

TELL SHIUKH FAWQANI

1994 – 1998



II

Edited by

Sous la direction de

LUC BACHELOT – FREDERICK MARIO FALES



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THE ASSYRIAN AND ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM TELL SHIUKH FAWQANI

Frederick Mario FALES, Karen RADNER, Cinzia PAPPI, and Ezio ATTARDO

1. Assyrian-Aramaic cultural interrelation: older and newer results (F.M. Fales).
2. The Tell Shiukh Fawqani tablets: discovery and general context (F.M. Fales).
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Preliminary Note. The present chapter is the result of an extended process, entailing different phases of research performed on the texts since their initial discovery in 1995, and the diffusion of the relevant results through partial and preliminary reports. For this reason, some of its constitutive sections require the following explanations and acknowledgements:

§§ 1, 2, 3, 7: these –introductory and conclusive– sections were authored by F.M. Fales over the years 1998-2004, with continuous accretions. Thus, §1 and §3 draw to some extent upon two previous contributions by the author, in which the provisional results from the TSF texts were cast against the wider backdrop of the study of Aramaic documents on clay in the Neo-Assyrian empire, viz. Fales 1999 and Fales 2000. On the other hand, as will be seen below, the remarkable progress of Assyro-Aramaic studies during the last few years (cf. especially Lemaire 2001, Radner 2002) have caused numerous additions and updatings on these previous essays, as regards both information and bibliography. As regards §2, the reader is also referred to M. Makinson, this volume, for further details on the archaeological location of the tablets.

§ 4: the publication of the cuneiform tablets from TSF represents the joint and coordinated product of two separate efforts at reading and interpretation, by F.M. Fales (who made preliminary copies, transliterations, and translations on the field and at the Aleppo Museum in October 1998), and by K. Radner (who kindly offered to perform a full set of collations, with final copies, transliterations and translations at the Aleppo Museum in September 2003). Both authors acknowledge the kind and fruitful collaboration of Cinzia Pappi, who kindly assisted them in philological matters and took photographs of the texts during their respective visits at the Aleppo Museum. The notes represent the joint contribution of both authors: Radner especially for Neo-Assyrian philological matters, Fales for the Aramaic endorsements. The copies of the cuneiform texts are by Radner, those of the alphabetic sections by Ezio Attardo.

§ 5: the publication of the Aramaic epigraphs from TSF, both incised and painted, both as fully monolingual texts and as brief endorsing labels (cf. §4), was effected by F.M. Fales with substantial paleographical aid by E. Attardo, who authored the final copies of all alphabetic texts, and was of supportive assistance both during the work on the inscriptions at the Aleppo Museum in October 1998, and in the course of a number of subsequent sessions in Italy. Cinzia Pappi is again to be thanked for performing detailed photographic work and specific collations on the epigraphs, during a final check in September 2003.

§ 6: this section, dealing with the paleography of the TSF Aramaic texts, was authored by E. Attardo.

§ 8: the catalogue of all inscribed TSF materials was assembled by Cinzia Pappi. The primary filecards for the catalogue were compiled and checked jointly with F.M. Fales and Dr. Angela Guarani (Padova), both on the field and at the Aleppo Museum.

§ 9-10 : the indexes and bibliography were assembled by F.M. Fales on the basis of the work of all authors.

Acknowledgements: All thanks are due to Mr. Alberto Savioli (University of Udine) for the clear b/w photographs and color slides made on the field at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, and to Mr. Mohammed Fares (DGAM, Damascus) for the competently executed casts of the larger tablets; both these technical inputs greatly aided the reading and interpretation of the TSF texts. Dr. Giulia Grassi (University of Udine) is also to be thanked for her help in ordering the photographic material. A further set of photographs of the texts was effected by Cinzia Pappi in 2003 (cf. above).

Finally –last but not least– all authors are extremely grateful to the Director of the Aleppo Museum, Dr. Wahid Khayyata, who gave them permission to conduct work on the premises, to Mr. Naser Sharaf, curator of Ancient Syrian antiquities, to the vice-curator Mr. Samir Abdel Ghafour, and to the entire technical staff at the Aleppo Museum for the great kindness and generosity shown during their research visits.

1. ASSYRIAN-ARAMAIC CULTURAL INTERRELATION: OLDER AND NEWER RESULTS

a. In the last thirty years, the subordinate but crucial role played by the Aramaic language and Aramaic culture within the Neo-Assyrian empire –both at the center and in the periphery of imperial territory– has become one of the most productive perspectives from which the later phases of Assyrian history may be viewed¹.

Nowadays, Aramaic appears to have fully penetrated the “Assyrian heartland” and the Jezireh between the early 9th century and the fall of Nineveh in 612 BC, in the position of the only true counterpart to the linguistic and cultural thrust which accompanied the Assyrian bureaucratic and military organization in its progressive occupation of most of the Near East². As will be seen below, the epigraphical data from Tell Shiukh Fawqani published and discussed here are part and parcel of a larger set of recently discovered or reappraised materials from sites in Iraq and in the northern area of modern Syria which support this view. As for the Transeuphratene, an area historically well known for the age of the pre-Assyrian Aramean statehoods but still largely uncharted for the period of Assyrian conquest, a growing number of archaeological investigations currently carried out in central-western Syria (e.g. at Tell Afis,

¹ By now “classic” studies on this historical-cultural issue are Kaufman 1974; Tadmor 1982; Millard 1983. For a broad presentation of the available materials on Aramaic language and culture in this period, cf. most recently Dion 1997, 217-220.

² For a recent overview of the Jezireh in Neo-Assyrian times, cf. Fales 2002; and see Zadok 1995, for a broad overview of the ethnolinguistic composition of this area in the 8th-7th centuries B.C., on the basis of onomastic data.

Tell Mishrifeh, Tell Qarqur, and elsewhere) may be expected to provide parallel and confirmatory data in the near future³.

The notion expressed above –that Aramaic represented a decided counterpart to Assyrian culture – might be considered exceedingly clear-cut at first sight, since it implies that there were, at least to some extent, conscious energies at work in modeling the overall cultural “profile” of Assyrian territory, and specifically of the Jezireh, during the last two centuries of existence of the Assyrian empire – i.e. in the period when this vast, largely semi-arid, area of ancient Aramaic inhabitation, became part of the “inner” Assyrian provincial system. But present-day evidence does, in fact, bear out the view that an “Aramaization” and an “Assyrianization” took place simultaneously, and possibly in some reciprocal opposition, along the fault lines of lower vs. upper classes, and/or of private choice vs. official custom. This notion may be therefore decidedly set against older reconstructions, according to which an Aramaic linguistic-cultural *koiné* would have arisen more or less haphazardly among the dominated peoples of a culturally indifferent empire⁴.

Let us take a glimpse at the available evidence for the view suggested here. The fact that the Assyrians were engaged in a specific effort at introducing their native culture in the regions that had fallen under their sway, may be demonstrated through a variety of clues. Just to name one, all known stelae and rock-inscriptions which the Assyrians set up or carved in outlying lands – many of which in the Western sector of the empire – are written in Akkadian⁵, as are all the treaty-documents signed outright by the imperial power. In other words, the Assyrians have not left us any explicitly multilingual political utterance, such as the later Achemenian empire, e.g. in the Behistun inscription⁶ or the Xanthos stela⁷.

In the opposite direction, a tendency to counterbalance this input of Assyrian culture in the conquered lands through a reaffirmation of the values of the local indigenous background, may be traced as far back

³ Evidence of non-official Aramaic sources from western Syria for the late 8th and 7th centuries BC is at present notoriously scanty, and formed by exemplars emerging, as it were, from a void: the most interesting pieces are the 26-gram Hamath weight in the shape of a sphinx with the inscription *šqly hmt* (cf. Fitzmyer-Kaufman 1995, 19), the Emar limestone block (*slm' znh / pr^cbdy*: *ibid.*, 20), and the intriguing stele fragment from Tell Sifr (Michelini Tocci 1962), which bears the names of two gods now well attested in the cultural and onomastic landscape of Aram ([...]*ršp*/[...]*wkbb*[...]: *ibid.*, 21). As for Neo-Babylonian times, on the other hand, the few extant epigraphical testimonials (e.g. the “Starcky” tablet, possibly from Sefire, KAI 227; and the endorsements on the Neirab texts) tend to demonstrate that the penetration of Aramaic in “everyday” documentary contexts was by that time largely similar to the one shown by the archives from beyond the Euphrates in the previous NA period.

⁴ Albeit in the context of a very refined linguistic-cultural analysis, such was more or less the idea brought forth by Hayim Tadmor, when he stated (1982, p. 459): “The Assyrians, vastly outnumbered by their captives, forced them to participate in the building and maintaining of their states and inevitably, therefore, absorbed much linguistically and culturally from the West”.

⁵ Cf. Börker-Klähn 1982; Morandi 1988. For the intended ideological impact of such monuments on the Western sector of the empire, cf. most recently the study on the Esarhaddon stelae from Til Barsib and Sam’al by Porter 2000.

⁶ Cf. the competent edition of the text by Greenfield-Porten 1982.

⁷ This statement does not take into account the suggestions that, in the treaty stelae of Sefire in Aramaic between Mati^c-’el of Arpad and Bar-ga’yah of KTK, the latter partner should be identified with an Assyrian political figure (in “alias”-form), either Šamši-ili, governor of Til-Barsib (Lemaire-Durand 1984) or the Assyrian king Aššur-nirari V himself (Parpola in Parpola-Watanabe 1988, xxviii), since both these views are devoid of actual proof (cf. Fales 2001, 110 and *passim*, for the problem, with previous bibl.). Different is the case of the recently published Aramaic inscription from Bukān in northwestern Iran: here an unknown king of presumably Aramaic linguistic-cultural affiliation deposed a stela in Mannean territory (cf. the varying interpretations in Lemaire 1998, Teixidor 1999, Eph’al 1999, Sokoloff 1999, and now Fales 2003a).

as the 9th century on the upper reaches of the Khabur, through the inscriptions of Kapara of Guzana and Hadad-yit‘i of Sikani. In the case of Kapara⁸, it is true, the outright effort by a local Aramean kinglet to adorn his palace with inscriptions in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform could well be interpreted as a sign of full enculturation. On the other hand, it may be noted that the longest of this ruler’s inscriptions bears a topical clause (“what my forefathers had not accomplished, I have accomplished”) which represents a straight loan-translation from Aramaic royal inscriptions of the Transeuphratic area⁹.

In the second case, moreover, the dedicatory inscription left to us by Hadad-yit‘i is not only attested in a bilingual (Akkadian / Aramaic) version engraved on different sides of his life-size statue discovered at Tell Fekheriye¹⁰; but this fully matching double text also allows a further detailed breakdown, as formed by two inner “halves” or parts¹¹. Thus, Part I – largely concerned with extolling the virtues of the weather-god Hadad – lends itself to a linguistic and stylistic analysis as an Akkadian original (in the Standard Babylonian literary variety) which was translated into a somewhat stilted form of Aramaic. On the other hand, Part II – which includes a fully topical series of West Semitic curse-formulae – appears to be based on an Aramaic original input, which was thereupon rendered into slightly awkward Akkadian (of the Neo-Assyrian dialectal variety). In sum, both “halves” represent good evidence, in this author’s opinion, of the deliberate intentions on the part of the relevant scribes (Assyrian/local Aramaic) to bring to the fore their respective cultural heritage vis-à-vis their counterparts¹².

b. With the statue of Tell Fekheriye, it may be said that the stage is set for the linguistic-cultural developments of the next two centuries. While the progress of Assyrian armies through the Jezireh and thereupon across the Euphrates brought more and more populations under the influence of Mesopotamian cultural traditions, the use of writing in Aramaic alphabetic script ceased its use as an exclusive product of local scribal schools¹³, and expanded its inner “constituency”, so as to become an instrument of everyday practical communication, both in public and in private contexts.



Fig. 1

⁸ For the Kapara texts, cf. Meissner 1933; most recently, Sader 1987, 11-14.

⁹ This expression, attested in Neo-Assyrian in the Kapara texts (*ša...la ēpušūni anāku ētapša*), is in fact well known from the alphabetic inscriptions from Sam‘al, both in Phoenician and in Aramaic (cf. recently Tropper 1993, 35).

¹⁰ For the edition of the texts, cf. Abou Assaf - Bordreuil- Millard 1982. For the ample bibliography subsequently produced on this bilingual inscription, cf. Fitzmyer-Kaufman 1992, 36-37; Lipiński 1994, 19-72 *passim*.

¹¹ Cf. Fales 1983 for the analysis of the Tell Fekheriye bilingual inscription as a text of composite nature with distinct linguistic and stylistic features, corresponding resp. (Part I) to Akkadian ll. 1-18 = Aramaic ll. 1-12, and (Part II) Akkadian ll. 19-38 = Aramaic ll. 12-23.

¹² *Contra*, cf. e.g. Lipiński 1994, 34, who – while acknowledging that two original texts were involved – states apodictically that “the Aramaic version of Part I is no slavish rendering of its Akkadian counterpart”.

¹³ E.g. an Aramaic scribe from the Transeuphratic area is depicted in a stela of Bar-rakib, ruler of Sam‘al, around 720 BC. Cf. Tropper 1993, 132-139, and see fig. 1.

Thus, to exemplify further and with well-known, but interestingly opposite, cases: while Adad-nirari III (810-783 BC) did not hesitate to sanction a border agreement between two neighboring Aramean polities on the Orontes river with a stela in Akkadian (the Antakya stela)¹⁴, on the other hand Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC) felt the need to issue a series of bronze lion-weights at Kalhu with parallel inscriptions in cuneiform and alphabetic script, in which the official weight-standards of the empire were established¹⁵.

Finally, for the latter part of the 8th century, and throughout the 7th century up to the downfall of the empire in 609 BC, we have abundant clues that Aramaic alphabetic script was employed for all categories of “everyday” and practical documents circulating in the heartland of the Assyrian empire – the very same types of documents that have come down to us in cuneiform script from the so-called “State Archives”, i.e. the approx 6000 tablets retrieved in public buildings of Nineveh and Kalhu¹⁶. In other words: it may be nowadays be safely stated that the administration of the latter-day Assyrian capital cities had a fully functional double linguistic and graphemic standard for the registration of its day-by-day activities, in logo-syllabic cuneiform script (Neo-Assyrian) as well as in alphabetic characters (Aramaic).

To be sure, the evidence for this double standard of registration has come down to us in uneven proportions, due to the wider use of the durable clay medium for the writing of cuneiform rather than alphabetic script. However, an assessment of all pieces of information – both direct and indirect – on the matter, leads to the necessary conclusion that Aramaic was as widespread in its use and as legally/ culturally accepted as a vehicle for communication within the central Assyrian administration as was the Assyrian variety of Akkadian itself¹⁷.

c. As for direct evidence, we may first of all call upon the capital cities of the Assyrian heartland – a region that may act as a provisional standard in view of its very vastness and its well-examined contextual background. The so-called “State archives” from these cities show that Aramaic script was attested on three different types of clay media in Central Assyria:

(1) as brief (1-2-line) epigraphs summarizing the contents of Assyrian legal documents (mainly conveyance or sale documents), written in Aramaic script along the lateral edges of the relevant Assyrian tablets;

(2) as monolingual tablets, both of legal and administrative content;

¹⁴ Grayson 1996, 203-204.

¹⁵ As will be also stated below, the practice of issuing weights with bilingual inscriptions continued with later Assyrian kings down to Sennacherib: most recent re-edition of all the material is given in Fales 1995. For a critical discussion on the metrological units involved, cf. Zaccagnini 1999. A further inscribed weight – but this time in the shape of a duck, i.e. of the type most frequently attested in Western locations of the empire (cf. Zaccagnini’s essay in this volume) – bearing the well-known notation on the “(weight-standard) of the land (zy ‘rq)” was discovered in recent Iraqi excavations at Nimrud (oral communication by Dr. A.Y. Ahmad, Mosul, to whom all thanks are due).

¹⁶ For an analysis of the contents of the “State Archives of Assyria”, category by category, in a historical perspective, I refer to the monographic treatment in Fales 2001.

¹⁷ Faist 2003, 154, notes correctly that the use of Aramaic does not seem to have been extended to cover the domains of literature and religion, as these were “stark traditionsorientierte Bereiche”; and goes on to wonder whether all this should not be seen as a possible background for the collection of textual materials of the Sumerian-Akkadian tradition by Assurbanipal at Nineveh. The question remains open: to the extent that the *Story of Ahiqar* may be viewed as originating directly from the Assyrian court environment, we may well expect some alphabetically-written item of “learned” character to turn up in future excavations of Neo-Assyrian date. The recently discovered Aushariye stone tablet (cf. Eidem in <http://www.aushariye.hum.ku.dk/>) might be a first step in this direction.

(3) as fully bilingual documents, in which one face was inscribed in Assyrian cuneiform, the other in Aramaic alphabetic script¹⁸.

A brief review of these three cases may suffice to illustrate them. The short epigraphs, or “labels”, represent an occasional, but regular, occurrence within the archives from Nineveh. In their near totality, they bear juridical value – somewhat in parallel to that of seal-impressions on the tablets – for the secondary notarization (or “endorsement”) of the relevant documents, as testimonials for (a) the existence of a written document in cuneiform, (b) the object of the transaction therein inscribed and (c) the names of the parties involved, usually viewed exclusively on the selling or debtor’s side¹⁹.

On the other hand, it may be noted that one such marginal epigraph from Nineveh pertains to an extispicy report, and it bears the alphabetically-written names of the *barūs* who were in charge of this divinatory practice, mentioned in the cuneiform part²⁰. Thus, purely archival purposes within the central administration of the empire may also be surmised for this type of notation. In any case, the function of the Aramaic epigraph was decidedly secondary in relation to the clay medium on which it was incised (or perhaps painted)²¹; this does not, obviously, rule out the possibility that further copies of the relevant deeds could have been made out on other, less resistant, media in alphabetic script – thus e.g. justifying the frequent attestation of individuals described as LÚ.A.BA *Aramayya* (cf. below) in the witness lists, but no concrete proof for this case may be summoned.

As for monolingual Aramaic tablets, the palaces of Nineveh have yielded a small number of juridical and administrative documents written along the short axis²², while the even smaller number deriving from the various palatial complexes at Nimrud is restricted to clay tags for short administrative notes²³. In addition, a further set of monolingual exemplars has become available in very recent years through

¹⁸ Cf. Fales 1986, 1-29, for this basic classification, which still retains its validity, and may be also applied to the many Aramaic texts from the western areas of the Assyrian empire published from 1986 to the present (cf. below). For an example of bilingual tablet, cf. fig. 2.

¹⁹ Cf. most recently Fales 2000, 92-94, 117-118, for a detailed study of the function of such epigraphs.

²⁰ Fales 1986, no. 8, 149-150. The cuneiform text to which this epigraph is attached is now republished in SAA IV, no. 162. It should of course be recalled (cf. recently Faist 2003, 154) that these extispicy reports sometimes implied that the name of a person who was to be judged by the god in his reliability for public office be hidden from the view of the *barūs* themselves, and thus written on a separate document, often on papyrus (*ina niari*: cf. Starr 1990, 343a, 376a, for quick reference). It seems doubtful (although not impossible, cf. Reade 1986, 217, Fig. 2) that this information was painted on the scroll in cuneiform writing.

²¹ Millard 2001, 231-232, rules out quite decisively the possibility that such epigraphs, “scratched or incised upon the tablets”, “were added after the clay tablets had hardened, i.e. more than a day two after the cuneiform had been inscribed”. This occurrence is, in fact, even more unlikely on purely practical-juridical grounds (i.e. parties, witnesses and scribes would have likely parted their ways after the conclusion of the transaction) than it is for scribal-administrative reasons (cf. Reade 1986, 219, fig. 3, for a colophon of Ashurbanipal added in cruder scratches well after the date of compilation of the document). On the other hand, a further possibility, which is rather well borne out by the Tell Shiukh Fawqani tablets, among others, seems not to have been considered by Millard: viz., that, among the scribal implements employed for the writing out of the “endorsements”, were styluses which had been dipped in paint. In this light, as is the case with some of the Tell Shiukh Fawqani texts (cf. §5), the fainter scratched traces of alphabetic signs which are still visible to us represent the casual imprints left by the stylus, while the witnesses to these ancient documents would have rather seen the overlying bolder painted script, which was fatally erased over time. And finally: in this light, one may well ask whether a number of further endorsements, traced by the alternative method of a wider brush which left no underlying trace, could have perished and thus be invisible to us, due to the ravages of time and/or the vagaries of the assemblage of the so-called “Kuyunjik Collection”.

²² Cf. Fales 1986, nos. 9, 13, and the fragmentary no. 11. Cf. also, the previously unpublished tablet from Nineveh (kept in the Iraq Museum: IM 59050), given in Hug 1993, 19, and most recently republished in Lemaire 2001, 120, which might have come from a private archive on the basis of its contents.

²³ ND 2436, 2437 (= Fales 1986, nos. 43-44, 221-222).

acquisitions on the antiquities market, comprising both sales documents (land or people) and deeds of loan regarding different staples²⁴. Finally, a smaller category of legal texts attested in cuneiform for this age, that of judicial decisions, is hitherto represented in Aramaic by a single, albeit quite interesting, specimen of unknown provenance kept in the Louvre, which was first published in 1973²⁵.

Monolingual tablets thus represent a crucial stepping-stone to address the problem of whether an “Aramaic law” (a concept invoked for later periods in opposition to the legal customs of other Ancient Near Eastern communities²⁶) was already extant and recognized as such by its protagonists, both in its lexical and normative particularities, as well as in its specific distinction from Neo-Assyrian law. In general, it seems safe to wait for the publication of the largest lot of such texts hitherto discovered, the approx. 300 exemplars from Tell Šēh Hamad (cf. h, below) for a more qualified statement on this count; but surely, the material from published archives, in Central Assyria and in the Western part of the empire, already shows numerous cases of relative independence from the Assyrian tradition as regards text formats, legal formulae, provisions and penalties, alongside more slavish renderings of the main tenets and items of Neo-Assyrian deeds. Further, it still remains to be established to what extent (i.e. in which specific cases) the monolingual Aramaic texts were part of a “double-document” scribal typology²⁷, in relation (a) to possible cuneiform counterparts on clay, or (b) to possible Aramaic counterparts/copies on “soft” media. The third possibility, that some of these texts were absolutely self-standing, and endowed as such with absolute and independent legal value vis-à-vis the basically bilingual (Assyrian-Aramaic) society in which they were conceived, is also to be taken seriously into account.

Finally, the group of decidedly bilingual tablets (i.e., bearing a one-to-one rendering of the cuneiform part on the parallel face in Aramaic) is still limited to the meager three exemplars from Nineveh –well known since Louis Delaporte’s pioneering work on the Aramaic epigraphs²⁸, and nowadays fully clarified in their interpretation²⁹–, to which may be added two further Nimrud tags, of possible magical-apotropaic meaning and scope³⁰. At least for the moment, therefore, the category that best indicates the practice of parallel textuality in Assyrian and Aramaic within the official sphere of the empire falls

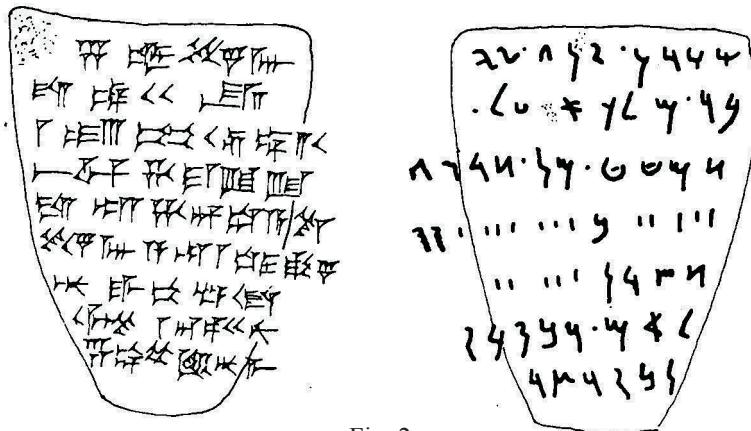


Fig. 2

²⁴ Such texts are competently assembled and studied by Lemaire 2001. Admittedly, at times, such texts bear clear indications of their ultimate origin from peripheral regions of Mesopotamia, and thus might alternatively be taken into account together with the “western” texts discussed further on.

²⁵ A.O.25.341 (=Fales 1986, no. 58, 253-258). Here, again, a Western origin for the document may be surmised, at least on the basis of the personal names going back to the Moon-cults in the Harran region.

²⁶ Cf. in general, Lipiński 2000, 557-597.

²⁷ On the much-debated issue of the so-called *Doppelurkunden* in this period, cf. Radner 1997, 27-31, with previous literature; Lipiński 2000, 573.

²⁸ Delaporte 1912, nos. 1-34.

²⁹ Fales 1986, nos. 3, 6, 7; cf. most recently, Fales 2000, 95-96. It may be noted that in Fitzmyer-Kaufman 1992, the tablets CIS 2/II, nos. 40 and 41, while correctly listed as corresponding resp. to Fales 1986 6 and 7 on p. 38, are again itemized on p. 43, and here erroneously described as pertaining to a single bilingual document, with “Babylonian” text.

³⁰ ND 2438/2439 (=Fales 1986, no. 45).

outside the realm of writing on clay, and remains that of the bronze lion-weights, already mentioned above. It may moreover be noted that the total corpus of these objects –15 in all– bears out a picture of chronological continuity from the reign of Shalmaneser V to that of Sennacherib³¹.

d. So much as concerns direct evidence of the use of Aramaic within the central administration of the Assyrian empire³². But various other items of information for the issue may be gained from secondary references within the texts of the “State Archives” themselves. Thus, while one letter in alphabetic script –on an ostracon– has in point of fact come down to us from a private archive in Assur³³, indirect textual indications show that messages between officials, as well as correspondence addressed to the king, could also be written in Aramaic³⁴: to the extent that Sargon II himself expressed his annoyance with an official from Ur, who was constantly sending him messages on a *šipru KUR.Aramayya*, “letter-scroll (?) in Aramaic script”, bidding him to stick preferably to a *šipirtu Akkadattu*, “clay dispatch in cuneiform (lit.: in Akkadian)”³⁵.

Elsewhere, the professional figure known as LÚ.A.BA *Aramayya*, “scribe in Aramaic alphabetic script” appears off and on among the witnesses of legal deeds³⁶, and once in an administrative list of military personnel³⁷. That the *Aramayya* scribes fully flanked their counterparts dealing with the cuneiform version of the texts, is evident from an 8th century royal letter from Kalhu concerning the need to register taxes all over the empire: “As to any scribe (LÚ *um-ma-nu*) of the palace, whether versed in Assyrian or Aramaic (*lu-u* LÚ.*Aš-šur-a-a lu-u* LÚ.*Ar-ma-a-a*), ... send a message in all districts



Fig. 3

³¹ Cf. Fales 1995, 48, for a chronological chart of these objects. For some reason, Millard 2003, 232 feels that this category should be considered a mere sub-variant of the monolingual Aramaic texts.

³² Of course, Aramaic writing is also to be found on items of booty or tribute which reached the Assyrian palaces from the Transeuphratic regions, such as the well-known Nimrud bowls or ivory plaques (cf. e.g. Curtis – Reade 1995, 191).

³³ KAI 233; cf. most recently Hug 1993, 19-21, and linguistic remarks in Fales 1996a, where the considerable differences between the language of the “Assur Ostracon” and other texts in Aramaic from Assyria are noted. Two further Aramaic inscriptions on jars, said to come from Nimrud, were published in CIS 2/II, nos. 44-45: cf. fig. 3.

³⁴ Cf. in this connection the often-quoted Neo-Assyrian epistolary passage from the time of Esarhaddon, ABL 872 (= SAA XVI, no. 99), 10’-13’, “(Kabti the scribe) who gave me an Aramaic letter (*e-gir-tu ar-me-tu*), which I forwarded to the king my lord. It says, *etc.*”. Or, from an earlier period, ND 2686: 3-5, *ka-ni-ku an-ni-tu KUR.ar-mi-tu PN T[A*] lib-bi URU.Sur-ri <u-s>i-bi-l[a] ma-a* etc. , “PN sent this (=the enclosed) sealed letter in Aramaic from within Tyre, which says, *etc.*”: the correct translation of this passage is given in CAD A/II [1968], 293b, against Saggs 2001, 155. Both these cases would seem to indicate that messages in Aramaic were used in the internal communication between officials on duty abroad, but that communication of their contents to the king was effected through translations into Assyrian.

³⁵ CT 54, 10: 15-22: this passage is extensively quoted in Parpola 1981, 123⁹.

³⁶ Cf. Radner 1997, 83.

³⁷ SAA XI, no. 124.

wherever they are, gather them all up and send them to me!”³⁸. And a further letter from Nineveh, from the time of Esarhaddon confirms that such lists of taxes due from the provinces were written up in double versions, Assyrian and Aramaic, using clay or other media, such as wood, papyrus, and possibly parchment³⁹. The *Aramayya* scribes are thus quite surely the ones depicted with a brush and scroll, alongside their colleagues bearing a clay tablet and a stylus, on a number of scenes from Assyrian palace reliefs dealing with the registration of foreign booty or tribute⁴⁰.

The above clues are supported by a matching picture of individuals or groups described outright, or implicitly identifiable, as Arameans, such as are attested in various levels of Assyrian society. Thus, the masons entrusted with the decoration of the palace of Shalmaneser III at Kalhu scratched individual Aramaic letters on a number of glazed bricks so as to mark their sequential order⁴¹; fully Aramean contingents are listed in registers from Sargon’s reign onwards as forming part and parcel of the Assyrian army⁴²; and, more widely, the onomastic record of the empire attests to an abundance of West Semitic (and mostly Aramaic) personal names within all branches of the administration, from the humble agricultural serf to the Magnates which flanked the king in ruling the “four quarters of the world”⁴³.

Lastly, the more the archival documents in Neo-Assyrian (even from the more recently published private archives from Assur) are scoured in search of better interpretations, the more we are able to perceive that loanwords from Aramaic had penetrated Neo-Assyrian, and were presumably not even recognized as being of non-Assyrian origin. A first group of such loanwords was assembled by von Soden, and a few others have cropped up from time to time⁴⁴; e.g. the latest addition is the term *tuānu*, which appears to be the equivalent of the É-TU₅ given in the very same contract from Assur, and thus relevant to a bathroom or wash-room within the domestic unit, which surely matches the *twn* of various 1st millennium West Semitic languages, and specifically the *twn* attested at Elephantine, both in house sales contracts and in the well-known Passover papyrus of the Elephantine community⁴⁵.

On the opposite front, that of the inputs of Assyrian lexicon or phraseology in Aramaic texts, a number of new items has cropped up in recently published alphabetic texts from private collections. Thus, e.g. the formula *‘l brky ’šr nnwh yšm*⁴⁶ is now attested as a straight loan-translation from *ina burki Issar ašibat Ninua išakkan*, relevant to the placing of the silver as penalty “on the lap of Issar of Nineveh” (with a definitive corroboration of the Assyrian name of the goddess). Further, the clause of restitution of the money tenfold or more to its owners is paralleled by *ksp’ šlšn lmr’wh yh’/š’b*, “he will give back the silver 30 (times) to its owners”⁴⁷: where we have a confirmation that Assyrian EN.MEŠ-šu, when present (in alternance with EN-šu), is here a true plural form, and does not imply the possibility of an (elsewhere well attested) Neo-Assyrian marker for the –*ī* of the genitive singular⁴⁸.

³⁸ ND 2356 (=Saggs 2001, p. 239), ll. 3-5, 9-12.

³⁹ Cf. the NA letter CT 53, 46, (=SAA XVI, no. 63) discussed in Fales 1986, 21-24, and then subjected to a more convincing rendering in Radner 1997, 29-31.

⁴⁰ The regularity of the context (registration of booty, etc.) in which the two are depicted, makes it *per se* unlikely that the individual with brush and scroll could have represented a court artist, preparing rough sketches for palace reliefs, as has been sometimes maintained (cf. e.g. Reade 1981, 162).

⁴¹ Millard 1993.

⁴² Dalley-Postgate 1984, 27-47.

⁴³ Cf. Fales 2001, *passim*, with previous bibliography.

⁴⁴ Von Soden 1966-68, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Cfr. Fales 2003b.

⁴⁶ In a text from the Moussaieff collection, published in Lemaire 2001, 24-32 (=Lemaire no. 2, Obv. 6-7)

⁴⁷ Lemaire no. 2 (cf. above), Obv. 7-Rev. 1. Lemaire’s translation of *šlšn* as “trente (sicles?)”, maintained despite his cognizance of the NA parallel formula (2001, 27-28) should be corrected accordingly.

⁴⁸ Cf. Luukko 2004, 100.

From this overall set of data of mainly official origin, therefore, a relatively wide gamut of testimonials for a prominent role of the Aramaic linguistic-cultural complex within later Assyrian society may be gained. These testimonials are to be fitted into the wider historical picture of Assyria as representing a multiethnic and multicultural empire, in which – apart from specific shifts in policy over time – the many distinct and self-identifying groups forming the sophisticated “mosaic” of the empire itself appear to have been tolerated with little discomfort and inner conflict, insofar as their behavior conformed to that of “servants of the king” – a status implying a full subordination to Assyrian royal authority and its ensuing rules of practical conduct⁴⁹.

In particular, Aramaic appears to have been recognized by Assyrian officialdom as the foremost within a limited number of “other” linguistic-cultural complexes in which textual materials of interest to the empire could be couched⁵⁰. As may be seen from the quotes offered above, the main expressive media of the West Semitic language for official purposes would seem to have been of the “soft” type – from wood to papyrus and vellum – which are however irretrievably lost to us. Thus, it is merely through the – relatively pale – “spectrogram”, represented by the remains of alphabetic script on clay tablets, that we are left to judge the intensity of Assyrian-Aramaic cultural contact, especially for the last century before the downfall of Nineveh.

e. Such is the picture that emerges from the body of documents held within the capital cities and public buildings of Assyria, independently from the problem of whether some groups of texts may be attributed to private archives which were therein stored⁵¹. In any case, at present, a somewhat more focused image of the two linguistic varieties, in their mutual socio-cultural interpenetration, may be summoned from the Assyrian-Aramaic archives of clay tablets from mainly private contexts within provincial areas of the empire. Some of these archives have been available to specialists for many years. However, the recent addition of a number of significant cases from the Western part of the empire, as well as a renewed attention to the general implications of archive-keeping for Ancient Near Eastern historical studies⁵², have contributed to enhance the importance of all examples concerned. And it is within the specific historical framework ensuing from their overall examination – one of full integration and interaction between the Assyrian and the Aramaic cultural elements at local level – that the Tell Shiukh Fawqani epigraphical remains should be placed, as will be shown below (§§2-3).

The earliest known examples of mixed Assyrian-Aramaic archives are, respectively, those of three groupings from Assur (N17, N18 and N27), and that of the house of El-manani at Guzana (modern Tell Halaf), all brought to light by German expeditions in the early decades of the 20th century.

As regards Assur, a relatively quick publication of the Aramaic exemplars held in the Berlin Museum was not followed by the parallel edition of the cuneiform material before the Second World War and the ensuing division of Germany; and only the reunification of the country in recent years allowed the resumption of work on such texts, which were thereupon quite speedily brought to publication along

⁴⁹ Fales 2001, 61-63.

⁵⁰ Cf. Fales 2003a; the other main linguistic-cultural complexes would seem to have been Egyptian, and possibly Urartian, also Median. No evidence of an official recognition may on the other hand be summoned for Luwian, which is however attested in a number of documents from a private archive at Assur.

⁵¹ Cf. most recently Fales 2003, 225-226, for the notion that the public buildings in the capital cities of the Assyrian empire were receptacles of archival material of various sorts, also including documents relevant to the private business activities of personnel therein employed or in some way connected to such buildings. Whether this admixture of public and private documents was a condition somehow tied to the principals’ employment in the Assyrian administration (i.e. perchance in view of the State’s reclaim of privately acquired land after their death), or merely a personal choice on the part of specific officials (since only some of the many possible private archives have come down to us), is however still unclear.

⁵² Cf. in general Veenhof 1986, Pedersén 1998, Brosius 2003.

archival guidelines⁵³. As for the Tell Halaf collection, the vagaries of politics during the First World War caused a number of its texts to be diverted to London, thus delaying the *editio princeps* until 1940; the texts remaining in Berlin –among which, those of the 7th century Assyrian-Aramaic archive– were lost in the bombings of the city in '45, and only the later retrieval and publication of original photographs of the Aramaic texts has provided some slight addition of our knowledge on this score⁵⁴.

