

## PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, 1: THE ARCHIVE OF REMANNI-ADAD

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1. It is well known that the personal names in the Neo-Assyrian state archives were among the earliest to be put on file and classified by Assyriologists. Combining personal data with those assembled by C.H.W. Johns, K.L. Tallqvist was able as early as 1915 (*APN*) to provide a complete list of the onomastic attestations in NA archives, together with the relevant professional indications whenever present; the - not infrequent - cases of homonymy were further divided on orthographical grounds, or on the basis of chronological indications, etc. Considering that Tallqvist's source material comprised about 75% of the total NA corpus known today, it is needless to recall the importance of the data in *APN* for all following philological and linguistic studies on Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian onomastics of the 1st millennium B.C.. Rather, it should be noticed that the same data potentially laid the groundwork for a series of prosopographical investigations on Sargonid Assyria. Yet, the latter vein of enquiry into the social and political history of NA times does not seem to have enjoyed the same success as the purely philological study of the names; and only sparse contributions testify to its having been practiced at all by scholars in the seventy or so years since Tallqvist's time<sup>1</sup>.

2. In keeping with the experimental nature of our journal, it seemed worthwhile upon the present occasion to submit a preliminary and limited prosopographical study starting from Tallqvist's material - essentially for the aim of testing methods and technical possibilities of filing and analysis. The choice of a sampler of texts fell upon the

<sup>1</sup>) Cf. e.g. in recent times the study of some officials of Sargon's army in Dalley-Postgate, *TFS*, pp.29ff.; or the genealogy of Adad-šumu-ušur by S.Parpola in *LAS* 2, p.XIX; or the family stemma of the scribe Aššur-šumi-ašbat, K.Deller, *BagMitt* 13 (1982), pp.143-153.

relatively small group of legal documents concerning the “equerry” (*mukil appâte*) of Ashurbanipal, Rēmāni-Adad<sup>2</sup>. Although well-known since the time of the early text-editions (*ADD*, *ARU*), the figure of Rēmāni-Adad has enjoyed renewed interest in recent studies<sup>3</sup>.

This interest in Rēmāni-Adad finds its justification, insofar as different, and even seemingly contrasting, bits of information are available concerning this individual. On one hand we know of his high rank under Ashurbanipal, and of his many landed possessions in the northwestern corner of Mesopotamia (Harran and environs) in the decade 670-660 B.C.<sup>4</sup>; on the other hand, he is attested in a number of NA/NB letters of particular political interest, dealing with the rebellion against Esarhaddon planned in 670 by one Sāsî from Harrān<sup>5</sup> - and even in a role of possible accomplice to Sāsî. But whatever the case, these data suffice to set Rēmāni-Adad decidedly “above the crowd”, as part of a small group of medium- to high-level courtiers of the mid-7th century B.C., on which historical materials of particular interest for the study of the relationship between the Assyrian ruler and the palace elite are beginning to accumulate. In this light, the present study will attempt to bring into clearer focus not only the documentation on the *mukil appâte*, but also that concerning the group of his closest “colleagues” or “friends”, in any case people who were always at his beck and call when a legal document was being written and sworn.

3. Rēmāni-Adad’s “colleagues” and “friends” come to the fore already in the **selection** of texts for inclusion in his “archive”. The main group of legal documents, and specifically conveyance (sale) or contract (loan) texts<sup>6</sup>, to be thus selected presents Rēmāni-Adad in the position of contracting party (and specifically as lender or buyer)<sup>7</sup>. A second body of documents of the same type, although extremely fragmentary, and lacking the sectors of text bearing the name of the *mukil appâte*, may however be added to the previous one on prosopographical grounds, i.e. due to the consistent presence of a group of witnesses’ names regularly associated with him

<sup>2</sup>) Cf. *APN*, p.187a-b, for Rēmāni-Adad’s titles: notice the most extensive (and latest) formulation in *ADD* 200, 6-7, of 667 B.C.: LU<sup>1</sup>mu-kil KUŠ<sup>2</sup>PA<sup>3</sup>MEŠ<sup>4</sup> dan-nu ša<sup>5</sup> AŠ+ŠUR-DÛ.A MAN<sup>6</sup> KUR<sup>7</sup>AŠ+ŠUR. For the Rēmāni-Adad attested in *ADD* 260, Rev.10, cf. fn.8, below.

<sup>3</sup>) Cf. e.g. F.M.Fales, *CCENA*, p.102 fn.72; M.Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp.51ff.; S.Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp.45: 456.

<sup>4</sup>) Cf. G.van Driel, *BiOr* 27 (1970), p.170a.

<sup>5</sup>) Cf. most recently S.Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp.238-240, with previous literature.

<sup>6</sup>) Terminology following J.N.Postgate, *FNALD*, pp.1-62.

<sup>7</sup>) These texts were all published in John’s *ADD* or in the posthumous supplementary articles. Cf. *AJSL* 42 (1925-26), pp.170-204 and 228-275 for the supplementary texts *ADD* 1152-1281, collated by G.R.Driver, and presented by D.D.Luckenbill. A specific search for joins in the light of the prosopographic results might yield some interesting results, insofar as both “tops/bottoms” and “centers” of rectangular-shaped tablets have been included in the archive (see below for criteria).

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in fully preserved documents. What both groups of materials do basically show, then, is *either* the legible name of the *mukil appâte* Rēmāni-Adad as contracting party *and/or* the names of his best-known “colleagues” or “friends”<sup>8</sup>.

The outcome of this double (prosopographically-based) criterion for inclusion is the reconstruction of a far larger “archive” for Rēmāni-Adad than hitherto recognized, comprising 34 texts and fragments. To visualize the single texts and their characteristics for inclusion in the archive, a list and a brief description of their contents will now be provided.

[ 1] *ADD 35 = ARU 262*. Date: 22/X/Mannu-kī-šarri (January 664). **Loan** of silver by R-A: 10 minas by the Karkemiš standard. Interest of 25% upon lack of repayment. Witnesses: fig. 1.

[ 2] *ADD 60 = ARU 153*. Collation Parpola, Assur 2/5, p.9. Date: 4/?/Kanunayyu (666/665). **Loan** of silver by R-A: 1.5 minas against pledge of (two?) slaves. Witnesses: fig. 1.

[ 3] *ADD 116 = ARU 320* (“envelope” of *ADD 115 = ARU 321*). 25/X/Šarru-lu-dāri (Jan. 663). **Loan** of silver (10 minas by the Karkemiš standard) and animals (75 sheep, 1 cow) to three individuals<sup>9</sup>, with the *ina pūhi* clause. Interest of 33%. Witnesses: fig. 1.

