THE FOUR "NEO-ASSYRIAN" TABLETS FROM ŠĔH HAMAD

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Introduction
The four Šēh Hamad tablets inscribed with cuneiform are at first sight entirely characteristic Neo-Assyrian land-sale texts. As to be expected with sale documents, they are “vertical” in format, and they are single tablets bearing their seal impressions in a space ruled off below the introductory seal identification line. This distinguishes them from the format of loans and similar texts, which would have been “horizontal” and enclosed in a sealed envelope. The shape of the cuneiform signs is also characteristically Assyrian, and it is fair to say that were it not for their content the inclusion of these tablets on a tray of 7th century texts from Nimrud or Nineveh would have raised no eyebrows. No doubt Urad-Nabû, scribe of all four pieces, had indeed been trained in the days of the former Assyrian empire.

There are occasional scribal errors or idiosyncrasies. Unusual is the frequent use of -iā in the West Semitic (perhaps specifically Hebrew) names in No. 1, notably (though not exclusively) in the element -iā-a-u (No. 1, 4, 32, 33). The division of a word across two lines (No. 2, 21-22) is not good practice. There must be an error of some kind in No. 1, 7ff. (see note), and the scribe omitted a GAB.DI by accident in No. 2, 13, having to add it later on the left edge.

In general the tablets must be in good condition, but since they were read, and copied by Prof. Röllig, from casts, we should expect that it will be possible on inspection of the originals to clear up some of the uncertain points. The following commentary does not go into the historical or cultural implications of these documents, merely seeks to give a prompt version of the raw text. Since the personal names are likely to constitute one of the points of interest, they are listed alphabetically at the end of the article, without any claim to exactitude in their transcription, especially for those which are clearly West Semitic.

The texts have been arranged chronologically. Although Nos. 1 and 3 belong closely together because they belong to the same purchaser Adad-aplu-iddina (and in other respects, see Brinkman, this issue), all four have the same scribe and share
witnesses, and a chronological ordering seemed therefore the least contentious. It is unfortunate that we have no way of knowing whether the three persons who feature as purchasers were related to one another in any way, which might explain why their tablets were found together. As for the property purchased, in Nos. 3 and 4, both of which feature Ubru-Ḫarran as a seller, it is stated to be in the town or village of Magdalu, otherwise unknown. The land includes gravity-irrigated fields in No. 3, some of which are specified as bordering on the river, presumably the Ḥābūr itself. Both plots border on land described as “of the Elamites”, presumably deportees from about half a century before. Since the lands in Nos. 1 and 2 are also specified as gravity-irrigated, they too presumably lay in the river valley (cf. No. 1, 7 too), although note that in No. 2, 6 some is apparently “(at?) the gate of the city”. The unnamed city was perhaps Dūr-katlimmu, since any smaller settlement would presumably have had to be named.

I have incorporated the text of the Aramaic notes, as conveyed to me by Prof. Röllig, to whom I am also grateful for several constructive comments on the reading and interpretation of the cuneiform text.

1. **SH 92/6349/12**

*Sale of land by Ḫanana to Adad-aplu-iddina*

Obverse

1. **NA₄.KIŠIB Ḫa-na-na**
2. **A ḪEN-KAL-an EN AṢA SUM-aṣnu**

a. **zy ṭrqh ṭwyth zy ṭyt**

b. **zhn Ḫlḥ**

(cylinder seal impression)

c. **ṯgr ṭhn mn ṭyt zhn**

3. **Է 1 ANŠE 5-BÂN AṢA LŪ.BAD ḪD**
4. **GAB.DI ṭída–PAB.ME($)–tid GAB.DI Ḫa-za-qi–tid–u**
5. **GAB.DI 2 ANŠE AṢA KL.TA Ḫ kat-nu-nu**
6. **GAB.DI ṭam–me–tid–i**
7. **Ė 1 ANŠE 5-BÂN AṢA ḪD**
8. **GAB.DI ṭ10–id–ri**
10. **PAB 5 ANŠE AṢA Ḫ id ti ši–qi**
11. **ū–piš–ma ṭ10–A–ša³**
12. **ina ūb–bi 1 MA.NA KŪ.BABBAR**
13. ku-um sa-ar-tu ša kar-ru-u
14. ša 110–mil-ki-URU₄-eš A-šū
15. ina TA* li-bi ad-ri