Thus, a common feature of these two archives was the separate (scientific and, for Tell Halaf, even physical) fate which befell the Aramaic texts vis-à-vis their cuneiform counterparts; equally, in both cases, the written materials were first published with little or no reference to their respective archaeological contexts of discovery –contexts which may be nowadays only reconstructed by patiently sifting through the data of the excavation reports.

f. From our present-day standpoint, the three archives from Assur have a special significance, since they represent the best cases of Assyrian-Aramaic interaction in the private sphere occurring within the “Assyrian heartland” (a much less significant parallel is represented by the 28 texts comprising the private archive of Ninurta-šarru-uṣur, a member of the Nineveh palace personnel of the late 7th century B.C., found in a pottery vessel near the Shamash Gate, of which one tablet bears an endorsement⁵⁵). As implied above, the full view of the archives from Assur has only been made possible of late, with the addition of the cuneiform documents to the alphabetic texts known since the 1920s.

[1] Archive N17 from Assur was found by Walter Andrae in a room of a private house (House 9) clearly marked out as such by its entrance on the so-called *Winkelgasse*, and by a courtyard on its forefront⁵⁶. In one of the inner rooms, above a set of graves, lying on a poorly preserved floor-level, were 14 tablets, of which 3 in Aramaic script, all of mid- to late-7th century date. The majority of the Aramaic documents⁵⁷ and of the cuneiform texts⁵⁸ deals with loans of silver: interestingly enough, the West Semitic exemplars are on triangular docketts, while the Assyrian ones are on “horizontal” tablets, i.e. rectangular tablets written on the long side. A further point worth noting is that two administrative documents dealing with silver are present in the same archive, one for each scribal tradition⁵⁹. Prosopographically, however, the archive shows little inner coherence, leaving us in doubt in the end as to whether an extended family, a guild of sorts –as in other cases from Assur⁶⁰– or merely a random collection of materials should be envisaged here.

[2] We fare hardly better with archive N18 from House 12, where 2 Aramaic triangular corn-loan docketts appear alongside 15 cuneiform tablets, comprising both “horizontal” loan documents and “vertical” sale texts⁶¹. Here again, the archive was found strewn around on a floor in a chamber above graves. From the prosopographical point of view, the presence on an Aramaic text of the *hazannu* (“overseer”) of Assur, Sin-na’id, also known from a variety of cuneiform sources from the same site,

⁵³ Cf. Fales – Jakob Rost 1991; Deller – Fales – Jakob Rost 1995; Radner 1999; Donbaz – Parpola 2001.

⁵⁴ Degen 1972. For a “score” of the main interpretive attempts based upon these photographs, cf. Fales 1986, 238–252.

⁵⁵ Ismail – Postgate, n.d., no. 6 (cf. Fales 1986, 269, II); a further endorsement is on a tablet not belonging to this private archive (no. 1; cf. Fales 1986, 269, I).

⁵⁶ The description of the findspot is most recently given in Pedersén 1986, 104–105.

⁵⁷ These were published in different moments from the 20s to the 70s by Lidzbarski and Freydank (Lidzbarski 1921, nos. 5–6; Freydank 1975).

⁵⁸ Deller – Fales – Jakob Rost 1995 (texts from Berlin). No additional texts from Istanbul have been added to this archive (cf. fn. 61, below).

⁵⁹ Resp. NATAPA 93, and Freydank 1975.

⁶⁰ Cf. Postgate 1995, Fales 1997.

⁶¹ Cf. Pedersén 1986, 106–107 (catalogue); Deller – Fales – Jakob Rost 1995 (texts from Berlin). For additional texts belonging to this archive from Istanbul, cf. Donbaz-Parpola 2001, 44–50.

is noteworthy⁶²; for the rest, on the other hand, no cross-references may be traced between the two linguistic components of this archive.

[3] More rewarding on this line is the third archive (N27), which comes from the remains of a private house built against the outer part of the town wall⁶³. Here 22 tablets were discovered, with 3 exemplars in Aramaic⁶⁴. All three texts –undated triangular dockets concerning barley seed loans– refer to one Aššur-šallim-ahhē as lender of the barley (through the common initial formula *š̄rn zy ()srslmh*⁶⁵); and the same individual (1.*Aš-šur-šal-lim/SILIM-PAP.MEŠ*) appears as a central person also in six the cuneiform documents, both as creditor⁶⁶ and debtor⁶⁷ of barley seed, as well as creditor of silver⁶⁸ and guarantor for the silver loans of third parties⁶⁹. Prosopographical coherence between the two parts of this archive also extends to the following individuals, attested as witnesses: Šēpā-Aššur = *sb 'sr*; Bēl-iddina = *bldn*; Bēl-šarru-uşur = *blsrşr/ blsr 'şr*; Dada/i-ibni (=1.U.U-DÙ) = *ddbn*⁷⁰. Thus, at least one of the three Assur archives presents us with a clear picture of private business transactions being conducted by a specific family group in both contemporary linguistic and writing traditions.

g. At Guzana/Tell Halaf, the house of an individual named El-manani was discovered not far from the top of the tell, where lay the installations tied to the provincial governor Mannu-ki-Aššur of the age of Adad-nirari III; but this house proved to be of late 7th century date on the basis of the texts found therein, enclosed in a jar⁷¹. Of the 10 texts which form the archive, exactly one-half are in Aramaic; the majority of all texts is represented by loan-documents, and we may again note a division between “horizontal” tablets in cuneiform, and triangular ones in Aramaic alphabetic script. The cuneiform texts also comprise a sale document and a court order⁷². In this case, we may notice a complete coherence of contents and participants between the two sets of written materials, ranging from the presence of El-manani himself (as *'lmnny*) to a number of his cronies who witnessed his deeds: Ḥirī-ahhē = *qryh*⁷³; Zir-'a-el = *zr'l*; Matī-Se' = *mt̄c<ş>y*; Addu-ḥari = *'d̄r*; Rihi-Dadi = *r̄dd*⁷⁴.

Despite their badly preserved condition from the outset, and the impossibility to be checked due to loss of the originals, the Tell Halaf Aramaic dockets appear somewhat more interesting than their

⁶² On this man, cf. Parpola 1983, 327-328; Fales – Jakob Rost 1991, 88; Klengel Brandt – Radner 1997, 150-151. See further attestations in Donbaz – Parpola 2001, 253a.

⁶³ Cf. Pedersén 1986, 119. The archive is Pedersén's N27.

⁶⁴ Fales 1986 46-48. For the cuneiform texts, partial information may at present be drawn from Pedersén 1986, 119-120, and PNA 1/I, 217a.

⁶⁵ Fales 1986, 46:1-2; Fales 1986, 47:1-2; Fales 1986, 48:1-2. The indication in PNA 1/I, 95a, that this man and *'kdy* were “debtors” in VA 7499 (=Fales 1986, 47) is erroneous, and is in fact contradicted in *ibid.*, 217a.

⁶⁶ In texts N27(1), N27(2).

⁶⁷ In text N27(15).

⁶⁸ In text N27(8).

⁶⁹ In texts N27(11) and N27(19): cf. PNA 1/I, 217a.

⁷⁰ Data in Pedersén 1986, 119-120; analysis of the names in Fales 2000, 102. A further endorsement is attested in texts from archive N25 (n. 837 = Donbaz – Parpola 2001, n. 120), with the text *[d]nt . nn x x*, in reference to the seller of a group of individuals, whose name is lost in the Assyrian part. A further triangular docket bearing a silver loan derives from Iraqi excavations carried out on the site in 1979 (I(raq) M(useum) 96 737: cf. Hug 1993, 24-25 (AssU 8); also Fales 1996a, 41). This text should be of post-648 BC date, on the basis of the possible identification of the creditor *'b̄hr* with a witness (1.AD-*ha-ri*) known from a cuneiform document (NATAPA 106 Rev., 13: cf. PNA 1/I, 10a, for the identification hypothesis).

⁷¹ For a general description of the documents, cf. E.F. Weidner, in Friedrich et al. 1940, 6-7; publication of the cuneiform documents by A. Ungnad in *ibid.*, 47-56 (TH 101-106); the Aramaic texts were published by J. Friedrich in *ibid.*, 70-78 (=1-5), but the fifth text is completely illegible. A photograph of the 10 texts was recently published in Cholidis – Martin 2002, Abb. 33.

⁷² TH 103, 106, resp.

⁷³ For this correspondence, cf. Fales 1980.

⁷⁴ Cf. Fales 2000, 104, with references.

counterparts from Assur, in that they show a less slavish adaptation of the Mesopotamian legal tradition into Aramaic, with the occasional input of legal terms of purely West Semitic origin –parallels for which may be found especially in the later Elephantine papyri but also in some Biblical passages⁷⁵.

In the same light, the Tell Halaf dockets present the first attestations of some legal formulae which recur in other archives from the same geographical horizon of the Syrian Jezireh, which will be described below. Thus, e.g., in the best preserved of such tablets⁷⁶ the hypothetical clause *hn lhntn š̄ry'* has long and variously puzzled the specialists, until a parallel for an elsewhere unattested *Langimperfekt* of the causative stem of **ntn* cropped up again at Tell Shiukh Fawqani⁷⁷. Equally, the expression *mn qrb mnhm š̄ry' yntn* is an indication of multiple juridical responsibility which represents a variant, but at the same time a crucial aid for clarification, of the corresponding Assyrian formula *ša karmūni ušallam* (“he who is at hand will give back” the object of the loan)⁷⁸.

h. To these two earliest known examples of Assyrian-Aramaic archives, three further cases must nowadays be added, all stemming from the area between the Khabur and the Euphrates river valleys, i.e. the northwestern corner of Mesopotamia proper, basically along the outer reaches of the “king’s road” which crossed the Jezirah linking the Twin Rivers in a straight E-W line⁷⁹. Two of these archives, from Tell Ahmar (ancient Til Barsib) and from Tell Šēh Ḥamad (ancient Dur-katlimmu) derive from official excavations, and thus provide the crucial advantage of well-documented connections between the textual finds and their archaeological contexts. The third case, that of the Assyrian and Aramaic tablets from ancient Ma’allanāte, is, on the other hand, a clear-cut example of the dire consequences of the illicit plundering and commerce of antiquities in the Near East, as well as –unfortunately– of the complacent politics of acquisition on the part of highly regarded public institutions in the West, such as are to be considered particularly reprehensible in the light of the present context of conflict in the Mesopotamian region⁸⁰.

Similarly to their counterparts from Assur and Guzana, the three more recently discovered “Syrian” archives are all to be dated in the 7th century B.C., with the earliest and latest attestations (beginning of the century and last decades) coming from Ma’allanāte, while the Tell Ahmar and Tell Šēh Ḥamad evidence appears to be concentrated in the ages of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (although four documents in NA ductus from the age of Nebuchadrezzar also derive from this site). The three named archives will be here briefly described according to the number of epigraphical materials recovered, in ascending order.

[1] Written documents from Tell Ahmar on the eastern Euphrates riverbank were discovered during the ‘90s by the Australian archaeologists led by G. Bunnens, and were published by P. Bordreuil (with F. Briquel-Chatonnet) and S. Dalley⁸¹. Both the 20 fragments of Assyrian tablets and the 2 Aramaic tablets from Tell Ahmar derive from the debris resulting from a destruction of the earliest phase of a building

⁷⁵ And now also in the monolingual documents of unknown origin published by Lemaire 2001, 13-118.

⁷⁶ Friedrich et al. 1940, 71-72 = Degen 1972 50-52 = Lipinski 1975, 115-125 = Fales 1986 no. 53.

⁷⁷ Cf. Fales 1996, 101-102 for the interpretation and previous references.

⁷⁸ On this formula, cf. Zaccagnini 1994, and more recently Fales 2000a.

⁷⁹ It should also be recalled that the Neo-Assyrian period also provides us with two funerary monuments in Aramaic from beyond the Euphrates, i.e. the Neirab stelae dating to approx. 700 BC (KAI 225-226): cf. Folmer 1995, 133, 583, 748-749, and Fales 1996a, 43, for the essential linguistic characteristics of these texts, bearing a large number of Akkadian loanwords.

⁸⁰ Cf. Fales 2004, for a recent overview of the situation in Iraq from the viewpoint of the cultural heritage.

⁸¹ Bordreuil – Briquel Chatonnet 1996-97; Dalley 1996-97. Unfortunately the entire lower part of this ancient city is, since 1999, submerged under the waters of the artificial lake created by the Tishrin Dam.

(C1) at the western area of the settlement, and were found scattered over three adjacent rooms⁸². The cuneiform documents mainly center around the figure of one *Ha-(an-)ni-i* and his associates in private business, and span the period from the 680s to the early post-canonical period⁸³; while shreds of a further private archive (of Issar-duri, son of *Sa-mir-a-a*, on whom see below), might be represented by three of the documents (T13, T18, T20). The name of the site appears as *URU.Tar-bu-si-ba* in one of the documents (T14:5), showing one of a number of cuneiform variants of the toponym which agree with the Aramaic version, as given in one of the Tell Shiukh Fawqani texts (*trbšyb*, no. 44)⁸⁴.

There is hardly any evidence in the discovered epigraphical material, pertaining to private business, to hint at the exact administrative nature of Til Barsib during the 7th century⁸⁵; however, on the basis of general clues, and of the references to military personnel in the texts of the adjoining town of Tell Shiukh Fawqani (cf. §4,5), the present writer surmises that, among the many possible functions of this regional center, one was that of garrison-town on the Euphrates, probably of similar dimensions and importance as Dur-katlimmu in the same period⁸⁶. On the other hand, the linguistic-cultural milieu of the Tell Ahmar documents, as evidenced by the personal names, especially from the cuneiform material, is quite clear, and presents a large number of Aramaic formations⁸⁷. Among these are *Ba-ri-ku* (T1: Rev. 2'); *Sa-gi-bi-^rU⁷¹* (T1: Rev. 7'); *Tab-ri-a-me* (“You created me, o paternal uncle!”⁸⁸; T3: 8; T4:8); *U.U-id-ri*, (“Dadi is my help”; T3:9; T4:9⁸⁹); *U.U-su-ri* (T4: 10; cf. T8:18); *PAP-a-ma* (T4:11⁹⁰); *U.U-im-me* (T8: 17); *Tu-ri-x* [(“My mountain is ...”; T8:19⁹¹); *U.U-ha-ri* (T8:22⁹²); *A-šir-a* (T8:243⁹³); *Ha-sa-nu* (T10: 3'), and see also *Ha-šá-na* (T14:4); *Se- ZALÁG* (T12:16); *Pa-an-Si-i* (T 13 :3⁹⁴); *Si-me-U.U* (T13 :19); *Za-bi-ni* (T13:29); *Sa-lam-U.U* (T15:10'); *An/Na-qa-me* (T15:11'/Env frg.2, 2'); *U.U-di-li* (T19 :11); *Mar-su-[ri]* (T19 :15); *A-tar-su-[ri]* (T19 :16). Of particular interest here are the plentiful attestations of the deity *U.U = Dadi*, which is also present as a component of PNs in Central Assyria (see above), but also, in the West, at Ma’allanātē (also in alphabetic script, as *dd*)⁹⁵ and at Tell Šēh Ḥamad⁹⁶, alongside the Moon-God *Se'* and other West Semitic divine figures.

⁸² Cf. Bunnens 1996-97, 61-65, and esp. the plan on p. 64. A fragment of limestone plaque was also discovered at Til Barsib (cf. Bordreuil – Briquel Chatonnet 1996-97, 102-103), but appears to derive from a quite different archeological context (cf. Bunnens 1996-97, 62)

⁸³ Cf. Dalley 1996-97, 66-67. This writer however strongly doubts that the *Ha-(an-)ni-i* attested here could be the same person as an individual from Assur of the post-canonical period, as suggested *ibid.*

⁸⁴ Cf., by contrast, the name of the site as given at Tell Sheikh Hamad: Radner 2002, no. 56, 11 (*URU. Til-bar-s[i-bi]*).

⁸⁵ In text T 14, the authorities of the city (the *šāniu*, ‘deputy’, the *hazannu*, ‘(gate) overseer’ and the *ša muhhi ăli*, ‘city overseer’) decree the immunity from any legal proceedings of *Hannî* and one of his cronies, ‘when they come to Til Barsib’, at least until a sealed tablet concerning them will be received in the Governor’s Palace. One may wonder if this information should be taken as a clue to a possible origin of *Hannî* not from the provincial capital itself, but from an outlying village (e.g. like Burmar’ina, cf. §3, below).

⁸⁶ A general clue is that Til Barsib was in the 7th century the capital of the province of the *turtānu* (cf. Postgate 1992, 6). Notice also the discoveries of well-structured Assyrian architecture in the ‘lower city’, observed as such with some surprise by the archaeologists (Roobaert – Bunnens 1999, 168-169), which bring to mind the layout of the lower city at Dur-katlimmu (cf. e.g. the map in Radner 2002, 2).

⁸⁷ Cf. already Fales 2000, 107; and PNA, *passim*, for some corrections to Dalley’s reading of the PNs.

⁸⁸ Cf. PNA, 1/I, 103 ff. for names comprising the subject-element *^camm, “paternal uncle”.

⁸⁹ Cf. PNA 1/II, 363b.

⁹⁰ The present writer is not completely sure whether this masculine name should be interpreted as **Aḥ-imma*, “her mother’s brother”, as in PNA 1/I, 65b, or rather as a name formed with *^camm (see above), “the paternal uncle is (like) a (dead) brother (i.e. a moral begetter)”.

⁹¹ *Sic*, not *Tu-ri-* (Dalley). Cf. Zadok 1977, 398, for names built with **ṭūr*, “mountain”.

⁹² Cf. PNA, 1/II, 363a; the final *-a-a* [LÚ in Dalley’s reading should in fact be taken as A 1.[PN (see copy).

⁹³ Cf. PNA 1/I, 123a.

⁹⁴ Cf. PNA 3/I, 986-987, for the etymology.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. Lemaire 2001, 156b.

⁹⁶ Cf. Radner 2002, 239, for names with this initial element.

Finally, worthy of particular note are the names in text T 13, since here we might have a clue as to the different origin of the people residing in Til Barsib in the late 7th century B.C., and as to their linguistic-cultural admixture there under the common denominators of Assyrian and Aramaic⁹⁷. If we consider together the witnesses' names *Id-ri-i*, son of *Ha-ma-ta-a* (T13:17-18), *'A-a-am-me*, son of *Tab-ála-a-a* (*ibid.*, 20-22), and 15-BĀD, son of *Sa-mir-a-a* (*ibid.*, 24-25), we may notice that the patronyms are all formed by ethnographic designations, respectively pointing to Central Syria (Hamat), Southern Anatolia (Tabal), and Palestine (Samaria); and that the sons' names are either fully Aramaic, or (in the case of **Issar-dūri*) probably based on a willful Assyrian-Aramaic blend (**dūr* is also significant in Aramaic, as “dwelling”). To these paternal ethnonyms we may further add, albeit with less certainty, ¹⁰¹ *-dāl-a*⁹⁸ who was son of *Ma-li-me-ni* (*ibid.*, 22-23). If we suppose that **Malimeni*⁹⁹ presents the same *b>m* shift that characterizes the Biblical name *Minyāmīn* in relation to *Binyāmīn*¹⁰⁰, and considering (1) that the initial word was presumably Aramaic **bar*, and that (2) we should deal with a further, common, *r>l* shift (thus, overall: **Bar-yimeni*> **Mal-yimeni*), we would reach a name with the same meaning as ‘Benjamin’, i.e. “Son of the South”. Of course, it still remains to be seen whether this PN was employed as an actual ethnographic marker in our text, or not¹⁰¹.

The two Aramaic texts from the site (T11, T23) are of particular interest: in the first place, their format is decidedly unusual. The longer text, T11¹⁰², is a sale document of an unknown item against silver with a “vertical” orientation, but shows a crude fashioning in its rectangular shape, with bulges in some points and extremely wide margins: the present author has decided to dub, somewhat graphically, this particular format –which as will be seen, reappears in a similar text from Tell Shiukh Fawqani (text no. 13)– a “cake-slice” shape. The script of the piece is also interesting in its coarseness. A recent re-edition of this text has brought to light the presence of a new loanword from Assyrian (*rkšn* from *raksūte*), although it was not recognized as such¹⁰³. This text has other features which recall quite interestingly the Tell Shiukh Fawqani evidence (e.g. the penalty clause *mn c'l mn yšb* in Obv. 3')¹⁰⁴; even a personal name might refer back to the smaller site, some 18 km. northwards¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁷ A brief remark on the ethnonyms in this text is provided by Dalley 2000, 87.

⁹⁸ Read *'U²¹-AŠ-A* by Dalley. For the reading *Adda-dalā*, cf. PNA 1/I, 45a.

⁹⁹ Taken as *Mallimini* in PNA 2/II, 675b, with uncertain etymology.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Zadok 1988, 59.

¹⁰¹ One may wonder, in view of the clarification given in Tell Shiukh Fawqani Aramaic text no. 47 –a document possibly stemming from Til Barsib itself— on the origin of the debtors *mn bny zmn*, “from Bit-Zamani”, whether the nature of the city as a garrison could not have *per se* encouraged the resident personnel to retain longer memories of its place of origin than elsewhere in the Assyrian empire.

¹⁰² Bordreuil – Briquel Chatonnet 1996-97, 100-107 (transliteration with no translation); Lemaire 2001, 126-128 (full version with commentary).

¹⁰³ Lemaire's version (see footnote above) presents the interesting reading *rkšn* in Obv. 1', against Bordreuil and Briquel-Chatonnet's *pršn*, although he retains the previous “chevaux” in his translation. This noun in the masc. plural is clearly the subject of the following *z]bdw*, and the entire clause in Obv. 1'-3' might be understood as “[OBJECT] all the *recruits* gave over for twenty shekels of silver”, with *rkšn* as a possible loan-translation from Assyrian *raksu*, “recruit” – and with a possible reference to the local military establishment of Til Barsib (cf. also §3) in the bargain.

¹⁰⁴ *mn c'l mn yšb* (“whoever will turn against anyone else”) is attested in Tell Shiukh Fawqani text no. 47 (cf. §5). In the Til Barsib deed, this penalty clause is followed (Obv. 4'-5') by *]x y. w[yt]n bdl[/ksp 'rb' mn*, which Lemaire 2001, 127, translates with uncertainty as “[...] et il donnera de l'étain [ou?]/ de l'argent: quatre mines”. In point of fact, however, despite the initial break, the passage indicates a conditional provision of repayment of 4 minas of silver in relation to the previous penalty clause (“whoever will turn against against anyone else, / ..., or will give as substitute / 4 minas of silver”). Notice the central function of the noun *bdl*, “(as) substitute”, which was already noticed by the present writer as a juridical term appearing in the Ma'allanate texts (cf. fn. 116, below).

¹⁰⁵ Finally, it is of some interest to note that in Obv. 6', Lemaire restores the name of the first witness as *š'c š[n]y]*: could this man have perchance been the same person as the businessman known from the Tell Shiukh Fawqani texts?

The second piece, T23, is, instead, decidedly of an ovoidal shape, with a “horizontally” oriented script, again very coarse. It would seem to be an administrative list of personal names: of particular interest is *š'ymd* (l. 3), who might be the same person as the *Se-ma-a-di* occurring in a cuneiform text from the same site¹⁰⁶. Finally, an Aramaic endorsement in painted alphabetic characters is attested on one of the Assyrian deeds, although it still awaits reading (T20)¹⁰⁷.

[2] The Royal Museums of Brussels house a group of some 60 tablets (41 in Assyrian, and 3 in Neo-Babylonian cuneiform; 24 in Aramaic) acquired on the antiquities market, which prove to represent a bilingual private archive from the ancient site of Ma’allanāte, possibly to be sought in the upper Balikh region: the publication of this archive was announced as forthcoming at the 1983 *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, but it is still not available in complete form¹⁰⁸. As far as currently available information goes, the Aramaic material would seem to be mainly, if not exclusively, composed of legal documents, almost all (21 out of 24¹⁰⁹) of triangular shape dated between ca. 700¹¹⁰ and 620 BC: family ties between the central persons named in both linguistic traditions span to a large extent, but not entirely, the relatively large temporal bracket here represented.

The central persons in the archive would seem to be Ḥandī (1.*Ha-an-di-i* / 1.*Ha-an-di-ia* in NB script/ Aram. *ḥdy*), active from the early 7th century to approx. 665 BC, his son Ḥarranāyyu (1.KASKAL-*a-a* / *ḥrny*; from 665 to post-canonical times), while a third individual, apparently no kin to the others, Šēr-nūrī (with various orthographies in cuneiform; *šhrnwry* in Aramaic), was active in business during the latter part of the century¹¹¹.

Despite its medium-size dimensions, and the still partial circulation of the texts, the importance of the Assyrian-Aramaic archive from Ma’allanāte, in itself and in relation to the remaining material of which we shall speak below (including the Tell Shiukh Fawqani texts), should by no means be underestimated, since attestations of unusual Aramaic linguistic-cultural characteristics pervade the written records of this local niche of the Assyrian empire. The evidence ranges from specific phonetic renderings (e.g. *ss* as representing a local rendering **Šāš* for **Šamaš*, in conjunction with Assyrian predicative elements¹¹² finds parallels as far back as Tell Fekheriyeh and again at Tell Šēḥ Hamad¹¹³ and Tell Shiukh Fawqani: cf. no. 47¹¹⁴) to innovative loan-translations and renderings of Assyrian terms (e.g. *rsh* for Neo-Assyrian

¹⁰⁶ The interpretation of this line by Lemaire 2001, 129, is decidedly different.

¹⁰⁷ The text is, unfortunately, impossible to make out from Dalley’s copy.

¹⁰⁸ For a provisional report on this archive, cf. Garelli 1986. A number of documents in the archive have been quoted in part or in full in articles by E. Lipiński during the past twenty years: cf. the bibliography given in Lemaire 2001, 131²⁷. The philological evaluation of some of these texts was effected in Fales 1986 (nos. a-h), and in Fales 2000; also in Lemaire 2001, 132-147 (who however follows Lipiński’s readings and interpretations quite closely).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lipiński 1993-94, 143. I cannot find reference to the shape of the remaining three documents. To be noticed is the fact that one cuneiform tablet from a private collection (Fales 1986, 59), connected to the Ma’allanāte archive by Garelli (1986, 243), also bears an Aramaic endorsement on its left-hand edge.

¹¹⁰ This upper dating stems from the presence of the eponym Padā in O.3714, Reverse 5-6 (*l [m]/pd mp[šr]* : for quick reference, cf. Lemaire 2001, 133). For parallel sources, bibliography and discussion, cf. PNA 3/I, 977, where a general date in Sennacherib’s reign is suggested. Garelli 1986 gives the earliest date of the cuneiform documents as 687, and speaks of various documents from the 680s, including one in Neo-Babylonian script (O.3703) dated to d.30.PAP.MEŠ.SU / LUGAL KUR.*Aš-šur*, i.e. 681 BC (*ibid.*, 241).

¹¹¹ Cf. Lipiński 1997 on the names.

¹¹² In the Assyrian-type name *ssbṣr*, “*Šamš, protect the father!” (O.3714, Obv.4), identified as such in Fales 2000. Cf. also the hypocoristic *ssny* in O.3659, 4 (quick reference: Lemaire 2001, 138). On the other hand, notice the straightforward Aramaic name *bršmš* in O.3658, Obv.4 (Lemaire, *cit.*, 137).

¹¹³ Cf. *ssy* in DeZ 13814, Rev. 2 (=Röllig 1997, 370-374; Lemaire 2001, 148-149), and more recently ^{1-d}UTU—PAP—PAP = *ssḥṣr*, Radner 2002, no. 53.

¹¹⁴ For the phonetic “rule” involved, cf. Fales 1996, 107.

rēšēti, “first-fruits”¹¹⁵, or the professional designation *mšn*, which confirms the Neo-Assyrian rendering *masennu* for LÚ.IGI.DUB, “major-domo”, previously read *abarakku*). Worthy of note are also: the presence of rare West Semitic lexical items (such as *bdl*, “substitute”, hitherto known only from Ebla and Ugarit), the appearance of novel lexical components of Aramaic legal jargon (e.g. the verb *‘yr*, “to give in exchange”, the noun *qsh*, “total”) and the first documentation in Aramaic alphabetic script of juridical mores known from contemporary cuneiform documents (e.g. “to enter in judgment before Hadad”)¹¹⁶.

[3] From the official excavations led for more than two decades by Hartmut Kühne of the Free University of Berlin at Tell Šēh Ḥamad (ancient Dur-Katlimmu¹¹⁷), a military and administrative center on the eastern bank of the lower Khabur, stem more than 500 texts both in cuneiform and Aramaic script, of which only the former (205 in number) have been hitherto published. In general terms, three factors indicate that Aramaic was the preferred language for the conduction of business transactions (and thus possibly also for interpersonal relations in general) in the site: (1) a large number (about one-third) of the documents in cuneiform script comprise secondary epigraphs in Aramaic¹¹⁸; (2) the exemplars in Aramaic alphabetic script (representing the majority of textual finds) are, to the opposite, consistently monolingual¹¹⁹; (3) very few texts of the debt-note category (which, as is well known, was a formal standard employed in Neo-Assyrian law not only for the registration of actual debts but also of work and business contracts and arrangements of various types) found at Tell Šēh Ḥamad were made out in Assyrian cuneiform, the overwhelming majority being in Aramaic characters.

The Neo-Assyrian texts from Dur-Katlimmu so far discovered and published derive from various emplacements in the lower city; of these, the most productive was a largish building in the middle lower city, known as the ‘Red House’ from its wall-paintings, with textual finds dating from 828 BC to the very end of the 7th century. The main body of texts from this location (65 tablets) is represented by the archive of one Silim-Aššur, a royal retainer of the age of Assurbanipal¹²⁰. The texts are of extreme interest, in showing the fully private dealings, within a provincial context, of an individual enjoying an official position at the Assyrian court. Other lots of cuneiform texts from the site refer back to the reign of Esarhaddon; and finally a specific group still from the “Red House” presents the outstanding characteristic of being dated to the first years of Chaldean rule, while still preserving script and formulae of decided Neo-Assyrian tradition¹²¹.

The 61 Aramaic epigraphs so far published from Tell Šēh Ḥamad show a number of interesting features, some of which represent variations on the formulae known from Central Assyria of previous and contemporaneous periods.

– First of all, the two terms employed in this age for the designation of the attached cuneiform documents, *dnt* and *’grt*, prove to be in free alternation. At Tell Šēh Ḥamad, in other words, these terms seem to have lost any semantic opposition in connection with the legal-functional typology of the

¹¹⁵ Already identified and discussed as such in Fales 1986, p. 271.

¹¹⁶ The relevant data are discussed in Fales 2000, 112–114. Cf. however Lipiński 2000, 567, 570, who questions the present writer’s interpretation, retaining his previous view of *bdl* as “tin”.

¹¹⁷ In point of fact, a secondary toponymical designation of the city was *Magdalu* (cf. Radner 2002, 3, with previous lit.), of clear West Semitic affiliation (“tower”).

¹¹⁸ Cf. Röllig *apud* Radner 2002, 22.

¹¹⁹ The sole monolingual texts from the site as yet published are two loan-documents of silver in Röllig 1997; cf. Lemaire 2001, 147–149.

¹²⁰ This man is also attested in numerous Aramaic monolingual documents from the same emplacement (Radner 2002, 70); for the sole published attestation of his name (*slmsr*), cf. Röllig 1997, 370–374. To be noticed that a further eponymal date is present in this text, which could have been added to the chart of the preserved year-dates in Silim-Aššur’s texts, given by Radner 2002, 75.

¹²¹ Cf. Kühne *et al.* 1993, for the *editio princeps*.

document, such as they show in Central Assyria (also with reference to their Assyrian counterparts, *dannutu* and *egirtu*). This opposition was underscored by various authors in studies of the past two decades: *dannutu* (an Assyrian loanword into Aramaic) was credited with an essentially functional connotation, with reference to the binding document which concluded a sale, or conveyance, of real estate; whereas *egirtu* (an Aramaic loanword into Assyrian) would have been essentially applied to other types of legal documents, essentially of the “contract” type¹²². More recently, however, a broader and all-encompassing interpretation of these terms had been suggested by Radner (1997, 56-61), with *dannutu* – *dnt* considered as a general indication for “(legal) document”, whereas *egirtu* – *grt* would have designated all types of one-column tablet, whatever their function. In his description of the Tell Šēh Ḥamad material, where – as said, *dnt* and *grt* alternate freely, especially for sale documents – Röllig is obliged to be even more nonspecific on the matter, and thus translates the two terms resp. as “Dokument” and “Urkunde”¹²³.

In this writer’s opinion, the marked interchangeability of the two descriptive terms *dnt* and *grt* at Dur-Katlimmu in epigraphs appended to conveyance texts is of decided interest, since it might be understood as pointing to a shift in lexical preferences being locally underway within a largely Aramaic linguistic-cultural community of late Neo-Assyrian date. More specifically, *grt* (*egirtu*) would seem to be in the process of substituting *dannutu* (*dnt*) as a general word for “binding legal document”¹²⁴. This reconstruction, if considered acceptable, might in itself bear some important methodological consequences for the study of the two terms in a diachronic and diatopic perspective. In effect, once one recognizes a local lexical evolution at work, it is no longer necessary to postulate single and unalterable meanings for the pair *dannutu-egirtu* (and their Aramaic counterparts) throughout the entire NA documentation, and the possibility is again open to go back to the single textual complexes, in order to establish the functional applications of the two terms case by case. In other words, the present writer believes that, exactly in the light of the particular evolution documented at Dur-Katlimmu, the semantics of the pair *dannutu-egirtu* may be subjected anew to a detailed linguistic-historical study, in search for variations in their application over space and time.

– Secondly, many of the alphabetic epigraphs from Tell Šēh Ḥamad are not incised, but painted in dark ink, presumably with the use of a small brush. As noted by W. Röllig, paint was used interchangeably with incised characters in the Dur-Katlimmu epigraphs; at times, concurrently, up to the point of showing –in one case¹²⁵ – the full repetition of the text. The difficulty for the modern interpreter to understand the reasons behind a double inscription of this kind are duly noted in the edition: and the question is posed, whether the painted texts did not perchance represent later additions, once the clay of the tablets had dried¹²⁶. In view of the evidence from the monolingual Aramaic tablets from Tell Shiukh

¹²² Cf. Fales 1986, 6-18; Zaccagnini 1997.

¹²³ Röllig *apud* Radner 2002, 23.

¹²⁴ Exceptions remain, of course, as in the case of the label to text no. 109, which distinguishes clearly the two terms, placing them moreover side by side: *'grt 'd'[n]t / zy 'r^c/ blsr^rs^r1*, “deed of the binding document regarding the land of Bēl-šarru-uṣur”. Here *'grt* describes the extant cuneiform text, a judicial decision (i.e. a so-called *dēnu*-text) which settles the lawsuit by one Rahime-il against a royal retainer, Bēl-šarru-uṣur, for the latter’s long-standing negligence in repaying a debt. We may surmise a first phase, in which Rahime-il had accepted from the royal official, in lieu of the original sum/staple (or alternatively the ensuing interest), a binding document of usufruct of a field, which could have been given back to Bēl-šarru-uṣur upon restitution of the debt. Possibly at a later moment, however, the creditor decided to settle the matter once and for all: it is thus stated that *dannassu ūbala / pēti dannitešu / SUHUR.MEŠ ušela / eqlu ekkal*, “he brings forth his binding document; his binding document is (thereupon) opened; he brings the neighbours as witnesses; he (finally) takes up usufruct of the field”. The deed that has come down to us thus implies that this course of action was justified and legitimate. As remarked by Radner (2002, 151), the act of “opening” the *dannutu* indicates that it was a tablet with an envelope, which was smashed.

¹²⁵ Radner 2002, no. 43.

¹²⁶ Röllig *apud* Radner 2002, 22.

Fawqani (cf. §5), this explanation seems likely: i.e., in the present writer's opinion, a "palimpsest-type" scribal procedure –for whatever legal or economic requirements, which may even have varied according to the individual circumstances– should be taken fully into account. This feature should be also noted, similarly to the one involving *egirtu* and *dannutu*, as pointing to a specific difference with the Assyrian-Aramaic evidence from Central Assyria.