[ 4] *ADD 172 = ARU 461*. Collation Parpola, Assur 2/5, p.22. Date: 20/VI/Šulmu-bēl-lašme (Sept. 670). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys a slave for 1.5 minas by the royal standard. Witnesses: fig. 1.

[ 5] *ADD 174 = ARU 497*. Date lost. **Conveyance document**: R-A buys a slave for 1 mina, Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 1.

[ 6] *ADD 185 = ARU 483*. Collation Parpola, Assur 2/5, p.25. Date: 16/XII/Gabbaru (March 666). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys ... (fragmentary). Witnesses: fig. 2.

[ 7] *ADD 192+ = ARU 65a* (duplicate of *ADD 258 = ARU 65*). Collation Parpola, Assur 2/5, p.88-89 (*ad text ADD 801*). Date: 20/IV/Kanunayyu (July 666). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys family group of 5 people from near Til-Barsip for 3 minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 2.

<sup>8</sup>) In particular, if the names of at least two of the individuals charted in fig.9, below, are attested, the chances of the document belonging to the Rēmāni-Adad archive are highest. On the contrary, the case of one witness Rēmāni-Adad, *mukil appâte ša dūnānate*, in the undated fragment *ADD 260*, Rev.10, among other witnesses not attested in the archive under study, may be excluded on the basis of the above criteria.

<sup>9</sup>) Notice the presence of the debtor Arba'ilayyu, *šaniu* of Barhalza, who should probably be identified with the homonym described as *šaniu* in *ADD 121 (= ARU 226)*, 4. In this case, the latter text should be added to our archive (as no. [3bis]), since - following Ungnad's collation (not modified by S.Parpola, Assur 2/5, p.126) - the name of the creditor in Obv.3 may be made out as <sup>1</sup>R[im]-a-ni-10. The text concerns again a loan of animals, and is dated to 1/I/Kanunayyu (March 666); among the “friends” of Rēmāni-Adad, only the name of Sāsī is legible.

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

	Texts				
	1 ADD 35	2 ADD 60	3 ADD 116	4 ADD 172	5 ADD 174
<i>Rēmāni-Adad</i> mukil appāte	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Nabū-eriba</i> šaniu ša rab urat	0	1	0	1	1
<i>Šamaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appāte	0	1	1	0	1
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appāte	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Nabū-šezib</i> mukil appāte	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appāte	1	0	1	0	1
<i>Habas (i/a)te</i> rab atē	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zababa-eriba</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appāte	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Mannu-ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Šumma-ilāni</i> mukil appāte	0	1	1	0	1
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appāte ša mār šarri	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	0	1	1	0	0
<i>Bāni</i> šaniu ša rab ašē	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartennu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appāte ša ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šamaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sīn-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šākin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū(?) -mušezib</i> ša narkabti GAB	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-ētir</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sāsī</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sīn-rēmāni</i>	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Sī'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zēru-ukin</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
OTHERS, attested only here	2	1	0	4	0

Fig. 1

[ 8] *ADD 200 = ARU 482*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.26. Date: ?/I/Gabbaru (667/666). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys slave for *n* minas. Witnesses: fig. 2.

[ 9] *ADD 202 = ARU 477*. Date: 28/I/Šulmu-bēl-lašme (April 670). **Conveyance document**: fragmentary. R-A (**name missing**) buys slave for *n* minas of silver. Witnesses: fig. 2.

[10] *ADD 237 = ARU 71*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.34. Date: 10/XI/Mannukī-šarri (January 664). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys family group of 2 people for 1 mina of silver. Witnesses: fig. 2.

[11] *ADD 247 = ARU 83*. Date lost. **Conveyance document**: R-A buys family group of 10 people for *n* minas of silver, Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 3.

[12] *ADD 266 = ARU 538*. Date 1/XII/Kanunayyu (February 665). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys family group of 5 people for *n* minas (?) of silver. Witnesses: fig. 3.

[13] *ADD 270 = ARU 67* (duplicate of *ADD 271 = ARU 68*). Date lost. **Conveyance document**: R-A buys family of 5 people for 5 minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 3.

[14] *ADD 331 = ARU 356*. Date 1/XI/Kanunayyu (January 665). **Conveyance document**: R-A buys a house - doors and beams included - in the town of Bīt-erība-ilu for 4 minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 3.

[15] *ADD 377 = ARU 399*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.57. Date: 17/X/Šarrulu-dāri (January 663). **Conveyance document**: fragmentary. R-A (**name missing**) buys an estate of 15 *emārus* cornland for *n* minas of silver (?). Witnesses: fig. 3.

[16] *ADD 408 = ARU 415*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.63. Date lost<sup>10</sup>. **Conveyance document**: fragmentary. R-A (**name missing**) buys cornland (?) for 0.5 minas of silver. Witnesses: fig. 4.

[17] *ADD 418 = ARU 211*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.64. Date lost. **Conveyance document**: R-A buys an estate comprising 50 *emārus* of cornland, a *bīt siqi*, a house, a threshing-floor, 2 orchards in the village of Burrim<sup>11</sup> for 10 minas by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 4.

[18] *ADD 420 = ARU 100*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.65. Date: 1/XII/Kanunayyu (February 665)<sup>12</sup>. **Conveyance document**: R-A buys an estate comprising 60 *emārus* of cornland, a threshing-floor of 20 *qa*, plus a family of 5 people in the town of Til-nahiri (NW Mesopotamia) for *n* minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 4.

<sup>10)</sup> But probably ca. 663 according to S.Parpola, *LAS 2*, p.454, on the basis of *ADD 115-116 (= [3])* and 470 (= [25]).

<sup>11)</sup> In the Habur valley: cf. K.Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens*, Wiesbaden 1980, pp.227ff., with discussion of this text.

<sup>12)</sup> Same date as no. [12], above.

