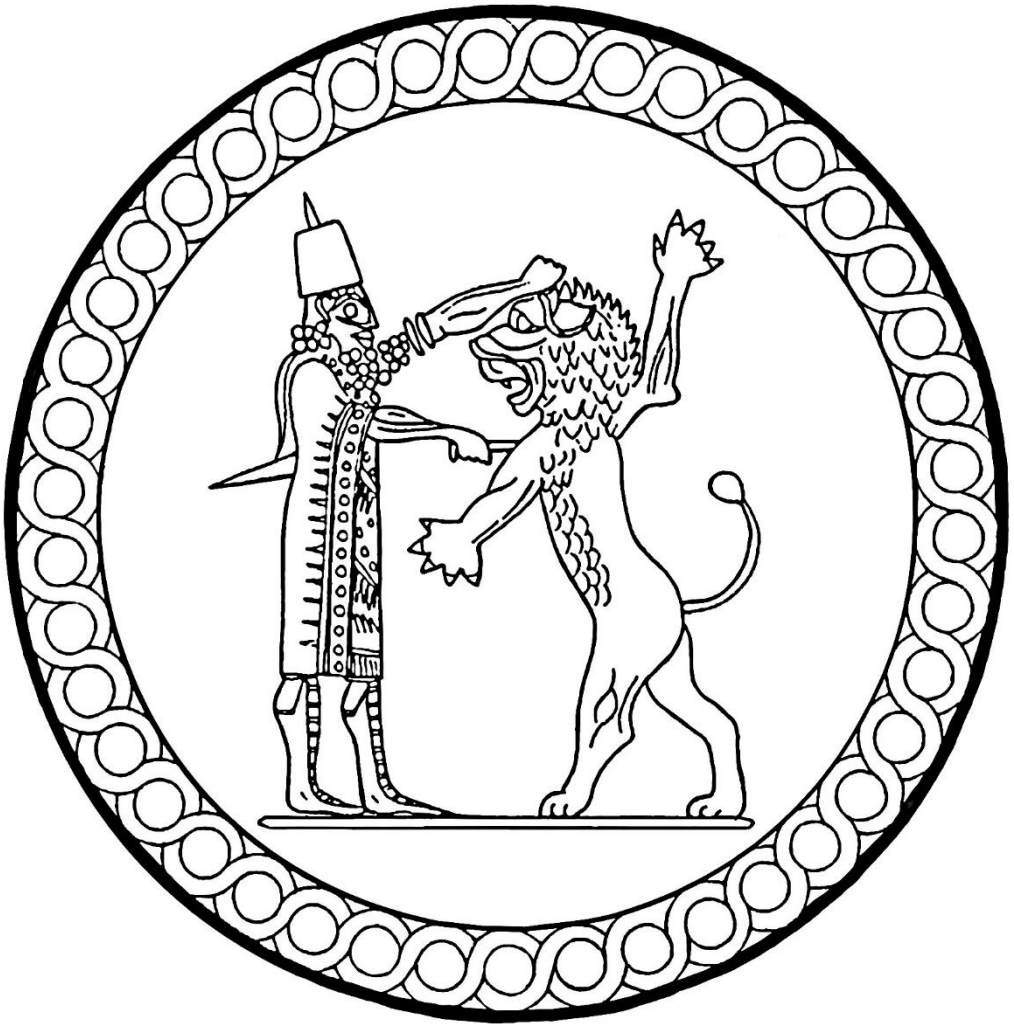

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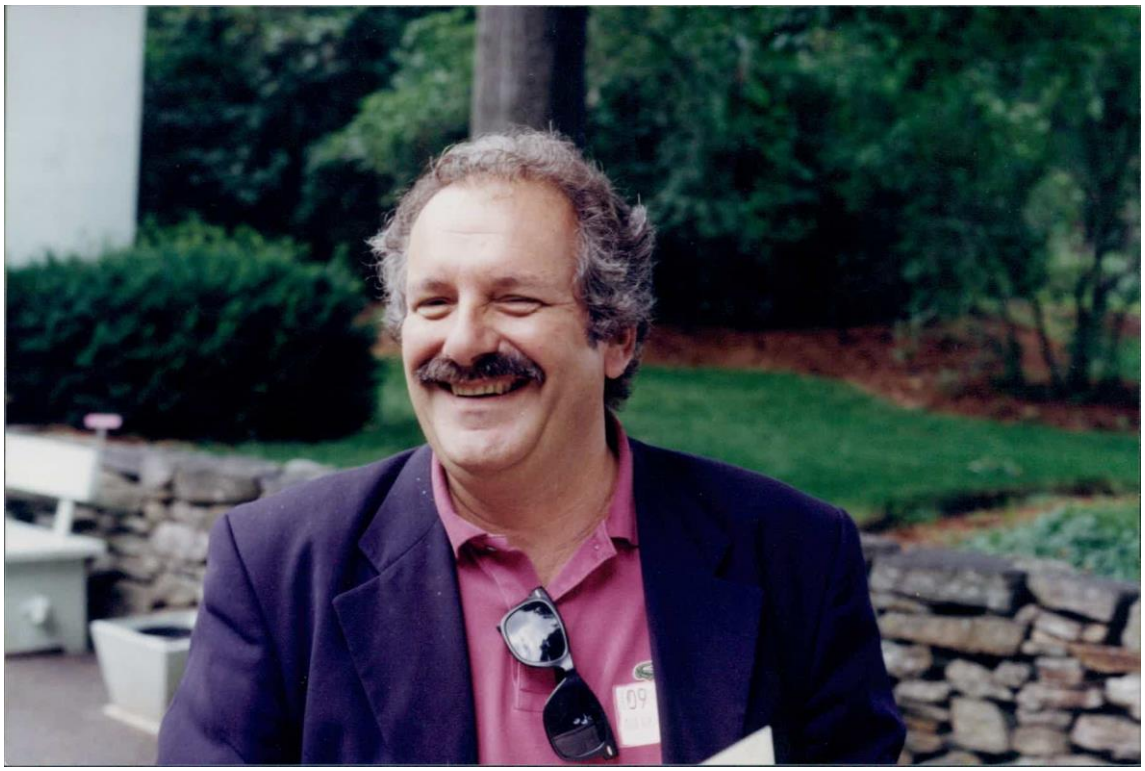

The 37th anniversary of SAAB is grieved by the death of its founder F. M. Fales.

When the first issue appeared in 1987, the field of Neo-Assyrian studies was undergoing a dramatic development thanks to the projects of a systematic, scientifically updated edition of all Neo-Assyrian sources, both administrative, in the *Neo Assyrian Text Corpus Project* directed by Simo Parpola (with the series *State Archives of Assyria*, SAA), and historiographic, in the *Royal Inscriptions from Mesopotamia*, directed by A. Kirk Grayson (with the volumes *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*, nos. 2 and 3, and the series *Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*). These undertakings would fuel a huge number of studies in few years.

Mario conceived SAAB as tightly connected with the SAA project, or, more specifically, as representing "the necessary *complément* of the project", principally targeted "to act as forum for further comments and notations on the same materials", and to provide an apt seat for the scientific publication, study, and comment of the Neo-Assyrian texts.

Mario personally contributed to this target over the years, publishing a large number of articles in SAAB. Soon he also widened the journal's horizon including various topics and perspectives concerning Neo-Assyrian texts, history, and archaeology, and transcending the chronological and geographical limits of the Neo-Assyrian period, considering contiguous periods and areas, and often including methodological discussions.

Thanks to his cooperative attitude, besides his scientific reputation, Mario created a journal which gained a renowned reputation already from its start. The journal initially benefited from the support of an exceptionally qualified editorial committee, formed of K. H. Deller, S. Parpola, and J. N. Postgate. Cooperation soon increased, and contributors included younger scholars whom Mario was particularly glad to encourage, as well as many colleagues with wide-ranging competencies.

Following the auspices and the invitation to collaboration and suggestions which concluded the introduction to the first volume — and the parallel implementation, and nowadays almost completion of the SAA and RIMA editorial projects — Mario constantly, directly, and through his editorial policy, contributed to enhance the role of SAAB as a forum of discussion on various topics, with a special attention to textual publication and philological analysis, but also adopting varied and varying methodological approaches and perspectives.

Mario's merits in the Assyriological field have been variously recalled and aptly described in dedicated memories. Therefore, here there is barely the need to repeat the expression of our admiration for his qualities and achievements, and to express our deep sorrow for the loss of a very dear friend, of a wonderful teacher and colleague, and of a scholar naturally endowed with a fervid imagination and an astonishing capacity to transform ideas and plans into concrete enterprises, of which SAAB is an example. Rather, we limit our appreciation here to collecting Mario's articles published in SAAB over the years and making them available to whoever would wish to download them in electronic form (pdf).

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FERRYING GOODS FOR THE GODS: A FAMILY AFFAIR. A MIDDLE ASSYRIAN BOATMAN'S FAMILY IN THE EVIDENCE OF THE TEXTS FROM ARCHIVE M4 *

Salvatore Gaspa

Abstract

The present study investigates a group of boatmen attested in Archive M4 from Assur in the context of the mobilisation of provincial contributions for the regular offerings tax through waterborne transportation along the Tigris. A reconsideration of the *ginā'u* system from the perspective of the specialist transporters who materially brought these goods to the port of Assur sheds light on the socio-professional context in which these boatmen operated and the networks of contacts they had and maintained with institutional actors of the state administration. Through the reconstruction of the microhistory of these boatmen and their shipping activity, the paper offers a contribution to a deeper understanding of the river transport organisation, the record-keeping practices and the administrative procedures involved in the management of the *ginā'u*-tax.

Keywords: Boatmen – Shipments – Archive M4 – Middle Assyrian

1. Introduction

Professionals involved in river transport along the main waterways of Assyria are attested in Middle Assyrian archives. The frequent mention of boatmen involved in transport along the Tigris River testifies to the special role they played in the mobilisation of goods to the port of Assur. Throughout Assyrian history, river transport had a positive impact in terms of linking areas of agricultural production with urban areas of consumption, trade, movement of specialists, raw and processed materials, and more generally, of urban development of the Assyrian region. A special category of goods that made their way to the country's capital and religious metropolis via waterborne transportation was due as annual offerings (*ginā'u*) from the provinces and served to maintain the flow of contributions to the cultic activities at the Aššur Temple. Among the texts of Archive M4 issued by the accountants of the regular offerings bureau and stored in some earthenware jars in Room 3′ of the passageway of the southwest side of the Aššur Temple's outer courtyard (area hE4III) in the city of Assur (modern Qal'at Šerqāṭ),[1] a small number constitute the

* This study is part of the author's research project *Prosopography and Socio-professional Networks in the Middle Assyrian Period* c/o the Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità (DiSSGeA) of the University of Padova), funded by PRIN 2020 — Italian National Research Project *Networks of Power: Institutional Hierarchies and State Management in Late Bronze Age Western Asia*.

1. Pedersén 1985, 43; 1997, 126. For pictures of these pottery containers *in situ*, see Postgate 2013, 92 fig. 4.4 and Maul 2013, 563 fig. 2.

dossier regarding the activities of the family of the sailor Ḫimsātēya.[2] Most of these texts were stored in five jars found in broken condition that belong to the groups labelled with the find numbers Assur 18771,[3] 18773,[4] 18777,[5] 18781[6] and 18783.[7] A number of tablets were found between the clay jars and belong to the group Assur 18784,[8] while six texts cannot be identified since their excavation numbers are missing.[9] Although these tablet jars were uninscribed and contain no explicit reference to officials or reign period, it is clear that all the texts contained in them were issued during the tenure of Ezbu-lēšir in the regular offerings overseer's office; he was a high-ranking official in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BCE). Some of the tablet jars of the regular offerings archive were exceptionally inscribed,[10] and two have the name of Ezbu-lēšir inscribed as the official responsible for the management of these offerings for the "House of Aššur".[11] In addition to simply inscribing the tablet containers, the administrative staff of the *ginā'u* bureau could also resort to visual language for classifying the documents issued by their office, as the engraved drawing of what seems to be a tablet on the shoulder of one of these jars shows.[12]

Past and more recent research focused on a number of aspects of the documents issued by the Regular Offerings House in Assur,[13] the administrative procedures and the overall system of management of the provincial contributions,[14] not to mention the political-reli-

2. KAJ 302; MARV 1 21; MARV 6 3; 26; 28; 52; 88; MARV 7 28; 36; 88; MARV 8 3; 62; 74; 96; MARV 9 14; 16; 95; MARV 10 86; 88. When the present study was written, these texts were accessible in TCMA, http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/tcma/ (last access: 16.11.2023). Texts MARV 6 28; 88; MARV 7 28; 36; 88; MARV 8 3; 62; 74; 96; MARV 9 14; 95 have not yet been published in TCMA.
3. MARV 10 88 (Assur 18771bp). See Pedersén 1985, 49, Group C, Ass. 18770.
4. MARV 6 3 (Assur 18773f); MARV 6 26 (Assur 18773az); MARV 6 28 (Assur 18773v); MARV 6 88 (Assur 18773w); MARV 8 74 (Assur 18773au). See Pedersén 1985, 50, Group D, Ass. 18772.
5. MARV 6 52 (Assur 18777bb). See Pedersén 1985, 51, Group F, Ass. 18776.
6. MARV 10 86 (Assur 18781bi). See Pedersén 1985, 50, Group H, Ass. 18781.
7. MARV 9 16 (Assur 18783aa). See Pedersén 1985, 52, Group K, Ass. 18783.
8. KAJ 302 (Assur 18784ga[?]; see Ebeling 1933, 23 and Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts and Editions in Portrait Format*, 603); MARV 7 28 (Assur 18784a); MARV 7 36 (Assur 18784cl); MARV 7 88 (Assur 18784bu[?]). See Pedersén 1985, 52, Group L, Ass. 18784.
9. MARV 1 21 (VAT 18008, Assur … k; see Pedersén 1985, 52, Group M); MARV 8 3 (VAT 20309, Assur …); MARV 8 62 (VAT 20690, Assur … w); MARV 8 96 (VAT 20730, Assur … au); MARV 9 14 (VAT 20097, Assur … a); MARV 9 95 (VAT 19209, Assur … ai).
10. The inscribed jars found in Room 3′ are labelled Ass. 18763, 18766 and 18827; see Pedersén 1985, 43 (Groups A, B, and I) and 1997, 126.
11. Ass. 18827 and 18766. For these inscribed jars, see Pedersén 1997, 126; the translations of the inscriptions are given in Postgate 2013, 90.
12. Maul 2013, 564 fig. 3. Visual communication through this pictogram could have been addressed to people who were unfamiliar with cuneiform writing, as Maul observes. The recipients of this visual language may have been the illiterate staff in the service of the *ginā'u* bureau, who needed to know the contents of the jars, especially if the containers were sealed and had to be moved to another place or administrative office.
13. Pedersén 1985, 43–53; 1998, 84–85; Freydank 1997, 47–52; 2011, 431–440; 2016, esp. 53–82, 102–177; Postgate 2013, 89–146; Maul 2013, 561–574; Gauthier 2016.
14. Gaspa 2011a, 161–222; 2011b, 233–259; Postgate 2013, 89–146; Gauthier 2016.

gious meaning in terms of collective or state identity presumably attached to the provincial duty to pay the annual tax for the regular offerings of the "national" cultic centre of the "Land of Aššur".[15] Professions, social contacts and interactions between professional groups and institutional bodies are crucial aspects of Middle Assyrian society and economy, and can be reconsidered in the light of studies on social network analysis, as applied to cuneiform archives.[16] Middle Assyrian boatmen have been the subject of research in works on professions[17] and the administrative management of the *ginā'u*-tax and provincial shipments,[18] but the existing M4 documentation allows for an in-depth study of individual groups of texts or "dossiers" on those boatmen who appear most frequently in the archive.

The following analysis, therefore, focuses on the group of texts from the Archive M4 that deal with river transport activity performed by Ḫimsātēya and other individuals identifiable as his relatives; for the sake of clarity, these texts are referred to as "Ḫimsātēya's dossier". The inquiry discusses the individuals engaged in *ginā'u*-related river transportation in the framework of the Tigris River system and other individuals whose roles were also crucial in the management of *ginā'u*-goods shipping.

The sailors' activities and the socio-professional contacts they had with the institutional sector are discussed in light of the available documentation. From the perspective of social network analysis, Middle Assyrian sailors can be considered both actors at the centre of a network of relations and part of other actors' networks. These differ not only in the properties of the ties and the social-occupational positions of the other actors in the system but also in the geographical setting in which the networks are situated.[19]

In addition to reconstructing the social and professional context in which these sailors acted, the present study reconsiders the *ginā'u* system in terms of shipments. The administrative management of the transport and consignment of shipments emerges at least in part through the available texts, since many aspects remain unknown. The administrative procedures of which the available texts from Ḫimsātēya's dossier and the entire Archive M4 bear traces are therefore taken into account in the present study. Through the microhistory of this boatman's family and the shipments they consigned, we can gain deeper insights into the management of the *ginā'u* provincial contributions by the Assyrian state, the river transport organisation, the record-keeping practices followed by the scribes, and the administrative procedures involved.

2. Ḫimsātēya and his river journeys

If one were to look for a link to the profession in the personal names of Middle Assyrian boatmen, one would soon be disappointed. With the exception of names that explicitly

15. Maul 2013, 569–574; Postgate 2013, 89.
16. On the applicability, advantages and problems of this method, see Waerzeggers 2014.
17. Jakob 2003, 500–507.
18. Gauthier 2016, 199–252. See Gaspa 2023 for a prosopographical study.
19. On these aspects, see Waerzeggers 2014, 210–213.

mention the boatman's activity (*malāḫu*) or hydronyms of the main waterways[20] where their activity presumably took place — certainly to be understood as auspicious for the name-bearer and his everyday work[21] — the onomastics of Middle Assyrian boatmen is in line with that of the time. The personal name borne by the sailor Ḫimsātēya derives from the plural word *ḫimsātu*, "wrongful possessions",[22] or from *ḫimṣātu*, "plundered goods".[23] One cannot exclude the possibility that this anthroponym was a nickname,[24] although the reason why he was so called remains unknown. This is also true if one considers that name-giving in his family seems to have been almost entirely in line with Assyrian anthroponymy, as shown by the theophoric names borne by his relatives.

Ḫimsātēya was one of the boatmen involved in the transport of *ginā'u* contributions on waterways from the provinces of the Middle Assyrian kingdom to the administrative bureau in charge of this tax in Assur during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I.[25] As with all the sailors recruited for the mobilisation of *ginā'u* products from the provinces, the Archive M4 documents only shed light on the transport activity performed for the regular offerings bureau, while nothing is known about this sailor's career as boatman before or after his service to the *ginā'u* administration. Although limited to few texts, the dossier concerning Ḫimsātēya and members of his family is of great importance, since it allows to reconstruct the connections of this family of boatmen with the *ginā'u* administration in Assur across different generations. Ḫimsātēya's activity in the service of the *ginā'u* administration covers the period from the *līmu* of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu to that of Mudammeq-

20. A theophoric name borne by some Middle Assyrian *malāḫu*s explicitly refers to the profession of boatmanship through the qualification of the supreme Assyrian deity. See the name *Aššur-malāḫ*, "Aššur is the boatman" (MARV 1 21, 8; 56, 29; MARV 2 24, r.15, 19; env. r.4″; MARV 3 38, 3; MARV 5 3, r.16; 31, 5′; MARV 6 42, 15; 88, 11). Another type of name is attested in sailor onomastics and concerns the Tigris, as witnessed by the anthroponym *Ṣillī-Digla*, "My shade/protection is the Tigris" (BATSH 18/6 27, r.11; MARV 5 3, e.14; MARV 8 94, e.8; MARV 9 98, 6, r.10). For the variant referring to the Euphrates, see the form *Ṣillī-Puratte* (BATSH 18/6 74, 26′; 77, 28″), but this was not borne by boatmen. Another Tigris-based anthroponym is *Digla-ēriš*, "The Tigris has desired", borne by the father of the sailor Šalgu (MARV 10 16, 2). The tradition of naming individuals after the Tigris was well rooted in second-millennium BCE Assyria, both for men and women; in the Middle Assyrian anthroponymy, see, *e.g.*, *Digla-[…]-aḫḫēšu*, *Digla-ašarēd*, *Digla-šarrat*, *Digla-šēzibat*, *Mār-Digla*, *Kidin-Digla*, *Nūr-Digla*, *Sīqi-Digla*, *Šēpē-Digla*, *Tašme-Digla*, *Ṭāb-pî-Digla*, *Ummī-Digla*, and *Urad-Digla*. On river-based names in Middle Assyrian nomenclature, see also the name *Nāru-erīb* and perhaps also *Ḫābūr-eli*.

21. In the case of sailors' families, this name-giving practice may be considered an integral part of apotropaic practices in use among communities that lived on river transport and was principally aimed at protecting the boatman and his navigation. To some extent, it may be considered analogous to the act of painting or adding eye-shaped elements or other protective elements on the bows of boats, which is still practiced in various parts of the world.

22. CDA, 116b; AHw, 346b. For the verb *ḫummusum*, "to oppress", see CDA, 120a.

23. According to CAD Ḫ, 191b, *ḫimsātu* is the Assyrian form of *ḫimṣātu*, "booty, spoils; gain, profits". See also Saporetti 1970, 123: "bottino". For the verb *ḫamāṣu*, "to tear off, plunder", see CDA, 103b.

24. A non-abbreviated hypocoristic name, according to Saporetti 1970, 87. The name does not appear in the Neo-Assyrian onomastics.

25. On the sailor Ḫimsātēya in previous studies, see Jakob 2003, 502; Postgate 2013, 102f., 123; Freydank 2016, 87–89. For a discussion of the activities of both this sailor and his family, see Gauthier 2016, 205, 230–233.

Bēl, possibly around the middle of the reign.[26] There is consensus that the eponymate of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu constituted the second regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I.[27] It is less clear when the eponymate of Mudammeq-Bēl should be situated within the reign period of this king. According to H. Freydank, it is to be dated to the middle of his reign, perhaps corresponding to the 18th year.[28] Recently, P.E. Gauthier proposed to identify this *līmu* with the 14th regnal year.[29] Both these hypotheses indicate a period of more than a decade in which this boatman worked in river transport. The preserved texts testify to the periods within the time span from the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu to that of Mudammeq-Bēl in which he was available to conduct journeys for the *ginā'u* administration. Other attestations of the activities conducted by this sailor in the Archive M4 documents in which no dates are provided or that cannot be reconstructed[30] are probably to be dated to the same reign. Some texts mentioning Ḫimsātēya and some of his sons show that they operated when Ezbu-lēšir held the office of overseer of the regular offerings (*rab ginā'e*).[31] A list of shipments received in Assur, dated to the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, mentions Ḫimsātēya as the transporter of a barley load from the province of Ḫalaḫḫu and a person who received a cargo, apparently acting as a deputy of Ezbu-lēšir in the role of receiver of *ginā'u* contributions.[32] The *ginā'u* supervisor Ezbu-lēšir is also mentioned in a tabular account dated to the year of Aššur-šallimšunu;[33] in this text a nephew of Ḫimsātēya is mentioned among a number of boatmen.[34] The name Ezbu-lēšir occurs in another record of shipments received, this one dated to the *līmu* of Ina-ilīya-allak, that also includes a barley load brought by Ḫimsātēya from Ḫalaḫḫu.[35] A text dated to the year of Šamaš-apla-ēriš explicitly attests that Ezbu-lēšir received the *ginā'u* contribution related to the year of Aššur-šallimšunu from the province of Katmuḫḫu, part of which constituted the shipment brought by two sons of Ḫimsātēya.[36]

Patronyms represent a valuable source of information for reconstructing family ties in Middle Assyrian society. Concerning the texts of Archive M4, the scribes working for the regular offerings bureau do not seem to have systematically or consistently recorded the patronyms of the individuals engaged in transporting the *ginā'u*-related provincial goods

26. KAJ 302, 10; MARV 1 21, 6; MARV 6 3, 7; 26, 8; 52, r.15; 88, 7; MARV 8 96, 14′; MARV 9 14, r.50′–51′; 16, 4, r.6. The occurrence of MARV 6 3 is omitted in the list of attestations of this sailor in Gauthier 2016, 203.
27. Bloch 2012, 48; Freydank 2016, 128, 155; Gauthier 2016, 716.
28. Freydank 1991, 151; 2016, 128, 160.
29. Gauthier 2016, 717.
30. MARV 6 28, r.8′ (= MARV 1 66); MARV 8 3, 9′, 15′; 74, 9, e.13.
31. MARV 6 26, r.15; 52, e.19; MARV 9 14, r.55′. On the role of supervisor of the regular offerings, see Jakob 2003, 175–181. On Ezbu-lēšir, see Postgate 2013, 90–93 and Freydank 2016, 79–81, 122–124.
32. MARV 6 52, r.17-e.21. See also TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P283270 (last access: 16.11. 2023). The beginning of the name in line r.18 ˹MÍ˺.*la*-˹x-x˺-[…] seems to indicate that a woman acted as a substitute for the *rab ginā'e*.
33. MARV 9 95, r.29. For the restoration of the eponym's name, see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions in Landscape Format*, *ad* MARV 9 95.
34. MARV 9 95, r.28.
35. MARV 9 14, r.54′–56′.
36. MARV 6 26, r.13–16.

to Assur. In some cases, the use of the patronym clearly served to distinguish otherwise homonymous individuals. In other situations, a patronym could be used in the first mention of the sailor in a document and omitted in the rest of the same text. Some scribes omitted the patronym completely in their texts, probably because the person in question was well known to the administrators and accountants, so there was no need to include redundant information in the records. The scope of these administrative texts also played a role in these omissions of the boatmen's fathers' names. A relevant number of them were ephemeral documents, not intended to archival destination as a reference text for long-term consultation and as sources to compile multi-period accounts. Consequently, the information contained in them was reduced to essential data. Analogous considerations may be made regarding the professional title of *malāḫu*, which is not consistently used by the *ginā'u* accountants. Presumably, information on Ḫimsātēya's occupation was considered unnecessary and redundant by the scribes in light of the fact that he was among the long-term acquaintances of the *ginā'u* administrators and that his river transport service was well known.

Many texts from this dossier identify Ḫimsātēya as the son of a man called Sîn-idnanni.[37] Other documents which omit the patronym could also refer to this individual. The M4 text corpus provides no information on Sîn-idnanni. As he was Ḫimsātēya's father, one cannot exclude the possibility that he practised the same profession as his son, but this is purely conjectural.[38] That this name was used in sailors' onomastics of the period in which the *ginā'u* bureau was active in Assur is evident from a tabular-formatted text whose multi-column layout lists quantities of barley delivered by a number of sailors, the arrears quotas to be paid by the supplying provinces and the names and patronyms of the sailors in charge of carrying these shipments to the capital's harbour.[39] One of the sailors mentioned in this document is the boatman Sîn-idnanni, son of a certain Tunūya.[40] However, the late date of this text shows that this *malāḫu* has nothing to do with Ḫimsātēya, since these sailors were active during the same period. Consequently, this Sîn-idnanni was probably another person, homonymous with Ḫimsātēya's father. Ḫimsātēya's father must have been active a generation earlier.

As Table 1 shows, Ḫimsātēya's activities are recorded in *ginā'u*-related documents that do not belong to the same text category. From the typological and function-related point of view, the majority of texts issued by the accountants of the *ginā'u* administrative unit are records that bear witness to the reception of Ḫimsātēya's cargoes in Assur, all of which concern quantities of barley.[41] This means that these records were written after the

37. MARV 1 21; MARV 6 88; MARV 8 3; MARV 9 14; 16. Note that in AMA, S, 57f. *s.v. Sîn-idnanni*, the occurrence in MARV 1 21, 6 is omitted, while the connection of the occurrence in MARV 9 14, r.51′ with Ḫimsātēya (line r.50′) is not expressed.
38. This anthroponym was not limited to Assur onomastics. An individual bearing the name Sîn-idnanni, father of a man called Gabbe-ina-Adad, is attested in a document from Kulišḫinaš. See AMA, S, 57 *s.v.*
39. Postgate 2013, 102; Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 9 95.
40. MARV 9 95, 3.
41. MARV 1 21; MARV 6 3; 88; MARV 8 3; 74; 96; MARV 9 14; 16.

cargoes reached the port of Assur and that their content was scrupulously measured and finally stored in the stores under the control of the *ginā'u* bureau. In the majority of cases, these documents were written in a text-production context and in a time period far from the events they describe. A type of written reporting which can be considered closer to the event is constituted by notes bearing tally marks and a brief description. Coarsely written notes with tally marks,[42] often on unusually shaped tablets, are illustrative of the cargo-checking operations carried out by the accountants in charge of measurement immediately after the arrival of a boatman in the harbour of Assur. Using a vertical wedge for each half homer (50 *qa* = 5 seahs), presumably the volume of each sack or other container of grain counted, the scribe graphically created "10-sack units" on the tablet, each corresponding to a volume of 5 homers (500 *qa*).[43] The value of 5 seahs was the volumetric capacity of the measuring vessel used by the accountant in measuring cargoes.[44] Rarely, the reverse side of these hastily written receipts with measurements bear traces of the (re)calculations the accountant made regarding the 10-wedge tally marks.[45] Later, the data of these measurements in such primary and laconic notes on the spot[46] were incorporated into secondary texts; namely, well-prepared, multi-shipment summary texts and

42. Tally marks were generally written by M4 scribes on the top part of a tablet's obverse side; see MARV 5 57; MARV 7 22; 46; 61; 83; MARV 8 27; 30; MARV 9 16; MARV 10 86; 88. Rarely, these marks were written on the reverse, as shown by MARV 6 78; MARV 8 13; MARV 10 86. Almost all date to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. In the disbursement document MARV 6 69, 7, tally marks are inserted at the bottom of the obverse, while in MARV 10 86, 4 they are in the penultimate line of the obverse. Interestingly, in the latter text, both obverse and reverse bear tally marks; see line r.5. In MARV 7 83, 1′ and MARV 10 86, r.5, there is no separate section for tally marks, but they are inserted in the line of writing, followed by the text.
43. Maul 2013, 566. The 50-*qa* unit for tally marks is widely attested in Archive M4; see MARV 5 57; MARV 6 69; MARV 7 22; 46; 61; 83; MARV 8 30; MARV 9 16; MARV 10 86; 88. Other equivalences are also attested: see MARV 8 13 and 27 for tally marks equivalent to one homer (= 100 *qa*), and the "10-sack unit" mark corresponding to 10 homers (= 1,000 *qa*). For a discussion, see Gaspa 2011b, 242f.; Gauthier 2016, 268, 755f.
44. Postgate 2016, 232.
45. Traces of both impressed marks and numerical signs are attested in M4 texts. Clearly, these signs were not part of the information on the cargo that had to be submitted to the *ginā'u* bureau after measurement. They were simply intended for the personal use of the author to help him in calculations or to double-check the correctness of calculations. The fact that isolated tally marks are written randomly on the writing space of a reverse side of a tablet, as shown in MARV 6 78, could be an indication of the function of these marks as an aid to the scribe's calculations. The creativity of the Assyrian bureaucrat can also be seen in different marks, all certainly drawn from his school training and everyday writing experience. On the top part of the reverse side of MARV 7 46, after writing the text on the obverse, the scribe made two rows of impressed circles with his stylus, each corresponding to a 10-wedge tally mark, adding some numerical entries referring to calculations of the tally marks in the low part of the same side. For a picture, see Maul 2013, 567 fig. 4b, and for a discussion, Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 393 *ad* MARV 7 46. In addition, note that the author of this text used another type of mark, different from the above-mentioned ones, to check that his calculations were correct: on the right-hand lower corner of the reverse, he incised five vertical parallel lines with the stylus.
46. Which, according to Cancik-Kirschbaum, would bear witness to the "first administrative level" of Middle Assyrian administrative practice. Tablets generated from this level of administrative work, such as reception of products or disbursement of state-owned commodities to employees, are "in intimate relation to concrete events"; see Cancik-Kirschbaum 2018, 5.

annual records. An example of this kind of primary text with tally marks appears in Ḫimsātēya's dossier.

Other texts in his dossier and in those of his relatives represent secondary texts; that is, documents written long after the events described that summarise data from primary texts, such as disbursement of products received to numbers of employees and records listing shipments received from various locations that were transported and consigned by different boatmen in different periods. As such, these texts represent the second level of the administrative work[47] of the *ginā'u* bureaucrats, and are not directly related to the primary accounting events they summarise. On the contrary, they testify to a process of internal re-organisation and systematisation of primary and individual data in a formal setting that is appropriate to this second-level administrative work,[48] which was aimed at the long-term storage of data for consultation and monitoring and communicating quantitative and qualitative information in essential, concise and easily accessible terms within the same office or administrative sector. The resulting picture that can be reconstructed about Ḫimsātēya's activities for the Regular Offerings House is therefore partial and unbalanced, consisting almost entirely of secondary, compilation documents. Single accounting events that precede the later compilation of partial or final multi-shipment accounts and that refer to procedures related to the various stages of organisation of the sailor's trip from the supplying province to Assur, the consignment of the cargo at the Assur's harbour, the checking operation on the received cargo and the storage of the commodities comprising the cargo in the storage facilities in Assur cannot be reconstructed with the available documentation, although these events may be inferred from the second-level documents.

In three documents in Ḫimsātēya's dossier, the administrators' focus is not on the reception of the shipments brought by the sailor (secondary information), but on the division of the total amount of grain into specific quotas to be allocated to officials of the temple staff (primary information).[49] Apart from an epistolary text whose main purpose is to confirm to the recipient the delivery of a cargo and the goods that comprised it, all the texts concerning this sailor involve his transport of *ginā'u* commodities to Assur. As with many documents issued by the regular offerings bureau, these texts from Ḫimsātēya's dossier are unsealed, an indication that they were internal records of this administrative unit. They were not intended for external readers and do not reflect bilateral transactions, but were reference documents — of different scope and "archival life" — for the same scribes in charge of managing the *ginā'u*-tax from the provinces and the allocation of these goods to temple staff responsible for processing them into end products.[50] The validity of these documents derives from their being issued institutionally.[51] The sole sealed document in the dossier is a short note still dealing with delivery of commodities, but the fragmentary status of the tablet does not help clarify its function.

47. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2018, 5.
48. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2018, 5f.
49. MARV 8 3; 96; MARV 9 14.
50. Postgate 2013, 135–138, 144.
51. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2012, 27.

The purpose of internal records also characterises the sole tabular text in Ḫimsātēya's dossier, which deals with multiple barley shipments delivered by various sailors from different contributing provinces. The dates of six texts are unknown, a fact that prevents us from understanding how these documents relate to the dated texts and from reconstructing the exact chronology of Ḫimsātēya's river transport activity for the *ginā'u* administration.

Text	*Date*	*Type of document and content*	*Notes*
KAJ 302	Unknown	Letter to Ezbu-lēšir	Confirmation of delivery of a load
MARV 1 21	After the 13th day of the month Muḫur-ilāni (X), eponym Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed
MARV 6 52	12th? day of the month Abu-šarrāni (XI), ep. Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed
MARV 6 88	Unknown, but possibly ep. Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed
MARV 6 3	Unknown, ep. Aššur-šallimšunu	Reception of multiple barley shipments	Unsealed; six-column tabular tablet
MARV 9 16	28th day of the month Abu-šarrāni (XI), ep. Ḫiyašāyu	Reception of barley and flour	Unsealed; tally marks made upon the arrival of the cargo
MARV 9 14	Day unknown of the month Abu-šarrāni (XI), ep. Ina-ilīya-allak	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed; redistribution of barley to officials of the temple staff
MARV 6 28 (= MARV 1 66)	Unknown	Note on delivery of sesame and syrup	Sealed
MARV 8 3	Unknown	Disbursement of barley from received shipments	Unsealed; redistribution of barley to officials of the temple staff
MARV 8 74	Unknown	Reception of barley and fruit shipments	Unsealed
MARV 8 96	Unknown (ep. Mudammeq-Bēl?)	Disbursement of barley from received shipments	Unsealed; redistribution of barley to officials of the temple staff

Table 1. Types of documents regarding Ḫimsātēya's shipments.

As shown in Table 1, the earliest attestation of Ḫimsātēya's engagement in river transport of *ginā'u* products from the provinces informs us of the consignment of 11 homers 4 *sūtu*s of barley, measured using the *sūtu* of the *ša pirik ritte*-type, "the handbreadth seah", in the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu.[52] In this document, which summarises a number of shipments received according to transporters and the officials who managed them, the entry concerning Ḫimsātēya's shipment occurs between entries regarding two other sailors, Ninurtāya and Aššur-malāḫ. The same metrological unit was also used for the cargoes of these two boatmen, as well as for the one brought by Ḫubbutu.[53] According to this document, the cargo consigned by Ḫimsātēya was part of a larger quantity of 79 homers 9

52. MARV 1 21, 5–6. This occurrence of the anthroponym is omitted in AMA, Ḫ, 29 *s.v. Ḫimsātēju*.
53. MARV 1 21, 3, 7, 11.

*sūtu*s of barley received on the 13th? day of Muḫur-ilāni (10th month) of the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu.[54] In the totals section of the document, it is stated that the grand total is in accordance with the wording of a "large tablet of *receipts*",[55] clearly referring to an earlier record listing these incoming shipments.[56] This *ṭuppu rabītu* must have been a prior and partial compilation of shipments whose data were probably updated with the later records.[57] Unfortunately, the text does not mention the provenance of Ḫimsātēya's shipment, evidently because the author's purpose was not to clarify the identity of the *ginā'u* contributions' suppliers and the place of origin of the goods but to note the actors involved. By contrast, the province from which the *ginā'u* products were delivered to Assur is explicitly mentioned in other M4 documents. In the same year, the *līmu* of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, Ḫimsātēya was apparently involved in another river journey to bring 12? homers 4? seahs of barley from the province of Ḫalaḫḫu, as shown in a multi-shipment document dated to the 12th? day of Abu-šarrāni (11th month).[58] Interestingly, that cargo was not received and presumably also checked and measured on the premises of the *ginā'u* administration, as expected, but in an unspecified "gatehouse" (*bēt bābi*).[59] It is reasonable to think that the shipment in question was the same as the one described in the above-mentioned record and that the author simply amended the quantity of the cargo received by adding an extra homer,[60] presumably after a more thorough check of the archival documentation or after receiving the missing amount. This figure was probably considered the final one; the same quantity occurs in an annual tabular account, as discussed below.

It was only during the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1190–1179/1181–1169 BCE) that Ḫalaḫḫu was the seat of a governor, but one cannot exclude the possibility that it may have been a province well before this period.[61] Ḫalaḫḫu as a contributing province in the *ginā'u*-tax system is not limited to the time of Ḫimsātēya, since it had already provided barley and other *ginā'u*-related products in the reigns preceding the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. A cargo possibly from the province of Ḫalaḫḫu, and consisting of 62 homers of barley, 9 seahs, 3 *qa* of syrup and more than 160 *qa* of sesame, was brought by the sailor Aššur-kēttī-īde during the eponymous year of Ninurta-apil-Ekur.[62] In addition, 3 homers 3 seahs of sesame from that district appear among the *ginā'u* contributions received on

54. MARV 1 21, e.21, 24–25. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 5 *ad* MARV 1 21.
55. MARV 1 21, r.22–23 *ša pi-i* DUB-*pi* GAL-*te* / ˹*ša*?˺ *ma-ḫar ma-ḫar*.
56. Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 6 *ad* MARV 1 21, r.22–23.
57. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 6 *ad* MARV 1 21, r.22–23. Gauthier thinks that this *ṭuppu rabītu* could have been a writing board, but this seems improbable since the scribe uses the word *ṭuppu* rather than *lē'u*.
58. MARV 6 52, r.11–16. See Freydank 2016, 88 and Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 254 *ad* MARV 6 52. For the reconstruction of the eponym's name, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 254, line 2: ^{m}*iš-tu–*$^{r d}$[*aš-šur–a-šàm-šu*]. See also TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P283270 (last access: 16.11.2023). For this occurrence of the sailor's name, see AMA, Ḫ, 29 *s.v.*
59. MARV 6 52, r.17.
60. Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 255 *ad* MARV 6 52, r.11.
61. Llop 2012, 102.
62. MARV 5 35, 5–6. The contributing province is mentioned in line 9. The date section of this list of deliveries in lines r.10′–11′ cites only the "received *ginā'u*" of the king, with no day or month.

the 24th day of Sîn (4th month), in the year of Bēr-nāṣir, during the same king's reign.[63] A cargo of sesame that originated from Ḫalaḫḫu was transported by Aššur-malāḫ, son of a certain Girdu, on the 25th day of Ḫibur (12th month), in the year of Erība-Aššur, during the same reign period.[64] A total amount of 50 homers of barley, presumably involving a number of small individual shipments, is recorded as the contribution from Ḫalaḫḫu on an unsealed and undated list of deliveries,[65] perhaps written during the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur or the beginning of Aššur-dān I's reign (1178–1134/1168–1134 BCE).[66] Another shipment from that province was received in the year of Da'iq-dēn-Aššur, possibly during the reign of Aššur-dān I; it was brought to Assur by the sailor Mardukīya and included 3? homers? of barley, 7 seahs of syrup and 1 homer and 8 seahs of fruit.[67] Moreover, a few years before Ḫimsātēya's shipment of 12? homers 4? seahs, a man called Kuriu, presumably another sailor recruited by the regular offerings administration, brought a cargo of 28 homers of barley from that province.[68]

Indeed, the mobilisation of the *ginā'u* contributions from the province of Ḫalaḫḫu seems to have been the primary task of Ḫimsātēya's engagement in the service of the regular offerings administration, but Ḫalaḫḫu's location is far from certain. Given that in the Neo-Assyrian period its territory included the city of Dūr-Šarrukēn (Ḫōrsābād) and that Tall al-'Abbāsīyah[69] and the Ba'ashiqa-Maqlūb hill range[70] have been suggested as plausible candidates for Ḫalaḫḫu,[71] it is reasonable to assume that the district in question lay between the provinces of Talmuššu to the west and Ninua and Šibanibe to the south and southeast.[72] Accordingly, it probably extended between the area of Dūr-Šarrukēn in the south and the source of the Ḫosr River in the north.[73] If these conclusions on the location of Ḫalaḫḫu are valid, Ḫimsātēya may have loaded his *ginā'u* cargoes at a port on a canal or river in that district and then sailed down the Ḫosr to its mouth on the Tigris and from there to Assur. An alternative route for Ḫimsātēya's river journeys to Assur may have been along the Ḫāzir to the Upper Zab and, upon reaching the confluence of the latter

63. MARV 6 29, r.13. On Bēr-nāṣir as one of the eponyms of the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, see Freydank 1991, 129 and 2016, 31, 145. According to Freydank 2016, 31, the year of Bēr-nāṣir probably corresponded to the 8th regnal year of this king. For the hypothesis that his eponymate was the 5th regnal year of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, see Gauthier 2016, 715.
64. MARV 3 38, 1–5. The exact year of this eponym remains unidentified. This *līmu* seems to have occurred after Ninurta-apil-Ekur's reign, as stated in Freydank 1991, 133. However, according to Freydank 2016, 31, this eponymate is to be assigned to the beginning of that king's reign; perhaps it corresponded to the 4th regnal year. In Bloch 2012, 35f., 46, the *līmu* of Erība-Aššur is regarded as representing the antepenultimate (11th) regnal year of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. Bloch's hypothesis is followed in Gauthier 2016, 715.
65. MARV 8 94, r.14.
66. Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 527 *ad* MARV 8 94.
67. MARV 6 10, 1–5.
68. MARV 7 15, 4′–6′. See AMA, K, 67 *s.v. Kurû*[…].
69. Forrer 1920, 112. See Nashef 1982, 115.
70. Reade 1978, 52f. Reade's suggestion is followed in Parpola & Porter 2001, maps 4 and 28; see Rosa 2010, 332 fn. 32.
71. Postgate 1985, 97.
72. See also Postgate 2013, 31 fig. 2.1.
73. Rosa 2010, 332.

with the Tigris, along the main river to the capital's port. In all likelihood, an experienced boatman with a fully laden boat would certainly have been able to take the right measures when navigating from the mouth of the Upper Zab to enter the waters of the Tigris.[74]

One text referring to Ḫimsātēya is a letter from the same archive, which is addressed to Ezbu-lēšir, the supervisor of the regular offerings administration.[75] Provincial officials often wrote directly to the *ginā'u* supervisor to describe small cargoes they had organised, entrusting them to specific sailors.[76] In this letter, the sender, one Ṣillīya, presumably a provincial official of a contributing district, as N. Postgate suggests,[77] or a member of the *ginā'u* administration,[78] states that he had delivered large quantities of commodities for regular offerings, evidently to the capital. The cargo consisted of 50 homers of barley, one homer of syrup, and 1 homer and 5 seahs of sesame.[79] These quantitative details indirectly confirm that the loading of the boat was monitored by the local authorities or representatives of the governor, and that the goods loaded were measured by the accountants of the provincial government. The place from which the commodities came is not specified in this epistolary text, but Ḫalaḫḫu cannot be ruled out.[80] Ṣillīya explicitly states that the goods were loaded onto Ḫimsātēya's boat,[81] and that in addition to the aforesaid cargo, he was sending his lord Ezbu-lēšir wine and two sheep as a personal gift.[82] Ṣillīya's message to the head of the regular offerings bureau does not indicate the load in the *malāḫu*'s boat with a specific term, which at least from the tabular list MARV 5 5 seems to be indicated by the term *tarkubtu*,[83] possibly referring to the act of loading goods and hence to the cargo.[84]

In a landscape-formatted list of shipments received in Assur, possibly dated to the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu (the same period as the records discussed above), Ḫimsātēya is associated with a cargo from Ḫalaḫḫu of an unspecified good, in all likelihood barley,

74. As observed in De Graeve 1981, 9, entering the Tigris from the Upper Zab, a river with a considerable discharge, was difficult because of the meandering of the main river.
75. KAJ 302. See Ebeling 1933, 23. The text has been re-edited in Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 603, and in TCMA (http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P282315; last access: 20.02.2023); see also Jakob 2003, 178f.; Freydank 2016, 89; Postgate 2013, 103. This attestation of the anthroponym is omitted in AMA, Ḫ, 29–31 *s.v.*
76. Another case is represented by a letter of Šamaš-abī-īde, in which the sender informs the same *rab ginā'e* that he has organised a shipment of 6 homers of sesame as *ginā'u* payment to be brought to his lord via the boatman Ḫurādāyu; see MARV 2 8, 3–7.
77. Postgate 2013, 95 fn. 17.
78. For the possibility that he was an agent dispatched by Ezbu-lēšir to organise the delivery of the *ginā'u* goods from that district, see Gauthier 2016, 232.
79. KAJ 302, 6–8.
80. Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 604 *ad* KAJ 302.
81. KAJ 302, 9–11.
82. KAJ 302, e.12–r.15. See Postgate 2013, 103.
83. MARV 5 5, 5, 7, 8, r.18, 21, 24, 28. See Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 5 5 and TCMA (http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P283401; last access: 16.11.2023).
84. For the interpretation that *tarkubtu* refers to the loading and a charge associated with river transport, see Postgate 2013, 101. Other authors think that the term simply means "cargo". See Gauthier 2016, 224, and De Ridder 2021, 228.

amounting to more than 15 homers and measured by the handbreadth *sūtu*.[85] Here, the scribe summarises the data of previously received shipments according to the criteria followed in the text dated to the 12th(?) day of Abu-šarrāni, but also integrates the names of the supplying provinces, among which is Ḫalaḫḫu. It is in any case unclear how this document correlates with the final annual account of the eponymate of Aššur-šallimšunu, since most of the figures in its columns are lost and the preserved ones do not agree with the quantity of more than 15 *emāru*s.

According to an annual account of shipments structured into a large, six-column tabular format, a type of accurately prepared document destined for a longer archival life in the regular offerings administrative unit and whose data were presumably drawn by the author from previous records of individual cargo deliveries and prior and partial multi-shipment summaries, Ḫimsātēya transported various quantities of barley from Ḫalaḫḫu in the year of Aššur-šallimšunu.[86] How this *līmu* could be related to the known chronology of Tiglath-pileser I's eponyms is unclear. H. Freydank suggested that this eponym might be dated to the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši I (1131–1115 BCE) or of Tiglath-pileser I, more specifically in the final years of Aššur-rēša-iši I or the early years of Tiglath-pileser I.[87] P.E. Gauthier put forward the hypothesis that Aššur-šallimšunu's *līmu* was the 3rd regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I.[88] The multi-column layout, the horizontal rulings to delimit the boatmen's sections, and the totals section for each boatman listed shows that the author's focus was on partial and grand totals of the quantities of *ginā'u* barley received from a number of provinces during the year in question. Consequently, each column would represent a single shipment or the total volume of different small shipments received during a specific period of the year.[89] The fragmentary status of the passage of the text concerning the quantities of barley transported by Ḫimsātēya prevents us from knowing the specific amounts transported in each trip (or the total quantities each resulting from his multiple trips within a specific period) and consigned during the year, along with the grand total received by the *ginā'u* administration during this accounting period. Only in the fourth and sixth columns are the figures of the transported quantities of grain partially readable: one shipment consisted of more than one homer, while another amounted to 12 homers 4 seahs.[90] It is worth noting that the latter figure corresponds to the quantity recorded in one of the above-mentioned multi-shipment accounts referring to a cargo consigned in a specific period of the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu.[91] Following Gauthier's hy-

85. MARV 6 88, 6f. See Freydank 2016, 87f. and Postgate 2013, 101; for this occurrence of the name, see AMA, Ḫ, 30 *s.v.*
86. MARV 6 3, 6–7. For the restoration of line 7, see Freydank 2016, 87, and Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 3. This occurrence of the name is listed in AMA, *Iniziale frammentaria*, 108 *s.v.* […]-*tēja*. The grid of vertical rulings of this tabular account is not consistently applied by the scribe; the obverse shows a five-column grid, while the reverse has six columns.
87. See Freydank 1991, 87, 123; 2016, 101.
88. Gauthier 2016, 716.
89. On this aspect, see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 3. Gauthier suggests that the amount listed in each column represents the quantity received within a two-month period.
90. MARV 6 3, 6: ˹1+x ANŠE˺ and 12 ANŠE 4 BÁN.
91. MARV 6 52, r.11; the same cargo is recorded in MARV 1 21, 5.

pothesis, we would expect to find the other quantity attested, corresponding to more than 15 homers, in one of the other columns, but no signs are visible on this section of the tablet.[92] Presumably, the Ḫalaḫḫean barley also transported by Ḫimsātēya was measured by the accountants by the metrological unit of the *pirik ritte* seah; it seems that this seah was the predominant measure used in the barley cargoes received during the year of Aššur-šallimšunu, as we read in this document.[93]

Some years later, Ḫimsātēya was involved in transporting another quantity of barley, as evident from a succinct and coarsely made note on a landscape-formatted tablet written upon the arrival of the cargo and dated to the year of Ḫiyašāyu. This eponymate probably occurred in the first third of Tiglath-pileser I's reign, more precisely in the early years, if we follow Freydank's suggestion;[94] it could have been his 4th regnal year,[95] while Gauthier proposes the 5th regnal year.[96] The information contained in the document is essential (*i.e.*, quantities carried, identity of the transporter and date of consignment) and reflects the administrative event determined by the arrival of the boat at the port, the unloading operations and the measurement made by the *ginā'u* accountant. Interestingly, an important piece of information is not included in this short text; the provenance of the load carried in Ḫimsātēya's boat is not indicated by the scribe, but it was probably the province of Ḫalaḫḫu.[97] The quantity of barley measured upon the arrival of Ḫimsātēya's vessel is indicated on the tablet by 160 tally marks engraved on the first half of the obverse side, and the figure of 80 homers is noted in the prose text section.[98] The equivalence between tally marks and the numerical entry shows that the accountant used the 50-*qa* seah in his measurements of Ḫimsātēya's cargo. The scribe puts much more emphasis on identifying the transporter. Indeed, the boatman's identity is indicated twice in this document: at the end of the section regarding barley,[99] and at the end of another section that mentions a quantity of more than 170 *qa* of flour.[100] In the latter, Ḫimsātēya is identified by his personal name and patronym. Like the wine and sheep mentioned in Ṣillīya's missive, the presence of flour in Ḫimsātēya's cargo shows that the river transport of *ginā'u* goods could include products beyond the ones that constituted the standard commodities of the *ginā'u*-tax. These goods might not necessarily be linked to the tax for regular offerings, and probably served as personal gifts to consolidate social and professional relationships

92. No reconstruction of the figures in columns 1, 2, 3 and 5 is suggested in TCMA (http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P288636; last access: 16.11.2023). Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 3, tentatively proposes that the first column includes the figure "x+1500 *qa*". However suggestive this hypothesis may be, the number is in any case not visible in the CDLI photo of the tablet at https://cdli.ucla.edu/P288636 (last access: 16.11.2023).
93. MARV 6 3, 11, e.19, r.21, 27. The same metrological unit is restored by Gauthier in lines 3, 5, 9; see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 3.
94. Freydank 1991, 87, 138; 2016, 128, 148.
95. Freydank 2016, 128.
96. Gauthier 2016, 717.
97. Gauthier 2016, 231.
98. MARV 9 16, 1–3.
99. MARV 9 16, 4; see Freydank 2016, 89 and AMA, Ḫ, 31 *s.v.*
100. MARV 9 16, r.6. See AMA, Ḫ, 31 *s.v.*

with higher-ranking officials in return for favours. In any case, the presence or absence of these additional goods was determined by the space left available inside the transporter's boat after loading the *ginā'u*-related provincial commodities.

