# Neo-Babylonian Administrative Texts from Uruk in Californian Collections

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[The administration of cult and wool industry in the Neo-Babylonian Eanna temple in Uruk gave output to several thousands of cuneiform records. Chief among them lists, receipts, and notations for incoming and outgoing goods of various kinds. The collections of the Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Oakland Museum of California house some 241 cuneiform artefacts from the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods. Most of them belong to the administrative record of Eanna. The present contribution offers edition and commentary of five unpublished representative documents of Eanna administrative practices from these collections, and discusses their contribution to the known corpus. This is an initial step towards the full publication of 69 previously unpublished texts from these collections.]

**Keywords:** Uruk, Eanna temple, Neo-Babylonian administrative texts, Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Oakland Museum of California.

In this communication five administrative documents from first millennium BCE Uruk are published for the first time. They belong to a series of cuneiform artefacts which the late János Everling was planning to include in his contribution to the *Gedenkschrift* of Péter Vargyas. His untimely death, however, prevented him from finishing the manuscript. Part of that work shall be done in this paper.

<sup>1.</sup> Standard abbreviations follow those of the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, and NB text sigla follow Jursa (2005: 153–155). Babylonian personal names in administrative texts of the sixth century BCE are rendered PN<sub>1</sub>/PN<sub>2</sub> as in PN<sub>1</sub> son of PN<sub>2</sub> (PN<sub>1</sub> A PN<sub>2</sub>); normalisation of names follows the conventions of Jursa (2005: 3 n. 15). Babylonian dates are rendered Day.Month (Roman numerals).Year King, or simply Year King. Abbreviation of royal names follows Jursa (2005: 153) with the addition of Asb – Assurbanipal and Kand - Kandalānu. The research of Shai Gordin was carried out in the framework of Fritz Thyssen grant no. 10.15.1.011AA with cooperation of Michael Jursa (Vienna) and Yoram Cohen (Tel Aviv), and the Israeli Science Foundation grant no. 674/15 at Ariel University. We gratefully acknowledge the permission of Niek Veldhuis and Joy Tahan (respectively) to publish the tablets from the Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Oakland Museum of California. We are indebted to Klaus Wagensonner for sharing tablet photographs of unpublished texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections and acknowledge the kind permission of Agnete Lassen to cite them here. Uri Gabbay, Michael Jursa and Klaus Wagensonner are to be thanked for their careful reading and comments on the editions.

<sup>2.</sup> See Csabai (2014).

<sup>3.</sup> For the first instalment see Everling - Földi 2015.

The contents of the tablets are summarized in Table 1.<sup>4</sup> Four of these artefacts belong to the collection of the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology at University of California, Berkeley (sigla HMA); the fifth tablet is housed at the Oakland Museum of California (OMCA, sigla OPM).<sup>5</sup>

No.	Museum no.	Bab. date	Type <sup>6</sup>	Contents
1	HMA 9-3045	10.VIb.19 Kand	List (outgoing)	Examination of small livestock after lambing. 415 sheep and goats at the
				disposal of Nabû-iddin/Nabû-useppi.
2	HMA 9-3040	17.III.12 Nbk	Single transaction	Purchase of male sacrificial sheep for
			<i>ina pāni-</i> receipt	1.5š, put at the disposal of Tukulti-
				Marduk, the offering shepherd.
3	HMA 9-3038	1.XII <sup>?</sup> .37 Nbk	Single transaction	0.75\u00e8 of gold used to repair the
			<i>maḫir</i> -receipt	crown of Ištar received from the
				goldsmiths Ištar-šumu-ibni and Bēl-
				ibni.
4	HMA 9-2924	6.I.4 Nbn	Single transaction	Ērišu withdrew 270 l of dates from
			receipt	the blacksmith's rations for month I.
5	OPM 28-239	4.VIb.10 Nbn	Single transact- ion	6.25 of gold, in addition to 23.625 s,
			mahir-receipt	removed from (the plating of) four
				frontal parts of the golden support
				beam of Nanāya. Received from the
				goldsmith Šamaš-iddin.