Bottom Edge
16. ša 110–A–AŠ e-pu-šu²-u-ni
17. A.ŠA ta-al’-pi-u-te
18. a-na gi-mi-ri-šu

Reverse
19. za-rip laq-qī tu-a[r]
20. de-e-nu da-ba-bu ṚNU²-šu
21. man-nu ša ina ur-kiš u ma-te-ma
22. i-zaq-qu-pa-ani i-gi[l-t-u-ni]
23. lu-u ḫa-na-na lu-u A.MEŠ²-šu³
24. lu-u A.MEŠ A.MEŠ-šu ṚTA 110–A–AŠ³
25. TA A.MEŠ-šu TA A.MEŠ A.MEŠ-šu de-e-nu
26. da-ba-bu ub-ta-u-ni
27. 10 MA.NA KU.BABBAR SUM-an

28. IGI 130–I LÔ* .EN.URU
29. IGI šuł-man–SANGA–PAB LÔ* .SANGA
30. IGI sa-ku-ù-a DUMU ḫa-za-šu
31. IGI 110–mil-ki–URU₄-eš A me-na-se-e
32. IGI da-di–lā²–rin A ḫa-zi–iā–a-u
33. IGI am–ia–di–i’ A sa-me–e’–iā–a-u
34. IGI ma-sa–a–a DUMU ḫa-li–ši
35. IGI PA–ma–lik DUMU ḫa–iā–a
36. IGI ár-ba–a–a LÔ* .A.SIG₃
37. IGI am–du–ku–šu³

Upper Edge
38. A ḫu–x²–bi²–DINGIR
39. IGI li-b–li–u
40. A PA–MAN¹–PAB

Left Edge
41. IGI PA–la–rim IGI man–ni–i
42. IGI 110–ra–pi–i’ IGI man–nu–ka–PAB.MEŠ
43. IGI ḫU* .A.BA
Translation (Akkadian text)

"Seal of Ḫanana son of Bel-dan, the person selling the land.

Estate of 1 1/2 homers of land ... the river, bordering Ya-aḫḫe-ya, bordering Ḫazaqī-Yau, (bordering). 2 homers of land below the house (= estate?) of Katnunu, bordering Amme-yadi'. Estate of <1?> 1/2 homers of land <bordering> the river, bordering Adad-iddri son of Kul-ya-ya-di-il, bordering Adad-takal. Total: 5 homers gravity-irrigated land, Adad-aplu-iddina contracted and <took> in exchange for 1 mina of silver, instead of the penalty to be deducted, which Adad-milki-eres his son committed from out of the threshing-floor of Adad-aplu-iddina.

(17) The ... field, in its entirety, is acquired by purchase. There is no reversion, lawsuit or litigation. Whosoever at any time in the future arises and reneges, whether Ḫanana or his sons or his grandsons, (and) initiates litigation against Adad-aplu-iddina or his sons or his grandsons shall pay 10 minas of silver.


(44) Month of Araḥsamna (VIII), 2 years of Nabû-kudurri-ušur king of Bab[ylon].

(46) Before Nabutu."

For translation of Aramaic see Röllig’s contribution.

Notes

3: LŪ.BAD ft: in the light of line 7 it seems clear that this must in some way give a topographical description of the land’s relationship to the river, but neither a suitable Akkadian reading nor a sensible translation presents itself. We are hardly witnessing the sale of a cemetery. W. Röllig points out that LŪ.BAD in connection with a river could well be connected with petū, “to open”, and a term for an irrigation official. This is indeed plausible, but it still does not explain how it describes or locates the land.

5: it is unusual for the word GAB.DI (gabdē?) to be followed by a measured area of ground; it may therefore be a mistake, to be erased, and in this case the 2 homers of field will be part of the lands being sold (see next note on l. 7).

6: this owner of neighbouring property is probably also the witness in line 33
(though note that the witness in line 31 can hardly be the man of the same name in line 14).

