation of land by officials of Galil 2009. Also military functionaries bought large estates scattered all over the empire in the 7th century (see *inter alia* Fales 1987c: 106, about chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad; Postgate 1989: 150 and Mattila 2002: XVI–XIX). This indicates that the purchase of land scattered over vast territories also had advantages for the beneficiary or owner himself (for instance, different weather conditions eliminate the risk of losing the entire harvest), and, on the other hand, that certain areas of land were not available for purchase.

the previously cultivated field as paternal land which the king had given back to him with the guarantee of tax exemption (SAA 17 48). The land originally reverted to the state and was subsequently bestowed on the son of the deceased man. Likewise, I assume that the successor in office was bestowed with the land of his predecessor. The successor in office might have been the actual son of the former office-holder, but especially in view of the widespread existence of *ša-rēši*-officials (also in high offices) we should perhaps in many cases expect “neutral” successors, as expressed in a prophecy for the crown prince Assurbanipal (SAA 9 7:4, see Part II, section 8.1.10 *ša-rēši* as a designation for eunuchs).

Not only was land taken over by the successor in office, but also dwellings: Kišir-Aššūr, governor of Dur-Šarrukin, took up residence in the house of his predecessor Šēp-Aššūr who, for his part, became governor of Šimirra (SAA 1 124 r. 6–9). Since Kišir-Aššūr had to argue this act before the king, though, this course of action was not unchallenged. When Bēl-ana-marruqi, palace manager of the Inner City, sold his inherited house to a tailor of the Aššur Temple, it was noted in the penalty clause that neither the palace manager nor a future palace manager should claim the house (SAAB 9 75 r. 1–5). This implies that it was generally accepted that the successor in office was given the properties of his predecessor (but it also shows that this could be circumvented and that a distinction was made between private property and property held *ex officio*). In a 7th-century schedule of properties assigned to officials and palace personnel (SAA 11 221), it is indicated that land and houses were bestowed to successors in office and to others. Apart from the assignment of an estate of the chariot-driver Zabdānu to his son Sa'ilā (SAA 11 221 r. 11'–12'), we also gather from this document that the house of the *rab ša-rēši* Issarān-mušallim was assigned to the gatekeeper Šumma-tašēzib (SAA 11 221:8–9). Also, the inspection of the house of the chief scribe by order of the king (SAA 16 89) indicates that this dwelling was provided by the central administration. Similarly, the diviner Nāširu had been promised a house by the king, but had not yet received it (SAA 10 180). It seems that houses were provided by the central administration, and so were domestic personnel (like the agricultural labourers handed over together with the land). According to a letter to the governor of Kalhu a cook, a confectioner and a baker, all skilled workers (*kitkittū*) of the commander-in-chief, were to be re-assigned to another official (CTN 2 199), and from another letter to the king (Sargon) we learn that the *ša-rēši*s of the household of Aššūr-ilā'ī, comprising a cupbearer, a cook and a confectioner, were sent to the king (SAA 1 184). In this respect it is also worth mentioning the statement in an inscription of Esarhaddon according to which human booty including farmers, shepherds and gardeners from Šubria was *inter alia* distributed to the Aššur Temple and to his palaces as well as to his magnates (*rabātu*)

and his palace entourage (*libīt ekalli*).¹¹⁶ Whether properties (either fields or houses) provided by the central administration were regularly equipped with personnel remains unclear, but it seems plausible.

From among all these examples of allocated land and houses, which in almost every case stood at the disposal of specific individuals, few indicate the transfer of properties from an office-holder to his immediate successor (SAA 1 134, SAAB 9 75) and therefore are evocative of prebendary lands in the classical sense. On the basis of a number of references to land qualified only by an official title (not by a personal name), Postgate (1989: 147) has stressed the existence of “houses” (estates) within provinces that were assigned to high offices and not to the actual office-holder and therefore denote “prebendary land”.¹¹⁷ As noted above in view of similar types of land assigned to individual officials, this was presumably aimed at counteracting the accumulation of land in one spot and thus of power by the provincial governors. These measures were not appreciated by the latter because this also meant that the area from which agricultural taxes could be extracted diminished, assuming that the levy of taxes from the “houses” was administered by the holders of these “houses”. In contrast to (some of the) dedicated estates discussed above, these “houses” were not necessarily tax-exempt and thus (apart from the maintenance of the agricultural labourers) were not exclusively meant for the landholder’s benefit (Postgate 1989: 147). Apart from a balanced distribution of power, the intention behind the establishment of such lands was twofold: it provided subsistence land for the office-holder and guaranteed the cultivation of taxable land, which might otherwise have laid dormant (cf. Radner 2000a: 243). This is partly comparable with the “prebendary land” that stood at the disposal of undefined collectives of palace personnel, of craftsmen and other professionals and for the benefit of which *ilku*-service (usually in the form of military service and construction works) had to be performed.¹¹⁸ Also, the phenomenon of towns of craftsmen and professionals like Town of the Bow-makers (ND 2476 i 4’) and Town of the Brewers (ND 2476 i 3’) suggests that subsistence land was given to distinct collectives for which they had to provide natural produce (as is the case in the given examples) and perhaps also regular

¹¹⁶ RINAP 4 33 r. iii 14’–22’. Note the sale of a female slave and her daughter, designated as “booty from Elam which the king gave to the Inner City”, by nine individuals including bakers and goldsmiths (KAN 4 20, edited in Faist 2009).

¹¹⁷ For a collection and brief discussion of such *ex officio* lands see Mattila 2000: 140–1.

¹¹⁸ See section 1.3.7.1 Agriculture, gardening and animal husbandry. Note the “bow-land” of the Itu’ean which was exempted from barley (*kurummatu*) and straw (*tibnu*) taxes according to the letter SAA 5 16 (cf. Postgate 1989: 148). Itu’eans also held an entire district (*nagiu*) in the province of Kurba'il (SAA 19 176 r. 4’–7’). There is also “(land) of the Philistines” said to adjoin a sold estate (SAA 14 126:9’).

ilku-service.¹¹⁹ Although lower-ranking palace personnel are attested as receiving rations of grain or cereal products (ND 2803, SAA 19 167), it is possible that the maintenance of such groups was mainly arranged via the assignment of land for cultivation.¹²⁰ This would correspond to the general endeavour of the Neo-Assyrian administration to free itself from administrative procedures. The main exception certainly was the military sphere and the thousands of soldiers on campaign where a sophisticated system for the daily supply of food and drink as well as military equipment (clothes, weapons) must have been employed (see Fales 1990a); the same is true for the maintenance of the deportees and captives.

Officials were also remunerated with goods and commodities, such as vehicles for transport, fine clothes and precious metals. The exorcist Urdu-Gula states in his petition to the king (Esarhaddon) that the great scholars together with their deputies receive mules and that he, likewise, should obtain a donkey.¹²¹ Similarly, court officials obtained equipped chariots, judging by the charioteers at their disposal (see Part II, section 6.5 Military functionaries of palace officials). In another letter of Urdu-Gula we learn that scholars were regularly provided with garments as well as wages (*igrē*) in silver.¹²² Likewise, the astrologer Akkullānu demands garments and sandals in a letter to the king (SAA 10 87 r. 2'–4'). Aššūr-etel-ilāni dressed the battle troops of his *rab ša-rēši* Sīn-šumu-lēšir with coloured clothes and golden wrist-rings according to his grants (SAA 12 35:26–r. 1; 36:17–8). Such commodities, which were also received by submissive kings and foreign emissaries, can be classified as insignia (see section 2.2 Process of appointment) and served as “honorific marks of status” (Postgate 1994: 236–7, 245). An administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 7 73), dating to the reign of Esarhaddon, lists gold jewellery (hand-rings, arm-rings and necklaces[?]) and amounts of gold along with men including cohort commanders (Arzēzu, Šumma-ilu) who were possibly the recipients of these precious items. Here, the distributed commodities are not specified as to their origin, but such commodities were usually acquired via audience gifts, tribute payments and booty from conquered areas and it seems to have been a common habit of the king and his family to redistribute such

¹¹⁹ Also villages and towns of high-ranking offices existed (e.g. Village of the Vizier), see Mattila 2000: 143. For a discussion of these towns assigned to professional groups see Baker 2016b.

¹²⁰ Note also the 17 blacksmiths complaining that they lack a field and seed corn (SAA 16 40 r. 5–7).

¹²¹ SAA 10 294:31–2. Later on, he enumerates people passing his house with different types of vehicles according to their rank: “People pass my house, the mighty (*dannūtu*) on palanquins (*kussū*), the assistants (*šanūtu*) in carts (*saparru*), (even) the juniors (*šeḥrūtu*) on mules, and I have to walk!” (SAA 10 294 r. 18–20).

¹²² SAA 10 289 r. 9'–15' (also in SAA 10 294 r. 28–9 Urdu-Gula complains about the lack of garments and silver); *igrē* are, otherwise, mainly given to temporary hired workers (e.g. StAT 2 21–6 and possibly SAA 10 294 r. 27–8: engagement of a tailor).

income to a certain extent. In a letter to the king (Assurbanipal) Dādī, priest of the Bit-Kidmuri in Nineveh, reports that the chief victualler has taken away the audience gifts of the king and of the king's mother, namely one talent of refined silver and 20 minas of silver in the form of household utensils (SAA 13 154). The misappropriation of a royal gift (here: *tidintu*) by the governor of Arrapha is reported by the major-domo and the scribe of an unknown household-owner to the king (Esarhaddon) (SAA 16 42). The aforementioned Urdu-Gula complains that he used to receive audience gifts from the king (Esarhaddon) in a letter to the king Assurbanipal (SAA 10 294:16). Similarly, state income redistributed to key members of the royal family, palace officials and palace charioteers, is qualified as tribute and audience gifts in a letter (SAA 1 34) of (the crown prince) Sennacherib to the king (Sargon). According to this the palace, the queen, the crown prince, the great vizier, the commander-in-chief, the chief bailiff, the second vizier, the *rab ša-rēši*, the palace supervisor, the chamberlain, the palace scribe, the chariot driver and the "third man (on chariot)" are recipients of silver, togas and linen-garments that were brought as tribute or audience gifts.¹²³ An administrative record (SAA 11 36) of unknown date lists tribute redistributed to various different palace officials and involves various different commodities, partly corresponding to the official responsibilities of the officials, as is the case with the 100 tribute sheep handed over to the chief cook (i 9–11) and the garments and accessories obtained by the palace supervisor (ii 13–17). Thus, the goods received by these officials were not exclusively meant for their personal use but at least partly for the fulfilment of their official responsibilities, as is also the case with properties discussed above.

According to the same document also sheep (1–2) and wine (1–2 *šapputu*-bowls) were obtained by officials for consumption, in the context of the distribution of the tribute income itself. Since in the first section the treasurer is recorded as recipient of "regular-offering (*dariu*)"-sheep and is listed together with a "shepherd of regular-offerings", also offerings took place on that occasion. Similarly, wine rations (CTN 1 1–33, CTN 3 119–149) were given out to the queen's department, the *rab ša-rēši*'s department, palace officials, palace personnel, military officials and others regularly (once or twice a year) at the Review Palace, possibly on the occasion of a military-related event involving regular offerings (*ginû*).¹²⁴ Both the distribution of tribute and the distribution of wine may have been associated with banquets and we also know from the description of the royal meal (*naptunu*) that high-ranking officials joined such dinners. Though the consumption of cultic leftovers (*rēhātu*) from the king's

¹²³ The palace, i.e. the king's household, the queen, the crown prince and the great vizier also receive fish (partly iced) and the palace additionally receives mural crowns of gold, silver bowls and Hasean tents.

¹²⁴ An entry for wine intended for *ginû*-offerings often occurs immediately after the heading (e.g. CTN 1 2 i 2).

and the crown prince's table is never addressed in these texts, this was a well-established means by which officials and scholars were rewarded in Neo-Assyrian times, one which is also well known for the Persian period (see Parpola 2004). The diviner Tabnī, who seems to have fallen under disgrace, reminds the crown prince that he was once entitled (by an agreement, *riksu*) to consume leftovers of the crown prince.¹²⁵ Similarly, the royal exorcist Urdu-Gula writes to the king Assurbanipal that he used to enjoy generous leftovers (*rēḫātu ma'ādātu*) when Assurbanipal was crown prince.¹²⁶ From these occurrences it is clear that scholars at court used to receive leftovers from the king(?) and the crown prince and that with foodstuffs the same principle of redistribution was employed as with the precious commodities discussed above. Though we lack explicit references to consumption of leftovers by high- and middle-ranking officials (including palace officials), they too must have been provided with leftovers from the royal table at least at festivities and banquets where consecrated food and drink was served.

Office-holders also benefitted from intangible perks. This is particularly clear from the grants of Assurbanipal for palace-officials. Most prominent is the passage about the assurance of an eternal, undisturbed rest in death at a place (in the palace) of the beneficiary's choice.¹²⁷ From these grants we also learn that holding a court office constituted the ideal means of gaining a good reputation (SAA 12 26:19) and remaining in a safe environment (SAA 12 26:18). Also, it offered the possibility to be close to the king and his family and thus to the centre of power. This closeness in turn improved the possibilities of getting an even more important position for oneself, and also one's offspring and to increase influence and wealth. In a petition of the haruspex Tabnī to the crown prince (Assurbanipal) it is said that Esarhaddon did two favours (*ṭabtu*) to his father who was chief haruspex: first, Tabnī's father was assigned the leadership of the scholars and second, he was granted closeness to the king as long as he (the chief haruspex) was in Assyria (SAA 10 182:22–7). Clearly, these favours cannot be overestimated and, especially in the latter case, they also reflect the patronage relationship between the king and his scholars. Judging by the grants of Assurbanipal, the relationship between (chosen) officials at court and the king might have been similar. Court personnel also benefitted from medical care by skilled physicians, as in the case of the female servant of the king, Bābu-gāmilat,¹²⁸ a service that was not available to ordinary people.

¹²⁵ SAA 10 182:33–34. Also the wine lists are denominated as “expenditure (*akiltu*) schedules (*riksu*)”, see Part I, section 6.1.2 Administrative texts and Parpola 2004: 293, fns. 30–1.

¹²⁶ SAA 10 294:17, 19. Both texts were discussed in connection with the consumption of leftovers by Parpola 2004: 285–8.

¹²⁷ E.g. SAA 12 26 r. 19–31. This is confirmed by burials found in Neo-Assyrian palaces together with rich burial goods (Hauser 2012: 343–5).

¹²⁸ SAA 16 26; cf. SAA 19 38 where a servant of the *rab ša-rēši* asks for a physician for the chief of trade.

2.5 The concept of service

In order to understand and determine the nature of Neo-Assyrian officialdom, one has to look for general ideals according to which officials behaved and fulfilled their duties. Central aspects of this issue are addressed in a recent article (Baker and Groß 2015), thus for references and discussion I refer to that work.

Despite the fact that education and training was to a varying degree required of office-holders of different kinds, the most important quality of an official was his unconditional loyalty towards the king. The main concern of the appointment queries to Šamaš is whether the chosen candidate is and will remain loyal to the king instead of supporting potential insurrections and rebellions against the crown. The candidate's skills for the fulfilment of the office in question are of no interest here, presumably because Šamaš was not being called upon to judge them. In any case, the existence of such queries is significant and the loyalty of the king's officials played a central role in their appointment and their tenure in office. This central concept of loyalty further entailed that the office-holder acted on behalf of the king and represented the royal interests, as is also indicated by a broken letter of the king (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) to the commander-in-chief where it says: "[Day and] night during my reign, you shall be my magnate (and) my deputy. You shall stand in my place; guarding you is for guarding me." (SAA 19 2: 4–6: [UD-mu] *mu-šú¹ a-na UD.MEŠ-ia LÚ*.GAL-ia [u] LÚ*.2-ia at-ta ku-mu-u-a* [EN].¹²⁹ 'NUN¹-ka a-na EN.NUN-ia). Furthermore, the office-holder should keep the king informed about his actions and the events in his sphere of action. Means of keeping the king informed included regular correspondence as well as personal meetings and mandatory audiences, presumably organised at intervals. Holding an office meant bearing responsibility (*pūtuḫu našū*).¹²⁹ It is applied in a text recording the tasks of the personnel of the Aššur Temple, for instance, the chief baker of Aššur bears responsibility for the supply of bread, and it is referred to in some letters.¹³⁰ In the administrative letters of the Sargonids, it is to be observed in general that the correspondents used a coded language in order to communicate the fulfilment of duties and orders. Assigned duties or services were generally expressed with the key terms *dullu epēšu* ("doing the work") and *maššartu* ("watch"). The latter was also used to refer to the more specific guard duty and to the observance of the stars, but, for instance, in the text about the royal meal it designates professional

¹²⁹ This phrase also occurs in legal transactions, with a slightly different meaning. For instance, in a document of sale of a female slave the seller is said to bear liability when the woman in question flees (CTN 2 4: 8–10).

¹³⁰ SAA 20 50 r. i 2'–4'. Letters: e.g. SAA 15 199:4 (responsibility for a city); 1 56 r. 11–3 (responsibility for stone colossi).

“service”.¹³¹ Also, in the decree of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a the appointee is obliged to “keep watch of the king, his lord” (SAA 12 83:22’, *maṣṣartu naṣāru*).¹³² In the letters it is occasionally reported that someone was not doing his work (*dullu lā epēšu*) and even that someone was a “do-nothing” (*lā ēpišu*). Another expression often used in this context is *šīātu* (“to be neglectful”) which, in the more common negative variant “to not be neglectful”, is used as a reminder not to be disobedient and lazy.¹³³ In case someone did not fulfil his duties he was “called to account” (*ina qāti bu’û*). Hence, in a letter of Dādī the king (Esarhaddon) is asked to call his servants, namely a herder of the royal meal and the shepherd serving in the house of the diviners(?), to account since they refused to come to the tax collection (SAA 13 19). Good service not only comprised engagement and diligence but also correct performance; in this connection it was expressed in the letters that one should give clear instructions (*birīt ēnī muddudu*).¹³⁴ With middle- and higher-ranking officials general obligations accompanied the fulfilment of official tasks. Apart from paying such taxes as were imposed on each owner of taxable land, these involved expenditures for temple offerings in kind. Similarly, lower-ranking professionals had to fulfil *ilku*-duty in addition to their professional work assignments. Furthermore, when meeting the king in person, the court etiquette required the visitor to bring an audience gift, thus meeting the basic rules of reciprocity by exchanging gifts.

There seems to have been a clearly defined procedure for evaluating the official’s budgeting of the economic resources at this disposal and the employee’s work performance, expressed with the phrases “to make the account” (*nikkassu epēšu*) or “to settle accounts” (*nikkassu šakānu*). For instance, according to a letter (SAA 16 5) which seems to deal with the liquidation of an estate of a deceased or removed official, the farmers, shepherds and gardeners are to be gathered so that their accounts can be made. In a letter of the exorcist Šumāia to the king (Esarhaddon), he asks for his accounts to be settled so that he can take up the work of his deceased father in Kalhu on behalf of the crown prince (SAA 16 34:15–19). Also a certain Marduk-šarru-ušur, who wants his accounts be made with the scribes, seems to raise this issue in connection with an appointment to another position (SAA 16 82:9–10). The procedure of “making accounts” was applied when terms of offices ran out and before a new appointment was made in order to draw up the balance with

¹³¹ E.g. an employee of the “House of the Tailor” is said to be ready for service (SAA 20 33 ii 16–7, *ana maṣṣarte uzuzzu*).

¹³² Note also the discussion about the central aspect of vigilance in the Neo-Assyrian state correspondence in Fales 2001: 117–22.

¹³³ The king (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) even tells his commander-in-chief not to be negligent and keep watch (SAA 19 2:7); cf. e.g. SAA 19 6 r. 7’.

¹³⁴ E.g. SAA 16 48 r. 7–8. These various expressions are discussed in Baker and Groß 2015.

respect to the former office. In SAA 16 5 and apparently also in the other two cases mentioned here, this involved accounting for assets and resources (rather than the balancing of good and bad behaviour). This accounting may have concerned both the fulfilment of the office and the management of individual assets. In the case of the shepherds, farmers and gardeners, their work assignment might have been quantified. The accounting in the case of the scholar Šumāia, however, possibly involved his properties and other possessions with which he was provided by the central administration for the time of his fulfilment of the post. Presumably such final accountings were scheduled in each case of cancellation and transmission of post and service. It is possible that the results of these accounting procedures had some influence on the evaluation and reputation of the official.

In any case, the way in which an office was held and tasks were fulfilled, facilitated or complicated the achievement of a good reputation before the king. The king (Assurbanipal) stresses that Sīn-tabni-ušur, governor of Ur, kept the watch of the king and made a good name for himself before the king (SAA 21 38 r. 3–6). This not only reduced the risk of being dismissed but held out the prospect of royal favour in the form of the enhancement of status, promotion in office and the receipt of properties and precious commodities, occasionally also bringing benefits for the office-holder's relatives. Officials were aware of these possibilities, as is clear from a letter to the king (Sargon) where the unknown sender expresses his fear that the king might think that he is a “do-nothing”.¹³⁵

2.6 Hierarchies and the exertion of influence

The hierarchical rank of an individual person in the Neo-Assyrian empire reflected the person's official function within the administrative and military organisation. The person's status, on the other hand, depended on the person's hierarchical rank but was also influenced by aspects such as the quantity and quality of contact with the royal household and the king, together with the material support of the king.¹³⁶ The relative ranking of functionaries to one another is indicated in the sources by the address formulae of letters, the formula of official titles and the various enumerations of officials and professionals found in letters, administrative documents and the witness lists of legal documents (for the latter see Ponchia 2009). However, the sequences are usually not self-explanatory and their interpretation, for instance, in the case of the witness lists, is complicated by the joint listing of representatives of different

¹³⁵ SAA 5 122 r. 11–12: LUGAL EN *lu-u la i-qab-bi ma-a ap-ti-qi-su la e-pu-uš*.

¹³⁶ Note also Postgate (2007: 13–5) on the ways in which activity, origin, rank and status intersected in the military sphere.

households as well as the participation of relatives and neighbours whose place in the witness list is due to their relationship to an active party and not to their place within the administrative hierarchy. The following survey does not investigate such details but tries to draw a more general picture of what influenced rank and status; the rendering of titles is discussed in section 2.8 Rendering of titles.

Each subject of the Assyrian empire formed part of the royal household insofar as the latter represented the state. In addition to this, officials, professionals and labourers formed part of or were connected with distinct “houses”. Basically denoting a building (or building complexes), *bētu* is primarily understood here as an abstract term with the connotation “household” which, however, usually also involved an actual building.¹³⁷ Households were maintained in the private sphere, in terms of families, extended families and family businesses, and in the public sphere, in terms of institutional households and administrative entities. As designations like “family business” and “institutional household” indicate, a clear-cut distinction between private and public “households” was usually not made in Assyria (and other ancient societies) and overlaps existed. The other important issue of “houses” and “households” applies to *bētus* that formed part of other *bētus*. Households did not only exist next to one another but also one below the other and, hence, especially more complex households comprised smaller households. Households operating in the Neo-Assyrian period were predominantly either of secular or of religious nature. The latter comprised temple households, while the principal household or domain of secular nature was the palace, which can be divided into separate palace households and which was reinforced by the enhanced domains of the crown prince and the queen in the 7th century. The secular sphere also included the domains of the provincial governors and the magnates who administered their own provinces as well as apparently other “houses” of smaller size. The latter is indicated by the term *bēt bēli*, “master’s household” which, usually written in the plural (É-EN.MEŠ), occurs in several letters of the state correspondence. There has been quite a debate about the actual connotations of this term, but Postgate’s (2007: 23–8) recent approach seems to be the most convincing. In contrast to Luukko and Van Buylaere (2002: XL–XLIII), who interpret it as an “ideological abstraction” of the royal household introduced in the reign of Sargon, he identifies it as an administrative department within the government system (already attested in Middle Assyrian sources).¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Note also the brief discussion of *bētu* in connection with the Assyrian administration in Fales 2001: 68.

¹³⁸ The first attempt to clarify the meaning of *bēt bēli* was made by Fales (2000a) who offers a very detailed and sophisticated analysis, concluding that this expression was mainly used as a metaphor to indicate the “overall domain of the king” with the contextual nuances (a) territorial-political, (b) institutional-dynastic and (c) palatial-administrative (Fales 2000a: 245). He rejected the interpretation of Luukko and Van Buylaere in another article (Fales 2009b: 28–9).

The masters (*bēlu*) of these households are usually not specified and remain unknown, but, as argued by Postgate (2007: 27), it is likely that some of them denote “provincial governorates” while others refer to “government departments which did not fall under the provincial governors”.¹³⁹ Although the actual masters of these households cannot be identified, there might be a connection to the “houses”, in the sense of properties, which officials such as the chief bailiff held in the provinces.¹⁴⁰ In any case, all these households or domains of different size that were designated *bētu* were understood as administrative units but must have usually also involved physical areas and buildings. They employed their own personnel, working either in the physical building of their master’s household or outside. The main households of the secular sphere usually also included a military branch which is to be separated from the administrative sphere.¹⁴¹ Along with the different functional spheres of these households, distinct administrative departments or bureaux were established therein, as is mainly observable for the royal household, thanks to the uneven distribution of sources, but also because it involved the most complex administrative structure. Such institutional bureaux were headed by a bureau manager, that is, the principal office-holder, and included at least a deputy (of the bureau manager) as well as a scribe or secretary, for instance, the wine master operated together with his deputy and his scribe.¹⁴² Judging by the attached personnel, bureaucrats had their own bureaux but also high-ranking military functionaries such as team-commanders,¹⁴³ and the *rab mūgi*;¹⁴⁴ also scholars and priests were accompanied by deputies.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, the magnates and the provincial governors were assisted by deputies and scribes, but their large households had a twofold nature. On the one hand, they were administrative entities forming part of the state administration and, on the other hand, they also constituted the private sphere of the office-holder and household master (like the royal household). To a certain extent we have to reckon with a mixture of official and private concerns in every sphere and on every level of Neo-Assyrian administration.

¹³⁹ Postgate refers here to the letter SAA 16 42 where the major-domo Šallāia and the scribe Asalluḫi-ēreš report that their “master’s household” was squandered by the governors.

¹⁴⁰ See section 2.4 Remuneration; cf. Postgate 1989: 147.

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of the military sphere versus the administrative sphere see Postgate 2007: 3–4.

¹⁴² SAA 10 98 r. 11. For this tripartite system cf. Kinnier Wilson 1972: 96–8.

¹⁴³ Scribe of the team-commander: e.g. SAA 11 36 iii 5–10; deputy of the team-commander: Nabū-erība (e.g. SAA 6 309 r. 10).

¹⁴⁴ Scribe of the *rab mūgi*: an Aramean scribe is at his disposal according to SAA 16 123:8’; deputy of the *rab mūgi*: SAA 1 205:15.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. deputy of the chief scribe (SAA 7 5 i 50); deputy of the chief physician (e.g. SAA 6 325 r. 18). Significantly, scholars are usually not attested with a scribe in their company, presumably because they had excellent skills in reading and writing themselves.

The position of distinct households within this network of households depended on their vertical, i.e. hierarchical, and their horizontal placement with respect to the main palace household which was fixed at the top centre. Though the provincial domains, representing the outer court, came closer to the royal household in terms of their size and complexity, smaller households such as that of the queen were close to the nucleus of power because they were integral (by administrative means and by their physical location) to the royal household. Though the queen's establishment, like that of the crown prince, developed towards a more complex and administratively more independent institution, the close connection to the royal household remained thanks to family ties and the unchanged locations of its departments within the palace buildings. The overall rank and status of officials and functionaries depended on the (vertical and horizontal) position of the households they were appointed to as well as on the position they had within their respective households. In the words of Radner (2003b: 892), the household member's status was determined by "their position in relation to the head of the household and the position of that head of household within the bureaucracy."

The royal household was at the top of the hierarchy and it basically depended on one's function and institutional affiliation as to how close one could get to the king and thus to the centre of power, while the degree of closeness to the king, in return, had implications for position and rank. Basic groups forming part of the Neo-Assyrian court as a whole included those who headed their own big households, namely the state officials (i.e. provincial governors and magnates), the king's family, especially including the heads of satellite households, and those forming a more or less integral part of the royal household including palace officials, scholars and palace personnel (such as guards and domestics). As Radner (2011, with reference to Westbrook 2005) has argued, the relationships of the magnates and the scholars to the king differed greatly. The magnates (including the provincial governors) interacted with the king on a professional basis whereas the scholars took on the role as clients before the king, their patron. As to the ranking of the two groups, the magnates were the highest ranks of state since they actively participated in state affairs and assumed central responsibilities on his behalf. They had large properties at their disposal and enjoyed great wealth. In many cases they were active at a greater distance from the imperial centre and therefore maintained their regular contact with the king via letters. The scholars, on the other hand, were of lower rank and were only provided with limited property. Nevertheless, they maintained regular contact with the monarch via personal meetings and had (especially according to the sources from the 7th century) a great impact on the king's decisions. Regular personal contact as well as a presumably strong influence on the king's decisions also characterises the relationship between the palace supervisor and the king, and we can assume that he was

one of the most powerful officials at the royal court, not only with close contact to the king (like the scholars) but also being directly engaged in state affairs (like the magnates). All the food managers of the king's court, like the chief cook and the chief of granaries, had less wide-ranging responsibilities and took care of the concerns (particularly the supply of foodstuffs) of the royal palace and the temple. Despite the increasing participation in state affairs by court officials during the 7th century, food managers were of moderate rank only and had no influence on state affairs. Nevertheless, many of them were working at the imperial centre, in close connection and even within the royal palace, which must have had a positive impact on their status. Similarly, domestic personnel were of low rank and had no impact on state affairs, but royal cooks, for instance, and palace cooks enjoyed a higher status and rank than their colleagues thanks to their closeness to the king, and the same must have been true for the royal guards and security. One could continue with various other cases to show that not only hierarchies established according to post and function determined rank and status, but also the type and intensity of the relationship to the king.¹⁴⁶

Except for personal servants and confidants, the king usually interacted and communicated only with the masters of the households and departments or with the officials responsible for a distinct functional area. Except for the possibility of applying directly to the king in the case of injustice within their master's households,¹⁴⁷ household members usually had no possibility for that sort of contact. Apart from the possibility of bribing a member of the palace household,¹⁴⁸ it was desirable to have a well-disposed contact within the palace, as is also expressed in the letter of Šumu-iddina, probably prelate of Esagil, to the king Esarhaddon: "Whoever has a brother or someone inside the palace can rely on him. I, however, have no one in the palace of the king, my lord, except the king, my lord."¹⁴⁹ Overall, it was desirable to descend from or have connections to a *mazzāz pāni* ("courtier" or "entourage"; alternatively: *mazzāz ekalli*) or one who "stands before (the king)" (*ina pāni uzuzzu; ina pūtūya uzuzzu*) by virtue of royal appointment (SAA 10 39:7–8). From among the *mazzāz pāni* we know, these involved scholars (and their families),¹⁵⁰ but the

¹⁴⁶ This phenomenon can be observed for court societies in general, see e.g. Duindam (2011: 20).

¹⁴⁷ This is expressed with the phrase "speaking the word of the king" (*abat šarri zakāru / qabū*), by means of which one could appeal to the king "over the heads of those immediately concerned with one's case" (Postgate 1974c: 424–5).

¹⁴⁸ Note e.g. SAA 16 112 according to which bribes were distributed within an unknown household in order to kill the letter's author.

¹⁴⁹ SAA 13 178 r. 21–24. The sheep-tax master Abnī apparently had such an intercessor in the palace, namely Tabnī who wrote a letter (SAA 16 48) to the palace scribe concerning Abnī's troubles.

¹⁵⁰ See especially the letters of the chief exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur SAA 10 226–8.

case of the *mazzāz pāni* Bēl-ibni, Babylonian and military commander of the Sealand (SAA 21 43:10), shows that being a member of this exclusive entourage of the king required neither a scholarly background nor physical proximity to the royal palace.¹⁵¹ However, since most of the known *mazzāz pāni* can be identified as scholars and also because *mazzāz pāni* seem to have had a very personal relationship with the king, scholars, presumably formed a significant part of this sort of entourage. So, at least with the *mazzāz pāni* the social hierarchy prevailed over the administrative hierarchy.

2.7 Delegation and authority

Discussing the subject “delegation of authority” in Neo-Assyrian, Postgate (2007: 6) noted that “although (...) the king was recognized as the ultimate source of authority, (...) most of the time his authority was delegated so that officials could take action and make decisions without constantly referring back up the chain of command.” The impression gained from the administrative letters dating to second half of the 8th century and later, that actions were only taken after the king had given detailed instructions, is rather misleading. These letters do not represent the daily routine but the consultation and intervention of the king in exceptional cases. From these letters we nevertheless learn that the chain of command basically ran along hierarchical lines (from king to magnate and provincial governor to lower-ranking functionary) as outlined in the previous section, and although the king was not always the originator, delegation followed these lines. In this respect it is worth noting that “the palace” is occasionally referred to as the commanding authority; being synonymous with the king, it functioned as an abstract notion of the state. Also in these cases we get a glimpse of the chain of command when we read that the chief cook was told by the palace to order a certain Kīnā to line up.¹⁵² From the opposite direction we learn that lower-ranking men demanded that high-ranking officials forward information to the palace.¹⁵³ Though we do not learn from the letters whether similar dynamics of delegation were applied within the royal household, this must have actually been the case. At least in the description of the royal meal (*naptunu*), it is the palace supervisor who gives order to the cupbearers to fill the beakers (SAA 20 33 r. i 46′). In general, we only get a rough idea about the chains of commands since we lack details about the hierarchical structures. Apart from the internal structures of households

¹⁵¹ It has been assumed that he spent some time at the Assyrian court before he was appointed as a military leader in the Sealand (de Vaan 1995: 31). See for a recent discussion of Bēl-ibni being a *mazzāz pāni* Groß and Pirngruber 2014.

¹⁵² SAA 16 120:11–r. 8; cf. SAA 10 270:5–7; cf. Luukko 2007: 235.

¹⁵³ E.g. SAA 15 186 r. 7–10 (letter to the governor): “Report it to the Palace! I have sent you in[fo]rmation!”; SAA 1 244 r. 13–14 (letter to the vizier) “Why are you silent? Make this case known in the Palace!”.

and bureaux, this involves the interactions between the households and departments. For instance, we have hardly any evidence for the provincial households interacting with each other; similarly, the food managers and their bureaux seem to have operated in parallel rather than with each other. This, however, is also due to the fact that we mostly lack archives of these households and departments, and it is nevertheless indicated in the sources that, for instance, the commander-in-chief, as one of the principal magnates, was higher-ranking than the governor of Kalhu but that the latter was higher in rank than the palace supervisor (CTN 2 191), or that the chief cook was more important than the fruit master, which in the case of interaction should have been clear. What we can reconstruct are chains of commands (and thus hierarchical structures) such as “king → governor → cohort commander → shepherds” (according to the letters SAA 1 235, 236). The king usually was in contact and commanded his direct subordinates, but he was free to interfere at lower levels, as, for instance, is the case with the letter of the king (Sargon) to 100 brick-workers.¹⁵⁴

According to Postgate (2007: 7), it is thanks to the primarily orally transmission of administrative commands and decisions that the chain of commands along with the hierarchical structures was strictly maintained, causing a rather inflexible system.¹⁵⁵ There was, however, one tool which presumably made life less complicated in this respect: bureau seals which so far have been identified for the king, the queen, the crown prince and the governor of Kalhu.¹⁵⁶ These were stamp seals and one bureau had several exemplars of identical bureau seals that were in use simultaneously. Each bearer of a bureau seal, using this tool for confirmation and authorisation,¹⁵⁷ was recognisable as an authorised representative of his bureau who bore responsibility for his actions towards his bureau and especially towards the master of his bureau. With the help of such tools it became easier for employees of bureaux to take action themselves and to be regarded as legitimate authorities. Since bureau seals were primarily used for economic issues (such as confirmation of the receipt and outgoing of commodities), they had a limited effect on the tradition of oral delegation as such, but they released the department’s master from the burden of having to authorise every single operation taking place in his department. Although so far, except for the aforementioned seals, no further bureau seals could be assigned to a distinct bureau, one would expect that several more officials, especially the magnates and provincial governors, took advantage of such a tool in their departments or households. Though also middle-ranking officials such as the chief cook could use such a tool, it is questionable whether they and their

¹⁵⁴ SAA 1 25. For further examples see Postgate 2007: 9–10.

¹⁵⁵ While the administrative hierarchy was roughly constant, status varied since it was dependent on the personal relationship with the king.

¹⁵⁶ For a detailed study see Radner 2008: 486–508; see partly already Herbordt 1992: 136–145.

¹⁵⁷ Herbordt (1992: 35) refers to seals as a) “Beglaubigungsmittel” and b) “Verschlusmittel”.

deputies had royal seals at hand, since their establishments formed part of the royal household. Apart from using bureau seals, officials authorised transactions and operations also with their individual seals,¹⁵⁸ but these seals had by no means the same rationalising effect.

2.8 Rendering of titles

The Neo-Assyrian period is characterised by a considerably higher number of different professional and official titles compared with earlier periods in the Ancient Near East. This proliferation of titles—mostly listed in the lexical lists of professional and officials titles found in Huzirina and Nineveh (MSL 12 233, 238)—must have been caused by the vast expansion Assyria experienced in the first millennium when it developed into the first real empire. It is not surprising therefore that the increased number of titles particularly involves official titles that imply supervisory functions; the majority of ordinary professional titles attested in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus were already established in earlier periods.

Most of the professional titles had a long tradition and many of them constitute Sumerian loanwords, such as *nuḫatimmu* and *naggāru*. In the case of an Akkadian root, professional titles are often participles of the basic or a derivative stem and describe the actual activity (for instance, *ṣāḫitu* [< *ṣahātu*], *šāqiu* [< *šaqu*] and *mušākilu* [< *akālu*]). Also, the nominal forms *parrās* (e.g. *zammāru* [< *zamāru*], GAG § 55 o) and *taprās* (*tamkārum* [< *makāru*], GAG § 56 k) are occasionally used for professional designations. A few professional titles may have originated from another language, for instance, Hurrian, such as *qatinnu*. Furthermore, a few professional designations are actually gentilics which originally referred to geographical origin (e.g. *ḫundurāiu*, one of the few professional designations not known before the Neo-Assyrian period) and family origin (e.g. *šelappāiu*). Compounds were used to indicate specialisation within a professional group, for instance, the fatteners are sub-divided into bird-fatteners (*mušākil išṣūri*) and ox-fatteners (*mušākil alpi*), and we know various different types of smiths (*nappāḫ erê*, *nappāḫ parzilli*, ...) of shepherds (*rā'i immeri*, *rā'i gammali*, ...) and of drivers (*rādi gammali*, *rādi imāri*, ...). Professions which were also practised by women include a feminine variant of the professional title (for instance, *ušpāru* and *ušpārtu*).¹⁵⁹

Terms of the type *bēl* x can among others denote legal roles (for instance, *bēl dēni* = “adversary”, *bēl ilki* = “labour duty superior”), specify people

¹⁵⁸ For instance, the treasurer, the village manager and the scribe sealed the set *iškāru* quota with their seals (SAA 16 63:12–20). Note also the municipal authorities who sealed property sales in Assur (Klengel-Brandt and Radner 1997). Furthermore, personalised seals of (royal) *ša-reši* officials are especially known from the reign of Adad-nērāri III; see Niederreiter 2015.

¹⁵⁹ See for the discussion of titles for craftsmen Groß 2018.

presiding over objects (for instance, *bēl narkabti* = “chariot owner”) or designate high-ranking officials (*bēl pāḥiti*). The comparatively large number of official titles attested for the Neo-Assyrian period, however, is usually built according to the following patterns: *rab-x* (e.g. *rab ekalli*),¹⁶⁰ *ša-muḥḥi-x* (e.g. *ša-muḥḥi-qanāti*) together with *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-x* (e.g. *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni*) and *ša-pān-x* (e.g. *ša-pān-ekalli*) together with *ša-pān-bēt-x* (e.g. *ša-pān-bēt-qātē*). From among these, the types *ša-pān-x* and the *ša-pān-bēt-x* were uncommon prior to the Neo-Assyrian period.¹⁶¹ All of these types were used for offices which involved supervisory functions, but one cannot discern a hierarchical ranking among them. The majority of official titles is rendered with *rab-x*, with the *x* denoting buildings and places (*rab ekalli*, *rab kāri*, ...), commodities (*rab karāni*, *rab zamri*, ...), numbers (*rab ḥanšē* = “commander-of-fifty”, *rab ešerti* = “commander-of-ten”, ...) and professions (*rab nuḥatimmi*, *rab naggāri*, ...). In the case of personnel bearing a title of the type *rab-x* profession, who would normally have been chosen from among their professional group, it is not always clear whether they were officials and only formal heads of the *x*-profession, or whether they represented their professional group (organised in a guild-like structure) and still practised their profession. For instance, the chief cook (*rab nuḥatimmi*) had administrative functions and was not active in the kitchen; the chief architect or the chief carpenter, on the contrary, were not necessarily involved in administrative procedures (at least we do not have evidence to that effect). In connection with the latter possibility, it is also worth mentioning the *rab kišri* (cohort commander) of professional groups, as attested, for instance, for the weavers and the shepherds. As argued in Part II (see section 17.1.1 The *rab ušpāri* (chief weaver)), it is possible that the titles “*rab kišri* of *x*-profession” and “*rab-x*-profession” were used synonymously (cf. Postgate 1989: 211). The title *rab kišri* originates from the military sphere, as is the case with titles of the type *rab-x*-number. Not only was the *rab kišri* adopted for the civil or administrative sphere but also the *rab ešerti* (commander-of-ten), qualified as “of the scribes”, “of the fishermen” and “of the tanners”. During of the Middle Assyrian period some *ša-muḥḥi-x* titles were either replaced by *rab-x* titles (*ša-muḥḥi-ginā’e* → *rab ginā’e*, Jakob 2003: 176) or used synonymously for *rab-x* titles (*ša-muḥḥi-ekalle* is attested next to *rab ekalle* and *ukil ekalle*, Jakob 2003: 74–5). Similar phenomena can still be observed for the Neo-Assyrian period where *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* (SAAB 9 75 r. 28) and *rab bēt-šarrāni* (StAT 1 19 r. 9’) presumably refer to the very same office. The same is possibly true for *ša-muḥḥi-bēti* and *rab bēti*. Though it was

¹⁶⁰ Note also the construction *rab danibāti* which derives from a Hurrian word (*k/galteniwa*) and strictly speaking is to be read *galdanibate*, see Part II, section 13.3 The *rab danibāti* (chief victualler).

¹⁶¹ CAD P 90 s.v. *pānu* A.4 (there is one Middle Assyrian text, KAV 125, given with LÚ *pa-ni lib-bi āli*).

assumed that the *rab bēti* was more concerned with the military matters of his employing household (Postgate 1973: 15, fn. 37), the equation of other *ša-muḫḫi-x* and *rab-x* titles (also in Neo-Babylonian)¹⁶² makes an equation in the Neo-Assyrian period likely. The titles *ša-muḫḫi-ekalli* and *ukil ekalli* are no longer attested in Neo-Assyrian; instead, the title *ša-pān-ekalli* is introduced which, however, does not refer to the same office as *rab ekalli*, as argued in Part II, section 1.3 The *rab ekalli* versus the *ša-pān-ekalli*.

Apart from formulae for official titles, there are also titles of the type *ša-x*, *ša-bēt-x* and *ša-x-šu*, with *x* and the *bēt x* referring to the item or establishment with which the person was concerned. For instance, the *ša-kalbāni* took care of dogs, the soup man *ša-akussēšu* was concerned with soup (either its preparation, procurement and/or distribution) and the *ša-bēti-šanie* was active in the “Second House”. All these titles do not indicate any supervisory function and their bearers were rather appointees or employees. Also the prominent Neo-Assyrian court classes are designated with titles of the type *ša-x*, namely *ša-rēši*, *ša-ziqni*, *ša-qurbūti* and *ša-šēpē*. Here, the *x* does not refer to the field of activity but to the title-bearer’s appearance (*ša-ziqni* = “of the beard”, *ša-rēši* = “of the head”) or indicates a close relationship to the title-bearer’s master (*ša-qurbūti* = “of the closeness”, *ša-šēpē* = “of the (master’s) feet”). The title *ša-rēši* too may principally refer to the close relationship of the title-bearer to his master since the original connotation possibly is that of the title-bearer standing at the head of his master’s bed (see p. 239 fn. 458). The titles *ša-rēši* and *ša-qurbūti* are, in most cases written without the *ša*; the same is less frequently the case with other titles such as *ša-ḫuṭāri* (staff-bearer).¹⁶³ Also compounds with the element *ekallu* refer to court classes such as *urad ekalli* and possibly also *amat ekalli*. Basically, however, qualifications like (*ša*) *ekalli*, (*ša*) *šarri* and (*ša*) *mār šarri* refer to the establishment or to the individual one was appointed to. No clear-cut distinction seems to have been made between “(*ša*) *ekalli*” and “(*ša*) *šarri*”. Likewise, no strict rules seem to have affected the use of, for instance, *ša bēt mār šarri* (“of the household of the crown prince”) instead of *ša mār šarri* (“of the crown prince”), though the qualification *ša bēt mār šarri* for, for instance, the treasurer of the crown prince corresponds with the assumption that this official took care of the crown prince’s estate. On the other hand, military functionaries (like “third men” and

¹⁶² Jursa 1995: 86 (regarding *ša-muḫḫi-sūti* and *rab sūti*). Also Radner (1997a: 201–2, fn. 1061) argues for a synonymous use of *rab-x* and *ša-muḫḫi-x* in the Neo-Assyrian period.

¹⁶³ SAA 7 30 r. iii 30’. See Parpola 1983a: 168; but note also *ša-maššarti* versus *maššaluru* in Part II, section 5.7 The *rab mašširi* (commander-of-the-guards). Especially *ša-qurbūti* is repeatedly written without *ša* and with nominative ending (e.g. LÚ*.*qur-’bu¹-tú* in ND 2803 r. i 1). According to lexical entries the function of the *ša* in these titles corresponds to that of the LÚ(-determinative) (CAD Š/I 1 s.v. *ša* a.2’). Hence, basically, it is only a secondary matter whether one reads *amēl qurbūti* or *ša-qurbūti*, it is the same title.

chariot drivers) are usually qualified with *ša mār šarri*, possibly because they were personal attendants of the crown prince. As is the case with *mār šarri*, social classes are partly built with *mār x* (*mār ekalli*, *mār-amat-ekalli*, *mār damqi*) in order to refer to the origin or the background of the title-bearer. Alternatively, they denote apprentices or assistants, as is the case with *mār sangû* and possibly *mār šāqie* and *mār masenni*.

Apart from additions to titles in order to inform about affiliation, others were used to indicate hierarchical order and status. These include *rabiu* (*sukkallu rabiu*, *masennu rabiu*, *sangû rabiu*, *turtānu rabiu*, *šāqiu rabiu*), *dannu* (*sukkallu dannu*, *mukl appāti dannu*, *tašlīšu dannu*) and *šaniu* (*sukkallu šaniu*, *masennu šaniu*, *sangû šaniu*, *turtānu šaniu*, *tuṣṣar ekalli šaniu*, *tuṣṣarru šaniu*, *ḥazannu šaniu*, *rab kiṣri šaniu*, *rā'i iṣṣūri šaniu*).¹⁶⁴ *rabiu* is usually applied to offices that also include a *šaniu*, in order to differentiate between a higher-ranking and a lower-ranking official. The *šanius* of an office, on the contrary, are far more numerous and do not necessarily require a *rabiu* in the same office. There is not only the type “x-profession *šaniu*”, corresponding to “x-profession *rabiu*” but also “*šaniu* *ša* x-profession”, similar to “*rab*-x-profession”, attested for offices such as the chief physician (*rab asê*), the team-commander (*rab urāti*), the cohort commander (*rab kiṣri*) and the cupbearer (*šāqiu*). The *šaniu* was the second-in-command (cf. CAD Š/I 397–8 s.v. *šanû*) of an office, that is the deputy of the principal office-holder. It is clear with the offices that had a “second-in-office” that there was in fact also a principal office-holder and thus the addition *rabiu* was not necessary. Hence, the *rabiu* was perhaps in particular added to high-ranking and prestigious offices in order to stress their enhanced position. This is supported by the office of the vizier which is known with the additions *rabiu*, *šaniu* and *dannu*, with *dannu* apparently used as a synonym for *rabiu*.¹⁶⁵ The addition *dannu* is otherwise attached to “third men (on chariot)” and chariot drivers, as attested in a wine list from 8th-century Kalhu (CTN 1 10:3', 5') and in legal records from 7th-century Nineveh according to which charioteers of the court, like the royal chariot driver Rēmanni-Adad, enjoyed an enhanced status among their colleagues. CTN 1 10 otherwise lists groups of *mukl appāti šaniu* and *tašlīšu šaniu* as well as of *mukl appāti labbašu* (CTN 1 10:4', 6'–7'), with the latter presumably referring to some specially clothed or uniformed chariot drivers (see p. 233 fn. 437). Nevertheless, apart from the fact that *dannu* here also contrasts with *šaniu*, *dannu* and *rabiu* do not seem to have been used arbitrarily and I assume that *dannu* (“strong”) was regarded as more fitting for military officials than *rabiu*

¹⁶⁴ Note also the *šanitu ša šakinti* in CTN 3 30:1–2. *šeḥru* in *āšipu šeḥru* seems to primarily refer to the level of education (which also implies a ranking).

¹⁶⁵ Mattila 2000: 91; note, however, the *sukkallu* Banbā who is usually designated *šaniu* but once mistakenly(?) occurs with *dannu* (Mattila 2000: 93, 135).

(“great”) which suits well with high-ranking officials. Remarkably, these additions are rarely known from before the Neo-Assyrian period. While already in the Middle Assyrian period we find the same official titles qualified with *rabiu* (*sukkallu*, *masennu*, *turtānu*, *sangû*),¹⁶⁶ the addition *šaniu* is applied to the vizier in the Middle Assyrian period (Jakob 2003: 55) but found widespread use only in the Neo-Assyrian period. As with the increasing number of offices at this time, this reflects the increasing size and complexity of the Assyrian empire in the first millennium BCE when offices were divided up because of growing responsibilities and as a means of control. The policy of employing second-in-commands of offices continued in the Neo-Babylonian empire whose officialdom was generally influenced by its predecessor in the north.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ According to the register given in Jakob 2003: 572–4.

¹⁶⁷ For a collection of titles not used in Babylonia before the Assyrian domination see Jursa (2010: 97–8).

CONCLUSIONS

This monograph is the first detailed study devoted to the royal household in the Neo-Assyrian empire. Based on a detailed analysis of a comprehensive collection of textual data, the overall organisation and structural scheme of the royal household has been thoroughly discussed and reconstructed (insofar as the sources allow) and the conditions under which officials and professionals operated have been examined. Due to the royal household's double function as private domicile of the king on the one hand, and as administrative and political centre of the Assyrian empire on the other hand, this study has also considered its role within the Assyrian state system.

The Neo-Assyrian royal household, understood as the domain of the king, theoretically encompassed the entire imperial territory. The palaces set up in the imperial capital, the provincial centres and other places were manifestations of this overarching domain of the king and his absolute claims. Characterising Weber's ideal type of a patrimonial rulership, Schloen expressed the fact that "the entire social order is viewed as an extension of the ruler's household" as one of its key principles which, furthermore, resulted in a hierarchical system of patrimonial sub-households (Schloen 1995: 3). Though he concentrated on the Bronze Age setting of Ugarit, Schloen argued that this pattern applies to Ancient Near Eastern societies in general. Examining the role and nature of the provincial households in the Neo-Assyrian empire, it is clear that while they accommodated the provincial governors they were considered as representations of the royal household proper, which constitutes the immediate environment of the king, manifesting itself through the central palace building and its staff. Though this is a more complex issue, these circumstances can be basically circumscribed as the division of the king's court into an inner court and an outer court, similar to what Brosius (2007: 35) observed for the Persian empire with respect to its satrapies governed by the king's relatives. The provincial households in Assyria were administrative as well as military headquarters of the state on the basis of which Assyrian territory was kept under control. But the royal household proper benefitted from their facilities also directly and obtained skilled and unskilled workforce and goods, especially from agriculture and livestock breeding, levied in the provinces. The governors must have operated autonomously to a certain extent since the vast territory and the great number of provinces made it impossible for the king alone to give order and to confirm every single act. Due to their authority over land and people, which the king was compelled to delegate, they had resources at their disposal which enabled them to operate more freely and to take into

account their own interests, especially considering the geographical distance of their spheres of activity from the imperial centre. Their households were composed similar to the royal household and comprised domestic personnel and gatekeepers as well as musicians and goldsmiths, which indicate their ambition of maintaining their own courts and a way of life similar to the king. Their attitude before the king, however, was professional rather than personal, as Radner (2011: 365–6) has argued, and they were not necessarily members of the royal family (as in the Persian empire) but were typically eunuchs. Furthermore, the king had his strategies to stem their power and influence, including regular personal contact with his state officials. In addition, officials including palace managers, local treasurers and accounting officers seem to have been employed in the provinces as controlling bodies. Moreover, the king was aided by his numerous mobile agents who assured and maintained control by their personal investigations throughout the land. The king was well advised to be cautious about his state officials and their possible misuse of power, especially when we consider the possibility that they also used to communicate with each other. In spite of internal fluctuations throughout the centuries, the king apparently was successful in his measures: his state officials exercised their duties under the eyes of the king and in the realm of the king.

Considering the royal household proper together with the provincial domains as an extended household system, it is questionable how the satellite households of the queen (likewise, of the king's mother) and the crown prince fit in. Like the provincial households they originated from the royal household, but the reason for their existence as well as their type and degree of influence on state affairs was different. Whereas the governors were employed as royal substitutes in order to control state territory and keep the land productive, the satellite households developed around key positions within the royal family along with the growing responsibilities of their heads. The household of the queen emerges as a business entity aiming for economic profit via textile production, a sector which had been in the hands of women of the palace also in preceding court societies in the Ancient Near East. In Assyria, key royal women even took up a political role, as is especially clear for Naqī'a, mother of Esarhaddon, whose staff correspondingly seem to have become more numerous and more complex. The crown prince, on his part, began to engage in state affairs at the latest in the second half of the 8th century and in time even took up the position of co-regent. In the 7th century both the households of royal women and of the crown prince had administrative officials such as the palace supervisor and the chief cook at their disposal who were also active in the royal household but are not known to have been in the service of the provincial governors and other state officials. Some of these administrators indicate that these close relatives of the king also had to fulfil cultic obligations similar to those of their family head. The invention of their own bureaux seals, as shown

by Radner in 2007, affirms the impression that these key figures of the royal family headed highly developed establishments with a considerable degree of autonomy in economic and administrative terms. Especially in view of the composition of the household of the crown prince, who also had his own scholars, his own agents, his own army and his own province, we may define this establishment as a minor version of the royal household, basically incorporating all aspects of the king's own household. As noted by other scholars, this development is presumably due to the increased need of the crown to accumulate power in its immediate environment in order to be better prepared for internal attacks. This may have been one of the main reasons why the king tolerated and presumably even initiated and supported the growing independence and responsibilities of the households of his closest and most important relatives in the 7th century. Whereas their establishments enjoyed a certain degree of economic independence and partly even encompassed economic relevance for the royal household and the empire before the 7th century, this late development particularly applies to the adoption of administrative structures and the increase in political and thus military responsibilities as well as cultic obligations to support and consolidate the royal household. In return, this enhancement ensured an increase in their economic impact and their influence on state affairs, and thus also changed the framework conditions of the royal household in that it had to cooperate with, rather than command, its satellite households. Though cooperation was to a certain extent also in demand in connection with state officials who did not necessarily originate from the royal family, the power and status of these key figures of the royal family at court was significantly higher since they formed part of the king's immediate entourage and represented the Assyrian dynasty. At the same time the king, under normal circumstances, did not need to fear their disloyalty since they, as the principal representatives of the same dynasty and his close family members, shared the king's overall interest in sustaining the *status quo* of sovereignty.

Another striking feature of the royal household in Assyria is its interaction with the temple, in particular the Aššur Temple. The importance of the temple for the palace was the result of the king's role as earthly representative of the god Aššur and his continuing concern with the maintenance of the cult and the realisation of cultic performances and events which also required his personal participation. Furthermore, the temple was central for the palace because of its economic power. Since the royal household proper was primarily equipped with domestics and servants but hardly included large-scale production facilities, skilled manpower and a stable infrastructure led the temple to play a central role in the production of specific foodstuffs and other goods. A basic procedure in this respect is the provision of imported raw materials such as metal by the palace in order to be manufactured by skilled men working in the environment of the temple. Another important aspect is the preparation of

foodstuffs, in particular meat, by the temple on behalf of the king and his staff, arising from cultic requirements. The importance of this matter seems to be directly related to the phenomenon of the numerous food managers and local treasurers attested in the sources who were responsible for the channelling of foodstuffs towards both spheres. Also the manufacture of wool, which is otherwise known to have been a central issue of the queen's establishment, was handled via temple households. Both branches, the queen's sector and the temples', worked side-by-side in the provincial centres and had a great impact on the Assyrian economy. Though the domain of the queen operated independently of the royal household, this strengthens the impression that in Assyria palace and temple were closely interlinked with each other, for cultic as well as for economic reasons. Moreover, the king, who held the position of high priest of Aššur, was present in the temple at regular intervals, was kept informed about ongoing things in the temple, and made decisions about its staffing. Unlike in Babylonia, where the *šatammu*, that is the temple administrator, originated from the local elite and dealt with royal officials placed in the temple,¹ such a dichotomy did not exist in Assyria. Although people from local families could gain positions in (or in the environment of) the temple and in the municipal administration, there was no local representative who had as much influence as the *šatammu* in Babylonia; instead, royal officials kept the temple administration under direct control.² Also the fact that Assyrian temples produced goods on behalf of the palace through the *iškāru*-system indicates that Assyrian temples were closely tied to the palace and enjoyed less autonomy than the Babylonian temples. Apart from the palace we hardly learn of other customers for the manufactured goods, whereas Babylonian temples used their economic power to generate income in silver (Kleber 2008: 335). Admittedly, this lack of information may be due to the distribution of the sources, and also the *iškāru*-system in Assyria offered the possibility to earn silver (especially in later times). Nevertheless, the differences between the north and the south are obvious in that the temple in Assyria was primarily an instrument of the king and not an institution with a considerable degree of self-determination.

Having addressed the main establishments of the Assyrian empire, it is worth classifying its nature in terms of the ideal types of rulership set up by Max Weber. As pointed out elsewhere in this study, the Neo-Assyrian empire is characterised by aspects of both the patrimonial and the bureaucratic types of rulership. In view of the role of the sovereign who claimed absolute power and still tried to meet this claim when the Assyrian territory expanded, Assyria had

¹ For instance, for the role of the *šatammu* of Eanna in Uruk see Kleber 2008: 5–6.

² However, also in Babylonia the royal administration used to keep a close eye on the temple, as Kleber stresses. Moreover, the position of the *šatammu* of Eanna was in time eliminated (Kleber 2008: 333).

its roots in the patrimonial system. Regarding in general the officials with whose help the Assyrian king tried to control and maintain his expanding household, they exhibit a personal relationship to the ruler, with loyalty being their paramount condition. By contrast, objective suitability was at first less relevant for the king's administrators operating in his immediate environment or abroad. Assyria's administration was organised by means of a division of functions and an allocation of responsibilities emanating from the traditional offices of the patrimonial household of the king, especially including the heads of its economic or administrative branches such as the "Kellermeister" (= chief cupbearer), the "Marschall" (= commander-in-chief) and the "Kämmerer" (= chief treasurer) (cf. Weber ⁵1972: 594). While the division of responsibilities basically indicates a rational approach, the decisive difference from a bureaucratic system is that this is driven by personal economic interests instead of the factual interests of the individuals involved. Neither the king nor his officials properly distinguished in their thoughts and actions between a "private" and an "official" sphere, as is typical for patrimonial systems (Weber ⁵1972: 596). Characterised by interpersonal relations, the Neo-Assyrian administration could not—and was not out to—develop an officialdom with entirely fixed responsibilities and hierarchies. Neither were the official's tenure in office, career and salary subject to fixed regulations, as Weber (⁵1972: 131–2) claimed for a bureaucratic system. The Neo-Assyrian state was built on a patrimonial system and basically maintained the characteristics of such a system, but its unprecedented dimensions inevitably gave rise to modifications. On the basis of Weber's theories, Blake (1979) has argued that the Mughal empire developed beyond a patrimonial kingdom and can be characterised as a "patrimonial-bureaucratic empire". It is remarkable to which extent his observations on this empire in pre-modern India correspond to what we can notice for Assyria in the first millennium BCE. In both empires the authority exercised by the ruler was not limited to his own household anymore and thus it developed from a patrimonial authority to a political authority maintained with the help of "extra-household officials" (Blake 1979: 79), that is, the provincial governors and the magnates, some of whom also commanded their own armies. Hence, unlike in a patrimonial kingdom, state officials could be differentiated from household officials. As argued above, the domains of the state officials oscillated between their role as part of the all-embracing royal household and autonomy, especially on account of their size and their relatively distant location from the centre, though checked by measures such as the employment of professional eunuchs, the maintenance of direct contact, and the employment of controlling bodies. These circumstances are accompanied by several more household officials, such as the palace supervisor and the chief tailor, who extended their reach and gained responsibilities over state matters, usually in combination with military activities. The late empire is characterised by a large number of administrators

in different stages of a constant development as to their involvement in state matters rather than simply in household affairs, which underlines Assyria's efforts to cope with its territorial growth. Another measure was the reinforcement of already existing offices with deputies—as first observed for the highest-ranking state officials but then also applied to numerous other officials—through which hierarchies became more complex and more solid. Although especially the employment conditions and the types of remuneration (dining at the king's table, receiving precious items from the treasury and having prebendary lands at one's disposal) remained the same, the growing interest in silver revenues—not only through tribute payments and booty but also through *iškāru*-proceeds—may be counted as a harbinger of a money economy (a characteristic of bureaucratic systems, see Weber ⁵1972: 586) associated with the handing out of regular salaries in silver. Although the Neo-Assyrian officialdom was by no means solely subject to fixed and objective regulations, a certain degree of development towards a more impersonal and more rational organisation can be observed. Hence, Weber's statement that Assyrian officialdom is characterised by a flood of official titles with an almost completely arbitrarily changing sense (Weber ⁵1972: 597), has to be rejected.

Assuming unprecedented proportions, one was compelled to adapt the system employed in the Middle Assyrian period and to make further modifications during the Neo-Assyrian period, especially in the later phase, when Assyrian territory increased further. This did not lead to a fundamental change in the patrimonial type of system, but rather to supplementing it and adding superstructures. These, on the one hand, pertained to the provincial system and the state and, on the other hand, to the royal court proper. As stated above, the development towards the employment of extra-household officials began in the Middle Assyrian period, being consolidated and further developed in the first millennium BCE, accompanied by the formation of deeper hierarchies via the introduction of deputies. The territorial expansion, however, also led to the upgrading of the centre of power, the royal household, possibly because its requirements increased and because the prestige value of the king and his sphere had grown (on account of his military successes). Concrete indicators therefore are the formation of the satellite households of the crown prince and the queen, and the increased number and types of officials, giving rise either to a more complex hierarchy or a higher degree of specialisation (in view of the food managers) or both (as is the case with the officials concerned with door-keeping). Whereas also in the Middle Assyrian period more than one palace existed at a time, the permanent maintenance of a greater number of palatial establishments located in different cities with the help of *rab ekallis* and *šakintus*, perhaps also for the purpose of generating profit, only developed in the first millennium BCE. The majority of these novelties was not yet established or was still in their infancy in early Neo-Assyrian times when

Aššurnaširpal II reigned and made Kalhu the imperial capital, as indicated by the traditional and old-fashioned terminology attested in contemporary texts. On the other hand, we are possibly well advised to assume that the reign of Assurnaširpal was a starting point for all the succeeding developments and changes observable in the Neo-Assyrian period. His radical action of changing the location of the imperial capital and the spatial separation of the religious and the political centre of the empire and, as a consequence, the (conscious) alteration of the traditional power structures and infrastructures is exemplary for the new era that had begun.

Although the Neo-Assyrian empire lacked a direct successor, many of its innovations and advance were taken over or survived in a transformed way in following periods, including the Babylonian and the Persian empires. Apart from far-reaching innovations such as the royal road system, this also pertains to the officialdom and the nature and overall structure of the court. The composition of the Neo-Babylonian court is heavily based on the Neo-Assyrian royal household and numerous officials first occur in Babylonia during the period of Assyrian dominion (at the latest with the installation of Aššūr-nādin-šumi by Sennacherib) or afterwards, as is clear from Nebuchadnezzar's "Hofkalender" (Jursa 2010: 97–9). Although this is not only a formal correlation, the officials' functions do not seem to correspond entirely to one another, as is, interestingly, already observable for the officials active in Babylonia during Assyrian sovereignty. While this was probably owed to the specific situation in Babylonia, it also underlines a certain degree of instability and flexibility of the offices (and therefore their traditional background). Partly transmitted via Babylonia, Assyria's aftermath is also tangible in the Persian empire. Apart from offices which seem to have their roots in Assyria (such as the *rab kāširi*, i.e. *ganzabarru*), the dimensions and the pomp of the Persian court, comprising bearded and non-bearded personnel, may remind us in particular of the Assyrian royal household. Also, the well-established concept of an itinerant king in Persia is already observable for the Assyrian king, though on a considerably smaller scale. Though the reasons for such a development in Persia presumably also lie in the nomadic background of the ruling elite,³ the Persians may also have been influenced by Assyria in this respect. The legacy of Assyria is manifold and the few aspects briefly introduced here are limited, given the total of observable parallels and similarities which were—consciously or not—taken over. This is certainly not limited to the Babylonian and the Persian empire but also concerns other empires including the Diadochi and Ottoman empires. Also the Seleucid kings maintained an itinerant lifestyle which has developed to such an extent that they did not even

³ For the nomadic background of the Achaemenids see Brosius 2007: 19, 47 (with reference to R. Boucharlat).

had an imperial capital but several royal cities which they visited on a regular basis (Strootman 2011: 71). The Ottoman court is well-known for its harem guarded by eunuchs and—at the risk of evoking clichés—it is clear that the women’s quarters were a well-protected, integral part of the Assyrian court (beginning with the Middle Assyrian period). We have no definite proof that its guards were eunuchs, but some indications to that effect exist. In any case, women’s quarters were, for instance, also an essential aspect of the Achaemenid court and the court of the Han Dynasty in China (c. 200 BCE–200 AD).⁴ Furthermore, the presence of foreigners at the Assyrian court including foreign palace women and entertaining personnel as well as scholars from abroad is a wide-spread phenomenon of court societies.⁵ Other aspects of court life which can be detected not only in Assyria but also elsewhere include the royal banquet which was a central event at court and displayed those who were entitled to be near the king and to dine at his expense.⁶ Court cultures are inevitably connected to the figure of a preeminent ruler and it is not only in Assyria that the king surrounded himself with comfort and luxury and showed off his privileged position and power by pompous palaces, exotic gardens and animal parks.⁷ Such parallels between the Assyrian court and other courts are not necessarily to be regarded as adoptions of the Assyrian court (or other courts) but arose from the similar conditions and requirements entailed by such systems.

⁴ For instance, for the harem guarded by eunuchs at the court of the Han Dynasty see van Ess 2007: 259–62.

⁵ Note, for instance, the employment of Greek and Egyptian physicians at the Achaemenid court, see Brosius 2007: 34–5.

⁶ See, for instance, Brosius (2007: 41–5) for the Achaemenid court.

⁷ Animal parks and exotic gardens were, for instance, established by the kings of the Han Dynasty (van Ess 2007: 251).

PROSOPOGRAPHY

PALACE MANAGER

1. *rab ekalli* (named)
- **Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) Palace manager, city overseer of Kalhu, governor of Irmeriti(?), eponym of 873¹**
Kalhu (Assurnaṣirpal II)
N. LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL šá-UGU-URU šá URU.kal-ḫi Assur Stele 50 N.'s inscription on a stele belonging to the so-called
LÚ*.GAR.KUR URU.ir²-me-ri-ti (Deller and Millard Stelenreihe of Assur.
1993: 219) nd
 - N. SAA 12 82:2 nd Edict on the appointment of N.
 - N. SAA 12 83 r. 22 nd Edict on the appointment of N. Cf. the fragment SAA 12
84, though a reference to N. is not preserved here.
 - **Bāni-Aia-šarru (1) Palace manager of the Central City of Nineveh**
Nineveh (Adad-nērāri III)
B. GAL-É.GAL ša MURUB₄-URU ša NINA.KI/B. Edubba 10 5:1-2, 6 788 Seller of a slave woman and a slave to the palace
scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1) for 79 minas of bronze.
 - **Inūrta-šallim-[...] (1) Palace manager**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
I. [GAL]-É.GAL CTN 2 74 r. 3'-4' 800/787 First witness in a fragmentary land(?) sale(?) (suggested
on the basis of sketch map on the reverse).
 - **Bēl-ašarēd (1) Palace manager**
unc. (late 9th or 8th century)
B. GAL-É.GAL OLA 65 35 1:1-2 nd Inscription on the seal of B.

¹ The entries in the eponym list are not given here, see therefore Reynolds, PNA 2/II 941.

- **Šil-Nergal (1) Palace manager of the Old Palace**
 Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
 Š. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL ša É.GAL SUMUN-ti
 CTN 2 68 r. 9'-10'
 779
 Together with the p.m. Šil-Issār (3), witness in a unique but fragmentary legal document possibly involving shepherds and the palace.
- Š.
 CTN 1 1 ii 5
 nyd
 Probably the same Š. receives an "additional amount" of wine.
- **Šil-Issār (3) Palace manager of the New Palace**
 Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV and probably later)
 Š. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL[L] ša É.GAL GIBIL
 CTN 2 68 r. 11'-12'
 779
 Together with the p.m. Šil-Nergal (1), witness in a unique legal document.
- (4) Š.
 CTN 2 4 r. 11
 769
 Witness when Ahū'a-erība, servant of the chief treasurer, sells his daughter to the servant of Bel-isse'a, village manager.
- Š.
 CTN 1 4:12
 nyd
 Probably the same Š. receives [x] amount of wine.
- Š.
 CTN 1 33 ii 4
 nyd
 Probably the same Š. receives 1 *sītu* of wine according to this wine list involving personnel of the substitute king.
- [...] (-) **Palace manager**
 Assur (Aššur-dān III)
 [PN] 'GAL'-É.GAL
 STAT 3 22 r. 1'
 758
 Probably first witness in a legal document confirming payment which might have a procedural background (cf. Faist 2007: 52).
- **Ēreš-ilu (4) Palace manager**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
 É. LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL'
 CTN 2 95:12 =
 Jas 1996 no. 43
 740
 Witness in a receipt concerning a payment of debts in the house of the palace scribe.

- **Bēl-ana-marruqi (1) Palace manager of the Inner City**
Assur (Sennacherib)²
B. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL ša URU.ŠÀ-URU / LÚ.GAL- SAAB 9 75:1-2,
É.GAL ša [U]RU.ŠÀ-[U]RU / LÚ.GAL-É.GAL 7-8, r. 16
- **Nabû-dûru-ušur (16) Palace manager of the city of Maškala**
Nineveh/from Maškala (Esarhaddon)
N. 'LÚ'.GAL' -KUR'
[0] URU.maš-ka-la-a-a SAA 7 131:8'-b.e. 9' nd
N. is said to have brought different kinds of birds with him, possibly as an audience gift.
- **Aḫu-erība (18) Palace manager**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.GAL'-É.GAL 663 Last witness in a house sale document.
A. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL[L] SAA 14 62 r. 6' dl³ Second witness in a fragmentary sale document.
- **Emūqi-Aššūr (3) Palace manager of the Review Palace**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
E. // E. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL ša É.GAL-ma-šar-t[i] / E. CTN 3 10:3 // 10*:5, 650/PC
r. 12 Creditor of 2 minas of silver, fodder for the birds, owed by Qurdi-Asalluḫi, deputy (of the governor) of Kalhu.
- **Ilu-paḫḫir (2) Palace manager, presumably identical with the palace manager Ilu-lipḫur (4) (see below)**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
(1) I. ND 2305 r. 12 650/PC I. witnesses a legal document with only the witness list preserved.
I. LÚ.GAL-KUR ND 3422 r. 9 642* First witness for the ša-rēšī Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7). His colleague Nabû-šarru-ušur (25) is also witness.
I. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL / I. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL ND 2332:2, 5 634* According to a legal document the same(?) I. redeems(?) daughters from Inūrta-abu-ušur and Inūrta-erība.

² The eponym is only partly preserved but can be restored thanks to prosopographical connections with e.g. SAA 6 59 and SAA 6 152 (see Deller et al. 1995 : 10-2).

³ Since SAA 14 60, dated to 658, contains several identical witnesses, the present document was very likely drawn up in the same year or around that time.

- **Ubru-Nabû (22) Palace manager**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL
U. LÚ*.GAL-KUR
U. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
U. LÚ.GAL-KUR / U.
U. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
U. [L]Ú.GAL-KUR
U. GAL-KUR / U. GAL-É.GAL
(46) U.
U.
Witness for Ezbu, commander-of-fifty.
Together with his colleague Nabû-aḫu-ušur (18), witness for Mullissu-šarru-ušrī, probably a *sekretu*.
Witness, together with his colleague Nabû-aḫu-ušur (18), when four men dedicate the son of the prostitute Ra'imtu to Ninurta of Kalhu.
Purchases a female slave for 1 mina of silver from the gatekeeper Ubru-Sebetti (4) and Šēp-Nabû-ašbat.
Witness when the priest Iddināia purchases a weaver for the god Ninurta.
Witness, together with colleague Nabû-aḫu-ušur (18), when Mannu-de'iq, shield bearer of a *ša-rēši*, dedicates his son to Ninurta of Kalhu.
Sells his female slave for 1 mina of silver to an unnamed *šakintu* of the palace.
The same(?) U. acts as a witness in a silver loan.
The same(?) U. writes a letter to a certain Šamaš-nūrī, otherwise unknown.
- **Nabû-aḫu-ušur (18) Palace manager**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal and probably later)
N. LÚ*.GAL-KUR
N. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
656
638*
638*
637*
637*
634*
dl
dl
nd
638*
638*
First witness, preceding his colleague Ubru-Nabû (22), for Mullissu-šarru-ušrī, probably a *sekretu*.
Witness, preceding his colleague Ubru-Nabû (22), when four men dedicate the son of the prostitute Ra'imtu to Ninurta of Kalhu.

N. [LÚ*].GAL-KUR	SAA 12 93 r. 14	634*	Witness, together with his colleague Ubru-Nabû (22), when Mannu-de'iq, shield bearer of a <i>ša-rēši</i> , dedicates his son to Ninurta of Kalhu.
(27) N.	CTN 3 41:7	616*	The same(?) N. is owed ½ mina 2 shekels of silver.
• Nabû-šarru-ušur (25) Palace manager Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal and later)			
N.	ND 3422 r. 17	642*	Witness for the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7). His colleague Ilu-paḫḫir (2) is first witness.
N.	ND 2316 r. 8	641*	Witness in marriage contract of Miiki-ḫaiāia, votress of Mullissu.
N.	ND 2332 r. 6	634*	Witness when the p.m. Ilu-paḫḫir (2) redeems(?) daughters of two men.
N. GAL-KUR	ND 2093 r. 7	629*	Witness when five men borrow 1 talent 7 ½ minas of silver of the king.
N.	ND 2088:5	625*	Creditor of 3 <i>emāru</i> of corn owed by Ubru-Nabû, son of Iaḫū-lī.
N.	ND 2327 r. 15	625*	Witness for Ezbu, commander-of-fifty, who buys Ḫulī, a "purchased man" (<i>šimū</i>).
N.	ND 2307 l.e. 4 = FNALD 14	622*	Last witness in a marriage contract: the <i>šakintu</i> Amat-Astārti gives her daughter in marriage.
• Tartīmanni (1) Palace manager and courtier Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal and later)			
T.	CTN 3 51 r. 9	644*/ 629*	First witness when a daughter is sold into marriage for 10 shekels of silver.
T.	CTN 3 31 r. 6 = Jas 1996 no. 9	630*	Witnesses a court case decision concerning accounts (<i>nikkassu</i>).

T. LÚ.GAL-É.[GAL]	SAAB 1 24 r. 2-3	626*	First witness when Kabalāia, deputy of the household of the queen, is owed silver.
T. LÚ*.DUMU-É.GAL	CTN 3 30 r. 4 = Jas 1996 no. 25	617*	First witness in a lawsuit brought by Kabalāia, female deputy of the <i>šakintu</i> .
T. // T. LÚ.GAL-KUR	CTN 3 39 r. 3 // 39* r. 3	615*	First witness for Attār-paīti, the female scribe of the queen, who is owed silver.
T.	CTN 3 40 b.e. 10	615*	First witness for Attār-paīti, the female scribe of the queen, who is owed silver.
T.	CTN 3 3:3, r. 21	nd	Writes a letter to an unnamed p.m. about vessels which were brought out from the house of the scribe.
● Ḫaršū (1) Palace manager Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)			
Ḫ. LÚ.GAL-É.'GAL'?	SAA 12 96 r. 18 = FNALD 15	621*	Witness, together with his colleague In[...]i, for Nabû-sagṛbi who dedicates two slaves and a plot of land to Nabû.
● In[...]i (-) Palace manager Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)			
I. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL	SAA 12 96 r. 17 = FNALD 15	621*	Witness, with his colleague Ḫaršū (1), for Nabû-sagṛbi who dedicates two slaves and a plot of land to Nabû.
● Isseme-ilī (2) Palace manager of the Review Palace of Kalhu Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)			
[I.] LÚ.GAL-É.GAL / LÚ.GAL[L-É.GAL]	CTN 3 8:2-3, r. 8	625*	The pledged Dādi-ēreš is released from him.
I. GAL-KUR <i>ša</i> KUR- <i>ma-šar-ti šá</i> URU. <i>kál-ḫa</i>	CTN 3 12:2-3	623*	Delivers 2 <i>emāru</i> of corn to Nabû-da''inanni, team-commander of the <i>rab ša-rēši</i> .
I. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL	CTN 3 6:3	623*	Creditor of <i>iarītu</i> -textiles owed by his scribe and his son(?) Šēp-šarri (19).

[I. LÚ.GA]L-É.GAL	CTN 3 7:4-5 = Jas 1996 no. 50	620*	In a legal document it is said that Nabū-nādin-aḫḫē, involved in other legal transactions as well, should bring Sūsu to I.
I.	CTN 3 29:3, b.e. 8, r. 13 = Jas 1996 no. 17	PC ⁴	I., as her surety, is responsible for an escaped female slave of an unnamed female deputy of the <i>šakintu</i> .
LÚ.GAL-É.[GA]L	CTN 3 4:1	nd	Very likely the same man receives a letter from his “son” (and scribe) Šēp-šarri (19) about deliveries of goat hair.
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL	CTN 3 5:1	nd	Very likely the same man receives a letter from his “son” (and scribe) Šēp-šarri (19) about deliveries of <i>iartūtu</i> -textiles.
I.	CTN 3 2:2	nd	I. is asked in a letter from (the otherwise unknown) Mannī to send reed for the <i>kurḫu</i> -building.
• Tukultī-Aššūr (7) Palace manager Assur (after Assurbanipal)			
T. GAL-KUR	STAT 3 35 ii 13	nd ⁵	Mentioned in a barley account.
• Urdu-Issār (50) Palace manager Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)			
U. LÚ.GAL-KUR / U.	CTN 3 9:4, r. 10	613*	The pledged man Ḫūlāiu is released from him.
• Ilu-lipḫur (4) Palace manager , possibly identical with the palace manager Ilu-paḫḫir (2) (see above) Kalhu (7 th century)			
I. GAL-KUR	ND 3460 r. 7	dl	Second witness, following his colleague Ṭāb-šil-šarri (2), in a sale of a female slave.

⁴ The eponym is Sīn-šarrīssu-ka’ in, a *hapax* (Capraro, PNA 3/1 1145).

⁵ The tablet mentions the eponymy of Bēl-aḫu-ušur (616*).

- **Ṭāb-šil-šarri (2) Palace manager**
Kalhu (7th century)
Ṭ. GAL-KUR
ND 3460 r. 6
dl
First witness, preceding his colleague Ilu-lipḫur (4), in a sale of a female slave.
 - **Mannu-ki-Adad (33) Manager of the New(?) Palace**
Nineveh (unc.)
M. LÚ.GAL-É.GAL[L'] 'x x'
(probably to be read 'GIBIL'³⁹)
SAA 11 67:2
nd
M. is mentioned along with *kuzippu*-garments and other textiles (*šipirtu*) on a clay *bullā*.
2. *rab ekalli* (unnamed)
- **Palace manager**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL / [LÚ*.GAL]-'É'.GAL //
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL / LÚ.GAL-É'.GAL'
SAA 12 83:6', r. 16 //
84: 9', 11'
nd
Mentioned in the appointment decree of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1).
 - **Palace manager of the city [...]**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
[LÚ*.G]AL-'É.GAL' [x] ša URU.'x'
ND 2640 r. 24-25
nd
Mentioned in an administrative document dealing with livestock, oil and textiles.
 - **Palace manager of Arrapha**, possibly identical with the palace manager of Arrapha mentioned in SAA 15 9
Arrapha (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
GAL-KUR *arrap-ḫa*
ND 2640 r. 33
nd
Mentioned in an administrative document dealing with livestock, oil and textiles.
 - **Palace manager**
Assur or Ekallate (Sargon II)
[LÚ*.GAL-É]'.GAL' / [L]Ú.GAL-É.GAL /
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
SAA 1 99:7, 9, r. 11'
nd
Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, writes to the king about the provision of workers for the construction of a house for the queen in Ekallate which was originally imposed on the p.m.

- **Palace manager of Arrapha**, possibly identical with the palace manager of Arrapha mentioned in ND 2640 Arrapha (Sargon II)
LÚ*.GAL-[É.GAL] ša URU.arpap-*ha* / [LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL] SAA 15 9:4-5, 14 nd Issār-dūrī, governor of Arrapha, writes to the king and mentions the p.m. of Arrapha who seems to be concerned with writing boards.
- **Palace manager**
Kalhu (8th century)
[LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL] CTN 3 135:4 nd/dl Recipient of wine.
- **Palace manager**
Babylonia (Sennacherib)
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL SAA 17 33 r. 7 nd⁶ Ina-tēš-ētir (4) states in a letter to the king that he remains in the service of the governor and the p.m.
- **Palace manager**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL / MĪ-šū ša LÚ.GAL-KUR SAA 16 50:2, 7 nd⁷ The chief scribe Nabû-zēru-lēšir addresses a list of (palace) enterers, including the p.m.'s wife, to the p.m.
- **Palace manager**
Kalhu (before Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL ND 3467:2 nd⁸ The heading of this list states that the items listed are (TCAE: 399-401) *ilku*-payments of the charioteers given to the p.m.

⁶ The attribution to the reign of Sennacherib follows Dietrich (2003: XXIII).

⁷ According to Luukko and Van Buylaere (2002: XIX) the letter is to be dated before 672.

⁸ The tablet was found under the level with Assurbanipal-dated tablets (Oates and Oates 2001: 139).

- **Palace manager**, possibly identical with either Emūqi-Aššūr (3) or Isseme-ilī (2) (see above)
Kalhu (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
CTN 3 3:1 nd Receives a letter from Tarfīmanni (1), himself attested as p.m.
- LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
CTN 3 77:4 nd The income of 30 *emāru* of grain is conducted under the responsibility of the p.m.
- **Palace manager**, possibly identical with Tarfīmanni (1) (see above)
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
CTN 3 70:6, r. 10 = 618* The field of the p.m. is the subject of a judicial procedure.
Jas 1996 no. 56 and FNALD 41
- **Palace manager of the Central City**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)⁹
GAL-É.GAL MURUB₄ URU nd Receives [x talents] of linen fibre for consumption.
- **Palace manager of the Review(?) Palace**
Nineveh or Kalhu (probably 7th century, see fn. 9)
GAL-É.GAL-[*ma-šar-te*] nd Receives [x talents] of linen fibre for consumption.
- **Palace manager**
unc. (unc.)
LÚ.GAL-É.GAL' CT 54 213:3' nd Mentioned in a fragmentary letter.

⁹ Based on the identification of Epā (mentioned in SAA 7 115 ii 11) with an Epā occurring in a letter to Sargon, this document was dated to the latter's reign (Radner, PNA I/II 397); however, the similarities between the palatial establishments listed and those of SAA 7 23 and 148 suggest a later date (see Part III, section I.1).

3. Subordinates of the *rab ekalli*3.1. *rak̄su* (recruit)● **Zabāba-erība (5) Recruit of the palace manager**

unc. (Assurbanipal)

Z. LÚ.*rak-su* ša GAL–É.G[AL]SAA 21 136
r. 16'–17'

nd

According to a letter sent by an unknown (lost) author to Assurbanipal, 209 men, including 81 archers, are in the charge of Z.

3.2. *šaniu* (deputy)● **Bēl-tāmur (7) Deputy of the palace (manager?)**

Assur (Sennacherib)

B. LÚ*.2-*u* ša É.GAL

SAAB 9 75 r. 13

683

B. witnesses a house sale for the p.m. Bēl-ana-marruqi (1).

3.3. *ša-rēši*● **ša-rēši of the palace manager(?)**Kalhu (8th century)

L[Ú*],SAG

[ša (LÚ*):GAL]²–É.GAL

CTN 2 223:5–6

nd

Mentioned along with [x talents] (of wool).

3.4. *tupšarru* (scribe)● **Ḫanūnu (1) Scribe of the palace manager**

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

Ḫ. LÚ.A.BA ša LÚ'.[GA]L–KUR ša-*tup-pi*

Edubba 10 6 r. 11–12

788

Witness for the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1) who buys five slaves.

- **Rēmāni-Šamaš (2) Scribe of the palace manager**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
R. LÚ*.A.BA
SAA 12 92 r. 8 = FNALD 16
638*
Witness when four men dedicate the son of the prostitute Ra'imtu to Ninurta of Kalhu. The same document is also witnessed by the two p.m.s Nabû-aḫu-ušur (18) and Ubru-Nabû (22).
 - R... ša LÚ.GAL-É.GAL
("ditto" refers to LÚ.A.BA in r. 14')
 - **Šēp-šarri (19) Scribe and son(?) of the palace manager Isseme-ilī (2)**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.A.BA
SAA 12 94 r. 15'
637*
Witness when the priest Iddināia purchases a weaver for Ninurta.
 - CTN 3 6:4
623*
Owes of *iarītu*-textiles to his master, the p.m. Isseme-ilī (2).
 - CTN 3 44:2
621*
The same(?) Š. appears as joint debtor, owing a total of 15 *emāru* of barley.
 - CTN 3 4:3
nd
Š. writes to his "father", the p.m. Isseme-ilī (2), about deliveries of goat hair.
 - CTN 3 5:2
nd
Š. writes to his "father", the p.m. Isseme-ilī (2), about deliveries of *iarītu*-textiles.
- 3.5. *urdu* (servant)
- **[...]aeru (-) Servant of the palace manager**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
PN⁺ LÚ*.ARAD⁺ šá LÚ*.GAL-É.GAL⁺
VAT 9582 l.e. 2
649
Witness when five people are sold for 3 minas of silver.

3.6. Miscellaneous subordinates

- **Balātu (2) [... of] the palace manager**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
B. [LÚ.x ša] LÚ*.GAL.É.GAL
CTN 2 92 r. 11–12 =
Jas 1996 no. 39
795
Witness when a certain Šarru-ēmuranni pays a fine of
1 talent of bronze for his slave.
- **Ina-tēši-ētir (4) Subordinate to the palace manager**
Babylonia (Sennacherib)
I.
SAA 17 33 r. 7
nd
In a letter to the king he states that he is in the service
of the governor and the p.m.
- **Mannī (7) Subordinate of the palace manager Isseme-ilī (2)**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
M.
CTN 3 2:1
nd
As author of a letter to the p.m. Isseme-ilī (2) he asks
the p.m. to send reeds for the *kurḫu*-building.

PALACE SUPERVISOR

1. *bēt ša-pān-ekalli*
- **House of the palace(?) supervisor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
É LÚ*.šá⁷-IGI-É.(GAL) (see Postgate 1973: 133) CTN 2 105:5
742
The p.s.'s department is to receive(?) 10 (*emāru*) of
barley rations which Na'i (1), son of a female palace
servant, owes to Sāme'.

2. *ša-pān-ekalli* of the queen
- **Palace supervisor (of the queen?)**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL
SAA 11 36 iii 2
nd/dl
In an administrative text recording redistributed tribute he is listed, between the queen and the cupbearer of the queen, as recipient of one sheep and 1 *šapputu*-bowl (of wine).
3. Subordinates of the *ša-pān-ekalli* of the queen
- 3.1. Miscellaneous subordinates
- **Aššūr-mātu-taqin (13) [... of] the palace supervisor of the queen**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
A. [x] 'x' [LÚ]. šá-IGI-É.GAL ša MÍ.KUR
SAA 12 96 l.e. 3 = FNALD 15
621*
Witness when two brothers and land are dedicated to Nabû.
 - A.
CTN 3 70 r. 13 = Jas 1996 no. 56 and FNALD 41
618*
Witnesses a court decision involving a field of the palace manager.
4. *ša-pān-ekalli* of the king's mother
- **Nabû-[...] (7) Palace supervisor of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.šá-IGI-KUR.: (for: AMA-MAN in i 35)
SAA 7 5 i 36
nyd/ ydl
In a list of court personnel.

5. *ša-pān-ekalli* of the crown prince
- **Ṭāb-šil-šarri (1) Palace overseer(?) of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
T. [LÚ.ša-IGI]-É.GAL ša DUMU-LUGAL SAA 18 101 r. 7-8 nd
In a letter to the king (heading lost) it is said that conspiracy takes place in the house of Ṭ.
 - **Palace overseer(?) of the Succession House**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ.ša-pa'-a]n'-É.GAL ša É-re-d[ti-ti'] SAA 18 109 r. 3' nd
He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
 - **[...] (-) Palace supervisor of the crown prince(?)**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
[PN LÚ*.ša]-IGI-É.GAL A'-MAN' SAA 6 328 r. 7 dl
He is witness for the chief charioteer Rēmāni-Adad.
6. Subordinates of the *ša-pān-ekalli* of the crown prince
- 6.1. *mār damqi* (chariot fighter)
- **Qurdi-Issār (16) Chariot fighter of the palace supervisor of the crown prince, son of Ātanha-ilu**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
Q. (...) LÚ.A-SIG ša LÚ.ša-IGI-KUR ša DUMU-ND 2325:1-2, 5, 9, 16 629*
Sells his female slave Arbal-lāmur to Issār-mētu-balliṭ for 1 mina of silver.
7. *ša-pān-ekalli* (named)
- **Qurdi-Aššūr (3) Palace(?) supervisor**
Assur (Adad-nērāri III)
URU.kap-ri-Q. LÚ*.ša-IGI-É'.[GAL'] SAA 12 1:6 788
A village named after Q. is said to be adjacent to land in the province of Assur allocated by Adad-nērāri III to the god Aššur.

- [...] (-) **Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššur-nērāri V)
[PN?] šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31:10 754
Mentioned in a broken passage of a legal document, also witnessed by seven servants of his.
- **Mannū (I) Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
M. LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 36 r. 14' 736
M.'s servants Abdi-Ēl (1) and Šan-šarūru (1) act as first witnesses for Bēl-dūr (4), treasurer of the queen.
- **Bēl-ilā'ī (4) Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
B. LÚ* .šá-IGI-É'.GAL
ND 2605 r. 8 nd¹⁰
(of CTN 5: 273-5)
According to an administrative record Ḥašdāia has purchased B.'s gardener [...].ia, according to PNA to be restored as Aplāia (7).¹¹
- **Šamaš-issē'a (4) Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II)
Š.
CTN 2 108 r. 11 728
Š. acts as a witness in a legal document.
ND 2803 r. i 13 dl¹³
According to this administrative document the same(?) Š. receives together with the tracker Šamaš-aḥu-iddina 20 emāru of grain or a cereal product for the deportees of Bit-Daltā (= Ellipi).

¹⁰ The text mentions Tiglath-pileser (ND 2605:2').

¹¹ Radner (PNA I/I 115) suggests that this [Aplā]ia is identical with an Aplāia mentioned in a Neo-Babylonian letter (SAA 15 19:3') which also refers to a Bēl-ilā'ī. Since, apart from the homonymous individuals, there are no further indications for such an identification this remains doubtful.

¹² Collation according to Gentili, PNA 3/II 1202 s.v. Šamaš-issē'a 4.

¹³ Since especially in the reign of Sargon rebellions took place within Ellipi this tablet most likely dates to the reign of Sargon (Fuchs, PNA I/II 373 s.v. Daltā).

- **Ahu-[...]** (-) **Palace supervisor**
Imgur-Ililil (Sargon II)
A. LÚ* .šá-IGI-É? .GAL?²
BT 101* r. 11
710
Witness to a loan of silver of Ištar of Arbail.
- **Aššūr-balti-niše (1) Palace supervisor**
active in the south-east and north-west (Sargon II)
A.
SAA 1 10 r. 1
nd
King's letter to the official Nabû-dūru-ušur: A. should assist the handling of captives.
- A. LÚ* .šá-IGI-KUR
SAA 1 257 r. 10
nd
In a letter written by another p.s. to the king it is said that A. checked and reviewed 277 persons of the sender.
- A.
SAA 5 242:2
nd
Writes a letter to the king about captives.
- **[...]**šame (-) **Palace supervisor**
unc. (Sargon II)
PN¹ LÚ* .šá-IGI-KU[R]
SAA 1 259:6
nd
The author (name lost) of a letter to the king refers to the king's previous message stating that [...].šame is bringing captives to the sender.
- **[...]** (-) **Palace(?) supervisor**
active in the north-west (Sargon II)
[PN] LÚ .šá-IGI-[É.GAL]
SAA 1 257:2-3
nd
Writes a letter to the king about deportees. He also mentions his colleague Aššūr-balti-niše (1).
- **Nabû-iqša (3) Palace(?) supervisor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ .šá-IGI-[É.GAL]²
SAA 6 283 r. 19
672
Witness for Ilu-šabtanni (1), royal *ša-rēši*, who buys 40 hectares of land.
- (6) N.
SAA 6 285:5
dl
The same(?) N. sells a commodity (lost) to the chief of accounts.

- [...]**jeme** (-) **Palace supervisor**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon)¹⁴
'PN' [*a-na* L]Ú.šá-IGI-KUR-*ú-ti*
RA 17 194 r. 1'-2'
nd/dl
Is appointed as p.s. according to an administrative document.
- **Aḫu-ilā'i (13) Palace supervisor**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.šá-*pa-ni-É.GAL*
ABL 270:5
nd
A. is mentioned in a broken letter sent by Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk, to the king.
- **Bābilāiu (21) Palace supervisor(?)**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
B. x 'LÚ*?'.šá-IGI-É?'.[GAL]
SAA 14 80:4-5
658
According to a legal document B. is said to have taken 2 *emāru* of wine.
- **Mannu-kī-Ninua (9) Palace(?)¹⁵ supervisor**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
M. 'LÚ'.šá-IGI-[x x]
M.
M. is witness in a slave sale document.
M. is witness when a *šakintu* buys a slave.
M. is witness when a *šakintu* buys a female slave.
SAA 14 129 r. 1'
SAA 14 13 r. 17
SAA 14 14 r. 12
668
650
dl
- **Bēl-aḫu-usur (8) Palace supervisor, post-canonical eponym of 616***
unc. (after Assurbanipal)
Only attested as eponym, for the references in date formulae see Frahm, PNA 1/II 284. 616*
Eponym of 616* (Reade: 621*).

¹⁴ Assuming that Aḫī-milki, appointed to chief cook according to the same document, is identical with a homonymous man buying a slave in 676 BCE (see Part II, section 12.1.6).

¹⁵ Other possibilities for restoration are *ša-pān-nērebi*, *ša-pān-bēti*, *ša-pān-bēl-qātē*, *ša-pān-dannāti*, *ša-pān-dēnāni*, *ša-pān-bābi*, *ša-pān-sūqi*, *ša-pān-ša-šadādi* and *ša-pān-narḫabti*, of which only the *ša-pān-nērebi* and the *ša-pān-dēnāni* are comparatively well attested. Nevertheless, it is the *ša-pān-ekalli* one encounters most often in the texts.

- **Tuqūn-Issār (2) Palace supervisor**
Guzana (after Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.G[A]L
TH 110 r. 7 =
Jas 1996 no. 48
613* T. is witness in a judicial settlement.

- [...]bil (-) **Palace(?) supervisor**
Nineveh (7th century)
PN^r L[Ú] .šá-IGI-É^r .[GAL]
SAA 14 347:4 dl Buys a slave for ½ mina 5 shekels of silver.

- 8. *šá-pān-ekalli* (unnamed)
 - **Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and later)
LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 1 3 ii 8 784 Receives 5 *qū* of wine.
CTN 1 8:25 751/ Receives [5? *qū*?] of wine.
747/ 735

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL[L]
CTN 1 2 i 13 nyd Receives 5 *qū* of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 1 4 r. 6 nyd Receives 5 *qū* of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 1 6 r. 45 ydl Receives 5 *qū* of wine.

 - [LÚ*] .š[á-IGI]-É^r .[GAL]
CTN 1 11 r. 16' nd/dl Receives 5 *qū* of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-KUR
CTN 1 13:14' nd/dl Receive 5 *qū* of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL[L]
CTN 1 15:3' nd/dl Receives 5 *qū* of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 1 16:20' nd/dl Receives [5? *qū*?] of wine.

 - [L]Ú* .[šá]-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 1 19:23 dl Receives [5? *qū*?] of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É^r .[GAL]
CTN 1 22:8' nd/dl Receives 1 *šapputu*-bowl of wine.

 - LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 1 33 ii 3 nyd Receives 5 *qū* of wine.

- **Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ* .šá-IGI-KUR
ND 2414 r. 17
nd
Listed along with 192 lost or dead sheep.
- **Palace supervisor**
probably Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
SAA 1 34 r. 17'
nd
Sennacherib informs the king about allotments given out to members of the royal family and selected officials including the p.s. who is listed along with 5 minas of silver, 3 togas and 2 linen-garments.
- **Palace supervisor**
Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ* .šá-IGI-KUR
SAA 5 295 r. 11
nd
In a letter to the king the sender (name lost) says that he will give the beams over to the accounting of the p.s.
- **Palace supervisor**
Lahuru (Sargon II)
[LÚ* .šá]-pa-an-É.GAL
SAA 15 136:6
nd
Nabû-šumu-iddina, a fort commander, informs the king that a p.s. appointed by the king was honoured by the people in and around Lahuru.
- **Palace supervisor**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ* .šá-IGI-É.GAL
SAA 1 137:10
nd
Amar-ili writes to the king that the granary between the p.s.'s store house and the city wall fell down.
- **Palace(?) supervisor**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ .šá-pa-[an-...]
SAA 1 37 r. 5
nd
Mentioned in a broken passage of a letter from the crown prince Sennacherib to the king.
- LÚ* .šá-IGI-[...]
SAA 15 326:4'
nd
Mentioned in a fragment of a letter.

- **Palace supervisor**
Nineveh (Sargon II or later)¹⁶
šá-IGI-KUR
SAA 7 83 i 12'
nd/dl
Mentioned in a fragmentary administrative document along with precious stones.
- **Palace supervisor**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL
[LÚ*?].šá-IGI-É.GAL
CTN 2 191:2
nd
Wrote a letter to the governor (of Kalhu) dealing with the covering of chariot wheels with silver.
CTN 2 204:11'
nd/dl
Mentioned in a broken administrative document, probably a report on prices of different commodities.
- **Palace supervisor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL
LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL
SAA 10 116 r.e. 15
nd
The Babylonian scholar Bēl-ušēzib informs the king that tablets concerning(?) the p.s. were sent to the king.
SAA 13 24:5
nd
Mentioned in a broken letter to the king from Dādī, an official active in the Aššur Temple.
- **Palace supervisor(s)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL.MEŠ
šá-IGI-É.GAL.MEŠ
SAA 4 142:8
nd
The p.s. are mentioned as potential transgressors against crown prince Assurbanipal.
SAA 4 144:8
nd
The p.s. are mentioned as potential transgressors against king Esarhaddon, cf. SAA 4 139.
SAA 13 80:14
nd
The mayor of the Nabû Temple, Nabû-šumu-iddina, writes to the king asking him to give the p.s. an order so that he can have a look at the king when the elders pass by.

¹⁶ See Fales and Postgate 1992: XXIII.

- **Palace supervisor**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.šá-IGI-É.[GAL]
SAA 13 185 r. 17
Mentioned in a broken passage in a letter probably from Šumu-iddina, official of Esagil, to the king.
- LÚ.šá-*pa-ni*-É.GAL
SAA 18 162 r. 1
Kabfīa, a Babylonian official, reports to the king that he went with the p.s. to join the royal treaty in Nippur and in Uruk.
- **Palace supervisor**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL
SAA 21 17 r. 5
Assurbanipal writes to the Nippureans and explains that it was also because of the p.s. that fifteen of their elders did not get an audience with the king.
- **Palace supervisor**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.šá-*pa-an-É*].GAL² / LÚ.šá-*pa-an-É*.GA[L]
ABL 521 r. 3, 8
(de Vaan 1995: 270–4)¹⁷
Bēl-ibni of the Sealand reports to the Assyrian king that the troops entered Kissik with the p.s. on the 16th day and that they left for the Sealand on the 18th day.
- LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL / LÚ.šá-[IGI-É].GAL]
ABL 1387 r. 6, 16
(Dietrich 1970: 178)
In a letter to the king it is reported that three men together with the nobles of Uruk wanted the sender (name lost) to kill the p.s.
- **Palace supervisor**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)¹⁸
LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL
SAA 18 202:9
In a letter to the king the *šandabakku* mentions that the p.s. went together with the magnates down to Chaldea last year.

¹⁷ Date according to de Vaan (1995: 56): March-April 649.

¹⁸ Date according to Reynolds (2003: XV III, XXVIII): 669–653.

- **Palace supervisor(?)**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.šá-IGI]-É'.GAL
SAA 18 153:13 nd
The Babylonian Nergal-ibni writes a letter to the king about the diviner [Nabū-ušab]š(i?)¹⁹ who according to him has incited the p.s. and others against him.
- **Palace(?) supervisor**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.šá-IGI-É'.[GAL]
SAA 21 156:1 nd
Author of a letter to Indabia, probably a commander-of-one-thousand, and Uraš[...] who may have been his sons.
- **Palace supervisor**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.šá-IGI-É'.GAL
šá-IGI-É'.GAL
SAA 11 36 ii 12, 17 nd/dl
According to an administrative text recording redistributed tribute he receives 2 donkeys, garments, 1 sheep and 1 šapputu-bowl of wine.
SAA 11 36 r. i 30 nd/dl
In the same text he is listed along with 4 šapputu-bowls of wine, possibly his monthly allotment of wine.
- **Palace supervisor**
Nineveh (unc.)
LÚ.šá-IGI-É'.GA[L]
SAA 7 20 i 1' nd/dl
Listed on an otherwise destroyed obverse of an administrative document. On the reverse it lists various sorts of craftsmen.
- **Palace supervisor**
unc. (unc.)
LÚ*.šá-IGI-É'.GAL'
CT 53 174:1 nd
Receives a letter from a subordinate [...]kisu (narrative part broken).

¹⁹ If the restoration is correct, he must be identical with the diviner Nabū-ušabši mentioned in SAA 18 152 r. 2.

10.3. *mār šipri* (messenger)

- **Messenger of the palace supervisor**
Assur (Sargon II)

LÚ*.A-KIN ša LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL	SAA 1 76 r. 4, 8	nd	Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, writes to the king that the messenger of the p.s. together with a <i>ša-quir-būti</i> went with the emissaries and the treaty tablet of Gurdī to the temple.
-------------------------------	------------------	----	---

- **Messenger of the palace supervisor**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)

LÚ.A-KIN ša LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL	CT 54 507:9	nd	Nabū-ušabši, governor of Uruk, writes to the king that he sent his messenger together with that of the p.s. to the Sealand.
-----------------------------	-------------	----	---

10.4. *nuāru* (musician)

- **Meiā' (I) Musician of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Sargon II)²⁰

M. LÚ*.NAR LÚ*.šá-IGI-KUR	ND 2451:21 (TCAE: 376-9)	ydl	Mentioned in a section accounting four dead (or old) donkeys.
---------------------------	-----------------------------	-----	---

10.5. *nukaribbu* (gardener)

- **[Aplā]ia(?) (7) Gardener**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)

[A.] LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR	ND 2605 r. 7 (CTN 5: 273-5)	nd	Originally belonging to the p.s. Bēl-ilā'ī (4), he is sold to Ḥašdāia. ²¹
---------------------	--------------------------------	----	--

²⁰ The penultimate section of this tablet refers to the eponym of Ša-Aššūr-dubbu (707).

²¹ A second attestation of the same individual, as suggested by Radner in PNA, is omitted here, see fn. 11.

- 10.6. *rādi qātē* (adjutant)
- **Adjutant of the palace supervisor**
Assur (Sargon II)
LÚ*.UŠ-qa-ti ša LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL SAA 1 76:10–11 nd
In a letter of Tāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, to the king it is said that the adjutant picked up the treaty tablet of Gurdi, an otherwise unknown Assyrian vassal.
- 10.7. *ša-muḫḫi-bēti* (household-overseer)
- **Bēlu-lū-balaḫ (7) Household(?) overseer of the house of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ*.šá-UGU-É] ša É LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL CTN 2 96 r. 11–12 = 691
Jas 1996 no. 38
Witness in a receipt of the payment of debts.
- 10.8. *šaniu* (deputy)
- **Deputy palace supervisor**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-IGI-KUR 2-ú RA 17 194:4' nd/dl
Listed in an administrative document.
 - **Deputy palace supervisor**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL 2-ú SAA 11 36 ii 8 nd/dl
According to an administrative text recording redistributed tribute he receives a wagon, one sheep and 1 šapputtu-bowl of wine.
 - **Deputy (palace supervisor)**
LÚ.2-ú SAA 20 33:35 nd
According to the “Victory and Lion-Hunt Ritual” the deputy (of the p.s.) is involved in the ritual murder of an enemy with bow and arrow together with his superior and the “Left House man”.