In the eponymate of Ina-ilīya-allak, identified as the 6th regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I,[101] Ḫimsātēya continued to serve the regular offerings bureau through river trips from Ḫalaḫḫu. A record concerning the reception of a number of shipments from provinces on different dates and whose barley quantities were distributed to *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers of the Aššur Temple staff sheds further light on this sailor's activity. This is another type of second-level document, in which the scribe's interest is in the allocation on specific days of the same year of the grain cargoes received to a number of employees in charge of processing the barley and the exact individual quotas into which the total amounts were divided. In the case of this journey, the amount of barley carried from Ḫalaḫḫu was 220 homers,[102] a decidedly exceptional quantity when compared to his previous loads. This cargo arrived on an otherwise unknown day of Abu-šarrāni (11th month),[103] and was measured using the handbreadth seah,[104] a capacity measure that had also been used by the *ginā'u* accountants in Ḫimsātēya's previous missions. Once carefully checked and measured, the barley was then allocated to the above-mentioned temple officials.[105] To judge from the grand total section of this account, the quantity of barley recorded was in accordance with what was stated in a previous — literally, "old" (*labērtu*) — document of Ezbu-lēšir.[106] Was this *ṭuppu labērtu* sealed or unsealed? We can suppose that this was an earlier formal document attesting to the reception of these barley quantities from suppliers, and as such did not bear any seal. In this case, the *ṭuppu labērtu* was probably analogous to the *ṭuppu rabītu* cited in the above-discussed account.[107] Multi-shipment accounts were unilateral and informal documents that the *ginā'u* office issued for internal purposes and were thus not sealed.[108] If Ezbu-lēšir's *ṭuppu* in question were a sealed document, it would be unusual for the author not to use the terminology regarding formal documents and sealing,[109] but only generically refer to a prior tablet related to Ezbu-lēšir. Perhaps the best explanation for the use of the phrase *ana pî ṭuppe labērte*[110] is that the

101. See Freydank 1991, 87, 142; 2016, 128, 152; Gauthier 2016, 717.
102. MARV 9 14, r.48′–51′. See Freydank 2016, 88f., and Gauthier 2016, 231. On this occurrence of the name, see AMA, Ḫ, 31 *s.v.*
103. MARV 9 14, r.41′. Note that in lines 1 and e.28 the days 24th and 16th+x, respectively, are indicated.
104. MARV 9 14, r.49′.
105. MARV 9 14, r.52′–53′. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 538f., *ad* MARV 9 14.
106. Gauthier transliterates lines r.55′–56′ as *ša* ˹*a*?*-na pi*?*-i*? DUB? SUMUN˺ *ša* m*ez-bu*—˹SI˺.SÁ / *ma-aḫ-*˹*ru*˺*-ú-*˹*ni*˺; see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 537, *ad* MARV 9 14.
107. MARV 1 21, r.22–23.
108. See Postgate 2013, 136 on tabulated annual accounts of receipts or arrears.
109. For the terminology regarding formal documents (*kiṣirtu*) and sealing (*kunukku*), see MARV 3 36, r.17–18; env. 85 3′–4′; MARV 5 7, 16–e.18; 42, r.14–15; env. 1″. See also Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 539f., *ad* MARV 9 14, r.55′.
110. For the possibility that the formula *ana pî ṭuppi*, "according to the wording of the tablet", is used in MARV 9 14, r.55′, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 539f., *ad* line r.55′. The phrase is also attested in the document AuOrS 1 105, 4 (TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/tsh1/P531095; last access 16.11.2023).

"old document" in question was an informal document, more precisely a summary of receipts, that simply mentioned in its final section the *rab ginā'e* as the one who received the contributions from the suppliers.

Ḫimsātēya also occurs in a sealed note on a landscape-formatted tablet with an unpreserved eponymal name[111] regarding a delivery of sesame and syrup,[112] and in a document of unknown date[113] concerning barley disbursement.[114] In the former document, unfortunately damaged, the presence of the sealing on the top part of the obverse side, representing a winged centaur armed with bow and arrow in front of the motif of the so-called "Assyrian sacred tree" or "tree of life",[115] attests to the bilateral function of the document[116] and admission to liability.[117] Possibly, it was a bilateral receipt involving a high-ranking official.[118] What is clear is that the sailor in question was a long-term acquaintance of the *ginā'u* administrators, having brought a number of provincial shipments to Assur. In the rest of Ḫimsātēya's dossier, no document bears sealing. However, the sealed note on sesame and syrup also had an internal function as written evidence of the administrative event in question for the memory of the author or colleagues at the same bureau, since the scribe wrote down the content so as not to forget, as the final phrase of the text implies.[119]

In the latter text, which follows the format of disbursement documents, different cargoes of barley are said to have been distributed to officials, although the scribe does not specify the dates on which the various quantities were so allocated. In this text, Ḫimsātēya is probably mentioned as the person responsible for transporting the grain cargo to the capital. However, one wonders whether this task was performed with the cooperation of another individual (sailor? official?) whose name is only partially readable on the tablet.[120] The figure concerning the total amount of barley brought by this boatman is broken

111. MARV 6 28, r.12′ (= MARV 1 66) [*li*]-*mu* ^{m}x[…].
112. MARV 6 28, r.8′–9′ (= MARV 1 66). As observed by Freydank in MARV 6 *Inhaltsübersicht*, 9, this text is characterised by unusually syllabic writing of one of the commodities listed (line 2: *di-iš-pu*.M[EŠ?]) and Ḫimsātēya's professional qualification (line r.9: ˹LÚ.˺*ma-la-ḫu*), along with a certain degree of confusion about the usual writing of the word "sesame" (line 1: GIŠ.ŠE.˹Ì.MEŠ˺, but line 5: ŠE.GIŠ.˹Ì.MEŠ˺). On this occurrence of the sailor's name, see AMA, Ḫ, 29 *s.v.*
113. The mention of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu in line r.11′ confirms that the document was written during Tiglathpileser I's reign. For the possibility that it dates to around the first decade of his reign, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 467 *ad* MARV 8 3.
114. MARV 8 3, 8′–9′; see Freydank 2016, 88. For this occurrence of the anthroponym see AMA, Ḫ, 30 *s.v.*
115. Seal no. 11 (VAT 16397); see MARV 6 *Siegelkatalog*, 83 for a description and Pl. 13, nos. 33–35 for a picture and line drawings of the reconstructed seal.
116. On the categories of bilateral sealed documents issued by the *ginā'u* bureau, see Postgate 2013, 130–134, 138, 144.
117. See Postgate 2013, 75.
118. See Gauthier 2016, 265.
119. MARV 6 28, r.10; on this formula, see Postgate 2013, 80. For the suggestion that the phrase characterised informal documents written by the *ginā'u* supervisor, see Gauthier 2016, 669–671.
120. MARV 8 3, 9′–10′ [*i-na* ŠU] ˹^{m}˺*ḫi-im-sa-te-ia* DUMU 30—*id-na-ni* / […] ˹x-x˺-*ia-e*. No suggestion is made in Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 466 *ad* MARV 8 3 regarding the name in line 10′.

on the tablet, but it must have consisted of a number of homers.[121] Interestingly, the metrological unit used in this case to measure this load was the 12-*qa sūtu*,[122] not the handbreadth *sūtu*. According to the same text, it appears that Ḫimsātēya was also involved in a second delivery, with an amount of barley still measured by the seah of 12 *qa*, but in this case in the *ḫiṣnu* mode;[123] namely, by retaining the grain within the measuring vessel, possibly by levelling off the top of the contents with a tool, as suggested by Postgate.[124] The scribe does not indicate the provenance of either cargo. The only place of origin of *ginā'u* barley in this text is explicitly indicated in two sections on the reverse of the tablet.[125] It seems that the quantitative information contained in this text was checked by the scribe, as the horizontal checking marks (AŠ-signs) before two entries in a section of the reverse suggest.[126] Checking marks constitute another category of the extrinsic features of a document[127] and convey information concerning the completeness and accuracy of what was written. They may have been added during the revision of the text by the author himself and thus be contemporaneous with the text production. Alternatively, they might have been added by a second scribe, presumably in charge of double-checking the work of the document's author at a stage following but not too distant from the production of the text.

A further cargo entrusted to Ḫimsātēya is recorded in an undated and rather concise list of shipments of barley and fruit, which shows the same "quantity — metrological unit — transporter" format of the two above-discussed accounts in the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu.[128] According to this text, the boatman brought a load of more than 25 homers (of barley) to the capital.[129] In some of this document's entries, the metrological unit used to measure the barley quantities is the seah of 50 *qa*,[130] and it is reasonable to think that it was also used in the measurement of Ḫimsātēya's barley cargo.[131] In this case too, the contributing province is not mentioned by the scribe, but one wonders why the name of Kulišḫinaš was included in the final section of the document.[132] We ignore whether the province mentioned at the end of the text was the place of origin of all the cargoes listed

121. MARV 8 3, 8′ [PAP …] ˹ANŠE˺.
122. MARV 8 3, 8′.
123. MARV 8 3, 14′–15′. The metrological notation in lines 14′–15′ *ḫi-˹iṣ˺-nu* / […]-˹*di*?˺ may refer to the expression *ḫiṣnu madid*, "measured in the *ḫiṣnu* mode"; see Postgate 2016, 235. Note that in Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 466 *ad* MARV 8 3, this measuring technique is only translated as "*ḫiṣnu*-style". In De Ridder 2021, 169, the term *ḫiṣnu* is considered as a designation for a type of barley, while no mention is made about measuring.
124. Postgate 2016, 237.
125. MARV 8 3, r.7′, 15′.
126. MARV 8 3, r.8′, 9′. Perhaps these marks were also present in other lines of the tablet, but the broken parts at the beginning of each line on both the obverse and reverse prevent us from knowing.
127. For the extrinsic and intrinsic features of a text in the terminology of diplomatics as applied to administrative documents, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 2012, 26–28.
128. MARV 1 21; MARV 6 88; see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 516 *ad* MARV 8 74.
129. MARV 8 74, 8–9; for this attestation of the name, see AMA, Ḫ, 30 *s.v.*
130. MARV 8 74, 1, 6.
131. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 515 *ad* MARV 8 74.
132. MARV 8 74, r.1′ ˹x˺ […URU?.*ku*?-*liš*?]-*ḫi-na-˹áš*!?˺; see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 515.

or, much more likely, only of a shipment that was probably mentioned in the last, heavily damaged lines of the reverse. If Ḫimsātēya's cargo originated in Kulišḫinaš, it is reasonable to think that it was transported overland to the nearest port of embarkation along the Tigris, where the boatman could load it into his boat and start his trip to Assur. The identification of the site of Kulišḫinaš, the capital of the homonymous province, is far from certain. It may have been located in the northeastern part of the Upper Ḫābūr basin (Tell ʻĀmūdā)[133] or in the southern part of the Ḫābūr triangle.[134]

The final attestation of Ḫimsātēya is in an undated document, perhaps to be dated to the year of Mudammeq-Bēl,[135] which concerns the transport of more than one homer[?] and one seah of barley received by *sirāšû*s and *alaḫḫinu*s of the Aššur Temple.[136] In this case, each section of the text probably specified the date of disbursement[137] in addition to the individual quotas of barley that were distributed to officials of the temple staff, the total amount received by these employees, and the person in charge of the transport of the cargo. However, no date is preserved in the text, and the only *malāḫu* mentioned in the document is Ḫimsātēya.

The name of this boatman or a homonymous individual also appears in an undated document that belongs to the text group Assur 18771 of Archive M4. That text lists quantities of an unknown commodity (barley?) apparently allocated to a number of individuals,[138] but the purpose of this disbursement and the professions of the people listed are obscure.[139] Moreover, the names of the individuals listed before and after the entry regarding the individual called Ḫimsātēya do not help identify him.[140]

During the same period in which the boatman Ḫimsātēya conducted his river trips to transport quantities of *ginā'u* barley from the supplying provinces to Assur, the name Ḫimsātēya seems to have been borne by another boatman attested in Archive M4. An undated letter belonging to the text group Assur 18778,[141] written by an unknown provincial official to a supervisor of regular offerings whose name is not preserved, informs us that one Ḫimsātēya, son of a man called Gallābu, "the barber", in one of his missions was transporting 40 homers of barley from a province whose name is not preserved on the

133. Nashef 1982, 171; Postgate 1985, 98; Faivre 1992, 134, 142–146; Rosa 2010, 333.
134. Shibata 2017, 501.
135. MARV 8 96, 6′, 18′; see Freydank 2016, 88 and Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 530 *ad* MARV 8 96.
136. MARV 8 96, 13′–15′; see Freydank 2016, 88 and AMA, Ḫ, 30 *s.v.*
137. See MARV 8 96, 7, r.16′.
138. MARV 5 34, 15′ [x] ANŠE 3 BÁN 6 *qa* ^{m}*ḫi-*^{r}*im-sa*$^{\urcorner}$-[*te-ia*]. For the reconstruction of the line, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 131, *ad* MARV 5 34 and TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P307406 (last access: 16.11.2023). This occurrence of the anthroponym is listed in AMA, Ḫ, 29 *s.v. Ḫim*[…].
139. For a discussion of this problematic text, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 134, *ad* MARV 5 34. Although his view is purely conjectural, Gauthier thinks that the text deals with the milling staff and the quantities of grain that each miller had on hand.
140. MARV 5 34, 13′–14′ mentions two individuals whose names are not preserved (^{mr}*ú*$^{?\urcorner}$-[…], ^{mr}x-x$^{\urcorner}$-[…]). An analogous case occurs in lines 16′–17′, in which other two persons are cited (^{m}*ḫa-ṣi-*^{r}x$^{\urcorner}$-[…], ^{mr}x-x$^{\urcorner}$-[…]). See also TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P307406 (last access: 16.11.2023).
141. Found in a broken jar of Room 3′; see Pedersén 1985, 51, Group G.

tablet.[142] From the sender's words, it appears that this same quantity was removed from Ḫimsātēya's boat and, by virtue of this official's authority, entrusted to a certain Erība-Aššur, an individual not otherwise attested in Archive M4[143] who was sent with the cargo to Assur instead of Ḫimsātēya.[144] From the sender's intentions, the amount removed from Ḫimsātēya's shipment had to cover an outstanding *ginā'u* payment from the sender's province from two years earlier.[145]

Another man named Ḫimsātēya appears in a brief undated note from the text group Assur 21101, belonging to Archive M7, as the father of a certain Urad-Kūbe, a bow-maker.[146] As far as Archive M4 is concerned, two *alaḫḫinu*s with this name worked in the service of the Aššur Temple: one during the reign of Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur (1195–1191/ 1186–1182 BCE) or from that period to the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur,[147] and the second during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I.[148] From another document from Tiglath-pileser I's reign — more precisely, from the text group Assur 13058 (Archive M7) — we learn that another individual bore the name Ḫimsātēya. This person occurs in a list of quantities of madder, apparently as one of the recipients of this dyeing substance.[149] This was a material related to textile processing that helped these individuals complete their work-assignment.[150] The text mentions the eponymate of Sîn-apla-iddina[151] as the period in which the individuals received the madder, a commodity obtained through a commercial journey.[152]

3. Ḫimsātēya's brother and nephew and their activities

Other members of Ḫimsātēya's family can be identified in the Archive M4 texts. Although most of those documents are undated, they presumably belong to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. Ḫimsātēya had a brother named Ištar-tuballissu who also worked as a sailor for the *ginā'u* administration. From Table 2, we can see that his individual dossier comprises only three documents, all of which relate to loans of *ginā'u* goods; none of them is sealed.

142. MARV 7 14, e.13–14. See AMA, Ḫ, 30 *s.v.*
143. Not to be identified with the well-known eponyms named Erība-Aššur. Two eponyms with this name are attested during the period covered in Archive M4. The *līmu* of Erība-Aššur occurred at the beginning (4th year?) of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's reign: see Freydank 2016, 31, 146. A different opinion is expressed in Bloch 2012, 35–36, 46. For him, it was the 11th regnal year, a position also taken by Gauthier 2016, 715. The second eponym with this name must be referred to Aššur-rēša-iši I's reign. According to Freydank 2016, 101, 187, the year of Erība-Aššur probably occurred at the beginning of the second half of Aššur-rēša-iši I's reign (the 11th year?). An official with this name acted as supplier of *ginā'u* contributions. For Erība-Aššur's household, see MARV 1 21, 4; MARV 7 22, e.20.
144. MARV 7 14, 1–r.21.
145. Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 344f., *ad* MARV 7 14.
146. MARV 10 46, 5–6 (= StAT 5, 46). See AMA, Ḫ, 31 *s.v.*
147. MARV 5 28, 4; 51, 6; MARV 7 39, 4′; MARV 9 17, 3; see Freydank 2016, 61f. and Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 378, 542.
148. MARV 7 36, r.11.
149. KAM 11 48, r.17. See AMA, Ḫ, 29 *s.v.*
150. KAM 11 48, r.25.
151. Freydank (2016, 128) tentatively assigns this *līmu* to the 26th regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I.
152. KAM 11 48, r.24.

Text	*Date*	*Sailors involved*	*Type of document and content*	*Notes*
MARV 8 62	Unknown (broken?)	Ištar-tuballissu	Document concerning barley with a legal(?) clause	Unsealed
MARV 7 28	Unknown	Ištar-tuballissu	Document concerning a loan of *ginā'u* goods, including syrup	Unsealed
MARV 7 88	1st day of the month Abu-šarrāni (XI), unknown eponym	Ištar-tuballissu	Summary of barley loans	Unsealed
MARV 9 95	5th day of the month Ša-sarrāte (VIII), ep. Aššur-šallimšunu?	…akdu?	Reception of barley shipments and list of arrear quotas to be paid	Unsealed; four-column tabular tablet

Table 2. Types of documents regarding Ištar-tuballissu's shipments.

In a fragmentary tablet bearing no date, of which only the obverse side survives, Ištar-tuballissu is identified as the son of Sîn-idnanni and responsible for a shipment of barley.[153] These elements identify him as the boatman Ištar-tuballissu, although his profession is not specified by the scribe. Of the quantities of barley loaned recorded in this text, one homer(?) is said to be *ana bēti*, allocated for an unspecified household(?), and 80 homers are reported to have been measured using the norm of the *ša pî* 5 *sūte*, "the opening of the 50-*qa* seah".[154] It appears that the barley belonged to a certain Urad-…, son of Ninurta?-mušallim, who is otherwise unattested in Archive M4.[155] One wonders whether he was the official who provided the barley. Since the barley's place of origin is not specified, nothing can be stated about the route Ištar-tuballissu followed.

According to another loan document, the *alaḫḫinu* Naṯāya received certain goods, including 12? *qa* of syrup, from Ištar-tuballissu as a loan.[156] Although *dišpu* as a sweetening substance in the context of offering food processing is generally associated with the *karkadinnu*s, who were in charge of pastry-making, in a few cases it also appears in connection with *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers.[157] Since the lines related to the goods brought by the *malāḫu* are unpreserved on the tablet, except the reference to syrup, we do not know what kind of goods and in which quantities were borrowed by the *alaḫḫinu*. The amount of *dišpu* taken as a loan is very small and was stored in the *bēt ginā'e*, "the House of the Regular Offerings".[158] What this document tells us is that boatmen were entitled to give *ginā'u* goods transported by them and belonging to the "House of the Regular Offerings" stock, to state employees as loans, unless we hold that the syrup loaned was the boatman's

153. MARV 8 62, 7′–8′; see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 506, *ad* MARV 8 62 and AMA, I, 118 *s.v.*
154. MARV 8 62, 2′–4′. The metrological unit may also refer to the first quantity of barley. The translation of the metrological notation *ša pî* 5 *sūte* as "opening of the 50-*qa sūtu*" or "open 50-*qa sūtu*" is used in Gauthier 2016.
155. MARV 8 62, 4′–5′; see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 506.
156. MARV 7 28, 2–4. In Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 367, *ad* MARV 7 28, Gauthier tentatively reads the beginning of the line 2 as ⌜12?⌝ *qa*, thus interpreting the *Winkelhaken* as part of the numerical sign 12 written in an unconventional way. Following the alternative reading suggested by the same author, the beginning could also be read as *u* 2 *qa*, "and 2 *qa*". This second possibility would indicate that the amount of syrup loaned was even smaller; for this attestation of the anthroponym, see AMA, I, 118 *s.v.*
157. See Gauthier 2016, 373.
158. MARV 7 28, 4.

personal property[159] and was temporarily stored in the *bēt ginā'e* as a favour accorded to a professional with whom the *ginā'u* institution had collaborated for a long time. As observed by N. Postgate, it is unclear whether the *bēt ginā'e* in this and other texts refer to a specific building or the institution of the regular offerings in abstract terms.[160] The location of the "House of the Regular Offerings" has not yet been identified,[161] although the seat of the *ginā'u* office, where Ezbu-lēšir operated with his administrative staff, must have been located on the south-west side of the southern courtyard.[162] The building of the house was not in any case too far from the river quay below the Aššur Temple, as a relevant part of the provincial contributions for the *ginā'u*-tax reached it by river transport.[163] Goods received from boatmen were regularly transferred to storage facilities of the Aššur Temple complex, but we do not know if these storehouses were adjacent to the area of Room 3′ where the M4 texts were kept.[164] What is clear is that *ginā'u* commodities used for loans were issued from the *bēt ginā'e*. From other M4 texts, we learn that *ginā'u* goods, predominantly cereals, were stored in the *bēt ginā'e*[165] and disbursed from there to officials[166] or issued as loans[167] and that measurements[168] and inspection operations[169] took place there.[170] If these control operations revealed a shortfall compared to the requested amount, the missing part had to be consigned with the next delivery.[171] Boatmen were among the professionals who could take amounts of *ginā'u* goods from the stock of the *bēt ginā'e* as loans.[172] Concerning the *alaḫḫinu* Naṯāya, since he is also attested in the eponymates of Aššur-šuma-aṣbat[173] and Aššur-kēna-šallim,[174] we can suppose that Ištar-tuballissu (and perhaps his brother Ḫimsātēya) was already active in river transport during the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši I, if not earlier.

The individual dossier of Ḫimsātēya's brother includes a third document related to loans issued by the regular offerings administration. This text is a compilation of loans, structured into different sections, and among various quantities of barley given as loans, also records 40[?] homers of barley measured using the 50-*qa* seah.[175] The recipients of this

159. Gauthier 2016, 657.
160. Postgate 2013, 107.
161. Jakob 2003, 177.
162. Postgate 2013, 107.
163. Jakob 2003, 177.
164. Postgate 2013, 107f.
165. MARV 6 34, e.14; MARV 10 68, 5.
166. MARV 3 76, 8; MARV 5 24, e.8; 76, e.9; MARV 6 12, e.8; MARV 9 10, r.7′ (as an alternative place of disbursement instead of the *ḫiburnu* storehouse).
167. MARV 7 5, r.13′–e.15′ (mentioned with the *bēt nakkamti*, another store location).
168. MARV 2 24, env. 6′–7′ (sesame); MARV 7 71, 8–9 (sesame and fruit).
169. MARV 7 51, r.13–14. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 400f. *ad* MARV 7 51.
170. Jakob 2003, 177.
171. Jakob 2003, 179.
172. As shown by barley loans to boatmen in Archive Ass. 1876; see Freydank 1992, 284 text no.1, 300f. text no. 20, and Postgate 2013, 122.
173. MARV 7 20, 4. On the *līmu* Aššur-šuma-aṣbat, see Freydank 2016, 101, 140.
174. MARV 7 61, e.9. On this eponym, see Freydank 2016, 100, 138.
175. MARV 7 88, e.16.

loan are the boatman Ištar-tuballissu and the *sirāšû* Ašqudu,[176] an indication that confirms that both river transporters and state employees — in this case a brewer — had access to loans from the *bēt ginā'e*'s stock. It is not clear why the amount loaned is recorded as a combined sum of the two debtors, and not in the form of individual amounts, which presumably must have been recorded on earlier single loan documents.[177] Moreover, one may suspect that a state employee like a brewer of the Aššur Temple was entitled to borrow on terms more favourable from the Regular Offerings House[178] than a sailor. The latter was a professional external to that organisation and likely worked not on a regular basis but through specific work-assignments and transport missions, unless he was employed full-time by the *ginā'u* organisation or a private elite household. The section preceding the one related to Ištar-tuballissu and Ašqudu concerns Nuskūya and Usātēya,[179] two other people who received loans and who are also mentioned together. However, unlike the case of Ištar-tuballissu and Ašqudu, the amounts they received are enumerated separately.[180] As we read in the totals section that follows this part after a blank space, the amounts of barley loaned to Nuskūya and Usātēya and the combined amount disbursed to Ištar-tuballissu and Ašqudu — the latter presumably subdivided into individual sums — were integral parts of the total amount of 75 homers of barley issued as loans within a given period of time, perhaps a month.[181]

Ištar-tuballissu's son continued his father's profession for the regular offerings administration (see Table 2). One of the boatmen attested in a four-column tabular account dated to the 5th day of Ša-sarrāte (8th month), in the eponymate of Aššur-šallimšunu,[182] is identified as the son of Ḫimsātēya's brother. His name is only partially preserved on the tablet: …akdu[?], son of Ištar-tuballissu.[183] This boatman was therefore active in the same period when Ḫimsātēya's sons served the *ginā'u* administration.[184] This well-prepared tabular account records the *ginā'u* cargoes transported and the arrears quotas owed by a number of *malāḫu*s to the *ginā'u* administration. The entries are preceded by headings in the first

176. MARV 7 88, r.17–18. See AMA, I, 118 *s.v.* The names of the recipients were written at the top of the reverse of the tablet, since no space on the lower edge was available.
177. See MARV 7 88, r.22 on *ṭuppātu ṣabbutātu*, which clearly refers to these earlier formally executed and sealed documents. See Postgate 2013, 66f., 75.
178. Postgate 2013, 125.
179. MARV 7 88, 11–e.15. For the palace supervisor Nuskūya, see MARV 3 9, r.27; MARV 8 60, 10. A man with the name Usātēya also occurs in KAM 11 49, r.31, an undated list of individuals and their hometowns from Archive M7.
180. MARV 7 88, 11, 13.
181. MARV 7 88, r.19–21. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 448 *ad* MARV 7 88 for the hypothesis that the lending period was from the 24th day of Ša-kenāte (IX) to the 20th day of Muḫur-ilāni (X).
182. MARV 9 95, r.29 ITI.*ša—sa-*ˈ*ra*ˀ*-te* UD.ˈ5ˀ.KÁM *li-mu* ^{md}*a-šur—*[*šal-lim-šu-nu*]. For the reconstruction of the eponym's name, see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 9 95. This occurrence of the *līmu*'s name is omitted in Freydank 2016, 140.
183. MARV 9 95, r.21. Freydank, in MARV 9 *Indizes*, 18b, transliterated the anthroponym as ˈ^{m}ˀx-x-ˈ*ak*[?]-*du*[!?]ˀ. For this reading of the name, see also AMA, *Iniziale frammentaria*, 10 *s.v.* […]*akdu*. However, note that in AMA, this individual is erroneously listed as the father of Ištar-tuballissu. In Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 9 95, the name is read as ^{m}ˈxˀ-*ak*-ˈxˀ.
184. Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 9 95, r.29.

line of the table concerning the barley amounts, the quantities of the arrears and the identity of the boatmen involved.[185] The fourth column contains the boatmen's patronyms or their professional connections with specific households[186] — a further element of identification of the *malāḫu*s listed that proves that they were professionals outside the Regular Offerings House rather than internal employees.[187] The penultimate line, badly preserved, clearly mentions Ezbu-lēšir[188] as the one who was in charge of formally receiving these *ginā'u* payments from the provinces. On the reverse, the multi-column section is followed by a blank space and a totals section. In this part, the scribe wrote down the total amount of barley, including both the quantities received and those still to be paid from insolvent provinces. Interestingly, the insolvent contributors mentioned in this text are not actually the provinces but the individuals who personally transported and consigned the grain cargoes to Assur. The obligation to pay the *ginā'u*-tax and arrears payments was incumbent on the provincial authorities, principally the governors and secondly other institutional actors,[189] while the boatmen could be considered liable when they failed in their shipping duties, primarily for consigning incomplete cargoes.[190] In this case, the liability apparently falls on the boatmen. The amounts of the barley consigned and the quantities still to be brought show that the regular offerings administration was able to establish individual shipment quotas, imposing on each of the boatmen mentioned in this text an obligation of 20 homers of grain (with the exception of the last *malāḫu* listed, who consigned an amount below this standard), presumably to be paid with shipments of around 5–7 homers per trip, which means three or four journeys.[191] It is reasonable to think that this second-level and summary document was compiled through consultation of single work-assignment documents, receipts of barley consigned and debt notes regarding each of the sailors listed that had been retained in the archive. The total quantity of barley given in the totals section amounts to 451 homers 7 seahs, according to the metrological unit of the "large

185. MARV 9 95, 1 ˹ŠE˺-*am it-tab-la* LAL.MEŠ LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ$_5$.MEŠ.
186. Ṭāb-kār-Aššur is the only one among the sailors listed who is identified not by his patronym, but through his professional connection with the household (*bētu*) of an unknown official for which he worked, known as the "House of Šar[…]." See MARV 9 95, e.16.
187. See Postgate 2013, 135.
188. MARV 9 95, r.28.
189. Postgate 2013, 93, 96; Gauthier 2016, 158–162.
190. Gauthier 2016, 163f. One situation in which a boatman could become a debtor to the *ginā'u* administration was if his cargo was ruined during the trip, as shown in MARV 3 27, r.11–14, which deals with barley arriving at its destination wet and therefore ruined (perhaps during the loading operation in the province's port or due to a temporary transfer ashore during the journey to facilitate manoeuvring in a difficult stretch of the river, a situation that could occur when boats ran aground and that left exposed and vulnerable the goods). In this case, the unpaid portion of barley had to be repaid by the boatman; see Freydank 1992, 284; Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 50 *ad* MARV 3 27. An analogous situation probably concerned the boatman Mār-ṣillīya, who according to MARV 5 39, e.10, r.22–24 had to pay interest on some of the *ginā'u* goods he had transported. If upon a boat's arrival in Assur the *ginā'u* inspectors found that the cargo was only a portion of its nominal volume, the boatman had to provide the missing quantity of the goods on a subsequent journey, as witnessed by MARV 3 38, 6–r.12; see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 67f. *ad* MARV 3 38. See also MARV 6 42, which is a list of debts owed to the regular offerings administration that mentions sailors.
191. See Gauthier 2016, 226.

seah" (*sūtu rabītu*),[192] possibly another way to indicate the "boatman's seah" (*sūtu ša malāḫu*).[193] In addition, the author of the account also converted this sum to the "small seah" (*sūtu ṣeḫertu*) for a total amount of 700 homers[194] and wrote down the interest, presumably charged on the quantities in arrears that remained to be paid.[195]

According to this document, …akdu[?] brought to Assur 20 homers of barley,[196] and like other *malāḫu*s cited in this document owed no arrears to the *ginā'u* office,[197] since he fully accomplished his work-assignment. In the documentation regarding the activities of Ištar-tuballissu and his son, no information can be found about the province(s) from which they transported the *ginā'u* goods to the capital.

4. Ḫimsātēya's sons and their activities

The activities of Ḫimsātēya's sons are better documented. Ḫimsātēya was still active when his sons engaged in river transport. As Table 3 shows, the dossier concerning his sons' activities consists entirely of unsealed tablets, all of which deal with the reception of shipments. Two texts bear witness to the measurement and inspection of the consigned cargoes, while one document deals with disbursement of received *ginā'u* barley to officials. Interestingly, in four documents both Ḫimsātēya and his sons are mentioned.

From the dossier constituted by these documents, we learn that three sons continued in their father's profession. In a compilation of barley shipments in which Ḫimsātēya is also attested, we find Šūzub-Marduk, identified through his professional title,[198] and Urad-ilāni[?], identified (unlike Šūzub-Marduk) as the "son of Ḫimsātēya".[199] The former brought 20[?] homers of barley, measured using the 50-*qa* seah,[200] while the latter appears in a damaged part of the text regarding two additional cargoes that are not included in the totals section, one qualified as "*ginā'u* of the country" (*ginā'e ša māte*) and the other related to the *bēt ḫiburni*, both possibly transported by him.[201] Since these and the other shipments are recorded in this text as received on the 13th[?] day of Muḫur-ilāni (10th month)

192. MARV 9 95, r.25–26.
193. Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 9 95, r.26.
194. MARV 9 95, r.26.
195. MARV 9 95, r.27. The sum is only partially readable because of the break at the beginning of the line. It is possible that the interest sum was 25 homers 5 seahs, as tentatively restored in Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 9 95, r.27.
196. The same quota also characterises the shipments of the sailors cited in MARV 9 95, e.14, 16, r.17–20, 22, 23.
197. MARV 9 95, r.21. Boatmen who had no arrears to pay were not only the ones who had already consigned 20-homer cargoes, for which see MARV 9 95, e.14, 16, r.17–20, 22, 23. There is also a boatman whose name is not preserved who transported a shipment that was below 8 homers 3 seahs the standard shipment quota of 20 *emāru*s, namely 11 homers 7 seahs of barley. See MARV 9 95, r.24.
198. MARV 1 21, 10. See Freydank 2016, 88. The occurrence of the name is omitted in AMA, Š, 150–155 *s.v.*
199. MARV 1 21, r.28. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 4, *ad* MARV 1 21. This occurrence is not included in AMA, U, 64–70 *s.v.*
200. MARV 1 21, 9. Note that in TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P281888 (last access: 16.11.2023), the number is erroneously translated as "36 homers".
201. MARV 1 21, r.26–28. It is not clear if this section is related to line r.29, which mentions the *ginā'u* from the province of Idu.

of the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, the barley cargoes brought by Šūzub-Marduk and Urad-ilāni[?] were evidently consigned in a date starting from that day. The provenance of these shipments is not specified in this summary text. The entry regarding Šūzub-Marduk in this document was inserted by the scribe between those referring to the sailors Aššur-malāḫ and Ḫubbutu.[202]

Text	*Date*	*Sailor involved*	*Type of document and content*	*Notes*
MARV 1 21	After the 13th day of the month Muḫur-ilāni (X), ep. Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu	Šūzub-Marduk, Urad-ilāni[?]	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed
MARV 6 88	Unknown, but possibly ep. Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu	Urad-ilāni	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed
MARV 6 3	Unknown, ep. Aššur-šallimšunu	Šūzub-Marduk	Reception of multiple barley shipments	Unsealed; six-column tabular tablet
MARV 7 36	Unknown (broken), ep. Aššur-šallimšunu	Ḫattāyu	Disbursement of barley from received shipments	Unsealed; redistribution to officials of the temple staff
MARV 6 26	26th day of an unknown month, ep. Šamaš-apla-ēriš	Ḫattāyu, Šūzub-Marduk	Reception of syrup, sesame and fruit	Unsealed
MARV 10 88	12th day of the month of Sîn (IV), ep. Mudammeq-Bēl	Šūzub-Marduk	Reception of one barley shipment	Unsealed; tally marks made at the arrival of the cargo
MARV 8 74	Unknown	Šūzub-Marduk	Reception of barley and fruit shipments	Unsealed
MARV 10 86	14th+x[?] day of an unknown month, unknown eponym	Šūzub-Marduk	Reception of barley shipments	Unsealed; round tablet; tally marks made at the arrival of the cargo

Table 3. Types of documents regarding shipments made by Ḫimsātēya's sons.

A different order of enumeration is given in MARV 6 88, which is another summary of receipts, and the annual tabular account MARV 6 3. In the former text, the entry regarding Šūzub-Marduk is preceded by that of Kidinnīya and followed by that of Bēr-aḫa-iddina,[203] while in the latter the order is inverted, with Bēr-aḫa-iddina's entry preceding Šūzub-Marduk's and Kidinnīya's entry following it.[204] It is also worth noting that in both MARV 6 88 and the annual tabular account MARV 6 3, the authors maintained the sequence "Aššur-malāḫ – Šūzub-Marduk – Ḫubbutu", but inserted the references to Kidinnīya and Bēr-aḫa-iddina before and after Šūzub-Marduk's entry. From a quantitative point of view, it is interesting to observe that the 20-homer amount of barley that Šūzub-Marduk con-

202. MARV 1 21, 7–8, 11–12.
203. MARV 6 88, 12–13, 16–17. Note that in MARV 6 88, 17 a second individual was probably mentioned after the name of Bēr-aḫa-iddina: *i-na* ŠU ^{md}*be-er*–ŠEŠ–SUM-*na* LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ$_5$ *i-na* ŠU $^{m\text{r}}$x$^{\text{?}}$-[…]. See Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 6 88. The *ina qāt* phrase before the second anthroponym leaves no doubt about the responsibility of this second person for managing the shipment. Possibly, this was a second sailor with whom Bēr-aḫa-iddina cooperated to bring the *ginā'u* cargo to Assur. However, no mention is made of this second person in the annual account MARV 6 3, 11, in which the barley amounts transported are uniquely associated with Bēr-aḫa-iddina.
204. MARV 6 3, 10–11, 14–15.

signed during the eponymate of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, according to MARV 1 21, corresponds to the quantity inserted in the second column of MARV 6 3.[205]

It is not always clear if the attestations in M4 documents refer to Šūzub-Marduk, the son of Ḫimsātēya, to a homonymous sailor or an official.[206] Analogous considerations may be made about Urad-ilāni. From another compilation of shipments, possibly dating from the *līmu* of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, we learn that a cargo (of barley) was consigned by one Urad-ilāni and measured using the handbreadth *sūtu*.[207] His entry occurs in a section of the document in which the barley quantities consigned did not come from provincial governments, but from individual contributors.[208] This explains why this type of *ginā'u* shipments are qualified as "loan" (*pūḫu*) in the text.[209] It is therefore plausible that also his cargo was labelled as *pūḫu*. However, it is not certain that he is the same person as the sailor mentioned above. One cannot exclude that he may have been an official acting on behalf of Aššur-bēla-šallim's Household.[210] Differently from the format of MARV 1 21, the author of this text specifies the places of provenance of the cargoes, and we learn that Šūzub-Marduk consigned 5 homers (of barley) from Katmuḫḫu, measured using the 50-*qa sūtu*.[211] This was the northernmost province of the Middle Assyrian kingdom. It might have extended to the north-west of Dahūk, with its central region in the eastern part of the Kāšiyāri mountain area (modern Ṭūr 'Abdīn).[212] Its exact extent cannot be determined, and further evidence is needed. If this was the location of the province, one can suggest that boatmen who transported *ginā'u* shipments from this area of Assyria presumably loaded them at the northernmost port of the Tigris River system, perhaps in the stretch of

205. MARV 6 3, 12. The same figure can be restored in column 4 and perhaps in column 6; see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 3. In TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P288636 (last access: 16.11.2023), no suggestion is made about the quantity of the sixth column.
206. Gauthier 2016, 203 lists only MARV 6 26 and MARV 10 88 as attestations of Šūzub-Marduk, son of Ḫimsātēya. However, *ibid.*, 232, the occurrences in MARV 6 3, MARV 6 26 and MARV 10 88 refer to Ḫimsātēya's son. A sailor and an official with this name were active in the same period. On the *malāḫu* Šūzub-Marduk, son of Šamaš-mušabši[?], see MARV 9 14, 23–27. The homonymous official is attested in MARV 8 96, 2′, 12′; MARV 9 14, e.29 and *passim*. See Freydank 2016, 70, 76.
207. MARV 6 88, 30. For this occurrence of the name see AMA, U, 68 *s.v.* Note that in MARV 6 *Indizes*, 18 s.v. *Urad-ilāni* the occurrence is erroneously cited as in line 31.
208. See Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 88.
209. See the entries concerning the shipments of Uddû, the steward of (the House of) Ilī-padda, Rūqī-lāmur, Mār-āpi'e, Adad-aḫa-ēriš, an unknown *alaḫḫinu*, and Urad-Aššur in MARV 6 88, 22–r.37. A "loan-section" is also included in the annual tabular account MARV 6 3, r.22–29, which mentions, in the order, Rūqī-lāmur, Mār-āpi'e, Uddû and a boatman whose name is unpreserved in the tablet. Surprisingly, the entries concerning Adad-aḫa-ēriš, the *alaḫḫinu* and Urad-Aššur are omitted in this final account.
210. MARV 6 88, 31 [… *ša*] ˹É˺ ^{md}*a-šur*–EN–*šal-*˹*lim*˺ [*pu-ú-hu*]. The broken part at the *incipit* of the line prevents from knowing his profession, and, therefore, his connection to the *bēt Aššur-bēla-šallim*. According to Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions …*, *ad* MARV 6 88, 31, the beginning of the line should be restored as [LÚ.AGRIG *ša*] ˹É˺ ^{md}*a-šur*–EN–*šal-*˹*lim*˺. He could therefore have been the steward of Aššur-bēla-šallim's Household. In AMA, A, 301 and U, 68 *s.v.*, he is interpreted as Aššur-bēla-šallim's son, presumably following Freydank's interpretation; see MARV 6 *Indizes*, 18 *s.v. Urad-ilāni*.
211. MARV 6 88, 14–15. See Freydank 2016, 88 and AMA, Š, 153 *s.v.*
212. Nashef 1982, 166; Postgate 1985, 98; Rosa 2010, 333. See also Radner 2006–08, 53; Postgate 2013, 31 fig. 2.1; Parpola & Porter 2001, Maps 3 E3, 4 A4.

the river between the area of Cizre at its northernmost point and the area north-west of Fā'ida at its southernmost point. A more southerly embarkation point, for example below Tastiāti, in the vicinity of Nineveh, should have been preferable because of the greater and safer navigability of the Tigris for large cargo boats.[213]

Well before the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, Katmuḫḫu, that was seat of a governor during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I,[214] was one of the provinces that contributed to the regular offerings with its barley. Deliveries from this place are documented in the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, and presumably continued in the subsequent years. A document bearing a boatman's sealing records 4 homers of barley as *ginā'u* contribution from the province of Katmuḫḫu.[215] As a barley-contributing province, it is also attested in an undated document, possibly later than the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur.[216] For the regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I, a huge amount of 275 homers and 6 seahs of barley was received from this administrative district.[217] It seems that this province was insolvent in this king's reign regarding its *ginā'u* duties. Documents issued by the bureaucrats of the *ginā'u* office show that arrears from the *līmu* of Tiglath-pileser I were paid by the province in the year of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu.[218]

To come back to Šūzub-Marduk's activity, as we read in an annual tabular account, in the year of Aššur-šallimšunu this *malāḫu* was in charge of various shipments of barley, possibly originating from Katmuḫḫu.[219] The author of this annual account inserted the data about Šūzub-Marduk's shipments together with those concerning the sailor Kidinnīya[220] in a section related to the *ginā'u* of the province of Katmuḫḫu. Both the total amount of barley brought by Šūzub-Marduk and that of Kidinnīya are then summed up in a grand totals section at the end of this part of the document. The single quantities of these deliveries are recorded in five of the table's six columns, but only in the second

213. See De Graeve 1981, 18. On the possible location of Tastiāti on the western side of the Tigris, near Mosul, see Reade 1978, 55. However, to judge from 19th-century travel accounts, it seems that river trips with large rafts could be made on the Tigris downstream from Diyarbakır to Mosul. In the flood season, they lasted 3–4 days, while in the law-water season around 15 days. See Chesney 1850, 32, 38f. cited in Rost 2019, 32.
214. Llop 2012, 102.
215. MARV 3 14, 2–5. The same quantity is recorded in two lists of outstanding debts owed to the *ginā'u* administration. See MARV 7 5, 1–3; MARV 6 42, 21–22.
216. MARV 7 19, 1, 9, 18, r.25, 34. For the possibility that it may be dated to Aššur-dān I's reign, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 352 *ad* MARV 7 19.
217. MARV 6 70, 5.
218. MARV 7 22, r.15; 58, 4. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 362 *ad* MARV 7 22, r.15–20. A quantity of barley received during the *līmu* of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu from this province is listed in MARV 8 13, 1.
219. For the restoration of the sailor's name in the broken part of MARV 6 3, 13, see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 6 3 and TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P288636 (last access: 16.11.2023). The province's name is restored by Gauthier in line 16 on the basis of the information provided by MARV 6 88. See Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 6 3. In TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P288636 (last access: 16.11.2023) the province's name is rendered as ˹KUR˺.[…]. See also the discussion in Gauthier 2016, 232.
220. MARV 6 3, 14–15. But note that in TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P288636 (last access: 16.11.2023) the name of Kidinnīya (^{m}šÚ) is omitted in line 15.

column the number is preserved and fully readable. The barley quantity consigned by him amounted to 20 homers.[221] This quantity coincides with that recorded in MARV 6 88, as already observed. If the quantities given in the first and fifth columns were of 5 and 7 homers respectively,[222] one can suppose that an individual cargo brought by this sailor ranged from a minimum of 5–7 homers to a maximum of 20 homers. If the hypothesis that the amounts of each column represent the size of single shipments or partial totals resulting from different shipments received within a given period, the quantitative data of these columns must have been excerpted by the scribe from receipts of single shipments or compilation records that summarised a number of shipments. The total quantity of barley consigned by Šūzub-Marduk to the *ginā'u* administrators amounted to 72 homers, an amount that was measured using the 50-*qa* seah. Interestingly, in the same line the scribe specifies this metrological notation indicating that the 50-*qa* seah was the boatman's seah,[223] namely a norm alien to the administration's standard metrology, although known to them. In addition, the author of this annual account mentions the *sūtu ša malāḫi* also in association with the quantity of barley inserted in the sixth column.[224] Presumably, his intention was to specify that all the single quantities consigned in the different periods of the year taken into consideration were always measured using this metrological norm. All the shipments brought by Šūzub-Marduk, added to those of his colleague Kidinnīya (65[?] homers and [4[?]] seahs),[225] concurred to form the total amount of barley delivered by the province of Katmuḫḫu as *ginā'u* contribution in the year of Aššur-šallimšunu: 137[?] homers and 4 seahs of barley.[226]

In the same period during which both Ḫimsātēya and Šūzub-Marduk served the *ginā'u* administration, another son of Ḫimsātēya did the same, transporting *ginā'u* products from the provinces. His name, Ḫattāyu, "the man from Ḫatti",[227] differs from the predominant theophoric onomastics of his family. Perhaps, this nickname is a possible indication of the "western" provenance of him and his parents, but this is only a conjecture. Onomastics cannot be a secure basis for tracing the geographical origin of an individual or family, since various cultural factors may have determined the acquisition of certain names or nicknames. In addition, name-giving traditions — within the Assyrian society, village

221. MARV 6 3, 12.
222. See MARV 6 3, 12, according to the restoration provided in Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 6 3 and TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P288636 (last access: 16.11.2023). But note that in TCMA no quantity is restored in column 5.
223. MARV 6 3, 13 PAP 72 ANŠE *i-na* GIŠ.5BÁN-*te* ⌜*ša*⌝ GIŠ.BÁN ⌜*ša*⌝ GIŠ.MÁ.LAḪ$_5$. The same measure of the 50-*qa* seah was used for the Katmuḫḫean barley brought by his colleague Kidinnīya, as we read in line 15. Presumably, in the broken part of this line the scribe specified that the seah in question was the *sūtu ša malāḫi*.
224. MARV 6 3, 12 [20[?]] ⌜ANŠE *i-na* GIŠ⌝.BÁN *ša* GIŠ.MÁ.LAḪ$_5$.
225. MARV 6 3, 15.
226. MARV 6 3, 16.
227. On the place name Ḫatti, see Nashef 1982, 123f.; Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2017, *s.v. Ḫatti* (last access: 20.11.2023). After the collapse of the Hittite Empire around 1180 BCE, the term Ḫatti was transferred to the territory controlled by Karkemiš in northern Syria. Another example of a personal name formed with a toponym and the *nisbe* suffix *-āy* in the nomenclature of *ginā'u*-related sailors is Ninu'āyu, "the man from Nineveh", attested in MARV 8 46, r.23.

community or the single family — certainly existed. The boatmen who operated in the Tigris navigation network in the Middle Assyrian period certainly included indigenous Assyrians as well as individuals of different provenance, and, presumably, varying degrees of Assyrianisation into the Middle Assyrian society. As far as the boatmen in M4 texts are concerned, the onomastics appears, however, predominantly Assyrian.

In a document recording the disbursement of barley in the year of Aššur-šallimšunu, *i.e.*, in the same eponymous period of the above-mentioned tabular account in which his brother Šūzub-Marduk was mentioned, Ḫattāyu and the official Urad-Kūbe are cited together with another person, presumably another official, but it is not clear why these people are mentioned together.[228] In this text, Ḫattāyu is identified only by his professional title, not by his patronym. The previous section of this document concerns the disbursement of 30 homers of barley, measured by the *pirik ritte* seah, to three *alaḫḫinu*s in the *bēt ginā'e* in the evening,[229] but provides no information about the province from which the barley was delivered via river transport. The reference to Ḫattāyu's profession indicates that he was responsible for the barley and that he transported it from the supplying province to Assur, presumably through a transport mission coordinated by the official Urad-Kūbe.

Ḫattāyu's activities in the service of the regular offerings bureau were not limited to what is stated in this document. According to a receipt, on the 26th day of an unknown month of the year of Šamaš-apla-ēriš, possibly in the period following the eponymate of Aššur-šallimšunu,[230] Ḫattāyu and his brother Šūzub-Marduk[231] transported and consigned a cargo consisting of 1 homer, 2 seahs and 8 *qa* of syrup and 18[?] homers of sesame from Katmuḫḫu.[232] In this case, no barley was included in the shipment. Apparently, the size of the cargo — just over 19[?] homers — does not seem exceptional and such as to require the involvement of a second sailor, but it is likely that boats of this capacity travelled with two or more *malāḫu*s. The texts do not specify how many men made up a crew in the Middle Assyrian period and how the number of crewmembers varied in relation to the size of the cargo carried. It is reasonable to think that larger fully loaded barges or rafts would have required larger crews. In all likelihood, the scribes, when recording an incoming cargo, only mentioned the captain of the boat, the one who was responsible for the cargo. In this case, the responsibility for the cargo was probably shared between Ḫattāyu and Šūzub-Marduk, but we do not know whether they alone constituted the boat's crew. Another shipment from the same district concerned more than 17 homers of fruit, managed by the

228. MARV 7 36, r.11–15. See AMA, Ḫ, 24 *s.v. Ḫattāju.* This occurrence is not mentioned in the list of attestations of this boatman in Gauthier 2016, 203.
229. MARV 7 36, 3–e.10.
230. The year of the eponym Šamaš-apla-ēriš is unknown. He could have been *līmu* in one of the last regnal years of Aššur-rēša-iši I, as suggested in Freydank 2016, 101, 173. Bloch and Gauthier suggested alternative hypotheses: Bloch 2012, 39, 48 the period before Tiglath-pileser I's *līmu*; Gauthier 2016, 717; *ibid*., *List of M4 Texts* …, 210 *ad* MARV 6 26 the 4th regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I.
231. MARV 6 26, 6–8. On this occurrence of the name Šūzub-Marduk, see AMA, Š, 153 *s.v.*, although the reference is cited there erroneously as MARV 6 27, 6.
232. MARV 6 26, 3–9. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 210f., *ad* MARV 6 26.

official Adad-apla-iddina, as we read in the same text.[233] This was probably an official in charge of fruit deliveries, for which he cooperated with boatmen. From his professional qualification (*rab karāne*),[234] it is clear that grapes played an important part of the fruit cargoes from this district.[235] Interestingly, both these cargoes constituted the *ginā'u* expected from the province of Katmuḫḫu for the year of Aššur-šallimšunu,[236] evidently arrears payments of the above-mentioned commodities.

