

## CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS

SELEUCHD ARCHIVAL TEXTS
HN THE HARVARD SEMITIC MUSEUM
TEXT EDITHONS AND CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF THE SEAL IMPRESSIONS

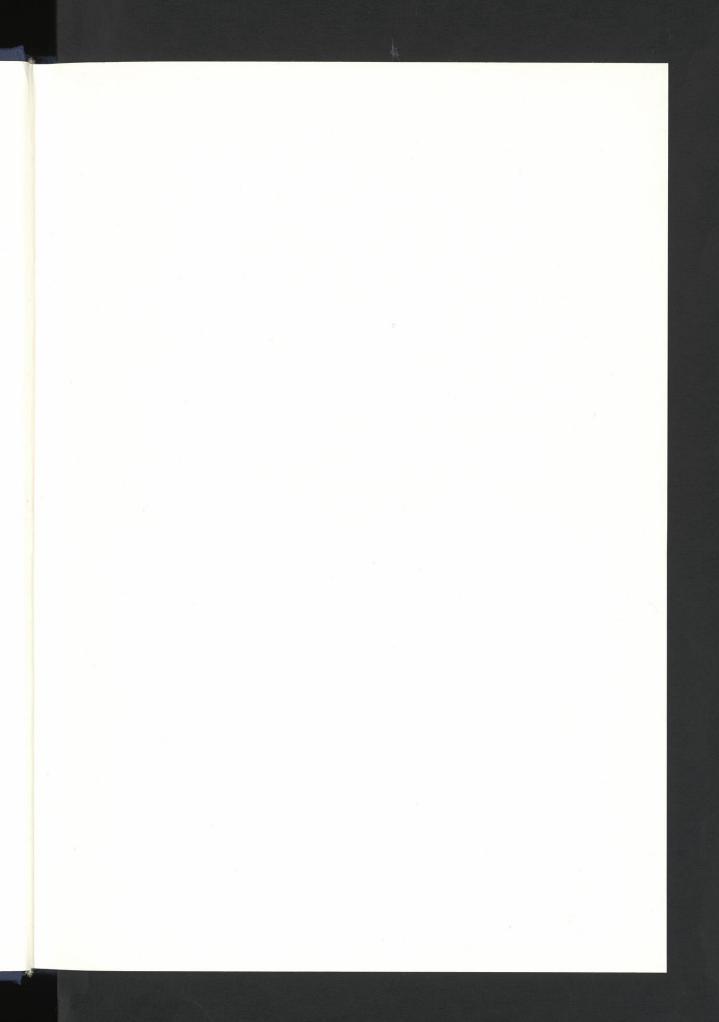
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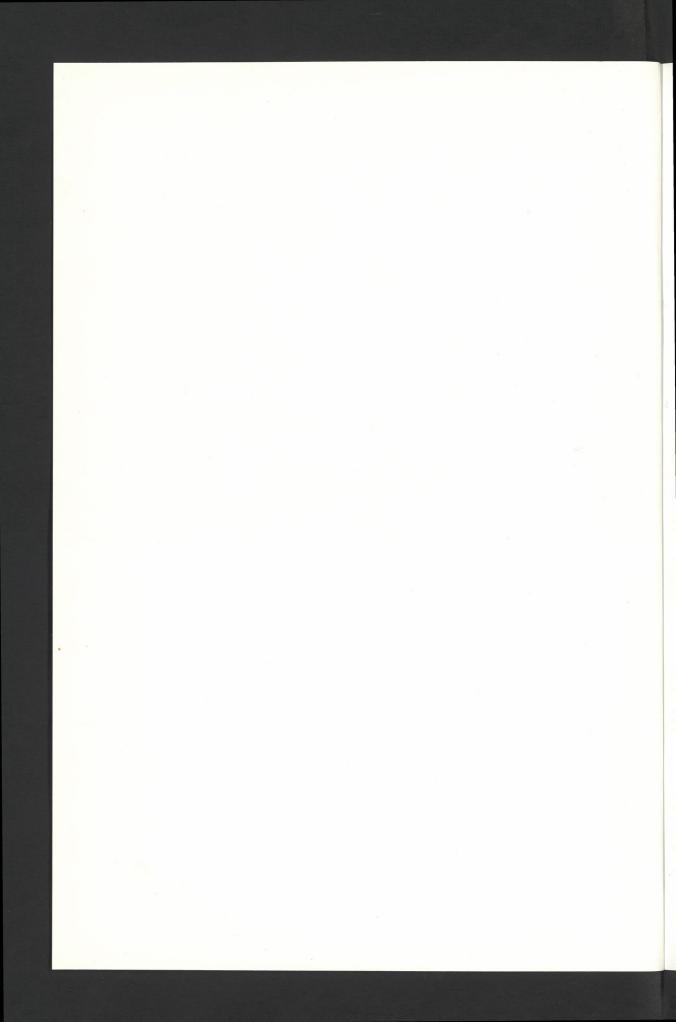


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## SELEUCID ARCHIVAL TEXTS IN THE HARVARD SEMITIC MUSEUM

## **CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 12**

Edited by

T. Abusch, M. J. Geller, Th. P. J. van den Hout S. M. Maul and F. A. M. Wiggermann



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GRONINGEN
1998

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Ronald Wallenfels



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#### PREFACE

This volume grew out of a portion of my 1990 Columbia doctoral dissertation, an iconographic and prosopographic study of sealed archival tablets from Hellenistic Uruk written under the direction of Professors William W. Hallo, Edith Porada and Mark Van De Mieroop. The object of that study corpus consisted of the fifty-eight published and ninety-four then-known unpublished tablets and unassociated fragments in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Since three of the ten tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum were known to be duplicates of published Yale tablets, it was decided that I should also include all of the Semitic Museum tablets in my study. In April 1987, with the permission of the then Executive Director of the Semitic Museum, Father Carney Gavin, I photographed and sketched the seal impressions and transliterated the texts. With the permission of Professor William L. Moran, the seal drawings and transliterations were included in my dissertation, although time and circumstances did not permit their collation. For this reason, the Semitic Museum's seal impressions were not included among the illustrated catalogue entries in the revised and updated version of my dissertation published last year in *AUWE* 19.

In February, and again in May, of this year, with the kind permission of Dr. James A. Armstrong, Assistant Curator of the Collections, I was permitted to collate the seal drawings and prepare copies of the cuneiform for publication in the present volume. I wish to express my genuine gratitude to Dr. Armstrong and his staff, especially Ms. Kathryn Slanski, who made my visits to the Museum most pleasant and productive. Permission to publish the tablets and seal impressions was kindly granted by Professor Piotr Steinkeller, Curator of the Tablet Collection. My thanks also to Professor John Huehnergard for his continued support and interest.

Dr. L.T. Doty, University of Missouri, unselfishly provided me with his handcopies of, and permission to cite freely from, the nearly one hundred unpublished Seleucid sealed archival tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection which will appear, together with several contemporary administrative texts, in a forthcoming volume of the *Yale Oriental Series*. Prof. William W. Hallo, Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, kindly permitted me to examine, and cite briefly from, the handcopy by the late Prof. A. Goetze of another forthcomming text, YOS 15 9 (Princeton Theological Seminary 2178), first noted in print by Dr. Doty (1977). Prof. Joachim Oelsner, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena, generously provided me with a copy of, and permission to cite from, his tally, as of January 1993, of all published and unpublished Hellenistic archival texts from Uruk and Larsa.

My sincerest thanks to Ms. Ann Guinan for suggesting Styx Publications as the appropriate publisher for this volume and to Drs. Geerd Haayer for accepting the project for publication and seeing it through to fruition.

Lastly, I must thank the members of my family, my wife, Catherine M. Herriges, and our sons, Joshua Sean and Jesse Walter, for all of their love, patience, and support which allowed me to take the time to complete an undertaking such as this.

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

## Bibliographic Abbreviations and Text Sigla

ACT O. Neugebauer, Astronomical Cuneiform Texts (1955)

AoF Altorientalische Forschungen

AUWE Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte

Bab. Babyloniaca

BaM Baghdader Mitteilungen BiMes Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies
BRM Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
Doty Uruk L.T. Doty, Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk (1977)

FuB Forschungen und Berichte

HSM Sigla of tablets in the collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum MLC Sigla of tablets in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library Collection NBDM E.W. Moore, Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of

Michigan Collection (1939)

NCBT Sigla of tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets

OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts

Oppert-Ménant J. Oppert and J. Ménant, Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de

Doc.jur. la Chaldée (1877)

Speleers Recueil L. Speleers, Recueil des inscriptions de l'asie antérieure des Musées

royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles (1925)

SpTU Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk
TCL Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler

VAT Sigla of tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin

VDI Вестник древней истории

W Field numbers of tablets excavated at Warka

WZJ Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena YBC Sigla of tablets in the collections of the Yale Babylonian Collection

YOS Yale Oriental Series

#### **Additional Symbols and Abbreviations**

Abb. Abbildung Akk. Akkadian

B bottom (lower) tablet edge

Aram. Aramaic

B.C.E. Before the Common Era

br. brother of

## Abbreviations

C	consonant
ca.	circa
Cap.	caption
cf.	compare
cm	centimeter
D	diameter
d	determinative preceding god's name
Diss.	Dissertation
Е	east
é	determinative preceding building name
f	determinative preceding woman's name
f.	father of
f(f).	following
fig(s).	figure(s)
FN	father's name
gf.	grandfather of
ggf. Gr.	great-grandfather of
h.	Greek husband of
ill.	illustration
	determinative following geographic name
1(1).	line(s)
L(e.E.)	left tablet edge
Lo.E.	lower tablet edge
1.R.	linker Rand
	determinative preceding occupational title or gentilic
m	determinative preceding man's name
mí	determinative preceding woman's name
mm	millimeters
N	north
n(n).	note(s)
n.d.	no date
no(s).	number(s)
o(bv.)	obverse
o.R.	oberer Rand
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plates
PN	personal name
Publ.	published
r(ev.)	reverse
R(.E.)	right tablet edge
RN	royal name
r.R.	rechter Rand
S	south
S.E.	Seleucid Era
T	top (upper) tablet edge
	top (upper) tablet edge

## Abbreviations

Taf.	Tafel
U.E.	upper tablet edge
u.R.	unterer Rand
V	vowel
W	west
w.	wife of
WI	witness
X	undecipherable sign
X	unknown tablet edge
Y	unknown tablet edge
Z	unknown tablet edge
+	marks joins
=	marks duplicates
1	marks corrected reading
*	marks assumed form
< >	marks assumed form
	marks scribal plus
{ }	
	marks break (and restoration)
	marks partially preserved sign
<	prior to (the date)
$\leq$	on or prior to (the date)
<	after (the date)
_≥	on or after (the date)
	son or daughter of
//	descendant of
#	number

#### INTRODUCTION

Sealed archival cuneiform tablets from Hellenistic Uruk first came to light during the excavations carried out by W.K. Loftus at Uruk-Warka during the mid-nineteenth century. Today, the total number of these tablets and unassociated fragments, scattered in collections throughout North America, Europe, and West Asia, from both controlled as well as uncontrolled excavations, stands at some six hundred fifty, of which some three hundred fifty are published.<sup>1</sup>

The ten tablets presented here from the collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum were acquired in 1913 in two lots purchased from Paris dealers by the then Curator, David Gordon Lyon. Eight of these tablets (HSM 913.1.1–8) were purchased from Dumani Frères on 17 March; the remaining two (HSM 913.2.181–82) were part of a second lot containing a total of three hundred five tablets purchased four days later from I.E. Gejou.

The residents of Hellenistic Babylonia could avail themselves of two distinct recording media that could be authenticated by the use of seals. The first, the clay tablet inscribed in cuneiform, was the standard recording medium in Babylonia since the end of the fourth millennium. The second, ink on parchment or papyrus, was available since the late eighth century. During the Hellenistic period, apparently most transactions subject to Seleucid taxation or registration were restricted to parchment or papyrus, whereas the method for recording any other transaction type was at the discretion of the interested parties (Doty 1977, 331–35; cf. Stolper 1994, 340–41).

At Hellenistic Uruk, in those cuneiform transactions requiring sealing, the seals of the relevant parties were usually impressed directly on the tablet's edges.<sup>2</sup> In a practice dating back to the reign of Darius II, the right edge was reserved for those principals to the transaction, men and women, natives and colonists, priests and laity, ceding rights or undertaking obligations; the seals of the exclusively male witnesses appear on the remaining edges.<sup>3</sup> Each impression on the upper, lower, and left edges was captioned above with *un-qa*, or more rarely NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB, and below with the personal name of the seal's owner;<sup>4</sup> the captions on the right edge usually contain additional informa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a catalogue of all Hellenistic Uruk archival texts, published as well as unpublished, see Oelsner 1986, 146–62. At least one hundred additional tablets have since been identified in the British Museum (Oelsner, personal communication). The tablets in the Oriental Institute are now published by Weisberg 1991; see additionally Wallenfels 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The only exception on a tablet from Uruk occurs on BRM 2 4 where the captioned seal impression of one of the eighteen witnesses is located in the upper right-hand corner of the tablet's reverse (collated). Tablets from other contemporary Babylonian cities may be sealed on the edges and/or face(s) (see, e.g., CT 49, passim).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The only exception to this practice within the present corpus occurs in text I, in which a witness, the last of eleven named, had his seal placed on the right edge, to the right of that of the seller-guarantor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The terms *unqu* (spelled either *un-qu* or *un-qa*) and NA4.KIŠIB were originally used to distinguish between the impressions of metal finger rings and stone stamp or cylinder seals, respectively. In the early Seleucid period at Uruk, these terms came to be used quite indifferently so that a given seal might alternately bear either designation on different tablets (see Wallenfels 1994, 3, and nos. 180, 370, 411, 558, 559, 756). With but a single exception occurring in 122 S.E. (OECT 9 49 R1), NA4.KIŠIB fell entirely into disuse at Uruk after 17 S.E. Both terms do occur in tablet captions from other contemporary Babylonian cities (see, e.g.,

#### Introduction

tion identifying the specific obligation of each sealer. Within the texts, each sealer's patronymic was given which included the father's name, often grandfather's or even great-grandfather's name, and the name of an eponymous ancestor or an occupational or gentilic designation. Sealed Hellenistic cuneiform tablets are also known from Antioch on the Ištar Canal, Babylon, Borsippa, Kiš-Hursagkalama, Kutha, Larsa, and Ur.

Contemporary parchment and papyrus documents were rolled, tied, and enclosed within spherical clay bullae, more or less the size and shape of napkin rings, which bore the seal impressions anonymously on their outer surfaces. The contents of these now lost documents are unknown, except for those few cases where the impressions of inscribed official seals are preserved on the bullae (see Rostovtzeff 1932). Similar clay bullae have also been found at Babylon, Larsa, Nippur, and in especially large numbers at Seleucia on the Tigris. It is assumed that sealing practices analogous to those for the tablets obtained for the bullae.

The impressions on both tablets and bullae from Uruk are predominantly those of small, ten to twenty millimeter long, almond-shaped metal finger rings carved in intaglio, or, less often, those of similarly sized elliptical stone stamp seals with convex sealing surfaces also carved in intaglio. Impressions of flat ring stones also no doubt appear, but in most cases they are not readily distinguishable from those of the more circular metal finger rings. The once characteristic seal types, cylinder seals, stone conoids and pyramidal stamp seals in the East, and scarabs and scaraboids in the West, are now virtually extinct.

The majority of the motifs seen among the finger ring impressions evolved from fifth and fourth century Achaemenid and Graeco-Persian types, most of which have Archaic Greek and/or Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, and older Mesopotamian antecedents. A prominent group of new motifs includes the signs of the zodiac, rendered individually and in astrologically significant groupings (Wallenfels 1994, 153–57). Among the gem impressions, the motifs are, by-and-large, of contemporary Hellenistic invention or those which entered the Babylonian repertoire more or less directly from the Classical Greek. Due to the fact that the impressions of both finger rings and gems are often not very clear, they yield more information about subject than about style. The motifs chosen to be represented on a private individual's seal or seals appear to have been largely a matter of personal choice, although as a general rule, "official" motifs, i.e., those depicted on contemporary Seleucid coins or on the seals of Seleucid state officials, were, by sanction or custom, excluded. By far the most popular subjects were the lion, sphinx, winged-bull, and goatfish.

With but a hand-full of exceptions, all seals were individually owned.<sup>6</sup> Seals could be replaced freely, as often or as infrequently as the owner might wish, the replaced seal

CT 49, passim), however the paucity of published seal impressions from these cities makes further analysis difficult. Nonetheless, note that all of the impressions on BRM 188 from Kutha, dated 125 S.E., are captioned NA4.KIŠIB despite the fact that they all appear to have been made by metal finger rings (see Clay 1912, pls. I-II).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> NCBT 1942 (= Doty 1977, 193–94) (19.XII.41 S.E.): the principals, witnesses, and scribe are all known from other contemporary archival texts from Uruk; Antioch on the Ištar Canal may either reflect a short-lived Seleucid attempt to rename Uruk (van der Speck 1987, 73), or be the name of an otherwise unknown nearby Seleucid colony (Doty 1977, 195–96; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 155).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Within this corpus, just a single seal, no. **56**, is known to have changed hands (see additionally, Wallenfels 1994, 144).

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apparently being discarded. A number of seals are known to occur on both tablets and bullae;<sup>7</sup> presumably these seals were used on both media by the same sealers (cf. seal no. **56**).

The restrictions on the types of transactions permitted to be recorded in cuneiform resulted in a limited number of types of texts of quite stereotyped composition (see Krückmann 1931, Lewenton 1970, Doty 1977). The present corpus contains one slave sale (text I), four sales of urban real estate (texts II, IV, IX, X), two sales of prebendal shares (texts V, VI), a fictitious "gift" of urban real estate and a slave remunerated by the payment of silver (text VIII), and two quitclaims, one pertaining to a sale of urban real estate (text III), the other to a combined sale of prebendal shares, a food allotment, and urban real estate (text VII). Duplicates, none from controlled excavations, are known to five of these texts: four are in the Yale Babylonian Collection (BRM 1 98 = text VII, BRM 2 27 = text III, BRM 2 30 = text IV, MLC 2161 = text X), one is in the Vorderasiatische Museum, Berlin (VAS 15 32 = text VI).