10.9. *ṭupšarru* (scribe)● **Kabfī (15) Scribe of the palace supervisor, *šābit ṭuppi*, servant of Aššūr-da''in-aplu, son of Shalmaneser III**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

(8) K. LÚ.A'.BA' DIB IM

SAA 6 265 r. 7 =
Jas 1996 no. 44 and
FNALD 46

K. witnesses a judicial settlement.

679

K. LÚ.DUB.SAR *ša* LUGAL *be-lí ina É*

SAA 16 98:2-4

nd

The same(?) K. is sender of a letter to the king in which he complains that nobody listens to him. He designates himself "scribe whom the king, my lord, appointed to the house of the palace supervisor".

(9) K. LÚ.A.BA ARAD *ša* ^m*aš-šur-da-in-DUMU*.UŠ

SAA 16 99:8'-9'

nd

The same(?) K. is probably mentioned in a letter to the king, according to which he told the sender (name lost) that a certain offender's son enters and leaves the palace.

● **[Nabū]-zēru-ušur (3) Scribe of the palace supervisor**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

[N.] LÚ*.A.BA *ša* LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL

SAA 16 88:2-3

nd

N. writes a letter to the king about herders who have been told by the governor (of Nineveh) not to sell donkeys in front of the palace.

● **Scribe of the palace supervisor**Nineveh (probably 7th century)LÚ*.A.BA-šú (the *šú* refers to LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL

SAA 11 36 ii 18

nd/dl

According to an administrative text recording redistributed tribute he receives one sheep and 1 *šapputu*-bowl of wine.

10.10. *urdu* (servant)

- **Salqātu (-) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
S. / PAB.7 IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ʾARAD.MEŠ' ša
šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31 r. 28, 29
754
Witness for Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, who buys land.
- **Šakil[...] (1) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
Š. / PAB.7 IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ʾARAD.MEŠ' ša
šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31 r. 25, 29
754
Witness for Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, who buys land.
- **Šepāia (2) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
Š. / PAB.7 IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ʾARAD.MEŠ' ša
šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31 r. 25, 29
754
Witness for Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, who buys land.
- **Tuqūn-ereš (1) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
T. / PAB.7 IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ʾARAD.MEŠ' ša
šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31 r. 27, 29
754
Witness for Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, who buys land.
- **Ubru (2) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
U. / PAB.7 IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ʾARAD.MEŠ' ša
šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31 r. 27, 29
754
Witness for Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, who buys land.
- **Zuhī (1) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
Z. / PAB.7 IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ʾARAD.MEŠ' ša
šá-IGI-É.GAL
Edubba 10 31 r. 28–29
754
Witness for Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, who buys land.

- **Abdi-Ēl (1) Servant of the palace supervisor Mannū (1)**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
A. / ARAD.MEŠ ša M. LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL Edubba 10.36 r. 13', 14'
736 Witness for Bēl-dūrī (4), treasurer of the queen, together with his colleague Šan-Šarūru (1).
- **Šan-Šarūru (1) Servant of the palace supervisor Mannū (1)**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
Š. / ARAD.MEŠ ša M. LÚ*.šá-IGI-É.GAL Edubba 10.36 r. 13'–14'
736 Witness for Bēl-dūrī (4), treasurer of the queen, together with his colleague Abdi-Ēl (1).
- **Mukīn-Aššūr (3) Servant(?) of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
M. [LÚ*.ARAD]f-šit' ša! LÚ*! šá!-IGI-É.GAL / SAA 6.305:1–2, 5, 13 // 306:2, 10
669 Sells his servant, the baker Nabū-bēlu-ušur (11), to the chariot driver Rēmanni-Adad for 1 mina of silver.
- **Aššūr-bēssunu (13) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. / PAB 4 ARAD.MEŠ LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL SAA 14.215 r. 4
dl Together with his colleagues he acts as a witness for Šin-na'di.
- **Bābilāiu (31) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (7th century)
B. / PAB 4 ARAD.MEŠ LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL SAA 14.215 r. 3, 4
dl Together with his colleagues he acts as a witness for Šin-na'di.
- **Bagāgi (1) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (7th century)
B. / PAB 4 ARAD.MEŠ LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL SAA 14.215 r. 3, 4
dl Together with his colleagues he acts as a witness for Šin-na'di.
- **Urdu (28) Servant of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (7th century)
U. / PAB 4 ARAD.MEŠ LÚ.šá-IGI-É.GAL SAA 14.215 r. 3, 4
dl Together with his colleagues he acts as a witness for Šin-na'di.

10.10.1. *āpiu* (baker) of a servant of the palace supervisor

- **Nabū-bēlu-ušur (11) Baker and servant of Mukīn-Aššūr (3), servant(?) of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. L[Ú*].NINDA¹ ARAD-šú
ša M. // [N. LÚ*.NINDA ARAD]-šú [ša M.] SAA 6 305:4-5 // 669 He is sold by this master Mukīn-Aššūr (3), probably a servant of the p.s., to Rēmanni-Adad, chariot driver.

10.11. Miscellaneous subordinates

- **Kišir-Aššūr (64) [...?] of the palace supervisor**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
(K.?) [(x x)] ša LÚ*.ša-IGI-K[UR[?]]
SAA 11 139:1'-2' nd/dl Listed in a fragmentary administrative document.
- • **“Servant” of palace supervisor**
unc. (unc.)
ARAD-ka PN CT 53 174:3 nd Writes a letter to the (unnamed) p.s., his master: narrative section not preserved.

PALACE SCRIBE

1. *bēt tupšar ekalli*
 - **House of the palace scribe**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
É LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL CTN 2 95:3 = 740 It is in the house of the p.sc. that debts of 80 minas of copper are repaid.
Jas 1996 no. 43

2. *tušar ekalli* (named)

- **Dādijū (I) Scribe of the temple and the palace and Assyrian scribe**
Assur (unc.)
- D. LÚ.A.BA É.DINGIR [ù É.GAL-*lim*] Hunger 1968: 78, 701
no. 233:4 Mentioned as ancestor of the scribe in question (name lost) in a colophon.
- D. [A].BA BAL.TIL.Ki-*u* Hunger 1968: 83, nd
no. 246:9 Mentioned as ancestor of the scribe in question, the young apprentice Šumma-balāi, in a colophon.
- D. LÚ*.DUB.SAR É-DINGIR ù É.GAL-*lim* Hunger 1968: 79–80, nd
no. 235:7–9 Mentioned as ancestor of the scribe in question, the young apprentice Nabū-zēru-lēšir, in a colophon.
- **Nabū-tuklatū'a (I) Palace scribe, scribe of the king and probably herald**
Kalhu (Adad-nēraři III, Shalmaneser IV, Aššūr-dān III)
- N. LÚ.DUB.SAR-É.GAL Edubba 10 2:9–10 800 N. buys a family of slaves from the scribe Nabū-aḫ-iddina for 185 minas of bronze.
- N. Edubba 10 3:6 794 N. buys a slave woman from Ḫarmāku for 1 talent 2 minas of bronze.
- N. LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL Edubba 10 4:6–7 790 N. buys three people, including the blacksmith Napī (1), for 2 minas of silver from a certain [Ku]kulu.
- N. / N. Edubba 10 17:5, 12 790 N. buys a house and gardens from Ḫanšāu for 1 talent 8(?) minas of bronze.
- N. Edubba 10 5:8 788 N. buys two people for 70 minas of bronze from the palace manager Bāni-Aia-šarru (1).
- N. LÚ.A.BA-E.GAL-*lim* Edubba 10 6:8–9 788 N. buys five people for 105(?) minas bronze from a certain Aššūr-šarru-ušur.
- N. LÚ.DU[B.S]AR-É.GAL Edubba 10 7:11–12 788 N. buys the sister of two or three tanners for 5 minas of bronze.
- DUB.SAR-É.GAL ND 5421:5 788 A “stylus of vine” is attributed to the p.sc., probably to be identified with N. (see Luukko 2007: 245).

N. LÚ.A.BA-MAN ²²	Edubba 10 8:9	780/770	N. buys six individuals from the architect Adad-kurbanni (-) for 5 shekels bronze.
N. DUMU.ŠEŠ-šú š[ar ³] N. LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL	Edubba 10 18:5-7	779	Nabû-zêru-iddina, nephew of N., buys a house for 80 minas of bronze from Šil-Nabû (1), palace servant of the Central City.
N. ²³ LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL / N.	Edubba 10 9:7-8, r. 13	765	N. buys the weaver Bēl-iddina (-) from Nabû-šumu-iddina for 1 mina of silver.
N. LÚ*.A.BA`-É.GAL	Edubba 10 10:4'	dl	N. buys a slave for 10 minas of bronze, of which 6 minas are given to Ḫalaqi from Rašappa.
N. / N. LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL	Edubba 10 11:7, r. 14	dl	N. buys seven people for 1(?) talent 1 mina of bronze from a certain La[qi]ja.
N. LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL	Edubba 10 12:5-6	dl	N. buys a slave woman for 1 talent 8 minas of bronze from Šin-iddina.
N. LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL	Edubba 10 13:10-11	dl	N. buys a family of four individuals for 115 minas of bronze from three individuals.
N. LÚ.DUB.SAR-É.[GAL] / N. LÚ.NIGIR-É. GAL ²⁴	Edubba 10 14:2', 11'-12'	dl	N. buys a woman for 1 talent 5 minas of bronze from two individuals.
N. LÚ*.DUB.SAR-É.GAL	Edubba 10 15:9'-10' = CTN 2 248	dl	N. buys six people for 2 minas of silver from the scribe Bēl-ālī.
N.	Edubba 10 16:3'	dl	N. buys [x] individuals for 1 talent of bronze from Šamaš-idnanni.

²² Confirmed by collation (Ahmad and Postgate 2007: 10).

²³ The edition transliterates ^{ms}MAŠ-tuk-lat-ú-a, but the copy reads ^{ms}PA-tuk-lat-ú-a (Ahmad and Postgate 2007: 11, Pl. 3).

²⁴ The copy has NIGIR but this should most likely be emended to SAR for DUB.SAR.

- **Nabû-kabti-ahḫešu (I) Palace scribe of Sargon**
Dur-Šarrukim (Sargon II)
N. LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL.ša Š. LUGAL KUR-aš-šur.K[II]
SAA 6 31 r. 4, 9 =
SAAB 11 1 =
FNALD 2
709 N. buys various plots of land in the area of the city of
Buruqu.
- **Qurdi-Adad (4) Scribe of the Review Palace of Kalhu, šābit danniti**
Dur-Šarrukim/active in Kalhu (Sargon II)
Q. LÚ.A.BA.ša É.GAL-na-šar-te ša URU.kal-ḫi
SAA 6 31 r. 26–27 =
SAAB 11 1 =
FNALD 2
709 Witness and keeper of the tablet for the p.sc. Nabû-kabti-
ahḫešu (I).
- **Ah-abû (13) Palace scribe**
Nineveh (probably after Sargon II)
A. LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL
SAA 12 77 i 34'–35'
nd In a document listing decrees from various reigns it is
recorded in a broken section that the king took one ram
out of the 3,000 sheep of A. for Ištar.
- **Nabû-aḫu-iddina (11) Palace scribe**
Imgur-Ililil (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL
BT 117 r. 1
691/686 Guarantor for the “festival day” (*bēl qātāte ša ūmu ša
qarite*) in Arbail when the scribe Mannu-ki-Arbail
owes provisions (royal barley) to Mamu-iqbi.
- **Ubru-Nabû (15) Scribe of the New House**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
U.
SAA 16 105:2
nd U. writes a letter to the king about the recruitment
officer Šumma-ilu, who asked for intervention.
U.
SAA 16 106:2
nd U. writes a letter to the crown prince according to which
he brought the leftovers of Nabû to the crown prince.
U. LÚ*.A.BA.ša É-GIBIL
SAA 16 107:2–3
nd U. writes a letter to the crown prince (narrative section
destroyed).

U.	SAA 16 108:2	nd	U. informs the king that the guard to which the king appointed him is doing very well.
U.	SAA 16 109:2	nd	U. writes a letter to the king (narrative section destroyed).
U.	SAA 16 110:2	nd	U. writes a letter to the king (narrative section destroyed).
•	Marduk-erība (12) Palace scribe Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) ²⁵ M. LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL	nd/dl	Recorded in an administrative text, possibly as its writer.
•	Nabû-šarru-ušur (47) Palace scribe, post-canonical eponym of 629* Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)	629*	Eponym of 629* (Reade: 624*).
	Only attested as eponym, for the references in date formulae see Baker, PNA 2/II 878.		
•	Sîn-šarru-ušur (16) Palace scribe, post-canonical eponym of 625* Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)	625*	Eponym of 625* (Reade: 628*).
	Only attested as eponym, for references in date formulae see Radner, PNA 3/II 1147.		
•	[...]? (-) Palace scribe Kalhu (after Assurbanipal) ²⁷ [[PN ^v]] A.BA-KUR	dl	Mentioned in a broken section of a legal document.

²⁵ Since the provinces Uppumu and Kullimeri are mentioned, which were only created after the conquest of Šubria in the year 673 (Radner 2006a: 63–4), SAA 7 18 must postdate this event and was at the earliest written in the late reign of Esarhaddon. Radner assumes that SAA 7 18 was written in the reign of Assurbanipal. This is supported by Luukko (2007: 246, fn. 127) who suggests that Marduk-erība is identical with the homonymous individuals mentioned in SAA 16 49, SAA 13 7 and SAA 6 336. The latter definitely dates to the reign of Assurbanipal since the chariot driver Remanni-Adad is here further qualified as “of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria” (ll. 8’–9’).

²⁶ Some attestations listed under Nabû-šarru-ušur (48) very likely refer to the same individual. A definite decision cannot be made for those since no title is given and there is another late-Assyrian eponym with the personal name Nabû-šarru-ušur for the year 644* BCE (Baker, PNA 2/II 878).

²⁷ For the date see Jas, PNA 3/II 1447 s.v. Zittāia 2.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nabū-bešunu (3) Palace scribe Nineveh (7th century) N. A.BA-KUR (4) N. 	SAA 11 140 r. 2 SAA 11 153 r. 12	nd/dl nd	Mentioned as the scribe at the end(?) of a list. The same(?) N. donates five Babylonians to Bel. ²⁸
<p>3. <i>tušar ekalli</i> (unnamed)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Palace scribe Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III) LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL' 	SAA 19 56:2	nd	The p.sc. receives a letter from Inūrta-ilā'i, governor of Našibina, according to which he should check people from Puqudu.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Palace scribe Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL LÚ*.A.'BA'-É.GAL 'LÚ*.A.'BA-É'.G[AL] LÚ.DUB.S[AR-É.GAL] 	ND 2778:14 SAA 19 13:2 SAA 19 14:1 SAA 19 124:2, r. 5'	nd nd nd nd	Mentioned in an administrative document probably along with his field, which was paid for with silver. The p.sc. receives a letter from a Šarru-d[ūr?], presumably governor. Only fragmentary preserved. The p.sc. receives a letter from Bēl-abū'a, his subordinate: the p.sc.'s house is fed and the delegates are rejoicing. Receives a letter from an unknown individual (name lost) reporting on sacrifices.

²⁸ The identification follows Luukko 2007: 246, fn. 126 and 248, fn. 142.

- **Palace scribe**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.A.BA-KUR
SAA 1 34 r. 19'
nd
Sennacherib reports to the king about redistributed tribute and audience gifts given to members of the royal family and high-ranking officials. On the reverse is an allotment of 2 minas of silver, one toga and two scrolls of papyrus for the p.sc.
- LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL
SAA 15 32 r. 6'
nd
When Nabû-bēlu-ka'in, governor of Kar-Šarrukin, writes a letter to the king, he states that the p.sc. only has an outdated version of the present report.
- LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL
SAA 19 123:1
nd
Receives a letter from a certain Nahiši reporting on sheep he had given to Marduk-apla-iddina and various other concerns.
- A.BA-KUR
CTN 1 35 ii 9'
nd/dl
Receives [x] *qīt* of bread or beer.²⁹
- **Palace scribe**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.A.BA-É.[GAL]
CTN 1 12:3'
nd/dl
Receives 1 *sītu* of wine.
- [L]Ú.A.BA-É.GAL
CTN 1 19:21
dl
Receives [x] amount of wine.
- **Palace scribe**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ'.A.[B]A-KUR
SAA 10 130:1
nd
The p.sc. receives a letter from Nabû-šumu-iddina (16), commander-of-ten (of the scribes), by whom he is informed that everything is alright.

²⁹ Kinnier Wilson (1972: 155), furthermore, reads A.BA.MEŠ-*ni* KUR in l. ii 3, but this is not confirmed by the copy (Parker 1961: Plate XVI).

LÚ.A.BA-KUR	SAA 16 48:1	nd	The p.sc. receives a letter from his subordinate Tabnī (5) interceding for his friend the sheep-tax master Abnī (1).
LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL	SAA 16 49:1, r. 5	nd	The p.sc. receives a letter from his female subordinate Sarāia (1) who informs him that seven of his servants have been taken away by the governor of Bit-Naialani.
LÚ*.A.BA-KUR / LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL (1. 10)	SAA 16 78:4, 10, 20	nd	Mannu-kī-Libbāli (1), appointed to the service of the p.sc., informs the king about the bad state of affairs in the domain of the p.sc.
LÚ.A.BA-KUR	SAA 16 87:13	nd	A certain Nabū-šumu-iškun refers to an order of the p.sc. (lost) in a letter to the king.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Palace scribe Kalhu (Esarhaddon) 			
LÚ.A.BA-É.GAL	SAA 13 61:15, r. 7	nd	According to a letter from Urdu-Nabū, priest of the Nabū Temple, to the king the p.sc., the treasurer and the letter's sender have weighed out gold.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Palace(?) scribe Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) 			
LÚ*.A.BA-É.[GAL [?]]	SAA 10 82 r. 2'	nd	The astrologer Nabū-abḥē-erība writes to the king, possibly stating that the king should ask the p.sc. about a certain matter.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Palace scribe Nineveh (Assurbanipal) 			
A.BA-KUR	SAA 7 118 r. ii 14	661	In this administrative document the p.sc. is listed along with 13 horses, previously enumerated as being in the charge of various functionaries.

- **Palace scribe**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.DUB.SAR-É.GAL
nd
CT 54 468:9' Mentioned in a fragmentary Babylonian letter sent to the king, probably by Kudurru, governor of Uruk.
 - **Palace scribe**
Babylonia (7th century)
LÚ.DUB.SAR-É.[GAL]
nd
CT 54 243 r. 10' Mentioned in a fragment of a Babylonian letter.
 - **Palace scribe**
Assur (7th century)
ʾA.BA-KUR / A.BA-KUR
nd
KAV 120:4, r. 6' A certain Aššūr-rēmāni writes to Nabû-šumu-iškun (probably his brother) about disbursements the latter should make to various people; he is to give a sheep, a lamb, wine, barley and straw to the p.sc.
 - **Palace scribe(?)**
Nineveh (unc.)
[LÚ.A.BA]-KUR
nd
K 18872:2' Mentioned in a small fragment of a letter(?).
4. Subordinates of the *tuṣṣar ekalli*
- 4.1. *mukīl appāti* (chariot driver)
- **Abdā (7) Chariot driver of the palace scribe**
Imgur-IIIil (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ*.mu-ki/-PA.MEŠ ša LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL
691/686 Witness for Mamu-iqbi.

- **Chariot driver of the palace scribe**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.mu-ki/-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša LÚ*.A.BA-KUR SAA 16 78:4 nd
Mannu-ki-Libbāli (2) writes to the king about intrigues against him in the house of the p.sc., referring to a chariot driver, a “third man (on chariot)” as well as the deputy of the p.sc.

- 4.2. *uṣpāru* (weaver)
- **Bēl-iddina (-) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
Kalhu (Aššūr-dān III)
B. LÚ.UŠ.BAR-*bir-me* Edubba 10 9:4 765
B. is bought by the p.sc. Nabû-tuklatū a (1) for 1 mina of silver.

- 4.3. *rab ālāni* (village inspector)
- **Nabû-erība (2) Village inspector of the palace scribe**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
N. LÚ*.GAL-URU.MEŠ-*ni* [ša] LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL CTN 2 95 l.e. 1-2 = 740
Jas 1996 no. 43
Witness to a payment of debts in the house of the p.sc.

- 4.4. *rab ešerti* (commander-of-ten [of the scribes])
- **Nabû-šumu-iddina (16) Commander-of-ten (of the scribes) of Nineveh**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. SAA 10 1:3 nd
Together with other scholars, N. writes a letter (narrative section destroyed) to the king (here addressed as “farmer”).
N. writes a letter to the “farmer” stating that the moon was eclipsed on the 14th day.
N. LÚ.GAL-10-*te* SAA 10 128:2-4 nd
ša NINA.KI

N. ša' NINA.KI	SAA 10 129:2-3	nd	Writes a letter to the king (narrative part destroyed).
N.	SAA 10 130:3	nd	N. writes a letter to the p.sc. to inform the latter that everything is alright.
4.5. šaniu (deputy)			
• Nabû-de'iq (3) Deputy of the palace scribe Nineveh (probably Sennacherib) ³⁰			
N. LÚ*:2-u ša LÚ*.A.BA-É.GAL	SAA 6 86 r. 11	dl	Witness when the <i>šakintu</i> of the Central City buys slaves.
• Kanūniū (16) Deputy (of the palace scribe) Nineveh (Esarhaddon)			
K. LÚ*:2-ú	SAA 16 78 r. 2	nd	Mannu-kī-Libbāli (2), appointed to the household of the p.sc., writes a letter to the king and complains about intrigues in the very household. Among others he is also in conflict with K.
K.	SAA 16 79:2	nd	Together with Mannu-kī-Libbāli (2) K. wrote this letter to the king. It concerns building works in Assur, Nineveh and Dur-Šarrukin.
K.	SAA 16 80:3	nd	In a letter without heading the king is informed that (presumably the same) K. has taken out the document of reimbursements (<i>egirtu ša tašlimāti</i>).
• [...] (-) Deputy palace scribe Kalhu (Assurbanipal)			
[PN LÚ*:A'.BA-KUR 2-u	SAA 14 135 r. 4	663	First witness in a fragmentary loan document.

³⁰ Date according to the possible identification of Šitirkānu (Baker, PNA 3/1 1152), also mentioned in SAA 6 59 (l. 4) as a bought slave. However, this identification remains uncertain since this personal name is to a great extent restored in the present document SAA 6 86 (l. 4': m_{si}-r_i!'-[r-...]).

- 4.6. *ša-rēši*
- **ša-rēši and probable subordinate of the palace scribe**
Bit-Naiatalani (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG
SAA 16 49 r. 8
nd
In a letter to the p.sc., written by his female subordinate Sarāia (1), a *ša-rēši* is said to be with the seven servants taken from the p.sc. He is further described as “sealed” by the p.sc.
- 4.7. *tasīišu* (“third man (on chariot)”)
- **“Third man (on chariot)” of the palace scribe**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.3.Ú₅ (...) *ša* LÚ*.A.BA-KUR / MÍ-šú *ša* SAA 16 78:4, r. 10
LÚ*.3-šú
nd
Mannu-kī-Libbāli (2) writes to the king about intrigues against him in the house of the p.sc., referring to a chariot driver, a “third man” as well as the deputy of the p.sc.
- 4.8. *urdu* (servant)
- **Seven servants of the palace scribe**
Bit-Naiatalani (Esarhaddon)
ARAD.MEŠ-ri *ša be-lī-ia*
SAA 16 49:8
nd
According to a letter to the p.sc. from his female subordinate Sarāia (1) seven servants of his were taken by the governor of Bit-Naiatalani.
 - **Servants of the palace scribe**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.ARAD.MEŠ-šú *ša* LÚ*.A.BA-KUR
SAA 16 78:20
nd
Mannu-kī-Libbāli (2) writes to the king about intrigues against him in the house of the p.sc. The king may ask the servants of the p.sc. about this.

4.9. Miscellaneous subordinates³¹● **Bēl-abū'a (-) Subordinate of the palace scribe**Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)³²

ARAD-ka B.

SAA 19 14:3

nd

B. writes a letter to the p.sc. to inform his master that his "house" is fed and the delegates are rejoicing.

● [...] (-) **Subordinate of the palace scribe**

Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)

[PN]

SAA 19 124:1

nd

He writes a letter to the p.sc. about sacrifices.

● **Nahiši (1) Subordinate of the palace scribe**

Babylonia (Sargon II)

N.

SAA 19 123:2

nd

N. writes a letter to the p.sc., his master, reporting on sheep he had given to Marduk-apla-iddina.

● **Mannu-kī-Libbāli (2) Subordinate of the palace scribe**³³

Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

M.

SAA 16 78:1

nd

M. writes to the king about intrigues against him in the "house" of the p.sc. to which he was appointed.

M.

SAA 16 79:2

nd

M. writes a letter to the king together with Kanūāiu (16), deputy of the p.sc., on works in Assur, Nineveh or Dur-Šarrukin (only fragmentary preserved).

³¹ Also those individuals are included here who refer to themselves as "servant" or "female servant" in their letters to the palace scribe, since this designation is used here as a general expression for subordination.

³² Provided that Urdu-Allāia (SAA 19 14 r. 10) is identical with the homonymous mayor (CTN 2 95:8–9), this letter rather dates to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.

³³ He is possibly identical with the scribe Mannu-kī-Libbāli who witnesses the legal documents SAA 6 287 and 294 and probably also with the homonymous individual who witnesses SAA 6 293 (Baker, PNA 2/II 693 s.v. Mannu-kī-Libbāli 1–3).

- **Sarāia (1) Female subordinate of the palace scribe**
Bit-Naialani (Esarhaddon)
GÉME-ka S.
SAA 16 49:2 nd
Writes a letter to the p.sc. about seven servants of his taken by the governor of Bit-Naialani who gave them to a certain Marduk-erība.
- **Tabnī (5) Subordinate of the palace scribe**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
ARAD-ka T.
SAA 16 48:2 nd
T. writes a letter to the p.sc., his master, and intercedes for his friend the sheep-tax master Abnī (1).
- [...] (·) [...] of?] the palace scribe
Nineveh (Assurbaniṣal)
[PN (...) LÚ*.A.BJA¹-KUR dl
SAA 6 334 r. 34 dl
Witness for the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad.

ROYAL SCRIBE

1. *tušar šarri* and *tušarru ša šarri* (named)
- **Balāssu (5) Scribe (of the king)?**
probably Kalhu (Sargon II)
B. LÚ*.A.BA [ša LUGA]L nd
SAA 15 37:23'-24'
In a letter to the king presumably (heading not preserved) written by Nabū-bēlu-ka'in, governor of Kar-Šarrukīn, the author states that he will also forward the report given in this letter to B.

- **Nabû-šallimšunu (1) Chief royal scribe, scholar**
active in Assur (Sargon II)
N. LÚ.DUB.SAR-LUGAL / N. LÚ.DUB.
SAR-LUGAL' / LÚ.DUB.SAR-LUGAL
N. LÚ.DUB.SAR *šar-ri* GAL-ú LÚ.GAL-GIU
LÚ.um-ma-an
 - **Mušēzib-Nabû (3) Scribe of the king of Babylon,** son of Nabû-šumu-iškun
Babylon (Assurbanipal, possibly dated to 648*)³⁴
M. A.BA *ša* MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA
 - **Nādinu (13) Scribe of the king**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.A.BA *šá* LU[GAL]
- | | | | |
|--|-------|--|--|
| | 714 | | |
| | nd | | |
| | nd/dl | | |
| | 666 | | |
| | 710 | | |
- SAA 20 55:6, 10, r. 12'
Hunger 1968: 86, no. 264:1
SAA 7 50 ii 7'-8'
SAA 6 317 r. 9
BT 101 r. 13 // 101* r. 14
M. witnesses a silver loan transaction.
- He went to Assur and performed offerings. Like the city scribe and the cook, he received meat for consumption.
According to this colophon the tablet containing the letter of Sargon to the god Aššur belongs to N.
Listed along with a tablet on anti-witchcraft which he contributed to the royal library in Nineveh.
Witness for Rēmanni-Adad, chief chariot driver.

CHAMBERLAIN

1. *ša-muḫḫi-bēṭāni* (named)
- **Mannu-ki-Issār (1) Chamberlain**
Imgur-Ilili (Sargon II)
M. // [M.] LÚ*.šá-UGU-É-a-ni

³⁴ This date is based on the assignment of the tablet to the same scribe who drew up the related documents SAA 7 49 and 51, both dating to 648* BCE (see Parpola 1983b: esp. 2, 11).

- **Urdu-Issār (25) Chamberlain**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-ni / U.
[U.]
SAA 14 65:2', 15'
SAA 14 66
668 dl
U. buys two slaves for 1 ½ minas of silver.
U. is probably again the purchasing party of a fragmentary legal document. The witness list is almost identical with the one of SAA 14 65.
 - [...] (-) **Chamberlain**
probably Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
[PN LÚ].šá-UGU-É-a-ni
SAA 12 30 r. 19
dl
The owned land of the c. is tax-exempt.
 - **Sîn-ālik-pāni (2) Chamberlain, post-canonical eponym of 615***
unc. (after Assurbanipal)
Only attested as eponym, for references in date formulae see Baker,
PNA 3/II 1128–9.
615*
Eponym of 615* (Reade: 617*).
2. *šá-muḫḫi-bētāni* (unnamed)
- **Chamberlain**
probably Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.šá-UGU-É-a-ni
SAA 1 34 r. 18'
nd
The c. receives redistributed tribute or audience gifts according to a letter written by (crown prince) Sennacherib to the king.
 - **Chamberlain**
Kalhu (8th century)
šá-UGU-É-a-ni
šá-LÚ*.UGU-É-a-ni
[šá-(LÚ*)]UGU-É-a-ni
CTN 1 4 r. 7–8
CTN 1 18 r. 14'
CTN 1 23 r. 3'
nyd
nd/dl
nd/dl
The c. receives wine (amount lost).³⁵
The c. receives 2 *qū* of wine.
The c. receives wine (amount lost).

³⁵ According to Cole, PNA 1/II 41 s.v. Adad-uballit (2), this chamberlain is called Adad-uballit. This name is mentioned in the entry immediately preceding the entry concerning the chamberlain and is better to be kept separate from the other entry.

- **Chamberlain**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)³⁶
LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-nu / [LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-n]a
SAA 17 103:1, 4
nd
The c. receives a Babylonian letter from Aqar-Bēl-lūmur, an official in Babylonia (narrative part broken).
 - **Chamberlain**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
šá-UGU-ḫi-É-a-na
SAA 18 121 r. 5'
nd
The c. is mentioned in a broken letter to the king according to which the sealed storeroom of the c. was opened repeatedly because of hunger.
 - **Chamberlain**
Babylonia (probably Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-n[ī]
SAA 18 15 r. 10'
nd
The c. is mentioned in a badly broken Babylonian letter to the king.
 - **Chamberlain**
Harran (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-nu
SAA 10 179:16
nd
The c. is party to a conspiracy, as the king is informed by the Babylonian diviner Kudurru.
3. *šá-muḫḫi-bētāni* in a lexical list
- **Chamberlain**
LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-ni
MSL 12 238 ii 32
nd
Listed after the *šá-muḫḫi-āli* (city overseer) and before a deputy(?) in a lexical list from Nineveh.

³⁶ According to Dietrich (2003: XXVII) who suggests a time range of the dossier of Aqar-Bēl-lūmur and Nabū-šumu-īššir from 704 down to at least 693.

4. Subordinates of the *ša-muḫḫi-bētāni*
- 4.1. *muḫlī appāti* (chariot driver)
- **Šumma-ilāni (I) Chariot driver of the royal corps(?) and of the chamberlain**
Nineveh (Sargon II, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon)
 - Š. LÚ*.mu-kił-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša mKA.KÉŠ-LUGAL SAA 6 34:5-7, 18 709 Š. buys three slaves for 3 minas of silver.
 - Š. SAA 6 35:2, 5 700 13 minas of silver had been taken from the thieves who broke in Š.'s house.
 - Š. SAA 6 36:2 695 Š. is owed 30 shekels of silver.
 - Š. SAA 6 37:10, r. 2 694 Š. buys vineyards, an estate and people—including the gardener Aššūr-bēlu-taqin (8) and the royal farmer Aḫ-immē (3)—for 25 minas of silver from the chief of granaries Il-amar (1).
 - Š. SAA 6 39:2', 11' 694 Š. buys [x] slaves for 18 minas of silver from Bēl-Ḥarrān-issē'a.
 - Š. LÚ*.mu-kił-PA' [M]EŠ' / Š. SAA 6 40:7-8, 19 693 Š. buys 15 slaves from Bēl-Ḥarrān-issē'a (price lost).
 - Š. LÚ*.mu-kił-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ SAA 6 41:8-9 693 Š. buys seven persons from Bēl-Ḥarrān-issē'a (price lost)
 - Š. LÚ.mu-kił-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-ni / Š. SAA 6 42:8-9, 18 = FNALD 5 692 Š. buys a house for 3 minas of silver.
 - Š. SAA 6 154 l.e. 2 687 Probably the same Š. witnesses a house sale document.
 - Š. SAA 6 43:2 // 44*:2 684 Š. is owed 3 minas 10 shekels of silver.
 - Š. SAA 6 45:5 682 Š. buys a female slave for 1 mina of silver.
 - Š. SAA 6 46:4 681 Š. is owed oil by Aššūr-bēlu-ušur, major-domo of Carchemish.
 - Š. SAA 6 47:2 681 Š. is owed silver (amount lost).
 - Š. SAA 6 48:5, 14 // 49:3' 680 Š. buys a female slave (price lost) from a certain Nabū-zēru-iddina.

Š.	SAA 6 38:3', r. 5	dl	Š. buys [x] servants for ½ mina of silver from Il-amara (1), chief of granaries.
Š.	SAA 6 50:8, r. 5 // 51:3', r. 2	dl	Š. buys land, vines and a built house together with people for 6 minas of silver.
Š.	SAA 6 52:10, r. 4	dl	Š. buys 13 persons for 6 ½ minas of silver.
Š.	SAA 6 53:5	dl	Š. buys two individuals for 1 mina of silver.
Š. LÚ.mu-ki/-KUŠ.PA.MI[Š]	SAA 6 54:5'-6'	dl	Š. buys five persons (price lost).
Š.	SAA 6 55:3'	dl	Š. buys the donkey driver Issār-tarība for 1 ½ minas of silver.
Š.	SAA 6 56:3', r. 4	dl	Š. buys a slave for 30 minas of copper.

4.2. *tasīšū* ("third man (on chariot)")

• **Bēl-dām (12) "Third man (on chariot)" of the chamberlain**

Nineveh (Assurbanipal)

B. LÚ.3.U₅

B. LÚ.3-šú ša LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-ni

SAA 14 19 r. 11

SAA 14 21 r. 5

dl

First witness for the royal ša-rēši Nīnuāiu (11).

First witness for the royal ša-rēši Nīnuāiu (11).

dl

• **Šār-Issār (6) "Third man (on chariot)" probably of the chamberlain**

Nineveh (Assurbanipal)

Š.: 0' ("ditto" refers to LÚ.3-šú, with or without:

ša LÚ.šá-UGU-É-a-ni in r. 5)

SAA 14 21 r. 6

dl

Witness for the royal ša-rēši Nīnuāiu (11).

4.3. *urdu* (servant)

• **Bēl-ibni (10) Servant of the chamberlain**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

B. ARAD šá [L]Ú.šá-U[G]U-É-a-ni

SAA 6 42 r. 11 =

FNALD 5

692

B. acts as a witness for the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni who buys a house.

B.	SAA 6 45:1, 4	682	Probably the same B. sells a female slave for 1 mina of silver to Šumma-ilāni.
B. <i>ša</i> ¹ <i>mki-ṣ[ir]-x x</i> / B. / B.	SAA 6 55:2', 5', 10'	dl	Probably the same B. (jointly) sells a donkey-driver for 1 ½ minas of silver to Summa-ilāni.

EMPLOYEE OF THE “SECOND HOUSE”

1. *ša-bēti-šanie* (named)• **Mannu-ki-...** (1) (Employee) of the “Second House”

Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)

M. LÚ.šá-É-2'-[x]

TH 7 b.e. 8-9

nd

According to this royal letter written to Mannu-ki-māt-Aššūr, governor of Guzana, M. had to transport 40 minas of gold.

• **Bēl-dān (4)** (Employee) of the “Second House”

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

B. *ša-É-2-e*

Edubba 10 5 r. 19

788

Together with his colleague Mannu-ki-Bēl (1) he acts as a witness for the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).

• **Mannu-ki-Bēl (1)** (Employee) of the “Second House”

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

M. *ša-É-2-e*

Edubba 10 5 r. 20

788

Together with his colleague Bēl-dān (4) he acts as a witness for the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).

• **Aššūr-bēlu-usur (-)** (Employee) of the “Second(?) House”

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)

A. *ša-É-[...]*

Edubba 10 16 r. 7'

dl

A. acts as a witness for the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).

- **Adad-aḫu-iddina (7) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
 A. / PAB 10 ša-É-2-e
 ND 2498:16', 17'
 nd/dl
 A. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Bēlani (1) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
 B. / PAB 10 ša-É-2-e
 ND 2498:15', 17'
 nd/dl
 B. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- B.
 CTN 2 123:2
 nd
 The same B. is probably also listed in another administrative document.
- **Bēl-Esaggl-bēlu-usur (1) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
 B. / PAB 10 ša-É-2-e
 ND 2498:14', 17'
 nd/dl
 B. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Ḫazānu (2) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
 Ḫ. / PAB 10 ša-É-2-e
 ND 2498:8', 17'
 nd/dl
 Ḫ. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Nabū-aḫu-ušur (3) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
 N. / PAB 10 ša-É-2-e
 ND 2498:8', 17'
 nd/dl
 N. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Nabū-dūru-ka'in (1) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
 N. / PAB 10 ša-É-2-e
 ND 2498:10', 17'
 nd/dl
 N. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.

- **Nabû-hussanni (1) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 10. ša-É-2-e
ND 2498:9', 17'
nd/dl
N. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Nabû-lā-tušaranni (1) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 10. ša-É-2-e
ND 2498:12', 17'
nd/dl
N. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Nabû-taklāk (2) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 10. ša-É-2-e
ND 2498:11', 17'
nd/dl
N. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Ubru-Nabû (4) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 10. ša-É-2-e
ND 2498:13', 17'
nd/dl
U. is listed together with nine colleagues in an administrative document.
- **[...]-Dādi (-) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
PN' LÚ*.šá-É-2-é'
ND 2803 r. i 20
dl
According to an administrative document concerning consumption he receives allocations meant for Philistines going to Arrapha.
- **Šamaš-ilā'ī (22) (Employee) of the “Second House”**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.šá-É-2-e
Š. LÚ*.šá-É-2-e
SAA 14 65 r. 10'
SAA 14 66 r. 7'
668
dl
Š. acts as a witness for the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (25).
Š. acts as a witness for the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (25).

2. *ša-bēti-šamie* (unnamed)

• (Employee) of the “Second House”

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and later)

š[aʷ-É-2]-e					
ša-É-2-e					
ša-É-[2-e]					
š[a-É-2-e					
š[a]-É-[2-e]					
[ša]-É-2-e					
[š]a-É-2-e					
[š]a-É-2-e					
[š]a-É-2-[e]					
*š[a-É-2-[e]					
[š]a-É-2-[e]					
ša-É-2-e					
šá¹-É-2- ^e 37					

• (Employee) of the “Second(?) House”

Dur-Šarrukim (Sargon II)

LÚ*.šá-É-[x x x]

CTN 1 14:13	785	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
CTN 1 3 i 13	784	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
CTN 1 8:12	751/ 747/ 735	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
CTN 1 9:9	745/732	Receive(s) [1? <i>sūtu</i> ?] of wine.
CTN 1 2 i 8	nyd	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
CTN 1 4:10	nyd	Receive(s) [1? <i>sūtu</i> ?] of wine.
CTN 1 6:9	ydl	Receive(s) [1? <i>sūtu</i> ?] of wine.
CTN 1 16:8'	nd/dl	Receive(s) [1? <i>sūtu</i> ?] of wine.
CTN 1 19:9	dl	Receive(s) [1? <i>sūtu</i> ?] of wine.
CTN 1 20:5'	nd/dl	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
CTN 1 28:3'	nd/dl	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
CTN 1 33 i 5	nyd	Receive(s) [x] amount of wine.
CTN 3 119:4	nyd	Receive(s) 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
SAA 1 39 r. 9'	nd	When (crown prince) Sennacherib writes to his father, he probably refers to one or more of the “Second House” in connection with making fire.

³⁷ The edition reads 1 BÀN 6' É-2-^e. Based on the relatively frequent attestations of the *ša-bēti-šamie* in the wine lists, I suggest amending this to 1 BÀN šá¹-É-2-^e (although in the other instances the office is written with šá- rather than šá¹-).

- **(Employee) of the “Second House”**
Arzuhina (Sargon II)
LÚ* .šá-É-2-e
SAA 15 127:6
nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter written by Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Arzuhina, to the king.
- **8 (employees) of the “Second House”**
Mazamua (Sargon II)
[8] LÚ* .šá-É-2-e / PAB 69 UN.MEŠ É
SAA 5 215:15, 18
nd
Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, writes a letter to the king according to which he reviewed, among others, 8 men of the “Second House”.
- **(Employee) of the “Second House(?)”**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ .šá-[É-2-e]
SAA 4 139:8
nd
Enumerated in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the king.
LÚ .šá-É-2-e
SAA 4 142:9
nd
Enumerated in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the crown prince.
- **300(?) (employees) of the “Second House”**
Nineveh (possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
3 ME LÚ* .šá-É-2-e
SAA 7 21:7
nd/dl
Listed in an administrative document.
3 ME L[Ú .šá]-É-2-e
SAA 7 22:3
nd/dl
Listed in an administrative document, almost identical with SAA 7 21.
- **(Employee) of the “Second House” of the palace(?)**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[š]a É-2-e ša É.[GAL]
SAA 14 396:7
dl
Mentioned in a broken land sale, probably in connection with the description of the location of the sold land.

3. *ša-bēti-šanīe* in a non-documentary text
- **(Employee) of the “Second House”**
 LÚ*.šá-É-2-i / L[Ú].šá-É-2-i] (ii 4) / ʾLÚ*.šá-É-2-i (ii 20) / [LÚ*.šá-É-2-i] (ii 28) / [LÚ*.šá-É-2-i] (ii 30) / LÚ*.šá-É-2-iʾ (r. i 52ʾ)
 SAA 20 33 ii 3, 4, 6, 20, 28, 30, r. i 38ʾ, 42ʾ, 47ʾ, 52ʾ
 nd They are repeatedly mentioned in connection with domestic tasks in a descriptive text concerning the royal meal.
 - 4. *āpie* (baker) of the “Second House”
 - **Šulmu-bēli (II) Baker of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
 Š. LÚ.NINDA É-2-i ND 3424 r. 9 665 Š. acts as a witness when a woman is sold.
 - 5. *rab kišri* (cohort commander) of the “Second House”
 - **Abat-šarri-lā-tenni (I) Cohort commander of the “Second House”**
 Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
 A. GAL-KA.KÉŠ ša É-2-ʾeʾ Edubba 10 5 r. 17–18 788 Acts as the first witness when the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatūʾa (1) buys slaves.
 - **Nabū-bēlu-kaʾin (2) Cohort commander of the “Second House”**
 Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
 N. ʾLÚ*.GAL-l-kiʾ-šir-l-ʾ ša É-2-e SAA 6 270 r. 1ʾ-2ʾ 679 Acts as a witness in a badly broken legal document.

COOK

1. *nuḫatimmu* of the palace

• **Barzūtā (2) Palace servant and cook**

Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)

B. ARAD-‘KUR’ / PAB 5 LÚ*.MU.MEŠ

ND 2498 r. 18’, 23’

nd/dl

B. is one of five cooks listed in an administrative document.

• **Nabû-dūru-ušur (3) ša-rēši and cook of the palace**

Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)

N. LÚ.SAG LÚ.MU ša É.GAL

SAA 6 31 r. 15 =

SAAB 11 1 =

FNALD 2

709

N. acts as a witness for the palace scribe Nabû-kabti-aḫḫēšu (1).

• **Cook of the palace**

Kalhu (8th century)

LÚ*.MU (...) ša É.GAL

CTN 3 87 r. 48

nd

He is mentioned along with leeks, grapes and *tiipit*-plant together with the confectioner of the palace.

2. *nuḫatimmu* of the king in a non-documentary text component

• **Royal cook**

LÚ.MU ša LUGAL *be-lī-ia*

SAA 19 147:14–15

nd

A royal cook is referred to in a metaphor cited in a letter to the king (sender lost) reporting on intrigues against the king.

3. *nuḫatimmu* of the queen
- **Cook of the queen**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.MU ša MÍ.KUR
CTN 3 87 r. 40
nd
Mentioned in an administrative list concerning *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer.
4. *nuḫatimmu* of a prince in a non-documentary text
- **Dāda (1) Cook of a prince**
D. LÚ.MU.šú
SAA 3 32:5
nd
Mentioned in the literary text “The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince”.
5. *nuḫatimmu* of the *rab ša-rēši*
- [...] (-) **Cook of the *rab ša-rēši***
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
[PN LÚ?].MU ša GAL-SAG
CTN 2 21 r. 3'
803/775
Witness in a badly broken document.
6. *nuḫatimmu* of the house of the commander-in-chief
- **Mannu-ki-Aššūr (1) Cook of the house of the commander-in-chief**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
M. LÚ*.MU' ša É LÚ.*tur-ta-ni*
CTN 2 92:7-8 =
Jas 1996 no. 39
795
Witness when debts are repaid to the *ša-rēši Bēl-issē'a* (2).
 - **Cook and employee of the house of the commander-in-chief**
Kalhu (8th century)
'ki-i-ti-ki-te' š[a'] É?! LÚ*.*tar-ta-a-ni* 1 LÚ*.MU
CTN 2 199:6-8
nd
According to a letter to the governor of Kalhu a cook together with a confectioner and a baker is to be taken under the command of the sender Adad-aḫu-iddina.

7. *nuḫatimmu* of a *ša-rēši*

- **Mannu-ki-Šamaš (I) Cook(?)**
Kalhu (Assurbamipal or later)
M. LÚ.IGI-LÚ.MU

ND 3428:4 dl Bought by the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).

8. *nuḫatimmu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior

- **Bēl-dēni-amur (2) Cook, *ša-rēši* of the house of Aššūr-ilā'i and servant of the city of Til-Barsip**

Til-Barsip (Sargon II)

LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-ni [ša] TĒ' A. / B. LÚ*.MU / [PAB 4] SAA 1 184:4–5, 10, nd

LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-ni / LÚ*.ARAD.MEŠ-ni *ša* URU. 12, r. 6–7

DUL-*bur-si-bi*

Adad-ibni, an official stationed in Syria, writes to the king concerning four *ša-rēšis* of the household of Aššūr-ilā'i including B. who have been brought to the palace by the king's order.

9. Specified cook

9.1. *nuḫatimmu kaldāiu*

- **Chaldean cook**
Kalhu (8th century)

LÚ*.MU KUR.*kal-da-a-a*

CTN 1 1 r. iii 11

nyd Receives 1 *qīt* of wine.

10. *nuḫatimmu* (named)

- **Balātu-ereš (-) Cook**
Kalhu (Adad-nēri III)

B. LÚ.MU

Eduḫba 10 24 r. 31

795 B. witnesses a land sale.

- **Šēp-šarri (3) Cook**
Kalhu (Adad-nēri III)

Š. LÚ*.MU

CTN 2 51 r. 6

797 Š. is witness in a broken legal document.

- **Šamaš-[...]** (4) **Cook**³⁸
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
Šamaš-[...] LÚ*.MU-šú [...]
- CTN 2 90 r. 23-24 803/775 Is mentioned as a witness (passage broken) in a record of the payment of debts.
- **Aššūr-nāšir (I) Cook**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
A. LÚ*.MU
- CTN 2 11 r. 10' dl Witness in a broken conveyance document.
- **[...]** (-) **Cook**
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
[PN L]Ú*?.MU
- StAT 3 22 r. 8' 758 He witnesses a receipt of payment involving the chief musician Aššūr-šumu-iškun (-).
- **Atkal-Bēl (I) Cook**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
A. / PAB 5 LÚ*.MU.MEŠ
- ND 2498 r. 20', 23' nd/dl A. is listed in an administrative document together with four colleagues.
- **Issār-dūrī (5) Cook**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
I. / PAB 5 LÚ*.MU.MEŠ
- ND 2498 r. 19', 23' nd/dl I. is listed in an administrative document together with four colleagues.
- **Nabū-ēfir-napšāti (I) Cook**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 5 LÚ*.MU.MEŠ
- ND 2498 r. 21', 23' nd/dl N. is listed in an administrative document together with four colleagues.

³⁸ It is not entirely certain that the title which is mentioned in line r. 24 belongs to the broken name Šamaš-[...] in r. 23.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Na'di-ilu (3) Cook Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) N. / PAB 5 LÚ*.MU.MEŠ 	ND 2498 r. 22', 23'	nd/dl	N. is listed in an administrative document together with four colleagues.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Aqru (2) Cook Assur (Sargon II) A. (...) LÚ*.MU 	STAT 2 102 r. 13'	711	Witness when a cook of Ištar buys something.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Dādīa (1) Cook Assur (Sargon II) D. (...) LÚ*.MU 	STAT 2 102 r. 9'	711	Witness when a cook of Ištar buys something.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mušēzib-Šamaš (1) Cook Assur (Sargon II) M. (...) LÚ*.MU 	STAT 2 102 r. 4'	711	Witness when a cook of Ištar buys something.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nušku-ilā'ī (3) Formerly of the cooks Harran area: town of Hamedé (Sargon II) N. TA ŠÀ LÚ*.MU.MEŠ 	SAA 11 201 i 41-42	nd/dl	Listed as head of a family of gardeners cultivating stalks of vine in a Harran Census tablet.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sīn-ēreš (2) Cook Harran area (Sargon II) S. LÚ*.MU 	SAA 11 203 iii 7	nd/dl	According to a Harran Census tablet S. was promoted by the chief cook.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Šulmu-aḫi (1) Cook Assur (Sargon II) Š. (...) LÚ*.MU 	STAT 2 102 r. 12'	711	Witness when a cook of Ištar buys something.

- [...] (-) **Cook**
Assur (Sargon II)
[PN] LÚ*.MU
711 Witness when a cook of Ištar buys something.
StAT 2 102 r. 6'
- **Marduk-[qāte]-šabat (I) Cook**
Kalhu (8th century)
M. LÚ*.MU
nd M. is listed along with one mare in an administrative document.
CTN 2 222:5'
- **Tariba-Issār (4) Cook**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
T. LÚ.MU
693 Witness in a slave sale document.
SAA 6 138 r. 12
- [...] **-erība (-) Cook (...)?**³⁹
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
PN' LÚ*.MU ḪAL' ANŠE?
700 Witness for the royal chariot driver Šumma-ilāni.
SAA 6 35 r. 6
- [...] (-) **Cook**
Assur (Sennacherib)
[PN] LÚ*.MU
698 Witness when the *ḫundurāiu* Nabû-mudammīq (3) sells his house jointly.
StAT 3 73 r. 43
- **Šulmu-bēli-lašme (10) Cook**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon and possibly later)
Š. LÚ*.MU
679 Witness for the cohort commander Mannu-kī-Arbail.
SAA 6 204 r. 10'
dl Witness in a badly damaged legal document.
SAA 6 205 r. 3'
dl Witness for the cohort commander Mannu-kī-Arbail.
SAA 6 218 r. 1

³⁹ The reading of the title is highly dubious.

Š. LÚ.MU	SAA 7 5 ii 36	nyd/ydl	Š. is mentioned in an administrative document listing personnel.
Š. LÚ.MU	SAA 7 8:3	nd/dl	Š. is listed in an administrative document recording assignments of lodgings.
Š. LÚ.MU	SAA 7 9 r. i 30	nd/dl	Š. is listed in an administrative document recording assignments of lodgings.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mušēzib-[...] (5) Cook(?) Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) M. [L]Ú.MJU 	SAA 7 5 ii 40	nyd/ydl	M. is mentioned in an administrative document listing personnel.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Šēp-Issār (11) Cook Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) Š. [L]Ú.MU 	SAA 7 5 r. i 5	nyd/ydl	Š. is mentioned in an administrative document listing personnel.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Abdi-Kurra (2) Cook(?) Nineveh (Assurbanipal) A. 'LÚ'·[M]U? (3) A. 	SAA 14 442:1 SAA 14 429:2	634* 622*	A. gives the son of his daughter in adoption. Probably the same man is mentioned as father of Urdu-Nabū who owes silver to the courtier Inūrta-šarru-ušur.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Aššur-kēnu-ballit (2) Cook Assur (Assurbanipal) A. LÚ*.MU A. 	KAN 4 8 r. 19' KAV 41:18	631* nd	A. acts as a witness when 25 people are sold. Listed in an administrative document.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nabû-ahu-ēreš (5) Cook Kalhu (Assurbanipal) N. LÚ.MU 	ND 3424 r. 7	665	A. is first witness when a woman is sold.

- **Na'di-Aššūr (9) Cook**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.MU
KAN 4 8 r. 16' 631* A. acts as a witness when 25 people are sold.
- **Sin-šarru-ibni (1) Cook**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ*.MU
SAA 14 69 r. 7 667 S. is a witness when Nabû-šumu-iddina, scribe of the governor of Dur-Šarrukin, owes silver.
- **Tulli (-) Cook**
Marqasa (Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ*.MU
Marqasi 4 r. 29 641* Witness when a certain Ubru-Nergal buys 3 female slaves.
- **[...]ballissu (-) Cook**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
PN' LÚ.MU
STAT 2 14 t.e. 15 dl Witness in a broken house sale document.
- **Aššūr-aḫḫē-ibni (-) Cook**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. MU [x x x]
STAT 2 145 r. 17 dl A. is witness when a female slave is sold.
- **Aššūr-eriba (-) Cook**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A.' MU
Radner 2016 I.43:4 nd He is listed in a broken record dealing with a trading enterprise.
- **Mannu-kī (2) Cook**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
M. LÚ.MU
STAT 2 184 r. 11 dl Witness when a votress of Ištar of Arbail is given in marriage.

- **Aššūr-kettu-irām (2) Cook**⁴⁰
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.MU
(-) [A. LÚ*.MU]
SAAB 5 52 r. 11 616* A. witnesses a division of inheritance involving the *ḥundurāiu* clan.
KAN 4 53 r. 32' = dl A. probably witnesses another(?) division of inheritance involving the *ḥundurāiu* clan.
Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991: 136–7
STAT 2 201 r. 7 622* Witness in a badly preserved division of inheritance.
- **Ḥur-waši (11) Cook**⁴¹
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Ḥ. LÚ*.MU
BaM 16 1 r. 10' 620* Witness to a sale of a female slave.
Radner 2016 I.42:5 nd The same K. is listed along with 1 mina (of silver) he invested in a trading enterprise.
- **Ki-Mama (10) Cook**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
K. MU
SAAB 5 52 r. 9 616* M. witnesses a division of inheritance of the *ḥundurāiu* clan.
KAN 4 60 r. 14 616* M. is witness when ½ mina of silver (of Ištar of Arbail) are lent.
- **Mutakkil-Marduk (7) Cook**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ*.MU
M.

⁴⁰ Kwasman (PNA 1/I 191 s.v. Aššūr-ketti-irām 2) identified a homonymous individual mentioned in two other legal records (STAT 2 263:4 and 270:2) with the same man. Thanks to the edition of the two texts in Donbaz and Parpola 2001, however, it has become clear that this was another individual, bearing the title *mušar-kisu* (recruitment officer).

⁴¹ He is probably identical with Ḥur-waši nos. 6., 8. and/or 9., mainly attested as a witness in documents from Assur. In addition, Ḥur-waši 6. is mentioned as owner of a house adjoining that forming part of the inheritance share in FNALD 18:4 (Mattila, PNA 2/I 482).

M. [LÚ*.MU]			dl	M. witnesses another(?) division of inheritance of the <i>ḥundurāiu</i> clan.
• Mu[...] (-) Cook Assur (after Assurbanipal)		KAN 4 53 r. 30' = Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991: 136–7		
M. MU		BaM 16 1 r. 8'	620*	Witness to a sale of a female slave.
• Nabū-na'id (28) Cook Assur (after Assurbanipal)				
N. MU		STAT 2 81 r. 15	625*	Witness in an adoption of a weaned child.
• Zīzī (30) Cook Assur (after Assurbanipal)				
Z. MU		BaM 16 1 r. 9'	620*	Witness to a sale of a female slave.
• [...JGUR? (-) Cook Assur (after Assurbanipal)				
[PN] MU		BaM 16 1 r. 7'	620*	Witness to a sale of a female slave.
• [...].MEŠ (-) Cook Assur (after Assurbanipal)				
[PN] MU		BaM 16 1 r. 6'	620*	Witness to a sale of a female slave.
• Bēl-aplu-iddina (17) Cook Assur (7 th century)				
B. LÚ.MU		STAT 2 7 r. 12	dl	Witness in a sale document.
• [...] (-) Cook Assur (7 th century) ⁴²				
[PN] LÚ*.MU'		SAAB 5 42 r. 33	dl	Witness in a broken house sale document.

⁴² The date is based on to the *ša-muḫḫi-āli* Iatī'ā (2), who among others seals this document (Luppert-Barnard, PNA 2/I 493, following Klengel-Brand and Radner 1997: 140–1).

11. *nuḫatimmu* (unnamed)

• Cook Kalhu (Aššurnaširpal II)					
LÚ*.MU	SAA 12 83 r. 10	nd	Assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.		
• Cooks Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III)					
LÚ.MU.MEŠ	Billa 86:12' (TCAE: 353–4)	nd/dl	In a broken administrative document dealing with corn and straw tax.		
• Cook Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)					
LÚ*.MU	CTN 3 145 r. iv 11	784	Receives wine (amount lost).		
LÚ.MU	(= reverse of CTN 1 3)				
LÚ*.MU	CTN 3 129:6'	nd/dl	Receives wine (amount lost).		
• Cook Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)					
LÚ*.MU	TH 65:9	nd	Listed along with 1 hide in an administrative document.		COOK
• Cook Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)					
[L]Ú.MU	ND 2497 r. 5'	nd/dl	Mentioned in a broken section of an administrative list.		
• Cooks Kalhu (Sargon II)					
LÚ*.MU.MEŠ	CTN 1 34:2'	nd/dl	Receive 1 <i>emāru</i> 2 <i>sītu</i> [x] <i>qū</i> of bread or beer.		
• “Crushing”? Cooks Kalhu (Sargon II)					
MU.MEŠ 'KUM'.A ⁴³	CTN 1 35 iii 3'	nd/dl	Receive 6 <i>qū</i> of bread or beer.		

⁴³ The reading and meaning of KUM.A is unclear. For a possible interpretation as “crushing” see Part II, section 4.3.5.2.

- **10 cooks**
Mazamua (Sargon II)
10 LÚ*.MU / PAB 69 UN.MEŠ É
SAA 5 215:18
nd
Mentioned in the context of the review of troops in a letter of Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, to the king.
- **Cook**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.MU
ND 2461 r. 21
nd
Named along with a *kappu*-bowl of tamarisk in an administrative record.
- **Cooks**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.MU.MEŠ
CTN 2 207 r. 13'
nd
Mentioned in a letter (heading broken) along with their threshing floor.
- **Cook(?)**
Carchemish (Sennacherib)
LÚ*.M[U x]
702
Is mentioned in a legal document concerning an agreement between the cohort commander Šarri-taklak and the city of Elumu.
- **Cooks**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[L]Ú.MU.MEŠ // [MU.MEŠ]
LÚ.MU.MEŠ
SAA 4 139:9 // 144:9
nd
Enumerated in a query concerning a potential rebellion against the king.
SAA 4 142:9
nd
Enumerated in a query concerning a potential rebellion against the crown prince.
- **400(?) cooks**
Nineveh (possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
4 ME LÚ*.MU.MEŠ
4 ME LÚ*.M[U].MEŠ!
SAA 7 21:10'
SAA 7 22 r. 1
nd/dl
nd/dl
Listed in an administrative document.
Listed in an administrative document almost identical with SAA 7 21.

12. *nuḫatimmu* in lexical lists

• **Cook**

LÚ.MU	MSL 12 233 iii 5'	nd	Listed together with the confectioner and the chief cook in a lexical list from Huzirina.
LÚ*.MU	MSL 12 238 i 7	nd	Listed after the chief cook in a lexical list from Nineveh.

BUTCHER

1. *rab ṭābiḫi* in a lexical list

- **Chief butcher**
LÚ.GAL-GÍR.LÁ

COOK

MSL 12 233 iii 11'	nd	Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section with butchers and the dishwasher.
--------------------	----	---

2. *ṭābiḫu* of the governor of Ur

- [...] (-) **Butcher of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, governor of Ur**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.GÍR.LÁ šá S.

ABL 1106 r. 6' (Dietrich 1970: 180)	nd	He was sent to the king of Babylon by the sender of this broken letter to the king, probably to be identified with Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk.
--	----	---

3. *ṭābiḫu* (named)

- **Dīdī (2) Butcher**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
D. LÚ*.GÍR.LÁ

CTN 2 53 r. 14'	778	D. acts as a witness in a broken legal document.
-----------------	-----	--

645

- **Ezbu-ješir (3) Butcher**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
E. LÚ*.GÍR.LÁ
SAA 6 6 r. 9 713 E. is first witness for Mušallim-Issār, village-manager of the *rab ša-rēši*, who buys seven persons.
- **Ilumma-iddgul (1) Butcher**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
I. LÚ*.GÍR.LÁ
SAA 6 6 r. 10 713 I. is second witness for Mušallim-Issār, village-manager of the *rab ša-rēši*, who buys seven persons.
- **Aḫi-sapā (1) Butcher**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.GÍR.LÁ
KAN 4 7 l.e. 1 624* A. acts as a witness in a judicial record.
- **Nūraia (-) Butcher(?)**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)⁴⁴
N. GÍ[R.LÁ]
STAT 2 326* r. 7' 627* N. witnesses a fragmentary legal document.
- **Aššur-šumu-iddina (12) Butcher**
Assur (7th century)
A. GÍR.LÁ
STAT 2 251:3' dl In a broken legal document A. is listed along with 1 shekel (of silver).
- 4. *ṭābiḫu* (unnamed)
- **Butcher**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
LÚ.GÍR.LÁ
SAA 17 198:4' nd Mentioned in a fragmentary Babylonian letter.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The dating is according to STAT 2 327 which is identified as the inner tablet of STAT 2 326 (though note that both are quite fragmentary for identification).

⁴⁵ Although the heading is broken, Dietrich (2003: XXXIV–XXXV, Table I) suggested that the sender might have been Ana-Nabû-taklāk, a royal official stationed in Babylonia, according to the ductus.

- **Butchers**
Assur (7th century)
LÚ.ṭa-bi-ḫa-ni
VAT 20414:6
nd
In a broken administrative document butchers are listed along with 7 ½ shekels (of silver).

5. *ṭābiḫu* in lexical lists

- **Butcher**
[L]Ú.GIR.LÁ ṭa-bi-ḫu / LÚ.ŠÁḪ.ŠUM.MA
MSL 12 233 iii 8', 9'
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with butchers and the dishwasher.
- LÚ*.GIR.LÁ
MSL 12 238 i 11,
r. v 29
nd
Twice mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, the second time before the cutter.

CUTTER

COOK

1. *nākiṣu* (named)
 - **Mušēzib-īlu (12) Cutter**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ.na-ki-su
SAA 7 5 ii 46
nyd/ydl
M. occurs in an administrative document listing per-sonnel.
2. *nākiṣu* (unnamed)
 - **Cutter**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.na-ki-su
CTN 3 87:18
nd
According to an administrative list recording *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer, the cutter received 6 *qū* of leeks.

- **Cutter**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ.na-ki-si
CTN 3 3:14, r. 30
nd
In a letter to the palace manager from Tartimanni (1), later himself known as palace manager, the sender explains that the boy (*šeḫru*) of the cutter had taken vessels belonging to the scribe.
- 3. *nākisū* in a lexical list
- **Cutter**
LÚ*.na-ki-su
MSL 12 238 r. v 30
nd
Listed after the butcher in a lexical list from Nineveh.
- 4. Subordinates of the *nākisū*
 - 4.1. *šeḫru* (boy)
 - **Boy of the cutter**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
TUR-ru? LÚ.na-ki-si
CTN 3 3:14
nd
In a letter written to the palace manager by Tartimanni (1), later himself known as palace manager, the sender explains that the *šeḫru* of the cutter had taken vessels belonging to the scribe.

SALT-MEAT MAN

1. *ša-midlēšu* (named)

- **Sīn-tabni-ušur (I) Salt-meat man**
Kalhu (8th century)

S. LÚ*.*ša-me-di-li-ša*

CTN 3 87:19

nd

According to an administrative document recording the *ilkaḳāte* payments of the treasurer S. received 4 minas of copper.

DISHWASHER

1. *kāpir diqāri* (unnamed)

- **Dishwasher**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
[LÚ*]*.ka-pir-ÚTUL.MEŠ*

SAA 12 83 r. 11

nd

Assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.

2. *kāpir diqāri* in a lexical list

- **Dishwasher**
LÚ.*ka-pir-ÚTUL.MEŠ*

MSL 12 233 iii 10'

nd

Listed in a lexical list from Huzirina, together with the butcher and the chief butcher.

CONFECTIONER

1. *karkadinnu* of the palace
 - **Kulu'u** (-) **Confectioner of the palace**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
K. LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-nu'* [š]a É.GAL
Edubba 10 20:7-8
779
K. acts as a witness when the treasurer Nabû-šimanni (-) buys the sister of Marduk-aḫu-ušur, servant of the queen.
 - **Confectioner of the palace**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.SUM.NINDA ša É.GAL
CTN 3 87 r. 48
nd
Together with the palace cook he is listed along with *tiṭipū*-plant, grapes and leeks in an administrative document concerning *ilkakāte* payments made by the treasurer.
2. *karkadinnu* of the king
 - [...]**nu**[...] (-) **Royal confectioner**
Kalhu (probably Shalmaneser V; probably 716)
[PN] LÚ*.*kar-kād-din-nu* ša MAN
Edubba 10 51 r. 7
dl
He is witness in a slave sale document.
3. *karkadinnu* of the queen
 - **Confectioner of the queen**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.SUM.NINDA ša MÍ.KUR
CTN 3 87 r. 42
nd
In an administrative document recording the *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer he is mentioned along with different kinds of foods.

- **Female confectioner of the queen**
Kalhu (8th century)
MÍ.SUM.NINDA-*tá* ša MÍ.É.GAL
CTN 3 87 r. 46
nd
In an administrative document recording the *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer she is listed along with different kinds of foods.

- 4. *karkadinnu* of the commander-in-chief
- **Confectioner and employee of the house of the commander-in-chief**
Kalhu (8th century)
'ki-i-ti-ki-te' [š]a[?] É[?] LÚ*.*tar-ta-a-ni* (...) 1 [L] CTN 2 199:6-7, 8
Ú*.NINDA.SUM
nd
According to a letter to the governor of Kalhu a cook together with a confectioner and a baker are to be taken under the command of the sender Adad-aḫu-iddina.

- 5. *karkadinnu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Šil-Šamaš (3) Confectioner, ša-rēši of the house of Aššūr-ilā'ī and servant of the city of Til-Barsip**
Til-Barsip (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-*ni* [ša] 'É' A. / Š. LÚ*.*kar-ka-din* / SAA 1 184:4-5, 9,
[PAB 4] LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-*ni* / LÚ*.ARAD.MEŠ-*ni* 12, r. 6-7
ša URU.DUL-*bur-si-bi*
nd
Adad-ibni, an official stationed in Syria, writes to the king concerning four *ša-rēšis* of the household of Aššūr-ilā'ī including Š. who are brought to the palace according to the king's order.

- 6. *karkadinnu* (named)
- **[...]-rēmanni (-) Confectioner**
Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III)
'PN' LÚ.*kar-ka-di-nu*
Billa 86:7'
(TCAE: 353-4)
nd/dl
Mentioned in a broken administrative document dealing with corn and straw taxes.

- **Bēl-ahhē (3) Confectioner(?)**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
B. KI.[MIN] (for LÚ*.SUM[?].[NINDA[?]] in r. 9)⁴⁶ CTN 2 53 r. 10' 778 Witness in a broken legal document.
- **Mušēzib-ilu (2) Confectioner(?), cf. fn. 45**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
M. LÚ*.SUM[?].[NINDA[?]] CTN 2 53 r. 9' 778 Witness in a broken legal document.
- **Idri-Anu (2) Formerly of the confectioners**
Harran area: King's village (Sargon II)
I. TA * ŠĀ LÚ*.NINDA.SUM¹⁵ SAA 11 201 i 32 nd Recorded as gardener in a Harran Census tablet.
- **Abu-lēšir (6) Confectioner⁴⁷**
Kalhu (8th century)
A. LÚ*.SUM.NINDA CTN 3 87:15 nd In a record of *ilkaḳāte* payments of the treasurer he is mentioned along with 4 *sātu* of *titipu*-fruit and 6 minas of copper.
- **Aḫu-lū-balaṭ (1) Confectioner**
Kalhu (8th century)
A. LÚ*.kar-ka-di-nu CTN 2 11 r. 11' dl Witness when a female slave is sold.
- **Aššūr-[...] (5) Confectioner**
Kalhu (8th century)
A. LÚ*.SUM[?].NINDA CTN 3 87:21 nd In a record of *ilkaḳāte* payments of the treasurer he is mentioned along with 2 *sātu* 7 *qū* of leeks, 7 *qū* grapes and 5 minas of copper.

⁴⁶ Bēl-ahhē might be identical with the cohort commander Bēl-ahhē, as suggested by Frahm (PNA 1/II 280). The restoration given in the edition (which is followed here) should probably be emended LÚ*.GAL-[KA.KEŠ], which would mean that also Mušēzib-ilu was cohort commander.

⁴⁷ According to Wesszeli (PNA 1/I 18 s.v. Abu-lēšir 5 and 6) he might be identical with Abu-lēšir listed in CTN 3 99 and 108. Since these documents list military personnel this seems unlikely.

- **[...luā (-) Confectioner(?)**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN] L[Ú*]:.?: (probably for LÚ*.SUM.NINDA in CTN 3 87:17
I. 15) nd In a record of *ilkaḳāte* payments of the treasurer he is
mentioned along with 2 *sātu* 7 *qū* of leeks, 2 *sātu* 7 *qū*
of grapes and 5 minas of copper.
- **Rēmāni-Ililī (I) Confectioner**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
R. LÚ.SUM.NINDA 679 Witness for Mannu-kī-Arbail, attested as cohort com-
mander, chariot fighter and groom.
R. [LÚ].SUM.NINDA 679 Witness for the same Mannu-kī-Arbail.
- **[...] (-) Confectioner**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ].SUM.NINDA nd/dl He is listed in a fragment of an administrative docu-
ment recording the assignment of lodgings.
- **Zizi (20) Confectioner**
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
Z. 646* Z. owes 9 shekels of purified silver and gives a female
slave as a pledge.
Z. 634* Z. is one of four creditors of 3 ½ minas of silver listed
in a receipt recording that Nabū-zēru-iddina has paid
back his part to Iadīr-il, another of the four creditors.
Z.:. (for LÚ*.SUM.NINDA in r. 16) 626* Witness in a slave sale document.
- **Ēdī-lēšir (8) Confectioner**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Ē.:. (for LÚ*.SUM.NINDA in r. 16) 626* Witness in a slave sale document.

- **Ētiranni (-) Confectioner**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
Ē. [S]UM.NINDA
STAT 3 35 iii 24
nd
Listed in a broken administrative document which might be a barley account.
- **Marduk-balliḫ (2) Confectioner**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
M. LÚ*.SUM.NINDA
626*
STAT 1 21 r. 21
Witness in a slave sale document.
- **Nabû-tarfiḫa-ušur (4) Confectioner**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
N. SUM.NINDA
626*
VS 1 99:3
N. owes 17 shekels of silver to Nanāia-balliḫi.
- **Ubru-Aia (3) Confectioner**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
U. LÚ*.SUM.NINDA
U.
626*
STAT 1 21 r. 16
Witness in a slave sale document.
STAT 1 46:9' =
STAT 2 255
The same(?) U. is mentioned as father of [...] -Aššūr in an administrative document.
- **Nabû-ušabši (-) Confectioner**
Assur (7th century)
N. LÚ*.SUM.NINDA
nd
CUSAS 34 56
r. 11-12
His tablet (*egirtu*) is one of four tablets which are placed as a pledge to Iqbi-Ea.
- **Aḫu-lāmur (37) Confectioner**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
A. LÚ.SUM.NI[NINDA]
nd/dl
SAA 11 194:7
A. is listed together with others in what might be an administrative record of deportees.
- **Qurdi-Issār (23) Confectioner**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
Q. LÚ*.SUM.NINDA
nd
SAA 11 172:7-8
He and his family are recorded in an administrative document presumably dealing with deportees.

7. *karkadinnu* (unnamed)• **Confectioner**

Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)

[LÚ*.*kar-ka-din*] // LÚ*.*kar-ka-din*SAA 12 82:4 // 83
r. 3The confectioner is enumerated in the decree of
appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1).

nd

• **Confectioners**

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and later)

LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-na-a-te*⁴⁸CTN 3 145 r. iv 10
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

784

[LJÚ*.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ⁴⁸

CTN 1 8:29

The confectioners receive 2 *qīt* of wine.751/
747/735

LÚ*.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ

CTN 1 9:29

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

745/732

LÚ.*kar-ka-di-na-te*

CTN 1 1 r. iii 17

The confectioners receive 2 ½ *qīt* of wine.

nyd

LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-na-te*

CTN 1 6 r. 43

The confectioners receive 2 *qīt* of wine.

ydl

LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-na-te*

CTN 1 11 r. 10'

The confectioners receive 2 *qīt* of wine.

nd/dl

[LÚ*].SUM.NIN[DA.MEŠ]

CTN 1 17:4'

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

nd/dl

LÚ.*kar-[ka-di-na-te]*

CTN 1 19 r. 4

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

dl

LÚ.*kar-[ka-di-na-te]*

CTN 1 27:1'

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

nd/dl

LÚ*.*kar-ka-di-na-t[e]*

CTN 1 33 ii 10

The confectioners receive 1 *qīt* of wine during the *šar*
pūhi ritual.

nyd

LÚ.*kar-ka'-di'-na-a-te*]

CTN 3 124 r. 14

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

nd/dl

[LJÚ.*kar-[ka-di-na-te]*

CTN 3 129:2'

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

nd/dl

LÚ.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ

CTN 3 143 ii 8'

The confectioners receive wine (amount lost).

nd/dl

⁴⁸ Reading according to collations by Parpola (1976–7: 167).

- **Confectioner(?)**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ.SUM?.NINDA?
ND 2475 r. i 4'
nd/dl
Listed along with [x] talents 40 minas in what seems to be an account of silver.
- **Confectioners**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SUM.NINDA
SUM.NINDA.MES
CTN 1 34:3'
CTN 1 35 ii 16'
nd/dl
They receive 8 *sātu* 6 *qit* of bread or beer.
nd/dl
They receive 8 *sātu* of bread or beer.
- **“Crushing”? confectioners**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
SUM.NINDA KUM.A (cf. fn. 43)
CTN 1 35 ii 5'
nd/dl
They receive 1 *sātu* of bread or beer.
- **12 confectioners**
Mazamua (Sargon II)
12 LÚ*.kar-²ka²-di-ni / PAB 69 UN.MEŠ É
SAA 5 215:17, 18
nd
Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, reports to the king that he counted 12 confectioners when reviewing the troops.
- **Confectioners**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.SU]M.NA.NINDA.MEŠ
ND 2461 r. 23
nd
The confectioners are mentioned along with 5 *kappu*-bowls of tamarisk in an administrative document.
- **Confectioners**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
SUM.NINDA.MEŠ // SUM.NINDA.MEŠ
SAA 4 139:9 // 144:9
nd
Enumerated in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the king.
LÚ.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ
SAA 4 142:9
nd
Enumerated in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the crown prince.

- **400(?) confectioners**
Nineveh (possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
4 M[E L]Ú*.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ
SAA 7 21 r. 1 nd/dl
Listed in an administrative document recording domestic personnel.
 - 4 ME LÚ*.S[UM].NINDA.ME]Š
SAA 7 22 r. 2 nd/dl
Again listed in an administrative document recording domestic personnel which is almost identical with SAA 7 21.
 - **Confactioner**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[L]Ú.SUM.NINDA
SAA 11 195:2 nd/dl
Mentioned in a fragment of an administrative list.
8. *karkadinnu* in a lexical list
- **Confactioner**
LÚ.*kar-ka-di-nu* / LÚ.SUM.N[INDA]
MSL 12 233 iii 23', 24', 24'
nd
Listed together with the chief confactioner in a lexical list from Huzirina.

BAKER

1. Town of the Bakers
 - **Town of the Bakers**
area of Maganuba (Sargon II)
[UR]U-LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* / [UR]U? *šū-a-tu* / SAA 12 19:23', 27', 713
[URU-LÚ].NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* r. 10
According to this renewal of a land grant of Adad-nērāri III who made this town tax-exempt and gave it to Qannunu, Aḫu-lāmur and Mannu-kī-abi for the provision of crushed grain, it had reverted to fields. Another area was given to their sons.

2. Village of the Bakers
- **Village of the Bakers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
URU.ŠE-NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* ND 2618 r. 15 nd Listed together with other places.
3. *āpiu* of the great treasurer
- [...] (-) **Baker of the great treasurer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
[PN] / [PAB 2 LÚ].MEŠ-*e* LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ *ša* SAA 6 209:1', 3' dl Together with his colleague he sells a house, a field and a threshing floor (broken document).
 - [...] (-) **Female baker of the great treasurer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
[PN] / [PAB 2 LÚ].MEŠ-*e* LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ *ša* SAA 6 209:2', 3' dl Together with his colleague she sells a house, a field and a threshing floor (broken document).
4. *āpiu* of the commander-in-chief
- **Baker and employee of the house of the commander-in-chief**
Kalhu (8th century)
'ki-i-ki-te' [š]a' É²¹ LÚ*.tar-ta-a-ni (...) 1 CTN 2 199:6-9 nd According to a letter to the governor of Kalhu a baker, a cook and a confectioner are to be taken under the command of the sender Adad-aḫu-iddina.
5. *āpiu* of the *rab ša-rēši*
- **Šarru-lū-dārī (18) Baker**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.NINDA SAA 12 27:35 dl Listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption in favour of the *ša-rēši* Nabû-šarru-ušur.

6. *āpiu* of the chief chariot driver
- **Nabū-bēlu-uṣur (II) Baker**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. L[Ú*].NINDA' ARAD-šá ša M. // [LÚ*].NINDA SAA 6 305:4-5 //
ARAD]'-šá [šá] M. 306:1-2 669 N. is sold by Mukīn-Aššūr (3), servant of the palace supervisor, to Rēmanni-Adad, chief chariot driver, for 1 mina of silver.
7. *āpiu* of the *šakintu*
- **Baker of the *šakintu***
Babylonia (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ* .NINDA ša MÍ.šá-kín-te SAA 19 114:5 nd Ašipá reports to the king that the baker of the *šakintu* told him that a sceptre, a chest, an iron brazier and a copper kettle have been stolen from the palace. He, described as informant (*bātequ*), is sent to the king, for further investigation.
8. *āpiu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
- **[...d]ara (-) Baker**
Assur (Tiglath-pileser III)
'PN' LÚ* .NINDA' STAT 2 101 b.e. 11' 744 In a document recording the division of property he is listed as property of a certain Abu-īāba.
 - **Ilu-mušēzib (2) Baker of Bēl-ēmuranni**
Hatarikka (Sargon II)
I. LÚ* .NINDA ša B. SAA 1 171:3-4 nd Bēl-dūrī, governor of Damascus, reports to the king that I., previously appointed by the king, was made to run away.

- [...] (-) **Baker of (...)?**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN] LÚ*.NINDA ša LÚ*.[...]
CTN 2 75:7'-8'
dl
Witness in a fragmentary legal document.
 - [...] **-ilu (-) Baker of [...]**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
PN' LÚ*'.NINDA' LÚ*'.x x' [x]
680
SAA 6 48 r. 10
He is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys a female slave.
 - **Šulmu-bēli-īamur (6) Baker**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*'.NINDA'
627*
SAA 14 155:10
Together with a house and nine more people and his wife, Š. is given by Bēl-na'di to his daughter Ba'alī-iābatu.
 - [...] **-la-tequme (-) Baker**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
PN' LÚ*'.NINDA'
627*
SAA 14 155:5
Together with a house and ten more people he is given by Bēl-na'di to Ba'alī-iābatu, daughter of Bēl-na'di.
9. *āpiu* of the temple
- **Bakers (of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ / [LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ] (l. 37) / SAA 12 69:12, 21,
LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ ša É-DINGIR (r. 22) 28, 37, 44, r. 22, 26
809
According to this decree of expenditures for various ceremonies of the Aššur Temple they receive different types of grain. They shall not be called for labour and corvée.

- **Bakers (of the temple of Šarrat-nip̄a in Assur)**
Assur (Shalmaneser III)
LÚ.NINDA / LÚ.NINDA¹ (l. 30) / LÚ.[NINDA]
(r. 15) SAA 12 68:7, 13, 19, 27, 30, 35, r. 2, 10, 13, 15, 28 dl According to this copy of a decree of Tukulti-Inrta for the temple of Šarrat-nip̄a the baker receives foodstuffs and prepares bread and has the usufruct of some leftovers (together with the brewer).
- **Urdu-Aššur (I) Baker of the temple**
Assur (Sennacherib)
U. LÚ.NINDA ša É-DINGIR SAAB 9 73 r. 29 698 U. witnesses a house sale document.
- **Bakers**
Arbail (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ SAA 12 89:3⁷ dl Bakers are donated to Ištar of Arbail.
- **[Inūrtānu (I) / Nūrtānu (I) Baker of Ninurta⁴⁹**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.NINDA ša ^aMAŠ ND 3426 r. 18 = FNALD 9 649 I. is witness when the ša-rēšī Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a woman and her daughter.
I. LÚ.NINDA ND 3423 r. 30 644* I. is witness when the ša-rēšī Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) adopts the daughter of the fowler Maīr-il-ilāī (1).
N. [L]Ú*.NINDA ND 3429 l.e. 2 dl N. is witness when the ša-rēšī Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a slave.
- **...] (-) Baker, son of Sē'-dillini**
Huzirina (7th century)
[PN] (...) LÚ*.NINDA SAA 12 91:3 dl He is donated to Nusku.

⁴⁹ Though the two names are kept separate in PNA, it is likely that this is the same man, in each case witnessing a legal transaction of Šamaš-šarru-ušur.

- **Kabar-il (7) Baker**
Kalhu (unc.)
K. LÚ.NINDA
SAA 12 98:7 dl K. is dedicated to Nabû.
- 10. Specified baker
 - 10.1. *āpiu kaldāiu*
 - **Chaldean baker**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.NINDA KUR.kal-da-a-a
CTN 1 1 r. iii 12 nyd He receives ½ qât of wine.
- 11. *āpiu* (named)
 - **Ḥamaqati (1) Baker**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
Ḥ. LÚ*.NINDA
CTN 2 102 r. 6 795 Ḥ. is together with his colleague Mār-Issār (1) witness in a fragmentary legal document.
 - **Mār-Issār (1) Baker**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
M. LÚ*.NINDA
CTN 2 102 r. 5 795 M. is together with his colleague Ḥamaqati (1) witness in a fragmentary legal document.
 - **Sisāa (2) Baker**
Kalhu (Aššur-dān III)
S. LÚ*.NINDA
CTN 2 4 r. 17 769 S. is a witness when Aḫū'a-erība, servant of the great treasurer, sells his daughter to a servant of BĒl-issē'a, a ša-rēši and village manager of BĒl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu.

- **Šumu-riġba (1) Baker**
Kalhu/from Bit-Šaššeri (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
Š. LÚ*.NINDA ša [URU].É-šar-še-ri'
ND 2605:4'
(CTN 5: 273-5) nd Š. is listed in an administrative document as having been released.

- **Būnī (1) Baker**
Kalhu (8th century)
B. LÚ*.NINDA CTN 2 97 r. 6 dl In what could be a broken legal document B. is listed along with 1 mina (without commodity).

- **[...]ki (-) Baker**
Kalhu (8th or 7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.NINDA ND 3415 r. 11 dl He witnesses a house sale document.

- **Adda-sūri (3) Aramean baker**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ*.NINDA^{3'} KUR.ár-ma-a-a ND 5457 r. 11-12 699 In a loan docket A. together with another baker and a brewer (both unnamed) is listed as creditor of corn which is said to have been given to a certain Muġ.

- **Išmanni-Issār (2) Baker**
Assur (Sennacherib)
I. LÚ.NINDA STAT 2 104 r. 9' 686 I. acts as a witness in a broken legal document.

- **Tābī (4) Baker**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
T. LÚ*.NINDA SAA 6 81 r. 5 694 T. acts as a witness when the šakintu Addatī is owed 2 minas of silver by Bibia, deputy of the village manager.

- **Aplāia (20) Baker**
Nineveh/from [...] (Esarhaddon)
A.: [x x x] (“ditto” refers to LÚ.NINDA in I. 3) SAA 11 157:4 672
Together with other bakers originating from Babylonian cities A. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Kudurru (8) Baker**
Nineveh/from [...] (Esarhaddon)
K. LÚ.NINDA [...] SAA 11 157:3 672
Together with other bakers originating from Babylonian cities K. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Nabû-ahĕ-iddina (8) Baker**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ*.NINDA SAA 6 274 r. 15' 676
N. together with his colleague Ubru-Sūmi (1) is witness when Ahĕ-Milki buys a slave for 2 minas of silver.
- **Nabû-iddina (4) Baker**
Nineveh/probably from Kutha (Esarhaddon)
N.: G[Ú].DÚ₈.A x x] (“ditto” refers to LÚ.NINDA in I. 3) SAA 11 157:6 672
Together with other bakers originating from Babylonian cities N. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Ququ'a (8) Baker**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Q. LÚ*.NINDA SAAB 5 63 r. 12–13 672
Q. is witness in a corm(?) loan document, first-fruits of Aššur.
- **Rēmūtu (12) Baker**
Nineveh/from Kiš (Esarhaddon)
R.: KIŠ.[KI-a-a] (“ditto” refers to LÚ.NINDA in I. 3) SAA 11 157:7 672
Together with other bakers originating from Babylonian cities R. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Šumu-iddina (4) Baker**
Nineveh/from [...] (Esarhaddon)
N.: [...] (“ditto” refers to LÚ.NINDA in I. 3) SAA 11 157:5 672
Listed with other men from southern cities.

- **Ubru-Sūni (1) Baker**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
U. LÚ*.NINDA
676 SAA 6 274 r. 14'
U. together with his colleague Nabū-aḥḫē-iddina (8) is witness when Aḫī-Milki buys a slave.
- **Aḫu-lāmur (21) Baker**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
A. [L]Ú.NINDA
641* ND 3463 r. 16
Together with colleagues A. is witness when the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a house.
- 637* ND 3439 r. 1 = FNALD 37
Probably the same A. is guarantor for two birds owed to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).
- 636* O 3705 r. 14
A. is witness when a slave boy is sold for ½ mina of silver.
- 631* KAN 4 8 r. 20'
A. is witness when 25 people are sold by four sons of the priest Bātānu.
- 668 B 110:6, r. 2'
B. buys a slave from the *ša-rēši* Ilī (1) for ½ mina 5 shekels of silver.
- 631* CUSAS 34 51:2
I. is owed 14 shekels of silver jointly.
- **Adnī (1) Baker**
Maʿallanate (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.a-pi-*u*
- **Apladad-aplu-ušur (1) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.NINDA
- **Bibī (6) Baker(?)**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
B. LÚ*.NI[NDA] / B.
- **Issār-iqbi (-) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ*.NINDA

- **Mannu-ki-ahḫē (28) Baker(?)**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
M. LÚ.NINDA⁵⁰
SAAB 9 125 r. 11 633* M. is witness in a silver loan document.

- **Nabû-gabbu-ile'i (1) Baker**
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal)
N. LÚ.NINDA
ND 3463 r. 17 641* Together with colleagues N. is witness when the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a house.

- **Qurdi-Dādi (1) Baker**
Nineveh (Assurbaniḫal)
Q. LÚ*.NINDA
SAA 14 26 r. 2 645* Q. is witness when Lūqu is owed 10 shekels of silver.

- **Šēp-Aššūr (19) Baker**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
Š. LÚ*.NINDA
KAN 4 20:6 (edited
in Faist 2009: 60–2) dl Š. together with nine other men sells a female slave and her daughter to Mannu-ki-Aššūr. The sold persons are specified as “booty of Elam, which the king gave to the Inner City”.

- **Šumma-Aššūr (11) Baker**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
Š. LÚ*.NINDA
FNALD 26 r. 12 //
26* r. 16 (CT 33 19) 641* Š. is witness in a silver loan document together with his colleague Urdu-Issār (34).

⁵⁰ The editors (Deller et al. 1995: 114–5) propose the reading BUR for *parkullu*, stone-cutter.

- **Urdu-Issār (30) Baker**⁵¹
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal)
U.
U. LÚ.NINDA
U. is witness when the *šar-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) adopts the daughter of the fowler Maṭī-il-ilā I (1).
Together with colleagues U. is witness when the *šar-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a house.
- **Urdu-Issār (34) Baker**⁵²
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
U.
U. LÚ*.NINDA
U. / PAB LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
U.
U. is owed 9 shekels of silver.
U. is witness in a silver loan document together with his colleague Šumma-Aššūr (11).
U. is witness in a broken house sale document together with colleagues.
U. together with nine other men (including the baker Šēp-Aššūr (19) sells a female slave and her daughter to Mannu-kī-Aššūr. The slaves are “booty of Elam which the king gave to the Inner City”.
- **[...]kiri (-) Baker**
Nineveh (Assurbaniḫal)
PN LÚ.NINDA’
U. is witness when unbuilt land is sold.
- **Aššūr-balliḫ (13) Baker**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
A. LÚ*.NINDA
A. is witness in a slave sale document together with colleague Tamūzāiu (5).

⁵¹ Note the homonymous baker below who was active around the same time in Assur.

⁵² Note the homonymous baker above who was active around the same time in Kalhu.

- **Ēreš-Aššūr (2) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
Ē. LÚ.NINDA
STAT 1 22 r. 14 = dl Ē. is witness in a broken house sale document together
STAT 2 244 with colleagues.
- **Kišir-Aššūr (55) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
K. / PAB LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
(56) K. STAT 1 22 r. 15, 16 = dl K. is witness in a broken house sale document together
STAT 2 244 with colleagues.
STAT 1 62 r. 12 dl The same(?) K. is witness in another legal document
written in an unknown (probably Median or rather
Neo-Elamite) language.
(56) K. STAT 1 65:1' nd The same(?) K. is listed in what might be an account
(of silver). The text is written in another language, like
STAT 1 62.
- **Kišir-Nabú (6) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
K. / PAB LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
STAT 1 22 r. 16 = dl K. is witness in a broken house sale document together
STAT 2 244 with colleagues.
- **Aššūr-taqqinanni (2) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal and/or later)
A. SAAB 9 71 l.e. i 2 650/PC A. witnesses a division of inheritance of three sons of
Šumma-Aššūr (4), tailor of the Aššūr Temple.
A. VAT 15506 r. 13' 629* A. witnesses a judicial document.
A. SAAB 9 121 r. 16 629* A. witnesses a silver loan.
A. STAT 3 3 r. 29 615* A. witnesses a judicial document.
A. NINDA AfO 42 A1 r. 3 dl A. witnesses a broken purchase document.

- **Miqtu-adur (8) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
M.
STAT 1 3 r. 10 // 3* 646* M. is witness in a silver loan document.
r. 14
- M.
STAT 1 12 r. 12 624* M. is witness in a debt note concerning five garments.
- M. / PAB LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
STAT 1 22 r. 15, 16 = dl M. is witness in a broken house sale document together
STAT 2 244 with colleagues.
- **Nani (38) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
N. / PAB LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
STAT 1 22 r. 15, 16 = dl N. is witness in a broken house sale document together
STAT 2 244 with colleagues.
- **Rēmāni-Aššūr (13) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
R. / PAB LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
STAT 1 22 r. 14, 16 = dl R. is witness in a broken house sale document together
STAT 2 244 with colleagues.
- **Tamūzāiu (5) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
T. LÚ*.; (for LÚ*.NINDA in r. 14)
SAAB 9 77 r. 15 dl T. witnesses a slave sale together with his colleague
Aššūr-balliṭ (13).
- **[...] (-) Baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN] NINDA
STAT 2 110 r. 5' 650/PC He is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Abu-ul-īdi (14) Baker**
Nineveh/from Kilizi (after Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.NINDA URU.kàl-zi-a-a
SAA 14 169 r. 5 619* A. is witness when the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (16) lends
8 1/3 minas of silver, first-fruits of Ištar of Arbail, to
the chariot-maker Gūrū (9).

- **Aššūr-erība (13) Baker**⁵³, son of Nabû-nādin-aḫḫē
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A. (...) NINDA / A.
ZA 73 8* b.e. 1–2, 3 623* A. owes 4 shekels of silver, first-fruits of Aššur, to Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē.
- **Kišir-Aššūr (57) Baker**⁵⁴
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
K.
STAT 2 81 r. 16 625* K. is witness when a daughter is given in adoption by means of a sale.
STAT 2 85:5' nd K. is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **Lidbubū (-) Baker**
Tušhan (after Assurbaniḫal)
L. LÚ* NINDA
ZTT 13:5–6 nd In an administrative document L. is listed along with 4 (*emāru*) of barley.
- **Mukīn-Aššūr (12) Baker**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
M. NINDA
STAT 3 3 r. 31 615* M. witnesses a judicial document concerned with the inheritance share of the the copper-smith Itti-ilāni-[...].
- **Qibīt-Aššūr (37) Baker**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
Q. NINDA
STAT 3 3 r. 16 615* Q. witnesses a judicial document concerned with the inheritance share of the the copper-smith Itti-ilāni-[...].

⁵³ According to Radner (PNA 1/I 182) there is a second attestation of the baker Aššūr-erība to be found in Ass. 14671 ii r. 4. But this text does not mention any Aššūr-erība (Donbaz and Parpola 2001: 152 s.v. no. 231).

⁵⁴ It cannot be excluded that he is identical with the baker Kišir-Aššūr (55) or (56), see above.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Qiqi (1) Baker Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) Q. LÚ*.NINDA 	STAT 1 11 r. 14	627*	Q. witnesses a silver loan document.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Rēmāni-Issār (7) Baker and probably chief baker Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) R. LÚ.NINDA 	SAAB 5 35 r. 29	629*/ 625*	Together with his colleague Šamšāni-īlu (6) R. is witness when 30 <i>ḫundurāius</i> sell unbuilt land.
R. LÚ.NINDA / R. / R. LÚ.GAL- ³ NINDA ³ .MEŠ ³ // R.	SAAB 9 80*:1, 5, r. 10 // 80*:2	621*	It is recorded in this legal document that R. annulled a loan document of barley which was the responsibility of the bakers.
R. LÚ.NINDA	SAAB 9 78 r. 12'	dl	He is witness when the fuller Adad-milki-ēreš (8) sells a mother and her son.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Šamšāni-īlu (6) Baker Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) Š. LÚ.NINDA 	SAAB 5 35 r. 23	629*/ 625*	Together with his colleague Rēmāni-Issār (7) Š. is witness when 30 <i>ḫundurāius</i> sell unbuilt land.
Š. NINDA	TIM 11 36 r. 3	nd	Š. is listed in a broken administrative document.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Zīzi (32) Baker Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) Z. LÚ.NINDA 	SAAB 9 109 r. 33	615*	Z. is witness when Mutaqqin-Aššūr (7), gatekeeper, buys a slave.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [...]ja (-) Baker(?) Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) [PN] LÚ⁷.NINDA⁷ 	SAAB 9 78 r. 5'	dl	He is first witness when the fuller Adad-milki-ēreš (8) sells a mother together with her son.

- **Gīrītu (11) Baker**, son of Qurdi-ilāni
Nineveh/Assur (7th century)
G. LÚ.NINDA / LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
(-) G. (...) LÚ.NINDA
SAA 11 155:6, r. 3 nd
According to an administrative document the Babylonian silversmith Bulluṭu (9) is assigned to G.
CTSHM 30:13 dl
Probably the same G. is mentioned in a house sale document as owner of a house adjoining the one being sold.
- **Marduk-iqbi (5) Baker**
Nineveh (7th century)
M. LÚ.NINDA / LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
SAA 11 155:4, r. 3 nd
According to an administrative document the Babylonian engraver Bulluṭu (8) is assigned to M.
- **Šumma-Adad (8) Baker**
Nineveh (7th century)
Š. LÚ.NINDA / LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
SAA 11 155:2, r. 3 nd
According to an administrative document the Babylonian Bēl-aḫu-iddina, member of the Fisher family, is assigned to Š.
- **Urdu-Aia (25) Baker**
Nineveh (7th century)
U. LÚ.NINDA / LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
SAA 11 155 r. 1, 3 nd
According to an administrative document the Babylonian priest Bēl-ibni is assigned to U. similar to three other bakers who are in charge of a Babylonian.
- **[...] (-) Baker**
Assur (7th century)
[PN] NINDA
STAT 2 254 r. 11' nd
He is listed in a broken administrative document.

12. <i>āpiu</i> (unnamed)				
• Baker(?) Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)	[LÚ*.NINDA?][LÚ*.NINDA?]	SAA 12 82:4 // 83 r. 3	nd	The baker is probably enumerated here among other craftsmen assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1).
• Aramean bakers Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)	LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ KUR.ār-ma-[a]-a	CTN 3 145 r. iii 28 (= reverse of CTN 1 3)	784	They receive 1[+x] amount of wine.
	: KUR*.ār-ma-a (“ditto” refers to LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ in r. iii 19)	CTN 1 1 r. iii 21	nyd	They receive 1 ½ <i>qû</i> of wine.
• Assyrian bakers Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)	LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ KUR.aš-šur-[a]-a	CTN 3 145 r. iii 29 (= reverse of CTN 1 3)	784	They receive 1 <i>sūtu</i> ½ <i>qû</i> of wine.
	LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ aš-šur-a-a	CTN 1 1 r. iii 19	nyd	They receive 2 ½ <i>qû</i> of wine.
• Bakers Kalhu (Aššur-nērāri V or later)	LÚ*.NINDA?ME[Š]	CTN 1 8:30	751/ 747/735	The bakers receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine.
	LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ	CTN 1 6 r. 38'	ydl	The bakers receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine.
	[LÚ*.NINDA].MEŠ-ni ⁵⁵	CTN 1 11 r. 12'	nd/dl	The bakers receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine.
	[LÚ*.NINDA].MEŠ-ni	CTN 1 20:18'	nd/dl	The bakers receive [x] wine.
	LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ	CTN 1 33 ii 7	nyd	The bakers receive 1 <i>qû</i> of wine during the <i>šar pūḫi</i> ritual.

⁵⁵ Restoration according to the collations by Parpola (1976–7: 168).

- **Baker**
Assur (Tiglath-pileser III)
LÚ.NINDA
744
StAT 2 101 r. 11
His son [...]ibni is witness in a division of property;
the baker [...d]lara is listed as property.
- **Bakers**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ
LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni*
nd/dl
nd/dl
They receive 1 *emāru* 5 *sītu* of bread or beer.
They receive 4 *sītu* of bread or beer.
- **7 bakers**
Mazamua (Sargon II)
7 LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ / PAB 69 UN.MEŠ É
nd
SAA 5 215:17, 18
Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, writes a letter to
the king according to which he reviewed, among others,
7 bakers belonging to the domestic staff.
- **Bakers**
Kalhu/from Suḫu (8th century)
: KUR.*su-ḫa-a* ("ditto" refers to LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ
in r. iii 19)
nyd
CTN 1 1 r. iii 20
They receive 1 ½ *qū* of wine.
- **Baker**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
[L]Ú*.NINDA
699
ND 5457:6
In a loan docket he is listed together with the Aramean
baker Adda-sūrī (3) and the brewer (unnamed) as credi-
tor of corn which is said to have been given to a certain
Mutī.
- **Bakers**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
NINDA.MEŠ // NINDA.MEŠ
L[Ú.NIN]DA.MEŠ
nd
nd
SAA 4 139:9 //
SAA 4 142:9
Listed as potential danger in a query concerning a
rebellion against the king.
Listed as potential danger in a query concerning a
rebellion against the crown prince.

- **Bakers**

Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)

LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ // LÚ.NI[NDA.MEŠ]

SAAB 9 80:4 //
80*:1'

621*

According to this legal document the bakers owed barley to Imdr-amat which was repaid by the (chief) baker Rēmānī-Issār (7).

- **Bakers**

Tušhan (after Assurbaniḫal)

LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni*

ZTT 14:3

nd

According to a short note the bakers owe 2 (*emāru*) of barley.

13. *āpiu* in a lexical list

- **Baker**

LÚ.NINDA⁵⁶

MSL 12 238 r. vi 29

nd

Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, along with the perfume maker.

14. *āpītu*

- **Female bakers**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniḫal)

MÍ.NINDA.ME(Š)'

SAA 7 26:3'

nd/dl

Mentioned in an administrative document recording female personnel.

⁵⁶ Reading according to Postgate (1980: 68) who collated the tablet.

CUPBEARER

1. Village of the Cupbearer
 - **Village of the Cupbearer**
Kalhu (8th century)
URU.ŠE-KAŠ.LUL
ND 2465:9
nd
Listed along with 101 *emāru* 4 *sītu* of barley rations.
2. *šāqiu* of the queen
 - **Adi-māti-ilu (2) Cupbearer of the queen**
Kalhu (8th century)
A. L[Ú*].KAŠ.LUL [š]a MÍ.É.GAL
CTN 2 44:5-6
dl
A. buys unbuilt land for 6 minas of copper.
 - **Cupbearer of the queen**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL MÍ.É.GAL
SAA 11 36 iii 4
nd/dl
He receives 1 *šapputu*-bowl (of wine) and 1 mina of copper as redistributed tribute.
3. *šāqiu* of the king's mother
 - 3.1. Subordinates of the *šāqiu* of the king's mother
 - 3.1.2. *šaniu* (*deputy*)
 - **Nušku-šarru-ušur (I) Deputy cupbearer of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.2-ú ša LÚ.KAŠ.LUL AMA-MAN
SAA 7 9 i 24'-25'
nd/dl
N. is assigned to the "residences" of the governors in an administrative list probably recording temporary lodgings.

4. *šāqiu* of the vizier
- **Ubru-Issār (6) Cupbearer of the vizier**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
U. LÚ.KAŠ.LUL šá LÚ.SUKKAL 715 U. is witness when Inūrta-ilā'ī buys land.
U. LÚ.[KAŠ.LUL] SAA 6 12 r. 3' 710 U. is again witness when Inūrta-ilā'ī sells land.
SAA 6 13 r. 1
5. *šāqiu* of the governor
- [...] (-) **Cupbearer of the governor**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
[PN L]Ú.KAŠ.LUL šá' LÚ.EN.NAM dl He is witness in a broken land sale document.
Edubba 10 47 r. 5'
6. *šāqiu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
- **Lēšeru (1) Cupbearer of Dannī**
Kalhu (Adad-nēra'ī III)
L. LÚ.KAŠ.LUL ša D. 795 L. is listed as a witness in a broken legal document.
CTN 2 102 r. 3–4
 - **Urdu-Issār (11) Cupbearer, ša-rēšī of the house of Aššūr-ilā'ī and servant of the city of Til-Barsip**
Til-Barsip (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-ni [ša] É' A. / U. LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL / SAA 1 184:4-5, 8, 12, nd According to a letter of Adad-ibni to the king U. and
[PAB 4] LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ-ni / LÚ*.ARAD.MEŠ-ni r. 6–7 three other ša-rēšīs were brought to the palace.
ša URU.DUL-bur-si-bi
 - **Nabû-tēr-kišrī (1) Cupbearer**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.KAŠ.LUL dl N. is listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption.
SAA 12 63:5'

7. *šāqiu* of the temple
- **Cupbearer (probably of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ* .ŠU.LIŠ.D[U₈]
SAA 12 69 r. 2 809
In a decree of expenditures for ceremonies of the Aššur Temple the cupbearer is listed along with 5 *qīt* of honey.
 - **Zārūtī (33) Cupbearer of Belet-Babili**
Nineveh/from Babylon (7th century)
Z. LÚ.KAŠ.LUL *ša^{ab}e-lit*-KÁ.DINGIR.KI
SAA 11 154:16 nd
Together with his sister Z. is recorded in an administrative list counting 13 Babylonians and one scribe from Kutha.
 - **Cupbearer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (unc.)
LÚ.KAŠ.LUL / KAŠ.LUL
LÚ.KAŠ.LUL
SAA 20 50 r. i 20',
ii 2' nd
In a text recording the responsibilities of the personnel of the Aššur Temple the cupbearer is mentioned twice.
SAA 20 51 i 18 nd
The cupbearer is mentioned among other temple personnel in a broken text recording royal decrees.
 - **[...] (-) Cupbearer**
Huzirina (7th century)
[PN] LÚ.KAŠ.LUL
SAA 12 91:4 dl
Together with his colleague and others he is donated to Nusku.
 - **[...] (-) Cupbearer**
Huzirina (7th century)
[PN] LÚ.: 'x' (for LÚ.KAŠ.LUL in 1. 4)
SAA 12 91:5 dl
Together with his colleague and others he is donated to Nusku.

