

## The Estate of Mardonius\*

*M. Stolper* – Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

[Evetts App. 4 and BM 64535, from the early years of Xerxes, are contracts for bricks to be manufactured and delivered to an overseer of the estate of Mardonius. The possibility that this Mardonius is the celebrated Persian commander of the same name is dubious, if not actually impossible, since BM 64535 postdates the battle of Plataea, where Mardonius the general died. Editions of Evetts App. 4 (collated), of BM 64535, and of two other legal texts from the same commercial and archival context, BM 64155 and 64164, are supplied].

The most celebrated bearer of the personal name Mardonius (Old Persian Marduniya, with various transcriptions in Elamite, Babylonian and Classical texts) was Darius I's nephew and son-in-law and Xerxes' cousin, the man who suppressed the Ionian revolt, took command of Xerxes' army in Europe after the defeat at Salamis, and died in battle at Plataea in 479 B.C. Mentions of his namesakes in Achaemenid Babylonian legal texts are scarce enough to command attention, but the three such texts known hitherto mention the name in more or less damaged contexts. Only one of them, Evetts App. 4, comes from the early reign of Xerxes, during the lifetime of the general Mardonius<sup>1</sup>.

Evetts App. 4 can be clarified in part with the results of collation and by comparison with a parallel document, BM 64535, presented here. The two texts together make it plain that the man named in them was a person of substance, the proprietor of an estate, an Iranian aristocrat, but they still leave his identification with the famous commander doubtful.

\* My work on these and other Achaemenid Babylonian texts has been supported in part by a Summer Stipend and subsequent Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and by a Grant-in-Aid from the American Council of Learned Societies. I am indebted to C. B. F. Walker and Erle V. Leichty for their help in locating some of the texts presented here, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish them; and to Martha T. Roth for comments and corrections. Errors remain my responsibility.

Abbreviations are those of the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD).

Babylonian dates are cited in this form: day (in Arabic numerals)/month (in Roman numerals)/regnal year (in Arabic numerals) king's name. Babylonian personal names are sometimes cited in this form: name/patronym.

1. See R. Schmitt, "Mardonios", *RLA* 7 5/6 (1989), 359. In response to Schmitt's closing comment on the uncertainty of identifying the Mardoniuses mentioned in some Persepolis Fortification texts and in Babylonian texts, either with each other or with the four Mardoniuses treated in the body of the *RLA* entry: since the Murašû text PBS 2/1 37, mentioning *Mar-du-ni-ia* in broken context – perhaps as the bailiff (*paqdu*) of a prince (*mār bīti*) named Dadašsu – comes from the reign of Darius II, the Mardonius mentioned there cannot be any of the like-named men found in Classical sources or in Elamite texts from Persepolis; he is also probably not the same man named in VAT 15633, since that undated fragment, mentioning a field of *Ma-ar-du-ni-[ia]* (collated), belongs to the group of texts from the Kasr at Babylon, of which known dated components range between the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes II; on criteria of form and appearance, VAT 15633 is not likely to come from the earliest part of this interval.

Evetts App. 4 and BM 64535 are documents of the same kind, contracts for the manufacture and delivery of bricks with the outward form of promissory notes. They use the same vocabulary (some of it extraordinary) and most of the same clauses in the same order, with minor formal variations. The ultimate creditor (the major domo of Mardonius) and one of the obliged parties (Bēl-ana-mīrihtu/(Nabû)-ina-Esagil-lūmur) are common to the two texts. Both texts allude to other contracts of the same kind among the same parties, implying that a regular commercial relationship existed between the contractors and the estate of Mardonius. The points of resemblance establish that the two texts belonged to a single ancient archive. Two more texts, also presented below, can plausibly be connected with the same archive.

Evetts App. 4  
BM 72139  
(82-9-18,12143)<sup>2</sup>

[Babylon]

1/IV/7(?) Xerxes  
(27 June 479 B.C. (?))

- (1) [11 LI]M [S]IG<sub>4</sub>.HIA šá mKi-i<sup>d</sup>EN
- (2) [LÚ.GAL] r É r šá mMar-dī-ni-ia
- (3) [ina muh-ḫi m]AG-ŪRU-šú DUMU šá m<sup>d</sup>AG-muk-e-lip
- (4) [u m<sup>d</sup>EN-ana-m]i-ri-iḫ-tum DUMU-šú
- (5) r šá r m<sup>d</sup>AG-ina-Ē-sag-il-lu-mur
- (6) ina ITI.ŠU SIG<sub>4</sub>.HIA a<sub>4</sub> 11 LIM r x<sup>r</sup>
- (7) i-na i-r<sup>r</sup>pi-rī r šá mQi-bi<sup>d</sup>EN
- (8) i-la-bi-nu-ma i-na ki-is-r<sup>r</sup>su<sup>r</sup>
- (9) a-na mQi-bi<sup>d</sup>EN i-n[am-din-<sup>r</sup>]
- (lower edge)
- (10) 1/3 MA.NA 1 GÍN KŪ.BABBAR i-x-[ ... ]
- (11) r x pad(?) x ina ŠU<sup>r</sup> mQi-bi<sup>d</sup>EN ( ... )
- (reverse)
- (12) ma-ḫi-ir 1-en pu-ut šá-[ni-i na-šú-ú]
- (13) šá qer-bi i-ḫi-ir e-lat ú-ḫi-tim
- (14) IGI-tum 14 LIM 5 ME ina mu[ḫ-ḫ]i-šú-nu
- (15) LÚ mu-kin-nu m<sup>i</sup>-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU šá m<sup>r</sup>EN(?)<sup>r</sup>-x-x<sup>r</sup>
- (16) m<sup>d</sup>EN-bul-liḫ-su r DUMU šá m<sup>r</sup>EN-SU r
- (17) m<sup>d</sup>EN-SUR DUMU šá m<sup>d</sup>AG-SUM.NA
- (18) [LÚ.Š]ID mMu-šal-lim<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU šá mNi-din-tum<sup>d</sup>EN
- (19) [E.K]I ITI.ŠU UD.1.KÁM MU r 7(?) r.KÁM
- (20) [mAk]-ka-ši-ar-ši LUGAL Par-su
- (21) [u Ma]-da-a-a LUGAL E.KI u KUR.KUR