The tablets are somewhat wider than long, ranging in width from 8.3 to 11.1 cm. The slightly convex edges are some 3.5 to 4.1 cm thick. The text of a typical document begins on the nearly flat obverse and continues, if necessary, on the slightly more convex reverse. Also on the reverse are the full names of the witnesses and a two line subscription placed near the bottom containing the scribe's full name, the name of the city in which the tablet was drawn up (Uruk), the date (month, day, and year of the Seleucid Era), and the name(s) of the reigning king(s). Occasionally lines of text from both the obverse and reverse may wrap around onto the right edge.

The tablets are written in a clear formal cursive script, with noticeable variations among the different scribes' hands. The scribe of text  $\mathbf{H}$  fairly consistently omitted one or two wedges from certain signs, including KÁM, MU, UN, and ZA. The scribe of text  $\mathbf{IV}$  greatly exaggerated the lengths of the tails of horizontal and diagonal wedges causing them to underlie one or more succeeding signs. Text  $\mathbf{X}$  is written in a more vulgar script in which the tails of the normally horizontal wedges are angled diagonally downwards; this script is not, however, as extreme as that seen in many of the contemporary administrative documents.

The texts are composed in the Late Babylonian dialect of Akkadian, which it is generally believed was spoken, if at all, only within priestly scribal circles. This dialect demonstrates the many phonological and morphological changes first seen in Neo-Babylonian, most notably, the loss of final short vowels; these changes are seen to be largely the result of the influence of Aramaic, the vernacular in Babylonia since at least the late eighth century. Given the absence of any definitive treatment of the likely vocalization of Late Babylonian, especially where the loss of the final vowel resulted in a final biconsonantal cluster, normalized Akkadian is treated herein in the admittedly inconsistent manner of previous scholars in the field.<sup>8</sup>

The facts that the contents of the present collection of tablets offer little that is new,

Four seals within the present corpus, nos. 20, 56, 73, and 87 also occur on bullae (all unpublished).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For the treatment of final vowels in Neo-Babylonian, see Hyatt 1941; for a preliminary treatment of final consonants in Late Babylonian, see Weisberg 1967, 106–11. Some of the answers to the questions of pronunciation may lie in the so-called "Graeco-Babyloniaca," Akkadian (and Sumerian) texts rendered in Greek transliteration (see Oelsner 1986, 239–44, to which add S.M. Maul, "Neues zu den 'Graeco-Babyloniaca," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 81 [1991], 87–107; and M.J. Geller, "The Last Wedge," *ZA* 87 [1997], 43–95); for a compendium of such transliterations, see Scholz 1978.

are few in number, and that four of them are duplicates to tablets already published elsewhere, do not, however, diminish their significance. On the contrary, since the texts and seal impressions on these tablets are relatively well-preserved, and with duplicates known for fully half of them, this particular corpus provides a convenient means by which to examine these objects for the first time in an integrated manner.

Typically texts and seal impressions are treated exclusively of each other. Among earlier editions of Hellenistic Uruk archival texts, the seal impressions may be utterly ignored, briefly described in one or two words, or selectively photographed or drawn, the latter with various degrees of skill. On the other hand, my own previous comprehensive treatment of the seal impressions on cuneiform tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection (Wallenfels 1994) suffered from the fact that some two-thirds of the tablets used in that study remain unpublished. It is the aim of this volume to try to provide a standard for future editions of sealed cuneiform tablets.

In that vein, the present volume comprises two interconnected parts: the first contains critical editions of the texts; the second, a catalogue raisonné of the seal impressions. The texts are ordered chronologically, as is typical for this genre. For each is offered a hand copy, transliteration, translation, textual notes where warranted, and a commentary treating the occurrences, activities and seals of each person named in the light of some four hundred fifty other contemporary texts. The seal impressions within the seal catalogue are first ordered by their dominant motif, then chronologically, in a manner consistent with previous studies of both Near Eastern and Western glyptic; the major categories include heads and busts, full figured humans, anthropomorphic deities, semihuman and human-headed demons, monstrous animals, natural animals, and miscellany. Included within the entries are measurements, descriptions, and comparanda, as well as data identifying each seal's owner, each occasion of its use, and references to other seals used by each sealer, where known; photographs of the seal impressions (twice life-size) and an interpretive (composite) drawings accompany the entries. In the Index of Personal Names, text citations and, where possible, seal catalogue numbers are provided for each entry.

Several conventions utilized herein require further explanation. The seal locations are designated by a letter T (top edge), B (bottom edge), L (left edge), or R (right edge), and are numbered 1, 2, etc., from left to right, with the tablet edge turned so that the captions, which are always oriented consistently on any given edge, are intelligible (the seal impressions themselves may be rotated in either direction upto one hundred eighty degrees with respect to the captions). In general, Akkadian personal names are normalized in conformity with previously published studies, with certain modifications. The final case-vowel may be omitted; where given, a fossilized final -u or -i is assumed. The theophoric elements d60, dINANNA, den-líl were actually rendered d+60, d+INANNA, d+en-lil, respectively, by the scribes; d60 is normalized "Anu" regardless of actual grammatical case. The sign groups DUMU šá m, DUMU.MÍ šá m, and DUMU.MEŠ šá m were usually rendered by the scribes as the complexes  $DUMU \times \check{s}\acute{a}+^m$ ,  $DUMU \times M\acute{1} \times \check{s}\acute{a}+^m$ , and DUMU×MEŠ×šá+m, respectively. All personal names may be assumed to be masculine unless preceded with f, indicative of the cuneiform determinative preceding feminine names. Names written in the form PN—PN2, symbolize the formula PN šá šumīšu šanû PN<sub>2</sub>, "PN, whose other name is PN<sub>2</sub>." Certain medial and final C-V signs have been ignored in the normalization when they function, for example, to express unambiguously

#### Introduction

the final consonant of the previous V–C or C–V–C sign. Long vowels in normalized Akkadian vocables are marked with a macron to indicate positional length and a circumflex to indicate contracted length. Long vowels in normalized West Semitic vocables represented in cuneiform script are marked with a macron to indicate grammatical length and a circumflex to indicate orthographic length (i.e., where a plene spelling would be expected in the alphabetic script). Greek vocables represented in cuneiform script are transliterated in conformity with the "Notice to Contributors," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947), xix [I.A.(a)], with the addition of a macron to distinguish the long vowels  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  from  $\varepsilon$  and o, respectively. Lastly, the cuneiform sign, A', is typically employed in Late Babylonian texts as an indication of any long vowel, not of the glottal stop. Since the values  $a_{10}$ ,  $e_7$ ,  $i_{10}$ , and  $u_{12}$  suggested by Hyatt (1941, 55) were not adopted by the standard syllabaries, and in some cases are now used to designate other signs, the A'-sign is transliterated herein, admittedly improperly, by '.

#### **INVENTORY OF TEXTS**

It should be noted that four of the HSM acquisition numbers used herein are at variance with those previously published. It appears that following the baking of the tablets several decades ago, two pairs of numbers were interchanged (HSM 913.1.2/.8 and .4/.6). It is the Museum's wish, with due appologies to all concerned, that the tablets be published here with the acquisition and museum numbers as they appear in the Museum's ledgers.

#### I By Publication Numbers

No.	Acquisition (Museum) No.	Date (S.E.)	Contents
I	HSM 913.2.182 (7499)	[12-17]	Sale of half-share in one male slave.
II	HSM 913.1.1 (7309)	18.XII <sup>II</sup> .72	Sale of finished house.
III	HSM 913.1.6 (7314)	23.VIII.87	Quitclaim (house); duplicate of BRM 2 27.
IV	HSM 913.1.2 (7310)	16.VIII.109	Sale of temple storehouse; duplicate of BRM 2 30.
V	HSM 913.1.3 (7311)	25.VI.111	Sale of oil processor's prebend.
VI	HSM 913.2.181 (7498)	21.X.119	Sale of <i>gerseqqû</i> -prebend; duplicate of VAS 15 32.
VII	HSM 913.1.4 (7312)	8.IX.122	Quitclaim (butcher's prebend, food allotment, temple store-house); duplicate of BRM 1 98.
VIII	HSM 913.1.5 (7313)	18.X.124	Gift ( $ana \ r\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}t$ ) of house and one female slave.
IX	HSM 913.1.7 (7315)	15.XI.153	Sale of finished house.
X	HSM 913.1.8 (7316)	5.VII.162	Sale of temple storehouse; duplicate of MLC 2161.

## II By Aquisition (Museum) Numbers

Acquisition (Museum) No.	Text No.
HSM 913.1.1 (7309)	II
HSM 913.1.2 (7310)	IV
HSM 913.1.3 (7311)	V
HSM 913.1.4 (7312)	VII
HSM 913.1.5 (7313)	VIII
HSM 913.1.6 (7314)	III
HSM 913.1.7 (7315)	IX

## Inventory of texts

HSM 913.1.8 (7316)	X	
HSM 913.2.181 (7498)	VI	
HSM 913.2.182 (7499)	I	

#### I TEXT I

HSM 913.2.182 (7499)1

Scribe: Anu-bēlšunu/Itti-Anu-nuh[šu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni]

Dimensions:  $7.0 \times 8.3 \times 3.2$ 

Date: ca. 12–17 S.E. Duplicate:

Type: sale of half-share in one male slave

Price: 120 shegels

Slave: Anu-ittannu/Saniqqâ

Slave mark: Anu-bēlšunu/Nanâ-iddin

Seller-Guarantor: Nidintu-Anu/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu: R1 (36)

Co-owner: Nanâ-iddin/Tanittu-Anu//Aḫ-ūtu Buyer: Anu-aḫḫē-iddin/Nanâ-iddin//Aḫ-ūtu

Witnesses:

- (1) Ana-rabûtīka-Anu/Anu-ah-ušabši//Ah-ūtu: L3 (90)
- (2) Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu//Ah-ūtu: B2 (41)
- ( 3) Nidintu-Anu/[...]//Aḥ-ūtu: T1 (79)
- (4) Kidin-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//[Ah-ūtu(?)]: B3 (27)
- (5) Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Ekur-zakir: T2 (78)
- (6) [Anu-qīšan]/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-[ūtu]: T3 (6)
- (7) [Anu-ik]sur/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-[ūtu]: L2 (92)
- (8) [Rabi-Anu]/Anu-zēr-ibni//Kurî: L1 (94)
- (9) Anu-[uball]it/[Šamaš-ittan]nu//Ah-ūtu: [B1] (42)
- (10) Anu-ah-ittannu/[...]//Ah-ūtu: T4 (91)
- (11) Lā-bāši/[...]: R2 (93)
- Obv. 1—  $^{m}ni$ -din- $tu_{4}$ - $^{d}60$  DUMU  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{m}ta$ -nit- $tu_{4}$ - $^{d}60$  A  $^{m}$   $^{-}(\mathring{a}\mathring{b})$ - $[\mathring{a}\mathring{b}]$ - $[\mathring{a$ 
  - 2– mi-šil ma-la ḤA.LA-šú šá KI <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU ŠEŠ-šú DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ta-<sup>r</sup>nit<sup>¬</sup>-[tu<sub>4</sub><sup>d</sup>60)
  - 3– šá AŠ <sup>md</sup>60-MU-nu <sup>lú</sup>ÌR DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>sa-nig-ga-' šá ŠU<sup>II</sup> 15-šú a-na MU 「šá¬
  - 4—  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-en- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu dumu  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\mathrm{md}}$ na-na-a-mu  $\check{s}a\dot{t}$ -rat a-na 2 ma.na kù.babbar qa- $\lceil lu \rceil$ - $\lceil \acute{u} \rceil$
  - 5– a-na šám til.meš a-na <sup>md</sup>60-šeš.meš-mu dumu *šá* <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-mu a <sup>m</sup>áħ- ' ú-tú
  - 6– a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-tú it-ta-din KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 2 MA.NA qa-lu-ú 「ŠÁM<sup>¬</sup>
  - 7— mi- $\check{s}il$  AŠ  $^{\mathrm{md}}60$ -MU-nu  $^{\mathrm{l\acute{u}}}$ ÌR MU.MEŠ  $^{\mathrm{m}}ni$ -din- $tu_4$ - $^{\mathrm{d}}60$  DUMU  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\mathrm{m}}ta$ -nit- $tu_4$ - $^{\mathrm{d}}60$  A  $^{\mathrm{m}}\acute{a}h$ - $^{\mathrm{o}}$ - $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$
  - 8– AŠ ŠU<sup>II md</sup>60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU A <sup>m</sup>áḥ- ʾ-ú-tú ma-hir e-tìr
  - 9– U<sub>4</sub>-mu pa-qa-ri DIŠ UGU-hi mi-šil AŠ <sup>md</sup>60-MU-nu <sup>1ú</sup>ÌR MU.MEŠ it-tab-šu-ú
  - 10- mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 DUMU šá mta-nit-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 A máh-'-ú-tú ú-mar-raq-ma a-na

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a previous edition, see Doty 1977, 176–79.

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11- <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU A <sup>m</sup>áh- '-ú-tú i-nam-din pu-ut
           12- la lú šìr-ki-ú-tú la lú šu-šá-nu-ú-tú la lú DUMU-DÙ-ú-tú
           13– la lúìr-lugal-ú-tú la É-Anše.Kur.ra u la É-giš Gigir šá mi-šil aš
           14– ^{\text{md}}60-MU-nu^{\text{l\'u}}ÌR MU.MEŠ a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-t\acute{u} ^{\text{m}}ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-^{\text{d}}60 na-si
           15– u pu-ut la ZÁH šá mi-šil AŠ ^{md}60-MU-nu ^{l\hat{u}}ÌR MU.MEŠ a-di 1 ME U_4-mu
            16- mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 DUMU šá mta-nit-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 A máh-'-ú-tú na-ši
  Rev. 17– [^{li}mu]-^{r}kin_7
           18– ^{\rm m}DIŠ-GAL-ka-^{\rm d}60 DUMU šá ^{\rm md}60-ŠEŠ-GÁL-\check{s}i A ^{\rm m}áh-^{\rm '}-\acute{u}-t\acute{u} ^{\rm md}60-TIN-^{\rm c}it
                                                                                                                                              [DUMU šá]
           19- <sup>m</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 A <sup>m</sup>áh- '-ú-tú <sup>m</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>[
           20– \lceil A \stackrel{\text{m}}{a}h-^{\prime} \neg-\acute{u}-\acute{t}\acute{u} \stackrel{\text{m}}{k}i-\acute{d}in-^{d}60 DUMU \check{s}\acute{a} \stackrel{\text{md}}{60}-NUMUN-MU A \lceil m \rceil
           21– [^{\text{m}}AŠ-q\hat{\imath}]-^{\text{b}}it^{\text{-d}}60 DUMU šá ^{\text{m}}ki-din-^{\text{d}}60 A ^{\text{m}}É.KUR-za-^{\text{c}}kir^{\text{-}} [^{\text{md}}60-BA-šá-an-
           22– [^{\text{md}}60-ik]-^{\text{r}}sur^{\text{r}} DUMU.MEŠ šá ^{\text{m}}ta-^{\text{r}}nit-tu_4-^{\text{d}}^{\text{d}}0 A ^{\text{m}}-^{\text{r}}áh^{\text{r}}-^{\text{r}}-ú- tú]
           23– [^{\text{m}}GAL-^{\text{d}}]60 dumu šá ^{\text{md}}60-numun-dù ^{\text{c}}A ^{\text{m}}kur^{\text{c}}-i ^{\text{m}}^{\text{c}}60^{\text{c}}-[TIN-it dumu šá]
           24– [^{\text{md}}UTU-MU]-^{\text{r}}nu^{\text{r}} A ^{\text{m}}áh- '-\acute{u}-tú ^{\text{md}}60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu ^{\text{r}}DUMU^{\text{r}} [\check{s}á ^{\text{m}}
           25– [A^m \acute{a}h-']-[\acute{u}-t\acute{u} [a-ba-\acute{s}i [DUMU \acute{s}\acute{a}]
           26– [^{\text{m}}]^{\text{d}}60^{\text{d}}-EN-\check{s}\acute{u}-nu^{\text{l}}\check{s}\check{i}DUMU \check{s}\acute{a}^{\text{m}}KI-^{\text{d}}60-^{\text{H}}\acute{e}7.[NUN A ^{\text{m}}d30-TI-ÉR
                                                                                                                                                                 1
           27- [
                                                                                                                                                                 1
U.E. NA<sub>4</sub>. KIŠIB
                                                         \lceil NA_4 \rceil . [KIŠIB]
                                                                                                            [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB]
                                                         (78)
            ^{\rm m}ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-^{\rm d}60
                                                         <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60
                                                                                                            ^{\text{md}}60\text{-BA}-\lceil \check{s}\check{a} \rceil-\lceil an \rceil-\lceil nu \rceil
            [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB]
            (91)
            ^{\text{md}}60-ŠEŠ-^{\Gamma}MU^{\neg}-[nu]
Lo.E. 「NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB¬
                                                         NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB
                                                                                                            NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB
            (42)
                                                         (41)
                                                                                                            (27)
            \lceil^{\text{md}}60\text{-TIN}\rceil-\lceil it \rceil
                                                         md 60-TIN-it
                                                                                                            mki-din-d60
Le.E. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB
                                                         「NA₄¬.KIŠIB
                                                                                                            NA<sub>4</sub>. 「KIŠIB¬
            (94)
                                                         (92)
                                                                                                            (90)
            m GAL-d607
                                                         ^{md}60-ik-[sur]
                                                                                                            <sup>m</sup>DIŠ-「GAL-ka¬-d60
R.E. un-qa ^{m}ni-din-tu_4-^{d}60
                                                                                                            un-qa ™la-ba-\ši\
            (36)
                                                                                                            (93)
            [DUMU \check{s}\check{a}^{\mathrm{m}}ta]-\lceil nit \rceil-tu_4-^{\mathrm{d}}60
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(1) Nidintu-Anu, son of Tanittu-Anu, descendant of A $\hat{h}$ - $\bar{u}$ tu, of his own free will, has sold one-half, his entire share which is with Nanâ-iddin, his brother, son of Tanit[tu-Anu], which is in Anu-ittannu, the slave, son of Saniqqâ, whose right hand is marked with the name of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nanâ-iddin, for 2 minas of refin[ed] silver, (5) as the full purchase price to Anu-a $\hat{h}$ + $\hat{h}$ - $\hat{b}$ -iddin, son of Nanâ-iddin, descendant of A $\hat{h}$ - $\hat{u}$ -tu, in perpetuity.