If the partially readable name of the individual that follows that of Ḫimsātēya in the barley disbursement document discussed above is that of Ḫattāyu,[237] this would be another piece of evidence of Ḫattāyu's activity and of his involvement in transport missions in cooperation with other sailors. In the case of this shipment, the cargo in question would have been carried through one journey by father and son in cooperation — a fact that must certainly not have been unusual in a family of boatmen where the profession passed from one generation to the next. Other attestations of the name Ḫattāyu in Archive M4 do not specify whether they are to be referred to this sailor or the homonymous *alaḫḫinu*.[238]

Unlike his brother Ḫattāyu, Šūzub-Marduk's activity seems to have extended over a longer period. A receipt issued by the *ginā'u* office shows that Šūzub-Marduk continued to serve the province of Katmuḫḫu. The horizontally-written tablet of this document shows an uncommon ratio between width and height if compared to analogous rectangular tablets written by *ginā'u* accountants. This trait testifies to the ephemeral and informal character of notes hastily written on the spot at the arrival of the boat[239] and raises questions about the degree of conformity to the scribal standards in administrative writing's practices.[240] The presence of air pockets in the middle of the lower part of the reverse

233. MARV 6 26, e.10–12.
234. MARV 6 26, r.12. On this Middle Assyrian official, who in MARV 7 51, 8 is referred to with the synonymic title of *ša muḫḫi karāne*, see Gauthier 2016, 232, 236f.; *ibid*., *List of M4 Texts* …, 212, *ad* MARV 6 26, r.12. It is interesting to note that he is not called *rab azamri*, but *rab karāni*. Unlike in the Neo-Assyrian period (see the "fruit master" in the tribute-distribution account SAA 11, 36 i 28), a *rab azamri* does not seem to be attested in the sources from the Middle Assyrian period.
235. Grapes occur in the Archive M4, as witnessed by MARV 10 84, 3. In other Middle Assyrian texts, namely KAJ 302, e.12 and MARV 5 77, r.[?] v[?] 2′ (a document not belonging to the M4 corpus) the logogram GEŠTIN probably refers to wine. That vineyards were an integral part of the Middle Assyrian rural landscape is evident from the Dūr-Katlimmu document edited in Fales 1989, 53f. On grapes (or wine?) transported in boats in the Middle Assyrian period, see Aplīya's letter KAM 11 106, 4–5. In the Neo-Assyrian period, the management of fruit deliveries from the production areas was not among the duties of the *rab karāni*, who took care of the supply of wine in the royal households and temples and was concerned with operations of acquisition, storage and distribution of this high-class drink. See Gaspa 2012, 235 and Groß 2020, 329–333.
236. MARV 6 26, r.13–14.
237. MARV 8 3, 10′. See fn. 120, above. The name may perhaps be reconstructed as [*ḫa*[?]-*at*[?]]-*ta*[?]-*ia-e*.
238. See MARV 10 83, 8, concerning payments received from the provinces of Assur and Šaduḫu. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 591 *ad* MARV 10 83, 7–9 and, for this occurrence, AMA, Ḫ, 24 *s.v.* On the *alaḫḫinu* Ḫattāyu, see MARV 3 61, 8; MARV 6 27, e.27′; 30, 7'; MARV 7 7, r.18.
239. On MARV 10 88, see Postgate 2013, 101 and fn. 33, 129; Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 596 *ad* MARV 10 88. For a picture of this tablet, see Maul 2013, 567 fig. 5.
240. On this aspect regarding the *medium* in Middle Assyrian administrative writing, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 2012, 27.

side, evidently not removed during the operation of smoothing the tablet's surface with a rolling pin or other hard tool,[241] confirms a low level of manufacture by the one who materially shaped the tablet.[242] This tablet's obverse side is roughly divided by two horizontal rulings and bears two series of tally marks, for a total of 174 marks.[243] These signs witness to the operation of inspecting and measuring the cargo at the arrival in Assur's port. The scribe in charge of this inspection did not write down the corresponding quantity in numerical terms, but on the basis of the equivalence with the 50-*qa* unit it is clear that the barley consigned on the 12th day of Sîn (4th month) of the year of Mudammeq-Bēl[244] amounted to 87 homers.[245] The essential information to be included in these hastily written notes were the name of the sailor who transported the cargo and the date. The transporter of this 87-homer cargo was Šūzub-Marduk, identified as the son of Ḫimsātēya.[246] In a socio-professional context in which more homonymous persons interacted with the regular offerings bureau, the patronymic certainly helped to identify the transporter more precisely. It is worth noting that in the same year Šūzub-Marduk's father was still active in river transport.[247] In an undated compilation of shipments, we find that Šūzub-Marduk consigned 32 homers of barley of unknown provenance measured using the 50-*qa sūtu*. Apparently, it seems that this quantity was measured using the seah of Šūzub-Marduk himself.[248] Unlike the previously discussed text with tallies, the author of this summary document did not feel the necessity to identify Šūzub-Marduk by mentioning his father's name. Moreover, this text is another piece of evidence that Ḫimsātēya was still active in his *ginā'u*-related transport service. He brought more than 25 homers of barley, possibly measured at the arrival by the 50-*qa* seah.[249] Ḫimsātēya's name on the lower edge of the tablet suggests that in this damaged part of the document another shipment was recorded, and that the transporter was a Ḫimsātēya's son. Presumably, this boatman was identified by the scribe by name and patronym.[250]

241. On the possible use of hard tools in the finishing of clay tablets, see Taylor 2011, 11.
242. The air pockets or other fissures on the clay surface of tablets could affect the intelligibility of the text. Perhaps, this is why the author of MARV 10 88, in writing the name of the eponym in line r.5, avoided writing across the fissure in the middle of the reverse side and divided the eponym's name ^{m}*mu*-SIG$_5$–EN, Mudammeq-Bēl, into two parts for the sake of clarity, *i.e.*, ^{m}*mu*-SIG$_5$ separated from EN by an uncommon large blank space.
243. MARV 10 88, 1–2.
244. MARV 10 88, r.4–5.
245. See Gaspa 2011b, 243; Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 596, *ad* MARV 10 88. However, Freydank interprets these marks as referring to 84 homers in MARV 10 *Inhaltsübersicht*, 9.
246. MARV 10 88, r.3. See AMA, Š, 154 *s.v.*
247. See MARV 8 96, 6′, 18′.
248. MARV 8 74, 5–6. Unusually, the *malāḫu*'s name is not introduced by *ina qāt*, which attests to the sailor's responsibility in connection with the cargo transported. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 516, *ad* MARV 8 74, 5–6 for a discussion of this passage. This occurrence of the name is not included in AMA, Š, 148, 153.
249. MARV 8 74, 8–9.
250. MARV 8 74, e.12–13 [x x] ˹x˺ […] ˹x˺ LÚ.˹MÁ˺.[LAḪ$_5$] / [DUMU$^{?}$ ^{m}*ḫi*]-˹*im-sa*˺-[*te-ia* …]. Reconstruction of the lines by the author, based on Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 515f. In the edition of the text by Freydank and Feller, one of the signs before the *nomen professionis* could be restored as ARAD, perhaps, the beginning of the name ^{m}ARAD–DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*, "Urad-ilāni(?)".

Of the shipments recorded on an ephemeral document unusually written on a round tablet, one, possibly of barley, was consigned by Šūzub-Marduk and amounted to 40 homers.[251] Such disk-shaped tablets are rarely found in Archive M4 and were used for ephemeral notes.[252] This format, and the sloppy handwriting often associated to it seem to indicate a scribal competence not yet matured, but still in its school training phase. This leads to the assumption that the authors were apprentice scribes in the service of the regular offerings bureau.[253] We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the very event of record-keeping, when the cargo arrived at the port, imposed a limited amount of time on the accountant dispatched there with the task of checking and measuring the cargo, and writing down this kind of reception notes — hence the sloppy handwriting. Further, that in the absence of the more common rectangular tablets, the *ginā'u* office's accountant could resort to any clay medium that was available, for example poorly formatted tablets of different shapes prepared earlier by apprentices, including round ones, otherwise destined to everyday school exercises. Since this possibility would represent a deviation from the standardised practices of administrative writing, indicating a certain degree of individual freedom on the part of the single scribe, the acceptance of these changes by the office would denote a commonly shared "flexible ethos" as regards the adherence to the scribal rules of the central state administration.[254]

The author of this text organised the layout in a way that each entry is in a section ending in a horizontal ruling. After a double horizontal ruling, a section for tally marks is given in each side of the tablet.[255] The numerical quantity concerning Šūzub-Marduk's cargo is indicated in the previous line by 80 tally marks,[256] in this case too showing that

251. MARV 10 86, 5. On this occurrence, see AMA, Š, 154 *s.v.*
252. On the use of round tablets for tallies in Archive M4, see Gaspa 2011b, 242; Postgate 2013, 101 fn. 33; Gauthier 2016, 269, 667f. Apart from MARV 10 86, the disk-shaped format is used by scribes of the *ginā'u* office for recording payments in kind (MARV 10 83: figs, *mirqu* and sesame, cf. MARV 10 84 on figs and grapes) and disbursements of commodities to officials (MARV 7 18; 60; 81; MARV 10 85; 87; 91).
253. See Gauthier 2016, 667f., suggesting that these could have been the sons of scribes working at the regular offerings bureau and that they probably drafted these tablets as part of their scribal training.
254. On deviation from standardised norms and practices in external features of Middle Assyrian administrative documents, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 2012, 26f., 30.
255. MARV 10 86, 4, r.5. Note that obverse and reverse in Prechel and Freydank's edition do not correspond to the edition of the text given in Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts …*, 593f. *ad* MARV 10 86. The authors of M4 disk-shaped tablets used horizontal rulings to separate sections of different entries (MARV 7 18; 81; MARV 10 83) or vertical rulings, apparently to separate numerical data from related qualitative information (MARV 10 84). They could also resort to more complex layouts, combining horizontal rulings for sections or headings and vertical lines for columns (MARV 10 87; 91). However, the scribes could also ignore the grid of horizontal and vertical rulings and write their text across the lines (see MARV 10 91) or incomprehensibly entering compactly the whole inscription within a section delimited by horizontal rulings (MARV 10 91), thus ignoring the function for which rows and columns were preliminarily incised on the tablet. Round tablets bear very condensed inscriptions on only one side (MARV 10 83; 84; 91) or very short inscriptions extending on both sides, but confined to some parts of the tablet and leaving large portions of it uninscribed (MARV 10 85; 87). All these cases testify to a difficulty in estimating and organising the space of writing on the tablet.
256. MARV 10 86, 4.

the *ginā'u* office's employee used the 50-*qa* unit to measure the barley. The supplying province could possibly be Katmuḫḫu, which is not mentioned in the section referring to Šūzub-Marduk's cargo, whereas it is at the beginning of the reverse side of the tablet[257] in connection with the delivery of 100 homers of barley managed by a certain Ḫaḫutu.[258] This individual is not otherwise attested in this archive, and nothing is known about his profession. The fact that he appears also in the grand totals section of the document corroborates the hypothesis that he could have been an official in charge of the 40-homer cargo transported by Šūzub-Marduk and the 100-homer cargo delivered by himself, presumably, via an unnamed sailor who was not Šūzub-Marduk.[259] The date of the document also deserves to be discussed. Unlike the other formal and informal receipts of this archive that bear a full or partially complete date,[260] this short note is only dated by day, with no details about month and year. This indicates that month and year were considered irrelevant information for the author and other accountants involved in keeping record of this shipment, probably because the text was destined to a very short archival life within the *ginā'u* bureau — presumably the time required to enter the shipment details and the complete date in a long-term archival document.

5. Concluding remarks

This analysis of Ḫimsātēya's dossier has allowed to learn about the work that he and his family members carried out in the service of the regular offerings administration. Some questions arise as regards the transport activity of these boatmen, and the following concluding remarks are devoted to those matters.

5.1. The total volume of goods mobilised by Ḫimsātēya's family: a quantitative analysis

A first aspect worthy of discussion concerns the quantities of *ginā'u* goods transported by these *malāḫu*s. An exact reconstruction of the total amounts of the standard *ginā'u* products that in the time span considered — the reign period of Tiglath-pileser I — made their way from the supplying provinces to the Regular Offerings House's stores through the journeys of Ḫimsātēya and his relatives is impossible, due to the heterogeneity and in some cases the fragmentary condition of the texts, not to mention the extremely limited evidence about the total quantities consigned by these sailors each year. Although the complete careers of these boatmen and the detailed itineraries of their work cannot be reconstructed, it is clear from the available evidence that the ferrying activity of some of these sailors involved the northern provinces of Ḫalaḫḫu and Katmuḫḫu.[261] These two

257. MARV 10 86, r.3. For the restoration of the province's name, see Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 594, *ad* MARV 10 86.
258. MARV 10 86, r.2–3. For the name, see AMA, Ḫ, 11 *s.v.*
259. MARV 10 86, r.5–6. Note that the 56 tally marks preceding his name in line r.5 do not agree with the total sum of 140 homers of line r.6. See the discussion in Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 595, *ad* MARV 10 86, r.5.
260. Gauthier 2016, 681.
261. Gauthier 2016, 204f.

administrative districts were among the main contributors of *ginā'u*-payments.[262] The geographic provenance of the sailors is never explicitly mentioned in the M4 documents, and only rarely do we find specific connections with certain places. The sailor Aba-īde, son of Piradi, is cited as related to the city of Šamaia[?] in the document MARV 3 27.[263] In the text KAM 10, 47, the sailor Šamaš-apla-iddina is connected to the city of Šīmu,[264] but this is due to the transport of *ginā'u* products he managed from this place.[265] However, this does not exclude that the province served by the sailor was also where he lived. Therefore, it is possible that Ḫimsātēya's family lived in Ḫalaḫḫu, Katmuḫḫu or an adjacent place in the northern part of Assyria and based there their river transport business, namely, the shipyards for building and repairing boats, and the port for mooring their fleet of transport vessels.[266] It is not difficult to imagine that the freight business engaged the entire family clan of Ḫimsātēya, and that in the shipyard members from different generations were occupied each with specific tasks, from hull construction to caulking and boat repair, including the production of navigational tools (paddles, poles and oars). If the boatmen mentioned in the M4 documents were also boat-builders, it is conceivable that Ḫimsātēya and his relatives also practised the profession of *nagār eleppāte*.[267] From their home province, it was evidently possible to reach other destinations in neighbouring provinces by river. The daily and presumably short-haul transport business that these sailors carried out on their own (or their lords') account and the state-directed long-distance transport missions of *ginā'u* products probably favoured the expansion of the reach of the sailing families' business to neighbouring provinces.

According to Gauthier's quantitative reconstruction of the amounts of these products per province, based on the annual quantities delivered or expected from those districts, the contribution of barley from Ḫalaḫḫu generally amounted to more than 200 homers (= 20,000 *qa*), and in some cases slightly more than 280 homers (= 28,000 *qa*).[268] The amounts of syrup were in the majority of cases greater than one homer (= 100 *qa*),[269] while the

262. Gaspa 2011b, 234.
263. MARV 3 27, 7–e.10. See Freydank 1992, 284 text no. 1. In Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 50, Gauthier translates "the boatman of the people of (Ša)-Šamayu[?]", restoring the toponym on the basis of the name Ša-Samaya, attested in Donbaz 1976, 24, text A. 1749, 5 (Archive M6). Note that in TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P281978 (last access: 16.11.2023), the name of the sailor is erroneously rendered as "Aba-lā-ide" (the same as the regular offerings overseer), and the toponym is rendered as "the city Šam-...".
264. KAM 10 47, 11–e.12. See Freydank 2014, 34. Both the city and province of Šīmu are also attested in MARV 1 56, r.44; MARV 2 21, r.24; MARV 3 44, r.11; MARV 4 61+30′; 119, 10; 127, 15; 131, 19; MARV 5 1, r.24; 4, r.19; 12, r.20; 14, 20; 60, r.20; 67, r.19; MARV 6 3, e.19; 9+, r.22; 32, r.1; 50, r.25; 87, 2.
265. See MARV 7 51, r.18–19.
266. Presumably, this was nothing comparable to the much more developed river transport system of southern Mesopotamia, where shipyards employed a vast number of skilled workers. For the shipyards of Sumerian cities in the Ur III period, see Carter 2012, 365f. and Bagg 2016, 135.
267. To my knowledge, the term for this occupation in the Assyrian dialect is documented only in the late Neo-Assyrian age. See RINAP 4, 9 i′ 15′ (*nagār eleppēti*). This Neo-Assyrian occurrence is omitted among the designations of this profession in Weszeli 2009–11, 163.
268. Gauthier 2016, 824.
269. Gauthier 2016, 825.

quantity of sesame was slightly less than or equal to 10 homers (= 1,000 *qa*); it could also be more than that amount.[270] The annual quantity of fruit provided by Ḫalaḫḫu fluctuates much more widely, but most texts point to an amount below 10 homers (= 1,000 *qa*) as the standard.[271] Concerning Katmuḫḫu, some texts show that its contribution of barley was generally between 180 homers (= 18,000 *qa*) and more than 230 homers (= 23,000 *qa*),[272] while its syrup quantity was slightly more than 1 homer 8 seahs (= 180 *qa*).[273] The quantity of sesame fluctuates between amounts below 10 homers (= 1,000 *qa*) and amounts around 18 homers (= 1,800 *qa*).[274] The fruit contribution from that province comprised amounts below 10 homers (= 1,000 *qa*) and amounts ranging from more than 12 homers (= 1,200 *qa*) to 21 homers (= 2,100 *qa*).[275] It was in the setting described by these provincial quotas and the contribution trends that the transport activity of Ḫimsātēya and his relatives took place.

From the available quantitative data about the *ginā'u* commodities transported by Ḫimsātēya and his relatives in their journeys from the contributing provinces to the city of Assur, as summarised in Table 4, below, this sailor's family was primarily concerned with the mobilisation of barley. They were able to consign to the Regular Offerings House a vast amount of barley corresponding to more than 734[?] homers (73,400[?] *qa*). Other *ginā'u* goods loaded in their boats and consigned to the accountants in Assur were syrup and sesame, but in much smaller quantities: a total of 2 homers 2 seahs 8 *qa* of syrup and 19[?] homers 5 seahs of sesame. Regarding barley, excluding the exceptionally largest and the very smallest shipments, the average cargo on Ḫimsātēya's journeys ranged from more than 10 homers to various tens of homers. That this was also the pattern for his relatives' shipments can be seen by the cases of his sons and nephew. Cargoes carried by his son Šūzub-Marduk ranged from 20[?] to 87 homers, if we exclude the smallest amount of 5 homers. An analogous case is that of his son Ḫattāyu and his nephew …akdu[?], who consigned 30 and 20 homers, respectively. Nothing can be stated about the barley transported by Urad-ilāni. For shipments regarding the other *ginā'u* goods we are scarcely informed, and the few quantities attested cannot help us reconstruct any trend in the size of those cargoes. The only available data enable us to state that Ḫimsātēya's cargoes could include syrup amounts of one homer, while a slightly larger quantity was transported by his sons Ḫattāyu and Šūzub-Marduk. In the only attestation known, the sesame transported by Ḫimsātēya exceeded the measure of one homer. His sons appear to have been involved in transporting a much larger amount. No data are available for reconstructing the standard quantity of fruit in these sailors' cargoes. Cooperation between sailors in the transport of certain cargoes is attested in the case of the brothers Ḫattāyu and Šūzub-Marduk regarding syrup and sesame; an analogous case may have existed for Ḫimsātēya and Ḫattāyu and a barley cargo of unknown size.

270. Gauthier 2016, 826.
271. Gauthier 2016, 827.
272. Gauthier 2016, 836.
273. Gauthier 2016, 837.
274. Gauthier 2016, 838.
275. Gauthier 2016, 839.

Transporter	*Ginā'u product*	*Quantity*	*Seah used in measurement*	*Attestation*
Ḫimsātēya	Barley	11 homers 4 seahs	*sūtu ša pirik ritte* "handbreadth seah"	MARV 1 21
		12ʔ homers 4ʔ seahs	Unspecified, but possibly the *ša pirik ritte* seah[276]	MARV 6 52
		50 homers	Unspecified	KAJ 302
		80 homers	Unspecified	MARV 9 16
		>15 homers	*ša pirik ritte*	MARV 6 88
		>13 homers 4 seahs	*ša pirik ritte*	MARV 6 3
		220 homers	*ša pirik ritte*	MARV 9 14
		>25 homers	*sūtu ša pî* 5 *sūte*, "opening of the 50-*qa* seah"	MARV 8 74
		>1 homerʔ 1 seah	Unspecified	MARV 8 96
(ḪIM + Ḫattāyu?)	Barley	?	12-*qa* seah (once by the *ḫišnu* mode)	MARV 8 3
Total barley		**>428ʔ homers 3 seahs**		
Ḫimsātēya	Syrup	1 homer	Unspecified	KAJ 302
	Sesame	1 homer 5 seahs	Unspecified	KAJ 302
Ištar-tuballissu	Barley	?	50-*qa* seah[277]	MARV 8 62
		?	50-*qa* seah[278]	MARV 7 88
…akduʔ	Barley	20 homers	Large seah, converted by the small seah	MARV 9 95
Šūzub-Marduk	Barley	20ʔ homers	50-*qa* seah	MARV 1 21[279]
		5 homers	50-*qa* seah	MARV 6 88
		72 homers	50-*qa* seah	MARV 6 3
		87 homers	Unspecified	MARV 10 88
		32 homers	*sūtu ša pî* 5 *sūte*	MARV 8 74
		40 homers	Unspecified	MARV 10 86
Total barley		**256ʔ homers**		
Urad-ilāni	Barley	?	Unspecified	MARV 1 21
		? homer(s)	*ša pirik ritte*	MARV 6 88
Ḫattāyu	Barley	30 homers	*ša pirik ritte*	MARV 7 36
(ḪA + Šūzub-Marduk)	Syrup	1 homer 2 seahs 8 *qa*	Unspecified	MARV 6 26
(ḪA + Šūzub-Marduk)	Sesame	18ʔ homers	Unspecified	MARV 6 26

Table 4. Commodities, quantities and metrology in the journeys of Ḫimsātēya and his relatives (Abbreviations: ḪIM = Ḫimsātēya, ḪA = Ḫattāyu).

5.2. Remarks on the transport vessels used for the shipments of Ḫimsātēya's family

Unlike the documentation from Babylonia and Mari, which informs us about the size and carrying capacity of cargo ships in use in lower Mesopotamia and the middle Euphrates,[280] Middle Assyrian texts are silent on these aspects. Although the exact typology of rivercraft used by the Assyrian *malāḫu*s is not described in the M4 texts, the cargo volumes mentioned in the documents from this archive can provide useful indications for an idea, albeit a rough one, of the type of transport vessel in use. If we exclude the smallest

276. See MARV 1 21 and MARV 6 3.
277. This measure is explicitly referred to the barley mentioned in the first lines of MARV 8 62, belonging to a son of Ninurta-mušallim. The assumption is that it was brought by Ištar-tuballissu and measured using this metrological unit.
278. The metrological unit used to measure the barley loaned to the sailor. No details are given in the document MARV 7 88 about the barley brought by Ištar-tuballissu.
279. Cf. MARV 6 3.
280. See Chambon 2016, 142f. on boats used in the Euphrates according to the archives of Mari. On the size and capacity of boats in the Old and the Neo-Babylonian periods, see Weszeli 2020, 91–94.

grain shipments of one or a few homers, which can hardly be considered a full load, and the largest loads exceeding 100 homers, the above-discussed quantitative data about the grain shipments point to a boat (or to various types of boats) whose load capacity generally ranged from a little more than 10 homers to 80 homers. This is true for Ḫimsātēya's shipments. Šūzub-Marduk's cargoes range from 20 homers to more than 80 homers, with the 20-homer cargo also attested in the case of Ištar-tuballissu's son. Little information is available regarding Ḫattāyu's cargoes, but his 30-homer shipment is close to the lower values attested for the cargoes of Ḫimsātēya, Šūzub-Marduk and …akdu[?]. These grain cargoes were presumably transported along with other goods, a conclusion that becomes more realistic in case of grain cargoes of only or just over one homer. Moreover, we are not certain that each boat was loaded to maximum capacity. Instead of imagining that these boatmen used only one type of boat, it may be assumed that they had several types of vessels available for their long-distance trips, depending on the load to be transported, the length of the journey and the size of the crew. The above-mentioned figures generally indicate medium-sized boats — possibly barges, although rafts cannot be excluded — whose smallest variety had a carrying capacity ranging from just over 10 homers to around 20 homers, while the largest type of boat of the middle-sized category could carry several dozen homers. A larger category of transport boat may have had a capacity ranging from around 50 homers to less than 100 homers. The loads attested in other texts of the M4 corpus corroborate this assumption, since the average size of a grain shipment is generally just over 10 homers; in some cases, the shipment was less than 20 homers or around that value.[281] That these measures characterised the average size of most common cargo boats is confirmed by the shipment brought by Ḫattāyu and Šūzub-Marduk according to MARV 6 26.[282] In this case, the cargo did not include barley but 1 homer 2 seahs 8 *qa* of syrup and 18[?] homers of sesame. Altogether, these commodities amounted to more than 19[?] homers, a measure close to the 20-homer standard.

On rare occasions, the size of a grain cargo amounted to 100 homers, as in the case of Ḫaḫutu's barley shipment from Katmuḫḫu, or a larger quantity, like the exceptional barley cargo of 220 homers brought by Ḫimsātēya from Ḫalaḫḫu in the year of Ina-ilīya-allak.[283] Shipments of grain exceeding those of Ḫaḫutu and Ḫimsātēya are attested in the M4 corpus. We read of a complete *ginā'u*-payment received from Talmuššu of the year of Hiyašāyu amounting to 135 homers 6 seahs[284] and of the 150 homers brought by a

281. For grain cargoes of just over 10 homers, see MARV 1 56, r.51; MARV 5 3, 8, e.13; MARV 6 29, 1; 34, 4, 5, r.18; MARV 8 94, 5. For loads of 20 homers or a little more, see KAM 11 100, 7–10; MARV 1 56, r.57; MARV 5 3, 7, 11; MARV 7 15, 4′.

282. MARV 6 29, 3–9.

283. Another load exceeding the typical size of *ginā'u* barley shipments is the cargo that according to a summary text was brought by a certain …ḫulāyu from an unknown province and redistributed to *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers during the month of Muḫur-ilāni in the year of Aššur-apla-iqīša: KAM 10 46, 18–20 PAP [x[?]]-*me* 4 ANŠE ŠE-*um* […] / *gi-na-ú ša iš-tu*[?] ˹URU[?]˺.[…] / *i-na* ŠU [^{m}x]-*ḫu-la-a* DUMU ˹x˺ […]. See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 609 and TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/X001365 (last access: 16.11.2023). According to Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 610, the shipment amounted to "20400 *qa* of barley".

284. MARV 5 42, 1 (TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P281976, last access: 16.11.2023). See Postgate

certain Ārik-dēn-ili from Ḫalaḫḫu, which was part of the 230-homer payment owed in the year of Ḫaburrāru.[285] A quantity greater than 100 homers was also received by the *ginā'u* administrators through multiple journeys made by the sailors Šūzub-Marduk and Kidinnīya in the year of Aššur-šallimšunu, as discussed above. A two-year arrears payment of 194 homers 2 seahs was paid by the province of Kilizu during the *līmu* of Aplīya.[286] Moreover, an enormous amount of 466 homers of barley characterised the *ginā'u*-quota paid by Arbela in the year of Šamaš-apla-ēriš, a quantity that included the arrears owed in the *līmu* of Aššur-šallimšunu.[287] Vessels of uncommon capacity, perhaps a large type of barge, were likely used for these very large cargoes. We cannot exclude the possibility that to meet the state's pressing demand — especially in cases of large arrears — boats of exceptional size were built in boatmen's shipyards, presumably with the organisational support of the provincial authorities,[288] who provided workforce and shipbuilding materials, not to mention additional transport sacks, baskets and earthenware vessels to store the goods and the crew's rations, and mats and tarpaulins to cover and protect the commodities aboard the boats.[289] To stabilise the cargo in a boat, removable structures made of wood or rope may have been used.[290] It is reasonable to think that the introduction of transport vessels with exceptionally large carrying capacities under the increasing demand for goods from the state played a role in the development of river transport in the Tigris network. It must have affected the entire riverine economy and the mobility practices: the boat traffic, presumably growing on routes already affected by the pre-existing short- and long-distance river transport; itineraries, some of which probably expanded to a regional dimension from a local one; the lifestyle of the boatmen, who were away from home for longer periods due to the repeated journeys needed to transport the *ginā'u* products (including arrears from previous years) and increasing responsibilities in organising shipments (especially of large size) from the provinces; the human geography of the (full-time or seasonal) professionals that to varying degrees characterised the ports of embarkation, mooring places and every stopping point along the route (*i.e.*, other boatmen, boat-haulers, merchants, private customers or anyone who could provide goods, food, help or occasional cooperation during the journey, and perhaps also informants sent to monitor the cargo's journey along the route and promptly inform the state authorities). In light of the provinces' obligation to supply goods to the central government and to maintain the state's economic system and infrastructure in good working order, the latter aspect represents another field in which local governments presumably did their part to maintain the movement of goods and to keep the waterborne transportation infrastructure

2013, 132.

285. MARV 9 17, 4.
286. MARV 6 90+1 (TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P283003, last access: 16.11.2023). See Postgate 2013, 134.
287. MARV 6 86, r.9 (TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P283021, last access: 16.11.2023).
288. See Gauthier 2016, 217.
289. Transport baskets and vessels, and mats and tarpaulins constituted the basic equipment needed in cargo boats, according to the Old Babylonian texts. See Weszeli 2020, 99.
290. See Chambon 2016, 144f. regarding transport boats in the Euphrates network.

efficient. In this connection, one wonders whether a form of organisation existed for towing boats along the banks of the Tigris, a practice required for upstream navigation and to overcome difficult stretches of the river. Southern Mesopotamian evidence from the Ur III period shows that boat towing was a common operation in trips upstream on the Tigris and its network of canals. Depending on the route to be covered, such a trip could take several days and a large number of men.[291] The size of a river craft and the volume of a given cargo were among the factors that affected the towing rate in terms of kilometres per day.[292] From Old Babylonian data for water transport costs, we learn that expenses for personnel related to the boat included wages for towmen.[293] We can assume that teams of two or more workers or donkeys with their drivers could have periodically been recruited by Assyrian provincial authorities from the local agricultural population to ensure an efficient boat-towing service along the Tigris route and keep the towing paths along the river's banks clear and functional.[294] The boat crew itself must also have taken an active part in the operation.[295] Since the river route crossed territories belonging to different provinces, it is reasonable to think that this towing service required some kind of supra-regional coordination between the authorities of contiguous administrative districts. The towing service must certainly have facilitated the boatmen's return journey upstream on the Tigris once they had unloaded their cargo in Assur.

We also cannot rule out that the above-mentioned exceptional loads were transported through a number of lower-capacity boats. When the texts specify only the amount of the provincial contribution, it is presumed that this resulted from a number of small-sized shipments.[296] That multiple shipments ranging from a few homers to 36 homers were brought by the same boatman appears to be confirmed by the tabular list MARV 6 3. Small-sized cargoes carried over a number of trips enabled the boatman to fulfil his individual shipment quota established by the administration, as the 20-homer obligation of MARV 9 95 suggests. Splitting a huge cargo into small-scale shipments through a number of boats (that is, those that were available in the province, regardless of size or capacity) could have been a feasible solution.[297] If these small shipments were sent on the same day, we might think of a convoy of barges, lined up one behind the other. In that case, the leading boat could have been steered by the chief boatman or commander and each of the

291. See Steinkeller 2001, 45, 52f., 57–62, 67–71. The examples collected by Steinkeller show that it could take from one day to six days, depending on the distance to be covered.
292. On this aspect, see Steinkeller 2001, 59 fn. 156.
293. Weszeli 2020, 99.
294. As observed in De Graeve 1981, 151f. regarding the visual evidence of boat-towing in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs; in Assyria boat-haulers could be two or more people, depending on the size of the rivercraft to be towed. The haulers walked along the riverbank and held a rope, presumably of reed bast and bulrush, over their shoulders or at their breasts. A single rope could be used, there could be ropes one for each hauler or group of haulers. For ethnographic evidence of modern boat towing in Majar al-Kabīr, in Southeastern Iraq, see Rost 2019, 32 fig. 2. The only known occurrence of the boat-tower (*šaddidu*) in Assyria is in RINAP 4 39, 5′, but this Neo-Assyrian attestation is omitted in Weszeli 2009–11, 164.
295. For the Ur III evidence, see Steinkeller 2001, 62.
296. See MARV 8 94, r.12–14 on the contributions from Talmuššu and Ḫalaḫḫu.
297. Gauthier 2016, 217.

others following it by members of the crew. Steering a convoy of barges would certainly have entailed a greater risk to the safety of the goods and would have required greater care on the part of the crew in terms of safe navigation, such as avoiding sandbars, overhanging rocks or floating materials, and in manoeuvring boats in case of strong currents and seasonal floods.[298] Collisions with other boats, especially equally large transport vessels, and when navigation involved the roughest stretches of a river would have greatly increased the risks posed to multi-barge shipment.[299] Avoiding hitting other obstacles, primarily the riverbank, due to the swift current of the Tigris, must have required a certain amount of skill on the part of the crew, especially if large loads were transported.[300] A convoy of barges would also have had an undoubted advantage over a single barge: in the event of a single load of the convoy being lost, the rest of the shipment would remain. Accordingly, the above-mentioned 100 homers of barley delivered from Katmuḫḫu could have been more easily loaded into two boats carrying 50 homers each, three boats of 33 homers of capacity or four of 25 homers;[301] while the 220 homers that Sîn-idnanni's son transported from Ḫalaḫḫu could have been more advantageously embarked in three boats each carrying just over 70 homers or in four boats of 55 homers each.[302]

5.3. Trends in delivery time in the shipments of Ḫimsātēya's family

Regarding the period when the *ginā'u* cargoes reached their destination on Ḫimsātēya and his relatives' trips, only a few documents in Ḫimsātēya's dossier contains dates. Although the correspondence of the months of the Middle Assyrian calendar to the seasonal year appear in general quite clear, albeit with some room for uncertainty,[303] questions arise as to how the Assyrian calendar was calibrated with the Babylonian calendar and what factors may have determined the variations between the two systems. To complicate matters,

298. The hypothesis reported in Gauthier 2016, 217 fn. 12 — that boatmen tied up vessels — seems entirely improbable for reasons relating to the safety of both navigation and the transported cargo, considering the navigation conditions of the Tigris.
299. On ramming and sinking fully laden boats in the Middle Assyrian Laws, see TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P282409, MAL M § 2 (last access: 16.11.2023).
300. This risk was well known to Iraqi boatmen steering rafts and *quffa*s along the Tigris through the 20th century. As observed in Frost 1905–06, 193f., while rafts could suffer severe damage to their skins after a collision with the riverbank, *quffa*s could bump violently into the bank without any material damage.
301. The magnitude of some loads in the M4 documents supports this hypothesis. For a cargo of just over 50 homers, see KAJ 302, 6–8, according to which Ḫimsātēya's boat was loaded with 50 homers of barley, 1 homer of syrup and 1 homer 5 seahs of sesame, for a total of 52 homers 5 seahs of *ginā'u* commodities. See also the 32-homer shipment carried by Šūzub-Marduk and the cargo of 31 homers of Aššur-aḫa-iddina, according to MARV 8 74, 5–6. Another 31-homer cargo was brought by Umzarḫu; it consisted of 27 homers of barley and 4 homers of wheat, as we read in MARV 9 98, 1–4. For a 25[+x?]-homer cargo carried by Ḫimsātēya, see MARV 8 74, 8.
302. MARV 8 27, 3 records a shipment of 72? homers, possibly of barley, brought by a sailor. In MARV 5 35, 8 a shipment delivered from Ḫalaḫḫu comprised 75[+x?] homers of barley and 1 homer 1 *qa* of syrup. For a 50-homer cargo, see MARV 8 74, 1. See also the shipment of 57? homers, possibly of barley, recorded in MARV 8 30, 4. As shown by MARV 1 56, r.44, the cargo brought by a certain Ubānu from Šīmu consisted of 52 homers 4 seahs of barley and 1 seah 7 *qa* of syrup.
303. Cancik-Kirschbaum & Cale Johnson 2011–12, 116 and fig. 8.

the correspondences between the Assyrian and the Babylonian calendrical systems appear to have been driven by the need to calibrate the administrative and cultic calendars.[304] The dates preserved in Ḫimsātēya's dossier are of limited value for the reconstruction of general trends in the time of consignment of this family's shipments. However, some interesting aspects emerge. Of the 18 documents that form Ḫimsātēya's dossier, the majority of dated texts show that the shipments were received in the 11th month (Abu-šarrāni),[305] while the remaining dated documents refer to the 4th (Sîn),[306] the 8th (Ša-sarrāte)[307] and the 10th months (Muḫur-ilāni)[308] as the time of consignment. Ḫimsātēya usually consigned his shipments during Abu-šarrāni, and in only one case in the preceding month (Muḫur-ilāni). His nephew, …akdu[?], brought his loads earlier in the year, consigning during Ša-sarrāte. Concerning Ḫimsātēya's sons, Šūzub-Marduk transported and consigned his shipments in both Sîn and Muḫur-ilāni, while Urad-ilāni[?] consigned during Muḫur-ilāni; no information of this sort can be obtained regarding Ḫattāyu.

From these data we can state that Ḫimsātēya and his relatives preferred to organise their trips in the second half of the year (from the 8th to the 11th month) and that the peak period of consignments was the 11th month. An exception to this rule is the shipment carried by Šūzub-Marduk in the 4th month. Comparing these data for Ḫimsātēya's family with those concerning other sailors in the M4 text corpus — largely attested in the same reign period of Tiglath-pileser I — we observe that the major peak in consignments of *ginā'u* cargoes occurred in the 11th month, with minor peaks in the 12th, 1st and 4th months.[309] The deliveries continued with significant albeit lower values in the 2nd and 5th months and decreased in the 8th through 10th months. This means that shipments were transported by Middle Assyrian *malāḫu*s for most of the year, preferably in the period from the 8th month of one year to the 5th month of the following year, with a remarkable increase in the 11th month. Evidently, the main factor that conditioned the deliveries was the seasonal accessibility of the Tigris and the other watercourses of the region for navigation, because of flooding in the period from February to May.[310]

304. Cancik-Kirschbaum & Cale Johnson 2011–12, 134–145.
305. MARV 6 52; MARV 9 14; 16. For Abu-šarrāni as the month of consignment of *ginā'u* shipments, see also MARV 3 36+ (Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 62f.; TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P281980, last access: 16.11.2023); 85+ (Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 88; TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/X281977, last access: 16.11.2023); MARV 5 42; MARV 6 90+ (Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts* …, 315f.; TCMA, http://oracc.org/tcma/assur/P283003, last access: 16.11.2023); MARV 9 97; 112.
306. MARV 10 88. For shipments received in the month of Sîn, see also MARV 6 29; 57; MARV 7 83.
307. MARV 9 95. For shipments received in Ša-sarrāte, see also MARV 6 77.
308. MARV 1 21. For Muḫur-ilāni as the month of consignment, see also MARV 6 89.
309. See Gauthier 2016, 212 fig. I.2–3.
310. See Fales 1995, 205f. The wet season in which navigation was difficult coincides with the period from the 12th month of one year to the 2nd month of the next in the Babylonian calendar. See Gauthier 2016, 214. Looking to the present-day water regime of the Tigris and the other waterways of the Assyrian region, especially to data prior to the heavy anthropogenic impact that has occurred since the 1970s, local variations are recognizable in the watercourses of the region. The Tigris downstream of Mosul and the Upper Zab reached the peak in high-water level in February, while the Ḫāzir and the Lower Zab did so in January. The period in which the rivers ran below capacity was July for the Tigris and

It is reasonable to think that the increase in river traffic occurred immediately after the wet period or began in its final phase.[311] The delivery patterns in Ḫimsātēya's family thus appear to be in line with the general trend that can be reconstructed from the available texts of the archive. It is reasonable to think that the size of the cargo — especially large amounts of barley — was conditioned by the seasonal navigability of the watercourses. A conditioning factor for the transport of fully loaded boats is water depth, which in the summer and especially in September-October reaches its lowest point.[312] Low water probably reduced river traffic, with an impact on the movement of goods and delivery times. Regarding the delivery by Šūzub-Marduk in the 4th month, which was apparently well outside the usual delivery period but presumably at a point when the water level started to rise,[313] there appears to be no correlation between cargo size and navigability. The cargo he brought in the month of Sîn of the year of Mudammeq-Bēl (87 homers)[314] was even greater than a similar cargo of 80 homers carried by his father in the month of Abu-šarrāni several years earlier, more precisely in the year of Ḫiyašāyu.[315] It is also worth noting that the 20-homer shipment brought by …akdu[?] in the 8th month of the year of Aššur-šallimšunu[316] occurred during the wet period, precisely when the high-water peak occurred and navigation was difficult though not impossible for an experienced boatman. The low number of shipments received by the regular offerings administration from Šasarrāte to Muḫur-ilāni is probably an indication of the less favourable navigation conditions of the Tigris in that period. The navigability of the Tigris and its tributaries may have changed from year to year, however, depending on fluctuations in the precipitation regime over the years.[317]

5.4. Measuring the cargoes of Ḫimsātēya's family: metrological units and measuring practices

A few considerations may also be made regarding the metrological units used in measuring the *ginā'u* barley consigned by these sailors. It is known that Assyrian capacity norms used the *emāru*, the *sūtu* and the *qû*.[318] Barley is the most frequently attested among the

the Upper Zab and June for the Ḫāzir and the Lower Zab. See Reculeau 2011, 18 and Yaseen *et al.* 2021, 232, 235. According to De Graeve 1981, 18, in the Neo-Assyrian period the Tigris was navigable for large warships between Nineveh and Opis and for barges below Tastiāti.

311. On the 3rd to 6th Babylonian months as the "delivery season", see Gauthier 2016, 214.
312. Rost 2019, 32, 45.
313. After the low waters from September on, the autumn regime of the Tigris sees a rise from November on, as observed in Reculeau 2011, 18.
314. MARV 10 88, 1–2 (expressed in tally marks).
315. MARV 9 16, 3. Assigning the *līmu* of Ḫiyašāyu to the 4th regnal year of Tiglath-pileser I and the 18th to that of Mudammeq-Bēl, as tentatively suggested in Freydank 2016, 128, the elapsed time from the eponymate of Ḫiyašāyu to that of Mudammeq-Bēl would be 14 years. See Gauthier 2016, 717 for the possibility that Ḫiyašāyu represented the 5th regnal year and Mudammeq-Bēl the 14th. In that case, the elapsed time would be only 9 years.
316. MARV 9 95, r.21.
317. The snow- and rain-fed regime of the Tigris and the other waterways of the region depended on precipitation in the highlands of their drainage basin. See Reculeau 2011, 18.
318. Saporetti 1969, 273–283; Powell 1987–90, 501f.; Postgate 2013, 55f. and table 3.2.

ginā'u products that were transported, and different metrological norms are documented in M4 texts regarding that crop. In the majority of the shipments transported by Ḫimsātēya and his relatives we can observe that the metrological unit used by the *ginā'u* accountants to measure the incoming cargoes was not the same, at least in the terminology. As for Ḫimsātēya, the majority of attestations concern the *sūtu ša pirik ritte*, "the handbreadth seah", with only one occurrence each for the other two measures attested in the archive; namely, the *ša pî* 5 *sūte*, "of the opening of the 50-*qa* seah"[319] and the 12-*qa* seah. The handbreadth seah also appears in the case of cargoes transported by Urad-ilāni and Ḫattāyu. The expression *pirik ritte*, literally "through, across the hand",[320] probably refers to the way the barley was measured, but not in the sense that the grain was poured into the measuring vessel flowing across the hand.[321] Two possibilities can be suggested: when for various reasons the measurement according to the regular metrological unit of the *ginā'u* bureau could not take place for certain incoming cargoes, the grain was measured using a correspondence, perhaps approximate, between the (cubic?) hand span and the *sūtu*-based volumetric system. However, since this expression occurs in measurements performed in official contexts,[322] it is difficult to believe that the accountants made uncommon and approximate measurements. Given that this expression is not exclusively linked to a particular type of seah and grain,[323] another hypothesis is that *pirik ritte* refers to some operation carried out with the open palms of the hands in the phase of measurement in the *sūtu*-measuring container, perhaps pressing with the entire palm of the hand to compact the grain inside the container.[324]

The metrological notations referring to the "opening of the 50-*qa* seah" and the 12-*qa* seah are problematic, but the former may simply have referred to units of barley that the

319. Literally, "of the opening of the 5 seahs".
320. See CAD P, 407f. *s.v. pirku* B 1d for prepositional and adverbial use. In many M4 documents, the phrase occurs in final sections concerning the total quantities of barley measured, as in KAM 10, 46, r.12′; MARV 6 19, e.13 (barley from Ḫalaḫḫu); 24, e.12 (barley from Šūdu); MARV 7 36, 7; MARV 8 46, e.28. In summary documents concerning various shipments received, it occurs only for a number of cargoes. See MARV 1 21, 3, 5, 7; 25, 2; MARV 2 24, 5, env. 3′; MARV 6 3, 3, 11, e.19, r.27. On notes concerning distribution of barley using this expression, see MARV 6 81, 2; MARV 7 36, 7.
321. As argued in Gauthier 2016, 762. Gauthier suggests that the phrase could refer to situations in which the grain was measured by actually pouring it into a measuring container instead of counting it in premeasured units.
322. Barley was measured by the *ša pirik ritte* seah in the House of Ezbu-lēšir, the regular offerings overseer (MARV 2 24, 5–7, env. 3′–4′; see also *ibid.*, lines 3–4, env. 1′–2′ on barley measured in the House of Ippitte). See also the *ša pirik ritte* seah used for barley measured and distributed in the *bēt ginā'e* (MARV 7 36, 6–e.10).
323. MARV 3 42 records a quantity of barley belonging to the regular offerings stocks of the Aššur Temple. The barley is measured by the seah of the god's ration "across the hand" (lines 2–4). From MARV 3 60, 1–4 we learn that a quantity of sesame from the *ginā'u* of the Aššur Temple is measured by the seah of the *ḫiburnu*-house; in this case, the measurement is also qualified as *pirik ritte* by the scribe. In MARV 6 40, 4–5, a quantity of *simdu*-flour is measured by an unknown seah "across the hand". The norm is probably the 50-*qa* seah, mentioned in connection with the same type of flour in lines 11–12 of the same text. See *ibid.*, lines 20–21 on *simdu*-flour measured by the seah of the work-assignments "across the hand".
324. See Postgate 2016, 234.

staff of the *ginā'u* office had not physically checked to verify that their nominal size actually corresponded to 50 *qa* (hence the use of the phrase *ša pî*, "according to").[325] Another plausible alternative is that the notation refers to the way the barley was measured regarding the mouth of the 50-*qa* measuring container, presumably depending on whether it was completely filled to the brim or not, heaped up or levelled flat.[326] Hence, another translation of this expression would be "the 50-*qa* seah (measured with regard to) the opening (of the corresponding measuring container)".

Concerning the unusual 12-*qa* seah, it is attested only once in Ḫimsātēya's dossier and may refer to a *sūtu* norm that diverged from the standard measure commonly used by the *ginā'u* bureaucrats.[327] The same norm — the seah of 12.5 *qa* — is used in other documents of the archive,[328] although in the case of Ḫimsātēya's cargo it appears to have been rounded down.[329]

The seah of 50 *qa*, which was the standard metrological norm in measurements made by the *ginā'u* measurers at the arrival of cargoes in Assur and was presumably also followed in the measurement phase during the loading of barley onto the *malāḫu*s' boats in the provinces' embarkation points,[330] is frequently attested in the case of Šūzub-Marduk's cargoes. It seems that this measure was used for shipments from some grain-paying provinces but not all the grain-supplying administrative districts of the Assyrian kingdom. The majority of attestations of the 50-*qa* seah concern Ḫalaḫḫu and Katmuḫḫu,[331] and in most cases this notation is expressed in terms of "opening of the 50-*qa* seah".[332] Interestingly, in the case of Ḫalaḫḫu in the same document, we find barley cargoes measured differently: in MARV 6 88 a cargo brought by Ḫimsātēya was measured by the handbreadth seah,[333] while another transported by a sailor whose name is not preserved by the "opening of the 50-*qa* seah".[334] Local variations in Assyrian capacity norms certainly existed, and this was also true for the 50-*qa* seah measure. Boatmen often used capacity standards that diverged from those used in the regular offerings bureau in Assur, presumably long-established in the places they came from and commonly used in the river routes they travelled. In the case of the *ginā'u* cargoes from the provinces, they could use their own 50-*qa* seah or other types of seah, and the scribes of the *ginā'u* office recorded this in their documents.[335] Šūzub-Marduk had his own 50-*qa* seah, and his barley cargoes from

325. Gauthier 2016, 758–760.
326. On these aspects, see Postgate 2016, 233f.
327. Gauthier 2016, 751f.
328. See the 13-*qa sūtu* used by the scribe Mār-āpi'e in MARV 6 88, 26. This is the value of the seah of 12.5 *qa*, which is rounded up. The same norm is probably intended by the "seah of Mār-āpi'e" mentioned in MARV 9 112, 4; see Gauthier 2016, 751.
329. Gauthier 2016, 752.
330. See Gauthier 2016, 756f. for pre-measured standard units of grain.
331. For Ḫalaḫḫu, see MARV 6 10, 2; 77, 6; 88, r.41; MARV 8 66, r.5′. For Katmuḫḫu, see MARV 3 14, 3; MARV 6 3, 13, 15; 88, 12, 14; MARV 7 5, 2, 4, 5; this aspect is discussed in Gauthier 2016, 758.
332. See, for Ḫalaḫḫu, MARV 6 77, 6; 88, r.41; MARV 8 66, r.5′. In the case of Katmuḫḫu, only two attestations refer to the *ša pî* 5 *sūte* measure.
333. MARV 6 88, 6.
334. MARV 6 88, r.41.
335. See Gauthier 2016, 766.