**Table 1**: Overview of the five tablets from HMA and OMCA.

All texts belong to the administration of the Eanna temple at Uruk in the seventh and early sixth century BCE. As a small but representative sample of the temple administrative work, the activities they record belong to the most extensively attested periods of Eanna documentation. Thus, they span the period from the reign of Kandalānu in the Early Neo-Babylonian period, through Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus under the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Since the texts are very typical of the administrative genre we have dispensed with providing hand copies – one can further consult the photographs on the CDLI website (for this purpose, the CDLI number of each text is included). Cases in which the online photographs were not sufficiently readable or coherent were collated on the spot, and are adequately marked in the respective editions between asterisks (\*); tablet dimensions are given in cm. Full editions and commentary were made by Sh. Gordin based on initial readings of J. Everling and Zs. Földi, who also commented on the manuscript. We thank Gil Breger from UC Berkeley for taking measurements, photographing and collating the HMA tablets.

The five texts published and edited here are first to appear from a group of 69 unpublished Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid administrative and legal documents in the HMA and OMCA

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<sup>4.</sup> Detailed summaries will appear on the website of the Neo Babylonian Cuneiform Corpus (NaBuCCo: http://nabucco.arts.kuleuven.be/); here we present them in full edition and commentary.

<sup>5</sup> Some Ur III tablets of this less known collection have already been published by Foxvog (1996) under the name of the Oakland Public Museum.

<sup>6.</sup> Based on the typology of Jursa (2004: 150–159).

<sup>7.</sup> Cf. Jankovic (2013: 26-27 and Table 1).

collections. The majority of such texts from the HMA collection stem from Uruk and were published by Henry F. Lutz primarily in 1927 (159 texts in Lutz 1927) with a few additions at the end of the following decade (three texts in Lutz 1937, 1940, 1940a) as hand copies accompanied by indexes and partial editions. One famous tablet dealing with the Judean soldier Gdalyahu from the Murašû archive (Nippur) was published in 1928 (Lutz 1928). All 234 Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid archival texts in these collections are catalogued and photographed on CDLI.<sup>8</sup> The results here are an initial step towards a fuller publication of the remaining tablets with corrections of the Lutz copies and editions planned in the near future.<sup>9</sup>

## 1. An Account of Sheep and Goats from the Reign of Kandalānu

Museum no.: HMA 9-3045

CDLI no.: P248529

Dimensions & Orientation: 2.9×1.8×1.3cm, landscape

Date: 10.VIb.19 Kand (629 BCE)

#### A. Transliteration

obv. 1. 27 <sup>udu</sup>pu-ḥa-lu

2. 2 ME 86 U<sub>8</sub>.Ù.TU<sup>me</sup>

3. 1 ŠU <sup>udu</sup>BAR.SAL<sup>me</sup>

4. 40 uduBAR.GALme

5. 1 ÙZ<sup>me</sup>

lo.e. 6. 1 MÁŠ.GAL<sup>me</sup>

rev. 7. SAL.ÁŠ.GÀR<sup>me</sup>

8. MÁŠ.TUR<sup>me</sup>

9. PAP 4 ME 15! U<sub>8</sub>.UDU<sup>hi.a</sup>

10. ina IGI  $^{\mathrm{I.d}}$ NÀ-MU A  $^{\mathrm{I.d}}$ NÀ- $\acute{u}$ - $\check{s}e$ - $p\acute{t}$ 

11. itikin 2.kám u4 10.kám mu 19.kám

12. Ikan-da-la-nu LUGAL

### B. Translation

<sup>1-4</sup>27 rams, 286 full-grown ewes, 60 female lambs, 40 male lambs, <sup>5-8</sup>1 nanny, 1 billy goat, 0 female kids, 0 male kids: <sup>9</sup>a total of 415 small livestock (animals) <sup>10</sup>at the disposal of Nabû-iddin/Nabû-useppi. <sup>11</sup>10th of intercalary Ulūlu, 19th year of <sup>12</sup>Kandalānu the king.