### Translation

(1-5) 11,000 bricks are owed to Kī-Bēl, the [major] domo of Mardonius, [by] Nabû-ušuršu, son of Nabû-mukkê-elip, [and] Bēl-ana-mīrihtu, son of Nabû-ina-Esagil-lūmur. (6-9) In month IV (i.e., the current month) they will make the said 11,000 bricks with dirt of (i.e., dug on the property of[?]) Qībi-Bēl and deliver them in a stack (laid against the base of a wall) to Qībi-Bēl. (10-12) 21 shekels of silver ...

2. E. Leichty and A. K. Grayson, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, VII: Tablets from Sippar*, 2 (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), 330.

have been received from Qī[bi-Bēl(?)]. (12-13) Each assumes warranty for the other. Whoever is available will make full payment.

(13-14) (This obligation is) in addition to a previous note for 14,500 (bricks) due from them.

(15-17) Witnesses: Na'id-Bēl, son of Bēl-x-x; Bēl-bullissu, son of Bēl-erība; Bēl-ēṭir, son of Nabū-ittanna.

(18-21) Scribe: Mušallim-Bēl, son of Nidintu-Bēl. [Babylon]. Month IV, day 1, year 7(?), Xerxes, King of Persia [and] Media, King of Babylon and the Lands.

### Comments

The edition of this text by S. Graziani, *I Testi Mesopotamici datati al Regno di Serse (485-465 a. C.)*, Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Suppl. 47 to Vol. 46, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1986), 38ff. No. 31, was not yet available when I collated the tablet in 1985. The results of my collation differ from those reflected in that edition.


1. <sup>m</sup>KI-I- is clear here and <sup>m</sup>KI-BI- is equally clear in lines 7 and 9. Both names, *Ki-i-<sup>d</sup>EN* = Kī-Bēl and *Qī-bi-<sup>d</sup>EN* = Qībi-Bēl, have Late Babylonian parallels. BM 64535:1, below, confirms the name Kī-Bēl in line 1. The parallelism between the two documents implies that a different name is to be expected in lines 7 and 9 of this text. Both texts stipulate that a third party is to take delivery of the bricks, but the relationship between the third party and the ultimate creditor, the estate of Mardonius in the person of its overseer, Kī-Bēl, is not explicit.

3. *Nabū-muk(-ki)-e-lip*: cf. below, BM 64164:4 and BM 64155:4, and, in addition to occurrences listed in Tallqvist NBN 138a, 15a s.v. Ardi-Nergal 13, 30a s.v. Bēl-ēṭir 43, and 50a s.v. Bulluṭā 13, see, e.g., Camb. 79:5, Durand Textes babyloniens pl. 68 A 19929:15, OECT 12 A.102:3, TCL 12 48:12, TuM 2-3 254:8, VAS 3 67:7 and 78:6, VAS 4 81:14, VAS 5 17:3 and 8, VAS 6 126:19, YOS 6 20:20, YOS 7 112:11, YOS 17 39:6, 43:3 and 289:5. I do not understand the components of the name, and I cannot locate citations of it in AHW or CAD.

7. I take it that *i-pi-ri* here and in BM 64535:5 is a syllabic spelling of *eperu* (SAḪAR). For "dirt" (SAḪAR.ḪIA = *eperu*), rather than "clay" (IM = *ṭidu*) as a material for bricks and brick masonry, cf. SAḪAR.ḪIA *ana igāri ša libnāti ša tibnu izabbilūnu*, "dirt for the brick wall for which they are bringing straw", UCP 9 63 No. 26:3 (see Salonen Ziegeleien 45). Texts comparable to Evetts App. 4 do not ordinarily specify the material from which the bricks are to be made, but they may specify the location at which the work is to be done: *ina* GLMEŠ *ša* PN... *ilabbin ... ina kissū iman[nima] ana* PN [*inandin*], "he will make the bricks at the property of PN, count and [deliver them] in a stack to PN", Cyr. 255:3ff.; *ina* GN *ilabbinūma igammarū ina kisī imannū inandinū*, "they will make the bricks in GN and complete the work by counting them (and) delivering them in a stack", BE 9 51:5ff.; *ultu* MN *adi* MN<sub>2</sub> *x libnāti uqattēma ilabbinma ina amaru imanni[m]a ina* GN *inandin*, "he will complete the brick-making between MN and MN<sub>2</sub>, count and deliver the bricks in a stack at GN", CT 55 85:5ff. Hence, if *eperu* is intended here (rather than an otherwise unknown topographic term), it is not likely to refer to dirt brought to the brickmakers but to dirt dug by the brickmakers from claypits at a place controlled by the man who is to take delivery of the bricks.