– Thirdly, the Tell Šēh Ḥamad epigraphs prove to be placed not only on the residual (blank) edges of the relevant cuneiform tablets, as in the archives of Central Assyria, but –in total agreement with their function as elements of legal notarization or 'endorsement'– may even occupy the space usually reserved for the seal impressions (on the top half of the Obverse) or even the exactly opposite area, on the bottom half of the Reverse, between the witness list and the date¹²⁷. This feature is also attested at Tell Aḥmar (although it has not hitherto been recognized as such¹²⁸) and at Tell Shiukh Fawqani. Interestingly, this organization of the deeds (which implied *per se* equal juridical value for the Aramaic portion as the Assyrian one, from the very outset of the operation of registering the deed in writing) did not necessarily result in doing away with a shorter label or endorsement on the margins of the text: at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, in particular, this double scribal performance is clearly documented in text. No. 1, where the shorter Aramaic label is in incised characters, the longer text is in painted script. Were the longer epigraphs in Aramaic script perchance reserved for addendums, or the like? The problem is of course tied to the previously discussed point regarding the double presence of incised and painted script in a possible "palimpsest-type" sequence, perhaps due to specific scribal and administrative procedures.

Despite their overall simplicity in contents, the interlinguistic analysis of the hitherto published epigraphs from Tell Šēh Ḥamad brings about a number of welcome innovations in matters of grammar, general lexicon, and onomastics, as in all previously mentioned Assyrian-Aramaic archives: in view of the recent date of the publication, it may be useful here to dwell on these features at some length.

In the first instance, and specifically in the realm of phonemics, we may quote the totally contemporary renderings for "land" (Common Semitic *'RD) as 'rq and 'r^c¹²⁹, with a shift and alternance which was hitherto unknown for the period prior to Egyptian Aramaic (and cf. Biblical Aramaic)¹³⁰; even more surprisingly, a "Canaanite" form 'rṣ also appears to be attested once (no. 113, i.e. 1). Should we begin to consider, in the light of this early evidence (which contrasts with the regular 'rq from the contemporary epigraphs from Central Assyria) the realization *D = <^c> as a particular "Western" development, in opposition to an "Eastern" preference *D = <q>?¹³¹

As concerns vocabulary, the epigraphs from Tell Šēh Ḥamad bring to light new lexical items on one hand, and matters of correspondence with Neo-Assyrian on the other. In the first case, the present writer believes that the label in text no. 2, [']grt kny mḥṣ', should not be interpreted – with Röllig – as "Urkunde des Kenī (über) Pfand" in reference to the nouns *māhiṣ pūti*, "warrantor", and *māhiṣ pūtūtu*, "warranty", attested at Nuzi and in NB (cf. CAD M/1, 101a-b), since (1) an emphatic state ending is present, while (2) no preposition ("concerning", etc.) is given. Rather, one should look at the Assyrian text, which explains that the individual Kēnī is expected to be present in Nineveh on the 25th day of the eleventh month of *622 BC, together with Sukki-Issar, regarding the woman Abi-dimrī, a slave of Kēnī, whom Sukki-Issar had ceded to Kēnī *ina 'duḥ'-ši*, "against beadwork"¹³². If Kēnī fails to show up with

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Cf. text T8 as given in the photograph on p. 97, fig. 4, where a void of 2-3 lines' space separates the witness list from the date.

¹²⁹ Cf. the list of attestations in Radner 2002, 263.

¹³⁰ Cf. DNWSI, 110-112. For a linguistic-historical perspective, cf. Folmer 1995, 63-70, and esp. 69-70.

¹³¹ As for the uncertainty of realizations at Tell Šēh Ḥamad itself, the onomastic case from nearby Guzana of *qryḥ* as alphabetic realization for cuneiform *Hirī-ahhē* (cf. fn. 73, above) comes to mind.

¹³² Radner 2002, 28, refers to S. Dalley's recent interpretation of *duḥšu* as "faience, beadwork", as a woven ornament for leather in connection with the hitherto unexplained Bibl. Heb. *tahaš*.

the slave woman, he will have to settle the debt owed by Sukki-Issar to a third individual, Nabû-mar-šarri-uşur, in a double amount. Thus, the present writer would prefer to see *mḥṣ* as a newly attested loanword from Assyrian into Aramaic, with reference to Kēnî’s profession: he was a *māhiṣu*, “weaver”, and thus had lent to Sukki-Issar, quite possibly a colleague of his, an amount of *duḥšu*, indispensable as an ornament for leatherwork or other woven materials, against the temporary pledge of a slave woman. The scribe responsible for the endorsement of this deed probably found it too complex to summarize the entire procedural agreement between the two parties, and thus kept it intriguingly simple: “Legal document of Kēnî, the weaver (**māhiṣā*”).

In the second case, we may notice the epigraph in no. 55. The cuneiform text is a conveyance, whereby one *'Ra-pa-a'*, son of Adad-ṭāb, sells a plot of one homer to the *ša qurbūti* Šulmu-śarri. The plot is explicitly said (Obv., l. 5) to be located *ina batte ammete*, “on the other side” – a reference to the opposite bank of the Habur¹³³. The Aramaic endorsement is painted, and thus quite faded, on one line only of the left hand edge of the tablet. Röllig reads it as bearing the name of the seller and his patronymic, although noticing that the traces hardly seem to fit the name of Adad-ṭāb: [']grt 'r¹q' zy rp' b[r] b¹y¹¹'. However, it may be noted that the *beth* after the name *rp'* could also be a *beth loci*, with reference to the localization of the *'rq'*, “land” being sold. In view of the extant traces, the present writer would thus suggest the presence of the emphatic state of an Aramaic noun **cbrh*, perhaps originally drawn from Akkadian (MA, Bab.) *abartu / ebertu*, “bank, opposite bank”, and cognate to Bibl. Heb. *'ābārāh*, “ford”, as follows: [']grt 'r¹q' zy rp' b[c]b¹r t¹', “Legal document, of land belonging to Rapa’, on the *opposite bank*”.

Finally, onomastics present at least one remarkable novelty. In text no. 53, a conveyance for a slave woman, the seller’s name is ^{1,d}MAŠ.MAŠ-MAN-PAP (which we would transcribe as *Nergal-śarru-uşur*¹³⁴). However, the Aramaic endorsement clearly bears the correspondence *'thrṣrṣr*; and since the renderings of the predicative elements, *-śarru-uşur* and *-srṣr*, match perfectly¹³⁵, there can be no doubt that **'thr* corresponded somehow to the divine subject-element *Nergal*¹³⁶. An attempt to explain this unexpected association was made by W. Röllig, who suggested the presence of a West Semitic term *'thr*, “hiding place”, possibly in connection with the realm of the underworld, one of *Nergal*’s seats of divine power¹³⁷.

This explanation seems slightly far-fetched, however; and thus the present writer would propose to look elsewhere, and specifically to the Akkadian (MA/NA) noun *ithuru*, “emblem, standard”, for which a late lexical equivalence with its better known synonym, *urigallu*, is attested (CAD I/J, 296a). Now, *urigallu* (as ^dURI.GAL) is used in specific contexts as a logographic writing for the god *Nergal*, alongside

¹³³ As clarified by Radner (2002, 92), who notes that the expression occurs also in no. 113. Considering the location of Dur-katlimmu, these fields should have been located on the western bank of the river.

¹³⁴ The name is, in fact, read as such in PNA 2/II, 955b:36, relevant to the present text, albeit with no quote of the Aramaic equivalent.

¹³⁵ Cf. e.g. the following parallels: *blsrṣr* (with variant *blsr'sr*) in Fales 1986, nos. 46, right edge. 1; 47, Rev., 3; 48, Rev., 2; *nbsrṣr* in *ibid.*, no. 3:7, and *ślmnsrṣr* in Röllig 1997, 368:1 (=Lemaire 2001, 84:1). A further *blsrṣr* is attested in Radner 2002, no. 109:c.

¹³⁶ Again in no. 54, the same individual (^{1,d}MAŠ.MAŠ-MAN-PAP), together with his brother ^{1,d}DI-man-AD-PAP (both are qualified as sons of ^{1,d}UTU-MAN-PAP), sells two individuals, by name ¹DINGIR-*i-ba*, defined as ARAD-śu *par-su-mu*, “his slave, an old man”, and ¹Man-nu-śal-lim, again qualified as “his slave”, and possibly also –despite a break at the end of l. 6, “an old man”. With slight variations on Röllig’s readings, the 3-line Aramaic label may be made out in full accordance with the cuneiform evidence as follows: *dnt 'lyhb w'm[n]š'l'm' š'b[y] / 'thrṣrṣr wšlmn 'b'[y] II b[ny] / [ss]h[()]'sr* 1, “Deed of El-yahab and Mannu-śallim, old men of *'thrṣrṣr* and Šulmanu-abu-uşur, 2 sons of Šāš-ahu-uşur”.

¹³⁷ Cf. Röllig *apud* Radner 2002, 89: notice, moreover, that **'thr* is only attested in Ammonite epigraphy (DNWSI, 132-133).

the more frequent ^dMAŠ.MAŠ and ^dU.GUR, as e.g. in Sargon VIII, l. 14: ^dURI.GAL ^dIM ú-ri-gal-li a-li-kut mah-ri-ya ú-šat-ri-ṣa, “Nergal and Adad, (whose) standards precede me, I set up”. As “lord of the standard” *par excellence*, therefore, the Assyrian god Nergal could have obtained an equation with *’thr –an Aramaic noun itself derived as a loan from Akkadian *ithuru*– possibly at an early stage of the centuries-long process of Assyrian-Aramaic mutual interference¹³⁸. It must be on the other hand noted that, elsewhere in texts of this age, Nergal does obtain straightforward Aramaic transcriptions: viz. in the statue of Tell Fekheriye, where the “plague of Nergal” (*šbt zy nyrgl*) is mentioned in the curse-formulae (Aram., l. 23), and in seal impressions bearing the divine name *nrgl*¹³⁹.

i. Summing up, the combined evidence of the three “Western” archives of recent publication rounds out the picture, already visible in the materials from Nineveh, Kalhu/Nimrud, Assur, and Guzana/Tell Halaf, of a particularly deep and thorough penetration of the Aramaic linguistic-cultural element within the society politically dominated by the Assyrians, especially during the last century of the empire’s existence. Undisputedly, communities residing in north-western Mesopotamia were more widely formed by peoples, for whom Aramaic was the tongue learned at birth, and spoken in private, intermingled with officials and military personnel drawn from all parts of the empire, for whom Assyrian should have been the preferred common medium of communication. Thus, the two linguistic-cultural components lived and worked side by side, much as they did at Nineveh, Kalhu, and Assur, and –especially—they did business jointly.

The Aramaic-speaking component would seem to have preferred to view its own business and legal transactions in alphabetic script – if nothing else, in the form of a brief epigraph indicating the nature of the cuneiform deed, but possibly also in copies made out on parchment or papyrus. On the other hand, the existence of long-established procedures pertaining to the conservation and legal destruction of documents on clay media could have been among the enticements to write out on tablets the legal provisions in alphabetic script as well: whether as specular halves of bilingual documents, as in the few extant cases from Nineveh, or – better – as autonomous texts. The dominant character of Assyrian legal tradition (whether explicitly or implicitly accepted) appears to have had a widespread influence on the latter, in their formats, in their conceptual layout, in their constitutive formulae, down to the details of legal jargon, with frequent loan-translations. On the other hand, it was probably the perception that the completely standardized Neo-Assyrian legal phraseology did not always cover all possible situations and contingencies, that caused the not infrequent addition of specifically Aramaic semantic nuances, lexical items, and phraseological twists.

Finally, there are intimations, from contexts of vaster and deeper Assyrian-Aramaic cultural interrelation, such as Dur-Katlimmu, that the clay medium could have been considered somewhat unsatisfactory for the needs of a culture which had developed a practice of writing “rough and ready” with a brush and ink on more perishable surfaces. Thus, we find the first attestations of specific zones of the cuneiform deeds set aside for the purpose of textual insertions in alphabetic script in painted characters: probably to be added well after the completion of the cuneiform registration. With this innovation –which finds even greater development at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, as will be seen below – the traditional and steadfast deed on clay undergoes a partial mutation: from a closed and concluded

¹³⁸ In fact, similar examples of correspondence between a specific Akkadian term and an Aramaic one, which in its turn resulted from a presumably older loan from Akkadian, may be found in the bilingual text on the Tell Fekheriye statue: see, e.g., *na-din / iš-qu u nin-da-bé-e = wntn šlh w'dqwr* (Ass., ll. 3-4 = Aramaic, l. 3), where *dqwr*, in itself derived from Akkadian *adag/kurru*, “vessel for libations”, is used to translate *nindabû*, “food offering”.

¹³⁹ See, e.g., the name *nrglslm* on a seal from Jerusalem (Avigad-Sass 1997, 307:822), which is out of context, but quite surely from the NA period due to the *Lautverschiebung* of the sibilants (it corresponds to *Nergal-ušallim*, PNA 2/II, 958b).

text, it becomes an open and ever-emendable writ. A revolution, however small, in the conception of the text itself, which will progressively lead Aramaic documents – from legal to epistolary to literary – away from the fixity of the graven utterance to the freedom of the scroll, where written expressions may receive additions, reinterpretations, and commentaries.

2. THE TELL SHIUKH FAWQANI TABLETS: DISCOVERY AND GENERAL CONTEXT

To the number of recent finds in the domain of Assyrian-Aramaic interrelation, we may at present add the case of the archive of Tell Shiukh Fawqani, progressively brought to light by the *Groupe International de Recherches Archéologiques*, during the 1995-1997 seasons of work on the site¹⁴⁰. As will be shown, the epigraphical discoveries at Tell Shiukh Fawqani present a number of items which confirm and even somewhat refine the information which may be drawn from the hitherto known archival complexes of the same general age and geographical setting, as concerns the variety of tablet formats, the location of the Aramaic epigraphs on the cuneiform tablets, and the different typologies of script employed in all texts bearing Aramaic epigraphs. Further, both the cuneiform and alphabetically written materials show a number of novel philological traits, from specific writings of divine names (Assyrian) to grammatical and lexical particularities (Aramaic). Thus, while the overall archive from Tell Shiukh Fawqani is of medium size (e.g. comparable to that of the Ma'allanate texts), the type of data it presents constitutes a cross-referential sampler of decided interest for the overall definition of scribal and –more widely–intercultural traditions in the Euphrates catchment area in the 7th century B.C.

The first inkling that Tell Shiukh Fawqani could have been of some significance for an Iron Age phase of occupation, and specifically one to be dated in the Neo-Assyrian period, came in the last days of the 1994 campaign. While the present author was clearing a small exposure of aligned stones on the eastern flank of the tell, near the summit, a layer of large sherds, protruding beneath the stones thanks to the steep gradient of the tell, became visible. One of the sherds bore a clear potter's mark, in the shape of an Aramaic “aleph”¹⁴¹. This piece of evidence, in the light of the obvious proximity of Tell Shiukh Fawqani to Karkemish, where a large cuneiform tablet bearing many names of Aramaic type was brought to light by Leonard Woolley¹⁴², enticed the team to program the opening of a sector in this area.

During the 1995 campaign, M. Makinson started on the full excavation of the upper eastern sector (Area F). After proceeding through heavily destroyed levels of Islamic graves, and gnarled remnants of stone walls of Byzantine and Classical date, a small sounding (F 204) was effected, which provided the undoubtedly lucky find of two meaningful fragments –one in Assyrian, the other in Aramaic (nos. 33 and 51)– and especially of two monolingual Aramaic loan-documents, in good to excellent state of preservation. Both the latter texts (nos. 46 and 47) proved to be significant in their own right, as will be said below (§3).

This significant discovery of tablets in a trial sounding set off the archaeological search for a larger surface, which could have housed more documents of the same type. Thus, the entire area was



Fig. 4

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Bachelot et al. 1995, 1996, 1997.

¹⁴¹ Cf. M. Makinson's report in this volume for the findspot. Possibly because it was a fitter's mark, the *aleph* in question has a different shape from that attested in the contemporary tablets, and rather resembles a cursive form (oral communication by E. Attardo).

¹⁴² The tablet was published by R. Campbell Thompson, within Woolley's archaeological report on Karkemish; for an updated edition cf. Postgate 1974, 360-362.

progressively opened up; and in proximity of the level of the sounding, other written materials were uncovered during 1996; these comprise a fragment of a further Aramaic text in clear script and a pillow-shaped cuneiform tablet enclosed within an envelope, unfortunately heavily damaged (nos. 48 and 34, resp.). At the very end of the 1996 campaign, the absolute level corresponding to the “aleph” sherd and the 1995 sounding was finally reached over a vast area.

The campaign of 1997 was thus dedicated to the excavation of stratigraphic unit 200, corresponding to the floor of a room (room 783) within an Iron Age II dwelling, where mixed debris of fallen brick, well-preserved potsherd fragments, and written materials on clay were apparent from the very start of the season. The complete excavation of the floor, which also included the clearance of a doorway leading northwards to an adjacent room (stratigraphic units 922 and 923), yielded a good-sized booty of clay tablets, both Assyrian and Aramaic, especially along its northwestern flank. The total number of texts discovered in 1995-1997, from the (few) basically complete exemplars to the (many) minuscule fragments, is 126, of which 120 date from 1997¹⁴³.

The generally fragmentary condition of most of the tablets (cf. §4, introduction, and the catalogue in §8 for the measurements and the indication of the written remnants) might be referred back to the vagaries of recovery, which left these unburnt tablets exposed near the surface, such as to cause many external surfaces to flake off from their inner “core”, which was thereupon often pulverized. At the same time, possible infiltrations of dampness over time might be responsible for the specific “watered” effect that characterizes some exemplars, which are on the other hand better-preserved as regards their overall shape. On the other hand, the retrieval of some of the fragments within the floor surface itself, or above a door-jamb, could point to their having been scattered outright by subsequent occupants.

The latter scenario would, moreover, tie in with the general conditions of room 783, which presents countless shattered pottery debris but no particular traces of burning, and where specific instruments of the merchant’s trade (duck-weights and smaller iron “dices” for weighing¹⁴⁴) and perhaps also of productive activities¹⁴⁵ appear to have been dispersed haphazardly *in situ*. In brief, we could be dealing with a deliberate destruction and pillage of the room in ancient times: an action entailing the outright smashing of the tablets (as possibly further demonstrated by the virtually total lack of inner joins among the recovered fragments: cf. below, §4), and the violent destruction and scattering of the other materials¹⁴⁶. Of course, alternative solutions to explain the particular state of the room could probably be brought forth as well.

A number of the clay documents could have been originally kept in one or more vast storage jars placed directly on the floor, somewhat similarly to the location of the Assyro-Aramaic texts from Tell Halaf (cf. §1), since numerous fragments of such jars were uncovered along the northern wall of the room. Other documents could have however been utilized as external tags or even functional rim-stoppers of other pottery containers: a few traces of string-marks and impressions of cloth-patterns on the inner parts of the artifacts could point in this direction.

Despite the grave drawback of a very bad state of preservation of the materials, a general typological classification of the fragments has been undertaken by the present author and K. Radner, with the result of two possible categories of written sources. The majority of texts is surely represented by legal

¹⁴³ A previous count (Fales 1999) yielded a slightly higher number of pieces for the 1997 campaign, but subsequent work in the Aleppo Museum proved that 21 fragments – of a size and texture compatible with those of the written documents – lacked any inscription. The possibility that they could have originally borne painted characters in Aramaic should not be totally ruled out, but all evidence of such script had vanished at the time of the detailed examination, and it is further confirmed by a check on the excavation photographs.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. C. Zaccagnini’s contribution in this volume.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. M. Makinson’s excavation report in this volume.

¹⁴⁶ In this connection, it may be recalled that a few Neo-Assyrian judicial documents – such as have been recently republished by Remco Jas (Jas 1996) – deal with the punishments for cases of theft and pillage which had taken place in the homes of affluent individuals.

documents (sales, loans, judicial texts) tied to the commercial activities of the owners of the house, prevalent in Assyrian but also attested in Aramaic. Alongside these texts, we may posit the presence of other practical or business documents, i.e. notes or memoranda of domestic administration, exclusively written in Aramaic (§§¹⁴⁷).

In general terms, then, the Tell Shiukh Fawqani cuneiform and alphabetic texts may be fully ranged alongside all previously discovered Assyro-Aramaic private archives, in exhibiting a private, “everyday”, dimension, with no specific ties to public events and circumstances of the surrounding context – save for chance references which, as will be seen in the following pages, are of aid in pointing out some clearly definable guidelines in Assyrian political and socio-economic history.

3. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: BURMARINA, 9th-7th CENTURIES BC

The two complete Aramaic tablets already mentioned (nos. 46 and 47) have a particular importance for a clearer perception of the historical and social context of the discovery. The first tablet (no. 46) is rectangular in shape, and written along the short axis (in a so-called “vertical” arrangement of the script): it bears a legal text relating to a loan of silver¹⁴⁸. Three stamp seal impressions are placed on the upper margin of the tablet; two of them resemble quite closely specific signs of the Neo-Hittite hieroglyphic repertoire¹⁴⁹. As previously disclosed¹⁵⁰, the terms of the deed include the name of the creditor, one Še’-‘ušnî, and that of the debtor, an individual who is said to come “from BRMRN”. This piece of evidence opens up an interesting connection with previously known Assyrian sources, thus leading to a pinpointing of the identity and role of Tell Shiukh Fawqani in 9th century Assyrian history: and from here, we may also gain a spotlight on the function of the site in the 7th century, the period to which our textual finds may be dated.

As may be learned from the annals of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian army proceeded early on in the second campaign of this ruler (857 B.C.) against the Aramaic kingdom of Bit-Adini, led by the insubmissive chief Ahuni, sacking the –as yet unidentified– town of La’la’tu. The Assyrians thereupon attacked Til Barsib, and, having defeated Ahuni in pitched battle, shut him up in his fortified city¹⁵¹. In the next passage, the king states:

“moving on from the city Til Barsib I approached the city Burmar’ina which belonged to Ahuni, the man of Bit-Adini. I besieged the city, captured it, and felled 300 of their fighting men with the sword. I erected a tower of heads in front of his city. In the course of my advance, I received tribute from

¹⁴⁷ The texts were cleaned and initially sorted at the site, and photographed by Mr. Alberto Savioli for b/w and color slide formats; preliminary copies of some exemplars by the present author were also performed at the site. After being physically consolidated on the field (courtesy of Mr. Mohammed Fares of the Damascus Museum department of restoration) and transferred to the Aleppo Museum, the materials were subjected to a two-week copying session therein (by the author, Ms. Cinzia Pappi, Dr. Ezio Attardo) in October 1998. Casts of 13 pieces were produced the same year in Damascus, through the kind and competent work of Mr. Fares. Further work on the materials was then effected in Italy, with the use of 3-D effects applied to the scannerized images of the original slides, for the realization of which Ms. L. Lorenzoni (Verona) is to be warmly thanked.

¹⁴⁸ The text bears 10 lines of large and widely-spaced Aramaic alphabetic script (6 on the Obverse, 4 on the Reverse). An empty space marks the end of Reverse (approx. 2,3 cms. length). The signs on the Reverse are placed in the same direction as those on the Obverse (i.e. the tablet was turned like a page, not “scrolled” as are contemporary cuneiform tablets); this feature occurs again in no. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. the analysis of these seals by L. Bachelot in this volume.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. already Fales 2002 (but 1996!).

¹⁵¹ Grayson 1996, 15:32-33, and Bachelot – Fales, *Introduction*, this volume. The traditional reconstruction of this passage (see e.g. Sader 1987, 55, 57) was based on the erroneous reading of the city following La’la’tu as URU.Ki-^r x⁷ -qa, which a recently discovered text (Grayson 1996, 24-25) has allowed to correct in URU.DU₆-bar-[si-ib].

Habinu of Til-Abnâ, from Ga’uni of Sarugi¹⁵² and from Giri-Dadi of Immerina. Moving on from the city Burmar’ina I crossed the Euphrates in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins. I received tribute from Qatazilu of Kummukh”¹⁵³.

Now, the location of Tell Shiukh Fawqani with regard to Tell Ahmar / Til Barsib is some 18 kms. northwards (i.e. less than one day’s march of the Assyrian army) on the same – eastern – bank of the Euphrates; further, while Tell Shiukh Fawqani proves (from the results of the excavation published in this volume) to have overlooked the river directly since prehistoric times, the same cannot be said for any other *tell* between it and Tell Ahmar¹⁵⁴.

To these purely geographical and archaeological considerations –which go some way toward the likelihood that our site corresponded to the Burmar’ina in Bit-Adini, named in the Assyrian ruler’s account – we may add the following textual clues, which also point to Shalmaneser’s itinerary northwards along the eastern bank after the demise of Til Barsib: (1) the cities of Til-Abnâ, Sarugi and Immerina – whence, as seen above, the local rulers came to Burmar’ina with a pacifying tribute for the Assyrian ruler¹⁵⁵ – are commonly placed in the area between Urfa and the Euphrates, i.e. as adjoining inland states to the N-NE of Burmar’ina itself¹⁵⁶; (2) after crossing the river at Burmar’ina, Shalmaneser

¹⁵² URU.*Sa-ru-ga-a-a*. This is a further *crux interpretum* that the new comprehensive edition of Shalmaneser’s royal inscriptions in Grayson 1996 has helped to settle; cf. Fales 1973, 95, and the doubts still expressed by Kessler 1980, 197-198.

¹⁵³ Grayson 1996, 15:33-37 (with slight modifications in the translation).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. MRE-1922, I, *annexe* 1, for a detailed topographical map of the region between Karkemish and Tell Ahmar, useful despite its great overall imprecision (cf. Geyer in MRE-1922, II, 12). Three further *tells* are located between Tell Shiukh Fawqani and Tell Ahmar, i.e. Tell Shiukh Tahtani (Tell Boyraz Oglou in MRE-1922, I, carte 2), Tell Gumluk and Tell ‘Abr (=Tell Abou in *ibid.*), but they are all removed between 0.5 and 1 km. from the present-day riverbank, unlike Tell Shiukh Fawqani (=Tell Beloun in *ibid.*, 1) and Tell Ahmar (=Tell Amar in *ibid.*, 3).

¹⁵⁵ The passage is somewhat ambiguous, regarding the exact location where the tribute was received: certainly its placing between the mention of the Assyrians’ arrival at Burmar’ina and their departure therefrom, might indicate that the neighboring rulers – or more likely their envoys – came personally to the conquered town with their goods. On the other hand, one should not totally rule out the possibility that – through the expression “in the course of my advance” – the text meant to refer to specific corps branching out from the main Assyrian army on the Euphrates, with the task of reaching these outlying cities and exacting tribute from them under the menace of armed attack.

¹⁵⁶ For discussion and tentative localizations, cf. Liverani 1992, 72 (Til-Abnâ), Kessler 1980, 197-20 (Sarugi=Sürük in Turkey), Fales 1973, 128 (Immerina). The possibility that the city (URU) of Immerina could have been located in a wider territory (KUR), known as Ašša in the annals of Ashurnasirpal (Grayson 1991, 219: 94), has been made repeatedly before (cf. Lemaire-Durand, 66²⁴, with previous lit.) Reviewing the issue once more, the following four points would seem to stand out, in order of importance: (1) *Gi-ri-da-di* (king of Ašša) might be homonymous with *Gi-ri-⁴IM* (king of Immerina), in view of the “improper encoding” *Bir-da(-ad)-da* = *Bir-⁴IM* of the name of an Arab ruler in royal inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (cf. Zadok 1977, 57, with lit.); (2) Ašša has been located on the left bank of the Euphrates slightly to the northwest of Huzirina (20 kms. north of Harran), where *Gi-ri-da-di* came to bring tribute to Ashurnasirpal together with Qipanu and (A)zalla, and adjoining Til-Abnâ (Liverani 1992, 83; cf. esp. fig. 18); (3) many local kings (Ahuni, Ḥabinu of Til-Abnâ, Sangara of Karkemish, Qatazilu of Kummukh, etc.) are attested in both Ashurnasirpal’s annals and the accounts of Shalmaneser’s early campaigns; (4) the three toponyms mentioned by Shalmaneser, Til-Abnâ, Sarugi and Immerina, as well as Qipanu, are attested more than once in the “Harran census” of the age of Sargon (cf. most recently Fales – Postgate 1995, 180-182) – i.e. they all seem to pertain to a geographical area encircling the great cultic center of the Moon-god on the northern Balikh, and all refer to a territory or administrative district centering on an urban site and comprising minor villages in its midst.

claims to have reached the area of Kummuhean political influence, while also striking against Ahuni's westernmost strongholds, such as Paqar(ra)hubunu¹⁵⁷ – i.e. he directed his march towards the north-west, in the direction of the great eastward loop of the western bank of the river centering on Samsat.

To this array of coherent contextual elements, the occurrence of this very same toponym in Aramaic tablet no. 46 may now be added. Taken in itself, but also in conjunction with mentions of Middle Assyrian and earlier Neo-Assyrian times of a town dubbed, resp., as *Marina ša šadē*, in the region of Karkemish, and *Marinā* “in Bit-Adini”¹⁵⁸, this attestation represents the final “touch” to an overall well-rounded working hypothesis for the precise identification of Tell Shiukh Fawqani with ancient Burmar(’)ina¹⁵⁹. This identification appears at present to have been accepted by Assyriologists and Aramaic specialists alike¹⁶⁰.

The Tell Shiukh Fawqani epigraphical evidence presented here refers, however, to a Burmar’ina of almost two centuries later: a town which had, already long before that time, come to form part of the provincial organization of the Assyrian empire, and which depended from the nearby administrative and military center of Til Barsib. Specific clues for this function of the major city vis-à-vis Burmar’ina may be gained from tablet no. 47, in Aramaic, as well as from text no. 37, in Assyrian.

The first of these texts (no. 47)¹⁶¹ is a contract bearing, at its outset, the seal identifications (and the seal impressions at the end of the Reverse) of three individuals, said to belong to the *kṣr mlk'*, “king's cohort” –i.e. to the particular branch of the army which depended directly from the Assyrian ruler¹⁶². Their ultimate origin was in far-off Bit-Zamani (Obv. 2., *mn bny zmn*)¹⁶³; their local station, instead, is not given outright, but may be deduced from the place of origin of 4 witnesses named on the Reverse, who were present on their behalf, and who are described together as *mn trbšyb*, “from Til Barsib”. We are thus informed of a military contingent stationed in the nearby provincial capital: this is not surprising, in view of other contemporaneous textual clues which tie this city and the surrounding territory to the direct governorship of the “Commander-in-chief” (*turtānu*) at least until the early 7th century¹⁶⁴.

Specifically, the three military are in the process of pledging a slave of theirs, possibly because they had not fulfilled the obligations of a previously contracted debt of 8 shekels of silver. Their creditor is – interestingly enough – the individual Še’-‘ušnî who fulfilled an identical function in text no. 46; this

¹⁵⁷ For the localization of Kummuh, see most recently Hawkins 1995, 92-94. Paqarhubunu has been identified with modern Gaziantep in southeastern Turkey (Parpola – Porter 2001, 24), a rocky stronghold placed on the Sacir river, which opens up to Karkemîş and the southern plains, but could have been located even further northward, in the area of modern Pazarcik, on the Maraş-Melid route. This alternative identification (v. Hawkins 1995, 93; Dion 1997, 91) stems from the retrieval of a stela of Adad-nirari III mentioning Paqarhubunu in the village of Kızkapanlı near Maraş, on the occasion of the building of the Pazarcik dam: cf. Grayson 1996, 204-205 for the text.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Luciani 2000, Morandi Bonacossi 2000 (and already Röllig 1997b, 286), and see the historical introduction (Bachelot – Fales, this volume) for these earlier toponymic attestations, which stand a good chance on various grounds of representing antecedents of the place name Burmarina.

¹⁵⁹ Hardly any previous attempt to place Burmar’ina is recorded: in 1918 E. Kraeling suggested a site called el-Burat, allegedly placed between Jerablus and the mouth of the Sajur (quoted Sader 1987, 95¹⁴⁶), but this is obviously on the wrong bank of the river. In any case, no trace of this site or toponym (a misunderstanding for *al-Furat*, “Euphrates” ?) appears in the roughly contemporary recording of MRE-1922, I, carte 1.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Radner 1997, 16; Dion 1997, 92; Pedersén 1998, s.v., and especially the atlas by Parpola – Porter 2001, 8. The evidence from the present excavation appears unknown to Ikeda (1999, 273 with fig. 1), who thus incorrectly suggests a location of Burmarina to the north of Carchemish.

¹⁶¹ Published in Fales 1996; re-edition, with slight modifications, by Lemaire 2001, 123-126.

¹⁶² This military body is known as *kisir šarri* in contemporary Assyrian texts; the Aramaic term is thus a straight loan-translation from the latter, previously unattested as such.

¹⁶³ Cf. Fales 1996, 92-93. For the localization of Bit-Zamani, cf. now Parpola – Porter 2001, 8 and map 3:C2.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. §1. The capital of the province of the *turtānu* could later have been moved to Harrān (Postgate 1992, 6).

double attestation heightens the probability that he may have been one of the people who inhabited the house (no. 783) in area F of Tell Shiukh Fawqani, using the relevant space to store his private deeds, perhaps together with the series of duck-weights used for measuring out his loans, meted out in silver and corn. No date is given in the deed, but a specific penalty clause, relevant to the “loyalty oath of the king”, is a chronological clue indicating a period no earlier than the reign of Esarhaddon.

The same three elements – the presence of military personnel, the business activities of Še’-ušnî, and the dating – come to the fore in cuneiform text no. 37, which is the record of a court case, judged before one [...]–Issar, *ša pān dēnāni* (Rev. 6). A lawsuit appears here to have been brought by Kubaba-lidi, a cavalryman (*ša pithalli*), against Adda-ramu, a royal retainer (*qurbutu*). Though the text is fragmentary, Še’-ušnî would seem to be mentioned (in the syllabic rendering *Se-e-us²-ni*: i.e. 1) in a question involving a loan of silver. Other members of the army (*šaknu*, “prefect”; *tašlišu*, “third man [on the chariot]”, *mukīl appāte*, “charioteer”) act as witnesses to the deed. The date also happens to be preserved: 676 BC, the year in which the deputy vizier Banbâ was eponym¹⁶⁵.

Other texts in the cuneiform part of the archive refer to Kubaba-lidi; in no. 1, where he is the buyer of a group of people, a chariot driver is one of the witnesses. In no. 12, a conveyance for the sale of a slave, a chariot owner is present as witness. Thus, it seems assured that this cavalryman kept company with his own kind, i.e. personnel attached to the royal cavalry and chariots.

In sum, the Assyrian and Aramaic texts mentioning Še’-ušnî and Kubaba-lidi point to regular business connections of the small village of Tell Shiukh Fawqani/Burmar’ina during the reign of Esarhaddon¹⁶⁶ with the larger political and military center lying to the south: apart from the above mentioned witness said to be *mn trbšyb*, the sale of a plot of land bordering “the road for Til Barsib”, (URU.Tur-ba-^rsi-*ba*¹.KI) is mentioned in the fragmentary text no. 9, Rev. 4. One may in fact even wonder whether the legal documents, both in Assyrian and Aramaic, had not perchance been written out and sworn in Til Barsib itself – where undoubtedly a scribal bureau was annexed to the local administration – and thereupon brought back to be stored “at home” by the village entrepreneurs¹⁶⁷.

As for the general linguistic-cultural environment of late 7th century Burmar’ina, a number of clues may be – again – gained from onomastics in both scripts. Similarly to Til Barsib and Dur-Katlimmu, Aramaic personal names are relatively numerous, and for the most part reflect well-known onomastic types: cf. e.g. Abu-dilēni (3: Rev. 9); Abdâ (4: Rev. 7; and see also 37: u.e. 8); Nabû-lâdin (5: Obv.5); Atâr-sûri (5: Obv.8); Ašîru (27: Rev. 2’); Sagabbi (28: Rev. 2’); Adda-sûri (35: u.e. 1’); Adda-râmu (37: Obv. 3), together with *bšwry* (45: Rev. 3’); *hmnn* (46: Obv. 1); *šb’* (46: Obv. 1); *plty* (47: Obv. 1); *pl̄l* (47: Rev. 19); *hmn* (47: Rev. 21); *nbmr[’]* (59: 1); *ddrh’m’* (59: 2; 62: 1’). Akkadian name-types are also of course well attested, cf. e.g. Babilâyu (1: Obv. 1; etc.); Gabbu-âmur (3: Rev. 16); Inurta-ballît (3: Rev. 13’); Issar-ukîn (5: Obv. 7); Nergal-rêmanni (5: Obv. 3); Šamaš-âhu-uşur (5: Obv. 6); Šumma-âbîhî (37: u.e. 7), together with *hdrmn* (47: Rev. 16); *mlš’bny* (47: Rev. 20), and the fragmentary *] pld[n]* (46: Rev. 10).

