Enrique Jiménez*, Selim Ferruh Adalı and Karen Radner

Four 7th-Century BCE Neo-Assyrian Slave Sale Records from Marqasi (Kahramanmaraş) in the Erimtan Museum (Ankara) and Elsewhere

Abstract: The city of Kahramanmaraş, in southeastern Turkey (ancient Marqasi), was the capital of the Luwian kingdom of Gurgum, annexed by Šarru-ukīn (Sargon) II to the Assyrian empire in 711 BCE. Four tablets stemming from diggings at the city fortress and its environs are presented here: two of them were previously published in Gökçek 2005, the other two were previously unpublished. Three of them are kept at the newly established Erimtan Museum of Archaeology and Art (Ankara). The tablets record slave sales, and are dated to the reign of Aššur-bāni-apli (Ashurbanipal) (r. 668–c. 630 BCE) and, perhaps, the reign of Aššur-aḫḫe-iddina (Esarhaddon) (r. 681–669 BCE). The texts contain a number of previously unattested personal names, some of them of clear Luwian extraction. In addition, they attest to the existence of a sanctuary to the god Nergal (perhaps identified with the Luwian god Runtiya) in Marqasi.

Keywords: Neo-Assyrian, slave sale, Marqasi, Kahramanmaraş

The purpose of this article is, firstly, to present three Neo-Assyrian sale records from the collection of the newly established Erimtan Museum of Archaeology and Art (Ankara), one of which is published for the first time.[1] The tablets are reported to come from uncontrolled excavations at the fortress of Kahramanmaraş (or Maraş, ancient Marqasi), and this provenience is confirmed by the contents of one of the tablets.[2] The majority of tablets from those excavations (thirty-six) are now kept at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (Ankara); ten tablets are in the Kahramanmaraş Museum, three in the Erimtan Museum (published here), and two tablets are from a private collection accessioned by the Gaziantep Museum (published by Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015).[3] Other tablets have turned up in small private collections in Turkey and elsewhere.

One such text was available for purchase on the art market already in 1998. In addition to the three contracts from the Erimtan Museum, this article presents this tablet in an edition by K. Radner, based on photographs made available to her in 1998. Its close connection with one of the Erimtam Museum texts (Marqasi 2) demonstrates that tablets from uncontrolled excavations at the Kahramanmaraş fortress were already in circulation some twenty years ago. Jiménez is responsible for the introduction and editions of

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2 See Gökçek (2005: 51) and the discussion below.
3 See Yıldırım (2010: 127). The tablets in the Ankara and Kahramanmaraş museums are unpublished. They are being prepared for publication by C. Günbattı, S. Çeçen and L.G. Gökçek. This information has been kindly provided by L.G. Gökçek.

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Marqasi 1–2 and Marqasi 4, as well as for the list of names.[4] Adalı is responsible for the museum work and photographs. Radner edited Marqasi 3[5] and provided suggestions for the rest of the paper.[6]

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The fortress of Kahramanmaraş and its environs, which have never been systematically excavated, have yielded a number of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, among them inscribed statues of the city's rulers and dedicatory objects.[7] The local Luwian inscriptions call the country "(city of) Gurgum" (*kurkuma*-(URBS)): the city name Marqasi is only attested in Assyrian sources from the time of Šarru-ukīn II (r. 721–705 BCE) onwards.[8] The first time that the country designation Gurgum is mentioned in an Assyrian source is during the reign of Aššurnaṣirpal II (r. 883–859 BCE): in 879 BCE, envoys from that land were among the guests at the Assyrian king's ten-day banquet. Gurgum then appears in 858 BCE as a tributary during the time of Sulmānu-ašarēd (Shalmaneser) III (r. 858–824 BCE); and probably as a member of the alliance defeated by Adad-nērārī III (r. 810–783 BCE) in 805 BCE (Hawkins 2000: 250). Under the king Tarḫulara, Gurgum was defeated in 743 BCE by Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (Tiglath-pileser) III (r. 744–727 BCE): after the battle, Tarḫulara seems to have been kept in power, and to have paid tribute to Assyria in 738 and 732 BCE. During this period the rulers and population of Gurgum seem to have resisted Assyrian political and cultural influence in different ways: this resistance would explain the unusually high number of monolingual Luwian inscriptions found there, as well as their long genealogical lists, which would express the desire of the local dynasty to see their rule legitimated (Dodd 2013). Be that as it may, the population of the Kahramanmaraş valley seems to have grown considerably from the ninth century BCE onwards, during the period of Assyrian influence (Dodd 2003: 135; 2013: 71–72).

According to Šarru-ukīn's Annals, Gurgum was annexed by him in 711 BCE, in reprisal for the assassination of Tarḫulara by his son, Muttallu, and his subsequent seizure of power.[9] The Assyrian province was named Marqasi after Gurgum's capital. Part of the local population was probably deported, and people from the east were settled in: a letter from a palace superintendent (*ša-pān-*[*ēkalli*]) whose name is lost records that Šarru-ukīn II ordered 160 men from Se'mē to be settled in Marqasi (SAA 1, 257). Nevertheless, the onomasticon recorded in the 7th-century private legal texts presented here contains a number of Anatolian names, some of which invoke Anatolian deities (Sanda and Tarḫunta). This demonstrates, together with the fact that a shrine was dedicated to "Nergal" (perhaps Runtiya), that certain local traditions were allowed to continue under Assyrian rule. After Šarru-ukīn's conquest, several governors of the city of Marqasi (*šakin* [URU]*marqasi*) are attested, most importantly Nabû-šarru-uṣur, eponym of 682 BCE (PNA 875a no. 11), and Aššur-šarru-uṣur, eponym of 643★ BCE (PNA 220a no. 10).[10]

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4 Thanks are expressed to E. Frahm, M. Weeden, and R. Zadok, who responded to multiple queries: their contributions are acknowledged in the notes below. M. Frazer and M. Luukko read the manuscript and made several useful suggestions.

5 Thanks are due to S. Parpola for kindly agreeing to have the text, which Radner transliterated in 1998 as part of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, published here.

6 Her contributions are acknowledged in the textual notes to Marqasi 1–2 and 4.

7 See Hawkins (1987–1990a; 2000: 249–281), and Bryce (2012: 122–128). Several surveys have been undertaken in the Kahramanmaraş valley, but apparently not on and around the fortress of Maraş: Dodd (2003; 2005; 2007; 2013).

8 The following writings of the name of the city are attested in Neo-Assyrian documents: ([URU])*mar-qa-si*||*sa*, [URU]*ma-ra*[sic]*-qa-si*, [KUR]|| [URU]*mar-qa*||*ḫa-sa-a-a*, [URU]*mar-qa-šá-a-a*, [URU]*mar-ḫa-si*, [KUR]*mar-ḫas-a-a* (Parpola 1970: 239–240 and Bagg 2007: 169–170), and [URU]*mar-qassi*(BAN) (see below, Marqasi 2).