8. For *kisū* (*kissū*) as a site for the delivery or storage of bricks, see (in addition to passages cited CAD *kisū* usage d) YOS 17 274:2, with *kisānu* parallel to *amarānu*, "brick piles", *maṭṭē*, "drying yards", and *marḫašānu*, "ramps" (see F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: la famille de Ea-ilūta-bāni* [Geneva: Droz, 1989], 130f.). Following the suggestion of CAD *kisū* discussion section (and despite AHW *kisu* II mng. 3, "Geldbeutel [in symbolischem Übergabeakt]"), I take it that the substantive *kisū* was understood by the authors of these texts to be cognate with the verb *kasū*, "to lay or bond bricks", and that it refers in these contexts not to a surrounding wall as a finished construction, but to a stack of bricks laid for temporary storage against an existing wall, like a facing or revetment.

10 end. Perhaps *i-d[i-šú-nu]*, “their (the brick-makers’) wages”, but the traces are not conclusive and the parallel passage BM 64535:13 is damaged.

19. The damaged numeral indicating the regnal year has three rows of vertical wedges, thus:  The choice is between 7 and 8; 4 is excluded.

20 and below, BM 64164:16f. Long forms of Xerxes’ titles, including the elements “King of Persia, Media, Babylon and the Lands”, appear in Babylonian legal texts from the later years of the reign, well after the Babylonian revolts<sup>3</sup>. The long form here and the short form in BM 64535, below, were used within a very short time, at the same place, by scribes working in exactly identical archival and commercial contexts. Hence, not only was the change in titulary not an immediate consequence of the Babylonian revolts, not abrupt, and not consistently applied, but it was also not perceived as obligatory or even meaningful.

BM 64535  
82-9-18,4515<sup>4</sup>

Babylon

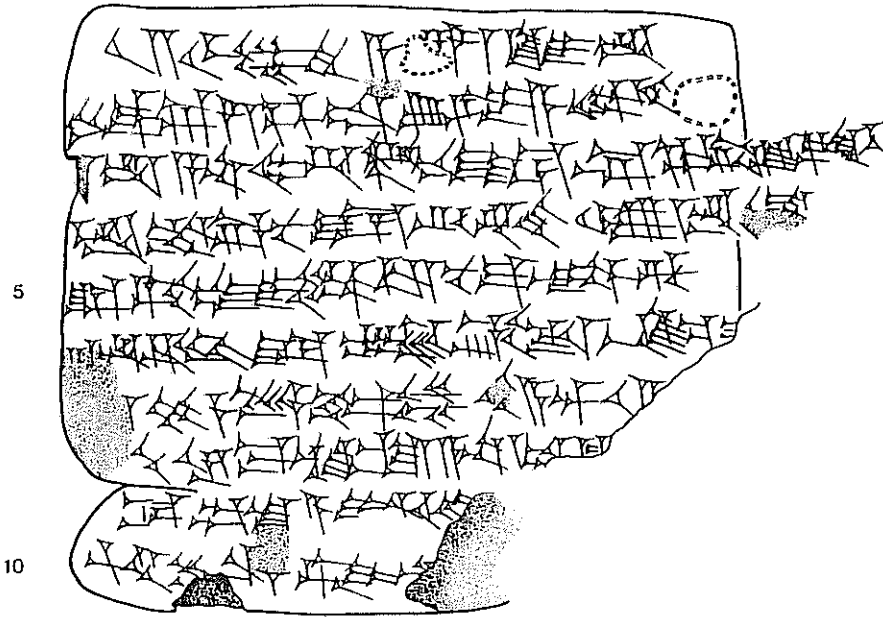
20/III/8 Xerxes  
5 July 478 B.C.