¹⁶⁵ For the date and the name, cf. Millard 1994, s.v.; PNA 1/II, 263a-b.

¹⁶⁶ As will be seen (§4, below), all available dates from the Tell Shiukh Fawqani archive relate to the 670s, i.e. the central decade of Esarhaddon’s reign.

¹⁶⁷ This hypothesis (which is indirectly supported by the obvious role of Nineveh and Assur as centers of juridical activity also concerning the outlying towns and rural regions: cf. in general the texts published by Kwasman-Parpola 1991, Donbaz – Parpola 2001, Mattila 2002) would help to explain why an individual is said to come “from BRMRN” in text no. 46 – a curious point of detail if the document had been, instead, made out in Tell Shiukh Fawqani itself. Cf. fn. 103, above, for the possible presence of a witness named Še’-ušnî in one of the Til Barsib Aramaic texts.

Other, more general, elements of context may be gathered from the onomastics attested in the documents in both scripts in relation to specific divine subject-elements. The presence of a number of personal names referring to the Moon-God (Sîn or *Se'* in a well-known local dialectal variant¹⁶⁸) is an expected feature in the general vicinity of the sanctuary of Harrân, which by the 7th century BC was a more than millenary point of attraction for the beliefs of West Semites and indigenous Mesopotamians alike¹⁶⁹: in the alphabetic material, cf. the already mentioned *š*^c*šny*, as well as *š*^c*zry* (47: Rev. 18), and the partially Akkadianized *šnzb* (47: Rev. 17), while the cuneiform texts exhibit *Sē'*-*hiari* (3: Rev. 8), *Sē'*-*sūrū* (4: Rev. 6), *Sebi'* (5: Obv. 2¹⁷⁰), *Sē'*-*ši'i* (7: Rev. 1'), and – with Assyrian predicative elements – *Sē'*-*bēl-ahhē* (4: Rev. 3) and *Sē'*-*tabnī-uşur* (36: Obv. 2')¹⁷¹. Less well attested is his divine son (Nusku, or locally **Našh*¹⁷²): cf. *nsh'* (47: Obv. 4) and *n^rs'[h]m²nny* (46: Rev. 8). The deity Apladad, worshipped in the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur¹⁷³, is also present, both with Akkadian and Aramaic predicates: *'pldšgb* (47: Rev. 21); *Pān-Apladad-lāmur* (23: Rev. 2'). Other gods, such as **Dād* and **Attar*, are also attested in both “halves” of the Tell Shiukh Fawqani onomastic corpus (cf. §9).

Overall, the West Semitic names from Tell Shiukh Fawqani/Burmarina tally quite closely from the typological point of view with those from Til Barsib¹⁷⁴; of a certain interest, on the other hand, are a few names formed with the divine name *Salmānu* (^dDI-*m[a-n]u-mil-k[i]*, 27: Rev. 4', ^{1d}[DI]-*ma-nu-[x (x)]*, 27: Rev. 3', and ^{1x x}-^{r^dDI-*m[a-nu]*, 30: Rev. 2') which seem to refer back to a deity well attested, and presumably worshiped, at Dur-Katlimmu¹⁷⁵.}

Finally, decidedly novel is the reference to the goddess Kubaba of Karkemish (with the writings ^dKU₆ and *Gar-*ga>mes**¹⁷⁶) in no. 3¹⁷⁷. Although other attestations of Kubaba and its temple at Karkemish are known from the last century of existence of the Assyrian empire (e.g. in the loyalty-oath of Esarhaddon of 672 BC)¹⁷⁸, the invocation of the deity and its sanctuary in the penalty-formulae of a deed carries with it the “weight” of a strongly felt local religious presence at Burmarina (presumably in much the same way as that of Issar of Nineveh in deeds made out in the imperial capital¹⁷⁹; or to Adad of Guzana in both

¹⁶⁸ On the Moon-God in Neo-Assyrian onomastics, cf. Lipinski 1994, 171-192; for the approx. 50 hitherto published name-types bearing *Se'* as a subject-element, cf. PNA 3/I, 1097-1107.

¹⁶⁹ For an Aramaic tablet of unknown provenance bearing a penalty clause with reference to *b^cl hrn*, “the Lord of Harran”, cf. Kwasman 2000; Lemaire 2001, 14-24. The religious impact of the Moon-cult in the Harran region would be felt for a further millennium, despite the coming of Christianity and then Islam: cf. a recent overview of the sources in Green 1992. Notice further the seal-impressions from TSF bearing the symbol of the Moon-god: cf. M. Makinson in this volume.

¹⁷⁰ Perhaps meaning ‘*Se'* is the desired one’; cf. the feminine name *Bi'*_ā, PNA I/2, 342 a.

¹⁷¹ Notice also the names built with *Bēl-*Harrân**, which equally refer to the Moon God : *Bēl-*Harrân-dabāya** (6: b.e. 11'), and [...]-*Bēl-*Harrân** (11: Rev. 2').

¹⁷² On the name-types bearing **Našh* (written *Našuh/Našhu*), cf. PNA 2/II, 935-937.

¹⁷³ Cf. Lipiński 1976; Lipiński 2000, 636.

¹⁷⁴ Just to give one example, the name *Atar-suri*, known from tablet T20 from the larger site, appears in our no. 7, below.

¹⁷⁵ Radner 2002, 15-16.

¹⁷⁶ This writing does not appear in the repertoire of NA toponyms hitherto published (Parpola 1970, 130-131), but the emendation of the toponym is beyond doubt, Karkemîš being one of the most important cities in the vicinity of Burmarina.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Bachelot – Fales, *Introduction*, this volume, and the note by K. Radner on the deity *ad* no. 3.

¹⁷⁸ SAA II, 6. On Kubaba and its known sanctuaries, cf. Hawkins 1980-83.

¹⁷⁹ That the name of the goddess of Nineveh (and of its counterpart of Arba'il) was, in Neo-Assyrian times, pronounced **Issar* on the basis of the well-attested NA shift of sibilants /š/ > /s/, has been suggested for a number of years (cf. Parpola 1988, 75-76); and certainly, the presence of an Aramaic attestation from Ma'allanate (O. 3650:2) bearing *'šr 'rb'l* represents an adequate confirmation of the issue (cf. Parpola in PNA 1/I, xxv). Conclusive evidence now comes from a recently published Aramaic text bearing the indication of penalties to be paid out to *'šr nnwh* (cf. footnote 46, above) –where the name of the site also presents an interesting variation on the Biblical *nynwh*.

the Tell Halaf and the Ma'allanate contracts). This may be also seen from the PNs referring to Kubaba (KU₆-*li-di*, 1: Obv. 13', 2: Obv. 2', 12; Obv. 2', 37, Obv. 1; x x]-*ub*-KU₆, 1: Rev. 8'; KU₆-*ga-mil*, 3: Obv. 5'', 15''). One may also wonder whether the two witnesses described as “priests” in no. 4: Rev. 6,7, were not perchance tied to the Karkemish sanctuary, which lay no more than 8 kms. upriver from Tell Shiukh Fawqani.

4. TABLETS IN NEO-ASSYRIAN CUNEIFORM SCRIPT

The fragments of tablets discovered in the 1995-1997 campaigns which present cuneiform script to the extent as to warrant an interpretation¹⁸⁰ are 44, of which 8 exemplars also bear Aramaic script on the writing surface (cf. below, for this sub-type). The Neo-Assyrian ductus on these materials is generally good, at times particularly fine; the clay in use is generally of an uniform yellowish (yellow-reddish, yellow-greyish) hue.

A word concerning the sad fragmentary state of most of these texts is necessary. All texts were unburnt when found. They were excavated over the course of three field seasons from 1995-1997, with most fragments unearthed only in the last season. While unburnt clay tablets are able to survive for centuries without damages – other than those resulting from plant and animal vegetation – as long as they are buried deep in the ground, this is not anymore the case when they are exposed to the surface; only chemical treatment by a professional or, better still, secondary burning in a kiln will stop the decay. Upon excavation, the Burmarina texts were cleaned and conservated chemically by conservator Mohammed Fares of the National Museum of Damascus who thereby prevented further damages. Critically, not only total exposition puts unburnt clay tablets at a great risk; when these objects remain in the ground close to the surface after the end of an excavation season, the thin earth cover will not provide them with enough protection during the ensuing change of climate in the winter months with dropping temperatures and rising humidity rates to stop their disintegration. This was the fate of the Burmarina tablets.

The case of text no. 3 shows that also those tablets that survive today only in a very mutilated state were complete while still in the ground. In contrast to the other brown-coloured clay tablets, this text consist of very distinctive pink clay; also the ductus is quite characteristic. Hence, it was possible to attribute a number of minute fragments to this tablet without them physically joining the larger parts of the text. Nevertheless, large gaps remain; the relevant sections of the tablet disintegrated before the text could be excavated in 1997.

Text types: All known Neo-Assyrian texts from Burmarina can be classified as legal texts. Most of them are (sometimes minute fragments of) sale contracts (see part I of this section, nos. 1-32), but there are also four debt notes for silver (part II, nos. 33-36) and five texts documenting various stages of judicial proceedings between parties raising claims against each other (part III, nos. 37-41). Due to their small size, two more fragments cannot be attributed to any of these text groups with certainty, but are unlikely to originate from anything other than legal texts (part IV, nos. 42-44).

Aramaic labels: “Endorsements” incised or painted in Aramaic on the surface of cuneiform tablets are attested in nos. 2, 3, 4, 11, 13, 23, 37, 41. On one hand, we find the traditional endorsement consisting of 1-2 lines text, written (and usually incised) on the free margins of the cuneiform tablet, as in the well-known inscriptions from Nineveh (§1). An example of this procedure is. no. 3, where the epigraph on the upper edge specifies the nature of the document as a conveyance, through the Assyro-Aramaic term

¹⁸⁰ Cf. §8, below, section c, for the list of 37 further fragments in both scripts which do not warrant interpretation, their remnants being limited to a few signs.

dnt, and further gives one of the names of the parties); and cf. also e.g. nos. 11, 13, 23, 37, 41 for other cases of this type, although of a more fragmentary nature.

On the other hand, a second typology is that of a longer Aramaic text, written out in painted characters on a space especially set apart for this purpose within the body of the document itself; a feature which finds parallels at Tell Šēh Ḥamad (cf. §1, above). The two clearest examples on this count are nos. 3 and 4, both conveyance texts: In no. 3, where also – as said – an inscribed label is present, the end part of the document (after Rev. 17') is occupied by 5 lines of painted Aramaic script, now for the most part effaced; in no. 4, the painted Aramaic inscription is placed in an explicitly assigned space in the end part of the Reverse, between the end of the witness list (Rev. 2-9) and the date (Rev. 10), where three lines of faded script in ink are to be seen.

Dates: The available year dates are not numerous but allow a firm dating to the seventh decade of the 7th century BC: Issi-Adad-anīnu was the eponym of the year 679 (no. 26), Banbā of the year 676 (no. 37) and Atār-ilī of the year 673 (nos. 1, 4, 27, 38). All dates stem from the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 BC). Note in this context that also the two sale texts found in nearby Sam’al (Zincirli) are dated to the eponym year of Banbā¹⁸¹. Is there a connection with the end of these archives and Esarhaddon’s suppression of the 671/670 riot against his rule, led by one Sāsī and originating in Ḥarrān¹⁸²?

Central figures: It is surprising to see a rather large number of individuals as buyers, creditors and plaintiffs, i.e. in the position of those who can be expected to have filed the legal documents in question in their archives. Kubaba-lidi is attested most often as the central figure: he acts as buyer in three texts (nos. 1, 2, 12) and as plaintiff in a fourth (no. 37). Mannu-kī-ahī is twice attested as creditor (nos. 33, 34). Di [...] is attested once in the same role (no. 35). Kubaba-gamil is also attested once as buyer (no. 3). The relationship between these men is completely unknown. Note that Še’-ušnī, who appears in one of the complete Aramaic tablets, occurs in the lawsuit document concerning Kubaba-lidi (no. 37) in a function close to that man.

¹⁸¹ von Luschan 1943, 136f., pl. 73; cf. Radner 1997, 17.

¹⁸² On the little studied Sāsī conspiracy see Nissinen 1998, 127-135 and Luukko – van Buylare 2002, xxix.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

I. Sale contracts

No. 1: TSF 97 F 200/126+209+220

Sale contract for several slaves: *4.5 x 10.0 x 2.0 cm
 buyer: Kubaba-lidi; seller: Babilāyu; date: 673 BC

Obv.	1'	[<i>šu</i>]- <i>pu</i> -[<i>ur</i> ¹ K]Á.DINGIR- <i>a</i> -[<i>a</i>] <i>4 x 3 fingernail impressions preserved</i>
	2'	[EN] 'LÚ'.[M]EŠ <i>ta-da-a-ni</i>
	3'	[¹ X X X]-[<i>Se</i> ¹ -]
	4'	[¹ X X X]- <i>mu</i> <i>traces of four undecipherable lines</i>
	5'	[<i>kas-pu</i>] <i>gam-mur</i> [<i>t</i> a- <i>din</i>]
	6'	[LÚ.MEŠ] <i>šu-a-tu</i> [<i>za</i>]- <i>rip</i> [<i>la-qe</i>]
	7'	[<i>tu</i>]- <i>a-ru</i> <i>de-e-nu</i> DUG ₄ [.DUG ₄]
	8'	[<i>la</i>]-áš-šú <i>man-nu</i> <i>ša i</i> -[<i>na</i> <i>ur-kiš</i> <i>i-na</i>]
	9'	[<i>ma-t</i> e- <i>ma</i> GIL-[<i>u-ni</i>]]
	10'	[<i>lu-u</i>] ¹ KÁ.DINGIR- <i>a</i> - <i>a</i>
	11'	[<i>lu-u</i>] DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU-DU[MU.MEŠ-šú]
	12'	[<i>ša d</i>]- <i>e-e-nu</i> DUG ₄ .DU[G ₄]
	13'	[TA*] ¹ KU ₆ - <i>li-di</i>
	14'	[TA*] DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU-[DUMU.MEŠ-šú] <i>not inscribed</i>
b.e.		<i>traces of three undecipherable lines</i>
Rev.	1'	[ITU.X U ₄ -X]-KAM <i>lim-mu</i> ¹ A-tar-[DINGIR]
	2'	[IGI ¹ X X]- <i>pa-a</i> LÚ.DIB-KU[Š.PA.MEŠ]
	3'	[IGI ¹ X X]- <i>gu-uh</i> -[<i>hab</i>]-[X X (X)]
	4'	[IGI ¹ dM]AŠ.MAŠ-IGI.LAL
	5'	[IGI ¹ B]a- <i>si-i</i> L[Ú.X X X]
	6'	[IGI ¹ d]P ¹ A-I L[Ú.X X X]
	7'	[IGI ¹ X X]- <i>a-a</i> L[Ú.X X X]
	8'	[IGI ¹ X X]- <i>ub</i> -KU ₆ L[Ú.X X X]
	9'	[IGI ¹ X X X]- <i>ši-b</i> [u ...]
	10'	[IGI ¹ X X- <i>la</i>]- <i>mur</i> [...] <i>gap of undetermined length</i> <i>uninscribed space</i> <i>remainder gone</i>



TRANSLATION

‘Fingernail of Babilāyu, owner of the men being sold.

[...]Sē’ (and) [...]mu [...]

The money is paid completely. These men are purchased and acquired. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. Whoever in the future, at any time breaks the contract, whether Babilāyu or his sons or his grandsons, and [seeks] a lawsuit or litigation against Kubaba-lidi or his sons or his grandsons [...]

Month [...], nth day, eponym year of Atār-ilī.

Witness [...]pâ, chariot driver. Witness [...]gubḥhab[...]. Witness Nergal-lamur. Witness Basî, [...]. Witness Nabû-na'di, [...]. Witness [...]aya, [...]. Witness [...]ub-Kubaba, [...]. Witness [...]ṣibū, [...]. Witness [...]lamur, [...].'

NOTES

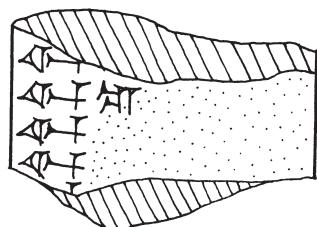
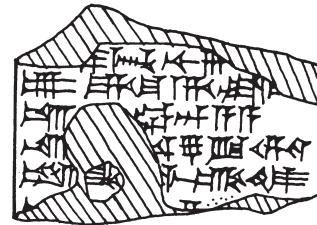
13': For the realization of the first element of this name see the commentary on no. 3 Rev. 4.

No. 2: TSF 97 F 200/122

Sale contract for six slaves: 4.0 x *2.9 x 2.4 cm

Buyer: Kubaba-lidi; seller: Babilāyu

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	[2 [?]]DU.MEŠ-šú PAP 6 [ZI.MEŠ]	
2'	ú-piš-ma ¹ KU ₆ -li-d <i>i</i>]	
3'	TA* IGI ¹ KÁ.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>	
4'	ina ŠÀ-[<i>bi</i> x MA.N]A 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	
5'	il- ¹ qe ¹ [<i>kas-p</i>]i ga-mur	
6'	¹ <i>t</i> ¹ [<i>a-din</i> UN.MEŠ] ¹ za ¹ -[<i>ar-pu la-qe-u</i>] <i>remainder lost</i>	
Rev.		<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	IGI ¹ <i>t</i> ¹ [...]	
2'	IGI ¹ Se-[‘-x x x]	
3'	IGI ¹ [...]	
4'	IGI ¹ [...]	
5'	[IGI] ¹ <i>t</i> ¹ [...] <i>remainder lost</i>	
l.h.e.		<i>Aramaic label in ink</i>
a:	^{??} x	
r.h.e.		<i>Aramaic label in ink</i>
a:	l [?] w x d/r	



TRANSLATION

[...], his [two] sons, in total six persons – Kubaba-lidi has contracted and acquired (them) from Babilāyu for [...] minas and 7 shekels of silver. The money is paid completely. The people are purchased and acquired. [...]

Witness [...]. Witness Sē' [...]. Witness [...]. Witness [...]. Witness [...]. [...]

NOTES

On the l.h.e., the Aramaic label presents faints traces of two painted letters, the first pèossibly an *aleph*. On the r.h.e., a half-preserved *lamed* is possibly followed by a *waw* and, after an illegible trace, by *dalet* or *resh*.

No. 3: TSF 97 F 200/131+194+213 (+) 114 (+) 208b (+) 211 (+) 225 (+) 226 (+) 227 (+) 228 (+) 229 (+) 286

Sale contract for a field by the river: 5.6 x *12.1 x 2.1 cm
Buyer: Kubaba-gamil



Obv. *beginning lost*
1' [EN A.ŠÀ] SU[M-a-ni]

2'	[É x ANŠE šá LÚ*.M]EŠ-e [an-nu-te]
3'	[SUḪUR x x (x) SUḪUR] ÌD [SUḪUR x x (x)] gap
4''	[...] NI [x] ¹ GI [...]
5''	[ú-p]i[š-ma] ¹ KU ₆ -[ga-mil]
6''	[ina ŠÀ x] MA 50 G[ÍN KÙ.BABBAR] il-[qe]
7''	[ka]s-pí [gam-m]ur t[a-din]
8''	[A.ŠÀ šú-a-t]ú za-p[u ^{sic} la-qe]
9''	[tu-a-ru] de-e-[nu DU]G ₄ .DU[G ₄]
10''	la-áš-šú ma[n]-nu ša [ina ur]-kiš
11''	[ina ma]-te-ma G[I]L- ¹ u-[ni]
12''	[lu]-u LÚ*.MEŠ- ¹ e [a]n-nu-t[e lu-u DUMU.ME]
13''	[lu-u DUMU]- ¹ DUMU.M ¹ [EŠ-šú]-nu lu-u Š[ES]
14''	[lu-u DUMU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú]-nu šá de-e-[nu DU]
15''	[TA* ¹ KU ₆ -[ga]- ¹ mil] TA* DUMU.ME[Š-šú]
16''	[TA* DUMU-DUMU.MEŠ-šú TA* ŠE]Š.ME-Š

b.e. *incised Aramaic label*

a. *dnt*]

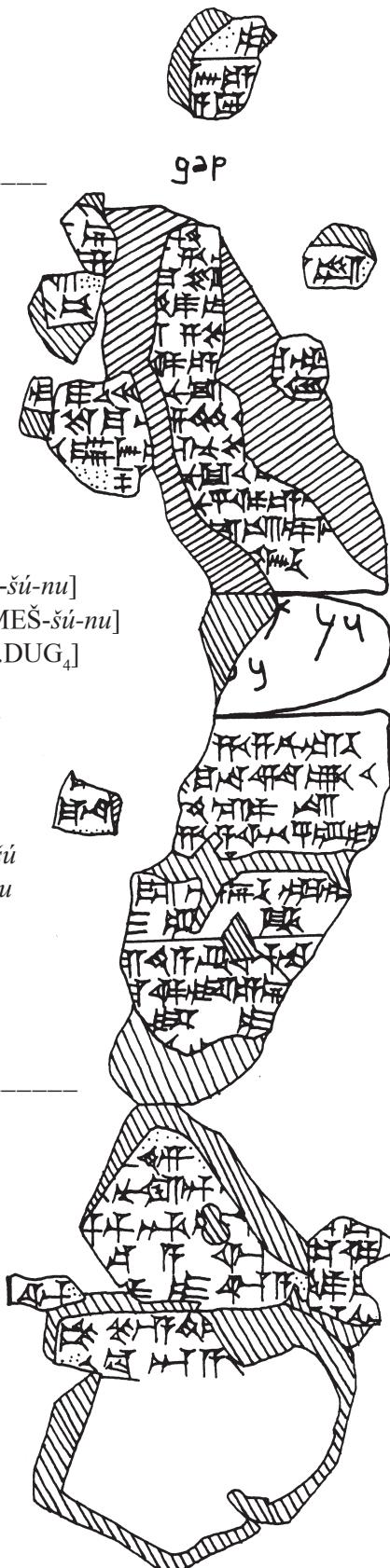
b. $b \times [$

Rev.	1	[TA* DUMU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú TA*] <i>ha-za-nu URU-šú</i>
	2	[<i>ub</i>]- ¹ <i>t</i> [<i>a-u-ni</i>] ²⁰ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR LUH- <i>u</i>
	3	[10] MA.NA [KÙ.G]I <i>sak-ru</i>
	4	[<i>a-na</i> ⁴]KU ₆ <i>a-ši-bat Gar-<ga>-mes i-d[a-an]</i>
	5	[<i>kas-pu a-na</i> 10]. ⁵ MEŠ [<i>a-na</i> EN.MEŠ-šú]
	6	[GUR]- <i>ra ina</i> [<i>de</i>]- <i>ni-šú</i> DUG ₄ .DUG ₄ -[<i>ma</i>]
	7	[<i>la</i>] ⁷ <i>i</i> - <i>laq-qe</i>

Aramaic label in ink

Grammatica
(cf. notes)

c-g.



Translation

‘[Seal of ...], owner of the field being sold.

An estate of [...] *emāru* belonging to these men [...] – Kubaba-gamil has contracted and acquired (it) for [...] minas and 50 shekels of silver. The money is paid completely. This field is purchased and acquired. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. Whoever in the future, at any time breaks the contract, whether these men or their sons or their grandsons or their brothers or their brothers' sons, and seeks a lawsuit or litigation against Kubaba-gamil or his sons or his grandsons or his brothers or his brothers' sons or the mayor of his city, shall give 20 minas of refined silver and [10] minas of pure gold to Kubaba residing in Karkemiš; he shall give the money tenfold to its owners; he shall litigate in his lawsuit and not succeed.

Witness Sē'-hiari. Witness Na[...]. Witness Abu-dileni. Witness [...]lî. [...] Witness Mannu-ki-[...]. Witness Inurta-ballit, [...]. Witness [...]bâ. Witness [...]. Witness [Di]dî. Witness A[...]. Witness Gabbu-āmur. Witness Ubru-Apladad. [...]

Incised Aramaic label: “Conveyance of [...] in [...]”.

Painted Aramaic label: no transcription warranted.

NOTES

Rev. 1: The ‘mayor of his city’ is occasionally mentioned as a party in a possible lawsuit in sale documents from Assur, Nineveh, Kalhu and Dūr-Katlimmu.¹⁸³

Rev. 4: The identification of ^dHA with Kubaba and the subsequent reading of this logographic writing as ^dKU₆ rests on the following argumentation [KR]: (1) As the feminine stative *ašibat* is used, the deity in question must be a goddess. (2) The most prominent goddess of Karkemiš is Kubaba¹⁸⁴. (3) In Roman times, Kubaba lives on under the guise of the *Dea Syria*; this goddess has a close relationship with fish. They are her sacred animals, kept in ponds in and around her sanctuaries, and according to the classical tradition, the goddess manifested



¹⁸³ The known references are collected in Radner 2002, 161.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Hawkins 1980-83.

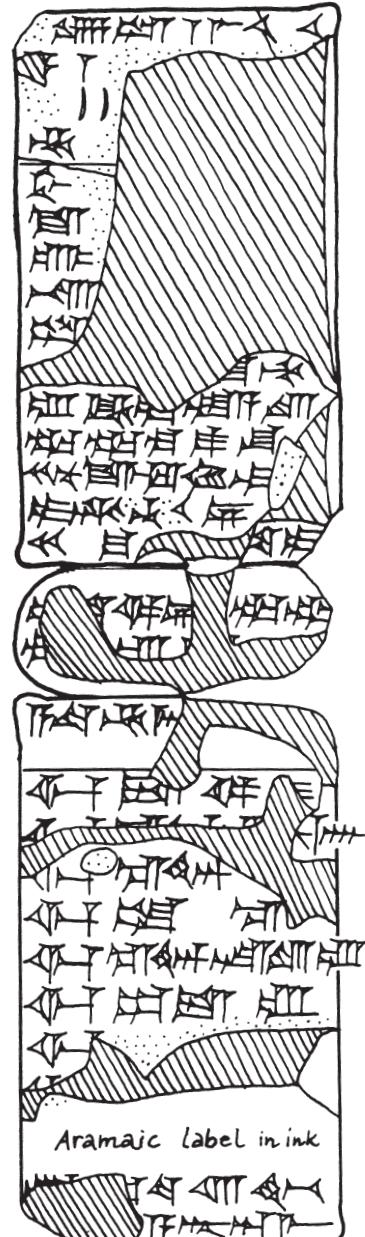
herself as a fish¹⁸⁵. (4) KU₆ is the logogram for “fish” (Akk. *nūnu*). The writing ⁴KU₆ for Kubaba is hence not only to be seen as an abbreviation for her name, but in its literal meaning “Holy Fish” also hints towards the nature of the deity¹⁸⁶.

c-g: Aramaic label in black ink after Rev. 17' : traces of about 5 lines visible, almost completely illegible, save for the chance marks left by the stylus on the clay. In the second line: the word 'rq', “land”, may be surmised. In the third line, we have *m* as the first sign, *h* in central position in the same line. In the fourth line, *š* may be made out in central position, while perhaps a further *š* was placed at the end.

No. 4: TSF 97 F 200/159

Sale contract for a slave woman: 4.2 x 7.3 x 2.2 cm
date: 673 BC

Obv.	1	NA ₄ .KIŠIB 'LAL-U.U
	2	A ' [
		<i>Fingernail marks</i>
	3	EN [GÉME SUM-ni]
	4	MÍ. [x x x GÉME-šú]
	5	ša ['LAL-U-U]
	6	ú-[piš-ma ¹ x x x]
	7	ina lib-[bi n KÙ. BABBAR]
	8	TA* ['LAL-U.U x x x]
	9	[GÉME šú-a-t]u zar ₄ -[pat]
	10	laq-qe-'at ¹ tu-a-ru
	11	DUG ₄ .DUG ₄ la-áš-šu
	12	man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina m[a-te-ma]
	13	i-bal-kat-u-ni
	14	20 MA.[NA KÙ].BABBAR i-[dan]
b.e.	15	'i ¹ -[n]a de-ni-[šú] DUG ₄ .DU[G ₄ -ma]
	16	l[a i]-'laq-qe ¹ [kas-pu ana 10.MEŠ]
Rev.	1	a-na EN.ME[Š-šú GUR-ra]
	2	IGI 'Da-di-'i ¹
	3	'IGI 'Se- '-EN'-[P]AP.MEŠ
	4	'IGI 'Se- '-[x x (x)]
	5	IGI 'SUHUŠ-Se-[]
	6	IGI 'Se- '-su-ru SANGA
	7	IGI 'Ab-da SANGA
	8	IGI '[...]
	9	'IGI'[...]
		<i>Aramaic label in ink (cf. notes)</i>
	10	'ITU'.[N]E U ₄ -13-KAM
	11	[lim-mu ¹]A-tar-DINGIR.ME



¹⁸⁵ Cf. Röllig 1965, 246f.; Hörig 1979.

¹⁸⁶ KR will study the further implications of this newly found piece of evidence for the Ancient Near Eastern roots of Classical tradition in a separate article.

TRANSLATION

‘Seal of Tariṣ-Dādi, son of [...], owner of [the woman being sold].

The woman [..., a slave of Tariṣ-Dādi, PN] bought for [... of silver], from [Tariṣ-Dādi ...]. This slave woman is purchased and acquired. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. Whoever in the future, at any time transgresses, shall give 20 minas of silver; he shall litigate in his lawsuit and not succeed; he shall give the money tenfold to its owners.

Witness Dādī. Witness Sē’-bēl-ahhē. Witness Sē’-[...]. Witness Ubru-Sē’. Witness Sē’-sūru, priest. Witness Abdā, priest. Witness [...]. Witness [...].

Month Ābu (V), 13th day, eponym year of Atār-ilī.’

NOTES

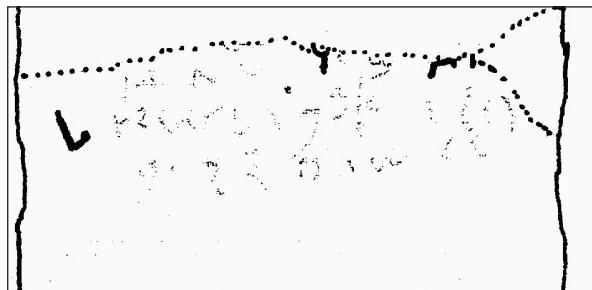
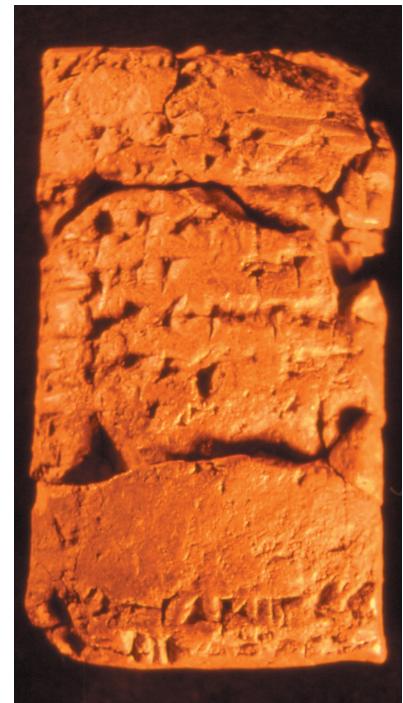
Rev. 9 ff.: 3 lines of painted signs in alphabetic script, corresponding to a total of 9+12+8 characters. The signs, in black ink, are very faint. The following combinations of signs are vaguely visible:

a. Only isolated signs are visible here: *m* in III position, *n* in VI, *h* as last.

b: *hly* opens the line, while the last signs would seem to be *l š y t l*.

c: *y ? l š w ? h z ? y š*

Left-hand edge: the Aramaic epigraph might have continued on this side. Signs no more visible in 2003.



No. 5: *TSF 97 F 200/113*

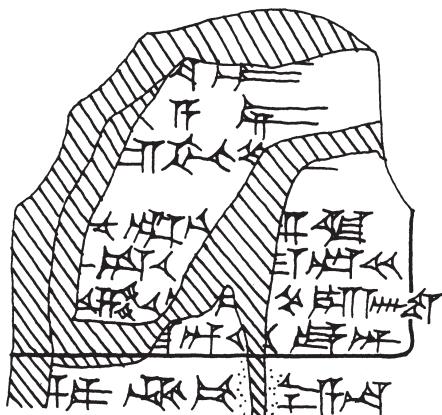
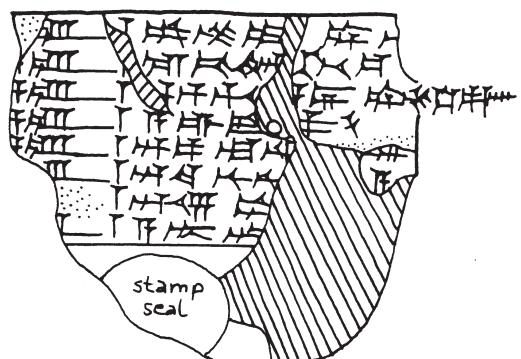
Fragment of a sale contract: *5.4 x *4.6 x 2.8 cm

Sellers: Šumma-abu, Sebi', Nergal-rēmanni, Amar-Dādi, Nabū-lādin, Šamaš-aħu-ušur, Issār-ukīn and Atār-sūri.

Obv.	1	[NA ₄ .K]KIŠIB 'Šum-mu-A[D] LÚ*.E[N-GIGIR]
	2	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB 'Se-bi- ' NAGAR-GIŠ.[GIGIR]
	3	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ-r[ém-a]-ni LÚ*.mu-kil-PA.MEŠ
	4	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB 'A-mar-D[a-di] :
	5	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^{1d} PA-la-di[n A 'x (x)]-ni
	6	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^{1d} UTU-PAP-PAP [A 'x (x)]-a-[a]
	7	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB] ^{1d} 15-GIN [...]
	8	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB] 'A-tar-su-[ri ...]

*remains of a stamp seal impression**remainder lost*Rev. *beginning lost*

	1'	[IGI ^{1d}]UTU-I
	2'	[IGI 'x x]-a-ni
	3'	[IGI 'x-s]i-gu-b[u]
	4'	[IGI 'Man-n]u-ka-PAP [DUMU 'x]x-ki
	5'	[IGI 'x]-du-u [DUMU] 'ARAD-U.U
	6'	[man-nu šá] GIL-u-n[i x] A[NŠE].KUR.RA.MEŠ BABBAR
	7'	[i-na bur-k]i ^{1d} 30 ¹ SUM-an
u.e.	8'	[IG]I ^{1d} PA-iq-bi [L]U*.A.BA
l.h.e.		<i>lost</i>



TRANSLATION

‘Seal of Šumma-abu, chariot owner. Seal of Sebi’, chariot maker. Seal of Nergal-rēmanni, chariot driver. Seal of Amar-Dādi, ditto. Seal of Nabū-lādin, son of [...]ni. Seal of Šamaš-aħu-ušur, son of [...]aya. Seal of Issar-ukīn [...]. Seal of Atār-sūri [...].

[...] Witness Šamaš-na-di. Witness [...]ani. Witness [...]sigubu. Witness Mannu-kī-aħī, son of [...]ki. Witness [...]dū, son of Urdu-Dādi. Whoever breaks the contract, shall give [x] white horses to the lap of Sîn. Witness Nabū-iqbi, scribe.’

NOTES

Rev. 6'-7': The position of this penalty clause after the witness list is unusual. Moreover, several well attested phrases have been mixed up in the wording of this clause. While the phrase *ina burki* GN *išakkan* ‘he shall place in the lap of GN’ (cf. no. 20: 3') is usually used in reference to sums of silver and gold, *ana* GN *iddan* ‘he shall give to GN’ can be used for dedications of all kinds; however, it is the phrases *ina šēpē* GN *irakkas* ‘he shall tie to the feet of GN’ or *ina šēpē* GN *ušerrab* ‘he shall bring to the feet of GN’ that are usually used when horses are to be dedicated in the case of breach of the contract¹⁸⁷.