9 See Hawkins (1987–1990b: 432), Fuchs (2009–2010: 57), Bagg (2011: 240–241), and Frame (2011: 138–143).

10 When year dates appear with an asterisk in this paper, they refer to "post-canonical eponyms," i.e. eponyms that are not mentioned in the sequence recorded in the preserved copies of the Assyrian Eponym List (compiled in Millard 1994). We follow here the dating suggestions of Parpola (1998); note, however, that these are not certain: an alternative sequence that differs in some details was proposed by Reade (1998).

The four documents presented here are dated possibly to the late reign of Aššur-aḫḫe-iddina (r. 681–669 BCE) and certainly to the reign of Aššur-bāni-apli (r. 668–c. 630 BCE), specifically to 671 or 666 BCE (Marqasi 1), 668 BCE (Marqasi 2), 665 BCE (Marqasi 3), and 641* BCE (Marqasi 4). Two additional tablets from a private collection in Gaziantep (edited Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015) are dated to 648* BCE (Marqasi 5) and 629* BCE (Marqasi 6). All six documents are slave sale records, and feature a plethora of previously unattested names (see name index, below). Some of these names are of clear Anatolian extraction (e.g. Tarḫunza-pi in Marqasi 1: 36 or Wandî in Marqasi 6: 1), others are Northwest Semitic (thus Būr-naṭārī in Marqasi 2: 33), and others are clearly Akkadian (thus Dašânu in Marqasi 2: 32 or Kuzubtu in Marqasi 3: 3).

One of the records edited below (Marqasi 2: 21–22) imposes a penalty of 10 minas of silver and 2 minas of gold against any future attempt to alter the terms of the transaction. The tablet specifies that in that event, the sum should be deposited "in the lap of Nergal who dwells in Marqasi," i.e., in the treasury of that god's temple. This deity is otherwise unattested; and so it seems likely that a Luwian deity is behind this "Nergal of Marqasi." A good candidate for the Luwian deity in question is the Stag-God (Runtiya). Nergal is presented in some Babylonian texts as a hunter: thus, a stock phrase in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions is "Ninurta and Palil (i.e., Nergal) [...] gave to me the wild beasts and commanded me to hunt."[11] The Luwian Stag-God is also commonly associated with hunting activities.[12] Moreover, the Karatepe bilingual inscription equates the Luwian Stag-God with the Phoenician Resheph, a god who was identified with Nergal from the second millennium BCE onwards.[13] Although no other evidence for a cult of the Luwian Stag-God in Marqasi has come to light so far, the god features prominently in MARAŞ 1, a Luwian inscription reportedly found at the citadel Gate of Kahramanmaraş.[14]

<div align="center">***</div>

Two of the tablets edited here (YE[15] 1186 = Marqasi 2 and YE 1187 = Marqasi 4) have been previously published by Gökçek (2005). They have been collated and are re-published here courtesy of Y. Erimtan, the Erimtan Museum, and L.G. Gökçek. The two other tablets are published here for the first time: YE 1185 (Marqasi 1) courtesy of Y. Erimtan and the Erimtan Museum, and the tablet for sale on the art market in 1998 (Marqasi 3) courtesy of S. Parpola. The latter is referenced in entries in the various volumes of *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* as "Trade 2" or "Trade 1998."

1 Marqasi 1 (YE 1185) – 671 BCE or 666 BCE

In this document a total of thirteen owners ("twelve," according to the tablet's tally) sell a single slave called Damanâ to a man called Ubru-Nergal. A multiplicity of owners selling a single slave is not an altogether uncommon scenario: a parallel can be found in a document from Aššur that records the sale of a slave and her daughter, both "booty from Elam" (ḫubtu ša elam) which had been given by the king to the city (ša šarru ana libbi-āli iddinū[ni]), and which belonged to ten different individuals. B. Faist suggests that these ten individuals were granted a single slave, which they then proceeded to sell in order to divide up the gain.[16] K. Radner proposes that they formed a military unit,[17] because the slaves are identified as booty and because several of the slave's owners bear military titles. This is probably also the case of the present tablet, in which many of the owners have military titles: thus Galul is a "chariot driver" (l. 3), Sîn-zēru-iddina is a "third man (on chariot)" (l. 4), and Bēl-šarru-uṣur is a "cohort commander" (l. 5).

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11 See George (2003: 850–851) and Ponchia / Luukko (2013: xli–xliv, liii and lvi).

12 Hawkins (2006).

13 Streck (2006–2008: 253a).

14 Hawkins (2000: 262–263) (MARAŞ 1).

15 The siglum YE stands for Yüksel Erimtan, the owner of the collection.

16 Faist (2009) (published as Faist 2010: no. 20, date lost), kindly brought to our attention by E. Frahm.

17 Radner (2015: 91–92).

The tablet is dated to the eponym of Kanūnāya. Two eponyms named Kanūnāya are attested: the first, a "chief judge" (ᴸᵁ́*sartennu*), was the eponym in 671 BCE. The second, a "governor of the new palace" (ᴸᵁ́*ša*-É-ɢɪʙɪʟ), was the eponym in 666 BCE. When the title is not specified, as in the present tablet, it is impossible to determine which of the two eponyms is meant (see PNA 602, nos. 17–18).

obv. 1. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*se-er⌉-dàl-a rab*(ɢᴀʟ)-*bēti*(É)

2. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ.ᵈ*ba-ni-tú-tēreš*(ᴀᴘɪɴ-*eš*) *ṭupšarru*(ᴀ.ʙᴀ)

3. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*ga-lul mukīl*(ᴅɪʙ)-*appāti*(ᴘᴀᴹᴱš)

4. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*sîn*(30)-*zēru*(ɴᴜᴍᴜɴ)-*iddina*(ᴀš) *tašlīšu*(ᴸᵁ́.3-*šú*)

5. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*bēl*(ᴇɴ)-*šarru*(ᴍᴀɴ)-*uṣur*(ᴘᴀʙ) *rab*(ɢᴀʟ)-*ki-ṣir*

6. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*a-a-da-di ṭupšarru*(ᴀ.ʙᴀ)

7. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*ṣalam*(ɴᴜ)-*šarri*(ᴍᴀɴ)-*iqbi*(ᴇ) *rab*(ɢᴀʟ) *nikkassi*(ɴᴵɢ.šɪᴅ)

8. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*ḫarrānāya*(ᴜʀᴜ.ᴋᴀsᴋᴀʟ-*a-a*) ᵐ*áš-ḫi-ri*

9. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*bēl*(ᴇɴ)-*sa-lim* ᵐ*ki-ṣir*-ɪ

10. *kunuk*(ɴᴀ₄.ᴋɪšɪʙ) ᵐ*ḫa-te-e-nūrī*(ᴢᴀ́ʟᴀɢ) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈᴘᴀ)-*bé-sún*

11. ᴘᴀʙ 12 *amēlāte*(ᴸᵁ́ᵛ-*a-te*) *bēl*(ᴇɴ) *issi*(ᴍᴜɴᴜs) *tadāni*(sᴜᴍ-*ni*)

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(5 stamp seal impressions)

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12. ᴹᵁɴᵁs*da-ma-na-a antu*(ɢᴱᴍᴇ)-*šú-<nu>*