8. *šāqiu* (named)
- **Adda-idrī (-) Cupbearer**
Guzanaa/from Mežê(?) (Adad-nērāri III)
A. / PAB '8⁷ [ša URU].me-[ze³-e²] / PAB 10 LÚ*. TH 35:1, b.e. 7, r. 13
ŠU.[DU₈].MEŠ
nd
Together with nine other cupbearers A. is listed in a broken administrative document; possibly under the command of Qarīhu.
 - **Aššūr-taklāk (4) Cupbearer**
Guzanaa/from Mežê (Adad-nērāri III)
A. / PAB 2 ša URU.me-ze-e / PAB 10 LÚ*.ŠU. TH 35 r. 9, 11, 13
[DU₈].MEŠ
A.
nd
Together with nine other cupbearers A. is listed in a broken administrative document.
Together with others the same(?) A. receives garments according to a broken administrative document.
 - **Bēl?-[...]-pá (-) Cupbearer**
Guzanaa/from Mežê(?) (Adad-nērāri III)
B. / PAB '8⁷ [ša URU].me-[ze³-e²] / PAB 10 LÚ*. TH 35:4, b.e. 7, r. 13
ŠU.[DU₈].MEŠ
nd
Together with nine other cupbearers B. is listed in a broken administrative document; possibly under the command of Qarīhu.
 - **Ḥašdānu (1) Cupbearer**
Guzanaa/from Mežê (Adad-nērāri III)
T. / PAB 2 ša URU.me-ze-e / PAB 10 LÚ*.ŠU. TH 35 r. 10, 11, 13
[DU₈].MEŠ
nd
Together with nine other cupbearers Ḥ. is listed in a broken administrative document.
 - **Paḥamka (1) Cupbearer**
Guzanaa/from Mežê(?) (Adad-nērāri III)
P. / PAB '8⁷ [ša URU].me-[ze³-e²] / PAB 10 LÚ*. TH 35:2, b.e. 7, r. 13
ŠU.[DU₈].MEŠ
nd
Together with nine other cupbearers P. is listed in a broken administrative document; possibly under the command of Qarīhu.

- **A[...]** (-) **Cupbearer**
Harrañ (Sargon II)
A. LÚ.KAŠ.LUL
SAA 1 194:4'-5' nd
In a letter to the king (Sargon) it is reported that the sender (name lost) made A. and others enter the royal corps (*kišri ša šarri*) of Harrañ on account of the (missing) cavalrymen.
- **Qibīt-Aššūr (1) Cupbearer**
Assur/from Arrapha (Sargon II)
Q. LÚ.KAŠ.LU[L] URU. *arrap-ḫa-a-[a]*
STAT 3 27 r. 7'-8' 715
Q. is witness in a judicial document.
- **Aššūr-rēši-iši (-) Cupbearer**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
A. KAŠ.LUL
STAT 2 1 r. 2 674
A. is witness when silver is paid back.
- **[...].di?** (-) **Cupbearer**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon)
[PN] LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
SAA 16 169 r. 3' nd
He is mentioned in a fragmentary letter.
- **[...].apli (-) Cupbearer**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
PN' LÚ.KAŠ'.LUL.⁵⁷
SAA 7 9 ii 3' nd/dl
He is assigned to the "residences" of the brewers in what seems to be a record of temporary lodgings.
- **Aššūr-da''in-šarru (2) Cupbearer**
active in Arbail (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
SAA 4 324 r. 7' 651
According to a fragmentary report A. is recorded as participant of an extispicy performed in Arbail.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ He is probably identical with the diviner Aššūr-da''in-šarri since the *bēl tēmi* Dannaia is mentioned in SAA 4 324 and occurs as *bēl tēmi* together with the diviner Aššūr-da''in-šarri in other queries; see Pongratz-Leisten, PNA 1/1 178 s.v. Aššūr-da''in-šarri 1 and 2.

- **Marduk-ibni (6) Cupbearer**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
M. // M. LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
SAA 14 61 r. 6 // 658 M. is witness when the wine master Zārūtī (23) and Utlāiu (25), the wine master's deputy, owe silver.
- **Nabū-iddina (7) Cupbearer**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
(6) N.
N. LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
ND 5451:3 665 N. owes 1 *emāru* 5 *sītu* of barley to the Nabū Temple.
ND 5453:6-7 662 The same(?) N. owes 1 *emāru* of barley to the Nabū Temple.
- **Silim-ili (9) Cupbearer**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
S. KAŠ.LUL
SAA 14 441 r. 7 634* S. is witness when the *ša-rēši* Pān-Issār-lāmur (5) is owed silver.
- **Aššūr-aḫu-iddina (-) Cupbearer**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
ZTT 8 r. 1 dl A. witnesses a receipt of garments.
- **Aqru (14) Cupbearer, citizen of Nineveh**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. LÚ.KAŠ.LUL DUMU URU.NINA
SAA 14 215 r. 10 dl A. acts as a witness when land is purchased.
- 9. *šāqiu*⁵⁸ (unnamed)
- **Cupbearer**
Guzana (Aḏad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.ŠU.DU₈
TH 63:3 nd He receives garments according to a broken entry in an administrative document.

⁵⁸ Two supposed attestations of the cupbearer are excluded here since they rather refer to a particular type of tube rack. In two inscriptions of Sargon, there seems to be a GIŠ.GAN.KAŠ.LUL rather than a LÚ.KAŠ.LUL enumerated among the booty taken from Mušasir (Fuchs 1998: 32, IV.b-d.23); see Fuchs 1998: 32, fn. 73 with reference to CAD K 155 1.a.

- **Cupbearer**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and later)

LÚ*·ŠU.LIŠ.DU ₈ ⁵⁹	CTN 1 3 ii 6	784	He receives 5 <i>qīt</i> of wine.
LÚ*·KAŠ.LUL	CTN 1 8:26	751/ 747/735	He receives 2 <i>qīt</i> of wine.
LÚ*·ŠU.LIŠ [!] .DU ₈]	CTN 1 2 i 14	nyd	He receives 5(?) <i>qīt</i> of wine. ⁶⁰
LÚ*·ŠU.LIŠ [!] .DU ₈	CTN 1 4:21	nyd	He receives [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*·KAŠ.LUL	CTN 1 6 r. 47	ydl	He receives [x] <i>qīt</i> of wine.
LÚ*·KAJŠ [!] .LUL] ⁶¹	CTN 1 11 r. 18'	nd/dl	He receives 5 <i>qīt</i> of wine.
[LJÚ*·ŠU.QA.DU ₈	CTN 1 12:10'	nd/dl	He receives [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*·KAŠ.LUL	CTN 1 13:22'	nd/dl	He receives 2 <i>qīt</i> of wine.
LÚ*·KAŠ.LUL	CTN 1 16:22'	nd/dl	He receives [x] amount of wine.
[LJÚ.KAŠ.LUL	CTN 1 19:22	dl	He receives [x] amount of wine.
[LÚ*].ŠU.LIŠ.DU ₈	CTN 1 23 r. 4'	nd/dl	He receives [x] amount of wine. ⁶²
- **Cupbearer**
Kalhu (Sargon II)

LÚ*·KAŠ.LUL	CTN 1 34:4'	nd/dl	He receives 1 <i>emāru</i> [x] <i>qīt</i> of bread or beer.
LÚ*·KAŠ.[LUL]	CTN 1 35 i 12'	nd/dl	He receives 1 <i>emāru</i> of bread or beer.

⁵⁹ Kinnier Wilson (1972: 79, fn. 302) assumed that *ša šāqie* denotes the plural because there is otherwise no plural of the cupbearer in the wine lists. Since it is clear from other attestations that the plural is marked with MĒŠ, there is no reason to believe in such an assumption. The present *ša* was probably inserted by error because of the preceding line containing a *ša* (for *ša kaqqiri*).

⁶⁰ The amount of wine is restored according to the collations by Parpola (1976–7: 167).

⁶¹ Restoration according to the collations by Parpola (1976–7: 168).

⁶² This reference is possibly connected with the E-*a-ni* (*bētānu*) written in the following, broken line (CTN 1 23 r. 5'), see Part II, section 3.3.

- **20 cupbearers**
Mazamua (Sargon II)
20 LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL / PAB 69 UN.MEŠ É SAA 5 215:16, 18 nd
They are reviewed as part of the domestic unit of the troops stationed in Mazamua according to the report of Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, to the king.
- **Cupbearer**
probably Mazamua (Sargon II)
[L]Ú*¹.KAŠ.LUL SAA 5 206:10 nd
Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua, reports to the king that 420 talents of bronze scraps were placed in the storehouse of the cupbearer.
- **Cupbearer**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ.KAŠ.LUL CTN 3 89:33' nd/dl
He is listed in a section of an administrative document dealing with audience gifts.
- **Cupbearer**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-qu-ú SAA 18 65:6' nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter as having given an order "to call up the men" (heading lost).
- **Cupbearers**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.KAŠ.LUL.MEŠ SAA 4 142:9 nd
They are listed among others as possible transgressors against the crown prince in a query.
[KAŠ.LUL.MEŠ] SAA 4 144:9 nd
Listed in another query, cf. SAA 4 139.
- **Cupbearer**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL SAA 13 157:11' nd
In a letter to the king (heading lost) he is said to have returned from Kalhu for the rations for the deportees.

- **220(?) cupbearers**
Nineveh (possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
2 ME 20 LÚ*.KAŠ'.LUL 0'
2 ME 20 'LÚ*:'K.AŠ.LUL
SAA 7 21:9' nd/dl He is listed together with other domestics in an administrative document.
SAA 7 22:5' nd/dl He is listed in an administrative document almost identical with SAA 7 21.
 - **Cupbearer**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
KAŠ.LUL
SAA 7 44:5 nd/dl He is listed along with ½ mina of silver in a broken administrative record concerning a theft in the temple.
 - **Cupbearer**
Assur (unc.)
'LÚ.KAŠ.LUL' 650
SAA 20 9 r. iii 20' According to this report of rituals a pomegranate is put in his mouth and he is brought before the king.
10. *šāqiu* in a non-documentary text
- **Cupbearer**
LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL nd
SAA 33 r. i 46' In a description of the royal meal, the palace supervisor orders the cupbearer to fill the heavy beakers.
11. *šāqiu* in lexical lists
- **Cupbearer**
LÚ.KAŠ.LUL / LÚ.ŠU.LIŠ'.DU₈ nd
MSL 12 233 iii 17',
LÚ*.ŠU.QA.DU₈ / LÚ*.ŠU.DU₈ nd
MSL 12 238 i 4, 5 Listed in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with cupbearers and the chief cupbearer.
Listed after the chief cupbearer and before an alternative writing for "cupbearer" and the chief cook in a lexical list from Nineveh.

12. *šāqītu*• **Female cupbearers**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)

MÍ.KAŠ.LUL.MEŠ

SAA 7 26:2'

nd/dl

Together with other female personnel they are listed in a fragmentary administrative document.

13. Subordinates of the *šāqiu*13.1. *mukīl appāti* (chariot driver)• **Zāzī (2) Chariot driver of the cupbearer**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

Z. LÚ.[*mu*-DIB-PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ.[KAŠ.LUL]

SAA 6 39 r. 8–9

694

Z. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys slaves.

Z. [LÚ*.*m*]u-DIB-P[A.MEŠ] ša LÚ*.KA[Š.LUL]

SAA 6 40 r. 15–16

693

Z. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys slaves.

Z. LÚ*.*mu*-k[ī]-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ*.KAŠ.LU[L]

SAA 6 41 r. 7–8

693

Z. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys slaves.

13.2. *urātu* (servant)• **Sukkāia (19) Servant(?) of the cupbearer**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)

S. [LÚ.ARAD] ša LÚ.KAŠ.LUL

SAA 6 342 r. 12–13

dl

S. is witness when the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad buys slaves.

S.

SAA 6 334:23

dl

The same(?) S. is probably mentioned as owner of an estate next to the one being sold in the land of the chief cupbearer.

14. Sons of the cupbearer (*mār šāqie*)
- **“Sons of the cupbearer”**
Kalhu (Aššurbašipal II)
DUMU.MEŠ- [LÚ*.ŠU.LIŠ.DU₈] //
DUMU.MEŠ- LÚ*.ŠU.LIŠ.DU₈
They are assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū’a (1) on his appointment.
nd SAA 12 82:4-5 // 83 r. 3
 - **“Son of the cupbearer”**
Kalhu (Aššur-nērāri V or later)
DUMU-LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
CTN 1 8:27
751/
747/735
He receives ½ *qû* of wine.
 - DUMU-LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
CTN 1 13 r. 10’
nd/dl
He receives ½ *qû* of wine.
 - DUMU-LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL
CTN 1 16:23’
nd/dl
He receives [½](?) *qû* of wine.
 - **“Sons of the cupbearer”**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU.LIŠ.DU₈
CTN 1 1 r. iii 16
nyd
They receive 4 *qû* of wine.
 - **Abu-ilā’i (5) “Son of the cupbearer” of the Nabû Temple**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.DUMU-KAŠ.LUL.: (for É-DINGIR ša
dPA in r. 14)
SAA 12 95 r. 16
655
A. is witness when a man donates his two nephews to Nabû of Kalhu.
 - **One(?) “son of the cupbearer”**
[1-e]n’ DUMU¹-KAŠ.LUL
SAA 20 16 i 10’
nd
In a description of a ritual he is said to step to the right of the king and to deposit an *arzallu*-implement before the king.

TAILOR

1. *kāširu* of the palace
- **Ammi-rāmu (1) Tailor of the palace**
Nineveh/Dadi-ualla (in Talmusu) (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ ša É.GAL
SAA 6 91 r. 2' 681
A. is witness when an unnamed *sekrēt ekalli* buys 27 persons together with their properties including fields, houses and sheep in the town of Dadi-ualla.
 - **Kalhāiu (2) Tailor of the palace**
Ma'allanate (Sennacherib)
K. LÚ*.KA.KÉŠ ša É.GAL / K.
O 3695:1-2, 8 683
K. sells his slave to Handī for 1 ½ minas of silver.
 - **Šār-Aššūr (1) Tailor of the palace**
Assur (Sennacherib)
Š.
Š. LÚ*.KA.KÉŠ': (for 'KUR' in r. 31)
Š. is witness in a house sale.
Š. is witness when Šumma-Aššūr, tailor of the Aššur Temple, buys a house.
698
683
2. *kāširu* of the king
- **3 tailors of the son of Zērī (i.e. Marduk-apla-iddina, king of the Sealand)**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
3 LÚ*.ka-šir.MEŠ ša DUMU Z.
SAA 15 214 r. 1 nd
In a broken letter to an official they are said to have run away.
 - **Adda-pisia (1) Palace tailor of the king**
Assur/from Daria (Assurbaniṣal)
A. LÚ.kā-šir ša É.GAL MAN TA* URU.[a]l-ri'-a / A.
STAT 2 169:1-3, 7 641*
Together with his son A. sells a female slave for 1 mina 4 shekels of silver.

3. *kāširu* of the queen
- **Sukkāia (26) Tailor of the queen**, son of Inūrtī Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
S. (...) LÚ.KA.KÉŠ ša MÍ.É.GAL / S. ND 5448:1-2, 5 = FNALD 32 656 S. owes 21 *emāru* of barley to Nabû and gives Lā-abāši as a pledge.
4. *kāširu* of the governor of Kalhu
- [...] **mudammiq (-) Taylor and servant of the governor of Kalhu**
Kalhu (probably Shalmaneser V)
PN̄ LÚ*.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ ARAD ša LÚ*.EN.NAM Edubba 10 51 r. 8-9 URU.kal-ḫi dl He is witness in a judicial document concerning the sale of slaves for 30 minas of copper.
5. *kāširu* of the deputy governor of Kalhu
- **Gidgiddānu (3) Tailor and servant of the deputy governor of Kalhu**
Dur-Šarrukim/active in Kalhu (Sargon II)
G. LÚ.kā-šir / PAB 2 ARAD.MEŠ ša LÚ.2-e ša SAA 6 31 r. 23-24 = SAAB 11 1 = FNALD 2 709 G. is witness when Nabû-kabti-aḫḫēšu (1), palace scribe of Sargon, buys land.
 - **Sūsi (1) Tailor and servant of the deputy governor of Kalhu**
Dur-Šarrukim/active in Kalhu (Sargon II)
S. LÚ.kā-šir / PAB 2 ARAD.MEŠ ša LÚ.2-e ša SAA 6 31 r. 23-24 = SAAB 11 1 = FNALD 2 709 S. is witness when Nabû-kabti-aḫḫēšu (1), palace scribe of Sargon, buys land.

6. *kāširu* of the chariot driver
- [Gabb]é? (-) Tailor
Nineveh/Til-Barsip (Assurbanipal)
[G. LÚ*.ka-šir] // [G.] LÚ.kā-šir
SAA 6 312:4 // 313:4
666 He is sold together with his family by the chief singer Bēl-aplu-iddina (14) from Til-Barsip to the chariot driver Rēmanni-Adad.
7. *kāširu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
- [...]qi (-) Tailor and servant of the tailor Ninuāia (4)
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
[PN] KA.KÉŠ ARAD ša N.
CTN 2 6:3
735 He is sold to Marduk-aplu-ušur by the tailor Ninuāiu (4).
 - Ḫalmusu (6) Tailor
Nineveh (7th century)
Ḫ. LÚ*.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ
SAA 14 186:3'
dl Ḫ. together with his family is sold to Bābilāiu.
8. *kāširu* of the temple
- Šumma-Aššūr (4) Tailor of Aššur
Assur (Assurbanipal and probably earlier)
Š.
STAT 2 67:1, 4
687 Š., probably to be identified with the priest Š., owes 10 minas of copper.
 - Š.
SAAAB 9 75:9, r. 4
683 Š., probably to be identified with the priest Š., purchases a house from the palace supervisor Bēl-anamarruqi (1) for 30 shekels of silver.
 - Š. LÚ*.KA.KÉŠ šā aš-šur
SAAAB 9 71:3
650⁶³ Š.'s three sons divide up his estate.

⁶³ Based on the possible identification of Šumma-Aššūr with homonymous men recorded in SAAAB 9 75 and STAT 2 67, 650 BCE is more plausible than a post-canonical dating.

9. *kāširu* (named)
- **Nīnuāiu (4) Tailor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
N. LÚ.TÚG.K[A.KÉ]Š / N.
735 N. sells his servant and tailor (name lost) to Marduk-
aplu-ušur.
CTN 2 6:2, 3
 - [...] (-) **Tailor**
Nineveh (8th or 7th century)
[PN] LÚ.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ
dl He is witness for Nabû'a who redeems two persons.
SAA 14 202 r. 4'
 - **Aššūr-ia[...] (-) Tailor**
Assur (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ.KA.KÉŠ
686 A. is witness when a house is sold.
KAN 4 62 r. 29
(edited in Faist and
Llop 2012: 29–30)
 - **Tarība-Issār (2) Tailor**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
T. LÚ*.ka-šir
698 T. is witness when the merchant Erība-ilāni buys a
house.
SAA 6 124 r. 8
 - **Zabīnu (2) Tailor**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Z. LÚ*.ka-šir
694 Z. is witness when the *šakintu* Addatī is owed 2 minas
of silver.
SAA 6 81 r. 6
 - **Zaḥaṭuṭu (1) Tailor**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Z. LÚ*.ka-šir
698 Z. is witness when the merchant Erība-ilāni buys a
house.
SAA 6 124 r. 7

- **Līṭ-ili (9) City(?) tailor**
Huzirina (Assurbanipal)
L. LÚ*.ka-šīr 'URU^{7,64}
STT 48 r. 8' 635*⁶⁵ L. receives 10 shekels (of silver) in the year 638* according to an administrative document.
- **Ulūlāiu (28) Tailor**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ
SAA 14 21 r. 8 dl U. is witness when the royal ša-rēši Nīnuāiu (11) buys people.
- **Aššur-erība (11) Tailor**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.KA.KÉŠ
SAAAB 5 35 r. 24 629*/625* A. is witness when unbuilt land is sold by 30 *ḫundurāius* to the *ḫundurāiu* Mudammiq-Aššūr.
- **Ilu-tāba (1) Tailor**
Dur-Katlimmu (7th century)
I. KÉŠ
BATSH 6 13 r. 6 dl I. is witness in a broken legal document.
- 10. *kāširu* (unnamed)
- **Tailor**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.KA.KÉŠ
TH 65 b.e. 10 nd Listed along with 1 hide in an administrative document.
- **10 tailors**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
10 LÚ.kā-šīr.[MEŠ]
ND 2728+ r. 14' nd Together with other professionals listed and summed up as "additional craftsmen(?)".

⁶⁴ As an alternative reading Deller (1965: 470) suggested LÚ *ka-mus* URU to be translated as "der sich in der Stadt aufhält".

⁶⁵ The text mentions eponyms from 639* to 635* and therefore dates to 635* or later.

- **Tailors**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ
CTN 1 34:5' nd/dl They receive bread or beer, amount lost.
- **12 tailors**
Mazamua (Sargon II)
12 LÚ*.KA.KÉŠ / PAB 69 UN.MEŠ É SAA 5 215:16, 18 nd Adad-issē'a, governor of Mazamua, writes to the king reporting that he reviewed, among others, 12 tailors belonging to the domestic staff.
- **Tailor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ SAA 10 294 r. 28 nd In a letter from the exorcist Urdu-Gula to the king complaining about his diminished status, the author states that he cannot even afford the wages of a tailor.
- **Tailors(?)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ.KA.KÉŠ].MEŠ SAA 4 142:9 nd They are enumerated in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the crown prince.
[LÚ.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ] SAA 4 144:9 nd Listed in another query, cf. SAA 4 139.
- **300 tailors**
Nineveh (possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
3 ME LÚ*.ka-šir SAA 7 21:8' nd/dl Listed in an administrative document referring to various professionals.
- **400 tailors**
Nineveh (possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
4 ME LÚ*.k|a'-šir SAA 7 22:4' nd/dl Listed in an administrative document which is almost identical with SAA 7 21.

- **Tailor**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ.KÉ[Š x]
KÉŠ
STAT 1 47:8' = nd In an administrative document he is listed along with
STAT 2 252 4 ½ shekels of (silver).
Radner 2016 I.53:6 nd Together with the tanner he is mentioned along with
undergarments in an administrative record.
- **Tailors**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ
ZTT 22:12 nd In a letter of Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) they,
together with other craftsmen, are said to be preparing
and repairing military equipment.
- **Tailor**
Nineveh (unc.)
LÚ.TÚG.KA.[KÉŠ]
SAA 7 20 r. i' 3 nd/dl One(?) tailor is listed in an administrative document
counting various professionals.
- **Tailor**
unc. (unc.)
LÚ.TÚG.K[A.KÉŠ x x x]
CT 54 367 l.e. 1 nd He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **One tailor**
unc. (unc.)
1 LÚ*.ka-šir
SAA 11 177:6 nd/dl He is recorded in an inventory.
- **21 tailors**
unc. (unc.)
21 ka-šir
SAA 11 177 r. 7 nd/dl They are recorded in an inventory.

11. *kāširu* in lexical lists

• Tailor

LÚ*.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ ¹ <i>ka-š[i-ru]</i>	MSL 12 233 ii(A) 7	nd	In a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section including the weaver and the chief tailor.
LÚ*.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ	MSL 12 238 r. iv 31	nd	In a lexical list from Nineveh, between two variants of writing for the chief tailor.

12. *ša-bēt-kāširi* in a non-documentary text• *ša-bēt-kāširi*

LÚ*.ŠÁ-É-KA.KÉŠ	SAA 20 33 ii 16	nd	He is mentioned in the description of the royal meal as an employee handing out clean towels.
-----------------	-----------------	----	---

GATEKEEPER

1. *attû* of the palace• Mušēzib-Aššūr (3) Gatekeeper of the palace
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)

M. ṬÚ.Ì.DU ₈ ŠÁ É.GAL	Edu ^b ba 10 15 r. 22' = CTN 2 248	dl	M. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatû'a (I) buys six persons from the temple scribe of the Inner City.
• Aššūr-īē'āni (2) Gatekeeper of the palace Assur (Sennacherib)	SAAB 9 73 r. 48	698	A. is witness when a house is sold.
A.	SAA 6 59 r. 10'	684	Together with colleagues A. is witness when Marduk-[...], the [...] of Sennacherib, buys slaves.
A. LÚ*.Ì.DU ₈ ŠÁ É.GAL	SAAB 9 75 r. 37, 38	683	Together with five colleagues A. is witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (I) sells a house.

- **Bānāia (7) Gatekeeper of the palace**
Nineveh/Assur (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ: (for LÚ* .Ì.DU₈ šá É.GAL in r. 12')
SAA 6 59 r. 14' 684
Together with colleagues B. is witness when Marduk-
[...], the [...] of Sennacherib, buys slaves.
- B. / PAB 6 LÚ* .Ì.DU₈.MEŠ KUR
SAAB 9 75 r. 35, 38 683
Together with five colleagues B. is witness when the
palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (I) sells a house.
- **Dādī (6) Gatekeeper of the palace**
Assur (Sennacherib)
D. / PAB 6 LÚ* .Ì.DU₈.MEŠ KUR
SAAB 9 75 r. 33, 38 683
Together with five colleagues D. is witness when the
palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (I) sells a house.
- **Gallulu (3) Gatekeeper (of the palace)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
G. .Ì.DU₈
SAA 6 152 r. 4 687
Together with colleagues G. is witness when a woman
is sold.
- G. LÚ: (for LÚ* .Ì.DU₈ šá É.GAL in r. 12)
SAA 6 59 r. 15' 684
Together with colleagues G. is witness when Marduk-
[...], the [...] of Sennacherib, buys slaves.
- **Ḫulqu-riḫa (1) Gatekeeper of the palace**
Assur (Sennacherib)
Ḫ. / PAB 6 LÚ* .Ì.DU₈.MEŠ KUR
SAAB 9 75 r. 36, 37 683
Together with five colleagues Ḫ. is witness when the
palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (I) sells a house.
- Ḫ.
STAT 2 70 r. 2 682
Ḫ. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Ilu-ēreš (2) Gatekeeper of the palace**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
I. LÚ* .Ì.DU₈ šá É.GAL
SAA 6 59 r. 12' 684
Together with colleagues I. is witness when Marduk-
[...], the [...] of Sennacherib, buys slaves.

- **Muqallil-kabī (3) Gatekeeper of the palace**
 Nineveh/Assur (Sennacherib)
 M.: (for ʾIDU₈ in r. 4)

	SAA 6 152 r. 6	687	Together with colleagues M. is witness when a woman is sold.
M. LÚ.: (for LÚ*.ʾIDU ₈ šá É.GAL in r. 12')	SAA 6 59 r. 13'	684	Together with colleagues M. is witness when Marduk- [...], the [...] of Sennacherib, buys slaves.
M. / PAB 6 LÚ*.ʾIDU ₈ .MEŠ KUR	SAAB 9 75 r. 35, 37	683	Together with five colleagues M. is witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (1) sells a house.

- **Sagbī (1) Gatekeeper of the palace**
 Nineveh (Sennacherib)
 S. LÚ*.ʾIDU₈ šá É.[GAL]

	SAA 6 96 r. 16	695	S. is witness when the woman Barsipūtu buys four persons.
S. LÚ*.ʾIDU ₈	SAA 6 81 r. 8	694	S. is witness when the šakintu Addaī is owed silver.

- **Zizī (8) Gatekeeper of the palace**
 Nineveh/Assur (Sennacherib and possibly later)
 Z.: (for ʾIDU₈ in r. 4)

	SAA 6 152 r. 5	687	Together with colleagues Z. is witness when a woman is sold.
Z. LÚ*.ʾIDU ₈ šá É.GAL	SAA 6 59 r. 11'	684	Together with colleagues Z. is witness when Marduk- [...], the [...] of Sennacherib, buys slaves.
(12) Z. / PAB 6 LÚ*.ʾIDU ₈ .MEŠ KUR	SAAB 9 75 r. 36, 37	683	Together with five colleagues Z. is witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (1) sells a house.
Z. [L]Ú.ʾIDU ₈	SAA 7 5 r. i 3	nyd/ydl	The same(?) Z. is listed in an administrative document recording court officials.

- **Nabū-issē'a (3) Gatekeeper of the New Palace**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal and possibly earlier)
(2) N.
SAA 14 426 r. 6
630*
N. is witness when the courtier Mannu-ki-Nabū (4) owes silver to another courtier.
- N. LÚ*·Ì.DU₈ ša É.GAL–GIBIL
619*
The same(?) N. is witness when the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (16) is owed silver.
- [...] (-) **Gatekeeper of the palace**
Nineveh (7th century)
[PN] LÚ·Ì.DU₈ ša É.GAL
SAA 14 264 r. 5'
dl
He is witness in a broken slave sale document.
- 2. *attū* of the inner (sphere)
- **Gatekeepers of the inner (sphere)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ·Ì.DU₈.MEŠ ša É-a-ni] // [LÚ·Ì.DU₈.MEŠ ša É-a-ni]
SAA 4 139:7 // 144:7
nd
Enumerated in a query in which Šamaš is asked if there will be a rebellion against the king.
- [LÚ·Ì.DU₈.ME]Š? ša É-a-ni
SAA 4 142:7
nd
Enumerated in a query in which Šamaš is asked if there will be a rebellion against the crown prince.
- 3. *attū* of the outer (sphere)
- **Gatekeepers of the outer (sphere)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[Ì]·DU₈.MEŠ ša qa-a-ni // [LÚ·Ì]·DU₈.MEŠ ša qa-an-ni // [LÚ·Ì]·DU₈ ša [...] // Ì·[DU₈.MEŠ]
SAA 4 139:8 // 144:7 // 146:3' // 147:5'
nd
Mentioned in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the king.
- LÚ·Ì.DU₈ ša qa-a-[n-ni]
SAA 4 142:7
nd
Mentioned in a query concerning a possible rebellion against the crown prince.

4. *atû* of the crown prince
- **Zārūtū (12) Gatekeeper of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Z. LÚ.Ī.DU₈ A-MAN¹
SAA 6 299 r. 7–8 671–699 Z. is witness when the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad purchases [...].
5. *atû* of the commander-in-chief
- **Nabû-kudurrī-usur (6) Gatekeeper of the commander-in-chief**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ*.Ī.DU₈ ša LÚ*.tur-ta-nu
SAA 14 169:10 619* N. is witness when the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (16) is owed silver.
6. *atû* of the governor of Assur
- [...] (-) **Gatekeeper of the governor of Assur**
Assur (7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.Ī.DU₈ ša LÚ*.GAR.KUR KAN 4 44 r. 42 dl He witnesses a land sale.
7. *atû* of the governor of Kalhu
- **Silim-Issār (1) Gatekeeper and servant of the governor of Kalhu**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
S. LÚ*.Ī.DU₈ LÚ*.ARAD 'ša' LÚ*.EN.NAM ša SAA 6 6 r. 14–15 713 S. is witness when Mušallim-Issār, village manager of the *rab ša-rēši*, buys seven persons.
8. *atû* (named)
- **Kēnu-šallim (3) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
K. LÚ*.Ī.DU₈ CTN 2 94 r. 7 788 K. is witness when debts in silver are repaid by Bēl-issē'a, otherwise known as village manager.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Adad-uballiṭ (-) Gatekeeper Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV) A. LÚ*.Ì.D[U₈] 	Edubba 10 27 r. 10'	777	A. is witness when land is sold.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Bēl-ku[...] (-) Gatekeeper Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V) B. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈ 	Edubba 10 32 r. 27	747	B. is witness when Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-), treasurer of the queen, buys six persons.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Aḫi-lāu (-) Gatekeeper Assur (Shalmaneser V) A. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈ 	StAT 3 5 r. 18'	723	Together with his colleague A. is witness when land is sold.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Šābu-[da]mqu (-) Gatekeeper Assur (Shalmaneser V) Š. LÚ*.Ì.'DU₈' 	StAT 3 5 r. 3'	723	Together with his colleague Š. is witness when land is sold.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Aššūr-mudammīq (1) Gatekeeper Assur (Sargon II) A. LÚ.Ì.(DU₈) 	StAT 3 36 r. 21	717	A. is witness in a slave sale document.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Immeru (-) Gatekeeper Assur (Sargon II) I. 'LÚ'.Ì.DU₈ 	StAT 3 36 r. 22	717	I. is witness in a slave sale document.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [Sē'-aqāba (2) Gatekeeper Harran area: town of Halulē (Sargon II) S. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈ 	SAA 11 209 r. iii 3'	nd/dl	He is listed together with his family in a tablet of the Harran Census.

- **...] (-) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN LÚ*].Ì.DU₈
 - **[...]-DÛ (-) Gatekeeper**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
'PN' Ì.DU₈
 - **Abi-Ḫūru (1) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
 - **Ḫakubāia (1) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
Ḫ. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
 - **Inūrta-kibsi-ušur (3) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
I.: (for LÚ*:Ì.DU₈ in r. 11)
 - **Kubābu-eriba (1) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
K. LÚ*'.Ì.DU₈
 - **Nabū-bēl-šumāti (5) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ*'.Ì.DU₈
- | | | | |
|--|----------------|-----|--|
| | CTN 2 84 r. 3' | dl | He is witness in a broken legal document. |
| | VAT 20403:5' | dl | He is mentioned in a fragment of a conveyance document. |
| | ND 2306 r. 17 | 687 | Together with two colleagues A. is witness in a broken document of sale. |
| | ND 2306 r. 15 | 687 | Together with two colleagues Ḫ. is witness in a broken document of sale. |
| | SAA 6 89 r. 12 | 686 | Together with a colleague I. is witness when the <i>šakintu</i> Aḫi-ṭallī buys slaves. |
| | SAA 6 89 r. 11 | 686 | Together with a colleague K. is witness when the <i>šakintu</i> Aḫi-ṭallī buys slaves. |
| | SAA 6 167 r. 5 | 686 | N. is witness in a debt note of silver. |

- **Nuḫšaiia (8) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
N. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
684 N. is witness in a slave sale document.
679 N. is witness when a mule is owed to the *šakintu* of Kilizi.
674 The same(?) N. is witness in a land sale document.
dl N. is witness when a *sekrettu*(?) buys land.
dl N. is witness in a broken debt note of silver.
dl N. is witness in a fragmentary legal document.
- **Qabūru'a (1) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Sennacherib)
Q. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
692 Q. is witness in a broken debt note of silver.
- **Sikkatu-lāmur? (1) Gatekeeper**
Imgur-Ilil (Sennacherib)
S. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
684 S. is first witness to a silver loan.
- **Silim(m)u (2) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
S. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
687 Together with two colleagues S. is witness in a broken document of sale.
- **Šin-abu-usur (2) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
S. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
685 S. is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Šamšūa (1) Gatekeeper(?)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Š. Ì.[DU₈?]
694 Š. witnesses a court decision concerning a theft.

- **Ubru-[...]** (-) **Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
U. LÚ*¹.Ì.DU₈
SAA 6 130 r. 9 696 U. is witness when 17 persons are sold.
- **Ullu (I) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
U. LÚ*¹.Ì.DU₈
U.
SAA 6 188 r. 3' 682 U. is witness in a broken land sale document.
SAA 14 286 r. 17' dl The same(?) U. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **[...]-ašbat (-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
'PN' LÚ.Ì.DU₈'
SAA 6 169 r. 14' 686 He is witness to a land sale.
- **Ātanḫa-ilu (3) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Ā. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
SAA 16 81 r. 5' nd Nabû-sagḫbi (I), goldsmith of the queen, informs the king via letter that he had given precious stones to Ā. to deliver them to the king.
- **Ḫaldīu (I) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
Ḫ. LÚ*¹.Ì.DU₈
STAT 2 36 r. 2 672 Ḫ. is witness to a repayment of debts of silver.
- **Nergal-abu-ušur (I) Gatekeeper**
Imgur-IIIil (Esarhaddon)
N. 'LÚ*¹.Ì.[DU]₈
BT 107 r. 9 680 N. is witness when land is sold.
- **Rēmami-ilu (10) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Esarhaddon)
R. Ì.DU₈
ND 2331 b.e. 7 679 R. witnesses the receipt of royal barley rations.

- **[...]-iqbi (-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
‘PN’ LÚ*·Ì.DU₈
SAA 6 239 r. 4’
676 He is witness when Dammāia buys three women.
- **Éta[...]-(-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
E. LÚ·Ì.DU₈
SAA 7 5 r. i 22
nyd/ydl E. is listed in an administrative document recording court personnel.
- **Šappulu (1) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
Š. [L]Ú·Ì.DU₈
SAA 7 5 r. i 6
nyd/ydl Š. is listed in an administrative document recording court personnel.
- **[...]-jme? (-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
[PN] LÚ·Ì.DU₈
SAA 7 9 r. ii 4
nd/dl According to an administrative document recording lodgings he is assigned to the “residence of the *rab šar-rēšī*”.
- **[...]-šumu-ka’’in (-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
‘PN’ LÚ·Ì.DU₈
SAA 7 5 r. i 28
nyd/ydl He is listed in an administrative document recording court personnel.
- **[...]-(-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
[PN] LÚ·Ì.DU₈
SAA 7 5 ii 24
nyd/ydl He is listed in an administrative document recording court personnel.
- **Arzāni (1) Gatekeeper**, son of [...]-ni
Kalhu (Assurbaniṣal)
A. DUMU [PN] LÚ·Ì.DU₈
ND 5459:2–3
661 A. owes 3 *emāru* of barley rations to Aššur and Nabū.

- **Aššūr-mušabši (1) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
658 A. is witness when a son is adopted.
FNALD 17 r. 10
(TCL 9 57)
- **Daijai (1) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
D. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
662 Last witness when the temple of Nabū is owed barley
by the gardener Bēl-abu-ušur (8).⁶⁶
ND 5453 r. 11–12
- **Inūrta-taklāk (3) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.Ì.D[U]₈
667 I. is witness when a female slave is sold.
SAA 14 10 r. 4'
- **Kandalānu (8) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
K. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
nd K. is witness when a woman and her daughter, booty
from Elam, are sold.
KAN 4 20 r. 25
(edited in Faist 2009:
60–2)
- **Mannu-kī-Adad (18) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
657 M. is witness in a legal document concerned with blood
money.
SAA 14 81 r. 10 =
Jas 1996 no. 41 and
FNALD 50

⁶⁶ Also in ND 5449, ND 5454, ND 5455, ND 5456, ND 5474, all dating to the year 661, he acts as a witness when the temple is owed barley; the same is true for ND 5468 dating to the year 652. In ND 3463, dating to 641*, he is witness when a house is sold by a farmhand of the Nabū Temple to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur.

- **Mannu-ki-Adad (23) Gatekeeper**, son of Qurdi-Aššūr
Assur (Assurbanipal)
M. // M. A Q. Ṭ. [DU₈]
STAT 2 17:3 // 641* M. owes 10 shekels of silver.
18*:3-4
- **Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (10) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
N.
ND 3439 r. 7 = 637* N. is witness when the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is
FNALD 37 owed birds.
ND 5475/8 r. 5'-6' dl The same(?) N. is witness in a broken debt note of
barley.
- **Nabû-rēši-išši (9) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
SAA 14 81 r. 6-7 = 657 Witness in a decision concerning blood money.
Jas 1996 no. 41 and FNALD 50
- **Nabû-šumu-iddina (38) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. Ì.[DU₈]
STAT 2 211 r. 6 631* N. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Nergal-[gimilī] (1) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. Ì.DU₈
STAT 3 88 r. 13' 638* N. is witness when a daughter is sold.
- **Nūr-Šamaš (7) Gatekeeper**, son of Kur-ilā'ī
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
N. DUMU K. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
ND 3426 r. 14 = 649 Together with his colleague Tuttāia (1) N. is witness
FNALD 9 when the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a woman
and her son.

N. DUMU K. LÚ*.Ì.DU ₈	ND 3429 r. 11	dl	Together with his colleague Tuttāia (I) N. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a slave. ⁶⁷
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Rība-zēru (1) Gatekeeper Assur (Assurbaniḫal) R. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈ 	STAT 2 73 r. 9	658	Together with a colleague R. is witness in a debt note of barley.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Šulmū (1) Gatekeeper Assur (Assurbaniḫal) Š. Š. LÚ*.Ì.[DU₈] Š. 	Radner 2016 II.1 r. 4 Radner 2016 II.4:6 Radner 2016 II.13 r. 6'	658 636* dl	He is witness in a debt note of silver. He is witness in a fragmentary legal record. He is witness in a fragmentary legal record.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Šulmu-Aia (-) Gatekeeper Assur (Assurbaniḫal) Š. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈' 	STAT 2 37 r. 9	666	Together with a colleague Š. is witness in a payment of debts of silver.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tabālāiu (22) Gatekeeper Assur (Assurbaniḫal) T. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈ 	KAN 4 8 r. 28'	631*	T. is witness when 25 people are sold.

⁶⁷ The same(?) Nūr-Šamaš is probably also witness for the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur in ND 3440, ND 3435B/ND 3435, ND 3437, ND 3434, ND 3422, ND 3454, ND 3420 and ND 3442, all dating to the reign of Assurbaniḫal or later; see Baker, PNA 2/II 971 s.v. Nūr-Šamaš 6–8.

- **Tuttāia (I) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ.Ì.DU₈

	ND 3426	l.e. 2 =	649	
	FNALD 9			Together with his colleague Nūr-Šamaš (7) T. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a woman and her son.
T.	ND 3434	l.e. 1	646*	T. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
	ND 2323	r. 10	637*	T. is witness in a slave sale document.
	ND 3429	r. 15	dl	Together with his colleague Nūr-Šamaš (7) T. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a slave.

- **Ubru-Sebeti (4) Gatekeeper**, son of Šamaš-ši'i
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
U. DUMU Š. LÚ.Ì.DU₈

	ND 3425:2-3		637*	
				Together with Šēp-Nabū-ašbat U. sells a woman to the palace manager Ubru-Nabū (22) for 1 mina of silver.

- **Zēru-kēn (II) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
Z. ʾ.Ì.DU₈¹

	SAA 14 145	r. 4	649	
				Z. is witness in a broken legal document.

- **[...]-SAR (-) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ*.Ì.DU₈

	ND 2315	r. 8	663	
				He is witness when a woman is sold.

- **[...] (-) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.Ì.DU₈

	SAA 12 95	r. 17	655	
				He is witness when a man donates his two nephews to the god Nabū.

- [...] (-) **Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
PN LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
Radner 2016 I.11
I.e. 2
651
He is witness in a debt note of barley.
- **Nabū-na'id (21) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
N. Ì.DU₈
STAT 1 20 r. 3' =
STAT 2 238
633*
N. is witness when the scribe Eteḫ-pī-Marduk buys a commodity (lost).
STAT 2 236 r. 3
633*
The same(?) N. is witness in a debt note of silver.
STAT 2 242 r. 8
dl
The same(?) N. is witness in a judicial document.
- **Kišir-Nabū (-) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
Ḫ. Ì.DU₈
Radner 2016 I.37 r. 1
nd
He is listed along with 12 shekels (of silver) in a record of business investments.
K. Ì.DU₈
Radner 2016 I.47:3
nd
He is listed along with 3 ½ shekels (of silver) in a record of business investments.
K. Ì.DU₈
Radner 2016 I.56:14
nd
He is listed along with 6 shekels (of silver) in a record of business investments.
- [...] (-) **Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
[PN LÚ].Ī. DU₈ šá ma-nu-ti-ni
STAT 2 8 r. 3
dl
Together with a colleague he is witness in a judicial document.
- [...] (-) **Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
[PN] LÚ.Ì.DU₈
STAT 2 8 r. 5
dl
Together with a colleague he is witness in a judicial document.

- [...] (-) **Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
[PN] Ṭ.DU₈
STAT 2 110 r. 4' 650/PC He is witness in a fragment of a legal document.
- **Aššūr-mātu-taqqin (6) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)
A. Radner 2016 I.10:3 651 A. is owed barley.
A. Radner 2016 I.13 640* The same(?) rents Iniḫ-iḫr from Ekallate for harvesting purposes. For 18 days he pays Iniḫ-iḫr ½ shekel of silver. b.c. 7
A. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈ 639* The same(?) A. is witness in a house sale document.
A. Radner 2016 I.19:4 624* The same(?) A. owes 5 shekels of silver.
- **Nergal-iddina (12) Gatekeeper**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)
N. Ì.DU₈ 641* N. is witness to a sale of a female slave.
N. SAAB 5 39 r. 6 631* N. is witness in a land sale document.
N. STAT 3 78 r. 11 631* The same(?) N. is witness in a silver debt note.
N. Ì.DU₈ / N. STAT 2 181 r. 16, 18 629* Together with his son N. and his colleague Ubru-ili (3) he is witness when a female slave is sold.
[N.]² LÚ.Ì.DU₈ 629*/ Together with his colleague Marduk-šarru-ušur (34) N. is witness in a land sale document.
N. Ì.DU₈ 625* Together with his colleague Marduk-šarru-ušur (34) N. is witness to an inheritance division.
N. Ì.DU₈ 625* Together with his colleague Marduk-šarru-ušur (34) N. is witness when a fine is imposed.
N. Ì.[DU₈] 623* N. is witness in a debt note of silver.
N. Ì.DU₈ 622* N. is witness to a division of inheritance.
N. LÚ*.Ì.D[U₈] 622* N. is witness to a division of inheritance.
N. STAT 2 201 r. 6 621* N. is witness in a debt note of silver.
N. STAT 2 203 r. 5

N. Ì.DU ₈	STAT 2 207 r. 25	618*	Together with his colleague Marduk-šarru-ušur (34) N. is witness when a house is sold.
N.	STAT 2 184 r. 14	dl	N. is witness in a marriage contract.
N. Ì.DU ₈	STAT 2 209 r. 6	dl	Together with his colleague Marduk-šarru-ušur (34) N. is witness in a debt note of silver.
N. LÚ* Ì.D[U ₈]	KAV 189 r. 8'	dl	N. is witness in a broken legal document.
• Aḫlama (6) Gatekeeper Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)			
A.: (for LÚ.Ì.DU ₈ in r. 5')	SAA 14 38 r. 6'	629*	Together with a colleague A. is witness when the cohort commander Kakkullānu buys a female slave.
• Aššur-qāssu (1) Gatekeeper , son of Zārūtī Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)			
A. A. Z. LÚ.Ì.DU ₈	SAA 14 38 r. 4'-5'	629*	Together with a colleague A. is witness when the cohort commander Kakkullānu buys a female slave.
• Mannu-ki-Aššur (30) Gatekeeper Assur (after Assurbanipal)			
M. Ì.DU ₈	STAT 2 81 r. 18	625*	M. witnesses an adoption of a daughter.
• Marduk-šarru-ušur (34) Gatekeeper Assur (after Assurbanipal)			
M. LÚ* Ì.DU ₈	SAAB 5 35 r. 32	629*/ 625*	Together with his colleague Nergal-iddina (12) M. is witness in a land sale document.
M.: (for Ì.DU ₈ in r. 37)	FNALD 18 r. 38	625*	Together with his colleague Nergal-iddina (12) M. is witness when inheritance is divided up.
N. [LÚ] Ì.DU ₈	STAT 2 207 r. 14	618*	Together with his colleague Nergal-iddina (12) M. is witness in a house sale document.
M.: (for Ì.DU ₈ in r. 6)	STAT 2 209 r. 7	dl	Together with his colleague Nergal-iddina (12) M. is witness in a debt note of silver.

- **Mutaqqin-Aššūr (7) Gatekeeper**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
SAAB 5 35 r. 33 629*/
625* M. is witness in a land sale document.
- M.
SAAB 9 108:11 625* M. is guarantor in a silver loan document.
- M.: (for Ì.DU₈ in r. 37)
FNALD 18 r. 39 625* M. is witness when a share is divided up.⁶⁸
- M.
STAT 2 88:5 621* M. owes silver jointly as entrepreneur.⁶⁹
- M.
SAAB 9 109:6, 15 615* M. buys a slave for 3 minas of silver.
- **Nabû-šarru-ušur (49) Gatekeeper(?)**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
N. Ì.D[U₈?]
VAT 9866 r. 4 629* N. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Nabû-taqqinanni (13) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
CTN 3 8 r. 17 625* N. is witness when Adad-ēreš is released from the hands of the palace manager Isseme-ili (2).
- **Rēmanni-Ilili (-) Gatekeeper**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
R. LÚ.Ì.DU₈
KAN 4 26 r. 10 621* R. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Šēp-Inūrta-ašbat (3) Gatekeeper**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
CTN 3 30 r. 15 = 617* Š. is witness in a settlement of dispute involving Jas 1996 no. 25 Kabalāia, female deputy of the *šakintu*.

⁶⁸ Other evidence for Mutaqqin-Aššūr as a witness is to be found in STAT 2 81 r. 13.

⁶⁹ Mutaqqin-Aššūr is attested as a debtor of silver also in SAAB 9 115 (614*). Otherwise, he is creditor of silver: SAAB 9 107A/B (641*), 106 (637*), 112 (622*), 117 (614*), 114 (613*), 113 (dl), Ass. 8889aA (dl); and creditor of barley: SAAB 9 110 (probably 625*), 116 (dl). He is also listed in what seems to be a record of enterprise investments in silver (VAT 20414 r. 6).

- **Šumma-tašēzib (2) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.Ì.DU₈
SAA 11 221:9 nd A house of the *rab ša-rēši* Issarān-mušallim is assigned to him.
- **Ubru-ili (3) Gatekeeper**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
U. Ì.DU₈
StAT 2 181 r. 21 629* Together with his colleague Nergal-iddina (12) U. is witness when a female slave is sold.
- **[...]-erība (-) Gatekeeper(?)**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
PN' Ì.ÌDU₈
VAT 21000 r. 28' 625* Together with his colleague he is witness in a land sale document.
- **[...]-iddina (-) Gatekeeper(?)**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
PN' Ì.ÌDU₈
VAT 21000 r. 27' 625* Together with his colleague he is witness in a land sale document.
- **[...]-Šamaš (-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (possibly after Assurbanipal)
PN' LÚ*.Ì.ÌDU₈ x x x
SAA 14 373:1' dl He is witness in a fragmentary legal text.
- **[...] (-) Gatekeeper**
Nineveh/from [...] (7th century)
PN LÚ].Ì.DU₈ šá [...].URU'
SAA 14 252:3-4 dl He is father of two sons who sell a vegetable garden.
- **Anu-rubū (-) Gatekeeper**
Assur (probably 7th century)
A. Ì.DU₈'
StAT 3 19 r. 1' dl A. is witness in a slave sale document.

9. *atû* (unnamed)
- **5 gatekeepers**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
5 Ì.DU₈
ND 2371 r. 2' =
CTN 1 34
nd/dl
They are listed in an administrative document.
 - **Gatekeeper**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)⁷⁰
Ì.D[U₈]
VAT 8605 r. 26
nd
Listed along with 4 *sîtu* 5 *qit* of fodder (for sheep).
 - **Gatekeeper**
Nineveh (unc.)
LÚ.Ì.DU₈
SAA 7 20 r. i' 6
nd/dl
Mentioned in a broken administrative document.
 - **Gatekeeper**
unc. (unc.)
LÚ.Ì.DU₈
CT 53 168 r. 6
nd
Mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
10. *atû* in a non-documentary text
- **Gatekeeper**
Ì.DU₈
SAA 3 32 r. 7, 19
nd
The god Nedu is described as gatekeeper of the underworld and the god Lugalšula as gatekeeper of the gate of Ištar and Aia in an “Underworld Vision”.
11. *atû* in a lexical list
- **Gatekeeper**
LÚ.Ì.DU₈ // [LÚ]Ì.DU₈
MSL 12 238 iii 7, r.
vi 31
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, between the team-commander and the oil-presser. Mentioned again, after the prefect.

⁷⁰ For the date see Baker, PNA 3/II 1320 s.v. Tašmētu-šiminni.

VIZIER OF THE ENTRANCE

1. *sukkallu ša nērebi* (named)
- **Aḫu-lē'i (9) Vizier of the entrance**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. / LÚ*,SUKKAL.MEŠ // A. / [LÚ*,SUK]KAL.
MEŠ *ša nē-ri-bi* 646* SAA 14 95 r. 6, 7 //
94* r. 4, 6 Together with his colleague Našuh-aīālī (1) A. is witness in a debt note of silver.
 - **Našuh-aīālī (1) Vizier of the entrance**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. / LÚ*,SUKKAL.MEŠ // N. /
[LÚ*,SUK]KAL.MEŠ *ša nē-ri-bi* 646* SAA 14 95 r. 5, 7 //
94* r. 5, 6 Together with his colleague Aḫu-lē'i (9) N. is witness in a debt note of silver.

OVERSEER OF THE GATE

1. *ša-muhhi-bābi* (unnamed)
- **Overseer of the gate (*ša-muhhi-bābi*)**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.šá-UGU-KÁ 646* ABL 277 r. 7' nd He is mentioned in a letter of Kudurru, governor of Uruk, to the king.

GATE SUPERVISOR

1. *ša-pān-bābi* (unnamed)
- **Gate supervisor(s)** (*ša-pān-bābi*)
Nineveh (probably 7th century, see fn. 9)
ša-IGI-KÁ.MEŠ

SAA 7 115 ii 12 nd/dl According to an account of flax and wool 3 talents of madder are provided for the gate supervisor(s).

GATE GUARD

1. *mašsar-bābi* in a lexical list
- **Gate guard(?)** (*mašsar-bābi*)
[LÚ.EN.N]UN-KÁ

MSL 12 233 r. v 19' nd He is mentioned in a lexical list after the *maššuru*.

JANITOR

JANITOR

1. *ša-bābi* (named)
 - **Qāt-ili-gabbu (I) Janitor** (*ša-bābi*)
Assur (Shalmaneser V)
[Q.] / Q. LÚ*.KÁ / Q. / Q. 723 Q. sells unbuilt land, constituting his inheritance share, to his brother for 35 minas of copper.
2. *ša-bābi* (unnamed)
 - **Janitor** (*ša-bābi*)
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.ša-KÁ-ia nd Probably written by Bēl-ibni, military commander of the Sealand, to the king: this letter refers to the janitor of the sender.

ABL 1222:6 (de
Vaan 1995: 304-7)

CHIEF TAILOR

1. *rab kāširi* (named)
- **Naragē (1) Chief tailor**
Urartu (Sargon II)
N. LÚ*.GAL-*ka*¹-*šir*
SAA 5 91:3
nd
In a letter from Aššūr-rēšūwa to the king, N. is said to have been arrested together with 20 fellows who were all involved in a plot against the Urartian king.
 - [...] (-) **Chief tailor**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
[PN LÚ.GA]L-KA.KÉŠ
SAA 17 150:10-11
nd
He receives a letter from sheikhs of the Tubliash River according to which the Assyrian army should come quickly.
 - [Inūr]ta-aḫu-usur (-) **Chief tailor**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
T. LÚ*.GAL-KA.KÉŠ
SAA 16 76 r. 4
nd
He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
 - **Abdi-Milki (2) Chief tailor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.GAL-*ka*¹-*šir*
SAA 7 126:5
nd
In an administrative document he is listed along with two “reinforced” Phrygian garments.
 - **Aššūr-ētir (6) Chief tailor**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.GAL-KA.KÉŠ
SAA 11 85:2-3
nd/dl
A. is mentioned along with 4 Temanite sheep in a broken administrative document.

- **Milki-rāmu (2) Chief tailor, eponym of 656**
active in Babylonia and Elam (Assurbanipal)
M.
SAA 14 135:3', 6'
663
M., probably to be identified with the chief tailor, acts as a guarantor in a broken legal document.
Eponym of 656.
- For references in eponym lists and date formulae see Ljpiński, PNA 2/ II 752.
- 'M.' LÚ.GA[L-x x x]
nyd
SAA 7 3 r. i 8'-9'
Probably the same M. is listed in an administrative document recording high-ranking officials.
- M. LÚ.GAL-[ka-šir] / L[Ú].GAL-ka-šir
nd
SAA 3 20 r. 4, 6
M. is twice mentioned in a broken narrative of Elamite wars in a passage about the conquest of Arašī.
- M. [LÚ.GAL-KA.KÉŠ]
nd
CT 54 490 r. 18-19
In this literary letter to Assurbanipal M. is again mentioned in the context of the conquest of Elam.
- M. LÚ.GAL-ka⁷¹-šir
nd
SAA 21 4:9'-10'
In a letter of Assurbanipal to the Babylonians they are told to come into the presence of M.
- [...] (-) **Chief tailor**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
[PN LÚ*].GAL-KA.KÉ[Š]
666
SAA 14 2 r. 2'
He is witness when Milki-nūri (1), ša-rēšī of the queen, buys the village Bahaia.
- [...] (-) **Chief tailor**
Nineveh (7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ
dl
SAA 14 229:5'
He sells land (probably a village) and 18 persons to the "third man (on chariot)" [...]ilāī according to a broken legal document.

⁷¹ The KA is clearly visible on the photograph (<http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P393854.jpg>). Cf. Mattila 2014: 408, fn. 24. Note that the recent edition SAA 21 still reads KI.

2. *rab kāširi* (unnamed)
- **Chief tailor**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
GAL-*ka-šir*
SAA 16 63 r. 16 nd
In a letter of an anonymous informer to the king the son of the scribe of Guzana is said to take over the function of a chief tailor during his master's stay in Nineveh.
 - **Chief tailor**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.GAL-*ka²-šir²* / LÚ.GAL-*ka²-[šir²]*²
SAA 18 21:12, r. 2 nd
The Babylonian Nūrāia writes to the grand vizier(?) that he dispatched the silver to him via the chief tailor, as ordered.
 - **Chief tailor**
LÚ.GAL-*ka-šir* / LÚ.GAL-*ka²-šir* (r. 10)
SAA 18 123 r. 6, 10, t.e. 11 nd
In a letter to the king, lacking a heading and mainly dealing with shortages of bread, the chief tailor is mentioned three times.
 - **Chief tailor**
Harran (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.GAL-*ka-šir*] / LÚ.GAL-*ka-šir*
SAA 10 179: 7, 13, 15, r. 8' nd
The Babylonian diviner Kuduru informs the king about a conspiracy involving the chief tailor, the chamberlain, the chief cupbearer and the city overseer.
 - **Chief tailor**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL-*ka-šir*
SAA 18 157:7', 8' nd
The chief tailor is mentioned in a letter to the king (heading broken) according to which he probably did some restoration works at the Nergal Temple in Kutha.
 - **Chief tailor**
LÚ.GAL-KA.KÉŠ
ABL 274 l.e. 22 nd
According to a letter from Kuduru, governor of Uruk, to the king the chief tailor brought a royal message to Kuduru.

- LÚ.GAL-KA.KÉŠ'
- ABL 1246+:6 nd The chief tailor is mentioned in a letter probably deriving from Ur (heading lost) according to which the chief tailor went to Ur.
- **Chief(?) tailor of the king of Babylon**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.GAL-*k*]*a*¹-*šir šá* LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI nd The chief tailor of the king of Babylon is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
 - **Chief tailors(?)**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ-*ni* nd In a letter of a certain Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) he/they and other craftsmen are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment.
 - **Chief tailor**
Babylonia (7th century)
LÚ*.GAL-*ka-šir* nd Receives a letter from the Babylonian official Marduk (narrative section not preserved).
3. *rab kāširi* in lexical lists
- **Chief tailor**
LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ nd Listed in a lexical list from Huzirina, at the end of a section recording professions dealing with textiles and clothing including tailors and weavers.
 - LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KA.KÉŠ / LÚ*.GAL-*ka-šir* nd Listed together with the tailor in a lexical list from Nineveh.
MSL 12 238 r. iv 30, 32

4. Subordinates of the *rab kāširi*4.1. *šaniu* (deputy)• **Inūrta-ilā'ī (5) Deputy of the chief tailor**

Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)

I. 2-ú ša GAL-LÚ.ka-šir / I.

Edubba 10 18
r. 17-18, r. 23

779

I. and probably his brother Aḫu-sina[...] act as witnesses for the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).

4.2. *mukīl appāti* (chariot driver)• **Bēl-abḥešu (2) Chariot driver of the chief tailor**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

B. LÚ'.[mu-DIB-PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ'.GAL[]-KA.'KÉŠ'

SAA 6 39 r. 5-6

694

B. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys slaves.

B. LÚ*.'mu-D[IB-]P[A.ME[Š]] [š]a'

LÚ*'.G[AL]-K[A'].'KÉŠ'

SAA 6 40 r. 13-14

693

B. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys slaves.

B. L[Ú]mu-ki/-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ*.'GAL-[KA.KÉŠ]

SAA 6 41 r. 10-11

693

B. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys slaves.
(according to the edition: [ki-šir])

SINGER

1. *rab zammāri* (named)• **Bēl-aplu-iddina (14) Chief singer(?) of Til-Barsip**

Nineveh/from Til-Barsip (Assurbanipal)

B. LÚ*.'GAL-z[a-ma]-ri ša URU.tar-bu-si-'ba' / B.

// B. LÚ.GAL-[LÚ.za-ma-r]i' ša URU.tar-bu-si-e /

313:2, 9

666

B. sells a tailor and his family, in sum five persons, to the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad.

- **Šulmu-māti (2) Chief singer**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.GAL-za-am-ma-ri
SAA 14 65 r. 8' 668 Š. is witness when the chamberlain Urdu-Issār (25) buys two persons.
 - Š. LÚ*.GAL'-za-ma-ri
SAA 14 66 r. 5' dl Š. is again witness in a broken document of sale. Due to the high similarity of the witness lists of the two documents, this is again a transaction involving Urdu-Issār.
2. *zammāru* of the governor
- **Urartāiu (2) Singer of the governor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
U. LÚ*.za-ma-ru ša LÚ*.EN.NAM
CTN 2 98 r. 11-12 738 U. is witness when 21 minas of copper are paid to Barruqu as his wages.
3. *zammāru* (named)
- **Šamsī (3) Singer**
Dur-Katlimmu (Esarhaddon)
Š. LÚ*.za-ma-ri
BATSH 6 134 r. 8 669 Š. is witness in a broken sale document.
 - [...] (-) **Singer**, son of [...]
Babylonia (7th century)
[PN] DUMU-šū 'šū [PN] LÚ.za'-am-ma-ru
SAA 18 50 r. 5'-6' nd He is mentioned in a fragmentary Babylonian letter.

MUSICIAN

1. *rab nuāri* (named)
 - **Astār-gaddī (I) Chief musician**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.GAL-NAR
SAA 7 30 ii 5' dl A. is recorded as debtor of 10 minas (of silver) in an administrative document.
 - **Bullutu (S) Chief musician, post-canonical eponym of 634***
unc. (Assurbanipal)
Only attested as eponym, for references in date formulae see Fabritius, 634* Eponym of 634* (Reade: 639*).
PNA 1/II 351.
2. *rab nuāri* (unnamed)
 - **Chief musician**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
'GAL-LÚ*'.NAR
SAA 12 82:8' nd He is mentioned as a possible opponent of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) in the decree of the latter's appointment
3. *nuāru* in the inner quarters
 - **Musicians in the inner quarters**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*'.NAR.MEŠ *ina É-a-ni*
CTN 3 133 i 13 nd/dl Receive 2 šapputtu-bowls of wine.

4. *nuāru* of the king

• Šunu-qardū (1) Musician of the king

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

Š. LÚ.NU¹.LUL² MAN

CTN 2 17 r. 47 = FNALD 1	783	Š. is witness when the royal <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-kūmū ^a (3) buys land from the <i>ša-rēši</i> Ilu-eppaš (1).
CTN 1 18:21'	nd/dl	The same(?) Š. is listed as a recipient of [x] amount of wine in a wine list.
CTN 3 124 r. 2	nd/dl	According to another wine list the same(?) Š. is again listed as recipient of wine.

5. *nuāru* of the governor of Assur

• Nabû-gammuli (1) Musician of the house of the governor of Assur, son of Aššūr-rēmanni

Assur (Assurbampal)

N. A. A. LÚ*.NAR ša' É LÚ*.GAR.KUR

SAAB 5 25:3-5
644*/
629*

• [...lāni (-) Musician of the governor of Assur

Assur (probably 7th century)

[PN] LÚ*.NAR [ša L]Ú*.GAR.KUR

STAT 2 302 r. 5'-6'
dl
He is witness in a broken legal document.

⁷² According to Postgate (1973: 50) it should be emended to KAŠ'.LUL. However, since an analogous writing is attested for a *rab nuāri* (LÚ.GAL-NU.LUL in SAA 12 92 r. 13), an identification as musician is plausible. It is supported by the fact that Šunu-qardū is listed together with other musicians in CTN 3 124 (cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum, PNA 3/II 1295 s.v. Šunu-qardū).

6. Specified *nuārus*6.1. *nuāru aššūrāiu*

• Assyrian musicians

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

[LÚ*?].NAR.MEŠ KUR.*aš-šur-a-a*LÚ*.NAR.MEŠ *aš-šu-ru-a-a*[KI.MIN] KUR.*aš-šur-ru-a-a*

("ditto" refers to [LÚ*.N]AR.MEŠ in l. 8)

KI.MIN KUR.*a[š-šur-ru-a-a]*

("ditto" refers to LÚ*.NA[R.MEŠ] in r. 7)

LÚ*.: KUR.*aš-šur-ru-a-[a]*

(ditto of NAR.MEŠ in l. 7)

LÚ*.: KUR.*aš-šur-ru-a-a*

("ditto" refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 27)

• Muqallil-kabiti (II) Assyrian musician

Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)

M. LÚ*.NAR *aš-šur-a-a*

CTN 3 145 r. iii 19 (= reverse of CTN 1 3)	784	They receive 2 <i>emāru</i> (?) of wine.
CTN 1 6 r. 41	ydl	They are listed in a wine list, no quantity given.
CTN 1 10:9'	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
CTN 1 11 r. 8'	nd/dl	They receive 2(?) <i>qū</i> of wine.
CTN 1 15:11'	nd/dl	They receive [x] <i>qū</i> of wine.
CTN 1 16:30'	nd/dl	They receive [x] <i>qū</i> of wine.
SAA 14 169 r. 3	619*	M. is witness when silver is owed to the chariot maker Gīrītum (9).

6.2. *nuāru kaššāiu*

• "Kassite" musicians

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

KI.MIN KUR.*kaš-šā-a-a*

("ditto" refers to [LÚ*?].NAR.MES in r. iii 19)

LÚ*.NAR.MEŠ *kaš-šā-a-a*

CTN 3 145 r. iii 20 (= reverse of CTN 1 3)	784	They receive 2 <i>qū</i> of wine.
CTN 1 6 r. 40	ydl	They are mentioned in a wine list, no quantity is given.

[KI.MIN] KUR. <i>kaš-šá-a-a</i> (“ditto” refers to [LÚ*.N]AR.MEŠ in l. 8)	CTN 1 10:10’	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.NA[.R.MEŠ KUR. <i>kaš-šá-a-a</i>]	CTN 1 11 r. 7’	nd/dl	They receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine.
LÚ*.: KUR. <i>kaš-šá-a-a</i>] (“ditto” refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 7)	CTN 1 15:10’	nd/dl	They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine.
LÚ*.: KUR. <i>kaš-šá-a-a</i> (“ditto” refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 27)	CTN 1 16:31’	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.NAR.↓ME KUR. <i>kaš-šá-a-a</i>]	CTN 3 124 r. 1	nd/dl	They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine.
6.3. nuāru <i>ḥattāiu</i>			
• “Hittite” musicians Kalhu (8 th century)			
[LÚ.NAR.M]E KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-a-a</i>	CTN 3 124 r. 5	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
LÚ.NAR.ME KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-a-a</i>	CTN 1 1 r. iii 6	nyd	They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine.
LÚ*.NAR.MEŠ <i>ḥa-ta-a-a</i>	CTN 1 6 r. 42	ydl	They receive 1 <i>qû</i> of wine.
[KI.MIN] KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-a-a</i> (“ditto” refers to [LÚ*.N]AR.MEŠ in l. 8)	CTN 1 10:11’	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
KI.MIN KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-ta-ta-a</i>] (“ditto” refers to LÚ.NAR.MEŠ] in r. 7)	CTN 1 11 r. 9’	nd/dl	They receive 2(?) <i>qû</i> of wine.
LÚ*.NAR.MEŠ [KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-a-a</i> ’]	CTN 1 15:7’	nd/dl	They receive 6 ½ <i>qû</i> of wine.
LÚ*.NAR.MEŠ [KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-ta-a</i>]73	CTN 1 16:27’	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.NAR.MEŠ KUR. <i>ḥa-ta-ta-a</i>	CTN 1 33 ii 5	nyd	They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine. According to the heading these wine rations are given out during the substitute king ritual.

73 Restoration according to the collations of Parpola (1976–7: 168).

6.4. *nuāru armāiu*

- **Aramean musicians**
Kalhu (8th century)

LÚ*.: KUR.*a*[r]-*m*[*a-a-a*]
 (“ditto” refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 7)

LÚ*.: KUR.*ar-ma*²-[*a-a*]
 (“ditto” refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 27)

CTN 1 15:9’ nd/dl They receive [x] *qīt* of wine.

CTN 1 16:29’ nd/dl They receive 1[+? *qīt*] of wine.

6.5. *nuāru kaldāiu*

- **Chaldean musicians**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

KI.MIN KUR.*kal-dā-a-a*
 (“ditto” refers to [LÚ*²].NAR.MEŠ in r. iii 19)

CTN 3 145 r. iii 23
 (= reverse of CTN 1 3)

784 They receive 4 *qīt* of wine. The following line lists Kin-zēru who may be a son of one of the Chaldean musicians.

6.6. *nuāru kummuḥāiu*

- **Kummuhean Musicians**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

KI.MIN KUR.*ku-mu-ḥa-a-a*
 (“ditto” refers to [LÚ*²].NAR.MEŠ in r. iii 19)

CTN 3 145 r. iii 22
 (= reverse of CTN 1 3)

784 They receive 1 *sūtu* 5(?) *qīt* of wine.

6.7. *nuāru melidāiu*

- **Melidean usicians**
Kalhu (8th century)

LÚ*.:NAR.MEŠ KUR.*me-l*[i²-*d*][*a*²-*a*²]-[*a*]

CTN 1 13:11’

nd/dl They receive 9 *qīt* of wine.

6.8. *nuāru tabālāiu*• **Tabalean musicians**

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

KI.MIN KUR.ta-ba-la-a-a

("ditto" refers to [LÚ*:]NAR.MEŠ in r. iii 19)

CTN 3 145 r. iii 21
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)

784

They receive 1 *qû* of wine.6.9. *nuāru labbašū*• **"Clothed" musicians**Kalhu (8th century)[LÚ*:]NA]R.MEŠ *lab-ba-šū-te*LÚ*.: *la[b-ba-šū-te]* ("ditto" refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 7)

CTN 1 10:8'

CTN 1 15:8'

nd/dl

nd/dl

They receive [x] amount of wine.

They receive 1 ½ *qû* of wine.LÚ*.: *la[b]-b[ā-šū-te]* ("ditto" refers to NAR.MEŠ in l. 27)

CTN 1 16:28'

nd/dl

They receive 1 ½ *qû* of wine.7. *nuāru* (named)• **Bēt-šašširāiu (1) Musician**

Kalhu/Kurbail (Adad-nērāri III)

B. L[Ú:]N]AR

CTN 2 35:3

dl

Together with three colleagues and a chanter, B. sells land in Kurbail to the village manager Bēl-issē'a.

• **Ēreš-ihu (-) Musician**

Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

Ē. 'KI.MIN' (for LÚ*:]NAR in r. 15)

Edubba 10 3 r. 16

794

Together with his colleague Qû Ē. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatu'a (1) buys a woman.

- **Gula-balāfi (I) Musician**
Kalhu/Kurbail (Adad-nērāri III)
G. LÚ*.NAR
CTN 2 35:2 dl Together with three colleagues and a chanter, G. sells land in Kurbail to the village manager Bēl-iššē'a.
- **Inūrta-ahhē-šalim (I) Musician**
Kalhu/Kurbail (Adad-nērāri III)
I. LÚ.NAR
CTN 2 35:5 dl Together with three colleagues and a chanter, I. sells land in Kurbail to the village manager Bēl-iššē'a.
- **Qū (-) Musician**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
Q. LÚ*.NAR
Edubba 10 3 r. 15 794 Together with his colleague Ēreš-ilu Q. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklati'a (I) buys a woman.
- **Šarru-balātu-iqbi (I) Musician**
Kalhu/Kurbail (Adad-nērāri III)
Š. LÚ.NAR
CTN 2 35:4 dl Together with three colleagues and a chanter, Š. sells land in Kurbail to the village manager Bēl-iššē'a.
- **Pī-ahī (-)⁷⁴ Musician**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
P. NAR
STAT 3 20:8 dl P. jointly sells a house for 150 minas of copper.
- **Nani (10) Musician, son of [...]**
Harran area (Sargon II)
N. A [PN] LÚ*.NAR
SAA 11 202 r. iv 10' 737 N. is listed in a broken section of a tablet of the Harran Census.

⁷⁴ Berlejung (PNA I/II 279 s.v. Bēaḫilul) reads Bēaḫilul and thus incorporates the NAR sign into the personal name.

- **Bēl-Harrān-dūri (5) Musician**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ*₁.NAR
SAA 6 196 r. 5'
681 B. is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Nanīa (2) Musician**
Assur (Sennacherib to Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.NAR
StAT 2 104 r. 11'
686 Together with a colleague N. is witness in a broken document of sale.
StAT 3 110 r. 32
657 The same(?) N. is first witness in a judicial document concerning 1 mina of silver.
- **Šarru (1) Musician**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Š. LÚ*₁.NAR
SAA 6 183 r. 3'
683 Š. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Tarība (1) Musician**
Assur (Sennacherib)
T. LÚ.NAR
StAT 2 104 r. 4'
686 Together with a colleague T. is witness in a document of sale.
- **Aššūr-šarru-ušur (15) Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
A. LÚ.NAR
StAT 3 23 r. 18
672 Together with his colleagues A. witnesses a judicial document concerning a burglary.
- **Aššūr-šumu-iddina (-)⁷⁵ Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
A. LÚ.NAR
StAT 3 23 r. 17
672 Together with his colleagues A. witnesses a judicial document concerning a burglary.

⁷⁵ In PNA he is treated under Aššūr-zēru-iddina (Fabritius, PNA 1/1 229 s.v. Aššūr-zēru-iddina 2).

- **Nergal-šumu-iddina (-) Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ.NAR
STAT 3 23 r. 15–16
672
Together with his colleagues N. witnesses a judicial document concerning a burglary.
- **Qibit-Aššūr (9) Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
Q. LÚ.NAR
STAT 3 23 r. 12
672
Together with his colleagues Q. witnesses a judicial document concerning a burglary.
- **Qišāia (3) Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
Q. LÚ.NAR
SAA 16 95:10
nd
In a report about the events that took place after the king's death Q. is said to keep singing together with his daughters before the *ša-rēšis* in the Inner City.
- **Šarru-ēmuranni (12) Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
Š. LÚ.NAR
STAT 3 23 r. 19
672
Together with his colleagues Š. witnesses a judicial document concerning a burglary.
- **Tukultī-Aššūr (2) Musician(?)**, son of Qani-Issār
Assur (Esarhaddon)
T. A Q. NAR?¹
STAT 3 23 r. 20
672
Together with his colleagues T. witnesses a judicial document concerning a burglary.

- **Qabubu (-) Musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal)
Q.
STAT 3 23 r. 21
672 Together with colleagues(?) Q. is witness in a judicial document concerning a burglary.⁷⁶
- (-) Q. NAR
STAT 3 110 r. 34
657 Together with colleagues the same(?) Q. is witness in a judicial document.
- (-) Q.
ZA 73 9 r. 7 =
Jas 1996 no. 16
653 The same(?) Q. is witness in a judicial document.⁷⁷
- **Mannu-kī-abi (15) Musician(?)**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
M. NAR]
AfO 42 A1 r. 3
dl M. is witness in a broken sale document.
- **Nergal-šēzibanni (3) Musician**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. 'NAR'
STAT 3 110 r. 33
657 Together with colleagues N. is witness in a judicial document.
- N. LÚ.NAR
ZA 73 9 r. 6 =
Jas 1996 no. 16
653 N. is again witness in a judicial document.
- **[...]-Aššur (-) Musician**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
PN' LÚ.NAR
STAT 2 14 r. 9'
dl He is witness in a broken house sale document.

⁷⁶ He is listed under Qabubu in PNA (Cancik, PNA 3/I 1004 s.v. Qabubu 1). The identification with the musician Qabubu was proposed by Faist (2007: 167).

⁷⁷ Jas reads Qaburi; cf. Cancik, PNA 3/I 1007 s.v. Qapuri. The identification with the musician Qabubu was proposed by Faist (2007: 167).

- **Aššūr-[...]** (11) **Musician**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
A. LÚ*.NAR
SAAB 9 103 r. 12' 636*/
625* A. is witness in a broken slave sale document.
 - **Rapá (15) Musician**, son of Abdi-ilīm
Nineveh/from Šiddiasika (after Assurbaniḫal)
R. DUMU A. LÚ.NAR TA* URU.šid-di-a-si-ka / R. SAA 14 32*: 1-2, 5, 618* R. owes 10 shekels of silver to the cohort commander
/ R. r. 3 = FNALD 30 Kišir-Aššūr.
 - **Inūrta-ereš (7) Musician**
Dur-Katlimmu (7th century)
I. LÚ*.NAR
BATSH 6 122 r. 12 dl I. is witness when land is sold.
 - **Zārūtī (30) Musician**
Assur (7th century)
Z. LÚ.NAR
STAT 2 7 r. 23 dl Z. is witness in a broken sale document.
 - **[...]i (-) Musician**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.NAR!
SAA 14 262 r. 5' dl He is witness in a broken house sale document.
8. *nuāru* (unnamed)⁷⁸
- **Musician**
Šibaniba (Šalmaneser III)
LÚ.NAR
Billa 85:15 nd He is mentioned along with two soldiers or workmen
in an administrative document.

⁷⁸ STAT 2 3:1' may refer to a musician too, but it is too fragmentary to tell for certain.

- **Musicians**
Kalhu/from Tyre (Tiglath-pileser III)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
RINAP 1 49 r. 8 nd
Tiglath-pileser states in his inscription that Hīram, ruler of Tyre, brought them as tribute.
- **Musicians**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
[LÚ*].NAR.[(MEŠ)]
SAA 11 151 ii 10' nd/dl
Listed in what seems to be an administrative record of temple personnel.
- **Musicians**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.NAR.[MEŠ]
CTN 1 35 ii 4' nd/dl
They receive 2 *emāru* 5(?) *qū* of bread or beer.
- **Musicians**
active in Zikirtu (Sargon II)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
TCL 3:159 nd
Sargon states in his inscription that after he had successfully fought against Mitatti, ruler of Zikirtu, a rebellious subject of the Mannean ruler, he joyfully entered his camp with musicians playing lyres.
- **Musicians**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.NAR.M[ĒŠ]
[LÚ*?].NAR.MEŠ
L[Ú*.NA]R.ME[Š]
LÚ.NAR
CTN 1 12:1' nd/dl
They receive [x] amount of wine.
CTN 1 25 l.e. 2 nd/dl
They receive [x] amount of wine.
CTN 3 120:13' nd/dl
= CTN 1 30
They receive 5(?) *qū* of wine.
CTN 3 144 r. 19 nd/dl
They receive wine.

- **Musicians**
Nineveh/from Babylon (Sennacherib)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
697–689 According to his inscription, Sennacherib took them as booty after his victory over Marduk-apla-iddina.
RINAP 3/1 1:32 // 15 i 8' // 16 i 45' // 17 i 37' // 22 i 32' // 23 iii 40
- **Musicians**
Nineveh/from Jerusalem (Sennacherib)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
700–689 According to his inscription, Sennacherib received them as tribute from Hezekiah of Jerusalem.
RINAP 3/1 4:58 // 15 iv 10' // 16 iv 34' // 17 iii 77' // 19 i' 12' // 22 iii 46' // 23 i 29
- **6 musicians**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
6 NAR.MEŠ
nd/dl They are mentioned in a banquet account.
SAA 7 150 ii 12'
- **Musician(s)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.NAR
676–672 In his inscription Esarhaddon states that he celebrated the beheading of two enemies from the west with musician(s) and lyre(s) in the squares of Nineveh.
RINAP 4 1 iii 37' // 2 i 55' // 3 ii 8'
- **Musicians**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
nd Musicians are probably enumerated as tribute in a broken inscription, presumably to be attributed to Esarhaddon.
RINAP 4 9 i' 12'

- **Musicians**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
RINAP 4 45 iii 8 nd
According to a broken inscription of Esarhaddon they form part of the ritual accompanying the refurbishment of the Marduk statue by playing lyres.
- **Musicians**
Nineveh/from Gambulu (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ // [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ] // [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ]
// LÚ.NAR.MEŠ // [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ]
RINAP 5/1 3 vi 21 // 649*–
4 vi 23 // 6 vii 24 // 647*
7 vi 34' // 8 vii 24'
According to this inscription Assurbanipal took them as booty from Gambulu.
- **Musicians**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.NAR.MEŠ / [LÚJ'.NAR.MEŠ]
RINAP 5/2 73 iii 4', nd
iv 18'⁷⁹
In an inscription of Assurbanipal musicians are mentioned together with their lyres.
- **Musicians**
Nineveh (7th century)
LÚ.NAR.'MEŠ'
SAA 7 142:6 nd/dl
Together with chanters and female musicians they receive 1 *sittu* of bread and 5 *qít* of beer.
- **Musicians**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[L]Ú.NAR.MEŠ
SAA 11 36 r. i 25 nd/dl
They are mentioned along with [x] amount of copper in an administrative list recording distributed(?) tribute.

⁷⁹ RINAP 5/2 is not yet published, but see <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/>.

- **Musician**
Nineveh (unc.)
[L]Ú' .NAR
SAA 7 20 r. i' 7
nd/dl
He is listed together with other professions in a broken legal document.
9. *nuāru* in a non-documentary text component
- **Musician**
- (Esarhaddon)
LÚ .NAR
SAA 10 109:19'
nd
In an appeal of the Babylonian scholar Bēl-ušēzib to the king he mentions a musician in a metaphor.
10. *nuārtu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
- **2 female musicians**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
2 MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
SAA 17 122:11
nd
Nabū-šumu-lēšir reports to the king (Sargon) that he has given, among other commodities, two female musicians to Abu-erība, the king's relative, after the latter's arrival.
11. *nuārtus* described by place of origin
- 11.1. *nuārtu armā'ītu*
- **3 female Aramean musicians**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
3 MÍ.ár-na-a-a-te / PAB 61 MÍ.NA[R].MEŠ]
SAA 7 24:21, 27
nd/dl
They are listed together with several other female musicians of different origin in an administrative document.

11.2. *nuārtu arpaddā'ītu*

• Female Arpadean musicians

Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V or later)

MÍ.NAR.MEŠ KUR.á[r²-pad]-a-a'-[te]⁸⁰

CTN 1 8 r. 7'

751/
747/735 They receive 5 ½ *qû* of wine.

MÍ.: KUR.[ar]-'pa-da'-a-a

("ditto" refers to [NAR.MEŠ] in r. 5')

CTN 1 21 r. 6'

nd/dl They receive 6(?) ½ *qû* of wine.11.3. *nuārtu ḥattā'ītu*

• Female "Hittite" musicians

Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V or later)

MÍ.NAR.MEŠ KUR.[ḥa]-[a¹-a-a-te]⁸¹

CTN 1 8 r. 6'

751/
747/735 They receive 6 ½ *qû* of wine.MÍ.[NAR.ME]Š 'KUR' ḥ[a¹-ta-a]-a⁸²

CTN 1 21 r. 5'

nd/dl They receive [6?] ½ *qû* of wine.

• 11 female "Hittite" musicians

Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniḫal)

11' MÍ.ḥat-ta-a'-a-te¹¹ / PAB 61 MÍ.NA[R.MEŠ]

SAA 7 24:22, 27

nd/dl

They are listed together with several other female musicians of different origin in an administrative document.

⁸⁰ Restoration according to the collations of Parpola (1976-7: 167).⁸¹ The restoration is according to Parpola (1976-7: 167).⁸² The restoration follows Parpola (1976-7: 168).

- 11.4. *nuārtu kaššā'ītu*
- **9 female “Kassite” musicians**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
9 MÍ.kaš-šá-[a-a-te] / PAB 61 MÍ.NA[R.MEŠ] SAA 7 24:26, 27 nd/dl
They are listed together with several other female musicians of different origin in an administrative document.
- 11.5. *nuārtu šurrā'ītu*
- **13 female Tyrean musicians**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
13 MÍ.šur-ra-[a-a-te] / PAB 61 MÍ.NA[R.MEŠ] SAA 7 24:23, 27 nd/dl
They are listed together with several other female musicians of different origin in an administrative document.
- 11.6. Female musicians of miscellaneous origin
- **4 female musicians**
Nineveh/from Saḫ[...] (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
4 MÍ.SAḫ³-[x x x (x)] / PAB 61 MÍ.NA[R.MEŠ] SAA 7 24:25, 27 nd/dl
They are listed together with several other female musicians of different origin in an administrative document.
12. *nuārtu*
- **10 female musicians**
Kalhu/from Patina (Aššurnaširpal II)
10 MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 iii 76 // A.0.101.73:1'
Aššurnaširpal states that he received female musicians from Lubarna of the land of Patina.

- **Female(?) musicians**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
[MÍ²].NAR.MEŠ
CTN 3 145 r. iii 18
784 They receive 1 *šapputu*-bowl of wine.
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)
- **Female musicians**
Kalhu/from Tyre (Tiglath-pileser III)
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
RINAP 1 49 r. 8
nd Tiglath-pileser states that Hīram, ruler of Tyre, brought them as tribute.
- [...] (-) **4 female musicians**
unc. (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
4 MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
SAA 19 226 r. 4'
nd They are mentioned, originally with their personal names, in a broken letter.
- **Female musicians**
Nineveh/from Babylon (Sennacherib)
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
RINAP 3/1 1:32 // 697–689 Sennacherib took them as booty after the victory over
15 i 8' // 16 i 45 // Marduk-apla-iddina in 671.
17 i 37 // 22 i 33 //
23 i 29
- **Female musicians**
Nineveh/from Jerusalem (Sennacherib)
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
RINAP 3/1 4:58 // 700–689 Sennacherib received them as tribute from Hezekiah
15 iv 10' // 16 iv 34 // of Jerusalem in 671.
17 iii 77 // 19 i' 12'
// 22 iii 47 // 23 iii 40

- **Female musicians**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
SAA 7 26:7' nd/dl
Together with other female personnel they are listed along with 10 (of x-commodity) in a broken administrative document.
- **Female musicians**
Nineveh/from Gambulu (Assurbanipal)
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ // [MÍ.NAR.MEŠ] // [MÍ.NAR.MEŠ]
// MÍ.NAR.MEŠ // [MÍ.NAR].MEŠ'
RINAP 5/1 3 vi 21 // 649*–
4 vi 23 // 6 vii 24 // 647*
7 vi 34' // 8 vii 24'
Assurbanial took them as booty from Gambulu.
- **Female musician**
Nineveh (7th century)
MÍ.NAR
SAA 7 140:2 nd/dl
She is listed along with ½ *qû* (of wine) in a fragment of what seems to be a wine ration list.
MÍ.NAR
SAA 11 152 r. 3' nd/dl
In a fragment of an administrative list she is listed after the stewardess.
- **Female musicians**
Nineveh (7th century)
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
SAA 7 140 r. 5 nd/dl
In the same document a group of female musicians is said to receive ½ *qû* (of wine) each.
MÍ.NAR.MEŠ
SAA 7 142:7 nd/dl
Together with chanters and male musicians they receive 1 *sītu* bread and 5 *qû* of beer for consumption.

CHIEF MUSICIAN

1. Dwelling (*mūšubu*) of the *nargallu*
- **Chief musician**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
mu-še-bi LÚ.NAR.GAL
SAA 7 9 ii 26' nd/dl According to a list of lodgings the *ša-qurbūti Rēmanni-Adad* is assigned to his dwelling.
2. *nargallu* (named)
- **Aššūr-šumu-iškun (-) Chief musician**, brother of Nabû-šēzibanni
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
A. LÚ*.NAR.GAL / A. LÚ.NAR.GAL / A. [LÚ. 758 He and his brother fully paid out each other's debts.⁸³
NAR.GAL] 14'
 - **Aššūr-aḫu-iddina (2) Chief musician**
Assur (Sargon II)
A. LÚ.NÀR'.G[ÁL] 715 A. is witness in a settlement of a dispute.
 - [...] (-) **Chief musician**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
[PN LÚ.NÀR'.GAL] STAT 2 114 r. 1' dl He is witness in a broken document of sale.
 - [...] **ēṭir (-) Chief musician**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
PN` LÚ*.NÀR.GÁL STAT 3 111 r. 16' 676 He is witness in a settlement of a dispute.

⁸³ For two more references to this individual see Faist 2007: 52. One of these references is in a colophon where he is designated as scribe.

- [...]ni (-) **Chief musician**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
[PN] LÚ.NAR.GAL
SAA 16 123:5' nd
According to a fragmentary letter to the king he together with others (some from Arbail), is at the disposal of a *rab mūgi*.
- **Kattej (I) Chief musician**
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
K. NAR.GAL // K. LÚ*.NAR.GAL
BATSH 6 108 r. 4 // 663
108* r. 7
K. is witness when the chariot owner Raḫīmi-il buys a field.
- [...] (-) **Chief musician(?)**
Assur (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ*?.[NĀ]R?.'GÁL?'
StAT 3 31:1 dl
He is involved in a judicial settlement according to a badly damaged tablet.
- 3. *nargallu* (unnamed)
 - **Chief musicians**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ].NAR.GAL.MEŠ
RINAP 4 54:12' nd
In a broken inscription of Esarhaddon they are said to have been placed before Aššur.
 - **Chief musician**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.NAR.GAL
SAA 13 195 r. 1', 3' nd
He is twice mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king, first with reference to his son and second in connection with a letter sent to the palace.

4. *nargallutu*

• 8 female chief musicians

Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)

8 MÍ.NAR¹.GAL / PAB 61 MÍ.NA[R.MEŠ]

SAA 7 24:20, 27

nd/dl

They are listed together with several other female musicians of different origin in an administrative document.

ŠA-RĒŠĪ

1. *ša-rēšūti*• Šamaš-nāšir (I) *ša-rēšī* of Adad-nērāri III and treasurer of (the) Aššur (Temple)

Assur (Adad-nērāri III)

[Š.] LÚ*.SAG ša A. (...) LÚ*.SAG-ti-šú

SAA 12 1:3–4

788

Land an people of [Š.] were exempted and given to Aššur by Adad-nērāri III.

• *ša-rēšūti*

Nineveh (Assurbanipal)

ša-LÚ.SAG-ti / [*ša*-LÚ.SAG-ti-šú] / *ša*-LÚ.SAG-ti/

Lambert 2007: 106–

dl

In a query to Šamaš it is asked whether someone is suitable to become a *ša-rēšī* of his master.2. Town of the *ša-rēšīs*• Town of the *ša-rēšīs*

Nineveh (Tiglath-pileser III)

URU-LÚ.SAG.MEŠ

SAA 6 1 r. 16

742

Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē, a witness, is said to come from Eunuch Town.

- **Town of the *ša-rēšis***
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
URU.2-LÚ*! .SAG! .MEŠ
SAA 6 277 r. 8'
674 Nabû-nāšir and Iadī', two witnesses, are said to come from Eunuch Town(?).

- 3. *bēt ša-rēši* of the king
 - **House of a royal *ša-rēši***
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
É LÚ.SAG ša MAN
638*
VAT 5606 b.e. 8 =
Jas 1996 no. 28 =
Radner 1997c:
129–34, no. 4
In a judicial document the claimant states that he has released the opponent's wife and son from the household of the *ša-rēši* of the king.

- 4. *bēt ša-rēši*
 - **House of a *ša-rēši***
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
É LÚ! .SAG / LÚ.SAG.MEŠ
SAA 10 294:21, 30
nd The exorcist Urdu-Gula laments his current situation and describes former times when he did not enter a house of a *ša-rēši* or a *ša-ziqni* without permission and taught them both alike.

- 5. *bēt qātē* (storehouse) of the *ša-rēšis*
 - ***bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis***
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniḫal)
É-ŠU.2 ša LÚ.SAG.MEŠ-*ni*
SAA 10 247 r. 3
nd In a letter assigned to the scholar Marduk-šakin-šumi the king is informed about the rituals which took place in the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis*.

- *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis*
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
É-ŠU.2.ša LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ

- 6. *ša-rēšī* of the king (named)
 - **Bēl-daiāni (1) Royal *ša-rēšī***
unc. (Adad-nērāri III)
B. LÚ.SAG šá A.

 - **Bīrtāiu (1) Royal *ša-rēšī***
unc. (Adad-nērāri III)
B. LÚ.SAG šá A.

 - **[Nabū-dū]r-belija (1) *ša-rēšī* of Adad-nērāri III**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
[N. L]Ú.šá-SAG⁺-šu

 - **Nabū-šarru-ušur (2) *ša-rēšī* of Adad-nērāri III**
unc. (Adad-nērāri III)
N. LÚ. šá A.

 - **Šamaš-kūmū'a (3) Royal *ša-rēšī***
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
Š. LÚ.SAG šá A. / Š.
Š.

- SAA 10 270:2 nd
In a letter assigned to the scholar Marduik-šākim-šumi the king is told about the matter in the *bēt qātē* of the *ša-rēšis*.

- RIMA 3 nd
A.0.104.2017:1–2
According to a seal inscription, he was the owner of that seal.

- RIMA 3 nd
A.0.104.2009:6–7
According to a seal inscription, he donated that seal to Issār-dūnī, *ša-rēšī* of the commander-in-chief.

- SAA 12 6 r. 1–2 dl
According to a royal decree land is granted to [N.].

- RIMA 3 nd
A.0.104.2015:1–2
According to a seal inscription, he was the owner of the seal in question.

- CTN 2 17:7, 17 = 783
FNALD 1
CTN 2 57 r. 3 dl
Š. buys land for 2 minas 2 shekels of silver and 2 ½ minas of copper from the *ša-rēšī* Ilu-eppaš (1).
Š. appears as buyer in another broken legal document.

- **Tarditu-Aššūr (1) Royal ša-rēši(?) and commander-of-fifty**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
T. SAG²-MAN GAL-50
Edubba 10 18 r. 27–28 779 T. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys a house.
- **Kummāiu (3) Royal ša-rēši**
Assur (Sargon II)
K.:. (for LÚ*.SAG-MAN in r. 3') 708 K. is witness in a broken land sale document.
- **Pān-Aššūr-lāmur (4) ša-rēši of Sargon**
unc. (Sargon II)
P. *stvs z' srgn* Watanabe 1993: 116, no. 6.7:1–3 nd P. is owner of an inscribed stamp seal.
P. SAA 1 156:1 nd He is attested as sender of a letter to the king (broken).
P. SAA 1 157:1 nd P. is attested as sender of a letter to the king (only heading preserved).
- **Rēmanni-Adad (1) Royal ša-rēši**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
R. L[Ú*].SAG-MAN ND 2803 ii 23' dl Together with a mule stable attendant, R. is listed along with 1 *emāru* 3 *sītu* of grain or cereal products for deportees of [...].
- **Sadūnu (1) Royal ša-rēši(?)**
Assur (Sargon II)
S. (...):. (for LÚ*.SAG-MAN in r. 3') 708 S., possibly ša-rēši, is witness in a broken land sale document.
- **Sīn-šarru-ušur (2) Royal ša-rēši**
Assur (Sargon II)
S. LÚ*.SAG-MAN StAT 3 32 r. 3' 708 S. is witness in a broken land sale document.

- **Zāzī (1) Royal ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
Z.
Z. LÚ* .SAG–LUGAL
SAA 6 26:2 711 Z. is owed 20 minas of silver.
SAA 6 27 r. 4 dl The same(?) Z. buys land for 5 ¾ minas of silver.
- **Ilu-šabtanni (1) Royal ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
I. 'LÚ' .SAG–MAN"
SAA 6 283 r. 4 672 I. buys several estates for 10 minas of silver.
- **[...]–erība (-) Royal ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
'PN' LÚ* .SAG–MAN
SAA 7 130:8 nd According to a list of various foods given to the lady-of-the-house, he gave a bird of special kind.
- **Idrāia (6) Royal ša-rēšī⁸⁴**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal)
I. LÚ* .SAG–MAN / I.
StAT 2 176:3, 7 633* According to a legal document I. paid wages to Mannu-ki-Ešarra.
- **Nabū-erība (30) Royal ša-rēšī**
Babylonia (Assurbaniṣal)
N. LÚ .SAG–iá
SAA 21 28 r. 13 nd In his letter the king states that he has sent his ša-rēšī N. together with a royal “third man (on chariot)” and a “temple enterer” to Nabū-ušabši (name restored), governor of Uruk, to let him swear a loyalty oath.

⁸⁴ He is possibly identical with a homonymous man attested in three legal transactions from Assur (Streck, PNA 505 s.v. Idrāia 7).

- **Nīnuāiu (11) Royal ša-rēši**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. [LÚ*.SAG-MAN] / N. LÚ.SAG-MAN / N. / N.
SAA 14 15:2-3, 9, 12, 13 = Jas 1996 no. 29 and FNALD 42
641* N. prosecutes the ša-šēpē Bēl-šarru-ušur on account of his servants.
- N. LÚ.SAG-MAN
SAA 14 16:5
639* N. buys two slaves.
- N. LÚ.SAG-LUGAL
SAA 14 17:3'-4'
633* N. buys a female slave for 35 shekels of silver.
- N. LÚ.SAG-MAN
SAA 14 18:5
dl N. buys a slave from the palace gardener Isputu (3) for 1 mina of silver.
- N. LÚ.SAG šá LUGAL / N.
SAA 14 19:5'-6', r. 4
dl N. buys two slaves for 1 mina 30 shekels of silver.
- N. LÚ.SAG-MAN
SAA 14 20:3'-4'
dl N. buys three slaves for ½ mina of silver.
- N. LÚ.SAG-MAN
SAA 14 21:3', 14'
dl N. buys slaves.
- N.
SAA 14 22 r. 3'
dl N. buys land and people.
- **Šalam-šarri-iqbi (15) Royal ša-rēši**
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.SAG-MAN
630* Š.'s three servants are involved in a judicial settlement.
- [...] (-) **ša-rēši (of Assurbanipal)**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
LÚ*. [SAJG [ša A.] / [LÚ.SAG]
630* According to a royal grant he is exempted from taxes.
- [...] (-) **Royal ša-rēši**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.SAG-LUGAL
621* He is witness for Nabū-sagṛbi who dedicates two slaves and a plot of land to Nabū.
- [...] (-) **Royal(?) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.SAG-M[AN]
dl He is mentioned as a witness in a broken legal document.

7. *ša-rēšī* of the king (unnamed)

- **Royal *ša-rēšī***
Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SAG ša LUGAL
SAA 1 124:10 nd
Kišir-Aššūr, governor of Dur-Šarrukin, writes to the king that a royal *ša-rēšī* should confirm that K. tells the truth about houses of the recruitment officers.
- **Royal *ša-rēšīs***
Guzana (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ ša LUGAL
SAA 1 233 r. 10 nd
Mannu-ki-Aššūr-lē'i, possibly governor of Guzana, writes to the king about the land given to Bel-dūrī, governor of Damascus, and concludes with a rather unclear statement concerning the royal *ša-rēšīs*.
- **Royal *ša-rēšī*(?)**
Kar-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
[LÚ*.SAG?] ša LUGAL
SAA 19 193 l.e. 2 nd
In a broken passage of a letter of Nabû-bēlu-ka'in, possibly governor of Kar-Šarrukin, it says that a royal *ša-rēšī*(?) should come for inspection.
- **Royal *ša-rēšīs***
Kar-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SAG'.MEŠ ša MAN
SAA 15 84 r. 19' nd
Royal *ša-rēšīs* working in Kar-Šarrukin are mentioned in a broken letter to the king.
- **One royal *ša-rēšī***
Babylonia (Sargon II)
1-en L[Ú].S[AG] ša LU[GAL]
SAA 17 123 r. 13' nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter of Nabû-šumu-lēšir.

- **Royal *ša-rēši***
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SAG-*ia*

LÚ*.SAG-MAN

SAA 1 11 r. 5, 7 nd
In a royal letter, the addressee Mannu-kī-Adad is told to summon his men before the royal *ša-rēši* arrives for reviewing them.

SAA 15 54 r. 17 nd
In a broken letter to the king (sender lost) it is asked for either a *ša-qurbūti* or a royal *ša-rēši*.
- **Royal *ša-rēši***
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG-LUGAL

SAA 4 148:6 nd
They are mentioned along with the *ša-ziqni* as possible insurgents when Esarhaddon leaves Kalhu.
- **Royal(?) *ša-rēši***
Assur (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.SAG *ša* L[LUGAL]

SAA 16 100 r. 17 nd
The scribe Nabû-šumu-ka`in reports to the king on damage after an earthquake in Assur. He asks for a royal(?) *ša-rēši* to come.
- **Royal *ša-rēši***
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG-LUGAL

SAA 18 125:11' nd
In a broken letter to the king (sender lost) it is said that the royal *ša-rēši* comes daily into the presence of Īḫinnumu, governor of Uruk.
- **Royal *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (probably Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG *ša* LUGAL

SAA 13 128 r. 8 nd
The priest Aššūr-rēšūwa reports to the king about temple thefts, asking for a royal *ša-rēši*.

- **One royal ša-rēšī**
 Babylonia (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
 1-en LÚ.SAG-LUGAL / 'LÚ.SAG-LUGAL'
 SAA 18 103 r. 18, 22 nd
 According to a broken Babylonian letter to the king, the king should send a royal ša-rēšī.

- **Royal ša-rēšī(?)**
 Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
 [LÚ.SA]G³ LUGA[L]
 [(LÚ).SA]G-šū
 SAA 18 131 r. 19 nd
 In a letter to the king the astrologer Nabû-iqbi asks for a ša-rēšī(?) of the king to come.
 ABL 1311+r. 28 (de Vaan 1995: 311-7) nd
 According to a letter to the king Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, has previously asked for a royal ša-rēšī.

- 8. *ša-rēšī* of the queen
- **Aššūr-rēšūwa (1) ša-rēšī and scribe of the queen**
 Dur-Šarrukīn (Sargon II)
 A. LÚ.SAG LÚ.DUB.SAR ša MÍ.É.GAL
 SAA 6 31 r. 14 = SAAB 11 1 = FNALD 2 709
 A. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-kabri-ahhēšu (1) buys land.

- **Milki-nūrī (1) ša-rēšī of the queen**
 Nineveh (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal)
 M. LÚ*.SAG ša MÍ.KUR¹ / M.
 M. [LÚ*.SAG ša] MÍ.É.GAL
 M. [LÚ*.SAG ša] MÍ.É.GAL
 SAA 14 1:12, r. 1 668
 M. buys the village of Nabû-šezib in its entirety.
 SAA 14 2:6-7 666
 M. buys the village of Bahaia in its entirety from the team commander Atar-ili.
 SAA 14 3:5'-6' dl
 M. buys ten slaves according to a fragment of a legal document.
 SAA 14 4:6-7 dl
 M. buys five slaves.
 SAA 14 5:6' dl
 M. buys six slaves for 2 minas 10 shekels of silver.

M. LÚ*.SAG [ša MÍ.É.G]AL	SAA 14 6:3'-4'	dl	M. buys land and people according to a broken legal document.
M.	SAA 14 7 r. 2	dl	According to a reference to M. in a penalty clause he buys an unknown item.
M.	SAA 7 130 r. 7'	nd	According to a list of foods from officials to the lady-of-the-house M. gives 1 lamb, 20 birds and a bunch of pomegranates.
M.	SAA 11 37:8	dl	In another list of goods, M. is recorded along with a commodity of silver (broken) and a gold band.
M.	SAA 16 20 r. 2'	nd	In a letter to the king crown prince Assurbanipal reports that he told M. to remove the sash from his waist.
M.	SAA 16 60 r. 12'	nd	The same(?) M. is mentioned in a letter of Nabû-rēhtu-ušur about the conspiracy of Sāsi.
M.	SAA 16 63 l.e. 1	nd	In a letter of the "enigmatic informer" to the king it is said that the words of the same(?) M. are not accurate.
M.	SAAB 1 68:2	nd	The same(?) M. is mentioned as having in his service Asalluḫi-nādin-aḫi who underwent a river ordeal.
9. <i>ša-rēši</i> of the king's mother			
● Aššūr-[...] (8) <i>ša-rēši</i> of the king's mother Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)			
A. LÚ.SAG AMA-MAN			
● Nabû-dūru-ušur (13) <i>ša-rēši</i> of the king's mother(?) Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)			
N. LÚ.SAG A[MA]-MAN			
● Pan-[...] (-) <i>ša-rēši</i> of the king's mother Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)			
P. L[Ú]:S]AG' AMA-MAN'			
	SAA 7 5 i 32	nyd/ydl	A. is mentioned in a list of court personnel.
	SAA 7 5 i 46	nyd/ydl	N. is mentioned in a list of court personnel.
	SAA 7 5 ii 16	nyd/ydl	P. is mentioned in a list of court personnel.

- [...] (-) *ša-rēšī* of the king's mother
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.SAG AMA-MAN
SAA 7 5 r. i 46
nyd/ydl [PN] is mentioned in a list of court personnel.

- 10. *ša-rēšī* of the crown prince
 - **Atar-III (2) *ša-rēšī* of the crown prince of Babylon and team-commander**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.SAG ša DUMU-LUGAL URU.KÁ.DINGIR SAA 6 287:13-14 670
A. leases the village Bahaia for 14 minas for one year of seeding and one year of fallow.
 - A. LÚ*.GAL-ú-rat SAA 14 2:1 666
A., now designated team-commander, sells the village Bahaia to Milki-nūrī (1), *ša-rēšī* of the queen.
 - **Marduk-šarru-ušur (28) *ša-rēšī* of the crown prince**
Nineveh/Ma'allanate (Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ.SAG? DUMU-LUGAL / [PAB] a-na É SAA 7 4 r. ii' 8', 12' nd/dl
M. is assigned to the household of the lady-of-the-house according to an administrative document.
GAŠAN-[É] O 3686:1 631*
(27) M. LÚ].SAG The same(?) M. imposes a decision in a lawsuit.
 - **Šil-Bēl-dalli (2) *ša-rēšī* and household overseer of the crown prince**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal and later)⁸⁵
Š. LÚ.SAG ND 3426 r. 8 = 649
FNALD 9 Š. is first witness when the *ša-rēšī* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a mother and her son.
 - **Bēl-Ingál-dūri (1) *ša-rēšī* of the crown prince**
Nineveh (7th century)
B. LÚ*.SAG' A-MAN SAA 14 205:5' dl
B. sells land together with others for 36 emāru of barley.

⁸⁵ He is attested as a witness to numerous legal transactions of Šamaš-šarru-ušur carried out between 660 and 631*; the title *ša-muḫḫi-bēti* is given in ND 3463 r. 11 and SAA 12 94 r. 12' and *ša-muḫḫi-bēt mār šarri* in SAA 12 93 r. 7; see Baker, PNA 3/1 1172 Šil-Bēl-dalli 2.