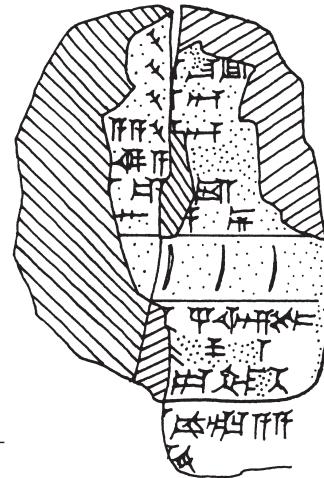
¹⁸⁷ For a discussion see Radner 1997, 306-311.

No. 6: TSF 97 F 200/137

Sale contract for several persons: *4.1 x *5.2 x *2.0 cm

Obv. *beginning lost*

- 1' [šu-pur¹...]: [...]
- 2' [šu-pur¹...]: ¹Šu-lu¹-[...]
- 3' [šu-pur¹...]: ^{1d}[...]
- 4' [šu-pur¹...]-a-a : ^{1d}[...]
- 5' [šu-pur¹...]-di-a [...]
- 6' [PAP² x DUMU³.MEŠ²] ¹E-da-[...]
- 7' [EN UN.M]EŠ [SU]M-ni



three fingernail impressions preserved

- 8' [¹... MÍ]-¹šú¹ šá-ši-zi-b[i]
- 9' [¹...]¹x x x¹
- 10' [¹...]-ab NIN-šú
- b.e. 11' [¹... ¹EN]-KASKAL-INIM-a-a
- 12' [¹...-g]i

remainder lost

TRANSLATION

‘Fingernail of [...], ditto of [...], fingernail of [...], ditto of Šulu [...], fingernail of [...], ditto of [...], fingernail of [...]aya , ditto of [...], fingernail of [...]dia [..., in total x sons of] Eda [...], owners of the people being sold.

[PN], his wife, a baby, [PN, ...]ab, his sister, [PN], Bel-Ḫarrān-dabāya, [...]gi, [...].’

NOTES

8': *ša-zizibi* ‘He (or she) of the milk’ is the Neo-Assyrian term for an unweaned baby¹⁸⁸; note that in some texts from Dūr-Katlimmu, the alternative term *ša-muhhi-zīzi* ‘He (or she) in front of the female breast’ is used¹⁸⁹.

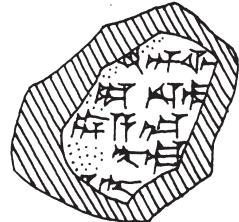
¹⁸⁸ Radner 1997, 128 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Radner 2002, 89.

No. 7: TSF 97 F 200/145(+)208

Fragment of a sale contract: *3.0 x *2.8 x *1.3 cm and *2.9 x *1.3 x *1.4 cm

Obv.	1	NA ₄ .KIŠIB ¹ KU[₆ –x x (x)]
	2	NA ₄ .KIŠIB ¹ AD-[x x (x)]
		<i>rest lost</i>
Rev.		<i>beginning lost</i>
	1'	[IGI ¹ ... A ¹ Se]- ^r - ^r -ši-[i]
	2'	[IGI ¹ ... A ¹]Ab-qa-l[a-nu]
	3'	[IGI ¹ ...] LÚ*.A.BA
	4'	[IGI ¹ ... A ¹ A]-tar-la-[mur ²]
	5'	[IGI ¹ ... A ¹]A ¹ -tar-[x x (x)]
		<i>remainder lost</i>
u.e.	1	[IGI] ¹ Se-’-[x x x]
	2	IGI ¹ Li-si-[i ²]
	3	TA* URU.ŠE-[¹ ...]



TRANSLATION

‘Seal of Kubaba- [...]. Seal of Abu- [...]. [...]

Witness [...], son of Sē’-ši’i. Witness [...], son of Abqalānu. Witness [...], scribe. Witness [...], son of Atār-lāmur. Witness [...], son of Atār- [...]. [...] Witness Sē’- [...]. Witness Lisī from the village of [...].’

No. 8: TSF 97 F 200/277

Fragment of a sale contract for a field: *1.1 x *1.1 x *0.4 cm

Obv.	1	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ¹ ...]
	2	NA ₄ .KI[ŠIB ¹ ...]
	3	[E] ¹ N A ¹ .[ŠA ta-da-ni]
		<i>remainder lost</i>



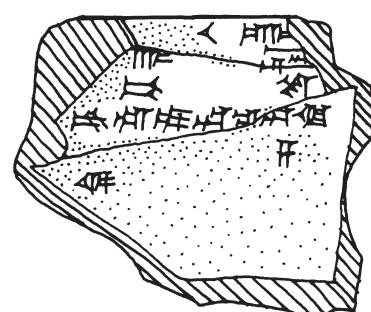
TRANSLATION

‘Seal of [...], seal of [...], owners of the field being sold. [...].’

No. 9: TSF 97 F 200/151

Fragment of sale contract for a building plot: *4.7 x *4.0 x *2.2 cm

Obv.		<i>lost</i>
Rev.	1	[KI.MEŠ BABBAR.MEŠ x+] 10 KÚŠ [GÍD.DA]
	2	[x] KÚŠ ¹ DAGA[L]
	3	[SUHUR ¹ x x]-bi-te
	4	[SUHUR] KASKAL URU.Tur-ba- ^r si-ba ^r .KI
	5	[...] ZA
	6	[x] DI [...]
		<i>remainder lost</i>



TRANSLATION

‘[...] An empty building plot with a length of [x+]10 cubits and a width of [x] cubits [...], adjoining [...]bite, adjoining the road to Til-Barsib, [...]’

NOTES

4: The name of the city of Til Barsib (also known as Kār-Salmānu-ašarēd from the mid-9th century onward) can be written in a wide variety of spellings. Quite close comparisons are URU.Tur-*bi-si-ba* in NL 50: 14¹⁹⁰ und URU.Tur-*bu-si-bi* in ND 2684 Rev. 6¹⁹¹.

No. 10: TSF 97 F 200/138

Fragment of a sale contract: *2.5 x *3.5 x 2.3 cm

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	[ú-pi] ¹ š-[ma ¹ ...]	
2'	ina ŠÀ-bi 40 G[ÍN KÙ.BABBAR]	
3'	il-qe [kas-pu gam-mur]	
4'	[t]a-din t[u-a-ru]	
5'	de-e-nu DU[G ₄ .DUG ₄]	
6'	la- ¹ áš-[šú man-nu šá]	
7'	ina [ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma]	
b.e.		<i>uninscribed</i>
Rev.	1	GIL-u-n[i ina de-ni-šú DUG ₄ .DUG ₄ -ma]
	2	la i-l[aq-qe]
	3	[IG]I ¹ Ki-[...]
	4	<i>traces</i>
		<i>remainder lost</i>
l.h.e.	1	ITU.[x U ₄ -x-KAM/KÁM lim-mu ¹ ...]



TRANSLATION

‘[...] – [...] has contracted and acquired (it/him/her/them) for 40 shekels of silver. The money is paid completely. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. Whoever in the future, at any time breaks the contract, shall litigate in his lawsuit and not succeed.

Witness Ki[...]. [...]

Month [...], nth day, eponym year of [...].’

¹⁹⁰ For an edition of this text see now Saggs 2001, 182-184 with copy on pl. 34.

¹⁹¹ For an edition of this text see Parker 1961, 43 with copy on pl. xxiii.

No. 11: TSF 97 F 200/140(+214)

Fragment of a sale contract for a slave woman: *2.3 x *3.9 x 1.8 cm and *1.4 x *1.3 x *0.8 cm

Obv.

*beginning lost
remainder of a stamp seal impression*

- 1' [MÍ....] GÉME-šú-nu
2' [ša LÚ.MEŠ an]-nu-ti
3' [ú]-^rp¹[iš-ma ¹x x]-i
4' [ina Š]À-bi [x MA.NA K]Ù.BABBAR
5' ^ril¹-[qe ...]

Rev.

beginning lost

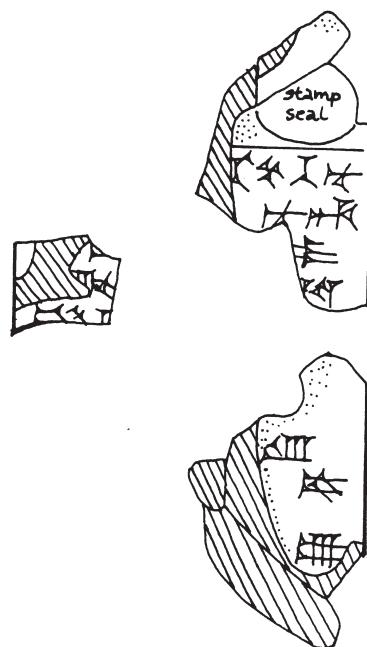
- 1' [IGI ¹x x (x)]-ru
2' [IGI ¹x x (x)-EN]-KASKAL
3' [IGI ¹x x (x)]
4' [IGI ¹x x (x)]-ú

remainder lost

l.h.e.

incised Aramaic label

- a.] x m² h r t
b.] 'mt z ²y² [



TRANSLATION

‘[...] The woman [...], slave woman of these men – [...]i has contracted and acquired (her) for [...] minas] of silver. [...] Witness [...]ru. Witness [...]–Bēl-Ḫarrān. Witness [...]. Witness [...]u. [...]’



Aramaic label: ‘...., slave woman of [...’

NOTES

l.h.e. The clay, bulky and broken, has distorted some of the alphabetic signs. Line a is decidedly in smaller characters than line b.

No. 12: TSF 97 F 200/192

Fragment of a sale contract for a slave: *2.5 x *2.8 x 1.8 cm

Buyer: Kubaba-lidi

Obv.

beginning lost

- 1' [PN₁ AR]AD-šú-nu
2' [ú-piš-ma ¹KU₆-li-i]-di ina ŠÀ-bi
3' [x MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR TI kas-pu gam-mur t]a-din
4' [ARAD za-rip la-qe tu-a-ru de-nu DUG₄].DUG₄

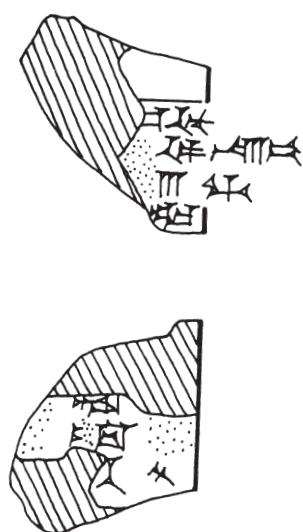
remainder lost

Rev.

beginning lost

- 1' [IGI ¹...]-^rli¹
2' [IGI ¹... EN]-^rGIŠ¹.GIGIR
3' [IGI ¹...]-šú :

remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[...] [PN₁], their slave – Kubaba-lidi has contracted and acquired (him) for [...] minas] of silver. The money is paid completely. The slave is purchased and acquired. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. [...]’

‘[...] Witness [...]li. Witness [...], chariot owner. Witness [...]šu, ditto. [...]’

No. 13: TSF 97 F 200/157

Fragment of a sale contract for several slaves: *1.4 x *1.6 x 1.7 cm

Obv. *beginning lost*

1' ¹Se-['-....]
2' ¹Se-['-...]



remainder lost

Rev. *beginning lost*

1' IGI [^...]
2' IGI [^...]

remainder lost

l.h.e. *incised Aramaic label*

a.]b y[?]? w [



‘[...] Sē’-[...] (and) Sē’-[...]
[...] Witness [...]. Witness [...]. [...]’



NOTES

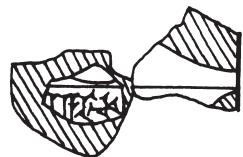
l.h.e. Aramaic label. The extant signs, lightly incised on the clay, could refer to the end of a personal name and the conjunction *w*, introducing a second one.

No. 14: TSF 97 F 200/116+217

Fragment of a sale contract for a slave woman: *3.0 x *1.4 x *1.1 cm

Obv. *beginning lost*
remains of a stamp seal impression

1' [MÍ.x x x]x-a GÉME-[šú(-nu)]
remainder lost



Rev. *lost*

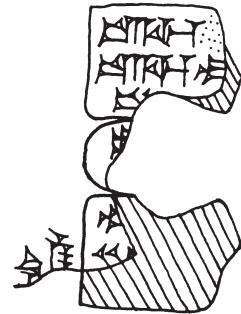
TRANSLATION

‘[...]. The woman [...]a, [his/their] slave woman, [...]’

No. 15: *TSF 97 F 200/223*

Fragment of a sale contract: *2.0 x *1.5 x *1.2 cm

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
	1'	TA* IGI 'x x x (x)]
	2'	TA* IGI 'L[a-x x (x)]
b.e.	3'	<i>i[l-qe kas-pu gam-mur]</i>
	4'	<i>t[a-din X za-rip]</i>
	5'	<i>[la-qe tu-a-ru de-e-nu]</i>
Rev.	1	D[UG ₄ .DUG ₄ la-áš-šú]
	2	<i>man-n[u šá GIL-u-ni]</i>
		<i>remainder lost</i>
l.h.e.	1	IT[U.x U ₄ -x-KAM/KÁM]
	2	<i>lim-[mu 'x x x (x)]</i>



TRANSLATION

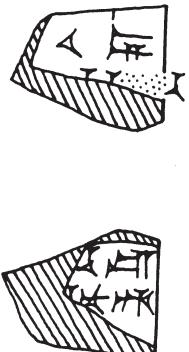
‘[... has contracted and] acquired (it/him/her/them) from [...] and La[...]. The money is paid completely. The [...] is/are] purchased and acquired. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. Whoever breaks the contract, [...].

[...] Month [...], nth day, eponym year of [...].’

No. 16: *TSF 97 F 200/149*

Fragment of a sale contract: *2.0 x *1.7 x 1.8 cm

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
	1'	[man-nu ša GIL]-u-ni
	2'	[lu PN ₁] 'lu' [DUMU.MEŠ]-šú
		<i>remainder lost</i>
Rev.		<i>beginning lost</i>
	1'	[kas-pu ana 10.MEŠ ana EN]-šú GUR
	2'	[ina de-ni-šú DUG ₄ .DUG ₄ -m]a NU TI
		<i>remainder lost</i>



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Whoever breaks the contract, whether [PN₁] or his sons [...], he shall give the money tenfold to its owners; he shall litigate in his lawsuit and not succeed. [...]’

No. 17: *TSF 97 F 200/197*

Fragment of a sale contract: *1.7 x *1.8 x *1.4 cm

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
	1'	[man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma]-'ti-ma'
	2'	[GIL-u-ni ina de]-ni-šú i-DUG ₄ .[DUG ₄ -ma]
	3'	[la i-laq-qe kas-pu a-n]a 10.MEŠ a-na
	4'	[EN.MEŠ-šú GUR]-ra



remainder lost

TRANSLATION

‘[...] Whoever in the future, at any time breaks the contract, shall litigate in his lawsuit and not succeed; he shall give the money tenfold to its owners. [...]’

No. 18: TSF 97 F 200/146

Fragment of a sale contract: *2.0 x *1.3 x *1.0 cm

Obv.	<i>lost</i>	
b.e.	<i>uninscribed</i>	
Rev. 1	[<i>ina de-ni</i>]-šú DUG ₄ .DU[G ₄ -ma NU TI]	
2	[<i>kas-pu</i>] 'a-na ¹ 10-te [a-na EN-šú GUR]	<i>remainder lost</i>

edge uninscribed



TRANSLATION

‘[...] He shall litigate in his lawsuit and not succeed; he shall give the money tenfold to its owners. [...]’

No. 19: TSF 97 F 200/216

Fragment of a sale contract for slaves: *1.3 x *1.4 x *0.8 cm

Obv.	<i>beginning lost</i>	
1'	[<i>i</i>]l-qe [<i>kas-pu gam-mur</i>]	
2'	[<i>ta-di</i>]n UN.[MEŠ <i>zar</i> ₄ - <i>pu la-qe-u</i>]	
3'	[<i>tu</i>]- <i>a-r</i> [<i>u de-e-nu</i> DUG ₄ .DUG ₄] <i>remainder lost</i>	



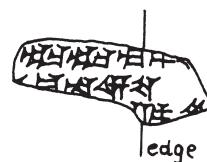
TRANSLATION

‘[... has contracted and] acquired. The money is paid completely. The people are purchased and acquired. There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. [...]’

No. 20: TSF 97 F 200/236

Fragment of a sale contract: *1.2 x *1.0 x *1.2 cm

Obv.	<i>beginning lost</i>	
1'	[<i>tu-a-ru de-e-nu</i>] DUG ₄ .DUG ₄] <i>la-'</i> áš-šú ¹	
2'	[<i>man-nu ša GIL-u-ni</i>] '10 MA ¹ . NA KÙ.BABBAR	
3'	[<i>ina bur-ki</i> ⁴ x (x) <i>i-š]ak-'</i> kan ¹] <i>remainder lost</i>	



TRANSLATION

‘[...] There will be no revocation, lawsuit, or litigation. Whoever breaks the contract, shall place ten minas of silver in the lap of [...]. [...]’

No. 21: TSF 97 F 200/238

Fragment of a sale contract: *0.9 x *1.3 x *1.2 cm

Rev. 1 *lu-^ru¹ [DUMU–DUMU.MEŠ-šú]*
 2 *[š]á d[e-ni DUG₄.DUG₄ ub-ta-u-ni]*
remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[... Whoever in the future, at any time breaks the contract, whether PN or his sons] or his grandsons, and seeks a lawsuit or litigation [...]’

No. 22: TSF 97 F 200/218

Fragment of a sale contract: *1.1 x *1.0 x *0.3 cm

Obv.[?] *beginning lost*
 1' *[za-rip la]-^rqe¹*
 2' *[tu-a-r]u d[e-e-nu]*
remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[... is purchased and acqui]red. [There will be no revo]cation, law[suit, or litigation...]’

No. 23: TSF 97 F 200/222

Fragment of a sale contract: *1.8 x *1.9 x *1.1 cm

Rev. *beginning lost*
 1' *ana E[N.MEŠ-šú GUR-ra]*
 2' *IGI 'IGI-^rA'.[U-la-mur]*
 3' *'IGI ^{1d}A-a-[x x (x)]*
remainder lost

l.h.e. *Aramaic label in ink*
 a. *] z b n [*
 b. *illegible*



TRANSLATION

‘[...]; he shall return the money tenfold to its owners.

Witness Pān-Apladad-lāmur. Witness Aya-[...]. [...]

Aramaic label: ‘ [PN] bought’.



NOTES

l.h.e. The extant signs (of which the first two were traced with a coarse brush, and thus left a decided imprint on the clay, along with signs of ink, while the third is half-lost in the break, although identifiable) point to the perf. qal of the verb *zbn*, “to buy”, totally in line with the nature of the cuneiform document as a conveyance. A second line was quite probably extant; traces of a *beth* left a sctach on the clay, while the previous graphs are too faint for identification [FMF].

No. 24: TSF 97 F 200/240

Fragment of a sale contract: *0.9 x *1.7 x *0.3 cm

Obv. *beginning lost*
1' [EN X] SUM-[*a-ni*]

remains of a stamp seal impression
remainder lost

TRANSLATION

‘[...], owner of the [...] being sold. [...]’

**No. 25: TSF 97 F 200/224**

Fragment of a sale contract: *1.2 x *1.4 x 1.3 cm

Obv. *beginning lost*
1' [EN X *ta*]-da-[*ni*]

remainder lost
Rev. *beginning lost*
1' [IGI¹...] 'x¹ [...]
2' [IGI¹...] DUMU ['...]
remainder lost

TRANSLATION

‘[...], owner of the [...] being sold. [...]’

Witness [...]. Witness [...], son of [...]. [...]’

**No. 26: TSF 97 F 200/120**

Fragment of a sale contract: *1.5 x *1.7 x *1.3 cm
date: 679 BC

Obv. *lost*
Rev. *beginning lost*
1' [...] 'DU¹ [...]
2' [ITU].GU₄ [U₄-X-KAM/KÁM]
3' [lim-mu¹]TA*-[^dIM/10-a-ni-nu]
remainder lost



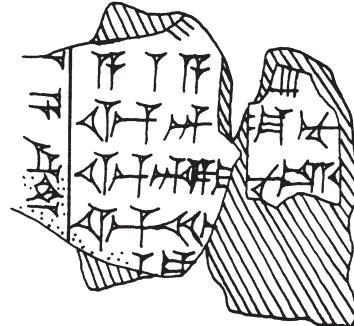
TRANSLATION

‘[...] Month Ayyāru (II), nth day, eponym year of Issi-Adad-anīnu.’

No. 27: TSF 97 F 200/141+198

Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract: *3.8 x *4.2 x 2.2 cm
date: 673 BC

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i> <i>faint traces of a stamp seal impression</i> <i>rest lost</i>
Rev.		<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	[IGI 1] ^r x ¹ [...]	
2'	A ¹ A-[ši-r]u	
3'	IGI ^{1d} [DI]-ma-nu-[x (x)]	
4'	IGI ^{1d} DI-m[a-n]u-mil-k[i]	
5'	IGI ¹ Man-n[u-ki-x (x)]	
6'	[IGI] ¹ Pa-[x x (x)]	
		<i>remainder lost</i>
l.h.e. 1	[ITU.x U ₄ -x-KAM/KÁM lim-mu] ¹ A-tár-[DINGIR]	



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Witness [...], son of Ašīru. Witness Salmānu-[...]. Witness Salmānu-milkī. Witness Mannu-kī- [...]. Witness Pa[...].
Month [...], nth day, eponym year of Atār-ilī.’

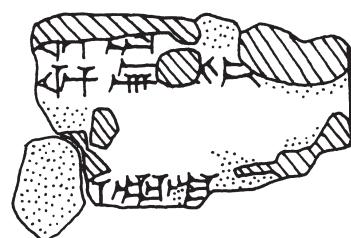
NOTES

Rev. 3’-4’: The divine element Salmānu in these two witnesses’ names would suggest that they originated from the area of Dūr-Katlimmu, since, by the 7th century, this theonym was used in personal names almost totally restricted to inhabitants of that city, where Salmānu had a temple¹⁹². See no. 30 Rev. 2’ for another witness with a name containing the element Salmānu [KR].

No. 28: TSF 97 F 200/139

Fragment of a sale contract: 4.5 x *3.0 x *2.0 cm

Obv.		<i>lost</i>
Rev.		<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	[IGI 1] ^r Du ¹ -[...]	
2'	IGI ¹ Sa-[ga]b-bi	
		<i>empty space</i>
3'	[IGI] ¹ Ka- ^r t'u- [...]	
		<i>remainder lost</i>



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Witness Du[...]. Witness Sagabbi. Witness Katu[...]. [...]’

¹⁹² Radner 2002, 15.

No. 29: TSF 97 F 200/221

Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract: *1.8 x *1.9 x *1.1 cm

Rev. *beginning lost*

- 1' [IGI ¹PA]P-la-[mur]
 2' [IGI ¹P]a-lib-^d[x (x)]
 3' [IGI] ¹A-me-[x x (x)]
remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Witness Aḥu-lāmur. Witness Pālib-[...]. Witness Ame-[...]. [...]’

No. 30: TSF 97 F 200/230

Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract: *2.1 x *2.3 x *1.3 cm

Rev. *beginning lost*

- 1' [IGI ¹x x]-i ¹A¹[...]
 2' [IGI ¹x x]-^{r^d1}DI-m[a-nu]
 3' [IGI ¹x x-D]UMU.U[Š-x (x)]
remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Witness [...]i, son of [...]. Witness [...]Salmānu. Witness [...]aplu-[...]. [...]’

NOTES

Rev. 2': See no. 27 Rev. 3'-4' for the significance of personal names with the divine element Salmānu.

No. 31: TSF 97 F 200/203

Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract: *1.0 x *2.0 x *0.8 cm

Rev. *beginning lost*

- 1' [IGI ¹... x]x [...]
 2' [IGI ¹... x]x b[a ...]
 3' [IGI ¹... A] ¹x[x ...]
 4' [IGI ¹... x]x [...]
remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Witness [...]. Witness [...]. Witness [...], son of [...]. Witness [...]. [...]’

No. 32: TSF 97 F 200/206

Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract: *1.3 x *1.4 x *0.5 cm

Rev.	<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	'IGI ' [...]
2'	IGI ' [...]
3'	'IGI ' [...]

remainder lost



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Witness [...]. Witness [...]. Witness [...]. [...]’

II. Debt notes for silver**No. 33: TSF 95 F 204 I/1**

Inner tablet of a silver debt note: *2.6 x 2.6 x *1.4 cm

Creditor: Mannu-kī-ahī; debtor: Ḥabil-kēnu

Obv.	1	[x MA].NA KÙ.BABBAR
	2	[ša] 'Man-nu-ka-[PAP]
	3	[ina] IGI 'Hab-bil-[GIN]
	4	[ina pu]-'u'-hi it-[ti-ši]
	5	[KÙ.BABBAR ana] 3-su-[šú]
	6	[i]-GAL-[bi]
b.e.		<i>lost</i>
Rev.		<i>lost</i>
u.e.	1'	[IG]I 'Ab-[da ² -a ²]



TRANSLATION

‘[x] minas of silver belonging to Mannu-kī-ahī, at the disposal of Ḥabil-kēnu. He has taken it as a loan. The silver shall increase by one third. [...]’

[...] Witness Ab[dâ].’

NOTES

4: According to a hypothesis by J.N. Postgate, widely accepted as such¹⁹³, the clause *ina pūhi ittiši* ‘He has taken (it) for replacement’ (see also nos. 34 and 36) denotes a ‘true loan’.

¹⁹³ Postgate 1976, 37 and Postgate 1997, 163f.

No. 34: *TSF 96 F 204 I/9*

Inner tablet of a silver debt note: 3.8 x 3.1 x 2.0 cm

Creditor: Mannu-kī-ahī; debtor: Abu-ahī

Obv.	1	[x MA].NA 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
	2	[SAG.D]U ša ¹ Man-nu-ki-PAP
	3	[ina IGI ¹]AD-a-hi
	4	[ina pu-u-hi i] ¹ t-ti-ši ¹
	5	[KÙ.BABBAR ana 3-su]-šú
	6	[i-GAL-bi]
b.e.		<i>lost</i>
Rev.		<i>lost</i>



TRANSLATION

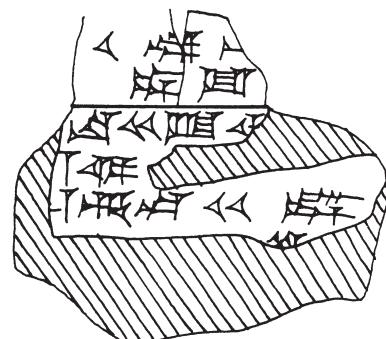
‘[x] minas and 7 sheqels of silver, capital sum belonging to Mannu-kī-ahī, at the disposal of Abu-ahī. He has taken it as a loan. The silver shall increase by one third. [...]’

No. 35: *TSF 97 F 200/115*

Inner tablet of a silver debt note: *4.9 x *3.1 x *2.4 cm

Creditor: Di[...]; debtor: Rība-Dādi

Obv.	1	[x MA].NA 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
	2	[ša] ¹ Di-[x x]
	3	[ina IGI] ¹ Ri-ba-U.U rab-[x x]
	4	[MÍ.x x x ana šá-par]-te [šak-nat] <i>remainder lost</i>
b.e.		<i>lost</i>
Rev.		<i>lost</i>
u.e.	1'	[IGI ¹]10-su-r[i]
	2'	LÚ*.DIB-[IM?]



TRANSLATION

‘[x] minas and 20 sheqels of silver belonging to Di[...], at the disposal of Rība-Dādi, chief [...]. [The woman ...] is placed as a pledge. [...]’

[...] Witness Adda-sūri, keeper of the tablet.’

NOTES

Obv. 4: Who or what is given as a pledge to Rība-Dādi, is lost; however, the pledging of a slave woman is attested most frequently in the Neo-Assyrian period¹⁹⁴. See also no. 36.

u.e. 2': The restoration of IM = *tuppu* ‘tablet’ and hence the reading of the complete title as *šābit-tuppi* ‘holder of the tablet’ is to be preferred to the restoration of GIŠ.PA.MEŠ = *appāte* ‘reigns’, with the title’s reading as *mukīl-appāte* ‘chariot driver’ – despite the fact that chariots personnel is well attested in the Burmarna material (see nos. 1, 5, 12 and 37). While the second possibility seems less likely due

¹⁹⁴ For attestations see Radner 1997, 379f.

to the available space (which also excludes the presence of *dannutu* ‘legal text’ or *egirtu* ‘debt note’), the more important reason is that the mention of a *ṣābit-tuppi* is very well attested in the last position of the witness list. The ‘holder of the tablet’, most often a scribe, but not necessarily so, fulfills a hitherto incompletely understood function in Neo-Assyrian legal practice. While most attestations stem from sale texts, there are a number of occurrences from debt notes¹⁹⁵, to which the present text adds [KR].

No. 36: TSF 97 F 200/196

Inner tablet of a silver debt note: *2.8 x *2.0 x 1.7 cm

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
	1'	[la] <i>i-rab-bi</i>
	2'	[¹ S]e-tab-ni-P[AP]
b.e.	3'	[AR]AD-šú ša-par-t[ú]
	4'	[i-n]a pu- <i>hi</i> <i>i-[ti-ši]</i>
Rev.	1	[ITU].KIN [U ₄ -x-KAM/KÁM] <i>remainder lost</i>



TRANSLATION

‘[... The silver] Shall not increase. Sē’-tabnī-uṣur, his slave, is the pledge. He has taken it as a loan. Month Ulūlu (VI), nth day, [...].’

NOTES

1’-3’: A slave is given as a pledge to secure the debt and also (as is made explicit by the phrase [*sarpu*] *lā irabbi* ‘the silver will not increase’) instead of interest to the debt sum. Antichrethic loans, replacing interest by the usufruct of the pledge, most often in the shape of a pledged person’s labour, are a frequent feature in the Neo-Assyrian period¹⁹⁶. For another debt note with a pledge see no. 35.

¹⁹⁵ For a list of references see Radner 1997, 91 note 501.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Radner 1997, 370f. and Radner 2001, 271.

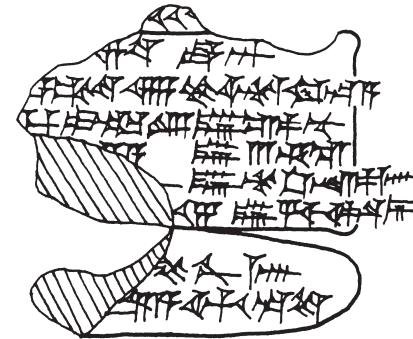
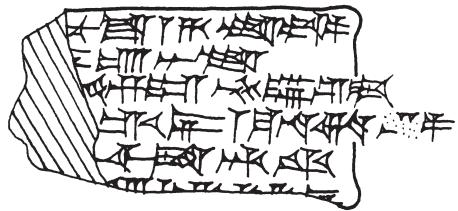
III. Judicial documents

No. 37: TSF 97 F 200/152

Judicial document concerning a lawsuit because of a debt: 4.7 x 2.6 x 2.0 cm

Parties: Kubaba-lidi and Adda-ramu; date: 676 BC

Obv.	1	[de]-nu ša ¹ KU ₆ -li-i-di
	2	[L]Ú.pit-hal-li
	3	[TA* ¹]IM-ra-mu LÚ.qur-ZAG
	4	[i-g]ur-u-ni 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 'SAG'
	5	[i-ti]-ši it-ti-din
b.e.	6	[KÙ.BABBAR] ¹ TA* ¹ Se- -us-ni'
	7	[...]
	8	[...] 30 [...]
Rev.	1	[x MA.NA] KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an
	2	[IT]U.GU ₄ U ₄ -18-KÁM* lim-mu ¹ Ban-ba-a
	3	[I]GI ¹ I-ka-ru LÚ*.šak-nu
	4	[IGI ¹ x]- ¹ a ¹ -a LÚ.3.U ₅
	5	[IGI ¹ x x] LÚ.mu-kil-KUŠ.PA.MEŠ
	6	[IGI ¹ x x- ^d]15 LÚ.šá-IGI-de-na-ni
u.e.	7	[IGI ¹ Šum]-mu-PAP.MEŠ
	8	[IGI ¹ Ab ² -d]a-a IGI ¹ U-ba-te
l.h.e.		Aramaic label in ink
a:		¹ q ² r ² b ² ¹
b:		¹ zy ¹ ml+k []



TRANSLATION

‘Lawsuit which the cavalryman Kubaba-lidi led against Adda-rāmu, the (king’s) confidant. He took and gave the capital sum of one mina of silver. He [...] the silver from Sē'-usnī. [...] He will give [...] minas] of silver.

Month Ayyāru (II), 18th day, eponym year of Banbā.

Witness Ikkāru, the prefect¹⁹⁷. Witness [...]āya, ‘Third Man’. Witness [...], chariot driver. Witness [...]Issār, supervisor of lawsuits. Witness Šumma-ahhē. Witness [Ab]dā. Witness Ubāte.’

Aramaic label: ‘[(?)]’, the king’s confidant’.

NOTES

3: As the title ša-qurbūti can be shown to be a honorary title complementing various professional titles, the less specific interpretation as ‘(royal) confidant’ is to be preferred to ‘(royal) bodyguard’,¹⁹⁸ [KR].

¹⁹⁷ KR translates “governor”; FMF however believes that, in the context of the overall witness list (cf. §3, above), a military rank (“prefect”) was implied here. As is well known, NA šaknu can have both these meanings.

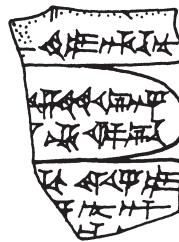
¹⁹⁸ For a discussion see Radner 2002, 13.

l.h.e. The painted signs are arranged in a little “saddle” on the edge, where they were already barely visible upon discovery (the published photo was taken in 1997), and subsequently disappeared almost totally. The second line, with a partial ligature of *l* and *k*, and the previous *m*, is quite clear; the previous *qrb* represents little more than an educated guess. If the reading were considered acceptable, we would here have the Aramaic version of the professional name of the “(royal) confidant” (or “retainer”) [FMF].

No. 38: TSF 97 F 200/234

Fragment of a judicial document: *2.3 x *1.0 x 1.3 cm
date: 673 BC

Obv.		beginning lost
	1'	[DI-mu in]a ber-ti šú-nu
	2'	[man-nu ša] GIL-u-ni Aš-šur
b.e.	3'	[^d UTU <i>l</i>]u EN-de-ni-šú
Rev.	1	[ITU.G]U ₄ UD-14-KÁM
	2	[lim-mu ¹]A-tar-DINGIR
	3	[IGI ¹ x] ¹ x [x (x)] remainder lost



TRANSLATION

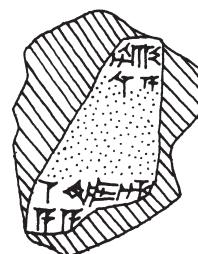
‘[...] There is peace between them. Whoever breaks the contract, Aššur and Šamaš shall be his contestants in court.

Month Ayyāru (II), 14th day, eponym year of Atār-ilī. Witness [...]. [...]

No. 39: TSF 97 F 200/136

Fragment of a judicial document: *2.5 x *3.2 x *1.4 cm

Obv.		beginning lost
	1'	[...] BÚL [...]
	2'-5'	faint undecipherable traces
	6'	[DI-mu] ana bir-ti-[šú-nu]
	7'	[IGI ¹ x x]-a-a [...] remainder lost
Rev.		lost



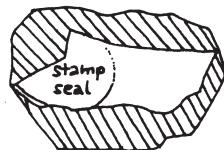
TRANSLATION

‘[...] There is peace between them. Witness [...]aya. [...]

No. 40: TSF 97 F 200/130

Fragment of a judicial document: *2.8 x *1.9 x 1.4 cm

Obv.	<i>remainder of a stamp seal impression</i>
Rev.	<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	[x MA.NA] KÙ.BABBAR <i>i-na</i> M[A.NA šá <i>Gar-ga-mis</i> ...]
2'	[¹ x x (x)]- <i>i</i> ma-a 1 MA.NA K[Ù.BABBAR ...]
3'	[¹ x x-NU]MUN-GIN ma-a us-s[<i>a-lim</i> ...]
4'	[<i>ina IGI</i> (¹ x x)] <i>i-qa-ri-bu</i> [...]
	<i>remainder lost</i>



TRANSLATION

‘[...] minas of silver according to the mina [of Karkemiš ...]. Thus spoke [...]i: ‘One mina of silver [...]’. Thus spoke [...]zēru-ukīn: ‘I have paid it.’ [...] They approached [...]’