The money, 2 refined minas, the purchase price of one-half in Anu-ittannu, that slave, Nidintu-Anu, son of Tanittu-Anu, descendant of Aḫ-ūtu, has received from (and) was paid by Anu-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Nanâ-iddin, descendant of Aḫ-ūtu. When a claim is brought concerning one-half in Anu-ittannu, that slave, (10) Nidintu-Anu, son of Tanittu-Anu, descendant of Aḫ-ūtu, will clear (it) and will pay Anu-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Nanâ-iddin, descendant of Aḫ-ūtu. Nidintu-Anu guarantees in perpetuity that Anu-ittannu, that slave, is not one dedicated to the temple, is not one in the position of šušānu, does not have the status of a free person, does not have the status of servant of the king, is not in royal cavalry service, and is not in royal charioteer service, (15) and Nidintu-Anu, son of Tanittu-Anu, descendant of Aḫ-ūtu, guarantees for one hundred days the not fleeing of one-half in Anu-ittannu, that slave.

(17–25) (list of eleven witnesses)

(26) Anu-bēlšunu, the scribe, son of Itti-Anu-nuḥ[šu, descendant of Sîn-leqi-unnīni...]

#### **Comments**

The corpus of slave sales from Hellenistic Uruk also includes TCL 13 248 (8.II.Alexander III 8), VAS 15 20 (-.II.Philip -), BRM 2 2 (12.V.9 S.E.), MLC 2192 = MLC 2198 (28.XI.12 S.E.), MLC 2194 (28.-.12 S.E.), VAS 15 3 (12.VIII.14 S.E.), VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 = BaM Beiheft 2 119 + 120 + frag. 27 + 121 (10.VI.15 S.E.), MLC 2184 (16.VIII.16 S.E.), NCBT 1973 (3(+).I.17 S.E.), BRM 2 25 (12.IX.[16–17] S.E.), MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967 (8.II.[8–18] S.E.), NCBT 1966 (-.-.[8–18] S.E.), BRM 2 10 (2.VI.37 S.E.), BiMes 24 39(?) (n.d.), BiMes 24 40 (n.d.). For the standard formulary for the sale of slaves, see Krückmann 1931, 39–41; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 7–14; Doty 1977, 82–83.

Several lines of evidence suggest a date for text I of ca. 12–17 S.E.

- (1) No slave sale texts occur in cuneiform after 37 S.E. (Doty 1977, 323; Doty 1979).
- (2) Payment was made in *kaspu qalû*, without the following *istaterrānu ša* RN (*babbanûtu*), first attested at Uruk,<sup>2</sup> ca. 16–17 S.E. (BRM 225), and seen quite regularly thereafter.
- (3) The scribe is known from at least five other texts dated between 9 and 16 S.E. (see below).
- (4) Witness # 6 used the same seal (no. 6) on at least one other occasion in 15 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1); he had previously used Wallenfels 1994, no. 43, on two different occasions in 12 S.E. (NCBT 1953, MLC 2198).
- (5) Witness # 9 used the same seal (no. **42**) on at least two other occasions, once in 16 S.E. (MLC 2184), and again, ca. 8–18 S.E. (MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967).
- (6) The seal impressions on the upper, lower and left edges are captioned  $NA_4$ .KIŠIB, while those on the right edge are captioned un-qa, irrespective of the fact that the preserved impressions on all of the edges appear to have been made by metal finger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. UET 4 43 (Ur. Phillip 7).

rings. This same arrangement occurs on MLC 2654, dated 17 S.E., the latest securely dated Uruk archival text regularly evidencing NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB in its seal captions.<sup>3</sup>

Eleven of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to four each in eighteen other transactions, of which eleven concern slaves. In addition, five persons, including two of the preceding, occur individually in yet another seventeen transactions, of which three concern slaves.

The seller-guarantor, Nidintu-Anu/Tanittu-Anu//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed slave sales: in 9 S.E., he and WI # 5 witnessed a transaction recorded by the present scribe in which the wife of WI # 1 purchased three slaves (BRM 2 2) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 373, 900); in 12 S.E., he and WI # 8 witnessed the sale of three slaves to his brother, the present co-owner (MLC 2194) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 75, 374); and ca. 8–18 S.E., he and WI # 4 witnessed the sale by WI # 9 of two slaves to his nephews Kidin-Anu and Anu-ab-utēr, sons of Nanâ-iddin, the co-owner of the present slave (MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 32,4 476). Nidintu-Anu, and two of his brothers, Anu-bēlšunu and Anu-zēr-līšer, together with WI # 2, also witnessed the sale of a house in an unknown district, ca. 8–18 S.E. (VAS 15 51), in which their brother, Nanâ-iddin, the present co-owner, was the buyer, and WI # 1 was the seller.

The co-owner, Nanâ-iddin/Tanittu-Anu//Aḥ-ūtu, the seller's brother,<sup>5</sup> in the first of two slave sale contracts in 12 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6, (MLC 2192 = MLC 2198), purchased eight slaves, and in the second (MLC 2194), witnessed by the present seller and WI # 8, purchased three more; he also purchased three slaves in 14 S.E., witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 5 and recorded by the present scribe (VAS 15 3), six in 15 S.E., witnessed by WI # 2, WI # 5, and WI # 6 and recorded by the present scribe (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 = BaM Beiheft 2 119 + 120 + frag. 27 + 121), and one each, ca. 16–17 S.E. (BRM 2 25) and ca. 8-18 S.E. (NCBT 1966), the latter also witnessed by WI # 5. He was the beneficiary in a protocol of a quitclaim concerning several slaves and the original sale documents in or before 35 S.E. (NBC 4880).

Nanâ-iddin leased out a storage facility in the Pleasure Garden district in 8 S.E. (BRM 2 1), and purchased a plot of arable land in or before 17 S.E., witnessed by WI # 4 (YBC 4645), and two houses, ca. 8–18 S.E., one, sold by WI # 1 and witnessed by the present seller and WI # 2, in an unknown district (VAS 15 51), the other in the vicinity of the Lugalgirra Temple (TCL 13 229 = VAT 7845). In 12 S.E., Nanâ-iddin contracted to supply brewing materials in return for a share of the final product: among the witnesses was WI # 6 (NCBT 1953).

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Cf. OECT 9 49 (122 S.E.) where only the right edge seal is captioned NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB while the seals on all the remaining edges are captioned un-qa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Wallenfels 1994, no. 32 was also used by Anu-uballit/Šamaš-ittannu//Ah-ūtu, a co-guarantor to a slave sale 3(+).I.17 S.E. (NCBT 1973); it is one of the very few seals used by more than one individual (see Wallenfels 1994, 144). Anu-uballit also used seal no. **42** at least three times, ca. 8–18 S.E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The well-documented business activities of Nanâ-iddin, his wife <sup>f</sup>Nanâ-nadinat (also known as <sup>f</sup>Nadâ), three of his brothers, and four generations of their descendants are treated extensively in Doty 1978; included also are editions of the relevant portions of the otherwise unpublished texts MLC 2200 and NCBT 1953. WI # 6, Anu-qīšan, and WI # 7, Anu-ikṣur, on the basis of their patronymics, also appear to be brothers of Nanâ-iddin (also note Anu-ušallim: NCBT 1960:5–6; VAS 15 3:24).

Nanâ-iddin's wife, <sup>f</sup>Nanâ-nadinat, also known as <sup>f</sup>Nadâ, daughter of Anu-bēlšunu, in her own right, purchased two slaves in 16 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 (MLC 2184), and one slave in 17 S.E., purchased from WI # 1 and guaranteed by WI # 9 (NCBT 1973). In 16 S.E., <sup>f</sup>Nanâ-nadinat contracted independently for the delivery of dates: the tablet was recorded by the present scribe (MLC 2200).

The buyer, Anu-aḥḥē-iddin/Nanâ-iddin//Aḥ-ūtu, is not known from any other texts. Doty (1978, 71–72) identifies him as a son of Nanâ-iddin, the present co-owner, although he is not specifically so identified within the text.

Anu-bēlšunu/Nanâ-iddin, whose name marked the slave's right hand, was probably the same man, a descendant of Ekur-zakir,<sup>6</sup> three of whose nephews, Anu-ab-uṣur, Nanâ-iddin and Riḥāt-Anu, sons of Anu-uballit, were defendants in a suit brought by a fourth nephew, Nanâ-iddin/Anu-zēr-ušabši. This case, concerning the disposition of a slave originally owned by Anu-bēlšunu, was heard before an assembly of freemen in 9 S.E. and was recorded by the present scribe (MLC 2202).<sup>7</sup> Anu-bēlšunu also witnessed the sale of shares of the butcher's prebend in 12 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 152ff. 6) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 7 [T1]).

#### Among the witnesses:

# 1, Ana-rabûtīka-Anu/Anu-aḫ-ušabši//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed the sale of three slaves in 14 S.E. to Nanâ-iddin, the present co-owner, also witnessed by WI # 5 and recorded by the present scribe (VAS 15 3), and, in 26 S.E., he, along with WI # 2, witnessed the sale of a house in the Lugalgirra Temple district adjoining property owned by WI # 6 (NCBT 1960). In 17 S.E., he sold a slave to fNanâ-nadinat, wife of Nanâ-iddin, with WI # 9 serving as guarantor (NCBT 1973) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 923), and, ca. 8–18 S.E., he sold a house to Nanâ-iddin himself, witnessed by the present seller and WI # 2 (VAS 15 51). Ana-rabûtīka-Anu's wife, fAna-rabûtīšu/Iddinâ, purchased three slaves in 9 S.E.; the sale was witnessed by the present seller and WI # 5, and recorded by the present scribe (BRM 2 2).

#2, Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed the sale of six slaves to Nanâ-iddin, the present co-owner, in 15 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 and WI # 6 and recorded by the present scribe (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 = BaM Beiheft 2 119 + 120 + frag. 27 + 121) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 2 [L3]). He also witnessed the sale of a house by WI # 1 to Nanâ-iddin, also witnessed by the present seller, ca. 8–18 S.E. (VAS 15 51), the sale of a house adjoining property owned by WI # 6 in 26 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 1 (NCBT 1960), and, in 36 S.E., the sale of prebendal shares, also witnessed by WI # 4 (VAS 15 4).

# 4, Kidin-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin, is probably the same man, a descendant of Aḥ-ūtu, who also witnessed, ca. 8–18 S.E., along with the present seller, the sale by WI # 9 of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Doty (1978, 71–72) assumed Anu-bēlšunu to be another son of the present co-owner, i.e., a descendant of Aḫ-ūtu. In support of this identification, he identified this \*Anu-bēlšunu/Nanâ-iddin//Aḫ-ūtu with the owner of neighboring property in the Adad Temple district named in VAS 15 23 (33 S.E.) and BRM 2 18 (68 S.E.). In both of these texts, however, the neighbor's name is given as Anu-bēlšunu/*Tanittu-Anu*//Aḫ-ūtu (VAS 15 23:3, 4, 5, 7, 8; BRM 2 18:3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11f., 14), making him a brother (e.g., VAS 15 51:23), not a son, of the present co-owner.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For an edition, see Doty 1977, 15ff.

two slaves to two sons of Nanâ-iddin, the present co-owner (MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 333). Kidin-Anu also witnessed the sale of arable land to the present co-owner  $\leq$ 17 S.E. (YBC 4645) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 333), and sales of a variety of prebendal shares in 20 S.E. (BRM 2 3) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 333), 36 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 (VAS 15 4), 43 S.E. (OECT 9 11), 47 S.E. (NCBT 1972), 48 S.E. (WZJ 19 1970 905ff.) (seal: Oelsner 1970, 908, Abb. 3b [B2] = Wallenfels 1994, no. 822), 48 S.E. (BRM 2 11) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 822), and 50 S.E. (TCL 13 236).

# 5, Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Ekur-zakir, also witnessed several other slave sales. In 9 S.E., together with the present seller, he witnessed the sale, recorded by the present scribe, of three slaves to the wife of WI # 1 (BRM 2 2) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 4). He also witnessed on three different occasions the sales of a total of ten slaves to Nanâ-iddin, the present co-owner: three in 14 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 1 and recorded by the present scribe (VAS 15 3), six in 15 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 6 and recorded by the present scribe (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 = BaM Beiheft 2 119 + 120 + frag. 27 + 121) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 2 [B4]), and one, ca. 8-19 S.E. (NCBT 1966). Ina-qibīt-Anu also witnessed the donation of one slave in 23 S.E. (OECT 9 4), the sale or donation of a slave in an undated text (BiMes 24 39) (seal: cf. Weisberg 1991, pl. 99, Le.E. [L3']), and a land sale in the Ištar City Gate district, ca. 24–29 S.E. (MLC 2159).

# 6, Anu-qīšan/Tanittu-Anu//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed the purchases by the present co-owner of eight slaves in 12 S.E. (MLC 2192 = MLC 2198) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 43), and six slaves in 15 S.E., the latter also witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 5 and recorded by the present scribe (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 = BaM Beiheft 2 119 + 120 + frag. 27 + 121) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 2 [T2] = no. 6). Anu-qīšan also witnessed a real estate sale sometime during the reign of Seleucus I (VAS 15 15 + VAS 15 29), and a contract to supply brewing materials to the present co-owner in 12 S.E. (NCBT 1953) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 43). He is also referred to in a boundary description in a real estate sale in 26 S.E., to which WI # 1 and WI # 2 were also witnesses (NCBT 1960).

#8, Rabi-Anu/Anu-zēr-ibni//Kurî, also witnessed, along with the present seller, the sale of three slaves to the present co-owner in 12 S.E. (MLC 2194) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 922). He also appears in boundary descriptions in two different land sales in 38 S.E. (NCBT 1952, NCBT 1976).

# 9, Anu-uballit/Šamaš-ittannu//Aḥ-ūtu, borrowed 62 sheqels in 13 S.E. (OECT 9 3). He was a witness to the sale of two slaves to <sup>f</sup>Nanâ-nadinat, wife of the present co-owner, in 16 S.E. (MLC 2184) (seal: no. **42**); he was one of two guarantors to the sale of a slave by WI # 1 to <sup>f</sup>Nanâ-nadinat in 17 S.E. (NCBT 1973) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 328); and he sold a slave to <sup>f</sup>Nanâ-nadinat and Nanâ-iddin's sons Kidin-Anu and Anu-ab-utēr, ca. 8-18 S.E., the sale being witnessed by the present seller and WI # 4 (MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967) (seal: no. **42**).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This seal may be among the very few seals used by more than a single individual: it appears, captioned Nidintu-Anu, on MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967 (ca. 8–18 S.E.) and is to be attributed to either of two witnesses by that name, one the son of Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu, the other the son of Lā-bāši//Aḥ-ūtu. However, in light of at least one other certain scribal error on NČBT 1973 (Wallenfels 1994, 144), it may be that Anu-uballit's name actually belongs beneath Wallenfels 1994, no. 559, a fragmentary seal impression which may in fact be identical with no. 42.

#### Text I

# 11, Lā-bāši/[...], in a relatively rare break with convention, had his seal placed on the right edge, to the right of the seller-guarantor.

The scribe, Anu-bēlšunu/Itti-Anu-nuḫšu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, recorded at least three other slave sales including BRM 2 2 (9 S.E.), in which the wife of WI # 1 was the buyer and the present seller and WI # 5 were among the witnesses; VAS 15 3 (14 S.E.), in which the present co-owner was the buyer and WI # 1 and WI # 5 were among the witnesses; and VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 = BaM Beiheft 2 119 + 120 + frag. 27 + 121 (15 S.E.), in which the present co-owner was the buyer and WI # 2, WI # 5 and WI # 6 were among the witnesses. Anu-bēlšunu also recorded MLC 2202 (9 S.E.), the protocol of a hearing before an assembly of freemen concerning the disposition of a slave originally owned by the man whose name marked the present slave's right hand. He also recorded MLC 2200 (16 S.E.), a contract for the future delivery of dates to the wife of the present co-owner.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In a practice introduced after the reign of Darius II, the right edge of a tablet was reserved for those parties in the transaction ceding rights or undertaking specific obligations (Krückmann 1931, 25). Other examples where the seal of a witness occurs on the right edge include BRM 2 4, BRM 2 10, FuB 16 24f. 1, OECT 9 4, OECT 9 12 = OECT 9 13, VAS 15 21, VAS 15 39 = VAS 15 40 = VAS 15 49, VAS 15 51.

#### II TEXT II

HSM 913.1.1 (7309)

Dimensions:  $7.5 \times 9.1 \times 3.5$ 

Date: 18.XIII.72 S.E.

Scribe: Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni

Duplicate:

Type: sale of a finished house, the property of Anu, tenured property in the Ištar City

Gate district, Uruk.

Price: 10 sheqels Property Boundaries:

N: (20 cubits) the house of Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar, and the house of Dumqi-Anu/[Kidin-Anu]

S: (20 cubits) the house of Lā-bāši/Anu-[mār-ittannu], and the right-of-way of that house up to the street

W: (18 cubits) the house of Anu-ah-ittannu/Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar

E: (18 cubits) the house of Dumqi-Anu/Kidin-Anu

Seller: Rihāt-Ištar/Ubār: R1 (82)

Buyer: Rihāt-Anu/Lā-bāši, architect

Guarantor: Mattān-Anu/[...]: R2 (58)

Witnesses:

(1) Riḥāt-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ//Luštammar-Adad: B1 (40)

(2) Iqīšâ/Anu-ah-iddin//Hunzû: B2 (61)

(3) Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad: T1 (16)

(4) Līšer/Nidintu-Anu//Gimil-Anu: B3 (87)

(5) Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-zēr-iddin//Ḥunzû: L2 (43)

(6) Balāṭu/Tanittu-Anu//Luštammar-Adad: T2 (44)

(7) Anu-uballit/Ištar-šum-eriš//Hunzû: T3 (38)

(8) Līšer/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Gimil-Anu: L1 (69)
(9) Ištar-zēr-ibni/Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad: L3 (34)

Obv. 1- <sup>m</sup>ri-ḥat-<sup>d</sup>INANNA DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ú-bar Aš ḥu-ud šÀ-bi-šú É ép-šú NÍG. GA d60 É KIŠIB sú

2- [AŠ KI-ti] 「KÁ¬.GAL dINANNA šá  $q\acute{e}$ -reb UNUG $^{ki}$  20 $^{!}$  KÙŠ UŠ AN- $\acute{u}$  imSI.「SÁ DAɬ

3-  $^{\text{md}}60$ -šeš-mu-nu dumu šá  $^{\text{m}}$ diš-gal-ka- $^{\text{d}}$ inanna u da é  $^{\text{m}}$ dum-qi- $^{\text{d}}60$  dumu  $^{\text{s}}á^{\text{m}}$ [ $^{\text{m}}$ ] $^{\text{r}}ki$ -[din]- $^{\text{r}}d$ [60]

4- 20 kùš uš ki- $\acute{u}$  imulu $_3$ lu da é mla-ba- $\check{s}i$  dumu  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  md60-[dumu(?)-mu(?)-nu(?)]