● **Nabū-nādin-aḫḫē (25) ša-rēši of the crown prince**

Nineveh (7th century)

N. LÚ*.SAG ša A-MAN

SAA 14 178:1', r. 3

dl

N. redeemed a house.

11. *ša-rēši* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors

● **Aššūr-issē'a (4) ša-rēši of [...]**

Assur (Assurbaniḫal)

A. LÚ.SAG ša [...]

SAA 14 62 r. 14'

dl

A. is witness in a broken legal document.⁸⁶

● **Kunāta (3) ša-rēši(?) of [...]**

Assur (Assurbaniḫal)

K. LÚ.S[AG ša ...]

SAA 14 62 r. 15'

dl

K. is witness in a broken legal document.

12. *ša-rēši* associated with the military

12.1. *pēḫallu* (cavalry)

● **2 cavalry(-teams) of the ša-rēšis**

Kalhu (Sargon II)

2 BAD.ḪAL' ša' 'LÚ*.SAG'.MIEŠ]

ND 2803 ii 6'

dl

According to an administrative document recording the distribution of grain and cereal products, two cavalry (-teams) "of the *ša-rēšis*" were provided with 51 *emāru* 2 *sīttu* of fodder.

⁸⁶ The same man is possibly also attested as a witness in SAAB 9 79 r. 5'; 124 r. 11; STAT 3 105 r. 7. According to that and the fact that *ša-rēšis* of the *bēt šarrāni* are also mentioned as witnesses in SAA 6 62, he was very likely active in Assur (rather than Nineveh).

- 12.2. *sūsānu* (groom)
- **Grooms of the ša-rēšis**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.GIGIR.MEŠ ša SAG.MEŠ
CTN 1 35 iii 4'-5'
nd/dl
They receive 5 *qīt* of bread or beer.
- 12.3. *ša-bēt-kūdini* (mule-stable man)
- **Ribāti (1) Mule-stable man of the ša-rēšis**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
R. [x x š]a-É-ku-di-ni ša LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ
ND 2646:3-4
nd
R. is mentioned along with 100 (of x-commodity) in an administrative document.
13. *ša-rēšī* (named)
- **Nabū'a (1) ša-rēšī**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
N. L[Ú*:]S]AG'
CTN 1 3 ii 14
784
N. receives 1 *qīt* of wine.
 - **Šamaš-upaḫḫūr (4) ša-rēšī**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
(3) Š.
Š. LÚ.SAG
CTN 1 3 ii 19
784
Š. receives 1 *qīt* of wine.
CTN 1 1 ii 14
nyd
Possibly the same Š. receives 2 *qīt* of wine.
CTN 1 1 ii 22
nyd
Possibly the same Š. receives [x] *qīt* of wine according to the same wine list.
 - **Šarru-munammir (1) ša-rēšī**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
Š. LÚ*.SAG
CTN 2 51 r. 8
797
Š. is witness in a broken legal document.

- **Urdu-Aia (2) *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
U. 'K.LIMIN' (for L[Ú*]:S]AG¹ in ii 14)
CTN 1 3 ii 15 784 U. receives 1 *qū* of wine.
- **Šallim-īlu (1) *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or later)
Š. LÚ* :SAG
CTN 2 7 l.e. 3' dl Š. is witness when the village manager Bēl-issē'a buys a slave.
- **Sīn-ētir (2) *ša-rēši*(?) and scribe**, brother of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV and earlier)
S. CTN 2 20:5, 15 779 S. buys another piece of land.
S. CTN 2 37:7 dl The same(?) S. again buys land.
[S.] CTN 2 42 r. 2 dl The same(?) is recorded as a buyer of another broken legal document.
S. [LÚ:S]AG? LÚ.A.BA dl The same(?) S. buys land for 160 minas of bronze.
'S.?' CTN 2 60b r. 4' dl The same(?) S. again occurs as buyer in fragment of a legal document.
[S.] ŠEŠ-šú š[α] B. / S. // S. ŠEŠ¹ B. dl The same(?) S., now described as brother of the governor Bēl-tarši-ilumma, exchanges land.
Sealing: Nimrod 29 (Herbordt 1992: 178–9)
- S. CTN 2 65:4' dl The same(?) S. exchanges land against another piece of land.
- **Mannu-kī-ahḫē (3) *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
M. LÚ.SAG
SAA 6 22 r. 4 729 M. is witness when land in the domain of the commander-in-chief is sold.

- [...] (-) **25** *ša-rēšīs*
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
25 LÚ*. [S]AG.MEŠ-*ni*
ND 2443+ iv 8
nd/dl
25 *ša-rēšīs* are summed up in an administrative document that also records *ša-ziqnis* and the deportees in their care.
- **Ušēzīb (1)** *ša-rēšī*
Kalhu/from [...] (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
U. LÚ*. [S]AG KUR. r. ...
nyd
ND 2496:7
He is recorded as being in charge of four men who guarded a consignment of antimony.
- [...] (-) *ša-rēšī*
Kalhu (probably Shalmaneser V)
[PN] LÚ*.SAG
dl
Edubba 10 51 r. 6
He is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Bēl-Ḥarrān-dūrī (2)** *ša-rēšī*
Kalhu (Sargon II)
B. / PAB 4 SAG.MEŠ
nd
CTN 3 101 i 12, 15
Together with three colleagues B. is listed as a member of a military group.
- **Dādī-[...]** (2) *ša-rēšī*
Kalhu (Sargon II)
D. / PAB 4 SAG.MEŠ
nd
CTN 3 101 i 9, 13
Together with three colleagues D. is listed as a member of a military group.
- **Ēreš-ihu (5)** *ša-rēšī*
unc. (Sargon II)
Ē. LÚ*.SAG
nd
SAA 15 182:14'
According to a broken letter to the king Ē. was told to bring someone out and put him in the hands of a *ša-qurbūtī*.

- **I-ma'in (1) ša-rēši**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
I. LÚ.SAG
SAA 17 139 r. 13 nd
In a Babylonian letter of Šumu-kēn to Nergal-nāšir it is said that I. was given 1 mina 1/3 shekels of silver.
- **Mardī (1) ša-rēši**
Dur-Šarrukīn (Sargon II)
M. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 1 132:7 nd
Aḫu-lurši writes to the king that M. proposed that he stays although M. could go (to the king) instead.
- **Nabû-ēpuš (1) ša-rēši**
unc. (Sargon II)
N. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 15 182:4' nd
In a broken letter to the king the sender (name lost) reports that he sold four camels to N.
- **Nabû-rēmāni (33) ša-rēši**
Dur-Šarrukīn (Sargon II)
N. LÚ*.SAG
CTDS 5 b.e. 4–5 dl
Together with the watchman Salāmānu N. hands 2,900 talents of an unknown commodity over to the temple of Šin.
- **Nabû-zēru-ibni (2) ša-rēši**
Arrapha/from Ru'u (Sargon II)
N. LÚ*.SAG KUR.ru-[u'-a-a] / KUR.ru-[u'-a-a] / [N.] / LÚ*.[...] nd
Issār-dūrī, governor of Arrapha, reports to the king that N. and a certain Nabû-šallim are totally unproductive.
- **[Na]nū(?) (-) ša-rēši**
active in the north-eastern border region (Sargon II)
[N.] 'LÚ*.:S[AG]
SAA 5 137:2' nd
In a broken letter from Šulmu-bēli, deputy palace herald, [N.] is said to have jointly brought horses and oxen.

- **Nuhšāia (2) ša-rēšī**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
N. / PAB 4 SAG.MEŠ
CTN 3 101 i 11, 13 nd
Together with three colleagues N. is listed as a member of a military group.
- **Šulmu-bēli-lašme (2) ša-rēšī**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
Š. / PAB 4 SAG.MEŠ
CTN 3 101 i 10 13 nd
Together with three colleagues Š. is listed as a member of a military group.
- **Tardītu-Aššūr (5) ša-rēšī**
Assur (Sargon II)
T. SAG
STAT 3 15 r. 8' 715
T. is witness when the "third-man" Šīn-aḫū'a-ušur sells a garden.
- **Uaianiara (1) ša-rēšī**
unc. (Sargon II)
U. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 19 195 r. 2 nd
Nabû-aḫḫē-[...] writes to the king that U. is coming into his presence because of the land he was given by the king.
- **[...] (-) ša-rēšī**
unc. (Sargon II)
[PN L]Ú.S[A]G
SAA 5 181:6 nd
In a fragment of a letter to the king he is said to have been sent to [...].
- **[...] and [...]zū (-) 2 ša-rēšīs**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
[PNs] LÚ*.SAG:[ME]Š?
SAA 15 132 r. 2' nd
They are mentioned in a broken letter of Nabû-dūri-ušur to the king.

- [...]? (-) *ša-rēši*
Kalhu (Sargon II)
[PN]⁷ LÚ*.SAG⁷¹
 - **Muqalli-kabti (2) *ša-rēši***
Nineveh (probably Sargon II)⁸⁷
M. [(x x x)] LÚ.SAG
 - **Šarru-kettu-irām (1) *ša-rēši***
Nineveh (probably Sargon II)⁸⁸
Š. LÚ.SAG
 - **Adad-issē'a (1) *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (8th century)
A. LÚ.SAG
 - **Iqbi-Bēl (1) *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (8th century)
I. LÚ.SAG
 - **Qurdi-ili (-) *ša-rēši***
unc. (8th century)
Q. LÚ*.SAG
 - **Šamaš-aḫu-ušur (17) *ša-rēši***
unc. (probably 8th century)
Š. LÚ.SAG
- | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|-------|--|
| | CTN 3 110 i 1' | nd/dl | A <i>ša-rēši</i> is probably mentioned in a horse list. |
| | SAA 7 33 i 5'-6' | nd/dl | M. is listed in what might be a record of debts. |
| | SAA 7 32 r. ii' 5'-6' | nd/dl | Š. is listed in what might be a record of debts. |
| | CTN 1 1 ii 18 | nyd | A. receives 1 <i>qīt</i> of wine. |
| | CTN 1 1 ii 10 | nyd | I. receives 2 <i>šapputu</i> -bowls of wine. |
| | Niederreiter 2015:
149, no. F | nd | A cylinder seal does belong to him according to its inscription. |
| | Watanabe 1993:
117, no. 6.9:1-2 | nd | According to an inscribed seal it was property of Š. |

⁸⁷ For the date see Fales and Postgate 1992: XXI.

⁸⁸ For the date see Fales and Postgate 1992: XXI.

- **Kaqaqdānu (3) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
K. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 6 120 r. 3'
699 K. is witness when a vineyard is sold.
- **Nabû-dūru-ušur (8) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ.SAG
SAA 6 152 r. 7
687 N. is witness when a woman is sold.
- **[...] and [...] -ilu (-) 6 ša-rēšīs**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
[PNS] LÚ*.[SAG] / PAB 6 IG.I.MEŠ LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ
SAA 6 96 r. 4, 5
695 They are witnesses when the woman Barsipitu buys 4 persons.
- **Nabû-dūru-kušur (1) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. [LÚ*].SAG / N. / N. / N.
SAA 6 228:1-2, 4, 5, 11
dl N. sells a female slave for ½ mina of silver.
- **Šarru-nūrī (3) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Š. LÚ.SAG
SAA 10 294 r. 3
nd In a letter to the king, the exorcist Urdu-Gula refers to a letter he had sent via Š. to the king.
- **Ahḫešaiā (7) ša-rēšī(?)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.S[AG]
SAA 8 528 r. 2
nd Added to an astrological report is the message that A. together with his colleague has taken away the sender's property.
- **Būlu-zakaru (1) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
B. LÚ.SAG
SAA 7 5 ii 48
nyd/ydl B. occurs in an administrative document listing court personnel.

- **Dādi-iqbi (2) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
D. [LÚ].SAG
SAA 7 5 i 22
nyd/ydl
D. occurs in an administrative document listing court personnel.
- **Dāri-šarru (2) ša-rēši**
Nineveh/from Kush (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
D. LÚ*.SAG *ku-sa-a* / D.:.
(for LÚ*.SAG *ku-sa-a* in i 1)
D.
SAA 7 47 i 1, 7, 12
nd
A memorandum lists in detail how many minas of silver D. received from whom.
- **Mušēzib-Aššūr (7) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ.SAG
M. LÚ.SAG
SAA 7 48 r. 6'
nd
Possibly the same D. appears in another account of silver amounts related to the king's mother.
- **Mušēzib-Aššūr (7) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ.SAG
M. LÚ.SAG
SAA 7 5 i 38
nyd/ydl
M. occurs in an administrative document listing court personnel.
- **Na'di-ilu (11) ša-rēši**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.SAG
SAA 7 9 ii 22
nd/dl
According to another list M. is assigned to the "residences" of the temple steward.
- **Šulmu-šarri (12) ša-rēši**
Nineveh/from Kush (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.SAG *KUR.ku-sa-a-a* / Š. / Š.:.
(for LÚ*.SAG *KUR.ku-sa-a-a* in ii 4)
SAA 18 20:11'
nd
According to a fragment of a Babylonian letter to the king (sender lost) N. brought a sealed message to the sender and went back to the king with the woman Re'indu.
- **Šulmu-šarri (12) ša-rēši**
Nineveh/from Kush (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.SAG *KUR.ku-sa-a-a* / Š. / Š.:.
(for LÚ*.SAG *KUR.ku-sa-a-a* in ii 4)
SAA 7 47 ii 3-4, 5, 11
nd
A memorandum records Š.'s businesses involving amounts of silver.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ṭāb-šār-[...] (7) <i>ša-rēšī</i>⁸⁹ Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) T. LÚ.SAG 	SAA 8 528 r. 1	nd	Added to an astrological report is the message that Ṭ. together with his colleague has taken away the sender's property.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [...]-dammiq (-) <i>ša-rēšī</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) 'PN': (for LÚ.SAG in r. i 9) 	SAA 7 5 r. i 10	nyd/ydl	He occurs in an administrative document listing court personnel.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [...]-erība (-) <i>ša-rēšī</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) 'PN' LÚ.: (for LÚ.SAG in i 4) 	SAA 7 9 i 5'	nd/dl	In what seems to be a list of temporary lodgings, he is assigned to the central "residences".
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [...]-šarru-ušur (-) <i>ša-rēšī</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) 'PN' LÚ.SAG 	SAA 7 9 i 4'	nd/dl	In what seems to be a list of temporary lodgings, he is assigned to the central "residences".
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [...]-(-) <i>ša-rēšī</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) [PN] LÚ.SAG 	SAA 7 5 r. i 9	nyd/ydl	He occurs in an administrative document listing court personnel.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● [...]-(-) <i>ša-rēšī</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) [PN] LÚ.SAG 	SAA 7 7 r. ii' 2	nd/dl	He is listed in a fragment of a list of court personnel.

⁸⁹ The title LÚ.GAL-PI.[2] *ša* LÚ.šū-šá-nu (*rab-x* of the grooms) is mentioned subsequently. The edition interprets it as a reference to another, third man, involved in the attack. It is possible, however, that it qualifies the *ša-rēšī* Ṭāb-šār-[...].

- **Amurru-ēṭir (-) ša-rēši, delegate of the town Dur-Ilili**
Dur-Ilili (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.SAG LÚ.qí-i-pi šá URU.BÁD-⁹⁰EN.LİL ABL 963:4'-5' nd
A. is mentioned among others as ally of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, governor of Sealand, in a letter from Ur (sender lost).
- **Dāgil-ili (1) ša-rēši**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
D. LÚ.SAG ND 3426 r. 10 = 649
FNALD 9
D. is witness when the ša-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a woman and her son.⁹⁰
- **Ḫibalali (-) ša-rēši**
Dur-Katimmu (Assurbanipal)
Ḫ. LÚ*.SAG BATSH 6 43 r. 11 667
Ḫ. is witness when two orchards are sold; the buyer (name lost) is probably the ša-qurbūti Šulmu-šarri, see Radner 2002: 76.
- **Ilī (1) ša-rēši**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ*.SAG B 110:5 668
I. sells his slave for ½ mina 5 shekels of silver.
I. Presumably the same I. is mentioned in the penalty clause of a broken legal document, probably joining B 110 (cf. Jursa, PNA 2/II 515 s.v. Ilī).
- **Il-iāba (3) ša-rēši(?)**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.S[AG'] SAA 12 90:6 dl
Dedicating a village to Sin, Assurbanipal refers to I. who had done this before but then misappropriated it.

⁹⁰ The same man (without title) witnesses other legal transactions involving the ša-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur; see Pruzsinszky, PNA 1/II 366 s.v. Dāgil-ili 1.

- **Ilur-pīja-ušur (7) ša-rēšī**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ* .SAG
KAN 4 8 r. 17' 631* I. is witness when four sons of a priest sell 25 slaves.
- **Nabû-erība (18) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ* .SAG
SAA 11 84:6' nd/dl N. is mentioned in what seems to be a record of sheep.
- **Nabû-qāfi-šabat (3) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.SAG
SAA 6 318 r. 2 665 N. is witness when the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad is owed silver.
- **Nergal-nāšir (12) ša-rēšī**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ* .SAG
KAN 4 8 r. 13' 631* N. is witness when four sons of a priest sell 25 slaves.
- **Nušku-ilā'ī (10) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ* .SAG // N. [LÚ* .S]AG
SAA 14 95 r. 4 // 94* r. 1 646* N. is a witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Pān-Issār-lāmur (5) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
P. SAG
SAA 14 441:2 634* P. is owed 1 mina of silver.
- **Tarditu-Aššūr (11) ša-rēšī**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
T. SAG
SAA 14 146 r. 10' 647* T. is witness when ten people are sold.
- **Teišipidi (1) ša-rēšī**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ.SAG
SAA 21 134 r. 8 nd T. is mentioned in a broken letter to the king.

- [...] **ilā'i** (-) *ša-rēši*
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ*.SAG
SAA 14 100 r. 10 644* He is witness when the *ša-qurbūti* Kabar-il buys a slave.
- [...] (-) *ša-rēši*
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.SAG
SAA 6 318 r. 1 665 He is witness when the chariot driver Rēmāni-Adad is owed silver.
- [...] (-) *ša-rēši*
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.SAG
ND 5473:2' nd He is mentioned in a broken legal document.
- **Mannu-kī-Arbail (24)** *ša-rēši*
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
M. LÚ*.SAG
SAAB 9 77 r. 10 dl M. witnesses a slave sale document.
- **Nashir-iltu (3)** *ša-rēši*
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal or later)
N. LÚ.SAG
BATSH 6 95 r. 6 dl N. is witness when the *ša-qurbūti* Šulmu-šarri buys a slave.
- **Šammu-balāti (1)** *ša-rēši*
Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)
Š. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 14 54:2 dl Š. sells a house (details lost).
- **Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7)** *ša-rēši*
Kalhu (Assurbanipal and later)
Š.
ND 3436:3 660 Š. is owed 230 turtledoves.
Š.
ND 3440:3 652* Š. is owed 1 ½ minas of silver.
Š.
ND 3430:4 650 Š. is owed 10 shekels of washed silver; in lieu of interest he gains the usufruct of land for six years.

Š.	ND 3435:2 // 3435*:4 = CTMMA 3 1a // b	650/PC	Š. is owed a half mina of silver.
Š.	ND 3437:4	650/PC	Š. is owed 16 shekels of silver by the bird fattener Mannu-kī-Nabū (5).
Š. LÚ.SAG	ND 3426:6, 17 = FNALD 9	649	Š. buys a woman and her son for 2 minas 1 shekel of silver.
Š.	ND 3434:3	646*	Š. is owed 5 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3423:6	644*	Š. adopts the daughter of the fowler Maṭī-il-ilāī (1) for 16 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3452:2	643*	Š. is owed 7 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3422:6, r. 5	642*	Š. buys a female slave for 54 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3463:8, 12, r. 4	641*	Š. buys a house in Kalhu adjoining another house owned by him from Nabū-pī-aḫi-uṣur, farmhand of Nabū.
Š.	ND 3449:3	640*	Š. is owed 5 <i>emāru</i> 3 <i>sātu</i> of barley.
Š.	ND 3454 r. 4	640*	S. is first witness in a debt note of silver.
Š.	ND 3459:2	640*	Š. is owed 4 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3447:4 = CTMMA 3 3	639*	Š. is owed 3 <i>emāru</i> of barley.
Š. / É Š.	ND 3443:3, r. 4, l.e. 3 = FNALD 49	638*	The wife of Sa'alī-il is given as a security into the house of Š.
Š.	ND 3439:4 = FNALD 37	637*	Š. is owed two geese.
Š.	ND 3444:2 // 3444*:4	637*	Š. is owed 6 shekels of silver.

Š.	ND 3446:3	637*	Š. is owed 1 <i>emāru</i> of barley.
Š.	ND 3432:4	636*/ 625*	Š. is owed 10 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3420:8	635*	Š. buys an aged woman for 17 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3456:3	635*	Š. is owed 3 <i>emāru</i> 2 <i>sātu</i> of barley.
Š.	ND 3433:3	633*	Š. is owed 8 shekels of silver, wages for the apprentice Nāšir-ēdi.
Š.	ND 3462:2	632*	Š. is owed 3 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3448:2	631*	Š. is owed 36 doves.
Š.	ND 3451:2	631*	Š. is owed 12 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3441:4	629*	Š. is owed 8 shekels of silver by the bird fattener Nabû-erība (37).
Š.	ND 3438:4	627*	Š. is owed 5 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3445:3 // 3445*:5	625*	Š. is owed 35 chains and 1 <i>lutuqu</i> -implement.
Š.	ND 3464:6 = CTMMA 3 2	624*	Š. is owed 3 <i>emāru</i> of barley.
Š.	ND 3453:2	623*	Š. is owed 3 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3457:3	623*	Š. receives land for cultivation for 3 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3461:2	623*	Š. is owed 3 shekels of silver.
Š.	ND 3427:6, r. 1	622*	Š. buys a "bought (slave)" for 1 ½ minas of silver.
Š.	ND 3450:3	622*	Š. is owed 1 <i>emāru</i> of barley.
Š.	ND 3465:2	621*	Š. is owed 1 goose.
Š.	ND 3442:5	618*	Š. is owed 5 ½ shekels of silver and 3 <i>emāru</i> 4(?) <i>sātu</i> of barley by the bird fattener Ūrdu-Issār (33).
Š.	ND 3458:5	618*	Š. is owed 5 shekels of silver and 1 <i>emāru</i> 5 <i>sātu</i> of barley.

Š.		ND 3428:5	dl	Š. buys the cook Mannu-kī-Šamaš (1) from the weaver Rībāti (8).
Š.		ND 3429:6, r. 3	dl	Š. buys a slave for 41 shekels of silver.
Š.		ND 3431:5	unc. ⁹¹	He is owed silver of Ištar.
Š.		ND 3466c:3	dl	Š. acquires land for cultivation for 3 shekels of silver.
•	Īur-ašu (2) ša-rēšī⁹² Assur (after Assurbanipal)			
Ī.	SAG	STAT 2 198 r. 1	623*	Ī. is witness when a fine is imposed.
•	Mār-šarri-ilā'i (4) ša-rēšī Guzana (after Assurbanipal)			
M.		TH 112:11	622*	M. is witness in a debt note of silver.
M.		TH 109 r. 8'	613*	M. is probably also witness when a female slave is sold.
M.	SAG	TH 113 r. 3	nd	M. is witness in another debt note of silver.
•	Milkī (1) ša-rēšī Guzana (after Assurbanipal)			
M.		TH 108 r. 9	625*	M. is witness in a debt note of grain.
M.		TH 112:12	622*	M. is witness in a debt note of silver.
M.		TH 109 r. 5'	613*	M. is witness when a female slave is sold.
M.:	(for SAG in r. 3)	TH 113 r. 4	nd	M. is witness in another debt note of silver.
•	Nabū-killanni (3) ša-rēšī Nineveh (7 th century)			
N.:	(for LÚ* .SAG in r. 12)	SAA 14 473 r. 13	dl	Together with a colleague N. is witness when land is sold.

⁹¹ The date formula bears the name Ša-ili-tadammeq who is not attested as eponym elsewhere.

⁹² He might be identical with Īur-ašu recorded as a witness or a creditor of silver in STAT 3 78 r. 12 (632*); 87 r. 14; 95:2, see Faist 2007: 130 and Mattila, PNA 2/I 481–2 s.v. Īur-waši 6–11, for other possible identifications.

- **Nabū-šarru-ušur (56) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (7th century)
N. LÚ.SAG
N. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 14 54 r. 7 dl N. is witness in a fragment of a legal document, ascribed to the business records of cohort commander Kakkullānu.
SAA 14 473 r. 8 dl N. is witness in a land sale document.
- **Šumāia (23) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (7th century)
Š. LÚ*.SAG
SAA 14 473 r. 12 dl Together with a colleague Š. is witness when land is sold.
- **[Mannu-k]i-Adad (-) ša-rēši(?)**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[M. ...] LÚ*.SAG
SAA 14 262:1-2 dl [M.] sells a house according to a broken legal document.
- **[...]šu (-) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.SAG
SAA 14 364 r. 2' dl He is witness when the gardener Paranu[...] (-) sells a slave.
- **Aššūr-[...] (-) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (unc.)
A. LÚ*!.SAG!
SAA 7 113:2-3 nd/dl One tunic (*gulēnu*) is said to be in the hands of A. in an administrative record.
- **Ilu-ušur (-) ša-rēši**
unc. (unc.)
I. LÚ.SAG
BM 105158:1-2 nd Owner of an inscribed cylinder seal depicting clean-shaved worshippers.
(Collon 2001: 129, Pl. XIX)

- **'kdbn (-) ša-rēši**, son of grbd
unc. (unc.)
'kdbn br grbd srs'
Watanabe 1993:
117, no. 6.10:1–3
nd
Owner of an inscribed cylinder seal.
 - **[...]-ana-kaša-atkal (-) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (unc.)
'PN' LÚ* .SAG
SAA 11 196:4
nd/dl
Mentioned in a fragment of an administrative document.
 - **[...]-Issār (-) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (unc.)
'PN' LÚ* .SAG
SAA 11 196:2
nd/dl
Mentioned in a fragment of an administrative document.
 - **[...] (-) ša-rēši**
Nineveh (unc.)
[PN] LÚ* .SAG
SAA 11 184 r. 5'
nd/dl
Mentioned in a fragment of an administrative document.
14. *ša-rēši* (unnamed)
- **ša-rēši**
Kalhu (Aššurmasirpal II)
LÚ* .SAG-ka'
SAA 12 83:25'
nd/dl
The *ša-rēši* of a future prince is addressed in a broken section of the decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1).

- *ša-rēšis*
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and later)

LÚ.[SA]G ¹ .MEŠ ⁹³	CTN 1 14:6	785	They receive 1 <i>šapputu</i> -bowl of wine.
LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ	CTN 1 3 i 12	784	They receive 1 <i>sūtu</i> 4 <i>qū</i> of wine.
LÚ.S[AG].ME	CTN 1 5:4	778	They receive [1?] <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
LÚ*.[S]AG ¹ .[MEŠ] ⁹⁴	CTN 1 8:11	751/ 747/735	They receive 1 <i>sūtu</i> of wine.
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ	CTN 1 1 ii 17	nyd	They receive 1 <i>šapputu</i> -bowl of wine.
L[Ú*].SAG.MEŠ] ⁹⁵	CTN 1 2 i 11	nyd	They receive 1 <i>šapputu</i> -bowl of wine.
LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ	CTN 1 4:15	nyd	They receive 1 <i>šapputu</i> -bowl of wine.
[LÚ.S]AG ¹ .MEŠ ⁹⁶	CTN 1 20 r. 2'	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ	CTN 1 33 ii 2	nyd	They receive 2 <i>šapputu</i> -bowls wine during the substitute king ritual.
[L]Ú [?] .SAG.M[EŠ]	CTN 3 143 ii 5'	nd/dl	They receive [x] amount of wine.
- *ša-rēši*
Mezê (Shalmaneser V)

LÚ*.SAG	SAA 6 23:6	727	The unnamed <i>ša-rēši</i> bought an estate of 2 hectares in Mezê for 5 shekels of silver.
---------	------------	-----	--

⁹³ Restoration according to collations by Parpola (1976–7: 168).

⁹⁴ Possible restoration according to collations by Parpola (1976–7: 167).

⁹⁵ Restoration according to collations by Parpola (1976–7: 167).

⁹⁶ Restoration according to collations by Parpola (1976–7: 168).

- *ša-rēšis*
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.'SAG'.MEŠ / LÚ*.[SAG'.MEŠ]
SAA 19 195 r. 15, 18 nd
In a letter of Nabû-ahḫē[...] to the king the sender informs the king that *ša-rēšis* have been brought to the palace.
- LÚ*.'SAG'.MEŠ-*re*
ND 2386+ r. ii 4 dl
Mentioned in a broken section of an administrative document dealing with military personnel.
- *ša-rēšis*
Kalhu/active in Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ*.'SAG'.MEŠ nd
According to what seems to be a letter order, *ša-rēšis* had to pick up limestone and bring it to Dur-Šarrukin.
- *ša-rēšī*
Kalhu/from Urartu (8th century)
LÚ.SAG KUR.*it-ra-á[r-ṭa-a.a]*
CTN 3 136:1 nd/dl
He is listed in what seems to be a fragment of a wine list.
- *ša-rēšis*
probably Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ*.'SAG'.MEŠ nd
In a letter to the king the sender (name lost) states that the *ša-rēšis* are going to petition the king because the sender took their bricks.
- *ša-rēšī*
Arrapha (Sargon II)
L[Ú.S]A[G]
SAA 17 173:4' nd
According to a fragmentary letter to the king, the latter has sent a *ša-rēšī* to Arrapha.
- *ša-rēšī*
Kumme (Sargon II)
LÚ*.'SAG nd
The *ša-rēšī* who is in Kumme, according to a letter to the king (sender lost), might have been an Assyrian delegate.

- *ša-rēši*
Kar-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ* .SAG
SAA 19 193:14
nd
In a broken section of a letter to the king Nabû-bēlu-ka'in, possibly governor of Kar-Šarrukin, refers to a disloyal *ša-rēši*.
- *ša-rēši*
Mazamua (Sargon II)
LÚ* .SAG
SAA 19 195 r. 12
nd
In a letter of Nabû-aḫḫē-[...] to the king the sender reports that the *ša-rēši* who was appointed in Mazamua did not come to see his land.
- *ša-rēši*(?)
probably Tušhan (Sargon II)
LÚ* .S[AG]
SAA 5 34:10
nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter of Ša-Aššūr-dubbu, governor of Tušhan, to the king.
- *ša-rēšis*
Harran area (Sargon II)
SAG.MEŠ
SAA 11 219 i 23'
nd/dl
They are listed along with 20 hectares of land.
- *ša-rēšis*
Babylonia (Sargon II)
ša-re-ša-ni / ša'-re'-ši
SAA 17 139 r. 19,
20
nd
In a Babylonian letter of Šumu-kēn to Nergal-našir, *ša-rēšis* are mentioned in a broken section after a detailed report about the distribution of silver amounts.
- *ša-rēši*
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ* .SA[G]
SAA 5 170:5
nd
Dīnānu informs the king that Išme-ilu, otherwise known as cohort commander, was appointed to the service of the *ša-rēši* about whom the king had written previously.

• <i>ša-rēšī</i> unc. (Sargon II) LÚ*.SA[G]	SAA 5 48 r. 2	nd	He is mentioned in a broken passage in a letter of Aššūr-pātunu to the king dealing with runaway servants of the mule-stable attendant Ilu-illika.
LÚ.SA[G]	SAA 17 62 r. 2'	nd	A <i>ša-rēšī</i> is mentioned in a Babylonian letter of Nabû-taklāk to the governor.
LÚ.SA[G]	SAA 17 159:6	nd	In a letter of Nabû-ili to the king the sender refers to a <i>ša-rēšī</i> the king has asked about previously.
• <i>ša-rēšī</i> (?) - (Sennacherib) LÚ [šá-SA]G'	SAA 12 87 r. 16	dl	Together with the <i>ša-ziqni</i> he is mentioned in the broken penalty clause of a royal dedication of 41 people to the goddess Zababa.
• <i>ša-rēšī</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon) LÚ.SAG	SAA 2 6 § 14 163	672	It is also stated that in case a <i>ša-ziqni</i> or a <i>ša-rēšī</i> carries out rebellion, one should protect Assurbanipal.
LÚ.SAG	SAA 2 6 § 20 221	672	The <i>ša-ziqni</i> and the <i>ša-rēšī</i> are also mentioned as possible usurpers.
LÚ.SAG	SAA 2 6 § 22 238	672	It is also stated that if a <i>ša-ziqni</i> or a <i>ša-rēšī</i> kills Assurbanipal after the early death of Esarhaddon and seizes the throne, one should be hostile to him.
LÚ.SAG	SAA 2 6 § 27 321	672	The <i>ša-rēšī</i> among others is referred to as possible instigator of conspiracy.
L[Ú.SAG]	SAA 2 6 § 29 338	672	The <i>ša-ziqni</i> and the <i>ša-rēšī</i> are once again mentioned as possible conspirators.

LÚ.SAG	SAA 10 222:11	nd	The chief exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur writes to the king that he will come for the two patients in the “New House” tomorrow since a <i>ša-rēši</i> took him to the ill son of Dammī today.
LÚ*.SAG	SAA 10 359 r. 4’	nd	The scholar Mār-Issār asks for a <i>ša-rēši</i> to be appointed in Akkad.
• <i>ša-rēšis</i> Nineveh (Esarhaddon)			
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ	SAA 2 6 § 6 78	672	It is stated in the succession treaty of Esarhaddon that if someone hears something unsuitable from a <i>ša-ziqni</i> or a <i>ša-rēši</i> he should tell it to Assurbanipal.
[L]Ú.SAG.MEŠ	SAA 2 8:7	nd	Together with the <i>ša-ziqni</i> and others they are addressed in the treaty of Zakūtu.
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ	SAA 2 8 r. 21	nd	In the same treaty they and the <i>ša-ziqni</i> are mentioned as possible insurgents.
[L]Ú.SAG.MEŠ]	SAA 4 9:3	nd	It is asked in a query what will happen when the <i>rab ša-rēši</i> Ša-Nabū-šū who has gone together with <i>ša-rēšis</i> sets up camp.
[L]Ú].SAG.MEŠ / LÚ.SAG // [LÚ.SAG.MEŠ] // ‘SAG’ ¹ .MEŠ	SAA 4 139:4, 15 // 144:4 // 145:2’	nd	They are mentioned along with the <i>ša-ziqni</i> as possible insurgents against Esarhaddon in a query to the sun-god.
[LÚ.š]d–SAG.MEŠ	SAA 4 142:4	nd	They are mentioned along with the <i>ša-ziqni</i> as possible insurgents against crown prince Assurbanipal in a query to the sun-god.
SAG.MEŠ	SAA 7 148 r. ii 3’	nd/dl	They are mentioned in an account of ceremonial banquet.
SAG ¹ .MEŠ	SAA 7 149 r. ii’ 5’	nd/dl	Cf. SAA 7 148.
‘SAG ¹ ’.MEŠ	SAA 7 150 ii 16’	nd/dl	Cf. SAA 7 148.

- **One of the *ša-rēšis***
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[1-en LÚ.SAG.MEŠ]
SAA 2 4 r. 6' nd/681
According to the oath to be taken on the occasion of the accession of Esarhaddon one has to inform Esarhaddon in the case he hears an ugly word from a *ša-ziqni* or a *ša-rēšī*.
- **1-en LÚ.SAG.MEŠ**
SAA 10 283 r. 5' nd
In a letter of the exorcist Nabū-nādin-šumi to the king there is a servant said to be in the presence of a *ša-rēšī*.
- ***ša-rēšis***
Nineveh/from Šubria (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ
RINAP 4 33 r. iii 17' nd
They are taken as booty from Šubria.
- ***ša-rēšis* “who bear arms”**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ.SAG.MEŠ *ša til-li ÍL*].MEŠ-*ú-ni*
SAA 4 142:12 nd
They are mentioned along with the “armed *ša-ziqni*” as possible insurgents against crown prince Assurbanipal in a query to the sun-god.
- **LÚ.SAG.MEŠ *ša til-li ÍL-ú-ni***
SAA 4 144:12 nd
Mentioned in another query, cf. SAA 4 139.
- **“Recruited(?)” *ša-rēšis***
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ *rak-ku-ú-ti*
SAA 4 142:7 nd
They are mentioned as possible insurgents against the crown prince Assurbanipal in a query to the sun-god.
- ***ša-rēšis***
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SAG.ME
SAA 18 126 r. 7' nd
Attached to an astrological report of the scholar Bēl-ušēzib to the king, the sender refers to *ša-rēšis* and silver which will not be handed over (passage broken).

- **2 *ša-rēšis* and another *ša-rēši***
 Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
 2 LÚ.SAG.MEŠ / LÚ.SAG
 SAA 13 178 r. 4, 6 nd
 Šumu-iddina, probably šatammu of Esagil, tells the king that two runaway *ša-rēšis* were hidden by the delegate and sent to Borsippa. He also informs the king about the capture of another *ša-rēši*.
 SAA 16 200 r. 7' nd
 Together with the *ša-ziqni* they are said “to eat bread” [under the protection of the king] in a fragment of a letter.
- ***ša-rēši***
 unc. (Esarhaddon)
 LÚ*.SAG
 SAA 16 89:16 nd
 According to a letter to the king (sender lost), he was sent to take equipment out of Aššūr-nāšir’s house.
- **One of the *ša-rēšis***
 unc. (Esarhaddon)
 1-en LÚ*.SAG.MEŠ
 SAA 16 90:4' nd
 According to a broken letter to the king, a *ša-rēši* is asked to come to give orders.
- ***ša-rēšis***
 - (Esarhaddon)
 [LÚ*]1.SAG.MEŠ
 SAA 16 60 l.e. 3 nd
 In the concluding section of a letter of Nabū-rēhtu-ušur to the king, *ša-rēšis* are possibly referred to as danger.
- ***ša-rēši***
 Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
 LÚ.SAG
 SAA 8 19 r. 8 nd
 In an astrological report of the astrologer Issār-šumu-ēreš to the king, the sender asks for a *ša-rēši* to open the seal and to supervise a drawing of stars on to the Akkadian tablet.

LÚ.SAG.MEŠ	SAA 8 502:5	nd	According to an astrological report to the king it is because of them that the king did not receive the report of the sender.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● One ša-rēšī Nineveh (Ešarhaddon or Assurbanipal) I-en LÚ.SAG 	SAA 10 84 r. 7	nd	The astrologer Akkullānu writes to the king about an unfavourable sign by the moon which should be confirmed by a <i>ša-rēšī</i> with a sharp eye.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ša-rēšīs Nineveh/from Gambulu (Assurbanipal) LÚ.šur-ut-SAG.MEŠ // [LÚ.šur-ut]-SAG.MEŠ // RINAP 5/1 3 vi 23 // LÚ.šur-ut-SAG.[MEŠ] // LÚ.šur-ut-SAG.MEŠ // 4 vi 26 // 6 vii 27 // [LÚ.šur-ut-SAG.MEŠ] // 7 vi 38' // 8 vii 28 	RINAP 5/1 9 v 62 // 11 vi 89	649*– 647*	According to this inscription Assurbanipal took them as booty from Gambulu.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ša-rēšīs Nineveh/from Elam (Assurbanipal) LÚ.SAG.MEŠ 	RINAP 5/1 9 v 62 // 11 vi 89	646*/ 645*	They were taken as booty from Elam.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ša-rēšīs Nineveh/from Babylon (Assurbanipal) LÚ.šur-ut-SAG.MEŠ-šū // LÚ.šur-ut-SAG.MEŠ-šū // RINAP 5/1 7 viii 67 LÚ.[šur-ut]-SAG.MEŠ-šū // 8 viii 26''' // 38:5 	RINAP 5/1 7 viii 67 // 8 viii 26''' // 38:5	647*	They were taken as booty from the court of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn in Babylon.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ša-rēšīs Bit-Dakkuri (Assurbanipal) LÚ.SAG.MEŠ 	SAA 18 56:8	nd	In a letter to the king, Inūrta-ahu-[...] reports that Nabû-ušallim, successor of Šamaš-ibni, leader of the tribe of Bit-Dakkuri, refuses to hand over the renegade scholars, <i>ša-rēšīs</i> and soldiers until a royal message and a <i>ša-qurbūtī</i> arrive.

- *ša-rēšis*
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ

CT 54 182:10
nd
In a letter of Nabû-rīm-ilāni and Nergal-nāšir of the Gurasimmu tribe to the king, *ša-rēšis* are mentioned in the first section (broken).
 - **One *ša-rēši***
Babylonia/from [...] (Assurbanipal)
1-en LÚ.SAG šá U[RU? x x]

CT 54 26:9'
nd
He is mentioned in a fragmentary Babylonian letter to the king.
15. *ša-rēši* in non-documentary texts
- “Successors” of *ša-rēšis*
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
ha!-pe-te šá LÚ.SAG.MEŠ

SAA 9 7:4
nd
In a prophecy of Mullissu addressing the crown prince, the latter will rule over the sons of the *ša-ziqni* together with the successors of the *ša-rēši* when he becomes king.
 - *ša-rēši*
LÚ.SAG' / LÚ'.SAG (ll. 3', 5', r. 13) /
LÚ'.SAG-šá (l. 16') / [LÚ].SAG (r. 1) /
šá=LÚ.SAG (r. 10)

SAA 3 20:2', 3', 5',
16', r. 1, 10, 13
nd
He is repeatedly mentioned in a fragment of a literary text.
 - *ša-rēšis*
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ

SAA 3 52:4'
nd
They are mentioned in a fragment of a literary text.
 - *ša-rēšis*
LÚ*.SAG.ME

SAA 20 5:3'
nd
In a ritual text it is said that the priests leave the courtyard(?) of the palace and they enter.

16. *ša-rēšī* in a lexical list
- *ša-rēšīs*
LÚ.SAG.MEŠ
MSL 12 238 i 10
nd
Mentioned after the *rab ša-rēšī* in a lexical list from Nineveh.
17. Subordinates of the *ša-rēšī*
- 17.1. *bēl piqīti* (official)
- **Asallūhi-nādin-aḫi (1) Official in the service of Milki-nūrī (1), *ša-rēšī* of the queen**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A.
SAAB 1 68:1, 9
nd
A. underwent a river ordeal.
- 17.2. *rab kiširi* (cohort commander)
- **Īšme-iltu (3) Possibly cohort commander of a *ša-rēšī***
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SA[G *ša*] LUGAL *be-lí iq-bu-[u-ni]* [m]a-a i-
pa-ni-šú [x x x] I. ina 'pa-ni'-[x x]
SAA 5 170:5-8
nd
Dīnānu informs the king that I. was appointed to the service of the *ša-rēšī* about whom the king wrote previously.
 - I. LÚ*.GAL-*ki-šir*
SAA 5 234:4'
nd
The same(?) I. is mentioned in a broken letter to the king.
- 17.3. *ša-pūlēšu* (limestone man)
- **Kišir-Issār (5) Limestone man**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
K. LÚ*.šá-pu-li-šú'
SAA 7 47 ii 1-2
nd
In an administrative document dealing with silver amounts handled by *ša-rēšīs*, K. is said to have entered into the service of the *ša-rēšī* Šulmu-šarri (12).

17.4. *urdu* (servant)

- **Ubru-Nabû (21) Servant of the *ša-rēši***
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
U. ARAD¹ *ša¹-SAG* ND 2329 r. 12 664 U. is first witness when a boy is sold.
- **Ilu-[...]-Juāni (-) Servant of *Šalam-šarri-iqbi (15)*, royal *ša-rēši***
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
I. / ARAD.M[JEŠ] *ša Š.* / [ARAD[?].MEŠ[?] *ša[?] LÚ[?]* BATSH 6 71:3–4, 630* Together with his colleagues I. is involved in a court
SAG²-MAN[?]] 13–14 case.
- **Gurdānu (-) Servant of *Šalam-šarri-iqbi (15)*, royal *ša-rēši***
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
Q. / ARAD.M[JEŠ] *ša Š.* / [ARAD[?].MEŠ[?] *ša[?] LÚ[?]* BATSH 6 71:3–4, 630* Together with his colleagues Q. is involved in a court
SAG²-MAN[?]] 13–14 case.
- **[...] (-) Servant of *Šalam-šarri-iqbi (15)*, royal *ša-rēši***
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] / ARAD.M[JEŠ] *ša Š.* / [ARAD[?].MEŠ[?] *ša[?]* BATSH 6 71:3–4, 630* Together with his colleagues he is involved in a court
LÚ[?].SAG²-MAN[?]] 13–14 case.

PALACE SERVANT

1. *urad ekalli* as domestics
 - **Barzūta (2) Palace servant and cook**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
B. ARAD-¹KUR[?] / PAB 5 LÚ*.MU.MEŠ ND 2498 r. 18', 23' nd/dl B. is one of five cooks listed in an administrative document.

- **Mannu-ki-URU[...]** (4) **Palace servant and tailor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
M. / PAB 3 ARAD-KUR / PAB 6 LÚ*.ka-šir.MEŠ ND 2498:1', 2', 7' nd/dl
He is mentioned in an administrative document listing personnel. The other two palace servants are lost.
 - **[...]** (-) **2 palace servants and tailors**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
[PNS] / PAB 3 A[R]AD-KUR / PAB 6 LÚ*.ka-šir.MEŠ ND 2498:1', 2', 7' nd/dl
They are listed together with their colleague Mannu-ki-[...] (4) in an administrative document.
 - **Bakers (of the class of) palace servant**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.NINDA.MEŠ-ni ARAD KUR CTN 1 35 ii 6' nd/dl
They receive 5 *qit* of bread or beer.
2. *wrad ekalli* (named)
- **[...].mī (-) Palace servant**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
[PN] LÚ'.ARAD'-É.GAL Edubba 10 47 r. 6' dl
He is witness when land is sold.
 - **Šil-Nabū (I) Palace servant of the Central City (of Nineveh)**
Nineveh (Shalmaneser IV)
Š. ARAD-É.GAL ša MURUB₄-URU / Š. Edubba 10 18:1-2, 9 779
Š. sells a house for 80 minas of copper to the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).
 - **Šarru-de'iq (I) Palace(?) servant(?) (or royal servant)**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
Š. LÚ'.ARAD'-KUR? (or MAN?) Edubba 10 18 r. 24 779
Š. is witness when his colleague Šil-Nabū (I) sells a house to the nephew of the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).

- **Bēl-ješir (4) Palace servant**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
B. / PAB 4 ARAD-KUR
ND 2498 r. 26', 28' nd/dl B. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Mannu-ki-Arbail (1) Palace servant**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
M. / PAB 4 ARAD-KUR
ND 2498 r. 24', 28' nd/dl M. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Nabū-tukulti-enši (1) Palace servant**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 4 ARAD-KUR
ND 2498 r. 27', 28' nd/dl N. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Šil-Nabū (2) Palace servant**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
Š. / PAB 4 ARAD-KUR
ND 2498 r. 25', 28' nd/dl Š. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Išme-ilu (6) Palace servant**
Kalhu (8th century)
I. LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL⁹⁷
CTN 2 63 r. 6' dl I. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Nabū-nūrka-lāmur (2) Palace servant**
Kalhu (8th century)
N. LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL
CTN 2 155 i 3-4 nd N. is listed in an inventory of people and items of wood and metal as well as textiles.
- **Ērisu (2) Palace servant**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
Ē. / P[AB 2] LÚ.[AR]AD-É.GAL
CTN 3 56:2. 3 668 Together with his colleague Ērisu sells land.

⁹⁷ See Pruzsinszky (PNA 1/II 585 s.v. Išme-ilu 6). The edition (Postgate 1973: 97) reads 'LÚ*.NIMGIR-É.GAL'; judging by the copy on Pl. 34, ARAD is plausible.

- **Maud[a...?]** (-) **Palace servant**
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal)
M. / P[AB 2] LÚ.[AR]AD-É.GAL
CTN 3 56:1, 3
668
Together with his colleague Ērisu (2) he sells land.
- **Šulih̄** (1) **Palace servant**, son of Nabû-nādin-aḫi
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
Š. DUMU N. ARAD-KUR // Š. DUMU N.
ARAD-KUR
SAAB 5 49:3-4 //
49*:1-2
622*
Š. owes 10 shekels of silver.
- 3. *wrad ekalli* (unnamed)
- **Palace servant(s)**
Nineveh (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ.AR[AD]-É'.GAL
SAA 12 76:14'
797
They are mentioned in a collection of decrees along with arrowheads to be given to the palace herald.
- **Palace servant**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL
TH 63 b.e. 8
nd
He receives one garment for the campaign.
- **Palace servant(s)**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL-*lim*
TH 58 r. 1
nd
Listed along with 14 *emāru* 3 *sūtu* (of grain) in an administrative document.
- **38 palace servants**
Arbail (Sargon II)
38 'LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL'
ND 2803 i 4
dl
They receive 10[2? *emāru* 7? *sūtu*] of grain or a cereal product according to an administrative document.

- **39 palace servants**
Kilizi (Sargon II)
39 LÚ* .ARAD-É.GAL' ND 2803 i 12 dl They receive 105 *emāru* [3? *sātu*] of grain or a cereal product according to an administrative document.
- **77 palace servants**
Adian (Sargon II)
77 LÚ* .ARAD-É.GAL ND 2803 i 23 dl They receive [2?]08 *emāru* 8 *sātu* of grain or a cereal product according to an administrative document.
- **Palace servants**
Kar-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ* .ARAD-É.GAL / LÚ* .ARAD-É.GAL'.MEŠ SAA 19 193:10, 18 nd In a letter from Nabû-bêlu-ka''in, also known as governor of Kar-Šarrukin, they are mentioned in connection with a field (passage broken).
- **Palace servant(s)**
town of Hanuru (Sargon II)
LÚ* .ARAD-É.GAL SAA 6 27:5' dl His / their (estate?) adjoins land sold to the royal *ša-rēši* Zāzî (1).
- **Palace servant**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ* .ARAD-É.GAL SAA 5 294 r. 9 nd In a broken letter to the king the sender (name lost) asks for palace servants or bearded courtiers for to stand guard with him.
- **Palace servant**
unc. (probably Sargon II)
[L]Ú* .ARAD-É.GAL SAA 19 209:5' nd In a broken letter to the king it is said that a palace servant was appointed to supervise the distributed fields.

- **Kassite palace servant**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ.ARAD-É.GAL KUR.*kaš-ša-a-a*
CTN 1 1 r. iii 8
nyd
He receives [x] *qit* of wine.
 - **62 palace servants**
Kalhu (8th century)
PAB 62 LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL-[MEŠ]
CTN 3 130:7'
nd
They are summed up in a fragment of an administrative record.
 - **8 palace servants**
Kalhu (8th century)
8 LÚ*.ARA[D-É.G]AL
ND 2485:1'
nd
Together with other servants, they are summed up as 836 soldiers or workmen.
 - **Palace servant**
Nineveh/from Babylon (Sennacherib)
LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-É.GAL
RINAP 3/1 1:33
697
After the victory over Marduk-apla-iddina, Sennacherib states that he took among others palace servants as booty.
 - **I(?) palace servant**
Nineveh/probably from Carchemish (8th or 7th century)
*1' ARAD-KUR
SAA 11 170:11
nd
He is listed together with other deportees.
4. *urad ekalli* in a non-documentary text
- **Palace servant(?)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ.ARAD]-É'.GAL
SAA 9 3 iv 26
nd
In a collection of oracles ("Covenant of Aššur") Ištar of Arbail states that she will impale by their teeth those palace servants who rebelled against the king.

5. *urad ekalli* in a lexical list• **Palace servant**

LÚ.ARAD-KUR

MSL 12 238 r. vi 26

nd

Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, before the māṛ ekalli.

6. *bēl narkabti* (chariot-owner) of the *urad ekalli*• **Chariot owners of the palace servant**

Kalhu (Adad-nēṛāri III)

EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ LÚ*.ARAD-É.GAL

CTN 1 3 i 25

784

They receive 4 *qū* of wine.

KI.MIN ARAD-É.GAL

CTN 1 6:13

ydl

They receive [x] amount of wine.

("ditto" refers to EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ in l. 12)

[E]N-GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ARAD-KUR

CTN 1 10 r. 3

nd/dl

They receive [x] amount of wine.

'KI'.MIN¹.AR[AD-É.GAL]

CTN 1 11:5'

nd/dl

They receive 4 *qū* of wine.("ditto" refers to EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ] in l. 4')⁹⁸

EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ARAD[-KUR/É.GAL]

CTN 1 13 r. 6'

nd/dl

They receive 3 *qū* of wine.

EN-GIŠ.GIGIR]'ARAD-[KUR?]

CTN 1 19:14

dl

They receive 5? *qū* of wine.

[LÚ*.EN-GIŠ.GIGIR].MEŠ 'ARAD-KUR

CTN 1 31:4'

nd/dl

They receive [x] amount of wine.

They receive [x] *qū* of wine during the substitute king ritual.EN-GIŠ.GI[GIGIR.MEŠ?] ARAD-KUR⁹⁹

CTN 3 121:5

nd/dl

They receive 3 *qū* of wine.

[KI.MIN?] ARAD-KUR

CTN 3 136 r. 4'

nd/dl

He is mentioned in a fragment of an administrative document, possibly a wine list.¹⁰¹("ditto" refers to EN.GIŠ.GIGIR in r. 3')¹⁰⁰⁹⁸ The restoration follows Parpola (1976-7: 168).⁹⁹ This is preceded by *lūa*-[...] in the same line; we do not expect a personal name here.¹⁰⁰ Though this is not given in the edition, it is likely because of the *bēl narkabti* mentioned in the previous line.¹⁰¹ According to Dailey and Postgate (1984: 248) it may date to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III since the city Sarragitu, which is mentioned here, also occurs in his inscriptions (and possibly later, see SAA 18 197 r. 7).

ZARRIQU

1. *zarriqu* (unnamed)

- **1500 *zarriqu* of Aššurnaširpal's palaces**
Kalhu (Aššurnaširpal II)

1 LIM 5 ME LÚ*.za-ri-qi.MEŠ šá É.GAL.MEŠ-a RIMA 2 Together with many others they were given food and
A.0.101.30:148 nd drink for ten days on the occasion of the inauguration of
Kalhu according to the inscription of Aššurnaširpal II.

- ***zarriqu en route and of the governors***

Kalhu (Aššurnaširpal II)

LÚ*.zar-ri-qi ša 'KASKAL' / LÚ*.za-ri-qi They are mentioned in a broken section of the decree
of appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1).

LÚ*.za-ri-qi ša KASKAL / LÚ*.za-riq-qi ša According to the decree appointment of Nergal-āpil-
LÚ*.EN.NAM.MEŠ kūmū'a (1) they are assigned to him.

LÚ.za-ri-qi ša [KASKAL] They are mentioned in a fragment duplicating SAA 12 83.

BEARDED COURTIER

1. House of the *ša-ziqni*

- **House of a bearded courtier**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

É (...) ša-ziq-ni / ša-ziq-ni The exorcist Urdu-Gula laments his current situation
and describes former times when he did not enter a
house of a *ša-rēši* or a *ša-ziqni* without permission and
taught them both alike.

SAA 10 294:21, 30

nd

2. *ša-ziqni* as domestics
- **Aḫu-dūrī (2) Bearded man and tailor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
A. / PAB 3 *ša-ziq-[ni]* / PAB 6 LÚ*.ka-šīr.MEŠ
ND 2498:4', 6', 7'
nd/dl
A. is recorded in an administrative document listing personnel.
 - **Šērānu (1) Bearded man and tailor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
Š. PAB 3 *ša-ziq-[ni]* / PAB 6 LÚ*.ka-šīr.MEŠ
ND 2498:3', 6', 7'
nd/dl
Š. is recorded in an administrative document listing personnel.
 - **Šumma-Adad (1) Bearded man and tailor**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
Š. PAB 3 *ša-ziq-[ni]* / PAB 6 LÚ*.ka-šīr.MEŠ
ND 2498:5', 6', 7'
nd/dl
Š. is recorded in an administrative document listing personnel.
3. *ša-ziqni* (named)
- **Kubābu-uarri (1) Bearded courtier**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
K. / PAB '13' *ša-SU*₆
ND 2443+ v 12, 13
nd/dl
K. is one of 13 "bearded courtiers" summed up in an administrative list of personnel.
 - **Quia (2) Bearded courtier**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
Q. / 'PAB' 6 LÚ*.ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ ii 2, 3
nd/dl
Q. is summed up together with 5 colleagues and mentioned along with 48 deportees(?).
 - **Šiṣi (1) Bearded courtier**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
Š. / 'PAB' 6 LÚ*.ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ ii 1, 3
nd/dl
Š. is summed up together with 5 colleagues and mentioned along with 48 deportees(?).

- **Šarru-lū-dāri (I) Bearded courtier**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
Š. / PAB '13' ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ v 11, 13 nd/dl Š. is one of 13 “bearded courtiers” summed up in an administrative list of personnel.
- **[...] (I) 4 bearded courtiers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
[PNs] / 'PAB' 6 LÚ* ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ ii 3 nd/dl They are summed up together with 2 colleagues and mentioned along with 48 deportees(?).
- **[...] (-) 4 bearded courtiers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
4 LÚ* ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ iv 1 nd/dl They are summed up in a list of personnel.
- **[...] (-) 32 bearded courtiers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
'32?' LÚ* ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ iv 9 nd/dl They are summed up in a broken section of a list of personnel. This sum possibly includes those of lines ii 3 and iv 1.
- **[...] (I) 11 bearded courtiers**¹⁰²
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
[PNs] / PAB '13' ša-SU₆
ND 2443+ v 1–10, 13 nd/dl Together with two colleagues they are summed up as 13 “bearded courtiers” in a list of personnel.
- **Nabū-dūru-ušur (5) Bearded courtier**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
N. / PAB 2 ša-zīq-nu
ND 2498 r. 29', 31' nd/dl Together with colleagues N. is listed in an administrative record of personnel.

¹⁰² Some names are partly preserved (A[b? ...], Nu[...], Abdi[...], Atta[...], Adda[...], Bur[...]), others are entirely lost.

- **Šamaš-bēlu-ušur (3) Bearded courtier**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
Š. / PAB 2 *šá-ziq-nu*
ND 2498 r. 30', 31' nd/dl Together with colleagues Š. is listed in an administrative record of personnel.

- **Aššūr-ašaréd (2) Bearded courtier(?)**
unc. (Sargon II)
A. LÚ*.*šá-z[iq³-ni]*
SAA 1 260 r. 18 nd A. is mentioned in a broken letter to the king concerned with captives.

- **Quia (3) Bearded courtier**
Nuhub (Sargon II)
Q. LÚ*.*šá-ziq¹-ni*
ABL 307:3 nd This royal announcement deals with Aššūr-nāšir who was a subordinate of the governor of Nuhub and in the charge of Q.

- **Bēl-nāšir (9) Bearded courtier (and exorcist)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
B. / 'LÚ¹.*ziq-na-nu*
SAA 10 257 r. 10, 12 nd The scholar Marduk-šakin-šumi proposes B. and other bearded courtiers to the king to fill the post of the sick exorcist Rēmūtu.

- **Nabū-le'ūtī (1) Bearded courtier and exorcist**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. / 'LÚ¹.*ziq-na-nu*
SAA 10 257 r. 9, 12 nd The scholar Marduk-šakin-šumi proposes N. and other bearded courtiers to the king to fill the post of the sick exorcist Rēmūtu.

- LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ / N.
SAA 10 290 r. 5', 6' nd The exorcist Urdu-Gula informs the king that N. and his son are with him. He wonders whether he can leave them alone.

- **Nabū-tarība-ušur (2) Bearded courtier (and exorcist)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. / 'LÚ¹.ziq-na-nu
SAA 10 257 r. 6, 12 nd
The scholar Marduk-šakin-šumi proposes N. and other bearded courtiers to the king to fill the post of the sick exorcist Rēmütu.
- **Šumāia (6) Bearded courtier (and exorcist)¹⁰³**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Š. / 'LÚ¹.ziq-na-nu
SAA 10 257 r. 7, 12 nd
The scholar Marduk-šakin-šumi proposes Š. and other bearded courtiers to the king to fill the post of the sick exorcist Rēmütu.
- **Urdu-Gula (6) Bearded courtier (and exorcist)¹⁰⁴**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
U. / 'LÚ¹.ziq-na-nu
SAA 10 257 r. 8, 12 nd
The scholar Marduk-šakin-šumi proposes U. and other bearded courtiers to the king to fill the post of the sick exorcist Rēmütu.
- **Kudū (1) Bearded courtier(?)**
Nineveh/from Sal[...] (unc.)
K. / [PAB] 4 ša-zī[q²-ni]
SAA 11 164 r. 4', 8' nd/dl
K. is listed as one of four bearded courtiers(?) taken as booty from the town of Sal[...].
- **Līlu (-) Bearded courtier(?)**
Nineveh/from Sal[...] (unc.)
L. / [PAB] 4 ša-zī[q²-ni]
SAA 11 164 r. 6', 8' nd/dl
L. is listed as one of four bearded courtiers(?) taken as booty from the town of Sal[...].

¹⁰³ He is also mentioned in other letters (SAA 10 273:13; 291 r. 1), as author of astrological reports (SAA 8 175 r. 8; 176 r. 1; 177 r. 5; 178 r. 6; 179 r. 6'; 180 r. 5') and as author of two letters to the crown prince (SAA 16 34:1; 35:2). He probably also occurs as a witness (SAA 6 314 r. 13). In addition, he is probably identical with Šumāia attested in the administrative list KAV 76; see Luukko, PNA 3/II 1282 s.v. Šumāia 25.

¹⁰⁴ For other attestations of this man and the reconstruction of his career see Jas, PNA 3/II 1402–3 s.v. Urdu-Gula 6.

- **Sambi (-) Bearded courtier(?)**
Nineveh/from Sal[...]
S. / [PAB] 4 *ša-zī[q³-ni]*
SAA 11 164 r. 5', 8' nd/dl
S. is listed as one of four bearded courtiers(?) taken as booty from the town of Sal[...].

- **Uta[...] (-) Bearded courtier(?)**
Nineveh/from Sal[...]
U. / [PAB] 4 *ša-zī[q²-ni]*
SAA 11 164 r. 7', 8' nd/dl
U. is listed as one of four bearded courtiers(?) taken as booty from the town of Sal[...].

- 4. *ša-ziqni* (unnamed)

- **Bearded courtiers**
Urartu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.*ša-SU₆.MEŠ*
SAA 5 91:11 nd
The official Aššūr-rēšūwa informs the king that 100 men, including *ša-rēšis* and *ša-ziqnis*, who conspired together with the chief tailor against the Urartian king, have been killed.

- **Bearded courtiers**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.*ša-[ziq]-ni*
SAA 5 294 r. 8 nd
In a broken letter to the king the sender (name lost) requests palace servants or bearded courtiers to stand guard with him.

- **Bearded courtiers**
Kalhu (8th century)
ša-SU₆
CTN 1 16:26' nd/dl
They receive [x] amount of wine.

- **Bearded courtier**
- (Sennacherib)
LÚ.šá-ziq-ni
SAA 12 87 r. 16 dl
Together with the *ša-rēši*(?) the *ša-ziqni* is mentioned in the broken penalty clause of a royal dedication of 41 people to the goddess Zababa.
- **Bearded courtiers**
- (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-ziq-[ni.MEŠ]
SAA 16 200 r. 7' nd
Together with the *ša-rēšis* they are said "to eat bread" [under the protection of the king] in a fragment of a letter.
- **Bearded courtier**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.šá-ziq-ni
SAA 2 4 r. 6' dl
According to the oath to be taken on the occasion of the accession of Esarhaddon one has to inform Esarhaddon in the case he hears an ugly word from a *ša-ziqni* or a *ša-rēši*.
- LÚ.šá-ziq-ni 672
SAA 2 6 § 6 78
Similar to the reference in SAA 2 4, it is stated in the succession treaty of Esarhaddon that if someone hears something unsuitable from a *ša-ziqni* or a *ša-rēši* he should tell it to Assurbanipal.
- LÚ.šá-ziq-ni 672
SAA 2 6 § 14 163
It is also stated that if a *ša-ziqni* or a *ša-rēši* carries out rebellion, one should protect Assurbanipal.
- LÚ.ziq-ni 672
SAA 2 6 § 20 221
The *ša-ziqni* and the *ša-rēši* are also mentioned as possible usurpers.
- LÚ.šá-ziq-ni 672
SAA 2 6 § 22 238
It is stated that if a *ša-ziqni* or a *ša-rēši* kills Assurbanipal after the early death of Esarhaddon and sizes the throne, one should be hostile to him.

LÚ.šá-ziq-ni	SAA 2 6 § 29 338	672	The <i>šá-ziqni</i> and the <i>šá-rēšši</i> are once again mentioned as possible instigators of conspiracy.
LÚ.šá-ziq'-ni	SAA 2 8:6	nd	Together with the <i>šá-rēššis</i> they are addressed in the treaty of Zakūtu.
LÚ.šá-ziq-ni	SAA 2 8 r. 21	nd	In the same treaty they are along with <i>šá-rēššis</i> mentioned as possible rebels.
šá-ziq-ni / šá-ziq-ni // šá-ziq-ni	SAA 4 139:4, 15 // 144:4	nd	They are mentioned along with the <i>šá-rēššis</i> as possible insurgents against king Esarhaddon in a query to the sun-god.
šá-ziq-ni	SAA 4 142:4	nd	They are mentioned along with the <i>šá-rēššis</i> as possible insurgents against crown prince Assurbanipal in a query to the sun-god.
[LÚ.šá-ziq-ni]	SAA 4 148:6	nd	They are mentioned along with the king's <i>šá-rēššis</i> as possible insurgents when Esarhaddon leaves Kalhu.
• Bearded courtiers “who bear arms” Nineveh (Esarhaddon)			
šá-ziq-ni šá til-li Ū-lu-ni	SAA 4 142:12	nd	Mentioned along with the “armed <i>šá-rēššis</i> ” as possible insurgents against the crown prince Assurbanipal in a query to the sun-god.
[LÚ.šá-ziq-ni šá til-li Ū-lu-ni]	SAA 4 144:13	nd	Mentioned along with the “armed <i>šá-rēššis</i> ” in another query, cf. SAA 4 139.
• Bearded courtiers Nineveh (Assurbanipal)			
šá-ziq-ni	ABL 1222:2 (de Vaan 1995: 304–7)	nd	Together with the “black-headed” they are mentioned in the salutation of a letter of [Bēl-ibni], military commander of the Sealand, to the king.

- **Bearded courtiers**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
ša-ziq-nu
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|---|
| ABL 1311+r. 36 (de Vaan 1995: 311–7) | nd | The title occurs in a letter of Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, to the king. It either serves as a general expression for some of the king's subjects or Bēl-ibni describes himself as “bearded one”. |
|--------------------------------------|----|---|
-
5. *ša-ziqni* in a lexical list
- **Bearded courtier(?)**
LÚ*.ŠU₆.[LÁ?]
- | | | |
|--------------------|----|--|
| MSL 12 233 r. vi 2 | nd | He is mentioned together with guards in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina. |
|--------------------|----|--|
-
6. Sons of the *ša-ziqni*
- **Sons of bearded courtiers**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
DUMU.MEŠ *ša ša-ŠU₆.MEŠ*
- | | | |
|-----------|----|--|
| SAA 9 7:4 | nd | In a prophecy of Mullissu addressing the crown prince, the latter will rule over the sons of the <i>ša-ziqni</i> together with the successors of the <i>ša-rēši</i> when king. |
|-----------|----|--|
-
7. *bēl narkabti* (chariot owner) of the *ša-ziqni*
- **Chariot owners of the bearded courtiers**
Kalhu (Adad-nēraī III)
EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.MJEŠ *ša-SU₆-n[i]*
[E]N-GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša-zi-iq-ni*
[EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.MJEŠ *ša-SU₆*
EN-GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša-ziq[-ni]*
- | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| CTN 1 14:26 | 785 | They receive 5(?) <i>qū</i> of wine. |
| CTN 1 3 i 27 | 784 | They receive [x] <i>qū</i> of wine. |
| CTN 1 10 r. 10 | nd/dl | They receive [x] amount of wine. |
| CTN 1 13:18' | nd/dl | They receive [x] amount of wine. |

8. *darru* in a lexical list• **Bearded courtier(?)**LÚ*.*da-a[r-ru]*

MSL 12 233 r. vi 1

nd

Mentioned together with guards in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina.

COURTIER

1. *mār ekalli* (named)• **Kurû (1) Courtier**

Nineveh (probably Sargon II)

K. DUMU-É.GAL

SAA 7 31 i 6'

nd/dl

K. listed along with 3 minas (of silver?) in an administrative document probably recording debts.

• **Nabû-[...] (5) Courtier**

Assur (Sennacherib)

N. LÚ*.'DUMU-KUR'

SAAB 9 75 r. 30

683

N. is witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (1) sells a house.

• **Arbāiu (5) Courtier**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

A. DUMU-É.GAL

SAA 16 50:5

nd

A. is listed as one of 14 enterers in a message to the palace manager from the chief scribe Nabû-zēru-lēšir.

• **Mušurāiu (1) Courtier**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

M. DUMU-É.GAL

SAA 16 50:6

nd

M. is listed as one of 14 enterers in a message to the palace manager from the chief scribe Nabû-zēru-lēšir.

- **Mannu-ki-Nabû (4) Courtier of the Succession House**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
M. DUMU-É.GAL. šá É-UŠ-re
SAA 14 426:4-5
630*
M. owes ½ mina of silver to Inūrta-šarru-ušur (2), courtier of the New Palace.
- **[...]a (-) Courtier**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] DUMU-É.GAL
ND 2315 r. 12
663
He witnesses the sale of a female slave.
- **Akkāiu (2) Courtier**
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
A.
SAAB 9 106 r. 12
637*
A. acts as a witness when the gatekeeper Mutaqqin-Aššūr (7) is owed 1(+?) shekels of silver.
- A. DUMU-É.[GAL]
VAT 21000 r. 36'
625*
A. acts as a witness when the *ḫundurāiu* Mudammiq-Aššūr buys a plot of unbuilt land.
- A.
STAT 2 269 r. 12
dl
A. witnesses a slave sale.
- **Inūrta-šarru-ušur (2) Courtier of the New Palace**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal and later)
I.
SAA 14 442 r. 13
634*
I. acts as a witness when the cook Abdi-Kurra (2) sells his son.
- I. LÚ.DUMU-É.GAL. šá É.GAL GIBIL
SAA 14 426:2-3
630*
I. is creditor of ½ mina of silver owed by Mannu-ki-Nabû (4), courtier of the Succession House.
- I.
SAA 14 427:2
627*
I. is creditor of 15 “star-patterned birds” owed by a certain Nabû-[...].
- I.
SAA 14 428:6
626*
I. is creditor of 220 legs of donkey-mares owed by Ilā-erība, probably identical with the village manager of the chief treasurer, from whom I. leases a field in 612* (SAA 14 434).

I.	SAA 14 429:4	622*	I. is creditor of 6 shekels of silver owed by Urdu-Nabû, probably son of the cook Abdi-Kurra (2).
I.	SAA 14 430:3	621*	A certain Nabû-šallim-abhê is liable to pay a fine to I. over some donkeys.
I. DUMU-KUR ša É.GAL 'GIBIL'	SAA 14 431:3-4	621*	I. is creditor of [1]? <i>emāru</i> 6 <i>sītu</i> of barley owed by Aqru.
I.	SAA 14 432:2	618*	I. is creditor of 3 <i>emāru</i> 3 <i>sītu</i> of barley.
I.	SAA 14 433:2	616*	I. is creditor of silver (amount lost) owed to Tarība-Issār.
I.	SAA 14 434:5	612*	I. leases a small plot of land in Smith Town for cultivation from Ilā-erība, village manager from the household of the chief treasurer, for 2 shekels of silver.
I. DUMU-É.GAL / I.	SAA 14 435:6, r. 1	612*	I. buys a female servant from the copper-smith Ḫallabeše (2) for 50 shekels of silver.
I.	SAA 14 436:2	unc. ¹⁰⁵	I. is creditor of barley (amount lost) owed by a certain Ēdu-šallim.
● Bēl-dām (13) Courtier of the Succession House Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)			
B. LÚ.A-É.GAL ša É-UŠ.MEŠ-te	SAA 14 166 r. 3-4	621*	First witness to a purchase (commodity lost) by Šamaš-zēru-iqīša.
● Mutaqqin-Aššūr (14) Courtier Assur (after Assurbanipal)			
M. LÚ*.DUMU-É.GAL	SAAB 5 35 r. 27	625*	M. acts as a witness when the <i>ḫundurāiu</i> Mudammiq-Aššūr buys a plot of unbuild land from 30 <i>ḫundurāius</i> .
M. DUMU-É [x x]	VAT 21000 r. 37'	625*	M. acts as a witness when the <i>ḫundurāiu</i> Mudammiq-Aššūr buys a plot of unbuild land.

¹⁰⁵ The eponym Mannu-kī-Arbail is a *hapax* and thus no assignment to a particular year can be made.

- [...] (-) **Courtier**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
[PN] DUMU-KUR!
ND 2334 r. 1 =
FNALD 33
623*
He owes 1 *emāru* out of 15 *emāru* grain (owed by altogether 12 men) to Mušēzib-Nabū.

- 2. *mār ekalli* (unnamed)
 - **Courtier**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
DUMU-É.GAL
SAA 16 50:14
nd
In a list of 14 enterers, including two named courtiers, another reference to this title is given immediately after the list introduced by “*ana*”, possibly meaning “as a courtier”.

 - **Courtier**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A-KUR
Radner 2016 I.41
t.e. 10
nd
The salary of a courtier is mentioned in a list concerning a joint trading enterprise.

 - A-KUR
Radner 2016 I.46:1,
3, 5
nd
The salary of the courtier is mentioned three times in a list concerning joint trading enterprises.

 - A-É.GAL
Radner 2016 I.48:7
nd
A courtier received ¼ (shekel) of silver according to an administrative record.

 - A-KUR
Radner 2016 I.49:4
nd
9 minas 5 shekels (of silver) are listed as the courtier’s wages in an administrative record.

 - [A-KUR]
Radner 2016 I.50:4
nd
10 ½ minas 1 shekel (of silver) are listed as the courtier’s wages in an administrative record.

3. *mār ekalli* in a non-documentary text

- **Courtier**
DUMU-É.GAL
SAA 8 241:6 nd
According to a bird omen text a courtier will command the land or rebel against the king when an anomaly, male and female, is born.
- **Courtier**
LÚ.A-É.GAL
MSL 12 238 r. vi 27 nd
Listed after the urad ekalli in a lexical list from Nineveh.

4. *mār ekalli* in a lexical list

- **Courtier**
LÚ.A-É.GAL
MSL 12 238 r. vi 27 nd
Listed after the urad ekalli in a lexical list from Nineveh.
- SON OF A FEMALE PALACE SERVANT
1. *mār-amat-ekalli* (named)
 - **Na'i (I) Son of a female palace servant**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
N. LÚ*.DUMU-GÉME-É.GAL CTN 2 105:2 742 N. owes 10 (*emāru*) of barley rations.
 - **Ubru-Nabû (25) Son of a female palace servant, son of Nabû-dūrī**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
U. A N. DUMU!-GÉME-É.GAL ND 2078:1-2 638* U. owes ½ mina of silver.
 - **Nabû-lē'i (15) Son of a female palace servant**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal and later)¹⁰⁶
N. LÚ.DUMU-GÉME-É.GAL ND 3426 r. 15 = FNALD 9 649 N. is witness when the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a woman and her son.
N. ND 3463:7 641* N.'s house adjoins one sold to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) in the centre of Kalhu.

¹⁰⁶ The same man is attested numerous times as a witness to transactions undertaken by the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (Baker, PNA 2/II 844 s.v. Nabû-lē'i 15).

- **Nabūtu (3) Son of a female palace servant**¹⁰⁷
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
 - N. DUMU-*a-mat*-KUR'
 - **Kakki-Aia (2) Son of a female palace servant**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
 - K. LÚ*.DUMU-GÉME-KUR

 - 2. *mār-amat-ekalli* (unnamed)
 - **Son(s) of a female palace servant**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
 - LÚ*.DUMU-GÉME-É.GAL
 - **Son(s) of a female palace servant**
Assur (Sargon II)
 - DUMU¹-GÉME¹-É.GAL
 - **Sons of a female palace servant**
Assur (Sargon II)
 - DUMU.MEŠ GÉME-É.GAL

 - **Son of a female palace servant of the New Palace**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
 - DUMU¹-GÉME-É.GAL ša É.GAL GIBIL
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---------------|---|
| | SAAB 9 77 r. 11 | dl | N. is witness in a slave sale document. |
| | SAAB 5 35:6 | 629*/
625* | K.'s house adjoins an unbuilt plot sold by 30 <i>hundurāius</i> . |
| | SAA 12 83 r. 12 | nd | They are assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment. |
| | SAA 1 77:16 | nd | Tāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, writes to the king that he was told that they will do the repair works for the iron brazier of the palace and will plaster its roof. |
| | SAA 1 99 r. 13' | nd | In a letter of Tāb-šil-Ešarra to the king they are said to be listed on a writing board together with "sons of the bought (slaves)". |
| | SAA 11 221
r. 18'-19' | nd | According to an administrative document four estates were given over to a son of a female palace servant. |

SUPERVISOR OF THE *BĒT ŠARRĀNI*

1. *rab bēt-šarrāni* (named)
- **Šulmu-aḫḫē (28) Supervisor of the *bēt šarrāni***
Assur (Assurbaniḫpal or later)
Š. LÚ*.GAL-Ē-MAN.MEŠ
STAT 1 19 r. 8'-9'
644*/629*
Š. acts as first witness in a broken slave sale document.

OVERSEER OF THE *BĒT ŠARRĀNI*

1. *ša-muḫḫi-bēt-šarrāni* (named)
- **Nabû-šēzibanni (10) Royal *ša-rēši* and overseer of the *bēt šarrāni***
Assur (Sennacherib to Assurbaniḫpal)
N. LÚ*.ša-UGU-Ē-MAN.MEŠ
SAAB 9 75 r. 28
683
N. is witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (1) sells a house.
 - N. LÚ*.SAG šá-UGU-Ē-LUGAL.MEŠ //
SAA 14 61 r. 1-2 //
658
N. is witness when the wine master Zārūf (23) and his deputy Ulūāiu (25) owe silver.
 - N. LÚ.ša-UGU-EN-LUGAL
SAA 14 62 r. 8'
dl
Together with Nabû-gāmil (2) and Šulmu-šarri (16), “*ša-rēšis* of the mausoleum”, N. is witness in a fragmentary conveyance document.
 - [...] (-) **Overseer of the *bēt šarrāni***
Assur (Assurbaniḫpal or later)
[PN LÚ.šá-UGU-Ē-MAN.MEŠ-*ni*
STAT 1 23:4' =
STAT 2 243
His house adjoins the one being sold by Sabību (8), chief(?) farmhand of the commander-in-chief.

2. *ša-muḥḥi-bēt-šarrāni* (unnamed)
- **Overseer of the *bēt šarrāni***
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
LÚ*.*ša-UGU-É-LUGAL.MEŠ-ni* SAA 12 83 r. 16 nd He is assigned to Nergal-āpīl-kūmū^a (1) on his appointment.

EMPLOYEE OF THE *BĒT-KIMAḤḤI*

1. *ša-bēt-kimaḥḥi* (named)
- **Kiṣir-Aššūr (49) “Of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*”**, son of Mannu-kī-Aššūr
Assur (Assurbaniḥpal)
K. A M. *ša É-KI.MAḤ* STAT 3 105 r. 22–23 634* K. is surety for a sold “bought (slave)”.
 - **Kakkullānu (12) “Of the *bēt kimaḥḥi*”**
Assur (Assurbaniḥpal or later)
K. *ša É-KI.MAḤ* Radner 2016 I.37:13’–14’ nd K. is listed along with 3 shekels (of silver) in a document recording commercial investments.
 - **Mannu-kī-Nabū (10) “Of the *kimaḥḥu*”**
Assur (after Assurbaniḥpal)
M. KI.MAḤ-*a-a* STAT 2 206 r. 6 618* M. acts as the first witness in a judicial settlement.
2. *ša-rēši ša bēt-kimaḥḥi* (named)
- **Nabū-gāmil (2) *ša-rēši* of the *bēt kimaḥḥi***
Assur (Assurbaniḥpal)
N. LÚ.SAG! *ša É-KI.M[AḤ]* SAA 14 62 r. 9’ dl Together with his colleague Šulmu-šarri (16) and Nabū-šēzibanni (10), “overseer of the *bēt šarrāni*”, N. is witness in a broken conveyance document.

- **Šulmu-šarri (16) *ša-rēši* of the *bēt kimaḫḫi***
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
Š. LÚ.SAG KI.MIN (for *ša É-KI.M[Aḫ]* in r. 9ʿ) SAA 14 62 r. 10ʿ dl
Together with his colleague Nabû-gāmil (2) and Nabû-šēzibanni (10), “overseer of the *bēt šarrāni*”, Š. is witness in a broken conveyance document.

- **Nabû-nādin-aḫi (17) *ša-rēši* of the *bēt kimaḫḫi***
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
N. LÚ.SAG *ša É-KI.M[Aḫ]*ʿ STAT 3 3 r. 37 615*
N. is witness in a judicial settlement involving a copper-smith.

- 3. *rāʾi darī ša bēt-kimaḫḫi* (named)
- [...] (-) **Shepherd of the regular offering sheep of the *bēt kimaḫḫi***
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
[PN (LÚ)]. SIPA-*dà-ni-u* [*ša É*]-KI.MAḫ STAT 1 30 r. 4ʿ-5ʿ dl
He is witness in a fragmentary legal document.

- 4. *ikkāru ša bēt-kimaḫḫi* (named)
- **Nuḫšāia (17) Farmer of the *bēt kimaḫḫi***
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
N. ENGAR *ša É-KI.MAḫ*¹⁰⁸ SAAB 5 51 r. 31 620*
N. is witness to an adoption.

¹⁰⁸ The editors emend to LÚ: *ša É-KI.MAḫ*, but a farmer of the *bēt-kimaḫḫi* corresponds well with the central concern of this department to supply the royal descendants with food and drink, as also underlined by the shepherd assigned to the *bēt-kimaḫḫi*.

CHIEF COOK

1. *bēt rab nuḫatimmi*
- **House of the chief cook**
Nineveh (unc.)
É LÚ.GAL–MU.MEŠ / É LÚ.GAL–MU.MEŠ^{1*}
SAA 11 90:6, 11
nd
The household of the c.c. is twice mentioned in an administrative document concerning the distribution of the levy of oxen and sheep.
2. *rab nuḫatimmi* of the palace
- **Chief cook of the palace(?)**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
LÚ.GAL–MU ša É.[GAL]
SAA 12 77 i 23'
nd
According to a collection of decrees the c.c. gives a sheep taken from the cities Hatarikka and Šimorra.
3. *rab nuḫatimmi* of the queen
- **Chief cook of the queen**
Imgur-IIIil (Sennacherib)
LÚ*.GAL–MU.MEŠ ša MÍ.É.GAL
BT 140 r. 14 =
Jas 1996 no. 45
685
He acts as a witness when Mamu-iqbi releases Mannu-kī-Arbail for a half talent of copper.
4. *rab nuḫatimmi* of the crown prince
- [...] (-) **Chief cook of the crown prince**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ.GAL–MU ša A–MAN
SAA 14 307 r. 5'
dl
He acts as a witness in a fragmentary conveyance text.

5. *rab nuḫatimmi* of the temple
- [...].**ru** (-) **Chief cook of Ištar**
Assur (Sargon II)
[PN] LÚ*.GAL-MU ša dIN[NIN]
STAT 2 102 r. 3' 711 He witnesses a sale undertaken by a cook of Ištar (details lost).
6. *rab nuḫatimmi* (named)
- **Inūrta-aḫša-šukšid?** (1) **Chief of the cooks and the herdsmen and ša-rēši of Adad-nērāri III**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
I. LÚ*.SAG ša A. (...) GAL-LÚ*.MU.MEŠ
LÚ*.NA.GADA.MEŠ
Watanabe 1993: 115, no. 6.2:1-4 (see also Niederreiter 2015: 137-8, no. 2) nd This title is given in the inscription of a seal of I.
 - **Nabū-ušalla** (1) **Chief cook**
Kalhu (Assūr-nērāri V, probably to Sargon II)
N. GAL-LÚ*.MU
N.
CTN 2 81 r. 2-3 754 N. acts as a witness in a broken legal document.
CTN 1 35 r. ii 15' nd/dl The same(?) N. is listed as a recipient in a ration list of bread or beer.
 - **Adad-rēmāni** (5) **Chief cook of the city of Harran**
Harran (Sargon II)
A. LÚ*.GAL-MU ša URU.KASKAL
SAA 11 203 iii 8-9 nd According to a tablet of the Harran Census, A. has promoted the cook Šin-ēreš (2).
A. LÚ*.[GAL-MU] ša URU.KASKAL
SAA 11 213 r. i 12-13 nd In another tablet of the Harran Census A.'s property is listed.

- **Aššūr-ašarēd (1) Chief cook**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
A. LÚ*.GAL-MU
A.
ydl¹⁰⁹
ND 2451:19
(TCAE: 376-9)
CTN 3 107 i 23'
A. is listed along with 72 donkeys in an administrative text.
The same(?) A. is listed in a broken section of a horse list.
- **Nāsi' (1) Chief cook, son of [...]**
Assur (Sargon II)
N. DUMU [PN] LÚ*.GAL-MU
711
STAT 2 102 r. 5'
N. acts as a witness when a cook of Ištar sells [...].
- **[...] (-) Chief cook**
Assur (Sennacherib)¹¹⁰
[PN] GAL-MU
dl
VAT 10430 r. 13
Recorded as a witness in a land sale document.
- **Aḫī-Milki (3) Chief cook**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon)
A. [a]-na LÚ.GAL-MU-*it-ti*
nd/dl
RA 17 194 r. 3'-4'
An administrative document records that A. is appointed as c.c.
- (2) A.
nd/dl
RA 17 194:2'
Presumably the same c.c. is listed on the obverse of the same administrative document.
- 676
SAA 6 274:5, r. 1'
Probably the same A. buys a slave for 2 minas of silver.
- **Nergal-bēlu-ušur (6) Chief cook**
Assur (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.GAL-MU
nd
SAA 13 45:4'-5'
In a letter to the king (sender lost) N. is introduced as "reporter" (*bēl tēmi*) for the sender.

¹⁰⁹ The penultimate section of this tablet refers to the eponym of Ša-Aššūr-dubbu (707).

¹¹⁰ The assignment to the reign of Sennacherib is made on prosopographical grounds (Baker, PNA 2/II 717-8 s.v. Marduk-iqbi 2, city overseer).

- **Nabū-šarru-ušur (45) Chief cook**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ*.GAL-MU
N. LÚ*.GAL-MU
(46) N.
STAT 2 165:1
STAT 2 166:1-2
STAT 2 166 r. 9
650/PC
650/PC
650/PC
N. imposes a judgement in a court case between Nūr-Issār and Urdu-Aššūr on the 1st of Ulūlu.
N. imposes another judgement in the same(?) court case between Nūr-Issār and Urdu-Aššūr again on the 1st of Ulūlu.
Probably the son of the same N. acts as a witness when his father imposes a judgement.
 - **Sa'īlu (19) Chief cook, post-canonical eponym of 620***
unc. (after Assurbanipal)
Only attested as eponym, for references in date formulae see Baker, PNA 3/I 1064.
620*
Eponym of 620* (also according to Reade).
7. *rab nuḫatimmi* (unnamed)
- **Chief cook**
active in Isana (Tiglath-pileser III)
LÚ*.GAL-MU
SAA 19 39:16
nd
A letter to the king from Šarru-ēmuranni, deputy governor of Isana, reports on what the c.c. told the sender about the delegates (broken).
 - **Chief cook**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.GAL-MU
LÚ*.GAL-MU
SAA 1 32 r. 10'
SAA 15 187:7
nd
nd
The c.c. is mentioned in a broken section of a letter from Sennacherib to the king.
According to a letter of Marduk-šarrāni to the king the c.c. is concerned with bulls of the Labdudeans.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief cook Nineveh (Esarhaddon) [LÚ].GAL–MU 	SAA 16 120:11	nd	In a letter from Kīnā to the king the c.c. is said to have passed on an order from the palace to the sender.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief cook Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) LÚ.GAL–MU 	SAA 10 202:9	nd	The chief exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur reports on four rams brought by the c.c.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief cook Babylonia (Assurbanipal) LÚ.GAL–MU 	ABL 274:19	nd	The c.c. is mentioned in a letter of Kudurru, governor of Uruk, to the king.	CHIEF COOK
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief cook Nineveh (probably 7th century) LÚ*.GAL–MU 	SAA 11 36 i 11	nd/dl	The c.c. receives 100 tribute sheep, 2 sheep and 2 <i>šapputu</i> -bowls (of wine).	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief cook Nineveh (unc.) GAL–MU 	K 19013:2	nd/dl	Mentioned in a tablet fragment.	
8. <i>rab nuḫatimmi</i> in a non-documentary text				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief cook LÚ*.GAL–MU 	SAA 20 33 r. iii 33', 48'	nd	The c.c. is twice mentioned in a text concerning the royal meal.	811

9. *rab nuḫatimmi* in lexical lists
- **Chief cook**
LÚ.GAL–MU
MSL 12 233 iii 7' nd
Mentioned in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina together with the cook and the confectioner.
 - LÚ*.*GAL*–MU
MSL 12 238 i 6 nd
Mentioned before the cook in a lexical list from Nineveh.
10. Subordinates of the *rab nuḫatimmi*
- 10.1. *mār šipri* (messenger)
- **Messenger (of the chief cook)**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
A–KIN
ND 2451:19 ydl
(TCAE: 376–9)
He is mentioned along with the c.c. in an entry of an administrative document about donkeys.
- 10.2. *mukīl appāti* (chariot driver)
- **Zārūtī (4) Chariot driver of the chief cook**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Z. LÚ*.*mu-ki*–PA.MEŠ ša LÚ*.*GAL*–MU'
SAA 6 36:5–6 695
Z. acts as the first witness for the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni who is owed silver.
- 10.3. *rā'i ša ekalli* in the charge of the *rab nuḫatimmi*
- **Datā (-) Shepherd of the palace, under the authority of the chief cook**
Kalhu/from Ikamar (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
D. (...) ša URU.*i'-ka-mar-a-a* LÚ*.*SIPA*.MEŠ ša Edubba 10 28:3, 6–8, 793/773
É.GAL ša ŠU LÚ*.*GAL*–MU.MEŠ / D. 19
Together with his colleagues Kandalānu (-) and Šamaš-na'di (1) he sells land to Tāb-aḫūnu (2), shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper.

- **Kandalānu (-) Shepherd of the palace, under the authority of the chief cook**
Kalhu/from Ikamar (Adad-nēri III or Šalmaneser IV)
K. (...) *ša URU.i¹-ka-mar-a-a LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ ša* Edubba 10 28:4, 6–8, 793/773
É.GAL ša ŠU LÚ.GAL–MU.MEŠ / K.* 20
Together with his colleagues Daiá (-) and Šamaš-na'di (1) he sells land to Tāb-aḫūnu (2), shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper.
- **Šamaš-na'di (1) Shepherd of the palace, under the authority of the chief cook**
Kalhu/from Ikamar (Adad-nēri III or Šalmaneser IV)
Š. ša URU.i²-ka-mar-a-a LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ ša É.GAL* Edubba 10 28:5–8, 20 793/773
ša ŠU LÚ.GAL–MU.MEŠ / Š.*
Together with his colleagues Daiá (-) and Kandalānu (-) he sells 100 *emāru* of land to Tāb-aḫūnu (2), shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper.

10.4. *tuššarru* (scribe)

- **Scribe of the chief cook**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ.A.BA-šú* (refers to *LÚ*.GAL–MU* in i 11) SAA 11 36 i 13 nd/dl
According to an administrative record concerning redistributed tribute he receives a sheep and a *šapputi*-bowl (of wine).

CHIEF CONFECTIONER

1. *rab karkadinni* of the palace
 - **Chief confectioner of the palace**
Kalhu (unc.)
LÚ.GAL–SUM.NINDA ša KUR SAA 12 77 r. ii 17 nd
According to a collection of decrees from various reigns the chief confectioner is supplied with one glass of cardamon.

2. *rab karkadinni* of the king's mother
- **Nabû-šezib (II) Chief confectioneer of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
N. LÚ.GAL-SUM.NINDA AMA-MAN SAA 7 6 i 8' nd/dl
Mentioned in an administrative document listing court personnel.
3. *rab karkadinni* of the crown prince
- **Gabbu-āmur (8) Chief confectioneer and among the *rab rabûti* of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Assurbaniṣal)
G. 'LÚ''GAL'-SUM.NINDA / PAB 49'
LÚ.GAL-GAL.MEŠ DUMU-LUGAL / PAB *a-na* 7' nd/dl
In an administrative document G. is listed and summed up as one of 49 *rab rabûti* of the crown prince.
4. *rab karkadinni* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
- **Ilu-ukallanni (3) Chief confectioneer of [...]**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal)
I. LÚ* GAL-SUM.NINDA ša [...] 631*
KAN 4 8 r. 12'
Witness when four sons of a priest sell 25 people for 12 minas of silver.
5. *rab karkadinni* (named)
- **[...] (-) Chief(?) confectioneer**
Assur (Sennacherib)
[PN LÚ.GAL-SJUM.NINDA.MEŠ VAT 10430 r. 14 dl
Witness when Sangi-ili (1), scribe of the chief of repairs, buys land for 4 minas of copper.

- **Ašipá (4) Chief(?) confectioner**¹¹¹
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
A. [LÚ].GAL²-SUM².NINDA
Mentioned in an administrative document listing court personnel.
- 6. *rab karkadinni* (unnamed)
 - **Chief confectioner**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ^{*}.GAL]-SUM.NINDA /
LÚ^{*}.GAL]-SUM.NINDA
SAA 7 5 r. i 44 nyd/ydl
In a letter to the king the sender Nabû-de'iq, an official stationed in the west, plans to go with the chief confectioner to pull up and bring the cedars and cypresses.
 - LÚ^{*}.GAL-SUM.NINDA
SAA 1 227:10, r. 6' nd
The same Nabû-de'iq refers to the chief confectioner in another, broken letter to the king.
 - LÚ^{*}.GAL-SUM.NINDA
SAA 1 228:4 nd
According to a fragment of a wine list he receives 1 *qû* of wine.
 - **Chief confectioner**
Kalhu (8th century)
GAL-SUM.NI[NDA]
CTN 3 123:11' nd/dl
In a list recording redistributed tribute the chief confectioner receives 2 *sittu* of almonds and 2 *sittu* of terebinths as well as a *šapputtu*-bowl of wine.
 - **Chief confectioner**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ^{*}.GAL]-SUM².NINDA /: (for i 31)
SAA 11 36 i 31, 32 nd/dl
The chief confectioner is mentioned along with the sum "4" in a fragment of an administrative document.
 - LÚ.GAL-*kar-ka-di-ni*
SAA 11 82 r. 3' nd/dl

¹¹¹ Judging by the range of officials listed in SAA 7 5 a chief confectioner here seems rather unlikely.

7. *rab karkadinni* in lexical lists
- **Chief confectioner**
LÚ.GAL-SU[M.NINDA] MSL 12 233 iii 25' nd
Listed in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina recording a syllabic as well as a logographic writing for the *karkadinnu*.
 - LÚ*.GAL-SUM.NINDA MSL 12 238 i 8 nd
Listed in a lexical list from Nineveh after the chief cook and the cook.
8. Subordinates of the *rab karkadinni*
- 8.1. *rab kiširi* (cohort commander)
- **Aššūr-šumu-iddina (7) Cohort commander of the chief confectioner**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.GAL-ki-šir ša LÚ*¹.GAL-SUM.NINDA SAA 14 81 r. 11–12
= Jas 1996 no. 41 and FNALD 50 657
A. is witness in a legal document dealing with blood money.
- 8.2. *šeḫru* (boy)
- **šeḫrus of the chief confectioner**
Arzuhina/active in Babiṭi (Sargon II)
LÚ*.TUR.MEŠ-ni
ša LÚ*.GAL-SUM.NINDA SAA 5 227 r. 17–18 nd
Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Arzuhina, reports to the king that apprentice boys of the chief confectioner have been attacked by criminals.
- 8.3. *šaniu* (deputy)
- **Kēnu-šallim (2) Deputy of the chief confectioner**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
K. 2-ū ša GAL-LÚ.kar-kad-di-ni? Edubba 10 18 r. 19–20 779
K. is witness when the nephew of the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1) buys a house.

8.4. *urdu* (servant)

- **Dādi-iqbi (-) Servant of the chief confectioner**
Nineveh (7th century)
D. / PAB 3 LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-*ni ša*
LÚ.GAL-SUM.NINDA
dl SAA 14 215 r. 5, 6
Together with his colleagues Lū-kī-Mama (3) and Ḫalmusu (7) he acts as a witness when an estate is sold.
- **Ḫalmusu (7) Servant of the chief confectioner**
Nineveh (7th century)
Ḫ. / PAB 3 LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-*ni ša*
LÚ.GAL-SUM.NINDA
dl SAA 14 215 r. 5, 6
Together with his colleagues Lū-kī-Mama (3) and Dādi-iqbi (-) he acts as a witness when an estate is sold.
- **Lū-kī-Mama (3) Servant of the chief confectioner**
Nineveh (7th century)
L. / PAB 3 LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-*ni ša*
LÚ.GAL-SUM.NINDA
dl SAA 14 215 r. 5, 6
Together with his colleagues Dādi-iqbi (-) and Ḫalmusu (7) he acts as a witness when an estate is sold.

CHIEF BAKER

1. *rab āpie* of the queen
 - **Kubābu-idrī (1) Chief baker of the queen**
Ma'allanate (Sennacherib)
K. LÚ*.GAL-NINDA.MEŠ *ša* MÍ.É.GAL
O 3680 r. 10
687
Together with his colleague Qurdi-Aššūr (7) K. acts as a witness when Ḫandī, palace prefect, buys three people.
 - **Qurdi-Aššūr (7) Chief baker of the queen(?)**
Ma'allanate (Sennacherib)
Q. (...) LÚ*.GAL-NINDA.MEŠ *ša* MÍ.É.GAL
O 3680 r. 10
687
Together with his colleague Kubābu-idrī (1) Q. acts as a witness when Ḫandī, palace prefect, buys three people.

2. *rab āpie* (named)
- [...] (-) **Chief(?) baker**
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
[PN] LÚ*? GAL? -NINDA
STAT 3 22 r. 7' 758 He witnesses a receipt of payment involving the chief musician Aššūr-šumu-iškun (-).
 - **Ququ' a (4) Chief baker**
Assur (Sennacherib)
Q. GAL-NINDA 698 Q. is the first witness when a house is sold.
 - **Ubru-šarri (2) (Chief) baker**
Assur (Sennacherib)
U.: (for GAL-NINDA in r. 27) 698 U. together with his colleague Ququ' a (4) acts as a witness when a house is sold.
 - **Dūri-Aššūr (8) Chief baker**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
(7) D. 634* D. acts as a witness when Nabū-zēru-iddina (21), elsewhere attested as goldsmith, repays debts.
FNALD 40 r. 16 // 40* r. 16 (CT 33 17)
 - **D. LÚ.GAL-NINDA.MEŠ**
STAT 1 22 r. 13 = dl The same(?) D. acts as a witness when property, presumably a house, is sold.
STAT 2 244
 - **Aššūr-šumu-iddina (13) Chief baker**, son of Silim-Aššūr
Assur (Assurbanipal or later) dl A. sells four persons jointly.
A. (...) GAL-NINDA STAT 2 183:1
 - **Rēmanni-Issār (7) Baker and chief baker**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
R. LÚ.NINDA 629*/625* R. acts as a witness when Sūsu, the chief *hundurāiu*, together with 29 other *hundurāius* sells unbuilt land to the *hundurāiu* Mudammīq-Aššūr.

R. LÚ.NINDA / R. / R. LÚ.GAL- ³ NINDA ³ .MEŠ ³ // R.	SAAB 9 80:1, 5, r. 10 // 80*:2	621*	It is recorded in this legal document that R. annulled a loan of barley which was the responsibility of the bakers.
R. LÚ.NINDA	SAAB 9 78 r. 12'	dl	R. is witness when the fuller Adad-milki-ēreš (8) sells two people.
3. <i>rab āpie</i> (unnamed)			
• Chief baker of [DN] Nineveh (Esarhaddon)			
LÚ.GAL-NINDA d[x x]	SAA 16 93:8'	nd	According to a broken letter to the king, the chief baker should be ordered to release the letter's writers (heading lost).
• Chief baker (of the Aššur Temple) Assur (Assurbaniṣal)			
LÚ.GAL-NINDA.MEŠ	SAA 10 96 r. 2, 18	nd	The (astrologer and) temple enterer Akkullānu reports to the king that the chief baker, who was appointed under Sennacherib, died eight years ago and that his son is waiting to be shaved.
• Chief baker of the Aššur Temple Assur (unc.)			
LÚ.GAL-NINDA ša É-AN.ŠÁR	SAA 20 50 r. i 4'	nd	According to this document about the responsibilities of the personnel of the Aššur Temple, the chief baker of the Aššur Temple is responsible for the supply of bread.

RAB QAQQULĀTI

1. *rab qaqqulāti* of the queen
 - **Qitī (I) *rab qaqqulāti* of the house of the queen**
Assur (Sennacherib)
Q. LÚ*.GAL-*kaq⁷-qul-te ša É MÍ.KUR* STAT 2 3 r. 3–4 692 Q. is witness in a broken silver loan document.
2. *rab qaqqulāti* (named)
 - [...] (-) *rab qaqqulāti*
Nineveh (8th or 7th century)
[LÚ.GAL]-*ka-qul-ti* SAA 14 202 r. 2' dl He is witness in a broken legal document recording the redemption of two individuals.
3. *rab qaqqulāti* (unnamed)
 - *rab qaqqulāti*
Nineveh (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ.GAL-*qa-qu-lat* SAA 12 77 r. iii 5 793 In a collection of decrees from various reigns he is said to receive the *ilkakāte* of all temples.
 - *rab qaqqulāti*
Nineveh (Sargon II)
LÚ.GAL-*qa-qu-lat* SAA 12 77 i 21' nd In a collection of decrees from various reigns the r.q. is said to give bread, soup, beer and flour.
 - *rab qaqqulāti*
LÚ.GAL-*qa-qu-lat* SAA 12 77 r. iii 16 793 In the same collection of decrees, the r.q. is said to give bread and beer for rituals and libations.

WINE MASTER

1. *rab karāni* (named)

- **Nabû-ahhê-[...]** (-) **Wine master**
Nineveh (probably Sargon II)
N. GAL-GEŠTIN
SAA 11 52:2-3 dl N. is mentioned on a sealing along with 1 talent of silver(?).
- **Nabû-ballit** (-) **Wine master**
unc. (Sargon II)
N. [LÚ*:GA]L-GEŠTIN nd He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king.
- **Nabû-šarru-ušur** (20) **Wine master**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
N. LU.GAL-GEŠTIN nyd/ydl He is mentioned in an administrative document listing court personnel.
- **Zārūtī** (23) **Wine master of the New House**
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
Z. GAL-GEŠTIN' // Z. GAL-GEŠTIN /
Z. GAL-GEŠTIN É-GIBIL Z.
Z. Together with his(?) deputy Ulūāiu (25) Z. owes 9 minas 15 shekels of silver to Aššur-rēši-issi.
STAT 1 35:2, 7, r. 10 623* Probably the same Z. settles a dispute with the goldsmith Nabû-zēru-iddina (21) concerning silver from the city of Lahiru.
= Jas 1996 no. 19

2. *rab karāni* (unnamed)

- **Wine master**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and later)
[LÚ].GAL-GEŠTIN CTN 1 5 r. 2 778 He receives [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.GAL-[GEŠ]TIN CTN 1 8:10 751/ He receives 1 *sātu* 5 *qû* of wine.
747/735

LÚ*.GAL-GEŠTIN.MEŠ				nyd	He receives [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.GAL-GEŠTIN.MEŠ		CTN 1 4:13		yd	He receives 1 <i>sātu</i> 5(?) <i>qû</i> of wine.
LÚ*.GAL-G[EŠTIN]		CTN 1 6 r. 46		nd/dl	He receives [x] amount of wine.
LÚ*.GAL-[GEŠTIN]		CTN 1 7:9'		nd/dl	He receives 1 <i>sātu</i> 4 <i>qû</i> of wine.
[L]Ú*.GAL-GEŠ[TIN]		CTN 1 11 r. 19'		nd/dl	He receives [x] amount of wine.
		CTN 1 21 r. 10'			
• Wine master (?)					
Nineveh (Tiglath-pileser III)					
[L]Ú.GAL-GEŠTIN]		SAA 12 77 i 15'		nd	If restored correctly, it is the w.m. who gives 1 <i>qû</i> of wine for offerings according to an entry in a collection of royal decrees.
• Wine master					
Nineveh (Sargon or later)					
LÚ.GAL-GEŠTIN		SAA 12 80:4, 6		nyd	According to a schedule of wine offerings in the Aššur Temple the w.m. gives 35 <i>emāru</i> of wine. He also gives 10 <i>emāru</i> of wine from Izalla.
• Wine master					
unc. (Sargon II)					
LÚ*.GAL-GIŠ.GEŠTIN.MEŠ		SAA 15 291:4		nd	Nergal-bēlu-ušur, otherwise unknown, mentions the w.m. in a fragmentary letter to the king.
• Wine master					
Assur (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)					
LÚ.GAL-GEŠTIN		SAA 10 98 r. 11		nd	In a letter to the king the astrologer Akkullānu reports that the w.m. together with his deputy and his scribe are on strike.
• Wine master					
Nineveh (probably 7 th century)					
GAL-GEŠTIN		SAA 11 36 r. i 32		nd/dl	According to an administrative document recording redistributed tribute the w.m. receives one sheep, 1 <i>šapputtu</i> -bowl (of wine) and 1 mina of [...].