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

	Texts				
	6 ADD 185	7 ADD 192	8 ADD 200	9 ADD 202	10 ADD 237
<i>Rēmanni-Adad</i> mukil appâte	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Nabū-eriba</i> šaniu ša rab urat	1	1	1	0	0
<i>Šamaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appâte	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-šezib</i> mukil appâte	1	0	0	1	0
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appâte	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Habas(i/a)</i> te rab atē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zababa-eriba</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Mannu-Ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Šumma-ilāni</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appâte ša mār šarri	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Bānī</i> šaniu ša rab asē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartennu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appâte ša ša ekalli	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Šamaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Sīn-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šakin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū(?) -mušezib</i> ša narkabti GAB	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-ētir</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Sāsī</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sīn-rēmanni</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Si'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Zēru-ukin</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	0
OTHERS, attested only here	5	2	4	0	12

Fig. 2

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

## Texts

	11	12	13	14	15
	ADD	ADD	ADD	ADD	ADD
	247	266	270	331	377
<i>Rēmāni-Adad</i> mukil appāte	1	1	1	1	0
<i>Nabū-erība</i> šaniu ša rab urat	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Šamaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appāte	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Nabū-šezib</i> mukil appāte	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Habas(i/a)</i> te rab atē	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zababa-erība</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appāte	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Mannu-ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Summa-ilāni</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appāte ša mār šarri	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Bāni</i> šaniu ša rab asē	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartennu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appāte ša ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šamaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Sīn-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-sākin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū(?) -mušezib</i> ša narkabti GAB	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-ētir</i>	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sāsī</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sīn-rēmāni</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Si'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zēru-ukīn</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
OTHERS, attested only here	4	4	0	0	0

Fig. 3

[19] *ADD* 429 = *ARU* 105. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.68<sup>13</sup>. Date lost. **Conveyance document:** fragmentary. R-A (**name missing**) buys land, a *bît-siqi*<sup>14</sup>, and a family of 8 people in the province of the Chief Cupbearer<sup>15</sup>; the price is lost: fig. 4.

[20] *ADD* 433 = *ARU* 108. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.69. Date lost. **Conveyance document:** fragmentary. R-A (**name missing**) buys 10 *emārus* of cornland, a vineyard, and a family group<sup>16</sup>; the price is lost. Witnesses: fig. 4.

[21] *ADD* 439 = *ARU* 110. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.71. Date lost. **Conveyance document:** fragmentary. R-A (**name missing**) buys a plot of cornland, and a family group<sup>17</sup>; the price is lost. Witnesses: fig. 5.

[22] *ADD* 445 = *ARU* 446 (duplicate of *ADD* 444 = *ARU* 445). Date: 26/IV/Giršapunu (July 660). **Conveyance document:** R-A buys a vineyard in the Singara district<sup>18</sup>, comprising 1000 stalks of vine, a grove of oaks, an estate of 6 *emārus* in the valley comprising cornland, a house, an orchard, and a pond - all for 4 minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 5.

[23] *ADD* 448 = *ARU* 443. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.73. Date: 10/XI/eponym lost. **Conveyance document:** R-A buys 3 walled vineyards<sup>19</sup> plus family groups plus houses in the town of Ispallurē (district of Izalla)<sup>20</sup>; the price is lost. Witnesses: fig. 5.

[24] *ADD* 451 = *ARU* 109. Date lost. **Conveyance document:** very fragmentary. R-A buys a vineyard, a house, a threshing-floor, in the district of Harrān, and a family group of 8 people; price lost. Witnesses: lost (cf. fig. 5).

[25] *ADD* 470 = *ARU* 168. Date: 25/IX/Bēl-nā'id (December 662). **Conveyance document:** R-A buys an entire village, <sup>URU</sup>Dannayu; price lost. Witnesses: fig. 5.

[26] *ADD* 471 = *ARU* 167. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.78. Date lost. **Conveyance document:** R-A buys an entire village, <sup>URU</sup>Musinā, inclusive of its tax-

<sup>13</sup>) The text - formed by three non-joining fragments - presents an Aramaic epigraph, and had been previously dated to approx. 623 B.C. on paleographical grounds: cf. now reedition in F.M.Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Roma 1986, pp.170-175.

<sup>14</sup>) Cf. Obv.3 in Parpola's collation of the text; a watered plot of the same type is also present in no. [17], above.

<sup>15</sup>) The localization of the plots *bmt r'bsqn* is in the Aramaic text: cf. Fales, *ibid.*. For the province of the Chief Cupbearer, cf. K.Kessler, *Untersuchungen ... cit.*, pp.158-172.

<sup>16</sup>) UN<sup>MES</sup> = *nišē* are present in Obv. 1' (cf. S.Parpola, *ibid.*).

<sup>17</sup>) Cf. Obv.2 in Parpola's collation; here the toponym is given as <sup>URU</sup>Qat'-*ta-na-a-a* - which again would point to NW Mesopotamia (cf. S.Parpola, *NAT*, p.285).

<sup>18</sup>) On this district, cf. M.Stol, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East*, Leiden 1979, pp.75-80.

<sup>19</sup>) Of resp. 1000, 2000, and 3000 plants or stalks of vine (*tillutu*), according to Parpola's collation (ll. 4,6,8.).

<sup>20</sup>) The connection between town and district, now established through collation in this text, was already clear as such in the "Schedule"-text *ADD* 742 (= *CCENA* 24), Obv. 32.

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

## Texts

	16	17	18	19	20
	ADD	ADD	ADD	ADD	ADD
	408	418	420-	429	433
<i>Rēmāni-Adad</i> mukil appāte	0	1	1	1	0
<i>Nabū-eriba</i> šaniu ša rab urat	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Šamaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appāte	1	0	1	0	1
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appāte	1	1	1	0	0
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Nabū-šeziḫ</i> mukil appāte	1	0	1	0	0
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appāte	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Habas(i/a)</i> te rab atē	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	1	1	0	1
<i>Zababa-eriba</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	0	0	1	1	1
<i>Nabū-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Mannu-ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Šumma-ilāni</i> mukil appāte	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appāte ša mār šarri	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Bāni</i> šaniu ša rab asē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	0	1	0	0	1
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartennu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appāte ša ša ekalli	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Šamaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Sîn-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šākin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū(?)</i> -mušeziḫ ša narkabti GAB	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-ētir</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šāsi</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sîn-rēmāni</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Si'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MEŠ	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Zēru-ukin</i> mukil appāte	0	1	0	0	0
OTHERS, attested only here	0	1	1	0	0

Fig. 4

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

## Texts

	21 ADD 439	22 ADD 445	23 ADD 448	24 ADD 451	25 ADD 470
<i>Rēmanni-Adad</i> mukil appâte	0	1	1	1	1
<i>Nabū-eriba</i> šaniu ša rab urat	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Šamaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appâte	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Nabū-šeziḫ</i> mukil appâte	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Habas(i/a)</i> te rab atē	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	1	0	0	1
<i>Zababa-eriba</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Nabū-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appâte	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Mannu-ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Šumma-ilāni</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appâte ša mār šarri	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Bānī</i> šaniu ša rab asē	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartennu	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appâte ša ša ekalli	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Šamaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sîn-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	1	1	0	0
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šākin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	1	1	0	0
<i>Nabū(?) -mušeziḫ</i> ša narkabti GAB	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-ēṭir</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sāsī</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Sîn-rēmanni</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Si'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zēru-ukīn</i> mukil appâte	0	1	0	0	0
OTHERS, attested only here	0	4	10	0	0

Fig. 5

exemptions<sup>21</sup>, a vineyard of 1500 stalks, an orchard, and 2 families for a total of 6 people in the district of Arpad for 17.5 minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard. Witnesses: fig. 6.