5- u da mu- $\underline{s}u$ -u šá é mu.meš a-di sila 18 kùš sag.ki an.ta  $^{\text{rim}}$ [mar.tu]

6- da é  $^{\rm md}$ 60-šeš-mu-nu dumu šá  $^{\rm m}$ diš-gal-ka- $^{\rm d}$ inanna 18 kùš sag.ki ki.ta

7-  $^{\text{im}}$ KUR.RA DA É  $^{\text{m}}$ dum-qí- $^{\text{d}}$ 60 DUMU šá  $^{\text{m}}$ ki-din- $^{\text{d}}$ 60 ŠU $^{\text{l}}$ .NIGIN 20 KÙŠ UŠ 8- 18  $^{\text{K}}$ KÙŠ SAG.KI meš-hat É MU.MEŠ É MU.MEŠ i-si u ma-a-du ma-la

9- ba-šu-ú gab-bi a-na 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>m</sup>se-<sup>-</sup>lu<sup>¬</sup>-ku bab-<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>¬</sup>-nu-ú-tú

10- a-¬na¬ ŠÁM TIL.MEŠ a-na <sup>m</sup>ri-ḥat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši <sup>lú</sup>ÌR-É.GAL

11- a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa<sup>!</sup>-a-tú it-ta-din KÙ.[BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub>] 10 GÍN ŠÁM É MU.MEŠ 12-  $^{\text{m}}$ ri-hat- $^{\text{d}}$ INANNA AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup>  $^{\text{m}}$ ri-hat- $^{\text{d}}$ 60  $^{\text{T}}$ x [  $U_4$ -mu]  $\lceil pa \rceil$ -ga-ri13- DIŠ UGU-hi É MU.MEŠ it-tab-šu-u mat-tan-na -[d60...(u) ri-hat-d ri-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-hat-14- lúna-din-na É MU.MES ú-mar-rag-ma a-di! 12-TA.ÀM a-na <sup>m</sup>ri-hat-d60 a-na 15- U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa¹-a-tú ina-an-din É MU.MEŠ É 「KIŠIB」 šá <sup>m</sup>ri-hat- 「d¬60 DUMU šá Rev. 16- mla-ba-ši lúìR-É.GAL a-na U4-mu șa-a-tú šu-ú 17- lúmu-kin7 18- <sup>m</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM 19- mBA-šá-a DUMU šá md60-šEŠ-MU A mhun-zu-ú 20- <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-su-E DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM 21- mli-GIŠ DUMU šá mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 A mšu-d60 22- $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-MU-GIŠ DUMU šá  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-NUMUN-MU A  $^{\mathrm{m}}$ hun-zu-ú 23- <sup>m</sup>ba-la-ṭu DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ta-nit-tú-<sup>d</sup>60 A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM 24- <sup>md</sup>60-tin-*it* dumu *šá* <sup>md</sup>inanna-mu-kám a <sup>m</sup>*hun-zu-ú* 25- mli-giš dumu šá md60-šeš.meš-mu a mšu-d60 26- <sup>md</sup>INANNA-NUMUN-DÙ DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-AD-GUR A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM 27- mdum-qí-d60 lúšid dumu šá md60-tin-it a md30-ti-ér unugki itudiri.še 28- U<sub>4</sub>.18.KÁM MU.72.KÁM <sup>m</sup>se-lu-ku LUGAL

U.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(16)	(44)	(38)
	<sup>md</sup> 60-TIN-su-E	<sup>m</sup> TIN	<sup>md</sup> 60-TIN-it
Lo.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-ga
	(40)	(61)	(87)
	mri-hat-d60	<sup>m</sup> BA- <i>šá-a</i>	<sup>m</sup> li-GIŠ
L.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(69)	(43)	(34)
	<sup>™</sup> li-GIŠ	<sup>md</sup> 60-MU-GIŠ	<sup>m┌d</sup> INANNA-NUMUN-DÙ <sup>¬</sup>
R.E.	un-qa <sup>m</sup> ri-hat- <sup>d</sup> INANNA		un-qa <sup>m</sup> mat-tan-na- <sup>d</sup> 60
	(82)		(58)
	[ ]ÉMUMEŠ		ти-ги-ан

(1) Riḥāt-Ištar, son of Ubār, of his own free will, has sold a finished house, the property of Anu, his tenured property [in the district of] the Ištar City Gate, which is in Uruk — twenty cubits, the upper long side on the north is adjacent to the house of Anu-aḥittannu, son of Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar, and is adjacent to the house of Dumqi-Anu, son of [Kidin-Anu]; 20 cubits, the lower long side is adjacent to the house of Lā-bāši, son of Anu-[mar(?)-ittannu(?)], (5) and is adjacent to the right-of-way of that house up to the street; 18 cubits, the upper short side on the [west] is adjacent to the house of Anu-aḥittannu/Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar; 18 cubits, the lower short side on the east is adjacent to the house of Dumqi-Anu, son of Kidin-Anu: the total, 20 cubits (in) length, 18 cubits (in) width, is the measured area of that house — that house, less or more, as much as there

is, all of it, for 10 sheqels of silver of Seleucus in good condition, (10) as the full sale price, to Rihāt-Anu, son of Lā-bāši, the architect, in perpetuity.

[The] mo[ney], 10 sheqels, the purchase price of that house, Rihāt-Ištar, [has received from (and) was paid by] Rihāt-Anu. [When] a claim is brought concerning that house, Mattān-[Anu...and] Rihāt-Ištar, the seller of that house will clear (it) and pay the 12-fold (penalty) to Rihāt-Anu in (15) perpetuity. That house, the tenured property of Rihāt-Anu, son of Lā-bāši, the architect, is his in perpetuity.

(17–26) (list of nine witnesses)

(27) Dumqi-Anu, the scribe, son of Anu-uballit, descendant of Sîn-leqi-unnīni. Uruk. Intercalary Addaru (28) 18, year 72, Seleucus, king.

#### Notes

9 Compare the expected \*kaspu qalû istatērān ša RN, e.g., texts IV:10, V:11, VI:8, VIII:11, X:11.

#### **Comments:**

For the standard formulary for the sale of real estate, see Krückmann 1931, 24–38; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 2–7; Doty 1977, 64-82. Note the omission of the expected mutual guaranty clause following the clause for the provision for defense against claim (ll. 12–15) (cf. Lewenton 1970, 62, n. 239).

Twelve of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to four each in nine other transactions, of which seven concern real estate. In addition, nine persons, including six of the preceding, occur individually in yet another twenty-nine transactions, of which fifteen concern real estate.

The buyer, Riḫāt-Anu/Lā-bāši, whose grandfather's name was Anu-mār-ittannu, appears to have combined the present property, for which he paid 10 sheqels, with contiguous pieces later acquired: (1) by his wife  ${}^f$ Yā/Nanâ-iddin, for 6 sheqels, in 78 S.E. (BRM 2 23 = MLC 2123A); (2) in a division of his father's and his uncle Nanâ-iddin's properties, which he shared with his brother Anu-mār-ittannu, in 82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 848); and (3) in a purchase for 2 sheqels from Ardi-Rēš/Illut-Anu, Anu-ittannu/Illut-Anu and Idat-Anu/Nidintu-Anu in 83 S.E. (BiMes 24 21). He then sold more or less the entire assemblage for 60 sheqels to Anu-mār-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar, a parchment scribe, in 89 S.E., in a text written by the present scribe (BRM 2 28 = BiMes 24 19) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 112). Riḫāt-Anu had also purchased shares in the builder's prebend, also witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 8, in 77 S.E. (BRM 2 22 = BiMes 24 1).

The personal name of the guarantor, Mattān-Anu/[...], written "mat-tan-na-d60, is a Mischname apparently formed with the Aram. "gift," i.e. "gift of Anu." A contemporary figure bears the name Mattānāt-Anu, written "mat-ta-na-at-d60 (BRM 2 26:5,7)

and  $^{m}$ mat-tan-na-at- $^{d}$ 60 (MLC 2164:12,15,16), a *Mischname* formed from the Aram. מְּתָּנֶה (const. מְּתָּנֶה) also meaning "gift"; his father's name is given as  $^{m}a$ -(a-)ti- $^{-d}$ 60. $^{1}$ 

Among the neighbors:

Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar also appears in the boundary descriptions of properties acquired by the present buyer in 82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) and by the latter's wife, <sup>f</sup>Yā/Nanâ-iddin, in 78 S.E. (BRM 2 23 = MLC 2123A).

Dumqi-Anu/Kidin-Anu, who was a descendant of Luštammar-Adad,<sup>2</sup> also appears in boundary descriptions of property first acquired by the present buyer in 82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) and later sold by him in 89 S.E. (BRM 2 28 = BiMes 24 19).

Lā-bāši/Anu-[mar(?)-ittannu(?)] is presumed to be the father of the present buyer: he was a builder ( $^{\text{hi}}$  itinnu) who was the previous owner of the property divided up in 82 S.E. by two of his sons (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A), one of whom is the present buyer; he also appears in the boundary description of land purchased by the present buyer's wife in 78 S.E. (BRM 2 23 = MLC 2123A). Lā-bāši is also referred to among the co-beneficiaries of the quitclaim to a builder's prebend, food allotment and storehouse in the Irigal in 122 S.E. (text **VII** = BRM 1 98).

Among the witnesses:

#1, Riḥāt-Anu/Anu-uballit//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed: the sale of prebendal shares in the Ṣēri-Palace in the hallat-garden in 48 S.E. (BRM 2 12) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 22); a land sale in the Šamaš City Gate district in 54 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 142ff. 2) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 3 [T2]); a division of real estate among three brothers in 61 S.E. (MLC 2162) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 637); the purchase of shares in the builder's prebend by the present buyer in 77 S.E., also witnessed by WI #8 (BRM 2 22 = BiMes 24 1) (seal: no. 40); a quitclaim concerning a female slave in 84 S.E. (OECT 9 22); and the sale(?) of prebendal(?) shares in 87 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 and recorded by the present scribe (NCBT 1947) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 366, 550, 673, 674).

# 3, Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed a quitclaim<sup>3</sup> concerning real estate in the Adad Temple district and shares in the brewer's(?) prebend in 68 S.E. (BRM 2 18) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, no. 827).

# 4, Līšer/Nidintu-Anu//Gimil-Anu, also witnessed: sales of real estate in the Šamaš City Gate district, also witnessed by WI # 5, in 75 S.E. (BRM 2 21) (seal: no. 87), and in the Ištar City Gate district in 76 S.E. (OECT 9 18); the issuance of a receipt for the sale of shares in the brewer's, baker's and butcher's prebends, together with a house, also witnessed by WI # 6, in 84 S.E. (OECT 9 24); and a quitclaim to a piece of real estate, also witnessed by WI # 9, ca. 76–88 S.E. (NCBT 1964). Seal no. 87 also appears on an undated clay bulla (YBC 3065) originally enclosing a parchment document.

# 5, Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû, whose grandfather's name is Ša-Anu-iššû,<sup>4</sup> also witnessed the sale of real estate in the Šamaš City Gate district, also witnessed by WI # 4, in 75 S.E. (BRM 2 21) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 575), and a division of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perhaps formed from Aram. איִדי "he brought" (aph. impf. 3 m.s. √ארא" to come").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MLC 2124A:6; restore PN/FN to BiMes 24 21:6?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The properties and persons involved first appear in the sales document VAS 15 23, drawn up in 33 S.E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MLC 2170:30.

property in the Adad Temple district in 88 S.E. (MLC 2170 = BiMes 24 53) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 89, 613, 649, 650).

# 6, Balāṭu/Tanittu-Anu//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed: the issuance of a receipt for the sale of shares in the brewer's, baker's and butcher's prebends, together with a house, also witnessed by WI # 4, in 84 S.E. (OECT 9 24); the sale(?) of shares in the prebends for those who may enter the temple and for the *gerseqqû*-attendants in 90 S.E. (Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 313f. 4); a quitclaim to real estate and shares in the goldsmith's prebend in 99 S.E. (OECT 9 38); and a real estate sale in an unknown district, ca. 75–100 S.E. (VAS 15 46).

# 8, Līšer/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Gimil-Anu, whose grandfather's name is Anu-ab-uṣur, <sup>5</sup> also witnessed: a quitclaim<sup>6</sup> to real estate in the Ištar City Gate district in 67 S.E. (MLC 2164) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 723); the sale of shares in the prebend for those who may enter the temple in 71 S.E. (BRM 2 19) (seal: no. 69); the sale of real estate in the Miḥallake Temple district in 71 S.E. (BRM 2 20 = MLC 2178) (seal: no. 69); the sale of shares in the brewer's prebend in 77 S.E. (NCBT 1949) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 739); the purchase by the present buyer of shares in the builder's prebend, also witnessed by WI # 1, in 77 S.E. (BRM 2 22 = BiMes 24 1) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 739); the sale of real estate in the Ištar City Gate district, ca. 83–88 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (OECT 9 27); and the sale of real estate in the Lugalgirra Temple district in 101 S.E. (Speleers Recueil 293) (seal: Speleers 1917, 231, no. 199, second row, left).

#9, Ištar-zēr-ibni/Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed the sale(?) of shares in a prebend(?) in 85 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 1 and recorded by the present scribe (NCBT 1947) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 366, 550, 673, 674), and a real estate quitclaim, also witnessed by WI # 4, ca. 76–88 S.E. (NCBT 1964) (cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 564, 795).

The scribe, Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, wrote numerous other archival documents including: the sale of shares in sheep, the travel provisions of the gods, in NCBT 1963 (65 S.E.); the leasing of shares in the butcher's prebend in TCL 13 238 (66 S.E.); sales of shares in the brewer's prebend in OECT 9 19 (78 S.E.), OECT 9 20 = NBDM 91 (80 S.E.), OECT 9 23(?) (84 S.E.), and OECT 9 34 = OECT 9 35 (96 S.E.); sales of real estate in the Ištar City Gate district in TCL 13 239 (79 S.E.), OECT 9 27, also witnessed by WI # 8 (ca. 83-88 S.E.), and in BRM 2 28 = BiMes 24 19, sold by the present buyer (89 S.E.); sales of real estate in the Adad Temple district in BiMes 24 26 (82 S.E.), NCBT 1937 (85 S.E.), and YBC 16655 (ca. 90-99 S.E.); the sale(?) of shares of a prebend(?), also witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 9, in NCBT 1947 (85 S.E.); a fragmentary text, recorded at Larsa, concerning income rights to ceremonies of the goddess Aja, OECT 9 267 (ca. 86–89 S.E.); and the sale of shares in the prebend for those who may enter the temple and for the *gerseqqû*-attendants in OECT 9 33 (95 S.E.). He himself witnessed the sale of shares of the butcher's prebend in MLC 2188 (106 S.E.) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 697).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BRM 2 19:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For the original bill-of-sale, see BRM 2 14, drawn up in 51 S.E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This text was drawn up at Larsa, but apparently found at Uruk (Oelsner 1986, 154, and n. 612).

## III TEXT III

HSM 913.1.6 (7314)

Date: 23.VIII.87 S.E.