Katmuḫḫu were measured by that norm.[336] The same is true of his colleague Kidinnīya, who was also involved in transporting various barley cargoes from the same district.[337] Another cargo brought by Šūzub-Marduk was measured by his own 50-*qa sūtu*, but in this case the *ša pî* notation is used, and the origin of the barley is not specified by the scribe.[338] This plurality of coexisting metrological norms, particularly norms that belonged to a sailor's regional background and evidently shared by the local authorities of the contributing province, also indirectly testifies to the skills that a scribe of the *ginā'u* administration in Assur had in solving problems that arose when checking and measuring loads. We may assume that the difficulties probably increased in the case of apprentice scribes dispatched to the port with little experience, even of the boatmen's jargon, as is suggested by a Neo-Assyrian bilingual literary work from Assur concerning the exam at the scribal school and the importance of understanding the terminology of the *malāḫu*.[339]

In all likelihood, the 50-*qa sūtu* norm was also used in the case of shipments brought by Šūzub-Marduk's uncle, if we consider the references to the 50-*qa* seah of MARV 8 62 and MARV 7 88 in the context of measurements of loaned barley. At least in the case of MARV 8 62, it appears that it was previously brought in Ištar-tuballissu's shipments. The use of the *ša pî* 5 *sūte* norm in Šūzub-Marduk's cargoes is limited to one occurrence. As to the "large seah" and the "small seah", evidence for these two norms are limited to the sailor …akdu[?], the son of Ištar-tuballissu mentioned in MARV 9 95, but it is possible that the *sūtu rabītu* was another way to refer to the "boatman's seah", a norm that Gauthier calculates was 1.550 times the size of the small seah.[340]

Chronologically, as far as Ḫimsātēya's dossier is concerned, all these metrological notations coexisted in the accounting practice of the same period: the dated texts show that *ša pirik ritte* seah was used in the eponymates of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, Aššur-šallimšunu and Ina-ilīya-allak. In the *līmu*s of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu and Aššur-šallimšunu, the scribes used the 50-*qa* seah, while large and small seahs are attested in that of Aššur-šallimšunu. As to the 12-*qa* seah, the text in which it occurs has no date, but documents using the 12.5 seah norm show that it was in use at least in the first two decades of Tiglath-pileser I's reign.[341]

5.5. Ḫimsātēya's family and its socio-professional networks: institutional and non-institutional contacts

Regarding the institutional actors mentioned in the texts in which Ḫimsātēya and his relatives appear, if we exclude references to the *rab ginā'e*, the head of the Regular Offerings

336. MARV 6 3, 13.
337. MARV 6 3, 15.
338. MARV 8 74, r.5–6.
339. Sjöberg 1975, 144f., line 26.
340. Gauthier 2016, 752.
341. See MARV 6 88, possibly dated to the eponymate of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, and MARV 9 112, dated to the *līmu* of Ninu'āyu. According to Freydank 2016, 128, the year of Ninu'āyu occurred in the middle of the reign, perhaps the 21st. In Gauthier 2016, 718, this *līmu* is tentatively assigned to the 23rd regnal year.

Date (and source)	*Boatman*	*Officials*	*Households and officials linked to households*	*Aššur Temple staff*		*Other professionals*
				*Alaḫḫinu*s	*Brewers*	
? (KAJ 302)	ḪIM	Ṣillīya*	—	—	–	—
IAA (MARV 1 21)	ḪIM	Pān-Aššur-dugul	House of Erība-Aššur Lirnin[…, *mašennu*?], of the House of Kīdītê		Kidinnīya, brewer	
IAA (MARV 6 52)	ḪIM	—	—	—	—	La[…], a representative? of the *rab ginā'e**
IAA? (MARV 6 88)	ḪIM ŠM	Aššur-šallimšunu, […]	House of Erība-Aššur […], *mašennu* of Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu Uddû, *mašennu* of Ilī-padda Urad-ilāni, […] of the House of Aššur-bēla-šallim House of Uddû	[…], *alaḫḫinu* Urad-Aššur, *alaḫḫinu* of the Aššur [Temple?]	—	Mār-āpi'e, scribe
AŠ (MARV 6 3)	ḪIM ŠM	—	House of Erība-Aššur [Uddû], *mašennu* of Ilī-padda	—	—	—
AŠ (MARV 7 36)	ḪA	Urad-Kūbe*	—	Urad-Gula*, Aššur-danninni*, Siqqi-Aššur-aṣbat*		—
ŠAĒ (MARV 6 26)	ḪA ŠM	Adad-apla-iddina, *rab karāne* […], son of Ukapani	—	—	—	
IIA (MARV 9 14)	ḪIM	—	Aššur-apla-uṣur?, […] of (the House of) Kīdītê	Urad-Gula?*, Šūzub-Sîn?*, Aššur-danninni*, Tišpakīya?*, Sîn-ašarēd*, Kuttaḫḫu*, Tišpak-šuma-uṣur		—
? (MARV 8 3)	ḪIM	Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu	[House of?] Erība-[…] House of Aššur-MU-[…]	Šūzub-Sîn?* Aššur-danninni*	Urad-Gula* Sîn-ašarēd*	—
? (MARV 8 74)	ḪIM ŠM	—	House of Bi[…]	—	—	—
MB? (MARV 8 96)	ḪIM	—	—	Ša-Aššur-lēšir*, Tišpakīya*, Urad-Aššur*, Aššur-šuma-iddina*, Šūzub-Marduk*, Kuttaḫḫu		—
? (MARV 10 86)	ŠM	Aššur-apla-ēriš Hahutu	—	—		—

Table 5. Officials and professionals active during the period of Ḫimsātēya and his family (Abbreviations: IAA = Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu, AŠ = Aššur-šallimšunu, ŠAĒ = Šamaš-apla-ēriš, IIA = Ina-ilīya-allak, MB = Mudammeq-Bēl; ḪIM = Ḫimsātēya, ḪA = Ḫattāyu, ŠM = Šūzub-Marduk; the sign * indicates that the individuals are directly related to the sailor's shipment).

House and the one who was formally responsible for receiving the provincial cargoes in Assur, a number of officials and other professionals enable us to form an idea of the institutional figures active when Ḫimsātēya and his family worked in *ginā'u*-related river transport. These sailors maintained professional relations with some of these high-ranking members of the institutional sector. The names of various officials and other professionals from Ḫimsātēya's dossier are presented in Table 5. The individuals belong to various categories: some are state officials, mentioned alone or as linked to specific households. They were directly involved with the provision of *ginā'u* products and managing the delivery of these goods from the provinces to Assur. Other individuals belong to categories directly involved in the process of redistribution of the products received from the stores of the Regular Offerings House and were in charge of processing them into foodstuffs ready for cultic consumption: they were the *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers of the Aššur Temple. The former professionals were responsible for processing cereals into flour,[342] the latter specialists in making beer. Presumably, different varieties of flour and beer were produced by these specialists. Flour quality varied primarily with the grain used and the culinary purpose intended (both unprocessed flour and finished culinary products like breads and cakes were presented in cultic offerings). The grinding process determined different degrees of consistency and refining. Other characteristics, such as colour and flavour, must also have played a role in their final use. The different qualities of beer depended primarily on the malt used and the fermentation process, along with any additives that might enrich the flavour of the final product.

The individuals qualified as *alaḫḫinus* probably supervised their own staffs of dependent grinders to actually carry out the grinding operation.[343] Analogous considerations may be made about the *sirāšu*s, who presumably had their own crews of workers in charge of every phase of the brewing process.[344] Other professionals cited in Ḫimsātēya's dossier include one person apparently in charge of receiving the cargo in place of the *rab ginā'e*, and a scribe who appears as responsible for the delivery of a quantity of barley to Assur. More directly involved in the shipments brought by Ḫimsātēya and his relatives are the *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers, who were the direct beneficiaries of the *ginā'u* barley transported by the sailors.

Four documents from the dossier enumerate various food processors as beneficiaries of quotas of the barley consigned by the sailors Ḫimsātēya and Ḫattāyu: they are, in the order in which they appear in Table 5, Urad-Gula, Aššur-danninni, Siqqi-Aššur-aṣbat, Šūzub-Sîn, Tišpakīya, Sîn-ašarēd, Kuttaḫḫu, Ša-Aššur-lēšir, Urad-Aššur, Aššur-šuma-iddina and Šūzub-Marduk. While in Ḫattāyu's activity of the year of Aššur-šallimšunu we find the group of *alaḫḫinu*s formed by Urad-Gula, Aššur-danninni and Siqqi-Aššur-aṣbat,[345] with the latter acting as a temporary substitute of Šūzub-Sîn,[346] in the case of

342. Postgate 2013, 110.
343. Postgate 2013, 110f.
344. In comparison to the *alaḫḫinu*s, less information on the internal specialisation of beer-makers is provided in Middle Assyrian texts; see Postgate 2013, 112.
345. MARV 7 36, 3–5. For these occurrences of the anthroponyms, see AMA, A, 323; S, 97; U, 60 *s.v.* On these specialists, see Freydank 2016, 64f., 72f., 81f.
346. Gauthier 2016, 795.

Ḫimsātēya's activity the beneficiaries include a larger group that varied over the years. Urad-Gula, Aššur-danninni and Šūzub-Sîn are attested as a group of *alaḫḫinu*s since the middle of Aššur-rēša-iši I's reign.[347] In the year of Ina-ilīya-allak, the specialists involved in the allocation of consigned barley are the same as those already seen in the year of Aššur-šallimšunu, although there are some differences. The latter group was composed of Urad-Gula, Šūzub-Sîn and Aššur-danninni, with the addition of Kuttaḫḫu, another *alaḫḫinu*, possibly holding a low-ranking position in the team,[348] and of the brewers Tišpakīya and Sîn-ašarēd,[349] who are found together in other texts from the *līmu* of Ina-ilīya-allak.[350] In MARV 8 3, we find the same group of beneficiaries. Albeit regarding one of the barley amounts consigned by Ḫimsātēya, the specialists' group also includes the brewer Sîn-ašarēd.[351] It is worth noting that in this case Sîn-ašarēd occurs alone, not in association with his colleague Mutakkil-Aššur or his substitute Tišpakīya.[352] In the case of another barley cargo brought by Ḫimsātēya and later distributed to *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers, the beneficiaries mentioned in MARV 8 96 are, in the order of enumeration, Ša-Aššur-lēšir, Tišpakīya, Urad-Aššur, Aššur-šuma-iddina and Šūzub-Marduk.[353] In this document we find two brewers (Ša-Aššur-lēšir and Tišpakīya)[354] at the beginning of the group of specialists, followed by three *alaḫḫinu*s (Urad-Aššur, Aššur-šuma-iddina and Šūzub-Marduk).[355] The brewers Ša-Aššur-lēšir and Tišpakīya are mentioned together in documents from the eponymate of Mudammeq-Bēl to that of Ninu'āyu,[356] while the three *alaḫḫinu*s are attested as a team in documents dated to the 9th and 10th months of the year of Mudammeq-Bēl.[357] MARV 8 96 also shows that on another disbursement date the *alaḫḫinu* Urad-Aššur received *ginā'u* barley when he worked as a brewer,[358] showing that these professional roles could be interchangeable and that members of one group could join the other as substitutes.

However, the process of allocating quotas of barley to these specialists does not imply direct interaction with the sailors, since that disbursement was an administrative procedure managed by the staff of the Regular Offerings House and of the stores where the *ginā'u* products were kept. That said, it is clear that Ḫimsātēya and his relatives interacted

347. Gauthier 2016, 795.
348. Gauthier 2016, 804.
349. MARV 9 14, r.42′–47′. For these occurrences of the names, see AMA, A, 326; K, 72; S, 49; T, 30 *s.v.* Note that these occurrences of the names Šūzub-Sîn and Urad-Gula are omitted in AMA, Š, 162; U, 63 *s.v.* On these specialists, see Freydank 2016, 67–71.
350. MARV 6 19+, 6–7; 24, 6–7. See Gauthier 2016, 807; *ibid.*, *List of M4 Texts* …, 201, 208.
351. MARV 8 3, 4′–7′, 11′–13′. See AMA, A, 324; S, 48; Š, 161; U, 61 *s.v.*
352. Gauthier 2016, 807.
353. MARV 8 96, 8′–12′. See AMA, Š, 7; T, 30; U, 52 *s.v.* This attestation of the name Aššur-šuma-iddina is omitted in AMA, A, 427. Note that the occurrence of the name Šūzub-Marduk is included in AMA, *Iniziale frammentaria*, 68. For these specialists, see Freydank 2016, 65f., 69–72.
354. See Gauthier 2016, 808, but note that in Gauthier's list of attestations of the team formed by Ša-Aššur-lēšir and Tišpakīya, the occurrence of MARV 8 96 is omitted.
355. Gauthier 2016, 798.
356. Gauthier 2016, 808.
357. Gauthier 2016, 798.
358. MARV 8 96, 3′.

with a variety of institutional actors in the phase of loading the cargo in the contributing province's port of embarkation and in the process of unloading and measurement in the port of Assur. Provincial governors and officials of the local district were responsible for finding sailors available to transport the *ginā'u* goods and organising delivery to Assur. Direct interaction with such institutional actors is suggested by KAJ 302, where Ṣillīya reports having loaded Ḫimsātēya's boat — an operation that implied cooperation with the boatman and his crew. Cooperation between institutional actors and sailors is probably also indicated by MARV 7 36, which is related to a transport mission conducted by the sailor Ḫattāyu and possibly coordinated by the official Urad-Kūbe. An analogous case is possibly described in MARV 10 86, where a certain Ḫaḫutu could have been the official responsible for the *ginā'u* shipments from Katmuḫḫu. He may have been involved in the management of both the shipment delivered through the sailor Šūzub-Marduk and the one he managed directly and possibly carried by another sailor, as suggested above. All these examples indicate that the boatman's network of socio-professional contacts affected multiple relational dimensions: economic (the assignment of a transport mission being the expression of occupational interaction), patronage (institutional ties of dependence with local state officials and administration) and residential (if we assume that the sailor selected by the state authorities was resident in the same geographical area of the provincial commissioner responsible for the *ginā'u* shipment).[359]

Once a sailor reached the destination, he interacted with the representatives of the *ginā'u* bureau to formalise the consignment of the cargo. This is the case of the person mentioned in MARV 6 52, who was probably physically present during the consignment phase and had to certify that the transport mission had been accomplished.[360] On that occasion, scribes and measurers of the *ginā'u* bureau were dispatched to the port to inspect the cargo and measure its contents while they were being unloaded from the ship and stored in the *bēt ginā'e*'s warehouse. The cargo was checked to ascertain whether it corresponded to the nominal value expected by the administration and to determine any shortfall to be borne by the boatman and made up in the next transport mission. This phase constituted another level of the relational dimension that the *malāḫu* in charge of a cargo maintained with the personnel of the state apparatus, in this case the staff of the administrative unit in charge of the permanent offerings at the Aššur Temple in Assur.

As Ḫimsātēya's dossier shows, *ginā'u*-related river transport was a well-consolidated family business in which several members operated simultaneously, each establishing his own network of institutional contacts in the provinces touched by his transport activity and the capital. The fact that several members were active at the same time suggests a "family management" of this activity in the service of the *ginā'u* administration. From time to time, at the request of the state authorities one or more members had to be indicated by the family to the regular offerings office and the local institutional administration

359. See Waerzeggers 2014, 216 on the types of relational data that can be found in cuneiform archives.

360. Regarding formalising the reception of incoming goods, a comparison can be made with Old Babylonian texts showing that if an owner was not present, his representative was in charge of receiving the goods once the cargo arrived at the port and the unloading operation was performed. See Weszeli 2020, 98.

as available to transport certain cargoes. The recruited sailors acted as captains in charge of the cargoes commissioned by the state, leaving other family members to manage other transport missions for other commissioners. If this indeed was the typical *modus operandi*, one can presume that it was meant to diversify the family business, enabling each family head of the clan (the "patriarch" Ḫimsātēya and his sons and grandsons, along with his brothers and nephews, likely each heading a family unit) to enjoy the benefits of this activity. Some evidence has shown that two members of the family engaged in transporting the same cargo. Although river transport ships required smaller crews than sea-going craft,[361] it is conceivable that the M4 texts only mention the captains in charge of the cargoes. It is reasonable to think that each was assisted on their journeys by one or more assistant boatmen, whether members of their family or other sailors.

The institutional contacts that the sailors maintained with the state apparatus certainly provided further opportunities for them to collaborate with other sectors of the Assyrian state organisation, such as the provision of various commodities to institutional households, the transport of civil and military personnel from one place to another along the course of the Tigris and its navigation network, or simply from one bank of a river to another, and new work opportunities outside the institutional sector. New high-ranking customers were probably interested in using the boatman's transport service for their own private interests and for trade activities aimed at increasing the wealth of their households, with an economically positive impact on the *malāḫu*'s activity.

The patterns of mobility that characterised the *ginā'u* trips along the Tigris certainly played a role in generating, consolidating and expanding the social networks of the actors involved.[362] The repetitive journeys that a sailor had to make along the same route (only a fraction of which left traces in the *ginā'u*-related written documentation) shaped the social contacts of these professional transporters. The relationship of trust between Ḫimsātēya's family and the *ginā'u* administration and the consolidated collaboration that he and his relatives enjoyed with the state sector over the years may have facilitated the expansion of this family's river business to other areas of the state's territory or for work in the service of high-ranking officials. This is suggested by the case of Mār-Ištar, another boatman who was active during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I and whose activities were not confined to the transport of *ginā'u* goods to Assur for the regular offerings administration. They also involved the transport of materials and work tools for individuals. A document from Archive M7 from Assur, an archive related to the movement of various materials and finished objects within the palace sector under the responsibility of the palace steward,[363] shows that in one of his transport missions Mār-Ištar brought plane tree wood (or some unspecified objects made from that kind of wood) and grindstones and

361. This is especially true for transport river craft, whose crews generally had ready access to supplies ashore and ample space on board for goods; see Vosmer 2008, 233f.
362. See Waerzeggers 2014, 217–219 on intercity relations generated by the mobility of persons in the evidence of Neo-Babylonian sources.
363. Postgate 2013, 148f. For an introduction to this archive, see Pedersén 1998, 85f.; Postgate 2013, 147–176.

that these goods were consigned to a man called Asmīdu,[364] possibly the official who commissioned the sailor's river transport mission for the palace organisation or the palace-dependent professional for whom these goods were ordered. In the latter case, it was by means of these tools that the worker was expected to carry out his work. Unfortunately, this individual is not otherwise attested in the Middle Assyrian sources. In addition, the partially preserved name of the eponym[365] does not allow the document to be dated. Mār-Ištar, who appears in both M4 and M7 texts, is an example of a boatman who was part of the social networks based on different organisations and documented in distinct archives. In all likelihood, this situation also characterised other boatmen, especially those who interacted most frequently with institutions over the years. Further social contacts that a sailor could have and maintain in Assur may have involved other institutional figures of different ranks, affiliated with the Aššur Temple or other institutions, as on the occasion of the formalisation of the boatman's debt by the regular offerings administration.[366]

Although other activities of these *malāḫu*s are not attested in the Middle Assyrian corpus, it is clear that their growing interactions with institutional figures enabled these sailors to create or consolidate friendship and professional connections and enter the *ginā'u*-related officials' circles of acquaintances. Perhaps these relationships emerged in private transactions involving institutional actors as purchasers or sellers of the goods transacted, and in which the sailor acted as a witness among colleagues and other dependent professionals from the same institutional milieu, although supporting evidence from this period is lacking. In their dual capacity, as part of their lords' circles of acquaintances due to their (full-time or temporary) professional dependence, and as part of the city community, presumably due to the multiple affiliations and well-established links that their work fostered with administrators, private households and local agents of interests of the urban community (*i.e.*, families, professional groups), sailors could already have played a role in such transactions in the Middle Assyrian period.[367]

364. MARV 10 72, 1–6 (= StAT 5, 72); this document belongs to the tablet group Assur 21101 (M7 F) and is discussed in Prechel & Freydank 2014, 1–12.

365. MARV 10 72, r.13′ (= StAT 5, 72) ˹m*aš*˺-*š*[*ur*-…]. It is tempting to reconstruct the name as Aššur-šallimšunu[?], since the document MARV 9 95 in which Mār-Ištar and his sons occur is dated to this *līmu*; see Gauthier 2016, *Text Editions* …, *ad* MARV 9 95.

366. For example, in the legal document MARV 8 50, r.7′–11′, various personnel of the Aššur Temple act as witnesses; the list includes priests, an *alaḫḫinu*[?], a cupbearer and the temple's doorkeeper.

367. The occurrences of *malāḫu*s in the role of witnesses in connection with military personnel and city officials is documented in Neo-Assyrian legal documents. For instance, in SAA 6 142, r.14–16, two chief boatmen bearing Egyptian names appear as witnesses in a contract for the purchase of a house by an Egyptian scribe, along with other witnesses, some of whom also have Egyptian names; namely, the king's brother-in-law, the "third man" of a chariot team and a horse trainer. In SAA 14 262, r.11′, a contract for the purchase of a house that involved a eunuch, a sailor occurs in a list of witnesses, joined by horse trainers, a singer, a "third man", a chariot driver and a master builder. In the conveyance document SAA 14 397, r.11′, a sailor acts as a witness, along with two mayors and two horse trainers of the royal bodyguard. Another *malāḫu* acting as a witness appears in the contract Fales & Jakob-Rost 1991, 80 text no. 35, r.30, concerning the sale of a plot of bare ground by a *ḫazannu*, a *ša muḫḫi āli* and a commander-of-ten of the scribes. In the debt note Parpola 2008, 55 text no. 8, e.9, a boatman is one of the witnesses, in company with a town manager, a scribe and a cupbearer. The role

One wonders whether sailors who were attached to state or high-ranking officials' households worked as full-time dependents of these organisations, probably as a result of the long-standing collaboration they maintained with institutional organisations over the years and for the importance of their river transport service for the state's economic system.[368] In Ḫimsātēya's case, Postgate suggests that he may have been employed regularly by the regular offerings administration, rather than by the individual provincial governors.[369] Whatever the relationship of dependency that he and his relatives had with the state administration, it is reasonable to conclude that many boatmen were recruited on a temporary basis for specific transport missions and were therefore not part of the full-time staff of institutional or private households. For boatmen who already worked for institutional figures in the provinces, going into service for the regular offerings administration meant additional opportunities to extend their business and increase their wealth. Moreover, the institutional contacts developed during their river transport activity gave these sailors access to the Regular Offerings House's services, such as loans from the *bēt ginā'e*'s stock, as shown by the case of Ištar-tuballissu. Personal loans are another indicator of social relationships.[370] Access to these loans on favourable terms could also have been granted to other members of Ḫimsātēya's family,[371] although the M4 documents are silent in this regard.

We do not know how transport trips for customers external to the state apparatus and private elite households were balanced with transport activities for these main users. It is clear, however, that the way this profession was performed and how its organisation developed over time was closely linked to the state's economic policies on river transport management and factors determined by those policies, such as economic growth and increased river mobility, including trade and private initiative, the organisation of professions and the social developments that the Assyrian state experienced throughout its history. Some leeway and growth potential of the profession was probably guaranteed by the mobility of this occupation and the non-institutional social network that the boatman created and maintained in the places touched by his journeys with equally mobile economic actors (merchants, smugglers, transporters and donkey drivers). These contacts and any business they might generate were beyond the control of the institutional organisations and households for which they worked. In the course of time, boatmen operating in the Tigris transport network presumably began to gain more space for themselves in the field

of witnesses and their relationships with contracting parties in the Neo-Assyrian period has been studied in Ponchia 2009, esp. 144–158.

368. The possibility that at least some boatmen were recruited as full-time dependents may be suggested in the cases of Baḫû, a boatman attached to the Aššur Temple (MARV 5 5; Archive M4), Šamaš-aḫa-īde, who worked for Ilī-padda's household (MARV 10 90; Archive M4), and Šalgu, a palace boatman (MARV 10 16; Archive M7).

369. Postgate 2013, 102.

370. See Waerzeggers 2014, 216.

371. The question arises as to whether Ḫimsātēya, the son of Sîn-idnanni, is the individual mentioned as the assignee of a quantity of a commodity, perhaps related to a barley loan to be repaid, on the disbursement list MARV 5 34, 15′. However, the identity of that person and the purpose of that disbursement are unclear.

of private entrepreneurial activities, as evidenced for the Neo-Assyrian period by the participation of boatmen in joint commercial ventures with other private economic actors.[372]

The present study has illustrated how the analysis of the microhistory of a group of sailors can reveal many aspects not only of the relationships they had with various institutional actors in the performance of their work, but also of the mechanisms of management of a tax that was supposed to bind all Assyrians to the country's religious centre. It has been argued that the regular offerings system and the flow of provincial contributions likely played a role in creating the collective identity of the Assyrian state.[373] In this respect, one wonders whether even the individual operators who to different degrees and according to their respective tasks participated in the system had developed a sense of belonging to the *māt Aššur* and the greater project it implied. After all, the boatmen with their numerous trips in the Tigris network were primary actors in the construction of the Assyrian economic system, and it was on their transport service that local and central state authorities relied. Within riverine mobility, the movement of goods and the connections between places, government authorities and professionals that their activities created and consolidated, it cannot be excluded that transporting *ginā'u* products (and other state-commissioned transport missions) played a role in fostering among the *malāḫu*s a sense of belonging to territorial, social and cultural realities previously considered distant from their daily horizons. However, it is reasonable to presume that whatever this new sense of collective identity was (if it did exist), divine protection may have been felt to be more reassuring. It was to the gods and to his own protective spirit[374] that every boatman likely entrusted the success of his transport mission and the safety of his and the crew's lives on the outward and return journeys, in the awareness of the significance a fully loaded boat had.[375]

372. For boatmen in documents from Dūrī-Aššur's archive in Assur, see Radner 2016, 86 text no. I.5, env. e.2, 103 text no. I.34, r.5′–6′.
373. Maul 2013, 569–574; Postgate 2013, 89.
374. As may be inferred from Issār-šumu-ēreš's astrological report SAA 8 23, r.2–5.
375. On metaphoric uses of cargoes and transport boats in Mesopotamian literature, see Hätinen 2017, 171–183. The numerous uses of boats in figurative language in Sumerian and Akkadian literature are a vivid illustration of how deeply waterborne transportation shaped the view and imagery of human life in the riverine societies of ancient Mesopotamia.

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ABL 307: A REGIONAL COLLECTION OF APPEALS TO THE KING?*

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Abstract

This paper presents an edition of the partially broken tablet ABL 307 (K 1078), a unique Neo-Assyrian text whose classification has been elusive. The tablet is neither a letter nor a royal decision, but most likely a regional memorandum from Nuhub (location uncertain) with appeals to the king. The article also discusses the structure, possible date and personal names of the tablet with extensive textual notes.

Keywords: Appeals — crimes — Esarhaddon — Nuhub — Sargon II — witnesses

The fascinating document ABL 307 (K 1078) has not been republished in transliteration and translation since Leroy Waterman's first and now hopelessly outdated edition before SAA 23 appeared.[1] This state of affairs was probably due to the unusual nature of the document among Neo-Assyrian texts. Since this difficult document has been variously described as a letter, a court decision,[2] or a court record,[3] we attempt to determine its genre more precisely, if possible, and to discuss its possible date. In the *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (PNA), all entries on ABL 307 state that the document dates from the reign of Sargon II.[4] However, this assumption has not been substantiated anywhere, and I would be more inclined to date it to the late reign of Esarhaddon with the help of some other documents.

* I would like to thank Simo Parpola for his help in interpreting this unique document, and Simonetta Ponchia for reading an early draft of this article and making many valuable suggestions. Access to the database of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project was a great help in the preparation of this article, as it contains a transliteration of the document on which the later SAA 23 edition is based. A high-quality digital photograph of K 1078 is available, for example, at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_K-1078.

1. Waterman 1930, 212f., now also known as SAA 23 279.
2. For a court decision, see, e.g., SAA 6 264 (beginning with the words *dēnu ša sartinnu ana* PN *ēmedūni*) and SAA 6 265, decided by the vizier (*šukkallu*).
3. ABL 307 has been interpreted as a letter repeatedly in PNA (1/I, 203f., *s.v.* Aššur-naṣir no. 7; 1/II, 409a, *s.v.* Ezbu no. 5; 2/II, 942a *s.v.* Nergal-ašared no. 3; and 3/I, 1017b, *s.v.* Quia no. 3), also so by Wells 2004, 131. But see Watanabe 1985, 151 according to whom "ABL 307: K.1078 (nA) ist kein Königsbrief", and Luukko 2004, 206, n. 18, "ABL 307 is not a proper letter but a royal decision".
4. See the PNA references in the previous note.

In what follows, I will first present the text in transliteration and translation, followed by a brief commentary discussing its main points. It should be stressed, however, that this document still contains several controversial points for which only speculative interpretations can be offered. This is mainly due to the fact that a considerable part of the document has been broken off and several lines are only fragmentary.

ABL 307 (K 1078)

Transliteration

Obverse

1. *a-bat* LUGAL *ina* UGU-*hi* ^{m}*aš-šur*–PAB
2. ARAD *šá* LÚ*.GAR.KUR URU.*nu-hu-ba-a-a*
3. *ša* ŠU.2 ^{m}*qu-u-a* LÚ*.*šá–ziq*$^{!}$*-ni*
4. ^{m}*ez-bu* ARAD *šá* LÚ.GAL–A.BA
5. *ina* IGI-*šú* UDU.MEŠ-*šu i-ra-'a*
6. UDU.MEŠ-*šu* LÚ.GAR.KUR *it-ti-ši*
7. *šu-ú da-a-ni mi-ha-ar-šú*$^{!}$
8. *ú-se-ri-bi ina* É-*šú i-ṣa-bat*
9. NÍG.GUB *ša* SIG$_4$.MEŠ *i-sa-kan-šú*
10. GIŠ.*ha-ṭu* ⌜*x x*⌝ [*x x*]*x-*⌜*ka*$^{?}$⌝
11. ^{m}SUHUŠ–URU.[ŠÀ–URU$^{?}$ *x x x x x*]
12. *i-si-*[*x x x x x x*]

rest broken away

Reverse

Beginning broken away

1′. ŠE *x*[*x x x x x x x*]
2′. *ina* ŠÀ-*bi* [*x x x x x*]
3′. *ik-ta-r*[*a-ar x x x ma-a*$^{?}$]
4′. *mu-ki-nu-te-šú* [*ina* IGI]
5′. LUGAL *šup*$^{!}$*-ra mu-ki-nu*
6′. *ša is-si-šú ú-kan-nu-ni*
7′. ^{m}*bé-su-a-a* URU.ŠÀ–URU-*iá*
8′. *ba-ti-qu-šú a-ki* MAN
9′. *iq-bu-u-ni i-ki-bu-su-ni*
10′. ^{md}UTU–AD–PAB URU.*nu-uh-ba-iá*
11′. A.ŠÀ *šá* ^{m}U.GUR–MAŠ *ip-tu-ga*
12′. ^{m}U.GUR–MAŠ *ma-a a-ta-a*

Top Edge

13′. A.ŠÀ *ta-pu-ga-ni*
14′. *ma-a ha-du-a-a*
15′. *i-ka-bu-su*

Left Side

1. *ma-a a-lik* 7-*šú* MAN *ina* UGU-*hi-iá m*[*u-hur*]
2. DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$ *an-ni-u* MAN *lu-ka-ni* LÚ*$^{!}$.[*x* (*x*)]

Translation

(1) A "king's word" concerning Aššur-naṣir, a servant of the prefect of the Nuhubeans, in custody of Quia, a bearded courtier. (4) Ezbu, a servant of the chief scribe, was grazing his sheep in his presence, (when) the prefect took away his sheep. (7) He made his equal enter into his house by force and imprisoned (him there), setting up for him the builder's hod. (10) *A* (*shepherd's*) *staff* … […] … (11) Ubru-[*Libbali* ……] (12) … [……]
(Break)
(Rev. 1′) *grain* [……] (2′) there [……] (3′) he thr[ew … and said]: (4′) "Send his witnesses [into the presence of] the king!" (5′) The witness who testified with him, Bessu'aya, a man from Assur, his informer, when he mentioned the king and trod (*the field*). (10′) Šamaš-abu-uṣur, a Nuhubean, took by force the field of Nergal-ašared. (12′) Nergal-ašared said: "Why did you appropriate my field?" (14′) He said: "They tread it at my pleasure! Go and a[ppeal] to the king seven times because of me!" Let the king settle this case. (Side 2) The […].

Structure of the Text

Lines 1–11(ff.): The text is labelled as a royal order, at least nominally, and the protagonists are introduced: Aššur-naṣir, the defendant, and Ezbu, the plaintiff. Their superiors are also mentioned, and Aššur-naṣir's crimes are specified.

r.1′–3′: Fragmentary, but possibly outlining another crime in Nuhub.

r.3′–5′: Apparently quoting an official who wants to send his witnesses to the king. Probably not those of Ezbu, as this may be a different case.

r.5′–9′: A witness called Bessu'aya, who is said to be his informer, is introduced; he is probably one of the witnesses (to be) sent to the king. An appeal to the king seems to be implied ("when he mentioned the king").

r.10′–15′: Another case of a dispute (or perhaps more likely a continuation of previous lines) over a field is presented. The parties (Šamaš-abu-uṣur and Nergal-ašared) are introduced.

s.1–2: Nergal-ašared asks for someone to act as his representative to present his case to the king. The document ends with a statement, possibly by its anonymous author, saying that the king should settle this case.

Only in lines r.12′, 14′e, s.1, we have an extant *mā* for introducing direct speech, but the end of r.3′ may also have included it (now restored). It has been suggested that the obverse and reverse should be changed with one another (see fn. 9 below), but if we make this change, then, side 1 (= the left edge of the tablet) with *mā*, would directly follow the now broken obverse which may not have contained dialogue but only the narrative at the end.

Also, the sequence of *hadû'āya / ikabbusū / abat šarri ina muhhi Aššur-naṣir* … may appear very difficult to explain both syntactically and as a logical flow of information in the document by suddenly introducing new people.

Commentary

The tablet now measures 6.0×4.0×2.3 cm, its width and thickness are fully preserved, but as a lower part of the tablet is missing, it is slightly below its original height. Originally it may have contained ca. 36–38 lines in total: the obverse may have contained at most ca. 14–15 lines, followed almost certainly by three lines at the bottom edge (as on the top of the tablet); the reverse, which now contains twelve lines, is correspondingly missing ca. two to three lines, followed by three well-preserved lines at the top of the tablet. The left side of the document ends with two more lines, which do not quite reach the end, but not much is missing. We lose the narrative after line 9 on the obverse, only to find it again on the reverse, line 4′. Therefore, we have no certainty about the odd ten lines in the middle of the document. The tablet is clearly of high quality: very well formed, coherently written, with deeply incised wedges.

Obv. 1–3: It is well known that Neo-Assyrian royal letters regularly begin with *abat šarri ana* PN / (professional) TITLE "The king's word to PN/TITLE" and not with *abat šarri ina muhhi* PN, to be interpreted here as "A 'king's word' concerning PN".[5] In other words, since *abat šarri ana* is deeply rooted as the opening formula of Neo-Assyrian royal letters and is not interchangeable with any similar expression, it would be a violation of letter etiquette to use *abat šarri ina muhhi*. Even if it is true that *ina muhhi*, like *ana*, has the meaning of "to", they are mainly interchangeable in connection with some of the most common verbs, such as *ana*/*ina muhhi … alāku*, "to go to", *ana*/*ina muhhi … šapāru*, "to send, write to", and *ana*/*ina muhhi … ubālu*, "to bring; (Š stem) send to". However, since ABL 307 is not an ordinary letter or an exponent of any other type of known document, its nature is unique, although this has led to misinterpretations (see fn. 3 above). Its uniqueness or "oddity" may be, at least in part, the reason why the document was not published in the *State Archives of Assyria* before the final volume of the series. Stylistically and syntactically, a relatively close comparison to these first lines of the document can be found in TH 2, 5–r.2; it reads, *a-bat* LUGAL *ša* DU-*ka*[*n-ni*] / *ina* UGU LÚ*.*qe-e-p*[*i*] / *ša* ŠU ^{md}MAŠ–E *a-na* LÚ*.EN.NAM / *i-din-ni*, "(PN …) has delivered to the governor (of Guzana) the king's order which has come; it concerns the royal delegate under Inurta-iqbi" (see now also Dornauer 2014, 33).

1–4: These lines introduce the protagonists of the tablet (or at least of its first case): Aššur-naṣir and Ezbu; they are respectively said to be the servants of two high-ranking officials: the prefect of the Nuhubeans and the chief scribe. The way in which Aššur-naṣir is introduced is complicated; for a somewhat similar introduction of a person see, e.g., SAAS 5 14, 2–6 (slightly corrected by Radner 1997–98, 383).

5. In this paper, we can leave aside a group of diplomatic letters which begin with *tuppi*/IM RN_1 *šar māt-Aššur ana* RN_2 LUGAL GN, "A tablet from RN_1, king of Assyria, to RN_2, king of GN".

2: Here, exceptionally, LÚ*.GAR.KUR is further modified by a rather unknown geographical name with a nisbe ending, URU.*nu-hu-ba-a-a*, "the prefect of the Nuhubeans" (a slightly shorter spelling of this name, also with a nisbe ending, appears in r.10). The NA sources mostly use the reading LÚ.GAR.KUR with a geographical name without a nisbe ending, meaning "the governor of GN". For the interpretation here, however, see also Bagg 2017, 470.

3: The clause *ša qātē Qūia ša-ziqni*, "in custody of Quia, a bearded courtier", may give us a clue as to the whereabouts of Aššur-naṣir at the time of the incident, when he was probably arrested and held in the palace complex.

4–6: The fact that the chief scribe and his servant are mentioned in connection with the sheep may have something to do with the role of the former in ritual and/or sacrificial divination. For the presence of the chief scribe in Assur see, e.g., Luukko 2007, 252 (especially n. 163). Note also that Sargon's chief scribe was from Assur, cf. *ibid.* 230 (n. 17). Presumably, the chief scribe was part of the king's entourage when the ruler stayed in Assur at the end of the year for the New Year celebrations. On these festivities in Assur and the king's stay there, see Maul 2000, 389–402.

6–7: *da'āni*/*da'annatti*, "by force, violently, coercively", is expressed elliptically instead of *ša da'āni* (SAA 16 65, r.9′; SAA 19 89, r.12; 127, r.6′; these two passages from the Nimrud Letters were misinterpreted in CTN 5, 56f.; 210f.), or *kī da'āni* (SAA 2 6, 177, cf. Watanabe 1987, 182b *sub* § 15 177). A servant of the chief scribe is probably not equal to the prefect of the Nuhubeans, and thus Aššur-naṣir, a servant of the prefect of the Nuhubeans, must be the real subject of these lines.

8: Here *i-ṣa-bat* is the 3rd person masculine singular perfect derived from *ṣabātu*, the spelling itself is ambiguous as it can also stand for the 3rd person masculine singular present. Interestingly, we have a sequence of four perfect forms in close succession: *ittiši*, *ussērībi*, *iṣṣabat*, and *issakanšu*; they all have the same subject: nominally the prefect of the Nuhubeans, but Aššur-naṣir acts as his representative.

9: CAD K 496b reads and translates NÍG.DU *ša libnāte issakanšu* "he imposed the brick basket upon him". For the dubious use of NÍG.GUB in this case, see *ibid.* 497. The translation may or may not seem entirely satisfactory, but the idea seems to be that a man forces another person to work for him. We have chosen "the builder's hod" instead of "the brick basket".

10: GIŠ.*ha-ṭu*, "sceptre, staff, stick", seems a more likely reading than the strange *pa-ha-ṭu* given by Waterman 1930, 212, which cannot mean, for example, a "province". Regarding the first sign, it is not uncommon for the horizontal tails of a sign to be longer than in their standardised forms in sign lists; in this case, the two horizontal wedges cross over a vertical wedge. The usual spelling of *haṭṭu* is GIŠ.PA, but see, e.g., GIŠ.*haṭ-ṭu* SAA 13 34, r.3 (CT 53 41); *haṭ-ṭu* SAA 22 10, 6′ (ABL 998); and GIŠ.*haṭ-ṭi* SAA 3 47, 3 (BA 5 657). In this context, see especially lines 5–6, our conjectural translation, a "(shepherd's) staff" may make good sense. The signs that follow this word seem uncertain, though, one might

read *ina šá-⌜kan x⌝* [*x*] ⌜*x-ka*⌝/[U]GU, "in placing […] *on*". The first sign may be *ina*, but whether it is followed by a *šá* is uncertain. I can tentatively suggest ⌜SAG$^{?}$⌝, but there are many other possibilities. The last sign of the line is less visible than in Harper's copy, but it may well be ⌜*ka*⌝ or [U]GU.

11: Since the crime probably took place not too far from Assur, Ubru-[*Libbali*] is the most likely restoration. However, the determinative URU is also attested in the following personal names with Ubru as the first element in the Neo-Assyrian sources: Ubru-Harran, Ubru-Kalhi and Ubru-Ninua, but geographically they may be a poorer match.

12: Since we have *is-si-šú* in r.6′, it seems unlikely, though not excluded, that *i-si-*[*x*] here stands for the preposition *issi*, "with", followed by a personal suffix. Instead, a verbal form or a noun can be expected, and possibilities include, amongst others, *i-si-*[*qi*], "too[k]; *i-si-*[*si*], "rea[d out"; *i-si-*[*ta-a-ti*], "tow[ers]", etc.

Rev. 1′: Perhaps read ŠE.NU[MUN$^{?}$ = *zar'u*, "seed(s); arable land, sown field".

2′: Alternatively, "in [… …]".

3′: Or "*pile*[*d up*", "*lai*[*d*", the former especially if the correct interpretation is "seed(s)" in r.1′. The broken end of this line may have contained *mā* (restored) or *muk*, as the following two lines are part of the author's direct speech or a quotation of someone else's speech (cf. r.12, 14, and s.1).

4′–5′: In the Neo-Assyrian period the word *mukinnu*, "(testifying) witness", is used almost exclusively in Neo-Babylonian letters that concern disputes between officials (see SAA 18 54; 83; 121; 123; 160[6]). In a Neo-Assyrian letter, SAA 1 244, 4, the word is restored, and thus appears somewhat uncertain, but witnesses, written IGI.MEŠ-*šú* and probably to be transcribed as *šībūtīšu*, are, e.g., to be produced in SAA 14 200–201 (no. 201 is the inner tablet of no. 200). Usually *šupra*, including the ventive ending *-a*, means "write/send me", but the correct restoration at the end of r.4′ is in all likelihood [*a-na*], [*ina* IGI] or [*ina* UGU], cf. e.g. SAA 5 81, r.2, [*ina* UGU], cf. SAA 5 204, 11–12, or [ina IGI/*pa-an*], having all the same meaning with *šapāru*, "send his witnesses [to/into the presence of] the king!". These witnesses are to be heard in the presence of the king. Similarly, in a Neo-Babylonian letter, SAA 18 83, the witnesses (*mukinnē*) were brought together with the criminals (*bēlē hīṭu*) to the king for questioning. The reason for specifying the role(s) of Bessu'aya in the case (ll. 5′–8′) may derive from the practice that did not usually allow an individual to assume both the roles of a "testifying witness" and "informer" at the same time (for a discussion on these roles, see, e.g., Wells 2004, 130–132 and Faist 2020, 134f., n. 509).

6′: For the interpretation "to testify" see SAA 10 113, r.10; 120, r.6–7; SAA 13 179, r.7′; 185, 12′; SAA 14 201, 5, 8; SAA 17 152, r.17; cf. also the restored translation in SAA 18 125, r.11. In this context, *issīšu* could be alternatively translated as "against him".

6. Unlike the other four letters with a *mukinnu* (or *mukinnu*s) in SAA 18, this letter from a servant (Šuzubu) to his lord (Aqarâ, possibly the governor of Babylon; see Frame 1992, 286) shows no involvement of the king of Assyria.

7′: Bessu'aya. This individual is not dealt with in PNA 1/II, 340f. *s.v.* Bēssū'aia or Bēssū'a.

8′–9′: These two lines may be crucial for the interpretation of the whole document, but they also present us with syntactical difficulties because of the subordinate clause introduced by *akī šarru* …, which, at least in theory, could belong either to the previous or to the following section. Although "temporal clauses usually precede the main clause" (Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 127, 4.5.3), here it is more likely that this clause ends a longer sentence (for a more ordinary meaning of *akī šarru* (*bēlī*) *iqbûni* see, e.g., SAA 5 162, 11–12 and cf. SAA 10 286, r.2′–3′). For recent discussions on *bātiqu*, "informer", a type of plaintiff, see Jas 1996, 50 and Wells 2004, 131f. (cf. also on r.4′–5′ above). Surprisingly, this line contains two different graphic manifestations of the sign BU in *iq-**bu**-u-ni* and *i-ki-**bu**-su-ni*, cf. also the same sign in ll. 4, r.13e, and 15e. According to the dictionaries the verb *kabāsu* (AHw 415f.; CAD K 5–11) has a number of different meanings, but it is not entirely clear what *kabāsu* G, usually, "to tread, to trample; to subjugate", means in this case: does it have a specific nuance in Assyro-Babylonian legal terminology? The interpretation "to tread; to subjugate the land or people" may not be sufficient in some cases; instead it could refer to ownership or property rights to goods in general, even in letters.[7] Despite the spelling *i-ki-bu-su-ni*, the form is unlikely to be *ikkibusūni* (CAD K, 11a), an N-stem preterite of the 3rd person m.pl, but rather *ik^{i}busūni*, a G-stem preterite of the 3rd person m.sg, which does not differ formally from m.pl, with an epenthetic vowel after the first syllable. It would be more difficult to interpret the form as a scribal error for the present 3rd person masculine sg. or pl. *ikabbusūni*. In this case, the clause seems to relate to an appeal to the king and is therefore important.

10′: The use of *kabāsu* in lines r.9′ and r.15e suggests that this line does not introduce another case, but presumably refers to the previous sentence. More generally, it is noticeable that the surviving part of this document does not contain any horizontal rulings, which were common in administrative use, perhaps indicating that the surviving part has no sectional boundaries.[8]

11′ and 13′: The object of *puāgu*, "to deprive, to take by force", is also "field(s)/land" in SAA 5 149, r.2; SAA 10 173, 16, r.5; SAA 19 89, 7–8; 180, 4–6; for these land disputes see Galil 2009, 96–102, 108f. Note also the prohibition against claiming, "(they) took away the field by force", after a completed land sale in document TR 4001, 12–13 (Postgate 1970, 31f. and Pl. 11), preceding its penalty clause. It is easy to see that many Neo-Assyrian

7. For "treading the land" see SAA 1 1, r.52–53; and for "treading on (the authority of) the Palace" SAA 16 63, 21–22; "subjugating a widow, son or daughter" SAA 1 21, 6′–9′; *amēlu kabsu* may be "a *subdued* man" as in SAA 15 104, 11, but not an "old ram" as in SAA 16 5, r.6, where the critical apparatus erroneously comments on UDU.*kab-su*; the meaning of "treading (earth)" may refer to preparing the land before sowing in SAA 15 156, r.5, especially as it is somehow opposed to or connected with "cultivating the seeds" in r.4f.
8. Note the use of rulings, e.g., in SAA 21 140 (entitled "Appeal to Assurbanipal") and the very fragmentary SAA 23 282: two documents which differ from the present text but which may share some essential features with it.

disputes arose from the ownership or usufruct of land, something for which Galil, among others, blames the king: "One of the main reasons for these protracted disputes over the issue of the ownership of these fields is the king himself: his main motives were to restrict the power of the governors and to fuel endless conflicts between them; to weaken them and prevent rebellions. Accordingly, the king preferred to donate land deliberately in other provinces and did not hurry to solve these conflicts" (Galil 2009, 114). Nevertheless, it may not be a coincidence that Galil does not discuss the many appeals that would probably have been settled in the presence of the king. The large number of petitions to the king clearly shows that the various officials were not silenced by the disputes and injustices they may have experienced, but they thought that the king could rectify the situation, even though he was probably the last and only chance for the officials to do so.

12′: It is noteworthy that the name Nergal-ašared is repeated here as the subject of the following clauses for the sake of clarity.

14′–15′: This difficult passage is quoted in CAD K, 7b: *hādūaya i-ka-bu-su mā*, though not translated there, but listed under "to bother, to make people do work, to press people". Our rendering, "They tread it at my pleasure!", assumes that *ha-du-a-a* can stand for the infinitive *hadû* to which the first-person singular suffix is attached. Frahm has recently discussed (2010, 99f.) a similar passage in YBC 11382 15 (SAA 23 120); it reads *hadûni anīnu kî ša libbīnīni neppaš*, "(It is) our pleasure to act as we please", and he has interpreted *hadûni* (*ibid.* p. 100) as an idiomatically used infinitivus absolutus with a plural suffix in the first person. It is somewhat surprising that the subject in r.15 is the third person masculine plural (*ikabbusū*) after a question from Nergal-ašared to Šamaš-abu-uṣur: I assume that the interrogative clause (r.12–13) is merely rhetorical and that Nergal-ašared is continuing his speech, referring to his own servants (if "they tread it at my pleasure" is to be understood positively) or to those of Šamaš-abu-uṣur (if it is to be understood negatively). I cannot help thinking that it is Šamaš-abu-uṣur who answers Nergal-ašared in r.14–15. But then I would expect his name to be repeated. Thus, the most plausible solution for the quotation particle *mā* (r.12, 14 and s.1) is that it introduces Nergal-ašared's initial reaction and then his continuous speech, which may be addressed to another person (first to Šamaš-abu-uṣur and then to the official who wrote the tablet).

The left side appears to have been written from top to bottom in relation to the obverse of the tablet.[9] However, this is a rare practice and adds uncertainty to the interpretation between the two faces of the tablet. With the current knowledge, it may not be possible to distinguish the obverse from the reverse of the document with certainty, especially as the

9. According to Watanabe 1985, 151: "Vs. und Rs. sind zu vertauschen: S. CAD M2 187a". It cannot be ruled out that the left side is to be read from bottom to top and that the order of obverse and reverse is to be changed, but for the other letters which use the exceptional direction of the writing on the left side see SAA 16 48 (note *ad* s.1 in SAA 16, p. 44), 65 (note on SAA 16, p. 64), SAA 19 197 (confirmed by ML in the British Museum on 16/1/2007) and CTN 3 3. For an example of a document wrongly attributed as an "*abat šarri*" see ND 3471 by Wiseman 1953, 147 (Pl. 13): it is not a royal order, but *abat šarri* begins the reverse of the tablet which is a letter from Nashir-Bel to Nabû-le'i (see PNA 2/II, 932 *s.v.* Nashir-Bel or Nashur-Bel no. 1).

end of the "obverse" is broken away. On the other hand, the remaining obverse of the tablet, if correctly assigned, is purely descriptive, while the reverse contains dialogue or at least (quoted) direct speech (r.4–5, 12–s.1). Accordingly, I find it unlikely that the left side is the direct continuation of the present obverse.

1: The clause *seb'īšu šarru ina muhhīya muhur* is not attested elsewhere in the Neo-Assyrian sources, but in this case it may be an affirmation or exclamation concerning the reliability of a person. For example, the recitation of a prayer "seven times" is a typical feature of rituals. For *seb'īšu* or *adi seb'īšu* in archival texts, see SAA 8 447 r.1 and SAA 19 6 r.7′ (in a negative light). Alternatively, "seven times" may be used to emphasise the gravity of the situation (e.g., in SAA 17 102 r.16–18). In the phrase "to appeal to someone", the preposition *ana* can be omitted, see, e.g., SAA 5 260 r.5′–6′; SAA 10 156 r.4′–5′; SAA 10 169 12; SAA 13 66 r.7′; SAA 15 1 r.7′; SAA 15 169 11; and SAA 16 29 r.1. The problem with this line is to whom were these words of Nergal-ašared addressed? My hypothesis is that the writer of the document may have added his profession at the end of the document (see the note on the next line). Presumably, there is no room to restore [*ma-a*] at the end of the line, so the last line is no longer part of Nergal-ašared's speech.

2: *lu-ka-ni*: one might expect a spelling ending in *-in*, but the form need not be interpreted as a scribal error. What we seem to have here is *lukanni*:[10] a hybrid form between *luka''in* and *lukinni*/*lukīn*. In Neo-Assyrian, the variation between (the weak "Babylonian") C*u*CC*u* and (the strong "Assyrian") C*a''u*C*u* conjugation in the II-weak verbs of the D-stem must have been relatively common (see Luukko 2004, 146f.) and it concerns verbs such as *kullu* ~ *ka''ulu*, *kunnu* ~ *ka''unu*, *ṭubbu* ~ *ṭa''ubu*. It would be tempting to restore at the end L[Ú*.GAL–A.BA], "The [*chief scribe* (*wrote this tablet*).]", as the chief scribe, royal scribe, palace scribe or a scribe working at the palace chancery may have appeared as the final word of the document on the left side. In this lawsuit, the involvement of Ezbu, a servant of the chief scribe, may support this conjectural interpretation. On the other hand, such a restoration may be considered too speculative, as the tablet may not have had much room for the title of an official. However, the last partly visible sign is LÚ*, written similarly as in lines 4 and 6, and not *in* as in Waterman 1930, 212. To have a professional — possibly scribal — title at the end of the document is plausible to confirm the authorship of the document.