13. *ú-piš-ma* ᵐ*ubru*(sᴜḪᴜš)-*nergal*([ᵈ]ᴜ.ɢᴜʀ)

14. *issu*(ᴛᴀᵛ) *pān*(ɪɢɪ) *amēlê*(ᴸᵁ́ᴹᴱš-*e*) ⌈*a-nu-te*⌉

15. *ina lìb*-[*bi* ½ *m*]*a-na* [*ṣarpi*(ᴋᴜ̀.ʙᴀʙʙᴀʀ)]

lo.e. 16. *ina ma*-[*né-e šá* ᵁʀᵁ*gar-ga-miš*]

17. *il-q*[*i kas-pi ga-mur*]

18. *ta-*⌈*din*⌉ [*issu*(ᴍᴜɴᴜs) *šu-a-tú*]

19. *za-ár-*⌈*pat*⌉ [*la*(*q*)-*qi-at*]

rev. 20. *tu-a-ru d*[*e-e-nu dabābu*(ᴅᴜ]ɢ₄.ᴅᴜ[ɢ₄])

21.   *la-áš-šú*

22. *ṣib-tú ina* 1 *me ūmu*(ᴜ₄-*mu*)

23. *sa-ar-tú ina kal*(ᴅᴜ̀) *šanāti*(ᴍᴜᴹᴱš)

24. *man-nu ina⌉ ur-kiš ina ma-ti-ma*

25. *i-bal-kàt-u-ni*

26. *kas-pi ina ešrâte*(10ᴹᴱš) *a-na bēlī*(ᴇɴᴹᴱš)-*šú*

27.   *utâr*(*ú*-ɢᴜʀ)

28. *ina de-ni-šú idabbub*(ᴅᴜɢ₄.ᴅᴜɢ₄)

29. *la i-laq-qi*

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30. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*marduk*(ᵈšᴜ́)-*šarru*(ᴍᴀɴ)-*uṣur*(ᴘᴀʙ) *šaknu*(ɢᴀʀ-*nu*)

31. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*se-ʾ-dàl-a-ni* :

32. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*a-a-aḫḫē*(ᴘᴀʙᵐᵉ) *ṭupšarru*(ᴀ.ʙᴀ)

33. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*qur-di-i*

34. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*se-ʾ-ma-ba-ʾ*

35. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*nergal*(ᴜ.ɢᴜʀ)-*aḫu*(ᴘᴀʙ)-*uṣur*(ᴘᴀʙ)

36. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*tar-ḫu-un-za-pi*

37. *šību*(ɪɢɪ) ᵐ*ḫu-zu-ra-ra*
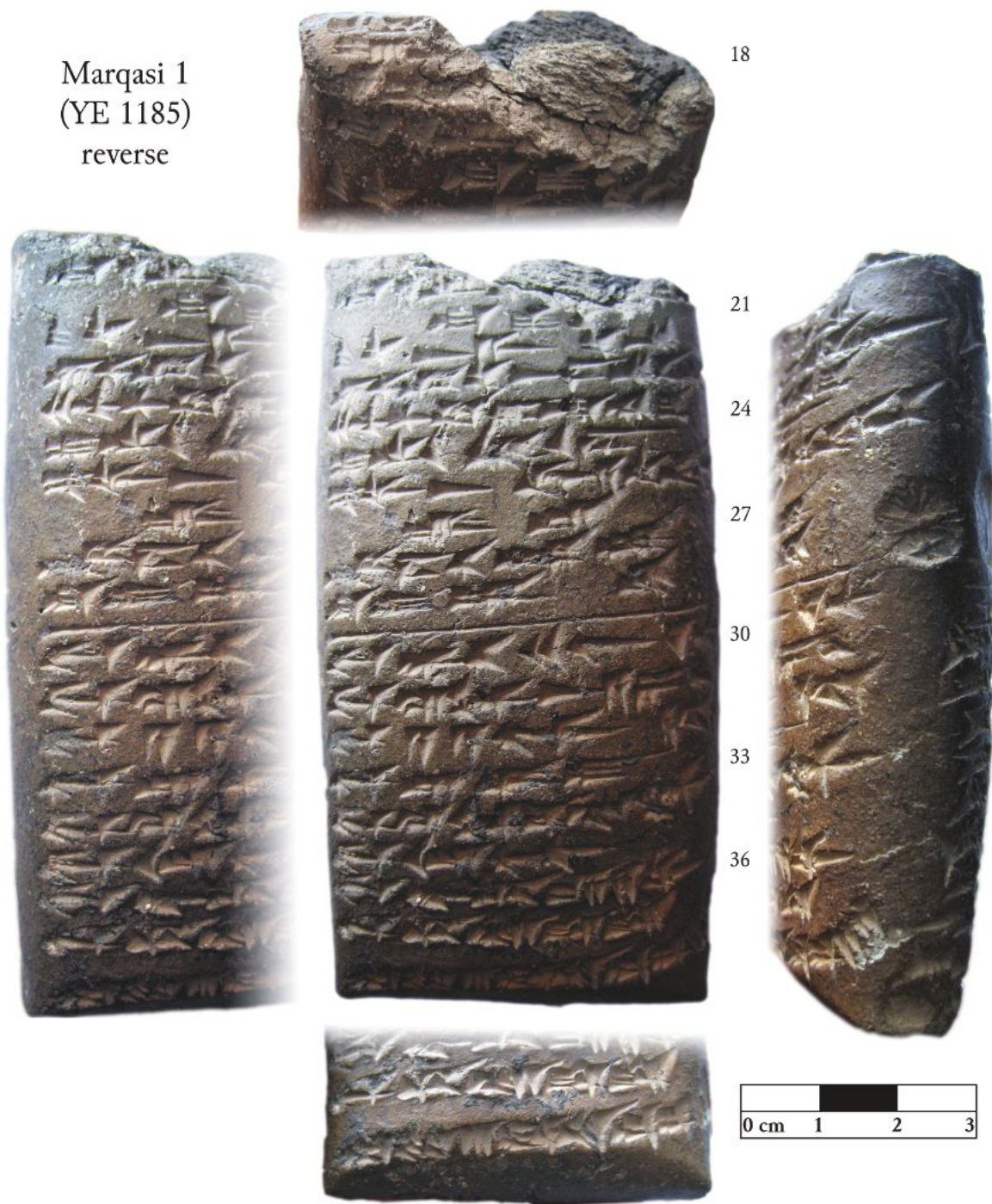
38 *addari*(ᴵᵀᴵšᴇ) ᴜᴅ 3.ᴋᴀ́ᴍ *lim-mu* ᵐ*kanūnāya*(ᴵᵀᴵᴀʙ-*a-a*)

[1]Seal of Sēr-dalâ, major-domo. [2]Seal of Bānītu-tēreš, scribe. [3]Seal of Galul, the chariot driver. [4]Seal of Sîn-zēru-iddina, third man (on chariot). [5]Seal of Bēl-šarru-uṣur, cohort commander.