Scribe: Ištar-šum-eriš/Anu-erība//Kurî

Dimensions:  $9.4 \times 10.6 \times 4.1$ 

Duplicate: BRM 2 27

Type: quitclaim

Property: a house, the property of Anu, in the Ištar City Gate district, Uruk

Property boundaries:

N: the street "The Thoroughfare of the Gods and the King"

S: a house, the property of Anu, the tenured land of Anu-uballit/Tanittu-Anu; and an empty lot, the property of Anu, the tenured land of Nidintu-Anu, barber

W: the street "The Thoroughfare of the People"

E: the right-of-way of Nidintu-Anu, barber

Waiver: Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu/Tattannu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni: R1 (30)

Beneficiary: Rihāt-Anu/Anu-ušēzib, gaddāyya-official

Previous owner: Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Kurî

Witnesses:

(1) Anu-ab-utēr/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah-ūtu: B2 (29)

(2) Tanittu-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Hunzû: L1 (46)

(3) Anu-ab-usur/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû: T1 (21)

(4) Nanâ-iddin/Mukin-apli//Ebabbar-šum-ibni: B1 (22)

(5) Anu-ah-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu//Kurî: cf. L3 (7), T3 (39)

(6) Anu-ah-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû: cf. L3 (7), T3 (39)

(7) Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû: T2 (62)

(8) Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Lā-bāši//Kurî: L2 (45)

Obv. 1- mim-ma dib-bi di-i-ni u ra-ga-mu šá mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 DUMU šá md60-TIN-it DUMU šá

2- mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 dumu šá mtat-tan-nu A md30-ti-ér diš ugu-hi é

3- NÍG.GA d60 KI-tì KÁ.GAL dINANNA šá gé-reb UNUGki UŠ AN-ú imsi.sá

4- DA SILA *rap-šú mu-taq* DINGIR.MEŠ *u* LUGAL UŠ KI-*ú* <sup>im</sup>ULU<sub>3</sub> <sup>lu</sup> DA É NÍG.GA d60

5- É rit-ti šá <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ta-nit-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 u<sup>a</sup> DA <sup>é</sup>ki-šub-ba-a

6- NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>60 É *rit-ti šá* <sup>m</sup>*ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>lú</sup>*gal-la-ba* SAG.KI AN.TA

7- immar.tu da sila sig *mu-taq* un.meš sag.ki ki.ta imkur.ra da

8- mu-su-ú šá <sup>m</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>lú</sup>ga-la-ba ŠU.NIGIN UŠ.MEŠ u SAG.KI.MEŠ miših-tu4

9- É MU.MEŠ É MU.MEŠ *šá* AŠ IGI-*am-ma* <sup>m</sup>*ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 *a-ga-*' AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup>

10- <sup>m</sup>su-mut<sup>ut</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU A <sup>m</sup>kur-i a-na KÙ.BABBAR im-hur

11- KI <sup>m</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-KAR <sup>lú</sup>ga-ad-da-a-a a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-tú

12- ia-a-nu ul i-šal-lat-ma <sup>m</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it É NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>60

13- MU.MEŠ a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-na ri-mu-ú-tú a-na lúnu-dun-nu-ú a-na

14- e-peš și-bu-ú-tú a-na mim-ma gab-bi a-na lúman-am šá-nam-ma

- 15- e-lat <sup>m</sup>ri-ḫat-<sup>d</sup>60 dumu šá <sup>md</sup>60-KAR ul id-din u ul i-nam-din
- 16- u ki-i id-din u<sup>a</sup> it-tan-nu ul ú-šu-zu É NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>60 MU.MEŠ
- 17- 「ɬ rit-ti šá <sup>m</sup>ri-ḫat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-ú-še-zib <sup>lú</sup>ga-ad-da-a-a
- Rev. 18- a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa-a-tú šu-ú šá-ṭa-ra-nu.MEŠ maḥ-ru-ú-tú šá AŠ MU
  - 19- šá mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 a-ga-' ép-šu-ú šá É MU.MEŠ a-šar šá ik-kaš-ši-du-'
  - 20- šá <sup>m</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-ú-še-zib a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-tú šú-nu
  - 21-  $^{\text{l}\acute{u}}$  mu- $kin_7$   $^{\text{md}}$  60-AD-GUR DUMU  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{md}}$  60-TIN-su-E A  $^{\text{m}}\acute{a}h$ - $^{\text{h}}$ - $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$
  - 22- mta-nit-tu4-d60 dumu šá mki-din-d60 A mhun-zu-ú
  - 23- <sup>md</sup>60-AD-URU<sub>3</sub> DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 A <sup>m</sup>hun-zu-ú
  - 24- mdna-na-a-mu dumu šá mdu-a a mé.babbar.ra-mu-dù
  - 25- md60-šeš-mu-nu dumu šá mdiš-gal-d60 a mkur-i
  - 26-  $^{\rm md}$ 60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu DUMU šá  $^{\rm m}ni$ -din- $tu_4$ - $^{\rm d}$ 60 A  $^{\rm m}hun$ -zu-u
  - 27- md na-na-a-MU DUMU šá md 60-DUMU-MU-nu A mhun-zu-ú
  - 28- <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši A <sup>m</sup>kur-i
  - 29- <sup>md</sup>INANNA-MU-KÁM <sup>lú</sup>ŠID DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>60-SU A <sup>m</sup>kur-i UNUG<sup>ki itu</sup>APIN
  - 30- U<sub>4</sub>.23.KÁM MU.87.KÁM <sup>m</sup>se-lu-ku LUGAL

<sup>m</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>lú</sup>na-din zu-ú-ku MU.MEŠ

U.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(21)	(62)	(39)
	md 60-AD-URU <sub>3</sub>	<sup>md</sup> na-na-a-MU	<sup>md</sup> 60-ŠEŠ-MU- <i>nu</i>
Lo.E.	un-qa	un-qa	
	(22)	(29)	
	<sup>md</sup> na-na-a-MU	md 60-AD-URU <sub>3</sub> [sic] <sup>a</sup>	
Le.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-ga
	(46)	(45)	(7)
	$^{[m]}ta$ -nit-tu <sub>4</sub> - $^{d}60$	mAŠ-qí-bit-d60	<sup>md</sup> 60-šeš-mu- <i>nu</i>
R.E.	un-qa		
	(30)		

(1) There will be no lawsuit, legal proceeding or claim of any kind on the part of Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Tattannu, descendant of Sîn-leqi-unnīni, with regard to the house, the property of Anu, in the district of the Ištar City Gate which is within Uruk — the upper long side on the north is adjacent to the wide street, "The Thoroughfare of the Gods and the King"; the lower long side on the south is adjacent to the house, the property of Anu, (5) the tenured land of Anu-uballit, son of Tanittu-Anu, and is adjacent to the empty lot, the property of Anu, the tenured land of Nidintu-Anu, the barber; the upper short side on the west is adjacent to the narrow street, "The Thoroughfare of the People"; the lower short side on the east is adjacent to the right-of-way of Nidintu-Anu, the barber: the total of the long sides and short sides are the measured area of that house, that house which this Nidintu-Anu purchased from (10) Sumuttu-Anu, son of Nanâ-iddin, descendant of Kurî — against Riḥāt-Anu, son of Anu-ušēzib, the gaddāyya-official, in perpetuity.

Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, has no power of disposition, and he did not transfer and is not transferring that house, the property of Anu, for money, as a gift, as a dowry, in a business transaction, (or) for any reason to anyone else (15) except Riḥāt-Anu, son of Anu-ušēzib. But if he transferred (it) or shall transfer (it), they will not enter (it in the temple records).

That house, the property of Anu, the tenured land of Riḥāt-Anu, son of Anu-ušēzib, the *gaddāyya*-official, is his in perpetuity. The prior documents which were drawn up in the name of this Nidintu-Anu concerning that house, wherever they are found, (20) belong to Rihāt-Anu, son of Anu-ušēzib, in perpetuity.

(21–28) (list of eight witnesses)

(29) Ištar-šum-eriš, the scribe, son of Anu-erība, descendant of Kurî. Uruk. Araḥ samnu (30) 23, year 87, Seleucus, king.

#### Notes

Text A = text III. Text B = BRM 2 27.

5<sup>a</sup> This sign is present in B, although omitted by Clay 1913, pl. 23, 1. 5.

16<sup>a</sup> Both A and B omit the expected following repetition of *ki-i*. For *šuzuzzu* "to enter (in the temple records)," see Ries 1976.

Lo.E.<sup>a</sup> So A; B: md 60-AD-GUR.

#### **Comments**

For the standard formulary for quitclaims, see Krückmann 1931, 47-53; Lewenton 1970, 33–39; Doty 1977, 93–100. Note the absence of any further provisions for the clearing of future claims following the clause restricting the power of disposition of the waiver (l. 16) (cf. text VII:15–16) (Lewenton 1970, 80–81; cf. Doty 1977, 94, n. 193). Also note the addition of two statements: the first, noting the prior purchase of the property in question by the waiver from a third party (ll. 9–10), inserted following the property description; and the second, confirming the ownership by the beneficiary of prior documents drawn up in the name of the waiver concerning that property (ll. 18–20), appended following the normally final transfer of ownership clause (cf. Krückmann 1931, 51; Lewenton 1970, 34).

Eleven of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to three each in nine other transactions, of which six concern real estate. In addition, eight persons, including seven of the preceding, occur individually in yet another sixty transactions, of which twenty concern real estate.

The waiver, Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu/Tattannu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, just eight months later, used the same seal (no. **30**) witnessing the division of real estate in the Adad Temple district (BiMes 24 53 = MLC 2170) between two brothers, Anu-uballit and Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu, who may have been either his sons or father and uncle, and a third man, Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Sîn-leqi-unnīni; this transaction was also witnessed

by WI # 4. Also note by the same personal and father's names: \(^1\) the *galmāhu*-priest, who was the owner of the canonical tablets TCL 6 46 (81 S.E.) and BRM 4 21 (84 S.E.), the scribe of BaM Beiheft 2 65 (n.d.), and probably either the owner or scribe of BaM Beiheft 2 109 (66 S.E.); and (2) the scribe of the archival tablets BRM 2 19 (71 S.E.), NCBT 1949 (77 S.E.), NCBT 1956 (77 S.E.), Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 306ff. 3 (78 S.E.), BiMes 24 46(?) (85 S.E.).

The previous owner of the house, Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Kurî, whose grandfather's name is Nadin,² is known from property descriptions in two other transactions: the sale of a house in the Ištar City Gate district sold in 85 S.E., recorded by the present scribe and witnessed by WI # 7 (BRM 2 26); and the sale of a storehouse within the Irigal in 109 S.E., to which Sumuttu-Anu was also a witness (text **IV** = BRM 2 30) (seal: no. **20**). He is also known from witness lists to a variety of transaction types including a division of real estate in the Ištar and Market City Gate districts in 82 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 7 and written by the present scribe (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 252), sales of various prebendal shares in 93 S.E. (OECT 9 30 = OECT 9 31) and 106 S.E. (MLC 2188) (seal: no. **20**), and a real estate sale in the Ištar City Gate district in 104 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 and WI # 6 (NCBT 2306) (seal: no. **20**).

# Among the witnesses:

- # 1, Anu-ab-utēr/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed the sale of a storehouse within the Irigal in 61 S.E. (MLC 2161) and the sale of shares of the travel provisions of the gods in 65 S.E. (NCBT 1963) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 642).
- # 2, Tanittu-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû, also witnessed sales of various prebendal shares, ca. 51–66(?) S.E. (OECT 9 28), in 68 S.E. (Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 301ff. 2) (seal: Ménant 1886, 184, fig. 167), and 119 S.E. (OECT 9 48). He also witnessed a land sale in an unknown district, ca. 90–102 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 (VAS 15 42), and is among the neighbors to properties being exchanged in the Lugalgirra Temple district in 95 S.E. (BIN 2 135).
- # 3, Anu-ab-uṣur/Nidintu-Anu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed several real estate sales: in the Adad Temple district in 85 S.E. (NCBT 1937) (seal: no. 21); in the Ištar City Gate district, ca. 83–88 S.E. (OECT 9 27), and in 104 S.E., also witnessed by the present previous owner and WI # 6 (NCBT 2306) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 225); and in an unknown district, ca. 90–102 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 (VAS 15 42). He also witnessed a quitclaim to real estate in an unknown district, ca. 76-88 S.E. (NCBT 1964) (seal: no. 21), and he and WI # 7 are among the neighbors to land being sold in the Pleasure Garden district in 91 S.E. (NCBT 1940). Anu-ab-uṣur also purchased shares of various temple prebends in 109 S.E. (VAS 15 19) and ca. 102–119 S.E. (NCBT 1955).
- #4, Nanâ-iddin/Mukin-apli//Ebabbar-šum-ibni, also witnessed a division of property in the Adad Temple district in 88 S.E., also witnessed by the present waiver (BiMes 24 53 = MLC 2170) (seal: cf. Wallenfels nos. 421, 850), and the sale of shares in the baker's prebend, ca. 67–89 S.E. (OECT 9 64).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The scribe Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni may have been the son of either of two earlier scribes: (1) Anu-uballit/Itti-Anu-nuḥšu, active ca. 47–63 S.E.; or (2) Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu, active ca. 11-≤29 S.E. <sup>2</sup> BRM 2 24:34 = MLC 2124A:35–36; OECT 9 30:24 = OECT 9 31:r3′; NCBT 2306:23–24; text IV:7–8, 23–24 = BRM 2 30:7, 23–24.

#5, Anu-aḫ-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu//Kurî, whose grandfather's name is Kidin-Anu,<sup>3</sup> also witnessed the sale by WI # 8 of a baker's prebend, ca. 108–109 S.E. (MLC 2177) (seal: no. **63**), and the sale of an oil processor's prebend in 111 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 (text V) (seal: no. **63**). Anu-aḫ-ittannu sold shares in the baker's prebend in 99 S.E.; the contract was recorded by the present scribe (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [R1]).

#6, Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu//Ḥunzû: persons by this name occur as witnesses to sales of various prebendal shares in 48 S.E. (BRM 2 12) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 380) and 63 S.E. (NCBT 1951) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 1041), and to land sales in the Šamaš City Gate district in 54 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 142ff. 2) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 3 [L1]) and in the Ištar City Gate district in 104 S.E., the latter also witnessed by the present previous owner and WI # 3 (NCBT 2306) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 680). Also note the following persons named Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu//Ḥunzû: (1) the grandson of Anu-aḥ-ittannu, the buyer of an oil presser's prebend in 43 S.E. (OECT 9 11); (2) the grandson of Anu-aḥ-ittannu, the great-grandson of Tattannu, the seller of brewer's prebends in 78 S.E. (OECT 9 19) and 80 S.E. (OECT 9 20 = NBDM 91); (3) the grandson of Anu-zēr-līšer, witness to a land sale in the Ištar City Gate district in 51 S.E. (BRM 2 14); and (4) the grandson of Illut-Anu, witness to sales of various prebendal shares in 111 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 (text V) (seal: no. 85), and in 116 S.E. (MLC 2201 = BaM Beiheft 2 132 + BiMes 24 3) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, no. 1002).

# 7, Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed two land sales in the Ištar City Gate district, one in 79 S.E. (TCL 13 239) (seal: Rutten 1935, 126 [III]), the other in 85 S.E. (BRM 2 26) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 672); in the latter, written by the present scribe, the present previous owner appears in the boundary description. Nanâ-iddin also witnessed a division of property in the Ištar and Market City Gate districts in 82 S.E., also witnessed by the present previous owner and written by the present scribe (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 672), and two different sales of various prebendal shares in 95 S.E. (OECT 9 32, OECT 9 33). He and WI # 3 are among the neighbors to land being sold in the Pleasure Garden district in 91 S.E. (NCBT 1940). A person with this name, the grandson of Anu-ab-usur, occurs as the buyer of real estate in an unknown district in 101 S.E. (VAS 15 41).

# 8, Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Lā-bāši//Kurî, also witnessed the sale of a brewer's prebend in 96 S.E. (OECT 9 34 = OECT 9 35). He was the seller of a baker's prebend ca. 108–109 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 (MLC 2177), and is among the neighbors to real estate being divided in the Ištar City Gate district in 103 S.E. (OECT 9 41).

The scribe, Ištar-šum-eriš/Anu-erība//Kurî, between 75 and 101 S.E., recorded at least two dozen different transactions, including the present text. The remaining texts include the land sales BRM 2 21 (75 S.E.), OECT 9 18 (76 S.E.), BRM 2 23 = MLC 2123A (78 S.E.), BiMes 24 21 (83 S.E.), BRM 2 26, also witnessed by WI # 7, and in which the present previous owner occurs in the boundary description (85 S.E.), BiMes 24 34 (96 S.E.), Speleers Recueil 298 = Speleers Recueil 300 (96 S.E.), and Speleers Recueil 293 (101 S.E.); the prebend sales BRM 2 22 = BiMes 24 1 (77 S.E.), MLC 2157 (78

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7:1; text **V**:32.

## Text III

S.E.), OECT 9 25 (86 S.E.), BRM 2 29 (99 S.E.), VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7, in which WI # 5 was the seller (99 S.E.), and NCBT 1975 (100 S.E.); the combined land and prebend sale OECT 9 24 (84 S.E.); the lease of land VAS 15 35 (86 S.E.); the leases of prebends OECT 9 36 (97 S.E.) and OECT 9 37 (97 S.E.); the divisions of properties BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A, also witnessed by the present previous owner and WI # 7 (82 S.E.), and BiMes 24 45 (92 S.E.); and quitclaims to a slave OECT 9 22 (84 S.E.), to real estate BiMes 24 18 = BiMes 48 (97 S.E.), and to real estate and prebendal shares OECT 9 38 (99 S.E.).

# IV TEXT IV

HSM 913.1.2 (7310)

Scribe: Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Ekur-zakir

Dimensions:  $8.9 \times 10.8 \times 3.9$ 

Date: 16.VIII.109 S.E. Duplicate: BRM 2 30<sup>1</sup>

Type: sale of a temple storehouse, a finished structure, in the Irigal, in the courtyard of

the gate of Ištar Price: 25 sheqels Property Boundaries:

N: *kuburrû*-wall of the portico of the brewers' house S: enclosure-wall in the courtyard of the gate of Ištar

W: courtyard of the gate of Ištar which is part of the right-of-way of that storehouse

E: *kuburrû*-wall of the Irigal which is between that storehouse and the storehouses of Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Ḥunzû and Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin/Nadin//Kurî

Seller: Nidintu-šarri/Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši, builder: R1 (70)

Buyer: Nanâ-iddin/Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad Guarantor: Ubār/Anu-uballiṭ/Ubār//Šumāt: R2 (**68**)

Witnesses:

(1) Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu/Lā-bāši//Ah-ūtu: L1 (24)

- (2) Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu: B3 (47)
- ( 3) Mukin-apli/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḫ-ūtu: B2 (25)

(4) Nidintu-Anu/Bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu: T1 (11)

(5) Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Ḥunzû: cf. T3 (23), T4 (13)

( 6) Dumqi-Anu/Tattannu//Hunzû: L2 (48)

(7) Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin/Nadin//Kurî: T2 (20)

- (8) Kidin-Anu/Ardi-Ninurta, parchment scribe of the estate of Anu: cf. T3 (23), T4 (13)
- (9) Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni: B1 (59)

(10) Nidintu-Anu/Erība//Ekur-zakir: B4 (35)

Obv. 1-  $^{\rm m}$ NÍG.SUM.MU-LUGAL A šá  $^{\rm m}ri$ -hat- $^{\rm d}60$  A šá  $^{\rm m}la$ -ba-ši  $^{\rm lú}$ DÍM Aš hu-ud ŠÀ-bi-hat-

2- É ŠU<sup>II</sup>-su DÙ- $u\check{s}$ - $tu_4$  šá AŠ <sup>é</sup>IRI<sub>10</sub>.GAL AŠ 「TÙR 「 šá KÁ šá <sup>d</sup>INANNA UŠ AN- $\acute{u}$  im SI.Sá

3- DA  $^{\mathrm{im}}ku$ -bur-ru- $\acute{u}$  š $\acute{a}$  É mu-ter- $tu_4$  š $\acute{a}$  É  $^{\mathrm{l\acute{u}}}$ BAPPIR.MEŠ UŠ KI- $\acute{u}$   $^{\mathrm{im}}$ ULU $_3$   $^{\mathrm{lu}}$ 

4- da  $^{\rm e}du\text{-}ri$  šá aš tùr šá ká šá  $^{\rm d}$ inanna sag.ki an.ta  $^{\rm im}$ mar.tu da tùr

5-  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  KÁ  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  dinanna  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  AŠ ŠÀ-bi mu-su- $\acute{u}$   $\check{s}\acute{a}$  É ŠU $^{\rm II}$  MU MEŠ SAG KI KI.TA

imKUR.RA

6- da  $\it ku-bur-ru-\acute{u}^a$  šá  $\rm ^{\acute{e}}IRI_{10}.GAL$  šá aš  $\it bi-rit$  é šu  $\rm ^{II}$  mu.meš ù  $\it a-na$  é šu  $\rm ^{II}.me$  š

7- šá  ${}^{\rm m}$ BÁR- ${}^{\rm d}$ 60 A šá  ${}^{\rm md}$ 60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A  ${}^{\rm m}$ ħun-zu-ú u  ${}^{\rm m}$ su-mut-tu<sub>4</sub>- ${}^{\rm d}$ 60 A šá  ${}^{\rm md}$ na-na-a-MU

For a partial edition (II. 2–7), see Falkenstein 1941, 37–38.