- (1) 12 LIM SIG<sub>4</sub>.H.I.A šá <sup>m</sup>Ki-i-<sup>d</sup>EN  
(2) LÚ.GAL É šá <sup>m</sup>Mar-du-ú-ni-ia ina muḫ-ḫi  
(3) <sup>md</sup>EN-a-na-mi-ri-iḫ-tum DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>Ina-É-sag-il-lu-mur-šú  
(4) <sup>md</sup>EN-it-tan-nu DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>Ri-mut ù <sup>md</sup>EN-DIN-it  
(5) DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>Ni-din-tum i-le-eb-nu-ma ina i-pi-ri  
(6) šá <sup>md</sup>EN-ik-šur DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>AG-bul-luṭ-ṭa ina ki-is-s[u]  
(7) [UD.x+]1.KÁM šá ITI.NE SIG<sub>4</sub>.H.I.<A> a<sub>4</sub> 12 [LIM]  
(8) [i]-gam-ru-ma ina ki-is-su a-na <sup>m</sup>Du-k[u-du-ku(?)]  
(lower edge)  
(9) DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>Ap-la-a i-nam-d[in’ ( ... )]  
(10) 1-en pu-ut šá-ni-i na-[šú-ú šá qé-reb]  
(reverse)  
(11) it-ṭi-ir pu-ut e-ṭ[è-ri šá SIG<sub>4</sub>.H.I.A a<sub>4</sub>]  
(12) 12 LIM <sup>md</sup>EN-ana-mi-ri-[iḫ-tum na-šī]  
(13) 1/3 MA.NA 1 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú<sup>r</sup> i<sup>r</sup> -[ ... ]  
(14) [ina š]U<sup>11</sup> <sup>m</sup>Du-ku-du-ku(?) ma-ḫi-ir-<sup>r</sup> e(?)<sup>r</sup> -[lat ú-il-tim šá]  
(15) [x]+2(?) LIM SIG<sub>4</sub>.H.I.A šá muḫ-ḫi <sup>md</sup>EN-ana-mi-r[i-ih-tum]  
(16) [ú(?) <sup>md</sup>AG(?)]-ÜRÜ-šú 2-ta mar-ri 1-en ki-is-ki-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>  
(17) [1-e]n na-al-bi-<nu(?)> LU HU(?) DIR ina IGI-šú-nu  
(18) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> <sup>m</sup>Ba-zu DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>AG-DIN-su-E <sup>md</sup>EN-<sup>r</sup>ÜRÜ-šú(!)<sup>1</sup>  
(19) DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>EN-KÁD <sup>md</sup>UTU-MU DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>BA-šá-a <sup>md</sup>rIM-še-zib<sup>1</sup>  
(upper edge)  
(20) DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG <sup>md</sup>EN-DIN-it LÚ.ŠID DUMU šá  
(21) <<sup>m</sup>><sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU E.KI ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.20.KÁM  
(22) MU.8.KÁM <sup>m</sup>Aḫ-šī-ia-ar-šú LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ

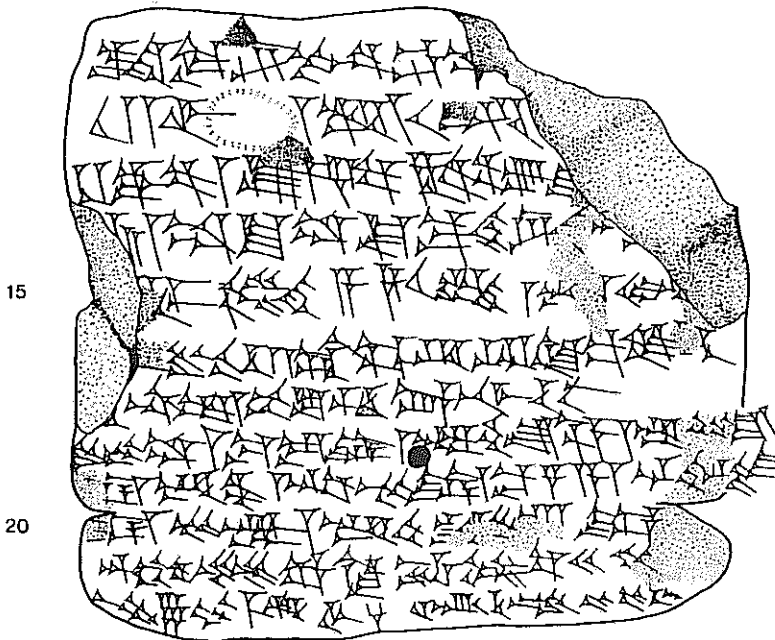
3. See my *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985), 9 n. 25 and “Belšunu the Satrap”, in *Language, Literature and History* (Studies Reiner), AOS 67 [1987], 397 n. 38, with a correction in *JNES* 48 (1989), 294 n. 15; A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, “Xerxes’ Destruction of Babylonian Temples”, in *Achaemenid History, II: The Greek Sources*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 72f.; F. Joannès, “La titulature de Xerxès”, *NABU* 1989/37.

4. Leichty and Grayson, *Catalogue... Sippar* 2, 127.

Obverse



Reverse



*Translation*

(1-5) 12,000 bricks are owed to Kî-Bêl, the major domo of Mardonius, by Bêl-ana-mîrihtu, son of Ina-Esagil-lûmuršu, Bêl-ittannu, son of Rîmût, and Bêl-uballit, son of Nidintu. (5-9) They will make the bricks with dirt of Bêl-iḫsur, son of Nabû-bulluṭâ, complete the work (by laying the bricks) in a stack, and deliver the said 12,000 bricks in a stack on day [x+]1, month V, to Duk[uduku(?)], son of Aplâ.

(10-12) Each assumes warranty for the other. [Whoever is available] will pay. Bêl-ana-mîrihtu assumes warranty for the full payment [of the said bricks, namely], 12,000.

(13-14) They have received 21 1/4 shekels of white silver from Dukuduku(?) [ ... ].

(14-16) [(This obligation is) in addition to(?)] a previous note for x+]2,000(?) bricks due from Bêl-ana-mîrihtu [and Nabû(?)]-uṣuršu.

(16-17) They have (the use of) two spades, one *kiskirru*-board, [one](?) brick-mold(?)...

(18-20) Witnesses: Bazu, son of Nabû-balâssu-iqbi; Bêl-uṣuršu, son of Bêl-kâṣir; Šamaš-iddin, son of Iqišâ; Adad-šezib, son of Iddin-Nabû.

(20-22) Bêl-uballit, scribe, son of Marduk-šum-iddin. Babylon. Month III, day 20, year 8, Xerxes, King of the Lands.

*Comments*

3. This Bêl-ana-mîrihtu can only be the same man found in Evetts App. 4, despite the slightly different form of his patronym.