- (9) Number 7 with typical three levels of wedges is clearly a scribal mistake for 5. Blanks in lines 7 and 8 are typical marks of the entry "0". An emendation of <1> in both lines with a total of 217 could not be justified.
- (10) Nabû-iddin/Nabû-useppi had a career in tending temple flocks for at least a decade, if not more. He is now known from at least one other similar list of 610 sheep and goats from Wheaton College Archaeology Museum (Miglio 2018) dated to Kandalānu year 8 or 9. Though the

<sup>8.</sup> HMA houses 229 texts and OMCA has 5.

<sup>9.</sup> Sh. Gordin would like to thank Niek Veldhuis and Laurie Pearce for their kind permission and encouragement to publish this corpus.

year is broken, there are several parallel lists from the same month (III), which date to year 8 or 9 Kand: Jursa 1997, 5 and JCS 36 nos. 10-14 (see below n. 12). His patronym in the Wheaton College tablet is also not complete, but is very likely similar to the one in the present text, as it also begins with the theophoric element Nabû. To push the identification of this person somewhat further, it is possible that this Nabû-iddin might be equated with a person bearing the same name (without known patronym), who lived during the same time in the area of Uruk: Nabû-iddin, a weaver (*išparu*) from Bīt-iltammeš-ilu (Nielsen 2015: 233), a place in the agricultural hinterland of Uruk. He is listed without patronym in 7 Kand among those whose property bordered a date orchard sold to a certain Zērūtu in AnOr 9 4 v 6 (= BR 8/7 14), a large *Sammeltafel* account of six recorded land sales between 649-624 BCE (20 Asb – 2 Npl). This account names date orchards in the tribal area north of Uruk on the lands of the Bīt-Dakūru tribe. Interestingly enough, the area was clearly used in cattle management for the Eanna temple (Jursa 2010: 105), and is a good candidate for the grazing of temple flocks like the one described in our Text 1.<sup>10</sup> On the ethnic background of some other herdsmen in related sheep and goat accounts from Sippar see Da Riva (2002: 188f.).

(11) The date of the text coincides with the end of the livestock yearly cycle in intercalary Ulūlu (VIb), cf. Kozuh (2014: 15). Since such lists were issued to control the account of the inception of a flock going out of the late spring/early summer shearing, Eanna and Ebabbar lists usually date between months III to V.<sup>11</sup> Text 1 fits with the other known Eanna lists of 19 Kan, which atypically date to months V and mostly VIb.<sup>12</sup> For a study of this phenomenon see Gordin (forthcoming).

## 2. A Receipt of Sheep Purchased for Sacrifice

Mus. no.: HMA 9-3040 CDLI no.: P248524

Dimensions & Orientation: 3.9×2.7×2.5cm, landscape

Date: 16.III.12 Nbk (593 BCE)

# A. Transliteration

obv. 1. 1 UDU.NÍTA *šá a-na* 1 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

2. ina šu<sup>II</sup> Išu-la-a ab-ka

3. *ina* IGI <sup>I</sup>BÀD.MAḤ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU

4. lúsipa sá.dug<sub>4</sub>

lo.e. (-) rev. (-)

5. itiSIG4 U4 14.KÁM

6. MU 12.KÁM <sup>d</sup>NÀ-NÍG.DU-ÙRU

7. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

up.e. (-)

<sup>10.</sup> An early Ach. Egibi text also refers to a sheep merchant from Bīt-Dakūru (BM 31377; Jursa 2010: 105).

<sup>11.</sup> See van Driel (1993: 228f.); Da Riva (2002: 175–177); Kleber in Jursa (2010: 601).

<sup>12.</sup> All texts are found in the Yale Babylonian Collection, see Brinkman/Kennedy (1983: 47–48 L.128–132). Month V: YBC 11298; Month VIb: YBC 11481; 11300; 11476 and NBC 6144.

#### B. Translation

<sup>1-2</sup>One (sacrificial) male sheep purchased for 1.5 shekels of silver from Šulāya, <sup>3-4</sup>(is) at the disposal of Tukulti-Marduk, the shepherd of the regular offerings. <sup>5</sup>Month of Simānu, 14th day, <sup>6</sup>12th year of Nebuchadnezzar, <sup>7</sup>king of Babylon.