Context, Date and Personal Names of the Document

ABL 307 is undoubtedly a puzzling document, and one may wonder: Did the interests of the two highest officials (the prefect of the Nuhubeans and the chief scribe) of the document coincide and create a conflict, or did their servants act purely in their own interests? The latter scenario is possible, but it is equally likely that the prefect of the Nuhubeans and the chief scribe had given orders to their servants, leading to a situation where interests clashed (cf. notes on lines 6–7 and 8). In such a situation, the authority of the king may have been needed to mediate between the two parties. The role of the king in settling

10. The reading *lu-ka-ni-i*[*n*] (> *luka''in*) (Luukko 2004, 147), is to be corrected accordingly.

legal disputes is beyond the scope of this article, but there is more indirect than direct evidence for it.[11] Suffice it to say that, according to many letters, individuals, especially various officials, frequently appealed to the king for intervention, using standard phrases in Neo-Assyrian like (*ana*) *šarri*/*šarru bēlī*(*ya*) *mahāru*, "to appeal to the king, my lord", and *abat šarri zakāru*,[12] literally "to invoke the king's word".

There are also cases where the king is either asked "to settle a dispute", "in whose presence a case should be settled", or is asked for "doing justice" to individuals. The first clause might be worded with a form of *kuānu* in the meaning "to settle, to establish": *šarru bēlī* (*dabābu*/*dēnu ina birtunni*) *luka''in*/*lukīnāni*/*ukâna*/*ukannūni*, "Let the king, my lord, settle (the matter/dispute/case between us)", etc.;[13] the last one as *šarru* (*bēlī*) *dēnī lēpuš*, "May the king(, my lord,) do me justice".[14]

On the other hand, it is worth remembering that it was not only the king himself who could issue royal orders (*abat šarri*), but also some of his highest officials. For example, in a Neo-Assyrian letter from Nimrud, Ahu-lamur asks his superior, the chief eunuch, to send a royal order to a certain Nergal-belu-uda''an.[15] Usually legal cases were decided by various officials who could act as judges (Radner 2003, 890; 2005, 49–53, 55–60, 65–67; Faist 2020, 108–112). However, in the very interesting SAA 23 280 (BM 29391), a document that informs us of a case concerning the inheritance of Zakir at the Ezida temple in Borsippa, the wording of the text suggests an active role for Assurbanipal, who is said to have decided the case and made a statement about the status of an heir.[16] On the other hand, it is difficult to determine whether Assurbanipal actually presided over the case, and an alternative interpretation of this text allows a greater role for his representatives, to whom he may have delegated the case and who then acted on his behalf.

ABL 307 is not dated, and arguments for an approximate and/or tentative dating must be based on other factors. In this case, the most helpful factors may be the personal names and professional details. In addition, at least in theory, a palaeographic analysis of the scribe's handwriting could also be instructive, since we do not know who wrote the document — but we will not undertake this here. However, an interesting detail in this respect is the graphic variant of LÚ*, a variant that can be more precisely defined as LÚ*+[17], a rarity that appears in lines 2 and 3 and possibly also in s.2. It has a total of six wedges and its appearance is somewhere between LÚ and LÚ*:

11. Letters provide a great deal of indirect evidence, while no actual royal decisions survive from the Neo-Assyrian period, although see SAA 23 280 (discussed briefly below).
12. See, e.g., Postgate 2007, 338f.; Radner 2003, 887; Faist 2020, 109, n. 397.
13. See, e.g., SAA 1 236 8′; SAA 15 270 r.5′–9′; SAA 16 43 r.7–9; 44 r.4′–5′ (*ina pān šarri … lukīni*); SAA 19 89 r.14–17 (*ina pān šarri bēlīya lūkīnu*); cf. also a statement in the present tense in SAA 1 77 r.10f. Note also with *parāsu*, e.g., in SAA 15 24 r.13–20.
14. SAA 10 173 r.6–8 (including *šarru attahar*); SAA 16 39 12–13 (cf. also r.4).
15. SAA 19 38 r.8–10 (see the comment by Saggs 2001, 296 on lines 25–27). This is related to the delegation of power in the Assyrian Empire by means of stamp ("bureau") seals (Radner 2008).
16. The document is written in the Neo-Babylonian dialect and script and has been previously edited in Waerzeggers 2010, 681–682 (with further bibliography).
17. This is according to an (unpublished) system developed by Parpola; + stands for an additional wedge.

Altogether seven persons are mentioned by name in the extant part of the document. They are: Aššur-naṣir, Bessu'aya, Ezbu, Nergal-ašared, Quia, Šamaš-abu-uṣur, and Ubru-[*Lib-bali*]. In addition to these seven individuals, the king and two unnamed high officials are mentioned: the prefect of the Nuhubeans and the chief scribe. Almost all the personal names of the document are relatively common in Neo-Assyrian sources:

Aššur-naṣir ("Aššur is protector", line 1). PNA 1/I, 203f., esp. nos. 3–6 from the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II appear interesting, as well as nos. 8–9 from Assur, and a high official during the reign of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (no. 13); but it is difficult to make a good match between any of them and a "subordinate of the governor of Nuhub" (no. 7), who is now interpreted as a "servant of the prefect of the Nuhubeans"; however, on the most promising candidate, no. 10, see Šamaš-abu-uṣur below.

Bessu'aya ("my lady", r.5′; Attestation from ABL 307 is missing from PNA 1/II, 341), is explicitly said to be from Assur (URU.ŠÀ–URU-*iá*). Notable is that nine out of ten people having the more common related name Bessu'a listed in PNA (1/II, 340f.) and the only Bessu'aia (i.e., how given in PNA) come from Assur, but there seems to be no certainty in linking our Bessu'aya to any of these persons.

Ezbu ("The abandoned one", line 4). PNA 1/II, 409, lists altogether 14 persons carrying this name from whom only two are connected to Assur (nos. 10 and 11), but there is no compelling evidence that the man in ABL 307 (no. 5) would be the same person as any of the other men known as Ezbu.

Nergal-ašared ("Nergal is foremost", r.11′–12′). According to PNA 2/II, 942, there are ten different individuals and one entry in a list of specimen names with this name, but no clear correspondence between our man (no. 3) and others with the same name. According to SAA 19 39 6, Šarru-emuranni, deputy governor of Isana, used to exact corn taxes from a man called Nergal-ašared. Theoretically, this Nergal-ašared could be the same man as in ABL 307, if one accepts the location of Isana as argued by Radner 2006, 44, 46. Another letter from Nimrud, SAA 19 94, may have been sent by a man called Nergal-ašared who seems to have been active in the east.

Quia (meaning unknown, line 3), a bearded courtier (PNA 3/I, 1017, *s.v.* Quia no. 3), has two interesting namesakes recorded in PNA 3/I, no. 2 is also a bearded courtier, attested in an administrative document from Kalhu (ND 2443+ ii 2). The document is partly broken and no longer dated, but it can be dated to the (early) reign of Tiglath-pileser III with the help of Bel-Harran-belu-uṣur, who is mentioned three times in this document and interpreted as the famous palace herald of the same name.[18] In addition, no. 4 is an individual from Assur and is interesting because of his geographical connection.[19] When it comes to a relatively rare name (PNA separates six individuals), the match between no. 2 and our Quia (no. 3) seems quite strong because of the same profession. However, the

18. See PNA 1/II, 301 *s.v.* Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēlu-uṣur, no. 2, c.
19. The date of the document (SAAB 5 42) is lost, but it is roughly dated to the eighth or early seventh century.

geographical and chronological details of the two documents seem less satisfactory.[20] As an alternative explanation for the assumption that they do not refer to the same person, I would suggest the practice of papponomy, whereby the family gave the son the name of his grandfather.[21] In this interpretation, a date in the reign of Esarhaddon for ABL 307 would not be a problem. In this context, I would also like to emphasise the profession of "bearded courtier", and not, for example, "eunuch", two professions, titles, or court statuses which are often seen as vertically opposed. Therefore, the familial continuity of a profession such as "bearded courtier" would at least make sense, even if it is not explicitly attested, although some bearded courtiers were also scholars whose ancestors held the same profession.

Ubru-Libbali ("The guest of the Inner City", line 11), with the Inner City element in his name, restored in ABL 307. This would be a characteristic personal name from Assur, although only five further attestations are known from Neo-Assyrian sources. The servants of the son of Ubru-Libbali are mentioned in a letter titled "Carchemish under Assyrian Yoke", from the reign of Sargon II (SAA 1 183 20′). A man named Ubru-Libbali[22] is the sender of SAA 19 197 which concerns an orchard in Kiṣirtu; the same man may have been a recruitment officer of the bodyguard cavalry and stationed in Arzuhina (ND 2386+ ii 8′), see PNA 2/II, 950 *s.v.* Nergal-mušallim, during the reign of Sargon II. Three generations later, another Ubru-Libbali acts as a witness for Nabû-zeru-iddina in the late reign of Assurbanipal (639*) StAT 3 61 (VAT 19497), r.16′.

It is convenient to discuss *Šamaš-abu-uṣur* ("O Šamaš, protect the father!", r.10′, PNA 3/II, 1189a, no. 4) last. SAA 6 289 (lines 4, 14) and its duplicate SAA 6 290 (lines 3, 11) are extremely interesting in relation to ABL 307, since the first two documents attest to a slave sale in which Šamaš-abu-uṣur buys a man called Ahu-le'iti from Aššur-naṣir, and the two documents are dated to 670. In ABL 307, the two individuals named Aššur-naṣir and Šamaš-abu-uṣur are the only ones explicitly associated with Nuhub. Of course, without further evidence it cannot be proved that the two men in SAA 6 289–290 are the same as those in ABL 307, although this possibility cannot be ruled out. If this identification proves to be correct, then there is also the possibility that ABL 307 refers to a single case instead of two or even three. Since several lines are broken off, Aššur-naṣir appears only on the obverse of ABL 307, while Šamaš-abu-uṣur is attested on the reverse of the tablet. Finally, it is worth noting that "Adad, the lord of Kilizi" appears in the penalty clause of SAA 6 289. This may raise the question: Could Nuhub have been located somewhere between Assur and Kilizi? Without going into complicated details which are open to various interpretations and have been discussed by others in the past, I suspect that Nuhub and the related Kannu' are to be sought northeast of Assur.[23]

20. I.e., Kalhu ~ Nuhub and Tiglath-pileser III ~ uncertain (but not earlier than Sargon II).
21. See, e.g., Pearce & Doty 2000, 331 (n. 3), 334. In Neo-Assyrian papponomy was almost certainly a relatively common practice, but the nature of the available sources, which rarely touch on the genealogy of non-royalty, makes it difficult to study.
22. Not Ishdi-libbi-ali as in CTN 5, p. 104.
23. Nuhub was probably in the proximity of Kannu' (a relatively well-attested town whose location is

Conclusion

All entries in PNA concerning the persons of ABL 307 state that the document probably dates from the reign of Sargon II. However, this assumption is nowhere substantiated, and can at least be questioned, if not proven wrong. In the light of comparative evidence, and especially because of Šamaš-abu-uṣur, I would alternatively suggest dating the text to the late reign of Esarhaddon or to the early years of the reign of Assurbanipal. At least nominally, Esarhaddon may have been willing to settle cases, as suggested, for example, by a letter from an anonymous sender entitled "How to Deal with Appeals for Royal Intervention" (SAA 16 64),[24] although admittedly the situation was probably not much different with Sargon, who also received many appeals.

Importantly, none of the persons are mentioned both on the obverse and the reverse of the document. This may imply that the tablet concerns two or three separate cases. Another significant factor is that the crimes or reasons for grudge between these people are clearly different. On the obverse, the crime is a theft of sheep and coercion of an equal to work for the accused. On the other hand, the animosity on the reverse of the tablet derives its origin from a field appropriated by Šamaš-abu-uṣur from Nergal-ašared and is therefore a different type of crime.

It is worth stressing that a servant of the chief scribe is involved in a dispute recorded in the document, the original events of which may have taken place in Nuhub. Several details, especially some people, clearly link this document to both to Assur and Nuhub, whose location may have been close to Assur.[25] The document may contain up to three separate appeals from Nuhub to the king: line 1 may alternatively be interpreted elliptically expressed as "an appeal to the king concerning Aššur-naṣir";[26] Bessu'aya (or a person whose name is broken away) mentions the king (*akī šarru iqbûni*) in r.8′–9′, presumably to appeal to him, and at the end of the tablet (s.1f.) there is an appeal to the king through another person (*šarru ina muhhīya m*[*uhur*]), possibly the author of this document. Interestingly, these three appeals are all worded differently. However, since ABL 307 was excavated in Nineveh (Kuyunjik), it may also represent a memorandum of an original written in Assur or its environs. Another, probably equally plausible, interpretation is that the king eventually received the disputants in Nineveh.

disputed; on Kannu', see, e.g., Zadok 2012 and Bagg in 2017, 287f., both with previous literature), since according to SAA 6 211, 1′–3′ (ADD 460): "… fie[ld in] Kannu', adjoining the *side road* of Kannu' and the road that leads to Nuhub".

24. In line 1, the text contains a fascinating plural spelling *a-bat–šar-ra-a-te*, a rarity in which the word "king" is written syllabically with a feminine ending, apparently in congruence with the gender of the *abutu*. This seems to indicate a frozen construct (*abat šarri* sg., *abat šarrāte* pl.) that differs from the normal plural replacement form *dibbī* (for a suppletive stem of *abutu* see e.g. Luukko 2004, 144): *dibbī ša šarri*, "the words(/matters) of the king" (SAA 15 33, 11′; SAA 17 126, r.12e [broken context]; SAA 22 93, 13′; 121, r.8), which may have a more neutral meaning; it can also be used syntactically differently, i.e., not as a periphrastic genitive, but *ša* as a relative pronoun, *dibbī ša šarru*, "the words/matters which the king" (cf., e.g., SAA 17 90, 8 and SAA 18 54, 6).
25. Regarding the chief scribe and Assur, see note on lines 4–6 above.
26. Cf. SAA 18 121, 6, or elliptically "a 'king's word' (was invoked) concerning Aššur-naṣir". As early as the 1970s, Postgate (1974, 424 n. 23) pointed out that *abat šarri* with *zakāru*/*qabû* can be understood as an *appeal* in indirect speech, and more or less so in direct speech, albeit expressed elliptically.

ABL 307 is neither a letter nor a royal decision, but is most likely a regional collection of information for a forthcoming legal case or cases that may be the subject of the king's decision.[27] This could be clarified later with the help of the notes offered in this text. Geographically, both the obverse and the reverse of the tablet are related as they both refer to Nuhub. Speculatively, one can also play with the idea that the syntactically complicated language of the document might have something to do with the chief scribe, who or whose servant is involved as a victim of a crime.

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27. That is, a kind of draft or memorandum.

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ACCENT AND INTONATION CONTOURS IN NEO-ASSYRIAN

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To the memory of Jussi Aro and Karlheinz Deller

Abstract

A systematic examination of the phonological contexts of Neo-Assyrian intrusive vowels reveals that, contrary to widespread belief, such vowels are not to be ignored in linguistic analysis as orthographic anomalies but are real, albeit non-phonemic vowels making their appearance in clearly definable environments under the influence of primary stress or high/rising pitch. The latter observation, along with other evidence of stress- and pitch-related phonetic changes, affords an opportunity to gain insight into the Neo-Assyrian intonation system, which is tentatively reconstructed and interpreted in the light of the parallel evidence provided by present-day Semitic languages and linguistic universals. The results of the study necessitate a reconsideration of the phonetic relevance of the Neo-Assyrian orthography and open important new perspectives for the study of the prosodic phonology of Akkadian and other extinct forms of Semitic at large.

Keywords: Intonation contours — prosodic phonology — high/rising pitch — anaptyxis and paragogue — Neo-Assyrian grammar — reconstruction of prosodic systems of extinct languages

Foreword

The central ideas of this paper were presented on June 9, 1975 at the Göttingen *Rencontre* (RAI XXII) in a communication entitled "Neo-Assyrian Prosodies". I also spoke on the topic in a series of guest lectures at the University of Venice on May 4–9, 1981. The present article is essentially based on a manuscript entitled "Anaptyxis, paragogue, and intonation contours in Neo-Assyrian", which I hoped to publish in the memorial volume of my teacher Jussi Aro (*Studia Orientalia* 55, 1984). Regrettably, it turned out to be too long for inclusion in the volume and remained partially unfinished. I made an effort to prepare it for publication in the Festschrift for Karlheinz Deller (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 220, 1987), but to my disappointment did not find time for it because of the heavy demands of the recently launched SAA project. Thus, the manuscript remained unpublished for many years, and returning to it became possible only in May, 2023, after the publication of SAA 22. The present version of it is essentially an update of the 1984 manuscript, although I have rewritten some sections of Part I and added substantially to the documentation in Part II.

Terminology

Accent Prominence given to a particular syllable of a word pronounced in contextual speech. Also called sentence stress.

Stress Prominence given to a particular syllable of a word pronounced in isolation. Also called lexical or inherent/innate stress.

The accented syllable is in principle identical with the stressed one. Functionally, however, there is a profound difference between accent and stress. The former serves to express the degrees of importance assigned to the different parts of an utterance, and can thus be said to have an *expressive* function, whereas the latter merely serves for identification of different lexemes; in other words, has only a *contrastive* function.

Accentual prominence is achieved by increasing the energy needed in production of speech sounds. In Semitic languages, this usually entails corresponding variation in loudness, pitch, and duration of the accented syllable. In other words, accented syllables are not only louder, but also in general longer and have a higher pitch than the unaccented ones. Increased accenting generally involves corresponding intensification of all three features.

Intonation Melodic pattern produced by the variation in pitch of the voice during speech. All intonation contours of a language are to be reduced into a number of *intonation morphemes* serving to distinguish between different types of utterance. As in the case of accent, the raising of the pitch generally also effects a simultaneous increase in the loudness and duration of the vowel in question.

By *reflexes of accent and intonation*, I mean whatever changes these prosodic features may bring about in the phonetic shape of a word. Concentration of energy in a particular syllable necessarily involves loss of energy in the neighbouring syllables, and hence losses of a feature as well as addition of a new feature may be in question. All such changes are conditional, i.e. may occur or not depending in the emphases of the speaker. Note that in this article we are not concerned with reflexes of *stress*, which are unconditional i.e. occur regularly in the language without regard to the speaker.

Anaptyxis Insertion of a non-phonemic vowel into a word between two or more consonants.

Paragogue Addition of a non-phonemic vowel at the end of a word.

Prothesis Addition of a non-phonemic vowel at the beginning of a word for easier pronunciation.

All these three kinds of non-phonemic vowels are in this article often referred to by the terms *intrusive*, *parasitic* or *optional vowels*.

Notation

< >	graphemic items	4	extra high pitch
/ /	phonemic items	3	high pitch
[ ]	phonetic items	2	mid pitch
italics	examples in conventional transcription	1	low pitch
		′	primary stress
â	ultra-long vowel (consistently plene written)	`	secondary stress
		á	stressed vowel
ā	long vowel	|	sustained (incomplete utterance)
a	short vowel	‖	rising (question or implication)
a̲	optional vowel	#	falling juncture (complete utterance)
a:	morphological length (if different from ā)		

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PART I
PROSODIC ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

The manner of writing words with morphologically irrelevant vowels is a known characteristic of Neo-Assyrian and belongs to the features clearly distinguishing it from its predecessors, Old and Middle Assyrian. Such seemingly superfluous vowels can occur both inside and at the end of a word, for example:

	Regular forms		*Forms with parasitic vowels*	
/mazrûti/	*ma-az-ru-te*	SAA 6 226, 3	*ma-za̲r-u-te*	SAA 14 205, 4′
	ma-az-ru-ti	SAA 14 463, 4	*ma-za̲-ru-te*	SAA 6 278, 3
			ma-az-za̲-ru-ti	SAA 6 19, 5
/idbubūni/	*id-bu-bu-u-ni*	SAA 14 107, 5′	*i-di̲-bu-bu-u-ni*	VAT 16554, 5
	id-bu-ub-u-ni	SAA 10 316, 9	*id-di̲-bu-ub-u-ni*	SAA 5 91, 6
/ṭūb libbi/	*ṭu-ub* ŠÀ-*bi*	SAA 10 329, 10	*ṭu-bu̲* ŠÀ-*bi*	SAA 10 329, r.9(!)
/aptiqid/	*ap-ti-qi-id*	SAA 10 212, r.11	*ap-ti-qid-di̲*	SAA 13 18, r.9
	ap-ti-qid	SAA 10 282, 14	*ap-ti-qid-di̲*	SAA 15 166, 23

Even a glance at these selected examples will make some basic characteristics of the phenomenon readily apparent. First, forms with added vowels occur side by side with (morphologically and lexically) regular forms, and appear to alternate *freely* with the latter. Secondly, the colour of an added vowel always is that of the preceding vowel. Thirdly, the phenomenon is not limited to any particular type of word, but both word-medial and word-final parasitic vowels occur not only in nouns and verbs (as in the above examples), but even in pronouns, particles, adverbs and proper names. In the fourth place, the appearance of a parasitic vowel is not infrequently accompanied by a gemination of the preceding consonant.

It can be estimated that about one percent of all words in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus at hand contain parasitic vowels.[1] This means that the total number of forms with such vowels runs well into thousands. Word-medial and word-final parasitic vowels (henceforth *anaptyptic* and *paragogic* vowels) are roughly equally common, and neither of them is limited to any particular text genre or period. They occur in literary, religious, and royal texts as well as in letters, administrative documents, and legal texts, from the earliest (9th cent.) texts down to the latest.

1. A systematic scrutiny of about 20,000 lines of text (mainly letters) containing about 90,000 words resulted in the isolation of altogether 943 unquestionable cases of vowel anaptyxis and paragogue. The examples cited in the present article mainly derive from this thoroughly analyzed sample, which constitutes about 1/6 of all presently known texts in Neo-Assyrian. The rest of the corpus has been thoroughly sifted for control purposes but inclusive collection of examples from the whole corpus was considered unnecessary.

2. Suggested explanations of parasitic vowels

Added vowels are thus beyond question an important and prominent feature of Neo-Assyrian. But, how are they to be explained? Curiously enough, despite the scale of the phenomenon, no satisfactory solution has been presented to date,[2] and as of now there is no unanimity even as regards their basic nature: are they *real* (i.e., do they represent concrete phonological items) or are they just *(ortho)graphic* and hence never actually existed in the spoken language?

In Sigurd Ylvisaker' s pioneering analysis of Neo-Assyrian (1912), anaptyptic vowels were explained phonetically as a means to ease the pronunciation of difficult consonant clusters (§ 8, "Eingeschobene Hilfsvokale"), whereas paragogic *-i* and *-u* are treated under progressive assimilation (§ 7b) and somewhat hesitatingly interpreted as alloforms of the [ventive] suffix *-a*. The former suggestion is plausible and has in fact never been disproved, but the latter does not work at all. It will be remembered that paragogic vowels are by no means limited to verbs only but occur in other types of words as well; moreover, as pointed out by Wolfram von Soden (1952, § 82e) and in more detail by Karlheinz Deller (1962b, 195f.), 50% of the verbal forms with paragogic vowels cannot be ventives since the verbs concerned are not attested with the ventive markers *-a* or *-ūni*. These observations practically removed the basis for a purely phonetic interpretation of the phenomenon. The dilemma is: in the vast majority of cases, paragogic (like anaptyptic) vowels can be shown to be entirely irrelevant morphologically; on the other hand they cannot, like anaptyptic vowels, be conveniently explained away on the ease-of-pronunciation principle.

As a way out, Arno Poebel (1939, 61f.) suggested that the problematic vowels might after all be merely orthographic and thus have no grammatical relevance at all. While von Soden in his *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (1952, §§ 18d–e and 82e, cf. also 1969, 3*) leaves the issue undecided, Poebel's thesis was adopted and developed further by Deller in his dissertation (1959) and in two articles (1962a and 1962b).

According to Karlheinz Deller, Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script was under the influence of the Aramaic alphabet developing towards a system in which the *position* of the vowels in syllabic signs was no longer a matter of great significance, and CV and VC signs containing the same vowel could be used interchangeably as *Umkehrschreibungen* ("inverse spellings"). For example, one could have written /im/ *not only* with the sign <im> but *also with* <mi>, and /mi/ with either <mi> or <im> (1962b, 195). Similarly, CVC-signs would also have stood for VCC, CCV and CVCV; combinations of signs like V+CV and VC+CV would also have been used for spoken V+C (as in <a-qa-ba-kan-ni> and <aq-qa-ba-kan-ni>, both for *aqbakkanni*), and so on. Of course, such an orthographic licence would have far-reaching consequences for grammatical analyses of Neo-Assyrian. As Deller puts it,

> Wenn wir lernen, damit zu rechnen, ersparen wir nicht nur die Mühe, in den neuassyrischen Formenlehre Rechenschaft über oft recht merkwürdige Formen

2. See however Streck 2001.

> ablegen zu müssen, sondern haben zugleich auch ein wichtiges Interpretationsprinzip zur Hand, das sich bei der Bewältigung der ständig auftauchenden *cruces* als sehr nützlich erweisen wird.

Deller's theory accords with facts insofar as words with intrusive vowels can indeed be conclusively shown to be but variants — although not necessarily *free* variants — of regular word forms. However, it is beset by a number of serious difficulties.

First, it is difficult to see how such a radical change of writing system could have taken place in practice. The phonetic values of cuneiform signs were precisely defined in ancient syllabaries and vocabularies, and we know from the many copies of such lists found in Nineveh, Assur and other Assyrian cities that these texts were intensively studied and used in the Neo-Assyrian period. They were copied as school exercises; the phonetic values given in them were firmly implanted in the minds of the apprentice scribes who had to write down a vast number of all kinds of texts from the teacher's dictation; and there cannot be any doubt that before the scribal curriculum was over and it was the time for the scribe to enter public service, they infallibly and quite automatically employed in writing the correspondences between graphic signs and spoken syllables established in the lists. Thus, confusion of phonetic values could perhaps be expected in the case of inexperienced or ignorant provincial scribes, but not in the case of learned scholars or scribes in the service of the palace. Yet parasitic vowels and other "orthographic anomalies" quite frequently occur in texts belonging to the latter category as well. It may be noted that in writing Babylonian texts (in Assyrian characters), Assyrian expert scribes employed their syllabary blamelessly; why should they have reverted to the application of different orthographic principles as soon as they were to write in Assyrian?

Secondly, one may wonder *why* a development in the said direction would have been permitted at all; the fact that Assyrian scribes knew and used Aramaic script does not suffice for an explanation. It is unthinkable that scribes all over Assyria would have annulled established rules of orthography just because they were acquainted with an alphabetic writing system. If there was any change in the cuneiform system, it should have been brought about deliberately, and since it is unthinkable that a writing system could be *impaired on purpose*, the change should have brought concrete advantages in its train. However, the evidence in this regard is negative. For instance, the script was not made easier to learn by leaving out a large number of signs rendered superfluous by the principle of "inverse spellings", to wit syllabic signs of the type VC and CVC. By contrast, all signs that had been used before remained in active use; only the number of theoretically possible readings of signs had been multiplied, putting the reader in a much more awkward position than before.

Thirdly, there was definitely no development towards a licentious use of syllabic signs in the Neo-Assyrian period. Texts from the 7th century B.C. do not exhibit more "orthographic anomalies" than those from the 8th or 9th centuries; rather the reverse is the case.

A change in the writing system is rendered unlikely also by the fact that the sign-occurrences allegedly needing "adjustment" constitute only about *four per mille* of the

total number[3] of sign-occurrences in the Neo-Assyrian corpus, while elsewhere the sign values defined in cuneiform syllabaries can be applied without difficulty. The very principle of "inverse spellings" (CV for VC, etc.) is dangerous in giving a sort of licence to manipulate textual evidence to suit one's own grammatical preconceptions (cf. Parpola 1972, 23); and if it were correct, one may ask why Neo-Assyrian texts don't feature any anomalous sign-sequences like ***li-ul**-ku* for intended /illukū/, and why scribes would have bothered writing *ma-**az**-**za**-ru-ti* for intended /mazrūti/, adding a useless sign for no purpose.

In sum, attempts to explain intrusive vowels orthographically do not help solve the problems presented by them but only encumber their solution.

In the present study, the problem complex will be considered from a new perspective: that of prosodic phonology. It will be shown below that intrusive vowels correlate strongly with certain prosodic features, particularly syllable and word structure, primary stress, and high/rising pitch. In addition, sonority plays an important, though not as decisive a role in the formation of anaptyptic vowels. Intrusive vowels can thus be viewed as *segmental reflexes* of *stress and pitch* in certain phonological environments. While no formal difference is to be observed between stress- and pitch-related vowel intrusion (anaptyptic and paragogic vowels can result in both cases, depending on the syllabic structure of the underlying word form), there is an important *functional* difference between the two: stress-related intrusive vowels are largely meaningless, whereas pitch-related ones correlate with intonation morphemes and thus carry linguistically significant information.

Seen in this light, Neo-Assyrian intrusive vowels, while *segmentally* redundant, emerge as a key to fascinating discoveries in the practically untrodden field of Akkadian prosodic phonology. A systematic analysis of pitch-related intrusive vowels in their discourse contexts can be expected to lead to the identification of at least some of the underlying intonation contours, and thus to a partial if not complete recovery of the intonation system of an *ancient extinct language*. The significance and implications of such prospects hardly need to be stressed.

Before proceeding further, a word of caution is in order. The intonation systems of all languages make a complex object of study, and the isolation of distinctive intonation contours involves many difficulties and pitfalls even in the case of living languages with plenty of informants, unlimited quantity of well-understood text (both written and oral), and a possibility of instrumental melodic analysis (see, *e.g.*, Pike 1945, 24f.). In the case of a dead language, accessible only through a limited and fragmentary text corpus and written a in a script making no use of prosodic signs, the limitations of the evidence and the many pitfalls and dangers involved in its interpretation must be particularly clearly recognized and kept in mind. Hence, while the present study will follow up the clues outlined above, it does not claim to be anything but a first tentative survey of a previously unexplored terrain. My aim is not to present a complete and "final" reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian stress and intonation system, but simply to demonstrate the feasibility of the prosodic approach and provide a model by which the intrusive vowels can be explained.

3. Cf. fn. 1, above.

To this end, it is first of all necessary to determine exactly the conditions under which intrusive vowels can occur.

3. Stress- and accent-related intrusive vowels

3.1. Anaptyctic vowels

In Neo-Assyrian, intrusive vowels can be inserted in *consonant clusters* ending in a *voiced* consonant, if the following syllable is stressed. For example, the word /naˈ**kr**u/, "enemy", contains the cluster **kr** ending in a voiced consonant, but contains no intrusive vowel *because the stress is on the preceding syllable*. But its plural /nak**a**ru:ˈti/ receives an intrusive (anaptyctic) vowel before ***r*,** because the stress has shifted to the following long syllable (< */nakru:ˈti/). In 90% of the words featuring anaptyctic vowels, the stress lies on the syllable following the consonant cluster, and the consonant following the anaptyptic vowel is usually *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* or *b*, all of which have high sonority values.

The anaptyctic vowel is always of the same colour as the preceding vowel, and the addition of an anaptyctic vowel is often accompanied by *gemination* of the first consonant of the consonant cluster (*id-**di**-bu-ub-u-ni*, *ma-az-z**a**-ru-ti*). These two facts, considered both separately and together, demonstrate that a *phonetic* phenomenon is in question. Otherwise, why would a scribe writing a morphologically irrelevant vowel go as far as to *add an extra sign* to express a morphologically totally irrelevant gemination?

An anaptyctic vowel can be partially *stabilized* and become part of a nominal or verbal paradigm, as the plural of the word *nakru*, "enemy", discussed above,[4] but it is *always* optional. The location of primary stress or high/rising pitch in the sentence likely contributes to the appearance of anaptyctic vowels (/mazru:ˈtu → maz**a**ru:ˈtu → ma`zz**a**ru:ˈtu/), due to the concentration of speech energy on the stressed syllable, whereby the tone intensity goes down and distinctive formation of heterogeneous sounds in the surrounding syllables becomes correspondingly more difficult.

3.2. Paragogic vowels

A intrusive (paragogic) wovel can be added to word-final **closed** syllable containing a *stressed or long* vowel (*e.g.* /muˈk/ → *mu-k**u***; /ṭa:b/ → *ṭa-a-b**a***; /irtu:b/ → *ir-tu-bu*. The long vowel of monosyllabic words is usually written out, but not always (*e.g.*, *ṭa-b**a***, SAA 10 44, 11; 70, 10f., r.3; 220, r.3).

In monosyllabic words with morphemically short vowel, the vowel is *lengthened* under stress or pitch (/diˈn/ → *di-i-n**i**).*

The consonant preceding a paragogic vowel can be whichever, and the paragogic vowel is always of the same colour as the preceding vowel.

A paragogic vowel can be lengthened in interrogative and relative clauses (*ēṣe* → *e-ṣe-e* SAA 10 43, 9; *šīti* → *ši-ti-i-ni ibid.* 42, r.18) and hence is a full, phonologically true

4. Cf. also *abnu*, "stone", pl. *ab**a**nāti*; NB *pagru*, "corpse", pl. *pag**a**rānu*; *šipru*, "message", pl. *šip**i**rāti*; etc. (Part II A); and Hebr. segolate nouns, *e.g. dĕrĕk* (< **darku*), "way", pl. *d^{e}rākîm*; *ĕbĕn*, "stone", pl. *abanim* in Jerome's transcription into Latin (Harviainen 2013).

vowel, like the anaptyctic one.

The appearance of paragogic vowels can be explained phonologically in a way analogous to that of anaptyctic vowels (CV'C → CV'–CV). The place of primary (sentence) stress probably is the main factor contributing to the appearance of these vowels; cf. *ṭu-ub libbi* (passim) vs. *ṭu-bu libbi* (SAA 10 329, r.9f.).

In polysyllabic words, the paragogic vowels are *optional*, whereas in monosyllabic ones they usually are *stabilized* (*šūt* → *šūtu*, *ṭāb* → *ṭāba*, etc.).

4. Intonation-related intrusive vowels

Some cases of anaptyxis and many cases of paragogue would fit under the preceding chapter only by assuming that an anomalous shift of lexical stress has taken place in them. However, an attempt to explain all these cases as evidence of freely variable stress patterns can be rejected offhand.

In contrast, it is thinkable that at least a part of the cases are explainable syntactically as emphatic shifts of accent or as reflexes of distinctive intonation contours. It has to be taken into consideration that a great majority of the cases are verbs mostly occurring in juncture position.

We shall test this hypothesis by first considering interrogative sentences.

4.1. Questions

In principle, one has to differentiate between questions which do not contain any question word (*Y/N question*, *echo question*), and those beginning with an interrogative (*X-question*, *information question*, *substitution question*).

4.1.1. Y/N question

Phonetic changes take place in the word most central to the question, mostly in the verbal form concluding the sentence:

– if the word ends in an open syllable, the vowel of the last syllable is lengthened (for example, *illaka*, "he is coming" → *il-la-ka-a*, "is he coming?");
– if the last syllable is closed, it receives a paragogic vowel (*mahir*, "it is pleasing" → *ma-he-**e-re***, "is it pleasing?");
– if even the penultima is closed, an anaptyctic vowel (± consonant gemination) may appear between it and the ultima (*lā nidbuk* → *la ni-d**i**-bu-**ú-ku***, "did we not pour?"; *ušadbab* → [*ú-ša*]-*a**d-da**-ba-**a-ba***, "will he cause others to plot it?".

All these changes are parallel to those caused by (primary) stress falling on the final syllable. But this time the changes are caused not by stress but by high pitch. We can state this with great confidence since terminal rise or upward glide of pitch in Y/N type questions is a linguistic universal occurring in countless languages all over the world. It can take different forms in different languages, even with a single speaker, but the basic characteristic, the sharply rising terminal contour, as opposed to the terminal fall of the intonation contour characteristic of declarative sentences (*finality*), remains the same throughout.

In present-day Semitic languages, interrogative intonation may have several manifestations, *e.g.* **1 4** or **1 2 4** or **2 3 3** or **1 1 1 2.** The decisive distinguishing feature is not to what level the frequency of voice rises (although it usually rises to a high tone level), but that it rises to a relatively higher level than the intonation pattern elsewhere in the sentence. The purpose of raising the voice is to signal to the listener that an answer to the sentence is expected. Correspondingly, in declarative intonation expressing finality, the tone level falls at the end of the sentence, signalling the end of the message (*e.g.* **2 2 1** or **4 1**) and is unmarked, *e.g.* Neo-Aramaic *ōḫel qṣīlā*, "does he eat oats?" (**1 3.4**); *qṣīla*, "oats" (**4 1**), Bergsträsser 1933, C 9–10.

The raising of pitch does not affect the stress pattern of the word, but as a result of it, the vowel of the last syllable is regularly lengthened, regardless of how high the voice rises: *ʾīlhun eḥsōdā*, "do you have newly harvested field?" (**1 1.3**); *ʾínkêb*, "is it dry?" (**1 4**); *ʾínkeb ḥiṭṭōjā*, "is the wheat dry?" (**1 3.4**), *ibid*. B 1, B 3, B 4.

Returning to the Neo-Assyrian Y/N-type questions, the actual intonation contours of these sentences cannot of course be reconstructed from the extant material. But it is important to note that the upward glide of the pitch is reflected in the same way as stress, and it may with reason be conjectured that fully written long vowels (*id-di-bu-u-bu*) reflect high /3/ or /4/ pitch, whereas unmarked vowel length (with only paragogic and/or anaptyctic vowel correspond to lower pitch level /2/ or /3/.

4.1.2. Information questions

In information questions, no phonetic changes are usually observable in the verbal form concluding the sentence, *e.g. atâ nikattir*, "why are we waiting?" (SAA 10 221, r.4), or *atâ lā tašpura*, "why haven't you written?" (SAA 15 100, r.12′). This is in keeping with the fact that sentences of this type in Akkadian are already lexically marked as questions by an interrogative word, which often has a terminal stress or pitch, and information questions universally have the terminally falling (unmarked) intonation contour of declarative sentences (statements).

However, some information questions do end in anaptyctic and paragogic vowels comparable to those occurring in Y/N questions, *e.g. atâ lā ta-šá-pur* /taša̲pu:r/, "why haven't you written?" (KAV 115, r.16), or *atâ ta-še-ṭe* /taše:ṭe̲/, "why were you negligent?" (SAA 19 51, 20). In contrast to Y/N questions, however, the vowel of the pitched syllable in these forms is never written as long. A slight rise of pitch (after a preceeding fall) occurs in Semitic (and many other languages) as a variant to terminal fall and then usually serves to modify the tone of the question in same way.

We shall return to the possible meaning of such "marked" information questions in a later chapter (implication). What is important in this context is the fact that the vowel affected by the rising pitch (in contrast to Y/N questions) is *never* written as long in these cases. This clearly correlates with comparatively low level of the final pitch in this type of questions as opposed to the intonation contour of Y/N type questions.

To conclude this chapter, the study of Neo-Assyrian interrogative sentences has established several important facts:

1. the variation in pitch does effect phonetic changes expressed in writing, and these changes are similar to those effected by (primary) stress;
2. the differences in pitch level are reflected in the script (even though perhaps not entirely consistently);
3. the intonation contours thus reconstructed are amply paralleled by other Semitic languages and even universally;
4. the many anaptyctic and paragogic vowels, which remain to be explained by "normal" stress patterns, find a natural explanation in the reconstructed contours.

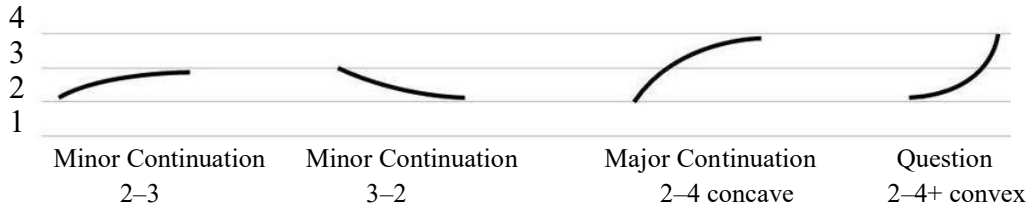
Equipped with the insights thus far gained, we shall now study whether or not the remaining "irregular" cases of anaptyxis and paragogue do allow interpretation as reflexes of specific intonation patterns. Externally, these remaining cases do not differ much from the ones already studied, even though they do not occur in interrogative contexts. The immediate problem, then, is: what possible function(s) could the hypothetical intonation contour(s) have concealed behind these spellings?

The answer obviously can be given only through an analysis of the relevant contexts, examples of which are collected and classified in Part II. In other words: one has to abstract from the contexts a meaning or meanings which are general enough to justify positing a functionally distinctive intonation pattern, and which is rendered likely by *linguistic universals* and *Semitic parallels* much in the same way as in the case of the question intonation.

4.2. Continuation

By far the largest and most easily definable semantic group is constituted by cases where the questionable form is a verb preceding a paratactically coordinated verb or clause. By its location, the hypothetical intonation contour is thus very likely to be a non-terminal juncture; generally, it seems to mean simply that the utterance is not yet complete but is to be continued, and often no particular translation is called for, although translations "and, and (then), and (so)", or "but/yet" fit. Like information questions, the relevant forms exhibit paragogic and anaptyctic vowels, but very rarely explicitly written vowel lengthening in the pitched syllables; this suggests a terminal rise of pitch similar to but less dramatic than that in information questions.

Slightly rising (sustained) terminal contour is indeed a universal marker of unfinished sentences and it occurs very frequently in modern Arabic and Aramaic. Typical contours (after Delattre 1966, 8, 67ff.) are:



Using the same schematic notation as above, the basic forms of this intonation contour (as opposed to finality and question) are 2–3, 3–2 and 2–4. Their basic function is to signal to the listener that the utterance is not yet complete but more is to follow. Thus the contour often corresponds in meaning to coordinating conjunctions but can frequently also be left untranslated.

That this intonation contour existed in Neo-Assyrian and that it is indeed reflected in the form of parasitic vowels can be established for certain both by diachronic and synchronic evidence. It can be shown, in the first place, that the parasitic vowels indicating continuation correspond to and replace the enclitic particle *-ma*, which functions as the primary device of syntactic coordination in Babylonian and older stages of Assyrian but has become almost entirely obsolete in this function in Neo-Assyrian. It occurs there only in literary contexts, scholarly letters, astrological reports and legal documents, where verb forms with terminal *-ma* are occasionally replaced by ones ending in paragogue. Consider, *e.g.*, the following doublets:

*uš-ken-**ma** iššiq qaqqaru maharša* (*Poor Man of Nippur*, 73)

ik-mi-si iš[*šiq*] *qaqqaru mahrīša* (STT 28, i 28)

*idabbub-**m**a lā ilaqqi* (SAA 6 10, r.5 and passim)

i-da-bu-bu lā ilaqqi (SAA 14 473, r.6)

Note that those NA legal documents, which exhibit reflexes of continuation intonation rather than formulae with coordinative *-ma*, also show other synchronic features instead of archaisms (*e.g.*, *ú-tap-piš*, *is-si-qi)*.[5]

Neo-Assyrian sentences with parasitic vowels indicating continuation can furthermore be matched with parallel Neo-Babylonian sentences, where the idea of coordination is primarily expressed with enclitic *-ma*, *e.g.*:

*al-lak-**ma** pānī ša šarri bēlīja am-mar-**ma** ú-rad-de-e-**ma** aballuṭ*, "I shall go **and** see the face of the king, my lord, **and** (then) I shall get even better" (SAA 22 35, 17–19);

al-la-ka a-za-za *ina pān niqiāti*, "I shall go **and** supervise the sacrifices" (SAA 10 94, r.8′)

It may be noted that in NB, coordination of two verbs or clauses is possible also paratactically, without the enclitic *-ma*. Thus phrases like *ul amangur-**m**a ul inamdina*, "he refuses to give it to me" (SAA 14 220, 11)[6] are sometimes paralleled by phrases omitting the enclitic *-ma*, *e.g. ul imangur ul inamdin*, "he refuses to give" (SAA 17 9, 9′), or *ul imangur ul uṣṣûnu*, "they refuse to come out" (SAA 18 196, r.10).[7] This is probably due to Assyrian influence (cf. NA *la i-ma-gúr lā iddu*[*nū*], "they refuse to give", Part II D 72, and *lā* im-ma-gúr ... *lā u*[*ṣṣûni*], "they refuse to come [out]", *ibid*. 67), because the NB

5. The apparent paragogic vowel *-i* in the legal formula *ina ur-kiš-**ši** ina ma-te-ma* (SAA 6 93 r.9; 335 r.2; 336 r.3; etc.) is a sandhi spelling for the more common *ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma*, "in the future, at any time", and has nothing to do with actual paragogue.
6. Cf. NA *immerē lā* i-ma-gúr *lā iddu*[*nū*], "they refuse to give the sheep", SAA 13 21 r.10. For similar NB clauses coordinated with *-ma* also see SAA 5 243:8 (*ul amangur-ma ... ul anamdin*, SAA 13 181 r.1; 22 19 r.8 (*ul amangur-ma*); 58:2; and 114 r.13 (*ul imangurū-ma*).
7. Note also [*ul i*]-*man*-[*g*]*ur ul imahhara*[*nni*], "he refuses to accept me", SAA 18 109 r.4.

phrase often occurs without *-ma* in NA royal inscriptions written in standard Babylonian.[8] It can be assumed that the word *i(m)-ma-gúr* in this case too was pronounced by a mildly rising intonation contour. But the rise of pitch may have been so slight that no parasitic vowel developed (or was felt necessary to express in writing). It is good to keep in mind that all parasitic vowels were in principle optional (see above, pp. 8–9), and in fact many utterances containing parasitic vowels indicating continuation have doublets where such vowels are missing.

Further evidence proves the reality of the continuation intonation in Neo-Assyrian, and it will be discussed in a while. First, however, we have to consider in more detail the forms in which this intonation contour is reflected in words of different syllable structure.

In words with *closed* ultima and penultima, the forms are similar to those observed under interrogative intonation, except that the (lengthened) vowel in the last syllable is almost never written as long to avoid confusion with interrogative intonation.

In words with an ***open*** ultima and penultima there are differences, however. Here it is not the ultima that witnesses the rise of pitch and the associated vowel changes but the *penultima*, cf. [*maṣṣartu*] *ša Šamaš* [*ni*]*ttaṣar* ir-ti-i-bi̲ [*attalû*] *ussētiq*, "we observed the sun; it set **and** let [the eclipse] pass by" (SAA 8 47, 1–5); SN_1 ina muhhi SN_2 … *lā iqrib* [*is*]*su pānīšu* ip-ti-e̲-ti [……], "Mars has not approached Venus; it has departed from it and [……]" (SAA 8 55, r.5).[9] Obviously, because of the particular structure of these words, the intonation here assumes the rising-sustaining or rising-falling variant form.

Besides the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, the forms in question may, depending on the quality of the last root consonant, also lose their final vowel, *e.g. lā* im-ma-gúr (*lā immággurū* → /immagu:′r(u)/), "they do not agree". This may happen if the last radical is a continuant (liquid or sibilant) or a weak consonant (aleph or semivowel). Apocope of the last vowel in this environment is attested *e.g.* in the ironical comment *arhiš lu-rab-bi-iš*, "(the king) should promote him at once" (< /lurabbi:′ šu/) in SAA 10 72, r.11, see the commentary in LAS II, under no. 65.

Now, this state of affairs sometimes results in forms that seem confusing at the first sight. Compare the following forms of the verb *magāru* with continuation intonation:

1st and 3rd singular present		3rd plural present	
normal form	with continuation contour	normal form	with continuation contour
lā ammággur	1× la-ma-gu-r**u**	*lā immággurū*	6× la i-ma-**gúr**
lā immággur	1× le-ma-gúr-r**u**		2× la im-ma-**gúr**
	1× la-a i-ma-gúr		1× la i-ma-**gur**
	1× la i-ma-gúr		1× la im-ma-gu-ru
	1× la im-ma-gu-ur		2× la i-ma-gu-ru
			1× la-a i-ma-gúr-ru

8. E.g., *ul amgur ul addinšu*, "I (Assurbanipal) refused to extradite him", Asb B v 2.
9. Cf. also the 3rd plural forms e-ta-ra̲-bu, "they entered", and ih-te̲-si, "they molested", in SAA 15 168:10f. (App. D 27).

At the first sight, two of the singular forms of *magāru* (ending in paragogic **-u)** look like plurals, while most of the plural forms (with apocopated *-ū*) look like singulars. But as explained above, all the forms are in fact regular manifestations of the continuation contour. The regular-looking singular and plural forms probably involved weaker pitch not causing noticeable phonetic changes.

The different treatment of sg. and pl. forms exemplified above and the consistency in which it is effected — in my opinion — proves conclusively the prosodic nature of the phenomenon and its interpretation as an intonation contour indicating continuation.

There are considerable differences in the distribution of the contour within the domain of a sentence. In certain compound sentences, most verbs may contain a coordinative parasitic vowel (*e.g.*, Part II D 27, 30); in others, it occurs much more sparsely or not at all. This may be partly due to the fact that most of the examples come from letters and other texts written down from dictation; frequent intonation-related parasitic vowels may relate to pauses in dictation taken by the speaker while reflecting on a proper way to continue the message. This would explain the occasional cases in which coordinative paragogic vowels combine with the conjunction *ù*, "furthermore", presumably with an intervening pause in between.

It may also explain why the scribes took such a care in writing down the parasitic vowels (many of which do not particularly contribute to the understanding of the message), for a tentative pause tends to sustain the height of the final pitch of the contour (Pike 1945) and thereby effectively contributes to the appearance of parasitic vowels. In any cases, it seems likely that the contour was mostly associated with pauses and constituted a juncture; the relevant pitch-affected forms seem to have been largely morphologically stabilized (cf. below on the prehistory of the forms), which would explain why they are found even in texts not written down from dictation, including pieces of literature.

Most typically, the contour occurs between (two) verbs sharing the same subject and belonging to the same sentence. The contour also frequently enters between two logically connected sentences with or without the same subject. If the sentences are in adversative relation to each other, the contour conveys the meaning "but", otherwise generally "so (that)" or simply "and (so)".

4.3. Implication

In the material surveyed by me, there remain over 100 further verbal forms with evidently pitch-related parasitic vowels, which do not fit under the question or continuation groups. I regard all of them as reflexes of the same intonation contour, which I label as the "implication contour", although the available examples indicate that it includes also other kinds of utterances.

Formally, the reflexes of this contour are identical with those of the continuation contour. As we shall see presently, the two could in fact for several reasons be considered but variants of one and the same intonation morpheme. However, for practical purposes they are kept separate because their distributions and therefore their functions, too, differ largely from each other.

The label "implication" assigned to the contour is based on linguistic parallels, and seeks to render the least common denominator of the contexts in which it occurs: it generally *implies that something has been left unsaid*. Corresponding to this, the contour is never found before tentative pause (like continuation) but seems mostly to combine with final pause and is often found at the end of a message. Theoretically, it could thus be regarded as a continuation contour preceding an utterance left unexpressed for this or that reason. Comparative evidence suggests, however, that implication contours may have differed from the continuation by a slight fall after the terminal rise (Delattre 1966, 170).

The implication contour seems to have had three primary usages judging from its occurrences:

(1) to stress that an action described by the verb in question is or is not a *repetition* or *supplement* of another action mentioned earlier;
(2) to *emphasize* the importance of an action, assertion or command, or one's loyalty and blameless behaviour, pitiful situation, or inability to carry out a task, etc.;
(3) to add a *modal* nuance to the sentence.

All these three usages, different as they may seem, have one feature in common: like the continuation contour, they too have an analogy in the usages of the enclitic particle *-ma*. But while the continuation contour clearly has in Neo-Assyrian replaced *-ma* in the coordinating function, it seems that the implicative use of *-ma* in verbs is a late development prompted by the emergence of pitch-related parasitic vowels. We shall now consider the three usages in more detail separately.