Marqasi 1
(YE 1185)
obverse

(3)

3

6

9

12

(12)

15

0 cm   1   2   3

Marqasi 1
(YE 1185)
reverse

18

21

24

27

30

33

36

Width: 4.9 cm × Height: 9.3 cm × Thickness: 2.7 cm

(6)Seal of Aya-dādi, scribe. (7)Seal of Ṣalam-šarri-iqbi, chief of accounts. (8)Seal of Ḫarrānāya. (Seal of) Ašḫīri. (9)Seal of Bēl-salim. (Seal of) Kiṣirî. (10)Seal of Ḫatê-nūrī (and) Nabû-bēssun. (11)Total: twelve men, owners of the woman being sold.

(5 stamp seals impressions)

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(13)Ubru-Nergal has contracted (17)and bought (12)Damanâ, the female slave, (14)from these men (15)for [half a] mina of silver, (16)by the mina of [Karkamiš]. (17)The money is paid completely. (19)That woman is purchased and acquired, (20)Any revocation, lawsuit or litigation (21)is void.

(22)(Guaranteed) against seizures for 100 days, (23)against crime for all time.

(24)Whoever in the future, at any time, (25)violates (the contract), (27)shall return (26)the money tenfold to its owners. (28)Should he litigate in his lawsuit, (29)he will not succeed.

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(30)Witness: Marduk-šarru-uṣur, prefect. (31)Witness: Sēʾ-dalâ, ditto. (32)Witness: Aya-aḫḫē, scribe. (33)Witness: Qurdî. (34)Witness: Sēʾ-mabâʾ. (35)Witness: Nergal-aḫu-uṣur. (36)Witness: Tarḫunza-pi. (37)Witness: Ḫuzurara.

(37)3rd of Addāru (XII), Eponym Kanūnāya (i.e. 13 February 671 BCE or 19 February 666 BCE).

<p style="text-align:center">★★★</p>

2. A man called Bānītu-tēreš appears in a Gaziantep tablet, Gzt.45.1.75, dated 615*, published by Donbaz (1998: 58–60) (see PNA 267a no. 6). The same individual may feature as a witness in Marqasi 5: 23–24 (Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015).

4. Sîn-zēru-iddina is only attested as a witness in a sale document dated 677 (SAA 6, 267, see PNA 1151a).

6. Only one other Aia-dādu is booked in PNA 90a.

8. The name Ašḫīri is only attested in the present text and in Marqasi 6: 22 (Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015). M. Weeden (private communication) suggests linking its first part with the name of Ašḫītu or Ušḫit(t)i, ruler of the land of Atuna in Tabal, attested as a tributary of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III (PNA 141–142 and 1422b), and perhaps also with the Ashwi- of the Bohça inscription (Hawkins 2000: 479 ad §1).

9. Cf. [m]ki-ṣir-ı (PNA 626b) and [m]ki-ṣir-i (PNA 620b), both in documents from Aššur dating to Aššur-bāni-apli (Donbaz / Parpola 2001: 120 no. 167 o 6). See also Marqasi 6: 26.

10. Ḫatê-nūrī is elsewhere unattested. The name has perhaps the meaning "my sister is my light," cf. [m]bar-ḫa-te-(e) (i.e., Bar-aḫātī) in PNA 269a.

16. On the different types of minas, see Fales (1996: 15–17).

29. See perhaps Bēl-šarru-uṣur prefect in PNA 329 no. 11.

33. See Qurdî in PNA 1019b (according to Zadok 2010: 413–414 of Assyrian, and not Anatolian, origin).

34. The name is seemingly elsewhere unattested, but it appears in five tablets from Marqasi (written [m]se-me-ba-ʾ in Marqasi 5: 21 and Marqasi 4: 20; [m]se-ʾ-ma-ba-ʾ in the present line and Marqasi 2: 29; and [m]se-ma-ba-i in Marqasi 6: 30). Perhaps West Semitic Sēʾ-mabâʾ, "Sēʾ is (my) joy" (mbwʿ)?

36. On the Tarḫunt(a)- element in "certainly Anatolian" individuals, see Zadok (2010: 413). M. Weeden kindly informs us that Tarḫunzapi could be a late version of the name Tarḫunta-piya, a male name with the meaning "dedicated to Tarḫunta-." According to Weeden, the writing with /z/ could be the result of a re-analysis of the declension of the name of the storm-god in Luwian, which is *tarḫunz-* in nom. and acc., but *tarḫunt-* in the oblique case. Cf. also Tarḫunta-pīya in PNA 1316a, wr. [m]tar-ḫu-da-pi-i, [m]tar-ḫu-un-da-pi-i, and *ta-ḫu-un-dáp-pi-i*.

2 Marqasi 2 (YE 1186) – 668 BCE

This tablet, dated to 668, records the sale of a male slave, specifically a leatherworker, from two individuals to a certain Lā-qēpu. The buyer Lā-qēpu (ll. 5 and 17, see PNA 653b no. 19) and four of the witnesses (Bēl-

Marqasi 2
(YE 1186)
obverse

Marqasi 2
(YE 1186)
reverse

Width: 3.5 cm × Height: 6.5 cm × Thickness: 1.2 cm

Ḫarrān-issēʾa, l. 24; Nabû-nammir, l. 25, see PNA 855a no. 7; Abnî, l. 29, see PNA 15b no. 2; and Adad-aplu-iddina, l. 30, see PNA 22b no. 8), also feature in Marqasi 3.

obv. 1. *kunuk*(NA₄.KIŠIB) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*bēl*(EN)-*šumāti*(MUᴹᴱˢ)
     2. *kunuk*(NA₄.KIŠIB) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*šal-lim-aḫḫē*(PABᴹᴱˢ)
     3. PAB 2 *amēlê*(LÚᴹᴱˢ-*e*) *bēl*(EN) *amēl*(LÚ) *tadāni*(SUM-*ni*)

     (2 stamp seal impressions)

