



LEGAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE  
ROYAL COURT OF NINEVEH,  
PART II

ASSURBANIPAL THROUGH  
SIN-ŠARRU-IŠKUN

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SAA XIV

HELSINKI UNIVERSITY PRESS

2002

## INTRODUCTION

An edition of legal texts<sup>1</sup> originating in the reign of Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun is faced with the problem of the sequence of the post-canonical eponyms, a question on which no consensus has been reached.

The provisional dates assigned by M. Falkner, "Die Eponymen der spät-assyrischen Zeit," have been used widely since the publication of her valuable article in 1954-56. The new evidence that had become available by the mid 1990's was collected and evaluated by R.M. Whiting in his chapter "The Post-canonical and Extra-canonical Eponyms" in Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC*, SAAS 2 (1994) 72-78.

Recently two different lists of the post-canonical eponyms prepared independently have appeared in print: "Assyrian eponyms, kings and pretenders, 648-605 BC" by J.E. Reade in *Or.* 67 (1998) 255-265, and S. Parpola's reconstruction of the eponym order as given in the introduction to K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I/I* (1998) xviii-xx.

The documents of Kakkullanu edited in this volume have had a central role in the study of post-canonical eponyms. Kakkullanu's documents form a tightly knit group in which the same witnesses often appear, and importantly, mostly with their titles. The frequent mention of titles has invited scholars to attempt to solve the question of the post-canonical eponym sequence by studying the careers of these witnesses.

## The Crown Prince's Establishment

### *Central Persons*

From the central people in the documents of the present volume the officials belonging to the establishment of the crown prince (*mār šarri*)<sup>8</sup> emerge as the most significant. As can be seen from Table I the officials of the crown prince form the most important single group and comprise 17% of all the documents in which the central person is known.

Best known are the cohort commanders of the crown prince whose documents were most probably found in Room C of the North Palace, i.e. of the Succession Palace (*bēt rēdūti*). Two tablets, K 309A (no. 29) of Kišir-Aššur and K 329 (no. 39) of Kakkullanu, can in fact be identified as having been found in Room C.<sup>9</sup>

The foremost individual dossier is that of Kakkullanu, cohort commander of the crown prince, whose 25 documents date to the years 630\*-617\*. Only the dossiers of two royal charioteers, Sennacherib's charioteer Šumma-ilani (23 documents) and that of Assurbanipal's charioteer Remanni-Adad (55 documents) can match or exceed this number.<sup>10</sup>

### Kakkullanu

From the documents of Kakkullanu we learn among other things that he owned a house in Nineveh, and in 630\* he extended this house by buying a "toolshed" (*bīt akkulli*) measuring 43×25 cubits (c. 250m<sup>2</sup>)<sup>11</sup>, next to his house. The outbuilding included a well and bordered the house of Il-mananī, horse trainer, and two streets (no. 35). The size of the "toolshed" is impressive, but judging by the high sale price, three minas and 30 shekels of silver, and by the fact that the measurements are given at all, we have no reason to doubt that it is correct. The translation "toolshed" obviously does not convey the full meaning of this word, and the translation outbuilding is used here.<sup>12</sup>

In 625\* Kakkullanu further extended his property, possibly the same house as in 630\*, with the purchase of the neighbouring house from Šarru-lu-dari, horse trainer of the chief eunuch of the crown prince. For the fully built house with its roof beams, six doors, a well and a *barn* (*talpittu*) he paid two minas of silver (no. 40).