[27] *ADD 477 = ARU 625*. Date lost. Beginning of **conveyance document** lost; R-A buys unspecified goods; price lost. Witnesses: fig. 6.

[28] *ADD 503 = ARU 614*. Collation Parpola, *Assur 2/5*, p.83. Date lost; beginning of **conveyance document** lost; R-A buys unspecified goods; price lost. Witnesses: fig. 6.

[29] *ADD 571 = ARU 590*. Date lost; beginning of **conveyance document** lost; price lost; R-A: **name missing**. Witnesses: fig. 6.

[30] *ADD 599 = ARU 672*. Date lost; beginning of **conveyance document** lost; price lost; R-A: **name missing**. Witnesses: fig. 6.

[31] *ADD 611 = ARU 682*. Date: 28/X/eponym lost; beginning of **conveyance document** lost; price lost; R-A: **name missing**. Witnesses: fig. 7.

[32] *ADD 1153*<sup>22</sup>. Date lost. **Conveyance document**: R-A buys a town house, inclusive of beams and doors (cf. no. [14], above), in the city of Nemed-Ištar<sup>23</sup> for 5 minas of silver. Witnesses: fig. 7.

[33] *ADD 1155*. Date lost. **Conveyance document**: fragmentary. R-A buys unspecified goods; price lost. Witnesses: fig. 7.

[34] *ADD 1189*. Date lost. **Conveyance document**: R-A (**name missing**) buys an estate of 10 *emārus* of cornland, house (?), and pond; price lost. Witnesses: fig. 7.

<sup>21</sup>) Cf. J.N.Postgate, *TCAE*, p.178.

<sup>22</sup>) Cf. *HKL* 1, p.212, for photographic bibliography of this text.

<sup>23</sup>) Nowadays Tell 'Afar, again located in the region of Singara (Sinjar): cf. D.Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London 1968, p.55 fn.1.

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

	Texts				
	26 ADD 471	27 ADD 477	28 ADD 503	29 ADD 571	30 ADD 599
<i>Rēmāni-Adad</i> mukil appāte	1	1	1	0	0
<i>Nabū-eriba</i> šaniu ša rab urat	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Samaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appāte	1	1	1	1	0
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appāte	1	0	0	1	0
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	1	1
<i>Nabū-šeziḅ</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Habas(i/a)te</i> rab atē	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	1	0
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zababa-eriba</i> tašlišu	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	0	1	1	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appāte	0	1	1	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Mannu-ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Summa-ilāni</i> mukil appāte	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appāte ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Bānī</i> šaniu ša rab ašē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartenū	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appāte ša ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Samaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sin-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appāte	0	0	1	1	0
<i>Marduk-šākin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū(?) -mušeziḅ</i> ša narkabti GAB	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-ētir</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sāsī</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sin-rēmāni</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Si'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Zēru-ukin</i> mukil appāte	0	0	0	0	0
OTHERS, attested only here	0	1	0	0	0

Fig. 6

## Witnesses: Names &amp; Professions

## Texts

	31	32	33	34	TOTALS
	ADD	ADD	ADD	ADD	
	611	1153	1155	1189	
<i>Remanni-Adad</i> mukil appâte	0	1	1	0	25
<i>Nabû-eriba</i> šaniu ša rab urat	0	1	1	1	20
<i>Šamaš-šarru-ušur</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	1	17
<i>Barruqu</i> mukil appâte	1	0	0	1	12
<i>Nergal-šarru-ušur</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	11
<i>Nabû-šeziḫ</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	9
<i>Sakannu</i> mukil appâte	1	0	0	0	9
<i>Habas(i/a)</i> te rab atē	0	1	1	0	8
<i>Uarbisi</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	8
<i>Silim-Aššur</i> sukkallu dannu	0	0	1	1	7
<i>Zababa-eriba</i> tašlišu	1	0	0	0	7
<i>Ahu-lamašši</i> tašlišu	0	0	0	0	6
<i>Nabû-šarru-ušur</i> ša šēpā ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	6
<i>Nabû-zēru-iddin</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	6
<i>Zērūti</i> rab kišir	0	0	0	0	6
<i>Mannu-ki-Harrān</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	5
<i>Šumma-ilāni</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	5
<i>Zērūti</i> mukil appâte ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	5
<i>Aššur-ila'a</i> tašlišu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	4
<i>Bān?</i> šaniu ša rab asē	0	0	0	0	4
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> mār Gabbē	1	0	0	0	4
<i>Adad-bisunu</i>	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Ahu'a-āmur</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Ištar-nādin-apli</i> A.BA šabit dannite	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Kanunayyu</i> sartennu	1	0	0	1	3
<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i> m. appâte ša ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Šamaš-šallim</i> [ ] ša ekalli	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Sîn-ašarid</i> tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Ištar-šumu-ereš</i> rab A.BA	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Kišir-Aššur</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Marduk-šākin-šumi</i> rab mašmaši	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Nabū(?)</i> -mušeziḫ ša narkabti GAB	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Nabū-ētir</i>	0	0	0	1	2
<i>Nabū-zēru-iddin</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Na'id-Adad</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Šalmu-šarru-iqbi</i> [ ]	0	0	1	0	2
<i>Sāsī</i> hazanu [Ninua?]	0	0	0	1	2
<i>Sîn-rēmanni</i>	0	0	0	1	2
<i>Si'-dalāni</i> ša narkabti GAB.MES	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Zēru-ukin</i> mukil appâte	0	0	0	0	2
OTHERS, attested only here	0	0	0	0	55
				TOTAL	284

Fig. 7

4. Summing up, the archive of Rēmanni-Adad as we have it is a relatively compact body of texts, ranging from approx. 670 to 660<sup>24</sup>, mainly represented by conveyances<sup>25</sup>, and essentially centered on land and people located to the west and northwest of the Assyrian capital, from the hills of Sinjar to those of Izalla, from the Habur to the Balih river valley, from the area around Til-Barsip to the district of Arpad on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates. At times, other - explicit or implicit - notations belie the “western” origins of the sellers: thus, e.g., we find an official from Til-Barsip as witness in no. [7], while e.g. in no. [10] the personal name of the seller would seem to indicate a connection with the Harrān region<sup>26</sup>. As a further “western” touch in the deeds, the medium of payment - the silver - is consistently calculated by the Karkemiš mina; but this would seem to have been more of a requirement on the part of Rēmanni-Adad himself than of that of his counterparts, since the western mina is also quoted as medium of repayment in Rēmanni-Adad’s loan-documents<sup>27</sup>.