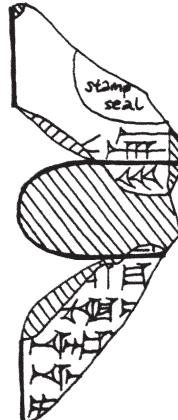
NOTES

Rev. 4': The phrase *ina pān X qarābu* is attested both with deities and with human officials in the role of the one approached to settle a judicial argument between two parties¹⁹⁹.

No. 41: TSF 97 F 200/319

Fragment of a judicial text: *2.1 x *2.1 x 1.3 cm

Obv.	<i>beginning lost</i>
	<i>remains of a stamp seal impression</i>
1'	[¹ PA]P-sa-[<i>kip</i> ...]
b.e.	2' [x x] 30 [...]
	3' [...]
	4' [x x] ¹ x [...]
Rev.	1 [šum-m]a 1 MA.[NA KÙ.BABBAR <i>a-na</i>]
	2 [¹ Man]-nu-ki- ¹ i-[x (x) <i>la</i> SUM-an]
	3 <i>ina IGI UR</i> [U ...]
	4 <i>ina IGI</i> [...]
	5 <i>šu[m-ma</i> ...]
	<i>remainder lost</i>
l.h.e.	<i>Aramaic label in ink</i>
a.]w lmr?!by'
b.]z y x ksp'?



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Aḥu-sākip [...] If he [does not give] one mina of silver [to] Mannu-kī-..., (it is) at the disposal of the city of [...] (and) at the disposal of [...]. If [...]’

Aramaic label: ‘ and for interest... ofsilver’.



¹⁹⁹ For attestations see Jas 1996, 100.

NOTES

Aramaic label: very faint characters; possibly even three lines of text were present here. Larger characters at right (bearing remaining traces of ink) lead to smaller graphs in sloping direction. If the reading suggested above were to be considered acceptable, this text would yield the first occurrence of the word *mrby*, “interest”, attested, albeit with some problems of gender, in Egyptian Imperial Aramaic (cf. DNWSI, 690). In any case, this noun would seem to tie in with general sense of the cuneiform fragment, and also to relate with the following *ksp'* in the Aramaic label itself.

IV. Unattributable fragments of legal texts

No. 42: TSF 97 F 200/242

Fragment of a legal text: *1.2 x *1.7 x 1.3 cm

Obv.		<i>beginning lost</i>
		<i>remains of a stamp seal impression</i>
b.e.	1'	¹ Re[m-a-ni- ^d x (x)]
	2'	¹ x[x x x x (x)]
Rev.	1	x[x ...]
	2	x[x ...]
		<i>remainder lost</i>
l.h.e.		<i>uninscribed</i>



TRANSLATION

‘[...] Rēmanni-[...] [...]’

No. 43: TSF 97 F 200/210

Fragment of a legal text: *1.3 x *1.2 x *0.6 cm

Obv.?		<i>beginning lost</i>
1'	[...]	¹ x [...]
2'	[...]	z]U A [...]
3'	[...]	x]x ME [...]
		<i>remainder lost</i>

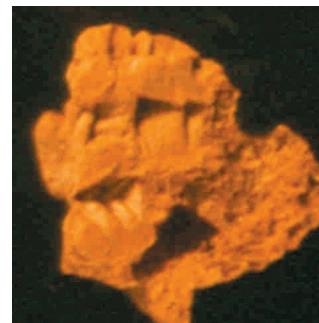


no translation warranted

No. 44: TSF 97 F 200/237

Fragment of a legal text: *1.7 x *2.0 x *1.3 cm

Rev.	1	[...].MEŠ [...]
	2	[...].MA 1 [...]
	3	[...].30 [...]
		<i>remainder lost</i>



no translation warranted

5. TABLETS IN ARAMAIC ALPHABETIC SCRIPT

Similarly to the cuneiform texts, many of the 19 Aramaic monolingual documents stemming from Tell Shiukh Fawqani seem to be legal in character, while some could have represented mere administrative “tags” attached to specific commodities or to the jars which enclosed the latter. The texts may be subdivided as follows, albeit with some caution due to their often fragmentary character:

Conveyance texts: no. 45

Contracts (rectangular shape): nos. 46, 47, 48, 49, 50(?)

Quadrangular dockets: nos. 51, 52

Triangular dockets: nos. 53, 54, 55, 56, 57 (?)

Bullae or tags, sealings, jar stoppers, etc. : nos. 58, 59, 56, 60

Undetermined: 61, 62, 63.

Conveyances and contracts: These types of Aramaic texts, in which the object of the transaction is indicated (at least to some extent), and which comprise legal formulae and possible financial penalties, in addition to the names of the witnesses, would seem to be a minority in the archive (nos. 45-50), with a certain correspondence to the quantities exhibited elsewhere (cf. §1). Their layout is uniformly “vertical”, i.e. along the short side of rectangular tablets. Only one exemplar of the group (45) represents a sales document, which presents a rough and bulging (“cake-slice”) shape, similar to one to be observed in text T11 from Tell Ahmar (§1). Among the more abundant contract texts, on the other hand, no. 47 qualifies at present as the most elegant exemplar of Aramaic “argillary” texts hitherto published, with its 21 lines of relatively fine script well fitted into a slim 6 x 3,5 cms.

Despite the paucity of this material, some items of comparative interest for the interference between Assyrian and Aramaic legal horizons are not lacking in these longer documents. One example may suffice: as seen above (§4), Assyrian text no. 7 presented the expression *ina qāti/qātā bu’û* (lit. “to search in the hand(s) of somebody”), a well-known idiomatic NA clause, with the meaning “to hold somebody responsible, to call somebody to account” (cf. CAD B, 364b-365a), with the “life of the king” as the subject. In parallel, Aramaic texts no. 45 and 47 yield the same clause, with the verb *b^cy/w* and two different subjects: resp. the “life (of the king [?])” and “the life and the loyalty-oath of the king” (*hyy mlk’ w^cdwh*) –with a hitherto unattested expression²⁰⁰ which refers back *per se* to the age of Esarhaddon.

Similarly interesting are a number of grammatical features which confirm previous findings on the Aramaic of Neo-Assyrian times²⁰¹. Thus, we may note (1) *ss* as writing for *Šamš as a typical Northwest-Mesopotamian realization in 47, Rev. 21(cf. §1, above); (2) asseverative *l-* and the *Langimperfekt* of the causative stem of **ntn* in 47, lower edge 13, as in a previously unrecognized case at Tell Halaf²⁰²; (3) from the syntactic point of view, an unprecedented number of hypothetical clauses (beginning with *hn*, “if”, and *mn*, “whoever”) used to indicate the different consequences of the contract in 47, Obv. 7 ff.

Dockets: as for the remainder of the Aramaic monolingual evidence, the majority would seem to be represented by the well-known category of dockets, where it may be presumed that the clay surface was modeled around a string and thereupon inscribed, prior to being attached to some surface or goods²⁰³.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Fales 1996, 99-100: this is the first occurrence of *c^cd* in Aramaic epigraphy of the NA period outside the well-known cases in the Sefire stelae.

²⁰¹ Cf. in general Fales 1996, Fales 2000, and see above for the historical context.

²⁰² *hn lhntn š^cry’*; cf. Fales 1986 no. 53:4, and cf. §1, above.

²⁰³ Postgate 1976, 5; cf. Radner 1997, 27.

However, it must be said that the quite fragmentary nature of the evidence, as well as the presence of both incised and painted exemplars, does not allow a clear-cut separation between this group of (quite “abridged”) legal documents and that of even more laconic “tags” or *bullae*, where only the nature of the commodity, and its possible administrative destination, were noted.

Some dockets would seem to have been quadrangular in shape: this is the case of no. 51, where a stamp seal on the upper edge represents a significant item for identification, and no. 52, where the term *ksp*, “silver” may be made out. As for the triangular exemplars: the attribution of no. 53 to this group (and not to the following one, of the “tags”) is quite doubtful, in view of the difficulties in interpretation: one may consider the incised text, and the many lines of script, as possible factors in favor of this choice. Certainly dockets are to be seen in texts such as no. 54, where the word *mnh* is legible, and no. 55, of clear triangular shape, where the single inscribed side reads (ll. 1’-3’) *mn[n? / šh[d / š[hd*. Decidedly intriguing is no. 56, fully triangular, but which presents the particularity of being totally written out in ink. Also uncertain in this sense is the case of no. 57, where only the word *br*, “son of...” is to be made out.

On the other hand, other fragments, although of roughly triangular shape, suggest their possible nature as mere administrative “tags” or *bullae*, used to single out, or to act as inscribed sealings for, commodities of sorts thanks to two combined factors: (a) the presence of lines of incised text surrounded by further lines of painted or scratched script in smaller characters; (b) the lack of of epigraphs on the Reverse, where a rough surface, sometimes scarred by rope-marks and/or traces of the imprint of woven material, may be observed. These characteristics are by and large shared by nos. 58, 59, 56, 60. Specifically, no. 60 is scarred by a deep imprint of string, which cut through the written surface.

Finally, three fragments (nos. 61, 62, 63) appear to be central fragments of legal documents, with no contextual significance of their own; as such, they represent the “lower edge” of our material; only a series of minute fragments bearing 1-2 signs (cf. §8, c) show an even greater unintelligibility.

Central persons and dating: cf. the remarks in §3, above.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

No. 45 : TSF 97 F 200/119

Aramaic script, incised. Conveyance text. Sale of slave woman.

Obv.

- 1'.] š 'x x x x'
- 2'.] .zrpt bmnh
- 3'. mn ^cl mn] yšb hyy [x x]
y²m' ? (in smaller characters)
- 4'.] 'y x' y ?b [x x] ln [
(lower edge)



Rev.

- 1'. 'š²h²d² x mh [x] br² [
- 2'. wšhd ngh¹y¹ [
- 3'. wbšwry w^cr [
- 4'. 'h (in shallower characters, at center)
(lower edge)



TRANSLATION

(Obverse)

“..... / ... is bought (fem.) for a mina. ...

Whoever will return in suit against someone else –the life of
..... will seek him (?) ...

(Reverse)

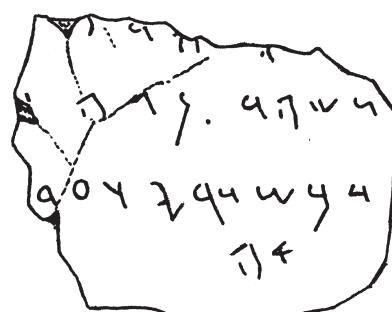
witness: ..., son of (?) ..., and witness: Naghī, and Abu-šūri,
and 'Ar/d[....] /”

NOTES

Obv. 2'. The verb *zrp*, unattested until recent years, is of late well documented in a series of contracts of Neo-Assyrian date from private collections, (re-)edited in Lemaire 2001: cf. *ibid.*, 18, for discussion of the verb, which is a straight technical cast from its Assyrian counterpart *zarāpu* “to acquire”, present in countless texts of this age. The form *zrpt* here is preceded by a small punctuation mark, thus ensuring that this is the complete form (passive participle of the main stem); cf., on the other hand, Lemaire 2001, text no. 2, l. 4, where 'mt. *hxrpt. lqht.* is attested.

Rev. 2': *ngh¹y¹* is a hypocoristic built with the noun *ngh*, “brightness”, cf. DNWSI, 714, and e.g. *nshnghy* in the well-known Louvre text A.O. 25.341 (cf. AECT, no. 58). A full cuneiform counterpart of our is NA *Nagahī*, PNA 2/II, 921b.

Rev. 3'. *bšwry*, “the father is my bulwark” finds an excellent parallel in NA *Abi-sūrī*, PNA 1/I, 14b. At Tell Shiukh Fawqani, cf. also the names *Adda-sūri* (35: u.e. 1'), *Atār-sūri* (5 : Obv. 8), and *Sē'-sūru* (37 : b.e. 6).



No. 46: *TSF 95 F 204 I/2*

Aramaic script, incised. Contract. Pledge of a man (?) with interest. No date.

Obv.

1. *hmnn [x] l' h? šb'*
2. *mn? brmrn h? [x x'] š*
3. *k tmnt [š]q? [ln l]*
4. *š 'cšny [(x x)]*
(1 line erasure)
5. *šlšt* (erasure) *mnn*
6. *wšhd p? [x] l 'n*

Rev.

7. *wš? x x' ln*
8. *wn? s? [h]m? nny*
9. *mn [x] hnq*
10. *[w x x] pld[n]*



obverse



reverse

TRANSLATION

“Hamanin, []*lh* and Šibâ from BRMRN … *a man* against(?) eight shekels, to Šê-‘ušnî(erasure) three minas.

Witness: PL¹‘x’; and Š ‘x x’LN; and *Nasuh*-mananî; from [x]..HNQ; and ...apla-iddi[na]”.

NOTES

Obv. 1. The initial signs are decidedly clear, while their interpretation poses a problem. The first sign is undoubtedly a *heth*. Should it be taken as initial component of a personal name *hmnn*? If so, the cuneiform attestation *Hamanini* from Tell Halaf (PNA 2/I, 446a) would constitute an optimal parallel²⁰⁴. A short break (perhaps void) follows, then the signs *lh sb*’ are clear as such. Was this a second PN? The possibility of two adjoining names might further justify the indication of geographical origin –and specifically from the same town as the creditor himself– in 1.2. Further, the presence of three stamp seals on the upper edge would find – as in no. 47 – a justification by positing three individuals as counterparts to the creditor *š ‘šny*.

Obv. 2. This line contains the indication of the toponym which should represent the ancient name of Tell Shiukh Fawqani, as stated above (§3). In its sole attestation in cuneiform, URU.*Bur-mar-’i-na*²⁰⁵, the second element of the toponym seems to point to the Aramaic noun **mr*’, “lord”, with pronominal suffix of the 1st person plural. As for the first element, it may well be asked whether a divine name **Būr* should not be taken into account here, taking up a suggestion offered as long ago as 1895 by A.H. Sayce, and again by R. Zadok in 1977²⁰⁶, thus yielding a nominal sentence name “*Būr* is our lord”. The recently published evidence from Tell Šeh Hamad concerning many personal names built with the divine element *Būr* at Dur-Katlimmu, and which points to a cult of this deity spread in the region between Harran and Hindanu on the middle Euphrates²⁰⁷, lends additional probability to this interpretation. At the same time, however, one should not rule out the possibility that such a formation represented a case of secondary etymologization on the part of Aramaic-speaking peoples. This is suggested by two place names attested for the same general region: *Marina ša šadē* near Karkemîš, which appears in the Middle Assyrian texts from Tell Šeh Hamad, and *Marinā*, said to be “in Bit Adini” in an epigraph on the Balawat gates from Assurnasirpal’s reign. In other words, it is possible that the original toponym was pre-Aramaic in time, and non-Aramaic in its meaning –perhaps Hurrian.

Obv. 4. *š ‘šny*. The name of this individual, who appears in no. 47, below, is discussed in detail in Fales 1996, 93-94. Its meaning is “the god Se’ is my strength”, with the predicate constituted by a nominal formation from the Aramaic verb **TN*, already known from the Aramaic-Assyrian context (cf. Fales 1986, 190f.). After this line, there are signs of an erasure: a *zayin* or *yod* is still vaguely visible. The cuneiform counterpart (*’Se-’-us-ni*) appears in no. 37: b.e. 6.

Rev. 7. The name might have been a largely Akkadian formation, again compounded by the local name of the Moon-god, **Se*’, a middle element which is lost in the break, and the predicative *ln* = *ilāni*, e.g. *Se’-šar- ilāni*, “Se’ is the king of all the gods” or the like.

Rev. 8. The suggestion here is that of a name compounded with the DN *nsh* = cuneiform *Našuh* / *Našhu*, frequent in the western Jezireh; although admittedly the *samekh* is ill preserved, and the *heth* is

²⁰⁴ On the other hand, the present alphabetic attestation would invalidate the current interpretation of this Aramaic name in cuneiform, which beginning with Zadok (1977, 56, 168) has focused on the element *‘amm*, “paternal uncle”, with hypocoristic suffix, and would rather point to either (1) a first element (*’h*, “brother”, followed by a verbal form (**mny*, in the imperative [?]) and a pronominal suffix **-nī*, or (2) to a one-word (qattîl) name from the root **hnn*, with dissimilation (i.e. **hannīn*, “favoured” >*hamnīn*): cf. Zadok 1977, 123.

²⁰⁵ Cf. §3, above, and see Parpola 1970, 95.

²⁰⁶ Zadok 1977, 65, with previous bibl.

²⁰⁷ Radner 2002, 16.

lost in the break. As for the predicative element, *-m²nny* seems the most reasonable solution, although the *mem* is not entirely clear as such, due to the adjacent break.

Rev. 9. No *waw* marks the beginning of this line, thus a further personal name would seem ruled out here. If the second, partially lost, sign, should be understood as a *nun*, the most likely solution would be an indication of origin for the previously named individual, i.e. *mn* followed by a toponym, although no plausible reconstruction comes to mind.

Rev. 10. The Akkadian onomastic elements *aplu/a-iddina*, “has given a son”, should have been preceded by the name of the deity granting birth, which is lost in the break.

No. 47 : TSF 95 F 204 I/3

Aramaic script, incised. "Vertical" tablet. Contract. Pledge of a slave against loan of silver. Three stamp seals at the end of the Reverse.

Obv.

1. [htm š ?] 'l. wmy'. wplty
2. 'gbr¹n zy kṣr. mlk'
3. mn bny zmn. rhnn 'š
4. p²/nsh' š m¹h¹ lš' [c]šny
5. bt²mn š qln zy ksp' II (?)
6. wl š² r^cm š^cšny
7. hn yn²q^r(eras.)¹h 'š' ksp'
8. bmnh wmnt' rbh bplgh
9. whn 'š' p 'T^h lš^cšny
10. k¹lw' yhb snb qrnh
11. mn yw¹mh pmh hyy mlk'
12. w^cdwh y²b^cmh¹ bydh
Lower Edge
13. hn l¹htwn ksp'
14. ypw²g²n. 'š. mn y^rh¹b [x]
15. mgl. bḥṣd¹yn/p x¹[x x]

Rev.

16. šhd hdr²r m¹n [(x x)]
17. wšhd¹šn²zbd¹ r¹
18. wnmmr¹ wš^czry
19. wh²sn wpl¹l mn trbšyb
20. mlš²bny m^cš^ry² [x]
21. 'h¹nn¹ pldšgb br ssly

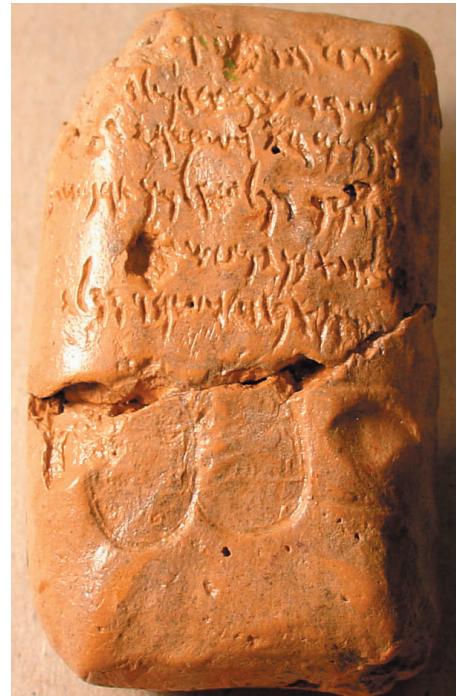
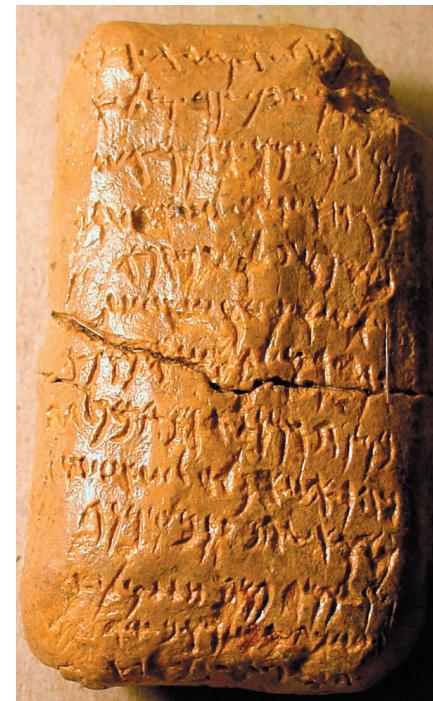
Three ovoidal stamp seal impressions, side by side (from left, A-C). Inscriptions (very faded) lie below the field-dividers in A and B.

A: 1. l x x x r
2. x t l x m

B: 1. l x x x x

illegible

C: *misshapen, illegible*





TRANSLATION

“Seal of ...Ša’il and Maya’ and Paltî, men of the king’s army from Bit-Zamâni, who are giving a man, by the name of Nasuhâ/Pashâ, as pledge to Še’-‘ušnî, against eight shekels of silver (on edge: II’). And there will be nothing outstanding incumbent upon Še’-‘ušnî.

If he (=any debtor) redeems the man, the sum will be of one mina, but (as for) the share, its interest will be (only) of one-half.

But if the man has worked for Še’-‘ušnî, he (=any debtor) will give in accompaniment (only) two-thirds of his (=the man’s) capital.

Whoever will open his mouth – the life of the king and his loyalty oath will hold him responsible.

If they actually give back the sum, they will take away the man. Whoever gives a sickle at the harvest will...

Witness: Hadad-remanni (...); and witness: Šin-zabad, the boatman; and Anum(?)-marî and Še’-izrî, and Ḥasan and Paltî-’el from Tarbušibi, (and) Mulleš-ibni, (and) Ma’šē[...], (and) Ḥanan, (and) Aplad-śagab, son of Sās-ili”.

NOTES

Obv. 1ff. This re-edition of the text (cf. Fales 1996²⁰⁸) takes account of the useful critical suggestions by Lemaire 2001, 123-125, which are at present reproduced in the Web version of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (CAL)²⁰⁹. However, one of the points that these newer renderings seem to have missed is the overall juridical background of the text – whereby three soldiers are forced to pledge a man to the businessman Še’-‘ušnî in exchange for an amount of 8 shekels of silver owed to the latter, and which was presumably recorded in a previous loan document (possibly of the same simple type as no. 46, above). As will be seen, there is at least one hint in this document (l. 8) to the previous debitatorial situation. In

²⁰⁸ The copy of the text by E. Attardo is reproduced from this publication.

²⁰⁹ At the time of writing, the transliteration of the text was available at the Internet address <http://call.cn.huc.edu>, ad no. 13300.

any case, interpretations by Lemaire which markedly differ from the *editio princeps*, will be discussed in detail in relation to the individual passages.

Obv. 1. The restoration of *htm* – the term for the seal identification of the three debtors – is based on a parallel from Assur (Fales 1986, 229, no. 49) and two published monolingual texts from Tell Šeh Hamad²¹⁰.

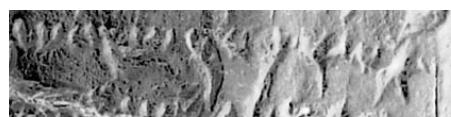
Obv. 2-3. Cf. §3, above, for the institutional and geographical information given here.

Obv. 4. The reading of the PN as *nsh'* (Nasuḥā), i.e. as a hypocoristic formed with the name of the god Nas/šuh/h, had been already brought forth as an option (Fales 1996, 93), and appears to be the more reasonable of the two interpretations. The following *šmh*, agreeing with Lemaire (and CAL) presents many difficulties, esp. as regards the initial *š*, but certainly would make good sense. The individual *š'cšny* is already attested in no. 46, above (cf. also §3).

Obv. 5. In the 4th sign here, Lemaire sees a clear *šin*, whereas – as already visible from the copy in Fales 1996, 90 – the shape is much closer to a *mem*: this had prompted the hesitancy between a reading *šqln*, “shekels”, and *m qln*, possibly as a (hitherto unattested) abbreviated writing for **mnn qln*, “light minas”. Of course, the lower price is much more plausible for the pledge of a slave in Neo-Assyrian times (cf. Fales 1996b for the attestations from contemporary cuneiform texts); thus, the reading *š'qln* may be here definitely introduced.

Obv. 6. This is one of the most difficult lines of the text. Against the *wlm'š[x]b c'm š'cšny* of the *editio princeps*, i.e. as a noun from the root **šwb*, Lemaire and the CAL read here *wrš' bdn š'cšny*, “et Se'-ushnî a pouvoir en justice”, although considering this rendering quite uncertain. Admittedly, however, the clause requires a further check, which leads moreover to interesting new results.

As may be seen from Attardo’s original copy and from the photograph of the relevant line in two views, positive and negative, there may be hardly any doubts concerning the initial *waw* and *lamed*, while the third sign is quite possibly a *shin*. The fourth sign, due to its slant, appears to be an *aleph*, agreeing with Lemaire and the CAL; while the fifth may be taken alternatively as a *resh*. No real doubts should arise concerning the following *ayin*; while the last of the uncertain letters proves to be a very slanted *mem*²¹¹. At this point, the result would be *wl š'r c'm š'cšny*, “and there is no remainder /nothing outstanding”, with the use of *š'r*, well known from business contexts of later date (cf. DNWSI, 1098-1099). As for *c'm*, it implies the incumbency of the named person, i.e. Še’-ušnî (cf. DNWSI, 869, for apt parallels): this might seem strange at first sight, since Še’-ušnî is the creditor. But in view of the following two clauses, relevant to different hypothetical situations (redemption of the pledged slave; work of the pledged slave for the creditor), and of their specific economic solutions –all incumbent upon the debtors– it is clear that the present clause is of an introductory nature, implying that the acquisition of the man as a pledge on the part of Še’-ušnî has “no strings attached”.



Obv. 7-8. This is the first of a series of hypothetical clauses introduced by *hn*, “if” (cf. also lines 9 and 13). Initially, Lemaire (followed by CAL) reads *hn mrq lh*, “si l’homme se purifie/libère”, on the basis of parallels with the later Samaria papyri, while the *editio princeps* had *hn mn qn'h*, “if anybody acquires the man”. In point of fact, a new examination of the text (cf. photograph) seems to rule out both previous readings, although retaining to some extent their basic implications of sense: after the *nun*, no *mem* is actually present, but rather a slanted *yod*, while after the clear *qof*, a further letter – partially coinciding with the “tail” of the *resh* in the previous line – could represent an erasure, or a first attempt to write

²¹⁰ Röllig 1997.

²¹¹ The shape is e.g. very similar to the second *mem* of 1. 8.



the following *he*. The resulting reading would be a verbal form *yn²q¹r(eras.)'h*, from **nqy*, which in the *pa''el* means “to clear” (cf. DNWSI, 757). Incidentally, a finite verbal form would be the most plausible solution for the position of ‘š’ as object of the clause.

In line 8, Lemaire reads *mnt'* against the *mst'* of the *editio princeps*, correctly, as confirmed by the photograph. On the hand, his translation of *mnt'* as “mina” (“et la mine, son intérêt de la moitié”) makes little sense, especially since it follows immediately upon *bmnh*.

The present author rather believes that *mnt'* here should derive from the other *mnh*, “share” (DNWSI, 657). The whole clause thus implies that, if anyone of the debtors wanted to redeem the pledged man, the cost would be one mina; on the other hand (notice the adversative *w*), the redeemer’s share of original interest rate on the 8 shekels of silver owed by the three military would be reduced to/by one-half²¹².

Obv. 9-10. This clause records a further case: if the man has performed work²¹³ for Še’-‘ušnî, anyone redeeming or buying him, or getting him back when the capital sum plus interest were paid back in full, would obtain a discount in relation to the man’s work for the creditor, corresponding to one-third of the capital itself²¹⁴.

Obv. 10. The first word in the line was read *blw'* in the *editio princeps*²¹⁵ and emended to *klw'* by Lemaire, who translates “comme escorte”, noting that “l’interprétation proposée... reste assez incertaine”. In point of fact, the enlarged photo of the line would seem to uphold Lemaire’s reading. The interpretation, however, should rather refer to the economic conditions of the provision, i.e. “as accompaniment” or similar; it may be recalled that, while hardly at all attested epigraphically (cf. DNWSI, 569), the root *lwy*, “to accompany”, is well known as a component of Aramaic PNs written in cuneiform, e.g. as in *Se’-lawā(nī)*, “Se’ has accompanied (me)” (cf. PNA 3/I, 1102). At the end of the line, the previous reading *qrnh* (“his contract”) is not warranted by Lemaire, who understands *qrnh* as “his capital”, also on the basis of two occurrences on an Aramaic text of Neo-Assyrian date from a private collection (2001, 103-105); the CAL is in agreement. The noun *qrn* might be further attested in no. 48, below.



Obv. 11. Lemaire suggests *mn yr¹mh pmh* in lieu of the first edition’s *mn ywmh pmh*, but the photograph indicates the accuracy of Attardo’s published copy. The etymology of *ywmh* may be thus once more referred back to *ym*, “to swear, to take an oath” (cf. DNWSI, 459-460).

²¹² To clarify this point: it is not clear whether the *plg* should be understood as an absolute figure, i.e. equals to a 50% interest rate, or to a relative one (a reduction by 50% of an unspecified rate). The former solution seems, intuitively, more probable. For *plg* in Assyrian-Aramaic texts, cf. Fales 1996, 97.

²¹³ For *plh* as a probable loan-translation from Akkadian *palāhu* in relation to work-obligations in Neo-Assyrian contracts of pledge, cf. Fales 1996, 97.

²¹⁴ In concrete terms, if the man has worked for Še’-‘ušnî, and is thereupon redeemed, only 2/3 of a mina plus one-half of the accumulated interest would be owed.

²¹⁵ Fales 1996, 97: the term was taken as an emphatic state of a noun *blw*, “tribute, payment reward in kind” (cf. DNWSI, 156).

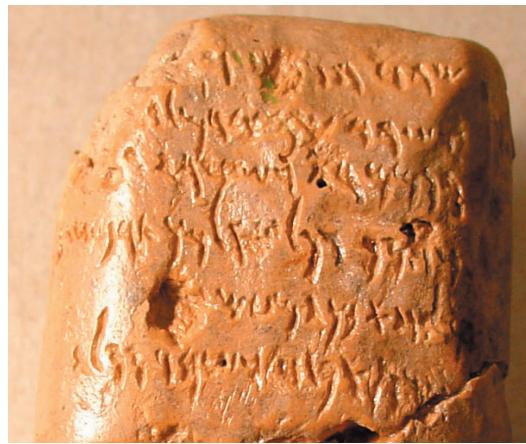


Obv. 12. For ^c*dwh* as the first attestation of the Aramaic noun ^c*d(y)* in the Assyrian-Aramaic corpus, cf. Fales 1996, 99-100. It is to be further recalled (cf. §3, above) that the institutional feature of the “king’s loyalty oath” represents *per se* a chronological marker, as a *terminus ante quem non* for the reign of Esarhaddon, since it was this king who imposed the swearing of the loyalty oath to the royal dynasty throughout the Assyrian empire²¹⁶. This dating thus tallies particularly well with the chronological pinpointing to Esarhaddon’s reign to be gained from the mentions of eponyms in the cuneiform texts (cf. §4, and §8, indexes).

y^cb^cmh¹ bydh. Lemaire here prefers to read *yb^cwn bydh*, a form of ^c*b^cy* which would, in itself, solve many of the difficulties expressed by the present author in the *editio princeps* concerning the reading *yb^cmh*²¹⁷. However, as may be seen from the enlarged photograph, it is not terribly easy to reconcile the desired form with the sign-shapes; specifically, the *mem* is clear as such, while the next letter is *difficilis* as a *nun*.

Obv. 13. *hn lhtwn* : as stated in the *editio princeps*, we should be dealing here with a haphel prefix-conjugation in the *Langimperfekt* form, preceded by *-l* , of probable asseverative value (“if they actually give back...”), such as may be found in a text from Guzana (=AECT 35)²¹⁸.

Obv. 14. *ypw²g²n* . The suggestion by Lemaire to read *ypdyn* is, by the French author’s own admission, complicated by an unexpected *yod*, which “pourrait être soit un archaïsme graphique, soit une forme confondant le masculin et le féminin pluriel” –all features, it may be noted, harder to explain than a *hapax legomenon*-loan from the Assyrian verb *puāgu*, “to take away” (cf. Fales 1996, 102).



Rev. 16. The name of the first witness is read by Lemaire as *hdrmn* (=Assyrian **Adad-rēmanni*), which is totally acceptable both from the copy and from the enlarged photograph. Perhaps nothing was missing at the end of the line.

Rev. 17. For the “boatman” *šnzbd*, and the interest of this professional indication in relation to the direct location of Tell Shiukh Fawqani on the Euphrates, cf. Fales 1996, 105.

Rev. 18. The reading of *nmmr*’ is undisputable (cf. copy and photographs); however, the previous interpretation²¹⁹ of the subject-element as reflecting the southern Mesopotamian divine name (*A)num*, seems less likely, in view of the attestation of *nbmr*[’ in no. 59: 1. In other words, a shift between labials (*b>m*) might be suggested here, with the result of a further name built with the divine element Nabû. Perhaps the contemporary name in cuneiform *Na-mu-u* (PNA, 2/II, 923b) reflected the same phenomenon.

²¹⁶ Cf. Fales 2001, 232-236 and *passim*.

²¹⁷ Fales 1996, 100-101.

²¹⁸ Fales 1996, 101-102.

²¹⁹ Fales 1996, 105.

Rev. 19. Lemaire's reading of the first PN as *hsn* (from, a root meaning "to be strong, hard, etc.") rather than *hsn* is quite plausible²²⁰. As for the final *mn trbšyb*, cf. URU.Tur-*ba-^rsi-^aba*.KI in no. 9, Rev. 4, which yields yet another variant to this toponym of unknown origin, which would seem to have been subjected by the Assyrians to a secondary etymologization as *Til Barsib/p*²²¹.

Rev. 20. This alphabetic rendering of the divine name **Mullissu* confirms that of the Sefire stelae. For *m^cs^ry[?][x]*, Lemaire suggests emendation as a possible Yahwist name, although perhaps nothing was missing at the end of the line.

Seals: as may be seen from the enlarged photograph, three ovoidal stamp seal impressions (A-C) were impressed side by side on the Reverse, after the end of the text. The third to the right (C) is distorted, so as to be totally illegible. The first and the second from the left (A-B) are clearly divided into two unequal registers (the upper one occupying approximately 2/3 of the available space), with a horizontally dividing line, in conformity with the standards of this period²²². In the upper register of seal-impression A, a scene with a standing (male?) figure is vaguely discernible on the right-hand side; while a similar (although less clearly drawn) figure seems to occupy the same space in impression B. In the latter imprint, moreover, a seated figure on a throne or stool is visible on the left-hand side: so as to yield the overall iconography of a worshipper standing before a seated deity or ruler. It may at this point be suggested that seal impression A bore a similar, if not identical, depiction: while the standing figure, as said, is clearly visible (perhaps with hands raised in a gesture of entreaty), some reticular-type elements – possibly pertaining to the throne or stool – are discernible at bottom left.



No. 48: TSF 96 204 I/8

Aramaic script, incised. Contract. Loan document (?)

		(beginning lost)
1'.]	x x [
2'.]	yqrn[
3'.]	y. hn ydn
4'.]	w [?] lh [?] n. c [?] m
		(remainder lost)



TRANSLATION

"...; capital(?) ... if he will plead in court .. their (?) with(?) ..."

NOTES

The tablet is written in heavily incised characters, leaving little doubt on the interpretation of the relevant sign-shapes: the only exceptions are the 1st and 5th sign in l. 4'. Despite this feature, the text presents a number of difficulties in its interpretation, also due to the fact that it is a central fragment, with no markers of line beginnings or endings.

²²⁰ The difficulty posed by a reading *hsn* had already been noted in Fales 1996, 105.

²²¹ The author's views on the matter are thus reversed on those expressed in Fales 1996, 105-106, where all forms deviating from **Til Barsib/p* were considered "corruptions" of the latter. Cf. also Bunnens 1999, 610-611, for an attempt to connect the toponym with an Aramaic etymology.

²²² Cf. Avigad-Sass 1997, *passim*.