4.3.1. Hendiadys

This contour is attested in sequences of two semantically closely related verbs, where the latter supplements or repeats the information given by the former; hence the label assigned to it in this study. The rising contour is located at the end of the last verb of the chain:

šarru bēlī ša-qurbūti taklu lišpura liš'al lu-ṣi-ṣi̲, "May the king my lord send a trusty bodyguard to inquire and investigate" (SAA 10 369, r.10–12)

ša'al ú-ṣi-ṣi̲ *šēṣi'a*, "inquire and investigate, and bring (them) forth" (SAA 1 21, 10f.)

Because of the semantic relation existing between the verbs in those examples, and because the contour here occasionally seems to add to the latter verb the notion "also" or "even", they could actually also be regarded as cases of *iteration* to be discussed in the next section.

These cases could be interpreted as minor variants of the intonation contour discussed in the proceeding chapter, the place of pitch being shifted to the latter member of the verb pair like in the Latin construction A B-*que* (as opposed to Greek A-τε καὶ B). However, I feel hesitant to push ahead this interpretation since it is counter the common meaning (incompleteness) of both implication and continuation contour. The relevant passages actually allow other (though not as obvious) interpretations as well.

Nevertheless, there is one example with the enclitic particle *-ma* which supports the A B-*que* interpretation:

ina muhhi PN *lā iqbûni kî ina libbi anākūni akanni ētarab šīru* a-ta-mar-ma, "They didn't tell me about PN when I was there. Now (however) I have entered and examined (his) flesh" (SAA 10 202, r.4′–9′)

Here *-ma* seems to carry an emphasizing connotation in addition to its coordinative function ("I entered and *did* examine her"). It seems possible that the above examples with parasitic vowels may carry similar connotations, which escape attention because of the obvious coordinative solution.

4.3.2. Repetition

If a verb is repeated immediately after its occurrence in a similar context, pitch-related parasitic vowels tend to accompany the second occurrence. In the translation, words like "moreover", "also", "too" or "likewise" have usually to be supplied:

šumma šû iddan anāku la-din-ni, "if he is going to give, (then) I **too** will give" (SAA 1 128, r.13)

The second verb can alternatively (though more rarely) be followed by an enclitic *-ma:*

– *ina qanni ša ṣehru inūhūni ina muhhi mār-ahi ša* PN i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-a-ha (cf. r.3 i-sa-ka-nu *it-tu-ah-**ma***), "once the child had calmed down, they put (the amulets) upon the nephew of Zeru-ukin, **and** he **too** calmed down" (SAA 10 309, 5′–8′);
– *lumnu ina libbi ēkalli lā memmēni šarru ina libbi* GN *im–mati il-lik-**ma***, "There is no evil inside the palace; and when has the king ever visited Harihumba?" (SAA 10 42, 13–15).

The contour of repetition and enclitic *-ma* thus seem to be in partially complementary distribution in the iterative usage.

The use of *-ma* as a particle of repetition in verbs is not at all usual in Akkadian. As far as I can see, it is only attested in Neo-Assyrian and sporadically in Neo-Babylonian. By contrast, it is very well attested in this usage in nouns, particularly in Neo-Assyrian. It seems reasonable to assume, accordingly, that it has made its appearance relatively late in verbs, by the analogy of the continuation intonation, where forms marked with intonation contour and enclitic *-ma* had certainly coexisted for centuries.

The contour of repetition may also appear in other types of repetitive contexts:

(1) *šumma ēnāte muṭê ... šumma šanṭuppu muṭê ...* (SAA 10 41, r.3–6);
(2) *šumma ina hursān lallik šumma kalappu la-an-tú-hu* (SAA 21 111, r.17–19);
(3) *pīka lā ta*[*ptê*] *... lā ta-da-bu-bu* (SAA 5 108, 23–24).

In the first two examples, the grammatical structure of the first clause is repeated. In the last example, the meaning of the first clause is repeated in a different form. For more examples of this type, see the preceding section.

4.3.3. Emphasis and implication in a narrower sense

In contrast to the preceding two usages, no overt reason can be assigned to the occurrence of the intonation contour in the following examples. The meaning implied by the presence of the contour has to be determined solely from the context, to be read "between the lines", so to speak, *e.g.*

– *kī ša šarru bēlī i*[*la''ûni* l]e-pu-šú, "the king, my lord, may (however) do as he [deems best]" (SAA 19 351, r.1–5); on the plurality of [le]-pu-u-šú, see above, p. 87, and the discussion below;
– *ūmâ kī ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni* [le]-pu-u-šu, "Nowadays, (however), it should be done as it (best) suits the king, my lord" (SAA 10 76, r.7ff.);
– [*šarru bē*]*lī kī ša ila''ûni* le-pu-šú [*šarru bē*]*lī ūda* …, "the king, my lord, may do as he [deems best], (but) the king, my lord knows that …" (SAA 5 291, r.12f.).

It has to be admitted that some of these passages can be understood in various ways, and in some of them it is difficult to discern any implication at all. Accordingly, the temptation is great to disregard the implicative function of parasitic vowels altogether and to regard them as scribal mistakes or bad orthography. Considering, however, the frequency at which the phrase *šarru bēlī ... lēpūš* is attested with a paragogic *-u* and the explicit marking of the lengthening of the pitched vowel in the second example, the possibility of scribal mistakes appears rather remote. Several other considerations, too, suggest that the parasitic vowels in these examples should be taken seriously:

(1) The phrase *šarru ... lēpūšu* which figures so prominently among the examples, is unambiguous in its reading, and the implied meaning, made explicit in the translation, is strongly required by the context. The writers are *not* necessarily suggesting that the king should act (*lēpuš*) as he pleases; on the contrary, they may have occasionally wanted to imply that *even though* he as an autocrat of course *could* act as he pleases, he should follow the proposal of his advisors. The same observation applies to two parallel phrases where the verb is *paqādu*.
(2) The context in several of the relevant examples is either emphatic approval or emphatic refusal and as such appropriate for an intonation contour with similar emotional implications. Cf. the emphatic implications of the particle *-ma* discussed below.
(3) The utterances with "implicative" parasitic vowels are paralleled by ones where the existence of the implication is marked by the enclitic *-ma*. In some cases, there is a virtual one-to-one semantic correspondence between the two ways of expression, and in most cases the presence of *-ma* lends emphasis to the utterance. Regarding this emphatic/implicative function of the particle *-ma*, the comments made under "Repetition" apply here too. Emphatic *-ma* is very common in nouns in all periods and dialects of Akkadian but is attached to verbs only in NA and NB, probably for the same reasons as repetitive *-ma*.[10] The continuative and causal connotations of *-ma* (GAG § 123) have also parallels in clauses with implication contour, as has also the use of *-ma* to mark the stative predicate of nominal clauses (see Part II I–K and Appendix).

10. For further discussion of the relationship of *-ma* and intonation contours in NA see below.

(4) The contour of implication is worldwide used very frequently in everyday communication (Delattre 1966, 170). Even though the precise meaning of the contour is not necessarily always patent, it is mostly sufficient — and often essential (as shown above, under 1) — that the very *existence* of an implication in the utterance is made explicit. Accordingly, it is legitimate not only to assume the existence of this contour in Neo-Assyrian but also, given the way its phonological system functions, to expect to find at least some occurrences of this contour fully marked in the script.

5. Discussion

5.1. Neo-Assyrian grammar

The foregoing analysis has dealt with phonological issues which may superficially seem to be of relatively little significance, but which in fact are pivotal to the understanding of certain fundamental aspects of Neo-Assyrian grammar. One of these is the question of the phonological relevance of the Neo-Assyrian orthography and writing system at large. As pointed out in the introduction, the *communis opinio* has been that the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script leaves — perhaps under the influence of the West Semitic alphabetic script — much to desire especially in the representation of vowels and phonemic length.

The results of the present study necessitate a drastic reconsideration of this picture. The existence of intonation contours affecting the phonetic shape of words and the simple rules of paragogue and anaptyxis account for the curious word forms occurring in the texts and completely rule out any possibility of an "abnormal" orthography. Except for a single clear scribal error,[11] I have not encountered in the entire Neo-Assyrian text corpus a single instance where the syllabic values fixed in the cuneiform syllabaries would not apply. The fact that the scribes took care to indicate not only the "citation" forms of words but also prosodic features also puts the question of the accuracy of the writing system in a new light. How does accuracy in such matters square up with inconsistency in the representation of syllable length?

This question, if nothing else, forces one to abandon the traditional perspective and look at the Neo-Assyrian orthography from the viewpoint of the ancient scribes. It is an undeniable fact that the whole issue of "inconsistent representation of morphemic length" is largely a product of the Neogrammarian School only. Vowel length may be important in Greek and Latin poetry and grammar, but in Neo-Assyrian phonology it plays a minor role and is clearly subordinate in importance to stress and pitch. There is no evidence that any morphemic lengths were realized in this dialect except in stressed or pre-stressed syllables. In contrast, there is ample evidence for the reduction of both consonantal and vocalic length in unstressed syllables. Length was only important as one of the factors determining the place of stress; on the phonetic level, it was a by-product of stress.

Thus, the "underrepresentation" of morphemic length in Neo-Assyrian orthography is actually quite natural and does not justify labelling it as *inaccurate*. The ancient scribes

11. *it*-AT-*na-ag-ra-ra* (for *ittanagrāra*) in a letter from Assurbanipal, evidently written by the crown prince himself (SAA 16 20 r.35′).

did not have at their disposal reference books, which would have systematically and unambiguously fixed the spelling of each word form occurring in the texts. Thus, especially when writing from dictation but also otherwise, they dealt with the forms actually occurring in speech. Thus, the texts we have can in a way be compared to modern recordings in linguistic transcription. The informants are dead, but they can still be consulted through the choices the scribes made in the representation of sounds and prosodic features, and indication of morpheme and word boundaries.

Seen in this light, inconsistency in the representation of morphemic length ceases to be an orthographic issue, and can instead be studied as a phonetic phenomenon (*e.g.*, *rimku* vs. *rinku*), a case of linguistic variation, of which there are innumerable other examples in the texts.

The evidence mustered in this study indicates that vowel lengthening due to the pitch was as a rule marked only in Y/N questions, that is, with the highest terminal rise of the pitch. Otherwise long vowels (both graphemic and phonetic) are, with negligible exceptions, only marked in stressed syllables and usually only once per each word. Since they are very frequently (in about 50% of the cases) left unmarked even in stressed syllables, it would seem that the marking/unmarking decision was at least partially conditioned by the degree of stress in question. In other words, the decision whether to write out a long vowel largely depended on whether the syllable in question happened to carry the primary stress. To judge from the representation of vowel length, then, stress and pitch were (partially) correlated in Neo-Assyrian in that syllables with primary stress were also spoken with high pitch (but not vice versa). A consideration of the distribution of marked/unmarked vowel length in relation to stress and pitch suggests that we have to distinguish, phonetically, five different vowel lengths in Neo-Assyrian:

1) Extra-long (â ê î û), in syllables with high pitch (Y/N questions) and certain lexical items ending in a vowel with primary stress: *ṭa-ba-a* /ṭābâ/, *la-a-áš-šu* /lâššu/, *a-de-e* /adê/, *a-na-ku-ú* /anākû/. The extra-long vowel is always written *plene.*
2) Long (ā ē ī ū), in syllables under primary (or rarely secondary) stress containing a phonetically long vowel, or any open syllable under (or rarely preceding) primary stress. The vowel length is indicated in about 70% of the cases.
3) Half-long (ā ē ī ū), in unstressed syllables with mildly rising (middle) pitch or containing a phonemically long vowel. The vowel length is usually left unmarked.
4) Short (ă ĕ ĭ ŭ), in unstressed syllables with low pitch, always written as short.
5) Extra-short ($^{a\ e\ i\ u}$), in non-phonemic (parasitic) vowels inserted between consonant clusters and at word end. These may or may not be indicated in script and could therefore be referred to as “optional” vowels.

Three pitch levels can be distinguished:

1) High /3/ or /4/, typically occurring at the end of Y/N questions or in syllables with primary stress;
2) middle /2/, typically occurring at the end of incomplete utterances;
3) low /1/, typically occurring at the end of commands and completed statements.

In terms of these three pitch levels, the intonation contours discussed above can be defined as follows:

– Complete statement: rising-falling /231#/ or falling /221#/, /31#/.
– Information question: falling /32(1)#/ or falling-mildly rising /312#/.
– Y/N question: rising /13||/, /12||/ or falling-sharply rising /213||/, /313 / (*rībanê).*
– Continuation and implication: mildly rising /323|/ or rising-sustaining /122|/ or /233|/.

Depending on the pitch level of the precontour, which cannot be controlled, many more variants of these contours certainly existed.

As shown above, the last contour (continuation/implication) corresponds functionally to the enclitic particle *-ma,* which it largely replaces. It can be surmised that in an earlier stage of the language, when the notion of continuation/implication was expressed lexically by means of this particle, a similar contour already accompanied the relevant utterances. Its role, however, probably was quite slight in comparison to that of the particle. The disappearance of *-ma*, however, must have put an end to this passive role of "emotive" intonation. It seems reasonable to assume that the role of pitch in general increased in Neo-Assyrian, and that this dialect was becoming increasingly "intonation-oriented".

The correlation between stress, pitch and (vocalic and consonantal) length noted above and the conspicuous prominence of pitch and stress-related vowels point to a relatively great concentration of energy in the articulation of syllables with high pitch or primary stress. In its prosodic system, Neo-Assyrian seems to relate to Old Assyrian approximately as Italian does to Latin or modern dialectal Arabic to Classical Arabic.

Pitch-related paragogic (and to a lesser extent anaptyptic) vowels seem to have developed, at least in writing, towards a sort of segmental substitution for the obsolescent *-ma*. Nevertheless, in practice it must have been the intonation that carried the functional load of the particle. Bearing in mind the many different meanings assigned above to the continuation/implication contour (and the certain elusiveness inherent in any intonation), it may be asked whether it was an adequate substitution. The answer is yes. It must be borne in mind that the same semantic elusiveness is also inherent in the particle *-ma*, whose precise meanings are also exclusively determined by the context.[12] M. Schubiger (1965) has established an interesting parallel in modern European languages: where German uses unstressed particles (like "nur, doch, denn") to modify the implication of an utterance, such modifications are in English largely expressed by means of intonation only. Lexical equivalents of the German particles "nur, doch, denn" seem to be entirely missing in Neo-Assyrian, too.

5.2. Further perspectives

The present study started as a study of problematic features in Neo-Assyrian orthography, and has purposely been kept limited in scope to Neo-Assyrian. However, it could and should be considerably expanded. The parallel evidence provided by other dialects and

12. It may be that the differentiation between the two basic contrastive meanings of *-ma* (continuation: implication/emphasis) was helped by minor differences in the accompanying intonation contour; if so, the hypothesis presented above that there might have been a minor difference between the NA continuation and implication contours would only be substantiated.

stages of Akkadian supports the key conclusions drawn in this article; on the other hand, the results of the present study also shed new light on some old problems in Akkadian and comparative Semitic phonology (*e.g.*, DeCaen & Dresher 2020). I believe that the "abnormal plene writings" discussed by J. Aro (1953 and 1971) are evidence of intonation contours in Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian, and an up-to-date study of them from the viewpoint of prosodic phonology would be highly desirable.

PART II
DOCUMENTATION

A. Anaptyxis

Examples are listed in order of sonority by clusters ending in: *n m l r b d g h z ṭ q ṣ p t k s š.* The anaptyctic vowels are underlined.

A.1. Prestressed anaptyxis (165 examples)

1.	*bn*	NA$_4$.*a-ba-na-ti*, cf. Hebr. *abanim* (Jerome)	SAA 1 141, 4′
2.		*si-il tab-ba-na-a-ti*, *sil-li tab-ba-na-a-ta* (as against sg. *sil tab-nit*, *sil-la tab-ni-ti)*	TCL 9 11+ , 43; GCCI 1 206, 6 (YOS 3 68, 32; TCL 9 80, 10)
3.	*dn*	*ta-da-nu-u-ni*	SAA 11 221, r.25; 13 31, r.13; 15 268, 6
4.	*mn*	URU.*ta-ma-nu-ni*	GPA 128, 9 (cf. URU.*tam-nu-nu,* passim)
5.		*ʿaʾ-mu-nu-ni*	SAA 1 49, 16
6.	*qn*	*iq-qi-nu-u-ni* (var. *iq-nu-u-ni*)	SAA 2 6, 274
7.	*šn*	*i-ši-ni-ma iqbi* (NB)	YOS 7 42, 5
8.		*ú-sa-ša-ni-ú*	SAA 15 42, 7
9.	*ṭn*	GIŠ.*bu-ṭu-na-te*	CTN 1 pl. 48, 39
10.	*zn*	*i-zi-nu-nu*	SAA 5 26, 11′
11.		*tu-šá-za-na-a-ni* (var. *tu-šá-az-na-a-ni*)	SAA 2 6, 65
12.	*dm*	^{d}GAŠAN *ki-di-mu-ri*	SAA 16 106, 6
13.		^{d}15 *ša* É-*ki-di-mu-ri*	SAA 16 105, 5; 106, r.13
14.	*gm*	*li-gi-ma-ru-ku-nu* (var. *li-ig-mur-u-ku-nu)*	SAA 2 6, 629
15.		*ir-tu-gu-mu-ni-šú*	SAA 1 194, r.1
16.	*lm*	*el-le-me-šum*, *il-me-ši*	OBGT XV, r.19; SAA 6 13, 3
17.		URU.*ta-la-mu-sa*, URU.*tal-mu-sa*	ADD 888, 7; SAA 1 65, 10
18.	*bl*	[*š*]*a-ba-lu-u-i*[*a*]	SAA 10 387, 7′
19.		ÍD.*tu-bu-li-ʾa-áš* (NB)	SAA 17 151, 4
20.	*dl*	*ša-ad-da-lu-pu-ka*	SAA 9 9, 15
21.	*gl*	*di-gi-li-ia*, *di-ig-lu*	SAA 9 11, r.5; 10 361, r.2; 16 61, 10
22.		*na-ag-ga-la-pa-a-a*	SAA 9 9, 18
23.		*šá-ga-lu-ti*	SAA 21 50, 4
24.		*ša-ga-la-ni*	SAA 19 87, 12′
25.		*ú-ša-ga-lu-šú-nu*	SAA 21 50, 23
26.		*ú-šá-ga-lu-ka-nu-ni*	SAA 21 50, r.4
27.		*ú-šag-ga-lu-na-ši*	SAA 15 221, 3, r.8
28.		*ú-sa-ga-li-uš*	SAA 1 204, r.4
29.		*ú-šá-gal-u-šú-nu*	SAA 5 112, r.2
30.		*ú-šá-gal-na-ši-ni*	SAA 1 190, r.6
31.		URU.*la-ag-ga-la-gi*, [URU.*la-a*]*g-la-gi*	ADD 1096, 12.17
32.	*hl*	*i-hi-li-qu-nu* (NB)	SAA 22 85, 11

33.		*na-ha̲-lap-ti*	AfO 8 20, r.10
34.		*ú-sa-ha̲-li-qu-šú-nu*	SAA 19 186, 7
35.		*ú-šá-ha̲-li-qu-šú-nu-ni*	SAA 19 186, r.15
36.	*ql*	*ma-qa̲-lu-tú*, cf. Hebr. *maqa̲loth* (Jerome)	SAA 10 212, r.7; 13 57, r.4
37.		*ma-qa̲-lu-a-te*	SAA 8 102, r.10
38.	*sl*	*ki-si-li-mu*	Hh I 229
39.	*ṣl*	[*m*]*u-ṣu̲-la-li*	SAA 10 131, 6
40.	*šl*	LÚ.*taš-šá-li-šá-nu*, LÚ.*taš-li-šá-nu* (NB)	BE 10 117, 16; SAA 18 72, 13; and passim
41.	*br*	[^{m}]*ú-bu̲-ra-ki*, ^{m}*ub-ra-ki*	SAA 14 74, r.4; 73, 11′
42.		*e-ta-ba̲-ru-ni*	SAA 19 89, 28
43.		*a-sa-b/pa̲r-a(k)-ka*	SAA 15 186, r.10; KAV 115, r.12
44.	*gr*	LÚ.*a-ga̲r-ru-ú-tu* (< *agrūtu*)	AHw 16
45.		*i-gi̲-ru-ú-ni*	SAA 5 37, 29
46.		*li-gi̲-ru-ru*	SAA 5 203, s.1
47.		URU.*ma-ga̲-ri-si*	AKA 347, 3 (Class. Magrus)
48.		*mi-gi̲r-i-šá*	Borger Asb p. 75 § 48, 4
49.		*na-ga̲-ru-ti-ni*	CT 53 148, 17
50.	*hr*	*i-hi̲-ri-pu*	SAA 19 169, r.3
51.		*i-su-hu̲-ru-u-ni*	SAA 15 90, 6; SAA 19 61, r.17
52.		*i-ta-ha̲-ru-šu*	KAV 115, r.17
53.		*me-he̲-ri-šu*	SAA 16 115, r.8
54.		*ṣe-he̲-ra-ka*	SAA 9 1 ii 32′
55.		*ṣe-he̲-ri-ia*	SAA 10 187, 8
56.	*kr*	*na-ka̲-ra-ka*	SAA 5 260, 7
57.		*na-ka̲-ru-te-ka*	SAA 9 1 i 8′, 13′, 19′
58.	*mr*	[KUR].*ha-mar-a-na-a-a*	SAA 1 90, 11
59.	*pr*	*i-sa-pa̲r-u-ni*	SAA 15 136, 24
60.		*i-sa-pa̲-ru-u-ni*	SAA 5 202, r.14
61.		*i-sa-pa̲-ra-an*	SAA 15 54, r.5
62.		^{m}*si-pa̲r-a-nu*	SAA 6 156, 17
63.		^{m}*si-pa̲r-ra-a-nu*	GPA 35, r.4
64.		^{m}*si-pa̲-ra-nu*	SAA 6 1, r.7
65.		cf. ^{m}*si-ip-ra-a-nu*	SAA 6 146, 12
66.		*ṣip-pi̲r-ra-a-te*	SAA 10 274, 9 (cf. Syr. *ṣaprôtō)*
67.		*ši-pi̲r-a-ti*	SAA 15 353, 1
68.	*sr*	*si-(is-)si̲-ri-in-nu* (var. *si-is-rin-nu*)	Malku I 268
69.	*ṣr*	*ka-ṣa̲r-u-ni*	SAA 11 219 ii 28
70.		*ú-ša-ṣa̲-rih*	Levine Stele 55
71.	*šr*	*pi-ši̲r-a-ti*	SAA 10 245, r.11; 246, 12′
72.	*tr*	*ú-tú-ru-te*	SAA 16 96, 12
73.		URU.*ha-ta̲-rik-ka* (*hat-ri-ka / hat-rak*)	16 x in AOAT 6 (= Bibl. Hadrāk)
74.	*ṭr*	*ip-ta-ṭa̲-ru-ni-šu*	SAA 13 27, r.21
75.		*šá-aṭ-ṭa̲-ra-a-ni*	SAA 10 60, 11
76.		*ši-ṭi̲-ri-šá*	SAA 5 295, r.24
77.	*zr*	*i-zi̲-ri-ia*	SAA 9 2 iii 30′
78.		*ke-ze̲-re-e-ti* (var. *ke-ez-re-e-ti*)	SAACT Gilg. VI 161 Var. B
79.		*ma-za̲-ru-te*	SAA 6 149, 7, 278, 3; SAA 14 112, 3′; GPA 33, 3
80.		*ma-za̲-ru-ti*	SAA 6 30, 4
81.		*ma-za̲r-u-te*	SAA 14 205, 4′
82.		*ma-az-ru-te*	SAA 6 226, 3
83.		*ma-az-ru-ti*	SAA 14 463, 4
84.		*ma-az-za̲-ru-u-ti*	SAA 6 19, 5; 334, 22
85.		*ma-az-za̲r-u-ti*	SAA 14 118, 4
86.	*db*	*i-di̲-bu-bu-u-ni*	VAT 16554, 5

87.		*i-di-bu-u*[*b-u-ni*]	SAA 5 95, r.2
88.		*id-di-bu-ub-u-ni*	SAA 5 91, 6
89.		*la-da-bu-ub*	SAA 5 78, r.14; 133, r.20
90.		*ta-da-bu-bu-u-ni* (Prt.)	SAA 16 78, r.10
91.		*ta-da-bu-bu* (Prt.)	SAA 5 26, 6
92.		[*ú-šá*]-*ad-da-ba-a-ba*	SAA 4 159, 8
93.		*na-da-ba-ki*	SAA 19 211, 5
94.		*na-da-ba-ak-te*	VS I 100, 4; 101, 3 (AR 232)
95.		[*l*]*i-di-bu-*ˀ*ku*ˀ	SAA 19 211, r.3
96.		*ni-di-bu-ku-ni*	SAA 13 137, r.3
97.		*ni-id-di-bu-ú-ku*	SAA 21 65, 17
98.		*nu-sa-da-bi-*[*šú-nu*]	SAA 13 208, 2′
99.		*ú-šá-da-ba*	SAA 5 58, 9
100.		*ú-sa-da-bi-šu*	KAV 115, r.7
101.	*gb*	^{m}*a-ga-bu-ru*	SAA 14 197, 23
102.		*na-ga-bi-šá*	WO 1 468, 36
103.	*qb*	*na-qa-ba-a-te*	SAA 10 352, 80
104.		*na-qa-bi-ia-te*	SAA 10 351, 11
105.		*a-qa-bu-u-ni*	SAA 16 43, 9, 14; 63, r.31
106.		*a-qa-ba-áš-šú-nu* (Prt.)	SAA 15 4, 15
107.		*a-qa-ba-kan-ni* (Prt.)	SAA 5 213, 6; SAA 9 1 vi 8′
108.		*aq-qa-ba-kan-ni* (Prt.)	SAA 9 1 i 16′
109.		*ta-qa-bu-u-ni* (Prt.)	KAV 115, 10
110.		*i-qi-bu-ni (*Prt.)	SAA 14 154, r.8
111.		[*l*]*i-qi-ba-áš-šú-nu*	SAA 5 63, r.12
112.		*li-qi-ba-áš-šú*	GPA 194, 23
113.		*l*]*i-qi-bu-ni-šú-nu*	SAA 5 203, r.22
114.		*ú-šá-qa-ba-a*	SAA 4 154, 8; 156, 9; 161, 6
115.		*ú-sa-qa-bi-šú*	SAA 10 351, 12
116.	*kb*	*a-ka-bu-su-ni* (Prt.)	SAA 19 176, r.10, 11
117.		*i-ki-bu-su-ni*	SAA 23 (ABL 307), r.9
118.	*tb*	*ba-ta-ba-ti-ia*	SAA 5 79, 7
119.		[*ba*]-*ta-ba-ti*	SAA 5 67, 6
120.	*zb*	*ú-šá-za-bil*	Levine Stele 46
121.		*ša-za-bu-su*	SAA 1 234, 11
122.		*ša-za-bu-sa-*[*te*]	SAA 1 234, 10
123.		*i-zi-bi-lu-u-ni*	SAA 13 50, r.5
124.	*ṣb*	*iṣ-ṣi-bat-tu* (var. *iṣ-ba-tu*)	SAA 2 6, 24
125.		*la-ṣa-ba-ta* (*... lašpur*)	SAA 13 43, r.2
126.		*šu-ṣu-bu-ta-ka* (NB)	SAA 18 60, 3
127.		*na-ṣa-bat*	SAA 7 71, 1; 96, r.11
128.		TÚG.*na-ṣa-bat*	SAA 7 96, r.1
129.		TÚG.*na-ṣa-ba-te*	SAA 7 172, r.9
130.		TÚG.*na-ṣa-pa-a-te*	SAA 7 112, r.1
131.		*ta-ṣa-bat-ú-ni* (Prt.)	KAV 198, 4
132.		*ú-ša-ṣa-bat* (*... unammaša*)	SAA 1 261, 2′
133.		*ú-šá-aṣ-ṣa-bat* (NB)	SAA 22 139, 8′
134.		*ú-sa-ṣa-bit-ma*	SAA 1 227, r.3
135.	*šb*	*áš-šá-bu-rak-ki*	STT 28 vi 48′ (Nergal & Ereškigal)
136.	*lb*	*na-la-ba-na*	Anp. II 134
137.		*gu-lu-bu-ti*	PVA 27 (cf. *gulbūtu* CAD G 127a)
138.		*ṣil-li-ba-a-ni*	SAA 10 241, 6
139.		*ṣi-il-ba-ni* (without anaptyxis)	SAA 10 315, r.9
140.		*du-lu-ba-ni*	SAA 15 283, 7
141.	*rb*	LÚ.*qur-ru-bu-u-tu* (NB)	VS 5 no.72 and often in NB

142.		LÚ.*šá–qur-ru-bu-ti* (NB)	SAA 17 17, r.1.7 and often in NB
143.		*iq-qa-ra-bu-u-ni*	SAA 5 64, 8
144.		*sa-rab-a-te*	SAA 9 9, 13
145.	*hb*	*i-hi-bu-tu* (NB)	SAA 22 85, 8
146.		URU.*nu-hu-ba-a-a*	SAA 23 (ABL 307), 2
147.		URU.*nu-uh-ba-iá* (without anaptyxis)	SAA 23 (ABL 307), r.10
148.		*ta-ha-ba-tu-ši-na* (var. *ta-ah-ba-tu-ši-na*)	SAA Gilg. VI 166 Var. A
149.	*bd*	KUR.*la-ba-du-du*	SAA 11 1, 15
150.		KUR.*la-ba-du-da-a-a*	SAA 15 121, 5
151.	*md*	*ṣa-ma-da-ni*	Borger Ash 53 iii 76 (= *ṣimdāni*)
152.	*qd*	*pa-qa-da-a-ni*	SAA 16 148, 1
153.		*ˀpaˀ-qa-ˀdaˀ-ku-u-ni*	SAA 1 179, r.4
154.	*rg*	^{m}*na-ra-ge-e*, ^{m}*nar-gi-i*	SAA 5 91, 3; SAA 14 13, 21
155.	*rh*	^{m}*qar-ra-ha-a*, ^{m}*qar-ha-a*	AnSt 7 139, 23; APN 183b
156.	*rk*	*pa-ra-ak-at* (with continuation intonation)	SAA 13 34, 4
157.	*bk*	^{d}*a-ba-ku-u-a*, ^{d}*ab-ku-u-a*	SAA 20 49 ii 18; 40 ii 7
158.	*qp*	*i-zu-ku-pu* (Pl. 3; see fn. 18, above))	SAA 5 53, r.3
159.	*rq*	URU.*ma-ra-qa-si*	Iraq 23 pl. 21, 7, 8
160.	*šq*	*ma-šá-qi-te*	SAA 6 10, 3
161.		*ˀma-š]á-qí-it*, *maš-qi-te*	SAA 10 294, r.1, SAA 6 13, 3
162.	*pq*	*a-pa-qi-du-ni* (Prt.)	SAA 1 82, r.7
163.	*ht*	*ú-hu-ta-bi*[*1*]	SAA 15 330, 3
164.		*ú-hu-ta-ri-du-šú-nu*	SAA 5 217, 12
165.	*ls*	^{m}*ul-lu-su-nu*, ^{m}*ul-su-un-nu*	SAA 1 9, 2,, r.2; SAA 5 220, 4

A.2. Poststressed anaptyxis (31 examples)

1.	*kn*	*i-sa-ka-nu*	SAA 1 179, r.8, 9; LAS 309, 8′, r.3
2.	*mn*	*šá-mì-ni*	BT 128, 7 // *šam-ni* KAV 171, r.14
3.	*ṭn*	GIŠ.*bu-ṭu-ni*	CT 53 230, 7
4.	*zn*	*ú-šá-za-nin*	Levine Stele, r.16
5.		*mu-šá-za-nin*	Iraq 30 p. 141, 2
6.	*bl*	*i-tu-bu-lu*	CT 53 83, r.13
7.	*dl*	UZU.*me-di-li*	ABL 724, r.8 // UZU.*mid-lu* SAA 20 52, r. iii 19
8.	*pl*	*ki-pi-li*	ABL 438, 7 // *kip-lu* TCL 3 387
9.		*sa-pa-lu*	PVA 441 // *sa-ap-lu* SAA 20 34, 3
10.	*dr*	NINDA *me-di-ri*, *me-dir(-ri)*	ADD 1012, r.6; ADD 1030, r.9, passim // *midru* CAD M/2 48a)
11.	*hr*	*i-su-hu-ra*	ABL 1371, r.2
12.		*ni-is-su-hu-ra*	ABL 126, 9
13.		*pa-ga-ru*	PVA 344
14.	*kr*	*na-ka-ri*	ABL 556, r.11
15.	*pr*	*ku-pu-ru*	PVA 328
16.	*tr*	NA$_4$.*ni-ti-ru*	ABL 347, r.9
17.	*ṣr*	*ú-šá-ṣa-rih*	Levine Stele 55
18.		*i-ta-ṣa-ru*	LAS 100, 4′
19.	*mr*	GIŠ.*za-ma-ri*	ADD 1036, 28
20.	*rd*	*i-tu-ru-du*	NL 41, 40
21.	*zb*	*ú-šá-za-bil*	Levine Stele 46
22.	*lq*	*ih-ta-ˀla-ˀqu*	CT 53 185, 4′
23.		*ih-ti-li-qu*	ABL 419, r.19
24.	*rṣ*	*ti-ri-ṣi*	ADD 299, r.3
25.	*qp*	*i-zu-ku-pu* (Pl.)	ABL 251, r.3
26.	*pt*	*a-pa-ta-làh*	ABL 1288, r.7 // *ap-ta-làh* ABL 525, r.16; ABL 1385, 13

27.	*qt*	*ba-ti-qí-tú*	ABL 515, r.11, 13 // *ba-ti-iq-tú* ABL 1079, 10′
28.		*bu-ti-qi-te*	ABL 941, 5 // *bu-tiq-ta* KAR 177, r. ii 23
29.	*rt*	*ši-pi-ri-ti*	ADD 171, 9
30.	*lk*	^{m}*mì-li-ki*–DINGIR	ADD 877a, 11
31.	*bš*	*ha-ba-šu*	LAS 120, r.4

B. Paragogue

B.1. Nouns and indeclinables

1.	*ahîš*	*i-sa-a-hi-ši*	SAA 1 175, 13′; 182, 8′ (vs. 4 x *i-sa-hi-iš)*
2.		*ina* ŠÀ *a-hi-ši*	SAA 1 172, 12
3.	*ahāiš*	*i-sa-ha-ii-ši*	SAA 15 101, 13
4.		*ša a-ha-ii-ši*	*ibid.* 14
5.		*a-ha-ii-ši*	SAA 5 227, r.14
6.	*Akzīb*	URU.*ak*-[*zi*]-*bi*	RINAP 3/2 140, 16′ (= Bibl. ’Akzîb)
7.	*bēt*	*bé-te*	SAA 5 25, r.5, 6 (as against 23 x *bé-et*)
8.	*daiān*	*da-a-a-na* AN-*e*	SAA 12 96, 28
9.	*ah-hūr*	*a-na hu-ru*	SAA 1 235, r.2 (vs. *ah-hur* passim)
10.	*issēt*	1-*te*	SAA 16 53, r.2, 3; 63, r.29
11.	*kūm*	*ku-mu*	SAA 6 236, 3; 245, 14 (vs. 63 x *ku-um)*
12.	*manzāz*	LÚ.*man-za-za pa-ni*	SAA 16 127, r.7; 128, r.2 (cf. *man-za-az* É.GAL, SAA 10 7, 10)
13.	*mūk*	*mu-ku*	SAA 1 75, 10; 77, r.5; 96, 7; 179, 15–17; 180, r.2; 181, 16 (vs. 10 x *mu-uk*)
14.	*nūk*	*nu-ku*	SAA 5 21, r.15; 32, r.5; 33, 7, r.2, 19; 126, 8′, 9′ (vs. *nu-uk*, passim)
15.	*pēt*	*pe-te* K[Á]	SAA 10 356, 7′
16.	*šīt*	*ši-i-ti*	SAA 1 247, r.5; SAA 16 181, r.3
17.		*ši-ti*	SAA 10 31, 8; SAA 16 92, 10
18.		*ši-ti-i-ni*	SAA 6 140, r.12; SAA 10 42, r.12; 347, r.10
19.		*ši-ti-ni*	SAA 10 8, 7, r.30
20.	*šūt*	*šu-u-tú*	SAA 10 90, r.7, 21; 92, 11; 96, r.28 and passim
21.		*šu-tú*	SAA 1 171, 11; SAA 5 51, 9; 164, r.1; SAA10 241, 9; SAA 19 29, r.16
22.		*šu-tu-ma*	SAA 10 56, r.11; 253, r.16; SAA 15 273, 4
23.		*šu-tú-ma*	SAA 10 319, r.11
24.		*šu-tu-u-ni*	SAA 10 95, 11; 265, 17; 280, r.1; 298, r.3; 328, 15
25.		*šú-tú-u-ni*	SAA 10 321, r.3; KAV 213, r.27
26.		*šu-tu-ni*	SAA 10 51, r.10; 206, 7
27.		*šu-tú-u-ni*	SAA 2 6, 278
28.		*šu-ú-tú*	SAA 1 235, 18
29.	*ṭūb*	*ṭu-bu* ŠÀ-*bi*	SAA 10 329, r.9–10 (as against 65 x *ṭu-ub* ŠÀ-*bi*)
30.	*Zāb*	ÍD.*za-ba*	SAA 1 62, 5; SAA 19 72, 25

B.2. Verbs

Stative (mediae infirmae)

31.	*bēd*	*bé-e-de*	SAA 15 223, r.10
32.	*dār*	*lu(-u) da-ra*	SAA 10 283, 7; SAA 16 34, r.3
33.	*dēk*	*de-e-ke*	SAA 10 96, r.13; SAA 16 30, 7; SAA 19 80, 10, 11; 111, r.11
34.	*ēṣ*	*e-ṣe*	SAA 10 257, 9; SAA 15 182, 15
35.		*e-ṣe-e*	SAA 10 43, 9; 89, 10

36.	*kūn*	*ku-ú-nu̲*	SAA 10 363, 13
37.	*mēt*	*me-e-te̲*	SAA 10 90, r.14; 97, 10; SAA 13 157, r.7; SAA 16 31, 1; 34, r.25
38.		*me-e-ti̲*	SAA 1 75, 7; SAA 16 105, 15, 23; 127, r.15
39.		*mé-e-te̲*	SAA 5 91, r.3′; SAA 13 157, r.8
40.		*mé-e-ti̲*	SAA 16 95, r.3,
41.		*mé-te̲*	SAA 10 309, r.4
42.	*nēh*	*né-e-he̲*	SAA 1 55, 5
43.	*qāl*	*qa-a-la̲*	SAA 10 72, r.17; SAA 13 134, r.16
44.		*qa-la̲*	SAA 15 288, 14
45.	*rēh*	*re-e-he̲*	SAA 1 194, r.3, 5; SAA 10 47, r.2′; 84, r.12; SAA 15 164, r.7
46.		*re-he̲*	SAA 1 52, r.7
47.	*ṭāb*	*ṭa-a-ba̲*	SAA 1 63, 11; SAA 5 132, 7; SAA 10 5, r.1; 13, 13; 31, r.5; 52, 13, 17, r.7; 53, r.3, 7; 61, r.11; 73, 11, r.5; 130, r.3; 190, 9, r.1; 194, 9; 195, r.7; 197, 6; 207, 15; 215, r.5; 217, r.9; 221, r.11; 253, r.2; 319, r.15; SAA 15 148, 4; 219, 15, and passim, vs. *ṭa-ab*, SAA 1 138, r.17
48.		*ṭa-ba̲*	SAA 10 70, 9, 11, r.3, 9; 222, r.3; 378, 6; SAA 15 286, 5
49.		*ṭa-ba̲-a*	SAA 10 73, 9; 190, 7; 205, 5

Imperative (mediae infirmae; *tdn; wšb*)

50.	*din*	*di-i-ni̲*	SAA 1 8, 17; SAA 13 18, r.13; 39, 7; SAA 15 121, 12; 151, 6; SAA 18 22, 19; KAV 198, r.10; 213, r.25
51.		*di-ni̲*	SAA 10 334, r.3; SAA 15 24, 15; SAA 16 5, 15; 81, r.8; 145, r.8; VAT 15545, 14
52.		[*di*]*-e-ni̲*	SAA 1 192, 11 (as against *di-in,* SAA 16 112, 14)
53.	*hīṭ*	*he-e-te̲*	VAT 15545, 13
54.	*mūt*	*mu-ú-tu̲*	SAA 13 158, r.11
55.	*rīš*	*ri-i-ši̲*	SAA 9 1 ii 12
56.	*šib*	*ši-i-bi̲*	SAA 1 7, 8
57.	*tēr*	*te-e-re̲*	SAA 15 186, r.8
58.		*te-re̲*	SAA 1 220, r.8
59.	*zīz*	[*šá-z*]*i-zi̲*	SAA 19 89, r.31

Present (D/Š mediae infirmae)

60.	*ukâl*	*ú-ka-la̲*	SAA 1 87, r.6; SAA 13 147, 13; SAA 16 63, r.18
61.		*ú-kal-la̲*	SAA 10 238, r.1
62.		*nu-ka-a-la̲*	SAA 10 72, r.9; 221, r.9; 241, r.13
63.		*nu-ka-la̲*, *nu-ka-al*	SAA 10 23, 11; 33, r.1
64.		*nu-kal-la̲*	SAA 10 23, 12
65.		*tu-kal-la̲*	SAA 10 23, 10
66.	*uktatâl*	*uk-ta-ta-la̲*	SAA 10 363, r.12, 17
67.	*ukân*	*ú-ka-na̲*	SAA 1 77, r.11; SAA 9 2, i 7′
68.	*upâq*	*ú-pa-qa̲*	SAA 10 39, r.13
69.		^{m}*ú-pa-qa̲–ana–arba-ìl*	SAA 14 17, r.5; 117, 25
70.	*utâr*	*ú-ta-ra̲*	SAA 1 192, 15, 5; 105, r.10; SAA 15 214, r.8
71.	*ušarâq*	*nu-ša-ra-qa̲*	SAA 1 66, 13

Perfect (verba mediae infirmae)

72.	*iddūl*	*id-du-lu̲*	SAA 21 19, 7
73.	*irtūb*	*ir-tu-bu̲*	SAA 8 37, 6; BM 123358, 7 (Iraq 4 186)

74.		*ir-tu-bu-u-ma*	SAA 10 10, 7
75.	*uktīl*	*uk-te-lę; uk-ti-il*	SAA 10 182, 5; 279, 11; 322, 12
76.	*uktīn*	*nu-uk-ti-ni*	SAA 1 236, r.12
77.	*uttēr*	*ú-te-rę*	SAA 1 226, 11, SAA 13 38, 9; 128, 17
78.		*ut-te-e-rę*	SAA 13 126, r.8
79.		*tu-ut-te-rę*	SAA 1 8, 11

Preterite (verba mediae infirmae)

80.	*idūl*	*li-du-lu*	SAA 5 254, 11′ (Sg. 3!)
81.	*ihīṭ*	*li-he-ṭę*	SAA 13 127, 10
82.	*šīṭ*	*ta-še-e-ṭę*	SAA 1 84, r.8
83.		*ta-še-ṭę*	SAA 19 51, 20
84.	*utēr*	*lu-te-rę*	SAA 1 220, 5
85.	*uktatīn*	*lu-uk-ta-ti-ni*	SAA 5 163, 10
86.	*uka'in*	*lu-ke-ii-ni*	SAA 16 44, r.5

C. Interrogative intonation

C.1. Y/N questions

C.1.a) open penultima + open ultima → (ultra-)long final vowel

	Statement	Y/N Question	
1.	*abiti*	*ina* UGU *a-bé-te-e an-ni-ti*, "on this matter?"	SAA 10 90, 14
2.	*abutu*	*a-bu-tu-u*, "is it a(n insignificant) matter?"	SAA 16 62, 4
3.	*anāku*	*a-na-ku-ú*, "shall I (…)?"	SAA 10 93, 11
4.	*annītu*	*an-ni-tu-u*, "is this (…)?"	SAA 10 265, 6; SAA 16 28, 6
5.	*antiši*	*an-ti-ši-i*, "have I forgotten?"	SAA 10 39, r.11
6.	*atta*	*at-ta-a*, "are you (…)?"	SAA 19 87, 5′
7.	*attunu*	*la at-tu-nu-u*, "can you not (…)?"	SAA 10 259, 10
8.	*dilpī*	*di-il-pe-e*, "are the efforts (…)?"	SAA 10 328, r.7
9.	*ēṣe*	*la e-ṣe-e*, "is it not enough?"	SAA 10 43, 9
10.	*hubtu*	*hu-ub-tu-ú*, "(did we take) spoils?"	SAA 21 65, 16
11.	*illaka*	*il-la-ka-a*, "is he coming?"	SAA 19 55, 12
12.	*illukū*	*il-la-ku-ú*, "should they go?"	SAA 16 27, r.4
13.	*illakūni*	*il-la-ku-ú-né-e*, "are they coming in?"	SAA 13 102, r.3
14.	*lāšu*	*la-a-šu-u*, "are there no (…)?"	SAA 1 80, 10
15.	*nitūru*	*la ni-tu-ru-u*, "did we not turn?"	SAA 21 65, 18
16.	*nušēriba*	*nu-še-ri-ba-a*, "shall we bring in?"	SAA 10 264, 9
17.	*qabi*	*qa-bi-i*, "is it decreed?"	SAA 4 18, 13 and passim
18.	*rībāni*	*ri-i-ba-né-e*, "(did I not see) earthquakes?"	SAA 10 56, r.17
19.	*rību*	*ri-i-bu-u*, "was there an earthquake?"	SAA 10 56, r.14
20.	*šunu*	*šu-nu-ú … ma'dū*, "were they numerous?"	SAA 21 20, 7
21.	*tūdāma*	*la tu-da-ma-a*, "do you perhaps not know?"	SAA 21 65, 5
22.	*ṭāba*	*ṭa-ba-a*, "is it good?"	SAA 10 196, 8; 207, 6

C.1.b) open penultima + closed ultima → ultima is lengthened and receives a paragogic vowel

	Statement	question	
23.	*issakan*	*uznu is-sa-ka-a-na*, "did he pay attention?"	SAA 10 090; ABL 46, r.12
24.	*lēpuš*	*le-e-pu-u-šu* "should I perform?"	SAA 10 274, r.8
25.	*mahir*	*ma-he-e-rę* "is it pleasing?"	SAA 10 182, 29; SAA 19 87, 7′
26.	*tētiq*	MUN-*ú … ina muhhīja te-te-qę* "has the favour passed on to me?"	SAA 16 78, 10

C.1.c) closed penultima + open ultima → anaptyptic vowels may appear before lengthened ultima

	Statement	question	
27.	*addinakka*	*la a-di-nak-ka-a*, “did I not give (them) to you?”	SAA 9 3 iii 21
28.	*dilpī*	*di-il-pe-e*, “are the efforts …?”	SAA 10 328, r.7
29.	*ētarba*	*e-tar-ba-a*, “has he come in?”	SAA 13 81, r.3′
30.	*ibašši*	*i-ba-aš-ši-i*, “can it be (that)?”	SAA 10 320, r.7
31.	*ušaqbia*	*ú-šá-qa-ba-a*, “will make them order?”	SAA 4 154, 8

C.1.d) closed penultima + closed ultima → all above rules may apply

32.	*ašpur*	*la áš-pu-ru*, “did I not send?”	SAA 21 25, 4′
33.	*eppaš*	*ep-pa-a-šá*, “shall I perform (the ritual)?”	SAA 10 258, 7′
34.	*ladbub*	*la-da-bu-ub*, “should I speak?”	SAA 5 78, r.14; 133, r.20
35.	*lallik*	*la-li-ki*, “should I go?”	SAA 15 34, 8
36.	*lasdir*	*la-as-de-e-re*, “should I array (the horses)?”	SAA 13 95, 14; 100, r.10
37.	*lūpahhir*	*lu-pa-hi-ri*, “should I collect?”	SAA 1 160, r.12, 14
38.	*nidbuk*	*la ni-di-bu-ú-ku*, “did we not pour?”	SAA 21 65, 17
39.	*nišpur*	*ni-iš-pu-u-ru*, “shall we send word?”	SAA 5 139, 7
40.	*šaknat*	*la šak-na-ta*, “is it not set?”	SAA 10 30, r.8
41.	*tadlib*	*i-ba-aš-ši-i … ta-di-li-bi*, “have you really been concerned?”	SAA 10 320, r.7ff.
42.	*ušadbab*	*ú-šá*]*-ad-da-ba-a-ba* “[Will he cause] (others) to instigate it?”	SAA 4 159, 8

C.2. Information questions

C.2.a) Predicate of the clause has anaptyctic or paragogic vowels (21 examples)

1.	*’nš*	*atâ e-ni-ši*, “In what sense is he weak?”	SAA 1 118, r.9
2.	*’pš*	*akê in-né-pi-š*[*i*] , “Ho[w] did it happen?”	SAA 10 304, r.18
3.	*’tq*	*atâ ša–qurbūte lā i-hi-ru-pu lā e-ti-qa*, “Why didn’t the bodyguard proceed here in advance?”	SAA 19 169, r.3ff.
4.	*dbb*	*atâ muhhi urdāni ša šarri ta-da-bu-bu*, “Why do you plot against the king’s subjects?”	SAA 5 260, 5′ f.
5.	*dgl*	*atâ ta-ha-ru-pu tu-na-me-še ina pān … lā tadgul*, “Why did you set out early **and** not wait for (the governor)?”	SAA 5 199, 5ff.
6.	*dūk*	*atâ* [*ana …*]*-ka ta-du-ku*, “Why did you kill your […]?”	SAA 19 126, 11′
7.	*gmr*	*atâ … la ga-mì-ri*, “Why is it not finished?”	SAA 5 293, 9′
8.	*hrd*	*akê a-ha-ri-di*, “How can I stay watchful?”	SAA 19 87, r.2
9.	*krr*	*atâ ta-kar-ra-ra*, “Why are you setting up (the table of Šamaš)?”	SAA 13 44, 5′
10.	*kšd*	*atâ āl*[*šu*] *ta-ka-ša-da*, “Why do you conquer a city of [his]?”	SAA 19 70, r.9′ f.
11.	*pqd*	*kī maṣi ina pānīka ip-qid-di mā atâ lā tašpur*, “Why have you not written how many (horses, oxen and sheep) he has entrusted to you?”	SAA 19 33, 8f.
12.	*pqd*	*i–su-ru …* GN *nu-sa-ah-ha-ra man-nu ina libbi ni-pa-qi-di ū man-nu an-na-ka ina ku-*[*tal-l*]*i-en-ni*, “Suppose … we shall retake Bet-Ha’ir, whom shall we appoint there, and whom here, in our rear?”	SAA 15 131, r.12ff.
13.	*qūl*	*atâ bēlī qa-la*, “Why is my lord silent?”	SAA 15 288, 4
14.	*shr*	*akê lu-sah-hi-ri*, “How will *he* return it?”	SAA 16 65, r.16
15.	*ṣbt*	*aiēša ni-ṣi-bat*, “Who(se feet) should we grasp?”	SAA 16 63, 28
16.	*šīṭ*	*at*]*â ta-še-te* [*at*]*â la* [*t*]*ašp*[*ur*]*a*, “Why were you neglectful and why didn’t you write?”	SAA 19 51, r.5f.
17.	*škn*	*aiāka ša-ka-nu*, “Where are they placed?”	SAA 15 184, 6

18.	*škn*	*issi man-ni-m*[*a ē*]*nē-ia ša-kan-na*, “Upon whom are my eyes fixed?”	SAA 13 80, r.10
19.	*špr*	*atâ lā ta-šá-pur*, “Why didn’t you write?”	KAV 115, r.14
20.	*tdn*	*mīnu anāku la-di-ni*, “What shall I give them?”	SAA 19 39, r.16
21.	*tdn*	*mīnu la-an-tu-hu mīnu la-din-šu*, “What should I raise and what should I give him?”	KAV 213, r.11

C.2.b) No phonetic changes in the predicate (214 examples)