5ff. I take it that *ina i-pi-ri ša* PN here qualifies *labānu* in the same way as in Evetts App. 4, even though it follows the verb.

8 and 14. The correct reading and sense of the name *Du-ku-du-ku*(?) elude me.

16. The broken name must be restored from the name of Bêl-ana-mîrihtu's co-adjutor in Evetts App. 4:3, and this clause must be understood, like Evetts App. 4:13f., as a reference to another outstanding contract for bricks obliging both debtors. It strains the preserved parts of this clause, however, to interpret it precisely as a reference to Evetts App. 4. The traces of the number in line 15 do not favor a restoration [1]1 LIM, as a reference to Evetts App. 4 would require. Furthermore, if Evetts App. 4 was written in regnal year 8, it postdates this text; if in year 7, and if this clause refers to it, the reference would be to a delivery that was already overdue for a full year.

The spelling *Ma-ar-du-ū-ni-ia* in BM 64535:2 confirms that *Mar-di-ni-ia* in Evetts App. 4:2 does indeed render the name Mardonius, and not a West Semitic name as Zadok once suggested<sup>5</sup>. This Mardonius was not the father of the creditor (as Evetts' copy indicated), but his master or employer. He was the nominal proprietor of a household or estate at Babylon that was under the management of an overseer with a Babylonian name. He was apparently an early representative of the class of Iranian aristocrats found in later Achaemenid Babylonian legal documents, princes and queens and Iranian gentry who held estates that were managed for them by local staffs.

If the texts do not actually render impossible the conjecture that this Mardonius was the commander of the Achaemenid expeditionary force from Salamis to Plataea, they do make it difficult. Mardonius the general died in battle in 479, so if he was the absentee proprietor of an estate at Babylon, BM 64535 must be a posthumous mention of a man whose prerogatives and property had not been re-assigned or whose agent had not yet found a new affiliation.

These two texts, in turn, have a prosopographic link to at least two other documents in the same museum collection. The link is not, as one might expect, through the creditors but through one of the

5. *West Semites in Babylonia* (Jerusalem: Wanaarta, 1977), 113.

obliged parties, Nabû-uşurşu/Nabû-mukkê-elip. His role in the transactions varies. Both of additional texts, BM 64164 and BM 64155, are written to the benefit of Nabû-uşurşu; Evetts App. 4 is to his debit; and his appearance in BM 64535 is incidental to the main transaction, the result of his commercial association with one of the debtors. Nevertheless, it is far more likely that all four texts belonged to a single ancient archive than that the connections among them are coincidental.

BM 64164 and BM 64155 are both quitclaims, indicating that obligations due from Nabû-uşurşu are fully discharged and that outstanding records of those obligations are invalid. If the promissory notes Evetts App. 4 and BM 64535 did belong to the same archive, they must have been notes that had been returned after the obligations were paid off – that is, after the bricks that had been contracted for were delivered – the notes being held in lieu of receipts. If this construction of the relationships among the documents is correct, they came from the archive of Nabû-uşurşu/Nabû-mukkê-elip, or from an archive that recorded the combined operations of Nabû-uşurşu and Bēl-ana-mīrihtu/Nabû-ina-Esagil-lūmur, sometime suppliers to the estate of Mardonius.

BM 64164  
(82-9-18,4133)<sup>6</sup>

Babylon

23/III/10 Xerxes  
(18 June 476 B.C.)

- (1) *ú-il-tim šá* KÙ.BABBAR *ra-šu-tu*
- (2) *šá* <sup>1</sup>*La-qi-ip-tum* DUMU.SAL *šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-AxA-MU
- (3) DAM <sup>md</sup>EN-SUM.NA DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>Ki-di-ni
- (4) *šá ina* UGU <sup>md</sup>AG-ŪRU-šú DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-muk-ki-e-<sup>r</sup> lip<sup>1</sup>
- (5) *e-le-e-ti* KÙ.BABBAR *a-ki-i ú-il-tim<sup>r</sup> a<sup>1</sup>*
- (6) <sup>1</sup>*La-qi-ip-tum ina* ŠU<sup>11</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-su-úr-šú *e-<sup>r</sup>te-er-ta<sup>1</sup>*
- (7) *lu-ú ú-il-tim lu-ú gaba-ri ú-il-tim*
- (8) *šá* KÙ.BABBAR *ra-šu-ú-tu šá* <sup>1</sup>*La-qi-ip-[tum]*
- (9) *šá ina* UGU <sup>md</sup>AG-ŪRU-šú *a-šar* KAL x [ (...) ]
- (10) *e-ṭir-tum šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-ŪRU-šú *ši-[i]*
- (reverse)
- (11) LÚ *mu-kin-nu* <sup>m</sup>Ki-na-a DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-SUM.NA
- (12) <sup>md</sup>EN-DIN-iṭ DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-ŠEŠ
- (13) <sup>m</sup>Mu-ra-šu-ú DUB.SAR DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG
- (14) DIN.TIR.KI ITI.SIG<sub>1</sub> UD.23.KAM MU.10.[KÁM]
- (15) <sup>m</sup>Hi-ši-ia-ar-ši LUGAL *Par-sa u*
- (16) *Ma-da-a-a* LUGAL DIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR