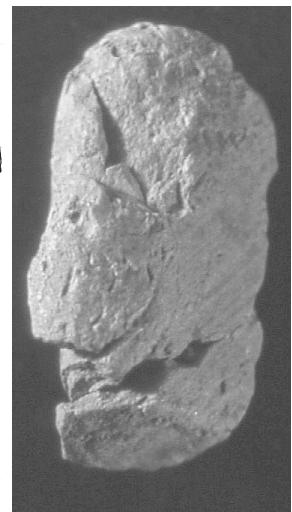
- 1'. Only two “tails” of signs are visible here, both of which are unidentifiable.
- 2'. It is unclear whether the *yod* should be tied to the following *qrn*, or not, since no punctuation mark is visible here, differently from the following lines. The noun *qrn* “capital” is presumably attested in no. 47, Obv. 10, above. Alternatively, a verbal form (imperfect) from **qry* or **qrr* should be envisaged.
- 3'. After the initial *yod*, a clear word-divider, in the shape of a small vertical dash, follows (cf. also the next line). *hn ydn*: an interpretation as a hypothetical clause introduced by *hn* is plausible on the basis of the cases in no. 47, above. The following verbal form should derive from **dyn*, “to plead one’s cause”.
- 4'. After the word-divider, a sketchily written *‘ayin* might follow.

No. 49 : TSF 97 F 200/117.

Aramaic script, incised. Rectangular(?) tablet, heavily abraded, with flaking surfaces. One face destroyed. Contract (?).

Face A (as photographed before flaking away)

- (beginning lost or illegible)
- 1'. š h [d
- 2'. x l [
- 3'. illegible signs due to break
- 4'.] h²w b n x [
- 5'.] x r b [
- (remainder broken or illegible)



NOTES

For the poor condition of preservation of these tablets, cf. §4, introduction. Surely this was a legal document of sorts, possibly a loan, involving witnesses (cf. 1'). In line 4', a personal name should perhaps be taken into account, while the fragmentary *rb* of line 5' might refer to the growth of the interest-rate in case of delay.

No. 50 : TSF 97 F 200/248

Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment of contract text(?).

- (beginning lost)
- 1'.] l x [
- 2'.] t r b ' [
- 3'.] n d ? [
- (remainder lost)



NOTES

Line 2' is quite clear: perhaps a form of the verb *rby* was present here, although a PN with the verbal element *-tariba* is also a possibility.

No. 51 : TSF 95 204 I/4

Aramaic script, incised. Quadrangular docket, fragment of top part, inscribed on both faces. Stamp seal impression on upper edge, with figure of lion (legs and tail fully visible).

Obv.

1. [] *qn'*
2. *in smaller characters, illegible*
3. [] *x w[?]š n[?]t[?]h*
(*remainder lost*)

Rev.

1. *w' []*
2. *h []*
(*remainder lost*)



NOTES

The fragmentary character of this text rules out any but the most basic considerations. The writing is of medium depth, but the signs wrap themselves around the curving surface, thus elongating their shape somewhat.

In Obverse 1, a verbal form from **qny*, “to buy” should be attested; possibly as a final component of a personal name. The next line bears possibly 4 or 5 painted signs, which are however so shallowly written as to be nowadays illegible.

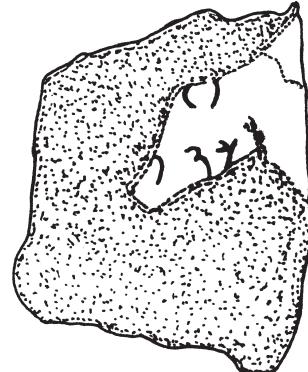
Obv. 3 should bear a personal name. The first two signs are possibly *br*, either as element of the following name or as noun “son of...”. What follows is presumably *šn^h*²²³.

The Reverse (identifiable as such due to the *w* which opens line 1) is impossible to reconstruct, but the continuation of a list of personal names is a distinct possibility. In this light, the entire document would seem to be a memorandum or *bulla* of sorts, perhaps physically connected to an accompanying object.

**No. 52 : TSF 97 F 200/125.**

Aramaic script. Quadrangular docket, incised on one face, painted on the other.

- A:
1. *'n[?]r[?] [*
 2. *'x[?] ksp [*
(*remainder lost*)
- B: *5 or 6 lines, now illegible.*



NOTES

The first line might have held a personal name, while the second indicates that a sum of *ksp*, “silver” was involved.

²²³ The reading *šn^h* might alternatively point to a noun *šn^h'*, which still seems to be open to debate (a type of garment? cf. DNWSI, 1175), and which in turn might – or might not – be connected to Akkadian *šimtu*, “plucked wool” (a word moreover not attested in 1st millennium texts: cf. CAD Š/2, 20a-b). The ending *-h* should in this case represent the 3rd p. sg. pronominal suffix (masculine or feminine).

No. 53 : TSF 97 F 200/133.

Aramaic script, incised. Lateral fragment (=left-hand edge) of triangular docket or bulla, incised, with script rolling over edge. The possible relevance of the signs to faces A, B is suggested as follows:

<i>beginning lost</i>	
A (<i>larger script</i>)	B (<i>smaller script</i>)
1'.] <i>h b</i>	1'. <i>z [</i>
2'.] <i>k</i>	2'. <i>t n x [</i>
3'.] <i>d/r w</i>	
4'.]	3'. <i>h x [</i>
5'.] <i>k x [</i>	




NOTES

It is unclear whether a list of goods or merely personal names was given here.

No. 54 : TSF 97 F 200/156

Aramaic script. Triangular docket or bulla, incised and painted(?). Only one face preserved.

- 1'.] *s?*
- 2'-3'. *traces of one or two painted lines, now illegible*
- 4'.] *mnh*
- 5'.] *n?*
- 6'.] *l?*

TRANSLATION

‘..... mina



NOTES

Again, nothing is left of this text, except the basic outline of its original triangular shape. In combination with the word attested in line 4' (“mina”), it is likely that this was a silver loan document.

No. 55 : TSF 97 F 200/158

Aramaic script, incised and painted(?). Lateral fragment of triangular docket or bulla. Loan of silver(?).

FACE A

- (beginning lost)*
- 1'. *mn[h/n*
 - 2'. *šh[d*
 - 3'. *š[hd*

Face B

(traces of very faint signs)



TRANSLATION

(Face A)

“Mina(s).... witness [PN1]... witness [PN2]...”

NOTES

The original triangular shape of this tablet fragment is clear essentially by reason of its curving sides. The imprint of a string is quite evident along the inner vertical axis of the piece. Some slight abrasions on the bottom tip of the piece might indicate the exit-point of the perforation of the tablet.

Face A: the extant text sufficient to indicate that the contents referred to currency (presumably silver). No further message seems to have been incised on this face after the name of the second witness.

Face B: this face presents a number of very faintly incised signs, possibly as the remnants of the application of paint on the tip of a stylus or hard brush. The signs appear to be less rigidly structured in horizontal lines than on the opposite face. A possibility for the first of such lines is: $]x m^? n^? n^?$, but there can be no certainty on the matter.

No. 56 : TSF 97 F 200/231

Aramaic script, painted. Almost complete triangular tag or bulla.

FACE A :

1. $] x x x$
2. $] l^? m^? k^? m^?$
3. $] n d x x$

(remainder apparently uninscribed:
clay with marks of texture)



FACE B

(apparently uninscribed: clay with marks of texture)

L.H.E.

illegible traces of two lines



NOTES

Judging from the quite clear imprints, the tablet could have been wrapped in a textile of sorts.

No. 57 : TSF 97 F 200/241

Aramaic script, possibly fragment of triangular docket or bulla, incised (and painted?). Central fragment.

- beginning lost
- 1'. $] b r [$
- remainder lost

TRANSLATION

‘.....son of’



NOTES

The beginning of the text is lost. Remains of the upper edge show a flat surface, perhaps originally covered with painted letters.

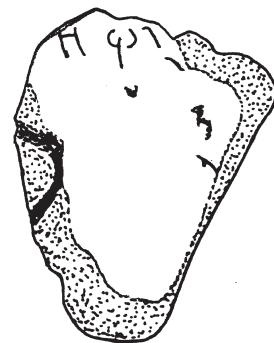
No. 58 : TSF 97 F 200/147.

Aramaic script. Triangular tag, incised and painted. Vertical fracture (only Obverse preserved). Traces of rope appear on the back part of the tablet, possibly corresponding to inner kernel.

1.] 'l'q_h [
Traces of 3-4 (?) painted lines, now illegible.

NOTES

In the sole remaining deciphable line, a verbal form (from * lqh, “to take” could have been attested, although a personal name should not be ruled out as well.

**No. 59 : TSF 97 F 200/154.**

Aramaic script. Triangular docket or bulla, incised and painted.

1.] nbmr[
1-2 lines of painted characters, in smaller script
 2.] ddrh'm?
lines of painted characters, in smaller script



NOTES

The interest of this text lies essentially in the fact that it appears to have been incised more than once, with larger and smaller characters (the latter being probably painted, leaving faint traces of the stylus scratches on the clay). In the two legible lines in incised script, two personal names would seem to have been attested: the first was compounded with the DN nb, i.e. possibly Nabû, and followed by a predicative element which could have been mr', “(my) lord”. The name may be usefully compared with the one in 47: Rev. 18.

No. 60 : TSF 97 F 200/256

Aramaic script, incised. Top sector of quadrangular (?) bulla, centrally abraded by a rope-mark.

- 1'. *b [(x²)] l*
 2'-3'. *remains of two(?) illegible lines*
 4. *[x (x)] h[?] c m x [*
remainder lost



NOTES

The imprint of the rope appears to cross through the written surface; the securing of the bulla thus took clearly place after its writing –differently, e.g. from some triangular docketts, where the clay was modeled around the string (cf. above).

No. 61: TSF 97 F 200/150.

Aramaic script. Central fragment, incised.

- 1'. *] š' [*
 2. *] z x [*
(beginning lost)
(remainder lost)



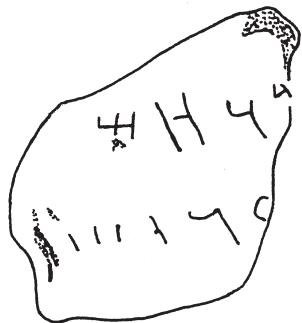
NOTES

Possibly a personal name formed by the DN *Se'* was present in line 1'. The script of this fragment is particularly well executed, suggesting that it could have been a part of a full-fledged legal document.

No. 62: TSF 97 F 200/153.

Aramaic script. Central fragment, incised.

- 1'. *d] d²r h m x [*
 2'. *g] b²r y[?] š x [*
(remainder lost)



NOTES

L. 1': A personal name was present here, built with the deity **Dād* and the Aramaic predicate **rhm*, “to be merciful”.

L. 2': this line might have held a further personal name, perhaps *g] b²r y*.

No. 63 : TSF 97 F 200/134

Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment of an unidentifiable text.

't²¹ l q [h
'y/z¹ [

Notes

1. The first sign is in the break of the clay; if the *taw* were considered acceptable, a form of the verb *lqh*, “to take”, might be suggested.



6. PALEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TSF ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS²²⁴.

As is well known, differently from the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts, where a discipline tied to the likely existence of local scribal schools may be posited (§3), many hands – from coarser to fine – are apparent on the contemporary materials written in Aramaic script on clay, mainly relevant to a domestic environment. In this application of the Aramaic alphabet to an “argillary” medium, at times the inscription is elegant and written with a steady ductus, while other times a crude and hesitating script is apparent; here the lines are set out in an orderly fashion, there they seem to overlap quite haphazardly.

The same may, in general, be said as regards the choice of individual sign shapes, which are in some texts of traditional appearance, in other texts tending towards the cursive. A further complication is, of course, that the documents are not dated, as far as may be ascertained at present: thus the paleographical analysis of the inscriptions from Tell Shiukh Fawqani – in line with previous attempts and results within this branch of studies – will have the broadest of sweeps, indicating the formal connection of the individual sign-shapes with the ductus on monumental Aramaic inscriptions of the 9th-7th century BC (mainly from the Transeuphratic area) or on the “argillary” or “Assyro-Aramaic” corpus of the 8th-7th centuries BC (published in Fales 1986 or elsewhere). For the moment, our analysis will mainly center on the incised shapes – although a few notable cases in painted script have also been taken into account.

Individual sign-shapes:

'Aleph, even if with various orientations on the plane (see texts no. 45 ፲, no. 61 ፳ and no. 4 b 3 ፳), has the traditional form, well-known both from the monumental inscriptions and the Assyro-Aramaic texts on clay.

Beth has frequently²²⁵ a clearly cursive form –open at the top– which may be considered more evolved (see texts no. 45 ፻ and no. 50 ፻) than both the Monumental and the contemporary Assyro-aramaic style, since it appears often engraved with a single movement of the writing-tool (see e.g. no. 47 ፻).

Gimel: its rare attestations (see text no. 45 ፻) do not show significant differences on the Monumental style –although in no. 47 (፻) the sign was perhaps written with two separate strokes.

²²⁴ For previous results on the palaeography of TSF Aramaic texts, cf. Attardo *apud* Fales 1996. The reference to the Tell Šeh Hamad ductus is based on a number of casts of the Aramaic tablets from this site kindly shown to the present writer by Prof. W. Röllig (Tübingen) at a meeting in Pavia in 1999 [EA].

²²⁵ An exception is represented by text no. 46 (፻)

Daleth is difficult to distinguish from *waw* and especially *resh*. It is almost always open on the top (see text no. 45 ), and usually is produced by a single stroke (e.g. no. 50 ). In this regard, it appears generally more evolved than its counterpart in Monumental inscriptions and in the contemporary Argillary style, while it may be compared with attestations in the Nimrud and Assur Ostraca.

He presents consistently its evolved form written with one (see text no. 4 ) or two strokes (see texts no. 45 , no. 48 , no. 55  ²²⁶). The ductus is clearly cursive, and may be compared with the shape in the Assur Ostracon. In general, this letter shows an early evolution (cf. the Deir Alla shapes) towards the cursive style, which is often attested in Argillary texts.

Waw is generally engraved with a cursive ductus (again as a product of an early evolution), i.e. with one stroke only (see texts no. 49 a  and no. 59 ); but sometimes it seems to be written more roughly (text no. 53 ) (perhaps due to the progressive drying of the clay?). The *waw* at Tell Shiukh Fawqani may be compared with many 8th-7th century monumental shapes (Zakkur, Sefire, Neirab) and with the shapes in Assyro-aramaic, at Deir Alla and on the Assur Ostracon.

Zayin may present an evolved shape, as a short wavy stroke²²⁷, known from the Assur Ostracon, and here and there from the Argillary texts; this shape is particularly frequent in the painted inscriptions (See texts no. 4 b  and no. 23 ). However, also the less evolved z-shape, which is present in the Zakkur inscription, common in the Zincirli inscriptions, and prevalent in the Assyro-Aramaic inscriptions, is attested (text no. 45 ).

Heth shows always its most evolved form, i.e. with one horizontal bar (see texts no. 45  and no. 62 ), i.e. engraved with two strokes –differently, e.g., from Deir Alla, where three horizontal bars are attested. In painted script, *heth* is sometimes written with one stroke, similarly to the Nimrud and Assur Ostraca (See text no. 3 ). *Heth* with one horizontal bar appears on the bronze lion-weights from Nimrud (late 7th century BC.) and once on a brick from Hama (mid-VIII century BC.) as well as at Neirab, and in the Argillary evidence.

Teth is a rare letter: it is generally in the shape of a semicircle open on the top with a point in the center (see text no. 3 ), and only once it appears as a pointed semicircle open on the left (text no. 51 ). In the Assur Ostracon a similar form, but more cursive, in which the central point is connected to the semicircle, is attested.

Yodh at times is written as a little wavy line with a point on the left (see texts no. 48  and no. 4 b ), in line with other NW Mesopotamian evidence. Other times this letter has a more traditional form, with one stroke (see no. 62 , and no. 4 a ), and it somewhat resembles *zayin*, as elsewhere in Assyro-aramaic argillary inscriptions.

Kaph has a very interesting shape. In text no. 47 (), *kaph* is constituted by a vertical stroke with a point upwards to the left. This shape might be stylistically linked to the *beth* and *mem* forms found at Tell Sēh Hamad, and to *heth* and other evolved forms of the NW Mesopotamian area²²⁸. The traditional form²²⁹ is, instead, well attested in Argillary inscriptions.

²²⁶ Also in the unpublished fragment TSF 97 F 200/266 .

²²⁷ Cf. e.g. the unpublished text TSF 97 F 200/143 .

²²⁸ Cf. the concluding remarks below.

²²⁹ Which seems to be attested only in the unpublished text TSF 97 F 200/252().

Lamed shows very little inner evolution, and its attestations at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, both engraved and in ink, are in line with previously known examples (see text no. 56 a ܵ).

Mem at Tell Shiukh Fawqani shows a scarcely evolved form (see texts no. 45 ܵ, no. 54 ܵ and no. 37 ܵ), which can easily be compared with Transeuphratic and Assyro-aramaic exemplars, with a few exceptions (texts no. 59 ܵ, no. 60 ܵ and no. 52 b ܵ) which may be connected to the more evolved mem of the Assur Ostracon. The mem attested at Tell Šēh Hamad, with a central dot, is lacking here.

Nun, both engraved and in ink, generally presents the traditional form (see e.g. nos. 46 and 47, etc.), well attested both in Monumental and Argillary style, while the most evolved form, which is attested in the Assur Ostracon, is rarer (text no. 53 ܵ).

Samekh in almost all attestations, both engraved and in ink, shows an evolved form (see texts no. 52 a ܵ, no. 54 ܵ, no. 3 b ܵ and no. 34 ܵ), which can be compared with the one attested in the Assur Ostracon; this evolved form may at times be found in Assyro-aramaic inscriptions.

‘Ayin presents a shape open on top (see texts no. 60 ܵ and no. 4 b ܵ), such as is attested in the Assur and Nimrud Ostraca, and prevalent in Assyro-aramaic inscriptions. One case of closed *‘ayin* is however present (text no. 45 ܵ), of the type known from Monumental inscriptions (down to the VII century BC), and also attested in Argillary style.

Pe has a limited evolution, and in the not many attestations, both engraved and in ink (see texts no. 52 a ܵ and no. 4 a ܵ), it does not vary on the shape attested in Monumental style, in Argillary style, and in inscriptions written in ink.

Sade is attested only in no. 47 (ܵ), and its shape lends itself to comparison with the cursive one ink on the Assur Ostracon, and possibly also with the Deir Alla inscription.

Qoph, in incised inscriptions, presents the form open on the top (see text no. 63 ܵ), in the main with the left lobe higher than the right one (texts no. 48 ܵ and no. 51 ܵ); in painted inscriptions this form is attested at least once (text no. 3 ܵ), but a shape closed on the top is also present (text no. 34 ܵ). The latter may be compared with the one present in the Monumental texts prior to the mid-8th century BC, while the open shape is first attested at Zincirli, and at Deir Alla in ink, and becomes the prevalent form in the Argillary style. On the other hand, the Assur Ostracon presents *qoph* without the left lobe, while in Fales 1986, no. 31 we find a *qoph* without the right lobe. It is thus clear that in the 7th century BC, a cursive *qoph* had several variant shapes, which left trace in the Argillary style, while at Tell Shiukh Fawqani we find an evolved form, but closer to the traditional one.

Resh, both engraved and painted, has the form open on the top (see texts no. 48 ܵ, no. 3 a ܵ), often drawn with one stroke (text no. 59 ܵ), without lifting the writing-tool; this form is not found in Monumental style, also in the 7th century BC; on the contrary it is found in Assur and Nimrud Ostraca, and it is also the prevalent form in Argillary style.

Šin at TSF, both engraved and painted, shows both the older 4-stroke form (see texts no. 45 ܵ and no. 4 a ܵ) and the more evolved 3-stroke one (text no. 62 ܵ). The latter shape already appears in Sefire, Neirab and elsewhere; it is also attested in Nimrud Ostracon (Face a), and quite frequently in the Assyro-aramaic inscriptions.

Taw at TSF, both engraved and painted, has the traditional cross-form (see e.g. text no. 53), or, less frequently, is constituted by a inclined vertical bar with a small stroke on the right side (text no. 45) (as in the Zincirli and Hama inscriptions, in the Assur Ostracon, and often in Argillary style).

Altogether, paleographical analysis appears to confirm a general dating fully in the 7th century BC, in view of the relatively high number of evolved forms, which mark a decided break with the overall conservative character of Aramaic script on clay tablets attested from the late 8th century.

The Tell Shiukh Fawqani shapes tally to some extent with known shapes from Tell Šēh Ḥamad²³⁰, since in both sites the innovation of completing several letters with a point, instead of the usual stroke, is apparent. As hinted above, *beth* and *mem* conform to this standard at Tell Šēh Ḥamad, while *kaph* and *heth* show the same feature at Tell Shiukh Fawqani. This innovative “fashion” did not, however, spread to other shapes (such as *resh* and *daleth*), and is not even attested consistently throughout single inscriptions. In any case, this feature may be noticed as such, in that it points to an element of local cultural autonomy, which sets apart the Northwestern Mesopotamian region from the style of Aramaic argillary script attested at Nineveh and Assur. Future results in the publication of parallel Assyro-Aramaic archives from Syria will no doubt help to clarify this picture further.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Despite their highly fragmentary character, the epigraphical finds from Tell Shiukh Fawqani undisputedly add a wealth of new information on the mechanisms of multiple-level interference between the Assyrian and the Aramaic language and culture during the 7th century B.C. In particular, the discovery of a fully bilingual archive dating to Esarhaddon’s reign in the provincial town of Burmarina – which may be shown from Assyrian royal inscriptions to have been an Aramaic outpost on the Upper Euphrates during the 9th century – represents a further substantial addition to the historical-cultural picture of the penetration of the institutions of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the northwestern Jezireh, with the ensuing interaction vis-à-vis the traditional cultural foundations of this area.

In this light, the Tell Shiukh Fawqani Assyro-Aramaic material shows a number of formal and concrete links with other lots of texts discovered in the area – and specifically, with the documents from Til Barsib, the larger administrative and military center with which the local merchants, like Še’-ušnî, appear to have been in constant and operational business contact. On the domestic side of things, the legal and administrative texts from our site prove to be fully integrated in an archaeological context of small finds, pointing univocally to a functional commercial and productive environment. Thus, the “house of the merchants of Burmarina” – as the relevant architectural complex may be emblematically presented for the time being – offers a relatively detailed view of the day-by-day workings of a private establishment operating in a small provincial location, albeit with business and productive contacts tying it to the outlying region.

While all the above represents a concrete gain of no small import for the micro-history of the late Neo-Assyrian period, the Tell Shiukh Fawqani finds also open in a quite outstanding manner a fully new “horizon” of Aramaic epigraphy, represented by painted alphabetic script on the surfaces of the tablets. The fact that passages of such script were explicitly foreseen, as forming part and parcel of legal deeds otherwise made out in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, points vividly to a full linguistic and procedural integration of the two scribal “worlds” in this largely Aramaic-speaking province of the Neo-Assyrian empire.

²³⁰ See now the endorsements published by W. Röllig *apud* Radner 2002.

Further, the clear-cut occurrence of monolingual alphabetic inscriptions on administrative tags or *bullae*, made out with brush and ink on the locally available medium – clay from the Euphrates riverbed – and open to possible rewritings and additions over time, represents a stepping-stone of obvious importance for a historical view of the rise of painted Aramaic script on other, more pliable, media, and of its diffusion during the next few centuries all over the Near East.

8. CATALOGUE OF THE TELL SHIUKH FAWQANI TEXTS

a. By edition number

Nos.	Edition number	Typology	Excavation number
1	1	Cuneiform script. Sale contract for several slaves.	TSF 97 F 200/126 TSF 97 F 200/209 TSF 97 F 200/220
2	2	Cuneiform script with illegible Aramaic label in ink. Sale contract for six slaves.	TSF 97 F 200/122
3	3	Cuneiform script with Aramaic incised endorsement. Sale contract for a field by the river.	TSF 97 F 200/131 TSF 97 F 200/194 TSF 97 F 200/213 TSF 97 F 200/ 114 TSF 97 F 200/ 208b TSF 97 F 200/211 TSF 97 F 200/ 225 TSF 97 F 200/ 226 TSF 97 F 200/227 TSF 97 F 200/ 228 TSF 97 F 200/229 TSF 97 F 200/ 286
4	4	Cuneiform script. Sale contract for a slave woman.	TSF 97 F 200/159
5	5	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract with stamp seal impression.	TSF 97 F 200/113
6	6	Cuneiform script. Sale contract for several persons.	TSF 97 F 200/137
7	7	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/145 TSF 97 F 200/208
8	8	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for a field.	TSF 97 F 200/277
9	9	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for a building plot.	TSF 97 F 200/151
10	10	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/138
11	11	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for a slave woman.	TSF 97 F 200/140 TSF 97 F 200/214
12	12	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for a slave.	TSF 97 F 200/192
13	13	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for several slaves.	TSF 97 F 200/157
14	14	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for a slave woman.	TSF 97 F 200/116 TSF 97 F 200/217
15	15	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/223
16	16	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/149
17	17	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/197
18	18	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/146
19	19	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract for slaves.	TSF 97 F 200/216
20	20	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/236
21	21	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/238
22	22	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/218
23	23	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/222
24	24	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/240
25	25	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/224
26	26	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/120
27	27	Cuneiform script. Fragment of the witness list of a slave contract.	TSF 97 F 200/141 TSF 97 F 200/198
28	28	Cuneiform script. Fragment of sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/139
29	29	Cuneiform script. Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/221

30	30	Cuneiform script. Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/230
31	31	Cuneiform script. Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/203
32	32	Cuneiform script. Fragment of the witness list of a sale contract.	TSF 97 F 200/206
33	33	Cuneiform script. Inner tablet of a silver debt note.	TSF 97 F 204 I/1
34	34	Cuneiform script. Inner tablet of a silver debt note.	TSF 97 F 204 I/9
35	35	Cuneiform script. Inner tablet of a silver debt note.	TSF 97 F 200/115
36	36	Cuneiform script. Inner tablet of a silver debt note.	TSF 97 F 200/196
37	37	Cuneiform script. Judicial document concerning a lawsuit because of a debt.	TSF 97 F 200/152
38	38	Cuneiform script. Fragment of judicial document.	TSF 97 F 200/234
39	39	Cuneiform script. Fragment of judicial document.	TSF 97 F 200/136
40	40	Cuneiform script. Fragment of judicial document.	TSF 97 F 200/130
41	41	Cuneiform script. Fragment of judicial document.	TSF 97 F 200/319
42	42	Cuneiform script. Fragment of a legal text.	TSF 97 F 200/242
43	43	Cuneiform script. Fragment of a legal text.	TSF 97 F 200/210
44	44	Cuneiform script. Fragment of a legal text.	TSF 97 F 200/237
45	45	Aramaic script. Conveyance text.	TSF 97 F 200/119
46	46	Aramaic script. Pledge of a man (?).	TSF 95 F 204 I/2
47	47	Aramaic script. Pledge of a slave against loan of silver with three stamp seals.	TSF 95 F 204 I/3
48	48	Aramaic script. Fragment of legal text.	TSF 95 F 204 I/8
49	49	Aramaic script. Legal text	TSF 97 F 200/117
50	50	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/248
51	51	Aramaic script with a stamp seal.	TSF 95 F 204 I/4
52	52	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/125
53	53	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/133
54	54	Aramaic script. Silver loan document	TSF 97 F 200/156
55	55	Aramaic script. Silver loan document (?)	TSF 97 F 200/158
56	56	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/231
57	57	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/241
58	58	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/147
59	59	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/154
60	60	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/256
61	61	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/150
62	62	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/153
63	63	Aramaic script.	TSF 97 F 200/134

b. By excavation number

Nos.	Excavation Number	Typology (Script, material, measurements)	Lines preserved other physical features	Edition
1	TSF 95 F 204 I/1	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-reddish clay. 2.6 x 2.6 x 1.4.	6 + 1 lines preserved. Reverse lost.	33
2	TSF 95 F 204 I/2	Aramaic script. Complete text, with gaps. Yellow-brown clay. 7.5 x 4.9 x 1.9.	10 lines. (6+4). 3 stamp seal impressions on upper edge.	46
3	TSF 95 F 204 I/3	Aramaic script. Complete tablet. Yellowish clay. 5.8 x 3.5 x 1.5.	21 lines (12+3+6); 3 stamp seal impressions on Reverse, with faint inscription	47
4	TSF 95 F 204 I/4	Aramaic script. Edge fragment. Yellowish clay. 2.4 x 1.7 x 1.2.	Remains of 5 lines (3+2), Stamp seal impression on upper edge, with figure of lion.	51

5	TSF 95 F 204 I/8	Aramaic script. Left-hand fragment. Greyish clay. 2.6 x 2.8 x 2.0.	Remains of 4 lines on one face; other face not inscribed as far as preserved.	48
6	TSF 95 F 204 I/9	Cuneiform script. Complete tablet, pillow-shaped, enclosed within envelope. Brownish clay. 3.8 x 3.1 x 2.0.	6 lines preserved. Cracked surface.	34
7	TSF 97 F 200/113	Cuneiform script. Upper fragment. Greyish clay. 4,2 x 5,0 x 2,5.	8+7+1 lines. Stamp seal impression, partially preserved.	5
8	TSF 97 F 200/114	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 1,7 x 1,2 x 0,8	Remains of 3 lines.	3
9	TSF 97 F 200/115	Cuneiform script. Pillow-shaped. Yellow-orange clay. 2,7 x 4,9 x 2,2	Fragmentary on l.e., b.e. and Rev.. Remains of 2+5+3+2 (?) lines, crudely written.	35
10	TSF 97 F 200/116	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 1,6 x 1,3 x 1,0	Remains of 1 line and traces of stamp sealing.	14
11	TSF 97 F 200/117a,b,c	Aramaic script. Yellow-orange clay. Central part (with upper edge) formed of 3 non-joining fragments, found together. 2,5 x 2,8 x 1,0	Remains of 5 lines. Reverse lost.	49
12	TSF 97 F 200/118	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 2,6 x 3,2 x 1,4	Remains of 5 (face) + 2 (edge) lines. Other face lost	Ø
13	TSF 97 F 200/119	Aramaic script, incised. Dark-brown clay. Bottom fragment. 4,1 x 5,4 x 2,7	Large script. Remains of 4 (Obv.) + 4 (?; Rev.) lines.	45
14	TSF 97 F 200/120	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,3 x 1,5 x 1,2	Remains of 3 lines. Well baked.	26
15	TSF 97 F 200/122	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text, in ink. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 4,1 x 2,7 x 2,3	Remains of 6 (Obv.) + 5 (Rev.) lines (Cuneiform), 1 + 1 lines on edges (Aramaic)	2
16	TSF 97 F 200/125	Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment of rectangular shape, convex on one face. Brown clay. Smooth, burnished surface. Reverse flat and uninscribed (but possible traces of painted letters and rope-marks). 3,2 x 2,9 x 2,2	Remains of 2 lines	52
17	TSF 97 F 200/126	Cuneiform script. Central-bottom fragment. Yellowish clay. 8,3 x 4,1 x 1,5. Watered surface..	.Remains of 15+13 lines. Bottom edge uninscribed	1
18	TSF 97 F 200/129	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Possibly fragment of an edge. 1,0 x 1,7 x 0,6	Remains of a few signs in Cuneiform and in Aramaic	Ø
19	TSF 97 F 200/130	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text in ink. Central fragment. Brown clay. 3,7 x 1,9 x 1,4	Remains of 5 lines (Cuneiform); 1 line (Aramaic?)	40
20	TSF 97 F 200/131	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Yellowish clay. Central-right fragment, no lateral margins. Space for stamp seal. 5,8 x 2,4 x 2,0	Remains of 14 (Obv.) + 11 (Rev.) lines [Cuneiform]. Remains of 2 lines on b.e. [Aramaic]	3
21	TSF 97 F 200/133	Aramaic script. Lateral fragment. Brown clay. 2,9 x 1,4 x 1,2	Remains of 5 lines.	53
22	TSF 97 F 200/134	Aramaic script. Central fragment, Grayish clay with slip. 1,6 x 1,9 x 1,0	Remains of 2 lines	63
23	TSF 97 F 200/135	Aramaic script (ink). Central (?) fragment. Brown clay. 1,3 x 1,2 x 1,1	Remains of 2-3 letters	Ø
24	TSF 97 F 200/136	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 3,1 x 2,3 x 1,3	Remains of 4 lines. Very squashed.	39
25	TSF 97 F 200/137	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 5,1 x 3,9 x 1,9	Remains in very bad state of 6 (+ empty space) + 4 + 1 (lower edge) lines. Reverse lost.	6
26	TSF 97 F 200/138	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 3,3 x 2,4 x 2,2	Remains of 4+3 lines.	10

27	TSF 97 F 200/139	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text(?). Lateral fragment. Orange clay, grid temper. 2,8 x 4,1 x 1,7	Remains of 2+ empty space+ 2 lines of Cuneiform; Aramaic script incised on the right edge and painted on the empty space(?). The other side is destroyed.	28
28	TSF 97 F 200/140	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Central-lateral fragment (right edge preserved); space for seal impression on upper part. Yellow-orange clay. 4, 1 x 2,3 x 1,6	Remains of 4 (Obv.) + 3 (Rev.) [Cuneiform]. Aramaic signs (incised) on l.h.e.	11
29	TSF 97 F 200/141	Cuneiform script. Lateral fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 3,3 x 2,3 x 2,2	Well baked. Remains of 4 lines.	27
30	TSF 97 F 200/142	Aramaic script. Complete surface (?) Brown clay. 3,5 x 2,2 x 3,3	Remains of 2(?) lines.	Ø
31	TSF 97 F 200/143	Aramaic script, incised. Lateral (edge) fragment. Grayish clay. 2,4 x 2,9 x 2,6	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
32	TSF 97 F 200/144	Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment. 2,5 x 2,1 x 1,6	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
33	TSF 97 F 200/145	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 2,5 x 2,5 x 1,3	Remains of 5 lines; reverse uninscribed. Very squashed.	7
34	TSF 97 F 200/146	Cuneiform Script. Edge fragment. Grayish clay. 1,3 x 1,9 x 0,9	Remains of 2 lines.	18
35	TSF 97 F 200/147	Aramaic script, incised. Almost complete face. Brown clay. Smooth, burnished surface. 4,1 x 2,9 x 1,9	Remains of 3 lines. Traces of rope on clay of back, possibly corresponding to inner kernel of tablet	58
36	TSF 97 F 200/149	Cuneiform script. Lateral fragment. Yellowish clay. 1,5x 1,7 1,8	Well baked. Remains of 2 (ob) +2 (rv) lines. Possible traces of rope.	16
37	TSF 97 F 200/150	Aramaic script. Central fragment of docket or rectangular tablet. Yellowish clay with possible slip. 2,0 x 1,8 x 0,8	Remains of 2 lines	61
38	TSF 97 F 200/151	Cuneiform script with painted Aramaic letters. Upper fragment of rectangular tablet, one face preserved. 3,9 x 4,4 x 2,7	6 lines + empty space	9
39	TSF 97 F 200/152	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Pillow-shaped, almost complete. 2,6 x 4,5 x 2,0	Remains of 5+[3]+6+2 lines (Cuneiform); Remains of 1 line (Aramaic)	37
40	TSF 97 F 200/153	Aramaic script (incised). Central fragment. Brown clay. 1,8 x 1,6 x 1,8	Remains of 2 lines	62
41	TSF 97 F 200/154	Aramaic script, central fragment. Yellow-orange clay Only one face preserved; traces of knotted rope and weaving on clay of the inner kernel of tablet. 3,5 x 2,2 x 1,2	2 incised horizontal lines in larger script, 2(?) +2(?) painted (resp. horiz./vertical) lines in very small script	59
42	TSF 97 F 200/155	Aramaic script. Central fragment. 0,6 x 0,9 x 0,3	Remains of 6(?) lines of faint script on cracked surface.	Ø
43	TSF 97 F 200/156	Aramaic script. Lateral fragment, of sealing or docket. Possible traces of weaving on back. Reverse lost. Brown clay. Smooth, burnished surface. 5,2 x 1,3 x 0,9	Remains of 5 lines.	54
44	TSF 97 F 200/157	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Lateral fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,1 x 1,2 x 1,5.	Remains of 2 (Obv.)+ 2 (Rev.) [Cuneiform] 1 line (left edge) [Aramaic]	13
45	TSF 97 F 200/158	Aramaic script, incised. Lateral fragment of triang. docket, on two faces. Brown clay. Smooth, burnished surface. 3,6 x 1,5 x 1,6	Remains of 3 lines (Face A); possible traces of vertical line on Face B	55