- (1-2) On the phrasing ana kaspi abāku see CAD A/1: 7; Jursa (2005: 48). This transaction is one of very few attested offering sheep purchases by Eanna for sacrifice during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II as opposed to slightly higher numbers in the reign of Nabonidus (see Kleber in Jursa 2010: 549f.; cf. Kozuh 2014: 114 n. 43). We only know of three other similar receipts, YOS 17 84 lists multiple purchases of male sheep in 13 Nbk, YOS 17 209 lists 2 female lambs purchased in 21 Nbk (price lower than male sheep, 1.25š per lamb), and the unpublished NCBT 113 which is a receipt for sheep purchased on 22 Nbk. Jursa (2010: 570f.) posits that in comparison to Ebabbar, the Eanna sheep surplus is rooted in its extensive wool industry (cf. Kleber 2008: 237–253).
- Šulāya is a common shepherd's name: eight are listed in Kümmel (1979: 76), of which at least two possible candidates fit the chronological and social frames of Text 2: Šulāya/Kabti[a] (GCCI 2 345, 8 [Nbk?]) and Šulāya/Zabdi-il (BIN 1 177, 3 Nbk). Since the former is listed among at least twenty shepherds supplying male lambs for the regular offering (ginû) it stands to reason that he is better suited to be the same shepherd as in Text 2. But that is not conclusive in any way. Since the context of offering sheep is specific, one also has to consider YOS 17 75 (3 Nbk; Kozuh 2014: 236f.) which mentions two sons of a certain Šulāya. Marduk-erība/Šulāya brother of Nanāya-iddin was the representative of a group of six shepherds responsible for bringing their sheep for the regular offering (sattukku). The receiver on the part of Eanna was the offering shepherd Kudurru, in all likelihood father of Tukulti-Marduk, offering shepherd in Text 2 (see below).
- (3) For BÀD.MAḤ = tukultu as in  $Tukult\bar{t}$ -DN "DN is my trust" see CAD T: 461. Kümmel (1979: 86) identified Tukulti-Marduk/Kudurru as offering shepherd in Eanna between 21 36 Nbk, which Kozuh (2014: 218f.) updated to 2 Nbk 7 Nbn (603–548 BCE) making him a contemporary of his father in this office.
- 3. A Receipt of Incoming Repaired Object from Gold (mahir)

Mus. no.: HMA 9-3038 CDLI no.: P248522

Dimensions & Orientation: 3.7×2.3×1.7cm, landscape

Date: 1.XII.37 Nbk (567 BCE)

#### A. Transliteration

obv. 1. \*1 GÍN  $4-t\acute{u}$  LÁ KÙ. $GI^m[e]$ \*

- 2.  $^{\text{I.d}}15\text{-MU-DÙ} u^{\text{I.d}}\text{E[N-DÙ]}$
- 3. lúKÙ.DIM<sup>meš</sup> a-na bat-qu

<sup>13.</sup> The date is uncertain, but see also Šulāya/Nabû-zēru-šukun who received sheep as erbu in NBDMich 81 (7 [RN]).

<sup>14.</sup> NCBT 781 is an interesting memorandum from 35 Nbk that records a loan of 4š of silver to two hirelings (*agru*), Šulāya and Nabû-zēru-iddin, who work with the sheep for the regular offering (*sattukku*). Could this be Šulāya of text 2?

4. \**šá ku-lu-lu*\* *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

lo.e. 5. IGI-*hír* 

rev. (-) eras.

6. \*itiŠE 'U4'\* 1.KÁM

7. MU.37.KÁM

up.e. 8. <sup>d</sup>NÀ-NÍG.DU-ÙRU

9. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

#### B. Translation

<sup>1</sup>1 shekel minus ½ (shekels) of gold (=¾š), <sup>2-5</sup>(which was used) for the repair of the crown of the Lady of Uruk, was received (from) Ištar-šumu-ibni and Bē[l-ibni], the goldsmiths. <sup>6</sup>First [day] of Month Ad[daru], <sup>7</sup>37th year of <sup>8</sup>Nebuchadnezzar, <sup>9</sup>king of Babylon.