At a bird’s eye view, the financial operations documented by Rēmanni-Adad’s archive (comprising acquisitions, expenditures, and loans made) are the following:

<sup>24</sup>) The order of the 15 dated texts in the archive is as follows:

[ 4] *ADD* 172 = *ARU* 461 20/VI/Šulmu-bēl-lašme (September 670)

[ 9] *ADD* 202 = *ARU* 477 28/I/ Šulmu-bēl-lašme (April 670)

[ 8] *ADD* 200 = *ARU* 482 ?/I/Gabbaru (667/666)

[ 6] *ADD* 185 = *ARU* 483 16/XII/Gabbaru (March 666)

[ 7] *ADD* 192+ = *ARU* 65a 20/IV/Kanunayyu (July 666)

[ 2] *ADD* 60 = *ARU* 153 4/?/Kanunayyu (666/665)

[14] *ADD* 331 = *ARU* 356 1/XI/Kanunayyu (January 665)

[12] *ADD* 266 = *ARU* 538 1/XII/Kanunayyu (February 665)

[18] *ADD* 420 = *ARU* 100 1/XII/Kanunayyu (February 665)

[10] *ADD* 237 = *ARU* 71 10/XI/Mannu-kī-šarri (January 664)

[11] *ADD* 35 = *ARU* 262 22/X/Mannu-kī-šarri (January 664)

[15] *ADD* 377 = *ARU* 399 17/X/Šarru-lu-dāri (January 663)

[ 3] *ADD* 116 = *ARU* 320 25/X/Šarru-lu-dāri (January 663)

[25] *ADD* 470 = *ARU* 168 25/IX/Bēl-nā'id (December 662)

[22] *ADD* 445 = *ARU* 446 26/IV/Giršapunu (July 660)

N.B.: Cf. fn.7, above, for no. [3bis] = March 666.

<sup>25</sup>) Only texts [1], [2], [3] are loan documents.

<sup>26</sup>) The seller’s name in *ADD* 237 (=no.[10]) is a good West Semitic formation, *Si-na-tan*, “the Moon-god has given, provided (this child)”; for onomastics from the Harran region, cf. Fales, *CCENA*; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achemenian Periods. An Onomastic Study*<sup>2</sup>, Jerusalem 1978.

<sup>27</sup>) As observed by Postgate, *FNALD*, p.65, the difference between the royal mina and the Karkemiš mina is not known; notice, in any case, that the price of a male household slave is given as 1.5 minas by the royal standard in no. [4], while it corresponds to 1 mina by the Karkemiš standard in no. [5].

- acquired: 13 estates of cornland or of mixed cornland/vineyard, for a total of 2 complete villages, 141(+n) *emārus*<sup>28</sup>, 6(+n?) vineyards, 2 *bît siqi*, houses, threshing-floors, etc. - the price of 4 legible cases adding up to 32 minas of silver<sup>29</sup>;
- acquired: 2 town houses, for a total of 9 minas of silver<sup>30</sup>;
- acquired: 11 family groups - bought with real estate or separately - for a total of 54(+n) people<sup>31</sup>. The price in 3 clear examples (=12 people)<sup>32</sup> amounts to 9 minas of silver;
- acquired: 4 households slaves (only 2 legible cases of prices)<sup>33</sup>;
- lent: 22.5 minas of silver, two lots of farm animals at various conditions of pledge and/or interest<sup>34</sup>.

From the viewpoint of social and economic history, the archive of Rēmāni-Adad is an excellent case study for a series of basic issues concerning the overall “mode of production” of extra-palatial, and specifically rural, Assyria of the 7th century B.C.. These issues, not being of primary importance for the present study, may be summarized as follows<sup>35</sup>:

— Rēmāni-Adad is to be classified as the owner of a landed holding of a particular type, relatively well documented as such in NA texts from the age of Sargon II on, e.g. the well-known “Harrān-census” and other cadastral accounts<sup>36</sup>. This type of holding - an actual *latifundum* - was formed by a plurality of plots of varying dimensions, which were not only not adjacent, but were quite often even located in more than one regional context. The archive under study is clear in this respect: Rēmāni-Adad, similarly to other large landowners of his age, was simultaneously in control of land located in various regions or provinces of the Assyrian empire, although possibly with a preference for the “West”.

— The separate plots forming the particular NA *latifundum*, basically devoted to cereal crops but at times to other locally profitable types of cultivation - such as the vine in the hilly regions - appear to have been essentially manned by serfs, organized in family units. These people were tied to the land in a fixed manner, i.e. bought/brought to perform work on the land and sold with the land itself, lacking the means of

<sup>28)</sup> Nos. [15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], [23], [24], [25], [26], [34].

<sup>29)</sup> Nos. [16], [17], [22], [26].

<sup>30)</sup> Nos. [14], [32].

<sup>31)</sup> Nos. [7], [10], [11], [12], [13], [18], [19], [20], [21], [24], [26].

<sup>32)</sup> Nos. [7], [10], [13].

<sup>33)</sup> Nos. [4], [5], [8], [9]. Cf. fn.25, above.

<sup>34)</sup> Cf. nos. [1], [2], [3], [3bis].

<sup>35)</sup> For a recent general overview of the problem, and previous bibliography, cf. F.M.Fales, *The Neo-Assyrian Period*, in: A.Archi (ed.), *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East*, Roma 1985, pp.207-220.

