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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the Kassites

The Middle Babylonian period (ca. 1595–1155)\(^{(21)}\) is one of the less documented periods in Mesopotamian history. In the Middle Babylonian period Babylonia was under the rule of Kassite kings whose origin is still unknown. From their language, which is completely different from the surrounding Semitic languages, we can easily identify them through proper names. These include personal names (Kadašman-Šaḥ, Dimaḫdi-Uraš, Burra-Ḫarbe, etc.), place names (Dūr-Kurigalzu, Karduniyaš, Karē-Karzi-ban, etc.), and divine names (Šuqamuna, Šumaliya). The Kassite people are known to have been enthusiastic breeders of horses, about which we have several documents and specific Kassite words such as sirpe, alzibadar, pirmaḫ, etc. These words seem to specify characteristics of a horse, but their exact meaning is still debatable. Also, at least two lists of Kassite words with Akkadian translations are known. For example, \(1\text{ku-ur-gal-zu} = \text{1re-‘e-i-kaš-ši-i}, 1\text{nim-gi-ra-bi} = \text{1e-šé-ru}, \text{ka-mul-la} = \text{dé-a}, \text{ya-an-zi} = \text{šar-ru}, \text{etc.}\)\(^{(22)}\) It is obvious that the ancient scribes felt an interest in this foreign language. But no sentences written in the Kassite language have yet been found.

The Kassites were already known in the Old Babylonian period, as the year names of the kings (Samsu-iluna, Abi-ěšuḫ) in which the Kassite troops can be seen indicate. The early attestations of the Kassite people in and around Babylonia are in the 18\(^{th}\) century B. C. The homeland of the Kassites has not been identified. But Sippar and its tribal environs had a clear link with the Kassite settlers. There they appear as seasonal agricultural workers and work troops for public works and military service. Gradually the Kassites penetrated a broad area that included Nuzi, Khana, Terqa, and Alalakh. A Kassite dynasty first gained control of northern Babylonia in the early 16\(^{th}\) century and then conquered southern Babylonia by the middle of the 15\(^{th}\) century.\(^{(23)}\)

Kassite society was organized into tribal units called “the House of So-and-So.” Examples are Bīt-Ḫašmar, Bīt-Abirattaš, and Bīt-Sirišaš. The personal name connected with the house is believed to be an eponymous ancestor. The members of the house are called sons of the eponymous ancestor.\(^{(24)}\) In the texts excavated at the city of Nippur, a number of Kassites are mentioned. Some accounts of domestic animals reveal the social status of the Kassites.\(^{(25)}\) They supervised the mayors (ḫazanmu). The mayors in turn supervised the herdsman (nāqidu). It is clear from this that the Kassites occupied the

\(^{(21)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 3.

\(^{(22)}\) Delitzsch 1884, 20; Pinches, T. G. 1917, 106; and Balkan 1954, 2–4.


\(^{(25)}\) For example BE 14 no. 99a, 137, MUN 329, etc.
top position in the social structure. But also Kassite names can be seen in various professions such as miller, weaver, scribe, etc.\(^{(26)}\)

### 1.2. Overview of the Kassite dynasty

According to a famous king list (King List A: BM 33332), the Kassite dynasty lasted 576 (years) and 9 months, with 36 kings.\(^{(27)}\) It is the longest dynasty in the history of Mesopotamia. But the earlier kings’ history has not been revealed sufficiently due to a lack of sources. Starting with the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (perhaps the 19\(^{th}\) Kassite king; 1359–1333), the documents excavated at Nippur, which are the main source for the history of the Middle Babylonian period, are available.

Here I will give a brief overview of Middle Babylonian history.\(^{(28)}\) As mentioned above, in the Old Babylonian period, before the Kassites established a dynasty, they were simply foreigners to the Babylonians. After the Hittite capture of Babylon (ca. 1595), the Kassites progressively gained control over Babylonia. The contemporary sources of this time are scarce.\(^{(29)}\) Chronological sources and a few narrative sources are the main sources for reconstructing the history of this time. The first king who is thought to have ruled Babylon is Agum II (Agum-kakrime). He is said in an inscription (the Agum-kakrime inscription) to have returned the statue of Marduk after its capture by Muršili I. But the authenticity of this inscription has been challenged.\(^{(30)}\) If Agum-kakrime was a real king in the early period, he gained control over the northern part of Babylonia. The southern part was still ruled by the first dynasty of the Sealand. In the succeeding generations Burna-Buriyaš I concluded a treaty with Puzur-Aššur III concerning the boundary between the northern part of Babylonia and Assyria.\(^{(31)}\) Afterwards the descendants of Burna-Buriyaš I (Kaštiliyašu III, Ulam-Buriyaš, and Agum III) conquered the southern part, namely the first dynasty of the Sealand, in the middle of the 15\(^{th}\) century.\(^{(32)}\) After the establishment of Kassite rule, Babylonia began to expand its foreign relations and constructed large structures as domestic projects. Kurigalzu I is the founder of the settlement of Dùr-Kurigalzu and was the Kassites’ greatest builder. Many bricks on which his name can be seen are

\(^{(26)}\) Sassmannshausen 2001, 143.

\(^{(27)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 8.

\(^{(28)}\) Brinkman 1972, 274–278.

\(^{(29)}\) Recently published Boese 2008 sheds light on this time. But the texts from Tell Muḥammad have not been published. We need to wait for the edition of the texts. See also van Koppen 2010. He discusses sources from the Sealand, Tell Muḥammad, and Bahrain and reads the names of the kings of Tell Muḥammad as Ḫurbaḥ and Šipta-ulzi.

\(^{(30)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 95.