- (1) Line is barely readable on the CDLI photograph, but collation of the original artifact confirms the proposed wording. For similar examples of complex fractions with minus  $(mat\hat{u})$  see CAD M/1: 432b; Streck (1995: 66f.).
- (2) This text can be added to the substantial 25-year long file of the goldsmiths (*kutimmu*) Ištar-šumu-ibni/Nabû-šumu-ukīn//Ea-kurbanni and Bēl-ibni/Nādin//Bābūtu, who inherited their fathers' respective positions in the working, smelting and delivery of gold and silver which made up a part the Eanna temple cult paraphernalia. Between them, the families of these two men practically dominated the precious metal industry of the temple, and Bēl-ibni was further involved in various silver and gold transactions in Babylon. See Payne (2007: 220–228, 235–237, 240f.).
  - (4) Reading *ku-lu-lu* confirmed upon collation:



The crown (*kulūlu*) of Ištar appears again in a fragmentary context listed among other sacred paraphernalia in NBC 4577 (Beaulieu 2003: 141; text edited in Sack 1979: 42f.). Probably again in need of repair, Ištar's crown was put into the repair container (*šaddi ša batqi*) seven years after Text 3 was issued in 1 AM (560 BCE). Cf. the better known references to crowns, some in need of repair, belonging to the statues of Nanāya, Uṣur-amāssu and Urkayītu: YOS 17 247 (1 Nbk); YBC 9436 (32 Nbk); BM 114501 (7 Nbn); YOS 19 245 (7 Nbn); FLP 1609 (3 [RN]). See Beaulieu (2003: 179f., 191, 236, 257); Payne (2007:206f.).

(6-7) The date in month XII probably relates to the end of the yearly cycle of obligations for the goldsmiths, for whom most receipts were issued by the temple administration around month XI (Payne 2007: 213). In fact, it seems that Text 3 is part of a series of necessary repairs in 37 Nbk to the cult paraphernalia of Ištar – two other receipts were issued in month XI: NCBT 1121 (repair of *šukuttu* and other ornaments; see Beaulieu 2003: 142) and NCBT 792; in all three texts Ištar is designated "Lady of Uruk".

### 4. Monthly Disbursement of Blacksmith Rations

Mus. no.: HMA 9-2924 CDLI no.: P248417

Dimensions & Orientation: 4.4×3.2×1.4cm, landscape

Date: 6.I.4 Nbn (552 BCE)

#### A. Transliteration

1. 1 GUR 2 PI 3 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA obv.

- *ina* ŠUKU<sup>ḫi.a</sup> *šá* <sup>iti</sup>BÁRA
- *šá* <sup>lú</sup>SIMUG AN.BAR
- <sup>I</sup>e-riš it-ta-ši

(-)

lo.e.

(-)(-) rev.

- $^{iti}$ Bára U4.6.Kám mu 4.Kám
- <sup>d</sup>NÀ-NÍ.TUKU LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

(-)

(-)up.e.

# B. Translation

<sup>1</sup>1;2.3 kor (=270 l) of dates <sup>2-4</sup>Ērišu withdrew from the blacksmith's rations of the month of Nisānu. 5Month of Nisānu, 6th day, 4th year of 6Nabonidus king of Babylon.