3. Subordinates of the *rab karāni*
- 3.1. *šaniu* (deputy)
- **Deputy of the wine master**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.2-*u-šú* (referring to [L]Ú*.GAL-GEŠ[TIN] in CTN 1 21 r. 10' r. 10) nd/dl He receives 1 *sātu* of wine.
 - **Deputy wine master**
Assur (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.2-*u-šú* (referring to LÚ.GAL-GEŠTIN in r. 11) SAA 10 98 r. 12 nd In a letter to the king the astrologer Akkullānu reports that the w.m. together with his deputy and his scribe are on strike.
 - **Ulūliū (25) Deputy wine master**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ*.2-*u* 658 Together with his(?) master Zārūf (23) U. owes 9 minas 15 shekels of silver to Aššūr-rēši-issi.
 - U. dl The same(?) U. is witness to a loan of silver, first-fruits of Aššur or Ištar.
- 3.2. *tuṣšarru* (scribe)
- **Scribe of the wine master**
Assur (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.DUB.SAR-*šú* (refers to LÚ.GAL-GEŠTIN in SAA 10 98 r. 12 r. 11) nd In a letter to the king the astrologer Akkullānu reports that the w.m. together with his deputy and his scribe are on strike.

OIL MASTER

1. *rab šammi* (named)
 - **Marduk-šarrāni (3) Oil master**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
M. LÚ*.GAL-Ī.MEŠ¹ SAA 6 287 r. 13 670 M. is witness for Atar-ili (2), *ša-rēši* of the crown prince, leasing the village Bahaia.
2. *rab šammi* (unnamed)
 - **Oil master**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
GAL-Ī.MEŠ SAA 11 36 i 22 nd/dl He receives copper, sheep and wine according to an administrative document recording redistributed tribute.
3. Subordinates of the *rab šammi*
 - 3.1. *tupšarru* (scribe)
 - **Scribe of the oil master**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.A.BA-šú (refers to GAL-Ī.MEŠ in i 22) SAA 11 36 i 23 nd/dl Like his master, he receives sheep and wine according to an administrative document recording redistributed tribute.

CHIEF OF GRANARIES

1. *rab karmāni* (named)
 - **Saggil-sarru-usur (1) Chief of granaries**
Kalhu (8th century)
S. LÚ*.GAL-*kar-ma-ni*
ND 3469:14–15 nd In an administrative record S. is listed along with 4,000 (*emāru* of grain).
 - **Il-amar (1) Chief of granaries of Maganuba**
Nineveh/Maganuba (Sennacherib)
I. LÚ*.GAL-*kar-ma-ni* [0] ša URU.ma-ga-nu-ba /
I. / I. SAA 6 37:2–3, 12, 694 I. sells land together with seven persons to the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni for 25 minas of silver.
I. [LÚ*.GA]L-*kar-ma-ni* / I. SAA 6 38:1'-2', r. 2 dl I. sells people to the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni for ½ mina of silver.
I. LÚ*.GA[L-*kar-ma-ni*] SAA 14 471:3 dl I. owes barley to the *šakintu*.
 - **Nashir-Bēl (5) Chief of granaries(?)**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal or later)
N. LÚ.GAL-*kar-[man?]* CTN 3 92:4 dl N. owes 4 *emāru* of barley rations.
2. *rab karmāni* and *rab karmi* (unnamed)
 - **Chief of granaries of Nineveh**
Nineveh (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.GAL-*kar-ma-ni* ša URU.NINA SAA 12 72 r. 12 790 He is mentioned in a broken fragment, part of a decree of regular offerings for the Aššur Temple (SAA 12 71).

- **Granary master (of?) Birtu**
Kalhu/Birtu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ.GAL-*kar-me* KUR.ḪAL.ZU¹¹²
ND 2791 r. 17–18 nd In an administrative account he is mentioned along with the sum of 12,800 stored barley rations.
- **Chief of granaries**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ.GAL-*kar-ma¹-ni¹*
SAA 1 170 r. 2 nd He is mentioned in a broken letter to the king dealing with deliveries (of corn).
- **Chief of granaries(?)**
unc. (Sargon II)
GAL²-*kar²-ma-ni*
CTN 2 206:6' nd If restored correctly, he is mentioned in a broken letter.
- **Chief of granaries(?)**
Assur (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal)
[L]Ú*.GAL-*kar²-[ma²-ni²]*
STAT 3 74:11 dl A field of his adjoins land being sold.
- **Chief of granaries**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL-*kar-man-[n]²*
CTN 3 14:6 639* 9 *emāru* of barley, corn-tax of royal *ma'uttu(-land)* in the care of the r.k., are owed by Šamaš-aḫu-iddina.
- **Chief of granaries**
LÚ.GAL-*kar-man-ni*
CTN 3 15 b.e. 5 639* Similarly, 5 bales of straw, straw-tax of *ma'uttu(-land)* in the care of the r.k., are owed by Šēp-Issār.
- **Chief of granaries**
LÚ.GAL-*kar-man*
CTN 3 16:5 639* Similarly, 15 bales of straw, straw-tax of royal *ma'uttu(-land)* in the care of the r.k., are owed by Šamaš-aḫu-iddina.

¹¹² Parker (1961: 54) reads KUR.*ḫal-šū* and interprets it as *ḫal,šū*, meaning district (see CAD Ḫ 51–2 s.v. *ḫal,šū* 3). For the province Birtu and its writing URU.ḪAL.ŠU see Radner 2006a: 56–7. Radner (2006a: 66) rejects the existence of a province named Ḫalzu (as is listed in Parpola and Porter 2001: Gazetteer p. 9).

- **Chief of granaries**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL.MEŠ / LÚ.GAL-*kar-man*
SAA 10 96:7, 18 nd
In a letter to the king the astrologer Akkullānu reports that the r.k. is one of the magnates who did not give barley and emmer for the regular sheep offerings.
- 3. *rab karmāni* in a lexical list
- **Chief of granaries**
LÚ.GAL-*kar-ma-ni*
MSL 12 238 iii 24 nd
Mentioned before the “chief of trade” in a lexical list from Nineveh.
- 4. Subordinate of the *rab karmāni*
- 4.1. *urdu* (servant)
- **Šil-Adad (3) Servant of the chief of granaries**
Nineveh (7th century)
Š. LÚ.ARAD ša LÚ.GAL-*kar-ma-[ni]*
SAA 14 215 r. 9 dl
Š. is witness when land is sold.

MANAGER OF THE SUSTENANCE (FIELDS)

1. *rab ma'utti* (unnamed)
- **“Manager of sustenance (fields)”**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ*.GAL-*ma-'u-ti*
ND 2782:8 nd
He is mentioned along with 40 (*emāru*) of land in a document which concerns the “decisions about the servants for the queen”.

CHIEF VICTUALLER

1. *rab danībāiti* (named)
 - **Nabû-nāšir (15) Chief victualler**
 Imgur-IIIil (Sennacherib)
 N. GAL-*da-ni-bat*
 BT 116:4 682 Together with two scribes he owes barley, described as *ilkakāte* of Šumma-ilu, priest of Imgur-IIIil.
 - **Aḫu-dūri (23) Chief victualler**
 Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
 A. LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-ba-te*
 SAA 7 5 ii 50 nyd/ydl A. is mentioned in an administrative document listing court personnel.
 - **[...]? (-) Chief(?) victualler**
 Nineveh (probably 7th century)
 [PN? LÚ.GAL-*d*]*a-ni-bat*
 SAA 14 265:2 dl He is mentioned in a broken legal document.
 - **[...] (-) Chief(?) victualler**
 Nineveh (probably 7th century)
 [PN LÚ.GAL]-*da-ni-bat*
 SAA 14 307 r. 4' dl He is witness in a fragmentary conveyance text.
2. *rab danībāiti* (unnamed)
 - **Chief(?) victualler**
 probably active in Bit-Zamani (Sargon II)
 [LÚ.GAL-*da*]-*ni-bat*
 SAA 5 48 r. 12 nd He is mentioned in a broken passage in a letter written by Aššūr-pātina, stationed in Bit-Zamani, to the king.

- **Chief victualler**
probably active in the east (Sargon II)
LÚ*.GAL-*da-ni-bat*

	SAA 5 143 r. 8'	nd	He is mentioned in a broken section concerned with corn in a letter from Šulmu-bēli, deputy of the palace herald, to the king.
--	-----------------	----	--

- **Chief victualler**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.GAL-*da-ni-ba-te*

	ND 2465 r. 12	nd	Amounts of barley from various towns are summed up as 22,531 <i>emāru</i> 4 <i>sātu</i> of barley rations (of) the treasury of the c.v. in an administrative document.
--	---------------	----	--

- **Chief victualler**
Kalhu (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.GAL-*da-ni-bat*

	ND 3469 r. 17	nd	In an account (of grain) he is mentioned along with 1,000 (<i>emāru</i>).
--	---------------	----	---

- **Chief victualler**
Kalhu (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-bat*

	SAA 13 61 r. 1	nd	In a letter of Urdu-Nabû, priest of the Nabû Temple in Kalhu, he is said to have sealed and stored weighed gold in his <i>bēt qātē</i> and then refused to give out some of it for royal statues and the statue of the king's mother.
--	----------------	----	---

- **Chief victualler**
LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-ba-te*¹¹³

	SAA 13 154:8	nd	In a letter to the crown prince the priest Dādī reports on the c.v. who has arrested and interrogated him without permission and has plundered his patrimony.
--	--------------	----	---

- **Chief victualler**
LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-bat*
[LÚ*.]GAL-*da-ni-bat*

	SAA 16 46:4'	nd	He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king.
	SAA 16 170:7'	nd	He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.

¹¹³ This was previously read as LÚ.GAL-*qa-qi-la-te* (CAD K 59 s.v. *kakkullu* in *rab qaqqullāte*). Cf. Klauber ²1968: 115, fn. 2.

- **Chief victualler**
Arbail (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-bat*
SAA 13 147:13, r. 4 nd
In a letter from Marduk-[...], stationed in Arbail, to the king, the sender requests an order from the palace so that the c.v. will give him *lahmu*(-offerings) (for Ištar of Arbail).
 - **Chief(?) victualler**
Arbail (Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.GAL]-*da-ni-bat* / [LÚ.GAL]-*da-ni-bat* /
[LÚ.GAL-*da*]-*ni-bat*
SAA 13 141:14, 15, r. 4' nd
In a broken letter of Aššūr-ḫamātū'a, probably in the temple of Ištar of Arbail, to the king, the c.v. is mentioned three times.
 - **Chief victualler**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL-*da-ni-ba-tim-ma*
SAA 21 80:13' 652
The c.v. is mentioned in a letter of Assurbanipal (addressee not preserved).
 - **Chief victualler**
unc. (7th century)
LÚ*.GAL-*da-ni-ba[t]*
CT 53 230:2 nd
This broken letter was written by the c.v. to the king and refers to a royal order concerning the watering of the terebinth tree trunks.
3. *rab danībāti* in a lexical list
- **Chief victualler**
LÚ*.GAL-*da-ni-[b]a'-te*
MSL 12 238 r. iv 23 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, between the team-commander and the messenger.

- **Fodder master**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*1.GAL-ŠE.ki-si-te
ND 3469:13
nd He is listed along with 2,000 (*emāru* of corn) in an administrative document.

3. Subordinate of the *rab kissiti*

3.1. scribe (*tupšarru*)

- [...]ja? (-) **Scribe of(?) the fodder master**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ.A.BA [šá? LÚ.GA]L-kis-si-te
SAA 7 29 i 9–10
nd/dl Mentioned in what could be a fragmentary debt list.

OVERSEER OF REEDS

1. *ša-muḫḫi-qanāti* (named)
 - **Bēl-sama' (2) Overseer of reeds(?)**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
B. *ša-UGU-qa-[na'-te']*¹¹⁸
ND 2803 ii 19' dl B. receives 5 *emāru* 5 *sātu* of corn for refugees in Mazamua.
 - B.
ND 2803 r. i 16 dl The same B. receives 4 *emāru* 5 *sātu* 5 *qû* of corn for [refugees or deportees] in the town of Šarru-iqbi.

¹¹⁸ This restoration was proposed by Gesche, PNA 1/II 326.

- **Arbailāiu (9) Overseer of reeds(?)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
A. KLIMIN (for LÚ*.*šá*-UGU-*qa*¹-(*na*)-*a*¹-*te* in. r. 2) SAA 6 35 r. 3
700 A. is witness when silver is given in compensation to the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni after a burglary in his house.

- **Nabû-kāšir (1) Overseer of reeds(?)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ*.*šá*-UGU-*qa*¹-(*na*)-*a*¹-*te*
SAA 6 35 r. 1-2
700 N. is witness when silver is given in compensation to the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni after a burglary in his house.

- **Sa'īlu (8) Overseer of reeds(?)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
S. KLIMIN (for LÚ*.*šá*-UGU-*qa*¹-(*na*)-*a*¹-*te* in. r. 2) SAA 6 35 r. 4
700 S. is witness when silver is given in compensation to the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni after a burglary in his house.

- **Nušku-ahū-iddina (2) Overseer of reeds**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ*.*šá*-UGU-*qa-na-te*
SAA 14 81 r. 8-9 =
Jas 1996 no. 41 and
FNALD 50
657 N. witnesses an agreement about the payment of blood money.

- 2. *šá-muḫḫi-qanāti* in a lexical list
- **Overseer of reeds**
LÚ*.*šá*-UGU-*qa-na-a-te*
MSL 12 238 r. v 18
nd Mentioned between the tanner of coloured leather and the cohort commander in a lexical list from Nineveh.

“CHIEF OF REPAIRS”

1. *rab batqi* of the crown prince
 - Šašši (2) “Chief of repairs” and *rab rabāti* of the crown prince
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAL-*bat-qi* / PAB 49¹ LÚ.GAL-GAL.MEŠ SAA 7 4 r. ii’ 3’, 6’, nd/dl
DUMU-LUGAL / PAB *a-na* DUMU-LUGAL 7’
Š. is listed as one of 49 *rab rabāti* of the crown prince
in an administrative document.
2. *rab batqi* (named)
 - Abi-rāmu (-) “Chief of repairs”
Assur (Shalmaneser V)
A. LÚ*:[G]AL-*bat-qi* STAT 3 5 r. 17’ 723 A. is witness when unbuild land is sold.
 - Šamaš-bēlu-ušur (6) “Chief of repairs”
Kalhu (Sargon II)
Š. LÚ*.GAL-*bat-qi* ND 2374 r. 11 719 According to an administrative document Š. receives
different items of metal.
3. *rab batqi* (unnamed)
 - “Chief of repairs”
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ*:[G]AL-*bat-qi* SAA 7 47 ii 13 nd According to a memorandum he received 3 minas of
silver from the Kushite *ša-rēši* Šulmu-šarri (12).
 - “Chief of repairs”
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.GAL-*bat-qi* SAA 11 36 ii 23 nd/dl According to a list of redistributed tribute he receives
200 willows together with one sheep and 1 *šapputu*-bowl
of wine.

CHIEF OF ACCOUNTS

1. *rab nikkassi* of the palace
 - **Chief of accounts of the palace**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.GAL-NÍG.ŠID šá É.GAL SAA 10 313 r. 4-5 nd
In a letter to the king's mother Nabû-šumu-iēšir asks her to arrange for rams to be given to him.
2. *rab nikkassi* of the crown prince
 - [...] (-) **Chief of accounts and *rab rabîti* of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ.GAL-NÍG.ŠID DUMU-MAN SAA 7 5 r. i 47 nyd/ydl
Together with numerous others he is listed as a court official.
 - **Qurdi-Issār (13) Chief of accounts and *rab rabîti* of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
Q. LÚ.GAL-NÍG.ŠID [0] / PAB 49ⁱ SAA 7 4 r. ii' 5', 6', nd/dl
LÚ.GAL-GAL.MEŠ DUMU-LUGAL / PAB *a-na* 7' Q. is listed as one of 49 *rab rabîti* of the crown prince in an administrative record.
3. *rab nikkassi* of governors
 - **Chief of accounts (probably of the governor of Arpad)**
Arpad (Esarhaddon)
GAL-NÍG.ŠID'.MEŠ SAA 16 48 r. 12 nd
In a letter to the palace scribe, Tabnî introduces Abnî, sheep-tax master of Arpad, and asks for the r.n.

- **Nēri-lāu (I) Chief of accounts and servant of the governor of Guzana**
Guzana (Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ*.GAL-NÍG.ŠID.MEŠ / ARAD.MEŠ ša SAA 16 63:4, 5, 28 nd
LÚ*.EN.NAM / N. N. is one of several servants of the governor (of Guzana) who are accused of being criminals in a letter of the “enigmatic informer” to the king.

- 4. *rab nikkassi* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior

- **Chief of accounts of Aššūr-zēru-ibni**
Nineveh/active in Guzana (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.GAL-NÍG.ŠID.MEŠ SAA 16 63 r. 15 nd
The son of Tarši, scribe of Guzana, is said to be a r.n. in the service of Aššūr-zēru-ibni.

- 5. *rab nikkassi* (named)

- [...] (-) **Chief of accounts**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[PN L]Ú.GAL-NÍG.ŠID SAA 6 285:6' dl
He buys something according to a fragmentary conveyance text.

- **Šalam-šarru-iqbi (-) Chief of accounts**
Marqasa (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
Š. GAL-NÍG.ŠID Marqasi 1:7 671/666
He is one out of twelve provincial officials who sell a female slave to Ubru-Nergal.

- **Aššūr-erība (6) Chief of accounts**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. GAL-NÍG.ŠID] SiAT 2 73 r. 7 658 A. is first witness in a debt note of barley.
A. GAL-[x x] Afo 42 A1 r. 1 dl A. is witness in a broken conveyance document.
A. EPHE 352 r. 5' dl The same(?) A. is witness in a fragment of a legal document.

- **Šil-Sim (I) Chief of accounts**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.GAL-NÍG.ŠID
SAA 14 129 r. 2' 668 Š. is witness in a broken slave sale document.
 - **Marduk-bēlu-ušur (II) Chief of accounts**
Kalhu (unc.)
M. LÚ*.GAL-NÍG.ŠID
ND 5472:3 nd/dl M. is mentioned in a list dealing with wooden beams.
 - 6. *rab nikkassi* (unnamed)
 - **Chief of accounts**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
GAL-NÍG.ŠID
SAA 11 36 i 14 nd/dl He receives one sheep and a *šapputu*-bowl of wine according to a list of redistributed tribute.
SAA 11 36 iii 22 nd/dl In the same list on the reverse the r.n. appears again as a recipient of one sheep and 1 *šapputu*-bowl of wine.
 - 7. *rab nikkassi* in a lexical list
 - **Chief of accounts**
LÚ*.GAL-NÍG.ŠID
MSL 12 238 r. v 25 nd Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh.
- TREASURER**
1. *masennu* of the palace
 - **[...] (-) Treasurer of the New(?) Palace**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
[PN] LÚ*.IGI.DUB'.ša É.GAL 'GIBIL'?'
Edubba 10 27 r. 1'-2' 777 He is first(?) witness in a broken land sale document.

2. *masemmu* of the queen

- **Adad-mušammer (-) Treasurer of the queen**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser III)
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB ša MÍ.É.GAL
Edubba 10 1:6-7 844 A. buys a slave for 1 talent of copper.
- **Nabû-šimanni (-) Treasurer of [...]**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and Shalmaneser IV)
N. LÚ*.IGI.DUB š[a ...]
794 N. sells a woman, instead of his servant Šulimu-abḫē, for 1 talent of bronze to the tanner(?) Aḫu-damqu.
779 The same(?) N. purchases the sister of Marduk-aḫu-ušur, servant of the queen, for 29 minas of copper.
779 The same(?) N. occurs as a purchaser in another broken legal document.
dl The same(?) N. purchases a man for 47 minas of copper.
- **Ilu-iqbi (-) Treasurer of the queen**
Kalhu (Aššūr-dān III)
I. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša MÍ.É.GAL
Edubba 10 53:1-2 762 I. seals a document concerning 61 harvesters in the charge of the *kurgarri* Bēl-Kundi-rēmāni.
- **Gabbu-ana-Aššūr (-) Treasurer of the queen**¹²⁰
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)
G. LÚ.IGI.DUB [ša? M]Í? É.GAL / G. 754 G. buys land for [x] amount of copper.
Edubba 10 32:8-9, 17 747 G. buys seven people for 210 minas of bronze.

¹²⁰ He is possibly identical with Gabbu-ilāni-Aššūr (1).

- **Bēl-dūrī (4) Treasurer of the queen**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
B. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša MÍ.É.GAL / B. Edubba 10 34:8–9, 20 736 B. buys land in the village of Mannu-dān for 1 talent of copper.
- B. LÚ*.IGI.DUB¹ ša MÍ.É.GAL / B. Edubba 10 36:12–13, r. 4¹ 736 B. buys land for 50 minas of copper from the shepherd Ilu-ušur (2).
- B. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša MÍ.É.GAL / B. Edubba 10 35:14', 25' dl B. buys land in the village of Mannu-kalla for 29 ½ minas of copper.
- B. CTN 3 125 r. 4 nd/dl The same(?) B. is possibly listed in a fragment of a wine list.
- **Gabbu-ilāni-Aššūr (1) Treasurer of the house of the queen**¹²¹
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
G. LÚ.IGI.DUB ša É MÍ.É.GAL / G. Edubba 10 33:7–8, 18 744/734 G. purchases a house and land for 118 minas of copper.
- **Mannu-ki-Bēlija (-) Treasurer of the queen**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
M. LÚ.IGI.DUB [ša] MÍ.É.GAL / M. [LÚ.IGI].DUB ša MÍ.É.GAL Edubba 10 46:1–3, r. 11–12 nd M. sells land to the chariot driver Abu-īāba.
- **Treasurer of the queen**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.IGI.DUB MÍ.É.GAL SAA 13 108:10–11 nd Nādīnu (= Nabû-šumu-iddina), mayor of the Nabû Temple, informs the king that among others 8 Kushite horses from the treasurer of the queen came in today.

¹²¹ He is possibly identical with Gabbu-ana-Aššūr.

3. Subordinates of the *masennu* of the queen3.1. *ša-rēši*

- **Šamaš-issē'a (2) *ša-rēši* of the treasurer of the queen**
Kalhu (Aššūr-dān III)

Š. LÚˀ.SAG <i>ša</i> LÚˀ*.IGI.DUB <i>ša</i> MÍ.É.GAL / Š.	Edubba 10 29:7–8, 15	762	Š. buys land in the town of Mardanada for 13 minas of copper.
Š. L[Ú.SAG] <i>ša</i> LÚ.IGI.DUB <i>ša</i> MÍ.É.GAL / Š.	Edubba 10 30:9–10, 17	dl	Š. buys a plot of land possibly situated in the area of Guzana.

3.2. *urdu* (servant)

- **Tišá (I) Servant of the treasurer (of the queen?)**
Kalhu (Aššūr-nērāri V)

T. LÚ.ARAD <i>ša</i> LÚ.IGI.DUB	Edubba 10 38 r. 26–27	746	T. is witness when Nergal-[...]ani, village manager of the queen, purchases a house.
---------------------------------	-----------------------	-----	--

4. *masennu* of the king's mother

- **Treasurer of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

LÚˀ*.IGI.DUB <i>ša</i> AMA–LUGAL	SAA 13 89:8	nd	Nabû-šumu-iddina, mayor of the Nabû Temple, informs the king that 4 Kushite horses from the treasurer of the king's mother came in.
LÚˀ*.IGI.DUB <i>ša</i> AMA–MAN	SAA 13 101:8	nd	The same Nabû-šumu-iddina informs the king about the income of another 4 Kushite horses from the treasurer of the king's mother.
LÚˀ*.IGI.DUB AMA–LUGAL	SAA 13 108 r. 3	nd	Nādinu (= Nabû-šumu-iddina) informs the king about the income of 12 Kushite horses from the treasurer of the king's mother.

- **Aḫu-[...]** (-) **Treasurer of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB' AMA-MAN
SAA 7 5 i 35
nyd/ydl A. is mentioned in a record listing court personnel.
 - **[...]bī** (-) **Treasurer of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
PN LÚ.IGI.DUB AMA-MAN
SAA 7 9 i 6'
nd/dl He is assigned to the "central residences" in an administrative document recording temporary lodgings.
5. *masennu* of the crown prince
- **Treasurer of the house of the crown prince**
Isana (Tiglath-pileser III)
LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša É LÚ*.DUMU-MAN
SAA 19 39 r. 9
nd Šarru-ēmurranni, deputy (governor) of Isana, reports to the king that he was told that the treasurer of the crown prince appropriated 40 hectares of sown land in the town of Pa[...].
 - **Treasurer of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
IGI.DUB A-MAN
SAA 11 219 ii 14'
nd/dl He is listed along with 20 hectares of land.
 - **Bēl-na'di** (4) **Treasurer of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
B. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša DUMU-MAN'
SAA 6 287 r. 11
670 B. witnesses the leasing of the village Bahaia by Atar-ili (2), *ša-rēšī* of the crown prince of Babylon.

6. *bēt masenni* of the Aššur Temple
- **House of the treasurer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Sargon II)
É LÚ*.IGI'.DUB ša É-aš-šur
SAA I 54 r. 9 nd
In a letter of the treasurer Ṭāb-šil-Aššur to the king he states that the bed will enter the house of the treasurer of Aššur.
7. *masennu* of the Aššur Temple (named)
- **Šamaš-nāšir (1) ša-rēši of Adad-nērāri III and treasurer of (the) Aššur (Temple)**
Assur (Adad-nērāri III)
Š. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša aš-šur / LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša
^d[aš-šur] / [L]Ú.IGI.DUB ša aš-šur
[Š.] LÚ*.SAG ša A. (...) LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša 'aš-šur'
ša LÚ*.SAG-ti-šú
SAA 12 69:6, 15, 26 809 Adad-nērāri entrusted the expenditures of oil and honey to Š. according to a royal decree.
SAA 12 1:3-4 788 Land an people of Š. were exempted and given to Aššur by Adad-nērāri III.
 - **Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra (3) Treasurer of (the) Aššur (Temple)**
Assur (unc.)
Ṭ. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša ^daš-šur
AO 31578:1-2 nd A macehead of unknown provenance belonged to Ṭ.
(Caubet 2001: 88) according to its inscription.
8. *masennu* of the Aššur Temple (unnamed)
- **Treasurer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Sargon II)
IGI.DUB É-aš-šur
SAA 11 219 ii 23' nd He is listed along with 40 hectares of land.
 - **Treasurer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Sennacherib)
LÚ.IGI.DUB É-aš-šur
SAA 20 52 r. i 19' nd His provisions for the *akītu*-house are listed.

- **Treasurer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.IGI.DUB ša É-áš-šur / LÚ*.IGI'.DUB
É-áš'-šur.¹ SAA 7 211:4, 11 nd
He provides parts of an ox and a sheep for offerings in the Aššur Temple.
 - **Treasurer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (unc.)
LÚ*.IGI.UM É-áš-šur SAA 11 80:8' nd/dl
He is listed with [x] sheep in an account of sheep.
9. *masennu* (named)¹²²
- **Bél-eriba (-) Treasurer (perhaps of the Aššur Temple)**, son of Kassupu
Assur (Aššur-nērāri V)
B. DU[**MU**] 'K.' 'LÚ*.IGI.DUB S¹AT 3 10 r. 21 749
B. is first witness when a house is sold.
 - **Ina-šār-Bél-allak (2) Treasurer of Dur-Šarrukin**
Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
I. LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša URU.BÀD-'MAN'-GIN ND 2451 r. 14' 707
(TCAE: 376-9)
SAA 1 128:2 nd
In a yearly account (*nikkassu*) from Kalhu I. is mentioned along with 20 wagons.
I. reports to the king about the people and oxen brought to him from Guzana.
 - I. SAA 1 129:2 nd
I. writes to the king about sheep offerings of the Nabû Temple.
 - I. SAA 1 130:2 nd
I. writes another letter to the king (broken).

¹²² This includes all the treasurers whose field of activity remains uncertain or who bear a unique qualification in Neo-Assyrian sources.

- **Nabū-qāfi-šabat (2) Treasurer (perhaps of Guzana)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ*.IGI.DUB
SAA 16 63:15
nd
In a letter of the “enigmatic informer” to the king the scribes Kufi and Tufi are said to have illegally sealed the document bearing the amount of silver of the shepherd’s quota by using the seal of N., the village manager and the scribe.
- **Mannu-kī-Aššūr (12) Treasurer**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ*.IGI.DUB
SAA 7 126:3
nd/dl
M. is listed along with a golden necklace.
- **M. LÚ*.IGI.DUB**
SAA 7 172:5
nd/dl
M. is listed along with five birds.
- **Sime-Dādi (1) Treasurer (perhaps of Til-Barsip)**
Til-Barsip (Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ*.IGI.DUB?
TB 13 r. 5
645*
S. witnesses a slave sale.
- **Šumna-Aššūr (7) Treasurer (perhaps of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.IGI.DUB
SiAT 3 102:5
655
Š. acts as a judge in a court case concerning paternal inheritance.
- **Tāb-šār-Nabū (5) Treasurer (perhaps of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ*.IGI.DUB
VAT 9582 r. 17
649
T. is witness in a slave sale document.
- **[...]ušur (-) Treasurer (perhaps of the household of the queen)**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
‘PN’ LÚ*.IGI.DUB
SAA 14 2 r. 3’
666
He is witness when Milki-nūri (1), *ša-rēši* of the queen, buys the village Bahata.

● **Aššur-mātu-taqqin (5) Treasurer (perhaps of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal and later)

- A. Rfdn 17 21*:4 640* A. is joint debtor of 9 shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 9:6 639* A. buys a female slave for 50 shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 31:10, r. 14 639* A. receives his share of inheritance (a female slave and a house) from his father Mannu-kī-Arbail.
- A. IGI.DUB¹⁷ / A. Rfdn 17 11:6, r. 18 638* A. buys a female slave for 17 ½ shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 30:2, 5 638* A., son of Mannu-kī-Arbail, adopts a son.
- A. Rfdn 17 15*:8 633* A. is owed barley, reed and wool by Samsiūnu from the town of Tagritianu.
- A. Rfdn 17 23:5 633* A. is joint debtor of 4 ½ minas 2 ½ shekels of silver for a trading enterprise.
- A. Rfdn 17 4:7 631* A. buys a female slave for 33 shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 32:1, 9 630* A. is opponent in a dispute settled by a prefect.
- A. Rfdn 17 13*:4 626* A. is owed 13 shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 8:6, 15 622* A. jointly buys a slave for ½ mina of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 24:2 618* A. is debtor of 21 minas of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 34:2, 5 = Jas 1996 no. 22 618* A. is involved in a settlement concerning an inheritance.
- A. Rfdn 17 16*:4 615* A. is owed 7 shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 7:6, r. 19 613* A. jointly buys a female slave for 2 minas 4 shekels of silver.
- A. Rfdn 17 14*:5 613* A. concludes a work contract according to which the son of Samsiūnu has to serve him for less than one year.
- A. Rfdn 17 10:14 612* A. buys a house for [x+]¹⁷ minas 4(?) shekels of silver.

A.	Rfdn 17 18*:4	612*	A. is owed 8 shekels of silver jointly.
A.	Rfdn 17 19:4	612*	A. is owed 5 shekels of silver.
A.	Rfdn 17 22:4	612*	A. is owed 2 shekels of silver.
A.	Rfdn 17 3:7	dl	A. buys a slave for 16 shekels of silver.
A.	Rfdn 17 28:3	nd	A. receives a letter from Urdī and Mutaqqin-Aššūr.

- **Raqqū (-) Treasurer**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)

R. IGI.DUB?¹

nd R. is mentioned in an administrative record.

STAT 3 35 i 4

- **[...]-Nabû (S) Treasurer (perhaps of the household of the crown prince)**

Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)

PN¹ LÚ.IG[IG].DUB x x]

SAA 14 166 l.e. 1

621* He is witness in a broken document of sale.

10. *masennu* (unnamed)¹²³

- **Treasurer**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.IGI.DUB

CTN 3 88:1

nd

According to the heading of an administrative list he delivered *ilkaḳāte* payments to the palace.

- **Treasurer(?) of Arbail**
Arbail (8th century)

LÚ*.IGI.DUJB? ša URU.arba-il

CTN 3 87:1

nd

According to the heading of an administrative list he delivered *ilkaḳāte* payments to the palace.

¹²³ This includes all the treasurers whose field of activity remains unclear or who bear a unique qualification as to the Neo-Assyrian sources.

- **Treasurer (perhaps of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Sennacherib)
LÚ*.IGI.DUB
StAT 2 156:5 695 According to a debt note he receives 10 minas of copper from Šumma-abhē.
- **Treasurer of the city of Harran**
Harran (7th century)
LÚ*.IGI.DUB ša URU.KASKAL
SAA 7 151 r. i' 7' nd/dl He is listed after the priest of Harran in an account of a ceremonial banquet.
IGI.DUB URU.KASKAL
SAA 7 153 r. ii' 1 nd/dl He occurs in another account of a ceremonial banquet.
- 11. *masennu* in lexical lists¹²⁴
 - **Treasurer**
LÚ*.IGI.DUB
MSL 12 233 r. vi 4 nd Listed after the *zakkū* and before the “son of the treasurer” in a lexical list from Huzirina.
LÚ*.maš-en-nu
MSL 12 238 r. v 9 nd He is listed between the “third man (on chariot)” and the chariot driver in a lexical list from Nineveh.
- 12. Son of the treasurer (*mār masenni*) in a lexical list
 - **“Son of the treasurer”**
LÚ*.DUMU-IGI.DUB
MSL 12 233 r. vi 5 nd Listed after the treasurer and the priest (*sangā*) in the same lexical list.

¹²⁴ The treasurer and the deputy treasurer listed in MSL 12 238 iii 33, 34 are not included since they seem to denote the magnate and his deputy.

OIL-PRESSER

1. *rab šāḫīti* (named)• **Irmulu (I) Superior to the oil-pressers**

Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)

I. EN-*i-ni*⁷KAV 197:1
(TCAE: 363–7)

nd

He receives a letter from the oil-pressers who complain about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Átamar-Aššūr.

• **Mušallim-Šamaš (-) Chief(?) oil presser**

Tušhan (probably after Assurbaniḫal)

M. [LÚ*.GAL]-Ī.ŠUR

ZTT 10:3–4

dl

M. is recipient of barley according to a broken legal document.

2. *rab šāḫīti* in a lexical list• **Chief oil-presser**

LÚ.GAL-Ī.ŠUR

MSL 12 233 r. v 17'

nd

Listed at the end of a section otherwise recording the oil-presser and the perfume maker in a lexical list from Huzirina.

3. *šāḫītu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors• **Aḫ-immé (II) Oil-presser**

unc. (Assurbaniḫal)

A. / PAB 4 LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

SAA 12 65:4', 5'

dl

He is listed in a fragment of a schedule to a land grant.

• **Lā-dāgil-ili (4) Oil-presser**

unc. (Assurbaniḫal)

L. / PAB 4 LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

SAA 12 65:5'

dl

He is listed in a fragment of a schedule to a land grant.

- **Nabû-šezibanni (15) Oil-presser**
unc. (Assurbaniḫal)
N. / PAB 4 LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
SAA 12 65:5' dl He is listed in a fragment of a schedule to a land grant.
 - [...] (-) **Oil-presser**
unc. (Assurbaniḫal)
[PN] / PAB 4 LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
SAA 12 65:4', 5' dl He is listed in a fragment of a schedule to a land grant.
4. *šāḫitu* of the temple
- **Bēl-ētir (21) Oil-presser of the Nabû Temple**
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal or later)
B. LÚ*.Ì.ŠUR É-⁴⁷PA? / B. LÚ*.Ì.ŠUR
ND 3412:4, 5 dl B. paid back his debts of silver to Ezbu, majordomo of the crown prince.
5. *šāḫitu* (named)
- **Kabar-[...] (1) Oil-presser**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser III)
K. LÚ.Ì.ŠUR
Edubba 10 11 r. 19–20 dl Together with Ḫansarūru (1), he is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys seven individuals.
 - **Ubrī (1) Oil-presser**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
U. LÚ*.Ì.ŠUR
SAA 6 2 r. 3–4 737 U. is witness when Mušallim-Issār, otherwise known as village manager of the *rab ša-rēši*, buys five individuals.
 - **Aššūr-aḫu-iddina (6) Oil-presser**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ*.Ì.ŠUR
SAA 6 96 r. 11 695 A. is witness when the woman Barsipītu buys four slaves.

- **Bēl-erība (3) Oil-presser**, son of Ubru-Assūr
Assur (Sennacherib)
B. A. U. LÚ* .Ī.SUR
698
SAAB 9 73 r. 47
Together with his colleague Sīn-abu-ušur (3), B. is witness in a house sale document.
- **Sīn-abu-ušur (3) Oil-presser**
Assur (Sennacherib)
S. Ī.SUR (according to the edition: *mī-(aš)-SUR*)
698
SAAB 9 73 t.e. 52
Together with his colleague Bēl-erība (3), S. is witness in a house sale document.
- **Adad-milki-ēreš (1) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
nd
KAV 197:8, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Atamar-Assūr.
- **Amar-Issār (1) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
nd
KAV 197:5, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Atamar-Assūr.
- **Apli (5) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
nd
KAV 197:2, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Atamar-Assūr.
- **Asqūdu (1) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
nd
KAV 197:8, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Atamar-Assūr.

- **Aššūr-aplu-iddina (4) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

nd

KAV 197:3, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)

Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.

- **Aššūr-mušēši (2) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

nd

KAV 197:3, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)

Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.

- **Aššūr-šēzibanni (7) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
A. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

nd

KAV 197:2, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)

Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.

- A.

nd

SAAB 9 74 r. iv 6

The same(?) A. is mentioned in an administrative document listing fathers with their sons. A. is listed as one out of three sons of Urdu-Aia.

- **Ēdī-ješir (3) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
Ē. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

nd

KAV 197:5, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)

Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.

- **Gabbu-āmur (7) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
G. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ

nd

KAV 197:4, 9
(TCAE: 363-7)

Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irrulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.

- **Iddināia (2) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
I. / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:7, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.
- **Issār-tarība (5) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
I. / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR
KAV 197:4, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.
- **Kiṣir-Aššūr (13) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
K. / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:6, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.
- **Kiṣir-Issār (2) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
K. / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:3, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.
- **Mudammiq-Aššūr (1) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
M. / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:7, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar-Aššūr.

- **Mušallim-Aššur (6) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
M. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:6, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššur-nādin and Ātamar-Aššur.
- **Nabū-eṭiranni (6) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
N. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:4, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššur-nādin and Ātamar-Aššur.
- **Nabū-na'id (8) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
N. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:5, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššur-nādin and Ātamar-Aššur.
- **Nabū-šumu-lešir (6) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
N. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:7, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššur-nādin and Ātamar-Aššur.
- **Šep-šarri (9) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
Š. / LÚ.Ī.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:5, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmulu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššur-nādin and Ātamar-Aššur.

- **Šunu-aḫūia (1) Oil-presser**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
Š. / LÚ.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
KAV 197:6, 9
(TCAE: 363–7)
nd
Together with his colleagues, he writes a letter to Irmultu, their master, complaining about the misbehaviour of Aššūr-nādin and Ātamar–Aššūr.
 - **Abu-lāmur (1) Oil-presser**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
A. Ì.SUR
SAAB 9 95 r. 13
675
A. is witness in a silver loan document.
 - **Qallussu (2) Oil-presser**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Q. LÚ.Ì.Š[UR?]
SAAB 5 35 r. 18
629*/
625*
Q. is witness when 30 *ḫundurāius* sell unbuilt land.
6. *ṣāḫitu* (unnamed)
- **2? oil-pressers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
?.* [0] LÚ.Ì. ŠUR.MEŠ
ND 2728+ r. 3'
nd
They are with other professionals listed and summed up as “additional craftsmen(?)”.
 - **Oil-pressers**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.Ì.ŠUR.MEŠ
CTN 2 197:3
nd
A letter of a certain Mār-Issār to the governor (of Kalhu) deals with the employment of oil-pressers.

7. *šāhītu* in lexical lists

• Oil-pressers

LÚ.Ì.ŠUR	MSL 12 233 r. v 15'	nd	Recorded in a section also referring to the perfume maker and the chief oil-presser in a lexical list from Huzirina.
LÚ.Ì.ŠUR	MSL 12 238 iii 8	nd	Listed between the gatekeeper and the farmhand in a lexical list from Nineveh.

BREWER

1. *rab sirāšē* of the governor• **Bur-Aia (I) Chief-beer-brewer of the governor of Guzana**

Assur (Sennacherib)

B. LÚ*.GAL-LUNGA-KAŠ [šá'] ša URU.gu-za-ni	LÚ*.EN.NAM STAT 2 53 r. 20-21	700	B. is witness when a bathroom is sold for 50 shekels of silver to Qišerāia, chief [...].
---	-------------------------------	-----	--

2. *rab sirāšē* of the Aššur Temple• **Chief brewer of the Aššur Temple**

Assur (unc.)

LÚ.GAL-LÚNGA šá É-AN.ŠÁR	SAA 20 50 r. i 7'	nd	According to this document on the responsibilities of the personnel of the Aššur Temple, he is responsible for the beer of all temples.
--------------------------	-------------------	----	---

3. *rab širāšē* (named)

- **Ḫipirraū (1) Chief brewer**
Assur (Esarhaddon)

Ḫ. GAL-LÚNGA? STAT 2 164 r. 14 675 Ḫ. is first witness when Pabbā'u, horse keeper(?) of Ištar of Arbail, gives his daughter in marriage.

- **Aššūr-ballāssu-iqbi (9) Chief brewer**
Assur (Assurbampal and later)

A. VAT 5605 r. 13 630* A. is first witness in a judicial document.

(Radner 1997c: 125–29, no. 3)

A. STAT 2 141 r. 8 623* The same(?) A. is witness when a woman is sold.

A. GAL-LÚNGA STAT 3 3 r. 39 615* The same(?) A. acts as a witness in a court case involving a copper-smith.

A. VAT 8667:13 614* The same(?) A. is listed along with 3 *sītu* of corn or bread in an administrative document.

A. STAT 2 315:1 nd The same(?) A. is author of a letter addressed to Handābu dealing with a bed which should be brought to Danate.

- **Mannu-ki-Aššūr (38) Chief brewer and city lord**
Assur (unc.)

M. LÚ*, GAL-LÚNGA EN-URU-šū KAV 122:3–4' dl M. is witness in a broken legal document.

- **[...] (-) Chief brewer**
Assur (7th century)

[PN L]Ú.GAL-LÚNGA KAV 166 r. 3' dl He is witness in a fragmentary legal document.

4. Town of the Brewers
- **Town of the Brewers**
Nineveh (8th century)
URU-¹LUNGA'.MEŠ
ND 2476 i 4' dl Is listed along with 24 emāru 1 *qî* (of grain).
 - **Town of the Brewers**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
URU-¹LÚ.LUNGA'.MEŠ
SAA 12 50 r. 10' nd Tax-exempted land is located in the Brewer Town.
 - **Town of the Brewers**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
URU-¹LÚNGA.MEŠ
CTN 3 11:8 624* Asqūdu, who owes barley, is said to be from Brewer Town.
5. Dwelling (*mūšūbu*) of the *sirāšū*
- **Dwelling of the brewer(s)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
mu-še-bi LÚ.ŠIMx(x)
SAA 7 9 ii 5' nd/dl According to a list of lodgings five officials are assigned to his dwellings.
6. *sirāšū* of the crown prince
- **[Aḫ]-lē'i (-) Brewer of the house of the crown prince**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[A.] LÚ.LÚNGA ša É DUMU-MAN
STAT 1 23:9' =
STAT 2 243 dl A. buys a house from Sabību (8), chief(?) farmhand of the commander-in-chief.

7. *sirāšū* of the temple

- **Brewers (of the the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.LUNGA.MEŠ / [LÚ*.LUN]GA.MEŠ (l. 22) / SAA 12 69:13, 22,
LÚ*.LUNGA.M[EŠ] (l. 38) / [LÚ*.LUNGA.MEŠ] 29, 34, 38, 44, r. 26
(l. 44) 809
According to this decree of expenditures for various
ceremonies of the Aššur Temple, they receive barley
for (the preparation of) beer. They shall not be called
for labour and corvée.
LÚ*.LÚNGA.MEŠ SAA 12 70 r. 14' = nd
unplaced fragment
of SAA 12 69
They take [...] for (the preparation of) beer.

- **Brewer (of the temple of Šarrat-nipha in Assur)**
Assur (Shalmaneser III)
LÚ.LÚNGA SAA 12 68:13, 27, nd
35, r. 2, 10, 13, 16, 28
According to this copy of a decree of Tukultī-Inūrta for
the temple of Šarrat-nipha the brewer receives food-
stuffs and prepares beer and has the usufruct of some
leftovers (together with the baker).

- **Aššūr-ēreš (2) Brewer of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Sargon II)
A. LÚ*.BAPPİR É-ās-šur STAT 3 32 r. 22' 708
A. is witness in a broken land sale document.

- **Ubru-Issār (9) Brewer of the temple(?) of [...]**
Assur (Sargon II)
U. LÚ.LUNGA ša É' [x] STAT 3 27 r. 6' 715
U. is witness in a judicial document.

- **Brewers of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Sargon II)
LÚ.LÚNGA.MEŠ ša É-^da-šur SAA 20 55:14 714
They mix the clay(?) for plastering the altar.

- **Brewer**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
LÚ*.LÚNGA
 - **Šakil-Aia (9) Brewer**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ*.BAPPIR
 - **Brewers**
Arbail (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.LÚNGA.MEŠ?
 - 8. *sirāšū* (named)
 - [...] (-) **Brewer**(?)
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
[PN] LÚ*?·[LUN]GA?
 - **Ahi-nāsi (1) Brewer**, son of Aššūr-aḫu-ēreš
Assur (Sargon II)
A. 'A. A. LÚ*.LUNGA
 - **Ḥattianu (2) Brewer**
Kalhu/from Biḫu (8th century)
Ḫ. LÚ.BAPPIR (...) URU.bi²-ḫa-[x-]-a-a
 - **Taqisu (1) Brewer**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
T. LÚ*.LUNGA¹
- | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------|----|--|
| | ND 5457:3 | 699 | 59 | emāru 2 sūtu of corn of his are given to Muṭi. |
| | SAA 7 183 r. 2-3 | nd | | Temple offerings for the wedding night of Mullissu, consisting of different sorts of beer, are in Š.'s care. |
| | SAA 12 89:3' | dl | | They are donated to Ištar of Arbail by the king. |
| | STAT 3 22 r. 2' | 758 | | He is witness in a legal document involving the chief musician Aššūr-šumu-iškun (-). |
| | STAT 2 102 r. 10' | 711 | | A. is witness when a cook of Ištar buys something. |
| | CTN 2 114:5, 7 | nd/dl | | Ḫ. is listed in an administrative document. |
| | SAA 6 282 r. 1 | 673 | | T. is witness in a fragment of a debt note. |

- [...] (-) **Brewer(?)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[PN LÚ.LUJNGA / [PN LÚ.LUNGA] SAA 6 272:4 / r. 1' 677 He owes silver, first-fruits of Issār, and gives a woman as a pledge.
- **Mutakkil-Aššūr (10) Brewer**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
M. BAPPİR SAA 14 61 r. 8 // 658 M. is witness when the wine master Zārūtū (23) together with his(?) deputy owes 9 minas 15 shekels of silver.
M. LÚ.LÚNGA¹ SAA 14 62 r. 12' dl The same M. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Na'di-Aššūr (7) Brewer**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚNGA KAN 4 24 r. 16 dl N. is witness when a woman is sold.
- **Sākip-Aššūr (1) Brewer**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
S. / S. LÚ*.LUNGA SAAB 5 29:1, 7 657 S. sells a slave girl for 10 shekels of silver.
- **Abu-ul-īdi (16) Brewer**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)
A.: (for LÚ.BAPPİR in r. 3') SAA 14 53 r. 4' dl A. is witness for the cohort commander Kakkullānu.
- **Aqdaš-il (1) Brewer**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)
A. LÚ.BAPPİR SAA 14 53 r. 3' dl A. is witness for the cohort commander Kakkullānu.
- **Aššūr-iqbi (13) Brewer**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A.: (for LÚ.LÚNG[A] in r. 9) STAT 2 141 r. 10 623* A. is witness when a woman is sold.

- [Ašš]ūr-mudammīq (-) **Brewer**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.LÚNG[A]
StAT 2 141 r. 9
623* A. is witness when a woman is sold.
 - Dūr-māki-Aššūr (2) **Brewer**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
D. LUNGA
StAT 2 141 r. 12
623* D. is witness when a woman is sold.
 - Šulmu-abhē (35) **Brewer**
Nineveh (7th century)
Š. LÚ*.BAPPIR
SAA 14 188 r. 7
dl Š. is witness when land is sold.
9. *sirāšū* (unnamed)
- **Brewer**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
[LÚ*.LÚNGA] // [LÚ*.LÚJNGA]
SAA 12 82:4 //
83 r. 3
nd A brewer is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) in the context of his appointment.
 - **Brewer**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.sir-ā²-[šū]
TH 65 b.e. 11
nd Listed along with 1 hide in an administrative document.
 - [x] **Brewers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
[x] LÚ.ŠIM[xA²].MEŠ
ND 2728+ r. 2'
nd They are listed in an administrative document among other professionals as “additional craftsmen(?)”.
 - **Brewer “of the campaign”**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.LÚNGA ša KASKAL
CTN 3 87:14
nd He is listed along with 3 *qū* of grapes and 3 minas of aromatic plants in an administrative document.

- **Brewer**
- (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.LÚNGA // LÚ.LÚNGA // [LÚ.LÚNGA] //
LÚ.LÚNGA // [LÚ.LÚNGA]
 - **3 brewers**
Nineveh (unc.)
3 LÚ.LÚNGA.[MEŠ]
 - 10. *sirāšū* in a lexical list
 - **Brewer**
LÚ.LÚNGA
- | | | | |
|--|--|---------------|---|
| | RINAP 5/1 3 viii 13
// 4 viii 16 // 7 x 27 //
11 ix 50 // 22 i' 13'' | 649*–
645* | |
| | SAA 7 20 r. i' 2 | nd/dl | Assurbanipal states that he brought numerous livestock including camels to Assyria (after successful campaigns in the west), so that camels could be bought for ½ shekel of silver, the brewer paid 1 storage jar (of beer). They are listed in a broken administrative document. |
| | MSL 12 233 iii 14' | nd | Recorded in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section listing two writings for the brewer and the chief brewer. |
- CHIEF MALTSTER**
1. *rab šimāni* (named)
 - **Šulmu-bēli-jāmur (3) Chief maltster(?)**
Kalhu (Assūr-dān III)
Š. GAL–*ši-mā-ni*
- | | | | |
|--|---------------|-----|--|
| | CTN 2 4 r. 15 | 769 | |
| | | | Š. is witness when a servant of the great treasurer sells his daughter to a servant of the village manager Bēl-issē'a. |

MALTSTER

1. *barrāqu* (unnamed)• **Maltster**

Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)

LÚ*.*bar-r[a-qu]*LÚ*.*bar-ra-qu*[L]Ú*.*bar-r[a-qu]*[LÚ*.*bar-r[a'-qu]*¹²⁵LÚ*.*bar-ra-qu*LÚ*.*bar-ra-[qu]*LÚ.*bar-ra-q[u]*[L]Ú.*bar-r[a-qu]*[L]Ú.*bar-r[a-qu]*

CTN 1 9:30

CTN 1 6 r. 37

CTN 1 10 r. 5

CTN 1 11 r. 13'

CTN 1 12:5'

CTN 1 17:5'

CTN 1 19 r. 5

CTN 1 27:2'

CTN 3 129:3'

745/732 He receives [x] amount of wine.

ydl He receives [x] *qû* of wine.

nd/dl He receives [x] amount of wine.

nd/dl He receives 1 *qû* of wine.nd/dl He receives [x] *qû* of wine.nd/dl He receives [x] *qû* of wine.

dl He receives [x] amount of wine.

nd/dl He receives [x] amount of wine.

nd/dl He receives [x] amount of wine.

PERFUME MAKER

1. *muraqqiu* (named)• **Pašhâ (1) Perfume maker**

Kalhu (Sennacherib)

P. LÚ.*mu-ra-qi-u*

ND 2306 r. 13

687

P. is witness in a broken document of sale.

¹²⁵ Restoration according to Parpola (1976-7: 168).

- **Sa-ḥpi-māu (1) Perfume maker**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ*.Ì.DU.DU
SAA 14 161 r. 9 = 623*
FNALD 13
S. is surety for a woman given into marriage.
- 2. *muraqqiu* in lexical lists
 - **Perfume maker**
LÚ.Ì.DU.DU
MSL 12 233 r. v 16 nd
Recorded in a section also referring to the chief oil-presser and the oil-presser in a lexical list from Huzirina.
 - LÚ.*mu-raq-qi-ù*¹²⁶
MSL 12 238 r. vi 29 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, along with the baker.
- 3. *muraqqītu*
 - **One female perfume maker**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
1¹ MÍ.*mu-raq-qi-tú* 0¹
SAA 7 24 r. 8 nd/dl
She is listed in an administrative record together with her two female servants.
- 4. Subordinates of the *muraqqītu*
 - 4.1. *amtu* (female servant)
 - **2 female servants**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
2 GÉME.MEŠ-šá
SAA 7 24 r. 9 nd/dl
They are listed in an administrative record together with their mistress.

¹²⁶ Reading according to Postgate (1980: 68) who collated the tablet.

BARBER

1. *gallābu* (named)

- **Bēl-abu-ušur (3) Barber**, son of [...]

Harraan area (Sargon II)

B. LÚ*.ŠU.I A [PN]

SAA 11 213 iv 13' nd/dl B. is mentioned in a tablet of the Harraan Census.

- **Nabû-erība (20) Barber**, son of Issār-šumu-iddina

Nineveh (Assurbanipal)

N. DUMU I. LÚ.ŠU.I

639* N. witnesses a record of a lawsuit involving the farmer Aḫū-lā-amašši (23).

SAA 14 104 r. 9 =
Jas 1996 no. 14 and
FNALD 43

- [...]-**Adad (-) Barber**

Assur (7th century)

PN LÚ*.ŠU.I

STAT 2 2 b.e. 11 nd He is listed along with [x] amount of barley.

2. *gallābu* (unnamed)

- **Barber**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon)

[LÚ].ŠU.I

SAA 10 210:13 nd In a letter of the exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur to the “farmer” the barber is mentioned as part of a ceremony in a reed hut, cf. SAA 10 211.

LÚ.ŠU.U.I

SAA 10 211 r. 1 nd Cf. SAA 10 210.

- **Barber**

Babylonia (7th century)

LÚ.ŠU.T

SAA 18 128 r. 2' nd He is mentioned in a fragmentary Babylonian letter.

3. *gallābu* in a lexical list

• **Barber**

LÚ*.ŠU.I

MSL 12 238 r. v 28

nd

Listed before the butcher in a lexical list from Nineveh.

4. *gallābtu*

• **One female barber**

Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)

I MÍ.ŠU'.I

SAA 7 24 r. 6

nd

She is listed in an administrative document.

WEAVER

1. *rab ušpāri* (named)

• **Arbailāiu (14) Chief weaver**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

A. LÚ*.GAL-UŠ.BAR.MEŠ

SAA 6 163 r. 14'

686

A. is witness when land and people are sold.

• **Urdá (2) Chief weaver**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

U. LÚ.GAL-UŠ.BAR.M[EŠ]

SAA 6 190:4-5

682

U. owes 8 pieces of two kinds of textile to a god (divine name lost).

• **Zer-Issār (2) Chief weaver**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

Z. LÚ.GAL-UŠ.BAR.ME

SAA 6 90 r. 10

683

Z. is witness when the šakintu Aḫi-ḫalīr buys 17 people and a garden.

2. *rab kiširi* (cohort commander) of the weavers
- **Nabūti (I) Weaver and cohort commander of the weavers**
Nineveh (Sennacherib and Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ.UŠ.BAR
SAA 6 90 r. 11 683 N. is witness when Ahi-ṭallī, *šakintu* of Nineveh, buys 17 persons and a garden.
 - N. GAL-*ki-šir ša* UŠ.BAR.MEŠ 681 N. is witness when a *sekretu* (unnamed) buys 27 persons and their properties.
3. *ušpārūtu*
- **Weaver's craft**
unc. (Sennacherib)
LÚ.UŠ.BAR-*ú-tu*
RINAP 3/2 228, Fragment K :3' nd Mentioned in a building report; the actual background remains unclear.
4. *ušpāru* of the queen
- **Šamaš-na'di (5) Weaver of the house of the queen**
Nineveh (8th or 7th century)
Š. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR *ša* É MÍ.É.GAL SAA 11 222 r. 11-12 nd He is mentioned along with 5 minas of silver in an administrative document.
 - **Issār-šumu-iddina (7) Weaver of the queen**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.UŠ.BAR *ša* MÍ.É.GAL 637* I.'s two sons sell Šumma-Nabû (4), a weaver of multi-coloured cloth, to Iddin-Aia, priest of Ninurta.

5. *ušpāru* of the commander-in-chief
- **Bēl-issē'a (4) Weaver (of the house of the commander-in-chief)**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
B. KI.MIN (for LÚ*.UŠ.BAR and probably also *ša* CTN 2 91 t.e. 36
É LÚ*.tur-ta-ni in t.e. 35) 797 B. is witness when Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, pays off the debts of the weaver of multicoloured cloth, Urdu-Issār (2).
 - **Ubru-ilāni (1) Weaver of the house of the commander-in-chief**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
U. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR *ša* É LÚ*.tur-ta-ni CTN 2 91 t.e. 35 797 U. is witness when Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, pays off the debts of the weaver of multicoloured cloth, Urdu-Issār (2).
 - U. CTN 2 86 r. 3' dl The same(?) U. is witness in another legal document, only fragmentarily preserved.
6. *ušpāru* of the *rab ša-rēši*
- **Aḫu-lē'i (13) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
unc. (Assurbaniḫal)
A. LÚ.[U]Š.BAR-GÜN SAA 12 27:24 dl Together with his colleague Īn-ili (1) A. is listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption meant for the *rab ša-rēši* Nabū-šarru-ušur.
 - **Īn-ili (1) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
unc. (Assurbaniḫal)
Ī. LÚ.UŠ.BAR-GÜN SAA 12 27:24 dl Together with his colleague Aḫu-lē'i (13) Ī. is listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption meant for the *rab ša-rēši* Nabū-šarru-ušur.

7. *ušpāru* of the vizier
- **Lā-tubašanni-ilu (1) Weaver of the house of the vizier**
Nineveh/Goldsmith Town (Tiglath-pileser III)
L. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR.ša É LÚ*.SUKKAL SAA 6 19 r. 10'–11' 734 L. is witness for Šumu-īšir, recruitment officer, who buys land.
8. *ušpāru* of the magnates
- **Weavers of the magnates**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ [š]a? LÚ.GAL.MEŠ SAA 16 83:7–8 nd In a letter from Marduk-šarru-ušur to the king's weavers, probably subordinate to the magnates, are mentioned in connection with 20 talents of red(?) wool.
9. *ušpāru* of the palace scribe
- **Bēl-iddina (-) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
Kalhu (Aššūr-dān III)
B. LÚ.UŠ.BAR–*bit-me* Edubba 10 9:4 765 B. is sold to the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1) for 1 mina of silver.
10. *ušpāru* of the royal chariot driver
- **Ahūšina (4) Weaver of šiprātu-garments and servant of Mušēzib-Marduk, prefect of the horses of the New House**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
A. LÚ.UŠBAR₅-TÚG.šip-rat ARAD-ša ša M. SAA 6 301:4–5 670 A. is sold to Rēmanni-Adad, royal chariot driver, for 1 ½ minas (of silver).

11. *ušpāru* of the priest

- **Šumma-Nabū (4) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
Kalhu (Assurbaniṣal)

Š. LÚ.UŠ.BAR-*bir-me*
SAA 12 94:5
637*
Š. is sold for ½ mina of silver to Iddināia, priest of Ninurta, by the sons of Issār-šumu-iddina (7), weaver of the queen.

12. *ušpāru* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors

- **Sagībī (5) Weaver**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
S. LÚ.UŠ.BAR
- **[...]Issār (-) Female weaver(?)**
unc. (Assurbaniṣal)
PN̄ MÍ.U[Š.BAR?]

SAA 6 294:1'
dl
S. is sold together with his wife and another family.

SAA 12 63:7'
dl
She is listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption.

13. *ušpāru* of the temple

- **Weavers of Ištar of Arbail**
Kurbail/from Arbail (Esarhaddon)

LÚ*.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ *ša* ⁴15 *ša* URU.*arba-il*
SAA 16 84 r. 8–9
nd
In a letter from Nabū-šarru-ušur to the king they are said to make fabric out of red wool in Kurbail.

- **Weavers**
Kurbail/from Arbail (Esarhaddon)
[LÚ.UŠ].BAR.MEŠ

SAA 13 186 r. 3'
nd
The priest Aplāia reports to the king that the weavers did not give the clothing.

- **Weavers of Arbail**
Kurbail/from Arbail (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.UŠ.B|AR.MEŠ DUMU URU.*arba-il*
SAA 13 186 r. 9'-10' nd
The priest Aplāia reports to the king that the weavers of Arbail used to weave the *iškāru* of the palace.
 - **Temple weavers**
Arbail (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ša É.KUR
SAA 13 145:7 nd
Nabû-mušeši reports to the king that they did not finish the *iškāru* for him since they are performing masonry duty.
14. *ušpāru* (named)
- **Bēl-issē'a (3) Weaver of Arbail**
Kalhu/from Arbail (Adad-nērāri III)
B. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR ša URU.*arba-il*
CTN 2 91 r. 32 797
B. is witness when Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, pays off the debts of the weaver of multicoloured cloth, Urdu-Issār (2).
 - **Mannu-kī-ahḫē (1) Weaver**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
M. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
CTN 3 145 r. iii 16 784
M. receives 1 *qīt* of wine.
(reverse of CTN 1 3)
 - **Šamaš-aḫu-iddina (1) Weaver**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
Š. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
CTN 2 91 t.e. 34 797
Š. is witness when Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, pays off the debts of the weaver of multicoloured cloth, Urdu-Issār (2).

- **Mušallim-Marduk (8) Weaver**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
M. LÚ*.x[...]
M. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
M. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
 - **Qibinnī (1) Weaver**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
Q.
Q. LÚ.UŠBAR₅'
 - **Sukkāia (2) Weaver**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
S.
S. LÚ.UŠ.B[AR]
 - **[...]bu (-) Weaver**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN] LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
 - **Bābānu (2) Weaver**
Kalhu (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ.úš-pa-ru
 - **Ḫaldi-ētir (1) Weaver**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Ḫ. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-----|---|
| | Edubba 10 27 r. 11' | 777 | M. is witness in a broken conveyance document. |
| | CTN 1 1 ii 6 | nyd | The same(?) M. receives 5 <i>qūt</i> of wine. |
| | CTN 1 1 r. iii 26–27 | nyd | The same(?) M. receives 1 <i>qūt</i> of wine. |
| | SAA 6 10:15, r. 14
// 11:7' | 717 | Q. owns a field next to that purchased by Inūrta-ilā'ī.
In the same document Q. is also witness. |
| | SAA 6 13 r. 3' | 713 | Q. is again witness when Inūrta-ilā'ī sells land. |
| | SAA 6 10 r. 15 | 717 | S. is witness when Inūrta-ilā'ī buys land. |
| | SAA 6 13 r. 2' | 713 | S. is witness when Inūrta-ilā'ī sells land. |
| | CTN 2 97 r. 2 | dl | Listed along with 1 mina (no commodity given) in what might be a list of creditors. |
| | ND 2306 r. 9 | 687 | B. is the first witness in a broken document of sale. |
| | SAA 6 96 r. 14 | 695 | Ḫ. is witness when the woman Barsipūtu buys four persons. |

- [...] (-) **Weaver**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[PN] LÚ.UŠ.BAR
SAA 6 271 r. 10
678
He is witness in a legal document recording a lease of land.
- [...] (-) **Weaver**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
[PN] LÚ.: (for LÚ.UŠ.BAR r. 10)
SAA 6 271 r. 11
678
He is witness in a legal document recording the transfer of leased land.
- **Ešrāiu (6) Weaver**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
E. UŠ.BAR
SAA 7 172 r. 10
nd/dl
E. is listed along with garments in an administrative document.
- **Adad-rēmāni (9) Weaver**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.UŠ.BAR
SAA 21 141 r. 3
nd
In a letter to the king (author lost) A. together with a chariot driver and a “third man (on chariot)” is said to have fled from the king’s father (Esarhaddon) because they were afraid of being killed.
- **Adda-atar (1) Weaver**
Maʿallanate (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
O 3705 r. 15
636*
A. is witness when a slave boy is sold for ½ mina of silver.
- A.
O 3664 r. 4’
dl
[...] -ahhē-šallim, son of A., witnesses a legal trans-
action (badly broken).

- **Il-dalā (12) Weaver**, son of Raḫimā
Assur/from Hašiniṭe (Assurbaniṭal)
I. DUMU R. UŠ.BAR TA URU.ḫa-ši-ni-ḫe-e
641* I. owes 30 *emāru* of barley to Bēssū'a.
AfO 42 A3:3-5 =
RA 24 6
- **Na'dī (3) Weaver**
Kalhu (Assurbaniṭal)
N. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
656 N. is witness when Sukkāia (26), tailor of the queen,
owes grain.
ND 5448 r. 21 =
FNALD 32
- **Qibīt-Issār (5) Weaver**
Kalhu (Assurbaniṭal)
Q. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
641* First witness when Milki-ḫaiāia, votaress of Mullissu,
is given in marriage.
ND 2316 r. 18
- **Turši-Issār (2) Weaver**
Kalhu (Assurbaniṭal)
T. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
641* T. takes Milki-ḫaiāia, votaress of Mullissu, in marriage.
ND 2316:5-6
- **Urdu-Aššūr (4) Weaver**
Assur (Assurbaniṭal)
U. LÚ*.UŠ. BAR
650/PC U. is witness when inheritance is divided up between
three sons of a tailor of Aššur.
648* The same U. is witness in a house sale document.
SAAB 9 71 r.e. ii
55-56
STAT 3 2 r. 30
- **Ribāti (8) Weaver**, son of Šarru-ibni
Kalhu (Assurbaniṭal or later)
R. A Š. LÚ.UŠ.BAR
dl R. sells Mannu-kī-Šamaš (1), a *ša-pān-nuḫatimmi(?)*,
to the *ša-rēši* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).
ND 3428:1-2

- **Ṭuhī (I) Weaver(?)**
Ma'allanate (Assurbanipal or later)
Ṭ. L[Ú*:UŠ.BAR] / Ṭ. [LÚ*:UŠ.B]AR AfO 42 A9:2', 5' dl Ṭ. sells a female slave (broken document).
- **[...] (-) Weaver**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN] UŠ.BAR STAT 1 30 r. 3' dl Witness in a broken legal document.
- **Aplū'a (I) Weaver**, son of Iaḳru and brother of Awiāiu
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. DUMU I.: (for LÚ.UŠ.BAR in r. 25) SAAB 5 35 r. 26 629*/625* A. is witness when unbuilt land is sold by 30 *ḫundurāius*, including the chief *ḫundurāiu*.
- **A.** STAT 2 123 r. 11 dl The same(?) A. witnesses a slave sale document.
- **Iqbi-Aššūr (II) Weaver**, son of Urdu-Aššūr
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
I. DUMU U. LÚ.UŠ.BAR SAAB 5 35 r. 25 629*/625* I. is witness when unbuilt land is sold by 30 *ḫundurāius*, including the chief *ḫundurāiu*.
- **I.** SAAB 5 13:4, 9 618* The same(?) I. is owed 5 shekels of silver.
- **Šamaš-rēmāni (I2) Weaver**
Nineveh (7th century)
Š.: (for LÚ*.UŠ.BAR in r. 8) SAA 14 188 r. 9 dl Š. is witness when a house and unbuilt land is sold.
- **Urdu (26) Weaver**
Nineveh (7th century)
U. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR SAA 14 188 r. 8 dl Š. is witness when a house and unbuilt land is sold.

15. *ušpāru* (unnamed)
- **Weaver**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
SAA 12 83 r. 7
nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) in the decree concerning his appointment.
 - **Weaver**
Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III)
UŠ.BAR
Billa 86:2'
(TCAE: 353–4)
nd/dl
He is mentioned in a broken administrative document dealing with corn and straw tax.
 - **[x] weavers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
[x] 'LÚ.UŠ.BAR'.[MEŠ]
ND 2728+ r. 16'
nd
Listed among other professionals in an administrative document as “additional craftsmen(?)”.
 - **20 weavers(?)**
Arbail (Sargon II)
20 [LÚ*.UŠ.BA]R?.MEŠ
ND 2803 i 7
dl
They receive 54? *emāru* of bread, beer or grain.
 - **20 weavers(?)**
Kilizi (Sargon II)
20 LÚ*.U[Š.BAR].MEŠ
ND 2803 i 15
dl
They receive 54 *emāru* of bread, beer or grain.
 - **25 weavers**
Adian (Sargon II)
25 [LÚ*.U]Š.BAR.MEŠ
ND 2803 i 25
dl
They receive 63 *emāru* of bread, beer or grain.
 - **25 weavers**
Land of the chief cupbearer (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
25 GAL-KA[Š'.LUL] / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 1, 9–10
nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.

- **20 weavers**
Rašappa (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
20 *ra-šap-p[a]* / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 2, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.
- **10 weavers**
Land of the palace herald (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
10 600–KUR / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 3, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.
- **10 weavers**
Arzuhina (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
10 *ur-zit-ḫi-na* / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 4, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.
- **5 weavers**
Mazamua (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
5 *ma-za-mi-a* / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 5, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.
- **25 weavers**
Arrapha (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
25 *arrap-ḫa* / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 6, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.
- **30 weavers**
Kar-Aššur (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
30 *kar-aš-šur* / PAB 1 ME 45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ SAA 7 23 r. 7, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.

- **20 weavers**
Lahiru (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
20 *la-hi-ru* / PAB 1 ME.45 UŠ.BAR.MEŠ
SAA 7 23 r. 7, 9–10 nd
In an administrative document they are listed along with various other groups of weavers from different areas.
- **Weavers**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ
ZTT 22:12 nd
In a letter of a certain Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) they are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment with other craftsmen.
- 16. *ušpāru* in lexical lists
- **Weavers**
LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
MSL 12 233 ii(A) 10 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with professions mainly concerned with textiles and clothing.
- LÚ*.UŠ.BAR
MSL 12 238 r. iv 16 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, between the boatman and the fowler.
- 17. *ušpārtu* of the king
- **Female weavers of the king**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
MÍ.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ-*te*
ša LUGAL
SAA 1 33:24-r. 1 nd
In a letter to the king Sennacherib reports that the Commageneans claimed that they shall make the selection of red wool.

18. *ušpārtu* (named)
- **Eša-rīše (1) Female weaver**
Nineveh (7th century)
E. / PAB 4 MĪ.UŠ.[BAR.MEŠ]
SAA 11 169 r. 3–4
nd/dl
In an administrative document E. is listed as one of four female weavers, the other three names are lost.
19. *ušpār birni*
- **Urdu-Issār (2) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
U. LÚ.UŠ.BAR–*bir-me*
CTN 2 91:1–3
797
In a legal document it is recorded that Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, has paid his debts in full.
 - **Sa[...]i (-) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
S. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR–*bir-m[e]*
Edubba 10 27 r. 8'
777
S. is witness in a broken conveyance document.
 - **Urdu-Aia (4) Weaver of multicoloured cloth**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
U. LÚ.UŠ.BAR–GÜN
SAA 6 42 r. 8 =
FNALD 5
692
U. is first witness for the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni.
20. *ušpār šiprāti*
- **Weaver of šiprātu-garments**
Kalhu (Aššurnaširpal II)
LÚ*.UŠ.BAR–*šip-ṛat*
SAA 12 83 r. 8
nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) in the decree concerning his appointment.

- **Weaver of *šiprātu*-garments**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
[LÚ*].UŠ.BAR-TÚG*.*šip-rā-te* 784 He receives wine (amount lost).
CTN 3 145 r. iv 14
(= reverse of CTN I 3)
 - **Ḫanni (5) Formerly “of the weavers of *šiprātu*-garments”, now farmer**
Harran area (Sargon II)
Ḫ. LÚ*.UŠ.BAR-*šip-ra-a-te* LÚ*.ENGAR SAA 11 202 ii 17' nd/dl
Ḫ. and his family are recorded in a tablet of the Harran Censur.
 - **[...] (-) Weaver of *šiprātu*-garments**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
[PN] LÚ*.UŠ.BAR-*šip-rat* SAA 16 55:2 nd
According to a badly preserved letter to the king he and two others are said to have stored grain and made a claim about an Egyptian.
 - **Weaver of *šiprātu*-garments**
Nineveh (probably 7th century, see fn. 9)
LÚ.UŠ.BAR-*šip-rat* SAA 7 115 r. i 7 nd/dl
In an administrative document he is listed along with 2 talents of madder as consumption.
21. *ušpār šiprāti* in a lexical list
- **Weaver of *šiprātu*-garments**
LÚ*.UŠ.BAR-TÚG-*šip-ra-te* MSL 12 233 ii(A) 12 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with professions mainly concerned with textiles and clothing.

FELT-WORKER

1. *rab sēpie* in a lexical list
 - **Chief felt-worker**
LÚ.GAL.MUG
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 28' nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, after the *sēpiu*.
2. *sēpiu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
 - **Kī-lamši (3) Felt-worker**
unc. (Assurbaniṣal)
K. LÚ.*se-pi-ú*
SAA 12 65:3' dl
He is listed in what seems to be a fragment of a schedule to a land grant.
3. *sēpiu* of the temple
 - **Sāmidu (3) Felt-worker of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal)
S. LÚ*¹.*se-(pi)-u É-aš-šur*¹²⁷
STAT 2 140:4 641* S. buys a woman and her son for 1 mina of silver.
4. *sēpiu*
 - **Kēnu-šallim (1) Felt-worker**
Kalhu (Adad-nēārī III and Shalmaneser IV)
K. LÚ*.MUG
Edubba 10 17 r. 10' 790 K. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys a house, stables and gardens.
 - K. LÚ.MUG
Edubba 10 18 r. 21 779 K. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys a house.
 - K. LÚ.MUG
Edubba 10 11 r. 24 dl K. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys seven slaves.

¹²⁷ The edition reads *ni'-si-u ša'* *Aš-šur* but offers no translation for *ni'-si-u* (Donbaz and Parpola 2001 : 103).

- [...]MEŠ (-) **Felt-worker**
Assur (Aššūr-nērāri V)
[PN] LÚ*:MUG

749 He witnesses a house sale.

STAT 3 10 r. 28

5. *sēpiu* in a lexical list

- **Felt-worker**

LÚ.MUG / LÚ*:MUG *se-pu-u*

nd

MSL 12 233 ii(B)
27', ii(A) 15'

Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, before the *rab sēpie*. Mentioned again, in a section dealing with professions connected with textiles and leather.

FULLER

FULLER

1. *rab ašlāki* of the palace

- **Chief fuller of the palace(?)**
unc. (Shalmaneser IV)

LÚ.GAL-TÚG:UD 'ša' [É.GAL?]

nd

SAA 12 77 i 4'

According to a collection of decrees the chief fuller gives 1 *qīt* of oil and 1 *qīt* [of ...].

2. *rab ašlāki* of the king's mother

- **Nušku-šarru-ušur (2) Chief fuller of the king's mother**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)

N. LÚ.GAL-TÚG:UD [0] 'ša' AM[A-MAN]

nd/dl

SAA 7 12:3'-4'

N. is assigned to the "residences of the governor(?)" in a fragmentary list of lodgings.

3. *rab aslāki* assigned to the lady-of-the-house

- **Nabū-rēšūwa (-) Chief fuller**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.GAL-TÚG.UD¹.UD¹ / [PAB] *a-na* É
GAŠAN-[É] SAA 7 4 r. ii 9', 12' nd/dl
N. is mentioned in a list of officials and together with others assigned to the house of the lady-of-the-house.

4. *rab aslāki* (named)

- **Aššūr-gimillu-tēre (I) Great treasurer and chief fuller, post-canonical eponym of 638***
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. STT 48:9', r. 9' 635* A. is listed in an administrative document along with 10 *emāru* of wine. A second time he appears as eponym.
A. GAL-TÚG.UD SAA 14 424 r. 25 638* Eponym date.
A. GAL-TÚG.UD B 79 r. 5 // 79* r. 4 638* Eponym date.
The remainder are eponym dates where A. is designated *masennu* or occurs without title. See therefore Radner, PNA 1/I 186.
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB SAA 7 3 i 2' nyd A. is mentioned in an administrative document listing high-ranking state officials.
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB SAA 7 4 i 6' nd/dl A. is mentioned in a similar document listing high-ranking state officials.
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB SAA 21 22:6 nd In a royal letter to Nabū-ušabši, governor of Uruk, A. is said to have been sent together with forces to the recipient.
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB SAA 21 23 r. 12 nd A. is mentioned in a royal letter similar to SAA 21 22.
A. LÚ.IGI.DUB SAA 21 24 r. 9 nd A. is mentioned in a royal letter similar to SAA 21 22.
A. SAA 21 25 r. 2 nd A. is mentioned in a royal letter similar to SAA 21 22.

5. *rab ašlāki* (unnamed)
- **Chief fuller**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal or later)
LÚ.GAL-TÚG.UD
Radner 2016 I.55:2 nd
He is listed in an administrative record dealing with coloured leather.
 - **Chief fuller**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
GAL-TÚG.UD
SAA 11 36 i 17 nd/dl
Together with 2 sheep and 2 bowls of wine, he receives honey, wax and copper as redistributed tribute.
 - LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.UD
SAA 11 36 ii 21 nd/dl
He receives red dye(?) and an unknown type of plant as redistributed tribute.
6. Subordinates of the *rab ašlāki*
- 6.1. *mukīl appāti* (chariot driver)
- [...]MEŠ-ia (-) **Chariot driver of the chief fuller**, son of Libtu
Assur (probably 7th century)
[PN DUMU] L. mu-kil-PA.MEŠ šá GAL-TÚG.UD SAAB 9 72:1-2 dl
He sells a female slave(?) according to a badly broken legal document.
- 6.2. *kallāpu* (outrider)
- **Nabú-šumu-iškun (17) Outrider of(?) the chief fuller**, son of [...]
Assur (Assurbaniṣal)
N. A [PN] LÚ*.kal-la-pu [šá]
LÚ*.GAL-TÚG.KUG! UD 654 N. owes 4 shekels of silver.

7. Town of the Fullers
- **Town of the Fullers**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
URU-LÚ*.TÚG.UD.MEŠ
SAA 14 161:4 = FNALD 13
623* Nabû-rēḫtu-ušur, who sells his daughter, is said to be from the Fuller Town. *Inter alia* the fuller Ubru-Mul-lissu (1) is surety.
8. *asšlāku* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors
- [...] (-) [x] fullers
unc. (Assurbanipal)
[PNs] LÚ.TÚG.UD.MEŠ
SAA 12 63:2' dl They are listed in a schedule to a royal grant of tax exemption.
 - **Lā-dāgil-ili (6) Fuller**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
L. LÚ*.TÚG.UD
SAA 14 155:6 627* Together with a house in Nineveh and other professionals and individuals L. and his wife are given to Ba'alrī-īabatu by her father Bēl-nā'di.
9. *asšlāku* (named)
- **Bēl-aḫu-iddina (4) Fuller**
Assur (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ.TÚG.UD
SAAB 9 73 r. 36 698 B. is witness in a house sale document.
 - **Aḫu-erība (11) Fuller**, son of Aplu-dūrī
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
A. DUMU A. LÚ.TÚG.UD
ND 5447:3-4 661 A. owes 8 *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabū.

- **Sukkāia (25) Fuller**
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal)
S. 'LÚ*':TÚG.[UD]
ND 5452 r. 16
661
S. is witness when two bow-makers of the governor of Kalhu owe barley to Aššur and Nabū.
- **Adad-milki-ēreš (8) Fuller**, son of Aššur-na'di
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A. DUMU A. [LÚ.TÚG.UD] / A. A. LÚ.TÚG.UD
/ A. / A.
SAAB 9 78:1-2,
6-7, 10, 15
dl
A. sells a slave woman and her son for [x+]¹/₂ minas 4 shekels of silver.
- **Aššur-šumu-iškun (2) Fuller**, son of Sinqī-Issār
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A. A. S. TÚG.UD
STAT 3 34:3-4
617*
A. releases a pledged(?) woman.
- **Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur (-) Fuller**
Tušhan (after Assurbaniḫal)
B. LÚ.TÚG.UD // B. 'LÚ':TÚG.UD
ZTT 7:4-5 // 6*:5
ydl
B. leases a man from the scribe Sāsī. He has to give him back on the “day of state service”.
- **Dadūsu (3) Fuller**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
D. LÚ.TÚG.UD
STAT 3 3 r. 28
615*
D. is witness in a judicial settlement involving a copper-smith.
- **Gabbu-qāt-Aššur (1) Fuller**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
G. TÚG.UD
STAT 3 34 r. 13
617*
G. acts as a witness when his colleague Aššur-šumu-iškun (2) releases a woman.
- **Iqbi-Adad (1) Fuller**
Kalhu (after Assurbaniḫal)
I. LÚ.TÚG.UD
CTN 3 36 r. 16
622*
I. is witness when a subordinate of the *šakintu* of the queen's household buys the daughter of [...]Nanāia for upbringing.

- **Übru-Mullissu (I) Fuller**, son of Ati'
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
U. DUMU A. LÚ*.TÚG.UD
SAA 14 161 r. 11 = 623*
FNALD 13
Together with two other individuals U. serves as a surety for a sold woman.
 - **Urdu-Béltu (4) Fuller of [...]**
Assur/from ʾugarimu (after Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ.TÚG.UD šá LÚ.[x] / PAB 2 TA URU.ʾtu-ga-
r[í-me?]
STAT 2 141 r. 15, 17 623*
U. is witness when a woman is sold.
10. *aslāku* (unnamed)
- **Fuller**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
LÚ*.TÚG.UD
SAA 12 83 r. 7 nd
Together with others he is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
 - **Fullers**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
TÚG.UD.MEŠ
CTN 1 35 ii 17' nd/dl
They receive 2 *sītu* of bread or beer according to a ration list.
11. *aslāku* in a lexical list
- **Fuller**
LÚ*.TÚG.UD
MSL 12 233 ii(A) 9 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with professionals and officials concerned with textiles.

BLEACHER

1. *pūšāiu* (named)

- **Našuh-sagab (I) Bleacher**

Harraṇ area: town of Hansuri (Sargon II)

N. LÚ**-pu-ša-a-a*

SAA 11 209 r. iii 29'

nd/dl

Together with his family N. is recorded in a so-called census tablet, being assigned to a field of 25 hectares in the town of Ḫa[nsuri].

DYER

1. *mušappiu* subordinate to miscellaneous superiors

- **Tabalāiu (18) Dyer**

unc. (Assurbanipal)

T. LÚ*-mu-šap-pi-ú*

SAA 12 65:4'

dl

He is listed in a fragment of a schedule to a land grant.

2. *šāpiu* and *mušappītu*

- **Dyers(?)**

Mazamua (Sargon II)

ša-p[i-ú-ti]

SAA 5 205:8

nd

They are mentioned in a fragmentary letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua, to the king.

- **Dyers**

unc. (Sargon II)

LÚ*-ša-pu-u*

SAA 5 296 r. 3'

nd

They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter.

- **Female dyer**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
1 Ml.mu-šap-pi-tú
SAA 16 54:10
nd
In a letter to an official (lacking a heading) it is said that 14 minas of silver are needed for 4 merchants, their wives and one female dyer.
 - 3. *mušappiu* in a lexical list
 - **Dyer**
LÚ*.mu-šap-pi-u
MSL 12 238 r. v 15
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, before the *aškāpu*.
- TANNER**
1. *rab aškāpi* in a lexical list
 - **Chief tanner**
[LÚ.GJAL-ĀŠGAB
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 21'
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirima, at the end of a section listing tanners.
 2. *rab ešerti* (commander-of-ten) of the tanners
 - **Mušallim-Aššūr (15) Commander-of-ten of the tanners**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
M. LÚ.GAL-10-te AŠGAB?.MEŠ
BaM 16 2 r. 10
dl
M. is witness when a slave woman is sold.
 3. *aškāpu* of the queen
 - **[...]-apli (-) Tanner, probably servant of the queen**
Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV)
PN' LÚ*.AŠGAB [(x) IJR? ša MÍ.É.GAL
Edubba 10 20
r. 11-12
779
He is witness for Nabû-šimanni, otherwise known as treasurer, in a broken legal document.

- **Napšar-ili (I) Tanner of the queen**
Kalhu (8th or 7th century)
N. LÚ*.AŠGAB ša MÍ.É.GAL
ND 3415 r. 9
dl
He acts as the first witness when a house is sold.

- 4. *ašškāpu* of the governor of Kalhu
 - **Ubru-Issār (7) Tanner, servant of the governor of Kalhu**
Dur-Šarrukin/active in Kalhu (Sargon II)
U. LÚ.AŠGAB ARAD ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša
URU.kal-lyi
709
SAA 6 31 r. 25 =
SAAB 11 1 =
FNALD 2
U. is witness for Nabû-kabi-abhēšu (I), palace scribe
of Sargon, who buys several plots of land.

- 5. *ašškāpu* of the cohort commander
 - **Il-idri (5) Tanner**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.AŠGAB
638*
SAA 14 424:11–12
I. is sold by the merchant Sukkāia to the cohort com-
mander Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina.

- 6. *ašškāpu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
 - **Mini-alḫi (I) Tanner of Il-nemēqi**
Assur (Sennacherib)
M. LÚ*.AŠGAB ša I.
700
STAT 2 53 r. 18
M. is witness to a sale of a “bathroom”.

 - **Aḫ-immē (-) Tanner**
Marqasa (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.AŠGAB
668
Marqasi 2:4
He is sold to Lā-qēpu for 30 shekels of silver.

7. *asškāpu* of the temple

- **Nabû-rā'išunu (-) Tanner of the Aššur(?) Temple**, son of Kettu-ušur
Assur (after Assurbaniṣal)
N. A. K. [LÚ.AŠGAB] / N. A. K. LÚ.AŠGAB ša CTSHM 30:17, 20 dl N. buys a house for 30(?) minas of silver.
É-[*asš-šur?*]

- 8. *asškāpu* (named)
 - **Abdâ (I) Aramean tanner**
Kalhu (Adad-nērâri III)
A. LÚ*.AŠGAB CTN 3 145 r. iii 25¹²⁸ 784 A. receives 1 *qû* of wine.
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)
CTN 1 1 ii 1-2 nyd A. receives 1 šapputu-bowl of wine.

 - A. LÚ.AŠGAB CTN 1 1 r. iii 14 nyd A. receives 1 *qû* of wine according to the same list.

 - **Aḫu-damqu (-) Tanner(?)**
Kalhu (Adad-nērâri III)
A. LÚ*.AŠ[GAB?] Edebba 10 19:8 794 A. acquires the wife of [...] from the treasurer Nabû-šimanni for 1 talent of bronze.

 - **Erēnu (I) Tanner**
Guzana (Adad-nērâri III)
E. LÚ.AŠGAB TH 54++:2 nd E. is listed along with 4 minas of "hoof tendons" in an administrative document.

¹²⁸ PNA lists him separately under Abdû (Radner, PNA 1/1 8 s.v. Abdû 1).

- **Sîn-na'di (1) Tanner**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III and probably later)
S.
CTN 2 91:9 797 S. is one of the creditors to whom the debts of the weaver Urdu-Issār (2) are repaid by Bēl-tarṣi-ilumma, governor of Kalhu.
CTN 2 78 r. 6' 792/766 The same(?) S. is witness in a broken legal document.
CTN 2 13 r. 16 dl The same(?) S. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Adad-zēru-ibni (1) Tanner**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
A. LÚ*.: (probably for LÚ*.AŠGAB in I. 7) nd A. is recorded together with his family in an administrative document.
- **[...]hā-idin (-) Tanner**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
PN' LÚ*.AŠGAB' nd He is as one of seven men listed in an administrative document.
- **[...]dirāiu (-) Tanner**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
PN' LÚ*.AŠGAB nd He is listed in an administrative document.
- **Bēl-uballiṣ (5) Tanner**
Kalhu (8th century)
B. LÚ.AŠGAB¹²⁹ nd/dl Together with his four sons B. is said to be under the authority of the treasurer.

¹²⁹ The reading follows Mattila (2000: 21); the editor reads 'LÚ.SANGA?' but notes that it is doubtful in this context (Postgate 1973: 141).

- **[...]dūr-bēlīja (-) Tanner**
Kalhu (8th century)
PN' LÚ*.AŠGAB
CTN 2 155 i 12
nd
He is mentioned in an inventory of people and objects of wood, metal and textiles.
- **[...]ri (-) Tanner**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN L]Ú*.AŠGAB
CTN 2 223:3-4
nd
He is listed along with 2 talents (of wool) in an administrative document.
- **Iqīša-Issār (-) Tanner**
Assur (Sennacherib)
I. AŠGAB
CUSAS 34 48:2
684
Together with two other men he sells the female slave Šaptūnu.
- **Pūlu (6) Tanner**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
P. LÚ*.AŠGAB
SAA 6 134 r. 8'
694
P. is witness in a broken slave sale document.
- **Aḫu-kēnu (-) Tanner**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. AŠGAB
Radner 2016 I.41:9
nd
A. is listed along with 2 shekels (of silver) he invested in a trading enterprise.
- **Aššūr-išdīa-ka''in (1) Tanner**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A.
Radner 2016 I.34 r. 2'
nd
A. is listed along with [x] amount (of silver) he invested in a trading enterprise.
Radner 2016 I.35 r. 8'
nd
The same(?) A. is listed along with [x] amount (of silver) in he invested in another trading enterprise.
Radner 2016 I.36:3
nd
The same(?) A. is listed along with [x] amount (of silver) in a record about another trading enterprise.

A. AŠGAB / N. MÍ-šú sá: (for A. in l. 9')	Radner 2016 L.37:9'	nd	The same(?) A. is listed along with 6 shekels of silver he invested in another trading enterprise. Also his wife Nanāia-ḫammat invests 1 shekel of silver.
A. AŠGAB	Radner 2016 L.39:6	nd	The same(?) A. is listed along with 15 shekels of silver he invested in another trading enterprise.
ʾA.ʾ	Radner 2016 L.52:3	nd	The same(?) A. is listed along with ½ mina 8 (shekels of silver).
• Mukīn-Aššūr (11) Tanner Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) M. AŠGAB	STAT 3 3 r. 25	615*	M. is witness in a judicial settlement involving a copper-smith.
• Nabû-tariš (-) Tanner Tušhan (after Assurbaniḫal) N. // N. LÚ.AŠGABʾ	ZTT 7 r. 4 // 6* r. 2	ydl	N. is first witness when Sāsī, scribe of Ištar, leases a devotee(?) to the fuller Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēlu-ušur (-).
• Qibīt-Aššūr (33) Tanner Assur (after Assurbaniḫal) Q. ʾAŠGABʾ	BaM 16 1 r. 12'	620*	Q. is witness when a female slave is sold.
9. <i>aškāpu</i> (unnamed)			
• Tanners Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III) LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ-ri	Billa 85:19	nd	They are listed along with 12 estates and 22 soldiers or workmen.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tanners Kalhu/from Assur (Adad-nēri III) LÚ*.AŠGAB.MEŠ URU.ŠA.URU-<i>a-a</i> LÚ*.AŠGAB.MEŠ-<i>ni</i> URU*.ŠA.URU-<i>a-a</i> 	CTN 3 145 r. iii 8 (= reverse of CTN 1 3) CTN 1 1 r. iii 22	784 nyd	They receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine. They receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 6 tanners Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II) ʾ6 LÚ.ʾAŠGAB.MEŠ 	ND 2728+ r. 13'	nd	They are listed together with other professionals in an administrative document recording "additional craftsmen(?)".
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tanners Kalhu (Sargon II) LÚ*.AŠGAB.MEŠ 	CTN 1 35 ii 18'	nd/dl	They receive 1 <i>sîttu</i> of bread or beer.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tanners Kalhu (8th century) LÚ.ASGAB.MEŠ-<i>ni</i> [L]Ú*.AŠGAB.ME[Š] LÚ*.AŠGAB.MEŠ [LÚ*].AŠGAB.MEŠ¹³⁰ LÚ*.AŠGAB.ME[Š]¹³⁰ LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ [()] K[UR?] LÚ*.AŠGAB 	CTN 1 1 r. iii 13 CTN 1 2 ii 15 CTN 1 6 r. 39 CTN 1 11 r. 11' CTN 1 22:5' CTN 3 124 r. 13 CTN 3 133 ii 5	nyd nyd ydl nd/dl nd/dl nd/dl nd/dl	They receive 4 <i>qû</i> of wine. They receive [x] amount of wine. They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine. They receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine. They receive 2 <i>šapputu</i> -bowls of wine. They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine. They receive 2 <i>qû</i> of wine.

¹³⁰ The restoration follows Parpola (1976–7: 168).

- **Tanner**
Carchemish (Sennacherib)
LÚ*.AŠGAB
702
BM 116230:36
(TCAE: 360–2)
The tanner is mentioned in a broken section of a legal document dealing with the village of Elumu and its usufruct of *iškāru*.
 - **Tanner**
Assur (probably Sennacherib or later)
LÚ.AŠGAB
nd
KAV 197:48
(TCAE: 363–7)
A tanner is said to have been appointed in the royal storehouse in a letter written by 20 oil-pressers to their master Irmulu.
 - **Tanner**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
AŠGAB
nd
Radner 2016 L.53:6
Together with the tailor he is mentioned along with undergarments in an administrative record.
10. *aškāpu* in a non-documentary text component
- **Tanner**
- (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.AŠGAB
nd
SAA 10 316 r. 7
In a letter of Urdu-Nanāia, chief physician, to the king the tanner is mentioned in a metaphor.
11. *aškāpu* in lexical lists
- **Tanner**
LÚ*.AŠGAB
LÚ.AŠGAB
nd
MSL 12 233 ii(B)
17'
Listed in a section dealing with tanners in a lexical list from Huzirina.
nd
MSL 12 238 r. v 16
Listed in a lexical list from Nineveh after the *muṣappiu* and before the *šārīp duḥṣī*.

12. *aškāp arīte* in a lexical list
- **Tanner of shields**
LÚ.AŠGAB KUŠ.*a-ri-te*
MSL 12 233 ii(B) nd
18' Listed in a section dealing with tanners in a lexical list from Huzirina.
13. *aškāp dalāte* in a lexical list
- **Tanner of doors**
LÚ.AŠGAB KUŠ.*da-la-te*
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 19' nd
Listed in a section dealing with tanners in a lexical list from Huzirina.
14. *šāripu*
- **Aššūr-rēmāni (13) Tanner**
Assur (Sennacherib)
A. *ša-rip* 698 A. witnesses a house sale.
 - **Nabû-šumu-iddina (35) Tanner**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal)
N. *ša-rip* 663 N. is witness when unbuilt land is sold.
 - **Qibīt-[...] (3) Tanner**
Assur (7th century)
Q. LÚ.*ša-rip* STAT 2 7 t.e. 22 dl Q. is witness in a broken conveyance document.
15. *šārip duḫšī* of the *rab ša-rēši*
- **Siparrānu (2) Tanner of coloured leather and servant of the *rab ša-rēši* (?)**
Nineveh/from Til-Nimurta (Tiglath-pileser III)
LÚ.*ša-rip-duḫ-ši-e* / [PAB 8 IGI].MEŠ URU.DU₆¹-
^d.MAŠ-*a-a* / [PAB 9] IGI.MEŠ LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ *ša*
LÚ.[GAL]-SA[G¹]
742 S. is witness for Mušallim-Issār, village manager of the *rab ša-rēši*.

16. *ṣārip duḥṣī* of the palace herald

- **Ḫūrapu (1) Tanner of coloured leather and servant of the palace herald**
Kalhu/from Assur (Adad-nērāri III)

Ḫ. LÚ.ṣa-rip-KUŠ.duḥ-ṣī-e LÚ.ARAD ṣa Edubba 10 7:1-3 788
LÚ.NIGIR-É.GAL URU.ŠA.URU-a-a
Ḫ. and his colleagues Bēl-lāmur (2) and Sin-aḫu-iddina
(1) sell their sister to the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a
(1).

17. *ṣārip duḥṣī* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior

- **Bēl-lāmur (2) Tanner of coloured leather and servant of Marduk-šaddūni**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

B. LÚ.ṣa-rip-KUŠ.duḥ-ṣī-e LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-ni ṣa M. Edubba 10 7:5-7 788
B. and his colleagues Ḫūrapu (1) and Sin-aḫu-iddina
(1) sell their sister to the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a
(1).

- **Sin-aḫu-iddina (1) Tanner of coloured leather(?) and servant of Marduk-šaddūni**¹³¹
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

S. (. . .) LÚ.ṣa-rip-KUŠ.duḥ-ṣī-e LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-ni Edubba 10 7:4, 6-7 788
S. and his colleagues Ḫūrapu (1) and Bēl-lāmur (2) sell
their sister to the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1).

18. *ṣārip duḥṣī* (named)

- **Kassupu (1) Tanner of coloured leather**
Assur/from Assur (Adad-nērāri III)

K. LÚ*.ṣa-rip-KUŠ.duḥ-ṣī-e URU.ŠA-URU-a-[a] SAA 12 1:5 788
K.'s property adjoins 1,000 hectares of land in the
province of the Inner City taken by the king and named
Town of Qibit-Aššūr.

¹³¹ It is not clear whether the professional title also refers to Sin-aḫu-iddina or only to Bēl-lāmur.

- **Mušallim-ilu (1) Tanner of coloured leather**
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
M. LÚ.ṣa-rip-dul-ši-e STAT 2 234 r. 12 762 M. is witness to a house sale.
- **Qurdi-Aia (1) Tanner of coloured leather, son of Erība-ilu**
Assur (Sargon II)
Q. 'DUMU' E. LÚ*.ṣa-rip-KUŠ.dul-ši-e STAT 2 102 r. 11' 711 Q. is witness when a cook of Ištar (name lost) buys something.
- **Sîn-na'di (5) Tanner of coloured leather**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
S. LÚ*.ṣa-rip-dul-ši-e SAA 6 29 r. 4-5 = FNALD 27 710 S. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Ḫana-Sē' (3) Tanner of coloured leather**
Nineveh (probably Sennacherib)
Ḫ. [LÚ*.ṣa-ri]p¹-KUŠ.DU₈.ŠLA SAA 14 472 r. 6-7 dl Ḫ. is witness when a priest of Bel (name lost) purchases a woman.
- **Aššūr-šēzibanni (12) Tanner of coloured leather(?)**, son of Arbailāiu and brother of Nabû'a and Aššūr-šaddû'a
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. STAT 3 103:1, 5, 7, 622* 14 A. pays his brother's share of their inherited house amounting to 2 minas 55 shekels of silver. He is now the sole owner of the house.
A. STAT 2 235:1-2, 4, 625* 10 Three years later the same two brothers took a new house worth 9 minas of silver. This transaction is again related to the brothers inheritance.
A. STAT 3 105:5, 14 634* A. buys a "bought slave" for 1 mina 3 shekels of silver.
A. ... DUMU.MEŠ A. LÚ.ṣa-rip-dul[h-ši-e] STAT 1 22 r. 23-24 = STAT 2 244 dl A. is witness when property is sold.

- **Nabū'a (85) Tanner of coloured leather**, son of Arbailāiu and brother of Aššūr-šezibanni and Aššūr-šaddū'a Assur (after Assurbanipal)

N.	STAT 2 235:12	625*	N., probably identical with the tanner N., is mentioned along with his share of 1/3 of a new house.
N.	STAT 3 103 r. 29	622*	The same(?) N. is witness in a legal document dealing with the division of a house.
N. DUMU.MEŠ A. LÚ.ša-rip-du[ḫ-ši-e]	STAT 1 22 r. 24 = STAT 2 244	dl	The same(?) N. is witness when property is sold.

- 19. *šārip duḫšī* (unnamed)
 - **Tanner of coloured leather**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.ša-rip-duḫ-ši-a

 - **Tanner of coloured leather**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.ša-rip-duḫ-ši-e

SAA 12 83 r. 8	nd	Together with many other professionals he is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
SAA 11 36 r. ii 2	nd/dl	According to a record of redistributed tribute he receives 25 adult goats.

- 20. *šārip-duḫšī* in lexical lists
 - **Tanner of coloured leather**
[LÚ.š]a-rip-KUŠ.DU.ŠI.A

 - LÚ.ša-rip-KUŠ.DU.ŠI.A

MSL 12 233 ii(B) 20'	nd	Listed in a section dealing with tanners in a lexical list from Huzirina.
MSL 12 238 r. v 17	nd	Listed in a lexical list from Nineveh, after the <i>aškāpu</i> .

HEAD OF MASTER BUILDERS

1. *šitimgallu* (unnamed)
- **Head of master builders**
Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
ŠITIM.GAL-*lum*
N III 3156:60
(foundation cylinder
of Dur-Šarrukin) nd
They are mentioned in Sargon's report about the construction of Dur-Šarrukin. Bricks were made in the "month of the son of Ea", "month of the brick god"; for this god, also defined as "chief master builder of Bel", sacrifices were made (Luckenbill 1927: 64; Lyon 1883: 9, 37).
 - **Head of master builders**
active in Babylonia (Sargon II)
LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*la*
RIMB 2 B.6.22.3 ii
I nd
They are mentioned in a building report of Sargon concerning Babylonia.
 - **Head of master builders**
active in Nineveh (Sennacherib)
LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*l'e*-[e] / LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*le-e*
RINAP 3/1 18 vii 15
// 22 vi 57 nd
They are mentioned in a building report of Sennacherib dealing with the construction of the "Rear Palace" in Nineveh.
 - **Head of master builders**
active in Nineveh (Sennacherib)
LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*le-e* / LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*le-e*
RINAP 3/2 164:8 nd
They are mentioned in a building report of Sennacherib dealing with palace constructions in Assur.

- **Head of master builders**
active in Nineveh (Sennacherib)
LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*le-e* / LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*le-e*
RINAP 3/2 213:64
nd
They are mentioned in a building report of Sennacherib dealing with renovation works at the Nergal Temple in Tarbišu.
- **Head of master builders**
active in Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.ŠITIM.GAL-*ti*
RINAP 4 54:32'
nd
The king states in his inscription that they lay out the plans of the temples of Sumer and Akkad.
- LÚ.ŠITIM'. [GAL-*ti*] // [LÚ].ŠITIM.GAL.ME
RINAP 4 104 iii 36
// 105 iv 30
681
The king states in his inscription that skilled chiefs of master builders laid out the plan of Esagil.
- [LÚ].ŠITIM.GAL-*ti*
RINAP 4 116 r. 14
nd
The same is said in a similar inscription of Esarhaddon.

MASTER BUILDER

1. *rab etinnāti* (unnamed)
 - **Head of master builders**
Nineveh/active in Kilizi (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.GAL-TIN.MEŠ
SAA 16 111 r. 3
nd
Bēl-iqīša reports to the king that everything is prepared for laying the foundations for the queen's house in Kilizi. The king may order the chief of the master builders to come for this purpose.
2. *rab etinni* (named)
 - [...] (-) **Head of master builders**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN LÚ*.G|AL'-TIN']
SAA 14 262 r. 13
dl
He is witness in a badly broken house sale document.

3. *etinnu* of the crown prince
- **Barruqu (14) Builder of the house of the crown prince(?)**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
B. LÚ.TIN ša 'É A'¹-[MAN] SAA 14 166 r. 8 621* B. is witness in a broken document of sale.
4. *etinnu* (named)
- [...] (-) **Master builder(?)**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
[PN] L[Ú].TIN?²: [(O)] CTN 2 6 r. 21 735 He is witness when a slave is sold by the tailor Nīnuāiu (4).
 - **Paḡaḡa (3) Master builder**
unc. (Sargon II)
P. LÚ*.TIN / P. SAA 1 65:4, r. 3 nd The treasurer Tāb-šar-Aššūr reports to the king about P. who complains that there are no leaders to supervise men working on the ditch.
 - **Lā-tubašanni-ilu (9) Master builder**¹³²
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
L. LÚ*.TIN SAA 6 48 r. 14 680 L. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys a woman.
 - **Sākip-Aššūr (14) Master builder**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)¹³³
S. TIN STAT 3 3 r. 38 615* S. is witness in a judicial document about an inheritance share.
- ¹³² He is probably identical with Lā-tubašanni-ilu recorded elsewhere, either as a witness (SAA 6 138 r. 17; 156 r. 4) or as a debtor of barley (SAA 70:3, 72:2); see Pruzsinszky, PNA 2/II 657 s.v. Lā-tubašanni-ilu 6–8.
- ¹³³ The eponym date gives a Sīn-kēnu-īde, palace supervisor; he is probably identical with Sīn-ālik-pāni, chamberlain, post-canonical eponym, possibly of the year 615* (Whiting in Millard 1994: 73, fn. 9).

5. *etinnu* (unnamed)

• **Master builders**

Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)

[LÚ].TIN.MEŠ / LÚ.TIN.MEŠ

SAA 1 165:3', 12'

nd

In a fragment of a letter to the king (Sargon) they are said to lay the limestone.

LÚ.TIN.MEŠ / LÚ.TIN.MEŠ-*ni-ia* / 16 LÚ.TIN.MEŠ

SAA 5 56:4, 7, 11,

nd

The treasurer Aššur-dūr-pānija informs the king (Sargon) that out of 16 masters builders of his 3 are with the palace herald, 3 are working in the centre of the city and 10 are engaged at the city wall. He explains to the king that there is no way he can give away one of the ten who are still at his disposal.

/ LÚ.TIN.MEŠ / LÚ.TIN.[MEŠ] / 10 LÚ.TIN.MEŠ-*ni*

r. 3, 4, 9

• **Master builders, including a “Kassite” master builder**

Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)

[LÚ*.TIN.MEŠ] / LÚ*.TIN.ME[Š-šá-*nu*] /

SAA 15 151:5, 7, 9,

nd

In a letter to the king the sender (name lost) explains to the king that he has six master builders at hand to do the work of the king. Since the king ordered him to give master builders to the magnates, he is willing to give two of his master builders to Badá and Lansí and he will also bring with him a runaway “Kassite” master builder.

LÚ*.TIN.MEŠ] / L[Ú.TIN] / LÚ*.TIN / LÚ*.TIN

16, 18, b.e. 20, r. 3,

12

/ 6 LÚ*.TIN.MEŠ LÚ*.kaš-[šá-*a-a*] /

LÚ*.*e-tin*-[*na-ka*]

• **Master builders(?)**

Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)

LÚ*.TIN'.MEŠ-*ia*] / [LÚ*.TIN.MEŠ]

SAA 1 164:4, 10

nd

In a broken letter to the king, the sender (name lost) states that he—following a royal order—sent the master builders to the king so that they can work with the magnates.