attested elsewhere in Babylonia. The next kings (Kadašman-Enlil I (1374–1360 and Burna-Buriyaš II 1359–1333) are well known from the references in the Amarna letters. They were in correspondence with the Egyptian kings. The Babylonian kings mainly requested gold. The Egyptian kings received horses, chariots, lapis lazuli, etc. But a regular messenger service between Babylonia and Egypt had already been established in the time of Kara-indaš (ca. 1413). At the time of the Amarna letters, the relationship between them was declining. After Kadašman-Enlil I, the contemporary administrative texts excavated at Nippur become available. In the time of the next king, Kara-ḫardaš (1333), the Kassites revolted, killed him, and put Nazi-Bugaš (1333), a Kassite, on the throne. Kara-ḫardaš was a son of Muballīṭ-Šerū’a, daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria. Thus, Aššur-uballiṭ went to Babylonia to avenge Kara-ḫardaš. He killed Nazi-Bugaš and enthroned Kurigalzu the younger, son of Burna-Buriyaš II. Kurigalzu II’s reign continued for 25 years (1332–1308). At the time of the next king, Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282), the relationship between Babylonia and Assyria remained almost the same. The next two kings (Kadašman-Turgu [1281–1264] and Kadašman-Enlil II [1263–1255]) had corresponded with the Hittite king Hattušili III. Kadašman-Turgu offered to send troops to Hattušili III against Egypt. In the time of his successor, Kadašman-Enlil II, good relationships with the Hittites were maintained. As for the following generations, we have a recently published letter sent by Ini-Tešub, king of Karkemiš, to Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1245–1233), king of Babylonia. This letter was found in Ugarit, but it is still unclear why it was stored there. In any case, we can learn that there was communication between Karkemiš and Babylonia. The next king, Kaštiliyašu IV (1232–1225), was decisively defeated by Tukultī-Ninurta I, king of Assyria, who invaded Babylonia and captured the statue of the god Marduk. Afterwards Assyria ruled Babylonia for approximately seven years. The next three kings (Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, and Adad-šuma-iddina) are

(33) Or Šuzigaš (see Grayson 1975, 172).


(36) Brinkman 1972, 276.


(38) Ibid., 79, note lines 1–5 “On note la différences du roi de Karkemiš à l’égard du roi de Babylone. La mention de ces deux noms royaux situe la lettre entre 1255 et 1243. La présence à Ugarit de cette tablette, qui est d’une époque antérieure aux éléments datables de ce corpus, est difficile à expliquer.”

(39) Cf. Bartelmus and Schmitt 2014. They discussed the fragments of the inscription as plunder from Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta I.

(40) Grayson 1975, 161 and 175–176. A contemporary administrative text dated with the name of
thought to have been puppets of Assyria.\(^{(41)}\) Adad-šuma-ūṣur (1216–1187), son of Kaštiliyašu IV, was able to terminate this Assyrian rule over Babylonia. His reign continued for 30 years. In the days of the next kings (Meli-ši-ḪU [1186–1172] and Marduk-apla-iddina I [1171–1159]), the so-called boundary stones (\textit{kudurrū}) are comparatively numerous.\(^{(42)}\) The final phase of the Kassite dynasty came to end through Assyrian aggression by Aššur-dan I and an attack by Šutruk-Nahhunte, an Elamite king. Zababa-šuma-iddina (1158) was deposed. Then, at the time of Enlil-nadin-aḫi (1157–1155), Elamite troops invaded Babylonia and took the statue of Marduk.

1.3. Introduction to the sources

In this dissertation, administrative documents and letters are the main sources. In addition, a few documents excavated at private archives are treated. The four sources for the Middle Babylonian period used here are described below.

1.3.1. Nippur

The most important source is the documents excavated at Nippur. Approximately 12,000 documents are thought to be from the Middle Babylonian period. But so far only a little over 10 percent of them have been published. There is a problem of provenance with this source. The documents were excavated at the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century and the archaeological records are insufficient.\(^{(43)}\) Among the documents excavated at Nippur, there are two main provenances. According to Pedersén 1998, one is called \textit{Nippur 1}, which is located in area WB, from which about 10,000 Kassite clay tablets were excavated. Some of them have date formulae between the 4\(^{th}\) year of Burna-Buriyaš II (1356) and the reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (1223). But it should be stressed that it cannot be determined whether all the tablets come from one archive, from several palace archives, or even from houses nearby. A large number of the texts may have belonged to the governor (šandabakku)\(^{(44)}\) of Nippur. These documents include lists of disbursements of several commodities (such as barley, beer, flour, oil, and emmer),

\(^{41}\) A new reference to Kadašman-Ḫarbe II can be seen in a recently published letter (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, 156–157). He was enthroned, went to Babylon, Sippar, and Šadulna\(^{7}\), discussed matters with them, and returned to Lubdu, which is a settlement around the border between Babylonia and Assyria. This passage may support the supposition that Kadašman-Ḫarbe II was a puppet of Assyria.

\(^{42}\) See Slanski 2003 and Paulus 2014.


\(^{44}\) For governor (šandabakku), see Landsberger 1965, 373–375 and Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 and 186–187.
receipts of barley, collection of letters, etc.\(^{(45)}\)

The other main provenance is **Nippur 2**, located in area WA near the temple of the goddess Gula, from which about 300 clay tablets of the Middle Babylonian period were excavated. The dates of these documents are between the 25th year of Burna-Buriyaš II (1335) and the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1246). A number of frequently mentioned persons in the Middle Babylonian documents such as Innannu, Martuku, and others belong to this archive. These documents are mostly receipts or concern the delivery of barley.

The documents excavated at Nippur are stored mainly in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri in Istanbul and in the University Museum in Philadelphia.\(^{(46)}\) The main publications of the Nippur documents are Clay 1906a and 1906b; Radau 1908; Clay 1912a; Lutz 1919; Aro and Bernhardt 1958/59; Petschow 1974; and Sassmannshausen 2001.

1.3.2. **Dūr-Enlilē**

In 2015 W. H. van Soldt published over 450 Middle Babylonian documents dated to the later kings (from the 24th year of Nazi-Maruttaš [1284] to the 6th year of Meli-ši-ḪU [1181]). The provenance of these documents has not been determined, but Dūr-Enlilē is the best candidate.\(^{(47)}\) The edition covers several genres such as juridical texts, letters, records of revenue and collected payments, expenditures, miscellaneous administrative texts, practice texts, and religious and lexical texts. Ninurta-zākir-šumi (\(^{(48)}\)nin-ura-mu-mu), son of Enlil-kidimmē and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, son of Ninurta-zākir-šumi (i.e., a grandson of Enlil-kidimmē) are important officials in these documents. Van Soldt has already pointed out that both of these persons, Ninurta-zākir-šumi and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, can be seen in the texts excavated at Nippur.\(^{(49)}\) These documents are on loan to Cornell University from the Rosen Collection in New York City.\(^{(50)}\)

1.3.3. **Ur**

In 1983 O. R. Gurney edited 83 Middle Babylonian documents. Among them, 72 (nos. 1–47, 49–


\(^{(46)}\) See Brinkman 1976a, 42.

\(^{(47)}\) See van Soldt 2015, 29.

\(^{(48)}\) It is quite likely that this Enlil-kidimmē was the famous governor (Ŝandabakku) of Nippur. But this has not been confirmed.

\(^{(49)}\) See van Soldt 2015, 24 and 29–30.