- The amount of dates surprisingly exceeds the standard full monthly rations of 180 l. attested as workers' wages in the Eanna archive from the end of Nebuchadnezzar's reign to Cambyses, cf. Jursa (2008: 400-404, cf. esp. Table 3a and Appendix 2). In fact, typical Eanna wages were normally half that amount (=90 l). It does hint that one might consider certain smiths as rather privileged craftsmen, that is, if Ērišu collected the rations for himself alone and not for a group of smiths. This is corroborated by comparable rations to other smiths attested throughout the Eanna corpus, who received more than the full monthly ration 180 l and even twice that amount (cf. Payne 2007: 40, 44; Jursa 2008: Appendix 2). There is also the distinct possibilty that wages were prescribed according to the task at hand. This might be indicated by rations Ērišu received five years later. He and another blacksmith called Hašdāya - prominent members of the two distinct groups of blacksmiths working in Eanna during that time (Payne 2007: 290f.) – were given 185 l of dates each for their work on the Takkiru canal for month V of 9 Nbn (TCL 12 93).
- See Payne (2007: 304) on Ērišu/Šēpē-Bēl-aşbat attested in the reign of Nabonidus. For the common administrative formula with našû "to withdraw (from account)" see CAD N/2: 98b-100a; Payne (2007: 63).

# 5. A Receipt of Incoming Amount of Gold from Cult Paraphernalia (mahir)

Mus. no.: OPM 28-239 CDLI no.: P248559

Dimensions: 3.9×2.8×1.1cm, landscape

Date: 4.VIb.10 Nbn

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#### A. Transliteration

obv. 1. 6 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.GI šá a-na UGU

- 2. 1/3 3 1/2 GÍN bit-qa KÙ.GI
- 3. 4 IGI tal-lu KÙ.GI šá <sup>d</sup>na-na-a
- 4. *ú-rad-du-ú* <sup>I.d</sup>UTU-MU
- 5. lúKÙ.DIM *ma-hi-ir*

lo.e. (-)

rev. (-)

- 6. itikin 2.kám u4 4.kám
- 7. MU 10.KÁM <sup>d</sup>NÀ-NÍ.TUKU
- 8. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

up.e. (-)

#### B. Translation

<sup>1-4a</sup>6¼ shekels of gold, which are in addition to the 1/3 (mina), 3½ and ½ shekels of gold (=235/88) removed (from) four frontal parts of the golden(-plated) support beam of Nanāya, <sup>4b-5</sup>were received (from) Šamaš-iddin, the goldsmith. <sup>6</sup>4th day of intercalary Ulūlu, <sup>7</sup>10th year of Nabonidus, <sup>8</sup>king of Babylon.

- (1) Reading of UGU identified on the CDLI photograph by K. Wagensonner. The context here clearly refers to a sum of gold which was in addition to (ana muḥḥi; cf. GAG³ §141c) a previous amount removed from the plating of the golden tallu, a wooden carrying infrastructure for the seat of Nanāya (see commentary of tallu below). Note the more common use of (ša) ana muḥḥi in Eanna administrative texts regarding paraphernalia mounted or dressed onto various cult implements, so in e.g. GCCI 2 69 (Beaulieu 2003: 204).
- (2) The fraction of the mina is interchangeably written before and after the weight designation MA.NA in Late and Neo-Babylonian, and Eanna administrative texts abound with such examples.<sup>16</sup> As in this text, there are frequent instances of mina fractions inferred from context (esp. 1/3) but designated only with GÍN, see e.g. YBC 9510, GCCI 2 214 (Beaulieu 2003: 155, 194 and *passim*) and YBC 9273 (Payne 2007: 109).<sup>17</sup>
- (3) tallu: The gištallu, sometimes written without determinative as in this text, is a wooden support beam which was apparently plated with gold on four sides (lit. pānu "front"). From the present text we actually learn that it took c. 30š of gold to plate all four sides of the tallu of Nanāya. The frequent references as an architectural feature as well as in various cultic processions (e.g. the Akītu festival, see below) would suggest the tallu was a massive support beam which ended in a T-shape on each side. Clearly, what is important for the understanding of the Akkadian term is the shape of the beam, since this wooden framework could be either placed on top of gateways, as ceiling support, or carry the seat of the deity. 19

<sup>15.</sup> Sometimes together with v. elû, see CAD E: 119a.

<sup>16.</sup> See passim in Payne (2007): e.g. NCBT 368 (14 Kan), PTS 3425 (17 Nbk) and YOS 19 265 (10 Nbn).

<sup>17.</sup> Cf. Powell (1979: 97); Streck (1995: 18).