• **10 master builders**

Tammuna (Sargon II)

10 LÚ*.TIN.MEŠ

SAA 19 183 r. 15'

nd

Nabū-ušallu, governor of Tammuna, reports to the king that the Ukkean sent ten master builders and 100 men, but they have returned and ran away.

- **Master builders**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ.*e-tin-na-ti*

SAA 1 138:13 nd Amar-ili reports to the king that after a wall had caved in, the master builders pronounced themselves in favour of constructing a new wall.

SAA 15 348:6' nd They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
SAA 15 349:2' nd They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **Assyrian master builder**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.*e-tin¹-nu aš-šur.KI-a-a*

SAA 10 349 r. 24 nd The scholar Mār-Issār proposes to the king to deploy an Assyrian master builder together with a *ša-qurbūtī* at Der so that works on the temple there can be performed properly.
- 6. *edulnu* in a lexical list
- **Master builder**
LÚ.*e-dul-nu*

MSL 12 238 iii 10 nd Listed in a lexical list from Nineveh, after the *qatinnu* and before the great vizier.

ARCHITECT

1. *rab šelappāie* (named)
- **Issār-šumu-iqīša (I) Chief architect**
Assur (Tiglath-pileser III)
I. LÚ*.*GAL-še-lap-a-a*

SAA 9 136 r. 12 742 I. is witness when land is sold.

- **Urnî (I) Chief architect**
 Imgur-IIIil (Tiglath-pileser III)
 U. LÚ*.GAL-še-lap-pa-a-a
 BT 106 r. 4 734 U. is first witness when land is sold, the transaction is also witnessed by the architect Ḫahâ (1).
- **[...]bēlu-ka''in (-) Chief architect**
 Nineveh (Sargon II)
 'PN' LÚ.GAL-še-lap-pa-a-[a]
 SAA 6 11 r. 13'
 (D of SAA 6 10) 717 He is witness when Inūrta-ilā'ī buys land.
- **Nabû-dūrî (S) Chief architect**, possibly identical with the architect Nabû-dūr-makî (2)
 Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
 N. LÚ*.:--še-lap-pa-a-a ("ditto" refers to GAL in r. 7)
 SAAB 5 39 r. 8 641* N. is witness when a female slave is sold; the transaction is also witnessed by the architect Mušallim-Aššūr (10).
- **[...]i (I) Chief architect**
 Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
 [PN] LÚ.GAL-še-lap-pa-a-a
 SAAB 9 127 r. 35 636* He is witness when the architect Qurdi-Gula (1) buys a slave.
- **Ḫadudu (I) Chief architect**
 Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
 Ḫ. 'LÚ*?.GAL'?'-še-lap-pa-a'
 SAAB 9 103 r. 13' 636*/625* Ḫ. is witness in a slave sale document; the transaction is also witnessed by the architect Šamaš-šumu-iddina (4).

2. *šelappāiu* of the governor
- **5 architects of the governor(?) of Kalhu**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
5 LÚ*.šē-lap-pa-a-a ša L[Ú*.EN.NAM] ša URU.kal-ha
SAA 1 95 r. 1–2
nd
In a broken letter of Tab-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, the king is informed that the five *šelappāius* of the governor of Kalhu have come, but none of them is working.
3. *šelappāiu* (named)
- **Lā-qēpu (I) Architect**
Kalhu (Šamši-Adad V)
L. LÚ.šē-lap-pa-a-a
CTN 2 2 r. 20–21
817
L. is witness when Mušēzib-Inūrta, governor of Kalhu, buys a slave for 20 minas of bronze.
 - **Sīsī (I) Architect**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
S. LÚ.šē-lap-pa-a-a
Edubba 10 4 r. 6'
790
Together with his colleague, S. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys 3 individuals.
 - **Ubru-lēšir (I) Architect**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
U. LÚ.šē-lap-pa-a(-a)
Edubba 10 4 r. 7'
790
Together with his colleague U. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys 3 individuals.
 - **Adad-kurbanni (-) Architect**, possibly son of the architect Lā-qēpu (1)
Kalhu/from Kalhu (Shalmaneser IV or Aššūr-dān III)
A. (...) LÚ.šē-lap-pa-a-a URU.kal-ḫa-a-a / A. (...) Edubba 10 8:2-3, 6-7 780/770
A. sells six individuals to the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) for 5 talents of copper.

- **Abu-lēšir (2) Architect**
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
A. LÚ*.š[e-]a-pa-a-a
CTN 2 22 l.e. 31 756 A. is witness when a storage facility (*bēt qātē*) is sold.
- **Ḫaḫā (1) Architect**
Imgur-IIIil (Tiglath-pileser III)
Ḫ. LÚ*.še'-lap-pa-a
BT 106 r. 6 734 Ḫ. is witness in a land sale document, also witnessed by the chief architect Urmī (1).
- **Šamaš-šumu-usur (2) Architect**
Assur (Tiglath-pileser III)
Š. LÚ.še-lap
STAT 2 101 r. 12 744 Š. is witness when property is divided up.
- **Abu-ul-īdi (5) Architect**, son of Arkat-ilāni
Assur (Sargon II)
A. A. LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a
STAT 2 102 r. 8' 711 A. is witness when a cook of Ištar sells [...].
- **Adad-nāšir (6) Architect**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
A. [L]Ú.še-lap-pa-a-a'
STAT 2 114 r. 6'-7' dl A. is witness in a broken document of sale.
- **Sakkuku (-) Architect**¹³⁴
Assur (8th or 7th century)
N. LÚ.še-lap-pa-a-a
STAT 3 20:5 dl N.'s house adjoins one that is sold.
- **Batīti (1) Architect**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ.še-la-pa-a-a
SAA 6 158 r. 2-3 687 B. is witness when the repayment of [x shekels of silver?] and 9 *emāru* of wine in Bit-Zamani is arranged.

¹³⁴ The reading of the name is according to Faist (2007: 49). This man was discussed as Nikuki in PNA (Baker, PNA 2/II 963).

- **Na'di-Aššūr (1) Architect(?)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ* .šē-[lap-pa-a-a]
SAA 6 132:13 695 N. is witness when a slave is sold jointly.
- **[...] (-) Architect**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
[PN L]Ú .šē-[lap-pa-a'-[a]
SAA 6 195 r. 1' 681 He is witness in a broken slave sale document.
- **Dīdī (6) Architect**
Babylon (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
D. LÚ .šē-lap-pa-a-a
SAA 13 161:17' nd In a letter to the king probably written by the official Ūrdu-ahhēšu, D. is said to refuse to lay the foundations without a royal order.
D. SAA 13 163:15 nd In another letter to the king, Ūrdu-ahhēšu reports that D. is unwilling to release the cedar roof beams.
- **Mušallim-Aššūr (10) Architect**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
M.: (for LÚ* .:.-šē-lap-pa-a-a in r. 8)
SAAB 5 39 r. 9 641* Together with the chief architect Nabū-dūrī (5) M. is witness when a female slave is sold.
- **Mušēzib-Aššūr (9) Architect**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
M.: (for šē-lap-pa-a-a in r. 6) // M.:
(for LÚ* .šē-lap-pa-a-a in r. 7)¹³⁵
SAA 14 120 r. 7 // 631* Together with colleagues he is witness in a debt note of
119* r. 8 silver.

¹³⁵ The “ditto”-sign in l. r. 8 refers to GAL in r. 7, which is not meant to be included here, cf. the translation of the editors (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991: 88).

- **Nabû-šallimšunu (4) Architect**, possibly identical with the architect Nabû-šallimšunu (10) Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
N. [:] (for *še-lap-pa-a-a* in r. 6) // N.:
(for LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a-a* in r. 7)
SAA 14 120 r. 8 // 631*
119* r. 9 Together with colleagues he is witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Qurdi-Gula (1) Architect**, son of Busāsu Assur (Assurbanipal)
Q. DUMU B. LÚ.še-lap-pa-a-a
SAAB 9 127:7-9, 636*
r. 21 Q. buys a slave for 1 ½ minas of silver. The transaction is witnessed by the chief architect [...].
Q. is owed 2 *emāru* 1 *sātu* 5 *qū* of wheat.
StAT 2 97:2 630*
- **Silim-Aššur (11) Architect**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a-a*
KAN 4 8 l.e. 2 631*
S. is witness when 25 people are sold by the priest's sons.
- **Urdu-Nabû (10) Architect**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
U. *še-lap-pa-a-a* // U. LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a-a*
SAA 14 120 r. 6 // 631*
119* r. 7 Together with colleagues he is witness in a debt note of silver.
U. SAA 14 122 r. 6 // 630*
121* r. 1' Probably the same U. is witness in a broken debt note of silver.
- **[...]Issār¹³⁶ (-) Architect**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
PN LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a*
StAT 3 2 r. 31 648*
He is witness when a paternal estate comprising a building is transferred to repay debts.

¹³⁶ According to the edition (Faist 2007: 16) probably Ātamar-Issār.

- **Aššūr-lē'i (-) Architect**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. *še*
Radner 2016 I.35:2 nd He invests ½ mina (of silver) in a trading enterprise.
- **Šin-šarru-ušur (-) Architect**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
S. *še*
Radner 2016 I.33:10 nd He invests 4 shekels (of silver) in a trading enterprise.
- **Šamaš-šumu-iddina (4) Architect(?)**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
Š. *še-lap-a-a(?)*
SAAB 9 103 r. 14' 636*/625* Š. is witness when people are sold; the transaction is also witnessed by the chief architect Ḥadudu (1).
- **[...] (-) Architect**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
PN LÚ.*še-e-lap-pa-a-a*
Radner 2016 I.26
l.e. 1 dl He witnesses a house sale.
- **Aššūr-bessūnu (10) Architect**, son of Na'di-Aššūr
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. 'DUMU' N. // A. A N. *še-lap*
STAT 2 181 r. 5 // 629* A. is witness to a sale of a female slave.
182* r. 7
- **Miqtu-adur (9) Architect**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ*.*še-lap-pa-a-a*
SAA 14 169 r. 4 619* M. is witness when the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (16) is owed silver.
- **Nabū-dūr-makī (2) Architect**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.*še-lap-pa-a-a*
SAAB 5 35 r. 22 629*/625* N. is witness when unbuilt land is sold by 30 *hundurāius*.

- **Nabû-dūr-[...]** (2) **Architect**, son of Urdû
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
N. A U. *še-lap*
VAT 21000 r. 40' 625* Together with a colleague N. is witness when land is sold.
- **Nabû-šallimšunu** (10) **Architect of the Inner City**, possibly identical with the architect Nabû-šallimšunu (4)
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
N. LÚ.*še-lap-pa-a-a* [URU.ŠÀ]-URU-*a-a*
VAT 19510:3 626* He is opponent of the *ša-qurbūti* Ubrī in a dispute concerning a female slave.
- **Sîn-na'di** (22) **Architect**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
S. LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a-a*
StAT 2 263 r. 17 622* S. is witness when an inheritance is divided up.
- **Utūlāiu** (44) **Architect**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
U. LÚ *še-lap-[a-a]*
StAT 2 141 r. 7 623* U. is witness when a female slave is sold.
- **[...]-šumu-iddina (-) Architect**
Assur/from [...] (after Assurbaniḫal)
[PN] *še-lap-p[a-a-a]* URU.LÚ.*ku-[x]*
VAT 21000 r. 30'-31' 625* Together with a colleague he is witness when land is sold.
- **Aššūr-bāni-ahhē** (4) **Architect**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. / [PAB] '6' LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a-a*
SAA 7 13:1, 7 nd A. is listed together with five colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Baninu** (1) **Architect**
Nineveh (7th century)
B. / [PAB] '6' LÚ* *še-lap-pa-a-a*
SAA 7 13:4, 7 nd B. is listed together with five colleagues in an administrative document.

- **Bēl-iddina (28) Architect**, son of Bēl-aḫḫēšu
Nineveh/from Babylon (7th century)
B. LÚ.še-lap-pa-a-a [0] A B.
SAA 11 154:1-2
nd/dl
Together with his family, B. is one of 13 Babylonians probably brought to Assyria as deportees.
 - **Kalbu (8) Architect**
Nineveh (7th century)
K. / [PAB] ʾ6ʾ LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a
SAA 7 13:3, 7
nd
K. is listed together with five colleagues in an administrative document.
 - **Lēšer-Adad (1) Architect**
Nineveh (7th century)
L. / [PAB] ʾ6ʾ LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a
SAA 7 13:5, 7
nd
L. is listed together with five colleagues in an administrative document.
 - **Nabû-rēši-išši (15) Architect**
Nineveh (7th century)
N. / [PAB] ʾ6ʾ LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a
SAA 7 13:2, 7
nd
N. is listed together with five colleagues in an administrative document.
 - **Urdu (29) Architect**
Nineveh (7th century)
U. / [PAB] ʾ6ʾ LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a
SAA 7 13:6, 7
nd
U. is listed together with five colleagues in an administrative document.
4. *šelappāiu* (unnamed)
- **Architect**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal)
[LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a] // LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a
SAA 12 82:6 // 83 r. 4
nd
He is restored in a broken decree of the appointment of Nergal-āpil-kūmūʾa (I).

- **[x] architects**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
[x] LÚ.še-lap-pa-a-[a] nd ND 2728+ r. 11'
Together with other professionals they are listed and summed up as “additional craftsmen(?)”.
- **Architects**
Kalhu/active in Kummuhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.še-lap-pa-a-a ša ina URU.ku-mu[h] ydl ND 2451:22
(TCAE: 376–9)
In a yearly account they are listed along with four dead (or old) donkeys.
- **Architect**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.še-la-pa-a-a
[LÚ*].še-lap-pa-a-a nyd CTN 1 4 r. 9
nd CTN 3 87 r. 34
He receives [x] amount of wine.
In an administrative document recording the *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer of Arbail he is said to harvest *ma'uttu*(-land) of the palace.
- **Architect**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.š]e-lap-a-a nd/dl SAA 7 19:6'
Together with other professionals he is listed in an administrative document.
- **Architect(?)**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.še-lap]-pa-a-a nd SAA 13 29 l.e. 1
He is mentioned in a broken letter also referring to Šim-na'di, mayor of Assur.
- **Architect(?)**
Samarra (Assurbanipal)
LÚ'.š[e'-lap-a-a] / LÚ.še-lap'-a'-[a] nd SAA 21 16:5, 11
A royal letter (broken) to Zākuru and Kabīta deals with Cuthians and an architect in Samarra.

5. *šelappāiu* in a lexical list

- **Architect**
LÚ.še-lap-pa-a-a
- | | | | |
|--|-----------------|----|--|
| | MSL 12 238 ii 2 | nd | Mentioned before the goldsmith in a lexical list from Nineveh. |
|--|-----------------|----|--|

MASON

1. *rab urāsi* (unnamed)
 - **Chief(?) mason**
unc. (Sargon II)
[L]Ú.GAL-ú-ra-sa-ni

	SAA 1 185:5	nd	He is mentioned in a broken letter of Adad-ibni to the king.
--	-------------	----	--
 - **Chief mason**
unc. (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[L]Ú.GAL]-ú'-ra-si
- | | | | |
|--|-------------|----|--|
| | SAA 13 7:1' | nd | He is mentioned in a broken letter according to which an order was issued relating to him. |
|--|-------------|----|--|
2. *rab urāsi* in a non-documentary text
 - **Chief mason of the Inner City**
Assur (Sargon II)
LÚ.GAL-ú-ra-si š[a UR]U.ŠÀ-U[RU]

	SAA 20 55:26	714	In a royal ritual from the reign of Sargon involving the royal scribe Nabû-šallimšunu (1) and the city scribe Zāzā, the brick masons are in the care of the chief mason.
--	--------------	-----	--

3. *ummān urāsi*
- **Masters of masons**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
um-nan' it-ra-si
- SAA 7 154 ii 15' nd/dl He is listed along with [x] sheep for consumption in accounts from a ceremonial banquet.
4. *urāsūtū*
- **Brick masonry**
unc. (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.it-ra-su-tū*
- SAA 13 145 r. 1 nd Nabū-mušēši informs the king that the temple weavers are performing masonry duty.
5. *urāsu* (named)
- **Kūšāiu (5) Brick mason(?)**¹³⁷
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal or later)
K. LÚ.it-ra-si*
- BATSH 6 3 r. 5' dl K. is witness when a female slave is sold.
6. *urāsu* (unnamed)
- **Brick masons**
Kalhu/from Matiātu (Aššurnasirpal)
it-ra-si // LÚ.it-ra-si // LÚ.it-ra-si
- RIMA 2 A.0.101.1 nd Aššurnasirpal states in his inscriptions that tribute, taxes and labourers were imposed upon Matiātu.
ii 90 // A.0.101.17
iv 15 // A.0.101.19:50

¹³⁷ Since this would be the only attested brick mason acting individually and mentioned by name, it remains doubtful whether the reading is correct.

- **Brick masons**
Kalhu/from Madara (Aššurmaširpal)
ú-ra-si.MEŠ // LÚ.*ú-ra-si* // LÚ.*ú-ra-si*
RIMA 2 A.O.101.1 nd
ii 100 // A.O.101.17
iv 49 // A.O.101.119:66
Aššurmaširpal states in his inscriptions that tribute, taxes and labourers were imposed upon the city Madara.
- **Brick masons**
Kalhu/from Nairi (Aššurmaširpal)
LÚ.*ú-ra-si*
RIMA 2 nd
A.O.101.19:99
Aššurmaširpal states in his inscription that feudal duty, corvée and labourers were imposed on the land Nairi.
- **Brick masons**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ.*ú-ra-si* / [L]Ú.*ú-ra-si*¹ (r. 14)
CTN 2 193:4, r. 14, nd
18
Inūrta-ilā'i informs the governor of Kalhu where the brick masons have been deployed and what they are doing exactly in the course of construction works in a city (probably Kalhu).
4 ME LÚ.*ú-ra-si* nd/dl
ND 2705:2
They are listed along with 400 bricks in a broken administrative list.
- **Brick masons**
active in Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
1 ME *ú-ra-si*
SAA 1 25:2 nd
They are the recipients of a royal letter according to which they have just finished work in Dur-Šarrukin.
- **Brick masons of the Inner City**
Assur (Sargon II)
LÚ*.*ú-ra-si* / LÚ*.*ú-ra-si* ša URU.ŠÀ-URU nd
SAA 1 77:13, r. 2
In a letter of Tāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, to the king, it is said they will supply the replacement if a beam is broken in the wood store of the palace of the Inner City.

- **Brick masons(?)**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.ú-ra-si
(possible restoration according to commentary)
 - **Brick masons(?)**
Assur (Sargon II)
[LÚ*.ú]-ra-si
 - **Brick masons(?)**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.ú-[ra-si?]
 - **Brick masons**
Itu'ú (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.ú-ra-si
 - **Brick masons**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
ú-ra-ši
LÚ*.ú-ra-si
- | | | | |
|--|------------------|----|---|
| | CTN 3 90:10 | nd | According to the obverse of an administrative document they are meant for work in the house of the deputy treasurer. |
| | SAA 1 148 r. 7' | nd | According to a fragment of a letter, Aššur-[...] asks the king for brick masons and “sons of bought (slaves)” for the supply of material needed for the Inner City. |
| | SAA 5 294:1' | nd | In a broken letter to the king it is reported that brick masons were gossiping about their work at the temple of Bel. |
| | SAA 10 368 r. 9' | nd | In another letter of the scholar Mār-Issār the king is informed that the governor of Itu'ú has removed the brick masons. |
| | SAA 8 407 r. 2 | nd | They are mentioned in a broken astrological report of the Babylonian scholar Rāši-ili. |
| | SAA 10 349 r. 20 | nd | In a letter to the king, the scholar Mār-Issār reports that the Elamite crown prince sent brick masons to Der. |

- **Brick masons**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.ú-ra-si
SAA 16 90:6' nd
In a broken letter to the king it is stated that there are many outriders available to do masonry work.
- **Brick masons**
unc. (probably Esarhaddon)
LÚ.ú-ra-si
SAA 16 204:8' nd
They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **Brick masons**
Babylonia/from Kutha (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.ú-ra-si šá GÚ.DU₈.A.KI
SAA 13 166:18 nd
It is recorded in a memorandum that the king said that he will order the brick masons of Kutha to do a particular task (not specified).
- **Brick masons**
Babylon (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.ú-ra-si
SAA 13 168 r. 13 nd
In a letter to the king Urdu-abhēšu reports that the king of Babylon (Šamaš-šumu-ukīn) has ordered the brick masons to glaze bricks for the enclosure of Esagil.
- **Brick masons (of the palace gate?)**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ.ú-ra-si x x] [0] ša KÁ É.G[AL ...]
STAT 1 47:10'-11' = nd/dl
STAT 2 252
In an administrative record of silver amounts they are listed along with 1 ½ ¼ shekels (of silver).
- **Brick masons of the Inner City**
Assur (probably 7th century)
LÚ.ú-ra-si ša URU.ŠÀ-URU
STAT 2 120:6'-7' dl
Bēl-mutaqin has bought people to do the work of the brick masons of the Inner City.

7. *urāsu* in a non-documentary text

- **Brick mason in the charge of the chief mason of the Inner City**
Assur (Sargon II)
[LÚ].*í-ra-sí*.*ša* ŠU.2 LÚ.GAL-*í-ra-sí*.*ša*
UR|U.ŠÁ-U[RU] 714
SAA 20 55:26
In a ritual text from the reign of Sargon involving the royal scribe Nabû-šallimšunu (I) and the city scribe Zāzā, the brick masons, said to be in the charge of the chief mason, are mentioned in a broken section.

CARPENTER

1. *rab naggāri* (named)
 - **Qali (-) Chief carpenter**, son of [...]
Assur (Aššūr-nērāri V)
Q. DUMU PN LÚ*.GAL-NAGAR 749
STAT 3 10 r. 22
Q. is second witness in a house sale document.
- **Šaiādu (I) Chief carpenter**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Š. LÚ.GAL-NAGAR 679
SAA 6 265 r. 6 =
Jas 1996 no. 44 and
FNALD 46
Š. witnesses a judgement imposed by the vizier.
- **Padī (8) Chief carpenter**
Si'immé (Assurbanipal)
P. GAL-NAGAR.[MEŠ] nd
SAA 7 28 i 9
According to what seems to be a list of debts P. owes [x] minas (of silver) to the province of Si'immé, represented by its deputy Sime-ilā.

2. *rab naggāri* (unnamed)
- **Chief carpenter(?)**
Kalhu (8th century)
GAL²-NAGAR?
CTN 3 122 r. 17'
nd/dl
He is listed as a recipient of wine (amount lost).
3. *rab naggāri* in a lexical list
- **Chief carpenter(?)**
LÚ.GAL-NAGAR]
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 4'
nd
Mentioned in a section of a lexical list dealing with carpenters.
4. Town of the Carpenters
- **A town of the carpenters**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
URU.1-tú LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ
ND 2791:6'
nd
They are recorded along with 300 *emāru* of stored grain rations.
5. *bēt naggāri*
- **House of the carpenter**
Guzana (*A*dad-nērāri III)
É NAGAR
TH 39:10
nd
In an administrative document it is said that 4 donkeys in the house of the carpenter have been mustered.
6. *naggāru* of the crown prince
- [...] (-) **Carpenter of the house of the crown prince**
Assur (*A*ssurbaniṣal or later)
[PN LÚ.NAGAR šú É DUMU-MAN
STAT 1 23:5' =
STAT 2 243
dl
His house adjoins the one sold to Aḫu-lē'i (-), the brewer of the house of the crown prince.

7. *naggāru* of the governor
- **Carpenters**
 Ṣupat (Sargon II)
 LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ-ia' SAA 1 179 r. 13 nd
 In a letter of Bēl-liqbi, governor of Ṣupat, to the king the sender states that he brought his carpenters to Dur-Šarrukin.
8. *naggār mugirri* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Abattu (I) Cartwright and servant of Bēl-šarru-ušur**
 Ṣupat (Sargon II)
 A. [LÚ*.NAGAR]-mu-gir / [LÚ*.ARAD.MJEŠ-ni SAA 1 179 r. 21–22, 23 nd
 In a letter of Bēl-liqbi, governor of Ṣupat, to the king A. is said to have come to the sender together with the smith Qannū (1).
 In a letter of the Babylonian scholar Rāši-ili to the king it is stated that the carpenters of two temple enterers have been sent to the palace, as ordered by the king.
9. *naggāru* of *ērib bēti*
- **Carpenters of the two temple-enterers Iddin-aḫi and Ina-qībi-Bēl**
 Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
 LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ-šú-nu SAA 13 177:10 nd
10. *naggāru* of the temple
- **Gidgiddānu (4) Carpenter of the temple**
 Assur (Esarhaddon)
 G. LÚ.NAGAR É-DINGIR VAT 10491 r. 6' 678 G. is recorded in a fragment of a witness list.

11. *naggāru* (named)
- **Ġir-Aia (1) Carpenter**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
G. LÚ*.NAGAR
CTN 2 43 r. 19
dl G. is witness when land is sold.
 - **Rēmāni-Adad (3) Carpenter**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
R. LÚ*.NAGAR¹
SAA 6 96 r. 9
695 R. is witness when the woman Barsipītu buys slaves.
 - **Urdu-Inūrta (3) Carpenter**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
U. LÚ*.NAGAR
SAA 6 244 r. 8'
672 U. witnesses a slave sale.
 - **Abdī (7) Carpenter**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.NA[GAR]
SAA 14 136 r. 5'
658 A. is witness in a fragmentary legal document.
 - **Nūr-Šamaš (10) Carpenter**, son of Urdu-Nabū
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. A [U.] LÚ*.NAGAR // N. A U. LÚ.NAGAR
KAN 4 39:4-5 //
Ass. 15452a*:1-2
637* N. owes 4 shekels of silver, of Ištar of Arbail, to Issār-nādin-aḫḫē.
 - **Puṣḫu (1) Carpenter**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
P. LÚ.NAGAR
ND 3424 l.e. 1
665 P. is witness when a woman is sold.
 - **Urdu-Aššūr (10) Carpenter**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ*.NAGAR
SAAB 9 124 t.e. 27
636* U. is witness when a female slave is sold.

- **[...]-alik (-) Carpenter**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
'PN' LÚ.NAGAR
630* He is witness to a sale of a female slave.
SAAB 5 44 r. 3'
- **Nabū-šumu-iškun (20) Carpenter**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
N. NAGAR
dl N. is witness in a broken sale document.
SAAB 5 58 r. 12'
- **[...] (-) Carpenter(?)**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)
[PN] LÚ*.:NAGAR?
nd A carpenter is possibly recorded by name in an administrative list (broken).
SAT 1 48 r. 3' =
SAT 2 253
- **Za[...]tu (-) Carpenter**
Guzana (7th century)
Z. LÚ*.:NAGAR
nd Z. is recorded as one of 31 workmen or soldiers.
TH 114 r. 10', 12'
- 12. *naggāru* (unnamed)
- **Carpenters**
Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III)
LÚ.NAGAR.ME-*ni*
nd In an administrative record they are listed along with two estates and four workmen or soldiers.
Billa 85:16
- **Carpenters**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
[L]Ú*.:*na-gi-r[i]*
nd They are mentioned in a badly broken letter.
ND 2760:17'
(CTN 5: 309-11)

- **Carpenters**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ
CTN 3 87 r. 34
nd
In an administrative document recording the *ilkakāie* payments of the treasurer of Arbail they are said to harvest *ma'utu(-land)* of the palace.
- **Carpenters**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ / 22 LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ
SAA 1 95:9', 11'
nd
In a fragment of a letter ascribed to Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, it is stated that one is still waiting for some of the carpenters.
- **Carpenters**
LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ / 1-en LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ
SAA 1 96:6, r. 7
nd
According to another letter of Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, the carpenters insist on doing work in Sapirrutu.
- **Carpenters**
LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ
SAA 1 97 r. 10'
nd
Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra proposes to let 50 Itu'eans, stationed in Šibtu, come to Assur and stay with the carpenters.
- **Carpenters**
LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ
CTN 3 90:13
nd
The carpenters' duties, including the harvest of the town of Nirgi, are listed in an administrative document.
- **Carpenter**
unc. (Sargon II)
[LÚ*],NAGAR
SAA 15 106 r. 2'
nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter.
- **Carpenters**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ / LÚ*.um-ma-ni /
[LÚ*.um-ma-ni] / [LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ]
SAA 15 280:6', 14',
r. 3, 8
nd
According to a broken letter to the king they should have been provided by the sheikhs for work in Dur-Šarrukin together with the potters. The letter was possibly written by Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua (Fuchs and Parpola 2001: 176).

- **Carpenter**
- (Sargon II)
LÚ.NAGAR
SAA 17 27 r. 14
nd
In a letter to the king ascribed to the Babylonian official Bēl-iqīša a carpenter is mentioned in a proverb citation (broken).
- **Carpenter**
unc. (Sennacherib)
LÚ.NAGAR
RINAP 3/2 228,
Fragment K :2'
nd
He is mentioned in a building report of unclear background.
- **Carpenter(?)**
Nineveh/from Kush (Esarhaddon)
[NAGAR]
RINAP 4 103:27
nd
Among others they are taken as booty from Taharqa, the defeated king of Kush.
- **Carpenters**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
NAGAR.MEŠ'
RINAP 4 48 r. 81
nd
Esarhaddon states in his inscription that he employed carpenters and other skilled craftsmen for renovation works for Esagil carried out in Assur.
- **Carpenter**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.NAGAR
SAA 10 349:21
nd
In a letter of the scholar Mār-Issār to the king about repair works in temples, it is said that the work of the carpenter and the engraver on the statues for the temple of Mammu is done.
- **Carpenters**
Babylon (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ'
SAA 13 165:7'
nd
They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter that also refers to the temple of Marduk.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Carpenters Assur (Assurbanipal) LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ 	SAA 13 40:13	nd	Aššūr-šarru-ušur, temple steward of Aššur, receives a letter from Taqīša, priest of Aššur, according to which he should instruct the carpenters about the work to be done on the (offering) pipes of Adad and Babu.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Carpenter(?) Assur (Assurbanipal) NAGAR? 	STAT 2 196 r. 2	638*	Mentioned in a broken passage of a contract.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Carpenter Assur (Assurbanipal or later) LÚ.NA[GAR] 	STAT 1 47 ii 3' = STAT 2 252	nd	He is listed along with 1 ¾ shekels (of silver).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Carpenters(?) Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)¹³⁸ LÚ*.NAGAR?*.MEŠ? 	SAA 11 29:13	nd	He may be listed along with an audience gift (broken).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Carpenters Tušhan (after Assurbanipal) LÚ*.NAGAR.MEŠ 	ZTT 22:10	nd	In a letter of a certain Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) they and other craftsmen are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment.

¹³⁸ The approximate date is based on prosopographical connections: *inter alia* the cohort commander Mannu-kī-abi listed in lines r. 3–4 is also attested in the legal record SAA 14 42 r. 28 dating to 625*.

- **2 carpenters**
Nineveh (unc.)
2 LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ
SAA 7 20 r. 1' 4
nd/dl
They are listed in a fragment of an administrative document.

- 13. *naggāru* in a lexical list
- **Carpenter**
LÚ.NAG[AR x] / LÚ.NA[GAR x]
MSL 12 233 ii(B)
2', 3'
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with carpenters (broken).

- 14. *naggār mugīri* (named)
- **Zili (1) Cartwright**
Kalhu (Adad-nēraī III)
Z. LÚ*.NAGAR-GIŠ.mu-gīr-ri
CTN 2 91 l.e. 37
797
Z. is witness when Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Kalhu, repays debts of the weaver Urdu-Issār (2).

- **[...]bi? (-) Cartwright**
Nineveh (Sargon II or later)
[PN][?] NAGAR-mu-gīr
SAA 7 39 1' 7'
nd/dl
He is listed along with [x] amount of silver and 50 (*emāru*) of barley.

- **Bābānu (1) Cartwright**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ*.NAGAR-GIŠ.UMBI[N].MEŠ^a
SAA 6 124 r. 9
698
B. is witness when the merchant Erība-ilāni buys a house.

- **Sebi' (-) Cartwright**
Burrina (Esarhaddon)
S. NAGAR-GIŠ.[GIGIR]
TSF 5:2
dl
S. is recorded as joint seller in a broken legal document.

- **Issār-na'di (14) Cartwright**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.NAGAR-UMBIN
658 I. is first witness to an adoption.
FNALD 17 r. 5
(TCL 9 57)
- **Gīrītu (9) Cartwright**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
G. LÚ*.NAGAR-GIŠ.mu-gīr-ri
619* G. owes 8 1/2 minas of silver from the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (16).
SAA 14 169:3
- **Lā-turammanni-Aššur (5) Cartwright**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
L.
629* L. is witness when the sister of Urdu is sold.
STAT 3 18 l.e. 33
L. is witness in a judicial document involving a copper-smith.
615* L. is witness in a judicial document involving a copper-smith.
STAT 3 3 r. 26
- 15. *naḡḡār muḡirri* (unnamed)
 - **Cartwright**
Kalhu (Aššurnaṣirpal II)
LÚ*.NAGAR-mu-gīr-ri // [LÚ*.NAGAR-mu-g]ir-ri
nd He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
SAA 12 82:5 // 83 r. 4
 - **Cartwright**
Kalhu (Adad-nēārī III)
LÚ*.NAGAR-mu-gīr'
784 He receives [x] amount of wine.
CTN 3 145 r. iv 23
(= reverse of CTN I 3)
 - **[x] cartwrights**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
'x' LÚ.NAGAR-mu-[gīr]
nd Together with other professionals they are listed and summed up as "additional craftsmen(?)".
ND 2728+ r. 10'

- **Cartwright**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
NAGAR–GIGIR
Radner 2016 I.52:2 nd He is listed along with 30 shekels (of silver).

 - 16. *naggār pāši*
 - **Šimkī-Aia (2) Axe-maker**
Nineveh/from Damascus (Sargon II)
Š. LÚ*. [NA]GAR¹-pa-a²-ši URU³. di⁴-maš-qa-a-a
SAA 5 71:5–7 nd In a letter of the chief cupbearer Na²-ilu it is said that Š. is sent to the king.
 - 17. *naggār tallakti*
 - **4 wagon-makers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
*4 LÚ.NAGAR GIŠ.⁷ ta⁸-tak⁹.M[EŠ]
ND 2728+ r. 12' nd Together with other professionals they are listed and summed up as “additional craftsmen(?)”.
-
- MAKER OF BOWS AND ARROWS**
- 1. *rab sasinni*
 - **Issār-šarru-ibni (1) Chief bow-maker**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ*. GAL–ZADIM?
I. GAL–ZADIM
SAAB 9 132 r. 10 647* I. is first witness to a sale of a female slave.
SAA 14 459:1 635* I. is seller in a broken legal document.

2. *rab sasinni* in a lexical list
- **Chief bow-maker**
LÚ.G[A]L-ZADIM
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 26' nd
Mentioned in a section of a lexical list dealing with makers of bows and axes.
3. Town of the Bow-makers
- **Town of the Bow-makers**
Nineveh (8th century)
URU-ZADIM³.MEŠ
ND 2476 i 5' dl
Is listed along with 38 *emāru* (of grain).
4. *sasinnu* of the governor of Kalhu
- **Inūrtī (4) Bow-maker of the governor of Kalhu**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
I. / LÚ.ZADIM.MEŠ ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša URU. ND 5452:3, 4–5
kal-ḫi
Together with his colleagues I. owes 5 *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabû.¹³⁹
 - **Rēmū'a (3) Bow-maker of the governor of Kalhu**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
R. LÚ.ZADIM.MEŠ ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša URU.*kal-ḫi* ND 5452:4–5
661
Together with his colleagues R. owes 5 *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabû.
 - **Šép-Issār (8) Bow-maker of the governor of Kalhu**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
Š. / LÚ.ZADIM.MEŠ ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša URU. ND 5452:3, 4–5
661
Together with his colleagues Š. owes 5 *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabû.

¹³⁹ The same man is also attested as a creditor of silver (ND 2340:2) and repeatedly occurs as a witness to legal transactions; see Baker, PNA 2/I 558–9 s.v. Inūrtī 4.

5. *sasinnu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **9 bow-makers**
unc. (Tiglath-pileser III)
PAB 9 ZADIM.MEŠ
SAA 12 15:5' dl They are mentioned in a fragment of a land grant.
6. *sasinnu* of the temple
- **Tuqūn-Issār (1) Bow-maker of Aššur**
Nineveh/from Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
T. LÚ.ZADIM¹-ni aš-šur
SAA 14 97:4-5 646* T. owes 30 shekels of silver and gives his servant Nabû-nādin-aḫi as a pledge.
7. Subordinate of the *sasinnu* of the temple
- 7.1. *urdu* (servant)
- **Nabû-nādin-aḫi (9) Servant of Tuqūn-Issār (1), bow-maker of Aššur**
Nineveh/from Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
N. ARAD-šú
SAA 14 97:6 646* N. is given as a pledge by his master.
8. *sasinnu* (named)
- **Nūnī (1) Bow-maker**, son of Šamaš-nāšir
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
N. LÚ.ZADIM: (for DUMU Šamaš-nāšir)
STAT 2 234 r. 11 762 N. is witness in a house sale document.
 - **Aššūr-šumu-iddina (3) Bow-maker**
Assur (Tiglath-pileser III)
A. LÚ*.ZADIM
SAAB 9 136 r. 19 742 A. is witness in a land sale document.

- **Aḫi-nāsi (2) Bow-maker**, son of Nabû-nāšir
Assur (Sargon II)
A. A. N. LÚ*.ZADIM
StAT 2 102 r. 7' 711 A. is witness when a cook of Ištar buys something.
- **Nabû-šumu-lešir (4) Bow-maker(?)**
Kalhu (8th century)
N. LÚ.ZADIM?⁷
N.
CTN 3 125 r. 1 nd/dl N. receives [x] *qû* of wine.
CTN 3 133 i 7 nd/dl The same(?) N. receives [x] amount of wine.
- **Aššur-bēl-ilāni (3) Bow-maker**
Assur (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal)
A.
SAA 14 59 r. 6 675 A. is witness in a division of inheritance.
StAT 2 284* r. 5 665 The same(?) A. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- **Ilumma-īdḡul (-) Bow-maker**
Assur (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal)
I.
Radner 2016 I.8:6 675 I. is recorded as an owner of a house that was sold.
I.
Radner 2016 I.9 654 The same(?) I. is witness in a division of inheritance.
I. LÚ*.ZADIM
Radner 2016 I.11 r. 5 651 Together with his colleague Iqbi-Aššūr (-) the same(?) I. witnesses a debt note of barley.
I.
Radner 2016 I.35 r. 4' nd The same(?) I. invests in a business enterprise.
- **Iqbi-Aššūr (-) Bow-maker**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
I.: (for LÚ*.ZADIM in r. 5)
Radner 2016 I.11 r. 651 Together with his colleague Ilumma-īdḡul (-) I. witnesses a debt note of barley.
- **Uṭulāiu (40) Bow-maker**
Nineveh/from Donkey-driver Town (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ.ZADIM¹ URU.UŠ-ANŠE-*a-a*
SAA 14 140:2 653 U. sells land according to a broken legal document.

- [...]Aššūr (-) **Bow-maker**, son of Bēl-ušalli
Assur (Assurbanipal)
PN' DUMU B. LÚ.ZADIM
STAT 3 69:8
636* His house adjoins one that is sold.
 - **Ātanḫa-ilu (6) Bow-maker**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Ā. LÚ.ZADIM
STAT 2 81 b.e. 23
625* Ā. witnesses an adoption.
 - [...]bēlu-ušur (-) **Bow-maker**
Assur (7th century)
PN' LÚ*.ZADIM
STAT 2 2:8
nd He receives 1 *emāru* of barley according to an account from the temple of Aššur.
 - **Aššūr-šarru-ušur (24) Bow-maker**
Nineveh/from Donkey-driver Town (7th century)
A. LÚ*.*sa-si-mu* [TJA] URU.UŠ-ANŠE
SAA 14 271
dl A. is witness in a broken document recording the sale of a well.
9. *sasinnu* (unnamed)
- **Bow-makers**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.ZADIM.MEŠ
CTN 1 35 ii 19'
nd/dl They receive 1 *sītu* of bread or beer.
 - **Bow-maker**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
za-zi-ni
SAA 17 199 r. 3'
nd He is mentioned in a fragment of a Babylonian letter.

10. *sasinnu* in a lexical list
- **Bow-maker**
[LÚ].ZADIM
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 22' nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with makers of bows and axes.
11. *sasin qasšāti* (named)
- **Makkamé (2) Bow-maker**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
M. LÚ*.ZADIM-BAN'.ME'
SAA 6 97 r. 11 = 693
FNALD 24
M. is witness in a debt note of silver.
12. *sasin qasšāti* (unnamed)
- **Bow-makers**
Kalhu (Assurmasiṣpal II)
[LÚ].ZADIM-GIŠ.BAN.TAG.GA.MEŠ
SAA 12 83 r. 7 nd
They are assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
 - **Bow-makers**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.ZADIM.MEŠ-GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ
CTN 3 145 r. iii 12 784
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)
They receive 2 *qū* of wine.
 - **Bow-maker**
Kalhu/from Elam (Adad-nērāri III)
[LÚ*.ZADIM]-GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ KUR.*elam'-ma-a-a*
CTN 3 145 r. iv 13 784
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)
He receives [x] amount of wine.

- **Bow-maker**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.ZADIM-BAN
ZTT 22: 11
nd
In a letter of a certain Mannu-ki-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) he and other craftsmen are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment.

- 13. *sasin qašāti* in a lexical list
- **Bow-maker**
LÚ.ZADIM-GIŠ].BAN.MEŠ'
MSL 12 233 ii(B)
23'
Mentioned in a lexical list, in a section dealing with makers of bows and axes.
LÚ.ZADIM-GIŠ].BAN.MEŠ
MSL 12 238 r. iv 6
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, before the arrow-maker.

- 14. *sasin šiltāhi* in a lexical list
- **Arrow-maker**
LÚ.[ZADIM-GIŠ.GAG.TAG.GA.MEŠ]
MSL 12 233 ii(B)
24'
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with makers of bows and axes.
LÚ.ZADIM-GIŠ.GAG.TAG.GA.MEŠ
MSL 12 238 r. iv 7
nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, after the bow-maker.

- 15. *sasin ušši*
- **Arrow-maker**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.ZADIM-GAG.TI
ZTT 22: 11
nd
In a letter of a certain Mannu-ki-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) he and other craftsmen are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment.

16. *sasin usši* in a lexical list• **Arrow-maker**

LÚ.ZADIM-ĜIŠ.GAG:[TI.MEŠ]	MSL 12 233 ii(B) 25'	nd	Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with makers of bows and axes.
LÚ.ZADIM-ĜIŠ.GAG.TI.MEŠ	MSL 12 238 r. iv 8	nd	Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, after the bow-maker.

SMITH

1. *rab šarrāpi* (named)

- **Lafi (1) Master of the goldsmiths of the house of [...]**¹⁴⁰
Assur (Sargon II)
L. LÚ.GAL-SIMUG.KUG.GI.šá É 'PN'
STAT 3 32 r. 15' 708 L. is witness in a broken land sale document.
- **Silim-Aššur (2) Master of the goldsmiths**
Assur (Sargon II)
S. LÚ.GAL-SIMUG.KUG.GI.: (for ŠÀ-URU.'a'-a STAT 3 32 r. 11' 708 S. is witness in a broken land sale document.
in r. 8')
- **Ḫambī (2) Master of the goldsmiths**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Ḫ. LÚ*.GAL-SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ SAA 6 96 r. 8 695 Ḫ. is witness when the woman Barsipītu buys four people.

¹⁴⁰ Pruzsinszky (PNA 2/II 651 s.v. Lafi) read É-*as-šur* and thus interpreted him as the master of goldsmiths of the Aššur Temple. I follow here the more recent edition by Faist (2007: 63).

- **Šin-na'di (16) Master of the goldsmiths and mayor of the Aššur Gate**¹⁴¹
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
S. GAL-SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 13 28 r. 4 nd
In a letter to the king the sender (name lost) reports about 1 talent of silver sealed by S.
- **Issār-na'di (23) Master of the goldsmiths**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
I.
AfO 32 42 r. 29 620* I. is first witness to a deviseion of inheritance.
StAT 1 22 r. 6 dl I. is first witness when a house is sold.
= StAT 2 244
StAT 1 54:1, r. 19 nd I. jointly writes a letter to two men concerning a law-suit.
- 2. *rab šarrāpi* (unnamed)
- **Master of the goldsmiths**
Kalhu (8th century)
[L]Ú*.GAL-SIMUG.KUG.GI nd/dl He receives wine (amount lost).
- 3. Town of the Goldsmiths
- **Town of the Goldsmiths**
Nineveh (Tiglath-pileser III)
URU-SIMUG.KUG.GI] /
URU-SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ 734 The recruitment officer Šumu-lēšir has bought an estate in the Town of the Goldsmiths. This transaction is also witnessed by Rūba-abbē from the Goldsmith Town.

¹⁴¹ Šin-na'di is well attested as mayor of Assur. As a municipal authority he sealed sales of land, acted as a judge and corresponded with the king Assurbanipal (Radner, PNA 3/I 1136-7 s.v. Šin-na'di 16).

- **Town of the Goldsmiths**
Dur-Šarrukin (after Assurbanipal)
URU-SIMUG.KU[G.GI.MEŠ] /
UR[U]-SIMUG.KUG.GI.M[JEŠ]
 - **Town of the Goldsmiths**
Nineveh (7th century)
URU-SIMUG.KUG.GI
- CTDS 1 i 13', ii 5' nd/dl Listed along with 23 *emāru* and 20 (*emāru*) of com.
- SAA 14 183 r. 2 dl Atā, who witnesses a legal transaction, is designated city lord of Goldsmith Town.
4. *ṣarrāpu* of the king
- **Šep-Aššur-ašbat (5) Goldsmith and servant of the king**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
Š. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI *ur-du* ša LUGAL
- SAA 13 27 r. 9-10 nd Š. is said to have been removed from the service of Aššur and the king in a letter of the master of goldsmiths Sīn-na'di (16) to the king.
5. *ṣarrāpu* of the queen
- **Nabû-sagḫbi (1) Goldsmith of the house of the queen, son of the goldsmith Parrūtu (4)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. A P. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI ša É MÍ.É.GAL
- SAA 16 81:2-4 nd N. writes a letter to the king about whether the king received the precious stones he sent to him via a gate-keeper.
- **Parrūtu (4) Goldsmith of the house of the queen, father of the goldsmith Nabû-sagḫbi (1)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
P. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI ša É MÍ.É.GAL
- SAA 16 65:2-3 nd In an anonymous letter to the king P. is said to have employed a Babylonian to teach his son exorcistic literature, which is apparently a misdeed.
- SAA 16 81:3-4 nd Nabû-sagḫbi (1), goldsmith of the department of the queen, refers to himself as son of P.

6. *ṣarrāpu* of the vizier
- **Ilumma-īē'i (6) Goldsmith of the house of the vizier**, son of the goldsmith Sūsia (2) Nineveh (Tiglath-pileser III)
I. [DUMU] S. KI.M[IN] (for [LÚ*].SIMUG.KUG. SAA 6 19 r. 8' 734 I. is witness when the recruitment officer Šumu-lēšir GI' ša É' LÚ*.[SUKKA]L' in r. 7')
 - **Sūsia (2) Goldsmith of the house of the vizier(?)**, father of the goldsmith Ilumma-īē'i (6) Nineveh (Tiglath-pileser III)
S. [LÚ*].SIMUG.KUG.GI' ša É' LÚ*.[SUKKA]L' SAA 6 19 r. 7', 8' 734 S. is witness when the recruitment officer Šumu-lēšir buys land.
7. *ṣarrāpu* of the baker
- **Bullutu (9) Goldsmith**
Nineveh/from Babylonia (7th century)
B. LÚ.KUG'.DÍM' SAA 11 155:5 nd B. is assigned to the baker Gīrītu (11) according to an administrative document.
8. *ṣarrāpu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Ḫalimu (1) Goldsmith of Dādāia**
Kalhu (8th century)
Ḫ. / PAB 2 LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.[GI' š]a D. CTN 2 114:3-4 nd/dl Ḫ. is listed in an administrative record together with his colleague Ubru-Ḫarrān (6).
 - **Ubru-Ḫarrān (6) Goldsmith of Dādāia**
Kalhu (8th century)
U. / PAB 2 LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.[GI' š]a D. CTN 2 114:3-4 nd/dl U. is listed in an administrative record together with his colleague Ḫalimu (1).

9. *ṣarrāpu* of the temple
- **Gabbu-ilāni-ēreš (1) Goldsmith of Aššur**
Assur (probably 8th century)
G. SIMUG.KUG.GI *ṣa-ra¹¹-pu ša aš-šur*
OrNS 37 8:2-3 nd According to its inscription G. was creator of an inscribed Pazuzu head made of clay.
10. House of a *ṣarrāpu*
- **House of Aššūr-šarru-ušur (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
É A. KUG¹
Radner 2016 I.18*:2 627* Working contract: Urdu-Bēssī of the household of A. is employed for one month to bring in the harvest. He will receive 1 shekel of silver.
11. *ṣarrāpu* (named)
- **Ilu-erība (2) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
I. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI 788 I. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys slaves.
 - **Marduk-aplu-iddina (1) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
M. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI 800 Together with colleagues M. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys slaves.
 - **Sebetti-il-māti (-) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
S. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG'.GI 784 S. receives 1 *qû* of wine.
(= reverse of CTN I 3)

- **Ubru-ahhē (-) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
U. LÚ.SIMUG x 'KUG.GI'
Edubba 10 2 r. 3 800
Together with colleagues U. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys slaves.
- **[...]jāia (-) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)
[PN] LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
Edubba 10 2 r. 9 800
Together with colleagues he is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys slaves.
- **Adad-ibni (I) Goldsmith**
Kalhu/from Assur (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
A. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI URU.ŠÀ-URU-a-a
Edubba 10 12 dl
r. 24–25
He is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys a woman.
- **Zīzi (I) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or later)
Z. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
CTN 2 57 r. 12 dl
Z. is first witness in a broken judicial document.
- **Eriba-[...] (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Shalmaneser IV or Shalmaneser V)
E. LÚ.SIMUG.KU[G].GI] š[a] URU.ŠÀ-U[RU] / STAT 3 14:1–3, 7 781/723
E. sells a *kur/it*-building for 70 minas of copper to the smith Nabû-uballit (3).
- **Bēl?-[...]jnīše (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Sargon II)
B.: (for LÚ*.SIMU[G].KUG.GI] in r. 17) 717
Together with colleagues B. is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Dadida (I) Goldsmith**
Assur (Sargon II)
D.: (for LÚ*.SIMU[G].KUG.GI] in r. 17) 717
Together with colleagues D. is witness in a slave sale document.

- **Ku[...].meme (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Sargon II)
K.: (for LÚ*.SIMU[G].KUG.G[I] in r. 17)
StAT 3 36 r. 20
717
Together with colleagues K. is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Qibit-Aššur (2) Goldsmith**
Imgur-IIIil (Sargon II)
Q. // Q. LÚ*.SI[MU]G.KUG.GI
BT 101 r. 4 // 101*
r. 3
710
Q. witnesses a debt note of silver.
- **[...].di (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Sargon II)
[PN] LÚ*.SIMU[G].KUG.G[I]
StAT 3 36 r. 16–17
717
Together with colleagues he is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Inūrta-taklāk (1) Goldsmith**, son of Adapu-na'di
Kalhu (8th century)
I. A. A. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI
CTN 2 118:5–7
nd
I. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Sisā (3) Goldsmith**
Kalhu/from Assur (8th century)
S.: SIMUG.KUG.GI (“ditto” refers to URU.ŠĀ–
URU-*a-a* in r. iii 23)
CTN 1 1 r. iii 24
nyd
S. receives 1(?) *qīt* of wine.
- **[...]? (-) Goldsmith**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN]’ SIMUG.KUG.G[I]
CTN 3 120:10’ =
CTN 1 30
nd/dl
He receives 2 *qīt* of wine.

- **Nabû'a (98) Gold- and silversmith**
Nineveh (8th or 7th century)
N. SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 11 222 r. 13 nd
N. is listed along with 2 minas of silver in an administrative record.
- N. LÚ*₃-*ša-rap-káš.2-[pi]*
(97) SAA 11 222 r. 4 nd
The same(?) N. is mentioned along with two orchards in an administrative document.
- **Nabû'a (13) Goldsmith**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 6 65 r. 11' 692
N. is witness when the village manager Baḫiānu buys land.
- **Nabû-rēmāni (7) Goldsmith of [...]**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ*-SIMUG.KUG.GI *šá* [...] 686
N. is witness when land is sold.
- **Urdu-Issār (16) Goldsmith**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
U.
SAA 6 151 r. 8' 687
U. is witness in a broken legal document.¹⁴²
- U. LÚ*-SIMUG.KUG.[GI]
SAA 6 164 r. 9 686
U. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Bēl-ahḫē-erība (4) Goldsmith of [...]**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
B. LÚ.KUG.DIM *šá* [...] nd
B. is mentioned as conspirator in a Babylonian letter to the king enumerating the audience gifts including gold and precious garments which the Babylonian traitor Nabû-ahḫē-iddina sent to the king of Elam.

¹⁴² He might be identical with a homonymous man attested as a witness in other legal documents from Nineveh (Radner in PNA 3/II 1405 s.v. Urdu-Issār 16–18).

- **Kākia (5) Goldsmith**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
K. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 6 283:16'–17' 672
K. 's land adjoins the one being sold to the royal *šar-rēšī* Ilu-šabtanni (1).
- **Kudurru (9) Goldsmith of [...]**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
K. LÚ.KUG.DIM *šá* [...]
VAT 4923:14–15 nd
(see Weidner 1954: 56: 6–8)
K. is mentioned as conspirator in a Babylonian letter to the king enumerating the audience gifts including gold and precious garments which the Babylonian traitor Nabû-aḫḫē-iddina sent to the king of Elam.
- **Abi-iasūbu (1) Goldsmith, son of Samūnu-iatūmi**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. DUMU S. SIMUG.KUG.GI 639*
SAA 14 104 r. 11 =
Jas 1996 no. 14 and
FNALD 43
A. witnesses a court decision involving the farmer Aḫu-lā-amašši (23).
- **Abu-lešir (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. 'LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG' dl
KAN 4 20:10 (edited
in Faist 2009: 60–2)
A. together with nine other men sells a female slave and her daughter to Mannu-ki-Aššūr. The sold persons are specified as “booty of Elam, which the king gave to the Inner City”.
- **Bassālu (1) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
B. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI nd
SAA 13 26 r. 6–7
B. is mentioned in a letter from the master of goldsmiths Sīn-na'di (16) to the king.

- **Gallulu (10) Goldsmith**¹⁴³
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)

G. LÚ*.SIMUG.KU[G.G]I	ND 5447 r. 2	661 G. witnesses a debt note of grain.
G. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI	ND 5452:9	661 G. is the first witness in a debt note of grain.
G. LÚ.SIMUG--AN.BAR	ND 5469 r. 5	661 G. is the first witness in a debt note of grain.

- **Mannu-ka-Sē' (1) Goldsmith**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)

M. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI //	SAA 14 71 r. 5--6 //	667 M. is witness when the <i>ša-qurbūti</i> Aḫ-abū owes silver.
M. LÚ*.[SIMUG].KUG.GI	70* r. 2	

- **Padūwa (1) Goldsmith**
Ma'allanate (Assurbanipal)

P. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI / P. / P.	O 3701:1, 3, b.e. 11	630* ¹⁴⁴ P. seals a legal document according to which he acts as a surety. ¹⁴⁵
-------------------------------	----------------------	--

- **Sākip-Aššūr (-) Goldsmith**¹⁴⁶
Assur (Assurbanipal)

S. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI	KAN 4 20:8 (edited in Faist 2009: 60--2)	dl S. and nine other men sell a female slave and her daughter to Mannu-ki-Aššūr; the slaves are "booty of Elam, which the king gave to the Inner City".
---------------------	---	---

¹⁴³ The designation "blacksmith" in ND 5469 r. 5 is very likely a scribal error.

¹⁴⁴ There is no date formula, but it is assumed that the witness Šalam-šarru-iqbi in r. 2 is the eponym for 630*; see Luukko, PNA 3/I 1165 Šalam-šarru-iqbi 17.e.

¹⁴⁵ The same man is attested as a witness in AUAM 72 72 r. 6; see Ambos, PNA 3/I 979 s.v. Padūwa.

¹⁴⁶ Also several other contemporary texts from Assur refer to a man called Sākip-Aššūr (Radner, PNA 3/I 1066 s.v. Sākip-Aššūr 2).

- **Šarru-na'di (1) Goldsmith**
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbaniḫal)
 - Š. BATSH 6 60 r. 10' 635* Š. is witness in a slave sale document.
 - Š. BATSH 6 8:1, 5, 13 633* Š. sells two people for 1 mina of silver.
 - Š. LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI dl BATSH 6 10 r. 8 Š. witnesses a house sale.
 - Š. BATSH 6 120 r. 6 dl Š. is first witness in a land sale document.

 - **Aššur-bēssunu (7) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)
 - A. SAAB 9 87:3, 4 637* A. is both investor and debtor of 70 shekels of silver in a trading enterprise.
 - A.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) / dl STAT 1 22 r. 10, 12 = A. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁴⁷
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ

 - **Aššur-ḫussanni (2) Goldsmith**, father of the goldsmith Nabû-zēru-iddina (21)
Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)
 - qí-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / A. 620* A. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
30
 - A. KUG.DÍM' 620* A. is witness when a female slave is sold.¹⁴⁸

 - **Aššur-ši'i (3) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)
 - qí-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / A. 620* A. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
33
 - A.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) / dl STAT 1 22 r. 8, 12 = A. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁴⁹
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ
- ¹⁴⁷ Without title he is attested as a witness in numerous other legal documents from Assur; see Radner, PNA 1/1 176 s.v. Aššur-bēssunu 7; according to that he is attested from 650 down to 613*.
- ¹⁴⁸ He is also attested as a recipient of a royal letter and as a debtor of silver (Radner, PNA 1/1 187 s.v. Aššur-ḫussanni 2).
- ¹⁴⁹ For several other occurrences, especially as a witness, see Frahm, PNA 1/1 222 s.v. Aššur-ši'i 3. However, it is clear from new evidence (STAT 3 39 r. 13; 102 r. 26) that there were three distinct persons named Aššur-ši'i active in 7th-century Assur (Faist 2007: 76).

- **Aššūr-šumu-ušur (5) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal and later)
qí-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / A.* AfO 32 42 r. 27–28, 620*
29
A. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
A. KUG.DÍM StAT 1 22 r. 6 = dl
StAT 2 244 A. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁵⁰

- **Lā-qēpu (25) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal and later)
L. PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ StAT 1 22 r. 12 = dl
StAT 2 244 L. is witness in a broken house sale document.
L. LÚ*.KUG Radner 2016 I.33 r. 7 nd
Presumably the same L. is listed along with [x] ½ shekels (of silver) he invests in a trading enterprise.¹⁵¹

- **Nabû-zēru-iddina (21) Goldsmith**, son of the goldsmith Aššūr-ḫussanni (2)
Assur (Assurbaniṣal and later)
qí-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / N.* AfO 32 42 r. 27–28, 620*
31
N. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
N. KUG.DÍM SAAB 5 27:18 nd
N. is listed along with 1 mina of silver.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ The same man is attested as a witness in several other legal documents from Assur, see Whiting, PNA 1/I 226 s.v. Aššūr-šumu-ušur 5.

¹⁵¹ For a few other references to the same man see Pruzsinszky, PNA 2/II 653–4 s.v. Lā-qēpu 25.

¹⁵² On the reading of the personal name in this text see Baker, PNA 2/II 910 s.v. Nabû-zēru-iddina 21.e. See Baker, PNA 2/II 909–10 s.v. Nabû-zēru-iddina 21 for the evidence of Nabû-zēru-iddina's activities, including business engagements involving amounts of silver, his correspondence and his witnessing of legal transactions from 644*/637* to 620*.

- **Qibit-Aššūr (10) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
qī-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / Q.*
Q. LÚ.KUG.DÍM / PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ
AfO 32 42 r. 27–28, 620*
32
STAT 1 22 r. 7, 12 = dl
STAT 2 244
Q. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
Q. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁵³
- **Abu-balliḫ (1) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. SIMUG.KUG.GI
BaM 16 2 r. 16 dl
A. is witness to a sale of a female slave.
- **Aššūr-mudammiq (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A.: (for LÚ*.KUG in l. 13) nd
Radner 2016 l.36:14
K. is listed as an investor of a trading enterprise.
- **Eriša-Aššūr (14) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
E.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ dl
STAT 1 22 r. 12 =
STAT 2 244
E. is witness in a broken house sale document.
- **Kakkussu (9) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
K.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ dl
STAT 1 22 r. 11, 12 =
STAT 2 244
K. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁵⁴
- **Kišir-Aššūr (54) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
K.:[] (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ dl
STAT 1 22 r. 11, 12 =
STAT 2 244
K. is witness in a broken house sale document.

¹⁵³ For other attestations of this man, as a witness or as a creditor of silver, from 661 down to 620*, see Baker, PNA 3/I 1012 s.v. Qibit-Aššūr 10.

¹⁵⁴ He is presumably identical with a homonymous witness in some legal documents from contemporary Assur (Berlejung, PNA 2/I 597 Kakkussu 8–9).

- **Nabû-kēnu-(e)riba (1) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
N.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ
 - **Nabû-mušēši (7) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
N.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ
 - **Nabû-šumu-ka'in (4) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
N. [.:] (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ
 - **Nabūtu (4) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
N.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) / PAB SIMUG.
KUG.GI.MEŠ
 - **Nūr-Šamaš (4) Goldsmith**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)
N. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
 - **Tarditu-Assūr (23) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
T.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) /
PAB SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----|---|
| | STAT 1 22 r. 11, 12 =
STAT 2 244 | dl | N. is witness in a broken house sale document. |
| | STAT 1 22 r. 10, 12 =
STAT 2 244 | dl | N. is witness in a broken house sale document. |
| | STAT 1 51:1 | nd | N. sends of a letter to goldsmith Nabû-zēru-iddina (21). |
| | STAT 1 22 r. 9, 12 =
STAT 2 244 | dl | N. is witness in a broken house sale document. |
| | STAT 1 33 r. 13 = Jas
1996 no. 26 | dl | N. witnesses a judicial document. |
| | STAT 1 22 r. 9, 12 =
STAT 2 244 | dl | N. is witness in a broken house sale document. |
| | SAA 14 53 r. 5' | dl | N. is witness in a broken house sale document, ascribed to the cohort commander Kakkullānu. |
| | STAT 1 22 r. 10, 12 =
STAT 2 244 | dl | T. is witness in a broken house sale document. |

- [...]**šunu** (-) **Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN] KUG
Radner 2016 I.38 r. 3 nd He is listed as an investor in a record dealing with a trading enterprise.
- [...] **(-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN] KUG
Radner 2016 I.40:4 nd He is listed in a broken record dealing with a trading enterprise.
- [...] **(-) Goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN KUG],DÍM
STAT 2 271 r. 9' 650/PC He is witness when a woman is sold.
- **PNs(?) (-) Goldsmiths**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
PNs LÚ*.KUG
Radner 2016 I.36:13 nd *kurgarrís* and goldsmiths are summarised in a record about a trading enterprise. It is unclear who is meant as *kurgarrí* and who as goldsmith.
- **Aḫūamma (2) Goldsmith and mayor (of Assur)**¹⁵⁵
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. [.:] (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) / PAB SIMUG. STAT 1 22 r. 8, 12 = dl A. is witness in a broken house sale document.
KUG.GI.MEŠ STAT 2 244
- **Aššūr-balāssu-iqbi (5) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
qī-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / A.* AfO 32 42 r. 27–28, 620* A. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.¹⁵⁶
31

¹⁵⁵ For references to the same man, both as mayor and without title; see Radner, PNA 1/1 80 s.v. Aḫūamma 2.

¹⁵⁶ For a few other references to the same man see Jas, PNA 1/1 156 s.v. Aššūr-balāssu-iqbi 5.

- **Aššūr-kurubšunu (1) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) / PAB SIMUG.
KUG.GI.MEŠ STAT 1 22 r. 9, 12 = dl A. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁵⁷
STAT 2 244
- **Aššūr-šaddūni (2) Goldsmith and mayor**¹⁵⁸
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A.: (for KUG.DÍM in r. 6) / PAB SIMUG.KUG.
GI.MEŠ STAT 1 22 r. 7, 12 = dl A. is witness in a broken house sale document.
STAT 2 244
- **Dindi (1) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
qí-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / D.*
Afo 32 42 r. 27–28, 620* D. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over
30 by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
- **Gula-ēreš (1) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
qí-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / G.*
Afo 32 42 r. 27–28, 620* G. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over
36 by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.¹⁵⁹
- **Mudammīq-Aššūr (8) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
M.: (for LÚ.KUG.DÍM in r. 7) STAT 1 22 r. 13 = dl M. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁶⁰
STAT 2 244

¹⁵⁷ For a few other references to the same man see Radner, PNA 1/I 192 s.v. Aššūr-kurubšunu.

¹⁵⁸ For references to the same man, as a mayor or without a designation see Frahm, PNA 1/I 215–6 s.v. Aššūr-šaddūni 2.

¹⁵⁹ Other evidence for the same man as a witness (without title) is given by Wesszeli, PNA 1/II 429 s.v. Gula-ēreš.
¹⁶⁰ He also occurs in Stat 1 13:2/13*:3 (as a creditor of silver) and 40:19 (listed in an administrative document).

- **Mušallim-Aššūr (25) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
M. 'KUG'
STAT 3 3 r. 27
615*
M. witnesses a judicial document.
- **Qurdi-Gula (2) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
qī-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / Q.*
AfO 32 42 r. 27–28,
35
620*
Q. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.¹⁶¹
- **Šulmu-māt-Aššūr (4) Goldsmith**, son of Ilumma-lē'i
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
qī-in-nu gab-bu šá LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.ME / Š.*
AfO 32 42 r. 27–28,
34
620*
Š. is witness to a division of inheritance presided over by the mayors of Assur and the goldsmiths.
Š. owes 10 shekels of silver.
613*
Š. is witness in a broken house sale document.¹⁶²
Š. A. I. KUG.DÍM'
SAAB 9 114:3–4
STAT 1 22 r. 8, 12 =
dl
STAT 2 244
- **Silim-Aššūr (17) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
S. SIMUG.K[UG.GI]
(12) S. KUG
VAT 9767 r. 4'
Radner 2016 I.42:6
617*
nd
S. is witness in a broken legal document.
The same(?) S. is listed along with 2 x 1/4-shekels (of silver) he invested in a trading enterprise.
- **Šalam-šarri-iqbi (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
Š. [SIMUG.K]UG
STAT 3 35 iii 25
nd
Š. is listed in an administrative document.

¹⁶¹ Also attested in the administrative record STAT 1 41:3.

¹⁶² For further evidence for this man see Villard, PNA 3/II 1276–7 s.v. Šulmu-māt-Aššūr 4.

- [...] (-) **Goldsmith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
[PN] 'SIMUG.KUG'¹
STAT 3 35 i 13 nd He is listed in an administrative document.
- **Inūrta-na'di (10) Goldsmith**
Assur (7th century)
I. [LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
KAN 4 22:7-8 dl I. buys a house from his colleague Nabû-zēru-lēšir (3).
- **Mannu-ki-Aššur (9) Goldsmith**
Assur (7th century)
M. LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
KAN 4 22 r. 25 dl M. is witness when his colleague Inūrta-na'di (10) buys a house.
- **Mutakkil-Marduk (-) Goldsmith**
Assur (7th century)
M. LÚ*.SIMUG.K[UG.GI]
KAN 4 44 r. 39 dl His sons witness a land sale.
- **Nabû-zēru-lēšir (3) Goldsmith**, son of [...] Assur (7th century)
N. [A PN] LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI
KAN 4 22:9-10 dl N. sells a house to his colleague Inūrta-na'di (10).
- **Nabû-[...] (-) Goldsmith**
Nineveh/from Kar-Salmaneser (7th century)
N. SIMUG.KUG.GI 0 ša kar-^mDI-ma-nu²-[MAS]
SAA 11 178:11' -14' nd/dl N. is mentioned in a fragment of an administrative document.
- [...] (-) **Goldsmith**
Assur (7th century)
[PN LÚ].SIMUG.KUG.GI
KAN 4 22 t.e. 10' dl He is witness when his colleague Inūrta-na'di (10) buys a house.
- [...] (-) **Goldsmith**
Nineveh (7th century)
[PN LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 14 287 r. 7' dl He is witness in a fragmentary conveyance text.

12. *šarrāpu* (unnamed)
- **Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
[LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI] // LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 12 82:7 // 83 r. 5
nd
They are assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
 - **Goldsmith**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI
SAA 5 294:18'
nd
In a letter to the king (heading lost) it is said that he demands more gold.
 - **Goldsmiths**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ-*ni*
CTN 1 1 r. iii 15
nyd
They receive 2 *qū* of wine.
 - **Goldsmith**
unc. (Sennacherib)
LÚ.KUG.DĪM
RINAP 3/2 228, Fragment K :2'
nd
He is mentioned in a building report whose background remains unclear.
 - **Goldsmith**
Nineveh/from Egypt (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.KUG.DĪM
RINAP 4 103:27
nd
According to a broken inscription of Esarhaddon goldsmiths were taken as booty from Memphis.
 - **Goldsmiths**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
KUG.DĪM.MEŠ'
RINAP 4 48 r. 81
nd
Esarhaddon states in his inscription that he employed goldsmiths and other skilled craftsmen in Assur for renovation works on Esagil.

- **Goldsmith**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.[GI] SAA 16 218:7 nd He is mentioned in a fragmentary letter.
- **Goldsmith**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.SIMU]G.KUG.GI SAA 7 19:1' nd/dl He is listed together with the coppersmith and different types of stoneworkers.
- **Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI SAA 13 134:11' nd In a letter to the king (sender's name lost) the misdeeds of the chanter Pūlu are reported. Among other things he ordered a goldsmith to create a new table for Marduk.
- **Goldsmiths**
unc. (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.SIMU]G.KUG.GI.MEŠ SAA 13 51:3' nd They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **Goldsmiths**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ.SIMUG.KUG.GI.MEŠ STAT 1 52 r. 19 =
STAT 2 249 nd In a letter to the goldsmith Nabū-zēru-iddina (21) the sender, Aššūr-ballit, refers to a document which is in the hands of the goldsmiths.
- **Goldsmith**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ*.SIMUG.KUG.GI ND 2310 r. 22 nd He is listed along with 1 shekel (of silver) in an administrative document.

- **Goldsmiths**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)¹⁶³
LÚ.SIMUG.[KUG.GI.MEŠ]
STAT 2 242:3 dl They are involved in a judicial settlement.
- 13. Female *šarrāpu* (*šarraptu*)
 - **Mullissu-taqiša (1) Female goldsmith**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
M. KUG.DIM // M.
STAT 2 45:2 // 46*:3 656 M. is owed 15 shekels of silver.
- 14. *šarrāpu* in lexical lists
 - **Goldsmith**
LÚ.SIMUG.[KUG.GI] / 'LÚ'.KUG.GI.BÀN.D[A] / MSL 12 233 ii(B) nd
[L]Ú.KUG.DĪM 9', 10', 11'
LÚ.KUG.DĪM MSL 12 238 ii(B) 3 nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with various types of smiths.
Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh after the architect and before the stone-carver.
- 15. *rab nappāhi*
 - [...]**bušu (-) Master of the smiths**
Assur (Shalmaneser IV or Shalmaneser V)
'PN' LÚ.GAL-SI[MUG] STAT 3 14 r. 21 781/723 He is first witness when a *kurḫu*-building is sold by the goldsmith Erība-[...] to the smith Nabû-uballit.
 - **Nabû-aḫu-ēṭir (-) Master of the smiths**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
N. GAL-SIMUG.MEŠ STAT 3 35 i 8 nd N. is mentioned in an administrative document.

¹⁶³ The edition restores Ša[maš-šarru-ibni] as eponym, which refers to the year 612*.

16. *rab nappāhi* in a lexical list
- **Master of the smiths**
[L]Ú.GAL-SIMUG
MSL 12.233 ii(B) 12' nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section listing different types of smiths.
17. Town of the Smiths
- **Town of the Smiths**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
URU-SIMUG.ME
SAA 14.434:7 612*
The courier Inūrta-šarru-ušur rents fallow-land in the Town of the Smiths.
18. *nappāh siparri* (named)
- **Panzî? (1) Bronzesmith**
Harran area (Sargon II)
P. SIMUG-UD.KA.BAR
SAA 11.219 iii 10'-11'
nd/dl
P. is listed along with 2 *emāru* (of land) and is said to have left for the city of Nampigi in an administrative record.
 - **Mannu-ki (1) Bronzesmith**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
M. LÚ.:-UD.KA.BAR
("ditto" refers to LÚ'.SIMUG in r. 4)
SAA 6.26 r. 5 711
Together with the smith Sē'-īūrī (2) M. is witness in a debt note of silver.
 - **Adūni (1) Bronzesmith**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.SIMUG-UD.KA.BAR
ND 5447 r. 4-5 661
A. is witness when the fuller Aḫu-erība (11) owes barley.

19. *nappāḫ siparri* (unnamed)
- **Coppersmith**
Kalhu (AŠšurmašipal II)
[LÚ*.SIMUG–UD.KA.BAR] //
LÚ*.SIMUG–UD.KA.BAR
- SAA 12 82:7 // 83
r. 5
- nd
- He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
20. *nappāḫ siparri* in a lexical list
- **Bronzesmith**
LÚ.S[IMUG–UD.K]A.BAR
- MSL 12 233 ii(B) 7'
- nd
- Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with smiths.
21. *nappāḫ erē* (named)
- **Ḫallabēše (2) Coppersmith**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal and later)
Ḫ.
 - **Ḫitti-īlāni-[...]** (1) **Coppersmith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ.SIMUG–URUDU
- SAA 14 442 r. 14
- 634*
- Ḫ. is witness when the cook Abdi-Kurra (2) sells a boy of 3 spans.
- SAA 14 435:1–2, 8,
15
- 612*
- Ḫ. sells a woman for 50 shekels of silver to the courtier Inūrta-šarru-ušur (2).
- SAA 14 436 l.e. 1
- unc.¹⁶⁴
- Ḫ. is witness in a debt note of barley.
- STAT 3 3:3–4
- 615*
- I. is involved in a court case about his paternal inheritance.

¹⁶⁴ The date formula gives the eponym year of Mannu-kī-Arbail (SAA 14 436 r. 4).

22. *nappāh erē* (unnamed)

- **10(?) copper-smiths**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
10' .SIMUG–URUDU'

ND 2497 r. 1'
nd/dl
They are listed next to the blacksmiths in a broken section of an administrative document.

- **Coppersmith**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ* .SIMUG–URUDU

CTN 3 90:11
nd
According to an administrative document he is exempted from doing work in the deputy treasurer's house.

- **Coppersmith**
Kalhu (8th century)
[L]Ú* .SIMUG–URUDU

CTN 3 87 r. 34
nd
In an administrative document recording the *ilkakāte* payments of the treasurer he is said to harvest *ma'uttu* (-land) of the palace.

SMITH

- **Coppersmith**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ].SIMUG–URUDU

SAA 7 19:5'
nd/dl
They are listed together with stoneworkers in a fragment of an administrative text.

- **Coppersmith**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ* .SIMUG–URUDU

ZTT 22:8
nd
In a letter of a certain Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) he and other craftsmen are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment.

23. *šaknu* (prefect) of a copper-smith
- **Abdi-Samsi (2) Prefect of Ḫallabēše (2), copper-smith**
Nineveh (after Assurbanīpal)
A. L[Ú].GAR-*nu-šú šá* Ḫ.
SAA 14 435 r. 12–13 612* A. is witness when the copper-smith Ḫallabēše (2) sells a woman.
24. *nappāḫ parzilli* of the palace scribe
- **Napī (1) Blacksmith**, brother of Ḫambarūru
Kalhu (Adad-nēřāri III)
N. SIMUG-AN.BAR
Edubba 10 4:2 790 N. is sold together with his brother to the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) for 2 minas of copper.
25. *nappāḫ parzilli* (named)
- **Bir-ānu (1) Blacksmith(?)**
Kalhu (Adad-nēřāri III)
B. LÚ*.SIMUG?-AN?.BAR
CTN 3 145 r. iii 26 784 B. receives 1 *qū* of wine.
(= reverse of CTN 1 3)
 - **[...]? (-) Blacksmith**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN? LÚ*.SIMUG-AN.BAR
CTN 2 84 r. 4' dl He is listed in what might be the remainder of a witness list.
 - **[...]? (-) Blacksmith(?)**
Kalhu (8th century)
[PN]? KI.MIN (perhaps for [LÚ].SIMUG-AN.BAR
CTN 2 84 r. 5' dl He is listed in what might be the remainder of a witness list.
in r. 4')

- **Aḫi-bāni (4) Blacksmith**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ:.' (for LÚ.SIMUG-AN.BAR in r. 2)
661 ND 5452 r. 3 A. is witness when 5 *emāru* of barley are owed to Aššur and Nabû.
- A. [...] 661 ND 5469 r. 8 A. is witness when (the temple of) Nabû is owed 10 *emāru* of barley and 10 harvesters.
- **Gula-ētir (2) Blacksmith**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
G. LÚ.SIMUG-AN.BAR 661 ND 5452 r. 1-2 G. is witness when 5 *emāru* of barley are owed to Aššur and Nabû.
- G. LÚ*.S[IMU]G-AN.BAR 661 ND 5469 r. 7 G. is witness when (the temple of) Nabû is owed 10 *emāru* of barley and 10 harvesters.
- **Tabalāiu (23) Blacksmith**
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
T. / T. LÚ*.SIMUG-AN.BAR 650 BATSH 6 46:1, 3 T. sells female slaves to the ša-qurbūti Šulmu-šarri.
- **Aššūr-mātu-raqin (12) Blacksmith**
Kalhu (probably Assurbanipal or later)
A. LÚ.SIMUG-AN.BAR nd According to a letter to Šil-Nabû A. should be released to do work in the Review Palace.
- **Šēp-šarri (21) Blacksmith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Š. SIMUG-AN.BAR 615* STAT 3 3 r. 12 Š. is witness in a judicial document involving the coppersmith Itti-ilāni-[...] (1).
- **Tartūba-Issār (2) Blacksmith**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ.SIMUG-AN.BAR 629* SAA 14 38:6-7 T.'s four sons sell a woman for ½ mina of silver to the cohort commander Kakkullānu.

- **Adda-abī (2) Blacksmith(?)**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. / PAB 4 LÚ.SIMUG-A[N[?].BAR] SAA 7 14:2, 5 nd
A. is listed together with three colleagues in an administrative list.
 - **Adda-idri (9) Blacksmith(?)**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. / PAB 4 LÚ.SIMUG-A[N[?].BAR] SAA 7 14:3, 5 nd
A. is listed together with three colleagues in an administrative list.
 - **Ilu-liphur (5) Blacksmith(?)**
Nineveh (7th century)
I. / PAB 4 LÚ.SIMUG-A[N[?].BAR] SAA 7 14:4, 5 nd
I. is listed together with three colleagues in an administrative list.
 - **Ma'a-il (1) Blacksmith(?)**
Nineveh (7th century)
M. / PAB 4 LÚ.SIMUG-A[N[?].BAR] SAA 7 14:1, 5 nd
M. is listed together with three colleagues in an administrative list.
26. *nappāḫ parzilli* (unnamed)
- **Blacksmith**
Kalhu (Assurmasiṣpal II)
LÚ*.SIMUG-AN.BAR // [LÚ*.SIMUG-AN.BAR] SAA 12 82:7 // 83 r. 6 nd
The blacksmith is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
 - **14 blacksmiths**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
14 'SIMUG'-AN.[BAR] ND 2497 r. 1' nd/dl
They are listed next to the coppersmiths in a broken section of an administrative document.

- **12 blacksmiths**
Kilizi (Sargon II)
12 LÚ*.ND 2803 i 14
dl
They receive [3]4 *emāru* of grain or a cereal product.
- **Blacksmith**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.CTN 3 90:11
nd
According to an administrative document he is exempted from doing work in the deputy treasurer's house.
- **Blacksmith**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.CTN 3 87 r. 35
nd
In an administrative document recording the *ilkakāite* payments of the treasurer he is said to harvest *ma'uttu* (-land) of the palace.
- **Blacksmiths**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.LÚ*.CTN 1 1 r. iii 18
CTN 1 4 r. 12
nyd
nyd
They receive 5 *qā* of wine.
They receive 1 *šapputu*-bowl of wine.
- **17 blacksmiths**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
17 LÚ*.SAA 16 40 r. 3
nd
In a letter to the king they describe the misery caused by their workload.
- **Blacksmith**
Tušhan (after Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.ZTT 22:8
nd
In a letter from Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer(?) he and other craftsmen are said to be preparing and repairing military equipment.

- **Blacksmith**
Assur/active in Harran (probably 7th century)
LÚ.SIMUG-AN.BAR URU.Ā-URU-a-a SAA 11 26:3' nd
It is recorded in an administrative document that 4 talents of iron were purchased from him.
- 27. *nappāḫ parzilli* in a lexical list
- **Blacksmith**
LÚ-[SIMUG-AN].BAR MSL 12 233 ii(B) 8' nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with various types of smiths.
- 28. *nappāḫu ša mugirri* of the commander-in-chief
- [...]Aššūr (-) **Smith of the chariot of the house of the commander-in-chief**
Assur (Assurbanpal or later)
PN' [LÚ.SIM]UG ša GIŠ.GIGIR šá É tur-t[a-ni] StAT 1 46:9'–10' = nd
StAT 2 255
He is mentioned in a broken administrative record.
- 29. *nappāḫu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Qannī (1) Smith and servant(?) of Bēl-šarru-[...]**
Šupat (Sargon II)
Q. LÚ*.SIMU[G] / [LÚ*.ARAD-MJEŠ-ni ša B. SAA 1 179 r. 21–22, nd
23
In a letter of Bēl-liqbi, governor of Šupat, to the king he also reports about what Q. and a chariot-maker told him (broken).
- 30. *nappāḫu* (named)
- [...]lanipu? (-) **Smith**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
PN' LÚ.SIMUG Edubba 10 47 r. 8' dl
He is witness when unbuiltd land is sold.

- **Aššūr-iqbi (1) Smith** [...] Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III)

A. LÚ.SIMUG x (x)

Edubba 10 2 r. 11

800

Together with goldsmiths A. is witness when the palace scribe Nabū-tuklatū'a (1) buys slaves.

- **[Nabū-uballiṭ (3) Smith**

Assur (Shalmaneser IV or Shalmaneser V)

N. SIMUG / N.

STAT 3 14:9–10, r. 16

781/723

N. buys a *kurḫu*-building from the goldsmith Erība-[...] (-) for 70 minas of copper.

- **...] (-) Smith**

Assur (Aššūr-nērāri V)

[PN] LÚ.SIMUG

STAT 2 100 r. 9'

746

He is witness in a slave sale document.

- **Ḫabbusu (-) Smith**

Assur (Shalmaneser V)

Ḫ. LÚ.SIMUG

STAT 3 5 r. 4'

723

Together with colleagues Ḫ. is witness when unbuilt land is sold.

- **Aḫu-illika (4) Smith**

Assur (Shalmaneser V)

A. 'LÚ*.SIMUG'

STAT 3 5 r. 5'

723

Together with colleagues A. is witness when unbuilt land is sold.

- **Šaddäiu (2) Smith**

Assur (Shalmaneser V)

Š.: (for LÚ*.SIMUG' in r. 5')

STAT 3 5 r. 6'

723

Together with colleagues A. is witness when unbuilt land is sold.

- **Sē'-ṭurī (2) Smith**

Nīneveh (Sargon II)

S. LÚ'.SIMUG

SAA 6 26 r. 4

711

Together with the bronzesmith Mannu-kī (1) S. is witness in a debt note of silver.

- **[...]ja (-) Smith**
Kalhu (8th or 7th century)
[PN] LÚ*.SIMUG?
ND 3415 r. 12 dl He is witness to a house sale.
- **Aššūr-ballitanni (I) Smith**
Assur (Sennacherib)
A.
SAAB 5 21 r. 7 681 A. is witness in a broken conveyance document.
SAAB 5 22 r. 24 681 A. is witness when unbuiltd land is sold.
- **Aššūr-ballitī (2) Smith**, son of Marduk-šumu-ibni and father of Abu-iēšir
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. A M. SIMUG / A.
FNALD 17 r. 8, 15 658 Together with his son and his colleague, A. witnesses
(TCL 9 57) an adoption.
- **Nabū'a (62) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
N. SIMUG
FNALD 17 r. 7 658 Together with his colleague, N. witnesses an adoption.
(TCL 9 57)
- **Sukkāia (22) Smith**
Nīneveh (Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ*.SIMUG
SAA 14 442 r. 20 634* S. is witness when the cook Abdi-Kurra (2) sells a boy
of 3 spans.
- **Urdu-Aššūr (11) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
U. LÚ*.SIMUG
SAAB 9 124 t.e. 28 636* U. is witness when a female slave is sold.
- **Zizi (16) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
Z. SIMUG
SAAB 5 30 r. 24 668 Z. witnesses a sale of a female slave.

- **Aia-šarru-ibni (-) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. SIMUG
George 2010: 158
no. 5 r. 3 (edited in
Groß 2015a)
650/PC A. witnesses a house sale document.
- **Amar-Aššūr¹⁶⁵ (1) Smith**, [son of ...]
Assur (Assurbanipal and/or later)
A. [A PN] SIMUG
StAT 2 165:4-5 According to a judicial decision, A. should be handed
over within a calendar month.
StAT 2 235 r. 7 The same(?) A. witnesses a division of inheritance.
625*
- **Aššūr-iqbi (10) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal and later)
A.
StAT 1 7 r. 13 A. is witness in a debt note of silver.
637*
A. A. is witness when a female slave is sold.
636*
A. A. is witness in a slave sale document.
631*
A. A. witnesses an adoption.
629*
dl A. is witness when unbuilt land is sold.
- **Amar-ili (2) Smith¹⁶⁶**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
M. SIMUG
StAT 1 43:5 nd A. is listed along with 1 ½ minas of silver in a record
about a trading enterprise.
VAT 21534:3' dl The same(?) A. is witness in a fragment of a witness
list.

¹⁶⁵ Since there is a break between the personal name and the professional title, it is not entirely clear whether Amar-Aššūr was smith or someone else.

¹⁶⁶ Radner (PNA 1/1 98 s.v. Amar ili 2), in addition, lists the reference to another homonymous man: StAT 3 15 r. 13'. According to Faist (2007: 42-3), however, this tablet dates to the year 715.

- **Aššūr-rēši-išši (12) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. SIMUG
StAT 2 229 r. 3 dl A. is witness to a judicial settlement concerning the redeeming of Šamaš-ibni's brother.
- **Nabū'a (72) Smith**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)
N. SIMUG
TIM 11 36 r. 6 nd N. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Nabû-nādin-aḫḫē (16) Smith** [...], son of Šumma-ilāni
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
'N.' A Š. SIMUG-x (x)' / N.
SAAB 5 33:14, 19 dl He sells a house jointly.
- **Rēmanni-Adad (-) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
R. SIMUG
R. SIMUG
Radner 2016 I.33:20 nd He invests 6 shekels (of silver) in a trading enterprise.
Radner 2016 I.56:12 nd He joins a trading enterprise and invests 3 ½ shekels (of silver).
- **[...]jašua (-) Smith**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
'PN' SIMUG
StAT 1 48:4' = nd He is mentioned in a broken record listing names. It probably is an account of silver; the relevant beginnings of the lines are lost.
StAT 2 253
- **Aḫūlamma (3) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. // A.
StAT 3 11:9 // 11*:7 620* Together with others A. receives 10 shekels silver as compensation.
StAT 3 3 r. 35 615* A. is witness in a judicial document involving the coppersmith Itti-ilāni-[...] (1).

- **Ahū-lāmur (32) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A. // A.
STAT 3 11 r. 13 // 620* Together with others A. receives 10 shekels silver as
11*:9 compensation.
- A.:. (for LÚ.SIMUG in r. 33) 615* A. is witness in a judicial document involving the
coppersmith Itti-ilāni-[...] (1).
- **Aššūr-šumu-ka''in (8) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A.
STAT 2 202:3 622* Aššūr-[...] and A. receive 5 ⅔ shekels of silver as
wages for work to be done for Urdu-Aššūr.
- A. SIMUG¹⁶⁷ 615* A. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- A. SIMUG 615* A. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- A. STAT 2 195 r. 4 dl A. is witness in a debt note of silver.¹⁶⁸
- **Aššūr-urkittu-ušur (1) Smith**, son of Mušēzib-Aššūr
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
A. A. M. LÚ*.SIMUG // A. A. M. SIMUG / A. 626* A. owes 5 shekels of silver.
6*:1-2, 5
- **Mušallim-Inūrta (-) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniḫal)
M. SI[MUG] STAT 3 35 ii 34 nd M. is listed in an administrative document.

¹⁶⁷ The title is added following Faist 2004: 128; PNA lists this entry under Aššūr-zēru-ka''in (Fabritius, PNA 1/1 229 s.v. Aššūr-zēru-ka''in 3).

¹⁶⁸ He is possibly identical with other homonymous men attested in contemporary documents from Assur; see Fabritius, PNA 1/1 225 s.v. Aššūr-šumu-ka''in 8-10.

- **Nabû-mudammîq (7) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniṣal)
N.
STAT 3 11:8 // 11*:6 620*
Together with others N. receives 10 shekels silver as compensation.
- N.:¹ (for LÚ.SIMUG in r. 33)
STAT 3 3 r. 34 615*
N. is witness in a judicial document involving the coppersmith Itti-ilāni-[...] (1).
- **Qunû (-) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniṣal)
Q.
STAT 3 11:7 // 11*:6 620*
Together with others Q. receives 10 shekels silver as a compensation.
- (-) Q.: (for LÚ.SIMUG in r. 33)
STAT 3 3 r. 34 615*
Q. is witness in a judicial document involving the coppersmith Itti-ilāni-[...] (1).
- **Sîn-abu-iddîna (12) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniṣal)
S. SIMUG
STAT 2 214 r. 6 615*
S. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- S. SIMUG
STAT 2 215 r. 4 615*
S. is witness in a debt note of silver.
- S.
STAT 2 213 l.e. 1 dl
S. is witness in a debt note concerning horses.
- **Šumma-Aššūr (20) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbaniṣal)
Š. LÚ.SIMUG
STAT 3 3 r. 33 615*¹⁶⁹
Š. is witness in a judicial document involving the coppersmith Itti-ilāni-[...] (1).

¹⁶⁹ The eponym date reads “Sîn-kēnu-īde, palace supervisor” who is otherwise not attested. It might refer to the chamberlain Sîn-ālik-pāni, eponym for the year 615*₃; see Whiting in Millard 1994: 73, fn. 9.

- **Šumma-ilāni (10) Smith**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.SIMUG
STAT 3 18 r. 23
629*
He witnesses an adoption.
- **Tuqūnu-ēreš (16) Smith**
Nineveh (after Assurbanipal)
T. LÚ*.SIMUG
SAA 14 169:2
619*
T. is owed 8 1/3 minas of silver by the chariot-maker Gīrītu (9).
- **Amru-Issār (1) Smith**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. LÚ.SIMUG
SAA 14 214 r. 1
dl
A. is first witness in a broken legal document.
- **[...]i (-) Smith**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] LÚ.SIM[UG x x]
SAA 14 349:4
dl
He is mentioned in a fragment of a legal document.

31. *nappāhu* (unnamed)

- **Smith**
Kalhu (Aššurnaširpal II)
[LÚ*.SIMUG] // [LÚ*.S]IMUG
SAA 12 82:7 // 83
r. 5
nd
The smith is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
- **Smith(?)**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.S[IMUG?]
CTN 2 155 iv 6
nd
He is mentioned along with three items of iron in an inventory.
- **Smith**
unc. (Sennacherib)
LÚ.SIMUG
RINAP 3/2 228,
Fragment K.:2'
nd
He is mentioned in a building report; its background remains unclear.

- **Smiths**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ.[SIMUG.MEŠ^(?)] / LÚ.SIMUG.ME /
'LÚ.SIMUG'.MEŠ

dl

In this receipt the smiths are said to have repaid their debts in full.

SAA 5 37:3', b.e.
4, r. 7
 - **Smiths**
unc. (7th century)
LÚ *nappāhu*-[*a-ni*]

nd

In a fragment of a letter to the king they are said to have sold iron to the merchants of Kalhu.

SAA 18 115:3'
32. *nappāhu* in a lexical list
- **Smith**
LÚ.[SIMU]G' / LÚ.NI[N.Á.GA]L

nd

Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a section dealing with various types of smiths.

MSL 12 233 ii(B)
5', 6'
33. *nappāhtu*
- **15 female smiths**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
15 MÍ.SIMUG.MEŠ

nd

They are listed in an administrative document.

SAA 7 24 r. 5

STONE-WORKER

1. *pallišu* (named)● **Bēl-iddina (18) Stone-borer**

Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal)

B. LÚ.GAR.U.U.²

ND 2068:2–3

nd

B. is listed along with 8 female asses in an administrative note.

● **Ḫū-bāšāti (1) Stone-borer**

Nineveh (Assurbaniḫal)

Ḫ. LÚ.GAR.U.U

SAA 6 345 r. 8'

dl

Ḫ. is witness when the chariot driver Rēmanni-Adad buys slaves.

● **Mannu-kī-abi (6) Stone-borer**

Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal)

M. LÚ*.GAR.U.U.⁷

ND 5447 r. 3

661

M. is witness when the fuller Aḫ-eṛba (11) owes 8 *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabū.M. LÚ.GAR.U.U.¹

ND 5452:10–11

661

M. is witness when 5 *emāru* of barley are jointly owed to Aššur and Nabū.

M. LÚ*.GAR.U.U

ND 5469 r. 6

661

M. is witness when (the temple of) Nabū is owed 10 *emāru* of barley and ten harvesters.● **Mutakkil-Aššūr (13) Stone-borer**

Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)

M.

STAT 3 13 r. 39

636*

M. is witness when a man is sold.

M. [L]Ú.GAR.U.U.¹

STAT 3 3 r. 22

615*¹⁷⁰

The same(?) M. is witness to a court proceeding.

¹⁷⁰ The eponym date reads “Sīn-kēnu-īde, palace supervisor” who is otherwise not attested. It might refer to the chamberlain Sīn-ālik-pāni who, according to Parpola, is eponym for the year 615*, see Whiting in Millard 1994: 73, fn. 9.

- **Dugul-ili (I) Stone-borer**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
D. LÚ*.GAR.U.U
SAAB 5 58 r. 15' dl D. is witness in a broken document of sale.
 - **Nergal-nāšir (16) Stone-borer**
Nineveh/from Kurbail (after Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ*.GAR.U.U URU.kur-ba-īl-a-a
SAA 14 169 r. 6 619* N. is witness when the smith Tuqūnu-ēreš (16) is owed silver.
2. *pallišu* (unnamed)
- **5 stone-borers**
Dur-Šarrukin/from Rašappa (Sargon II)
LÚ*.GAR.U.U.MEŠ / 5 LÚ*.GAR.U.U.MEŠ
SAA 1 206:4, 7 nd In a broken letter Zēru-ibni, governor of Rašappa, informs the king that he had just sent five stone-drillers to the king.
 - **Stone-borers(?)**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.GAR]U.U'.MEŠ
SAA 7 19:2' nd/dl Together with smiths and other craftsmen working with stone they are listed in a broken administrative document.
 - **Stone-borer**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.GAR.U.U
SAA 10 97:5' nd In a broken letter to the king it is reported that the driller, who was shaved by Esarhaddon, died but has left a son.

3. *pallišu* in a lexical list
- **Stone-borer**
[L]Ú.GAR.U.U
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 13' nd
Mentioned in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina, together with the stone-carver, the coppersmith and the engraver.
4. *pallissu*
- **Female stone-borers**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
MÍ.GAR.U.U.MEŠ
SAA 7 24 r. 5 nd/dl
They are listed together with other female professionals in an administrative document.
5. *purkullūtu*
- **Stone-carver's craft**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
LÚ.pur-kūt-lu-ti
RINAP 1 47 r. 27' nd
Tiglath-pileser states in his inscription that he fashioned stones of the stone-carver's craft for his palace in Kalhu.
6. *parkullu* (named)
- **Lū-balaṭ-ilāni (I) Stone-carver**
Kalhu (8th century)
L. 'LÚ*'.[B]UR.G[U]JL
CTN 2 118:1-2 nd
L. is listed in an administrative document also recording a goldsmith.

- **Mannu-ki-Arbail (9) Stone-carver**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
M. LÚ*.BUR.GUL
SAA 13 127 r. 13
nd
Nabû-bāni-ahhē writes to the king that M. should come together with a certain Kulu'u.
- **Qurdi-Nergal (7) Stone-carver**
Assur (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
Q. LÚ.BUR.GUL
SAA 10 107:8-9
nd
According to a letter of the astrologer Akkullānu to the king Q. is accused of the theft of a golden plate.
- 7. *parkullu* (unnamed)
- **Stone-carvers**
unc. (Sargon II)
[LÚ.B]UR.GUL.MEŠ
SAA 5 296 r. 2'
nd
They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king.
- **Stone-carvers**
Assur (Esarhaddon)
BUR.GUL.MEŠ
RINAP 4 48 r. 81
nd
Esarhaddon states in his inscription that he employed stone-carvers and other skilled craftsmen for renovation works on Esagil carried out in Assur.
- **Stone-carver**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.B]UR'.GUL'
SAA 7 19:3'
nd/dl
He is listed together with stone-drillers and other craftsmen in a broken administrative document.
- **Stone-carver**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ*.BUR.GUL] / BUR.G[UL]
SAA 16 197:2', 6'
nd
A plate manufactured by him is mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king.

8. *parkullu* in lexical lists• **Stone-carvers**

[L]Ú.BUR.GUL

MSL 12 233 ii(B) 15'

nd

Mentioned in a section of a lexical list from Huzirina, together with the stone-driller, the copper-smith and the engraver.

LÚ.BUR.GUL

MSL 12 238 ii 4

nd

Mentioned after the goldsmith in a lexical list from Nineveh.

9. *kapšarru* of the baker• **Bulluṭu (8) Engraver**Nineveh/from Babylon (7th century)

B. LÚ.KAB.SAR

SAA 11 154 r. 1

nd/dl

B. is recorded as one of 13 Babylonians possibly brought to Assyria as deportees.

B. LÚ.KAB¹.SAR

SAA 11 155:3

nd

According to another administrative document the same B. is assigned to the baker Marduk-iqbi (5).

10. *kapšarru* (named)• **[...]-malka (-) Engraver**Kalhu (8th century)'PN' LÚ*.KAB[?].SAR'

CTN 2 155 i 11

nd

He is listed in an inventory of people and objects made of wood, metal and textiles.

• **Sukkāia (-) Engraver**

Assur (Assurbamipal or later)

S. KAB.SAR

Radner 2016 I.33:14

nd

He invests 1/6 shekel (of silver) in a trading enterprise.

11. *kapšarru* (unnamed)
- **Engraver**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
LÚ*.KAB.SAR
SAA 12 83 r. 6
nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (I) on his appointment.
 - **Engraver**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.KAB'.SAR
SAA 1 59:5'
nd
In a broken letter of the treasurer Ṭāb-šār-Aššūr to the king it is said that the engraver together with the chief outrider and the prefects are being sent to the king.
 - **Engraver**
[LÚ*.K]AB.SAR
SAA 5 205:12
nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua, to the king.
 - **Engravers**
unc. (Sargon II)
[LÚ*].KAB.SAR.ME[Š]
SAA 1 60:4'
nd
They are mentioned in another fragment of a letter of the treasurer Ṭāb-šār-Aššūr to the king.
 - **Engraver**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.KAB.SA[R]
SAA 10 349:21
nd
The scholar Mār-Issār-writes to the king that the work of the engraver and of the carpenter on particular sanctuaries is finished.
 - **Engraver**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
[LÚ.K]AB'.SAR
SAA 7 19:4'
nd/dl
He is listed together with smiths, the stone-driller and the stone-carver in a broken administrative document.

12. *kapšarru* in a lexical list

- **Engraver**
[LÚ].KAB.SAR
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 16' nd
Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a separate section together with the stone-driller, the stone-carver and the coppersmith.

POTTER

1. *rab pahhāri* (unnamed)
 - **Chief potter**
Assur (Sargon II)
LÚ.GAL-DUG.QA.BUR
SAA 20 55:16 714
In a report on ceremonies the chief potter is said to have given a big and a small mash-pot.
2. *rab pahhāri* in a lexical list
 - **Chief potter**
LÚ.GAL-DUG.QA.BUR
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 30' nd
Listed in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a separate section together with the potter.
3. Town of the Potters
 - **Town of the Potters**
Assur (Šamsī-Adad V)
URU-*pa-ḫa-ra-a-ni*
KAV 75:6' 820/807
Land sold is located in Potter Town.

- **Town of the Potters**
Nineveh (Sargon II)
URU-LÚ.DUG.QA.BUR.MEŠ /
URU-LÚ.[DUG.QA.BUR.MEŠ] //
[URU-LÚ.[DUG.QA.BUR].MEŠ

- 4. *paḥḫāru* (named)
 - **Pūlu (2) Potter**, son of (...)?
Kalhu/from Sabirešu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
P. LÚ*.DUG.QA.BUR [() ša UJRU.ša-'bi'-ri-šú
Edubba 10 10
r. 20'-21'

 - **Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē (9) Potter**, son of Bēl-nāšir (18)
Assur (Assurbaniḫal and later)
A.
STAT 1 19 r. 12'
644*/
629*

 - A.
STAT 2 97 r. 2
630*

 - A.
ZA 73 8:2
623*

 - A. DUG.QA'.(BUR)
BaM 16 1 r. 11'
620*

 - A. / DUMU.MEŠ B.
STAT 1 22 r. 17 =
STAT 2 244
dl
Together with his brother he is witness in a house sale document.

 - A. A B.
STAT 1 44:5
nd
A. is listed along with 1 shekel of silver.

 - A.
STAT 1 54 r. 19
nd
A. receives a message from Issār-na'di (23), known to have been chief goldsmith.

- 717
SAA 6 10:11, 17 //
11:5'
The Potter Town adjoins land being sold and land sold is located in Potter Town.

- dl
P. is witness when the palace scribe Nabû-tuklatū'a (1) buys a slave.

- A. is witness in a judicial document.

- The same(?) A. is first witness in a debt note for wheat.

- A. is owed 4 shekels of silver by the baker Aššūr-erība (17).

- A. is witness when a female slave is sold.

- Together with his brother he is witness in a house sale document.

- A. is listed along with 1 shekel of silver.

- A. receives a message from Issār-na'di (23), known to have been chief goldsmith.

- **Bēl-nāšir (18) Potter**, father of the potters Mutaqqin-Aššūr and Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē (9) Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
 B. DUG.QA.BUJR]

	StAT 1 22 r. 17 = StAT 2 244	dl	His two sons Mutaqqin-Aššūr (10) and Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē (9) witness a house sale.
B.	StAT 1 44:5	nd	B. is again mentioned as father of Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē (9) who is listed along with 1 shekel (of silver).

- **Mutaqqin-Aššūr (10) Potter**, son of Bēl-aḫu-iddina Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
 M. A B. DUG:QA.BUJR?

	SAAB 9 103 l.e. 1	636*/ 625*	M. is witness in a broken slave sale document.
--	-------------------	---------------	--

- **Aḫ-immé (16) Potter**
 Nineveh (7th century)
 A. / LÚ.DUG¹.QA.BUR.MEŠ

	SAA 11 179:1, 2	nd/dl	Together with colleagues A. is listed in a fragment of an administrative record.
--	-----------------	-------	--

- **Bazāzu (1) Potter**
 Nineveh (7th century)
 B. / PAB 3 LÚ*.DUG¹.Q[A¹.BJUR

	SAA 7 14 r. 5, 7	nd	B. is listed in an administrative record together with two colleagues.
--	------------------	----	--

- **Issār-[...] (18) Potter**
 Nineveh (7th century)
 I. / LÚ.DUG¹.QA.BUR.MEŠ

	SAA 11 179:1, 2	nd/dl	Together with colleagues I. is listed in a fragment of an administrative record.
--	-----------------	-------	--

- **Lip[ḫur-...] (-) Potter**
 Nineveh (7th century)
 L. / PAB 3 LÚ*.DUG¹.Q[A¹.BJUR

	SAA 7 14 r. 4, 7	nd	L. is listed in an administrative record together with two colleagues.
--	------------------	----	--

- **Qurdi-[...]** (15) **Potter**
Nineveh (7th century)
Q. / LÚ.DUG:QA.BUR.MEŠ
SAA 11 179:1, 2
nd/dl
Together with colleagues Q. is listed in a fragment of an administrative record.
 - **Uarbisi** (4) **Potter**
Nineveh (7th century)
U. / PAB 3 LÚ*.DUG:QA'.BJUR
SAA 7 14 r. 6, 7
nd
U. is listed in an administrative record together with two colleagues.
5. *paḫḫāru* (unnamed)
- **Potters**
Assur (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.DUG.LIŠ.BUR.MEŠ
SAA 12 69 r. 21
809
In a decree of expenditures of the Aššur Temple the potters are required to give clay(?).
 - **2 potters**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
'2' LÚ.[DU]G.QA.'BUR'.MEŠ
ND 2728+ r. 8'
nd
Together with other professionals two potters are listed as "additional craftsmen(?)".
 - **Potters**
Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II)
LÚ*.DUG.QA.BUR.MEŠ / LÚ*.um-ma-ni / [LÚ*.um-ma-ni] / [LÚ*.DUG].QA.BUR.MEŠ
SAA 15 280:6', 14',
r. 3, 8
nd
According to a letter to the king attributed to Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Mazamua, they should have been provided together with carpenters by the sheikhs for Dur-Šarrukin.
 - **Potter**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.DUG.[QA.BUR]
ABL 1311+ r. 4 (de
Vaan 1995: 311-7)
nd
Mentioned in a broken passage of a letter of Bēl-ibni, military commander of the Sealand, to the king.