\(^{(50)}\) See the preface by D. I. Owen in van Soldt 2015, vii. The edition of the texts of the early kings from the Rosen collection is to be published by E. Devecchi in the near future.
73, field numbers U. 7787–9) were excavated by Leonard Woolley in 1926–1927 at the EM site. \(^{(51)}\) Judging from the contents of the documents, they are private archival records of the family of brewers of the god Sîn. \(^{(52)}\) The texts date from the 15\(^{th}\) year of Kadašman-Turgu (1267) to the reign of Enlil-nādin-āḫī (1157–1155). These documents cover miscellaneous genres such as the redemption of a girl, trial by ordeal, purchase of a young boy, loan of grain, etc. Almost all are records from the daily life of the brewers. But since the brewers worked for the temple of Sîn, some records have an administrative character.

No. 48 has the field number U. 203 because it was found in 1922–1923 in a trial trench by the E-nun-makh (inside the temenos). It is dated to the 4\(^{th}\) year of Kaštiliyašu IV (1229). It deals with the loan of barley.

Nos. 74–83 were unnumbered tablets in the British Museum. Their provenance is unknown. No. 76 is dated in the 16\(^{th}\) year of Nazi-Maruttaš (1292), no. 79 in the 5\(^{th}\) year of Kadašman-Turgu (1277), and no. 78 in the 6\(^{th}\) year of Kudur-Enlil (1249). These texts are of miscellaneous genres (purchase of a slave, stocktaking of textiles, dispute arising from a theft, etc.).

The former documents (nos. 1–72) have IM numbers, \(^{(53)}\) Therefore they may be stored in the Iraq Museum. The later ones (nos. 74–83) are stored in the British Museum.

The main sources are Gurney 1974 and 1983.

1.3.4. The archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ

In 1905, F. E. Peiser published 50 Middle Babylonian documents, and 10 more were published in 1926 by G. Contenau (his numbers 47–56). The documents are stored in Leiden and at the Louvre. Most of them are dated between the 7\(^{th}\) year of Kadašman-Enlil II (1257) and the accession year of Kaštiliyašu IV (1233). But a few texts are dated much earlier (UDBD no. 120: 13\(^{th}\) year of Burna-Buriyaš II [1347]; TCL 9 no. 47: 2\(^{nd}\) year of Nazi-Maruttaš [1306]). These documents are records of the daily activities of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ. The provenance of these documents is still unclear. We find records (e.g., concerning the loan of barley, delivery of clothes, rations of barley, purchase of a calf), letters, etc., among them. We do not know the profession(s) of the family, but some of the documents seem to be concerned with a temple.

1.4. Introduction to the aklu documents

\(^{(51)}\) Gurney 1983, 1 “a domestic quarter just outside the south-west wall of the temenos.”

\(^{(52)}\) No. 13 has the field number U 7787x, which means that it was excavated at the EM site. But it has a much later date (the 3\(^{rd}\) year of Marduk-sâpik-zèrē [1079]). The reason why it is mixed in with this group is not clear.

\(^{(53)}\) No. 73 is mentioned without an IM number.
Among the above-mentioned sources, we have over 240 aklu documents excavated at Nippur. In the texts from the Rosen collection, which may come from Dūr-Enlilē, at least 41 aklu documents are attested. Also, a few aklu documents can be found in documents from Ur and from the archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ. The aklu documents are a distinctive feature of the Middle Babylonian period. They are administrative documents. Usually agricultural products (barley, flour, beer, oil, etc.) and products of domestic animals (sheep, goats, etc.) are treated. So far approximately 300 aklu documents are known. They are attested from the time of Burna-Buriyaš II (ca. 1350) to the time of Adad-šuma-ūṣur (ca. 1216–1187). This means that aklu activity lasted for a considerable period of time, approximately 130 years. As for the geographical distribution of the aklu texts, one aklu document mentions Dūr-Kurigalzu (in the north of Babylonia). Two aklu documents have been attested from Ur (in the south of Babylonia). Therefore, aklu activity prevailed in a wide area of Babylonia.

In aklu documents, several pieces of basic information such as the amount of commodities, the names of the commodities, the period of aklu activity (from the …th day of the month … to the …th day of the month …), the date with a royal name (…th year of … king [a royal name]). Sometimes several personal names and the purpose of the expenditure are stated. In addition to those items, a place name, and several technical terms (ṣītu, arād šarrī, elē šarrī; ašābu, lā ašābu) may be added. The aklu documents themselves have been known to the scholars since the beginning of the 20th century. However, the exact function of the aklu documents remains to be determined. One reason for the difficulty in understanding them is the simplicity of the content. The text MUN 244 is an example:

Obv.
1 22 1/2 kaš sag 1 22 1/2 fine beer

Almost all the aklu documents treated in this study are sealed. Among the unsealed documents, those which are possibly aklu documents but which do not contain the term aklu are also treated. M. Stol kindly suggests the later Assyrian parallel akiltu “expended goods” (CAD A 1, 266; AHw 29).

Usually the purpose of the expenditure is specified in a column format.

The meaning of the term ṣītu is “expenditure.” Sometimes ṣītu and aklu are attested together such as ak-lu-ù zi-qa. The term ṣītu is discussed below.

The commodities (beer, flour, sheep, etc.) were expended for the coming/down (arād šarrī) and coming/up (elē šarrī) of the king. Probably the king went to Nippur around the date of the new year (between months XI and I) for the new year festival. See section 19.6.1.

The exact meaning of these expressions is still debatable. Probably the verb ašābu is concerned with the presence of a person. However, it is still unclear whose presence it is concerned with. I discuss these phrases in the section on ašābu in the overview of each category below (19.6.2.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>35 1/2 kaš UŠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 dug(^{(59)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0,0.2. báppir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ak-šu šu en-šu-nu</td>
<td>5 aklu under the responsibility of Bēlšunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ta u-18-ţakam(^{2}) ša (\text{šu}^{2})ziz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>en u-5-kamša (\text{šu}^{2})še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mu-3-kam (\text{šu}^{2})duš-ri-L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>na₉kišib (\text{šu}^{2})nin-urta-sum-ah-ḫē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here several beer and beer products are mentioned.\(^{(61)}\) However, it is unclear from this whether the statement is a receipt for the beer or a record of delivery of the beer, because no verbs like \(\text{imḫur}\) “he received” or \(\text{iddin}\) “he gave” are stated. Usually no verbs appear in the aklu documents. Probably the persons concerned with the aklu documents did not feel the necessity to write the verbs because the aklu was an ordinary matter for them. In obv. 5, a certain Bēlšunu is mentioned but without identification of his profession. Before his name we can recognize \(\text{šu}\) (hand). But this word can be interpreted in several ways such as “Bēlšunu received the beer and beer products as aklu” or “Bēlšunu delivered the beer and beer products as aklu” or “Bēlšunu supervised the receipt/delivery of the beer and beer products of aklu,” etc. In the next part of the text, the period of aklu activity and the date are given. In rev. 9, it is stated that (the tablet is) sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. He is also mentioned without identification of his profession. He seems to have supervised this aklu activity because he sealed the document, but it is unclear what his role in aklu activity was and what his relationship with Bēlšunu was.