7: the $\varepsilon$ sign has only three verticals. If the 1 1/2 homers of l. 3 are subtracted from the total of 5 homers in l. 10, we are left with 3 1/2 homers to find. Two solutions present themselves: either we read here $\varepsilon<3>\text{ANSE 5-BAN}$, assuming that the scribe committed a haplography, thinking the verticals of $\varepsilon$ were in fact the number 3; or we read here $\varepsilon<1>\text{ANSE}$, and also add in the 2 homers in l. 5 (see note above). My preference is for the latter solution.

13-16: these lines are problematic. Let us first observe that a new section starts in l. 17, so that there is a main verb lacking; we need presumably to restore an $\text{ilqe}$ at the end of l. 16, as suggested in the translation. The words from $\text{kum sarte to epušuni}$ must then all belong together. There is no obvious reason why a land sale should be associated with a judicial fine ($\text{sartu}$), and a difficulty is posed by the fact that the word $\text{sartu}$ may refer to a crime or to a penalty (or indeed to both). Common sense tells us that the purchaser Adad-aplu-iddina, who receives the land, can hardly thereby be paying a fine, whereas the seller is more likely to have been constrained by some obligation to dispose of his land. Hence, although the wording does not say this explicitly, the easiest assumption seems to be that Hānana is obliged to sell this land to pay off a fine incurred by his son, Adad-milki-eres.

13: $\text{ša kar-ru-u}$: two broad possibilities, neither entirely convincing, might be considered. (1) this could be the D stem infinitive of $\text{karu}$, “to be short”, with the meaning “deduct”; and (2) that it is a form of $\text{karu}$ “grain-heap” (CAD K, p. 226).

Neither of these usages is well attested in Neo-Assyrian documents, but the translation adopts the former because infinitives after $\text{sa}$ in Assyrian sometimes retain the ending in $-\text{u}$.

15: the initial $\text{ina}$ is probably otiose.

17: if correctly read, $\text{talpi'ute}$ here may suggest that the difficult word $\text{talpitu}$ or $\text{talpitu}$ or $\text{talpitu}$ (cf. SAAB 1990, 133f. for a recent discussion) should at least sometimes be assigned to the verb $\text{lawum}$; this is however too uncertain to make it worth while speculating as to its meaning here.

28: $\text{EN.URU}$, conventionally $\text{bēlāli}$, is a title assigned by the Assyrians to local rulers or chieftains, e.g. on the Iranian plateau (cf. CAD A/1, p. 388a-b; see esp. ABL 526, 3; 342, r.21; 317, 4; 1046, r.3 etc.).

29: note that the $\text{sangū}$ was also an important, indeed the principal, public personage at the town of Ṣadikanī further north on the Ḫābūr.

31: given the filiation, this cannot be the same Adad-milki-eres as in l. 14.

43: the tablet seems to have $\text{hIR-ŠMAŠ}$, but in view of the scribe’s name in the other texts the emendation seems preferable.

44: $\text{2 MU.MES PN}$ is a strange formulation; we might have expected rather $\text{MU-2-KAM}$, “the second year”. This may be of little significance, but one might wonder whether “2 years of PN” might not represent a conscious attempt to dissociate the
statement of time from any statement about the political suzerainty of the Babylonian dynasty.

2. SH 92/6349/11

Sale of irrigated land by two sons of Salani to Pan-il-...

Obverse
1. \text{NA}_4.\text{KIŠIŠ} 1\text{man-nu–ki–PAB.MEŠ}
2. \text{NA}_4.\text{KIŠIŠ} 1\text{ba–hi–e}
3. \text{PAB} 2 A 1\text{sa-la-ni–i}
4. \text{EN A.ŠÀ SUM–a–nu}

(2 stamp seal impressions)