1.	*’br*	*atâ lā tebbirā* [*šēpē ša šarri*] *ta-ṣab-ba-ta*, “Why don’t you (pl.) cross (the river) and grasp [the feet of the king]?”	SAA 21 139, 14′ f.
2.	*’hz*	*mīnu ina l*[*ibb*]*i ah-za-ku*, “What did I get for it?”	SAA 10 294, 30
3.	*’kl*	*atâ karṣīja ina ēkalli ta-kul*, “Why have you slandered me in the Palace?”	SAA 5 243, r.4f.
4.	*’kl*	*mā mīnu tú-šá-kal*, “What do you feed (your horses)?”	SAA 1 107, 8
5.	*’kl*	*bu-un-ni-ka nam-ru-u-te man-nu uk-kil*, “Who has darkened your radiant countenance?”	SAA 3 29, r.1
6.	*’kš*	*atâ tú-ki-iš*, “Why were you delayed?”	SAA 1 85, r.1
7.	*’kš*	*atâ*] *a-du a-kan-ni tú-ú-ki-*[*iš*], “[Why] were you delay[ed] until now?”	SAA 1 233, 12
8.	*’kš*	*atâ ša-qurbūti ú-ki-iš*, “Why was the royal bodyguard delayed?”	SAA 5 37, 19
9.	*’lī*	*atâ urdānīja tú-še-l*[*i*], “Why have you expelled my subjects?”	SAA 1 179, 13
10.	*’lk*	*ana am–mīni* [*a*]*na* GN *il-la-ak*, “Wherefore does he go to Kar-Šamaš?”	SAA 06 276, 7f.
11.	*’lk*	*ana mīni* [*em*]*ūqī il-la-ku-u-ni*, “For what reason is the army coming?”	GPA 186, r.10
12.	*’lk*	*ana mīni il-lu-ku*, “To what purpose are they going?”	SAA 1 195, r.14
13.	*’lk*	*ana mīni* PN *il-la-ak*, “Why does Hamunayu go?”	SAA 16 2, r.4
14.	*’lk*	*ana* [*Mann*]*āia ana mīni il-*[*li-ku*], “Wherefore did they go to Mannea?”	SAA 15 54, 17′
15.	*’lk*	*atâ* [*ina*] GN [*il-l*]*i-ku-u-ni*, “Why [did they g]o [to] Guzana?”	SAA 5 21, r.20f.
16.	*’lk*	*atâ akanni ta-li-ka*, “Why did you come now?”	SAA 1 84, 10
17.	*’lk*	[*atâ ana šul*]*mi šarri lā tal-*[*li-ka*], “[Why] did you not co[me to gr]eet the king?”	SAA 15 117, r.6′
18.	*’lk*	*atâ ina šēpēka ta*[*l-la-k*]*a*, “Why do you go on foot?”	SAA 1 294, r.18
19.	*’lk*	*atâ ina pānīka i-la-ka*, “Why should he come to you?”	SAA 19 91, r.12
20.	*’lk*	*atâ bēl-ālāni gabbu il-li-ku-u-*[*ni*] *... atta lā ta-li-ka*, “Why is it that all (other) city-rulers have come …, but you have not come?”	SAA 1 84, 13–r.2
21.	*’lk*	*atâ tikpī ša pūli issēn id–da-at šanīe lā il-lak*, “Why do the limestone layers not go one after another?”	SAA 16 143, 14ff.
22.	*’lk*	*maṣṣartu ša šarri atâ tu-ra-am-me-a tal-lik-a-ni*, “Why did you leave the royal guard and come (back)?”	SAA 16 105, r.1
23.	*’lk*	[*mar’ē*] *māt nakiri akê* [*ana*] *šarri bēlīja i-lu-ku*, “How (then) will foreign[ers] behave [towards] the king, my lord?”	SAA 13 19, r.4f.
24.	*’lk*	*mīnu ina libbi dulli il-lak*, “What is going into the ritual?”	SAA 13 76, 11
25.	*’mr*	*akê ta-mu-ra*, “How did you observe?”	SAA 8 21, 3
26.	*’pš*	*ulâ dullu ana mī*[*ni ep-pa*]*-áš*, “For what pur[pose do I w]ork?”	SAA 10 294, 37
27.	*’pš*	*ana mīnimma* PN *e-pu-uš*, “Why on earth did La-qepu do (it)?”	SAA 16 3, r.5
28.	*’pš*	*atâ anēnu* […] *né-pa-áš*, “Why should we do [the work …]?”	SAA 1 71, 9
29.	*’pš*	*atâ pāhutu ša ina pā*[*n x*] *dullu ša bētīja lā e-pa-*[*áš*], “Why	SAA 16 183, 7f.

		does a governor in char[ge of …] not d[o] the work of my house?"	
30.	*'pš*	*atâ ina šaddaq*[*diš … dullu*] *lā te-pa-šá* "Why did you last year […], but do not do [the work]?"	SAA 10 355, 10f.
31.	*'pš*	*atâ kî* [*annie*] *te-pu-uš*, "Why did you do like th[at]?"	SAA 5 108, r.19
32.	*'pš*	*atâ kî lib*[*bika*] *te-pa-áš*, "Why do you act arbitrarily?"	SAA 10 387, r.5f.
33.	*'pš*	*atâ ša urhu a-na u*[*rhi*] *la in-né-pa-áš-ma*, "Why is nothing at all done month after mo[nth]?"	SAA 10 89, r.9
34.	*'pš*	*atâ šikin murṣija anniju lā ta-mar bulṭēšu lā te-pa-áš*, "Why do you not diagnose the nature of this illness of mine and bring about its cure?"	SAA 10 315, 8–10
35.	*'pš*	*anāku akê le-e-pu-uš*, "How should I act?"	SAA 16 36, 13′
36.	*'pš*	*pānī ša šarri bēlīja akê ep-šú*, "How is the king, my lord, disposed?"	SAA 13 66, r.9′
37.	*'pš*	*akê ah–hur ep-pu-šú*, "What else can they do?"	SAA 21 25, 3′ f.
38.	*'pš*	*ša … libbī išpilūni akê né-pu-uš*, "How did we act that I became so depressed?"	SAA 10 187, 8–10
39.	*'pš*	*akê né-pu-uš*, "How are we to do the work?"	SAA 1 114, r.1
40.	*'pš*	[*m*]*īnu ep-pa-á*[*š*], "What shall I do?"	SAA 10 383, s.1
41.	*'pš*	*mīnu e-pu-uš ana šar māt Aššūr*, "What have I done to the king of Assyria?"	SAA 21 66, 7′
42.	*'pš*	*mīnu ep-pa-šu-u-ni*, "What can they do to me?"	SAA 16 36, r.9
43.	*'pš*	*mīnu né-pu-uš*, "What can we do?"	SAA 10 187, 13
44.	*'pš*	*anāku mīnu le-pu-uš*, "What should I do?"	SAA 5 2, r.1
45.	*'pš*	*a-na man-ni i-ba-áš-ši ṭābtu ki-i ia-ši šarru e-pu-uš*, "To whom indeed has the king done such a favour as to me?"	SAA 10 39, r.4ff.
46.	*'pš*	*ki-ma a-na-ku la-a e-pu-uš man-nu-um-ma le-e-pu-uš*, "If I did not do it, who would?"	SAA 16 34, 27
47.	*'pš*	*niqiāti … ina pān man-ni e-pu-šu*, "Before whom do they make … the offerings?"	SAA 13 77, 7f.
48.	*'rb*	*atâ … paššūru ina pān šarri bēlīja lā e-rab*, "Why … is the table not brought to the king, my lord?"	SAA 10 196, 14–16
49.	*'rb*	*akê ina pān* PN *er-ru-bu*, "How are they to enter into the presence of Šamaš-bunaya?"	SAA 19 81, r.18f.
50.	*'rb*	*ūmâ ak*[*ê*] *ina pānīja le-e-ru-ba*, "How could he now visit me?"	SAA 10 27, r.16f.
51.	*'rb*	*mīnu simunu lū te-ru-ba*, "What time should she come in?"	SAA 10 209, 8
52.	*'ṣṣ*	*atâ šarru bēlī adakanni* [*l*]*ā iš-al lā ú-ṣi-ṣi*, "Why has the king, my lord, until now [nei]ther asked nor enquired (about it)?"	SAA 16 62, 3f.
53.	*b'ī*	*ana* [*m*]*īni mātkunu lu-ba-'i*, "Why would I persecute your country?"	SAA 21 65, r.5′
54.	*b'ī*	*anāku mātkunu ana mīni lu-ba-'i*, "Why, then, would I persecute your country?"	SAA 21 65, r.13′
55.	*b'ī*	*ana mīni ša–muhhi–āli ú-ba-a-šú-nu*, "Why does the city overseer persecute them?"	GPA 197, 4ff.
56.	*b'ī*	*šarru atâ ú-ba-'a-a* [*ina*] *bēt qatinni šarru* [*a*]*tâ ú-ba-'a-a-ma*, "Why does the king look for (trouble), and why does he look (for it) [in the ho]me of a tiller?"	SAA 10 42, 10–12
57.	*bdd*	*atâ ú-ba-du-du*, "Why is it (the treasure) being squandered?"	SAA 10 369, r.10
58.	*bkī*	*atâ anēnu ni-bak-ki*, "Why are we weeping?"	SAA 16 95, r.13′
59.	*blṭ*	*ana mīni a-bal-laṭ*, "Why should I live?"	SAA 13 184, s.2
60.	*blṭ*	*am–mīni šarru ú-bal-la-ṭa-ni*, "Why does the king, my lord, let me live?"	SAA 17 48, 23
61.	*blṭ*	*akê la-ab-laṭ*, "How can I live?"	SAA 15 30, 12

62.	*bšī*	*mīnu i-ba-áš-ši* NA[M].BÚR.BI, “What apotropaic ritual is there?”	SAA 10 10, 6
63.	*btq*	*akê lā na-da-ku-ú lā ba-tu-qu ašlīja*, “How could I not be cast adrift, and how could my tows not be cut?”	SAA 3 15, 4
64.	*dbb*	*ana am–mīni dibbī ma’d*[*ū*]*ti a-d*[*a-bu-ub*], *“*But why do I s[peak] so much?”	SAA 13 158, r.4′
65.	*dbb*	*atâ lā kētu issē’a ta-da-bu-ub*, “Why do you not tell me the truth?”	SAA 1 124, 16
66.	*dbb*	*ak(ê) anaku issi šarri bēlīja lā kettu ad-da-bu-ub*, “How could I speak dishonestly to the king, my lord?”	SAA 16 78, 6
67.	*dbb*	*att*[*unu m*]*īnu ta-dáb-*[*b*]*u-ba*, “[W]hat are you saying?”	SAA 16 63, r.7
68.	*dgl*	*atâ … ina pān pāhiti ša* GN *lā ta-ad-gul*, “Why did you not wait for the governor of Arrapha?”	SAA 5 199, 5–7
69.	*dlh*	*atâ šû ú-du-lìh e-*[*ta*]*-pa-*[*áš*], “Why did he hasten to per[fo]rm (the ritual)?”	SAA 10 273, r.15f.
70.	*dlp*	*ana mīni kaiamānīu sīsê ša šarri ú-šá-ad-la-ap*, *“*Why must I constantly harass the king’s horses?	SAA 13 92, r.9f.
71.	*dmq*	*ana mīni da-an-qu*, “What are they good for?”	SAA 10 316, r.20
72.	*drr*	*akê ni-id-ru-ur*, “How do we intercalate?”	SAA 13 60, r.1
73.	*dūk*	*atâ annûti i-du-ku-u-ni*, “Why are these (people) killing me?”	SAA 19 91, 8
74.	*dūk*	*atâ i-du-ka-an-ni attunu qa-la-ku-nu*, “Why do you keep silent while he is trying to kill me?”	SAA 1 29, r.13
75.	*gmr*	*atâ ina tukkāni māt*[*ī*] *i-ga-mar*, “Why is he destroying [my] country by oppression?”	SAA 5 149, r.11f.
76.	*grr*	*atâ ta-ag-da-na-ra-*[*ra*], “Why are you scar[ed]?”	SAA 5 95, 7f.
77.	*hbl*	*mār* PN *man-nu ih-bíl-an-ni*, “Who has taken from me the son of PN?”	SAA 3 29, r.1
78.	*hbt*	*atâ hu-ub-tú tah-bu-ta*, “Why have you taken plunder/captives?”	SAA 16 137, 13
79.	*hbt*	*atâ Arpāja hubtu ša* GN *ih-bu-tú-ni mā atâ at*[*ta*] *adi urdānīka* [*lā*] *tūṣi ta-bu-uk-š*[*u-nu*], “Why is it that the Arabs plundered GN, but you did not go out with your servants but kept [them] away?”	SAA 1 84, r.4–8
80.	*hkm*	[*at*]*â* [*x lā*] *ú-šah-kim*, “Wh]y did[n’t] he explain […]?”	SAA 16 172, r.3′
81.	*hkm*	*atâ lā ta-am-li-kan-ni lā tu-šah-kim-a-ni*, “Why didn’t you advise and instruct me?”	SAA 10 90, r.19′
82.	*hlq*	*atâ* [*šarru bēlī ú-hal-l*]*i-qa-an-ni*, “Why [has the king, my lord, let] me [pe]rish?”	SAA 10 361, 8′
83.	*hlq*	*atâ d*[*ullašūnu*] *ú-ra-me-u ih-*[*li-qu*], “Why have they left their w[ork] and r[un away]?”	SAA 15 223, r.3f.
84.	*hlq*	*atâ ni-hal-liq*, “Why should we run away?”	SAA 15 1, 16
85.	*hrd*	*akê a-ha-ri-di*, “How can I stay watchful?”	SAA 19 87, r.2
86.	*hsī*	*ana mīni bēlī i-ha-si-šú*, *“*Why does my lord mistreat him?”	SAA 16 48, r.8
87.	*hṣn*	*atâ bēt hirṣi mugirri ša šarri bēlīja ettiqūni atâ lā ú-ha-aṣ-ṣa-an*, “Why should I not embrace (the ground) where the tracks of the chariot of the king, my lord, pass by?”	SAA 10 68, r.8ff.
88.	*hss*	*atâ lā tu-šah-si-sa-a-ni*, “Why did you not remind me?”	SAA 10 94, r.12′
89.	*hss*	*atâ lā tu-šah-si-si*, “Why did you not remind (me)?”	SAA 10 103, r.6f.
90.	*hss*	*atâ lā tu-šah-sis-a-ni*, “Why did you not remind me?”	SAA 10 56, r.5
91.	*j’š*	*atâ kalliju la-šú*, “Why isn’t there any express service?”	SAA 5 227, 6
92.	*kbs*	*atâ ahūni ana urdānūte ta-kab-ba-as*, “Why are you subjecting our brother to slavery?”	ZA 73 9, 6f.
93.	*kīl*	[*ina*] *bēt in-na-m*[*ir-u-ni*] *mīnu tú-ka-*[*la*], “What (month) did you h[ave wh]en it became vis[ible]?”	SAA 10 152, 2′
94.	*kīl*	*urhu an-ni-u mīnu tu-kal-la*, “What do you take the present	SAA 10 23, 10; 72, r.8

		month to be?"	
95.	*kl'*	*imārēja ana mīni i-ka-li-'u-ú*, "For what purpose are they detaining my donkeys?"	BaM 27 420, 7
96.	*kl'*	*atâ immerī issu lib*[*bi … t*]*a-ka-la-šú*, "Why do [yo]u withhold sheep fr[om …]?"	SAA 5 256, 4′ f.
97.	*kl'*	*ū an-ni-u akê lak-la-šú*, "So how could I hold back this one?"	SAA 5 111, r.11
98.	*kms*	*atâ* [*… ina*] GN *kam-mu-su* "Why are […] staying [in] GN?"	SAA 15 269, 3′ f.
99.	*kms*	*ina mīni anna*[*kk*]*â lū kam-mu-su*, "Why should they dwell here?"	SAA 13 190, r.5
100.	*kms*	*atâ ina bēti* [*k*]*am-mu-sa-*[*k*]*u*, "Wh[y] are [y]ou [s]taying at home?"	SAA 19 125, 12′
101.	*kšd*	*atâ urhu ana urhi ú-*[*kaš-šá-du*]*-na-ši*, "Why are they [*persecuting*] us month after month?"	SAA 1 183, 13′
102.	*ksp*	[*atâ mār*]*–šarri bēlī* [*libbī ak*]*ê ik-su-up*, "Why] did [the crown] prince, my lord, [thus break [my heart]?"	SAA 10 182, r.34
103.	*kṣp*	*is–surri bēlī iqabbi ma-a akê tak-ṣip*, "Perhaps my lord will say: 'How did you figure it out?' "	SAA 16 54, 6–7
104.	*ktr*	*atâ ni-kàt-tir*, "Why are we waiting?"	SAA 10 221, r.4
105.	*mhr*	*atâ šarru bēlka lā ta-mah-har*, "Why don't you appeal to the king, your lord?"	SAA 21 121, 3′
106.	*mhr*	[*a*]*nāku mīnu lu-šá-am-*[*hir*], "What can I say in return?"	SAA 21 103, r.3′
107.	*mnī*	*ṭupšarrūtu annītu ana mīni ú-man-na*, "What do I count this scribal lore for?"	SAA 16 62, 9
108.	*mqt*	*atâ in-qu-ta ina pānīja*, "Why did he flee into my presence?"	SAA 21 42, 6
109.	*mqt*	*akê šarru bēlī ina libbi ēnē ša* DN *i-ma-qut*, "How will the king, my lord, fall under the gaze of DN?"	SAA 13 149, r.3
110.	*mrkū*	*atâ pilkakūnu na-*[*mar-ku*], "Why is your work behind schedule?"	SAA 1 235, 21
111.	*mth*	[*kurum*]*mutu man-nu i-ma-ta-ha*, "Who will raise [the barl]ey rations?"	SAA 19 60, r.14
112.	*mṭī*	*atâ issu li*[*bbi*] *nīpi in-ṭí-ú*, "Why is it that there is a deficit in the figures?"	SAA 1 100, r.10f.
113.	*mṭī*	*mīnu i-ba-áš-ši dullu* [*ša ilāni m*]*a-aṭ-ṭi*, "What work [on the gods] is [i]ncomplete?"	SAA 10 349, 11
114.	*mūt*	*atâ ina bubūti ša kusāpi a-mu-at*, "Why am I dying for lack of food?"	SAA 16 149, r.19
115.	*mūt*	[*at*]*â ina lā kette ta-mu-at*, "[Wh]y are you going to die unjustly?"	SAA 13 157, 21′
116.	*n'd*	*ana mīni* [*x pí*]*lkušu ú-na-a-da*, "Why does he brag about his […] work assignment?	SAA 15 084, r.9′
117.	*ndī*	*ana mīni kî eleppê ina qabsi nārê na-da-ki*, "Why are you cast adrift like a boat in midstream?"	SAA 3 15, 1
118.	*nkr*	*mār–ahātīja* [*ak*]*ê a-na-ki-ir*, "How can I become an enemy of my sister's son?"	SAA 19 87, 14′
119.	*nš'*	*atâ bītātišūnu ta-áš-ši ana urdānīka ta-din*, "Why have you taken their houses and given them to your servants?"	SAA 1 124, 19–21
120.	*nš'*	*atâ ina libbi* GN *rēš āšipi šarru iš-ši*, "Why did the king summon an exorcist from GN?"	SAA 10 294, r.16
121.	*nš'*	*atâ Gimirāja ta-ši*, "Why have you removed the Cimmerians?"	SAA 16 15, 11
122.	*nš'*	*atâ aladlammû ša* PN *nāgir-ēkalli i-na-áš-ši*, "Why should the Palace Herald get a bull colossus of PN?"	SAA 1 150, 18
123.	*nš'*	*atâ ta-na-áš-ši*, "Why are you appropriating (them)?"	SAA 1 11, 8
124.	*nš'*	*atâ ālāni eqlāti ša* PN *ša ina pāhat* GN *… taš-ši*, "Why have you appropriated towns and fields of PN in the province of	SAA 15 24, 5–8

		GN?"	
125.	*nsh*	[*a*]*tâ* […] *ta-su-uh*, "Why did you extract […]?"	SAA 5 291, 4′
126.	*nṣr*	*atâ bēl–maṣṣarāti* PN *ina libbi lā i-na-aṣ-ṣu-ru*, "Why don't the guards *and* PN keep watch there?"	SAA 10 183, 7f.
127.	*phz*	*atâ rā'iāni ú-šap-hu-zu*, "Why do they leave the shepherds on the loose?"	SAA 10 353, r.5
128.	*plh*	*atâ šarru lā ta-pal-la-ha*, "Why do you not fear the king?"	SAA 13 20, r.5
129.	*pqd*	*atâ ina muhhi nīšê ša annaka* [*ip*]*-taq-d*[*u-šú*], "Why [did they] appoint [him] over the people here?"	SAA 21 138, 9′
130.	*prs*	*atâ atta lā tap-ru-*[*us*], "Why did you not decide (about it)?"	SAA 10 225, r.7
131.	*psk*	*kurummutu man-nu ú-pa-sa-ak*, "Who is removing the barley rations?"	SAA 10 69, 12
132.	*pt'*	*a-na-ku a-na man-ni* [*up-ni-ia*] *la-ap-ti*, "To whom should I [pr]ay?"	SAAB 17 86, 14
133.	*ptī*	[*at*]*â girri raminīka* [*ša l*]*ā šanie karmī ša šarri* [*ta-a*]*p-ti*, "Why did you self-willedly, [with]out the permission of the deputy, open the king's granaries?"	SAA 1 181, 17ff.
134.	*pūg*	*atâ eqlu ta-pu-ga-ni*, "Why did you appropriate a field from me?"	SAA 23 267, r.12′
135.	*qbī*	*ūmâ ana mīni taq-bi mā mīnu hiṭā'i*, "Now w[hy] did you say 'What is my fault?' "	SAA 21 24, 6′
136.	*qbī*	*atâ iq-bi*, "Why did he say?"	SAA 10 314, 6′
137.	*qbī*	*atâ kî annî ša*[*rru lā*] *iq-ba-áš-šú-nu*, "Why did the ki[ng not] tell them like this?"	SAA 10 90, 16
138.	*qbī*	*atâ lā* […] *i-qab-bi-iu-ú*, "Why don't they speak […]?"	SAA 23 116, 5′ f.
139.	*qbī*	*atâ taq-ba-áš-šu*, "Why did you tell him?"	SAA 1 235, 7
140.	*qbī*	*atâ ṭuppiki lā ta-šaṭ-ṭi-ri liginniki la ta-qab-bi-i*, "Why don't you write your tablet and do your homework?"	SAA 16 28, 3f.
141.	*qbī*	*šumma šarru bēlī i-qab-bi ma-a akê qa-bi*, "If the king, my lord, says: 'How is it said?' "	SAA 10 42, 22
142.	*qbī*	*mīnu ana* [*š*]*arri a-qab-bi*, "What can I say to the [k]ing?"	SAA 19 98, 27
143.	*qbī*	*anāku mīnu la-aq-bi*, "What can I say?"	SAA 10 265, 14
144.	*qbī*	*anākūma mīnu a-qab-bi*, "What am I to speak?"	SAA 10 191, r.2
145.	*qbī*	*anīnu mīnu ni-qa-bi*, "What can we say?"	SAA 5 105, 12
146.	*qbī*	*mīnu aq-qa-ab-bi*, "What (else) could I say?"	SAA 13 158, r.12′
147.	*qbī*	*mīnu happu anniu ina muhhika i-qab-bi*, "What can this villain say against you?"	SAA 21 38, 6f.
148.	*qbī*	*šû mīnu i-qab-bi ina muhhika*, "What could he say against you?"	SAA 21 38, 13f.
149.	*qbī*	*mim-ma ma-l*[*a šarru bēlā*] *id-di-na-na-ši a-na man-ni-*[*ma*] *lu-uq-bi*, "To whom can I tell all the things [that the king, my lord], has given us?"	SAA 10 158, 6
150.	*qrb*	*akê ša lā pî š*[*a ša*]*rri anāku id*[*āja*] *i*[*na l*]*ibbišu ú-qa-*[*ra-ba*], "How could I la[y my] han[ds] o[n] him without the [ki]ng's permission?"	SAA 19 192, 10–12
151.	*qrb*	*ina muhhi an-ni-i mīnu qur-bu*, "What has it to do with this?"	SAA 10 203, r.8
152.	*qrb*	*erābu ina libbi uṣê mīnu qur-bu*, "What has entering to do with going out?"	SAA 10 052, r.5
153.	*qūl*	*atâ qa-la-a-ka*, "Why are you silent?"	SAA 1 244, r.13
154.	*r'm*	*man-nu bēlu ṭābu la i-ra-am*, "Who does not love a good lord?"	SAA 10 198, r.9
155.	*rdī*	*atâ* […]*ti gabbu i-rad-di*, "Why does he lead all the […]s?"	SAA 16 146, 7′ f.
156.	*rmū*	*akê ra-mu-u-a-ku-nu*, "How were you released?"	SAA 16 62, r.8′
157.	*rmū*	*atâ pāhutu ša* GN *mešli abulli ina pānīšú ú-ra-am-me*, "Why has the governor of GN left half of the gate to him?"	SAA 1 64, 7f.

158.	*rmū*	*atâ … dullu ú-ra-am-*[*me-ú*] *it-bi-ú il-lu-ku*, “Why have they quitted (their) work and left, going away?”	SAA 1 152, r.5ff.
159.	*shr*	*akê issu libbi kaq-qi-ri ga-am-ri lā ma-har ma-a ša lā pî šarri a-sa-hur*, “How can I return unopposed from a used-up territory without the king’s permission?”	SAA 15 32, 10–12
160.	*shr*	*anāku ina kūmi mīnu ana bēlīja ú-sa-hi-ir*, “What have I been able to give to my lord in exchange for it?”	SAA 16 78, 9
161.	*slī*	*ana mīni ta-sa-al-li*, “Why are you lying?”	SAA 10 333, 11
162.	*slī*	*atâ man-nu in*[*a muhhi* [*i*]*-sa-na-al-li i-pa-ah-hi-iz*, “Why does someone tell lies and boast about it?”	SAA 10 72, r.13f.
163.	*smī*	*atâ idātīšu is-sa-m*[*aʾ-a*], “Why are his arms *in*[*ept*]?”	SAA 16 183, 10
164.	*ṣbt*	*atâ an*[*a*] *halqu*[*t*]*e … tu-ṣa-bat*, “Why do you seize deserters (to Assyria)?”	SAA 5 35, 18–20
165.	*ṣbt*	*atâ anēnu sa-al-ma-ni attunu attunu birātīni tu-ṣa-ba-ta*, “Why do you capture our forts, while we are at peace?”	SAA 5 2, 12ff.
166.	*ṣbt*	*atâ kî anniu tāmurāni ša duāki lā ta-du-ú-ka ša ṣabāti lā ta-aṣ-ba-ta*, “Why did you not kill those who were to be killed and take prisoners those who were to be taken prisoners?”	SAA 21 20, 3′ ff.
167.	*ṣbt*	*atâ lā ta-aṣ-bat-si*, “Why haven’t you arrested him?”	SAA 16 127, r.4
168.	*ṣbt*	*atâ ṣābānīni tu-ṣa-bi-ta*, “Why have you seized our men?”	SAA 5 115, r.1f.
169.	*ṣbt*	*kuṣṣumma atâ i-ṣa-bat-su*, “But why is he seized by ague?”	SAA 10 241, 13
170.	*ṣbt*	[*man*]*-nu ra-ʾi-i-ma-ni qa-ti iṣ-bat*, “Who has showed me any compassion by taking me by the hand?”	SAA 10 294, r.15
171.	*ṣlī*	*attî ana mīni tu-ṣa-na-li-ni*, “Why do you keep praying to me?”	SAA 3 15, 12
172.	*š’l*	*ana mīni ta-šá-al-an-na-*[*ši*], “Why do you ask u[s]?”	SAA 16 63, 35
173.	*š’l*	*atâ iš-al*, “Why did he ask?”	SAA 10 86, r.2′
174.	*š’l*	*a-na man-ni-im-ma la-áš-al*, “Whom should I ask?”	SAA 10 86, r.5′
175.	*š’l*	*a-na ma-ni-im-ma la-*[*á*]*š-a*[*l*], “Whom should I ask?”	VAT 9770, r.10
176.	*š’l*	*a-na man-ni la-áš-al*, “Whom should I ask?”	SAA 10 280, r.3
177.	*šḫṭ*	*atâ libittu ina* […] *lā ta-šá-ha-ṭa*, “Why aren’t you glazing bricks in […]?”	SAA 15 344, 5′
178.	*škn*	*pa-ni-ia ina bēt man-nu a-šak-kan*, “To whose house shall I go for help?”	SAA 1 11, 17
179.	*škn*	*i-lu-um-ma issi man-ni ēnē-šú šak-na*, “For god’s sake, on whom are his eyes fixed?”	SAA 10 86, r.3′
180.	*škn*	*is*[*si man-ni*] *ah–hur e-ni-ni šá-ak-na*, “T[o whom] else would we be devoted?”	SAA 10 39, r.2
181.	*škn*	*issi man-ni-im-ma ah–hur e-ni-in-ni šá-ak-na*, “To whom else would we be devoted?”	SAA 10 68, 17
182.	*šlm*	*ik–kūmi anāku mīnu ana šarri bēlīja ú-šal-lim*, “What I have rendered to the king, my lord, instead?”	SAA 16 36, 6′
183.	*šm’*	*ana mīni dibbi lašlamūte šarru bēlī i-sa-na-me*, “Why does the king, my lord, pay attention to groundless allegations?”	SAA 5 121, r.15f.
184.	*šm’*	*atâ ana* PN *ina muhhi dulli* [*ša*]*rri lā ta-šá-me-a*, “Why do you not obey PN regarding the [ki]ng’s work?”	SAA 5 63, r.13–15
185.	*šm’*	*atâ a-šam-me*, “Why would I listen to it?”	SAA 21 38, 15
186.	*šm’*	*atâ kî ana epāšikāni lā ú-di lā áš-me*, “Why have I not learned and heard that you have to do (this)?”	SAA 10 92, r.4–6
187.	*šm’*	*atâ lā tu-šá-áš-man-ni*, “Why didn’t you inform me?”	SAA 13 126, r.5′
188.	*šnn*	*man-nu ú-har ú-šá-an-na man-nu i-šá-na-an*, “Who can ever repeat it, who can vie with it?”	SAA 10 228, 21
189.	*špl*	*atâ anāku issi* PN *… ikkīni ku-ri libbīni šá-pil*, “Why then must I and PN, amidst them, be restless and depressed?”	SAA 10 226, r.4–6
190.	*špl*	*urdāni ša šarri … akê lu-šá-pil*, “How may he humiliate the servants of the king?”	SAA 10 182, r.8

191.	*špr*	[*at*]*â ta-še-ṭe* [*at*]*â lā* [*t*]*aš-p*[*u-r*]*a*, “Wh]y have you neglected to wri[t]e me?”	SAA 19 91, r.5f.
192.	*špr*	*atâ gabri egerti lā taš-pur-ra*, “Why have you not sent an answer to (my) letter?	SAA 10 202, 6
193.	*špr*	*atâ ina ēkalli lā iš-pur*, “Why did he not send it to the palace?”	SAA 13 131, r.9
194.	*špr*	*atâ lā iš-pu-ra*, “Why didn’t he send it?”	SAA 13 131, r.16
195.	*špr*	*atâ lā ta-áš-pu-ra*, “Why did you not write?”	SAA 15 100, r.12′
196.	*špr*	*atâ lā taš-pu-ra*, “Why did you not write?”	SAA 5 114, r.6′
197.	*špr*	*atâ lā taš-pur*, “Why have you not written (about this)?”	SAA 19 33, 9
198.	*špr*	*atâ taš-me* [*lā*] *taš-pu-ra*, “Why is it that you heard but did not write?”	SAA 1 125, r.11
199.	*špr*	*a*]*tâ lā taš-pu-ra*, “Why did you not write?”	SAA 1 123, r.1′
200.	*špr*	*anāku mīnu la-áš-pu-rak-ka*, “What (else) should I write to you?”	SAA 16 10, 5′
201.	*tdn*	*ana mīni tú-har-ri-di ta-di-na-šú-nu*, “What have you given them *for their safety*?”	SAA 19 22, r.4
202.	*tdn*	[*att*]*a ana aiāši mīnu ta-di-na*, “[As for yo]u, what have you given to me?”	SAA 9 3, iii 25
203.	*tdn*	*mīnu la-din-šu*, “What should I give him?”	KAV 213, r.11
204.	*tdn*	*a-na man-ni-ma* 6 *imār kurummutu … ta-din*, “To whomever did you give 6 homers of barley rations?”	SAA 5 98, r.4′
205.	*tdn*	*a-na man-ni šul-man-nu ta-ad-din*, “To whom have you given bribes?”	SAA 10 107, r.8
206.	*wbl*	*emūqī ša šarri ana mīni ina muhhīja tú-ba-la*, “Why do you bring the king’s troops to me?”	SAA 5 129, r.4′
207.	*wbl*	*ana am–mīni idātēka ina libbi* PN *tu-bi-il*, “Why did you lay your hands on PN?	SAA 19 192, 7
208.	*wd’*	*ša ina pān* PN *man-nu ú-da me-me-ni la ú-da*, “Who knows what is in PN’s presence? Nobody knows!”	SAA 16 181, r.6
209.	*wšb*	*ū a-ni-ni man-nu ina bēt abī-šú it-ta-šab*, “But who of us has settled in his dynastic house?”	SAA 17 155, r.12
210.	*ziz*	*ana mīni nīšê iz-za-a-zu*, “Wherefore will the people be present?”	SAA 10 246, 10′
211.	*ziz*	*akê ina pūt šarri bēlīja lā az-za-az*, “How could I not stand in front of the king, my lord?”	SAA 10 68, 14–16
212.	*ziz*	*a-na maṣṣarti ša* ANŠE.*a-ṣap-pi man-nu li-zi-iz*, “Who can stand guard over the pack animals?”	SAA 19 37, r.15′
213.	*ziz*	*a-na maṣṣarti man-nu-ma iz-*[*za-az*], “Who will [be there] for the guard?”	SAA 1 97, r.2′
214.	*ziz*	*a-na maṣṣarti ina pa-ni-iá man-nu li-zi-iz*, “Who will stand guard in my presence?”	SAA 19 37, r.18′

D. Continuation (“and, but”)

1.	*’kš*	*šumma šarru iqabbi mā alik dullu* ú-ku-šu *šūtu* i-da-bu-bu *mā issu* GN_1 *issu* GN_2, “If the king should say, ‘Go (there)!’, the work is in progress **but** he contests **and** says: ‘From GN_1, from GN_2!’ ”	SAA 19 109, 17–23
2.	*’lk*	a-ta-la-ka [*iss*]*ēšu addubub mūku*, “I went **and** spoke with him, saying”	SAA 1 181, 15f.
3.	*’lk*	*issēšu* a-ta-la-ka *bēt ibaššûni i-su-uk iddanūni*, “I went with them, **and** whatever there was, they would assign and give to me”	GPA 180, r.6′ ff.
4.	*’lk*	*anāku lā* al-la-ka *rēš hūlīja lā anašši*, “I cannot go **and** start my	SAA 15 30, r.12f.

		journey”	
5.	*’lk*	*šēpē tanaššiq* ta-al-la-ka̲ *tuššab*, “she kisses the feet, goes **and** sits down”	SAA 20 34, 6
6.	*’lk*	*issīja ana hūli la* i-li-ki̲ *ṣābāni danqūti iktal’a*, “he did not go with me to the expedition **and** kept the best men at home”	SAA 5 200, r.5–7
7.	*’lk*	*šū issi ṣābāni* lil-li-ki̲ PN *annāka limmarku*, “let him go with the troops, **and** let PN stay here”	SAA 5 199, r.10ff.
8.	*’lk*	[*ša*]*r pūhi ana šīmti* [lil-l]i-ki̲ *anāku … dullī lēpuš*, “let the substitute king go to his fate **and** let me perform my ritual”	SAA 10 221, 8–10
9.	*’lk*	*udīna urah ūmāti lā* il-la-ka̲ *sartinnušu mēte*, “a full month had not yet passed, **and** his *sartinnu* was dead”	SAA 10 90, r.13′ f.
10.	*’md*	*kablu ša nēmatti ina muhhi kaqqiri* ta-te-mì-di̲ […] *ibašši*, “a leg of the ceremonial coach came in contact with the ground, **and** there was […]”	SAA 13 192, 7–9
11.	*’md*	*Ṣalbatānu ina libbi* SN it-te-mì-di̲ *ittitiz*, “Mars became stationary in SN **and** stayed there”	SAA 8 52, 7–r.3
12.	*’md*	*ahi*[*nni*] nu-um-ma-da̲ *neppaš*, “we shall set to it **and** make (it)”	SAA 1 66, r.21
13.	*’md*	*ahinni* [*ina*] *muhhi hirīti* nu-tu-mì-di̲ … *ina muhhi madādi ša* GN *niqṭirib*, “we made a start on the ditch **and** started measuring the GN canal”	SAA 1 210, 6′ ff.
14.	*’md*	*issēt šî būrtu ina libbi* ú-ta-mì-di̲ *issahlū*, “there is just one well there. I have set to work, **and** they have filtered it”	SAA 1 255, r.1–2
15.	*’md*	*2800 ibissu ša šallūru* GN ú-ta-mì-di̲ … *ina* GN *uttēre*, “I have imposed on GN in all 2,800 bundles and returned […] to GN”	SAA 1 226, 7–11
16.	*’md*	*bētāti annâti …* le-mu-ru̲ *lillika ana šarri bēlīja* li-qi-bi, “Let (a eunuch) … look at these houses, **and** come and tell it to the king, my lord”	SAA 1 124, 12–15
17.	*’mr*	*issurri ibašši* né-ma-ra̲ | *ana šarri bēlīja ušēbal*, “Perhaps we shall indeed find it, **and** I can send it to the king, my lord	SAA 15 351, r.1–5
18.	*’pš*	*dullu* le-pu-šú *ana šarri bēlīja la*[*ddin*], “I will do this work **and** de[liver] it to the king, my lord”	SAA 15 151, s.1
19.	*’pš*	PN *annāka limmarku dullu ša šarri* le-pu-šú *batqu …* lik-ṣu-ru, “Let PN stay here **to** do the king’s work, **and** repair (the forts of the king)”	SAA 5 199, r.11ff.
20.	*’pš*	*eṣāni šēridāni dullakūnu …* e-pe̲-šá *ana* GN-*āia … lā taddanā*, “Bring down the wood and do your work, **but** don’t sell it to the men/merchants from GN”	SAA 19 22, 25–27
21.	*’pš*	*marhuṣu anniju šarru* le-pu-šú *issurri hunṭu anniju … ippaṭṭar*, “Let the king apply this lotion, **and** perhaps this fever will leave (the king)”	SAA 10 315, 20ff.
22.	*’pš*	*dullašūnu ibašši ša dammuqi* e-pu-uš *udammuqū*, “they are working on them **and** improving (their finish)”	SAA 1 77, 8–9
23.	*’rb*	*kaimānu* […] le-ru-bu̲ *lūṣi*, “let him constantly go in **and** out […]”	SAA 15 368, 4′ f.
24.	*’rb*	[*kî ša šarru bē*]*lī ṭēme iškunanni*[*nni …*] e-ra-ba̲ *uṣṣa*, “he is [constantly] going in **and** out, [as the king my lo]rd ordered me”	SAA 15 368, r. 6′ f.
25.	*’rb*	*kaspu ina ēkalli ešši* ú-se-ri-bi̲ *i*[*na lib*]*bi erēni assakan*, “I brought the money into the New Palace **and** put in into a cedar (box)”	SAA 19 163, 4–7
26.	*’rb*	*šu-ú da-a-ni mi-ha-ar-šú*[!] ú-se-ri-bi̲ *ina* É-*šú i-ṣa-bat*, “he made his equal enter into his house by force **and** imprisoned him there”	ABL 307, 7–8
27.	*’rb*	*ittalkūni bēt* PN_1 … e-ta-ra̲-bu *amāti* ih-te̲-si *ina libbi ka-*	SAA 15 168, 8′–14′

		dammāti e-te-si-pi̯ *huzīrēšu* uṭ-ṭa-bi-hi̯ *ū*, “they came **and** entered the house of PN_1, **and** he (PN_2) molested the slave-girls, gathered them into the storerooms **and** slaughtered his pigs; also …”	
28.	*’sk*	*ṣāb-šarrāni ammar šu*[*nūni*] ú-ta-si-ki̯ *ana rab-ša-rēši* ap-ti-qi-di̯ … *uttammišū*, “I have assigned all the available men **and** appointed them to the chief eunuch, **and** they have departed”	SAA 19 210, 5ff.
29.	*’sk*	*bēt ibaššûni* i-su-uk *iddanūni*, “whatever there was, they would assign **and** give (it) to me”	GPA 180, r.7–8
30.	*’sp*	*(erbiu) akī qallūni* ni-te-si-pi̯ *... ina libbi sūti* nu-ta-hi-ṣi̯ [*ina lib*]*bi* ni-in-ta-da-da, “when they (the locusts) were few, we collected them **and** pushed them into a seah-measure **and** measured them with it”	SAA 1 221, r.3′ ff.
31.	*’ṣr*	*ṣalam-šarri ša mēṣiri anāku* e-te-ṣi-ri̯ *ṣalam-šarri ša kabbusīti šunu ētapšū*, “I sketched the royal image which is an outline, **and** they made the royal image which is in the round”	SAA 13 34, 14 ff.
32.	*’tq*	*šattu annītu lū* te-ti-qi̯ *šarru bēlī ina* MN *illaka* ú-ka-na, “This year may pass (before the work is done), **but** the king my lord will come in MN **and** settle the issue”	SAA 1 77, r.8 ff.
33.	*’tq*	*ina muhhīšunu lā* e-ti-qi̯ *issahīši lā nussatammah*, “I can’t proceed to them, **and**, therefore, we cannot unite with one another”	SAA 19 125, 8′ f.
34.	*brī*	[*kīma labīrī*]*šu* ba-ri-i̯ *šaṭir*, “collated **and** written [like its original]”	CT 38 18, 128
35.	*btq*	*eqlu ammar ina pānēšu rēhūni* li-ib-tu-qu *ana mār-šiprīja liddin*, “let him parcel out whatever field he has left **and** give it to my messenger”	SAA 1 106, r. 4–7
36.	*btq*	*šummu ibašši* ni-ib-tu-qu *nikrur*, “if there are any (trunks), we shall cut them and lay them aside”	SAA 1 229, r.3–4
37.	*dbb*	PN *dibbī lā dibbī* i-du-bu-bu *nakuttu rašši*, “PN spoke nonsense, **and** he was afraid”	SAA 1 190, r.7–9
38.	*dbb*	*ū issi* LÚ.A.BA *ša qātīja* ad-du-bu-bu *ina muhhi d*[*u-a*]-*k*[*i-ia*] *idabbub*, “I have also spoken with my own scribe, **but** he is plotting to kil[l me]”	SAA 16 112, r.8–10
39.	*dbb*	*anāku* DN *issēka* a-da-bu-bu | *gušūrē ša libbīka* a-ha-ri-di̯ | *kî ummaka* …, “I am Bel. I speak to you **and** watch the beams of your heart, **and** when your mother (gave birth to you …)”	SAA 9 1 ii 17′ ff.
40.	*dbb*	14 *šanāti eqlu ātakal memēni issīja la* i-di̯-bu-ub | *ūmâ* …, “I had the usufruct of the land for 14 years. Nobody disputed it with me, **but** now …”	SAA 10 173, 8ff.
41.	*dbb*	*šarru bēlī dibbī ṭābūti issēšu* lid-bu-bu *šarru bēlī lušarhissu*, “may the king, my lord speak kindly with him **and** give him confidence”	SAA 15 159, 7′ ff.
42.	*dbb*	*issēšunu šarru bēlī* lid-bu-bu | *hiṭṭānišunu šanijūte ana šarri bēlīja* la-qa-bi̯ |, “The king, my lord, should speak with them, **but** (first) let me tell the king, my lord, about their other crimes”	SAA 16 63, 6–8
43.	*dbb*	*ana dēnīšu* i-da-bu-bu *lā ilaqqi*, “he shall contest in his lawsuit **but** not succeed” (cf. connective *-ma*, no. 2)	SAA 6 298, 16f. and passim
44.	*dgl*	[*l*]*ā tašīṭi bētu* du-gu-li *rihṣī*, “Don’t be negligent! Look at the house **and** be confident!”	KAV 215, 29–30
45.	*hīṭ*	*adaggal assanamme* ú-ha-aia-a-ṭa *lā kēnūti ina qāt šarrīja ašakkan*, “I will look, I will keep listening, I will search out the disloyal ones, **and** I will put them into the hands of my king”	SAA 9 2 ii 32
46.	*hkm*	*ina pānīti ina pān šarri aqṭibi sakiqqēšu lā* ú-šá-ah-ki-mì | *ūmâ* …, “Earlier I spoke in the king’s presence and could not clarify	SAA 10 315, 11ff.

		his symptoms; **but** now …"	
47.	*hlq*	*urdāni ša šarri ša eqli ša birti āli* uh-ta-li-qi̲ *iškārāti ša šarri ekkal*, "he has disposed of the king's servants outside and inside the city, **and** is enjoying the allotments of the king"	SAA 16 43, 11ff.
48.	*hrd*	5/6 *bēr ūmi ittalak* ih-ti-ri-di̲ *uktīl*, "(the treatment) went on for 1.5 hours; he was awake **and** held on"	SAA 10 108, 10ff.
49.	*hrd*	[… a]h-ti-ri-di̲ [*issēšu ad*]*dubub* [*muk*] *maqtu atta* [*x x x*], "I attended [PN] **and** spoke [with him thus]: "You are a deserter […]"	SAA 15 244, 8′ f.
50.	*hrd*	*ana mīni* tú-har-ri-di̲ *taddinaššunu*, "Why did you put on the alert and give them?"	SAA 19 22, r.4
51.	*hrd*	*urhāni annûti 2* na-ah-ri-di *maṣṣartaka lū dannat*, "for these two months be on the alert, **and** let your guard be strong!"	SAA 15 156, 8f.
52.	*hrp*	*iš–šiāri* DN TA* GN ta-har-ru-pu̲ *pān šarri tērab*, "tomorrow DN will leave early from GN **and** enter before the king"	SAA 13 149, 1–3
53.	*hrp*	*atâ* ta-ha-ru-pu̲ *tu-na-me-še̲ ina pān pāhiti ša* GN *lā tadgul*, "why did you get up early **and** leave without waiting for the governor of GN?"	SAA 15 199, 5ff.
54.	*hrp*	*basi hannīe šû* ih-tú-ru-pu̲ *ana* GN *ēteli*, "For this reason he rose early **and** went up GN"	SAA 15 199, 13ff.
55.	*hrp*	*atâ ša-qurbūti lā* i-hi-ru-pu̲ *lā ētiqa*, "why didn't the bodyguard move on earlier?"	SAA 19 169, r.3ff.
56.	*hrṣ*	*mā udīna batiqtu lā* a-ha-ra-aṣ-ṣa̲ *mā kīma asseme … ašappara*, "I do not have details yet **but** as soon as I have heard more, I shall write"	SAA 1 29, 18ff.
57.	*kbt*	*ša akī ildi ša qudāsi* ka-bi-di̲ *uqur adanniš*, "the one which is like a base of an earring is important **and** very expensive"	SAA 10 316, r.18f.
58.	*kms*	*ahhēni* [ni]-ik-mì-si *nillik*, "[we] will gather our brothers **and** go (away)"	SAA 15, r.5–6
59.	*kms*	[*ahhē*]*šu* li-ik-mi-si̲ *littatlak*, "let him gather his [brothers] **and** go away"	SAA 15 24, s.1
60.	*kms*	ik-mi-si̲ *iš*[*šiq*] *qaqqaru mahrīša*, "he bowed down **and** kis[sed] the gound before her" (cf. uš-kín-**ma** *iššiq qaqqaru maharšu*, SAACT 12 p. 10, 73)	STT 28 i 28 (SAACT 8 p. 13)
61.	*krk*	*etinnāti …* [a]k-ti-ri-ki̲ *issē*[*n pūlu us*]*saṣbitsunu*, "I have gathered the master builders **and** made them take up the first [cornerstone]"	SAA 1 165, 3′ ff.
62.	*kšd*	*šarru bēlī hūlšu ana* GN_1 *liškun* GN_2 li-ik-šu-du̲ *šarru bēlī šunšu ana dārâti liškun* "May the king, my lord, launch his campaign against GN_1, conquer GN_2, **and** establish his name forever!"	SAA 19 76, 7ff.
63.	*kms*	PN *immerē* uk-ta-ši-di̲ 1,300 *immerē ṣu'bat* […], "PN has driven away sheep **and** […ed] 1,300 *ṣu'bu* sheep"	SAA 5 256, 10′ ff.
64.	*kms*	*ikkāru nukaribbu ša* PN [*issu libbi ā*]*lānija* uk-ta-ši-di̲ [*…t*]*u šî ša immerē ša irṣipūni untaggir*, "I have driven the farmer(s) and gardener(s) of PN [out of] my towns **and** torn down a […] of sheep he had constructed"	SAA 1 179, 9ff.
65.	*mgr*	*anāku issu pāni* la-ma-gu-ru *lā eppaš*, "I don't agree with this **and** will not fashion it"	SAA 13 34, r.7f.
66.	*mgr*	*bēl pāhiti ša* GN le-ma-gúr-ru *lā iddana*, "the governor of GN does not agree **and** will not give them to me"	SAA 1 149, 7ff.
67.	*mgr*	*nuk qibâni mīnu šû* la im-ma-gu-ru *la iqabbûni*, "I said: 'What is it? Tell me!', **but** they refuse to tell me"	SAA 5 292, 8′
68.	*mgr*	*ūmâ* la i-ma-gu-ru *lā izzazzū*, "(The herders of donkey mares used to stand in front of the palace but) now they refuse to	SAA 16 88, 10

		stand there"	
69.	*mgr*	*nīšē māti mimmēni lā* im-ma-gúr *ana dull*[*īj*]*a lā u*[*ṣṣûni*], "the people of the country totally refuse to come [forth] to my work"	SAA 5 121, 7ff.
70.	*mgr*	(*rabûti …*) *lā* i-ma-gúr *dēnu ša bēt bēlīšunu* [*lā*] *eppušū*, "(the magnates) refuse to render justice to the house of their lords"	SAA 16 41, 14ff.
71.	*mgr*	(*annûti …*) *lā* i-ma-gúr [*šarru b*]*ēlī lā ipalluhū*, "(these people) refuse to fear [the king], my lord"	SAA 13 19, r.3f.
72.	*mgr*	(PNN …) *lā* i-ma-gúr [*ina pi*]*rri* [*lā*] *errubū*, "(PNN …) [re]fuse to come in [for the tax col]lection"	SAA 13 20, r.1
73.	*mgr*	*rā'i naptini ana* [*p*]*irrišu* la-a i-ma-gúr [*l*]*ā illak*, "the shepherd responsible for cultic meals refuses to go to his tax collection"	SAA 13 19, 7–9
74.	*mgr*	2 GNN *... immerē lā* i-ma-gúr *lā iddu*[*nū*], "2 GNN … refuse to give the tribute sheep"	SAA 13 21, r.9f.
75.	*mgr*	*issapra mā sahhir* […] *immerē ana urdānīni dī*[*ni*] *lā* im-ma-gu-ur *lā i*[*ddana*], "He sent a letter (…), saying: 'Give the […and] the sheep back to our servants!'. But he refused to gi[ve them]"	SAA 21 139, 8′–10′
76.	*mgr*	*nuk ... urdānika šēbila ina pānīja* li-zi-zi̲ la i-ma-gúr *lā ušeb-bala*, [I told] him: 'Send me (one of) your subjects, to stay in my presence', **but** he refuses to send me one"	SAA 5 254, 5′–7′
77.	*mgr*	*nasīkāni ...* [*l*]*ā* i-ma-gur *lā išapparūni* "the sheikhs … refuse to send me (carpenters and potters)"	SAA 15 280, 10
78.	*mgr*	(*bēl pāhiti ša-qurbūti*) *lā* im-ma-gúr *ina ēkalli lā ubbalūnāši*, "(The governor and royal bodyguard) refuse to bring us to the palace"	SAA 5 104, r.10f.
79.	*mgr*	*ina muhhi ša qabaššunūni la-a* i-ma-gúr-ru *lā išammûni*, "no matter what is told to them, they refuse to listen to me"	SAA 1 260, r.13′ f.
80.	*mgr*	(GN …) *lā* i-ma-gúr *ina pānīja* [*lā izz*]*azzū*, "(GN …) refuse to stay with me"	SAA 1 155, 8f.
81.	*mgr*	*ūmâ lā* i-ma-gu-ru *lā izzazzū*, "Now (the shepherds) refuse to stand (there)"	SAA 16 88, 10
82.	*mgr*	*zara'šunu lā* i-ma-gúr *lā irrušū* "they refuse to cultivate their sown corn"	GPA 207, 10′
83.	*mhr*	1,000 *unqāti ša šarri ina pānīja ina pitti* ú-sa-an-hi-ri̲ *akī unqi ša šarri lā epšat*, "I have in my possession a thousand seal(ed order)s of the king, my lord. I compared it with them, **and** it was not made like the seal of the king, my lord"	SAA 15 125, 4′
84.	*mhṣ*	(*erbiu*) *ina libbi sūti* nu-ta-hi-ṣi̲ [*ina libb*]*i* in-ta-da-da̲, "we pushed (the locusts) into a seah measure **and** measured them with it"	SAA 1 221, r.4ff.
85.	*mrṣ*	(*naggāru*) *issēn* in-ta-ra-ṣa̲ *imtūt*, "one (of the carpenters) got sick **and** died"	SAA 1 179, r.17
86.	*mth*	*mīnu* la-an-tu-hu̲ *mīnu laddinšu*, "what should I raise and give him?"	KAV 213, r.28f.
87.	*mth*	*šarru bēlī marmar'ēšu ina burkēšu* li-in-tu-hu̲ *paršumāti ina ziqnēšunu lemur*, "may the king, my lord, lift his grandchildren upon his knees **and** see grey hairs in their beards!"	SAA 10 301, r.3ff.
88.	*mth*	*ina libbi attalak* at-ta-ta-ha̲ *ēnēja kapru ātamar*, "I went there, raised my eyes **and** saw the village"	SAA 19 89, 32f.
89.	*nkr*	GN *issēšu* i-ti-ki-ri̲ *turtānušu ina lib*[*bi*] *qarābu* ú-pa-ša̲ […], "GN has revolted against him **and** his commander-in-chief is engaged in [bat]tle [the]re, [*and …*]"	SAA 5 166, r.1–4
90.	*nks*	*niksu ina libbi* ni-ki-si̲ *ṣābāni ina libbi nušērab*, "we will cut a tunnel inside **and** bring in the men through it"	SAA 15 199, 14f.
91.	*nkr*	(*gašūrī*) i-ti-ki-si̲ *ina šid*[*di nāri*] ik-ta-ra-ra̲, "he has felled (the	SAA 5 33, r.5′ f.

roof-beams) **and** piled them up al[ong the river]"

92. *nmr* *nūr ša elmēši ina pān* RN ú-ša-na-ma-ra *kî agê ša kaqqidīja aharrissu*, "I let the lamp of amber shine before RN, **and** I watch him like the crown of my head" — SAA 10 1, iii 25′ ff.