Previously the term aklu has been translated as salary, salary and expense, Ausgabe, distribution officielle de biens. These translations are compatible with the fact that sometimes the term aklu is mentioned together with \(\text{šītu}\) “expenditure” (ak-šu \(\text{šītu} \text{zī-ga}\)). The word \(\text{šītu}\) is amply attested in several periods of Mesopotamian history, so we do not need to discuss its meaning. But the author of CAD A I hesitated regarding the definition of aklu, writing “expenditure(?).” The reason for the question mark is not clearly stated, but it means that the background of aklu activity has still not been sufficiently revealed. I believe it is necessary to study the persons mentioned in the aklu documents to understand

\(^{(59)}\) Possibly dug is a kind of beer. See del Monte 1994 and Deheselle 1994. M. Stol suggests dug can be comparable with the Old Babylonian beer-vessel \(\text{pīḫu}\).

\(^{(60)}\) Solid capacity measures are expressed, for example as “1,2.3.4.” which means 1 \(\text{kurru}\), 2 \(\text{pānu}\), 3 \(\text{sūtu}\), 4 \(\text{qū}\).

\(^{(61)}\) Regarding beer and beer products, see Deheselle 1994.
the background. For that reason this study collects information on each person in the approximately 300 aklu documents and in the approximately 1300 non-aklu documents to make a profile of them.

By examining the profile, we can gain a better understanding of the aklu activity. Typically some artisans (brewers, millers\(^\text{62}\), oil-pressers) and shepherds were required to deliver commodities and/or to prepare commodities for the aklu expenditure. Sometimes a certain person supervised these artisans. Then, an official sealed the document. In one case (MUN 244), for example, Bēlšunu (a brewer) was the artisan and Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē was the official. The tablet records that Bēlšunu prepared beer for the aklu expenditure under the supervision of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. Sometimes in other cases, however, the term aklu was used for a disbursal of barley for several purposes, including allotments for artisans (e.g., a brewer and miller).\(^\text{63}\) Regarding institutional context, aklu expenditure not only for a secular institution (Nippur, local areas) but also for a temple is attested.\(^\text{64}\) It is likely that the personnel of the institutions (secular and religious) received the commodities. However, around the new year (months XI–I), the commodities were consumed by the king and his people.\(^\text{65}\)

1.5. Prior work on the aklu documents

1.5.1. F. E. Peiser

Peiser 1905 includes over 50 Middle Babylonian documents which seem to derive from the archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ. These documents cover miscellaneous genres. The profession(s) of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ is not attested, but may be related to a temple because one member received barley from the priest of the temple.\(^\text{66}\) Among these texts there are two aklu documents.\(^\text{67}\)

1.5.2. A. T. Clay

Clay (1906a, 14) translated the term aklu as “the salaries of the head officials” and pointed out that the seal does not belong to the person who received the salaries, but to another person. He referred to the seal impression of Rīmūtu, whom he understood to be an agent of the storehouse. He also mentioned a certain Rīmūtu of BE 14 no. 87a and interpreted him as rab riqqu. He commented that it

\(^{\text{62}}\) Here the miller is kaššidakku. Cf. Deheselle 2004, 274 n. 6 (kaššidakku, ararru).

\(^{\text{63}}\) See 15.4.

\(^{\text{64}}\) Regarding the religious purposes, see 4.5.2.

\(^{\text{65}}\) See 19.6.1.

\(^{\text{66}}\) The text is P 100.

\(^{\text{67}}\) Peiser read the terms as ak-zu (P 105) and ak-šu (P 106) and translated it as “Speise” with a question mark. The references read as aklu can be found in CAD A 1, 280.
is hard to determine who sealed the documents due to lack of the names of the sealers in many cases.

In the series of tablets which are regarded as payments of the salaries (aklum cf. p. 29) of the head officials, the impression has been made with the seal of another; i.e. it does not belong to the man who received the salary mentioned in the inscription, but to another officer. In the documents of this class, there are no less than six tablets which contain the seal impression of Rîmûtu. They are records of salary paid to different individuals. This suggests the idea that he was an agent of the storehouse, and on taking out for delivery the articles mentioned for the officials, a record was not only made of the payments, but he was required to leave his seal impression upon the documents held by the bursar. In XIV, 87a, a certain Rîmûtu is called rab riqqu, which may be his title. On a number of the tablets of this class, names do not accompany the seal impressions. In most instances it is impossible at the present to determine to whom they belonged. It was doubtless unnecessary to write the name of the delivering agent, inasmuch as the impression of his seal was familiar to the official of the storehouse.

He translated the term aklum as “salary” but also pointed out that the term had a wider usage (p. 29, annotation on tablet 10, line 2).

Aklum, literally “food” is the term used for the salary of the head officials of the storehouse, such as Innannu, and Martuku. A great many small tablets record the payment of these salaries. On quite a number of these records, the seal impression of another is found, see p. 14. There is also a wider usage of the term cf. XIV, 133, where ginû “offering” and niqû “sacrifice” are summed up as aklum. In XIV 167: 1, aklum is given to an individual to make offerings to shrines (e. g. parakku Bêî); to pay wages (ipru); to give kurmatu to the temple, for oxen, sheep, etc., and to pay for ḫargalû, and for the making of ships (a-na e-pish iswaippê).

1.5.3. D. D. Luckenbill

Luckenbill (1907, 311–313) translated the term aklum as “salary and expenses” and discussed the receipts of Innannu, Martuku, and others. He interpreted Innannu and Martuku as officials who received the salaries. In the section on other receipts, he referred to the seal impression of Rîmûtu, who he understood to be an agent. Then, he pointed out several references to small accounts of aklum and remarked on the difficulty of understanding the position of the persons mentioned in the accounts: “In many of the shorter tablets it is impossible to tell whether the amounts mentioned are paid to or by the persons mentioned. When town-names take the place of those of persons, there is still more uncertainty.” He also pointed out that the aklum of barley was issued not for salary but for several purposes such as horse-fodder.

1.5.4. H. Torczyner

Torczyner (1913, 91) translated the aklum of barley as “verbrauchte Getreide” and pointed out that the aklum can be issued for several purposes, such as banquets (naptanu), rations for personnel (kurummatu), and rentals for wagons. He did not accept the translations of Clay and Luckenbill.