#### Translation

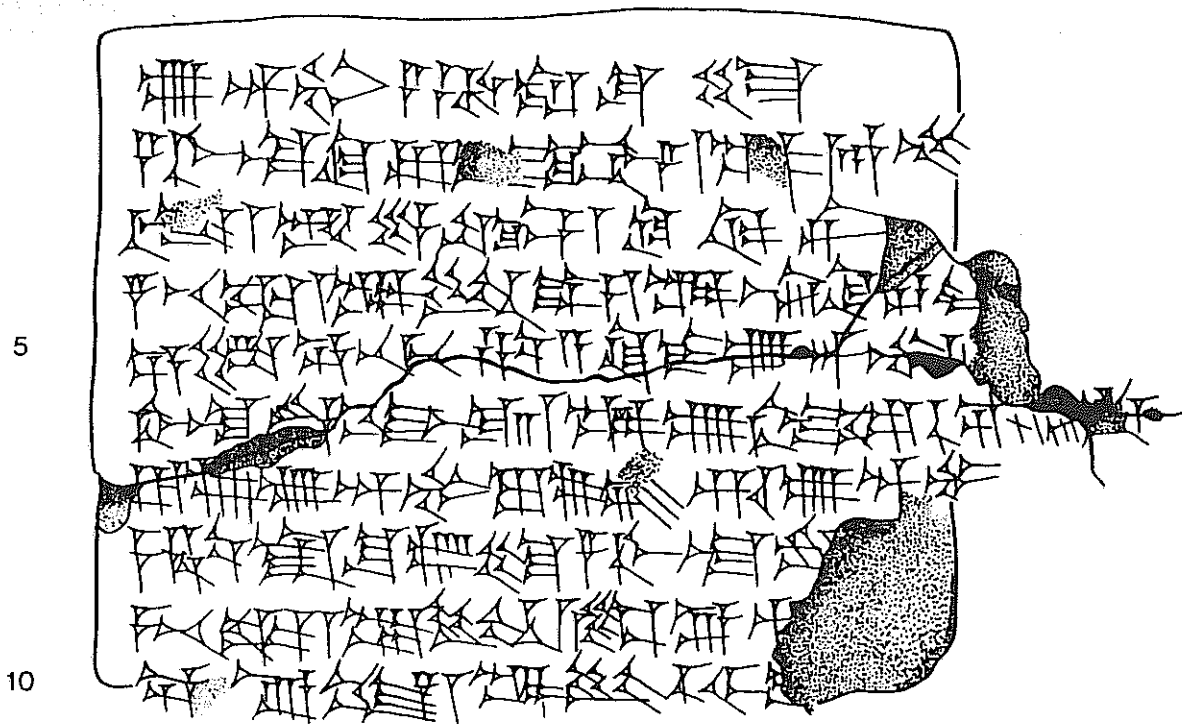
(1-5) (Concerning) the promissory note for silver, a claim held by Lāqīptu, daughter of Nabû-apil-iddin, wife of Bēl-ittannu, son of Kidinu, (a note) that is outstanding (lit. binding) against Nabû-uşurşu, son of Nabû-mukkê-elip–.

(6) Lāqīptu has been paid in full by Nabû-uşurşu in keeping with the terms of (that) note.

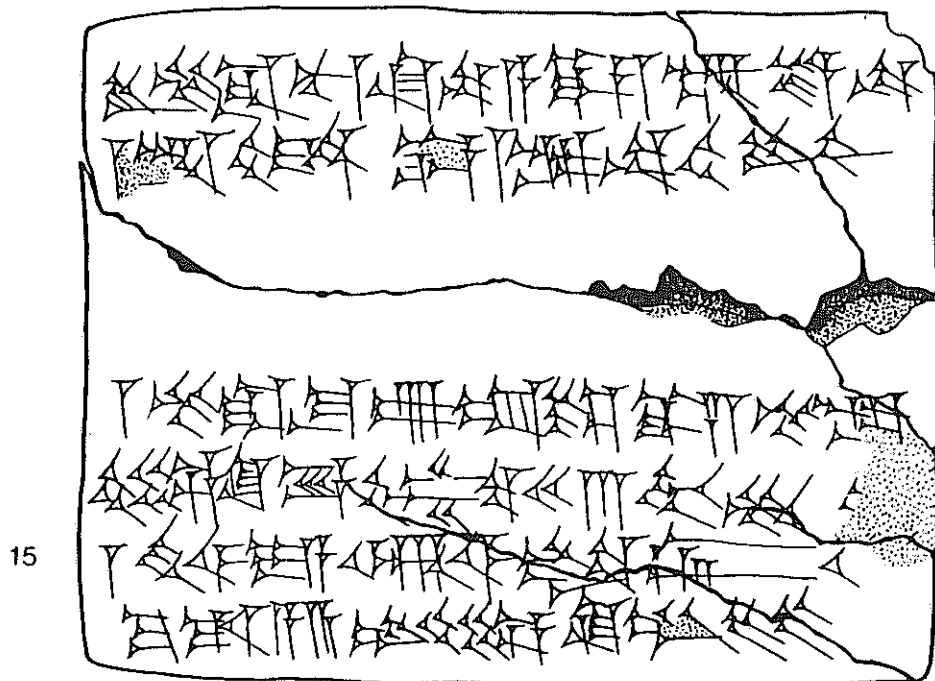
(7-10) Any note or copy of a note for silver, a claim held by Lāqīptu against Nabû-uşurşu, wherever it..., is to be considered paid off; it belongs to Nabû-uşurşu.