## Text IV

8- A šá <sup>m</sup> na-din A <sup>m</sup> kur-	i šu.nigin uš.meš	ù SAG.KI.MEŠ	<i>meš-ḥat</i> É ŠU <sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ
			É ŠU <sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ

- 9- i- $\dot{s}i$  ù ma-a-du ma-la ba- $\dot{s}u$ - $\acute{u}$  gab- $\Box bi$  a-na  $^{1}/_{3}$  MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ga-lu- $\acute{u}$
- 10- is-ta-ter-ra-nu šá man-ti-'-i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-tu a-na ŠÁM TIL.MEŠ
- 11- a-na <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU A šá <sup>md</sup>60-AD-GUR A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM a-na
- 12-  $U_4$ -mu sa-a-tú it-ta-din KÙ.BABBAR- $a_4$   $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA 5 GÍN ŠÁM É ŠU<sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ
- 13- TIL.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-LUGAL AŠ ŠU<sup>II md</sup>na-na-a-MU ma-hir e-ṭìr U<sub>4</sub>-mu pa-qa-ri
- 15- A <sup>m</sup>MU.MEŠ *ú-mar-raq-ma a-di* 12-TA.ÀM *a-na* <sup>md</sup>*na-na-a*-MU A *šá* <sup>md</sup>60-
- Rev. 16- a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa-a-tú i-nam-din pu-ú-ut a-ḥa-a-meš a-na mu-ur-ru-qu šá É
  - 17- <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-LUGAL A *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ri-ḫat-*<sup>d</sup>60 *u* <sup>m</sup>*ú-bar* A *šá* <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-*iṭ a-na* <sup>md</sup>*na- na-a*-MU
  - 18- A šá  $^{\rm md}$ 60-AD-GUR a-na U $_4$ -mu ṣa-a-tú na-šu-ú É ŠU $^{\rm II}$  MU.MEŠ šá  $^{\rm m}$ na-na-a-MU
  - 19- A šá <sup>md</sup>60-AD-GUR A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-tú ši-i
  - 20-  $^{\text{l\'u}}mu$ - $kin_7$   $^{\text{m}}la$ -ba- $\check{s}i$  A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{md}}60$ -EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m}}la$ -ba- $\check{s}i$   $^{\text{md}}60$ - $\check{s}$ EŠ-MU-nu
  - 21- A  $\check{s}\acute{a}^{\,\mathrm{m}}$ NÍG.SUM.MU- $^{\mathrm{d}}60$  A  $\check{s}\acute{a}^{\,\mathrm{md}}60$ -EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu  $^{\mathrm{m}}$ DU-A A  $\check{s}\acute{a}^{\,\mathrm{md}}60$ -EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu u
  - 22- A šá <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu A.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>áh- '-ú-tú <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ù
  - 23-  $^m dum-qi$ - $^{ \Box d}60$  A šá  $^m tat-tan-nu$  A.MEŠ  $^m hun-zu-u$   $^m su-mut-tu_4$ - $^d 60$  A šá
  - 24- <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>na-din A <sup>m</sup>kur-i <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>ÌR-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta
  - 25- lúse-pir NÍG.GA d60 mšá-d60-iš-šu-ú A šá mdna-na-a-MU A mÉ.BABBAR.RA-
  - 26- mníg.sum.mu-d60 a šá msu-a a mé.kur-za-kir
  - 27-  $^{\rm m}$ NÍG.SUM.MU- $^{\rm d}60$   $^{\rm l\acute{u}}$ ŠID A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\rm md}60$ -EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu A  $^{\rm m}$ É.KUR-za-kir UNUG $^{\rm ki}$   $^{\rm itu}$ APIN. KÁM U $_4$ .16.KÁM
  - 28- MU.109.KÁM <sup>m</sup>an-ti- '-i-ku-su u <sup>m</sup>an-ti- '-i-ku-su A-šú LUGAL.MEŠ
- U.E.  $\lceil un \rceil [qa]$   $\lceil un \rceil qa$  un-qa (11) (20) (23)  ${}^{m}N\acute{1}G.SUM.MU-{}^{d}60$   ${}^{m}Su-mut-tu_{4}-{}^{d}60$   ${}^{m}B\acute{A}R-{}^{d}60$

*un-qa* (**13**) <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60

Lo.E. *un-qa un-qa un-qa* (59) (25) (47)

<sup>m</sup>šá-<sup>d</sup>60-iš-šu-ú <sup>m</sup>DU-A <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-*nu* 

un-qa (35) <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60

Le.E. *un-qa*(**24**)

<sup>m</sup>*la-ba-ši* 

R.E. *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-LUGAL (**70**)

<sup>lú</sup>na-din-na É MU.MEŠ

「un¬-qa (**48**) <sup>™</sup>dum-qí-<sup>d</sup>60

un-qa <sup>m</sup>ú-bar (**68**)

lúmu-mar-raq-an-na

(1) Nidintu-šarri, son of Riḫāt-Anu, son of Lā-bāši, the builder, of his own free will, has sold his storehouse, a finished structure, which is in the Irigal, in the courtyard of the gate of Ištar — the upper long side on the north is adjacent to the *kuburrû*-wall of the portico of the brewers' house; the lower long side on the south is adjacent to the enclosure-wall which is in the courtyard of the gate of Ištar; the upper short side on the west is adjacent to the courtyard (5) of the gate of Ištar which is part of the right-of-way of that storehouse; the lower short side on the east is adjacent to the *kuburrû*-wall of the Irigal which is between that storehouse and the storehouses of Kidin-Anu, son of Anu-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Ḥunzû, and Sumuttu-Anu, son of Nanâ-iddin, son of Nadin, descendant of Kurî: the total of the long sides and short sides are the measured area of that storehouse — that storehouse, less or more, as much as there is, all of it, for 25 sheqels of refined silver, (10) staters of Antiochus in good condition, as the full sale price, to Nanâ-iddin, son of Anu-ab-utēr, descendant of Luštammar-Adad, in perpetuity.

The money, 25 sheqels, the full sale price of that storehouse, Nidintu-šarri has received from (and) was paid by Nanâ-iddin. When a claim is brought concerning that storehouse, Ubār, son of Anu-uballit, son of Ubār, (15) descendant of Šumāt, will clear (it) and pay the 12-fold (penalty) to Nanâ-iddin, son of Anu-ab-utēr, in perpetuity. Nidintu-šarri, son of Riḥāt-Anu, and Ubār, son of Anu-uballit, mutually assume guaranty for the clearing of that storehouse for Nanâ-iddin, son of Anu-ab-utēr, in perpetuity.

That storehouse of Nanâ-iddin, son of Anu-ab-utēr, descendant of Luštammar-Adad, is his in perpetuity.

(20–26) (list of ten witnesses)

(27) Nidintu-Anu, the scribe, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir. Uruk. Arahsamnu 16, (28) year 109, Antiochus and Antiochus, his son, kings.

#### **Notes**

Text A = text IV. Text B = BRM 2 30.

6<sup>a</sup> So A; B (5): imku-bur-ru-ú.

#### **Comments**

For the standard formulary for the sale of real estate, see Krückmann 1931, 24–38; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 2–7; Doty 1977, 64–82.

Nine of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to three each in twelve other transactions, of which three concern real estate. In addition, eleven persons, including eight of the preceding, occur individually in yet another forty-two transactions, of which sixteen concern real estate.

The seller, Nidintu-šarri/Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši lú itinnu, was also the buyer of real estate in the Ištar City Gate district in 119 S.E. (BRM 2 32 = MLC 2171), and an exchanger of real estate in the same area in 129 S.E. (BRM 2 35) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 486). He was no doubt kin to the family of builders and architects in text **VII.** 

The buyer, Nanâ-iddin/Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed the sale, recorded by the present scribe, of a similar Irigal storehouse, by perhaps the present seller,<sup>2</sup> in 112 S.E. (OECT 9 47). Nanâ-iddin had obtained prebendal shares in 103 S.E. which his son, Anu-uballit, later sold ca. 125–137 S.E. (OECT 9 42).<sup>3</sup> Nanâ-iddin is also referred to in a boundary description of an Irigal storehouse sold in 122 S.E (OECT 9 49).

Both of the neighbors named in the boundary descriptions of the present property, Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḫḫē-iddin//Ḥunzû and Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin/Nadin//Kurî, were also witnesses, # 5 and # 7, respectively, to the transaction.

#### Among the witnesses:

# 1, Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu/Lā-bāši//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed a prebend sale ca. 102–119 (OECT 9 44), and a land sale in the Adad Temple district in 122 S.E. (VAS 15 14).

# 2, Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed a land sale in the *kiprat bīt ilānī* district in 146 S.E. (VAS 15 13), and may be referred to in a boundary description in an unknown district, ca. 90–102 S.E. (VAS 15 42).

# 3, Mukin-apli/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed the sale of a share in temple meat offerings in 109 S.E. (BiMes 24 2) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 5, U.E. [T3]), the sale of prebendal shares in 109 S.E. (VAS 15 19) and 125 S.E. (OECT 9 50), and sales of land in the Adad City Gate district in 128 S.E. (MLC 2187) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 267, 961) and in the Ištar City Gate district, ca. 125–137 S.E. (OECT 9 56). He also shared in the division of property with his two brothers and two of his nephews in the Lugalgirra Temple district in 94 S.E. (VAS 15 50).

# 4, Nidintu-Anu/Bēlšunu//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed the sales of various prebendal shares in 86 S.E., in which WI # 5 was the buyer (OECT 9 25), 90 S.E. (Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 313f. 4), ca. 95–96 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 (NCBT 1954) (seal: cf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See discussion among the comments to the benificiary of text VII, below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See McEwan 1984: the sales document of 103 S.E. is referred to by the term kur-ra-pe-e,  $\gamma \rho \alpha \phi \dot{\eta}$  (?) (OECT 9:5); this may well have been a parchment document, perhaps recorded in Greek, enclosed within a clay bulla bearing the seal impressions of the two sellers and seven witnesses (OECT 9 42:4–9).

Wallenfels 1994, nos. 478, 727), and ca. 102–119 S.E. (NCBT 1955) (seal: no. 11). He also witnessed a division of land in the Pleasure Garden district in 88 S.E. (TCL 13 240), the lease of prebendal shares, in which WI # 5 was the leaser, in 97 S.E. (OECT 9 37), and the division of four slaves in 107 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 (OECT 9 43).

#5, Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Ḥunzû, whose grandfather's name was Nanâ-iddin, witnessed the sale of prebendal shares, also witnessed by WI # 8, in 95 S.E. (OECT 9 33). However, Kidin-Anu is most commonly encountered in the archival texts as the buyer of shares of predominantly the brewer's, butcher's and baker's prebends in 78 S.E. (OECT 9 19), 80 S.E. (OECT 9 20 = NBDM 91), 84 S.E. (OECT 9 23), 84 S.E. (OECT 9 24), 86 S.E., witnessed by WI # 4 (OECT 9 25), ca. 67–89 S.E. (OECT 19 14), ca. 67–89 S.E. (OECT 9 64), ca. 80–90 S.E. (OECT 9 21), 93 S.E., witnessed by WI # 7 (OECT 9 30 = OECT 9 31), 95 S.E., witnessed by WI # 8 (OECT 9 32), 96 S.E. (OECT 9 34 = OECT 9 35), and 97 S.E. (OECT 9 36); he was also the leaser of prebendal shares, ca. 51–66(?) S.E. (OECT 9 28), and in 97 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 4 (OECT 9 37). Kidin-Anu also shared in an exchange of houses in an unknown district, ca. 91–102 S.E. (OECT 9 29). He was referred to in boundary descriptions to two properties in the Ištar City Gate district, the first purchased by his wife, fetirtu/Anu-uballit, in 79 S.E. (TCL 13 239), the second being divided among three brothers in 103 S.E. (OECT 9 41). fetirtu also independantly purchased shares of a baker's prebend in 72 S.E. (OECT 9 15).

#6, Dumqi-Anu/Tattannu//Hunzû, also witnessed the sale of a house in the Ištar City Gate district, in which WI #7 was a neighbor, in 85 S.E. (BRM 2 26) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 533). He also witnessed the sale of shares in the oil presser's prebend in 111

S.E., also witnessed by WI #9 (text V) (seal: no. 49).

# 7, Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin/Nadin//Kurî, also witnessed a division of real estate in the Ištar and Market City Gate districts in 82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 252), and the sale of prebendal shares in 93 S.E., purchased by WI # 5 (OECT 9 30 = OECT 9 31), and in 106 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 and written by the present scribe (MLC 2188) (seal: no. 20). Sumuttu-Anu also witnessed a land sale in the Ištar City Gate district in 104 S.E., again written by the present scribe (NCBT 2306) (seal: no. 20); he is referred to in a boundary description of a house sold in that district in 85 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 (BRM 2 26); and he was the previous owner of a house there in a quitclaim written in 87 S.E. (text III = BRM 2 27). Seal no. 20, the second of Sumuttu-Anu's two known seals, also appears on an undated clay bulla (MLC 2637) originally enclosing a parchment document.

# 8, Kidin-Anu/Ardi-Ninurta lá sepīr makkūr Anu, also witnessed the sales of shares of various prebends: twice in 95 S.E., the first, in which WI # 5 was the buyer (OECT 9 32), the second, also witnessed by WI # 5 (OECT 9 33); and again, ca. 108–109 S.E. (MLC 2177). He also witnessed a quitclaim concerning prebendal shares and real estate

in an unknown district in 99 S.E. (OECT 9 38).

# 9, Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni, also witnessed the sales of shares of various prebends, ca. 95–96 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 4 (NCBT 1954), in 99 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7) (seal: cf. Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [B3]), in 106 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 7 and written by the present scribe (MLC 2188) (seal: no. **59**), in 111 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 (text **V**) (seal: no. **50**), and ca. 110–119 S.E. (OECT 9 57). He also

#### Text IV

witnessed a division of slaves, also witnessed by WI # 4, in 107 S.E. (OECT 9 43), and the sale of a food allotment in 119 S.E. (OECT 9 48).

The scribe, Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Ekur-zakir, an exorcist ( $^{16}\bar{a}$ šipu Anu u Antu), wrote the omen texts TCL 6 10 (90 S.E.) and TCL 6 1 (91 S.E.). He owned numerous other canonical texts including TCL 6 16 (97 S.E.), BRM 4 12 (98 S.E.), TCL 6 35 (99 S.E.), BRM 4 13 (99 S.E.), TCL 6 4 (99 S.E.), TCL 6 2 (99 S.E.), TCL 6 3 (99 S.E.), BiMes 24 51 (111 S.E.), TCL 6 5 (n.d.), BaM Beiheft 2 65 (n.d.), and SpTU 2 33 (n.d.). He also wrote several additional archival texts including the land sales NCBT 2306, witnessed by WI # 7 (104 S.E.), and OECT 9 47, in which the present buyer was a witness (112 S.E.), and the prebend sales MLC 2188, witnessed by WI # 7 and WI # 9 (106 S.E.), Speleers Recueil 294 (107 S.E.), MLC 2165 (108 S.E.), NCBT 1971 (108 S.E.), and VAS 15 18 (108 S.E.).

# V TEXT V

HSM 913.1.3 (7311)

Dimensions:  $8.9 \times 10.1 \times 3.5$ 

Date: 25.VI.111 S.E.