Diese Urkunde ist ein Beispiel der in B. E. XV besonders häufigen, aber inhaltlich wenige

On p. 109, he collected the references to aklu in BE 14 and 15 (Clay 1906a and 1906b).

1.5.5. W. von Soden
In AHw (1959, 27), von Soden interpreted aklu as a stative form of the verb akālu, “aufbrauchen,” referring to BE 14, 27, 3 and Torczyner’s index for aklu.

1.5.6. CAD
CAD A 1 (1964, 280–281, on aklu B) translated aklu as “expenditure(?).” The references for aklu are collected in two categories (those where aklu is listed along with other expenditures, and other occasions). The author states that the aklu was an expenditure due to the parallelism with šītu and ribbātu.

Barley and barley products (beer, malt) are referred to as aklu received by a person (in some instances specified as the beer-brewer) while another person seals the receipt. The parallelism with šītu and ribbātu in the refs. cited sub usage a indicates that aklu was an expenditure, perhaps only when edibles are summarized, and thus may be related to akālu. The term is attested only in MB administrative records from Nippur and Ur.

CAD A 1 also referred to the index of Torczyner.

1.5.7. H. P. H. Petschow
Petschow (1974, 62–79) published over 60 Middle Babylonian documents from the Hilprecht collection in Jena and translated the term aklu as “Ausgabe (Verbrauch).” Fourteen aklu documents are published in this volume. He pointed out that some documents have a seal reference to Ninurta-nadin-ahḫē and that they have a close relationship one another and that a certain person who was not the receiver sealed them.
Regarding Matthews no. 164, he stated that the seal was used for MRWH 14 and for MRWH 31 and PBS 2/2 no. 20. Then, he pointed out (p. 49) that the former is dated at the end of the Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333), but the latter two are dated in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282).

### 1.5.8. J. A. Brinkman

Brinkman discussed the *elē šarri arād šarri* “coming/goings up of the king, coming/goings down of the king” dates and pointed out that “Many of these texts are *aklu* documents (B.6-8, B.11, C.4, C.6) or similar to *aklu* documents (A.1, B.1, B.9, C.1, C.2); and almost all of them deal with provisions” (1976, 411–414). He referred to the work of Petschow.

### 1.5.9. O. R. Gurney

Gurney (1983) published 83 texts from the Middle Babylonian period. These documents came from the archive(s) of the family of the brewers of the god Sîn. Among them, we can find two *aklu* documents. He translated *aklu* in no. 68 as “amount consumed” and suggested that šu before the personal name should be interpreted as “on charge to” instead of “received by PN.”

> “Amount consumed: on charge to Sîn-liqi-unninni.” The precise meaning of *aklu* in these accounts remains to be determined, but as similar accounts are often entitled ZILGA and the two terms are sometimes combined (cf. no. 70), it is evidently a form of expenditure, and it is assumed to be derived from *akālu*. According to the CAD (*A‘* p. 280) and Petschow, *MRWH 62ff., “hand” (qāṭ) of PN means “received by PN,” but a more accurate rendering would seem to be “on charge to.”

### 1.5.10. D. M. Matthews

In his 1992 publication, Matthews reconstructed, represented and numbered the seal impressions on the Middle Babylonian documents from Nippur, and arranged the references of the documents according to their seal impression. He translated *aklu* as “expenditure” and discussed BE 14 no. 87a, especially its seal impression and its seal reference. Also he states that a particular category of seal (Second Kassite seals) were most likely official seals and that the study of *aklu* documents must take into account their seal impressions. I follow his work in this dissertation.

The term “salary” used here and in the Catalogue is taken from Clay but may not now be considered appropriate for the particular administrative transaction involved. The word is *aklum*, which according to CAD A/1 is used for beer products received by a person, perhaps better described as an ‘expenditure’. The archive of Rimutu (148) is especially illuminating here. Rimutu is described as the *sirāšu* or brewer in the *aklum* text BE XIV 87a. Although the impression on this tablet was made with the same seal which is used

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(68) P. 62.

elsewhere by Rimutu, it is here described as the seal of Ninurta-KI-pišu. Dr. Dalley tells me that this could be the same name as that of the owner of \( \text{155} \), who was also authorising aklum-expenditures at this time. Why he borrowed Rimutu’s seal is obscure, but Dr. Oelsner informs me that he did bear the same title (EAH 194 l. 4). The Rimutu seal is attested between year 5 of Nazi-Maruttaš (CBS 13352) and Kadašman-Turgu year 15, and is known to have been used by Rimutu at least between Nazi-Maruttaš year 15 (Ni 7835, 12216) and Kadašman-Turgu year 13 (Ni 2253). BE XIV 87a is dated to Nazi-Maruttaš, year unknown. Seal \( \text{155} \) existed by Nazi-Maruttaš year 11 (BE XIV 53), though use by Ninurta-ken-pišu is first attested in year 24. But as this is in the middle of the spread of Rimutu dates, one cannot assume that one official had inherited seal \( \text{148} \) (either personally or with the office) from the other.

It seems most likely that the seals—and by extension perhaps all Second Kassite seals—were official seals used only in the course of special official business. Since Second Kassite seals often give an owner’s name in the inscription, and since the annotations on the tablets known to me almost always give the same owner’s name for the same seal, it is probable that they were personal seals owned by the individual for use in his official capacity; but this does not seem to have precluded some use by other people. So in BE XIV 87a the aklum-expenditure of Rimutu is sealed (using Rimutu’s seal!) by Ninurta-KI-pišu, while in BE XIV 87 the aklum-expenditure of Ba’erum is sealed by Rimutu. It should be clear from this that a full archival study of the aklum-texts, taking the sealings into account, is required; but we may now expect such a study to illuminate our knowledge of the sealing practices which were specifically associated with the Second Kassite style.\(^\text{(70)}\)

1.5. 11. G. F. Del Monte

Del Monte (1994, 187–208) discussed the term dug gal “large jar” and interpreted it as containing a kind of beverage. Then, he discussed the term iškaru “work assignment” and the term aklu. He translated the aklu as “consumo.” But he said its meaning is still unclear. He also appended the transliterations of 21 documents from Nippur.