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     4. ᵐ*aḫ*(PAB)-*im-me-e aškāpu*(LÚⱽ.AŠGAB) *urdu*(ARAD)-*šú-nu*
     5. *ú-piš-ma* ᵐ*la-qe-pu*
     6. *issi*(TAⱽ) *pān*(IGI) *amēlê*(LÚᴹᴱˢ) *an-nu-te*
     7. *ina libbi*(ŠÀ) 30 *šiqil*(GÍN) *ṣarpi*(KÙ.BABBAR) *i-zi-rip*
     8. *i-se-qe kas-pu ga-mur ta-din*
     9. *amēlu*(⌈LÚ⌉) *šu-a-tú za-rip la-qe*
     10. *tu-a-ru de-e-nu dabābu*(DUG₄.DUG₄) *la-áš-šú*
     11. *man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-ti-ma*
     12. *lu-u amēlê*(LÚᴹᴱˢ) *an-nu-ti*
     13. *lu-u mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú-nu lu-u mār*(DUMU) *mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú-nu*
     14. *lu-u bēl*(LÚⱽ.EN)-*pāḫus*(NAM)-*su-nu*
lo.e. 15. *lu-u ṣābē*(LÚⱽ.ERÍNᴹᴱˢ) *bēl*(EN) *il-ki-šu-nu*
     16. *ša de-e-nu dabābu*(DUG₄.DUG₄)
     17. *issi*(TAⱽ) ᵐ*la-qe-pi*
rev.   18. *mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú mār*(DUMU)-*mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú*
     19. *ub-ta-u-ni* 10 *mana*(MA) *ṣarpi*(KÙ.BABBAR)
     20. 2 *mana*(MA) *ḫurāṣi*(KÙ.GI) *ina bur-ki nergal*(ᵈU.GUR)
     21. *a-šib* ᵁᴿᵁ*mar-qassi*(BAN) *išakkan*(GAR-*an*)
     22. *kas-pu ina ešrâte*(10ᴹᴱˢ-*te*) *ina bēlī*(EN)-*šú utâr*(GUR)
     23. *ina de-ni-*⌈*šú*⌉ *idabbub*(DUG₄.DUG₄) *la i-laq-qe*
     24. *šību*(IGI) [ᵐ*bēl*(E)N]-*ḫarrān*(KASKAL)-*issēʾa*(KI-*ia*)
     25. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*nammir*(ZÁLAG-*ir*)
     26. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*e-ṣi-da-a-a*
     27. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*ḫa-am-bi-i*
     28. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*se-ʾ-ma-ba-ʾ*
     29. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*ab-ni-i*
     30. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*adad*(10)-*aplu*(A)-*iddina*(SUM-*na*)
     31. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*gu-ti-a-pa*
     32. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*da-šá-a-nu*
     33. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*bur-na-ṭar-ru*
     34. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*mu-gal-li*
     35. *elūlu*(ⁱᵗⁱKIN) U₄ 28.KÁM
up.e. 36. *lim-mu* ᵐ*šamaš*(ᵈUTU)-*kāšid*(KUR)-*a-a-bi*
l.e. 37. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*nādin*(SUM)-*šumi*(MU) *ṭupšarru*(LÚⱽ.A.BA)

     [1]Seal of Nabû-bēl-šumāti. [2]Seal of Nabû-šallim-aḫḫē. [3]A total of two men, owners of the man being sold.

     (2 stamp seal impressions)

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(5)Lā-qēpu has contracted, (7)purchased, (8)and bought (4)Aḫ-immê, the leatherworker, their slave, (6)from these men (7)for 30 shekels of silver. (8)The money is paid completely. (9)That man is purchased and acquired, (10)Any revocation, lawsuit or litigation is void.

(11)Whoever in the future, at any time, (12)whether these men, (13)or their children, or their grand-children, (14)or their governor, (15)or their salaried employees, (16)whoever (19)seeks (16)a lawsuit or litigation (17)against Lā-qēpu, (18)his children, or his grandchildren, (21)should deposit (19)10 minas of silver (20)and 2 minas of gold in the lap of Nergal (20)of Marqasi.

(22)He should return the money tenfold to its owners. (23)Should he litigate in his lawsuit, he will not succeed.

(24)Witness: Bēl-Ḫarrān-issēʾa. (25)Witness: Nabû-nammir. (26)Witness: Ēṣidāyu. (27)Witness: Ḫambî. (28)Witness: Sēʾ-mabâ'. (29)Witness: Abnî. (30)Witness: Adad-aplu-iddina. (31)Witness: Gutiapa. (32)Witness: Dašânu. (33)Witness: Būr-naṭāru. (34)Witness: Mugallu.

(35)28th of Ulūlu (VI), (36)eponymn Šamaš-kāšid-ayyābi (i.e. 11 September 668 BCE).

(37)Witness: Nabû-nādin-šumi, scribe.

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6–7. On the formula *izzirip isseqe*, see below the commentary on Marqasi 3.

21. As proposed by Donbaz (1998: 59) and Gökçek (2005: 51), URU*mar*-BAN is a playful writing of the name of Marqas(s)i (modern Maraş), derived from the reading *qaštu* (*qassu* in Neo-Assyrian) of BAN. The writing URU*mar*-BAN is elsewhere attested only in a fragment from Aššur (A 2499), which is to be restored, *pace* Donbaz / Parpola (2001: 58 no. 78 rev. 3′), as rev. 2′ *lim-mu* ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*šarru*(MAN)-*uṣur*(PAB) | 3′ [*šakin*(ᴸᵁGAR)-*māti* (KUR)] URU*m*[*a*]*r*-BAN [ø] (as suggested by Donbaz 1998: 59). For the eponym Nabû-šarru-uṣur, governor of Marqasi, see PNA 875a no. 11.

27. The name Ḫambî, of uncertain origin, is elsewhere well attested in the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon (see PNA 447).

29. The name Abnî is attested elsewhere, if rarely (see PNA 15).

31. The name Gutiapa is not attested elsewhere and of unclear etymology.

32. The name Dašânu is not attested elsewhere, but it has a good Akkadian etymology: "Opulent one," from *deš*(*š*)*û*.

33. The name Būr-naṭāru is attested here for the first time. The first element is the divine bull calf Būru (cf. Schwemer 2001: 487–499). The second element is Northwest Semitic: cf. names such as Il-naṭārī in PBS 2/1, 207: 12 (wr. ᵐDINGIRᴹᴱˢ-*na-ṭa-ri*) and Šamaš-naṭari in BE 9, 93: 3 (wr. ᵐ·ᵈUTU-*na-ṭa-ri*); see Zadok (1977: 84).

34. Mugallu is a name of probable Anatolian extraction. It is attested also for the ruler of Melid during Aššur-aḫḫe-iddina's and Aššur-bāni-apli's reigns: see PNA 271–272 and Hawkins (1987–1990c).

3 Marqasi 3 ("Trade 1998") – 665 BCE

On 16 February 1998, when updating the Corpus of Neo-Assyrian Texts, the Helsinki database created by S. Parpola, in the context of compiling data for *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Helsinki 1998–2011), K. Radner transliterated this text, presented here with kind permission of S. Parpola, from a set of b/w photographs. The tablet was then available for purchase on the art market but has since disappeared. Its whereabouts are presently unknown. Regrettably, the photographs used in 1998 cannot be located either. We are indebted to S. Parpola for taking the time to check his records.

In our text, the woman Kazubtu (Akkadian "Luxuriant One") is sold in the year 665 BCE by her father Mušēzib-ilu to Lā-qēpu, who bought another slave according to Marqasi 2 (dated 668 BCE), the tablet that mentions Nergal of Marqasi and therefore suggests the origin of the archive in or near Karamanmaraş. Four witnesses occur both in this text and our contract: Bēl-Ḫarrān-issēʾa, Nabû-nammir, Abnî and Adad-aplu-iddina (see above). These unambiguous prosopographical links make it clear that Radner was wrong in

classifying the text from the art market as "probably from Kalhu" (so in the various entries in the *Prosopography* where the tablet is referenced as "Trade 1998" or "Trade 2"). Instead, it is beyond doubt that the tablet comes from the same archive as Marqasi 2.