<sup>36)</sup> Cf. Fales, *CCENA*, *passim*.

organizing their own juridical and/or social redemption, and not visualized by higher or intermediate authorities as doing so - true *glebae adscripti*. Their economic assets seem to have been limited to a production of mere subsistence, perhaps through the cultivation of small, specially allotted "own" portions within the landlord's holding<sup>37</sup>. The characteristics of these groups of agricultural serfs from the viewpoint of family composition and geography are also of interest for the overall socio-economic conclusions arising from them<sup>38</sup>.

— The correspondence concerning the data on NA *latifundia* (size, distribution patterns, inner mechanisms) between the cadastral texts<sup>39</sup> and the legal documents, leads to the major issue of the "politics" behind these extended and wide-ranging landed holdings. In some cases, it is clear that the initial constitution of the *latifundia* derived from grants of land made by the king to specific individuals or groups on the basis of explicitly stated merits in the field of loyalty<sup>40</sup>. But was this the only way to assemble a major holding? Or, in other terms, was the mechanism of private acquisitions of land and people - such as is testified by the archive of Rēmanni-Adad - an alternative or a complementary method to form a holding? And was the position of the large private landowner equally legitimate from the political viewpoint as that of the loyal Crown grantee? In general, the range of possibilities within the area of "the politics of landownership in NA times" seems too abundant for a brief and straightforward depiction - at least, in our present state of knowledge. Notice, for one, how Rēmanni-Adad acquires in no. [26] an entire village including the tax-exemption which had - presumably - been previously granted to it by the king<sup>41</sup>.

5. Let us now, having posed (if not solved) the main general problems regarding the archive, turn to an "inside view" of the archive itself. Through the interaction of different commercial computer programs<sup>42</sup>, a grid of 94 individuals occurring as witnesses in the deeds of Rēmanni-Adad was obtained. Among these, 55 individuals showed attestations in **only one** deed: in this case, the status of the relevant subjects may

<sup>37)</sup> The very few attestations of plots *ša ramanišu(nu)*, "of his/their own" are discussed in *CCENA*, pp.124-125.

<sup>38)</sup> Cf. F.M.Fales, *Popolazione servile e programmazione padronale in tarda età neo-assira*, *OrAnt* 14 (1975), pp.325-360.

<sup>39)</sup> Comprising also some cadastral-type lists reproduced in letters: cf. e.g. S.Parpola, *ZA* 64 (1975), pp.98ff. for examples.

<sup>40)</sup> Cf. J.N.Postgate, *NARGD*, *passim*.

<sup>41)</sup> However, following Postgate, *TCAE*, p.189, this passage is open to various doubts.

<sup>42)</sup> The data were classified using the spreadsheet grid of the program LOTUS 123, version 2; charts were obtained within the program itself, or from the transfer of data to Microsoft CHART. For the font problems in lists and charts, LETTRIX was used.

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have been that of witnesses for the “other” party<sup>43</sup>, or of merely occasional witnesses for Rēmāni-Adad<sup>44</sup>. On the other hand, the remaining 39 individuals showed presences in a range from 2 to 20, as may be seen in fig. 8.

These 39 persons may be then said to form the true circle of “friends” or “colleagues” of Rēmāni-Adad, called (or ready) to come from time to time to act as witnesses to the *mukil appāte*’s documents of acquisition or loan in court at Nineveh<sup>45</sup>. To be sure, particularly in view of the professional titles involved, various markedly different sectors of Assyrian social life seem to be attested here: the first impression, in other words, is rather that of a series of subgroups unconnected except for individual ties with Ashurbanipal’s equerry, than that of a collective body of sorts. This impression, however, is bound to be somewhat corrected after a more detailed investigation on the main subgroups and their constituents.

The **military** - and in particular the personnel of the chariotry - form the largest subgroup, and altogether the firmest one as for attendance. They comprise foremost 10 people who shared Rēmāni-Adad’s function of equerry, though probably not his specific rank<sup>46</sup>: Šamaš-šarru-ušur (17 texts), Barruqu (12), Nabû-šeziḫ (9), Sakannu (9), Nabû-zēru-iddin (6), Šumma-ilāni (5), Zērūti (5), Marduk-šarru-ušur (3), Kišir-Aššur (3), and Zēru-ukīn (2); of these, very few seem to be attested elsewhere in the

<sup>43</sup> At times, the tie of a witness with the party opposing Rēmāni-Adad may be substantiated by further contextual data. The place of origin of the individual is one such element: thus the man from Til-Barsip in no. [7] (fn.24, above), or the 6 people hailing from the town of Bīt-erība-ilu, where R-A’s new town-house was located (no. [14]; cf. also similar cases in no. [16], ll. 22ff., no. [23], ll. 44-46) were doubtlessly witnesses for the sellers. A further datum of the same type might be sought in the (rare) cases of witnesses’ names given with patro-/fratronymics, possibly indicating the non-palatial professional affiliation of the subjects, as e.g. one Mannu-kī-šābē in no. [15], Obv.15.

<sup>44</sup> Notice, e.g., the cases of those once-attested witnesses whom we know, from other Nineveh texts, to have had links with some of the “friends” or “colleagues” of Rēmāni-Adad. Thus, e.g., the chief exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur is present together with three fellow court intellectuals and frequent witnesses to R-A (viz. the chief scribe, Ištar-šumu-ereš, the *mašmašu* Marduk-šākin-šumi and Bānī, the deputy chief physician) at the signing of no. [23]; and a similar situation applies to Marduk-šumu-ušur, chief haruspex in no. [16] (cf. Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp. 453-455, for both cases).

<sup>45</sup> Their combined presences in the texts are 207, i.e. an average of 5.3 per person. Admittedly, the elimination of the 12 individuals with only two presences each would raise this average in a significant manner (6.78 attestations per person). On the other hand, the fragmentary nature of a large part of the textual evidence under discussion might justify the low range of inclusion.

<sup>46</sup> Šamaš-šarru-ušur and Zērūti are qualified in some texts as equerries “of the crown prince”; Marduk-šarru-ušur is equerry “of the queen mother”: cf. *APN*, s. vv.



state archives of the Neo-Assyrian age: one of these is Nabû-šeziḫ<sup>47</sup>, another is Nabû-zēru-iddin<sup>48</sup>.