93. *nmš* *annūrig* ú-nam-ma-ša *ana rab-bēti ṭēmu* a-sa-kan-na *id-dātū'a mādaktu unammaš*, "I am setting out right now *and* have issued orders to the major domo, **and** he will set out with the camp after me" — SAA 15 60, r.12ff.

94. *nmš* (GN) ú-ta-mì-š[i …] *ina libbi* GN *nīqī ad*[*i rabûtīšu*] e-pa-ša, "(GN) has set out … **and** is making sacrifices in GN wit[h his magnates" — SAA 5 165, 6ff.

95. *nmš* *issu libbi* nu-ta-mi-š[i *ina* GN] *nētarba* "we departed from there **and** entered [GN]" — SAA 15 272, 2′ f.

96. *nrṭ* *šarru bēlī lū lā* i-nàr-ru-ṭu [*arh*]*iš lūrabbiš*, "the king, my lord, should not waver **but** promote him [at on]ce!" — SAA 10 72, r.18f.

97. *nsh* *u'iltu šanītu* a-na-as-sa-ha *ana šarri bēlīja ušašma*, "I shall copy another report **and** let the king my lord hear it" — SAA 8 84, r.4f.

98. *nsh* *kīma ana* SN *iṭṭihi akī annie* in-na-sa-ha *ūmâ udīna ina libbi lā iqarrib*, "When (Venus) comes close to the breast of SN, it will be copied like this, **but** it has not yet approached it" — SAA 8 55, r.2–6

99. *p' ṣ* *urdāni ša šarri … zakû* up-te-ii-ṣi *ana bēt* PN *ittidin*, "he has *taken away* the servants of the king …, exempt people, **and** given them to the house of GN" — SAA 16 63, r.20f.

100. *phr* ni-ip-hu-ru T[N …] *sīru nišakkan*, "we will come together […] **and** apply plaster to T[N and …]" — SAA 13 163, r.5f.

101. *phr* ip-tu-hur *gabbišūnu uptattijūšu*, "they gathered **and** unanimously dismissed him" — SAA 13 143, r.4f.

102. *phr* *mā uṭṭutu ša 3 ēkallāti pahhir ina* GN_1 *lu-pa-hi-ri* [*ina*] GN_2 [*lu*]*-pa-hi-ri*, "(Should the king say): 'Collect barley for three palaces!', I will collect it in GN_1 **and** I will collect in GN_2 as well" — SAA 1 160, r.9–14

103. *psk* *kīma nāru* pa-su-ku *gamir harammāma ina muhhi* PN *ašappar*, "after the river has been cleared **and** is ready, then I shall write to PN" — SAA 15 156, r.10f.

104. *pqd* *mākisu ša ina* [*muhhi*] *kārāni ša ina* GN *uraddûninni* ap-ti-qi-di GN-*āja uktaššidūniššu*, "I appointed a tax-collector to the ports of trade that were added to me in GN, **but** the GN chased him away" — SAA 19 22, 14–18

105. *pqd* *ša-rēši rab-bīrte ina muhhišūnu* ap-ti-qi-di *30 ṣābāni … ina libbi ussērib*, "I appointed a eunuch over them as fort commander **and** brought 30 men into it" — SAA 19 22, r.12–14

106. *pqd* *ṣāb-šarrāni … ana rab–ša-rēši* ap-ti-qi-di *20 ša* MN *uttammišū ittatakkū*, "I appointed the king's men to the chief eunuch, **and** they departed and went away on the 20th of MN" — SAA 19 210, 6′ ff.

107. *pqd* *2 urdāni ša šarri … hannāka* ap-ti-qi-di *šummu šarru bēlī iqabbi* [*dullu lēpušū*], "I have appointed here two servants of the king, **and** if the king my lord commands, [they should do the work]" — SAA 13 38, r.8′ ff.

108. *prs* *bēlī* [li]-ip-ru-su *lišpura*, "let my lord decide **and** write" — SAA 15 131, r.21

109. *pt'* SN_1 *ina muhhi* SN_2 … *lā iqrib* [*is*]*su pānīšu* ip-ti-e-ti […], "SN_1 has not approached the SN_2; it has departed from it **and** […ed]" — SAA 8 55, r.10–12

110. *pzr* GN-*āja issu pān rādi-kibsi* up-ta-zi-ri *mā amēlumma laššu ina pānīja* "The ruler of GN concealed him from the tracker **and** said: 'There is nobody in my presence' " — SAA 19 186, 24–28

111.	*qbī*	*lillika ana šarri bēlīja* li-qi-bi̲ *ṭēmīšu šarru bēlī ana hiṭṭīja lišku*n, “let him go **and** tell it to the king, my lord, and let the king my lord hold his report to my discredit”	SAA 1 124, 14-16
112.	*qlp*	*qāru ša hurāṣi issu muhhi paššūr uttāri …* iq-ṭa-la-pa̲ *ittiši*, “he peeled off **and** removed the golden topping from the massive offering table”	SAA 13 138, 8–11
113.	*rb’*	[*maṣṣartu*] *ša Šamaš* [*ni*]*ttaṣar* ir-ti-i-bi̲ [*attalû*] *ussētiq*, “we observed the sun; it set **and** let [the eclipse] pass by”	SAA 8 47, 1–5
114.	*rdp*	[*id–d*]*ātuššu* ni-<ir>-ti-di-pi̲ [*ad*]*i* GN *niqtirib lā* ni-ik-šu-du̲ ma-ri-ṣi̲ *lā a-na sissê lā ana narkabāti*, “We went in pursuit [af]ter him **and** got as far as GN, **but** did not catch him, (as the terrain) was difficult **and** [not] (fit) for horses and chariots”	SAA 19 175, 30ff.
115.	*rdp*	*atta* ri-di-pi̲ *id–dātuššu alik ,* “You, pursue **and** go after him!”	SAA 5 53, 18
116.	*rdp*	ir-ti-di-bi̲ *ana* GN it-(ta)-la-ka̲, “he went in pursuit to GN”	SAA 5 53, 19
117.	*rgm*	*raggintu* tar-tu-gu-mu̲ *ana* PN *taqṭibi*, “a prophetess prophesied **and** said to PN”	SAA 10 352, 23
118.	*rkb*	*aladlammê ina libbi eleppāti* ú-sa-ar-ki-pi̲ *eleppāti lā emūqāšina lā intuhā*, “he loaded the bull colossi on the boats, **but** the boats could not carry the load (and sank)”	SAA 1 119, 6ff.
119.	*rks*	*2 sissê paṣiūti ina šēp* DN i-ra-ka-sa̲ *kaspu ana ešrāti ana bēlīšu* [*utāra*], “He shall tie two white horses at the feet of DN **and** shall [return] the money tenfold to its owner”	SAA 14 473, r.3–5
120.	*rṣp*	*isītāti ina libbi* a-ra-ṣi-bi̲ *ammar ša tarīhanni mê ina libbi ašakkan*, “I shall construct towers with them (the bricks), **and** whatever is left over, I shall keep soft with water”	SAA 15 129, r.2
121.	*rṣp*	*iāmuttu bēssu* li-ir-ṣi-bi̲ le-ru-bu̲ *ina bētīšu* lu-še-bi̲, “everybody should build himself a house, enter it **and** live in his house”	SAA 15 219, r.7–10
122.	*shr*	*ṭēmu issakanšu mā nīšê* sa-hi-ri̲ *ana bēlīšu dīni̲*, “(my lord) ordered him to return the people **and** give them back to their owners”	SAA 15 121, 9–12
123.	*shr*	*mīnu ša issu pān dāgil iṣṣūri iššûni* lu-sa-hi-ri̲ *liddin*, “he should return **and** give back whatever he took from the augurs”	SAA 5 163, 11–15
124.	*snq*	*amēlu* lu-sa-ni-qi̲ *lušēṣia*, “Should I interrogate **and** bring out the man?”	SAA 16 65, r.6
125.	*srq*	[*ana*] DN lis-ru-qu̲ *kīma* [*attalû*] *issakan …* [*ana*] *dināni šarri bēlīja lillik*, “Let him strew (the incense) for DN, **and** when [the eclipse] takes place, … serve as a substitute for the king, my lord”	SAA 10 352, r.17ff.
126.	*ṣbt*	*dullu ša šarri bē*[*līja*] la-ṣa-ba-ṭa̲ *lē*[*puš*], “I will undertake **and** per[orm] the work of the king, my lord”	SAA 10 27, r.7f.
127.	*ṣbt*	*parriṣūti šunu* PN *urdu ša mār šarri* ú-ṣa-bi-ṭi̲ *ina ēkalli naṣa*, “PN, a servant of the crown prince, arrested those criminals **and** brought them to the palace”	SAA 5 228, 8′–13′
128.	*ṣbt*	*ih-harri ālīšu* i-ṣa-ba-ṭa̲ *hub*[*tu*] … *ina libbi* ú-še-ra-ba *ū* GN *issēšu* it-ti-ki-ri, “he has captured […] in the moat of his city **and** is bringing captives into it, **but** GN has revolted against him”	SAA 5 166, 2′–r.2
129.	*ṣūd*	*23 mana hurāṣu …* nu-ṣe-ii-di̲ *uraqquqū*, “We have melted down 23 minas of gold … **and** they will hammer it thin”	SAA 13 28, 4′–5′
130.	*šīṭ*	*ana abit annīti šarru bēlī lū lā* i-ši-ia-ṭa̲ *bis šarru bēlī dullānīšu lēpuš*, “May the king, my lord, not disregard this matter **but** perform his rites at once!”	SAA 16 62, 5–7
131.	*škn*	*ana rab-bēti ṭēmu* a-sa-kan-na̲ *id-dātū’a mādaktu unammaš*, “I have given orders to the major domo, **and** he will set out with the camp after me”	SAA 15 60, r.13ff.
132.	*špr*	*akī harrānu ša* GN *ikšudanni* a-sa-pa-ra *naṣūniššunu*, “When	SAA 15 54, 7′ ff.

		the caravan of GN arrived, I sent word **and** had them brought to me"	
133.	*špr*	*ussahhir mār-šiprīja ina irti* PN a-sa-pa-ra muku, "I sent my messenger back to PN **and** told him"	SAA 5 53, 13′f.
134.	*špr*	*qēpu ša* GN i-sa-pa-ra *mā 2,000 ṣābāni šēbila*, "the legate of GN has written to me **and** told me**:** 'Send me 2,000 men!' "	SAA 15 142, 5′–6′
135.	*špr*	^{f}PN *ina qāt qēpi* [*ina muh*]*hīja* ta-sa-pa-ra […] *tussēbila*, "[The lady P]N has sent **and** dispatched to me [a sealed letter] through the royal delegate"	SAA 19 126, 9′ ff.
136.	*špr*	*gabrû ša egerti šarru bēlī* liš-pu-ru *ana tašlīšāni šarru bēlī ṭēmu liškun*, "Let the king, my lord, send a letter in reply to (this) letter, **and** let the king, my lord, issue an order to the 'third men' "	SAA 13 83, r.9–12
137.	*šrp*	*ālānišūnu ina išāti* a-sa-ra-p[a *eb*]*ūrē kirâtišūnu akkis*, "I burnt their towns with fire **and** cut down their orchards"	BiOr 27 154, 43
138.	*šrp*	*mannu ša šumī ipaššiṭūni … 7 mar'ēšu pān* DN_1 li-ši-ru-pu *7 mar'ātišu ana* DN_2 *harimāti lūrammi*, "whoever deletes my name, shall burn seven sons of his before DN_1 **and** abandon seven daughters of his to DN_2 as whores"	AfO Bh. 1 72, 6
139.	*šṭr*	*erbiu … ammar tadūkāni* šu-ṭur-ra *ina ēkalli šēbilāni*, "write down all the locusts that … you kill, **and** send it (the information) to the Palace"	AfO Bh. 1 72, 6f.
140.	*šṭr*	*ūmâ annūrig* a-sa-ṭa-ra [*ina m*]*uhhi bēlīja ussēbila*, "Now then I'm writing it down **and** sending it [t]o my lord"	SAA 1 221, 8f.
141.	*šṭr*	(*ṣarpu) ina libbi nibzi Armāja* i-sa-ṭa-ru *ina libbi kišādi … ina libbi unqi iktankū*, "they wrote the silver … on an Aramaic document and sealed it with the neck seal (of PN) … and the (royal) stamp seal"	SAA 16 63, 13–17
142.	*šṭr*	*ana šunāšunu ina libbi egirāti* i-sa-ṭa-ru *ana tēgirtēšunu issaknū*, "they have written them down on horizontal clay tablets **and** set them as their excuse"	SAA 5 52, 20ff.
143.	*tbl*	GN-*āja … ahēšunu ina nagê* i-ta-ba-lu *immerē ša in-nagê … ihtabtū*, "The men from GN … interfered in the district **and** plundered sheep in the district"	SAA 19 176, 6ff.
144.	*tdn*	*ša ana* GN *hūlšu iškunūni aṣṣabat ana rādi-kibsi mār-šipri* a-ti-di-ni *muku*, "I arrested the person who had arranged his trip to GN, gave the tracker a messenger, **and** said:"	SAA 19 186, 16–18
145.	*wbl*	*2 urâti ana* GN_1 *2 ana* GN_2 ú-se-bi-li *lā ikšudā*, "I sent two teams of horses to GN_1 and two to GN_2, **but** they did not get there"	SAA 1 231, 5′–r.3
146.	*wrd*	*mār-šipri … ana māt Aššūr* i-tu-ri-di *issu libbi māt Aššūr ana* GN *ētetiq*, "The messenger … has come to Assyria and proceeded from Assyria to GN"	SAA 5 96, 4–8
147.	*wrd*	i-tu-ru-du *ša* PN *ša da'āni kapru ša ina libbi iṣṣabtū*, "Down came the (men) of PN **and** seized the village there by force"	SAA 19 89, r.11ff.
148.	*wrd*	*padakku iptete mādidānīšu* ú-se-ri-di *ša ṣābāni šalmūti* […] ik-ta-ra-ra, "He opened a silo in one of my villages, brought in his measurers, **and** poured out [*x*] healthy men's worth [of grain]"	SAA 1 181, 11ff.
149.	*wrd*	*ṣābāni* nu-se-ri-di *inakkisū*, "We took the men downstream, **and** they are now cutting (the timber)"	SAA 1 98, r.4′ f.
150.	*wrd*	*rab-abullāti* nu-se-ri-di *ētamar*, "We had the overseer of the city-gates go down, **and** he had a look"	SAA 13 128, r.17f.
151.	*ziz*	*pān abul* GN ni-it-ti-ti-zi *issi mar'ē* TN *niddubub*, "We stood in front of the GN gate **and** spoke with the citizens of TN"	SAA 19 98, 7–8
152.	*ziz*	*ša-pēthalli* li-zi-zi *maṣṣartušu liṣṣur*, "A cavalryman should	SAA 5 246, r.7f.

		stand by **and** guard him"	
153.	*ziz*	[…]*uššu* li-zi-zi […] *ša šarri bēlīja lislimū*, "he would stand in his (the king's) stead, **and** [*the gods*] of the king my lord would be reconciled"	SAA 10 352, r.21f.
154. .	*zmr*	*kīma* iz-zu-mu[r] *ugdammirū*, "after they have finished singing (lit. have sung **and** finished)"	SAA 20 52, r. i 32
155.	*zqp*	GN-*aiu … in-nagê ša šiddi tânti* i-zu-qu-pu *ittiši ēteli*, "The ruler of GN has attacked (cities) in the district along the lake shore, **but** has left and gone up (the mountains)"	SAA 5 84, 6ff.
156.	*zqp*	GN-*aiu šinīšu ina muhhīšu* i-zu-qu-pu *dēktušu iddūak*, "The ruler of GN has twice attacked him **and** defeated him"	SAA 19 72, 13f.
157.	*zrp*	*eqlu* za-ri-bi *lāqi*, "the field is purchased **and** acquired"	SAA 14 473, 10

E. Hendiadys

1.	*'pš*	[*dullu ann*]*â … úšallam* e-pa-šá *zēršu iššir*, "He performs this ritual in its entirety, **and** his seed will be right"	SAA 20 27, r.39′
2.	*'ṣṣ*	*šarru bēlī liš'al* lu-ṣi-ṣi *is–sur*[*ri*] … *ušagalûšunu*, "May the king, my lord, inquire **and** investigate: may[be] … they are getting deported"	SAA 5 105, 20f.
3.	*'ṣṣ*	*šarru bēlī liš'al* lu-ṣi-ṣi *ina libbi niptaṣṣa*, "May the king inquire **and** investigate (the matter): we have *withdrawn* because of it"	SAA 16 40, r.10f.
4.	*'ṣṣ*	*šarru bēlī ša-qurbūti taklu lišpura liš'al* lu-ṣi-ṣi, "May the king my lord send a trusty bodyguard to inquire **and** investigate"	SAA 10 369, r.10–12
5.	*'ṣṣ*	*ūmâ ašappar iša''ulū* ú-ṣu-uṣ *ana šarri ašappar*, "I am now sending (spies) to inquire **and** investigate, and shall write again to the king"	SAA 5 91, r.8ff.
6.	*'ṣṣ*	*assa'al* ú-ta-ṣi-ṣi *memēni laššu u lā nišme*, "I have inquired **and** investigated: there is nothing, and we haven't heard anything"	SAA 5 227, r.19ff.
7.	*'ṣṣ*	*assa'la* ú-ta-ṣi-ṣi *memēni issu pānīšu lā išši*, "I have inquired **and** investigated: he hasn't taken anything from him"	SAA 5 163, r.1–5
8.	*'ṣṣ*	[*assa'a*]*l* ú-ta-ṣi-ṣi *nuk*, "I have inquired **and** investigated, saying …" (cf. NB *kî aša'lu kî uṣṣiṣu ina* GN *ašbat* SAA 18 20, 7′ff.)	SAA 1 195, 12ff.
9.	*'ṣṣ*	*ša'al* ú-ṣi-ṣi *šēṣi'a*, "inquire **and** investigate, and bring (them) forth"	SAA 1 21, 10f.
10.	*'ṣṣ*	*ša'al* ú-ṣi-ṣi *šuṭur šēbila*, "inquire **and** investigate (all the widows), write them down and send them to me"	SAA 1 21, r.3ff
11.	*'ṣṣ*	*ša'al* ú-ṣi-ṣi … *šupra*, "inquire **and** investigate, … and write me"	SAA 5 68, 6–9
12.	*dbb*	*nuk pîka lā ta*[*patti issēšunu*] *lā* ta-da-bu-bu, "I told him: 'Don't [open] your mouth **and** don't speak with them!' "	SAA 5 108, 23ff.
13.	*krr*	DN [*nu*]*ssabalkit ina muhhi pān*]*īšu* ni-ik-ta-ra-ra, "[We] overturned the divine panther **and** (then) placed it on its [fa]ce"	SAA 1 78, 7–8
14.	*lq'*	(PN_1 *uppiš-ma*) PN_2 *issu pān* PN_3 *… izzirip* is-si-iq-qí, "PN_2 has (contracted and) **duly** acquired **and** bought PN_1 from PN_3 …"	SAA 12 94, 6–10
15.	*rṣp*	*pilku ša* PN *aṣṣabat* a-ra-ṣip-pi a-ga-am-mu-ri, "I took over the work assignment of NP, **and** shall (also) finish bricking it up"	SAA 15 107, 4′–r.1

F. Repetition

1.	*'pš*	*šumma ēnāte muṭê* NA_4 *ēnāte* [*ina lib*]*bi* le-pu-u-šú [*šumma š*]*anduppu muṭê* NA_4 *šanduppu ina libbi* le-pu-u-šú, "if 'eyes' are lacking, eye-stones should be made of it, and [if] a *šanduppu* (ornament) is lacking, a *šanduppu*-gem should be made of it"	SAA 10 41, 18–r.9

2.	*'pš*	*kî ša mala šinīšu šarru ēpušūni ip-pittimma* [l]e-pu-šú |, "just as the king has done once and twice, he should do accordingly"	SAA 10 275, 10–13
3.	*'ṣd*	*Zar'u ša* GN_1 e-ṣi-di 1,000 *zara' ša* GN_2 *utru ina muhhīšunu* e-ṣi-di, "I harvest the sown fields of GN_1, **and** in addition I harvest an extra 1,000 (homers) sown fields of GN_2"	SAA 1 176, 25ff.
4.	*'tk*	*nilaqqi nubbal kalliu ša* PN *šaṣbutu ša* GN lu-ti-ki, "We shall buy (and) bring (the horses), **and** let the mule express of PN **(also)** *alarm* the supplies of the men of GN"	SAA 19 195, r.4′ff.
5.	*'tq*	*muk 6 ūmī šamhir takpirtu dāt annie* tu-še-ta-qa, "I told him: 'For six days do likewise; **and** you shall **(also)** perform a purification ritual after that' "	SAA 10 212, r.11ff.
6.	*btq*	*amīlu issēka ašappar mā illak šibšāte emmar* i-ba-ta-qa, "I will send a man with you, he will go and select the *beams* **and (also)** cleave them"	SAA 1 229, 7–10
7.	*dbb*	*šumma šarru bēlī iqabbi issēšunu lillika lid-di-bu-bu*, "If the king, my lord, so orders, he may come with them **and** speak up"	SAA 5 52, r.17ff.
8.	*dbb*	*ina pān šarri bēlīja lērubū šarru bēlī issēšunu lid-bu-bu*, "let them enter into the presence of the king, my lord, **and** may the king, my lord, speak with them"	SAA 15 4, 10ff.
9.	*dbb*	*mā … sarhat mā dabābu danqu ina muhhi* ta-da-bu-bu |, "she is enraptured **and** therefore speaks nice words"	SAA 16 59, r.3f.
10.	*hlq*	*mā abat* DN *šî mā šarrūtu ana* PN_1 *mā šumu zar'u ša* PN_2 ú-hal-la-qa, "It is the word of DN: 'The kingship is for PN_1, **and** I will **(also)** destroy the name and seed of PN_2!' "	SAA 16 59, r.4f.
11.	*ksp*	*mišil kissete iktasap mišilma lā* ik-su-pu, "he *deducted* half of the fodder (for his horses), **but** he did not *deduct* the other half"	SAA 1 181, r.8f.
12.	*lsm*	*mār ša ana abīka alsamūni ana kâša ūmâ* la-al-su-mu, "As much as I served your father, so let me now serve you!"	SAA 15 288, 13–15
13.	*mth*	*šumma ina hursān lallik šumma kalappu* la-an-tú-hu *šumma hiṭāia ina pān šarri ibaššûni*, "Let me undergo the river ordeal **or** lift the divine axe — I swear I have not sinned against the king!"	SAA 21 111, r.16ff.
14.	*mth*	*mā kî ša anāku ina raminīja iškāru amattahūni mā šû ana raminīšu* li-in-tu-hu, "Just as I raise the *iškāru* quota on my own, so let him too raise it on his own"	SAA 1 118, r.9–12
15.	*nūh*	*ina qanni ša ṣehru inūhūni ina muhhi mār-ahi ša* PN i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-a-ha (cf. r.3 i-sa-ka-nu *it-tu-ah-**ma***), "once the child had calmed down, they put (the amulets) upon the nephew of PN, **and** he **too** calmed down"	SAA 10 309, 5′–8′
16.	*phr*	*šumma šarru iqabbi mā kurummāti ša 3 ekallī pahhir ina* GN_1 lu-pa-hi-ri *ina* GN_2 [lu]-pa-hi-ri, "If the king my lord commands: 'Collect barley for three palaces', I'll collect it in GN_1 and GN_2 **as well**"	SAA 1 78, r.8–14
17.	*plh*	*iāmu*[*ttu ina lib*]*bi eqlīšu kirêšu lū kammu*[*s*] *ana mār-šarri* lip-lu-hu, "each (of them) should st[ay in] his (own) field or garden, and fear the crown prince"	SAA 5 109, 6′ ff.
18.	*pqd*	*šarru bēlī issapra mā ina bēt midili* pi-qid-di ap-ti-qi-di, "The king, my lord, wrote: 'Assign (them) to the storehouse for pickled meat', **and** (so) I assigned (them)"	SAA 13 18, r.7–10
19.	*pqd*	10 *imār ṭābti … ina libbi assakan bē*[*l-pi*]*qittija … ina libbi* ap-ti-qi-di, "I have placed there 10 homers of salt …, **and** have **(also)** appointed my o[ff]icial there"	SAA 15 166, 18–25

20.	*pqd*	*(eqlāti) nuzza''izaššunu urad-ēkalli ina pānēšunu* ap-ti-qi-di, "we distributed (fields) to them **and** I (**also**) appointed a palace servant to lead them"	SAA 19 209, 4′–6′
21.	*prs*	*šarru liš'alšu ṭēmu ša urdīšu* li-ip-ru-su, "May the king question him **and (then)** decide about the report of his servant"	SAA 10 175, r.6ff.
22.	*qrb*	*libnāti* [*uqarr*]*ab udīna ina muhhi* […] *lā* a-qa-ri-bi, "[I am bri]nging the bricks [in], **but** I have not yet started to […]"	SAA 19 126, 6–8
23.	*rṣp*	*dullu ša bīrti eppaš šalhî* a-ra-ṣi-(bi) *šārī ša ana libbi* WN_{1-2} *uptaṭṭir* ár-ti-ṣi-bi [*lā*] ú-ga-[mì]-ri, "I am working on the fort **and** building the outer walls. I have demolished the S and E directions **and** bricked them up **but** have not yet completed it"	SAA 15 113, s.1–3
24.	*ṣhr*	*aṣṣahir ana ṣeherūti i*[*na š*]*aplūti* as-si-pi-li, "I have become smaller than the small, **and** lower than the low"	SAA 3 12, 15
25.	*škn*	*ūmâ anāku 30 bētāti lušabbiša ina libbi* la-áš-ku-nu, "Now, let me get together 30 families **and** place them there"	SAA 1 177, 8f.
26.	*špr*	*ussahhir mār-šiprīja ina irti* PN a-sa-pa-ra muku, "I sent my messenger back to PN, **and** told him: "	SAA 5 53, 13′f.
27.	*špr*	*mā atâ lā tašpur šinīšu maṣi ana ina muhhi bēlīja* a-sa-pa-ra, "saying, 'Why haven't you written?'; but I've written to my lord at least twice!"	SAA 19 33, 11
28.	*špr*	[*m*]*ā atâ lā tašpura* [*ūmâ an*]*nūrig* [*ana*] *sukkalli bēlīja* [a]-sa-pa-ra, "saying, 'Why haven't you written me?'; [now t]hen [I]'m writing [to] the vizier, my lord"	SAA 1 123, r.3′–6′
29.	*šṭr*	*tēlīt adri gabbišūma* a-sa-ṭa-ra [*ak*]*iltu* a-s[a]-ṭa-r[a] PN_1 *ṭupšarru ina qāt* PN_2 *ussēbila*, "I have written down the entire yield of the threshing floor, **and** I have **also** written down the consumption **and** sent the scribe PN_1 (to the king) in charge of PN_2"	SAA 19 51, 13ff.
30.	*tdn*	*ina* MN *karānu ina* GN *iddan šumma lā* i-di-ni *kî mahīri ša* GN *kaspu iddan*, "He shall give the wine back in MN in GN. If he does not, he shall pay (in) silver according to the market price of GN"	SAA 6 181, 5–r.1
31.	*tdn*	*šumma šû iddan anāku* la-din-ni, "if he is going to give, (then) I **too** will give"	SAA 1 128, r.13
32.	*ziz*	*ina pān turtāni attitzi … libbu ša turtāni lā ṭābu la a-zi-zi*, "I stood in the entourage of the commander-in-chief … (but later) he has not been happy, **and** I have **no (longer)** stood there"	GPA 194, 18ff.
33.	*ziz*	*mīnu ša šīṭīni šarru lišpur mār-šipri ina libbi* GN *ina pānātunni* li-zi-zi, "let the king write us what to do, **and** may the messenger **(then)** stay at our disposal in GN"	SAA 16 140, r.12ff.
34.	*ziz*	*ūmâ malṭuru …*[*ina muh*]*hi kigalli … assaṭar ṣalamāni … ina muhhi kigalli …* ú-sa-za-ai-zi, "I have now written the inscription … on the pedestal, **and** I have (**also)** I placed the statues … on the pedestal"	SAA 10 358, r.2′-6′

G. Emphasis

1.	*'pš*	*ina timāli šarru rēšu lā iššī ūmâ ūmu anniju* [l]e-pu-šú |, "The king did not begin with it yesterday, but now, this very day, he should carry it out"	SAA 10 324, 10ff.
2.	*'tq*	[*memēn*]*i issēšunu lā idabbub* [*ina bābīšunu*] *lū lā* e-ti-qi |, "[Nobod]y may litigate against them **nor** trespass [their gate]"	SAA 15 15, r.13f.

3.	*ʾtq*	*ūmu lā* e-te-qe̲ *ša ṣāsu hinsāte lā igarrannīni*, “Not a day passes without their quarrelling about the spoils”	SAA 15 84, r.16–19
4.	*bṭl*	*ūmu u urhu lā* ni-ib-ṭi-li̲ *ša lā dullu u nēpēši*, “(By the gods of the king,) we did not leave a day or month without rituals and rites”	SAA 10 298, r.8f.
5.	*dbb*	*mamma issi mamma lā* i-da-bu-bu̲, “Neither shall litigate against the other”	SAA 6 178, r.1
6.	*dūl*	*anāku akī kalbi asabbu* a-du-al-la̲, “I wag my tail **and** run about like a dog”	SAA 15 288, 4ff.
7.	*dūl*	*akī kalbi asabbû* a-du-ú-a-la̲, “I wag my tail **and** run about like a dog”	SAA 13 190, r.19ff.
8.	*hṣn*	[*p*]*iq*[*t*]*atti šarru aṣappu ušēbala lā mūqāia aṣappu lā* a-ha-ṣi-ni̲ |, “Perhaps the king will send pack animals, but I (absolutely) can’t take care of pack animals”	SAA 19 51, 3–7
9.	*hṣn*	*šarru bēlī* [*kî*] *ša eppašūni* [l]e-pu-šú | *aṣappu lā mūqāia lā* a-ha-ṣi-ni̲ |, “The king, my lord, [ma]y do [as] he does, but I (absolutely) can’t take care of pack animals”	SAA 19 51, 23ff.
10.	*mdd*	[*ap*]*tiqidsunu birti ēnēšunu* [un-t]a-di-id-di̲, “I appointed them **and** (clearly) impressed upon them”	SAA 1 39, 19–21
11.	*nsh*	[*issēšunu memēni*] *lū lā idabbub* [*nusāhēšunu*] *memēni lū lā* i-na-sa-ha̲, “[no]body may litigate [against them (and) no]body may exact [corn taxes from them] **(either)**!”	SAA 15 15, 5f.
12.	*qrb*	*libittu* [*uqarr*]*ab udīna i*[*n*]*a muhhi* [...] *lā* a-qa-ri-[b]i̲, “[I am bri]nging in the bricks, **but** I have not yet arrived to […]”	SAA 19 126, 7′–8′
13.	*qrb*	(*eleppāti*) *uktallim ana mallāhī iqṭibiū mā laššu lā* ni-qar-ri-bi̲, “I showed (the boats) to the skippers, (but) they said: ‘No way; we won’t go near them’ ”	SAA 1 56, 10–12
14.	*qrb*	[…]*šu anūssu gabbi issēšu in–idi anūtīšu memēni lā* iq-ri-bi̲, “His […] (and) his whole equipment (are) with him; nobody has (even) gone near his equipment”	SAA 16 141, 1′–4′
15.	*škn*	*šarru ana qāti ana zuqe̲te ana šārti uzun* liš-ku-nu̲, “The king should pay attention **(especially)** to the hands, the chin and the beard”	SAA 13 34, 21–24
16.	*šlm*	*kīma ana mātīni nittalak habullīni* nu-šal-li-mi̲, “As soon as we have gone back to our country, we will **(surely)** pay our debt”	SAA 1 147, r.8–13
17.	*špr*	*anāku ina muhhi annî šû ana šarri bēlīja* a-sa-par-ra̲, “It is because of this that I am writing to the king my lord”	SAA 10 290, r.11′f.
18.	*špr*	*ina muhhi šû ana šarri bēlīja* a-sa-par-ra̲, “that is why I am writing to the king my lord”	SAA 5 126, r.14f.
19.	*špr*	*abutu ša ūdûni ana šarri bēlīja* as-sa-pa-ra̲ *šarru bēlī kī ša ila’’ûni lēpuš*, “I have (simply) written to the king what I know; the king my lord may act as he finds best”	SAA 16 115, r.10ff.
20.	*tbk*	*ma’da kurummāti lūbilūni ina libbi* [l]i-di-bu-ku̲, “plenty of barley may be brought and (even) be stored therein”	SAA 19 211, 9–r.3
21.	*tdn*	*is–surri šunu iqabbiū mā* PN *ittannanāši assa’alšu mā lā* a-di-ni̲, “Perhaps they will say: ‘PN has given (them) to us’. I’ve asked him — he says: ‘I have not given (away anybody)’ ”	SAA 15 121, r.16–19
22.	*tdn*	*tabku ša šarru bēlī iddinūni bēt ibaššûni lā addin bēt laššūni* a-ti-di-ni̲, “(as to) the stored grain that the king gave me, I haven’t provided it to the haves but have provided it (only) to have-nots”	GPA 180, r.9′–11′
23.	*tdn*	*annūrig 500 kurummāti ina* GN *uptahhir* la-di-ni̲, “Now then I’ve gathered 500 homers of barley in GN, and would like to (finally) deliver it”	SAA 1 160, r.4ff.

24.	*trṣ*	*laššu lā* ta-ri-ṣi *kaqquru* ta-ri-ṣi *birte šadâni šû*, "it is not at all feasible! The terrain is difficult; (and) it lies between mountains"	SAA 5 200, 7–9
25.	*ziz*	*ša šarru … lā nēmurūni ina muhhi šū ina pūt šarri* ni-ti-ti-zi, "that we had not seen the king (for a long time), that is (the **sole** reason) why we stood in front of the king"	SAA 10 39, 15–r.2
26.	*ziz*	*šarru bēlī … iqṭibi mā attā*[*ma*] *ina pāni tazzaz iš-šaddaqdiš iš-šalušīni ina pāni* at-ti-ti-zi *ūmâ …*, "the king, my lord, said: 'You shall stand by!' — last year and the year before I **did** (indeed) stand by, (but) now …"	SAA 23 117, 7–12
27.	*znn*	*ū zinnu kupû* […] *kaiamānu* i-za-nu-un-nu, "(the … is badly ravaged) and it is raining and snowing continually"	SAA 15 100, r.15′ f.

H. Implication

1.	*'lk*	*šumma* [*tariṣ*] *issi šarri bēlīja lū* tal-li-ki, "If [it is all right], it may go with the king, m[y] lord, (yet …)"	SAA 5 223, r.1′
2.	*'mr*	*memēni ibašši ina šamê* ta-ta-ma-ra, "You (must) have observed something in the sky (although you don't tell me)"	SAA 10 45, 8–9
3.	*'pš*	*kī ša šarru bēlī i*[*la''ûni* l]e-pu-šú, "the king, my lord, may (however) do as he [deems best]"	SAA 19 351, r.1–5
4.	*'pš*	[*šarru bē*]*lī kī ša ila''ûni* le-pu-šú [*šarru bē*]*lī ūda …*, "the king, my lord, may do as he [deems best], (but) the king, my lord knows that …"	SAA 5 291, r.12f.
5.	*'pš*	*ṣābāni issu libbišūnu dēkū šarru bēlī kī ša i*[*la''ûni*] le-pu-šú |, "(When in the time of) your father they didn't keep their hands off the temple, some of the men were killed. The king, my lord, should (however) do as he d[eems best]"	SAA 13 128, r.26f.
6.	*'pš*	[*ana šarri*] a-ta-ha-ra š[*arru bēlī*] *kî ša ila''ûni* le-pu-šú |, "I have appealed [*to the king*], but the k[ing, my lor]d, should (anyway) do as he deems best"	SAA 15 80, 2′–5′
7.	*'pš*	*urkīti kî ša šarru bēlī ila''ûni* le-pu-šú |, "afterwards the king, my lord, may (in any case) do as he deems best"	SAA 15 162, r.9ff.
8.	*'pš*	*ūmâ kī ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni* [le]-pu-u-šu, "Nowadays, (however), it should be done as it (best) suits the king, my lord"	SAA 10 76, r.7ff.
9.	*'pš*	*ūmâ kî ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni* le-pu-šu, "Nowadays, (however), it should be done as it (best) suits the king, my lord"	SAA 13 132, r.9′ f.
10.	*'pš*	*kî ša ina pān šarri* [*mah*]*irūni* le-pu-šú |, "let them do as it [plea]ses the king"	SAA 16 131, r.4f.
11.	*'pš*	*ahamma mīni bēlī annītu* le-pu-šu, "the *reasons* apart, may my lord do this!"	SAA 15 288, r.1–2
12.	*'pš*	*muhhi* [*ša šarru*] *bēlī iqabbûni* né-pu-šu, "We will act (only) when the king, my lord, says so"	SAA 13 62, r.10
13.	*kšd*	ŠE.*nusāhī ša it–timāli iš–šaššūmi ša ninassahūni ūmâ* PN *qēpāni* uk-ta-ši-di, "(Concerning) the habitual corn taxes … that we have been exacting, PN has now (high-handedly) driven the delegates away"	SAA 19 39, 4–8
14.	*nks*	[…] *ittalak* i-na-ki-si *mīnu ša šarru bēlī iqabbûni*, "[NN] has gone [to GN] (with cavalry) **and** is cutting timber, (but) what are the king my lord's orders? (Would the Urartian give timber to the king, my lord?)	SAA 5 34, r.19′f.

15.	*pqd*	*mannu ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni šarru bēlī* lip-qi-di, "The king, my lord, may (however) appoint anyone who pleases the king, my lord"	SAA 1 75, r.6–8
16.	*pqd*	*mannu … ša pān ša*[*rri bēlīja*] *mahirūni ina kūmuššu šarru bēlī* lip-qi-di, "The king, my lord, may appoint in his place anyone (among his brothers and […]) who is acceptable to the ki[ng, my lord]"	SAA 10 352, r.25ff.
17.	*š'l*	*šarri bēlī* liš-'a-la *šummu lā urdī šūtūni*, "The king, my lord, may ask (the members of the community) whether he is a servant of mine"	SAA 1 171, 33–35
18.	*zqp*	*mā is–surri kīma kupû iddīni mā* ni-za-qu-pu *ina muhhīšu*, "Perhaps, once there is more snow, we can attack him"	SAA 5 145, r.10–13

I. Consecutive/resultative intonation

1.	*btq*	[*uṣ*]*ulti parzilli bilāni* la-ab-tu-qu *ina qinniti* [*ša p*]*āhiti laškun*, "bring me an iron knife, **so** I can cut it off **and** stick it in the governo[r's] ass!"	SAA 16 63, 12f.
2.	*grr*	[l]i-qi-bu-ni-šú-nu *issu pān galīti* […] li-gi-ru-ru, "let them be informed, so they become scared of deportation"	SAA 5 203, s.1
3.	*pqd*	*šumma lā* a-pa-qi-di [*pā*]*niumma ša ēṣidūni inaššiū ekkulū*, "If I didn't allot it, **then** they'd take what they harvested [ear]lier and eat it"	SAA 5 289, 9–r.2
4.	*pqd*	*saklu ana šatammūti lū* pa-qi-di *ina pān parakki ginû lūqarrib*, "a common man should be appointed to the office of the prelate **so as to** present the regular offerings in front of the dais"	SAA 10 352, r.15f.
5.	*ṣbt*	*ina* TN *lillik (pūt upni)* la-ṣa-ba-ta DN *ana mātāti lašpur*, "let him go to TN, **so** I can take possession of it and send DN to the lands"	SAA 13 43, r.2f.
6.	*ṣbt*	[…] is-sa-ka-na *lā* i-di-ni *az-zittīšu nišēšu mār* PN ú-ṣa-bi-ti, "[The …] set a [fine] but he did not pay it, **so** the son of PN seized his share and his people"	SAA 15 295, r.1′ff.
7.	*ṣbt*	*ūmâ šarru bēlī nišē* GN_1 GN_2 *liddina* […] lu-šá-ṣa-bi-ti, "Now, let the king my lord give me men of GN_1 (and) GN_2 **so** I can set up [*the city*]. (There is no Assyrian mayor or gate-guards in GN_3)"	SAA 1 176, 29ff.
8.	*tdn*	*kurummāti … bila ana hubte ša šarri* la-di-i-ni, "bring me barley rations **so** I can give them to the captives of the king"	SAA 1 260, r.3–7
9.	*ziz*	[*issēn issu*] *libbi urdānīka šēbila ina pānīja* li-zi-zi, "send me [one o]f your servants, **so** he may stand in my presence"	SAA 13 21, 3ff.
10.	*znn*	[*zun*]*nu ma'da* [*ad-dan*]*niš* i-zu-nu-nu [*zu*]*nnu mê ma'da ad-danniš* [ik]-ta-ra-ra *nību ša mê ma'da ad-danniš*, "It rained [extre]mely heavily and the rain poured down very [mu]ch water, **so** the amount of water is great indeed"	SAA 19 166, 7′ff.
11.	*znn*	*lā zun*[*nu*] *lā kupp*[*u*] i-zi-nu-nu *mê ina nāri la*[*ššu*], "It has neither rained nor snowed, **so** the[re is] no water in the river"	SAA 5 26, 9′–r.1

J. Statives with various nuances of intonation

1.	*hss*	*šarru* ha-si-si, "the king will (**surely**) remember"	SAA 13 118, r.11
2.	*kms*	*ittalkū lâššu ahūšu šūtu ēdumānu ina libbi* kam-mu-su, "They went (to his home town) but again to no avail; **only** a lone brother of his was living there"	SAA 1 245, 5′ff.

3.	*kms*	*ṭēmu ša* PN *emūqēšu ina* GN_1 *šû ina* GN_2 kam-mu-su, “News of PN: his army is in GN_1, **but** he himself is staying in GN2”	SAA 15 162, r.11ff
4.	*mrṣ*	*muk nammiša mā marṣāk muk mara’ka lillika mā* ma-ri-ṣi-**ma**, “(I said): ‘Set out!’; he said he was sick. I said: ‘Let your son come!’; he said: ‘He is sick too (I’ll send my brother with troops)’ ”	SAA 5 217, r.15–18
5.	*nsk*	[*issē*]*n ūmu lū harip* [*issē*]*n ūmu lū* na-si-ki *ēninni ina muhhi l*[*ū ṭ*]*aqqut*, “[On]e day it might be too early, **and** [anoth]er day it might lie flat. (To see it) our [e]yes sho[uld have f]allen on it”	SAA 10 50, r.9ff.
6.	*ṣbt*	100 *šunu ṣābāni dēkū* PN *turtānu šaniu … ina libbi* GN ṣa-bi-ti, “Some 100 soldiers were killed. PN, the deputy commander-in-chief … was **likewise** arrested in GN”	SAA 5 91, 12–15
7.	*škn*	*muk* PN *aiāka mā ina* GN šá-ki-ni, “I asked where the son of PN is. He said: ‘He is encamped in GN’ ”	SAA 15 218, r.1–3
8.	*škn*	*ina libbi* GN_1 *ina libbi* GN_2 šá-ki-ni, “he is encamped in GN_1, within GN_2”	SAA 5 168, r.5–7
9.	*tdn*	*kaspu gammur* ta-din-ni, “the money has been paid completely” (lit. “has been completed **and** paid”)	SAA 6 289, 7 and passim
10.	*tdn*	*haṭṭu … asallu ša ēkalli šarqū ina kaspi* ta-da-nu, “A sceptre and a kettle have been stolen from the Palace **and** sold for money”	SAA 19 114, 7–11

K. Causal/explanatory intonation

verb + verb | “A, because B” (= NB verb verb-*ma*)

1.	*’lk*	*rēhte dulli ibašši lā ēpuš ina adê* at-ta-la-ka, “I could not perform the rest of the ritual, **because** I had to leave for the treaty”	SAA 10 273, 10–12

APPENDIX

NA and NB continuative, repetitive and emphatic suffix *-ma*

GAG § 123: “*-ma*, die meistgebrauchte aller enklitischen Partikeln, hat verschiedene Funktionen: α) *-ma* verbindet Sätze und stellt anders als *u* zwischen ihnen immer einen logischen Zusammenhang her; Übersetzung ‘und dann, und daher, und demgemäss’, selten adversativ ‘aber’; mA wird es in dieser Funktion selten, nA fast gar nicht gebraucht. β) *-ma* wird sehr oft and das Prädikativ des Nominalsatzes angehängt. γ) *-ma* dient zur Hervorhebung eines Wortes und hat dann manchmal identifizierende Bedeutung (z.B. aB *šū-ma* ‘er selbst’), steht aber auch im Sinne von ‘nur’ (mA *qaqqadamma ilaqqe* ‘er nimmt nur das Kapital’); im Sinne von ‘gleichfalls’ kommt er jünger, vor allem nA, auch beim verbalen Prädikat vor (s. nA *mariṣīma* ‘er ist ebenfalls krank’).”

1. Neo-Assyrian *-ma* clauses (in letters of scholars and priests, rituals and legal texts)

1.	*’pš*	*dullu annâ …* ú-šal-lam-**ma** *eppaš zēršu* [*iššir*], “He performs this ritual in its entirety, **and** his seed will be right”	SAA 20 24, r.44′
2.	*’tk*	*šarru bēlī lū* e-ti-ik-**ma** *maṣṣartu lū dannat*, “the king, my lord,	SAA 10 351, r.12

		should be on his guard **and** under strong protection"	
3.	*dbb*	*ina dēnīšu* i-da-bu-ub-**ma** *lā ilaqqi*, "he shall contest in his lawsuit **and/but** not succeed"	GPA 62, 8f. + 14x
4.	*mrṣ*	*muk nammiša mā marṣāk muk mara'ka lillika mā* ma-ri-si-**ma**, "(I said): 'Set out!'; he said he was sick. I said: 'Let your son come!'; he said: 'He is sick too (I'll send my brother with troops)' "	SAA 5 217, r.15–18
5.	*nūh*	[*ina muh*]*hi rā'ie ša ahātīka* ... i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-ah-**ma**, "they put (the amulets) upon a shepherd of your sister, **and** he **too** calmed down"	SAA 10 309, r.2f .
6.	*pqd*	*issēn āšipu issēn asû ina pānīja* lip-qid-**ma** [*issi ah*]*āmiš dullī lēpušū*, "Let him appoint one exorcist and one physician to attend me, **and** let them treat me together"	SAA 13 66, r.2
7.	*šlm*	*Sîn ūmu* ú-šal-lam-**ma** *ūmu* 3[0 *urrak*], "the moon will make the day complete **and** [lengthen] the 30th day (to its full measure)"	SAA 8 108, r.1
8.	*ziz*	*anāku ina pān šarru bēlīja* la-zi-iz-**ma** *ina gummurti libbīja ina ahīja laplah*, "May I stand before the king, my lord, **and** revere (him) wholeheartedly with my arms"	SAA 10 198, r.2–5

2. Examples of Neo-Babylonian continuative *-ma* clauses (only a few out of many)

1.	*'lk*	al-lak-**ma** *pānī ša šarri bēlīja* am-mar-**ma** ú-rad-de-e-**ma** *aballuṭ*, "I shall go **and** see the face of the king, my lord, **and** (then) I shall get even better"	SAA 22 35, 17–19
2.	*dkī*	*enna atta emūqīka* de-ke-e-**ma** a-lik-**ma** *itti* PN … *išizza*, "Now you, mobilize your forces and go and join PN, the governor!"	SAA 18 3, r.5f.
3.	*nhs*	*ittīja ana* TN ta-nam-hi-is-**ma** *ṭēmu išakkanga*, "You shall go back to TN with me, **and** he will give you orders"	SAA 22 35, r.3–5
4.	*nšī*	*šarri rēšsu* liš-ši-**ma** *liš'alšu*, "The king should summon him **and** question him"	SAA 18 83, r.10f.
5.	*pqd*	*ana rab-nikkassi ša ēkalli* lip-qi-du-**ma** *immerī liddinū*, "let them assign (the matter) to the chief of accounts of the palace, **and** let them give the rams"	SAA 10 313, r.6
6.	*qtī*	DNN *ultu ṣīt šamši adi erēb šamši* lu-qat-tu-**ma** *ana šarri bēlīja liddinū*, "May the gods (…) give the king, my lord, complete (lit.: complete **and** give) dominion from east to west!"	SAA 22 36, 7–10
7.	*špr*	*šarru ša-qurbūtu ittīja* liš-pur-**ma** lul-lik-**ma** *ahū'a lušēṣâ*, "May the king send a bodyguard with me, **so that** I may go **and** bring out my brother"	SAA 10 165, r.4′–6′

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