5. \text{é} 5–BÂN A.ŠÀ \text{é} ši–qi
6. \text{KÁ URU GAB.DI} 1\text{PAB–AŠ}
7. \text{A} 1\text{ŠU–PAB.MEŠ GAB.DI}
8. 1\text{dšül–man–MU–AŠ} \text{é} 8–BÂN
9. \text{KL.TA ku-pa–a–a}
10. \text{GAB.DI} 1\text{a–ú–ra–a}
11. \text{GAB.DI} 1\text{10–a–mar}
12. \text{é} 7–BÂN 4 qa \text{KL.TA kad ši du}
13. \text{GAB.DI} 1\text{PAB–uš–šú} 2 \text{PAB} 2 \text{ANŠE} 4 qa A.ŠÀ
14. \text{ú–piš–ma} 1\text{IGI–DINGIR–RI–E}
15. \text{ina šù–bi} 1/2 \text{MA.NA KÜ. BABBAR}

Bottom Edge
16. \text{TI–qé kas–pu}
17. \text{gam–mur ta–din}
18. \text{A.ŠÀ ža–rip}

Reverse
19. \text{laq–qi tu–ar}
20. \text{de–e–nu da–ba–bu}
21. \text{NU–šú man–nu šá i–GIL–}
22. \text{–u–ni aš–šùr} 4\text{[UTU E]N}
23. \text{u} 4\text{pa ina šù.2–šú lu–ba–u}
24. 3 \text{MA.NA KÜ. BABBAR SUM–an}
25. \text{IGI 1ŠUHUŠ–KASKAL}
26. \text{IGI} 1\text{v–a–ú–ra–a}
Translation

"Seal of Mannu-ki-abbe, seal of Baê. Total 2 sons of Salani, person(s) selling the land. (Seal impressions).

(5) An estate of 0.5 homers gravity-irrigated land, within the gate of the town, bordering Aḫu-iddin son of Erib-aḫhe, bordering Šulman-šumu-iddin. An estate of 0.8 homers below ku-pa-a-a, bordering A’ura, bordering Adad-ammar, an estate of 0.74 homers below ... , bordering Aḫu7.... (13) Total: 2.04 homers of land Pan-ilî-... contracted and purchased for 1/2 mina of silver. The price is paid in full, the land is acquired by purchase. There is no reversion, lawsuit or litigation. Whoever reneges, Aṣṣur, [Šamaš, Be]l and Nabu shall call him to account. He shall pay 3 minas of silver.


(35) Month of Šabatu (XI), 5th day, year 2 of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, king of the city of Babylon. Scribe: Urad-Nabû.”

Notes

9-12: since ku-pa-a-a and kad šī du both lack a Personenkeil, they are unlikely to be personal names, and from their position immediately after the amount of lands has been stated, they are likely in some way to describe its location or condition, like bet šiqi in l. 5. For kupāya one might consider an Aramaic plural “rocks, cliffs”, or a connection with Akkadian kuppu, “man-made enlargement of a spring” (CAD K, p. 550f., but not attested in Assyria), but I have no suggestion for the second term. The two neighbours in ll. 10-11 recur as witnesses (ll. 26-27).

13: Gab. Di was written as an afterthought on the left edge. If the sign after PAB is not
uš, it might be Tab written over an erasure, yielding the known name Aḫu-taḫiš.

22-3: for the list of four gods here and in No. 3, cf. e.g. ADD 318 (= FNALD 12) and ADD 1252 (= FNALD 19).

29: see Text No. 3, 27, and 4, 25.

30: see Text No. 3, 26, and 4, 24.

3. SH 92/6349/21

Sale of irrigated land by Ubru-Harran to Adad-aplu-iddina

Obverse
1. NA₄.KIŠIB ¹SUḪUŠ–KASKAL
2. A ¹DINGIR-tu-u-paq
3. EN A.ŠA.GA SUM-an-nu

(stamp seal impression)

4. ¢ 1 ANŠE 5-BÂN A.ŠA
5. ¢ ši-qi ina URU.ma-ag-da-lu
6. GAB.DI ID
7. GAB.DI A.ŠA šá KUR.NIM.MEŠ
8. GAB.DI ¹za-an-ga-ri–Dû
9. A.ŠA re-eḫ-tš ŠA PAB.MEŠ-šú
10. i-din-ú-ni
11. ú-piš-ma ¹0–A–AȘ
12. ina liš-bi 16 1/2 GÎN KÛ.BABBAR
13. ti-qē kas-pu ga-mur
14. ta-din A.ŠA za-rip