6. Leichty and Grayson, *Catalogue... Sippar* 2, 116.

Obverse



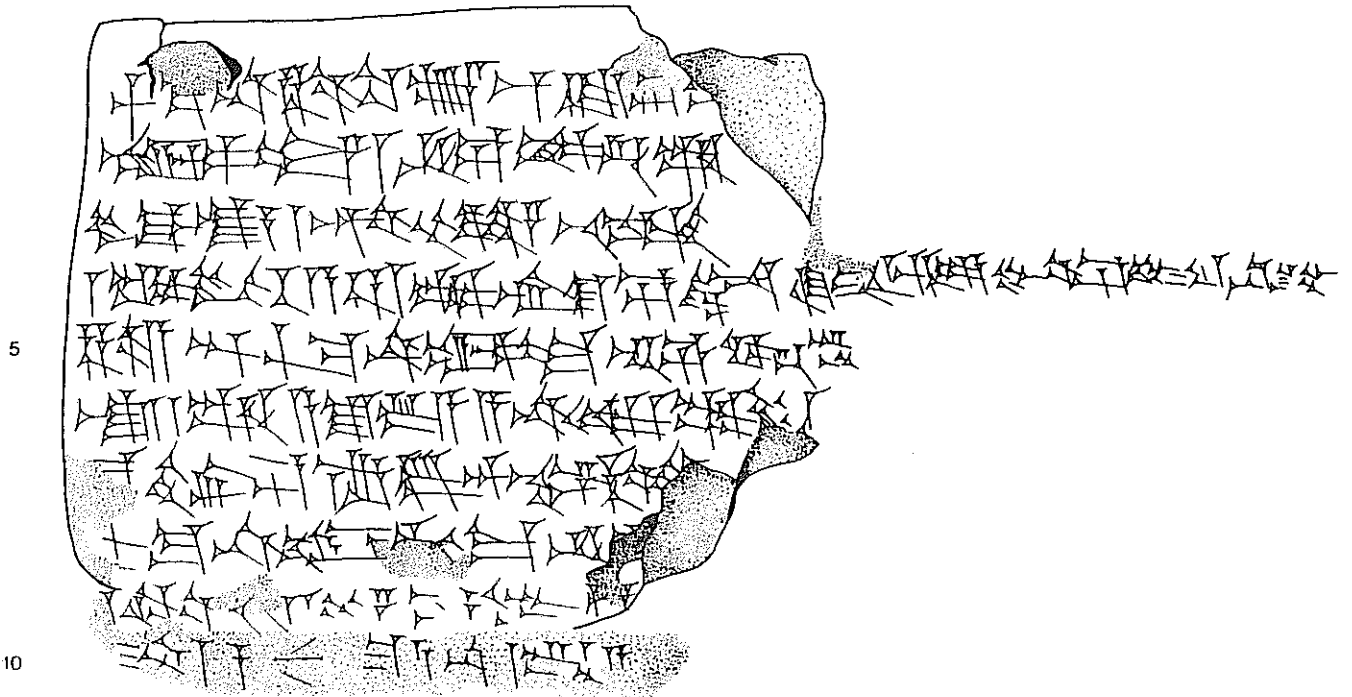
Reverse



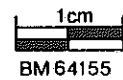
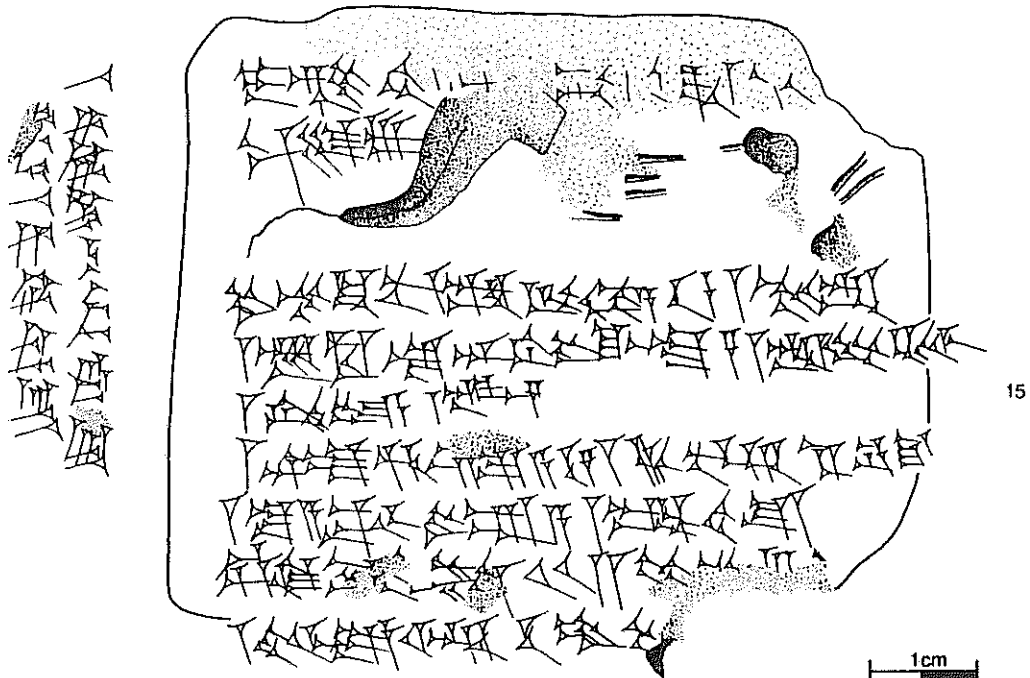
BM 64164



Obverse



Reverse



(11-12) Witnesses: Kinâ, son of Bêl-ittanna; Bêl-uballiṭ, son of Nabû-nâdin-aḫi.  
 (13-16) Murašû, scribe, son of Iddin-Nabû. Babylon. Month III, day 23, year 10, Xerxes, King of Persia and Media, King of Babylon, King of the Lands.