TABLE I. Central Persons

Royal Officials	9
Ninuayu, king's eunuch	8
Aššur-šumu-ka'in, king's cohort commander	1
Milki-nuri, eunuch of the queen	7
Harem Manageresses and Other Royal Women	13
Crown Prince's Household	38
Kakkullanu, cohort commander of the crown prince	25
Kišir-Aššur, cohort commander of the bodyguard of the crown prince	6
Luqu, cohort commander of the crown prince	3
Taḡunu, deputy	2
Bel-duri, governor of the crown prince	1
Nabû-nadin-ahhe, eunuch of the crown prince	1
Governor	1
Šumma-ilani, treasurer	1
Šalmu-ahhe, <i>ša šēpi</i> guard	3
Ešrayu, horse trainer of the <i>ša šēpi</i> guard	1
Šamaš-abu'a, horse trainer	1
Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina, cohort commander of the <i>ša šēpi</i> guard	2
Inurta-šarru-ušur, courtier of the New Palace	11
Total	87
Other Identifiable Individuals	139
Total	226

In 617\* he bought another house with four doors for half a mina of silver in SAG URU.NINA.KI (no. 47). If our view of the order of the post-canonical eponyms is correct, this cannot be his original house. Nos. 53 and 54 may be yet further house purchases of Kakkullanu.

Outside Nineveh Kakkullanu owned landed property in several locations. His largest holdings were in Bit-Abu-ila'i where Kakkullanu acquired in all 25.5 hectares in 29 plots during the years 625\*-623\* (nos. 42, 44 and 45). Out of this total 5.5 hectares were leased. In fact we know that he must have owned more land than this in the area, because none of the known documents represent his first purchase there, the acquired plots being always situated next to an existing property of his. Neighbours in Bit-Abu-ila'i include the cohort commanders Kišir-Aššur and Ubru-Nabû. Unfortunately Bit-Abu-ila'i is attested only in the Kakkullanu documents and its exact geographical location is not known.<sup>13</sup>

In Qurubi, also of unknown location, Kakkullanu leased 20 hectares in at least four separate plots, a house, a threshing floor, orchard, meadow, and a well in 625\* (no. 41). Near the village of Ṭab[...] he purchased land for half a mina of silver in 624\* (no. 43).

In addition, Kakkullanu owned vineyards in Appuni and Irbu. In Irbu he acquired a complete vineyard with two persons for three minas of silver (no. 36). In Appuni he extended his garden by buying an adjacent vineyard for 1.5 minas of silver (no. 46).

A special feature of Kakkullanu's slave purchases is that he buys women as wives for three of his servants, for Tarhunazi (no. 34), for Ululayu (no. 37) and for Urdu-Nabû (no. 38).

In all Kakkullanu acquired, in addition to several houses in Nineveh, 45.5 hectares in 33 plots in at least 5 different locations, a garden, two vineyards and several slaves. Silver involved in the known transactions amounts to 17.5 minas 21 shekels. The phrasing of the contravention clause used in his purchase documents tells us that Kakkullanu was not a eunuch.

### 39. Kakkullanu Buys a Man in Exchange for a Woman (625\*-II-20)

K 329

- 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>md</sup>PA—PAB—PAB NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>md</sup>PAB—  
u-ni  
2 PAB 2 DUMU.MEŠ DUMU <sup>md</sup>nar-gi-i  
3 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>md</sup>PAB—ZALĀG DUMU <sup>md</sup>si-i-li  
4 PAB 3 LÚ.MEŠ-e EN LÚ a-na šá-pu-si  
5 ina ŠA MÍ SUM-a-ni



- 6 <sup>md</sup>15—BĀD—qa-a-li ARAD-šú-nu  
7 ša LÚ.MEŠ-e an-nu-te  
8 ú-piš-ma <sup>md</sup>kak-kul-la-nu LÚ\*.GAL—ki-šir  
9 ina ŠA-bi MÍ.AD—li-ih-a GEMÉ-šū  
10 šá-pu-u-su TA\* IGI LÚ.MEŠ-e

ADD 318

- 1 Seal of Nabû-ahu-ušur, seal of Ahuni, in  
all 2 sons, sons of Nargî,  
2 Seal of Ahu-nuri, son of Silu,  
3 in all 3 men, owners of the man given in  
exchange for the woman.