46	TSF 97 F 200/159	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text in ink, complete shape, yellow-orange clay, flakes missing on Obverse. 7,6 x 4,5 x 1,9	14+2+11 lines (Cuneiform); 3 (Obverse)+ 3 (l.h.e.) [Aramaic, ink]	4
47	TSF 97 F 200/192	Cuneiform script. Lateral fragment. Yellow-orange clay, grid temper. 2,1 x 2,6 x 1,3	Remains of 4+3 lines.	12
48	TSF 97 F 200/194	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text in ink. Large central fragment, of rectangular shape. Yellow-orange clay, one face preserved, possible signs on face B. 6,7 x 4,2 x 1,0	Remains of 6 lines (Cuneiform), 5 lines on Face A (Aramaic), a few signs on face B (Aramaic)	3
49	TSF 97 F 200/195	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Brown clay, grid temper. 3,7 x 2,3 x 1,9	Very cracked script. Remains of 2 lines. Reverse is totally lost.	Ø
50	TSF 97 F 200/196	Cuneiform script. Right edge of a pillow-shaped one. Yellow-orange clay, grid temper. 1,9 x 2,4 x 1,6	Remains of 2+2+1 lines.	36
51	TSF 97 F 200/197	Cuneiform script. Left edge fragment. Orange clay. 1,8 x 1,7 x 1,9	Remains of 4 lines.	17
52	TSF 97 F 200/198	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 3,4 x 1,9 x 2,0	Remains of 2 lines.	27
53	TSF 97 F 200/203	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 2,0 x 0,9 0,7	Well incised. Remains of 4 lines.	31
54	TSF 97 F 200/204	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 1,9 x 1,5 x 0,3	Traces of 3 lines.	Ø
55	TSF 97 F 200/205	Cuneiform script, central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,3 x 1,0 x 0,5.	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
56	TSF 97 F 200/206	Cuneiform script, left-hand flake. Yellow-orange clay. 1,5 x 1,2 x 0,3.	Remains of a few signs	32
57	TSF 97 F 200/207	Aramaic script. Central(?) flake. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 0,7 x 0,5	Remains of a few signs.	Ø
58	TSF 97 F 200/208	Cuneiform script. Left-bottom edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay, grid temper. 1,2 x 2,8 x 1,2	Remains of 3+2 lines.	7
59	TSF 97 F 200/208b	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 2,8 x 1,2	Very smoothed surface and well-baked Remains of 4 lines.	3
60	TSF 97 F 200/209	Cuneiform script. Left-edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,1 x 1,5 x 1,6	Remains of 2+1 lines.	1
61	TSF 97 F 200/210	Cuneiform script. Flake. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 1,2 x 0,8	Remains of 2 lines.	43
62	TSF 97 F 200/211	Cuneiform script. Flake. Yellowish clay. 1,3 x 1,0 x 0,6	Remains of 2 lines; reverse uninscribed.	3
63	TSF 97 F 200/213	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 1,7 x 1,1 x 0,6	Smoothed surface. Remains of 4 lines.	3
64	TSF 97 F 200/214	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,1 x 1,9 x 0,7	Remains of 1 line.	11
65	TSF 97 F 200/215	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 1,4 x 1,1 x 0,7	Smoothed surface. Remains of 3 lines	Ø
66	TSF 97 F 200/216	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 1,6 x 0,6	Remains of 3 lines.	19
67	TSF 97 F 200/217	Central fragment	Remains of an horizontal line	14
68	TSF 97 F 200/218	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 1,3 x 1,3 x 0,7	Remains of 2 lines.	22
69	TSF 97 F 200/219	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,8 x 0,9 x 0,6	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
70	TSF 97 F 200/220	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text, incised. Lateral fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 2,4 x 2,9 x 2,0	Remains of 1 line (+ sealing) + 3 lines (Cuneiform); Remains of 1 line (Aramaic)	1

71	TSF 97 F 200/221	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay, grid temper. 1,8 x 1,7 x 1,1	Remains of 3 lines.	29
72	TSF 97 F 200/222	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Lateral fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 1,6 x 0,8	Remains of 3 lines (Cuneiform); Remains of one line (Aramaic)	23
73	TSF 97 F 200/223	Cuneiform script. Left-hand fragment; yellow-orange clay. 1,5 x 1,9 x 1,1	Remains of 2 (Obv.) + 3 (B.E.) + 2 (Rev.) + 2 (left edge) lines.	15
74	TSF 97 F 200/224	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 0,4 x 1,1 x 0,7	Remains of 1 (Obv.) + 2 (Rev.) lines. Space for sealings.	25
75	TSF 97 F 200/225	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay, grid temper. 1,2 x 1,1 x 0,8	Remains of 1 sign.	3
76	TSF 97 F 200/226	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 0,4 x 1,1 x 0,7	Smoothed surface. Remains of 2 signs.	3
77	TSF 97 F 200/227	Cuneiform script. Central fragment (2 joining points). Yellowish clay. 1,2 x 1,1 x 0,6	Remains of 3 lines.	3
78	TSF 97 F 200/228	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. 1,0 x 0,9 x 0,6.	Remains of 3 lines.	3
79	TSF 97 F 200/229	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 0,4 x 0,8 x 0,5	Remains of 1 sign.	3
80	TSF 97 F 200/230	Cuneiform script. Central fragment of one face. Yellow-orange clay. 2,3 x 1,5 x 1,3	Well baked. Remains of 3 lines.	30
81	TSF 97 F 200/231	Aramaic script in ink. Central fragment of triangular shape, possibly of docket. Brown clay. Very faint traces of Aramaic letters and of weaving on face and l.h.e. 3,7 x 1,9 x 1,0	Remains of 3 lines on face, 2(?) on l.h.e.	56
82	TSF 97 F 200/233	Cuneiform script with Aramaic script, very faint traces. Corner fragment, Aramaic on Reverse Yellowish clay. 1,8 x 1,6 x 1,2	Very faint traces	Ø
83	TSF 97 F 200/234	Cuneiform script. Right-bottom edge of a pillow shaped script. Grayish clay. 3,6 x 0,9 x 1,3	Remains of 2+1+3 lines.	38
84	TSF 97 F 200/235	Aramaic script. Seal impression on center-right edge of tablet. Yellowish clay. 3,0 x 1,7 x 1,2	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
85	TSF 97 F 200/236	Cuneiform script. Right edge fragment. Yellowish clay 0,9 x 2,2 x 0,8	Remains of 3 lines.	20
86	TSF 97 F 200/237	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay, 2,0 x 1,6 x 1,8	Remains of 3 lines	44
87	TSF 97 F 200/238	Cuneiform script. Edge fragment. Yellowish clay. 1,2 x 1,7 x 1,1	Remains of 2 signs and traces of weaving on the other side.	21
88	TSF 97 F 200/240	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,7 x 0,9 x 0,4	Remains of 1 line.	24
89	TSF 97 F 200/241	Aramaic script. Lateral(?) fragment. Brown clay. 2,3 x 1,1 x 1,0	Remains of 1 line.	57
90	TSF 97 F 200/242	Cuneiform script. Left-upper edge fragment. Yellowish clay. 2,3 x 1,1 x 1,0	Remains of 2+2 lines and sealed reverse.	42
91	TSF 97 F 200/243	Aramaic script in ink. Grayish-white clay, as in plaster (?). 1,2 x 1,5 x 0,7	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
92	TSF 97 F 200/244	Aramaic script in ink. Grayish-white clay, as in plaster (?). 1,1 x 1,4 x 0,4	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
93	TSF 97 F 200/245	Cuneiform script. Edge fragment. Yellowish clay, grid temper. 0,9 x 1,2 x 0,9	Remains of 2 incomplete signs.	Ø
94	TSF 97 F 200/246	Aramaic script. Fragment of olive-shaped piece, built around a string. Brown clay. 3,1 x 1,9 x 1,8	Remains of 1 sign.	Ø

95	TSF 97 F 200/247	Aramaic script. Edge fragment. Brown clay. Traces of fingerprints on clay. 4,0 x 2,3 x 1,3	Remains of 2 (?) lines	Ø
96	TSF 97 F 200/248	Aramaic script, central fragment. Brown clay. 2,0 x 1,4 x 0,6	Remains of 3 lines	50
97	TSF 97 F 200/249	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Brown clay. 1,9 x 0,8 x 0,7	Traces of 2 lines	Ø
98	TSF 97 F 200/250	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,4 x 0,7 x 0,7	Minimal traces of 2 signs	Ø
99	TSF 97 F 200/251	Cuneiform script. Bottom-edge fragment. Yellow clay. 1,0 x 1,9 x 0,5	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
100	TSF 97 F 200/252	Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,8 x 0,7 x 0,4	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
101	TSF 97 F 200/253	Aramaic script in ink. Central fragment. Brown clay. 0,7 x 0,8 x 1,0	Remains of 1 line	Ø
102	TSF 97 F 200/256	Aramaic script. Upper edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 2,1 x 2,3 x 1,1	Remains of 2 lines	62
103	TSF 97 F 200/257	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 0,9 x 0,8 x 0,4	Remains of 2 signs.	Ø
104	TSF 97 F 200/258	Aramaic script, incised. Small fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 0,9 x 0,7	Remains of 1 sign.	Ø
105	TSF 97 F 200/259	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 0,8 x 0,7 x 0,5	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
106	TSF 97 F 200/260	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,3 x 0,7 x 0,5	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
107	TSF 97 F 200/263	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Lateral fragment. Yellow clay. 0,9 x 1,0 x 0,3	Remains of 3 lines (Cuneiform); Remains of 1 line (Aramaic)	Ø
108	TSF 97 F 200/264	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,8 x 1,0 x 0,4	Remains of 1 sign (Cuneiform), 2 signs (Aramaic; one in ink)	Ø
109	TSF 97 F 200/266	Aramaic script. Fragment of edge. Brown clay. Possible traces of rope on back. 2,8 x 1,1 x 0,9	Remains of 3 letters (incised and painted)	Ø
110	TSF 97 F 200/274	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Brown clay. 1,2 x 0,9 x 0,5	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
111	TSF 97 F 200/276	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text in ink. Edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,6 x 0,4 x 0,9	Remains of 1 lines (Cuneiform) + 2 lines (Aramaic)	Ø
112	TSF 97 F 200/277	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 1,0 x 1,0 x 0,4	Remains of 2 signs.	8
113	TSF 97 F 200/278	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. Traces of rope on back. 1,0 x 0,8 x 0,3	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
114	TSF 97 F 200/279	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 2,0 x 0,8	Remains of 1 line	Ø
115	TSF 97 F 200/281	Aramaic script. Yellow-orange clay. Lateral fragment. 1,5 x 1,2 x 0,7	Remains of 1 line.	Ø
116	TSF 97 F 200/283	Aramaic script. Central fragment, possibly sealed. Yellow-orange clay. 1,6 x 1,4 x 0,8	Remains of 1 line	Ø
117	TSF 97 F 200/284	Aramaic script, in ink. Yellow-orange clay. 2,2 x 2,4 x 1,1	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
118	TSF 97 F 200/286	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay, grid temper. 1,1 x 0,8 x 0,5	Remains of 2 lines.	3
119	TSF 97 F 200/287	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 0,6 x 0,7 x 0,3	Remains of one line	Ø
120	TSF 97 F 200/288	Aramaic script. Edge fragment, Yellow-orange clay. 0,4 x 0,7 x 0,4	Remains of one line	Ø

121	TSF 97 F 200/289	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. 0,6 x 0,7 x 0,3	Remains of 2 signs	Ø
122	TSF 97 F 200/291	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,6 x 0,9 x 0,4	Remains of 1 sign.	Ø
123	TSF 97 F 200/292	Aramaic script. Central fragment,	Remains of 2 lines.	Ø
124	TSF 97 F 200/315	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 0,9 x 1,2 x 0,4	Remains of 3 lines.	Ø
125	TSF 97 F 200/319	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text (in ink). Lateral left fragment of “horizontal” text. Stamp seal impression on Obverse. 1,8 x 2,2 x 1,3	Remains of 1 (Obverse) + 3 (b.e.) + 5 (Rev.) [Cuneiform]; 1 line (l.h.e.) [Aramaic]	41
126	TSF 97 F 200/320	Aramaic script. Yellow-orange clay. 4,9 x 3,8 x 2,8	Remains of 2 lines	Ø

c. Unpublished Tell Shiukh Fawqani texts (by excavation number)

Nos.	Excavation Number	Typology (Script, material, measurements)	Lines preserved other physical features
1	TSF 97 F 200/129	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Possibly fragment of an edge. 1,0 x 1,7 x 0,6	Remains of a few signs in Cuneiform and in Aramaic
2	TSF 97 F 200/135	Aramaic script (ink). Central (?) fragment. Brown clay. 1,3 x 1,2 x 1,1	Remains of 2-3 letters
3	TSF 97 F 200/142	Aramaic script. Complete surface (?) Brown clay. 3,5 x 2,2 x 3,3	Remains of 2(?) lines.
4	TSF 97 F 200/143	Aramaic script, incised. Lateral (edge) fragment. Grayish clay. 2,4 x 2,9 x 2,6	Remains of 2 lines.
5	TSF 97 F 200/144	Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment. 2,5 x 2,1 x 1,6	Remains of 2 lines.
6	TSF 97 F 200/155	Aramaic script. Central fragment. 0,6 x 0,9 x 0,3	Remains of 6(?) lines of faint script on cracked surface.
7	TSF 97 F 200/195	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Brown clay, grid temper. 3,7 x 2,3 x 1,9	Very cracked script. Remains of 2 lines. Reverse is totally lost.
8	TSF 97 F 200/204	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 1,9 x 1,5 x 0,3	Traces of 3 lines.
9	TSF 97 F 200/205	Cuneiform script, central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,3 x 1,0 x 0,5.	Remains of 2 lines.
10	TSF 97 F 200/207	Aramaic script. Central(?) flake. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 0,7 x 0,5	Remains of a few signs.
11	TSF 97 F 200/215	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 1,4 x 11,1 x 0,7	Smoothed surface. Remains of 3 lines
12	TSF 97 F 200/219	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,8 x 0,9 x 0,6	Remains of 1 line.
13	TSF 97 F 200/233	Cuneiform script with Aramaic script, very faint traces. Corner fragment, Aramaic on Reverse Yellowish clay. 1,8 x 1,6 x 1,2	Very faint traces
14	TSF 97 F 200/235	Aramaic script. Seal impression on center-right edge of tablet. Yellowish clay. 3,0 x 1,7 x 1,2	Remains of 1 line.
15	TSF 97 F 200/243	Aramaic script in ink. Grayish-white clay, as in plaster(?). 1,2 x 1,5 x 0,7	Remains of 1 line.
16	TSF 97 F 200/244	Aramaic script in ink. Grayish-white clay, as in plaster(?). 1,1 x 1,4 x 0,4	Remains of 1 line.
17	TSF 97 F 200/245	Cuneiform script. Edge fragment. Yellowish clay, grid temper. 0,9 x 1,2 x 0,9	Remains of 2 signs.

18	TSF 97 F 200/246	Aramaic script. Fragment of olive-shaped piece, built around a string. Brown clay. 3,1 x 1,9 x 1,8	Remains of 1 sign.
19	TSF 97 F 200/247	Aramaic script. Edge fragment. Brown clay. Traces of fingerprints on clay. 4,0 x 2,3 x 1,3	Remains of 2 (?) lines
20	TSF 97 F 200/249	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Brown clay. 1,9 x 0,8 x 0,7	Traces of 2 lines
21	TSF 97 F 200/250	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,4 x 0,7 x 0,7	Minimal traces of 2 signs
22	TSF 97 F 200/251	Cuneiform script. Bottom-edge fragment. Yellow clay. 1,0 x 1,9 x 0,5	Remains of 2 lines.
23	TSF 97 F 200/252	Aramaic script, incised. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay 1,8 x 0,7 x 0,4	Remains of 1 line.
24	TSF 97 F 200/253	Aramaic script in ink. Central fragment. Brown clay. 0,7 x 0,8 x 1,0	Remains of 1 line
25	TSF 97 F 200/257	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 0,9 x 0,8 x 0,4	Remains of 2 signs.
26	TSF 97 F 200/258	Aramaic script, incised. Small fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 0,9 x 0,7	Remains of 1 sign.
27	TSF 97 F 200/259	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellowish clay. 0,8 x 0,7 x 0,5	Remains of 1 line.
28	TSF 97 F 200/260	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,3 x 0,7 x 0,5	Remains of 2 lines.
29	TSF 97 F 200/263	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Lateral fragment. Yellow clay. 0,9 x 1,0 x 0,3	Remains of 3 lines (Cuneiform); Remains of 1 line (Aramaic)
30	TSF 97 F 200/264	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text. Edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,8 x 1,0 x 0,4	Remains of 1 sign (Cuneiform), 2 signs (Aramaic; one in ink)
31	TSF 97 F 200/266	Aramaic script. Fragment of edge. Brown clay. Possible traces of rope on back. 2,8 x 1,1 x 0,9	Remains of 3 letters (incised and painted)
32	TSF 97 F 200/274	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Brown clay. 1,2 x 0,9 x 0,5	Remains of 1 line.
33	TSF 97 F 200/276	Cuneiform script with Aramaic text in ink. Edge fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,6 x 0,4 x 0,9	Remains of 1 lines (Cuneiform) + 2 lines (Aramaic)
34	TSF 97 F 200/278	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. Traces of rope on back. 1,0 x 0,8 x 0,3	Remains of 1 line.
35	TSF 97 F 200/279	Aramaic script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,2 x 2,0 x 0,8	Remains of 1 line
36	TSF 97 F 200/281	Aramaic script. Yellow-orange clay. Lateral fragment. 1,5 x 1,2 x 0,7	Remains of 1 line.
37	TSF 97 F 200/283	Aramaic script. Central fragment, possibly sealed. Yellow-orange clay. 1,6 x 1,4 x 0,8	Remains of 1 line
38	TSF 97 F 200/284	Aramaic script, in ink. Yellow-orange clay. 2,2 x 2,4 x 1,1	Remains of 2 lines.
39	TSF 97 F 200/287	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Orange clay. 0,6 x 0,7 x 0,3	Remains of one line
40	TSF 97 F 200/288	Aramaic script. Edge fragment, Yellow-orange clay. 0,4 x 0,7 x 0,4	Remains of one line
41	TSF 97 F 200/289	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. 0,6 x 0,7 x 0,3	Remains of 2 signs
42	TSF 97 F 200/291	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 1,6 x 0,9 x 0,4	Remains of 1 sign.
43	TSF 97 F 200/292	Aramaic script. Central fragment,	Remains of 2 lines.
44	TSF 97 F 200/315	Cuneiform script. Central fragment. Yellow-orange clay. 0,9 x 1,2 x 0,4	Remains of 3 lines.

9. INDEXES

a. Personal names in cuneiform script.

A[...]	¹ A-[x x (x)], 3 : Rev. 15'
Abda	¹ Ab-da, 4 : Rev. 7 (SANGA)
Abdā	¹ Ab-[da ² -a ²], 33: u.e. 1; ¹ Ab ² -d]a-a, 37 : u.e. 8
Abqala[nu]	¹]Ab-qa-l[a-nu], 7: Rev. 2' (father of [...])
Abu-[...]	¹ AD-[x x (x)], 7: Obv. 2
Abu-ahī	¹]AD-a-hi, 34: Obv. 3
Abu-dilēni	¹ A]D-di-le-e-ni, 3: Rev. 9
Adda-rāmu	¹]IM-ra-mu, 37: Obv. 3 (LÚ.qur-ZAG)
Adda-sūri	¹]10-su-r[i], 35: u.e. 1' (LÚ*.DIB-[IM?])
Aḥu-lāmur	¹ PA]P-la-[mur], 29: Rev. 1'
Aḥu-sākip	¹ PA]P-sa-[kip ...], 41: Obv. 1'
Ame-[...]	¹ A-me-[x x (x)], 29: Rev. 3'
Ašīru	¹ A-[ši-r]u, 27: Rev. 2'
Atār-[...]	¹]A ¹ -tar-[x x (x)], 7: Rev. 5' (father of [...])
Atār-lā[mur ²]	¹ A]-tar-la-[mur ²], 7: Rev. 4' (father of [...])
Atār-sūri	¹ A-tar-su-[ri], 5: Obv. 8
Aya-[...]	¹ dA-a-[x x (x)], 23: Rev. 3'
Babilāyu	¹ K]Á.DINGIR-a-[a], 1: Obv. 1 ; ¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a, 1: Obv. 10'; 2: Obv. 3';
Basī	¹ B]a-si-i], 1: Rev. 5' (L[Ú.x x x)
Bel-Ḥarrān-dabāya	¹ EN]-KASKAL-INIM-a-a, 6: b.e. 11'
Dādī	¹ Da-di- ¹ i, 4: Rev. 2
Di[...]	¹ Di-[x x], 35: Obv. 2
Du[...]	¹ Du ¹ -[...], 28: Rev. 1'
Eda[...]	¹ E-da-[...], 6: Obv. 3'
Gabbu-āmur	¹]Gab-bu-a-m[ur], 3: Rev. 16'
Ḥabil-kēnu	¹ Hab-bil-[GIN], 33: Obv. 3
Ikkāru	¹ I-ka-ru, 37 : Rev. 3 (LÚ*.šak-nu)
Inurta-ballīt	¹] ¹ dMAŠ-TI, 3: Rev. 13' (LÚ*.[x x (x)])
Issar-ukīn	¹ d15-GIN, 5: Obv. 7
Katu[...]	¹ Ka- ¹ t ¹ u-[...], 28: Rev. 3'
Ki[...]	¹ Ki-[...], 10: Rev. 3
Kubaba[...]	¹ KU ₆ -x x (x)], 7: Obv. 1
Kubaba-gamil	¹] ¹ KU ₆ -[ga-mil], 3 : Obv. 5'', ¹ KU ₆ -[ga]- ¹ mil', 3 : Obv. 15'';
Kubaba-lidi	¹ KU ₆ -li-di, 1: Obv. 13'; ¹ KU ₆ -li-d[i], 2 : Obv. 2'; ¹ KU ₆ -li-i]-di, 12: Obv. 2'; KU ₆ -li-i-di, 37: Obv. 1 ([L]Ú.pit-hal-li)
La[...]	¹ L[a-x x (x)], 15: Obv. 2'
Lisī	¹ Li-si-[i'], 7: u.e. 2
Mannu-ki-[...]	¹ M]an-nu-GIM- ¹ d[x (x)], 3: Rev. 12'
Mannu-kī-[...]	¹ Man-n[u-ki-x (x)], 27 : Rev. 5'; ¹ Man]-nu-ki- ¹ i-[x (x)], 41: Rev. 2
Mannu-kī-ahī	¹ Man-n]u-ka-PAP, 5: Rev. 4' (son of ¹ x]x-ki); ¹ Man-nu-ka-[PAP], 33: Obv. 2; ¹ Man-nu-ki-PAP, 34: Obv. 2
Na[...]	¹ Na-[x x (x)], 3 : Rev. 8
Nabū-iqbi	¹ dPA-iq-bi [L]Ú*.A.BA, 5: u.e. 8'
Nabū-lādin	¹ dPA-la-di[n, 5 : Obv. 5 (son of ¹ x (x)]-ni)
Nabū-na'di	¹] ¹ P ¹ A-I, 1 : Rev. 6' (L[Ú.x x x])
Nergal-lamur	¹ dM]AŠ.MAŠ-IGI.LAL, 1: Rev. 4'
Nergal-rēmanni	¹ dMAŠ.MAŠ-r[ém-a]-ni, 5 : Obv. 3 (LÚ*.mu-kil-PA.MEŠ)

Pa[...]	¹ Pa-[x x (x)], 27: Rev. 6'
Pāliḥ- [...]	¹ P]a-liḥ- ^d [x (x)], 29: Rev. 2'
Pān-Apladad-lāmur	¹ IGI- ^r A ¹ .[U-la-mur], 23: Rev. 2'
Rēmanni- [...]	¹ Rē[m-a-ni- ^d x (x)], 42: b.e. 1'
Rība-Dādi	¹ Ri-ba-U.U, 35: Obv. 3 (rab-[x x])
Sagabbi	¹ Sa-[ga]b-bi , 28: Rev. 2'
Salmānu- [...]	^{1d} [DI]-ma-nu-[x (x)], 27: Rev. 3'
Salmānu-milkī	^{1d} DI-m[a-n]u-mil-k[i], 27: Rev. 4'
Sē'- [...].	¹ Se-['x x x], 2 : Rev. 2', ¹ Se- '[x x (x)], 4: Rev. 4 ; ¹ Se- '[x x x], 7 : u.e. 1; ¹ S ^r e ¹ -['....], 13: Obv. 1'; ¹ Se-['...], 13: Obv. 2'
Sē'-bēl-ahḥē	¹ Se- 'EN ^r -[P]AP.MEŠ, 4 : Rev. 3
Sē'-ḥiari	¹ S]e-ḥi-a-ri, 3 : Rev. 8
Sē'-ši'i	¹ Se]- ^r 'ši-[i], 7: Rev. 1' (father of [...])
Sē'-sūru	¹ Se- 'su-ru, 4: Rev. 6 (SANGA)
Sē'-tabnī-uşur	[¹ S]e-tab-ni-P[AP], 36 : Obv. 2' (ARAD)
Sē'-usnī	¹ Se- 'us-ni ^r , 37: b.e. 6
Sebi'	¹ Se-bi- ', 5 : Obv. 2 (NAGAR-GIŠ.[GIGIR])
Šamaš-aḥu-uşur	^{1d} UTU-PAP-PAP, 5: Obv. 6 (son of ¹ x (x)-a-[a])
Šamaš-na'di	^{1d} JUTU-I, 5: Rev. 1'
Šulu[...]	¹ Šu-lu ^r -[...], 6: Obv. 2'
Šumma-abu	¹ Šum-mu-A[D], 5 : Obv. 1(LÚ*.E[N-GIGIR])
Šumma-ahḥē	¹ Šum]-mu-PAP.MEŠ, 37: u.e. 7
Urdu-Dādi	¹ ARAD-U.U, 5: Rev. 5' (father of x)-du-u)

b. Fragmentary names (beginning lost).

[...]-a	[MÍ.x x x]x-a, 14: Obv. 1' (GÉME)
[...]-ab	[¹ ...]-ab, 6: Obv. 10'
[...]-ani	¹ x x]-a-ni, 5, Rev. 2'
[...]-aplu- [...]	¹ x x-D]UMU.U[Š-x (x)], 30: Rev. 3'
[...]-aya	¹ x x]-a-a, 1: Rev. 7' (L[Ú.x x x]), ¹ ...]-a-a; ¹ x (x)-a-[a], 5, Obv. 6 (father of ^{1d} UTU-PAP-PAP); 6: obv. 4' (ditto); ¹ x]- ^r a ¹ -a, 37 : Rev. 4 (LÚ.3.U _s); ¹ x x]-a-a, 39: 7'
[...]-bâ	¹ x]-ba-a, 3: Rev. 14'
[...]-Bēl-Ḥarrān	¹ x x (x)-EN]-KASKAL, 11: Rev. 2'
[...]-bite	¹ x x]-bi-te, 9: Rev. 3
[...]-dia	¹ ...]-di-a, 6: Obv. 5'
[...]-dû	¹ x]-du-u, 5, Rev. 5' (son of ¹ ARAD-U.U)
[...]-gi	[¹ ...-g]I, 6: b.e. 12'
[...]-guḥḥab	¹ x x]-gu-uh- ^r hab ¹ , 1:Rev. 3'
[...]-i	¹ x x]-i, 11: Obv. 3'; [IGI ¹ x x]-i, 30: Rev. 1'
[...]-Issār	¹ x x- ^d]15, 37: Rev. 6 (LÚ.šá-IGI-de-na-ni)
[...]-ki	¹ x]x-ki, 5, Rev. 4' (father of ¹ Man-n]u-ka-PAP)
[...]-lamur	¹ x x-la]-mur [...], 1:Rev. 10'
[...]-li	¹ ...]- ^r li ¹ , 12: Rev. 1'
[...]-lî	¹ x]-li-i, 3:Rev. 10
[...]-ni	x (x)-ni, 5, Obv. 5 (father of : ^d PA-la-di[n])
[...]-pâ	¹ x x]-pa-a, 1:Rev. 2' (LÚ.DIB-KU[Š.PA.MEŠ])
[...]-ru	¹ x x (x)-ru, 11: Rev. 1'
[...]-Salmānu	¹ x x]- ^r ^d DI-m[a-nu], 30: Rev. 2'
[...]-Sē'	[¹ x x x]- ^r Se ¹ ', 1: Obv. 3

[...] <i>sigubu</i>	¹ x-s]i-gu-b[u], 5, Rev. 3' ¹
[...] <i>šibu</i>	¹ x x]-ši-b[u ...], 1:Rev. 9'
[...] <i>šu</i>	¹ ...]-šú, 12 : Rev. 3' (<i>ditto</i> = EN-GIŠ.GIGIR)
[...] <i>u</i>	¹ x x (x)]-ú, 11: Rev. 4'
[...] <i>ub-Kubaba</i>	¹ x x]-ub-KU, 1:Rev. 8' L[Ú.x x x])
[...] <i>zēru-ukīn</i>	[¹ x x-NU]MUN-GIN, 40: Rev. 3'
[Di/a]dī	[Di/Da]-di-i, 3 :Rev. 15'

c. Names of eponyms.

Atār-ilī (673 BC)	¹ A-tar-[DINGIR], 1:Rev. 1', ¹]A-tar-DINGIR.ME, 4 :Rev. 10, ¹ A-tár-[DINGIR], 27: l.h.e. 1; ¹]A-tar-DINGIR, 38 : Rev. 2
Banbā (676 BC)	¹ Ban-ba-a, 37: Rev. 2
Issi-Adad-anīnu (679 BC)	¹]TA*-[^d IM/10-a-ni-nu], 26: Rev. 3'
<i>lost</i>	10: l.h.e. 1; 15: l.h.e. 2; 36: after Rev. 1

d. Toponyms.

Kapar-[...]	URU.ŠE-[¹ ...], 7: u.e. 3
Karkemiš	<i>Gar</i> -< <i>ga</i> >-mes, 3:Rev. 4
Til Barsib	URU.Tur-ba- ^r si-ba ¹ .KI, 9 : Rev.4.
<i>lost</i>	UR[U ...], 41: Rev. 3

e. Personal names in alphabetic script.

<i>pldšgb</i>	47: Rev. 21 (father of <i>ssly</i>)
<i>bšwry</i>	45: Rev. 3'
<i>ddrḥ[?]m[?]</i>	59 : 2; 62 : 1'
<i>hdr^rm¹n</i>	47: Rev. 16
<i>hmnn</i>	46: Obv. 1
<i>ḥ¹nn</i>	47: Rev. 21
<i>ḥ¹sn</i>	47 : Rev. 19
<i>my'</i>	47: Obv. 1
<i>mlš'bny</i>	47: Rev. 20
<i>m^cś^ry[?][x]</i>	47: Rev. 20
<i>nbmr[</i>	59: 1
<i>ngh^ry¹</i>	45: Rev. 2'
<i>nmmr^r¹n</i>	47 : Rev. 18
<i>nsh'</i>	47: Obv. 4
<i>n^rs^r[h]m²nny</i>	46: Rev. 8
<i>ssly</i>	47: Rev. 21 (father of "pldšgb")
<i>c^r[</i>	45: Rev. 3'
<i>r^p[?][x]l[?]?</i>	46: Obv. 6
<i>pl^ll</i>	47 : Rev. 19 (from <i>trbšyb</i>)
<i>pl^ly</i>	47: Obv. 1
<i>šb'</i>	46: Obv. 1

¹ This might alternatively be viewed as a fully preserved Aramaic name, i.e. ¹S]e-gu-p[u], "Se(") is the (dead) person", with reference to a deceased forerunner of the individual (brother, father, or the like); the same name-type occurs in the name of Nabonidus' mother, Adda-guppi', with reference to Aramaic *g(w)p*, "person, dead person, corpse" (cf. DNWSI, 231) [FMF].

š' [61 : 1'
š ^c šny	46 : Obv. 4; 47 : Obv. 4, 6
šn ^ŋ zbd	47 : Rev. 17 (profession: <i>mlh</i> ')
šnth	51 : 3
š ^c zry	47 : Rev. 18
šx x ¹ ln	46 : Rev. 7

f. Fragmentary names (beginning lost)

g]b [?] ry	62 : 2'
š [?]] 'l	47 : Obv. 1
x ¹ l ¹ h [?]	46 : Obv. 1
ʳ x mh [x]	45 : Rev. 1'
x x] pld[n]	46 : Rev. 10
]qgn'	51 : 1

g. Toponyms

bny zmn	47 : Obv. 3
brmrn	46 : Obv. 2
trbšyb	47 : Rev. 19
[x]hng	46 : Rev. 9

h. Aramaic vocabulary

'mt	“female slave”	11 : b
'rq	“land”	3 : d (?)
'š	“man, person”	46 : Obv. 2; 47 : Obv. 3, 7, 9, Rev. 14
b ^c y	“to seek”	47 : Obv. 12
br	“son”	<i>br</i> ; 45 : Rev. 1' (?); 47 : rev. 21. Cstr. Pl. <i>bny</i> , 47 : Obv. 3; 57 : 1 (?)
gbr	“man”	<i>gbrn</i> , 47 : Obv. 2
dyn	“to plead a cause”	48 : Obv. 3'
dnt	“binding legal document”	3 : a
hn	“if”	47 : Obv. 7, 9, Rev. 13; 48 : Obv. 3'
zbn	“to buy”	23 : a
zy	“of”	11 : b; 37 : b; 47 : Obv. 2, 5
zrp	“to buy”	<i>zrpt</i> , 45 : Obv. 2'
hyv	“life”	45 : Obv. 3'; 47 : Obv. 11
hṣd	“harvest”	47 : Rev. 15
yd	“hand”	47 : Obv. 12
yhb	“to give”	47 : Obv. 10, Rev. 14
ym'	“open”	47 : Obv. 11
k	“as”	47 : Obv. 10
ksp	“silver”	41 : b; 47 : Obv. 5, 7, Rev. 13; 52 : A 2
kṣr	“contingent” (<Akkadian <i>kiṣru</i>)	47 : Obv. 2
lw'	“accompaniment”	47 : Obv. 10
lq ^h	“to take”	58 : 1; 63 : 1
mgl	“sickle”	47 : Rev. 15
mlh	“boatman”	47 : Rev. 17

<i>mlk</i>	“king”	37: b; 47: Obv. 2, 11
<i>mn₁</i>	“whoever”	45: Obv. 3'; 47: Obv. 11, Rev. 14
<i>mn₂</i>	“from”	46: Rev. 9; 47: Rev. 19
<i>mnh₁</i>	“mina”	45: Obv. 2'; <i>mnn</i> , 46: Obv. 5; 47: Obv. 8; 54: 4'; 55: 1'
<i>mnh₂</i>	“share, portion”	47: Obv. 8
<i>nqy</i>	“to clear, to redeem”	47: Obv. 7
<i>ntn</i>	“to give”	47: Rev. 13
<i>snb</i>	“three-fourths”	47: Obv. 10
<i>‘d(y)</i>	“loyalty oath”	47: Obv. 12
<i>‘m</i>	“with; incumbent upon”	47: Obv. 6
<i>pwg</i>	“to remove, to take away” (< Akkadian <i>puāgu</i>)	47: Rev. 14
<i>plg</i>	“one-half”	47: Obv. 8
<i>plh</i>	“to serve; to work for”	47: Obv. 9
<i>pm</i>	“mouth”	47: Obv. 11
<i>qrb (?)</i>	“confidant, retainer” <Akk. <i>ša qurbūti</i>)	37: a
<i>qrn</i>	“capital”	47: Obv. 10; 48: 2' (?)
<i>rby</i>	“interest”	47: Obv. 8
<i>rhn</i>	“to give as pledge”	47: Obv. 3
<i>š'r</i>	“remainder, outstanding”	47: Obv. 6
<i>šhd</i>	“witness”	45: Rev. 1, 2; 46: Obv. 6; 47: Rev. 16, 17; 49: 1'; 55: 2', 3'
<i>šwb</i>	“to return (in suit)”	<i>yšb</i> , 45: Obv. 3'
<i>šlš</i>	“three”	46: Obv. 5
<i>šm</i>	“name”	47: Obv. 4.
<i>šql</i>	“shekel”	[š]q[ln, 46: Obv. 3; 47: Obv. 5
<i>tmn</i>	“eight”	46: Obv. 3; 47: Obv. 5

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