The use of the perfect forms *izzirip isseqe* in the sale formula (cf. Radner 1997: 343–345) instead of the much more common preterit form *ilqe* provides another link between this tablet and Marqasi 2. Both texts are likely the work of the same scribe, who identified himself as Nabû-nādin-šumi in Marqasi 2: 37. The same formula is used also in Marqasi 4 (dated 641* BCE) and Marqasi 5 (dated 648* BCE; Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015).

Width: 3.2 cm × Height: 6.8 cm

obv. 1. *kunuk*(NA₄.KIŠIB) [ᵐ*mu-še-zib-ili*(DINGIR)]
     2. *bēl*(EN) *issi*(MU[NUS) *tadāni*(SUM-*ni*)]

       (2 stamp seal impressions)

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     3. ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ*ka-zu-ub-tú māras*(DUMUᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ)-*su*
     4. ⸢*ú*⸣-*piš-ma* ᵐ*la-qe-pu*
     5. *issu*(TAⱽ) *pān*(IGI) ᵐ*mu-še-zib-ili*(DINGIR)
     6. *ina šà ½ ma-na ṣarpi*(KÙ.BABBAR) *i-zi-rip*
     7. *i-si-qi kas-pu gam-mur*
     8. *ta-din issi*(MUNUS) *šu-a-tú za-ar-pat*
     9. *la-qi-at tu-a-ru de-e-nu*
     10. *dabābu*(DUG₄.DUG₄) *la-áš-šú be-en*
     11. *ṣib-tú ina 1-me u₄-me sa-ár-tú*
     12. *ina kàl ūme*(U₄ᴹᴱˢ) *man-nu šá ina ur-kiš*
     13. *ina ma-te-ma lu-u* ᵐ*mu-še-zib-ili*(DINGIR)
     14. *lu-u mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú lu-u* [*mār*(DUMU) *mārī*(DUMU]ᴹᴱˢ)-*šú*
     15. *ša issu*(TAⱽ) ᵐ*la-q*[*e-pu*]
     16. *ù mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú*
     17. *mār*(DUMU) *mārī*(DUMUᴹᴱˢ)-*šú*
rev. 18. *de-e-nu dabābu*(DUG₄.DUG₄)
     19. *ub-ta-ʾu-ú-ni*
     20. *kas-pu ina ešrāte*(10ᴹᴱˢ) *ina bēlī*(ENᴹᴱˢ)-*šú*
     21. *ú-ta-ra ina de-ni-šú*
     22. *idabbub*(DUG₄.DUG₄)-*ma là ilaqqe*(TI)

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     23. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*bēl*(EN)-*kaʾʾin*(GIN) *šanê*(2-*i*)
     24. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*bēl*(EN)-*ḫarrān*(KASKAL)-*issēʾa*(KI-*ía*) *rab*(GAL)-*bēti*(É)
     25. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*nammir*(ZÁLAG-*ir*)
     26. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*de-ni-i*
     27. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*adad*(10)-*aplu*(A)-*iddina*(AŠ)
     28. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*aḫḫē*(PABᴹᴱˢ)-*erība*(SU)
     29. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*sîn*(30)-*aḫu*(PAB)-*iddina*(AŠ)
     30. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*ab-ni-i*
     31. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*issār*(15)-*dūrī*(BÀD)
     32. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*erība*(SU)
     33. *simānu*(ᴵᵀᴵSIG₄) U₄ 9ⱽ.K[AM]
up.e. 34. *lim-mu* ᵐ*man-nu-k*[*i-šarri*(MAN)]
     35. *ša-rēši*(LÚⱽ.S[AG) *šarri*(MAN)]

⁽¹⁾Seal of [Mušēzib-Marduk], ⁽²⁾owner of the woman [being sold].

_____

    (2 stamp seal impressions)

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⁽³⁾Kazubtu, his daughter – ⁽⁴⁾Lā-qēpu, has contracted, ⁽⁶⁾purchased ⁽⁷⁾and bought her ⁽⁵⁾from Mušē-zib-ilu ⁽⁶⁾for half a mina of silver. ⁽⁷⁾The money is paid completely. ⁽⁸⁾This woman is purchased ⁽⁹⁾and acquired. Any revocation, ⁽¹⁰⁾lawsuit or litigation is void.
(Guaranteed against) seizures ⁽¹¹⁾of epilepsy for 100 days (and against) fraud ⁽¹²⁾forever.
Whoever in the future, ⁽¹³⁾at any time, whether Mušēzib-ilu ⁽¹⁴⁾or his sons or his grandsons, ⁽¹⁹⁾seeks ⁽¹⁸⁾a lawsuit or litigation ⁽¹⁵⁾against Lā-qēpu, ⁽¹⁶⁾his sons ⁽¹⁷⁾and his grandsons, ⁽²¹⁾shall return ⁽²⁰⁾the money tenfold to its owners. ⁽²²⁾He shall contest in his lawsuit and not succeed.

⁽²³⁾Witness: Nabû-bēlu-ka''in, deputy (governor). ⁽²⁴⁾Witness: Bēl-Ḫarrān-issē'a, major-domo. ⁽²⁵⁾Witness: Nabû-nammir. ⁽²⁶⁾Witness: Denî. ⁽²⁷⁾Witness: Adad-aplu-iddina. ⁽²⁸⁾Witness: Nabû-aḫḫē-erība. ⁽²⁹⁾Witness: Sîn-aḫu-iddina. ⁽³⁰⁾Witness: Abnî. ⁽³¹⁾Witness: Issār-dūrī. ⁽³²⁾Witness: Nabû-erība. ⁽³³⁾9th of Simānu (III), ⁽³⁴⁾eponym of Mannu-kī-šarri, royal eunuch (i.e. 665 BCE).

4 Marqasi 4 (YE 1187) – 641* BCE

This tablet records the sale of three female slaves, named Issār-dannat, Šamaš-adi-tamūti (?) and Sē'-adarī (the latter two are previously unattested names), from three different owners, Ḫišar-uarri, Sanda-uarri, and Sîn-na'di. The buyer, a certain Ubru-Nergal, may be the same individual who buys a female slave in Marqasi 6 (Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015), although that text is dated twelve years after the present document (see pages 178–181 in this volume).

obv.   1. *kunuk*(NA₄.KIŠIB) ^m*ḫi-šar-mar*
        2. :. ^m*sa-an-da-mar* :. ^m*sîn*(^d30)-*na'di*(I)
        3. PAP 3 *amēlê*(LÚ^{MEŠ}-*e) bēl*(EN) *nišī*(UN^{MEŠ}) *tadāni*(SUM-*ni*)

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        (2 stamp seal impressions)