1.5.12. D. Deheselle

Deheselle discussed beer and beer products found in the documents from Nippur, especially with regard to the composition of the documents, the receivers of the beer, the measures/units used for beer, beer for religious purposes, and the term dug (1994, 24–38). She said that in most cases the receivers are stated without professions. She concluded that beer can be distributed as aklu for meals: “Il ne faut pas oublier qu’elle est généralement distribuée comme aklu, c’est-à-dire comme paiement ou allocation à vocation alimentaire.”\(^\text{(71)}\)

In a review of Matthews 1992, Deheselle (1995, 1–32) published an index of Matthews’ work with the categories cote musée, OBO 116, date, MSKH, édit. sceau, édit. texte, édit. légende,

\(^{(70)}\) Pp. 58-59.

\(^{(71)}\) P. 38.
nom dans légende, sujet texte, signataire, role signataire, and remarques. She pointed out that Matthews no. 148 and no. 189 are frequently used and that the dates of no. 189 continued those of no. 148. She also said the users of these seals were officials who were responsible for several issues.

Certains sceaux Second Kassite et Second Kassite derivative ont été beaucoup utilisés: le n° 148 (43 empreintes dont 20 datées) et le n° 189 (114 empreintes don’t 91 datées) semblent se succéder directement, selon la documentation. Leurs utilisateurs sont des fonctionnaires chargés de veiller aux mêmes genres de contrats.\(^{(72)}\)

She commented on the users of Matthews no. 148 and pointed out that Enlil-AL-SA\(_6\), Rīmūtu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used this seal.

Pour les deux premières attestations du sceau n° 148 (Nazi-Maruttaš 5), l’utilisateur reste inconnu, les textes étant inédits. Ensuite, il a été utilisé par trois personnes: 1) ⁴En.lil-al.sagg (= ⁴Enlil-mudammiq, Nazi-Maruttaš 6, 2e année de l’attestation de l’empreinte); 2) Rīmūtu (de Nazi-Maruttaš 15 à Kadašman-Turgu 13, soit pendant 25 ans); il faut noter que la dernière occurrence datée de l’empreinte (le signataire m’est inconnu, le texte étant inédit) est postérieure de deux ans seulement; 3) ce sceau a servi une fois à Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (sans date, mais en présence de Rīmūtu, cité dans le même texte).\(^{(73)}\)

In 1996 (pp. 215–221) Deheselle discussed the 173 aklu documents from Nippur according to several categories (le support, la présentation, les denrées, les localités, la durée, la redistribution, transcription et lecture). She interpreted aklu as a one-way distribution from the administration to beneficiaries under the responsibility of the official. She observed that the commodities can be distributed directly to the beneficiaries, including individuals, temples, cities, and villages. Also, the commodities can be assigned to an individual who does not seem to be an official or a beneficiary, but who is responsible for redistribution to the beneficiaries. These redistributions are called as kurššuk (kurummatu) or še-ba (ipru). She concluded that aklu was a “distribution officielle de biens d’origine agricole ou pastorale à des individus ou des collectivités pour des usages alimentaires et pratiques non liés à l’exercice d’une profession.”

1.5.13. G. Stiehler-Alegría Delgado

Delgado 1996 reconstructs, represents, and numbers the seal impressions of the Middle Babylonian documents. She deals with the seal impressions of Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Isin/Isan Bahriyat, Nippur, Peiser-Archiv, Tell Imlil-Iye, Tell Subeidi, and Ur. She mentioned MRWH 25 (HS 2887) as an example of the use of an envelope for an aklu document (p. 45). She also referred to several aklu documents in her discussion of seal impressions (p. 51) and seal references (p. 56). She pointed out that MRWH 29 was sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (p. 56) and that Stiehler no. 233 was used by

\(^{(72)}\) P. 4.

\(^{(73)}\) Ibid.
Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and another person (p. 61 n. 9).\(^{(74)}\)

1.5.14. M. Hölscher

In her 1996 work, Hölscher collected the personal names from the several publications of the Middle Babylonian documents from Nippur (administrative documents, letters) and arranged them in alphabetical order. She made excellent indexes of Akkadian words, god names, place names, temple names, Elamite names, Hurrian names, Kassite names, West Semitic names, and Sumerograms. She pointed out (p. 155) that BE 14 no. 53 was sealed with the seal (Matthews no. 155) that was usually used by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, but in BE 14 no. 53, its seal reference is his father, Enlil-nīšu.

1.5.15. L. Sassmannshausen

Sassmannshausen (2001) published over 110 aklu documents (mainly of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē, and some of Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu) arranged according to the commodities. He interpreted the term aklu as the artisans’ delivery of the commodities to a facility, such as the storehouse of the palace. Then, the commodities are disbursed to the beneficiaries.

Aus dem oben gesagten wie auch aus den bei MUN 164 festgehaltenen Beobachtungen läßt sich entnehmen, daß der Begriff aklu für Lebensmittellieferungen der Produzenten an eine Verwaltungseinrichtung wie z. B. das Siegelhaus des Palastes steht, welche die Lebensmittel dann an die Endverbraucher weitergibt.\(^{(75)}\)

He pointed out (p. 318) that MUN 156 was sealed by Rīmūtu but its seal impression is not the usual Matthews no. 148, but rather no. 55, and that Matthews no. 148 was used by Enlil-AL-SA₆, Rīmūtu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Also, he noticed that the seal references for MUN 219 and 241 are to Iqīša-Ninimmā, although they were sealed with Matthews no. 189, which was usually used by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. He observed (p. 335) that the persons (šu PN) in the flour aklu documents do not appear in the aklu documents related to beer: “Man beachte, daß es bei den Personen, “zu Händen” derer die Materialien sind, keine personellen Überschneidungen zwischen den Texten über Ausgabe von Gerste und Mehl (siehe oben zu MUN 164) einerseits und den Texten über Ausgabe von Bier andererseits gibt.”

1.5.16. J. S. Tenney

In Tenney 2011, the family of Dayyānī-Šamaš (his Household 1) may be connected with the aklu document MRWH 25, although this is still uncertain.

\(^{(74)}\) Matthews 1992, 135 does not refer to MRWH 29 (HS 131) as a document of Matthews no. 189.

\(^{(75)}\) P. 318.
1.5.17. W. H. van Soldt
Van Soldt (2015) published over 450 Middle Babylonian documents, including approximately 40 *aklu* documents, probably from Dūr-Enilī. Among them we can find the several *aklu* documents pertaining to sheep or other livestock, which are not common in the documents from Nippur.

1.6. Current Approach
As we have seen, the *aklu* documents are not yet sufficiently understood.\(^{76}\) To elucidate the background of *aklu* activity is the purpose of this study. As mentioned above, I think it is necessary to study the persons who appear in the *aklu* documents and to make a profile of them. However, the records of the provenance of the documents excavated at Nippur are not sufficient. Therefore, I have decided to study the persons of the *aklu* documents according to their seal impressions. Fortunately over one hundred fifty of the *aklu* documents have seal impressions. Also, we now have studies of the seal impressions (Matthews 1992 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996).