6. *paḥḥāru* in non-documentary texts or text components

- **Potter**
- (Sargon II)
pa-ḥa-ri
Najafehabad ii 27
nd
The smashing of a potter's vessel is a metaphor for the destruction of enemy walls.
- **Potter**
- (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.DUG.QA.BUR
pa-ḥa-ri
SAA 18 1:5, 7
nd
Potters are mentioned in a proverb cited by the king in a letter to the non-Babylonians.
- **Potter**
LÚ.DUG.QA.BUR
pa-ḥa-ri
RINAP 4 1 v 5
672
The smashing of a potter's vessel is mentioned as a metaphor for the destruction of enemy walls.
- **Potter**
LÚ.DUG.QA.BUR
SAA 3 32:10
nd
A potter is mentioned in the literary text "The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince".
- **Potter**
LÚ.DUG.QA.BUR
MSL 12 233 ii(B) 29'
nd
Listed together with the chief potter in a separate section of a lexical list from Huzirina.

7. *paḥḥāru* in a lexical list

- **Potter**
LÚ.DUG.QA.BUR

REED-WORKER

1. *atkuppu* (unnamed)
 - **Reed-worker**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.AD.KID
- SAA 12 83 r. 11 nd He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment to high office.
2. *atkuppu* in a lexical list
 - **Reed-worker**
LÚ.*at-kup*
- MSL 12 238 ii 6 nd Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh.

FARMER

1. *rab ikkāri* in lexical lists
 - **Head farmer**
LÚ.GAL-EN[GAR.MEŠ]
LÚ.GAL-ENGAR.MEŠ
- MSL 12 233 r. v 5' nd Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina, after the *qēpu*-delegate and before the commander-of-ten.
- MSL 12 238 iii 3 nd Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, after the *qēpu*-delegate and before the fort commander.
2. Town of the Farmers
 - **Town of the Farmers**
Nineveh (7th century)
URU-ENGAR.MEŠ
- SAA 14 210:8' dl An estate located in Farmer Town is sold.

3. Village of the Farmer

- **Village of the Farmer**
Nineveh (7th century)
URU.ŠE-LÚ.ENGAR

SAA 11 224 r. 1 dl
60 *emāru* of land in the village of the farmer is listed as part of 210 *emāru* of land in the land of Halahhu.

4. *ikkāru* of the palace (named)

- **Aḫu-lā-amašši (4) Palace farmer**
Nineveh (Sargon II)

A. LÚ.ENGAR-KUR

710 Together with colleagues A. is witness when land is sold.

- **Aḫu-lā-amašši (5) Palace farmer**
Nineveh/from Mera (Sargon II)

A. LÚ.ENGAR-KUR.ša URU.me-ra

710 Together with colleagues A. is witness when land is sold.

- **Nabū-nāsir (8) Palace farmer**

Nineveh (Sargon II and Sennacherib)

N. LÚ.ENGAR-KUR-ma

710 Together with colleagues N. is witness when land is sold.

N. LÚ*.ENGAR-KUR

702 N. is witness when land is sold.

N.: (for LÚ*.ENGAR-É.GAL in r. 12)

698 Together with colleagues N. is witness when land is sold.

- **Bēl-šarru-ušur (5) Palace farmer**

Nineveh (Sennacherib)

B. LÚ.ENGAR-É.GAL

698 Together with colleagues B. is witness when land is sold.

- **Ēšidiātu (5) Palace farmer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Ē.:! (for LÚ*.ENGAR-É.GAL in r. 12)
SAA 6 125 r. 13
698
Together with colleagues Ē. is witness when land is sold.
 - **Ammi-rāmu (3) Palace farmer**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. L[Ú]EN[GAR].šá É.G[AL]?'
SAA 14 425:10
630*
A.'s field adjoins one that is sold to the cohort commander Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina.
5. *ikkāru* of the palace (unnamed)
- **Palace farmers**
active in the village of Diqarate (Sargon II)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ É.GAL
SAA 1 105 r. 6'
nd
In a broken letter ascribed to Ṭāb-šil-Ešarra, governor of Assur, the king is informed that the prefect Aššūr-bēlu-taqin has seized palace farmers.
 - **Palace farmer**
Nineveh/from Kalhu (Esarhaddon)
[L]Ú.ENGAR-[?]KUR[?] URU[?].*kal-ḫa*
SAA 7 131 r. 2
nd/dl
He is listed along with birds in a broken administrative document.
6. *ikkāru* of the king
- **Aḫ-immé (3) Royal farmer**
city of Šiddi-hiriti (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ*.[?]ENGAR' MAN'
SAA 6 37:8
694
Together with land and other people, A. is sold to the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni.

7. *ikkāru* of the crown prince
- **Tufi (4) Farmer of the crown prince**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
T. ENGAR ša DUMU-MAN¹⁷¹ 620* T. is witness when a son is adopted.
8. *ikkāru* of the chief bailiff
- **Parutāni (1) Farmer of the chief bailiff**, son of Arzēzu
Nineveh/from Bit-Hurapi (Assurbanipal)
P. DUMU A. LÚ.ENGAR ša LÚ.sar-tin-ni / PAB 4 SAA 14 104 r. 4-5, 6 639* Together with the farmer Aḫu-iddina (12), P. is witness to a court decision concerning the farmer Aḫu-lā-amašši (23).
= Jas 1996 no. 14
and FNALD 43
9. *ikkāru* of the cohort commander
- **1 farmer**
town of Aḫdat-sama[...] (Assurbanipal)
1 LÚ.ENGAR SAA 7 30 r. iii 22' dl According to an administrative document one farmer is assigned to the cohort commander Aššūr-rā im-šarri.
10. *ikkāru* of the major-domo
- **Ipparidu (10) Farmer of the major-domo**, son of Aḫu-[...]šu
Nineveh (Tiglath-pileser III)
I. DUMU A. LÚ*.ENGAR ša GAL-É SAA 14 463 r. 10-11 739 I. is witness when land is sold.

¹⁷¹ The editors emended the ENGAR to LÚ, as they also did with the ENGAR ša É-KI.MAḫ in the same text (SAA 5 51 r. 31); I do not think that this is necessary, see Part II, section 11.2.

11. *ikkāru* of the chief diviner
- **Farmer**
active in the province of Barhalza (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.ENGAR!
SAA 10 173:14
nd
The chief diviner Marduk-šumu-ušur reports to the king that his farmer was mistreated by the governor of Barhalza.
12. *ikkāru* of the astrologer
- **Farmer**
unc. (probably Esarhaddon)
LÚ.*ik-ka-ra-a*
SAA 8 296 r. 3
nd
The farmer of the astrologer Nabû-iqīša has been killed.
13. *ikkāru* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Našhur-Šamaš (-) Farmer of [...]**
Kalhu (Adad-nēri III or Shalmaneser IV)
N. LÚ*.ENGAR. š[a ...]
Edubba 10 22 l.e. 1'
dl
N. witnesses a slave sale.
 - **Aḫu-iddina (12) Farmer of Lā-qēpu**, son of Bēl-šumu-ēreš
Nineveh/from Bit-Hurapi (Assurbanipal)
A. DUMU B. LÚ.ENGAR ša L. / PAB 4 IGLI.MEŠ SAA 14 104 r. 3, 6 =
ša URU.É-ḫur-ra-pi-i
Jas 1996 no. 14 and
FNALD 43
639*
Together with the farmer Parutāni (1) A. witnesses a court case involving the farmer Aḫu-lā-amašši (23).
 - **3 farmers assigned to Šarru-lū-dāri**
village of Saqamanu (Assurbanipal)
3 LÚ.ENGAR!
SAA 7 30 r. iii 9'
dl
According to an administrative document 3 farmers are assigned to Šarru-lū-dāri.

14. *ikkāru* (named)

- **Adi-māti-ilu (1) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / A.
Edubba 10 54:1, 2 nd Together with 13 colleagues A. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Arbailāiu (3) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / A.
Edubba 10 54:1, 5 nd Together with 13 colleagues A. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Busisu (1) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / B.
Edubba 10 54:1, 6 nd Together with 13 colleagues B. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Dabiḫi-lipušū (1) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / D.
Edubba 10 54:1, 3 nd Together with 13 colleagues D. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Dari-Bēl (2) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / D.
Edubba 10 54:1, 14 nd Together with 13 colleagues D. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Eriḫa-ilu (1) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / E.
Edubba 10 54:1, 12 nd Together with 13 colleagues E. is listed in an account of oxen.

- **Ibakkia? (1) Farmer**
 Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
 LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / I.
 Edubba 10 54:1, 11 nd Together with 13 colleagues I. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Inūrta-balliṭ (1) Farmer**
 Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
 LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / I.
 Edubba 10 54:1, 10 nd Together with 13 colleagues I. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Libūšū (6) Farmer**
 Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
 LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / L.
 Edubba 10 54:1, 7 nd Together with 13 colleagues L. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Mušallim-Šamaš (3) Farmer**
 Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
 LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / M.
 Edubba 10 54:1, 4 nd Together with 13 colleagues M. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Nabû-riḫa-[...] (1) Farmer**
 Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
 LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / N.
 Edubba 10 54:1, 13 nd Together with 13 colleagues N. is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Ubbuku (3) Farmer**
 Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
 LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / U.
 Edubba 10 54:1, 8 nd Together with 13 colleagues U. is listed in an account of oxen.

- **[...l]i (-) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / [PN]
Edubba 10 54:1, 15 nd Together with 13 colleagues he is listed in an account of oxen.
- **[...]radāia (-) Farmer**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
LÚ*.ENGAR.MEŠ / 'PN'
Edubba 10 54:1, 9 nd Together with 13 colleagues he is listed in an account of oxen.
- **Ḫulī (-) Farmer**
Dur-Šarrukin/from Guzana (Sargon II)
Ḫ. LÚ*.ENGAR
SAA 1 128:16 nd Ina-šār-Bēl-allak, treasurer of Dur-Šarrukin, informs the king about the people missing from the writing board, among whom is Ḫ.
- **Aḫi-iaḇaba (4) Farmer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ*¹.ENGAR
SAA 6 109 r. 7' 683 A. is witness when Sē'-ma'ādī, village manager of the crown prince, buys three slaves.
- **Aia-aḫḫē (1) Farmer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
A. LÚ*.EN[GAR¹ x x x]
SAA 6 116 r. 2' 700 Together with colleagues A. is witness when the *ša-qurbūti* Rīsaia buys slaves.
- **Bēl-īē'i (4) Farmer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ*.ENGA[R x x x]
SAA 6 116 r. 3' 700 Together with colleagues B. is witness when the *ša-qurbūti* Rīsaia buys slaves.

- **Dāri-Bēl (5) Farmer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
D. LÚ*.ENGAR [x x x]
700 SAA 6 116 r. 4' Together with colleagues D. is witness when the *ša-qurbiti* Risaia buys slaves.
 - **Nabé-rāmu (1) Farmer**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
N. LÚ*.ENGAR [x x x]
700 SAA 6 116 r. 5' Together with colleagues N. is witness when the *ša-qurbiti* Risaia buys slaves.
 - [...] (-) **Farmer**
Nineveh/probably from Kaprabi (Sennacherib)
[PN] LÚ*.ENGAR [...] URU.ŠE-ra-bu
683 SAA 6 109 r. 5' [PN] is witness when Sē'-ma'ādī, village manager of the crown prince, buys three slaves.
 - [...]jani (-) **Farmer**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
PN LÚ*.ENGAR!¹
670 SAA 6 289 r. 11 PN witnesses a slave sale.
 - **Aḫu-lā-amašši (19) Farmer**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.ENGAR
661 ND 5449:3 A. owes 3 *emāru* of barley to Aššur and Nabū.
 - **Mafī'-Sē' (2) Farmer**
Huzirina (Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ*.ENGAR
635* STT 48 r. 12' M. received 5 shekels of silver in the year 636* according to an administrative document.
15. *ikkāru* (unnamed)
- **Farmer**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.ENGAR
nd SAA 12 83 r. 12 He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.

- **Farmers**
from the town of Aššūr-nirka-ušur (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
'LÚ* .ENGAR.MEŠ ša URU.aš-šur-ni-ir-ka-PAB SAA 19 15:3-4
nd Aššūr-šimanni informs the king that their harvest has
come out very well.
- **Farmers**
Šupat (Sargon II)
LÚ* .ENGAR SAA 1 179:8
nd BĒ-līqbi, governor of Šupat, reports to the king that
he had driven the farmer(s) and gardener(s) of the Arab
leader Ammi-lēfi out of his towns.
- **Farmer**
Carchemish (Sargon II)
LÚ* .ENGAR SAA 1 183:8'
nd In a letter to the king, the sender (name lost) informs
the king that none of those who came is a farmer.
- **Farmers**
unc. (Sargon II)
[LÚ* .E]NGAR.MEŠ / LÚ* .ENGAR.MEŠ SAA 15 257 r. 7', 10'
nd In a broken letter the king's order concerning the settle-
ment of farmers and shepherds is quoted.
- **32 farmers**
unc. (Sargon II)
'32' LÚ* .ENGAR.MEŠ SAA 15 317:7'
nd They are said to have been given by the sender of this
fragmentary letter.
- **One farmer**
unc. (Sargon II)
1-en LÚ* .ENGAR SAA 15 318:5'
nd He is mentioned in a broken letter dealing with harvest
matters.

- **Farmers**
Kalhu (8th century)
[LÚ*.E]NGAR.MEŠ
CTN 2 196 r. 16 nd
A certain Aššūr-taklāk reports to the governor of Kalhu that farmers accused Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor (of Arzuhina), of levying the corn taxes.
- **Farmer**
Nineveh/from Šubria (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.ENGAR
RINAP 4 33 r. iii 18' nd
The king states that he had taken farmers and others as booty from Šubria.
- **One farmer**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
1-*en* LÚ.ENGAR
SAA 8 407 r. 3 nd
He is mentioned in a broken astrological report of the Babylonian scholar Rāši-ili.
- **Farmer**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.ENGAR
SAA 10 120 r. 4 nd
In a fragmentary letter to the king a certain Šin-ēreš is said to have killed the farmer and the scribe.
- **Farmers**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ / [L]Ú.ENGAR.[M]EŠ
SAA 16 5:22, r. 13 nd
The king orders in a letter that the village manager Aḫ-abū brings the farmer, the shepherd and the gardener in order to make their accounts.

- **Farmer**
- (Ešarhaddon)
LÚ.ENGAR' SAA 10 294 r. 25 nd The exorcist Urdu-Gula, possible author of the present letter to the king, complains that he even has no farmer, no farm equipment, no farm.
- **Farmers**
unc. (Ešarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.ENGAR.ME SAA 10 69:13 nd The astrologer Nabū-aḫḫē-erība argues in a letter to the king that the harvest was bad because the farmers who seeded the fields “do not revere Adad anymore”.
- **Farmers**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ-*ka*-[*nu*] SAA 21 49:17 dl They are mentioned in a broken letter probably written by Assurbanipal to the Babylonians.
- **Farmer**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
LÚ*.ENGAR Radner 2016 I.41 r. 8 nd Mušallim-Marduk, in the charge of an unnamed farmer, is listed along with ⅓ (shekel of silver) he invested in an overland trade enterprise.
- **Farmer**
Assur (7th century)
LÚ.ENGAR VAT 8699:18 nd According to a copy of a letter sent to Nineveh Aššūr-šumu-iddina failed to deliver sheep and a farmer compensated the loss of two oxen in Arbail.
- **Farmers**
Nineveh (unc.)
LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ SAA 11 90:11 nd They are recorded in an administrative document dealing with the distribution of the levy of oxen and sheep.

16. *ikkāru* in non-documentary texts or text components

- **Farmer**
Arpad (Aššūr-nērāri V)
LÚ.ENGAR-šít
SAA 2 2 r. iv 19 nd
In the treaty of Aššūr-nērāri V with Matī-il, king of Arpad, it is stated in the curse section that M.'s farmers shall not sing the (harvest) song in the fields any more.
- **One farmer**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
1-en LÚ.ENGAR
SAA 17 120 r. 25 nd
In a Babylonian letter of Nabū-šumu-lēšir and Aqār-Bēl-lūmur to the king it is stated that the people of the country worked on the damming of the river like one farmer.
- **Farmer**
LÚ*.ENGAR / [LÚ*]ENGAR
SAA 3 16:17, l.e. 1 nd
In an elegy about the death of Tammuz, the farmer is said to have been killed over his plough.

CHIEF OF CULTIVATION

1. *rab ḫarbi* (named)
 - **Aḫu-uqur (6) “Chief of cultivation” of the chief cupbearer, son of Akkullānu**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
A. DUMU A. LÚ.GAL-ḫar-bi ša LÚ.GAL-KAŠ. SAA 14 104:4-5 = 639*
LUL Jas 1996 no. 14 and
FNALD 43
The farmer Aḫu-lā-amašši (23), who is in A.'s care, is involved in a court case since he has stolen an ox from the estate of Nabū-šarru-ušur.

2. *ša-epinni* (named)
- **Šulmu-māt-Aššūr (3) Ploughman of (the cohort commander) Kišir-Aššūr**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal or later)
Š. [LÚ].GIŠ'.APIN ša K. SAA 14 57:1–2 dl Š. owes silver to a certain Sinqi-Issār.

FARMHAND

1. *rab qatinni* (named)
 - **Sagūbu (8) Chief(?) farmhand of the commander-in-chief**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
S. [GAL]–LÚ.qa-ti-ni ša tur-ta-ni.MEŠ STAT 1 23:6' = dl S. sells his house to Aḫu-īē'I (-), brewer of the house-
hold of the crown prince.
STAT 2 243
2. *bēt qatinni* in a non-documentary text component
 - **House of a farmhand**
- (Esarhaddon)
'É' LÚ.qa-tin-ni SAA 10 42:11 nd In a letter to the king the astrologer Balasī argues
against the king's worry about evil inside the palace
following lightning striking a field which B. compares
to a "house" (estate) of a farmhand.
3. *qatinnu* of the crown prince
 - **Aššūr-na'di (10) Farmhand of the crown prince**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ.qa-tin A–MAN STAT 1 22 r. 23 dl A. witnesses a broken house sale document.

4. <i>qatinnu</i> (named)							
•	Sūhiru (1) Farmhand Assur (Aššūr-dān III) S. LÚ*.qa-ti-nu	STAT 2 234 r. 19	762	S. is witness when a house is sold.			
•	Bēl-abhē-iddina (1) Farmhand Kalhu (Tiḡlath-pileser III) B. LÚ*.qa-tin-nu	ND 2345:1–2	nyd	According to a note, B. has brought a letter concerning Aššūr-daʾinanni, probably to be identified with the governor of Mazamua, to the mule express (<i>kalliu</i>).			
•	Hidá (1) Farmhand Kalhu (8 th century) H.: (for LÚ*.qa-ti-en-nu in r. 9)	CTN 2 82 r. 10	dl	Together with his colleague H. is witness in a broken legal document.	FARMHAND		
•	Manni (2) Farmhand Kalhu (8 th century) M. LÚ*.qa-ti-en-nu	CTN 2 82 r. 9	dl	Together with his colleague M. is witness in a broken legal document.			
•	Urdu-[...] (-) Farmhand Nineveh (Sennacherib) U. [LÚ*.qa]-tin ¹ -ni	SAA 6 154 r. 10	687	U. is witness when three storehouses (<i>bēt qātē</i>) are sold.			
5. <i>qatinnu</i> (unnamed)							
•	Farmhand Dur-Šarrukin (Sargon II) LÚ*.qa-tin-ni	SAA 1 127 r. 4'	nd	A farmhand is mentioned in a broken letter from Kišir-Aššūr, governor of Dur-Šarrukin, to the king.			1001

- **Farmhand**
Babylonia (Sargon II)
LÚ.*qa-at-ti[ni?]*

	SAA 17 126 r. 7'	nd	He is mentioned in a broken Babylonian letter of Nabû-sumu-lêšir to the king.
--	------------------	----	---

- **Farmhand**
Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
qa-ti-nu

	CTN 3 3 r. 17	nd	A letter to the palace manager Tarṛimanni (1), later known as palace manager, refers to a statement of a farmhand according to which it was T. who took vessels from the “house” of the scribe.
--	---------------	----	---

- **Farmhand**
Nineveh (unc.)
LÚ.*qa-tin-η[u 0]*

	SAA 7 20 r. i' 5	nd/dl	He is listed among other professionals in a broken administrative document.
--	------------------	-------	---

- 6. *qatinnu* in a lexical list
 - **Farmhand**
LÚ.*qa-tin*

	MSL 12 238 iii 9	nd	Mentioned after the oil-presser in a lexical list from Nineveh.
--	------------------	----	---

GARDENER

1. *rab nukaribbi* (named)
 - **Šarru-lū-dāri (22) Chief gardener of Kalhu**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.GAL-NU.GIŠ.SAR.MEŠ ša URU.kal-*ha* / Š. CTN 3 32:1-2, 4 638*
In a legal document, presumably drawn up after a court decision, Š. is warned not to sue the other party (name lost).
2. *rab nukaribbi* in a lexical list
 - **Chief gardener(?)**
LÚ.GAL-[-]NU.GIŠ.SAR] MSL 12 233 iii 27'
Mentioned together with the gardener in a separate section of a lexical list from Huzirina.
3. Town of the Gardeners
 - **Town of the Gardeners**
Nineveh (unc.)
URU-NU.GIŠ.SAR.[MEŠ] SAA 11 231:7'
A grove is located in Gardener Town.
4. *nukaribbu* of the palace
 - **Palace gardener**
unc. (8th century)
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.[SAR 0] ša É.GAL SAA 12 77 i 12'-13'
According to a collection of decrees from various reigns he gives 5 *kuruppu*-plants for the temple.
 - **Isputu (3) Palace gardener**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
I. [L]Ú.NU.GIŠ.SAR ša É.GAL / I. LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR SAA 14 18:1-2, 4 dl
I. sells a bought slave to the royal ša-*rēš* Ninuāiu (11).
ša É.GAL

5. *nukaribbu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Gardeners in the care of ʾĀb-Bēl**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.GIŠ.SAR.MEŠ [š]a ŠU ʾ.
TH 27:7-8 nd They brought 21 individuals to Bēlāiu.
 - **Zē[...] (-) Gardener, servant of [...]**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
Z. LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR ARAD L[Ú]:x x x]
SAA 6 304:1-2 669 Z. sells gardens according to a broken legal document.
6. *nukaribbu* (named)
- **[...]-Aššūr (-) Gardener**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
ʾPN' LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR
StAT 2 259:6' dl He buys a house for [x] minas of copper.
 - **Ḫaldi-ilā'ī (2) Gardener**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Ḫ. LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR
SAA 6 201 r. 9 = 680 Ḫ. is witness when the cohort commander Mannu-kī-
Arbail buys a planted vineyard.
FNALD 4
 - **Adad-šimanni (1) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR
SAAB 9 136 r. 14 642* Together with three colleagues A. witnesses a broken
land sale.
 - **Bēl-abu-ušur (8) Gardener**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
B. LÚ*.NU.SAR'
ND 5453:2 662 B. owes 2 *emāru* of barley to (the temple of) Nabū.
 - **Ḫambāru (2) Gardener**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
Ḫ. LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR
ND 5452 r. 15 661 Ḫ. is witness when barley is owed to Aššur and Nabū.

- **Quddudānu (1) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
Q.: (for LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR r. 14)
SAAB 9 136 r. 17
642*
Together with three colleagues Q. witnesses a broken land sale.
- **Šamaš-nāšir (4) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
Š.: (for LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR r. 14)
SAAB 9 136 r. 16
642*
Together with three colleagues Š. witnesses a broken land sale.
- **Šarru-āli (1) Gardener**
Ma'allanate (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR
O 3705 t.e. 16
636*
Š. is witness in a slave sale document.
- **Tatāia (1) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
T.: (for LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR r. 14)
SAAB 9 136 r. 15
642*
Together with three colleagues T. witnesses a broken land sale.
- **Abu-ṭāba (-) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. NU.GIŠ
Radner 2016 I.33:17
nd
A. is listed along with 1 shekel (of silver) he invested in a trading enterprise.
- **Abu-ṭāba (-) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. NU.GIŠ
Radner 2016 I.56:8
nd
A. is listed along with 6 shekels (of silver) he invested in another trading enterprise.
- **[...] (-) Gardener**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN LÚ.NU].GIŠ.SAR
SAAB 9 103 r. 11'
636*/
625*
He is witness in a broken slave sale document.

- **Aššur-maqtu-šatbi (-) Gardener**, son of Kadalānu
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
A. A. K. 'LÚ.NU.GIŠ.S[AR]
CTSHM 30:14 dl A. 's house adjoins the one being sold.
- **Isseme-ilī (3) Gardener**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
I. LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR
STAT 3 18 r. 16 629* I. acts as a guarantor when a brother gives his sister in adoption.
- **Nabû-nāšir (-) Gardener**
Assur/from Ekallate¹⁷² (after Assurbanipal)
N. 'LÚ.NU'.GIŠ.SAR KUR-*a-a*
STAT 3 35 ii 14 nd N. is listed in an administrative document.
- **Paramu[...] (-) Gardener**
Nineveh/from [...] (probably 7th century)
P. LÚ*.NU.SAR TA' UR[U.x x]
SAA 14 364:1-2 dl According to a badly broken legal document P. sells a man.
- **Unzarḫu-Issār (2) Gardener of (...)**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
U. [x x x] LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR ša [...] dl U. is witness in a fragment of a legal document.
- **[...] (-) Gardener of the [...] vineyard**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN L]Ú*.NU.GIŠ.SAR ša GIŠ.SAR¹ *til-[lit x x x]*
SAA 14 422 r. 4 dl He is witness in a fragment of a legal document.

¹⁷² For reading KUR-*a-a* as Ekallātiu see Faist 2007: 76 (comment ad STAT 3 39:4).

7. *nukaribbu* (unnamed)

- **Gardener**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
LÚ* .NU.GIŠ.SAR
SAA 12 83 r. 13 nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
- **Vegetable gardener**
Kalhu (Aššurmašipal II)
LÚ* .NU.GIŠ.SAR-*tr-qi*
SAA 12 83 r. 13 nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
- **30 gardeners**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
30 NU.GIŠ.SAR
ND 2497:2 nd/dl
Together with other professionals they are counted among soldiers or rather workmen.
- **Gardener**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ* .NU.GIŠ.SAR
SAA 15 168 r. 4 nd
The sender (lost) sent a gardener of his father and grandfather to Batūlu who destroyed the deputy's property.
LÚ* .NU.GIŠ.SAR
SAA 15 188:7 nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter of [Marduk]-šarrāni to the king (Sargon).
LÚ* .NU.GI[Š].SAR]
SAA 15 315:4' nd
He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter written to the king.
- **Gardeners**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ* .NU.GIŠ.SAR.MEŠ
SAA I 216:4 nd
Mentioned in a broken letter of Išmanni-Aššūr to the king.

- **Gardener**
Nineveh/from Šubria (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR
RINAP 4 33 r. iii 18' nd
The king states that he had taken gardeners and other professionals as booty from Šubria.
- **Gardeners**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR.MEŠ / *LÚ*:NU.GIŠ.SAR.MEŠ SAA 16 5:18, 23 nd
In a royal letter it is said that their threshing floors are to be inspected. The king also orders that the farmers, shepherds and gardeners be brought by Aḫ-abū to make their accounts.
- **Gardener**
- (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.GAR // LÚ.NU.GIŠ.GAR // LÚ.NU.GIŠ.GAR // LÚ.NU.GIŠ.GAR // 4 viii 17 // 11 ix 51 // 22 i' 13'' 649*–645*
Assurbanipal states in his inscriptions that after the victory over the Arabian ruler he took so many camels that even the gardener could acquire one for a bunch of vegetables.
- **Gardener**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR NINA.KI SAA 7 132 i 4 nyd
Listed along with fruits and wine for the queen.
- **Gardener(?)**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[LÚ.NU.GIŠ.S]AR' SAA 7 132 i 7 nyd
Listed along with fruits and wine for the queen.
- **4 gardeners**
Nineveh (unc.)
4 LÚ.NU.GIŠ.S[AR.MEŠ] SAA 7 20 r. i' 1 nd/dl
He is listed in an administrative document together with professionals such as brewers and tailors.

8. *nukaribbu* in a non-documentary text
- **Gardener**
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR / LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR-*ni* /
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR-*ni*-*i* SAA 3 16:18, 20, 21 nd
Mentioned in a text about the death of Tammuz and its effects, including the death of the gardener in his garden.
9. *nukaribbu* in lexical lists
- **Gardeners**
LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR] MSL 12 233 iii 26' nd
Mentioned together with the chief gardener in a separate section of a lexical list from Huzirina.
 - LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR MSL 12 238 r. v 12 nd
Mentioned between the groom and the merchant in a lexical list from Nineveh.
10. Subordinate of the *nukaribbu*
- 10.1. *urdu* (servant)
- [...] (-) **Servant**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN] 'ARAD'-šú SAA 14 364:4 dl
According to a badly broken legal document he is sold by the gardener Paranu[...].

MANAGER OF THE GARDEN

1. *rab kirie* (named)
- **Dagān-šimti (1) Manager of the garden, field, road and ploughs**
city of Alif (Tiglath-pileser III)
D. LÚ*.GAL-GIŠ'.SAJR' A.ŠÀ KASKAL GIŠ. SAA 6 22:7-8 734
D. owns a field next to the one being sold.
APIN.MEŠ-te

SHEPHERD

1. *rab rā'ī* (named)
 - [...] (-) **Chief shepherd**
Assur (Aššūr-dān III)
[PN] LÚ.GAL-SIPA.MEŠ STAT 2 99 r. 8' 755 He is witness when people are sold.
 - **Nabû-dēni-ēpuš (4) Chief shepherd**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
N. LÚ.GAL-SIPA.MEŠ SAA 7 130 r. 3'-4' nd Among other officials N. gives a male sheep and a lamb to the lady-of-the-house.
 - [...] -Aššūr (-) **Chief shepherd**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon or Assurbaniṣal)
'PN' LÚ.GAL-SIPA'.MEŠ SAA 7 5 r. i 36 nyd/ydl He is mentioned in an administrative document listing court personnel.
2. *rab rā'ī* in a lexical list
 - **Chief shepherd**
LÚ.GAL-SIPA.MEŠ MSL 12 238 iii 27 nd Mentioned between the *rab batqī* and the *rab tilli* (chief of equipment) in a lexical list from Nineveh.
3. *rā'iu rabiu*
 - **Bibī (3) Great shepherd(?)**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ.S[IP]A' GAL SAA 6 42 r. 13 = FNALD 5 692 B. is witness when the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni buys a house.

4. *rab kiširi* (cohort commander) *ša rā'ī*
- **Ilu-pīja-ušur (3) Cohort commander of the shepherds**
Našibina (Sargon II)
I. LÚ.SIPA / LÚ*.GAL-ki-šir-ú-te / LÚ.GAL-ki-šir SAA 1 235:4, 6, 9, 11 nd
/ LÚ.GAL-ki-šir
I. LÚ*.SIPA / LÚ.GAL-ki-šir ša LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ SAA 1 236:10', r. 1 nd
Taklāk-ana-Bēl, governor of Našibina, informs the king that he did not remove I. from his office.
According to another letter of Taklāk-ana-Bēl to the king the sender imposed 300 bales of straw and reeds on I.
5. *rab rā'ī* of the commander-in-chief
- **Sē'-lanūru (2) Chief shepherd of the commander-in-chief**
Nineveh (7th century)
S. LÚ.GAL-SIPA.MEŠ *tur-tan* SAA 11 83:2-3 nd/dl
S. is mentioned along with sheep in a fragment of an administrative record.
6. Town of the Shepherds of the crown prince
- **Town of the Shepherds of the crown prince**
Nineveh (Assurbanipal)
URU-LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ SAA 12 50 r. 18' nd
Tax-exempted land is located in the Shepherd Town.
7. *rā'it* of the palace
- **Sīnua (-) Shepherd of the palace**
Kalhu (9th or 8th century)
S. [LÚ*].SIPA ša É.GAL Edubba 10 48 r. 15' dl
S. is witness in a fragmentary land(?) sale document.

- **Daiá (-) Shepherd of the palace, under the authority of the chief cook**
Kalhu/from Ikamar (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
D. (...) ša URU.i²-ka-mar-a-a LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ ša Edubba 10 28:3, 793/773
É.GAL ša ŠU LÚ*.GAL-MU.MEŠ / D. Together with his colleagues Kandalānu (-) and Šamaš-na'di (1) he sells land to Ṭāb-aḫūnu (2), shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper.
 - **Kandalānu (-) Shepherd of the palace, under the authority of the chief cook**
Kalhu/from Ikamar (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
K. (...) ša URU.i²-ka-mar-a-a LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ ša Edubba 10 28:4, 793/773
É.GAL ša ŠU LÚ*.GAL-MU.MEŠ / K. Together with his colleagues Daiá (-) and Šamaš-na'di (1) he sells land to Ṭāb-aḫūnu (2), shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper.
 - **Šamaš-na'di (1) Shepherd of the palace, under the authority of the chief cook**
Kalhu/from Ikamar (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
Š. ša URU.i²-ka-mar-a-a LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ ša É.GAL Edubba 10 28:5-8, 20 793/773
ša ŠU LÚ*.GAL-MU.MEŠ / Š. Together with his colleagues Daiá (-) and Kandalānu (-) he sells 100 emāru of land to Ṭāb-aḫūnu (2), shepherd of the queen, for 100 (minas) of copper.
8. *rā'iu* of the queen
- **Ṭāb-aḫūnu (-) Shepherd of the queen**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
T. [LÚ*.]SIPA ša MÍ.É.GAL / T. Edubba 10 28:14-15, 793/773
T. buys land from three palace shepherds under the authority of the chief cook for 100 minas of copper.
9. *rā'iu* of the crown prince
- **[...] (-) Shepherd of the crown prince**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
[PN LÚ*.]SIPA ša A-MAN SAA 14 415 r. 10' dl He is witness in a fragmentary document of sale.

10. *rā'i saġulli*

- **Bēl-usāti (4) Herdsman of the king**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
B. LÚ.SIPA-ÁB.GUD.ĪIA šá LUGAL SAA 18 17:14-15 nd Nergal-nāšir reports to the king that Šillāia has arrested B.
 - **Šil-Bēl (-) Herdsman**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
URU.ŠE-Š. LÚ.SIPA-*sa-kul-lat* SAA 6 287:10 670 His village adjoins the village Bahaia which is sold.
 - **Herdsman**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ.SIPA-*sa-kul-la-te* SAA 5 264:3' nd He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
11. *rā'i immeri of the rab ša-rēši*
- **Nūri (2) Shepherd**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
N. SIPA-UDU.MEŠ / PAB 6 SIPA-UDU.MEŠ SAA 12 27:20, 21 657 N. is one of six shepherds listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption to the *rab ša-rēši* Nabū-šarru-ušur.
 - **Šūšu (1) Shepherd**
unc. (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.SIPA-UDU.MEŠ / PAB 6 SIPA-UDU.MEŠ SAA 12 27:19, 21 657 Š. is one of six shepherds listed in a schedule of a royal grant of tax exemption to the *rab ša-rēši* Nabū-šarru-ušur.

12. *rā'i immeri*
- **Shepherds**
Kalhu (8th century)
- LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ-UDU.MEŠ
- ND 3477 r. 4
- nd
- They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter as subordinate to Aššūr-rēmāni.
13. *rā'i immeri* in a lexical list
- **Shepherd**
[LÚ.SIIPA-UDU.MEŠ'
- MSL 12 233 r. vii 2'
- nd
- He is mentioned after the oxherds in a lexical list from Huzirina.
14. *rā'i alpi* (named)
- **Salmānu-aḫu-iddina (1) Herder of *naṣ/zāpu*-oxen**
Dur-Katlimmu (Sargon II)
- S. (...) [PAB] '2' L[Ú*].SIIPA.MEŠ šá GUD
GIŠ.^r*'na-š/za'-pi*
- BATSH 6 124 r. 9',
12'-13'
- 707
- Together with his colleague Šamaš-ēreš (3) he is witness when a man is sold.
- **Šamaš-ēreš (3) Herder of *naṣ/zāpu*-oxen**
Dur-Katlimmu/from Ešarra (Sargon II)
- Š. [TA*] ŠA-bi URU.É.ŠAR.RA [PAB] '2'
L[Ú*].SIIPA.MEŠ šá GUD GIŠ.^r*'na-š/za'-pi*
- BATSH 6 124
r. 10'-13'
- 707
- Together with his colleague Salmānu-aḫu-iddina (1) he is witness when a man is sold.
- **Apladad-na'di (2) Oxherd**, son of Tada-Dādi
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal or later)
- A. 'A' T. (SIPA)-GUD.ME[Š] / A. / A.
- BATSH 6 3:1-2, 5, 8
- dl
- A. sells a female slave for 34 shekels of silver.
- **[...] (-) Oxherd**
Dur-Katlimmu (7th century)
- [PN SIIPA-GUD.MEŠ
- BATSH 6 13 r. 8
- dl
- He is witness in a broken legal document.

15. *rā'i alpi* (unnamed)
- **Oxherd**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.SIPA-GUD.MEŠ
SAA 12 83 r. 9
nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpīl-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
 - **Oxherds**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.SIPA-GUD.NÍTA.MEŠ
SAA 10 353:24
nd
The scholar Mār-Issār reports to the king about the misbehaviour of the oxherds.
16. *rā'i alpi* in lexical lists
- **Oxherd**
[LÚ.SIIPA-GUD.MEŠ'
LÚ*.SIPA-GUD.MEŠ
MSL 12 233 r. vii 1'
nd
Mentioned before the fowl-herd in a lexical list from Huzirina.
 - **Oxherd**
LÚ*.SIPA-GUD.MEŠ
MSL 12 238 r. iv 4
nd
Mentioned before the fowl-herd in a lexical list from Nineveh.
17. *rā'i atāni*
- **Herders of donkey mares**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
LÚ*.SIPA.ME MÍ.ANŠE.ME
SAA 16 88:7
nd
Nabû-šarru-ušur, scribe of the palace supervisor, writes to the king that they refuse to sell donkey mares in front of the palace since the governor threatened them.

18. *rā'i gammali*
- **2 camel-herds**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
2 SIPA-*gam-mal*
ND 2497:2
nd/dl
They are listed as manpower among other professionals such as gardeners and grooms.
 - 19. *rā'i iššūri* (named)
 - **Silim-Adad (1) Fowl-herd**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
S. LÚ*.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
CTN 2 25 r. 22
744
S. is witness when a field is sold.
 - **Abi-raji (6) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
A. / PAB 9 TUR=MUŠEN
nd
A. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
 - **Aššūr-ballissu (1) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
A. / PAB 9 TUR=MUŠEN
nd
A. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
 - **Bir-ānu (2) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
B. / PAB 9 TUR=MUŠEN
nd
B. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
 - **Ḫunnuu (1) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
Ḫ. / PAB 9 TUR=MUŠEN
nd
Ḫ. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.

- **Kandalānu (14) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
K. / PAB 9 TUR–MUŠEN
STAT 2 319:4, 10
nd
K. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Mannu-kī-Adad (30) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
M. / PAB 9 TUR–MUŠEN
STAT 2 319:3, 10
nd
M. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Miqtu-adur (12) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
M. / PAB 9 TUR–MUŠEN
STAT 2 319:6, 10
nd
M. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Rēmūt-ili (8) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
R. / PAB 9 TUR–MUŠEN
STAT 2 319:5, 10
nd
R. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Tabši-lēšir (6) Fowl-herd(?)**
Assur (8th or 7th century)
T. / PAB 9 TUR–MUŠEN
STAT 2 319:2, 10
nd
T. is listed together with eight colleagues in an administrative document.
- **Šamaš-aḫu-ušur (6) Fowl-herd**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
Š. LÚ*.SIPA–MUŠEN.MEŠ
SAA 6 81 r. 7
694
Š. is witness when the *šakintu* Addatī is owed silver.
- **Lā-qēpu (-) Fowl-herd**
unc. (unc.)
L. LÚ*.SIPA–MUŠEN.MEŠ
N.A.B.U.
2002/90:7–8
nd
According to a letter(?) he is given to Ḫagatete.

- **Qallusu (-) Fowl-herd**
unc. (unc.)
Q. LÚ*.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
N.A.B.U.
2002/90:1-2
nd
According to a letter(?) he is dead.
- 20. *rā'i iššūri* (unnamed)
 - **Fowl-herd**
Kalhu (Aššurnaširpal II)
LÚ*.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
SAA 12 83 r. 10
nd
He is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.
 - **Fowl-herds**
Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III)
LÚ.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
Billa 85:13
nd
They are listed along with [x] estates and five soldiers or workmen.
 - **4 fowl-herds**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
4 [0] LÚ*.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
ND 2728+ r. 5'
nd
They are listed among other professionals as additional craftsmen(?).
 - **Fowl-herds**
Kilizi (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
ND 2803 i 17
dl
In an administrative document they are listed along with 4(?) *emāru* of corn or corn products.
- 21. *rā'i iššūri* in a lexical list
 - **Fowl-herd**
LÚ*.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ
MSL 12 238 r. iv 5
nd
Mentioned after the oxherds in a lexical list from Nineveh.

22. *rā'i naptini*

- **Herder of the “royal meal”**
Assur/from Šabbu (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA-BUR ša URU.ša[*b-bj*]
SAA 12 1:8 788
The town Harbat-niari of his adjoins 1,000 hectares of land in the province of Assur, granted to the Aššur Temple.

- **Ilu-ušur (2) Herder of the “royal meal”**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III)
I. LÚ*.SIPA-*nap-ti-ni* / I. / I.
Edubba 10 36:2, 13, 736
r. 1'
I. sells land to Bēl-dūrī (4), treasurer of the queen, for 50 minas of copper.

- **Herder of the “royal meal”**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
SIPA-BUR
CTN 3 90 r. 24 nd
According to the reverse of an administrative document 36 rams are assigned to him.

- **Arbailāiu (19) Herder of the “royal meal”**
Assur/from Luddin-ilu (Esarhaddon)
[L]Ú.SIPA-*nap-ti-ni* / A. (...) ša
URU.*lud-din-DINGIR*
SAA 13 19:7, r. 9–10 nd
Dādī, associated with the Aššur Temple, reports to the king that A. together with Šamaš-abu-ušur (9) and [...]aplū-erība refuses to come to the tax collection.
Dādī again reports to the king that A., together with his colleague Gīrītu (4), refused to come to the tax collection.

- **Gīrītu (4) Herder of the “royal meal”**
Assur/from Luddin-ilu (Esarhaddon)
G. LÚ.SIPA-*nap-ti-ni* URU.*lud-din-DINGIR-a-a*
SAA 13 20:6–8 nd
Dādī, associated with the Aššur Temple, reports to the king that G., together with his colleague Arbailāiu (19), refused to come to the tax collection.

- **Šamaš-abu-ušur (9) Herder of the “royal meal”(?)**
Assur/from Luddin-ilu (Esarhaddon)
[L]Ú.SIPA-*nap-ti-ri* / Š. ša URU.*lud-din*-DINGIR SAA 13 19:7, r. 10 nd
Dādī, associated with the Aššur Temple, reports to the king that Š. together with Arbailāiu (19) and [...]apluterba refuses to come to the tax collection.

- **Herder of the “royal meal”**
unc. (unc.)
LÚ*.SIPA-BUR SAA 11 80 r. 7 nd/dl
1,522 out of 1,998 grain-fed sheep are at his disposal.

- 23. *rā'i darī*

- **Shepherds of the regular offerings**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SIPA-*da-ri-i* nd
He is mentioned in broken letter to the king according to which they said that they did not sell sheep for silver.

- **Marduk-ibni (7) Shepherd of the regular offerings**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
M. SIPA-*dā-ri-i ina* IGI KÁ.GAL-*ti-sa-ri* STAT 1 18:4 nd
In what seems to be a memorandum, M. is recorded as creditor of ½ mina (of silver).

- **Shepherd of the regular offerings**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.SIPA-*da-ri-i* SAA 11 36 i 8 nd/dl
He receives flour, barley and wine according to an administrative record listing redistributed tribute.

24. *rā'iu* of the *rab ša-rēši*
- [...] (-) **Shepherd**
unc. (Assurbaniḫal)
LÚ.SIPA
SAA 12 28:37 657
He is listed in a small fragment belonging to the schedule of the grant of tax exemption to the *rab ša-rēši* Nabû-šarru-ušur (SAA 12 27).
25. *rā'iu* of the haruspices
- [...] **aplu-eriba** (-) **Shepherd in the house of the haruspices(?)**
Assur/from Salammé (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SIPA *ša ina* É DUMU.MEŠ [Ī]AL].MEŠ-*ni* / SAA 13 19:12-13, nd
PN *ša* URU.*sa-lam-me-e* r. 11
Dādī, associated with the Aššur Temple, reports to the king that he together with Arbailāiu (19) and Šamaš-abu-ušur (9) refuses to come to the tax collection.
26. *rā'iu* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior
- **Shepherds of Nabû-dūr-bēlīja**
Kalhu (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ *ša* N. CTN 2 257:2 716
They are mentioned along with 35(+x) sheep stock on a sealing.
 - **Mutaqqin-ilu (I) Shepherd of Nabû-šarḫi-ilāni**
Kalhu (8th century)
M. LÚ.SIP[A? (x x) AR]AD? *ša* N. CTN 2 114:8-9 nd/dl
He is listed in an administrative document.
27. *rā'iu* (named)
- **Bēl-dēni-amur (I) Shepherd**
Guzana (A dad-nērāri III)
B. / SIP[A.MEŠ]
TH 31+:1, 5 nd
Together with his colleagues B. is listed along with sheep and horses in an administrative text.

- **Ēdī-Ješir (I) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
Ē. / SIP[A.MEŠ]
TH 31+:2, 5 nd
Together with his colleagues Ē. is listed along with sheep and horses in an administrative text.
- **Ḫārānu (I) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-^rte² / Ḫ.
TH 42:2, 5 nd
According to a broken administrative document [x] sheep are in his care.
- **Iata' (I) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
I. / SIP[A.MEŠ]
TH 31+:4, 5 nd
Together with his colleagues I. is listed along with sheep and horses in an administrative text.
- **Martá (I) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
M. / SIP[A.MEŠ]
TH 31+:3, 5 nd
Together with his colleagues M. is listed along with sheep and horses in an administrative text.
- **Šil-Nanāia (I) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-^rte² / Š.
TH 42:2, 3 nd
According to a broken administrative document [x] sheep are in his care.
- **Ra[...] (-) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-^rte² / 'R.
TH 42:2, r. 10 nd
According to a broken administrative document [x] sheep are in his care.

- **Tābū-ahhē (1) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-*te*[?] / 'T.
nd TH 42:2, 6 According to a broken administrative document [x]
sheep are in his care.
- **[Tāb]-la-kunu (-) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-*te*[?] / 'T.
nd TH 42:2, r. 9 According to a broken administrative document [x]
sheep are in his care.
- **[...hji (-) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-*te*[?] / 'PN'
nd TH 42:7, 4 According to a broken administrative document [x]
sheep are in his care.
- **[...Irra (-) Shepherd**
Guzana (Adad-nērāri III)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ-*te*[?] / 'PN'
nd TH 42:2, 4 According to a broken administrative document [x]
sheep are in his care.
- **Bazu (-) Shepherd**
Kalhu (Adad-nērāri III or Shalmaneser IV)
B. LÚ.SIPA
dl Edubba 10 30 r. 26 B. is witness when Šamaš-issē'a (-), treasurer of the
queen, buys land.
- **[...] (-) Shepherd**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIPA [PN]
nd SAA 19 97:9' He is mentioned in a broken letter to the king.
- **Bāni (2) Shepherd**
Kalhu/from Same[...] (8th century)
B. LÚ*.SIP[PA x x] ša URU.*sa-me*-[...]
nd CTN 2 132:2 B. is in charge of flocks according to a broken docket.

- **Kumurī (I) Shepherd**
Ma'allanate (Assurbanipal)
K. LÚ*.SIPA
O 3685 r. 17
644*
K. is witness when the son of the prefect Ḫandī buys land.
- **Ḫanūnu (14) Shepherd of Nabû-rēši-išši**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
Ḫ. [LÚ].SIPA' ša' N.
STAT 3 54:1-2
629*
According to a judicial document Ḫ. has to appear before court because of 17 sheep.
- **Sākip-Aššūr (15) Shepherd of Bēl-šarru-ušur**
Assur (after Assurbanipal)
S. LÚ.SIPA
S. S[IPA] 'ša' B.
STAT 3 3 r. 38
615*
S. is witness in a judicial document concerning a paternal estate.
- **Gāla-Gūsu (I) Shepherd**
Nineveh (7th century)
G. SIPA
SAA 14 473 r. 9
dl
He is witness when land is sold.
- **Ḫanāna (II) Shepherd**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
Ḫ. SIPA
SAA 14 232 r. 2
dl
Ḫ. is witness in a fragment of a legal document.
- 28. *rā'iu* (unnamed)
- **Shepherds**
Šibaniba (Shalmaneser III)
LÚ.SIPA.ME[Š]
Billa 85:11
nd
They are recorded along with [x] estates and [x] soldiers in an administrative document.

- **Shepherds**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIPA.ME[Š]
ND 2638 r. 7
They are mentioned in an administrative document dealing with rams.
- 'SIPA'.MEŠ
SAA 19 6 r. 17'
In a royal letter to Aššūr-rēmāni and the scribe Nabû-bēl-aḫḫēšu they are mentioned in a broken section.
- **Shepherd**
Harran (Sargon II)
LÚ.SIPA
SAA 1 198:6
nd
Nabû-pāšir, probably governor of Harran, reports on a shepherd (details lost).
- **Shepherd**
unc. (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIPA
SAA 1 14 r. 14
nd
He is mentioned in a broken royal letter.
- LÚ*.SIPA
SAA 5 176:14'
nd
He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **Shepherds**
Dur-Šarrukīn (Sargon II)
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ / LÚ*.SIPA.[MEŠ]
SAA 6 31 b.e. 27, 28
709
The side road(?) of the shepherds adjoins land sold to the palace scribe Nabû-kabti-aḫḫēšu (1).
= SAAB 11 1
= FNALD 2
- **Shepherds**
unc. (Sargon II)
ra'-i-ni
LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ
SAA 5 287:5'
nd
They are mentioned in a fragment of a letter.
- **Shepherd**
- (Sargon II)
SIPA
SAA 15 257 r. 7'
nd
They are mentioned in a broken letter.
- SAA 15 189 r. 4'
nd
He is mentioned in a broken letter (in a figurative sense).

- **Shepherd**
 Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
 LÚ.SIPA / LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ / LÚ.SIPA
 SAA 6 264:5, 9, r. 4
 = Jas 1996 no. 1 and
 FNALD 44
 680
 In a judicial document it is said that Hanī owes the crown prince 300 sheep and the blood (money) of one shepherd; HJ. and his men are taken instead.
- **Shepherd**
 Nineveh/from Šubria (Esarhaddon)
 LÚ.SIPA
 RINAP 4 33 r. iii 18'
 nd
 After the conquest of Šubria, shepherds were taken as booty along with other professionals.
- **Shepherds**
 Guzana (Esarhaddon)
 LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ
 SAA 16 63:13
 nd
 In a letter to the king the scribes Kuṭī and Tuṭī are said to have annulled the silver quota of the shepherds.
- **Shepherds**
 Babylonia (Esarhaddon)
 LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ / LÚ].SIP[PA.MEŠ] (r. 15) /
 L[Ú*].SIP[PA].MEŠ] (r. 16)
 SAA 10 353:19, r. 5,
 7, 15, 16, 19
 670
 The scholar Mār-Issār reports to the king that they have bribed the *šākin ṭēmi* and the *šatammu*. Their accounts are overdue.
- **Shepherd**
 unc. (Esarhaddon)
 SIPA
 LÚ*.SIPA
 SAA 16 27 r. 8'
 nd
 He is mentioned in a broken section of a letter of the prince (Šamaš-mētu-uballit) to the king.
 SAA 16 79:10
 nd
 In a letter of Kanūnāiu (16), deputy palace scribe, and Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the king the shepherd is mentioned together with the farmer in a broken section.

- **1 shepherd**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
1 LÚ*.SIPA
SAA 16 124 r. 3'
nd
In a letter of Namī to the crown prince it is said that a shepherd has acted as an informer.
- **Shepherds**
unc. (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ / [LÚ.SIP]A.MEŠ
SAA 16 5:22, r. 15
nd
The king orders in a letter that the village manager Aḥ-abū brings the farmer, the shepherd and the gardener for making their accounts. In a broken passage, it is said that the shepherds are to be encouraged.
- LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ
SAA 16 114:6
nd
A letter of Bēl-iqīša(?), royal official, to the king reports on the shepherds.
- LÚ*.SIPA.MEŠ
ABL 75:9 = LAS 37
= TCAE: 248
nd
Balasī writes to the king to arrange that the treasurer receives *sāgu*-clothing and *mazā'u*-leather, constituting *ilku*-dues of the shepherds.
- **Shepherds(?)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
SIPA?.MEŠ / S[IPA?].M[JEŠ]
SAA 7 150 iii 18',
19'
nd
They are mentioned in an account of a ceremonial banquet.
- **Shepherd**
unc. (probably Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SIPA
SAA 10 309 r. 2
nd
Mentioned in a letter dealing with the treatment of epilepsy probably written to the king.
- **Shepherds**
Assur (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ-šū-ru
SAA 5 16:6 =
Jas 1996 no. 21
657
A legal dispute concerning shepherds is settled.

- **2 shepherds**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
2 LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ-šú-nu / LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ
ABL 268: 11, r. 6
(cf. CT 54 429) nd
Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk, writes to the king about two shepherds who had brought three white horses and whom he sent to the king.
 - 2 LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ-šú-nu / LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ
ABL 751+: 11, r. 4' nd
Almost identical with ABL 268, though written in Assyrian dialect.
 - **Shepherds**
Babylonia (Assurbanipal)
LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ
ABL 520 r. 23 nd
(de Vaan 1995: 265–9)
Bēl-ibni, commander of the Sealand, writes to the king that he has sent 50 shepherds to the palace.
 - **Shepherds(?)**
Nineveh (7th century)
LÚ.SI[PA?MEŠ]
SAA 7 142:9 nd/dl
According to a fragmentary ration list they receive 3 šītu of bread and 5 qīt of beer together with the Babylonians.
 - **Shepherd**
Nineveh (probably 7th century)
LÚ*.SIPA
SAA 11 195:5' nd/dl
Mentioned in a fragment of an administrative text.
29. *rā'iu* in non-documentary texts and text components
- **Shepherd**
Egypt (Sargon II)
LÚ.SIPA
Fuchs 1994: 90, Ann. 55 nd
Rē'e, Egyptian commander-in-chief, is said to have fled "like a shepherd whose cattle was robbed" after his defeat.

- **Shepherd**
- (Esarhaddon)
LÚ.SIPA-šir
SAA 10 307:12 nd
Mentioned in a broken proverb in a letter probably of the exorcist Nabû-nāšir to the king.
- **Shepherd**
Babylonia (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal)
LÚ.SIPA
SAA 18 156:10' nd
In a broken letter to the king it is said that Kudurru of Bit-Ibâ abandoned people “like sheep without a shepherd”.
- **Shepherd**
LÚ*.SIPA
SAA 3 16:17 nd
Mentioned in a literary text about the death of Tammuz.

OVERSEER OF THE HERDS

1. *rāb saġullāti* (named)
 - [...] (-) **Overseer of the herds?**
Nineveh (Sennacherib)
[PN] LÚ*¹⁷.GAL-¹⁷sa¹⁷-[*gul-la-a-te*?]
SAA 6 100 r. 9 698
He is witness when the “third man (on chariot)” Aplāia buys land.
 - **Abdi-Dāda (2) Overseer of the herds**
Nineveh (7th century)
A. LÚ*.GAL-*sa-gul-la-a-te*
SAA 14 473 r. 7 dl
A. is witness in a land sale document.

FATTENER

1. *mušākil alpi* of the palace

• **Aḫū-lāmur (20) Ox fattener of the palace**

Nineveh (Assurbanipal)

A. L[Ú.m]u-(šá')-kil-GUD.MEŠ ša É.GAL

SAA 14 27:2-3

640*

Together with Bēl-gimillu-tēre A. sells unbuilt land.

2. *mušākil alpi* (named)

• **Nabû-aḫū-ušur (17) Ox fattener**

Kalhu (Assurbanipal)

(15) N.

(16) N.

N. LÚ*.mu-šá-kil-GUD

N.

ND 2302:5

ND 3463 r. 18

ND 3454:3-4

ND 3456:4

653*

641*

640*

635*

N. owes 3 *emāru* of barley rations.
His(?) son Nabû-zēru-iddina is witness when the *šá-rēšī* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a house.

N. owes 5 ½ shekels of silver.

N. owes 3 *emāru* 2 *sītu* of barley rations from the *šá-rēšī* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).

• **Šamaš-aḫū-iddina (14) Ox fattener**

Kalhu (Assurbanipal)

Š. LÚ.mu-šá-kil-GUD

ND 2326 r. 28

637*

Š. is witness when Ezbu, otherwise known as commander-of-fifty, buys a female slave.

• **Zāzāia (6) Ox fattener**

Kalhu (Assurbanipal)

(7) Z.

ND 2320 l.e. 1

639*

The same(?) Z. is witness in a silver loan document.

Z. LÚ*.mu-šá-kil-GUD.NÍTA.ME

ND 5475/7 t.e. 4-5

dl

Z. is witness in a corn loan document.

3. *mušākil iššūri* (named)
- **Mannu-kī-Nabū (5) Bird fattener**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ.mu-šá-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ / M.
ND 3437:1-2, 5
650 M. owes 16 shekels of silver to the šá-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).
 - **Mār-līhia (1) Bird fattener**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
M.
ND 3440 r. 5
652 M. is witness when the šá-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver by the bird fattener II-iađini (2).
 - M.
ND 3426 r. 21 = FNALD 9
649 Together with colleagues M. is witness when the šá-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys slaves.
 - M. [LÚ*].mu-šá-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ
ND 3429 l.e. 3
dl M. is witness when the šá-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a slave.
 - **Nūr-Šamaš (8) Bird fattener**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
N. LÚ.mu-šá-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ
ND 3426 r. 22 = FNALD 9
649 Together with colleagues N. is witness when the šá-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys slaves.
 - **Šamaš-aḫu-iddina (13) Bird fattener**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
Š. LÚ.mu-šá-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ
ND 2323 r. 11
637* Š. is witness in a slave sale document.
 - [...]? (-) **Bird fattener(?)**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[LÚ*.mu-šá]-ki[-[MUŠEN].MEŠ
ND 3426 l.e. 5 = FNALD 9
649 Though this transaction is already witnessed by three bird fatteners, the final line seems to add another bird fattener acting as a witness although there is no PN written before the title.

- **II-iaḏini (2) Bird fattener**
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal and later)

I.		652	I. owes 1 ½ minas of silver to the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).
I.	I. LÚ.mu-ša-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ	649	Together with colleagues I. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys slaves.
I.	I.	644*	I. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) adopts the daughter of the fowler Māti-il-lā I (1).
I.	I.	623*	He owes 1 <i>emāru</i> of barley according to a debt note recording joint debtors.
I.	I.	622*	I. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed barley.

- **Urdu-Issār (33) Bird fattener**, father of the bird fattener Nabû-erība (37)
Kalhu (Assurbaniḫal and later)

U.	U. LÚ.mu-ša-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ	649	Together with colleagues he is witness when Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys slaves.
U.	U.	629*	The bird fattener Nabû-erība (37), son of U., owes 8 shekels of silver to the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).
U.	U. LÚ.mu-ša-ki[-MUŠEN].MEŠ	618*	U. owes silver and barley rations to the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7).

- **[...] (-) Bird fattener**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal or later)

[PN LÚ*.mu-ša]-ki[-MUŠEN]	STAT 1 29 r. 4' = STAT 2 247	dl	He is witness in a broken legal document.
---------------------------	---------------------------------	----	---

¹⁷⁴ There might be more attestations referring to this particular man, though an identification remains uncertain (Radner, PNA 3/II 1406 s.v. Urdu-Issār 33). Note that there was another homonymous man from the circle of Šamaš-šarru-ušur, designated as priest of Ištar (Radner, PNA 3/II 1405 s.v. Urdu-Issār 27).

- **Nabū-erība (37) Bird fattener**, son of the bird fattener Urdu-Issār (33) Kalhu (after Assurbanipal)
N. A U. *mu-ša-kil*–MUŠEN ND 3441:1–2, 5 629*
N. owes 8 shekels of silver to the *ša-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur* (7).

- 4. *mušākil iššūri* (unnamed)
 - **Bird fatteners**
Arbail (Sargon II)
LÚ*.*mu-ša-kil*–[MUŠEN].MEŠ dl ND 2803 i 6
According to an administrative document they receive 3 *emāru* of corn or a cereal product.

 - **Bird fatteners**
Kilizi (Sargon II)
LÚ*.*mu-ša-kil*–[MUŠEN].MEŠ dl ND 2803 i 16
They receive [3] *emāru* of corn or a cereal product according to an administrative document.

 - **Bird fatteners**
Adian (Sargon II)
LÚ*.*mu-ša-kil*–[MUŠEN].MEŠ dl ND 2803 i 26
They receive 2 *emāru* of corn or a cereal product according to an administrative document.

- 5. *mušākil iššūri* in a lexical list
 - **Bird fattener**
LÚ*.*mu-ša-kil-iš-š[ur]* / LÚ*.*mu-ša-kil*–MUŠEN.MEŠ MSL 12 238 r. iv 1, 2 nd
Listed before the donkey driver and different types of shepherds in a lexical list from Nineveh.

6. *mušākīlu*

- **Fatteners(?)**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
mu-sa-ki-l-a-te
 - [...] (-) **Fattener(?)**¹⁷⁵
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ*.mu-[...]
 - [...] (-) **Fattener (restored as ox fattener)**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
[PN] LÚ*.mu-šá-[ki]-GUD.NÍTA? .MEŠ
 - **Fatteners**
Nineveh/from Gambulu (Assurbanipal)
mu-šá-ki-le-e-šú
- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|------|---|
| | SAA 6 278:8 | 674 | Their (property?) adjoins land sold in the city of Sairi. |
| | ND 5469:1–2 | 661 | He is owed 3 <i>emāru</i> corn and 3 harvesters. |
| | ND 5469:3–4 | 661 | He is owed 3 <i>emāru</i> corn and 3 harvesters. |
| | RINAP 5/1 7 vi 39' //
8 vii 29 | 647* | They are taken as booty from Gambulu. |

KEEPER OF DOGS

1. *ša-kalbāni* (named)
 - **Maši-ilu (I) Keeper of dogs**
Kalhu (8th century)
[š]a-UR-KU
- | | | | |
|--|---------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| | CTN 3 120:14' | nd/dl | M. receives [x] amount of wine. |
|--|---------------|-------|---------------------------------|

¹⁷⁵ Only the first syllable of the title is preserved, but since a fattener is recorded in ll. 3–4, it is plausible that the title in l. 2 also was “fattener” (with or without specification).

2. *ša-kalbāni* (unnamed)

- **Keepers of dogs**
Kalhu (8th century)
ša-UR.KU.ME[Š]
ša-UR.KU.MEŠ
[*ša-UJR.KU.[MEŠ]*
ša-UR[?].KU.MEŠ-šú-'nu'
[*ša-UJR.KU.[MEŠ]*
- | | | | |
|--|----------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| | CTN 1 17:6' | nd/dl | They receive [x] <i>qû</i> of wine. |
| | CTN 1 19 r. 6 | dl | They receive [x] amount of wine. |
| | CTN 1 27:3' | nd/dl | They receive [x] amount of wine. |
| | CTN 3 124 r. 3 | nd/dl | They receive [x] amount of wine. |
| | CTN 3 129:4' | nd/dl | They receive [x] amount of wine. |

FOWLER

1. *sandû* of the palace

- **Bēl-dūrī (13) Fowler of the palace**
Assur (Sennacherib)
B. LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ x 'KUR'
SAAB 9 75 r. 31
683
B. is witness when the palace manager Bēl-ana-marruqi (1) sells a house.

2. *sandû* of the queen

- **Bēl-ahu-usur (1) Fowler of the queen**, son of Lā-tubāšanni-Adad
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
B. DUMU L. LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN *ša MÍ.É.GAL / B. / B.* ND 3420:1-3, 7, 9
635*
B. sells an old woman to the *ša-rēši Šamaš-šarru-ušur* (7) for 17 shekels of silver.

- **Urdu-Nanāia (15) Fowler of the queen, son of Sasū Kalhu (Assurbanipal)**

U.	ND 3439 r. 5 = FNALD 37	637*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed birds.
(14) U.	ND 2323 r. 12	637*	The same(?) U. acts as a witness in a slave sale document.
U. DUMU S. LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN <i>ša</i> MÌ-KUR	ND 3420 r. 14–16	635*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a female slave.
U.	ND 3478:3	dl	U. seems to be recorded as joint creditor of silver in a fragment of a legal document.
- **Urdu (13) Fowler of the queen, son of Ubru-Sūni Kalhu (Assurbanipal and later)**

U.	ND 3422 l.e. 3	642*	U. is last witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a female slave.
U.	ND 3459 r. 12	640*	U. is last witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3447 r. 13	639*	U. is last witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed barley.
U.	ND 3444 r. 5 // 3444* r. 7	637*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3446 r. 10	637*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed barley.
U.	ND 3432 l.e. 1	636*/625*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U. DUMU U. LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN <i>ša</i> MÌ-KUR	ND 3420 r. 12–13	635*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a female slave.

U.	ND 3462 r. 12	632*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3449 r. 11	631*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed barley.
U.	ND 3451 r. 4 // 3451* r. 7	631*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3464 r. 11	624*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed barley.
U.	ND 3461 r. 13	623*	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3450 r. 2	622*	U. is first witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed barley.
U. LÚ*:[DÙ.MUŠEN]	ND 3429 t.e. 20	dl	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys a slave.
U.	ND 3431 r. 15	dl	U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3434 r. 8		U. is witness when the <i>ša-rēši</i> Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) is owed silver.
U.	ND 3460b r. 4'	dl	U. is witness in a broken legal document.

3. House of a *sandû*

- **House of Šumma-Aššur (18) Fowler of the temple**
Assur (probably Assurbanipal)

É Š. LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ É-DINGIR

VAT 9770:10

nd

In a letter of Nabû-aḫḫē-erība to his master Dīdīa, dealing with trading enterprises, the recipient is to give an empty raft to the house of Š.

4. *sandû* subordinate to a miscellaneous superior

- **Nabû-dûri (-) Fowler**
Dur-Katlimmu (7th century)
N. L[Ú*·MU]ŠEN.D[Ú] VAT 6 180:14 dl N. is sold together with others and a house.

5. *sandû* of the temple

- **Ēreš-Aššur (3) Fowler (of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
Ē.: (for LÚ·MUŠEN.DÙ É-*aš-šur* in r. 9') VAT 9742 r. 10' dl Ē. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Gi'laia (1) Fowler (of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
G.: (for LÚ·MUŠEN.DÙ É-*aš-šur* in r. 9') VAT 9742 r. 11' dl G. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Šep-Issār (16) Fowler (of the Aššur Temple)**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
Š.: (for LÚ·MUŠEN.DÙ É-*aš-šur* in r. 9') VAT 9742 r. 10' dl Š. is witness in a broken legal document.
- **Tardûtu-ahhē (4) Fowler of the Aššur Temple**
Assur (Assurbaniḫal)
T. LÚ·MUŠEN.DÙ É-*aš-šur*
(5) T. VAT 9742 r. 9' dl T. is witness in a broken legal document.
KAN 4 24 r. 15 dl The same(?) T. is witness when a female slave is sold.

6. *sandû* (named)

- **Iqīšā (1) Fowler**
probably northern Babylonia (Sargon II)
I. (...) LÚ*·MUŠEN.DÙ·MEŠ SAA 15 181:18 nd In a letter of Aššur-bēlu-taḫin, probably governor, to the king he is listed together with his colleague Rēhānu (1) as one of 12 strong men.

- **Rēhānu (1) Fowler**
probably northern Babylonia (Sargon II)
R. LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ.MEŠ
SAA 15 181:18
nd
In a letter of Aššūr-bēlu-taqīn, probably governor, to the king he is listed together with his colleague Iqīšā (1) as one of 12 strong men.
- **Aḫu-damqu (1) Fowler**
Kalhu (8th century)
A. LÚ*.MUŠEN'.DÙ'
CTN 1 1 r. iii 26
nyd
A. receives 2 *qât* of wine.
- **Sabbūru (2) Fowler**
Ma'allanate (Sennacherib)
S. LÚ*.MUŠEN-DÙ
O 3706 r. 13
693
S. is witness when the prefect Ḥandī buys two slaves.
- **Sīn-zāqīp (1) Fowler**
Nineveh (probably Esarhaddon or earlier)
S. [LÚ*].MUŠEN'.DÙ
SAA 6 52 r. 14-15
dl
S. is witness for the chariot driver Šumma-ilāni.
- **Abu-ušur (1) Fowler**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
A. LÚ.: (for LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ in r. 6)
SAA 6 257 r. 7 =
FNALD 10
680
Together with his colleague Urdu-Nabû (3), A. is witness for Ilu-ušur, servant of the crown prince.
- **Urdu-Nabû (3) Fowler**
Nineveh (Esarhaddon)
U. LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ
SAA 6 257 r. 6 =
FNALD 10
680
Together with his colleague Abu-ušur (1), U. is witness for Ilu-ušur, servant of the crown prince.
- **Adad-tarradi-šallim (-) Fowler**
Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal)
A. MUŠEN.DÙ // A. LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ'
BATSH 6 108:6 //
108*:7
663
A. acts as a guarantor: if the principal debtor defaults, he has to pay for the release of the field of black cumin.

- **Adda-ḫāti (5) Fowler**
Ma'allanate (Assurbanipal)
A. LÚ*.MUŠEN-DÙ
O 3708 r. 14
644* A. is witness to a legal settlement concerning a field.
- **Garrušu (-) Fowler**
Dur-Katimmu (Assurbanipal)
G. MUŠEN.DÙ
BATSH 6 108 r. 7
663 G. is witness when Raḫīmi-il, otherwise known as chariot owner, temporarily hands over a field of black cumin.
- **Matī'-il-ilā'ī (1) Fowler**
Kalhu/from Rapá (Assurbanipal)
M. LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN TA* URU.ra-pa-a / M. / M. / M.
ND 3423:1-2, 5, 7,
r. 29
644* M. gives his daughter in adoption to the *ša-rēšī* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) for 16 shekels of silver.
- **Qāt-Issār-ašbat (1) Fowler**
Kalhu (Assurbanipal)
Q. LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ
ND 3426 l.e. 1 =
FNALD 9
649 Q. is witness when the *ša-rēšī* Šamaš-šarru-ušur (7) buys two individuals.
- **Aššūr-īe'ī¹⁷⁶ (20) Fowler**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
A. LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ
STAT 1 46:8' =
STAT 2 255
nd A. is mentioned in an administrative document recording amounts of silver.
- **Ḫabil-kēnu (7) Fowler**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
Ḫ. MUŠEN.DÙ
Radner 2016 I.41:6
nd Ḫ. is mentioned along with 2 *qū* (of wine) in a document recording contributions to a trading enterprise organised by Mušēzib-Aššūr.

¹⁷⁶ The second edition (Stat 2) reads Aššūr-mātu-taqqin.

H.	Radner 2016 I.33:1, r. 4	nd	He organises a trading enterprise. 19 <i>qû</i> (of wine) are at his disposal.
H.	Radner 2016 I.34:1, r. 7, 8'	nd	He organises another trading enterprise. 2 <i>qû</i> (of wine) are at his disposal.
H.	Radner 2016 I.37:11'	nd	In a record of investments for a trading enterprise, H. is mentioned along with 3 <i>qû</i> (of wine).
H.	Radner 2016 I.51:3'	nd	H. is mentioned in a fragmentary administrative document.
• Kišir-Nabû (9) Fowler Assur (Assurbanipal or later) K. MUŠEN.DÛ	Radner 2016 I.36 r. 6	nd	K. is listed along with an amount of silver (lost) in an administrative document recording contributions to a trading enterprise.
• Mušēzib-Aššūr (-) Fowler , son of Rība-aḫū'a Assur (Assurbanipal or later) M. // M. [DUMU] R. MUŠEN.DÛ	StAT 3 113:4 // 113*:1–2	644*/ 629*	M. owes ½ mina 5 shekels of silver, <i>ginû</i> -offerings of Aššur.
• Nabû'a (75) Fowler Dur-Katlimmu (Assurbanipal or later) N. LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÛ	BATSH 6 89 r. 15	dl	N. is witness when the <i>ša-qurbūti</i> Šulmu-šarri buys a female slave.
• [...]-Aššūr (-) Fowler Assur (Assurbanipal or later) PN' MUŠEN.DÛ	Radner 2016 I.37 r. 5	nd	He is listed as an investor in a trading enterprise.

- [...] (-) **Fowler**
Assur (Assurbanipal or later)
[PN LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ
STAT 1 29 r. 7' =
STAT 2 247
dl
He is mentioned in what seems to be a witness list of a fragment of a legal document.

- 7. *sandû* (unnamed)
 - **Fowler**
Kalhu (Aššurmaširpal II)
LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ
SAA 12 83 r. 11
nd
Among many other professionals he is assigned to Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a (1) on his appointment.

 - **7 fowlers**
Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)
7 [0] 'LÚ.MUŠEN'.DÙ.MEŠ
ND 2728+ r. 4'
nd
Listed among other professionals who are summed up as "additional" craftsmen(?).

 - **Fowlers**
Kalhu (8th century)
LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ.MEŠ
[L]Ú*.MUŠEN.DÙ.[MEŠ]
LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ.ME[Š]
CTN 1 1 r. iii 25
CTN 1 2 ii 8
CTN 1 4 r. 5
nyd
nyd
nyd
They receive 3 *qû* of wine.
They receive [x] *qû* of wine.
They receive 2 *qû* of wine.

 - **Fowler**
unc. (probably Esarhaddon)
'LÚ*.MUŠEN.DÙ / LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ
SAA 16 47 r. 3, 4
nd
He is mentioned in a fragment of a letter to the king.

8. *bēt sandū* in a non-documentary text
- **House of a fowler**
É L[Ú].MUŠEN.DÙ] nd SAA 8 38:6
In the hemerology text for the first of Nisannu it is said that one should go to the house of the fowler and offer two doves (male and female).
9. *sandū* in a non-documentary text
- **Fowler**
LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ nd AfO 12 40+ r. 19'
In a ritual text a fowler is mentioned as the one who catches a bird which is then kept alive.
10. *sandū* in lexical lists
- **Fowler**
LÚ* .MUŠEN.DÙ *sa-an-du-u* / L
Ú* .MUŠEN.DÙ–MUŠEN
LÚ* .MUŠEN' .DÙ nd MSL 12 233 ii(A) 2, 3
Listed in a lexical list from Huzirina, in a separate section together with the fisher.
nd MSL 12 238 r. iv 17
Listed after the weaver and before the fisher in a lexical list from Nineveh.

FISHERMAN

1. *rab ešerti* (commander-of-ten) of the fishermen

- **Aššur-balāssu-iqbi (8) Commander-of-ten of the fishermen**
Assur (Assurbaniṣal or later)

A. LÚ.GAL-10-te ŠU?.ḪA?.MEŠ BaM 16 2 r. 11 dl A. is witness when a female slave is sold.

2. *bā'iru* (unnamed)

- **14 fishermen**

Kalhu (Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II)

14 ŠU.ḪA.KU₆[MEŠ]

ND 2497 r. 5' nd/dl They are recorded in a broken section of an administrative document.

3. *bā'iru* in lexical lists

- **Fisherman**

LÚ*.ŠU.ḪA *ba-i-ru* / LÚ*.ŠU.ḪA.KU₆.MEŠ

MSL 12 233 ii(A) 4, 5 nd Mentioned in a lexical list from Huzirina after the fowler.

LÚ*.ŠU.ḪA nd Mentioned in a lexical list from Nineveh, again after the fowler.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

A	siglum of texts in the Assur collection of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
ActAnt.	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ABL	<i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> , see Harper 1892–1914
ADD	<i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i> , see Johns 1898–1923 and 1926
ADB	<i>An Assyrian Doomsday Book</i> , see Johns 1901
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
	AfO 12 40+, see Meier 1937–9
	AfO 32 42, see Deller and Millard 1985
	AfO 42 A1, A3, A9, see Jursa and Radner 1995–6
AHw	W. von Soden 1958–81: <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden.
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AO	siglum of texts in the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
ArOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
Ass.	siglum of texts excavated in the German excavations of Assur
B	siglum of texts in the Babylonian collection of Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, see Donbaz 1998
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
	BaM 16 1, 2, see Deller 1985
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Şeh-Ḥamad / Dur-Katlimmu BATSH 4/1, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996
	BATSH 6, see Radner 2002
Bh.	Beiheft
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
Billa	siglum of texts from Tell Billa, see Finkelstein 1953 nos. 82, 85, 86
BM	siglum of objects in the Department of the Middle East of the British Museum
BT	siglum of texts excavated in the British excavations at Balawat (Imgur-Ilil), see Parker 1963
BWL	W.G. Lambert 1959: <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> . Oxford.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CBS	siglum of tablets in the Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
	CT 53, see Parpola 1979a
	CT 54, see Dietrich 1979

- CTDS siglum of texts excavated in the Chicago excavations at Khorsabad (Dur-Šarrukin)
- CTMMA Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CTMMA 3, see Postgate 2000b
- CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
CTN 1, see Kinnier Wilson 1972
CTN 2, see Postgate 1973
CTN 3, see Dalley and Postgate 1984
CTN 5, see Saggs 2001
- CTSHM *Cuneiform Texts in the Sadberk Hanım Museum*, see Donbaz 1999
- CUSAS Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
- Edubba 10 Ahmad and Postgate 2007
- EPHE École pratique des Hautes Études, see Durand 1982
- FNALD *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents*, see Postgate 1976
- GAG W. von Soden 1967: *Grundriß der Akkadischen Grammatik*. AnOr 33/47. Rome.
- GMTR Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
- HAD *Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary*, see Parpola 2007a
- HANE/M History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs
- HANE/S History of the Ancient Near East / Studies
- HEO Hautes études orientales
- HSAO Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
- IM siglum of objects in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- JAH *Journal of Ancient History*
- JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- K siglum of the texts in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum
K 8669, see Müller 1937
- KAJ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, see Ebeling 1927
- KAN *Keilschrifttexte aus neuassyrischer Zeit*
KAN 1, see Jakob-Rost and Fales 1996
KAN 2, see Jakob-Rost et al. 2000
KAN 3, see Faist 2005
KAN 4, see Faist 2010
- KAR *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, see Ebeling 1919 and 1923
- KAV *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, see Schröder 1920
- Ki. King: siglum for tablets in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum
- LAS *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*
LAS I, see Parpola 1970
LAS II, see Parpola 1983a
- LKA E. Ebeling 1953: *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. Berlin.
- MAOG *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
- Marqasi Jiménez, Adalí and Radner 2015
- MARV *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte*
- MC Mesopotamian Civilizations
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*

- MOS Studies Proceedings of the MOS Symposium
 MSL Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
 MSL 12, see Civil 1969
- MVAeG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
 N.A.B.U. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
 N.A.B.U. 1991/86, see Lambert 1991
 N.A.B.U. 2002/90, see Donbaz 2002
- Najafehabad see Levine 1972
 NALDK see Kwasman 1988
 NATAPA *Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin* 1 and 2, see SAAB 5 and 9
- ND siglum of texts excavated in the British excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu)
 Parker 1954, 1957, 1961
 Wiseman 1952, and Wiseman and Kinnier Wilson 1951
- O siglum of texts in the Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels
- OAC Orientis Antiqui Collectio
 OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
 OLA 65, see Tadmor 1995
- OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
 OrNS *Orientalia (Nova Series)*
 OrNS 37 8, see Klengel-Brandt 1968
- PIHANS Publications de l'institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul = Uitgaven von het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden
- PNA *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*
 PNA 1/I–II, see Radner 1998 and 1999b
 PNA 2/I–II, 3/I–II, see Baker 2000, 2001, 2002b and 2011
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
 RA 17 194, see Meek 1920
 RA 24 6, see Scheil 1927
- Rfdn 17 Ahmad 1996
- RGTC Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
- RIMA Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
 RIMA 2, see Grayson 1991a
 RIMA 3, see Grayson 1996
- RIMB The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
 RIMB 2, Grayson 1995
- RINAP Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
 RINAP 1, see Tadmor and Yamada 2011
 RINAP 3/1, see Grayson and Novotny 2012
 RINAP 3/2, see Grayson and Novotny 2014
 RINAP 4, see Leichty 2011
 RINAP 5/1, see Novotny and Jeffers 2018
- RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
 SAA 1, see Parpola 1987
 SAA 2, see Parpola and Watanabe 1988
 SAA 3, see Livingstone 1989
 SAA 4, see Starr 1990
 SAA 5, see Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990

- SAA 6, see Kwasman and Parpola 1991
 SAA 7, see Fales and Postgate 1992
 SAA 8, see Hunger 1992
 SAA 9, see, see Parpola 1997
 SAA 10, see Parpola 1993
 SAA 11, see Fales and Postgate 1995
 SAA 12, see Kataja and Whiting 1995
 SAA 13, see Cole and Machinist 1998
 SAA 14, see Mattila 2002
 SAA 15, see Fuchs and Parpola 2001
 SAA 16, see Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002
 SAA 17, see Dietrich 2003
 SAA 18, see Reynolds 2003
 SAA 19, see Luukko 2012
 SAA 20, see Parpola 2017
 SAA 21, see Parpola 2018
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
 SAAB 1 20 and 24, see Fales 1987b
 SAAB 1 68, see Kataja 1987
 SAAB 3 67, see Finkel 1989
 SAAB 5 (= NATAPA 1), see Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991
 SAAB 9 (= NATAPA 2), see Deller et al. 1995
 SAAB 11 1, see Radner 1997b
- SAAo State Archives of Assyria Studies Online: <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saao/corpus>
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies
- SANER Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
- SEL *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico*
- StAT Studien zu den Assur-Texten
 StAT 1, see Radner 1999a
 StAT 2, see Donbaz and Parpola 2001
 StAT 3, see Faist 2007
- STT siglum of texts excavated in Sultantepe (Huzirina)
 STT 48, see Gurney 1953
- TB siglum of texts excavated in the Australian excavations at Til-Barsip, see Dalley 1996–7
- TH siglum of texts from Tell Halaf (Guzana), see Weidner 1940, Ungnad 1940, Fales 1979 and Dornauer 2014
- TCAE *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, see Postgate 1974a
- TCL Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
 TCL 3, Thureau-Dangin 1912
- TdH Texte der Hethiter
- TH siglum of texts from Tell Halaf (Guzana), see Weidner 1940, Ungnad 1940 and Fales 1979, Dornauer 2014
- TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum
 TIM 11, see Postgate and Ismail n.d.
- TSF siglum for texts excavated at Tell Šiuh-Fawqani (Burmarina)
 TSF 1–44, see Fales and Radner 2005
 TSF 45–63, see Fales and Attardo 2005
- VA siglum of objects in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

VAT	siglum of texts in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler VS 1 99, see Messerschmidt and Ungnad 1907
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> ZA 73 8, 9, see Fales 198
ZABR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZTT	siglum of texts from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan), see Parpola 2008

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	addressee
Adn	Adad-nērāri
Asb	Assurbanipal
b.e.	bottom edge
c.c.	chief cook
c.v.	chief victualler
dl	date lost
DN	divine name
Esar	Esarhaddon
l. / ll.	line / lines
l.e.	left edge
nd	not dated
nyd	no year date
PC	post-canonical eponym date
Pl. / Pls.	plate / plates
PN	personal name
p.m.	palace manager
p.s.	palace supervisor
p.sc.	palace scribe
r.	reverse
r.e.	right edge
r.q.	<i>rab qaqqulāti</i>
RN	royal name
S	sender
Senn	Sennacherib
Sg	Sargon
t.e.	top edge
Tp	Tiglath-pileser
TW	Town Wall (in Kalhu)
w.m.	wine master
ydl	year date lost
ZT	Ziqqurrat Terrace (in Kalhu)
(1), (2),...	number of individual according to PNA
(-)	individual not in PNA
!	collation or emendation
?	uncertain reading
*	graphic variants (according to Parpola 1970: XX)
∴ / ∴	cuneiform “ditto”-signs
x	broken or undeciphered sign
()	supplied word or sign
(...)	break in text citation
‘x’	broken sign
[x x x]	minor break (three signs missing)
[...]	major break (more than three signs missing)

[()]	possibly missing signs
0	uninscribed space or non-existent sign
+	joined to

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AHMAD, A.Y.
 1987–8 ‘The Neo-Assyrian ^{lu}urasu office,’ *Sumer* 45/1–2: 57–60.
 1996 ‘The archive of Aššur-mātu-taqqin found in the New Town of Aššur and dated mainly by post-canonical eponyms,’ *Al-Rāfidān* 17: 207–88.
- AHMAD, A.Y. and POSTGATE, J.N.
 2007 *Archives from the Domestic Wing of the North-West Palace at Kalhu/Nimrud*. Edubba 10. London: N.A.B.U. Publications.
- ÅKERMAN, K.
 1999–2001 ‘The “Aussenhaken Area” in the city of Assur during the second half of the 7th century BC. A study of a Neo-Assyrian city quarter and its demography,’ *SAAB* 13: 217–72.
- AMBOS, C.
 2008 ‘Sänger, Sängerin. A. Philologisch,’ *RIA* 11/7–8: 499–503.
- BAGG, A.M.
 1998 ‘Geschichtsschreibung in der Assyriologie. Überlegungen zu W. Mayer, Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer,’ *WO* 29: 98–108.
 2007 *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil 1: Die Levante*. RGTC 7/1. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
 2017 *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil 2: Zentralassyrien und benachbarte Gebiete, Ägypten und die arabische Halbinsel*. RGTC 7/2–1 und 2. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- BAKER, H.D.
 2000 (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 2, Part I: H–K*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
 2001 (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 2, Part II: L–N*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
 2002a ‘Approaches to Akkadian name-giving in first millennium BC Mesopotamia,’ in C. Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives. Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*. Babylonische Archive 1. Dresden: ISLET: 1–24.
 2002b (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 3, Part I: P–Ş*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
 2005 ‘The property portfolio of a family of builders from Hellenistic Uruk,’ in H.D. Baker and M. Jursa (eds), *Approaching the Babylonian Economy. Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1–3 July 2004*. AOAT 330. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 7–43.
 2008 ‘Salmanassar III.,’ *RIA* 11/7–8: 581–5.
 2011 (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 3, Part II: Ş–Z*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
 2013 ‘Beneath the Stairs in the Rēš Temple of Hellenistic Uruk. A Study in Cultic Topography and Spatial Organization,’ *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 6: 18–42.

- 2014a 'Tiglatpileser III,' *RIA* 14, *Tiergefäß – Wašaezzil(i)*: 21–4.
- 2014b 'The transmission of offices, professions and crafts within the family in the Neo-Assyrian period,' in A. Archi (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome, 4–8 July 2011*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 587–96.
- 2016a *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 4, Part I: Neo-Assyrian Specialists: Crafts, Offices, and Other Professional Designations*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- 2016b 'Urban craftsmen and other specialists, their land holdings, and the Neo-Assyrian state,' in J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East 1300–500 BC*. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 53–73.
- BAKER, H.D. and GROß, M.
2015 'Doing the king's work: perceptions of service in the Assyrian royal correspondence,' in S. Procházka, L. Reinfandt and S. Tost (eds), *Official Epistolography and the Language(s) of Power. Proceedings of the First International Conference of the Research Network Imperium & Officium. Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom, University of Vienna, 10–12 November 2010*. Papyrologica Vindobonensia 8. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: 73–90.
- BARJAMOVIC, G.
2011 'Pride, Pomp and Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879–612 BCE,' in J. Duindam, T. Artan and İ. Metin Kunt (eds), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective. Rulers and Elites. Comparative Studies in Governance 1*. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 27–61.
- BARNETT, R.D., BLEIBTREU, E. and TURNER, G.
1998 *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh. Volume 2: Plates*. London: The British Museum Press.
- BATTINI, L.
1996 'La localisation des archives du Palais Sud-Ouest du Ninive,' *RA* 90/1: 33–40.
- BAUER, T.
1933 *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Volumes 1–2*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- BEAL, R.H.
1992 *The Organisation of the Hittite Military*. TdH 20. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- BLACK, J.
2008 'The Libraries of Kalhu,' in J.E. Curtis, H. McCall, D. Collon and L. al-Gailani Werr (eds), *New Light on Nimrud. Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11th–13th March 2002*. London: The British Institute for the Study of Iraq in association with The British Museum: 261–5.
- BLAKE, S.P.
1979 'The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals,' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 39/1: 77–94.
- BLOCHER, F.
2001 'Assyrische Würdenträger und Gouverneure des 9. und 8. Jh.: eine Neubewertung ihrer Rolle,' *AoF* 28/2: 298–324.

- BONGENAAR, A.C.V.M.
 1997 *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: its Administration and its Prosopography*. PIHANS 80. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul.
- BORGER, R.
 1996 *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- BRIANT, P.
 2002 *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- BRINKMAN, J.A. and DALLEY, S.
 1988 'A Royal Kudurru from the Reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi,' *ZA* 78/1: 76–98.
- BROSIUS, M.
 2007 'New out of old? Court and court ceremonies in Achaemenid Persia,' in A.J.S. Spawforth (ed.), *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 17–57.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM, E.C.
 1996 *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*. BATSH 4/1. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
 1999 'lúšāpi'ulsēpū. Eine akkadische Berufsbezeichnung aus dem Bereich der Textilherstellung,' in B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and T. Richter (eds), *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*. AOAT 267. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 79–93.
- CAUBET, A.
 2001 'Acquisitions: Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales,' *La revue des Musées de France: Revue du Louvre* 51/4: 88, nos. 6–7.
- CHARPIN, D.
 2011 'Patron and Client: Zimri-lim and Asqudum the Diviner,' in K. Radner and E. Robson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 248–69.
- CIVIL, M.
 1969 *MSL 12. The Series lú = ša and Related Texts*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- COLE, S.W.
 1996 *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755–612 BC*. SAAS 4. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- COLE, S.W. and MACHINIST, P.
 1998 *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. SAA 13. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- COLLON, D.
 2001 *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals V. Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods*. London: The British Museum Press.
- CURTIS, J.
 1999 'Late Assyrian Agricultural Tools: the Archaeological Evidence,' in H. Klengel and J. Renger (eds), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XLI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Berlin, 4.–8.7.1994*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag: 249–58.
- DALLEY, S.
 1996–7 'Neo-Assyrian Tablets from Til Barsip,' *Abr-Nahrain* 34: 66–99.

- 2000 'Hebrew *taḥaš*, Akkadian *duḥšu*, faience and beadwork,' *JSS* 45/1: 1–19.
- 2001 Review of Mattila 2000, *BiOr* 58/1–2: 197–206.
- 2008 'The Identity of the Princess in Tomb II and a New Analysis of the Events in 701 BC,' in J.E. Curtis, H. McCall, D. Collon and L. al-Gailani Werr (eds), *New Light on Nimrud. Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11th–13th March 2002*. London: The British Institute for the Study of Iraq in association with The British Museum: 171–5.
- DALLEY, S. and POSTGATE, J.N.
1984 *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*. CTN 3. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- DELLER, K.
1961 'Die Verdrängung des Grundstamms von *ezēbu* durch *rammû* im Neuassyrischen,' *OrNS* 30: 345–54.
1964 Review of CAD Š, *OrNS* 33: 89–96.
1965 'Neuassyrisches aus Sultantepe,' *OrNS* 34: 457–77.
1966 'The Neo-Assyrian Epigraphical Remains of Nimrud,' *OrNS* 35: 179–94.
1971 'Die Rolle des Richters im neuassyrischen Prozessrecht,' in *Studi in Onore di Edoardo Volterra* 6. Milano: Giuffrè: 641–53.
1983 'midlu "Pökelfleisch",' *Assur* 3/4: 33–9.
1984a 'Assyrisch *um/nzarḫu* und Hebräisch 'äzraḫ,' *ZA* 74/2: 235–39.
1984b 'Drei wiederentdeckte neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden aus Aššur,' *BaM* 15: 225–51 and Pls. 24–25.
1984c 'Neu- und Mittlassyrisch,' in K. Deller and W.R. Mayer, 'Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD M,' *OrNS* 53: 76–94.
1985 'Köche und Küche des Aššur-Tempels,' *BaM* 16: 347–76 and Pls. 31–32.
1987a 'I. Neu- und Mittlassyrisch,' in K. Deller, W.R. Mayer and W. Sommerfeld, 'Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD N,' *OrNS* 56: 176–89.
1987b '*tamkāru*-Kredite in neuassyrischer Zeit,' *JESHO* 30/1: 1–29.
1987c Review of Freydank 1985, *AfO* 34: 59–66.
1991 'Neuassyrisch *qanû*, *qinītu* und *tidintu*,' in D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds), *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations: 345–55.
1999 'The Assyrian eunuchs and their predecessors,' in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East - The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 22–24, 1996*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter: 301–11.
- DELLER, K., FALES, F.M. and JAKOB-ROST, L.
1995 'Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part 2,' *SAAB* 9/1–2: 3–137.
- DELLER, K. and MILLARD, A.R.
1985 'Zwei Rechtsurkunden aus Aššur im British Museum,' *AfO* 32: 38–52.
1993 'Die Bestallungsurkunde des Nergal-āpil-kūmūja von Kalḫu,' *BaM* 24: 217–42 and Pls. 51–54.
- DELLER, K. and PARPOLA, S.
1966 'Die Schreibungen des Wortes *etinnu* "Baumeister" im Neuassyrischen,' *RA* 60: 59–70.
- DE VAAN, J.M.C.T.
1995 '*Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs*'. *Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni*. AOAT 242. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag.

- DEZSŐ, T.
 2006a 'A Reconstruction of the Army of Sargon II (721–705 BC) based on the Nimrud Horse Lists,' *SAAB* 15: 93–140.
 2006b 'The Reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian Army as depicted on the Assyrian Palace Reliefs, 745–612 BC,' *ActAnt.* 57: 87–130.
 2012a *The Assyrian Army. I. The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army*, Vol. 1. *Infantry*. Budapest: Eötvös University Press.
 2012b *The Assyrian Army. I. The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army*, Vol. 2. *Chariotry and Cavalry*. Budapest: Eötvös University Press.
- DIETRICH, M.
 1970 *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700–648)*. AOAT 7. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag.
 1979 *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part 54: Neo-Babylonian Letters from the Kuyunjik Collection*. London: The British Museum Press.
 2003 *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*. SAA 17. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- DONBAZ, V.
 1992 'The "House of Kings" in the city of Aššur,' in H. Otten, E. Akurkal, H. Ertem and A. Süel (eds), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: 119–25.
 1998 'Some selected Neo-Assyrian texts from Istanbul and elsewhere,' *SAAB* 12/2: 57–82.
 1999 *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde Bulunan Çiviyazılı Belgeler / Cuneiform Texts in the Sadberk Hanım Museum*. Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi.
 2002 'A Neo-Assyrian text of unknown provenance,' *N.A.B.U.* 2002/90.
- DONBAZ, V. and PARPOLA, S.
 2001 *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*. StAT 2. Saarbrücken: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag.
- DORNAUER, A.A.
 2014 *Das Archiv des assyrischen Statthalters Mannu-kī-Aššūr von Gūzānal Tall Ḥalaf*. Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 3. Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Halaf in Nordost-Syrien III. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- DUINDAM, J.
 2011 'Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires,' in J. Duindam, T. Artan and İ. Metin Kunt (eds), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective*. Rulers and Elites. Comparative Studies in Governance 1. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 1–23.
- DURAND, J.-M.
 1982 *Documents Cunéiformes de la IV^e Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études I. Catalogue et copies cunéiformes*. HEO 18. Geneva/Paris: Librairie Droz.
- Ebeling, E.
 1919 *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. WVDOG 28. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
 1923 *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. WVDOG 34. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
 1927 *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*. WVDOG 50. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

- 1950 *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur. Sonderdruck aus Orientalia 17–19.* Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- 1954 *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für Assyrische Tempel.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- ELAT, M.
1987 ‘Der *tamkāru* im neuassyrischen Reich,’ *JESHO* 30/3: 233–54.
- ELIAS, N.
2002 *Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie. Mit einer Einleitung: Soziologie und Geschichtswissenschaft.* Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 423. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. [original edition in 1969 / Suhrkamp: 1983]
- ERMIDORO, S.
2015 *Commensality and Ceremonial Meals in the Neo-Assyrian Period.* Antichistica 8. Studi Orientali 3. Venice: Edizioni Ca’Foscari.
- FADHIL, A. and RADNER, K.
1996 ‘Äste, Gras und Esel. Ein neuassyrischer Privatbrief aus Nimrūd im Iraq Museum,’ *BaM* 27: 419–28.
- FAIST, B.
2004 Review of Donbaz and Parpola 2001, *ZA* 94/1: 122–31.
2005 *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden III.* KAN 3. WVD OG 110. Saarwellingen: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag.
2007 *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur.* StAT 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
2009 ‘An Elamite Deportee,’ in G. Galil, M. Geller and A. Millard (eds), *Homeland and Exile. Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded.* VTS 130. Leiden: Brill: 59–69.
2010 *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden IV. Mit einem Beitrag von E. Klengel-Brandt.* KAN 4. WVD OG 132. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- FAIST, B. and LLOP, J.
2012 ‘The Assyrian Royal Granary (*karmu*),’ in G. del Olmo Lete, J. Vidal and N. Wyatt (eds), *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks. Studies in Honour of Wilfred G.E. Watson.* AOAT 394. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 19–35.
- FALES, F.M.
1973 *Censimenti e catasti di epoca neo-assira.* Studi Economici e Tecnologici 2. Rome.
1979 ‘Studies on Neo-Assyrian Texts I: Joins and Collations to the Tell Halaf Documents,’ *ZA* 69/2: 192–216.
1980 ‘New Assyrian Letters from the Kuyunjik Collection,’ *AfO* 27: 136–53.
1983 ‘Studies on Neo-Assyrian texts II: “Deeds and Documents” from the British Museum,’ *ZA* 73/2: 232–55.
1986 *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period.* Materiali per il Lessico Aramaico 1. Studi Semitici, Nuova Serie 2. Rome: Università degli Studi “La Sapienza”.
1987a ‘Aramaic Letters and Neo-Assyrian Letters: Philological and Methodological Notes,’ *JAOS* 107/3: 451–69.
1987b ‘Neo-Assyrian Texts and Fragments from Copenhagen,’ *SAAB* 1/1: 17–25 and Pls. II–IV.
1987c ‘Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian empire, 1: The Archive of Remanni-Adad,’ *SAAB* 1/2: 93–114.
1990a ‘Grain Reserves, Daily Rations, and the Size of the Assyrian Army: a Quantitative Study,’ *SAAB* 4/1: 23–34.

- 1990b 'The Rural Landscape of the Neo-Assyrian Empire: a Survey,' *SAAB* 4/2: 81–142.
- 1991 'West Semitic Names in the Assyrian Empire: Diffusion and Social Relevance,' *SEL* 8: 99–117.
- 1994 'A Fresh Look at the Nimrud Wine Lists,' in L. Milano (ed.), *Drinking in Ancient Societies. History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East. Papers of a Symposium held in Rome, May 17–19 1990*. Padua: Sargon srl: 361–80.
- 1997 'People and Professions in Neo-Assyrian Assur,' in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. 39^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6.–10. Juli 1992*. HSAO 6. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag: 33–40.
- 1999–2001 'Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Newer Horizons,' *SAAB* 13: 115–44.
- 2000a 'bīt bēli: an Assyrian Institutional Concept,' in E. Rova (ed.), *Patavina Orientalia Selecta*. HANE/M 4. Padua: Sargon srl: 231–48.
- 2000b 'The use and function of Aramaic tablets,' in G. Bunnens (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 7. Louvain/Paris/Sterling: Peeters: 89–124.
- 2001 *L'impero assiro. Storia e amministrazione (IX–VII secolo A.C.)*. Rome: Editori Laterza.
- 2002 'The Liquidation of an Assyrian Royal Estate,' in S. de Martino and F.P. Daddi (eds), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in Memoria die Fiorella Imparati. Tomo I*. Firenze: LoGisma: 245–54.
- 2003 'Reflections on Neo-Assyrian Archives,' in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 195–229.
- 2005a 'Assyrian-Aramaic cultural interrelation: older and newer results,' in L. Bachelot and F.M. Fales (eds), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani 1994–1998 II*. HANE/M 6/2. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e libreria: 596–616.
- 2005b 'The historical context: Burmarina, 9th–7th centuries BC,' in L. Bachelot and F.M. Fales (eds), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani 1994–1998 II*. HANE/M 6/2. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N.: Editrice e libreria: 618–23.
- 2009a 'The Assyrian Words for "(Foot) Soldier",' in G. Galil, M. Geller and A. Millard (eds), *Homeland and Exile. Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*. VTS 130. Leiden: Brill: 71–94.
- 2009b "'To speak kindly to him/them" as item of Assyrian political discourse,' in M. Luukko, S. Svärd and R. Mattila (eds), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. Studia Orientalia 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society: 27–39.
- FALES, F.M. and ATTARDO, E.
2005 'Tablets in Aramaic alphabetic script,' in L. Bachelot and F.M. Fales (eds), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani 1994–1998 II*. HANE/M 6/2. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e libreria: 650–67.
- FALES, F.M. and JAKOB-ROST, L.
1991 'Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part I,' *SAAB* 5/1–2: 3–157.

- FALES, F.M. and POSTGATE, J.N.
 1992 *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*. SAA 7. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
 1995 *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*. SAA 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- FALES, F.M. and RADNER, K.
 2005 'Tablets in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script,' in L. Bachelot and F.M. Fales (eds), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani 1994–1998 II*. HANE/M 6/2. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e libreria: 623–49.
- FINKEL, I.L.
 1989 'A Neo-Assyrian Exchange Contract,' *SAAB* 3/2: 65–8.
- FINKELSTEIN, J.
 1953 'Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa,' *JCS* 7/4: 111–76.
- FRAHM, E.
 1997 *Einleitung in the Sanherib-Inschriften*. AfO Bh. 26. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik.
 2002 'Assur 2001: Die Schriftfunde,' *MDOG* 134: 47–86.
 2009 'Sanherib,' *RIA* 12/1–2: 12–22.
 2011 'Keeping Company with Men of Learning: the King as Scholar,' in K. Radner and E. Robson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 508–32.
- FRAME, G.
 1992 *Babylonia 689–627 B.C. A Political History*. PIHANS 69. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul.
 1995 *Rulers of Babylonia. From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*. RIMB 2. Toronto/Buffalo/London: University Toronto Press.
- FREYDANK, H.
 1985 'Die "Söhne" des Šallim-pî-Ea,' *AoF* 12/2: 362–4.
- FUCHS, A.
 1994 *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*. Göttingen: Cuvillier.
 1998 *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr. nach Prismenfragmenten aus Ninive und Assur*. SAAS 8. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
 2009a 'Der Turtān Šamši-ilu und die große Zeit der assyrischen Großen (830–746),' *WO* 38: 61–145.
 2009b 'Sargon II,' *RIA* 12/1–2: 51–61.
- FUCHS, A. and PARPOLA, S.
 2001 *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces*. SAA 15. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- GALIL, G.
 2009 'Appropriation of land by officials in the Neo-Assyrian period,' in G. Galil, M. Geller and A. Millard (eds), *Homeland and Exile. Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*. VTS 130. Leiden: Brill: 95–119.
- GARELLI, P.
 1972–5 'Hofstaat B. Assyrisch,' *RIA* 4: 446–52.
 1974 'Remarques sur l'administration de l'empire Assyrien,' *RA* 68/2: 129–40.

- 1982 'Importance et rôle des Araméens dans l'administration de l'empire assyrien,' in H. Nissen and J. Renger (eds), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. XXV. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Berlin, 3. bis 7. Juli 1978*. Teil 2. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag: 437–47.
- GASPA, S.
 2007 'Vessels in Neo-Assyrian Documents: Capacity Measures and Listing Conventions,' *SAAB* 16: 145–84.
 2009 "'Wiping the Pot Clean": on Cooking Pots and Polishing Operations in Neo-Assyrian Sources,' in M. Luukko, S. Svärd and R. Mattila (eds), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. *Studia Orientalia* 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society: 83–98.
 2009–10 'Organizing the Festive Cycles at the Aššur Temple: Royal Dispositions for the Provision and Processing of Foodstuffs in First Millennium BC Assyria,' *SAAB* 18: 91–144.
 2012 *Alimenti e pratiche alimentari in Assiria: le materie alimentari nel culto ufficiale dell'Assiria del primo millennio A.C.* HANE/M 13. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e libreria.
 2013 'Textile Production and Consumption in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,' in M.-L. Nosch, H. Koefoed and E. Andersson Strand (eds), *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*. Ancient Textiles Series 12. Oxford/Oakville: Oxbow Books: 224–47.
 2018 *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. A Study of Terminology*. SANER 19. Boston/Berlin: de Gruyter.
- GENTILI, P.
 2002–5 'Preliminary Remarks on the Palatine Distribution System in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,' *SAAB* 14: 89–111.
- GEORGE, A.R.
 1997 'Sumerian t i r u = "eunuch",' *N.A.B.U.* 1997/97.
 2004 'Palace Names and Epithets, and the Vaulted Building,' *Sumer* 51/1–2: 38–42.
 2010 'Assyrian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith,' in Ş. Dönmez (ed.), *Veysel Donbaz'a Sunulan Yazılar DUB.SAR.É.DUB.BA.A. Studies presented in honour of Veysel Donbaz*. Istanbul: Ege Publications: 153–8.
- GEORGE, A.R., HERTEL, T., LLOP-RADÜA, J., RADNER, K. and VAN SOLDT, W.H.
 2016 *Assyrian Archival Documents in the Schøyen Collection and Other Documents from North Mesopotamia and Syria*. CUSAS 34. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- GESCHE, P.D.
 2001 *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* AOAT 275. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- GLASSNER, J.-J.
 1991 'À propos des jardins mésopotamiens,' *Res Orientales* 3: 9–17.
- GRAYSON, A.K.
 1980 'Assyria and Babylonia,' *OrNS* 49: 140–94.