Scribe: Anu-ahhē-iddin/Anu-bēlšunu//Ekur-zakir

Duplicate:

Type: sale of shares in oil processor's prebend: 1/2 of a day on the 20th day...before Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Papsukal, Ištar, Nanâ, Bēletsēri, Bēlet-ša-Rēš, Šarrahītu, and all the gods in their sanctuary

Price: 6 sheqels

Seller: Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-uballit//Hunzû: R1 (83)

Buyer: fAntu-banât/Illut-Anu/Ana-rabût-Anu, wife of Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit/Rabi-Anu//Kurî

Guarantor: Nanâ-iddin/Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-uballit//Ḥunzû: [R2] (-)

Co-holder of shares: Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit//Kurî

#### Witnesses:

- (1) Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-zēr-līšer//[Aḥ-ūtu]: T3 (10)
- (2) Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥ-ušabši//E[kur-zakir]: B2 (-)
- (3) Šamaš-ittannu/Anu-ab-usur//Luštam[mar-Adad]: T4 (51)
- (4) Anu-ab-usur/Lā-bāši//Ekur-za[kir]: cf. B1 (71), [B3] (-), [B4] (-)
- (5) Anu-uballit/Rihāt-Ištar//Ekur-zakir: cf. B3 (-), B4 (-)
- (6) Anu-ah-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Kurî: T1 (63)
- (7) Dumqi-Anu/Tattannu//Hunzû: T2 (49)
- (8) Anu-ab-uṣur/Anu-uballissu/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir: cf. B1 (71), [B3] (-), [B4] (-)
- (9) Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni: L1 (50)
- (10) Anu-ah-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Illut-Anu//Hunzû: L2 (85)
- Obv. 1- mtat-tan-nu DUMU šá md na-na-a-MU A šá md 60-TIN-it A mhun-zu-ú
  - 2- AŠ hu-ud ŠÀ-bi-sú mi-sil  $U_4$ -mu AŠ $^{7}$   $[U_4]$ .20.[KÁM ]  $^{7}$ GIŠ.ŠUB $^{7}$ .BA-sú
  - 3-  $^{\text{l\'e}}$ l.ŠUR- $\acute{u}$ - $^{\text{r}}$ tú IGI  $^{\text{d}}$ 60 $^{\text{d}}$  an- $tu_4$   $^{\text{rd}}$ en $^{\text{r}}$ -tít  $^{\text{d}}$ BE  $^{\text{d}}$ 730  $^{\text{d}}$ UTU
  - 4- dim dramar [utu] rd pap-sukal dinanna dna-na-a dGašan-edin
  - 5-  ${}^{d}\Gamma$ GAŠAN- $\check{s}\check{a}$ - ${}^{\acute{e}}$ SAG  ${}^{\acute{e}}$ Šar-ra-hi-i- $tu_4$  u DINGIR.MEŠ É- $\check{s}\check{u}$ - $\lceil nu \rceil$
  - 6- gab-bi šá ITU-us-su kal MU.AN.NA gu-ug-qa-né-<sup>□</sup>e
  - 7- 「ÈŠ¬.ÈŠ.MEŠ ù mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na mi-šil U<sub>4</sub>-mu GiŠ.「ŠUB¬.[BA]
  - 8- 「lú¬ì.ŠUR-ú-tú MU.MEŠ ik-kaš-ši-du šá KI lúŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu ù
  - 9- lúEN.MEŠ HA.LA.MEŠ-šú gab-bi ù KI mil-lut-d60
  - 10- DUMU šá md60-TIN-it A mkur-i a-na 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR qa-lu-ú
  - 11- is-ta-ter-ra-nu šá man-ti-'-i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú
  - 12- a-na ŠÁM TIL.MEŠ (erasure) a-na mían-tu<sub>4</sub>-DÙ-at
  - 13- 「DUMU¬.Mí šá mil-lut-d60 a šá mdiš-gal-d60 dam mil-lut-d60
  - 14- DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it A <sup>m</sup>kur-i a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa-a-tú it-ta-din
  - 15- KÙ.BABBAR- $a_4$  6 GÍN ŠÁM GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU.MEŠ TIL.MEŠ  $^{\mathrm{m}}tat$ -tan- $^{\mathsf{n}}u$
  - 16- DUMU šá  $^{\text{md}}$ na-na-a-MU AŠ ŠU $^{\text{II}}$   $^{\text{mi}}$ an-tu<sub>4</sub>-DÙ-at DUMU.MÍ šá  $^{\text{mi}}$ l- $^{\text{lut}}$ - $^{\text{ld}}$ 60]

# Text $\mathbf{V}$

Rev.	17- ma-hir e-tìr U <sub>4</sub> -mu pa-qa-18- MU.MEŠ it-tab-šu-ú md na-19- ú-mar-raq-ma a-di 12-TA 20- a-na U <sub>4</sub> -mu ṣa-a- tú i-nan 21- šá GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU.MEŠ mt 22- md na-na-a-MU u md na-na-23- a-na U <sub>4</sub> -mu ṣa-a-tú na-šu 24- GIŠ.ŠUB.BA lti l.ŠUR-ú-tú Mi 25- šá mil-lut-d60 {DIŠ} A šá mil-lut-d60 {DIŠ} A šá mil-lut-d60 {DIŠ} A šá mil-lut-d60-TIN-su-E D 27- lti mu-kin7 md60-TIN-su-E D 28- mBÁR-d60 DUMU šá md60-29- md UTU-MU-nu DUMU šá md60-TIN-it DUMU šá mid60-TIN-it DUMU šá mid60-AD-URU3 DUMU šá mid60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu DUMU ŠÚ Mid60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu DUMU ŠÚ Mid60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu DUMU ŠÚ Mid60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu DUMU ŠÚ Mid60-ŠEŠ MId60-ŠEŠ MU-nu DUMU ŠÚ Mid60-ŠEŠ	ma-a-MU DUMU.AN.NI  "AM a¬-na m¹an-¬tu4¬-[ m-din pu-ut¬ [a-ha]-¬a-n ut-tan-nu l¹na-¬din¬ [ a-¬MU¬[ -u ¬mi¬-[sil U4-mu AŠ U4 U.MEŠ šá [m¹an-tu4-DÙ-a ndIš-GAL-d60 ¬DAM¬ [m² t A šá mGAL-d60 ¬NUMUN-GI ŠEŠ-GÁL-ši A mÉ.[KUR-za d60-AD-URU3 A mlu-uš-¬t NU-TÉŠ A mÉ.KUR-¬za¬-  that-dINANNA A mÉ.KUR-za¬-  that-din-din-din-din-tu4-d60 A šá mitimu mi-din-tu4-d60 A šá mi-din-tu4-	DÙ-at]  meš a¬-[na  DUMU šá]  1,20.KÁM  I DUMU.MÍ]  il-lut- <sup>d</sup> 60]  ii a-¬na U <sub>4</sub> ¬-[mu  ] Š A <sup>m¬</sup> áh¬-['-ú-tú]  a-kir]  am¬-[mar- <sup>d</sup> IM]  [kir]  a-¬kir¬  R- <sup>d</sup> 60 A <sup>m</sup> kur-i  JMU-MU-nu A <sup>m</sup> É.KUR-za-kir  BAR-MU-DÙ  l-lut- <sup>d</sup> 60 A <sup>m</sup> hun-zu-ú  mÉ.KUR-za-kir UNUG <sup>ki</sup> itu KIN
U.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(63) md 60-šeš-MU- <i>nu</i>	( <b>49</b> ) <sup>m</sup> <i>dum-qí</i> - <sup>d</sup> 60	( <b>10</b> ) md 60-TIN- <i>su</i> -E
	oo bas inc iii	ann qi 00	OO THY BU L
	<i>un-qa</i> (51)		
	md UTU-MU-nu		
LoE	un-qa	[]	[]
LU.E.	(71)	[ <i>un-qa</i> ] (-)	[ <i>un-qa</i> ] (-)
	md 60-AD-URU <sub>3</sub>	<sup>m</sup> BÁR- <sup>d</sup> [60]	[ <sup>m</sup> ]
	[un-qa]		
	(-)		
	[m ]		
Le.E.	un-qa		un-qa
	(50)		(85)
	$^{\mathrm{m}}\check{s}\acute{a}^{\mathrm{-d}}60$ - $i\check{s}$ - $\check{s}u$ - $\acute{u}$		<sup>md</sup> 60-šeš-「MU¬- <i>nu</i>

R.E. un-qa  $^mtat$ -tan-[nu] [un-qa  $^{md}na$ -na-a-MU] (83) (-)  $^{l\acute{u}}na$ - $^rdin$ -x GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU $^r$ .MEŠ [ ]

(1) Tattannu, son of Nanâ-iddin, son of Anu-uballit, descendant of Ḥunzû, of his own free will, has sold one-half of a day on the 20th [day...] his [sh]are of the oil processor's prebend before Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Mar[duk], Papsukal, Ištar, Nanâ, Bēlet-ṣēri, (5) Bēlet-ša-Rēš, Šarraḥītu, and all the gods in their sanctuary, monthly, all through the year, the *guqqû*-offerings, the *eššēšu*-offerings, and everything else that pertains to one-half day of that oil processor's pre[bend] which is with his brothers and all of his partners and with Illut-Anu, (10) son of Anu-uballit, descendant of Kurî, for 6 sheqels of refined silver, staters of Antiochus in good condition, as the full sale price, to Antu-banât, daughter of Illut-Anu, son of Ana-rabût-Anu, the wife of Illut-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, descendant of Kurî, in perpetuity.

(15) The money, 6 sheqels, the full purchase price of that prebend, Tattannu, son of Nanâ-iddin, has received from (and) was paid by Antu-banât, daughter of Illut-[Anu]. When a claim is brought concerning that prebend, Nanâ-iddin, his son, will clear (it) and pay the 12-fold (penalty) to Antu-[banât] (20) in perpetuity. Tattannu, the se[ller in question of that prebend, son of] Nanâ-iddin, and Nanâ-iddin, [... mutual]ly assume guaranty [for the clearing] of that prebend [for Antu-banât...], in perpetuity.

One-[half of a day on the 20th day...] that oil processor's prebend of [Antu-banât, daughter] (25) of Illut-Anu, son of Ana-rabût-Anu, the wife of Illut-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, son of Rabi-Anu, descendant of Kurî, [is hers] in per[petuity].

(27–36) (list of ten witnesses)

(37) Anu-aḥḥē-iddin, the scribe, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir. Uruk. Ulūlu (38) 25, year 111, Antiochus and Antiochus, his son, kings.

#### Notes

4 Note the reversal of the customary order of the deities in which Bēlet-ṣēri normally precedes Nanâ (Beaulieu 1992, 55–56).

#### Comments

Portions of the oil processor's prebend are also bought and sold in OECT 9 11 (43 S.E.), VAS 15 28 (ca. 90–125 S.E.), and OECT 9 59 (ca. 151–161 S.E.). For the standard formulary for the sale of prebendal shares, see Krückmann 1931, 24–38; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 2–7; Doty 1977, 52–63. On the topic of prebends themselves, see McEwan 1981, 67–120; Funck 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For editions of this text, see McEwan 1981, 97–98; Funk 1984, 210–13.

Ten of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to three each in thirteen other transactions, of which seven concern prebends. In addition, nine persons, including eight of the preceding, occur individually in yet another thirty-four transactions, of which eighteen concern prebends.

The seller, Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-uballit//Ḥunzû, also sold shares in the baker's prebend, ca. 103–119 S.E. (NCBT 1961) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 266). He also sold a plot of land in the Ištar City Gate district in 79 S.E. (TCL 13 239), was guarantor to the sale of a storehouse in the Irigal in 112 S.E. (OECT 9 47), and was among the neighbors mentioned in the description of another Irigal storehouse sold in 119 S.E. (NCBT 2305 = VAS 15 6).

# Among the witnesses:

# 1, Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-zēr-līšer//Aḥ-ūtu, was guarantor to the sale of shares in the prebend for those who may enter the temple in 83 S.E. (VAS 15 11). He also witnessed sales of shares in the brewer's prebend in 96 S.E. (OECT 9 34 = OECT 9 35) (seal: cf. Buchanan 1982, 20, no. 44) and 108 S.E., the latter also witnessed by WI # 2 (NCBT 1971) (seal: no. 10), in the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy² together with the goldsmith's prebend, ca. 102–119 S.E. (OECT 9 44), and in the *gerseqqû*-prebend in 119 S.E. (text VI = VAS 15 32) (seal: no. 10). He also witnessed the sale of a store house in the Rēš temple ca. 90–125 S.E. (BRM 2 9) (seal: no. 10).

# 2, Kidin-Anu/Anu-ah-ušabši//Ekur-zakir, whose grandfather's name was Kidin-Anu,<sup>3</sup> also witnessed sales of shares in the brewer's prebend in 93 S.E. (OECT 9 30 = OECT 9 31) and 108 S.E., the latter also witnessed by WI # 1 (NCBT 1971) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 124), and in the baker's prebend, ca. 108–109 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 and recorded by the present scribe (MLC 2177) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 124). He also witnessed real estate sales in various districts in 91 S.E., written by the present scribe (TCL 13 241), ca. 90–102 S.E. (VAS 15 42), and in 102 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 (VAS 15 48), and perhaps the sale together of prebendal shares, a food allotment and a piece of real estate, ca. 90–125 S.E. (BiMes 24 17<sup>4</sup>).

# 3, Šamaš-ittannu/Anu-ab-uṣur//Luštammar-Adad, whose grandfather's name was Šamaš-ittannu,<sup>5</sup> also witnessed: a division of real estate in 85 S.E. (BiMes 24 46); land sales, ca. 83–88 S.E. (OECT 9 27), and in 102 S.E., the latter also witnessed by WI # 2 (VAS 15 48); the sale(?) of shares in the prebend for those who may enter the temple and in the *gerseqqû*-prebend in 90 S.E., written by the present scribe (Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 313f. 4); and a quitclaim to shares of the goldsmith's prebend and real estate in 99 S.E. (OECT 9 38).

#4, Anu-ab-uşur/Lā-bāši//Ekur-zakir, also witnessed sales of shares of the brewer's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the use of this term to translate Akk. *bīt pirišti*, see Doty 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The elder Kidin-Anu, in a second century colophon to a copy of a tablet enumerating the daily offerings to the gods of Uruk (TCL 6 38:43–50), is credited with the original's discovery in Elam during the early third century after having been stolen from Uruk by Nabopolassar; the elder Kidin-Anu also appears to have been responsible for the renewed interest in seals bearing images of the anthropomorphic- and fish-apkallu engaged in a purification ritual, a motif which remained particularly fashionable among several generations of his descendants, many of whom were exorcists and astrologers (see Wallenfels 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> BiMes 24 17:r11′ <sup>m</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>60-šeš-GÁL-ši (r12′) [...].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> VAS 15 48:28.

prebend in 80 S.E. (OECT 9 20 = NBDM 91), and the  $gerseqq\hat{u}$ -prebend in 108 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 (MLC 2165), and again in 108 S.E. (VAS 15 18). He also witnessed sales of real estate in 85 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 7 (BRM 2 26) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 528), and in 101 S.E. (BiMes 24 24 = Speleers Recueil 299), and an unidentifiable transaction, ca. 66-90 S.E. (VAS 15 21).

# 5, Anu-uballit/Riḥāt-Ištar//Ekur-zakir, also witnessed the lease of shares in the butcher's prebend in 97 S.E. (OECT 9 36), and sales of shares of the *gerseqqû*-prebend in 108 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 4 (MLC 2165) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 136), and in 116 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 10 (MLC 2201 = BaM Beiheft 2 132 + BiMes 24 3) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 136), shares of the prebend for those who may enter the temple in 115 S.E. (NCBT 1962) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 136), and ca. 90–125 S.E. (NCBT 1941) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 136), and shares of the goldsmith's prebend, ca. 90–125(?) S.E. (OECT 9 68). Anu-uballit also witnessed sales of real estate in 82 S.E. (BiMes 24 26?) and 101 S.E. (VAS 15 41), the latter written by the present scribe, and the sale of shares in a temple meat offering in 109 S.E. (BiMes 24 2) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 136).

# 6, Anu-aḫ-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Kurî, also witnessed the sale of shares in the baker's prebend, ca. 108–109 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 and recorded by the present scribe (MLC 2177) (seal: no. 63), and a quitclaim to a house in 87 S.E. (text III = BRM 2 27) (seal: cf. nos. 7, 39). He was also the seller of shares in the baker's prebend in 99 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [R1]).

#7, Dumqi-Anu/Tattannu//Hunzû, also witnessed sales of real estate in 85 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 4 (BRM 2 26) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 533), and in 109 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 9 (text IV = BRM 2 30) (seal: no. 48).

# 9, Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni, also witnessed the sales of shares of the exorcist's prebend, ca. 95–96 S.E., written by the present scribe (NCBT 1954), of the baker's prebend in 99 S.E., sold by WI # 6 (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7) (seal: cf. Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [B3]), of the butcher's prebend in 106 S.E. (MLC 2188) (seal: no. 59), and of the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend, ca. 110–119 S.E. (OECT 9 57). He also witnessed a division of slaves in 107 S.E., written by the present scribe (OECT 9 43), a real estate sale in 109 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 7 (text IV = BRM 2 30) (seal: no. 59), and the sale of a food allotment in 119 S.E. (OECT 9 48).

# 10, Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Illut-Anu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed the sale of shares of the *gerseqqû*-prebend in 116 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 (MLC 2201 = BaM Beiheft 2 132 + BiMes 24 3) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, no. 1002). Persons with similar patronymics, but without the grandfather's name,<sup>6</sup> occur as witnesses to sales of shares of the prebend concerning the Ṣēri-Palace in the Pleasure Garden in 48 S.E. (BRM 2 12) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 380), and of the butcher's prebend in 63 S.E. (NCBT 1951) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 1041), and to sales of real estate in 54 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 142ff. 2) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 3 [L1]) and 104 S.E. (NCBT 2306) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 680).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See further the comments to text **III**, WI # 6.

#### Text V

The scribe, Anu-aḫḫē-iddin/Anu-bēlšunu//Ekur-zakir, wrote numerous other archival documents: the divisions of property TCL 13 240 (88 S.E.) and OECT 9 43, the latter also witnessed by WI#9 (107 S.E.); the sales of various prebendal shares Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 313f. 4, also witnessed by WI# 3 (90 S.E.), NCBT 1954, also witnessed by WI#9 (ca. 95–96 S.E.), TCL 13 242 (99 S.E.), VAS 15 19 (109 S.E.), MLC 2177, also witnessed by WI#2 and WI#6 (ca. 108–109 S.E.), and OECT 9 45 = OECT 9 46 (111 S.E.); the sales of real estate TCL 13 241, also witnessed by WI#2 (91 S.E.), NCBT 1940 (91 S.E.), and VAS 15 41, also witnessed by WI#5 (101 S.E.); the exchange of properties BIN 2 135 (95 S.E.); and the sale of a food allotment OECT 9 39 (ca. 101–103).