Then we have 6 individuals bearing the title of *tašlišu*, “third man on the chariot”: Nergal-šarru-ušur (11 presences), Uarbisi (8)<sup>49</sup>, Zababa-erība (7), Ahu-lamašši (6), Aššur-ilā’a (4), and Sîn-ašarid (3)<sup>50</sup>. Undoubtedly, the best attested man for this corps is Nergal-šarru-ušur, whose title alternates between *tašlišu* and *tašlišu dannu*<sup>51</sup>: he could well have been the same individual as the “third man” mentioned by Ashurbanipal in the NB royal letter *ABL* 539, Rev. 14, as participating to a mission to the South with Nabû-erība (see below) and Akkullanu, a scholar<sup>52</sup>. He is further possibly identical to the lender of 5 minas of silver by the Karkemiš standard in *ADD* 27 = *ARU* 262, 2 (667 B.C.), in which Nabû-šeziḫ (see above) appears as witness.

Still among the military, 6 further men are qualified *ša narkabti* GAB<sup>MES</sup> 53: Mannu-kī-Harrān (5 presences), Ahū’a-āmur<sup>54</sup> (3), Nabû’-mušeziḫ (2), Nabû-zēru-iddin (2), Nā’id-Adad (2) and Si’-dalāni (2)<sup>55</sup>: the last named individual should be attested in a fragmentary line of the large administrative list of palace officials *ADD* 857 (III, 26)<sup>56</sup>.

Finally, the profession of Nabû-erība, *šaniu ša rab urat*, “deputy master of the horse teams”, belongs largely to the same sphere of activities as the ones seen above. Perhaps the very same man is attested in *ADD* 633 = *ARU* 148, Rev. 1 (where one Ahū’a-āmur is also present). More to the point, however, it may be asked: is he the same individual as the Nabû-erība, <sup>L</sup>U<sup>S</sup>A<sup>G</sup>, also mentioned by Ashurbanipal as part of the mission to Babylonia in the royal letter *ABL* 539<sup>57</sup>?

Other professional names of these customary witnesses point to high- or medium-level ranks in various spheres of **civilian life**. Thus, in the highest echelon we have a

<sup>47</sup>) Although the name is common, and doubts may be cast on most of its attestations at Nineveh, as regards identification with our man (cf. *APN*, pp.159-160), cf. possibly the witness in *ADD* 27 = *ARU* 261, 9, of 667 B.C. (due to the presence of one Nergal-šarru-ušur); and *ADD* 64 = *ARU* 152, 22, of 672 B.C. for the presence of Habasa/ite).

<sup>48</sup>) Cf. possibly *ADD* 256 = *ARU* 536, 19 (676 B.C.; fragmentary context; cf. Parpola, *Assur* 2/5, p.147); notice also that an individual bearing the professional title *ša narkabti* GAB<sup>MES</sup> is present in no. [2], of 666/665 B.C..

<sup>49</sup>) This man’s name is given as *U-a-ar-me-ri* in no. [3], and as *U-bar-bi-si* in nos. [17], [25]; cf. *APN*, p.238a-b.

<sup>50</sup>) Also *tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri* in *ADD* 60 (= no. [2]).

<sup>51</sup>) *ADD* 408 = no. [16].

<sup>52</sup>) Cf. Parpola, *LAS* 2, p.463, 56.

<sup>53</sup>) For this professional title, cf. Dalley-Postgate, *TFS* p.284 with references.

<sup>54</sup>) Cf. below, under Nabû-erība.

<sup>55</sup>) The name of this man appears as *Si-’i-da-la-a* in no. [6], as *Si-’i-dil(AŠ)-a-an* in no. [18]; cf. F.M.Fales, *OrAn* 16 (1977), pp.51, 54.

<sup>56</sup>) Cf. Fales, *ibid.*, p.54, for the reconstruction of the name here.

<sup>57</sup>) A positive identification is given by Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp.463, 56; see above, fn.52.

*sartennu* (Kanunayyu) and a *sukkallu dannu* (Silim-Aššur), both of whom are elsewhere attested as eponyms. Silim-Aššur, the eponym for 659 B.C., is known from both Assyrian and Aramaic sources<sup>58</sup>, and is present as witness for R-A in seven texts (for the years 665, 662, 660 in dated deeds); while Kanunayyu, eponym for 671 B.C.<sup>59</sup>, appears only three times (once in dated texts: 662 B.C.).

Next, a particular subgroup of “friends” belongs to the elite of court intellectuals and/or scribes of the age of Ashurbanipal (and of Esarhaddon before him): foremost the chief court scribe Ištar-šumu-ereš (2 presences), then Marduk-šākin-šumi the *rab maš-mašu* (2); also the chief physician, Bānī (4), and the <sup>LU</sup>A.BA Ištar-nādin-apli (3), who later becomes the chief of the collegium of 10 scribes from the city of Arba’il<sup>60</sup>. Although these scholars do not seem to have been particularly assiduous at the signing of Remāni-Adad’s deeds, in fact their link with the *mukil appāte* appears solid - and it represents a facet of their careers and activities which is not borne out as such by their many and well-known letters to the Assyrian rulers<sup>61</sup>.

Lastly, a set of members of Rēmāni-Adad’s “in-group” is formed by isolated representatives of their respective professions: apart from a few minor presences, we find one military (Zērūti, *rab kišir*, with 6 attestations), and - with 8 attestations - a *rab atē*, “chief doorkeeper”, Habasa/ite by name<sup>62</sup>, and - finally - Sāsī, certainly the most puzzling figure in our archive.

To provide a mere summary of mainly well-known materials: we encounter Sāsī as witness for Rēmāni-Adad with the title of *hazanu* <sup>URU</sup>[ ] in no. [23], and he recurs with no title in no. [3bis], and [34]. On the other hand, contemporary court letters bear evidence to one Sāsī as a palace official “in charge of political hostages”<sup>63</sup>. Finally, in a period corresponding to approx. 670 B.C., a Sāsī was denounced in NB letters to Esarhaddon by an official named Nabū-rehtu-ušur. According to this denunciation Sāsī was at that time the instigator, or in any case the man behind the scenes, of a conspiracy against the ruling dynasty, with many accomplices, particularly in the Harrān region. One of the most frequently mentioned people in this connection is Rēmāni-Adad, by profession equerry: that he should be identified with our man is virtually doubtless<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>58</sup>) Cf. resp. Ungnad, *RIA* 2 [1938], s.v. *Eponymen*, p.454a; Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs ... cit.*, pp.230ff. for *slm'sr*.

<sup>59</sup>) Cf. Ungnad, *ibid.*, p.449b.

<sup>60</sup>) For a bird's-eye view on the careers and attestations of these individuals, cf. Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp.468-469.

<sup>61</sup>) The rare military attested in the *LAS* letters are low-ranking, such as bodyguards, footsoldiers, etc.: cf. *LAS* 1, pp.304-309 for a list.