(stamp seal impressions)

- 6 Issar-dur-qalli, servant of these men —  
8 Kakkullanu, cohort commander, has  
contracted, purchased and acquired him as an  
exchange for Abi-liha, his maid, from these

39 Previous editions: AR 632, FNALD 12, NALK 125. — EA 10, CIS II 23, ABC 12, Faies Epigraphs 31.

11 *an-nu-te i-zi-rip*  
 12 *it-ti-ši tu-a-ru de-e-nu*  
 13 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>3</sub> *la-áš-šú*  
 14 *man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-e-ma*  
 15 *i-za-qu-pa-ni GIL-u-ni*  
 16 *lu-u*<sup>md</sup>PA—PAB—PAB *lu-u*<sup>m</sup>PAB—u-ni  
 17 *lu-u*<sup>m</sup>PAB—ZALÁG *lu-u* A.MEŠ—šú-nu  
 18 *lu-u* A—A.MEŠ—šú-nu *lu-u* PAB.MEŠ—šú-nu  
 r.1 *lu-u* A.MEŠ—PAB.MEŠ—šú-nu *lu-u* *mám-ma-*  
*šú-nu*  
 2 *ša* TA\*<sup>m</sup>*kak-kul-la-ni* TA\* DUMU.MEŠ—šú  
 3 TA\* DUMU—DUMU.MEŠ—šú *de-nu* DUG<sub>4</sub>.  
 DUG<sub>4</sub>-*bu*  
 4 *ub-ta-u-ni aš-šur*<sup>d</sup>UTU EN<sup>d</sup>AG  
 5 *lu-u* EN—*de-ni-šú* 10 MA.NA KUG.UD SUM-an

6 IGI<sup>m</sup>*aš-šur—kil-la-an-ni* LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*  
 7 IGI<sup>m</sup>*li—qi-pu* LÚ\* : :  
 8 IGI<sup>m</sup>*ba-la-si-i* LÚ\* : :  
 9 IGI<sup>m</sup>*zi-zi-i* LÚ\*.2-ú *ša* LÚ\* : : 0'  
 10 IGI<sup>m</sup>*i-di-i* LÚ\*.DAM.QAR  
 11 IGI<sup>m</sup>*hi-ri-ša-a-a* LÚ\*.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub> *ša É—kid-mu-ri*  
 12 IGI<sup>m</sup>*šal-mu-te* LÚ\*.DAM.QAR  
 13 IGI<sup>md</sup>UTU—*iq-bi* LÚ\*.*da-a-a-lu*  
 14 IGI<sup>m</sup>U—*a-a* LÚ\*.A.BA  
 15 IGI<sup>m</sup>DINGIR—*gab-ri* LÚ\*.šá—GÌR.2  
 16 IGI<sup>md</sup>30—MAN—PAB LÚ.*gur-ZAG*  
 blank space

17 ITI.GUD UD-20-KAM  
 18 *lim-mu*<sup>md</sup>30—MAN—PAB LÚ\*.A.BA—KUR  
 s.1 *dnt š'r drq'l*

men. Any revocation, lawsuit, or litigation is void.

<sup>14</sup> Whoever in the future, at any time, lodges a complaint and breaks the contract, whether Nabû-ahu-ušur, whether Ahuni, whether Ahu-nuri, or their sons or their grandsons or their brothers or their nephews or any relative of theirs, and seeks a lawsuit or litigation against Kakkullanu, his sons (and) his grandsons,

<sup>14</sup> Aššur, Šamaš, Bel, Nabû shall be his prosecutors. He shall give 10 minas of silver.

6 Witness Aššur-killanni, cohort commander.

7 Witness La-qepu, ditto ditto.

8 Witness Balasî, ditto ditto.

9 Witness Zizî, deputy of ditto.

10 Witness Addî, merchant.

11 Witness Hirišayu, porter of the Kidmuri temple.

12 Witness Šalmuti, merchant.

13 Witness Šamaš-iqbi, *dayālu*.

14 Witness Šumayu, scribe.

15 Witness Il-gabbari, *ša šēpi* guard.

16 Witness Sin-šarru-ušur, royal body-guard.

(blank space)

<sup>17</sup> Month Iyyar (II), 20th day, eponym year of Sin-šarru-ušur, palace scribe.

<sup>s.1</sup> (Aramaic caption:) Deed of [Is]sar-durqalli.