Matthews arranged the documents according to their seal impressions. In the present study I examine each group according to several categories such as *aklu*, seal reference, seal impression, year, month, day, key persons, professions, commodities, place names, and notes. These categories are described below.

*aklu*: Most cases of sealing in the major groups of seal impressions (Matthews nos. 148, 155, 189) are for *aklu* documents. The term *aklu* is sometimes stated along with *ṣītu* “expenditure” (e.g., MUN 162). But the term *aklu* is sometimes not stated in the documents treated in this study. Some documents are clearly not *aklu* documents. For example, MRWH 14 (with Matthews no. 164 as the seal) is a record of the activities of Enlil-kidinnī, governor (*sandabakku*).\(^{77}\) CBS 8872 (Matthews no. 61) is an account document for sheep. It contains a clause about the obligations of the shepherd and the mayor, and the penalties for non-performance of their duties.\(^{78}\) Also UM 29–15-691 (Matthews no. 61) may state the parallel clauses for duties related to cows. Yet I discuss these non-*aklu* documents here because they are examples of sealing practices with implications for the *aklu* documents.

\(^{76}\) Deheselle (1996) discussed the 173 *aklu* documents from Nippur according to the several categories and greatly contributed to better understanding of *aklu*. Yet she describes her approach as preliminary: “La distribution AKLU à Nippur à l’époque Kassite, approche préliminaire.”

Sassmannshausen (2001) published over 110 *aklu* documents. He pointed out several sealing practices connected with the *aklu* documents, and a relationship between brewers and millers. His publications and remarks are very helpful for understanding the *aklu*. Yet, the background of *aklu* activity and the identifications of the persons are still debatable.

\(^{77}\) About the Enlil-kidinnī’s activity, see Petschow 1974, 45–49; Petschow 1983; Sassmannshausen 2001, 20, 202–208; Tenney 2011, 31–33.

\(^{78}\) Regarding the duties of a shepherd, see Brinkman 2004, 290 n. 36.
Seal reference: This is an expression that specifies the sealer of a document. Usually the sealer is mentioned as follows: naškīšib 4i-nin-urta-sum-ah-he “Sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.” Regarding the sealing practice, the seal reference and the seal impression should be discussed separately because sometimes one person used several seals\(^{(79)}\) and because one seal was used by several persons.\(^{(80)}\) Seal impression: This study follows Matthews 1992 with regard to seal impressions. Usually I refer to Matthews’ numbering (e.g., “Matthews no. 148”). Additionally, I have checked the seal impressions in the photos available on the CDLI website.\(^{(81)}\) In cases where the seal impression is very faint, I put a question mark next to the reference. The seal impressions attested in the aklu documents are as follows: Central First Kassite style\(^{(82)}\): nos. 26, 55, 61; Second Kassite style\(^{(83)}\) or Second Kassite derivatives\(^{(84)}\): nos. 142, 146, 148, 155, 156, 157, 161, 162, 164, 187, 188, and 189. Year, month, name: Some documents are dated with a royal name. In this study the earliest date is year 10 of Burna-Buriyaš II (1350).\(^{(86)}\) The latest date is the reign of Adad-šuma-ūṣur (1216–1187).\(^{(87)}\) The period is therefore at least 135 years. The month is expressed in this study by roman numerals (I, II, III, etc.). Some aklu documents have a term for a period of days, such as from the first day to the tenth day of the month Nisannu (I). In this case the period is expressed as follows: I, days 1–10. Basically the period is inclusive. Key persons: The key persons are mainly artisans (professions such as brewer, miller, oil-presser) and shepherds who prepared the commodities and some persons who supervised the artisans (e.g., Innannu, Martuku, Nippurītu). The officials who sealed the aklu documents are already mentioned in the section on seal reference. In addition to those, some persons (Enlil-nīšu, Enlil-aḫulap, etc.) who play an important role in our discussion are noted.

\(^{(79)}\) Rīmūtu used at least two seals (Matthews no. 55 and no. 148). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used at least two seals (Matthews no. 148 and no. 155).

\(^{(80)}\) Matthews no. 148 was used by Enlil-AL-SA₆, Rīmūtu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Matthews no. 155 was used by Enlil-nīšu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Matthews no. 189 was used by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Iqīša-Ninimma.

\(^{(81)}\) In the rest of the dissertation I will give only the photo number (e.g., P259192.jpg) instead of the whole URL (http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P259192.jpg).

\(^{(82)}\) For this style see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff.


\(^{(84)}\) On Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews 1992, 49.

\(^{(85)}\) CBS 3091 looks like an aklu document, but the term aklu is not mentioned.

\(^{(86)}\) MUN 269.

\(^{(87)}\) MBTU 62.
Occupations: Here the term occupation is used in a wide sense, including profession, position, and status. Included are cases such as king (šarru), messenger (mār šipri), and daughter of boatman (mārat malāḥi).

Commodities: In aklu documents many commodities (beer, barley, flour, oil, sheep, etc.) are dealt with. They are mainly agricultural foods or products of domestic animals. So far fish or fruit like dates are not attested as aklu.

Place names: This category includes mainly geographical names mentioned in the documents. But sometimes the name of an institution or facility, such as a storehouse (bīt kunukī), palace (ekal šarrī), or inner part of the palace (bītānu), are also noted.

Notes: In this category I note particularly remarkable characteristics. For example, sometimes the phrases arād šarrī “the coming/going down of the king,” elē šarrī “the coming/going up of the king” are mentioned in aklu documents. These expressions are clearly concerned with the activities of the king and therefore they should be noted. Another such matter is the expression ašābu or its negative lā ašābu, the meaning of which is still debatable. These expressions are attested in the aklu documents and probably concerned the presence or absence of a person. Also, I mention cases of enveloped aklu documents. These are documents that were sent from a location other than Nippur, and therefore are noteworthy.

By examining each seal impression group from the perspective of these categories, it becomes apparent that we can find mainly two geographical areas. One is Nippur and the settlements around it, i.e. Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nusku, and Āl-Irrē. Among these settlements Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nusku are attested on an ancient map which is shown below.(88) The other area is that of “Das Archiv des Speichers.”(89)

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(88) W. H. van Soldt kindly called my attention to this map (Clay 1905, 223–225).

Fig. 1. Topographical Map Found at Nippur.
In this map, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nusku are located near each other. This combination is also attested in the documents from Nippur \(^\text{(90)}\). Also, in a document probably from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30 no. 229), these three settlements are mentioned with Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē \(^\text{(91)}\). Below, I reproduce its transliteration.