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        4. ^{MUNUS}*issār*(^d15)-*dan-na-at*
        5. ^{MUNUS}*šamaš*(UTU)-*adi*(EN)-*át-mu-ti*
        6. ^{MUNUS}*se-e-a-da-ri*
        7. PAP 3 *issāte*(MUNUS^{MEŠ}) *amātē*(GÉME^{MEŠ})-*šú-nu*
        8. *ú-piš-ma* ^m*ubru*(SUḪUŠ)-*nergal*(^dU.GUR)
        9. *issu*(TA^v) *pān*(IGI) *amēlê*(LÚ^{MEŠ}) *an-nu-ti*
        10. *ina lìb-bi* 1½ *ma-na* 6 *šiqil*(GÍN) *ṣarpi*(KÙ.BABBAR)
        11. *i-zi-rip i-se-qe*
        12. *kas-pu ga-mur tadin*(SUM-*ni*)
lo.e.   13. *nišū*(UN^{MEŠ}) *šu-a-tú*
        14. *za-ár-pu la-qe-u*
        15. *tu-a-ru de-e-nu*
        16. *dabābu*(⸢DUG₄⸣.DUG₄) *la-aš-šú*
rev.   17. [*ṣib-tú ina* 1 m]*e u₄-me sa-ár-tú ina kal ūmē*(U₄^{MEŠ})
        18. *man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-ti-ma*
        19. *ib-bal-kàt-u-ni*
        20. *kas-pu ina ina ešrâte*(10^{MEŠ}) *ina bēlī*(EN)-*šú utâr*(Ú-GUR)
        21. *ina de-ni-šú idabbub*(DUG₄.DUG₄)
        22.   *la i-⸢laq⸣-qe*

Marqasi 4
(YE 1187)
obverse

(3)

3

6

9

12

15

Marqasi 4
(YE 1187)
reverse

Width: 2.5 cm × Height: 5.5 cm × Thickness: 1.4 cm

23. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*aḫu*(ŠEŠ)-*lāmur*(IGI) *šaknu*(LÚᵛ.GAR-*nu*) *šá ēkalli*(É.GAL)

24. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ·ᵁᴿᵁ*arba-ìl-a-a* :.

25. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*ḫa-am-bi-i* ᵐ*di-di-i*

26. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*ilu*(DINGIR)-*aḫḫē*(PABᴹᴱˢ)-*erība*(SU)

27. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*ir-na-ni*

28. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*sa-a-si*

29. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*tu-li nuḫatimmu*(LÚᵛ.MUḪALDIM)

30. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*se-me-ba-aʾ*

31. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*nabû*(ᵈPA)-*bé-sún*

32. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*e-ri-ši*

33. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*bēl*(EN)-*abu*(AD)-*uṣur*(PAP)

up.e. 34. *kislīmu*(ITIGAN) U₄ 9.KÁM

35.   *lim-mu*

36. ᵐ*aš-šur-ga-ru-u-a-ni-ri*

l.e. 37. *šību*(IGI) ᵐ*urdu*(ARAD)-*issār*(ᵈ15)

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(1)Seal of Ḫišar-uarri. (2)Ditto of Sanda-uarri. Ditto of Sîn-naʾdi.
(3)A total of three men, owners of the people being sold.

(2 stamp seal impressions)

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(8)Ubru-Nergal has contracted, (11)purchased, and bought (4)Issār-dannat, (5)Šamaš-adi-tamūti (?), (6)and Sēʾ-adarī, (7)a total of three females, their slaves, (9)from the above-mentioned people (10)for ½ mina and 6 shekels of silver. (12)The money is paid completely. (13)Those people are purchased and acquired, (15)Any revocation, lawsuit, (16)or litigation is void.
(17)[(Guaranteed) against seizures for 10]0 days, (17)against crime for all time.
(18)Whoever in the future, at any time, (19)violates (the contract), (20)shall return the money tenfold to its owners. (21)Should he litigate in his lawsuit, (22)he will not succeed.

(23)Witness: Aḫu-lāmur, palace prefect. (24)Witness: Arbaʾilāyu, ditto. (25)Witness: Ḫambî and Dīdî. (26)Witness: Ilu-aḫḫē-erība. (27)Witness: Irnani. (28)Witness: Sāsi. (29)Witness: Tul(l)i, the cook. (30)Witness: Sēʾ-mebāʾ. (31)Witness: Nabû-bēssun. (32)Witness: Ērišu. (33)Witness: Bēl-abu-uṣur.
(34)9ᵗʰ of Kislīmu (IX), (37)eponymn Aššūr-gārūʾa-nēre (i.e. 641 BCE).
(38)Witness: Urdu-Issār.

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1. The name ᵐ*ḫi-šar*-MAR is apparently attested only here and in the tablet Marqasi 5, dated to 648* BCE (Jiménez / Fıstıkçı / Adalı 2015). It may represent an Anatolian name of the DN-uarri type (see PNA 989b s.v. Parnu-uarri, 1088a s.v. Sanda-uarri, 1093 s.v. Sar-uarri and the commentary on l. 2). Alternatively and requiring emendation, it could be understood as the Akkadian name Ṭāb-šār-Marduk (ᵐDÙG-*šar-mar*-<*duk*>), although this seems highly unlikely in view of the fact that the identical writing is attested also in Marqasi 5. Also, the second element of this name type is never written with the sign *šar*.
2. Sanda-MAR is perhaps a writing of the Anatolian name Sanda-uarri, a name elsewhere written as ᵐ*sa-an-du-ú-ra*||*ar*, ᵐ*sa-an-du-ú-ar-ri*, and ᵐ*sin-du-a-ru* (PNA 1088a). It is uncertain whether MAR has here the rare value *wár*,[18] or whether it reflects a shift VwV > VmV, similar to the Late Babylonian phenomenon.
4. For the female name Issār-dannat see PNA 568b.

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18 According to MesZL no. 483, the reading *wár* is "wohl entbehrlich."

5. The name of this slave woman is not attested elsewhere. The first sign, ᴜᴛᴜ, represents the divine name of Šamaš, which is occasionally written without a divine determinative in Neo-Assyrian onomastics.[19] The third element *át-mu-ti* most probably represents a typically Neo-Assyrian spelling of *tamūti*,[20] resulting in the feminine name Šamaš-adi-tamūti[21] "O Šamaš, (protect her) until she dies!" Less likely is an interpretation as Šamaš-bēl-X "Šamaš is the lord of X" as there is no obvious interpretation for the final element.

6. Sēʾ-adarī, "Sēʾ is my help," is attested here for the first time. The second element derives from Aramaic ʿḏr (see e.g. PNA 505b).

26. The reading of this name as Ilu-aḫḫē-erība was suggested by K. Radner.

28. Cf. Sāsu (PNA 1095b), Sasû (ibid.) and Sasî (PNA 1093–1095).

29. As K. Radner points out, the name Tul(l)i is probably Anatolian: cf. the name of the Anatolian ruler Tullu in PNA 1334a.

30. Attested as ᵐ*se-ʾ-ma-ba-ʾ* in Marqasi 1: 34 and Marqasi 2: 39.

Index of Names

Previously unattested names are marked with an asterisk. Eponym names are not indexed.