## 47. Kakkullanu Buys a House in Nineveh (617\*-II-10)

K 305

beginning broken away  
 1' É GIŠ.4-IG <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[x x x]  
 2' 1-et GIŠ.IG ina ŠĀ-bi x[x (x) x]  
 3' SUHUR É <sup>m</sup>šil-<sup>d</sup>PA  
 4' SUHUR É <sup>m</sup>DÜG-IM-<sup>d</sup>15  
 5' SUHUR É <sup>m</sup>dUTU-ZU  
 6' SUHUR su-qa-qi  
 7' É ina SAG URU.NINA.KI  
 8' ú-piš-ma <sup>m</sup>ku-kul-a-a  
 9' TA\*IGI <sup>m</sup>pa-qa-a-na-arba-il TA\*IGI <sup>m</sup>IM-  
 15  
 10' ina ŠĀ-bi 1/2 MA.NA KUG.UD il-qi  
 11' kas-pu gam-mur ta-din É  
 12' šu-a-te za-rip laq-qi  
 13' tu-a-ru de-e-nu  
 14' DUG<sub>1</sub>.DUG<sub>2</sub> la-āš-šú  
 e.15' pqr<sup>2</sup>rb<sup>1</sup>l  
 16' sr<sup>2</sup>š  
 r.1 man-nu šá ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma  
 2 i-za-qup-pan'-a-ni GIL-u-ni  
 3 lu-u <sup>m</sup>pa-qa-a-na-arba-il  
 4 lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU-DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 5 ša TA\* <sup>m</sup>ku-kul-la-a-a  
 6 DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU-DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 7 de-e-nu DUG<sub>1</sub>.DUG<sub>2</sub> ub-ta-u-ni  
 8 5 MA.NA KUG.UD SUM-an  
 9 IGI <sup>m</sup>SUHUŠ-<sup>d</sup>PA LÜ.GAL-ki-šir  
 10 IGI <sup>m</sup>un-zar<sub>2</sub>-hi-aš-šur : :  
 11 IGI <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-15 : :  
 12 IGI <sup>m</sup>hi-ri-ša-a-a  
 13 IGI <sup>m</sup>su-nu-[x x]  
 14 IGI <sup>m</sup>[x x x x]  
 rest broken away

s.1 ITI.GUD UD-10-KAM lim-me <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-rém-  
 a-ni [LÜ\*.GAL-SAG šá A-MAN]  
 2 IGI <sup>m</sup>PA-AŠ-PAB LÜ\*.A.BA [(x x x x)]

ADD 327

(Beginning destroyed)  
 1 A house, 4 doors [...]  
 2 one door in [...]  
 3 adjoining the house of Šil-Nabû,  
 4 adjoining the house of Tab-šar-Issar,  
 5 adjoining the house of Šamaš-le'i,  
 6 adjoining an alley.  
 7 a house in the best part of Nineveh —  
 8 Kukullayu has contracted and bought  
 from Upaqa-ana-Arbail and from Šar-Issar  
 for half a mina of silver.  
 11 The money is paid completely. That  
 house is purchased and acquired. Any revo-  
 cation, lawsuit, or litigation is void.  
 15 (Aramaic caption:) Upaqa-ana-Arbail  
 and Šar-Issar.  
 11 Whoever in the future, at any time, lod-  
 ges a complaint and breaks the contract,  
 whether Upaqa-ana-Arbail or his sons (or)  
 his grandsons, and seeks a lawsuit or litiga-  
 tion against Kukullayu, his sons (and) his  
 grandsons, shall give 5 minas of silver.

9 Witness Ubru-Nabû, cohort commander.  
 10 Witness Unzarhu-Aššur, ditto ditto.  
 11 Witness Zar-Issar, ditto ditto.  
 12 Witness Hirišayu.  
 13 Witness Sunu[...].  
 14 Witness [NN].

(Break)

s.1 Month Iyyar (II). 10th day, eponym  
 year of Aššur-remanni, [chief eunuch of the  
 crown prince].

2 Witness Nabû-nadin-ahi, scribe [(...)].