\(^{\text{(90)}}\) BE 15 no. 102 obv. 8–10, PBS 1/2 no. 61 obv. 9–10.

\(^{\text{(91)}}\) Van Soldt 2015, 302. Cf. no. 66.
Here, Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē are mentioned with Tukultī-Ékur, Dīmtu, and Kar-Nuska. Also, van Soldt states that Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ékur, and Āl-Irrē frequently occur in his publication. It is most likely from this that Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ékur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nuska, and Āl-Irrē were located in the vicinity of Nippur and that van Soldt’s recent documents came from this area, probably from Dūr-Enlilē.

In the Nippur area, some persons worked as officials. An early official is Enlil-AL-SA₆ (1321–1292). He is attested as high priest (nēšakku) of Enlil, anointed priest (pašīšu) of Ninlil, governor (šandabakku) of Nippur, son of Enlil-kidinnī, and official of Nintinluba(?). He sealed a document (for barley disbursement) in Tukultī-Ékur with Matthews no. 148. After him, Rīmūtu (1296–1267) and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (1287–1278) worked in the area. They were contemporaries and sealed several aklu documents (for beer and flour). Rīmūtu sealed an aklu document (for flour) in Āl-Irrē and an aklu document (flour) in Tukultī-Ékur with Matthews no. 148. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu usually used Matthews no.

(92) Van Soldt 2015, 29. He says that Bābili is also often mentioned. For Āl-Irrē, see CUSAS 30, p. 304 no. 231, col. III obv. 13 in which Tukultī-Ékur and Āl-Irrē are mentioned together (i-na tukul-tí-é.kur₃ en I gur uru-i-re-e₄).


(94) BE 14 no. 48a.
as a seal. He sealed four aklu documents in Dūr-Enlilē and one aklu document in Tukultī-Ekur with it. But he once used Matthews no. 148 for an aklu document. It should be noted that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu had some connections with Dūr-Enlilē and with a certain Ninurta-zākir-šumi who was perhaps a high official of Dūr-Enlilē. It is clear from this that Rimūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu worked in nearby areas. Probably they were colleagues though their professions were not stated. After them, Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (1263–1250) and Iqša-Ninimma (1252) worked in these areas. They were contemporaries. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē sealed many aklu documents (over 100) with Matthews no. 189. The legend of this seal refers to Enlil-AL-SA6, governor of Nippur. Therefore, Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē had some relationship with Enlil-AL-SA6. Iqša-Ninimma also used Matthews no. 189 three times for aklu documents, one of which refers to Dūr-Enlilē and Ḫursagkalamma. We can learn from the sealing practice of the officials that one seal could be used by several officials and that one official can use at least two seals. Also it may be a significant sealing practice that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu inherited his seal (Matthews no. 155) from his father, Enlil-nīšu. The majority of documents from this area (Nippur and the settlements around it) may come from the part of the Nippur excavation known as Nippur 1.

In 2015, van Soldt published over 450 Middle Babylonian documents which came probably from Dūr-Enlilē. As stated above, Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, and Āl-Irrē are often mentioned in the texts from the Rosen collection. For that reason the documents seem to come from the vicinity of Nippur. In these sources, Ninurta-zākir-šumi (nin-urta-mu-mu) and his son Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni are important officials. Van Soldt points out that some persons in the Dūr-Enlilē texts (i.e., the texts from the Rosen collection) can be closely linked to persons in the documents from Nippur. For example,

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(95) BE 14 no. 78, MUN 99, 159 ([ak-lu/lu]), 160.
(96) BE 14 no. 87a.
(97) Van Soldt 2015, 24. He has already pointed out a connection between the high official Ninurta-zākir-šumi (nin-urta-mu-mu) of CUSAS 30 texts and the Ninurta-zākir-šumi in BE 14 no. 78, which refers to Dūr-Enlilē.
(99) MUN 219.
(100) Enlil-AL-SA6, Rimūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used Matthews no. 148. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Iqša-Ninimma used Matthews no. 189.
(102) See 3.8.1. (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu).
(103) See the section on Nippur above (1.3.1.); Pedersén 1998, 115; and Sassmannshausen 2001, 186–187.
Ninurta-zākir-šumi in the texts from the Rosen collection can be linked with Ninurta-zākir-šumi who is mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē in BE 14 no. 78, 3 and in MUN 159, 5, Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni in the texts from the Rosen collection can be linked with the Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni found with Dūr-Enlilē in BE 14 no. 118, col. ii 12–15. Also other personal names in BE 14 no. 118 can be seen in the texts from the Rosen collection.\(^\text{(104)}\) Therefore it is practicable to do comparative prosopographical research on Dūr-Enlilē and Nippur. In this dissertation, I discuss the relation between Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (who used Matthews no. 155) with Ninurta-zākir-šumi (mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē) and the relationship between Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē (who used Matthews no. 189), Iqīša-Ninimma (who used Matthews no. 189) and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē).

The second geographical area that we can identify is that of Das Archiv des Speichers. Sassmannshausen collected the documents from the provenance known as Nippur 2 based on prosopographical studies.\(^\text{(105)}\) He named the documents “Das Archiv des Speichers” because in some instances the barley was issued at a granary (karû). In these texts, some persons (such as Innannu, Martuku, and Enlil-mukîn-apli) and some place names (like Zarat-Karkara, Āl-Šēlebi, and Dunni-ahḫi) occur frequently. In this dissertation, at least one seal impression group (Matthews no. 162), and probably another (Matthews no. 61) also belonged to this archive or archives. Some of the documents in both of these groups were enveloped. Judging from the place names,\(^\text{(106)}\) these documents were sent to Nippur from settlements south of it.

Additionally, the CDLI website\(^\text{(107)}\) allows us to see photographs of published and unpublished documents and their seal impressions. I have not yet checked documents from locations other than Nippur.

The present research, then, proceeds by taking into account the seal impressions, prosopography, and photographs of the documents.

\(^{\text{(104)}}\) Van Soldt 2015, 29–30. See also CUSAS 30 no. 233 in which J. A. Brinkman points out a link between a document from Nippur (MUN 10) and two documents of the Rosen collection (CUSAS 30 no. 64, 233).

\(^{\text{(105)}}\) See the references cited in n. 89.

\(^{\text{(106)}}\) See the map in Nashef 1982, 342. Karkara is located to the south of Nippur. Zarat-Karkara (“tent of Karkara”) is probably located near Karkara. Also Deheselle 2004, 278-281.

\(^{\text{(107)}}\) http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search.php