Note the following abbreviations:

> Akk = Akkadian, An = Anatolian, Unc = Uncertain, WS = Northwest Semitic
> Buy = Buyer, Sel = Seller, Sla = Slave, Wit = Witness

Name	Origin	Profession	Line and function	Also attested
Abnî	WS		Marqasi 2: 29 (Wit) Marqasi 3: 30 (Wit)	
Adad-aplu-iddina	Akk		Marqasi 2: 30 (Wit) Marqasi 3: 27 (Wit)	
Aḫ-immê	WS	*aškāpu*	Marqasi 2: 4 (Sla)	
Aḫu-lāmur	Akk	*šaknu ša ēkalli*	Marqasi 4: 23 (Wit)	
Arbaʾilāyu	Akk	*šaknu ša ēkalli*	Marqasi 4: 24 (Wit)	
Ašḫīri*	An (?)		Marqasi 1: 8 (Sel)	Marqasi 6: 22 (Wit)
Aya-aḫḫē	WS	*ṭupšarru*	Marqasi 1: 32 (Wit)	
Aya-dādi	WS	*ṭupšarru*	Marqasi 1: 6 (Sel)	Marqasi 6: 34 (Wit)
Bānītu-tēreš	Akk	*ṭupšarru*	Marqasi 1: 2 (Sel)	Marqasi 5: 23–24 (Wit)
Bēl-abu-uṣur	Akk		Marqasi 4: 33 (Wit)	
Bēl-Ḫarrān-issēʾa	Akk	*rab bēti*	Marqasi 2: 24 (Wit) Marqasi 3: 24 (Wit)	
Bēl-salim*	Akk		Marqasi 1: 9 (Sel)	
Bēl-šarru-uṣur	Akk	*rab kiṣri*	Marqasi 1: 5 (Sel)	Marqasi 6: 27 (Wit)
Būr-naṭāru*	WS		Marqasi 2: 33 (Wit)	
Damanâ*	Unc		Marqasi 1: 12 (Sla)	
Dašânu*	Akk		Marqasi 2: 32 (Wit)	
Denî*	Unc		Marqasi 3: 26 (Wit)	Cf. Marqasi 5: 28 (Wit)

19 Cf. e.g. ᵐᴜᴛᴜ-ᴘᴀʙ-ᴘᴀʙ in PNA 1190b, ᵐᴜᴛᴜ-*rém-a-ni*, and ᵐᴜᴛᴜ-ᴅɪʙ-*ni* in PNA 1209.
20 See Deller (1962: 188–190) for other examples of "VK statt KV" in Neo-Assyrian texts.
21 Cf. names such as Adi-māti-DN, "Until when, O DN?" in PNA 53, and especially the feminine name Lā-tamūti, "Don't die!" or "She did not die," in PNA 655a.

Name	Origin	Profession	Line and function	Also attested
Dīdî	WS		Marqasi 4: 25 (Wit)	
Ērišu	Akk		Marqasi 4: 32 (Wit)	
Ēṣidāyu	Akk		Marqasi 2: 26 (Wit)	
Galul	Akk	*mukīl appāti*	Marqasi 1: 3 (Sel)	
Gutiapa*	Unc		Marqasi 2: 31 (Wit)	
Ḫambî	Unc		Marqasi 2: 27 (Wit) Marqasi 4: 25 (Wit)	
Ḫarrānāya	Akk		Marqasi 1: 8 (Sel)	
Ḫatê-nūrī*	Akk		Marqasi 1: 10 (Sel)	
Ḫišar-uarri*	An (?)		Marqasi 4: 1 (Sel)	Marqasi 5 (Buy)
Ḫuzurara*	Unc		Marqasi 1: 37 (Wit)	
Ilu-aḫḫē-erība*	Akk		Marqasi 4: 26 (Wit)	
Irnani*	Unc		Marqasi 4: 27 (Wit)	
Issār-dannat	Akk		Marqasi 4: 4 (Sla)	
Issār-dūrī	Akk		Marqasi 3: 31 (Wit)	
Kazubtu	Akk		Marqasi 3: 3 (Sla)	
Kiṣirî	Akk		Marqasi 1: 9 (Sel)	Marqasi 6: 26 (Wit)
Lā-qēpu	Akk		Marqasi 2: 5 & 17 (Buy) Marqasi 3: 4 & 15 (Buy)	
Marduk-šarru-uṣur	Akk	*šaknu*	Marqasi 1: 30 (Wit)	
Mugallu	An		Marqasi 2: 34 (Wit)	
Mušēzib-ilu	Akk		Marqasi 3: 1, 5, 13 (Sel)	
Nabû-aḫḫē-erība	Akk		Marqasi 3: 28 (Wit)	
Nabû-bēl-šumāti	Akk		Marqasi 2: 1 (Sel)	
Nabû-belu-ka''in	Akk	*šanû*	Marqasi 3: 23 (Wit)	
Nabû-bēssun	Akk		Marqasi 1: 10 (Sel) Marqasi 4: 31 (Wit)	Marqasi 6: 23 (Wit)
Nabû-erība	Akk		Marqasi 3: 32 (Wit)	
Nabû-nādin-šumi	Akk	*ṭupšarru*		
Nabû-nammir	Akk		Marqasi 2: 25 (Wit) Marqasi 3: 25 (Wit)	
Nabû-šallim-aḫḫē	Akk		Marqasi 2: 2 (Sel)	
Nergal-aḫu-uṣur	Akk		Marqasi 1: 35 (Wit)	
Qurdî	Akk		Marqasi 1: 33 (Wit)	Marqasi 5: 19 (Wit)
Sanda-uarri	An		Marqasi 4: 2 (Sel)	
Sāsi	Akk (?)		Marqasi 4: 28 (Wit)	
Sēʾ-adarī*	WS		Marqasi 4: 6 (Sla)	
Sēʾ-dalâ	WS	*šaknu*	Marqasi 1: 31 (Wit)	
Sēʾ-mabâʾ*	WS		Marqasi 1: 34 (Wit) Marqasi 2: 28 (Wit) Marqasi 4: 30 (Wit)	Marqasi 5: 21 (Wit) Marqasi 6: 30 (Wit)
Sēr-dalâ*	WS	*rab bēti*	Marqasi 1: 1 (Sel)	
Sîn-aḫu-iddina	Akk		Marqasi 3: 29 (Wit)	

Name	Origin	Profession	Line and function	Also attested
Sîn-naʾdi	Akk		Marqasi 4: 2 (Sel)	
Sîn-zēru-iddina	Akk	*tašlīšu*	Marqasi 1: 4 (Sel)	
Ṣalam-šarri-iqbi	Akk	*rab nikkassi*	Marqasi 1: 7 (Sel)	
Šamaš-adi-tamūti* (?)	Akk (?)		Marqasi 4: 5 (Sla)	
Tarḫunza-pi*	An		Marqasi 1: 36 (Wit)	
Tul(l)i	An	*nuḫatimmu*	Marqasi 4: 29 (Wit)	
Ubru-Nergal	Akk		Marqasi 1: 13 (Buy) Marqasi 4: 8 (Buy)	Marqasi 6: 5 (Buy)
Urdu-Issār	Akk		Marqasi 4: 38 (Wit)	

Abbreviations: Abbreviations follow those of the Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.

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