*Comment*

9 end. A form of *elû* or *nanmuru* is expected.

BM 64155  
 (82-9-18,4124)<sup>7</sup>

Babylon

22/III/3+x Xerxes

- (1)  $\frac{1}{2}$  MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú šá ina 1 GÍN bit-qa  
 (2) ŠÁM ANŠE šá <sup>m</sup>EN-e-ṭè-ri-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 (3) LÚ qal-la šá <sup>md</sup>UTU-DIN-iṭ šá ina muḫ-ḫi  
 (4) <sup>md</sup>AG-ÛRU-šú A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-muk-ku-e-lip u <sup>m</sup>Ki-i-IGI<sup>u</sup>-ia pu-ut e-ṭè-ru na-šur  
 (5) KÛ.BABBAR a,  $\frac{1}{2}$  MA.NA ŠÁM ANŠE <sup>m</sup>EN-e-ṭè-ri-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 (6) ina ŠU<sup>u</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-a-su-ú-a a-na UGU <sup>md</sup>AG-ÛRU-šú  
 (7) ma-ḫi-ir e-ṭir ú-íl-tim šá KÛ.BABBAR [a,]  
 (8)  $\frac{1}{2}$  MA.NA ŠÁM ANŠE <sup>m</sup>EN-[e-ṭè-ri-<sup>d</sup>EN]  
 (lower edge)  
 (9) a-di UD.22.KÁM šá ITL.SIG<sub>4</sub> x x  
 (10) i-na-<sup>r</sup> áš<sup>r</sup>-šá<sup>r</sup>-am(?)<sup>r</sup>-ma aš<sup>r</sup>-na <sup>md</sup>EN-a-[su-ú-a]  
 (reverse)  
 (11) i-nam-din [ ... ] x x x  
 (12) qa-tu-ú  
 (13) LÚ mu-kin-nu <sup>md</sup>EN-ik-šur A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 (14) <sup>md</sup>EN-bul-ṭa(!)-an-ni LÚ qal-la šá <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-GÁL-ši  
 (15) <sup>m</sup>Ni-din-tum A <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR  
 (16) <sup>m</sup>Na-ad-ḫu-un-zu A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ar-si-e-su  
 (17) <sup>m</sup>La-a-ba-ši LÚ.ŠID A <sup>md</sup>AG-DIN-SU  
 (18) E.KI ITL.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.22.KÁM <sup>r</sup>MU.3+x.KÁM <sup>r</sup>  
 (upper edge)  
 (19) <sup>m</sup>Ḫi-ši-ia-ar-šú LUGAL KUR [...]   
 (left edge)  
 (20) <sup>m</sup>Pa-di-ia?-ar?-ra-su  
 (21) A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>Pa-di-e-su

*Translation*

(1-4) (Concerning)  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of white silver with  $\frac{1}{8}$  shekel per shekel alloy, the price of a donkey, owed to Bêl-eṭeri-Bêl, which was owed by Nabû-ušuršu, son of Nabû-mukkû-elip, and for which Kî-inēya guaranteed full payment—.

(5-7) Bêl-eṭeri-Bêl has received that silver,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina, the price of a donkey, from Bêl-asúa on behalf of Nabû-ušuršu; he is paid in full.

7. Leichty and Grayson, *Catalogue... Sippar 2*, 116; Bertin copies, pl. 2856.

(7-11) Bēl-[eṭēri-Bēl] will produce the promissory note for that silver,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina, the price of a donkey, and turn it over to Bēl-[asūa] by day 22 of month III...

(11-12) ... is [not?] completed.

(13-16) Witnesses: Bēl-ikṣur, son of Iddin-Bēl; Bēl-bulṭanni, servant of Bēl-aḥ-ušabši; Nidintu, son of Nabû-ēṭir; Nadḥunzu, son of Ḥarsi-esu; (20-21) Padia-arrasu, son of Padi-esu.

(17-19) Lābāši, scribe, son of Nabû-bullissu. Babylon. Month III, day 22, year 3+x, Xerxes, King of [ ... ].

*Comments*

11f. Perhaps 𒅗 DÙ(!) 𒅗-[uš NÍG]. 𒅗 ŠID(!) KI(!)-šú ul 𒅗 qatû, “the settling of accounts with him (?) is not complete”.

16 and 20f. Ḥarsi-esu and Padi-esu, names of Egyptian origin, are attested in Late Babylonian legal texts (e.g., R. Zadok, “On Some Egyptians in First-Millennium Mesopotamia”, *Göttinger Miszellen* 26 [1977], 65 and “On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia”, *Tel Aviv* 6 [1979], 172f., with earlier literature), but I do not know of parallels or likely etymologies for Nadḥunzu or Padia-arrasu – if these are the correct readings of the names.

19. The year may be any between 3 and 8.