<sup>18.</sup> In comparison YOS 19 246 records 55.79 š of gold used to plate the *tallu* of Uşur-amāssu (Beaulieu 2003: 230).

<sup>19.</sup> See CAD T: 99–100 ("crosspiece, carrying pole"); Salonen (1961: 56, "Tragbaum, cross-beam"); George (1992: 218, "cross-piece above a doorway, perhaps the top section of a wooden frame").

A translation "balustrade" was offered by Beaulieu (2003: 6, 139, 189, 230, 257, 367), apparently based on its appearance as part of the altar of Nanāya and Ištar (GCCI 2 49: 8-9 IGI giš tal-lum giš! šu-ba-ta<sup>me</sup> šá DN).<sup>20</sup> In fact, this only adds to the confusion with regards to the tallu's actual relation to the cultic seat of the deity (šubtu), since most references simply state as in our text tallu of DN (tallu ša DN).<sup>21</sup>

(4-5) Text 5 is the first instance known to me of gold plating removed from a *tallu*, as all other references in Beaulieu speak of gold issued for its plating (see commentary on *tallu* above). The reason for the removal is not specified, but the use of  $ar\bar{a}du$  "to come down from, be removed" is typical for cleaning or repair of ornaments taken down from fabrics or other paraphernalia of the gods (Beaulieu 1998: 187; 2003: 22). But it is also found in the context of reused gold, specifically coming into the possession (*ina pani*) of a goldsmith for rework (e.g. NCBT 333, 4° Npl; Payne 2007: 204–205). The present context rather suggests the latter option as the reason for the removal of the gold plating, though in this case the gold entered back into the central temple administration for general use.

This fits well with the varied career of Šamaš-iddin/Ištar-šumu-ibni//Ea-kurbanni, who is surely the goldsmith of text 5, though no patronym is recorded. He is part of a prestigious line of goldsmiths, also being the son of the goldsmith in Text 3 above. His career spanned nearly twenty years and began mostly with the smelting (YOS 19 249, 9 Nbn), cleaning (YOS 6 117, 8 Nbn), and making of gold ornaments (PTS 3073, 5 Nbn; YOS 19 248, 8 Nbn), later turning to work with silver as far as it is attested (Payne 2007: 255–256). Text 5 is the latest dateable reference to the handling of gold objects by Šamaš-iddin, coinciding with the year he started handling silver.

# 6. Indexes (Alphbetical Order with Text Nos.)

a. Names*	
Bēl-ibni(/Nādin//Bābūtu)	No. 3
Ērišu(/Šēpē-Bēl-aṣbat)	No. 4
Ištar-šumu-ibni(/Nabû-šumu-ukīn//Ea-kurbanni)	No. 3
Marduk-erība/Šulāya	No. 2 (c)
Nabû-iddin/Nabû-useppi	No. 1
Šamaš-iddin(/Ištar-šumu-ibni//Ea-kurbanni)	No. 5
Šulāya/Kabti[a]	No. 2 (c)
Šulāya/Zabdi-il	No. 2 (c)
Tukulti-Marduk/Kudurru	No. 2

<sup>\*</sup>patronyms and family names not in the text are in parentheses, (c) = only in commentary

b. Lexems discussed:	
<i>arādu</i> "to be removed"	No. 5

<sup>20.</sup> Cf. CT 53 635, a Neo Assyrian letter from Babylonia on stolen cult objects which is restored by Cole and Machinist as referring to a gištal]-'lu' ša giššu-ba-a-te (SAA 13 169: obv. 4').

<sup>21.</sup> All other Eanna references cited by Beaulieu do not help in clarifying the *tallu*'s use, and even one which according to his understanding is a "balustrade flanked with divine Urmaḥlûlu" (Sack, CD 6: 2-3; Beaulieu 2003: 367) only has in the text the typical *tallu* of DN, giš *tal-lu šá* dur-maḥ-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu "the *tallu* of the Urmaḥlûlu".

kulūlu "crown"	No. 3
našû "to withdraw (from account)"	No. 4
tukultu (BAD.MAH) "trust" (in PN)	No. 2
(giš)tallu "support beam"	No. 5

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