<sup>62</sup>) Or Ahu/i-basti/u in other versions of the name; on this man and his activities, cf. recently E.Lipiński, *Les Phéniciens à Ninive au temps des Sargonides: Ahoubasti, portier en chef*, in: *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici*, Roma 1983, pp.125-134.

<sup>63</sup>) Parpola, *LAS* 2, p.99.

<sup>64</sup>) Cf. Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp.238-240 for a reconstruction in greater detail and provided with the necessary

Now, it may be interesting to add to these basic data, that Nabû-rehtu-ušur also is attested as witness in one text of our archive, no. [23]; thus, we would seem to have all three essential protagonists of the letters concerning the Harrân-based coup of 670 participating serenely to a legal transaction no more than 3 to 6 years later<sup>65</sup>.

6. However as it may be concerning the conspiracy of Sāsî and its outcome, the case of *ADD* 448 = no. [23], where scribes and scholars, the usual military “friends”, a governor and an Aramaic scribe<sup>66</sup> participate to the witnessing of the deed of Rēmanni-Adad, might provide us with something of an emblem of the overall societal picture to be drawn conclusively from the archive itself. What we may presume to notice here is that the “scene” is dominated by a middle-to-high-ranking layer of palace officialdom, professionally varied, but presenting many inner bonds, from *sartennu* to haruspex, from *rab atē* to master of the royal teams. Was this situation of social intermingling tied to particular circumstances, resulting from the recent arrival of Ashurbanipal to the throne? Are we dealing with a group of “cronies” of some sort<sup>67</sup>? It is probably best to leave the question open for the moment, in await of new editorial or classificatory results: on our part, it must be noted that other legal archives from Nineveh of prosopographical interest, such as those of Ninuayyu or Kakkullanu, are marked by a much more “tight-knit” professional/social framework.

textual references. For the Rēmanni-Adad mentioned in the letters as a *mukil appâte*, cf. M. Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp.51-54, 162 *ad* [62].

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Parpola, *LAS* 2, p.239 fn.413, for the observation that, after the attempted coup, Sāsî “kept finding favour with the king and was not executed along with the other conspirators”.

<sup>66</sup> Resp. ll. 31, 52.

<sup>67</sup> A situation of “in-group” at Nineveh, at the outset of Ashurbanipal’s reign, is depicted with rapid but efficacious touches by the exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur in *ABL* 2: cf. F.M.Fales, *L’“ideologo” Adad-šumu-ušur*, *RANL* 29 (1975), pp.453-496; Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp.103ff.

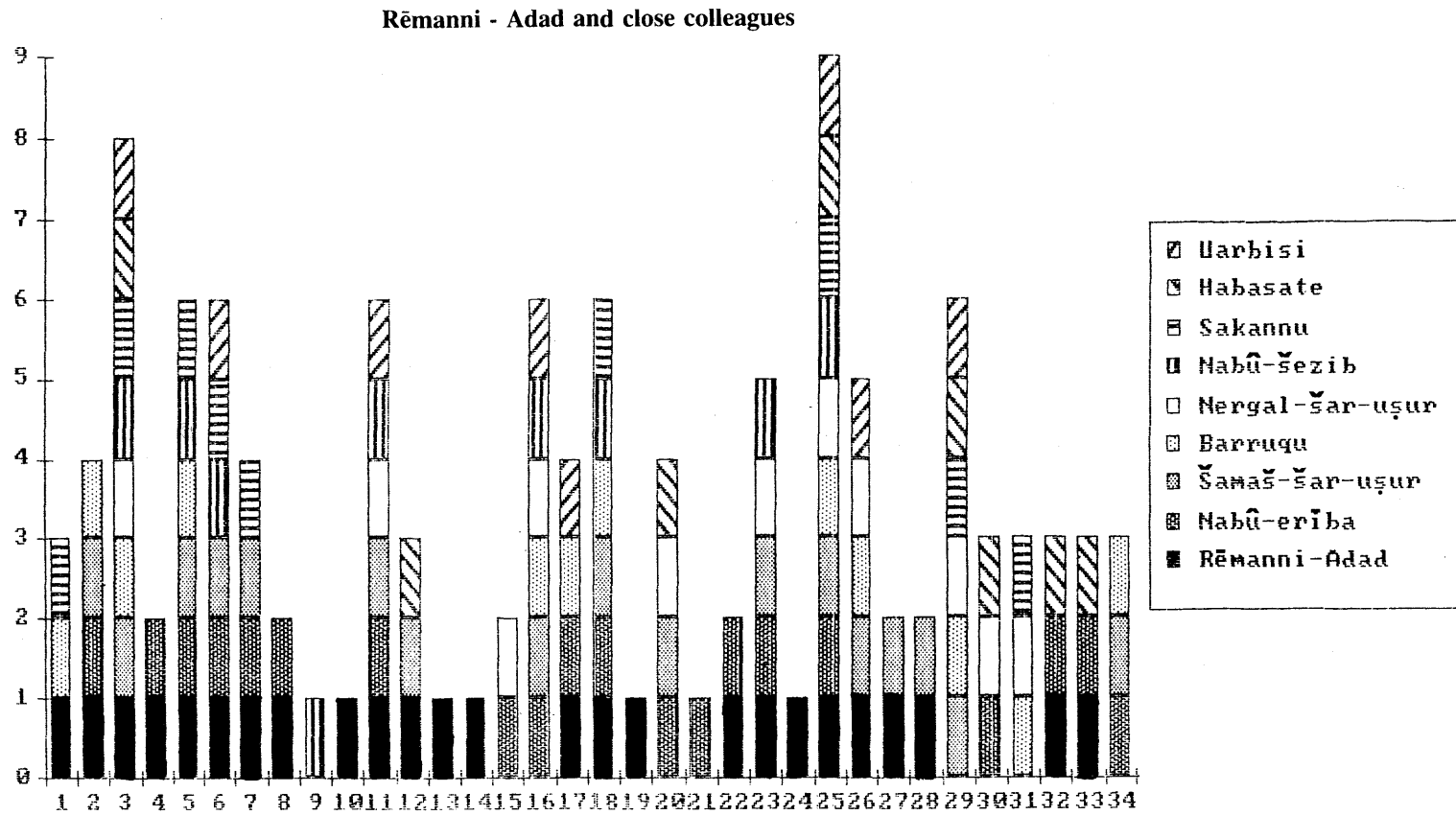


Fig. 9