Bottom Edge
15. laq-qi tu-ar[(x)]
16. de-e-nu da-ba-bu

Reverse
17. NU-ŠU man-²nu šá° i-GIL-u-ni
18. aš-šur ²UTU [EN] ⁴PA
19. ina šU.2-[šú lu-ba]-a²-u
20. ⁵MA.NA "KÛ.BABBAR SUM-an"
21. ITI.ŠE 2 MU.ME(š)
22. ¹d PA–NIG.DU–PAB MAN URU.KÁ.DINGIR

23. IGI ¹šûl-man–SANGA–PAB
24. 1GI 1ḫa-an-za-ru-ru
25. 1GI 1ḫa-PAB.ME($)
26. 1GI 1gab-bi-i
27. 1GI 1ḫi-di-i
28. 1GI 1t-d15
29. 1GI 1man-ni-i
30. 1GI 1man'-nu-ki-PAB.MEŠ
31. 1GI 1Ir-4PA A.BA

a. 'grt 'rq
b. mgdl zy zbn
c. 'brhrn zy
d. ḫkwrt zbn

Translation (Akkadian)

"Seal of Ubru-Ḫarran, son of Ilutu-upaq, the person selling the field.

(4) Estate of 1 1/2 homers irrigated land in the town Magdalu, bordering the river, bordering the land of the Elamites, bordering the estate (or: house) of Zangari-ibni — the field remnant that his brothers gave — Adad-aplu-iddina contracted and bought for 16 1/2 shekels of silver. (13) The price is paid in full, the land is acquired by purchase. There is no reversal, lawsuit or litigation. Whoever reneges, Aššur, Šamaš, Bel and Nabû will requite him. He shall pay 5 minas of silver.

(21) Month of Addaru (XII), 2 years of Nabû-kudurrî-usur, king of City of Babylon.

(23) Before Sulmanu-šangu-usur, before Ḥanzarru, before Ya-ahhe, before Gabbi, before Idi, before Na'id-Issar, before Manni, before Mannu-ki-ahhe, before Urad-Nabû the scribe."

Notes

8: for this name ending with -du, compare perhaps the place name Gabbari-du in the Sušu inscriptions of the mid-8th century perhaps to be read Gabbari-ibni (cf. A. Cavigneaux - B. K. Ismail, BaM 21 [1990], pp. 355-6 on II, 26).

18: the final DN is not epigraphically certain, but restored in the light of No. 2, 22; see the note there for restoration of the name of Bel.

For translation of Aramaic, see Röllig's contribution.

4. SH 92/6349/10

Sale of land by four owners to Arri

Obverse
1. NA₄.KIŠIŠ 1ŠUHUŠ-KASKAL
Translation

"Seal of Ubru-Ḫarran, seal of Sin-na'id, seal of Šamaš-iddin, seal of Sakaḫa, the persons selling the field (Sealings).

(6) An estate of 1 1/2 homers of land, inside the town of Magdalu, bordering the land of the estate of Adad-idri, bordering the land of the Elamites, Arri contracted and bought in exchange of 1/2 mina of silver. (13) The price is paid in full, the land is acquired by purchase. Whoever reneges shall pay 3 minas of silver.
(18) Month of Nisānu (1), 10th day, year 5 of Nabū-kudurri-usur, king of Babylon.
(20) Before Šulmanu-šangu-usur; before Šin-na'id, son of Mušuraya; before Man-
nu-la-e...; before Manni; before Gabbi; before Idi; before Kabdi; before Urad-Nabû,
the scribe."

Notes
21: this witness is the only one whose filiation is given; presumably this is to
distinguish him from the seller of the land with the same name. It is impossible for us to
guess which of the two (if either) might be the ṣUũ of Text No. 1, 28.

List of personal names

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Aram. Text

Aram. Text

Assyriologie Beischrift

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Asyrische Beischrift

Rechter Rand: 𒀭𒈗𒈬𒈗𒈬𒊏𒈬
Oberer Rand: 𒀭𒋀𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬
Linker Rand: 𒈬𒈭𒈬𒈬𒈬
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3 Siegel