- ²1982 'Assyria: Ashur-dan II to Ashur-nirari V (934–745 B.C.),' in J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds), *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, tenth to eighth centuries B.C.* CAH III/1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 238–81.
- 1991a *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, I (1114–859 BC)*. RIMA 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- 1991b 'Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.),' in J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds), *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* CAH III/2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 71–102.
- 1991c 'Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704–669 B.C.),' in J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds), *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* CAH III/2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 103–41.
- 1991d 'Assyria 668–635 B.C.: The Reign of Ashurbanipal,' in J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds), *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* CAH III/2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 142–61.
- 1991e 'Assyrian Civilization,' in J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds), *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* CAH III/2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 194–228.
- 1993 'Assyrian Officials and Power in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries,' *SAAB* 7/1: 19–52.
- 1995 'Eunuchs in power: their role in the Assyrian bureaucracy,' in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*. AOAT 240. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag: 85–98.
- 1996 *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858–745)*. RIMA 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- GRAYSON, A.K. and NOVOTNY, J.
- 2012 *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1*. RINAP 3/1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 2014 *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 2*. RINAP 3/2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- GROß, M.
- 2015a 'Editions of two Neo-Assyrian legal documents published as copies by George (2010),' *N.A.B.U.* 2015/79.
- 2015b 'Food and drink for the palace: the management of foodstuffs in Neo-Assyrian times and beyond,' *SAAB* 21: 21–45.
- 2015c 'Innovation and tradition in the sphere of Neo-Assyrian officialdom,' in A. Archi (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome, 4–8 July 2011*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 251–66.

- 2018 'Craftsmen in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,' in A. Garcia-Ventura (ed.), *What's in a Name? Terminology related to the Work Force and Job Categories in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 440. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 369–95.
- forthcoming "'The total of the crown prince's revenues" – Record-keeping in the Neo-Assyrian palaces,' in *Accounts and Bookkeeping in the Ancient World: Question of Structure Proceedings, 22–24 September 2016, Heidelberg/Schwetzingen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- GROß, M. and KERTAI, D.
2019 'Becoming empire: Neo-Assyrian palaces and the creation of courtly culture,' *JAH* 7/1: 1–31.
- GROß, M. and PIRNGRUBER, R.
2014 'On courtiers in the Neo-Assyrian Empire: *ša-rēši* and *mazzāz pāni*,' *AoF* 41/2: 161–75.
- GURNEY, O.R.
1953 'The Sultantepe Tablets,' *AnSt* 3: 15–25.
- HACKL, J., JURSA, M. and SCHMIDL A.
2014 *Spätbabylonische Briefe*, Volume 1. AOAT 414/1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- HALLER, A.
1954 *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur*. WVD OG 65. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.
- HÄMEEN-ANTTILA, J.
1987 'A New Text Relating to Ashurbanipal's Elamite Wars,' *SAAB* 1/1: 13–6.
- HARPER, R.F.
1892–1914 *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. Volumes 1–14. London/Chicago.
- HAUSER, S.R.
2012 *Status, Tod und Ritual. Stadt- und Sozialstruktur Assurs in neuassyrischer Zeit*. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 26. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- HAWKINS, J.D.
2002 'Eunuchs among the Hittites,' in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001. Part 1*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project: 217–33.
- HECKER, K.
1991 'Zu den Keilschrifttexten der Grabung Frühjahr 1990 in Assur,' *MDOG* 123: 111–4.
- HERBORDT, S.
1992 *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.–7. Jh. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siegelungen auf Tafeln und Tonverschlüssen*. SAAS 1. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- HUNGER, H.
1968 *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*. AOAT 2. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag.
1992 *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. SAA 8. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

- JAKOB, S.
2003 *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur. Untersuchungen.* CM 29. Leiden/Boston: Brill/Styx.
- JAKOB-ROST, L. and FALES, F.M.
1996 *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden I. Mit einem Beitrag von E. Klengel-Brandt.* KAN 1. WVDOG 94. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- JAKOB-ROST, L., RADNER, K. and DONBAZ, V.
2000 *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden II. Mit einem Beitrag von E. Klengel-Brandt.* KAN 2. WVDOG 98. Saarbrücken: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag.
- JAS, R.
1996 *Neo-Assyrian Judicial Procedures.* SAAS 5. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- JANKOVIĆ, B.
2004 *Vogelzucht und Vogelfang in Sippar im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* AOAT 315. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- JEAN, C.
2006 *La Magie Néo-Assyrienne en Contexte. Recherches sur le métier d'exorciste et le concept d'āšipūtu.* SAAS 17. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- JIMÉNEZ, E., ADALI, S.F. and RADNER, K.
2015 'Four 7th-century BCE Neo-Assyrian slave sale records from Marqasi (Kahramanmaraş) in the Erimtan Museum (Ankara) and elsewhere,' *AoF* 42/2: 153–72.
- JOHNS, C.H.W.
1898–1923 *Assyrian Deeds and Documents.* 4 Volumes (1898, 1901, 1901, 1923). Cambridge.
1901 *An Assyrian Doomsday Book.* Leipzig.
1926 'Assyrian Deeds and Documents,' *AJSL* 42: 170–204 and 228–75.
- JURSA, M.
1995 *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in Neubabylonischer Zeit.* AfO Bh. 25. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik.
2003 'Betten, Kopfpölder und "Kühlschränke",' in G.J. Selz (ed.), *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 229–38.
2004 'Accounting in Neo-Babylonian Institutional Archives: Structure, Usage, Implications,' in M. Hudson and C. Wunsch (eds), *Creating Economic Order. Record-keeping, Standardization, and the Development of Accounting in the Ancient Near East.* Bethesda: CDL Press: 145–98.
2005 *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives.* GMTR 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
2010 'Der neubabylonische Hof,' in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds), *Der achaimenidische Hof / The Achaemenid Court. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen", Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007.* *Classica et Orientalia* 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 67–106.
2011 "'Höflinge" (ša rēši, ša rēš šarri, ustarbaru) in babylonischen Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends,' in J. Wiesehöfer, R. Rollinger and G.B. Lanfranchi (eds), *Ktesias' Welt / Ktesias' World.* *Classica et Orientalia* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 159–73.

- JURSA, M. and RADNER, K.
1995–6 'Keilschrifttexte aus Jersusalem,' *AfO* 42/43: 89–108.
- KATAJA, L.
1987 'A Neo-Assyrian Document on two Cases of River Ordeal,' *SAAB* 1/2: 65–8.
- KATAJA, L. and WHITING, R.
1995 *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. SAA 12. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- KERTAI, D.
2011 'Kalḫu's Palaces of War and Peace: Palace Architecture at Nimrud in the Ninth Century BC,' *Iraq* 73: 71–85.
2013 'The Multiplicity of Royal Palaces. How many Palaces did an Assyrian King Need?,' in D. Kertai and P.A. Miglus (eds), *New Research on Late Assyrian Palaces. Conference at Heidelberg January 22nd, 2011*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
2015 *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Palaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- KING, L.W.
1915 *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria B.C. 860–825*. London.
- KINNIER WILSON, J.V.
1972 *The Nimrud Wine Lists. A Study of Men and Administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century B.C.* CTN 1. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- KLAUBER, E.
1968 *Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit*. Leipziger Semitistische Studien 5/3. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR.
- KLEBER, K.
2008 *Tempel und Palast. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk*. Veröffentlichungen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Babyloniens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. 3. AOAT 358. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- KLENGEL-BRANDT, E.
1968 'Ein Pazuzu-Kopf mit Inschrift,' *OrNS* 37: 81–4.
- KLENGEL-BRANDT, E. and RADNER, K.
1997 'Die Stadtbeamten von Assur und ihre Siegel,' in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Assyria 1995. Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project: 137–59.
- KOHLER, J. and UNGNAD, A.
1913 *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden in Umschrift und Uebersetzung nebst einem Index der Personennamen und Rechtserläuterungen*. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer.
- KUHRT, A.
1995 *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC*. Volume Two. London/New York: Routledge.
- KWASMAN, T.
1986 'Neo-Assyrian legal archives in the Kouyunjik Collection,' in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*. PIHANS 57. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 237–40.

- 1988 *Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 14. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- 1998 Review of Fales and Postgate 1995, *OLZ* 93/6: 634–6.
- 2001–2 Review of Radner 1999a, *AfO* 48/49: 221–3.
- KWASMAN, T. and PARPOLA, S.
1991 *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*. SAA 6. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- LAMBERT, W.G.
1988 ‘Esarhaddon’s attempt to return Marduk to Babylon,’ in G. Mauer and U. Magen (eds), *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum. Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987*. AOAT 220. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag: 157–74.
- 1991 ‘The seal of an official of Sargon II of Assyria,’ *N.A.B.U.* 1991/86.
- 2007 *Babylonian Oracle Questions*. MC 13. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- LANDSBERGER, B.
1967 ‘Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen,’ in *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*. VTS 16. Leiden: Brill: 176–204.
- LANFRANCHI, G.B.
1998 ‘Esarhaddon, Assyria and Media,’ *SAAB* 12/2: 99–109.
- LANFRANCHI, G.B. and PARPOLA, S.
1990 *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*. SAA 5. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- LAUINGER, J.
2012 ‘Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary,’ *JCS* 64: 87–123.
- LEICHTY, E.
2011 *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)*. RINAP 4. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- LEVINE, L.D.
1972 *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*. Ontario: Royal Ontario Museum.
- LIPÍŃSKI, E.
1983 ‘Les phéniciens à Ninive au temps des Sargonides: Ahoubasti, portier en chef,’ in *Atti del Primo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 5–10 Novembre 1979*. Volume I. Rome: 125–34.
- LIVERANI, M.
1995 ‘The Medes at Esarhaddon’s Court,’ *JCS* 47: 57–62.
- 2009 ‘The King in the Palace,’ *OrNS* 78/1: 81–91.
- LIVINGSTONE, A.
1989 *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*. SAA 3. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- LÖHNERT, A.
2007 ‘The Installation of Priests According to Neo-Assyrian Documents,’ *SAAB* 16: 273–86.
- LOUD, G. and ALTMAN, C.B.
1938 *Khorsabad, Part II. The Citadel and the Town*. OIP 40. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- LUCKENBILL, D.D.
 1924 *The Annals of Sennacherib*. OIP 2. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
 1926 *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia: Historical Records of Assyria from Earliest Times to Sargon*. Volume 1. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
 1927 *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia: Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End*. Volume II. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- LUNDSTRÖM, S.
 2000 'Kimahḫu und Qabru. Untersuchungen zur Begrifflichkeit akkadischer Grabbezeichnungen,' *AoF* 27/1: 6–20.
- LUUKKO, M.
 2007 'The Administrative Roles of the "Chief Scribe" and the "Palace Scribe" in the Neo-Assyrian Period,' *SAAB* 16: 227–56.
 2012 *The Correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*. SAA 19. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- LUUKKO, M. and VAN BUYLAERE, G.
 2002 *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. SAA 16. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- LYON, D.G.
 1883 *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's Königs von Assyrien (722–705 v. Chr.) nach den Originalen*. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- MACGINNIS, J.
 1992 'Tablets from Nebi Yunus,' *SAAB* 6/1: 3–19.
 2002 'The Use of Writing Boards in the Neo-Babylonian Temple Administration at Sippar,' *Iraq* 64: 217–36.
- MALBRAN-LABAT, F.
 1982 *L'armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Assyrie d'après les lettres des Sargonides trouvées à Ninive*. Geneva/Paris: Librairie Droz.
- MALLOWAN, M.E.L.
 1966 *Nimrud and its remains*. Volumes I–II. London: Collins.
- MALUL, G.
 1996 'ZE/IRTU (SE/IRDU): The Olive Tree and its Products in Ancient Mesopotamia,' in D. Eitam and M. Heltzer (eds), *Olive Oil in Antiquity. Israel and Neighbouring Countries from the Neolithic to the Early Arab Period*. HANE/S VII. Padua: Sargon srl: 91–100.
- MANITIUS, W.
 1910 'Das stehende Heer der Assyrerkönige und seine Organisation,' *ZA* 24: 97–149 and 185–224.
- MATTILA, R.
 1990 'Balancing the Accounts of the Royal New Years's Reception,' *SAAB* 4/1: 7–22.
 2000 *The King's Magnates. A Study of the Highest Officials of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. SAAS 11. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
 2002 *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part II: Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun*. SAA 14. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
 2009 'The Chief Singer and Other Late Eponyms,' in M. Luukko, S. Svård and R. Mattila (eds), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian*

- and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. Studia Orientalia 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society: 159–66.
- 2014 ‘The Chief of Trade and the Chief Tailor – New Eponyms during the Reign of Assurbanipal,’ in S. Gaspa, A. Greco, D. Bonacossi Morandi, S. Ponchia and R. Rollinger (eds), *From Source to History. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Worlds and Beyond. Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on June 23, 2014*. AOAT 412. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 405–12.
- MAUL, S.M.
- 1994 *Zukunftsbewältigung: Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*. BaF 18. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- 1999 ‘Der assyrische König – Hüter der Weltordnung,’ in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East - The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 22–24, 1996*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter: 201–14.
- 2000a ‘Die Frühjahrsfeierlichkeiten in Aššur,’ in A.R. George and I.L. Finkel (eds), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 389–420.
- 2000b ‘Die Schriftfunde aus Assur von den Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft im Frühjahr 2000,’ *MDOG* 132: 65–100.
- 2010 ‘Die Tontafelbibliothek aus dem sogenannten “Haus des Beschwörungspriesters”,’ in S.M. Maul and N.P. Heeßel (eds), *Assur-Forschungen: Arbeiten aus der Forschungsstelle “Edition literarischer Keilschrifttexte aus Assur” der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 189–228.
- MAY, N.N.
- 2010 ‘The *Qersu* in Neo-Assyrian Cultic Setting: Its Origin, Identification, Depiction and Evolution,’ in L. Kogan, N. Koslova, S. Loesov and S. Tishchenko (eds), *Language in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 53^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 1/1*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 441–89.
- MAYER, W.
- 1995 *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 9. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- MEEK, T.J.
- 1920 ‘Some explanatory lists and grammatical texts,’ *RA* 17/3–4: 117–206.
- MEIER, G.
- 1937–9 ‘Die Ritualtafel der Serie “Mundwaschung”,’ *AfO* 12: 40–5.
- MEISSNER, B.
- 1925 *Babylonien und Assyrien*. Volume 1. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- 1937 ‘Studien zur Assyrischen Lexikographie III,’ *MAOG* 11/1–2.
- MELVILLE, S.C.
- 1999 *The Role of Naqia/Zakūtu in Sargonid Politics*. SAAS 9. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- MENZEL, B.
- 1981 *Assyrische Tempel I–II*. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 10/1–2. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.

- MENZEL-WORTMANN, B.
 1986 'Der ^{LÚ}GAL DANIBATA in neuassyrischer Zeit,' *Mesopotamia* 21: 213–27.
- METIN KUNT, İ.
 2011 'Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace,' in J. Duindam, T. Artan and İ. Metin Kunt (eds), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective*. Rulers and Elites. Comparative Studies in Governance 1. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 289–312.
- MIGLUS, P.A.
 2003–5 'Palast. B. Archäologisch,' *RIA* 10: 233–59.
 2012 'Tarbiṣi/ū,' *RIA* 13/5–6: 453–7.
- MILLARD, A.R.
 1972 'Some Aramaic Epigraphs,' *Iraq* 34/2: 131–7 and Pls. LIII–LIV.
 1994 *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612*. SAAS 2. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- MOORE, E.W.
 1935 *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents with transliteration, translation and notes*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- MÜLLER, K.F.
 1937 'Das Assyrische Ritual, Teil I. Texte zum Assyrischen Königsritual,' *MVAeG* 41/3.
- NASSOUHI, E.
 1927 'Textes divers relatifs à l'histoire de l'Assyrie,' *MAOG* 3/1–2.
- NIEDERREITER, Z.
 2015 'Cylinder seals of eleven eunuchs (*ša rēši* officials): A study on glyptic dated to the reign of Adad-nērārī III,' *SAAB* 21: 117–56.
 2016 'An unpublished Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal ("Property of Adad-naṣhira, the eunuch of Bēl-tarṣi-ilumma") kept in the Harvard Art Museums,' *N.A.B.U.* 2016/50.
- NOBLE, D.
 1990 'Assyrian Chariotry and Cavalry,' *SAAB* 4/1: 61–8.
- NOVÁK, M.
 2002 'The Artificial Paradise: Programme and Ideology of Royal Gardens,' in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, Juli 2–6, 2001, Part II*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project: 443–60.
- NOVOTNY, J.
 2010 'Temple Building in Assyria: Evidence from Royal Inscriptions,' in M.J. Boda and J. Novotny (eds), *From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible*. AOAT 366. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 109–39.
- NOVOTNY, J. and JEFFERS, J.
 2018 *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Šîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part I*. RINAP 5/1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- OATES, J.
 1991 'The Fall of Assyria (635–609 B.C.),' in J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds), *The Assyrian and Babylonian*

- Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* CAH III/2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 162–93.
- OATES, J. and OATES, D.
2001 *Nimrud. An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- ODED, B.
1979 *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- OPITZ, D.
1928–32 ‘Beamter. d. Assyrische Zeit,’ *RIA* 1: 457–66.
- OPPENHEIM, A.L.
1949 ‘AKK. *arad ekalli* = “BUILDER”,’ *ArOr* 17/2: 227–35.
1965 ‘On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia,’ *JNES* 24/4: 328–33.
1973 ‘A Note on *ša rēši*,’ *JANES* 5: 325–34.
- PALEY, S.M.
1989 ‘The Entranceway Inscriptions of the “Second House” in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrūd (Kalḥu),’ *JANES* 19: 135–47.
- PARKER, B.
1954 ‘The Nimrud Tablets, 1952—Business Documents,’ *Iraq* 16/1: 29–58.
1955 ‘Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions,’ *Iraq* 17/2: 93–125 and Pls. X–XXIX.
1957 ‘Nimrud Tablets, 1956—Economic and Legal Texts from the Nabu Temple,’ *Iraq* 19/2: 125–38 and Pls. XXVII–XXXIII.
1961 ‘Administrative Tablets from the North-West Palace, Nimrud,’ *Iraq* 23/1: 15–67 and Pls. IX–XXX.
1963 ‘Economic Tablets from the Temple of Mamu at Balawat,’ *Iraq* 25/1: 86–103 and Pls. XIX–XXVI.
- PARPOLA, S.
1970 *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part I: Texts*. AOAT 5/1. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag.
1975 Review of Postgate 1974a, *ZA* 65/2: 293–6.
1976 Review of Kinnier Wilson 1972, *JSS* 21/1–2: 165–74.
1979a *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part 53: Neo-Assyrian Letters from the Kuyunjik Collection*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.
1979b Review of Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Volumes II and III (1972 and 1974), *OLZ* 74/1: 23–35.
1980 ‘The Murderer of Sennacherib,’ in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia. XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Mesopotamia 8. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag: 171–82.
1981 ‘Assyrian Royal Inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian Letters,’ in F.M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in literary, ideological, and historical analysis. Papers of a Symposium held in Cetona (Siena), June 26–28, 1980*. OAC 17. Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente: 117–42.
1983a *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part II: Commentary and Appendices*. AOAT 5/2. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag.
1983b ‘Assyrian Library Records,’ *JNES* 42/1: 1–29.

- 1986 ‘The Royal Archives of Niniveh,’ in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*. PIHANS 57. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 223–36.
- 1987 *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*. SAA 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- 1988a ‘The Neo-Assyrian word for “queen”,’ *SAAB* 2/2: 73–6.
- 1988b ‘The Reading of the Neo-Assyrian Logogram ^LUSIMUG.KUG.GI “Goldsmith”,’ *SAAB* 2/2: 77–80.
- 1993 *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. SAA 10. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- 1995 ‘The Assyrian Cabinet,’ in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*. AOAT 240. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag: 379–401.
- 1997a *Assyrian Prophecies*. SAA 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- 1997b ‘The Man Without a Scribe and the Question of Literacy in the Assyrian Empire,’ in B. Pongratz-Leisten, H. Kühne and P. Xella (eds), *Ana šadî Labnāni lū allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig*. AOAT 247. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag: 315–24.
- 2002 ‘A Letter to Sennacherib Referring to the Conquest of Bit-Ha’iri and Other Events of the Year 693,’ in O. Loretz, K.A. Metzler and H. Schaudig (eds), *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. AOAT 281. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 559–80.
- 2004 ‘The Leftovers of God and King: on the Distribution of Meat at the Assyrian and Achaemenid Imperial Courts,’ in C. Grottanelli and L. Milano (eds), *Food and Identity in the Ancient World*. HANE/S 9: Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria: 281–312.
- 2007a *Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- 2007b ‘The Neo-Assyrian Ruling Class,’ in T.R. Kämmerer (ed.), *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient / Studies on Ritual and Society in the Ancient Near East. Tartuer Symposien 1998–2004*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter: 255–74.
- 2008 ‘Cuneiform Texts from Ziyaret Tepe (Tuşhan), 2002–2003,’ *SAAB* 17: 1–113 and Pls. I–XXIII.
- 2010 ‘Neo-Assyrian Concepts of Kingship and their Heritage in Mediterranean Antiquity,’ in G.B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity. Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop Held in Padova, November 28th - December 1st, 2007*. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria: 35–44.
- 2017 *Assyrian Royal Rituals and Cultic Texts*. SAA 20: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- 2018 *The Correspondence of Assurbanipal, Part I. Letters from Assyria, Central Babylonia, and Vassal States*. SAA 21. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

- PARPOLA, S. and PORTER, M.
 2001 *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian period*. Helsinki: The Casco Bay Assyriological Institute/The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- PARPOLA, S. and WATANABE, K.
 1988 *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- PAYTON, R.
 1991 'The Ulu Burun Writing-Board Set,' *AnSt* 41: 99–106.
- PEDERSÉN, O.
 1985 *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur. A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations. Part I*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 6. Uppsala.
 1986 *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur. A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations. Part II*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 8. Uppsala.
 1987 'Private Archives in Assur compared with some other sites,' *SAAB* 1/1: 43–52.
 1998 *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* Bethesda: CDL Press.
 2003 Review of Donbaz and Parpola 2001, *OLZ* 98/3: 354–61.
- PEDERSÉN, O. and TROY, L.
 1993 'Egyptians in Nineveh,' *N.A.B.U.* 1993/48.
- PIRNGRUBER, R.
 2006 *Aspekte der Rolle von Eunuchen in den Palastverwaltungen des Vorderen Orients*. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Vienna.
 2011 'Eunuchen am Königshof. Ktesias und die altorientalische Evidenz,' in J. Wiesehöfer, R. Rollinger and G.B. Lanfranchi (eds), *Ktesias' Welt / Ktesias' World*. *Classica et Orientalia* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 279–312.
- PONCHIA, S.
 2009 'On the Witnessing Procedure in Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents,' in N. Bellotto and S. Ponchia (eds), *Witnessing in the Ancient Near East / I testimoni nella documentazione del vicino oriente antico. Proceedings of the Round Table Held at the University of Verona, February 15, 2008*. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria: 131–73.
- PORTER, B.N.
 2000 "'For the Astonishment of All Enemies": Assyrian Propaganda and Its Audiences in the Reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Esarhaddon,' *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 35: 7–18.
- POSTGATE, J.N.
 1973 *The Governor's Palace Archive*. CTN 2. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
 1974a *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 3. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
 1974b 'The *bit akiti* in Assyrian Nabû Temples,' *Sumer* 30/1–2: 51–74.
 1974c 'Royal Exercise of Justice under the Assyrian Empire,' in P. Garelli (ed.), *Le palais et la royauté (Archéologie et Civilisation)*. *XIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris: 29 juin – 2 juillet 1971*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner S.A.: 417–26.

- 1976 *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- 1979 'The Economic Structure of the Assyrian Empire,' in M.T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires*. Mesopotamia 7. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag: 193–221.
- 1980 'The Place of the *šaknu* in Assyrian Government,' *AnSt* 30: 67–76.
- 1983 Review of Menzel 1981 I–II, *JSS* 28/1: 155–9.
- 1984 Review of Malbran-Labat 1982, *BiOr* 41/3–4: 420–6.
- 1985 'The "Oil-Plant" in Assyria,' *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 2: 145–51.
- 1987a 'Employer, Employee and Employment in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,' in M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*. American Oriental Series 68. New Haven: American Oriental Society: 257–70.
- 1987b 'Some Vegetables in the Assyrian Sources,' *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 3: 93–100.
- 1989 'The Ownership and Exploitation of Land in Assyria in the 1st Millennium B.C.,' in M. Lebeau and Ph. Talon (eds), *Reflets des deux fleuves: volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet*. Leuven: Peeters: 141–52.
- 1990 'The Assyrian Porsche?,' *SAAB* 4/1: 35–8.
- 1994 'Rings, torcs and bracelets,' in P. Calmeyer, K. Hecker, L. Jakob-Rost and C.B.F. Walker (eds), *Beiträge zur Altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde: Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 235–45.
- 1995a 'Assyria: the Home Provinces,' in M. Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*. Quaderni e Geografica Storica 5. Rome: Università di Roma "La Sapienza". Dipartimento di Scienze storiche, archeologiche e antropologiche dell'Antichità: 1–17.
- 1995b 'Some Latter-Day Merchants of Aššur,' in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*. AOAT 240. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag: 403–6.
- 2000a 'The Assyrian Army at Zamua,' *Iraq* 62: 89–108.
- 2000b 'Neo-Assyrian Private Archive Texts from the Seventh Century B.C. Primarily from Nimrud (Text Nos. 1–4): The Archive of Šamaš-šarru-ušur,' in I. Spar and E. von Dassow (eds), *Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C.* CTMMA 3. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 3–13.
- 2001a 'Assyrian Uniforms,' in W.H. van Soldt (ed.), *Veenhof Anniversary Volume. Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Leiden: Nederlands instituut voor het nabije oosten: 373–88.
- 2001b 'System and style in three Near Eastern bureaucracies,' in S. Voutsaki and J.T. Killen (eds), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States. Proceedings of a Conference held on 1–3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society: 181–94.
- 2003–5 'Palast. A. Mittel- und Neuassyrisch,' *RIA* 10: 212–26.
- 2007 'The invisible hierarchy: Assyrian military and civilian administration in the 8th and 7th centuries BC,' in N. Postgate (ed.), *The Land of Assur & the Yoke of Assur. Studies on Assyria 1971–2005*. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 331–60.

- 2010 'The debris of government: reconstructing the Middle Assyrian state apparatus from tablets and potsherds,' *Iraq* 72: 19–37.
- 2011 'Making Tablets or taking Tablets? *ṭuppa/u šabātu* in Assyria,' *Iraq* 73: 149–60.
- POSTGATE, J.N. and ISMAIL, B.K.
n.d. *Texts from Niniveh*. TIM 11. Baghdad.
- POSTGATE, J.N. and MATTILA, R.
2004 'Il-Yada' and Sargon's Southeast Frontier,' in G. Frame (ed.), *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea. Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten: 235–54.
- POSTGATE, J.N. and READE, J.E.
1976–80 'Kalḫu,' *RIA* 5: 303–23.
- POWELL, M.A.
1987–90 'Masse und Gewichte,' *RIA* 7: 457–517.
1994 'Metron Ariston: Measure as a Tool for Studying Beer in Ancient Mesopotamia,' in L. Milano (ed.), *Drinking in Ancient Societies. History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East. Papers of a Symposium held in Rome, May 17–19 1990*. Padua: Sargon srl: 91–119.
- RADNER, K.
1995 'The Relation Between Format and Content of Neo-Assyrian Texts,' in R. Mattila (ed.), *Nineveh 612 BC: The Glory and Fall of the Assyrian Empire*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press: 63–77.
1997a *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*. SAAS 6. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
1997b 'Erntearbeiter und Wein. Neuassyrische Urkunden und Briefe im Louvre,' *SAAB* 11: 3–29.
1997c 'Vier neuassyrische Privatrechtsurkunden aus dem Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin,' *AoF* 24/2: 115–34.
1997–8 'Review of Jas 1996,' *Afo* 44/45: 379–87.
1998 (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume I, Part I: A*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
1999a *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarchiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur*. StAT 1. Saarbrücken: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag.
1999b (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume I, Part II: B-G*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
1999c 'Traders in the Neo-Assyrian Period,' in J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia*. MOS Studies 1. PIHANS 84. Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 101–26.
2000a 'How did the Neo-Assyrian King Perceive his Land and its Resources,' in R.M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*. MOS Studies 3. PIHANS 87. Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 233–46.
2000b 'Die neuassyrischen Texte der Münchner Grabung in Assur 1990,' *MDOG* 132: 101–4.
2002 *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dur-Katlimmu. Mit Beiträgen von Wolfgang Röllig zu den aramäischen Beischriften*. BATSH 6, Texte 2. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
2003a 'An Assyrian View on the Medes,' in G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger (eds), *Continuity of Empire(?)*. *Assyria, Media, Persia*.

- History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs 5. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria: 37–64.
- 2003b ‘Mesopotamia: Neo-Assyrian Period,’ in R. Westbrook (ed.), *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, Volume 2*. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 883–910.
- 2003c ‘The Trials of Esarhaddon: the Conspiracy of 670 BC,’ *Isimu* 6: 165–83.
- 2003–4 ‘Salmanassar V. in den Nimrud Letters,’ *AfO* 50: 95–101.
- 2004 ‘Assyrische Handelspolitik: Die Symbiose mit unabhängigen Handelszentren und ihre Kontrolle durch Assyrien,’ in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Innsbruck, Austria, October 3rd–8th 2002*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag: 152–69.
- 2005a *Die Macht des Namens: altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung*. SANTAG: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2005b ‘The reciprocal relationship between judge and society in the Neo-Assyrian period,’ *Maarav* 12/1–2: 41–68.
- 2006a ‘Provinz. C. Assyrien,’ *RIA* 11/1–2: 42–68.
- 2006b ‘How to Reach the Upper Tigris: The Route through the Tūr ‘Abdīn,’ *SAAB* 15: 273–305.
- 2007a ‘Abgaben an den König von Assyrien aus dem In- und Ausland,’ in H. Klinkott, S. Kubisch and R. Müller-Wollermann (eds), *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute: Antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*. CHANE 29. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 213–30.
- 2007b ‘Hired Labour in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,’ *SAAB* 16: 185–226.
- 2008 ‘The delegation of power: Neo-Assyrian bureau seals,’ in P. Briant, W.F.M. Henkelman and M.W. Stolper (eds), *L’archive des fortifications de Persépolis. État des questions et perspectives de recherches*. Persika 12. Paris: Éditions de Boccard: 481–515.
- 2009 ‘The Assyrian King and his Scholars: the Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools,’ in M. Luukko, S. Svärd and R. Mattila (eds), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. Studia Orientalia 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society: 221–38.
- 2010a ‘Assyrian and Non-Assyrian Kingship in the First Millennium BC,’ in G.B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger (eds), *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity. Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop Held in Padova, November 28th - December 1st, 2007*. Padua: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria: 25–34.
- 2010b ‘Gatekeepers and Lock Masters: the Control of Access in the Neo-Assyrian Palace,’ in H.D. Baker, E. Robson and G. Zólyomi (eds), *Your Praise is Sweet. A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from Students, Colleagues and Friends*. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq: 269–80.
- 2011 ‘Royal Decision-Making: Kings, Magnates, and Scholars,’ in K. Radner and E. Robson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 358–79.
- 2012 ‘After Eltekeh: Royal Hostages from Egypt at the Assyrian Court,’ in H. Baker, K. Kaniuth and A. Otto (eds), *Stories of long ago. Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*. AOAT 397. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag: 471–9.

- 2016 'V. Die beiden neuassyrischen Privatarhive,' in P.A. Miglus, K. Radner and F.M.C. Stepniowski (eds), *Ausgrabungen in Assur. Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt*, Teil 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 79–133.
- READE, J.E.
1972 'The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army: Evidence from the Sculptures,' *Iraq* 34/2: 87–112.
- 1986 'Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives,' in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*. PIHANS 57. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 213–22.
- 1998 'Assyrian eponyms, kings and pretenders, 648–605 BC,' *OrNS* 67: 255–65.
- 1998–2001 'Ninive (Nineveh),' *RIA* 9: 388–433.
- RENGER, J.
1980–3 'Königsinschriften. B. Akkadisch,' *RIA* 6: 65–77.
- REYNOLDS, F.
2003 *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. SAA 18. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- ROAF, M. and ZGOLL, A.
2001 'Assyrian Astroglyphs: Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone and the Prisms of Esarhaddon,' *ZA* 91/2: 264–95.
- ROBSON, E.
2011 'Empirical scholarship in the Neo-Assyrian Court,' in G.J. Selz and K. Wagensonner (eds), *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies / Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen*. Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6. Berlin/Vienna: LIT: 603–29.
- RÖLLIG, W.
1993 'Die Aramäischen Beischriften auf den Texten 1 und 3,' *SAAB* 7/2: 125–8.
- 1997 'Aramaia Haburensia II. Zwei datierte aramäische Urkunden aus Tall Šeḥ Ḥamad,' *AoF* 24/2: 366–74.
- 2000 'Aramäer und Assyrer. Die Schriftzeugnisse bis zum Ende des Assyrerreiches,' in G. Bunnens (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 7. Louvain/Paris/Sterling: Peeters: 177–86.
- ROTH, M.T.
1995 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World Series 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- RUSSELL, J.M.
1999 *The Writing on the Wall*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 9. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 2008 'Thoughts on Room Function in the North-West Palace,' in J.E. Curtis, H. McCall, D. Collon and L. al-Gailani Werr (eds), *New Light on Nimrud. Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11th–13th March 2002*. London: The British Institute for the Study of Iraq in association with The British Museum: 181–93.

- SAGGS, H.W.F.
2001 *The Nimrud Letters, 1952*. CTN 5. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- SALLABERGER, W.
1999 "Wenn Du mein Bruder bist, ...": *Interaktion und Textgestaltung in altbabylonischen Alltagsbriefen*. CM 16. Groningen: Styx.
- SALONEN, A.
1965 *Die Hausgeräte der Alten Mesopotamier nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Teil 1. Helsinki.
- SAN NICOLÒ, M.
1948 'Haben die Babylonier Wachstafeln als Schriftträger gekannt?,' *OrNS* 17: 59–70.
- SASSMANNSHAUSEN, L.
2001 *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*. BaF 21. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- SCHEIL, V.
1927 'Quelques contrats Ninivites,' *RA* 24/1: 111–21.
- SCHLOEN, J.D.
1995 *The Patrimonial Household in the Kingdom of Ugarit. A Weberian Analysis of Ancient Near Eastern Society*. Doctoral thesis. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- SCHMIDT-COLINET, C.
2002 'Sänger im Alten Orient und in Griechenland: Musiker am neuassyrischen Hof,' in E. Hickmann, A. D. Kilmer and R. Eichmann (eds), *The Archaeology of Sound: Origin and Organisation. Papers from the 2nd Symposium of the International Study Group on Music Archaeology at Monastery Michaelstein, 17–23 September 2000*. Studien zur Musikarchäologie 3. Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf: 599–615.
- SCHRÖDER, O.
1920 *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*. WVDOG 35. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- SELZ, G.J.
2011 'Staat. A. In Mesopotamien,' *RIA* 13/1–2: 23–32.
- SIDDALL, L.R.
2007 'A Re-Examination of the Title *ša reši* in the Neo-Assyrian Period,' in J. Azize and N. Weeks (eds), *Gilgameš and the World of Assyria. Proceedings of the Conference held at Mandelbaum House, The University of Sydney, 21–23 July 2004*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 21. Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters: 225–40.
- STAMM, J.J.
1939 'Die akkadische Namengebung,' *MVAeG* 44. Leipzig.
- STARR, I.
1990 *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. SAA 4. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- STOL, M.
1980–3 'Leder(industrie),' *RIA* 6: 527–43.
2010 'Sesam,' *RIA* 12/5–6: 400–4.

- STOLPER, M.W.
 2007 'Kasr Texts: Excavated - But not in Berlin,' in M.T. Roth, W. Farber, M.W. Stolper and P. von Bechtolsheim (eds), *Studies presented to Robert D. Biggs. June 4, 2004*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: 243–83.
- STRECK, M.P.
 2002 'Der Wiederaufbau Babylons unter Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal in Briefen aus Nineveh,' *AoF* 29/2: 205–33.
- STROOTMAN, R.
 2011 'Hellenistic Court Society: The Seleukid Imperial Court under Antiochos the Great, 223–187 BCE,' in J. Duindam, T. Artan and İ. Metin Kunt (eds), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective. Rulers and Elites. Comparative Studies in Governance 1*. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 63–89.
- SVÄRD, S.
 2010 "'Maid of the King" (GÉME ša šarri) in the Neo-Assyrian Texts,' in Ş. Dönmez (ed.), *Veysel Donbaz'a Sunulan Yazılar DUB.SAR.É.DUB. B.A.A. Studies presented in honour of Veysel Donbaz*. Istanbul: Ege Publications: 251–60.
 2015 *Women and Power in Neo-Assyrian Palaces*. SAAS 23. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- SVÄRD, S. and LUUKKO, M.
 2009 'Who were the "Ladies of the House" in the Assyrian Empire?,' in M. Luukko, S. Svärd and R. Mattila (eds), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. *Studia Orientalia* 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society: 279–94.
- SYMINGTON, D.
 1991 'Late Bronze Age Writing-Boards and their Uses: Textual Evidence from Anatolia and Syria,' *AnSt* 41: 111–23.
- TADMOR, H.
 1982 'The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact,' in H. Nissen and J. Renger (eds), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. XXV. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Berlin, 3. bis 7. Juli 1978. Teil 2*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag: 449–70.
 1994 *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria. Critical Edition, with Introductions, Translations and Commentary*. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
 1997 'Propaganda, Literature, Historiography: Cracking the Code of the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,' in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Assyria 1995. Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project: 325–38.
 2002 'The role of the chief eunuch and the place of eunuchs in the Assyrian empire,' in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001. Part 2*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project: 603–11.
- TADMOR, H. and TADMOR, M.
 1995 'The Seal of Bel-Asharedu – A Case of "Migration",' in K. Van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński*. OLA 65. Leuven: Peeters/Department of Oriental Studies: 345–55.

- TADMOR, H. and YAMADA, S.
 2011 *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722), Kings of Assyria*. RINAP 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- TEPPO, S.
 2005 *Women and their Agency in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Helsinki.
 2007 'The Role and the Duties of the Neo-Assyrian *šakintu* in the Light of Archival Evidence,' *SAAB* 16: 257–72.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F.
 1912 *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Libraire Paul Geuthner.
- TURNER, G.
 1970 'Tell Nebi Yūnus: the *ekal māšarti* of Nineveh,' *Iraq* 32/1: 68–85 and Pl. XV.
- UNGNAD, A.
 1907 Nos. 33-115 in L. Messerschmidt and A. Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Heft 1. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
 1940 'Die Keilschrifttexte vom Tell Halaf: 2. Spätassyrische und neubabylonische Privaturkunden vom Tell Halaf,' in J. Friedrich, G.R. Meyer, A. Ungnad and E.F. Weidner (eds.), *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf: Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt*. AfO Bh. 6. Berlin: Ernst F. Weidner: 47–68.
- VAN BUYLAERE, G.
 2010 'The role of the *ḫazannu* in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,' in L. Kogan, N. Koslova, S. Loesov and S. Tishchenko (eds), *City Administration in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 53^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 2*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 229–46.
- VAN DRIEL, G.
 1969 *The Cult of Aššur*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
 1981 'Wine Lists and Beyond?,' *BiOr* 38/3–4: 259–72.
- VAN ESS, H.
 2007 'The imperial court in Han China,' in A.J.S. Spawforth (ed.), *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 233–66.
- VEENHOF, K.R.
 1986 'Cuneiform Archives: An introduction,' in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*. PIHANS 57. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 1–36.
- VON SODEN, W.
 1936 'Die Unterweltvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen. Nebst einigen Beobachtungen zur Vorgeschichte des Aḫīqar-Romans,' *ZA* 43/1: 1–31.
 1994 Review of Kwasman and Parpola 1991 and Fales and Postgate 1992, *WO* 25: 136–8.
- WAERZEGGERS, C.
 2006 'Neo-Babylonian Laundry,' *RA* 100: 83–96.
 2008 'On the Initiation of Babylonian Priests,' *ZABR* 14: 1–38.
- WAETZOLDT, H.
 1972 *Untersuchungen zur Neusumerischen Textilindustrie*. Studi Economici e Tecnologici 1. Rome.

WATANABE, K.

- 1985 'Die Briefe der neuassyrischen Könige,' *Acta Sumerologica* 7: 139–56.
 1987 *Die adê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*. BaM Bh. 3. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
 1989 Review of Dalley and Postgate 1984, *ZA* 79/2: 272–8.
 1993 'Neuassyrische Siegellegenden,' *Oriens (Report of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan)* 29: 109–38.
 1996 'Seals of Neo-Assyrian Officials,' in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East – The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 22–24, 1996*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter: 313–66.

WATERS, M.W.

- 2000 *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*. SAAS 12. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

WEBER, M.

- ⁵1972 *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*. Studienausgabe, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.

WEIDNER, E.F.

- 1939–41 'Assurbânipal in Assur,' *AfO* 13: 204–18.
 1940 "Die Keilschrifttexte vom Tell Halaf: 1. Das Archiv des Mannu-ki-Aššur," in J. Friedrich, G.R. Meyer, A. Ungnad and E.F. Weidner (eds), *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf: Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt*. AfO Bh. 6. Berlin: Ernst F. Weidner: 8–46.
 1954–56 'Hochverrat gegen Nebukadnezar II. Ein Grosswürdenträger vor dem Königsgericht,' *AfO* 17: 1–9

WEIERSHÄUSER, F.

- 2008 *Die königlichen Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur*. Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 1. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

WESTBROOK, R.

- 2005 'Patronage in the Ancient Near East,' *JESHO* 48/2: 210–33.

WESZELI, M.

- 2003–5 'Pferd A.I. In Mesopotamien,' *RIA* 10: 469–81.

WICKE, D. and GREENFIELD, T.

- 2013 'The "Bronze Palace" at Ziyaret Tepe. Preliminary Remarks on the Architecture and Faunal Analysis,' in D. Kertai and P.M. Miglus (eds), *New Research on Late Assyrian Palaces. Conference at Heidelberg January 22nd, 2011*. HSAO 15. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag: 63–82 and Pls. XXXI–XXXII.

WIGGERMANN, F.A.M.

- 1992 *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The ritual texts*. CM 1. Groningen: Styx.

WINTER, I.J.

- 1993 "'Seat of Kingship" / "A Wonder to Behold": The Palace as Construct in the Ancient Near East,' *Ars Orientalis* 23, Pre-modern Islamic Palaces: 27–55.

WINTERLING, A.

- 1997 "'Hof": Versuch einer idealtypischen Bestimmung anhand der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte,' in A. Winterling (ed.),

Zwischen "Haus" und "Staat": Antike Höfe im Vergleich. Historische Zeitschrift Beihefte (Neue Folge) 23. München: Oldenbourg: 11–25.

- WISEMAN, D.J.
 1950 'The Nimrud Tablets, 1949,' *Iraq* 12/2: 184–200.
 1952 'The Nimrud Tablets, 1951,' *Iraq* 14/1: 61–71.
 1953 'The Nimrud Tablets, 1953,' *Iraq* 15/2: 135–60.
- WISEMAN, D.J. and BLACK, J.A.
 1996 *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû.* CTN 4. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- WISEMAN, D.J. and KINNIER WILSON, J.V.
 1951 'The Nimrud Tablets, 1950,' *Iraq* 13/2: 102–22 and Pls. XVI–XVII.
- YAMADA, S.
 2000 *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859–824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West.* CHANE 3. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill.
- ZADOK, R.
 1991 'Geographical and topographical notes,' *N.A.B.U.* 1991/70.
- ZAMAZALOVÁ, S.
 2011 'The Education of Neo-Assyrian Princes,' in K. Radner and E. Robson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 313–30.
- ZAWADZKI, S.
 1995 'Hostages in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,' in K. Van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński.* OLA 65. Leuven: Peeters/Department of Oriental Studies: 449–58.
- ZIEGLER, N.
 1999 *Le Harem de Zimrî-Lîm.* Florilegium marianum 4. Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 5. Paris: Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien.
 2011 'Music, the Work of Professionals,' in K. Radner and E. Robson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 288–312.

Online sources:

- <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/corpus/> viewed 14/05/2019
- <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/archives/sargonsninevehletters/> written by K. Radner and M. Luukko, viewed 14/05/2019
- <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/archives/thenimrudletters/> written by M. Luukko, viewed 14/05/2019
- <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/diplomats/royalmarriage/> written by K. Radner, viewed 14/05/2019
- https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=792349&partId=1 viewed 14/05/2019
- https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=805214&partId=1&searchText=124539&page=1 viewed 14/05/2019
- <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P314342.jpg> viewed 14/05/2019
- <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P337168.jpg> viewed 14/05/2019
- <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P393854.jpg> viewed 14/05/2019

INDICES

DEITIES

- Adad, 80, 152, 227, 424, 466, 537
 Aia, 189
 Aššur, 9, 20, 23–24, 43, 113, 153, 161, 163–164, 167, 177, 180, 183–184, 227, 230, 236, 238, 241, 270, 288, 300–301, 325, 331–332, 344, 361–367, 401, 406, 424–425, 427, 432, 435, 437, 442–443, 451, 459, 462, 483, 485, 504, 515, 518, 521, 537, 542, 555, 572
 Ba'al-Rakkab, 242
 Babu, 424
 Bel, 100, 115, 436, 447
 Belet-Babili, 171
 Bel-labria, 113
 Bibbu, 147
 Enlil, 43, 113
 Haya, 113
 Ištar, 100, 152, 154, 161, 189, 256, 310, 318, 343–344, 374, 376, 400, 412
 Ištar of Arbail, 138, 164, 343, 346, 365, 376, 389–391, 458
 Ištar of Nineveh, 400
 Kaka, 113
 Kusu, 113
 Madanu, 110, 113
 Marduk, 41, 100, 236, 436
 Mullissu, 20, 254, 268, 375, 391
 Nabû, 52, 91, 95, 108, 137, 161, 167, 179, 183, 185, 192, 202, 227, 230, 279, 343–344, 372, 401, 427, 442, 447, 451, 456, 459, 464, 466
 Nabû of Kalhu, 52, 175
 Nedu, 189
 Nergal, 49, 222, 544
 Nikkal, 223, 436
 Ninkasi, 375
 Ninurta, 43, 113, 152, 254, 325, 389, 391
 Ninurta of Kalhu, 52
 Nusku, 113, 138, 153, 161, 171
 Sin, 227, 247, 365, 436
 Šamaš, 10, 34, 43, 90, 121, 227, 239, 244, 267, 540–541, 555
 Šarrat-nip̄a, 148–149, 161, 165–166, 376
 Tammuz, 453, 463, 477
 Tašmetu, 279, 343
ugallu, 189
 Zarpanitu, 100

PALACES, PALACE AREAS AND PALACE INSTITUTIONS

- Alternative palace → *tēnē ekalli*
bābānu, 115, 129, 496
bēt āpie → House of the Baker
bēt ḫilāni, 496
bēt isāti, 507
bēt karkadinni → House of the Confectioner
bēt kāširi → House of the Tailor
bēt kūtalli → Rear House
bēt mār šarri, 7, 566
bēt mār šarri ša kutalli, 489
bēt nuḫatimmi → House of the Cook
bēt qātē, 75–76, 107–114, 174, 251, 345–346, 371, 408, 497, 529
bēt rēdūti → Succession House
bēt sēgalli → House of the Queen
bēt šāqie → House of the Cupbearer
bēt šarri, 7, 306, 496
bēt ummi šarri, 7
bētānu, 115–119, 125, 130, 189–191, 233, 463, 496, 499
bētu dannu, 114–116, 127, 130, 496
bētu šaniu → Second House
 Central City, 64, 70, 129, 259–260, 489, 492, 495, 500
qabsi āli, 492
qabsi āli ša Ninua, 70
 Central Palace, 488
 Central Palace at Kalhu, 488
 Courtyard → *kisallu*

- Crown Prince's Palace → Prince's Palace
ekal kutalli → Rear Palace
ekallu eššu → New Palace
ekallu labīru → Old Palace
ekal māšarti → Review Palace
 Ešgalšiddudua → Review Palace
 Fort Shalmaneser → Review Palace
 Governor's Palace, 21, 30–32, 190, 229, 437
 House of the Baker, 127, 159, 521
bēt āpie, 127, 159
 House of the Confectioner, 127, 150–152, 159, 521
bēt karkadinni, 127, 136–137, 139, 140, 150, 155, 157, 522
 House of the Cook, 127, 130, 136–137, 150–151, 322–323, 521
bēt nuḥatimmi, 127, 136–137, 139–140, 146, 150–151, 522
 House of the Crown Prince → *bēt mār šarri*
 House of the Cupbearer, 127, 129, 169–170, 173, 176, 521, 524
bēt šāqie, 127, 169
 House of the King → *bēt šarri*
 House of the Queen, 83, 277, 490
bēt sēgalli, 7, 56, 491
 House of the Tailor, 127, 129, 169, 176–177, 182, 521, 524, 526, 556
bēt kāširi, 64, 127, 176, 181
 House of the Queen Mother → *bēt ummi šarri*
 House of the Women → *bēt isāti*
 Inner area → *bētānu*
kisallu
kisallu bābānū, 115, 490
 New House, 99, 102, 105, 129, 169, 176, 204–205, 331, 333, 490, 494–495, 519
 New House of the Central City, 490
 New Palace, 34, 49, 64, 70, 77, 129, 176, 186, 192, 269, 270–271, 273–274, 276–278, 357–358, 391–494, 503, 519, 546
ekallu eššu, 70, 492
 North Palace, 33–34, 125, 463, 488, 491
 North-West Palace, 11, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 59, 72, 81, 103, 106, 117, 128–129, 154, 178, 305, 308, 334, 339, 358, 388, 468, 487–488, 491–493, 496–499, 510, 512, 544
 Old Palace, 29, 30, 70, 303–306, 492–494, 504
ekallu labīru, 492
 Outer area → *bābānu, qannu*
 Prince's Palace, 29
 (Crown) Prince's Palace, 355
qannu, 115, 118, 189
qabsi āli → Central City
 Rear House, 131
bēt kūtalli, 488, 489–490, 508
 Rear Palace, 115, 489–490
ekal kutalli, 115, 489
 Review Palace, 30–31, 34, 47, 60–61, 64–68, 70–73, 76, 99–101, 105–106, 109, 112, 129, 136, 139, 146, 150–152, 159, 161, 190, 192, 198, 205–206, 272, 332–333, 338, 348, 365, 395, 406, 428, 435, 437, 480, 482, 484, 489–492, 494–496, 497–500, 502, 511, 514–515, 519, 521–523, 525, 528, 532, 553
ekal māšarti, 31, 61, 70–71, 112, 488–490
ekal māšarti of Nineveh, 489
ekal māšarti of the “New Cohort” of Nineveh, 489
 Ešgalšiddudua, 496
 Fort Shalmaneser, 3, 14, 22, 30–31, 35–36, 106, 265, 329, 365, 434, 489, 497–499, 521
 Review Palace of the New Corps, 64
 Second House, 127–130, 135–136, 139, 161, 169, 176–177, 182, 189, 497, 521–522, 524–525, 566
bētu šaniu, 64, 107, 127–132, 134–136, 385, 497
 South-West Palace, 16, 33–34, 37, 106, 125, 132, 255, 269, 488, 494
 Storehouse → *bēt qātē*
 Succession House, 81, 270, 272–273, 276, 488, 490–491, 495
bēt rēdūti, 95, 276, 488–489, 491, 496, 508
tēnē ekalli, 488
 Throne room → *bēt šarri, bētu dannu*

SANCTUARIES

- Adad Temple, 32, 390
 temple of Adad, 113
Akītu, 167, 361, 380, 458
 Anu-Adad Temple, 28, 493
 Aššur, 137
 Aššur Temple, 9, 26, 29, 53–54, 75, 81,
 110, 116, 138–139, 143, 148, 150, 152–
 154, 158, 161–162, 164, 166–167, 171,
 178, 182–183, 197, 227, 238, 242, 252,
 280, 285, 304, 307, 311, 317–318, 322–
 324, 326–327, 330–333, 339, 346, 357,
 360–365, 367–368, 372–377, 380, 382,
 400, 409–410, 424, 427, 436–437, 443,
 445–446, 483, 485, 504, 517–521, 528,
 537, 547, 550, 555, 571
 temple of Aššur, 156, 311, 428, 436
 Bel-Harran Temple
 temple of Bel-Harran, 221
bēt Dagan → Dagan Temple
 Bit-Kidmuri → Kidmuri Temple
 Dagan Temple
bēt Dagan, 53, 150
 temple of Dagan, 361
 Eanna Temple
 Eanna, 14, 572
 Ebabbar Temple
 Ebabbar, 14, 37, 405, 408
 Esagil Temple, 68
 Esagil, 92, 197, 227, 363, 377, 413, 416,
 419, 541, 561
 Haldi Temple
 temple of Haldi, 241
 Ištar, 137
 Ištar of Arbail Temple, 389
 Ištar Temple in Arbail, 346
 Ištar Temple, 167, 318, 400
 temple of Ištar, 345, 366
 Ištar-Kadmuri Temple, 48
 Kidmuri Temple, 345–346
 Bit-Kidmuri, 183, 553
 Labria Temple
 temple of Labria, 166
 Mamu Temple, 101, 346, 492
 Nabû, 137
 Nabû Temple, 32–33, 37, 72, 82, 109–113,
 116, 162, 167, 171, 173, 175, 180, 187,
 191, 238, 251, 344, 346, 359, 366, 371,
 375, 400, 461, 478, 514
 Nergal Temple, 491
 Ninurta, 137
 Ninurta Temple, 162, 183
 Rēš Temple, 107, 111
 Sin Temple, 32, 121, 238
 temple of Sin, 113, 196
 Šamaš Temple, 238
 temple of Šamaš, 113
 Šarrat-nip̄a Temple
 temple of Šarrat-nip̄a, 165

SELECTED AKKADIAN WORDS

- abarakkutu* → *masennutu*
adê, 89, 297, 536, 541
ṭuppi adê, 82, 297
akiltu, 14–15, 63, 134, 169, 554
akullû, 173, 334–336, 345
barāmu, 403
batqu, 351–352, 437
batqu kašāru, 56, 182, 420, 438, 528
batqu šabātu, 352
bitqu, 351
bitqu kašāru, 352
bēlat-bēti, 67, 207, 250, 399, 509
bēt kīli, 59, 497
bēt mumme, 424, 436, 443, 528, 540
bēt nakkamti → *nakkamtu*
bēl piqitti → *piqittu*
bēt ṭuppāti → *bēt ṭuppi*
bēt ṭuppi, 538
bēt ṭuppāti, 538
bitqu → *batqu*
dullu
dullu epēšu, 57, 555, 556
dullu tadānu, 420
egirtu, 156, 168, 177, 325, 456
egirtu labirtu, 230
egirtu ša tašlimāti, 102
gulēnu, 78, 260
ḥalluptu, 216, 381

- ḥašālu*, 142, 157
ḥinḥinu, 154, 285
ḥundurāiu, 29, 160–161, 271, 273, 277, 371, 382–383, 564
ilkakāte, 16, 136, 139, 141, 146, 150, 155, 157, 173, 297, 328–329, 343, 365, 375, 425, 439, 514, 518, 521
ilku, 53, 56–57, 63, 66–67, 101, 173, 198, 334–335, 347, 365, 371–372, 375, 394–395, 401, 403, 420, 438–439, 448, 462, 468, 471, 473–474, 513, 527, 539, 551–552, 556
iškāru, 35, 61, 353, 366, 368, 371–372, 377, 380, 389, 394–395, 436, 438, 467–468, 473–475, 480, 514–515, 520–521, 523, 525–526, 531, 564, 572, 574
kissutu, 60–61, 339, 348, 479, 480
kitkittû, 126, 141, 155, 162, 279, 288, 479, 550
kubšu, 139, 324, 381, 543
kurummatu, 167, 168, 551
kurummat šarri, 152, 343, 518
laḥmu, 343–344
liḥmu, 343
liḥmu → *laḥmu*
maddattu, 16, 77, 313–314, 319
maqāṭu, 117
mār šarri, 95, 353, 508, 566–567
masennutu, 258, 292–293, 296
abarakkutu, 295
murabbānu, 114
nakkamtu, 346, 529
bēt nakkamti, 108, 174, 313, 338, 344–346, 368, 497, 529
nāmurtu, 16, 77, 426
naptunu, 10, 80, 138, 174, 182, 311–312, 466, 516–517, 524, 553, 562
nikkassu, 80, 313, 354
nikkassū, 64, 80
nikkassu epāšu, 356
nikkassu epēšu, 14, 556
nikkassū epēšu, 103, 474
nikkassu šakānu, 556
piqittu, 244, 540
bēl piqitti, 220, 253, 540, 542
rabūtu, 42, 44, 288, 413, 451, 547, 550
rādiu, 413
riksu, 15, 554
sāgāte → *sāgu*
sāgu, 78, 381, 474, 543
sāgāte, 78, 474
sēgallu, 43, 505–506
sekretu, 178, 187, 238, 279, 286–287, 385, 489, 492, 494–495, 507
šābit danniti → *šabit ṭuppi*
šābit ṭuppi, 13
šābit danniti, 100
šābu
šāb ekalli, 279
šāb šarri, 57, 66, 126, 155, 182, 198, 213
šābī šarri, 280
šābū, 278, 420
šābū perrūte, 413
šābū urāse, 413
šibtu, 64, 312–313, 319, 366, 471
ša ḥūli, 263–264, 375, 504, 521
ša-bēt-kūḏini, 128, 131, 134
ša-bēt-kutalli, 131
ša-bēt-Qiqī, 131, 134
šakintu, 3, 30–31, 35–36, 49, 54, 59, 71–73, 148, 161–162, 184, 187, 190, 192, 238, 243, 257, 259, 272, 290, 325, 327, 339, 384–385, 387–391, 395, 401, 435, 437, 470, 480, 491–495, 499, 506–509, 514–515, 523, 528, 574
šaknu, 81, 160, 209, 438
šamallū
šamallū aḡašgu, 539
šamallū šeḥru, 539
šar pūḥi, 53, 77, 156, 380
šašallu, 407
šēlūtu, 193, 391
ṭuppi adē → *adē*
ummānu, 45, 69, 114, 220, 258, 279, 281, 288, 301, 416, 424–425, 445, 511, 539, 541
ummānī enqūte, 413
ummānī lē'ūti, 302
ummi šarri, 505–506
za'uzzu, 14, 312, 320, 335, 397
zakkū, 57, 145, 267, 400

SELECTED INDIVIDUALS

(FOR AN EXHAUSTIVE COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS SEE THE PROSOPOGRAPHY)

- Aššūr-gimillu-tēre, chief fuller, 396, 399, 548
 Dādī, temple official, 81, 148, 314, 363, 475, 556
 Inūrta-šarru-ušur, courtier, 11, 270–274
 Milki-rāmu, chief tailor, 218–220, 224, 226, 316
 Nergal-āpil-kūmū'a, palace manager, 10, 27, 48–49, 75, 98, 143, 149, 151, 162, 175, 248, 263, 277, 303, 375–376, 391–392, 402, 416, 423, 428, 430, 436, 443, 446, 449, 462, 473, 542, 544, 547, 556
 Sīn-na'di, chief goldsmith, 432, 434, 436, 438, 439
 Šamaš-šarru-ušur, *ša-rēši*, 32, 61, 142, 163, 187, 190, 245–247, 256, 364, 386, 478, 480, 483–485, 515

SELECTED TEXTS

- CTN 3* 87–88, 16, 136–137, 139, 141–143, 146, 150–153, 155, 157–159, 166, 173, 297, 328, 341, 343, 365, 375, 416, 418, 426, 439–440, 504, 507
MSL 12 233, 10, 25–27, 144–145, 148, 181, 194, 197, 225, 265, 269, 296, 319, 370, 373, 376, 380, 392–393, 402, 404–405, 408–410, 425, 428–430, 440–443, 450, 482–483, 486, 564
MSL 12 238, 26, 137, 145, 147, 160, 196, 215, 272, 319, 321, 357, 381, 392–393, 403, 409, 411, 416, 428, 446–447, 477, 508
SAA 1 34, 37, 77–78, 92, 98–100, 104, 119, 121, 205, 295, 345, 350, 524, 553
SAA 4 139, 10, 115, 118, 125–126, 140, 155, 161, 189, 206, 254, 267, 290, 541
SAA 4 142, 90, 94–95, 118, 126, 179, 181, 189, 196, 239, 252–254, 267, 269, 290
SAA 4 144, 126, 189, 216, 267
SAA 7 5, 18, 95, 106, 140, 146, 185–186, 188, 201, 207, 209–210, 250, 255, 297, 299, 333, 346, 360, 367, 559
SAA 7 115, 14, 64, 70, 83, 128–129, 169–170, 173, 176–177, 191, 194, 350, 368, 382, 387–388, 394, 405, 490–491, 494–495, 524–525
SAA 11 36, 16, 76, 78, 88, 95, 172–174, 200, 202–203, 205, 228, 234, 297, 309, 314, 316, 319, 321, 330, 333–336, 349, 353–354, 356, 369, 397–399, 405, 409, 470, 506, 517, 529, 553, 559
SAA 12 83–84, 48, 137, 143, 148, 151, 162, 248, 263, 303, 376, 382, 391–393, 402, 409, 416, 418, 423, 428, 431, 436, 441, 443, 446, 449, 453, 462, 473, 484, 492, 504, 528, 542, 556
SAA 20 33, 10, 80, 121, 130, 171, 174, 182, 311, 556, 562

TOPONYMS AND ETHNONYMS

- ‘Akko → Akkū
 Achaemenid → Persia
 Adian, 64, 259, 387–388, 435, 479–480, 514–515
 Akkū, 270
 ‘Akko, 270
 Tell al-Fuhhar, 270
 Āl *ša-kubšātēšu* → Town of the Capmen
 Āl *ša-pūlēšu* → Town of the Limestone men
 Alalah, 153
 Allabria, 286
 Allī, 460
 Alligu → *Ašbat-lā-kunu*
 Anatolia, 40–41, 82, 289, 291, 300, 329
 Aramean, 38–39, 99, 162, 165, 168–169, 220, 232–234, 285, 287, 289–290, 375, 407–408, 522, 525, 559
 Araši, 82, 219
 Arbail, 40, 49, 62, 75, 101, 136, 150–151, 155, 157, 171, 214, 238, 259, 288, 315, 331, 338, 342–344, 346, 365, 367–368,

- 375, 387–390, 392, 426, 435, 439, 451, 479–480, 502, 514–515, 519, 523, 533, 546
 Arbela, 389
 Arbela → Arbail
 Arpad, 103, 213, 232–234, 355–356, 453
 Arrapha, 56, 62, 69–70, 84–85, 95, 134, 172, 251–252, 322, 388, 425, 533, 546, 553
 Arslan Taš → Hadattu
 Arwad, 293
 Arzâ, 292, 482
 Arzuhina, 75, 134, 202, 314, 322, 388, 467
Ašbat-lā-kunu, 492
 Alligu, 492
 Ashdod, 53, 200, 291
 Ashkelon, 292
 Assur, 4, 9, 11, 13, 21–23, 26, 28–30, 37–38, 40, 42, 48, 54, 56, 65, 69–71, 75, 82, 89, 97, 105–106, 108, 110, 123–124, 128, 144, 146–147, 153–154, 156, 161–164, 169, 172, 177–178, 180, 183–188, 192–193, 231, 237–238, 240, 243–246, 249, 251, 256, 259, 264, 270–271, 273–274, 277–278, 285, 291–293, 303–307, 310–311, 318, 320, 322, 324–325, 327, 341, 354, 357, 361, 363–365, 368, 371–374, 377, 382–383, 399–401, 406–411, 413, 415–425, 427, 431–434, 436–437, 439, 441, 443–446, 450, 457, 461, 467, 469, 473, 475–476, 478, 483–487, 489, 491, 493, 495, 502, 504, 520–521, 527–528, 533, 538–539, 541, 544, 564
 Qal'at Šarqat, 28
Aššūr-nirka-aḫū, 452
 Assyrian, 165, 168–169, 220, 231–232, 234, 285, 289
 Ayyaleth ha-Šahar, 492
 Azalla, 547
 Babiti, 322
 Babylon, 40–42, 68, 82, 86–87, 92, 94, 97, 106, 120–121, 146, 194, 222, 225, 235, 246, 258, 286, 288, 293, 363, 413, 419, 424, 436, 441, 443–444, 509
 Babylonia, 2, 16, 19, 40–42, 44, 59–60, 68, 73–74, 80–82, 84–87, 93–96, 121–124, 144, 146–147, 171, 174, 177, 194, 202, 211, 213, 218–226, 234–235, 243–244, 260, 282, 286, 289, 293, 295, 300, 314–315, 343, 360, 377, 380, 386, 411, 413, 416, 423–434, 443, 447, 466, 468, 470, 474, 476, 485–486, 491, 498, 503, 509, 534, 540–541, 549, 562, 568, 572, 575
 Chaldea, 41, 85, 142, 165, 168–169, 233, 260, 288, 464, 522
 Bahaia, 218, 246, 333, 360, 469
 Balawat, 27, 132, 346, 381, 492
 Balikh, 286
 Barhalza, 128, 363, 384, 453, 467, 473
 Birtu, 338–340, 346, 406, 426
 Bit-Adini, 294, 308
 Bit-Agusi, 40
 Bit-Burnakki, 219
 Bit-Dakkuri, 293
 Bit-Daltâ, 84
 Bit-Deraia, 452
 Bit-Halupê, 243, 286, 291
 Bit-Hurapi, 452
 Bit-Iakin, 291
 Bit-Ibâ, 477
 Bit-Nergal, 286
 Bit-Purutaš, 291
 Bit-Zamani, 204
 Borsippa, 109, 112, 474
 Burmarina, 11, 27, 38, 204, 422
 Tell Šiuh-Fawqani, 27
 Buruqu, 100, 139
 Carchemish, 41, 123, 261, 287, 291
 Chaldea → Babylonia
 Cimmeria, 290
 Commagene, 57, 503
 Dadi-ualla, 178
 Damascus, 162, 243, 295, 423, 549
 Daria, 178, 288
 Der, 41, 412, 414, 547
 Dilmun, 114
 Donkey-Driver Town → Town of the Donkey-Drivers
 Dur-Ililil, 242
 Dur-Katlimmu, 11, 27, 38, 201, 203–204, 213, 229, 231, 238, 245, 285, 338, 432, 483
 Tell Šeh-Ḥamad, 27
 Dur-Papsukkal, 286
 Dur-Šarrukin, 17–18, 21, 27, 31–32, 41, 75, 100–101, 106, 133, 139, 167, 241, 274, 290, 321, 323, 337, 340, 357–358, 363, 366–367, 382, 403, 412, 414, 419, 423–425, 435, 443, 445, 449, 467–468, 487–491, 519, 546–547, 550
 Khorsabad, 32

- Dur-Šarrukku, 547
 Edom, 53
 Egypt, 29, 41–42, 44, 108, 184, 196, 238,
 240, 258, 270–271, 287–290, 292–293,
 295–296, 299–300, 379, 387, 389, 439,
 477, 482, 576
 Ekallate, 56–58, 83, 241, 277, 463, 491–492
 Ekron, 296, 331
 Elam, 41–42, 59–60, 85, 164, 219–221,
 224–225, 235–236, 241, 243–244,
 288–290, 292, 295, 297–298, 427–428,
 471, 476, 551
 Ellipi, 219, 241, 289
 Eridu, 86
 Euphrates, 329, 423
 Gambulu, 120, 235, 244, 287–288, 292–
 293, 341, 479
 Gaza → Hazzat
 Gilzanu, 296
 Goldsmith Town → Town of the Gold-
 smiths
 Greece, 81, 127, 576
 Gurgum, 84–85, 291, 296
 Gurru, 145, 196
 Guzana, 14, 21–22, 27, 38, 95, 128, 133,
 173–174, 181, 223, 245, 248, 260,
 284–285, 290, 355, 366, 373, 382, 389,
 407, 422, 425, 449, 462, 471, 474, 492,
 548
 Tell Halaf, 28, 492
 Habur, 340, 461, 517
 Hadattu, 243, 492
 Arslan Taš, 243, 492
 Halahhu, 100–101, 341
 Hamat, 183
 Hansuri, 403
 Hanuru, 246, 259
 Harbat-niari, 469
 Harihumba, 457
 Harran, 4, 16, 17, 27, 42, 121–122, 144,
 222, 308–309, 318, 360, 362, 365, 380,
 392, 403, 413, 431, 438, 447–449, 451,
 453, 456–459, 462–463, 466, 473, 502,
 513, 519, 524, 533, 539, 547
 Hatarikka, 162, 310, 313
 Hatti, 37, 39, 171, 232–234, 242, 257, 260,
 263–264, 287, 290, 296, 464, 496
 Hittite kingdom, 295
 Hazzat, 291, 293, 487
 Gaza, 53, 291
 Hindanu, 294, 296
 Hittite kingdom → Hatti
 Hubuškia, 296
 Huli, 462
 Hundir, 383
 Huzirina, 27, 144, 180, 194, 197, 265–296,
 319, 370, 373, 392, 402, 405–406, 408,
 410, 425, 428, 434, 440–442, 446, 451,
 482, 486, 547, 564
 Iadburu, 74
 Ikamar, 317
 Imgur-Ililil, 11, 27, 101, 105–106, 120, 186,
 216, 310, 342–343, 415, 431, 492
 Indaru, 219
 Inner City, 53–54, 56–58, 69–70, 82, 112,
 123, 148, 164, 166, 177–178, 185, 236–
 237, 242, 277, 297, 305, 354, 376, 407,
 409, 418, 420, 435–436, 438–439, 492–
 493, 495, 502, 525, 527, 533, 550–551
Libbāli, 70, 112, 419–420, 435–436,
 492–493, 495, 504, 528, 533
 Irmeriti, 48, 75, 547
 Isana, 143, 284, 309, 314–315, 360, 549
 Išpallurê, 143
 Itu'u, 145, 204, 290, 425, 551
 Izalla, 143, 330, 461, 516
 Jerusalem, 41, 235, 286
 Judah, 53, 290, 292, 295
 Kakme, 293
 Kaldu, 234
 Kalhu, 2, 11, 13–14, 19, 21–22, 25, 27, 30,
 32, 34–39, 47–51, 53–55, 60–62, 64,
 66–67, 70–73, 75–77, 79, 82–84, 92,
 94, 97–102, 104, 106, 128–129, 139,
 143, 151, 154–155, 157, 162–163, 172,
 175–176, 179–180, 186, 188, 191–193,
 198, 205, 214, 229–231, 240, 242–243,
 245–249, 254, 258–261, 263, 268, 273,
 277–278, 287–288, 291, 293–294, 296–
 297, 303, 305, 308, 326, 332–334, 338,
 340, 343–344, 346–348, 350, 353–354,
 357–359, 363–365, 367, 372, 375, 377–
 379, 386, 388, 390–391, 395, 400–401,
 406–407, 409–411, 415, 418–419, 422–
 423, 426–428, 431, 436, 438, 441,
 443–446, 449–452, 456, 460–461, 463,
 467–468, 471–473, 476, 478–494, 497–
 498, 500, 503, 510, 512, 514–515, 519,
 523, 525, 528, 532, 535, 538, 544, 547,
 549, 550, 556, 563, 567, 575
 Nimrud, 30, 260, 262
 Kammanu, 291, 293, 487

- Kapar-šarri, 447
 Kaprabi, 452
 Karalla, 240, 243
 Kar-Aššur, 284, 388
 Karbanapa, 473
 Kar-Šalmaneser, 436
Kār-Šalmānu-ašarēd, 492
 Kar-Šamaš, 84–85, 95
 Kar-Šarrukin, 101
 Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, 491
 Kassite, 232–235, 260–261, 287–289, 300, 412, 414
 Katmuhu, 291
 Khorsabad → Dur-Šarrukin
 Kilizi, 62, 64, 168, 184, 259, 288, 297, 387–388, 412, 435, 451, 470, 479–480, 491, 514–515, 528, 538
 Kiš, 168
 Kišesim, 292
 Kissik, 86
 Ku[...], 418
 Kumme, 296
 Kummuhu, 232–234, 289, 291, 293, 297, 300, 418, 487
 Kunulua, 492, 536, 541
 Tell Ta'yinat, 492, 536, 541
 Kurbail, 231, 237–338, 344, 348, 350, 389–390, 442, 471, 525, 537, 551
 Kush, 102, 244–245, 253, 287–288, 292–293, 353, 359, 441
 Kutha, 168, 222, 420
 Kuyunjik → Nineveh
 Labdudu, 66
 Lahiru, 74, 86, 93–94, 331, 333, 388, 469, 506
 Lake Van, 40
 Lalluknu, 293
 Laqê, 286
Libbāli → Inner City
Līta-Aššūr, 492
 Nappigu, 492
 Lubda, 546
 Luriste, 421
 Ma'allanate, 38, 160–161, 163, 178, 205, 252, 324, 327, 386, 461, 483
 Maganuba, 290, 337, 339–340, 449
 Mannea, 40–42, 243, 290, 292, 296–297, 359, 383
 Mari, 160, 226, 229, 235, 283–284, 295, 299, 304, 329, 407, 500, 505
 Marqasa, 84, 205, 355
 Maškala, 54, 70, 450, 533
 Mazamua, 112, 126–127, 132, 138, 141, 155, 162, 174, 182, 243, 280, 289, 351, 388, 445, 457
 Media, 42, 241, 289, 290
 Melid, 232–234, 292, 296
 Memphis, 41–42, 258, 439, 502
 Mera, 450, 452
 Mezê, 246
 Mittanni, 295
 Mušašir, 41, 200, 241, 291, 296, 492
 Muški, 41
 Nairi, 116, 294
 Nampigi, 419
 Namri, 286
 Napisina, 54
 Nappigu --> Līta-Aššūr
 Našibina, 22, 64, 84, 467, 490
 Nebi Yunus --> Nineveh
 Nemed-Ištar, 241, 321
 Ni[...], 268
 Nibu[...], 286, 291
 Nimrud → Kalhu
 Nineveh, 11, 13–14, 16, 18–19, 26–28, 30–38, 40–42, 48, 54, 60, 64, 67, 70–71, 75, 79, 88, 92, 94–95, 97, 102, 105–106, 115, 125–126, 129, 140, 145, 155, 157, 159–161, 163, 167, 169, 171–173, 176, 179, 183, 185–186, 188, 192–193, 198–199, 201–203, 205–206, 218–219, 223–224, 228, 231–232, 236–238, 245, 250, 255, 260, 269, 271–274, 276–278, 281, 285, 287–288, 292–293, 296, 303, 305, 307, 312, 319, 321, 331, 338–340, 342–346, 348, 350–351, 353–355, 359–360, 367, 372, 374, 376, 381, 384, 388, 392–393, 398, 403, 406, 408, 411, 415–416, 418, 422, 427–428, 430–431, 433–434, 437–438, 441, 443–445, 447, 449–451, 454, 457, 461, 463, 465, 470–472, 475, 482–483, 486–491, 493–494, 498, 500, 508, 510, 523, 533, 543, 545, 552–553, 564, 567
 Kuyunjik, 10, 25–26, 280, 488, 493
 Nebi Yunus, 33–34, 489
 Nippur, 81–82, 85, 284
 Niqqu, 286
 Nirdun, 294
 Nirgi, 426

- Nubia, 290
 Nuzi, 56, 199, 213, 269, 342, 357, 418
 Paddira, 286
 Papa, 293
 Patina, 235, 287, 294, 296, 536
 Persia, 2, 81, 127, 215, 226, 242, 298, 502,
 554, 569, 570, 575
 Achaemenid, 502, 575–576
 Philistia → Pilstu
 Pilstu
 Philistia, 128, 134, 290, 551
 Pontus, 414
 Puqudu, 59, 60, 66, 102, 294, 472
 Qal'at Šarqat → Assur
 Qedar, 290
Qibīt-Aššūr, 75, 409, 492
 Rugulitu, 492
 Qipanu, 547
 Quê, 213, 294, 296–297
 Qunbuna, 285
 Radanu, 84
 Rapâ, 483–485
 Rašappa, 62, 138, 241, 249, 253, 314,
 388, 441, 475, 536, 542
 Rašû, 219
 Ru'ua, 243–244, 294, 472
 Rugulitu → *Qibīt-Aššūr*
 Sairi, 479
 Sal[...], 268
 Sam'al, 242
 Same[...], 471, 476
 Sapirrutu, 423
 Sarê, 62
 Sarugi, 308
 Sealand, 83, 85–86, 89, 180, 194, 241, 471,
 562
 Shepherd Town of the Crown Prince →
 Town of the Shepherds of the Crown
 Prince
 Si'immê, 84, 284, 339, 348, 422
 Sidon, 42, 279, 292, 296
 Sippar, 14, 42, 482
 Smith Town → Town of the Smiths
 Suhu, 165, 168, 184, 288, 296, 423
 Sultantepe, 10, 25–26, 27
 Surduranu, 473
 Suru, 243, 286, 291
 Susa, 42, 118, 219
 Šibtu, 425
 Šimirra, 242–243, 310, 313, 546, 550
 Šlubba, 414
 Šupat, 183, 423, 425, 452
 Šabbu, 469
 Šabirešu, 202, 366, 382, 444
 Šabuqu, 290
 Ša-pî-Bel, 287–288
 Šarru-iqbi, 351
 Šibaniba, 14, 27, 62, 142–143, 157, 338,
 344, 348, 395, 406–407, 422, 426, 470,
 490, 513
 Tell Billa, 27
 Šibrapa, 473
 Šiddiasika, 232
 Šiddi-hiriti, 337
 Šinuhtu, 279, 291
 Šubria, 23, 244, 270, 283, 288–289, 297,
 450–451, 462, 471, 550
 Šumurza, 286
 Tabal, 41, 232–234, 279, 291, 293, 296
 Tahal, 84
 Talmusu, 62, 178, 248, 338, 348
 Tamnuna, 241, 362, 412
 Tanakun, 294
 Tarbišu, 208, 489, 490–491, 496, 508
 Tell Aḥmar → Til-Barsip
 Tell al-Fuhhar → Akkû
 Tell al Rimah, 329
 Tell Billa → Šibaniba
 Tell Halaf → Guzana
 Tell Šeh-Ḥamad → Dur-Katlimmu
 Tell Šiuh-Fawqani → Burmarina
 Tell Ta'yinat → Kunulua
 Thebes, 42
 Tigris, 84, 111, 218, 321, 329, 348
 Til-Abni, 294
 Til-Barsip, 28, 38, 141, 156, 172, 204,
 228, 232, 243, 366, 492
 Tell Aḥmar, 28, 492
 Tillê, 284
 Til-ša-turahi, 286
 Town of the Bakers, 166, 167
 Town of Bakers, 161
 Town of the Bow-makers, 551
 Town of the Brewers, 551
 Town of the Capmen, 382
 Āl ša-kubšātēšu, 382
 Town of the Carpenters, 401
 Town of the Donkey-Drivers
 Donkey-Driver Town, 428
 Town of the Fullers, 401

- Town of the Goldsmiths
 Goldsmith Town, 435
- Town of the Limestone men
Āl ša-pūlēšu, 441
 Town of Limestone men, 441
- Town of the *ša-rēšis*, 245
- Town of the Shepherds of the Crown Prince
 Shepherd Town of the Crown Prince,
 469
- Town of the Smiths, 435
 Smith Town, 273
- Town of the Temple-enterers, 167
- Tubliaš, 218, 219
- Turušpa, 220
- Tušhan, 11, 27, 39, 109, 111, 167, 173,
 182, 220, 243, 313, 366, 370, 395, 400–
 401, 406, 424, 427–428, 437, 492
 Ziyaret Tepe, 27, 366, 370, 492
- Tušpa, 40
- Tyre, 42, 234–235, 244, 287, 292, 296, 379
- Ulaia, 42
- Unqi, 243, 536
- Uppumu, 42, 138
- Ur, 146, 223, 377, 557
- Urartu, 23, 40–41, 197, 217, 357
- Uruk, 14, 21, 82, 86, 89, 107, 111, 146,
 193, 223, 252, 315, 444, 465, 472, 572
- Village of Qurdi-Aššūr, 75
- Village of Šil-Bēl, 469
- Village of the Vizier, 552
- Zagros, 40, 41, 234
- Zikirtu, 236
- Ziyaret Tepe → Tušhan

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA

1. E. LIPÍŃSKI, Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I.
2. J. QUAEGBEUR, Le dieu égyptien Šai dans la religion et l'onomastique.
3. P.H.L. EGGERMONT, Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia.
4. W.M. CALLEWAERT, The Sarvāᅅgī of the Dādūpanthī Rajab.
5. E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East I.
6. E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II.
7. M.-C. DE GRAEVE, The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 B.C.).
8. W.M. CALLEWAERT (ed.), Early Hindi Devotional Literature in Current Research.
9. F.L. DAMEN, Crisis and Religious Renewal in the Brahmo Samaj Movement (1860-1884).
10. R.Y. EBIED, A. VAN ROEY, L.R. WICKHAM, Peter of Callinicum, Anti-Tritheist Dossier.
11. A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, Les pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire.
12. S. SCHEERS (ed.), Studia Paulo Naster Oblata I. Numismatica Antiqua.
13. J. QUAEGBEUR (ed.), Studia Paulo Naster Oblata II. Orientalia Antiqua.
14. E. PLATTI, Yaᅅyā ibn ʿAdī, théologien chrétien et philosophe arabe.
15. E. GUBEL, E. LIPÍŃSKI, B. SERVAIS-SOYEZ (eds.), Studia Phoenicia I-II.
16. W. SKALMOWSKI, A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds.), Middle Iranian Studies.
17. M. VAN MOL, Handboek Modern Arabisch.
18. C. LAGA, J.A. MUNITIZ, L. VAN ROMPAY (eds.), After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History.
19. E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations.
20. S. WACHSMANN, Aegeans in the Theban Tombs.
21. K. VAN LERBERGHE, Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Texts from Philadelphia.
22. E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.
23. M. HELTZER, E. LIPÍŃSKI (eds.), Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (1500-1000 B.C.).
24. M. VAN DE MIEROOP, Crafts in the Early Isin Period: a Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šū-Ilīšu.
25. G. POLLET (ed.), India and the Ancient World. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650.
26. E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), Carthago.
27. E. VERREET, Modi Ugaritici. Eine morpho-syntaktische Abhandlung über das Modalsystem im Ugaritischen.
28. R. ZADOK, The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography.
29. W. CALLEWAERT, M. LATH, The Hindi Songs of Nāmdev.
30. A. SHISHA-HALEVY, Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy.
31. N. BAUM, Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne.
32. J.-M. KRUCHTEN, Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI^e-XXIII^e dynasties) et autres textes relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon.
33. H. DEVIJVER, E. LIPÍŃSKI (eds.), Punic Wars.
34. E. VASSILIKA, Ptolemaic Philae.
35. A. GHAITH, La Pensée Religieuse chez Ĝubrān ᅅalil Ĝubrān et Miᅅāʿīl Nuʿayma.
36. N. BEAUX, Le Cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III.
37. G. POLLET, P. EGGERMONT, G. VAN DAMME, Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae. Part II: Archaeological Sites.
38. S.-A. NAGUIB, Le Clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21e dynastie.
39. U. VERHOEVEN, E. GRAEFE (eds.), Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag.
40. A.R. GEORGE, Babylonian Topographical Texts.
41. A. SCHOORS, The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words. A Study of the Language of Qohelet. Part I: Grammatical Features.

42. G. REININK, H.E.J. VAN STIPHOUT (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East*.
43. C. TRAUNECKER, *Coptos. Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb*.
44. E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible*.
45. L. ISEBAERT (ed.), *Studia Etymologica Indoeuropaea Memoriae A.J. Van Windekens dicata*.
46. F. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*.
47. W.J. VAN BEKKUM, *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to MS London, Jews' College no. 145*.
48. W. SKALMOWSKI, A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds.), *Medioiranica*.
49. L. LAUWERS, Igor'-Severjanin, *His Life and Work — The Formal Aspects of His Poetry*.
50. R.L. VOS, *The Apis Embalming Ritual*. P. Vindob. 3873.
51. F. LABRIQUE, *Stylistique et Théologie à Edfou. Le rituel de l'offrande de la campagne: étude de la composition*.
52. F. DE JONG (ed.), *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica*.
53. G. BREYER, *Etruskisches Sprachgut im Lateinischen unter Ausschluß des spezifisch onomastischen Bereiches*.
54. P.H.L. EGGERMONT, *Alexander's Campaign in Southern Punjab*.
55. J. QUAEGBEUR (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*.
56. A. VAN ROEY, P. ALLEN, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*.
57. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II*.
58. F.R. HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*.
59. K. GEUS, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager*.
60. A. SCHOORS, P. VAN DEUN (eds.), *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*.
61. M. KRAUSE, S. GIVERSEN, P. NAGEL (eds.), *Coptology. Past, Present and Future. Studies in Honour of R. Kasser*.
62. C. LEITZ, *Altägyptische Sternuhren*.
63. J.J. CLÈRE, *Les Chauves d'Hathor*.
64. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*.
65. K. VAN LERBERGHE, A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński*.
66. G. POLLET (ed.), *Indian Epic Values. Rámáyána and its impact*.
67. D. DE SMET, *La quiétude de l'Intellect. Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'œuvre de Ḥamíd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (X^e-XI^e s.)*.
68. M.L. FOLMER, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period. A Study in Linguistic Variation*.
69. S. IKRAM, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*.
70. H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*.
71. C. EDER, *Die Ägyptischen Motive in der Glyptik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes zu Anfang des 2. Jts. v. Chr.*
72. J. THIRY, *Le Sahara libyen dans l'Afrique du Nord médiévale*.
73. U. VERMEULEN, D. DE SMET (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras I*.
74. P. ARÈNES, *La déesse sGrol-Ma (Tārā). Recherches sur la nature et le statut d'une divinité du bouddhisme tibétain*.
75. K. CIGGAAR, A. DAVIDS, H. TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations I*.
76. M. BROZE, *Mythe et Roman en Égypte ancienne. Les Aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le papyrus Chester Beatty I*.
77. L. DEPUYDT, *Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt*.
78. P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*.

79. A. HASNAWI, A. ELAMRANI, M. JAMAL, M. AOUAD (eds.), Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque.
80. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*.
81. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara I. Traduction*.
82. C. EYRE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*.
83. U. VERMEULEN, D. DE SMET (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras II*.
- 84-85. W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS, H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years*.
86. U. VERMEULEN, J.M. VAN REETH (eds.), *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society*.
87. U. VERMEULEN, D. DE SMET (eds.), *Philosophy and Arts in the Islamic World*.
88. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara II. Traduction*.
89. G.J. REININK, A.C. KLUGKIST (eds.), *After Bardaisan. Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers*.
90. C.R. KRAHMALKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*.
91. M. TAHTAH, *Entre pragmatisme, réformisme et modernisme. Le rôle politico-religieux des Khattabi dans le Rif (Maroc) jusqu'à 1926*.
92. K. CIGGAAR, H. TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations II*.
93. A.C.J. VERHEIJ, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim. A Quantitative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible*.
94. W.M. CALLEWAERT, D. TAILLIEU, F. LALEMAN, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938)*.
95. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara III. Traduction*.
96. K. VAN LERBERGHE, G. VOET (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm*.
97. A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*.
98. J. PATRICH (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present. Monastic Life, Liturgy, Theology, Literature, Art, Archaeology*.
99. U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*.
100. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*.
101. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara IV. Traduction*.
102. U. VERMEULEN, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III*.
103. H. WILLEMS (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*.
104. K. GEUS, K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica – Libya – Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huß, zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*.
105. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Les fêtes d'Hathor*.
106. R. PREYS, *Les complexes de la demeure du sistre et du trône de Rê. Théologie et décoration dans le temple d'Hathor à Dendera*.
107. A. BLASIUS, B.U. SCHIPPER (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*.
108. S. LEDER (ed.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam*.
109. A. GODDEERIS, *Economy and Society in Northern Babylonia in the Early Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2000-1800 BC)*.
110. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band I*.
111. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band II*.
112. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band III*.
113. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band IV*.
114. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band V*.
115. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VI*.
116. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VII*.
117. M. VAN MOL, *Variation in Modern Standard Arabic in Radio News Broadcasts*.

118. M.F.J. BAASTEN, W.Th VAN PEURSEN (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday.*
119. O.E. KAPER, *The Egyptian God Tutu. A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments.*
120. E. WARDINI, *Lebanese Place-Names (Mount Lebanon and North Lebanon).*
121. J. VAN DER VLIET, *Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Copt.).*
122. A. ŁAJTAR, *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Greek).*
123. H. NIEHR, *Ba'alšamem. Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes.*
124. H. WILLEMS, F. COPPENS, M. DE MEYER, P. DILS, *The Temple of Shanhûr. Volume I: The Sanctuary, The Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule (1-98).*
125. K. CIGGAAR, H.G.B. TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations III.*
126. T. SOLDATJENKOVA, E. WAEGEMANS (eds.), *For East is East. Liber Amicorum Wojciech Skalmowski.*
127. E. LIPŃSKI, *Itineraria Phoenicia.*
128. D. BUDDE, S. SANDRI, U. VERHOEVEN (eds.), *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des Interkulturellen Kontakts.*
129. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VIII.*
130. E.J. VAN DER STEEN, *Tribes and Territories in Transition.*
131. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara V-VI. Traduction. Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor.*
132. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara V-VI. Index phraséologique. Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor.*
133. M. IMMERZEEL, J. VAN DER VLIET, M. KERSTEN, C. VAN ZOEST (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies. Leiden, August 27 - September 2, 2000.*
134. J.J. VAN GINKEL, H.L. MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, T.M. VAN LINT (eds.), *Redefining Christian Identity. Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam.*
135. J. MONTGOMERY (ed.), *'Abbasid Studies. Occasional Papers of the School of 'Abbasid Studies, Cambridge, 6-10 July 2002.*
136. T. BOIY, *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon.*
137. B. JANSSENS, B. ROOSEN, P. VAN DEUN (eds.), *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday.*
138. S. HENDRICKX, R.F. FRIEDMAN, K.M. CIAŁOWICZ, M. CHŁODNICKI (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams.*
139. R. ARNZEN, J. THIELMANN (eds.), *Words, Texts and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea. Studies on the Sources, Contents and Influences of Islamic Civilization and Arabic Philosophy and Science.*
140. U. VERMEULEN, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV.*
141. H.T. DAVIES, *Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī's Kitāb Hazz al-Qūḥuf bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf ("Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded"). Volume I: Arabic text.*
142. P. VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène.*
143. A. SCHOORS, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words. A Study of the Language of Qoheleth. Part II: Vocabulary.*
144. M.E. STONE, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies. Collected Papers: Volume 1.*
145. M.E. STONE, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies. Collected Papers: Volume 2.*

146. M. CACOUIROS, M.-H. CONGOURDEAU (eds.), *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission.*
147. K. CIGGAAR, M. METCALF (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I.*
148. B. MICHALAK-PIKULSKA, A. PIKULSKI (eds.), *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam.*
149. E. CZERNY, I. HEIN, H. HUNGER, D. MELMAN, A. SCHWAB (eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak.*
150. J.-Cl. GOYON, C. CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists. Actes du neuvième congrès international des Égyptologues. Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004.*
151. S. SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered (Harpokrates). Die Genese eines ägyptischen Götterkindes.*
152. J.E. MONTGOMERY (ed.), *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank.*
153. E. LIPiŃSKI, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and Topographical Researches.*
154. M. MINAS-NERPEL, *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit.*
155. H. WILLEMS, *Dayr al-Barshā Volume I. The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (No. 17K74/1), Khnumnakht (No. 17K74/2), and Iha (No. 17K74/3). With an Essay on the History and Nature of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom.*
156. J. BRETSCHNEIDER, J. DRIESSEN, K. VAN LERBERGHE (eds.), *Power and Architecture. Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean.*
157. A. CAMPLANI, G. FILORAMO (eds.), *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late Antique Monasticism.*
158. J. TAVERNIER, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.). Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts.*
159. P. KOUSOULIS, K. MAGLIVERAS (eds.), *Moving Across Borders. Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean.*
160. A. SHISHA-HALEVY, *Topics in Coptic Syntax: Structural Studies in the Bohairic Dialect.*
161. B. LURSON, *Osiris, Ramsès, Thot et le Nil. Les chapelles secondaires des temples de Derr et Ouadi es-Seboua.*
162. G. DEL OLMO LETE (ed.), *Mythologie et Religion des Sémites occidentaux.*
163. N. BOSSON, A. BOUD'HORS (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes. Paris, 28 juin - 3 juillet 2004.*
164. A. BERLEJUNG, P. VAN HECKE (eds.), *The Language of Qohelet in Its Context. Essays in Honour of Prof. A. Schoors on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday.*
165. A.G.C. SAVVIDES, *Byzantino-Normannica. The Norman Capture of Italy and the First Two Invasions in Byzantium.*
166. H.T. DAVIES, *Yūsuf al-Shīrbīnī's Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded (Kitāb Hazz al-Qūhuf bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf). Volume II: English translation, introduction and notes.*
167. S. ARGUILLÈRE, *Profusion de la vaste sphère. Klong-chen rab-'byams (Tibet, 1308-1364). Sa vie, son œuvre, sa doctrine.*
168. D. DE SMET, *Les Épîtres sacrées des Druzes. Rasā'il al-Ḥikma. Volumes 1 et 2.*
169. U. VERMEULEN, K. D'HULSTER (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V.*
170. W.J. VAN BEKKUM, J.W. DRIJVERS, A.C. KLUGKIST (eds.), *Syriac Polemics. Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink.*
171. K. D'HULSTER, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), *Continuity and Change in the Realms of Islam. Studies in Honour of Professor Urbain Vermeulen.*
172. B. MIDANT-REYNES, Y. TRISTANT, J. ROWLAND, S. HENDRICKX (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2.*

173. J.H.F. DIJKSTRA, Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE).
174. I. UYTTERHOEVEN, Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period. Life and Death in a Fayum Village.
175. P. KOUSOULIS (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic.
176. A. KARAHAN, Byzantine Holy Images – Transcendence and Immanence. The Theological Background of the Iconography and Aesthetics of the Chora Church.
177. J. NAWAS (ed.), 'Abbasid Studies II. Occasional Papers of the School of 'Abbasid Studies, Leuven, 28 June - 1 July 2004.
178. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara. Le temple d'Isis. Volume I: Traduction.
179. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara. Le temple d'Isis. Volume II: Analyse à la lumière du temple d'Hathor.
180. M. ZITMAN, The Necropolis of Assiut.
181. E. LIPÍŃSKI, Resheph. A Syro-Canaanite Deity.
182. C. KARLSHAUSEN, L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle en Égypte au Nouvel Empire.
183. U. VERMEULEN, K. D'HULSTER (eds.), Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI.
184. M. IMMERZEEL, Identity Puzzles. Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon.
185. D. MAGEE, J. BOURRIAU, S. QUIRKE (eds.), Sitting Beside Lepsius. Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute.
186. A. STEVENSON, The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of el-Gerzeh.
187. D. BUMAZHNOV, E. GRYPEOU, T.B. SAILORS, A. TOEPEL (eds.), Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient. Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag.
188. J. ELAYI, A.G. ELAYI, The Coinage of the Phoenician City of Tyre in the Persian Period (5th-4th Century BCE).
189. F. HAGEN, J. JOHNSTON, W. MONKHOUSE, K. PIQUETTE, J. TAIT, M. WORTHINGTON (eds.), Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East. Literary and Linguistic Approaches.
190. V. VAN DER STEDE, Les pratiques de stockage au Proche-Orient ancien du Natoufien à la première moitié du troisième millénaire avant notre ère.
191. W. CLAES, H. DE MEULENAERE, S. HENDRICKX (eds.), Elkab and Beyond. Studies in Honour of Luc Limme.
192. M. MARÉE (ed.), The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects.
193. I. JACOBS, Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space. The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD.
194. H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen.
195. I. REGULSKI, A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt.
196. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara XIII. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Façade et colonnes.
197. M. KUHN, Koptische liturgische Melodien. Die Relation zwischen Text und Musik in der koptischen Psalmodia.
198. B. SNELDERS, Identity and Christian-Muslim Interaction. Medieval Art of the Syrian Orthodox from the Mosul Area.
199. K. CIGGAAR, V. VAN AALST (eds.), East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean II.
200. E. LIPÍŃSKI, Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics III.
201. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara XIV. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Parois intérieures.
202. K. DUISTERMAAT, I. REGULSKI (eds.), Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean.
203. F.S. JONES, Pseudoclementina Elchasaiticaque inter Judaeochristiana. Collected Studies.

204. D. ASTON, B. BADER, C. GALLORINI, P. NICHOLSON, S. BUCKINGHAM (eds.), Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday.
205. R.F. FRIEDMAN, P.N. FISKE (eds.), Egypt at its Origins 3.
206. S. DORPMUELLER (ed.), Fictionalizing the Past: Historical Characters in Arabic Popular Epic.
207. G. CONTU (ed.), Centre and Periphery within the Borders of Islam.
208. B. MAHIEU, Between Rome and Jerusalem: Herod the Great and his Sons in their Struggle for Recognition.
209. M.M. BAR-ASHER, A. KOFSKY, Kitāb al-Ma'ārif by Abū Sa'īd Maymūn b. Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī. Critical Edition with an Introduction.
210. M. DE MEYER, Dayr al-Barshā Volume II. First Intermediate Period Restoration of Old Kingdom Tombs.
211. R. EL-SAYED, Afrikanischstämmiger Lehnwortschatz im älteren Ägyptisch.
212. P. VAN DEUN, C. MACÉ (eds.), Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?
213. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara XV. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Plafond et parois extérieures.
214. L. EVANS (ed.), Ancient Memphis, "Enduring is the Perfection".
215. V. KLEMM, N. AL-SHA'AR (eds.), Sources and Approaches across Disciplines in Near Eastern Studies.
216. A.M. BAGG, Die Assyrer und das Westland. Studien zur historischen Geographie und Herrschaftspraxis in der Levante im 1. Jt. v.u. Z.
217. B. BADER, M.F. OWNBY (eds.), Functional Aspects of Egyptian Ceramics in their Archaeological Context.
218. F. HAGEN, An Ancient Egyptian Literary Text in Context: The Instruction of Ptahhotep.
219. I. REGULSKI, K. DUISTERMAAT, P. VERKINDEREN (eds.), Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East. Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period.
220. T. BOIY, J. BRETSCHNEIDER, A. GODDEERIS, H. HAMEEUW, G. JANS, J. TAVERNIER (eds.), The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe.
221. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Analyse de la décoration.
222. N. TACKE, Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches.
223. U. VERMEULEN, K. D'HULSTER, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VII.
224. J. YOYOTTE, Histoire, géographie et religion de l'Égypte ancienne. Opera selecta. Textes édités et indexés par Ivan Guermeur.
225. H. DAVIES, Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī's Kitāb Hazz al-Quḥūf bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf ("Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abu Shādūf Expounded"). Volume III: A Lexicon of 17th-century Egyptian Arabic.
226. A. CILARDO (ed.), Islam and Globalisation. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.
227. S. BROCK, L. VAN ROMPAY, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wādī al-Natrun (Egypt).
228. G. POLLET, G. VAN DAMME, F. DEPUYDT, Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae III: Indian Toponyms in Ancient Greek and Latin Texts.
229. M. DEPAUW, S. COUSSEMENT (eds.), Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World.
230. E. LIPÍŃSKI, Semitic Linguistics in Historical Perspective.
231. M. DEPAUW, Y. BROUX (eds.), Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies.
232. S.H. AUFRÈRE, P.S. ALEXANDER, Z. PLEŠE (eds.), On the Fringe of Commentary. Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures.
233. C. WAERZEGGERS, Marduk-rēmāni. Local Networks and Imperial Politics in Achaemenid Babylonia.
234. M. SOKOLOFF, A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic.
235. M. SOKOLOFF, Texts of Various Contents in Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

236. R.A. FAZZINI, J. VAN DIJK (eds.), *The First Pylon of the Mut Temple, South Karnak: Architecture, Decoration, Inscriptions.*
237. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Peuples de la Mer, Phéniciens, Puniqes. Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire méditerranéenne.*
238. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Harsomtous.*
239. A.S. LA LOGGIA, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt's Early Dynastic Period.*
240. A.H. PRIES (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition. Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten.*
241. P. KOUSOULIS, N. LAZARIDIS (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22-29 May 2008.*
242. P. COLLOMBERT, D. LEFÈVRE, S. POLIS, J. WINAND (eds.), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus.*
243. A. BINGGELI, A. BOUD'HORS, M. CASSIN (eds.), *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia. Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin.*
244. U. VERMEULEN, K. D'HULSTER, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VIII.*
245. B. BADER, C.M. KNOBLAUCH, E.C. KÖHLER (eds.), *Vienna 2 – Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century.*
246. J. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Another Mouthful of Dust. Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin.*
247. P. BUZI, A. CAMPLANI, F. CONTARDI (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times.*
248. M. REINKOWSKI, M. WINET (eds.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Europe and Beyond. Études arabes et islamiques en Europe et au-delà.*
249. E. AMATO, A. CORCELLA, D. LAURITZEN (eds.), *L'École de Gaza: espace littéraire et identité culturelle dans l'Antiquité tardive.*
250. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics IV.*
251. V. SOMERS, P. YANNOPOULOS (eds.), *Philokappadox. In memoriam Justin Mossay.*
252. M.D. ADAMS, B. MIDANT-REYNES, E.M. RYAN, Y. TRISTANT (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 4.*
253. M.É. STONE, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies. Collected Papers: Volume 3.*
254. J. HÄMEEN-ANTTILA, P. KOSKIKALLIO, I. LINDSTEDT (eds.), *Contacts and Interaction.*
255. J. STAUDER-PORCHET, *Les autobiographies de l'Ancien Empire égyptien.*
256. N. BOSSON, A. BOUD'HORS, S. AUFRÈRE (eds.), *Labor omnia uicet improbus. Miscellanea in honorem Ariel Shisha-Halevy.*
257. S. BICKEL, L. DÍAZ-IGLESIAS (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature.*
258. L. MUEHLETHALER, G. SCHWARB, S. SCHMIDTKE (eds.), *Theological Rationalism in Medieval Islam.*
259. M. IMMERZEEL, *The Narrow Way to Heaven. Identity and Identities in the Art of Middle Eastern Christianity.*
260. B. MIDANT-REYNES, Y. TRISTANT, E.M. RYAN (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 5.*
261. D. KNIPP, *The Mosaics of the Norman Stanza in Palermo. A Study of Byzantine and Medieval Islamic Palace Decoration.*
262. G. MINIACI, M. BETRÒ, S. QUIRKE (eds.), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC).*
263. D. BRAKKE, S.J. DAVIS, S. EMMEL (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics. Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton.*
264. R. DEKKER, *Episcopal Networks and Authority in Late Antique Egypt. Bishops of the Theban Region at Work.*
265. C. JURMAN, B. BADER, D. ASTON (eds.), *A True Scribe of Abydos. Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy.*
266. M. WISSA (ed.), *Scribal Practices and the Social Construction of Knowledge in Antiquity, Late Antiquity and Medieval Islam.*
267. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Toponymes et gentilices bibliques face à l'histoire.*

268. A. BATMAZ, G. BEDIANASHVILI, A. MICHALEWICZ, A. ROBINSON (eds.), Context and Connection. Essays on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of Antonio Sagona.
269. K. CIGGAAR, V. VAN AALST (eds.), East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean III.
270. K. LEVRIE, Jean Pédiasimos, Essai sur les douze travaux d'Héraclès. Édition critique, traduction et introduction.
271. M. PIASENTIN, F. PONTANI, Cristoforo Kondoleon, Scritti Omerici.
272. A. HILKENS, The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and its Sources.
273. M. HONEGGER (ed.), Nubian Archaeology in the XXIst Century.
274. M. ABOU-ABDALLAH, L'histoire du royaume de Byblos à l'âge du Fer, 1080-333.
275. E. LIPÍŃSKI, A History of the Kingdom of Israel.
276. L. SELS, J. FUCHSBAUER, V. TOMELLERI, I. DE VOS (eds.), Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle: Slavonic and Multilingual Traditions.
277. C. WAERZEGGERS, M. SEIRE (eds.), Xerxes and Babylonia: The Cuneiform Evidence.
278. K. D'HULSTER, G. SCHALLENBERGH, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IX.
279. M.-J. ROCHE, Inscriptions nabatéennes datées de la fin du II^e siècle avant notre ère au milieu du IV^e siècle.
280. W. CLARYSSE, A.I. BLASCO TORRES (eds.), Egyptian Language in Greek Sources. Scripta onomastica of Jan Quaegebeur.
281. J. BRETSCHNEIDER, G. JANS (eds.), About Tell Tweini (Syria): Artefacts, Ecofacts and Landscape.
282. J. LEEMANS, G. ROSKAM, J. SEGERS (eds.), John Chrysostom and Severian of Gabala: Homilists, Exegetes and Theologians.
283. A. PELLITTERI, M.G. SCIORTINO, D. SICARI, N. ELSAKAAN (eds.), Re-defining a Space of Encounter. Islam and Mediterranean: Identity, Alterity and Interactions.
284. E. DESPOTAKIS, John Plousiadenos (1423?-1500). A Time-Space Geography of his Life and Career.
285. J.-M. DAHMS, Die Särge des Karenen. Untersuchungen zu Pyramidentexten und Sargtexten.
286. A. BUCOSSI, A. CALIA (eds.), Contra Latinos et Adversus Graecos. The Separation between Rome and Constantinople from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century.
287. E. LIPÍŃSKI, A History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Judah.
288. M. CONTERNO, M. MAZZOLA (eds.), Intercultural Exchange in Late Antique Historiography.
289. A.R. WARFE, J.C.R. GILL, C.R. HAMILTON, A.J. PETTMAN, D.A. STEWART (eds.), Dust, Demons and Pots. Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope.
290. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara. Catalogue des dieux et des offrandes.
291. D. OLTEAN, Devenir moine à Byzance. Coutumes sociales, règles monastiques et rituels liturgiques.
292. M.M. GROß, At the Heart of an Empire: The Royal Household in the Neo-Assyrian Period.