# VI TEXT VI

HSM 913.2.181 (7498)

Dimensions:  $9.4 \times 11.1 \times 3.5$ 

Date: 21.X.119 S.E. Scribe: Šamaš-īṭer/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Šibqāt-Anu//[Ekur-zakir] Duplicate: VAS 15 321

Type: sale of shares in the *gerseqqû*-prebend:  $\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{9}$  of a day on the 1st, 24th, and 30th days, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a day on the 27th day before Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea, Papsukal, Ištar, Bēlet-ṣēri, Nanâ, Bēlet-ṣa-Rēš, Šarraḥītu, and all the gods in their sanctuary

Price: 20 sheqels

Seller: Anu-uballissu/Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit//[Kur]î: [R1] (-) Buyer: Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni Guarantor: Anu-ittannu/Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit//[Kur]î: [R2] (-) Witnesses:

- (1) [Anu-balāssu-iqbi]/[Anu-zēr-līšer]//Aḥ-ū[tu]: ¬B1¬ (10)
  (2) Mukin-apli/Nidintu-Anu/[Tanittu-Anu]/[Ah-ūtu]: T1 (72)
- (3) [Lā-bāši]/[Anu-bēlšu]nu/Ník[ar]chos//[Aḫ-ūtu]: cf. T4 (32), [B2] (95), [B3] (-), [B4] (-)
- (4) Anu-aḥ[ḥē-iddin]/[Tanit]tu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//[Aḥ-ūtu]: cf. [B2] (**95**), [B3] (-), [B4] (-)
- (5) Anu-iksur/Anu-ahhē-iddin//Hunzû: cf. [B2] (95), [B3] (-), [B4] (-)
- (6) [Lā-bāši]/[Ina-qibīt-Anu]/[Ištar-šum-eriš]//[Aħ]-ūtu: cf. T4 (**32**), [B2] (**95**), [B3] (-), [B4] (-)
- (7) Anu-mār-ittannu/Tanittu-Anu//[Ah-ūtu]: T2 (1)
- (8) [Bani-apli]/Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad: L2 (2)
- (9) [Illut-Anu]/[Ina-qibīt-Anu]/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî: \[T3\] (52)
- (10) Dumqi-Anu/Kidin-Anu, [parchment scribe of the estate of Anu]: L1 (31)
- Obv. 1-  $^{\text{md}}60$ - $\acute{u}$ -bal-lit-su A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m}}il$ - $^{\text{l}}lut$ - $^{\text{l}}d$ 60 A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m}}$ ] $^{\text{l}}d$ 60-TIN-it  $^{\text{l}}A$ 7  $^{\text{l}}$  $^{\text{m}}kur$ ]- $^{\text{l}}i$  AŠ hu-ud ŠA7-bi- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ 
  - 2-  $\check{s}i$ - $i\check{s}$ - $\check{s}\acute{u}$   $\grave{u}$  ti- $\check{s}u$ - $\acute{u}$   $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $\lceil U_4$ -mu  $\rceil$  [AŠ  $U_4$ ].  $\lceil 1$ . KÁM  $\rceil$   $U_4$ . 24. KÁM  $\grave{u}$   $U_4$ .  $\lceil 30 \rceil$ . KÁM PAP  $\lceil \check{s}i \rceil$ - $i\check{s}$ - $\check{s}u$   $\lceil \check{u} \rceil$
  - 3- ti- $\check{su}$ - $\lceil \check{u} \rceil$   $\check{sa}$   $\lceil 1$ - $en \rceil$   $U_4$ -mu AŠ  $U_4$ -mu
  - 4-  $^{\text{l\'u}}$ GÌR.SIG- $^{\text{r\'u}}$ - $^{\text{t\'u}}$  IGI  $^{\text{d}}$ 60 an- $^{\text{t}}$ u<sub>4</sub>  $^{\text{d}}$ en- $^{\text{l\'u}}$ l BE  $^{\text{d}}$ pap-sukal  $^{\text{d}}$ INANNA  $^{\text{d}}$ GAŠAN-EDIN  $^{\text{d}}$ na- $^{\text{r}}$ na $^{\text{-}}$ [a]
  - 5-  ${}^{d}$ GAŠAN- $\check{s}\acute{a}$ - ${}^{\acute{e}}$ SAG  ${}^{\acute{$
  - 6- gu-uq-qa- $n\acute{e}$ -e  $U_4$ .ÈŠ.ÈŠ.MEŠ  $\grave{u}$  mim-ma gab-bi  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  a-na  $GIŠ.ŠUB.BA <math>^{l\acute{u}}GR$ .SIG- $^{l\acute{u}}$ - $[t\acute{u}]$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The lacuna at the bottom of the obverse of VAS 15 32 is determined by text **VI** to be one line rather than two (cf. Schroeder 1916, 41); the line numbers on the reverse of no. 32 are thus to be reduced by one and renumbered 17-31. For editions of VAS 15 32, see Cavaignac 1956, 81-84; Funk 1984, 202-207.

- 7- ik- $ka\check{s}$ - $\check{s}i$ -du  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  KI ŠEŠ.MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$   $\grave{u}$  EN.MEŠ ḤA.LA.MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$  gab-bi a-na  $^1/_3$  MA.NA  $^{\mathsf{T}}\mathsf{K}\grave{\mathsf{U}}$   $^{\mathsf{T}}$ .[BABBAR qa-lu- $\acute{u}$ ]
- 8- is-ta-ter-ra-nu šá <sup>m</sup>an-ti- '-i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na ŠÁM [TIL.MEŠ]
- 9- a-na  $^{md}$ 60-EN- $\check{s}\check{u}$ -nu A  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{m}$ NÍG.SUM.MU- $^{d}$ 60 A  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{md}$ 60-TIN-it A  $^{md}$ 30- $^{r}$ TI-ÉR $^{r}$
- 10- a-na U $_4$ -mu sa-a- $t\acute{u}$  it-ta-din Kù.BABBAR  $^1/_3$  MA.NA ŠÁM GIŠ.ŠUB.BA  $^{l\acute{u}}$ GÌR.SIG- $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$
- 11- MU.MEŠ TIL.MEŠ  $^{\rm md}60$ -ú-bal-liṭ-su A šá  $^{\rm m}il$ -lut- $^{\rm d}60$  AŠ ŠU $^{\rm II}$   $^{\rm md}60$ -EN-šú-nu DUMU šá
- 13-  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  U<sub>4</sub>-mu AŠ U<sub>4</sub>.1.KÁM U<sub>4</sub>.24.KÁM  $\grave{u}$  U<sub>4</sub>.30.KÁM  $\grave{u}$   $\check{s}\acute{a}l$ - $\check{s}\acute{u}$   $\check{s}\acute{a}$  U<sub>4</sub>-mu AŠ U<sub>4</sub>.27.KÁM
- 14- GIŠ.ŠUB.BA  $^{\text{l\'u}}$ GÌR.SIG- $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$  MU.MEŠ it-tab- $\check{s}u$ - $\acute{u}$   $^{\text{md}}$ 60-MU-nu ŠEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$  u-mar-raq-ma
- 15- a-di 12-TA.ÀM a-na  $^{\rm md}$ 60-EN- $\check{s}\check{u}$ -nu A  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{\rm m}$ NÍG.SUM.MU- $^{\rm d}$ 60 a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a- $t\check{u}$  SUM-in
- 16- pu-ú-ut a-ha-a-meš a-na mu-ur-ru-qu šá GIŠ.ŠUB.BA lúGÌR.SIG-ú-tú MU. MEŠ
- Rev. 17-  $^{\text{md}}60$ - $\acute{u}$ - $ba\ddot{l}$ - $li\dot{t}$ - $su^{a}$   $^{\text{l}\acute{u}}[na$ -din-an GIŠ.ŠUB.BA $^{\text{b}}$   $^{\text{l}\acute{u}}$ GÌR.SIG- $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$  MU.MEŠ u  $^{\text{md}}60$ MU-nu ŠEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ ] $^{\text{b}}$ 
  - 18- [a]- $na^{\text{md}}$ 60-EN- $\check{s}\check{u}$ - $nu^{\text{T}}$ A  $\check{s}\check{a}^{\text{T}}$   $[^{\text{m}}$ NÍG.SUM.MU]- $[^{\text{d}}$ 60 a-na  $[^{\text{T}}$ 40 a-na  $[^{\text{T}}$ 40 a-na  $[^{\text{T}}$ 5a- $[^{\text{T}}$ 60 a-na  $[^{\text{T}}$ 60 a-na [
  - 19- 「ti- $\check{s}u$ - $\check{u}$   $\check{s}\acute{a}$  [ $U_4$ -mu AŠ  $U_4$ .1.KÁM  $U_4$ .24.KÁM] 「 $\mathring{u}$   $U_4$ .30.KÁM  $\mathring{u}$  「 $\check{s}\acute{a}l$  -[ $\check{s}u$   $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $U_4$ -mu AŠ  $U_4$ .27.KÁM]
  - 20- GIŠ. ŠUB . [BA  $^{l\acute{u}}$ GÌR. SIG- $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$  MU]. MEŠ [ $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{md}$ 60]-  $^{-}$ EN  $^{-}$ - $\check{s}\acute{u}$ - $^{-}$ nu A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{[m}$ N $\acute{i}$ G].  $^{-}$ SUM. MU  $^{-}$ - $^{[d}$ 60 A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{md}$ 60-TIN-it]
  - 21- A  $\lceil m \rceil \lceil d$ 30-TI-ÉR a-na]  $U_4$ - $\lceil mu \rceil$  sa-a- $t\acute{u}$   $s\acute{u}$ -nu  $\lceil l\acute{u} \rceil \lceil mu$ - $kin_7$   $\rceil$  md60-TIN-su-E A  $s\acute{a}$  md60-NUMUN-GIŠ]
  - 22- 「A "áh-'-u-[tu] 「"DU-A A šá "NÍG".SUM.MU-d60 A 「šá" ["ta-nit-tu4-d60 A "áh-'-u-u4-d60 A "áh-'-u-u4-d60 A "áh-'-u-u4-u60 A "u60 A "u60
  - 23-  $m[la-ba-\check{s}i \land \check{s}\acute{a} \stackrel{\text{md}}{=} 60-\text{EN}-\check{s}\acute{u}]$   $[nu \land \check{s}\acute{a} \stackrel{\text{m}}{=} ni$  [ar]-  $[ku-su \land [\land \mathring{a}\acute{h}-\acute{s}-\acute{u}-t\acute{u}]$
  - 24-  $^{\text{m} \cap \text{d}}60$ -ŠEŠ $^{\text{m}}$ .[MEŠ-MU A šá  $^{\text{m}}ta$ -nit]- $tu_4$ - $^{\text{d}}60$  A šá  $^{\text{m}}dna$ -na-a-MU [A  $^{\text{m}}\acute{a}h$ - $^{\text{$
  - 25-  $^{\text{m} \Gamma d}$ 60-ik-sur A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m} d}$ 60- $\check{s}$ EŠ $^{\text{m}}$ .MEŠ-MU A  $^{\text{m}}$ hun-zu- $\acute{u}$   $^{\text{m} \Gamma}$ la $^{\text{-}}$ [ba- $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m}}$ AŠ- $q\acute{i}$ -bit- $^{\text{d}}$ 60 A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m} d}$ INANNA-MU-KÁM]
  - 26- A  $^{\text{m}}[\acute{a}h]$ - $^{\text{r}}$ '¬- $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{t}\acute{u}$   $^{\text{md}}$ 60-DUMU-MU-nu A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{m}}$ ta-nit- $tu_4$ - $^{\text{d}}$  $^{\text{GO}}$  [A  $^{\text{m}}\acute{a}h$ - $^{\text{r}}$ - $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$ ]
  - 27-  $\lceil \text{m} \rceil \lceil \text{D}\mathring{\text{U}} \text{A} \rceil$  A  $\check{s}\check{a}^{\text{md}}na$ -na-a-MU A  $\lceil u\check{s}$ - $tam \rceil$ -mar- $\lceil \text{IM} \rceil \lceil mil$ -lut- $\rceil$ 60 A  $\check{s}\check{a}^{\text{m}}$ AŠ- $a\check{i}$ -bit- $\rceil$ 60
  - 28- Aa šá ¬mNíg¬.SUM.MU-dINANNA A mkur-i mdum-qí-d60 A šá mBÁR-d60 ¬lú¬[se-pir Níg.ga d60]
  - 29-  $\lceil m^d$ UTU-SUR  $\lceil h^c$ ŠID $\rceil$  A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $\lceil m^r$ AŠ- $q\acute{i}$ -bit $\rceil$ - $^d$ 60 A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $\lceil m^*\check{s}ib$ - $q\acute{a}t$ - $^d$ 60 A  $\lceil m^*\acute{e}$ .KUR-za-kir UNUG $^{ki}$   $\mid h^t$ AB $\mid$
  - 30-  $\lceil U_4.21^a \text{ MU}.11 \rceil 9.\text{K\'am}^m an-ti-'-i-ku-su u ^m \lceil an-ti-'^- \lceil i \rceil \lceil ku-su \text{ A-s\'a\'} \lceil \text{LUGAL}.$  MEŠ]

U.E. 
$$un-qa$$
  $un-qa$   $(72)$   $(1)$   $(52)$   $un-qa$ ]  $(32)$   $un-qa$   $un-qa$   $un-qa$   $(32)$   $un-qa$   $un-qa$ 

(1) Anu-uballissu, son of II[lut-Anu, son of] Anu-uballit, descendant of [Kur]î, of his own free will, has sold one-sixth plus one-ninth of a day [on the 1]st day, 24th day, and 30th day, a total of one-sixth plus one-ninth of one day on those days, and one-third of a day on the 27th day of the  $gerseqq\hat{u}$ -prebend before Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea, Papsukal, Ištar, Bēlet-ṣēri, Nanâ, (5) Bēlet-ṣa-Rēš, Šarraḥītu, and all the gods in their sanctuary(!), monthly, [all through the year], the  $guqq\hat{u}$ -offerings, the  $e\check{s}\check{s}\bar{e}\check{s}u$ -offerings, and everything else that pertains to the  $gerseqq\hat{u}$ -prebend which is with his brothers and all of his partners, for 1/3 mina of [refined] sil[ver], staters of Antiochus in good condition, as the [full] sale price, to Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-uballit, descendant of Sîn-leqi-unnīni, (10) in perpetuity.

The money, ½ mina, the full sale price of that *gerseqqû*-prebend, Anu-uballissu, son of Illut-Anu, has received from (and) was paid by Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu. When a claim is brought concerning the one-sixth plus one-ninth of a day on the 1st day, 24th day, and 30th day, and one-third of a day on the 27th day of that *gerseqqû*-prebend, Anu-ittannu, his brother, will clear (it) and pay (15) the 12-fold (penalty) to Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, in perpetuity. Anu-uballissu, the [seller in question of that *gerseqqû*-prebend, and Anu-ittannu, his brother], mutually assume guaranty for the clearing of that *gerseqqû*-prebend, for Anu-bēlšunu, son of [Nidintu-Anu, in] perpetuity.

[One-sixth plus] one-ninth [of a day on the 1st day, 24th day], and 30th day, and one-third [of a day on the 27th day] (20) of th[at] [prebend of Anu-bēlšunu], son of Ni[dintu-Anu, son of Anu-uballit], descendant of [Sîn-leqi-unnīni], are his [in] perpetuity.

(21–28) (list of ten witnesses)

(29) Šamaš-īter, the scribe, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Šibqāt-Anu, descendant of [Ekur-zakir. Uruk. Tebêtu] (30) 21, year 119, Antiochus and Antiochus, his son, [kings].

#### **Notes**

Text A = text VI. Text B = VAS 15 32. Except where noted, all restorations as per text B.

- 5a So A; B: u.
- 5<sup>b</sup> So A and B. Notwithstanding four other instances of the writing u/u DINGIR.MEŠ É.MEŠ-su-nu gab-bi in three different texts known to this writer (FuB 16 26f. 2:7; Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 315ff. 5:4, 6 [cf. l. 8: É-su]; VDI 1955/4 157f. 8:5), and despite the consistency here between the two copies, the MEŠ must be considered a scribal plus in view of the fact that there are at least 75 examples of the phrase u/u DINGIR.MEŠ É-su-nu gab-bi in the same context in sales and leases of, as well as quitclaims to a variety of prebends, including those types in which É.MEŠ-su-nu occurs. Other erroneous writings of the phrase include: DINGIR.MEŠ É-su-nu (BiMes 24 12:4); DINGIR.MEŠ É-su-nu (BRM 2 16:4); DINGIR É-su-nu (Doty Uruk 416ff.:4; OECT 9 15:4).
- 17<sup>a</sup> So A; B: <sup>md</sup>60-*ú*-bal-lit.
- 17<sup>b-b</sup> Restored from context.
  - 28a So A; B: DUMU.
  - 30<sup>a</sup> So A; B adds KÁM.

#### Comments

Portions of the *gerseqqû*-prebend are also bought and sold in Doty Uruk 416ff. (ca. 32–42 S.E.), BRM 2 15 (56 S.E.), Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 313f. 4 (90 S.E.), MLC 2165 (108 S.E.), VAS 15 18 (108 S.E.), MLC 2201 = BaM Beiheft 2 132 + BiMes 24 3 (116 S.E.), OECT 9 51 (ca. 125-137 S.E.), and FuB 16, 34, 15 (n.d). For the standard formulary for the sale of prebendal shares, see Krückmann 1931, 24–38; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 2–7; Doty 1977, 52–63. On the topic of prebends themselves, see McEwan 1981, 67–120; Funck 1984.

Ten of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to three each in five other transactions, of which three concern prebends. In addition, eleven persons, including all of the preceding, occur individually in yet another thirty-four transactions, of which eighteen concern prebends.

The buyer, Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, had previously purchased *gerseqqû*-prebend shares in 116 S.E. (MLC 2201 = BaM Beiheft 2 132 + BiMes 24 3). In other business, he divided real estate with his brother Anu-uballit and one Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Sîn-leqi-unnīni in 88 S.E. (MLC 2170 = BiMes 24 53) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 563), and with his brothers Anu-uballit and Anu-aḥḥē-iddin in 98 S.E. (NCBT 1958); he appears also with his brother Anu-uballit in a quitclaim(?) concerning rights to certain meat offerings in an undated text (BiMes 24 9). He also witnessed the sales of prebendal shares concerning those who may enter the temple in 99 S.E. (TCL 13 242) and ca. 110-119 S.E. (OECT 9 57), and the sale of a storehouse

in the Irigal in 126 S.E. (OECT 9 53). Anu-bēlšunu owned numerous canonical tablets including BRM 4 11 (108 S.E.), ACT 400 (111 S.E.), BaM Beiheft 2 12 (112 S.E.), ACT 640 (119 S.E.), Weidner 1967, 45ff. (120 S.E.), ACT 102 (120 S.E.), ACT 135 (121 S.E.), Weidner 1967, 15ff. (ca. 119-122 S.E.). He also wrote canonical texts including TCL 6 46 (81 S.E.), TCL 6 32 (83 S.E.), BRM 4 21 (84 S.E.), ACT 601 (118 S.E.), and the archival text VAS 15 11 (83 S.E.), the sale of prebendal shares concerning those who may enter the temple, to which WI # 1 was guarantor. In the various colophons to the canonical tablets Anu-bēlšunu both owned and wrote, his priestly titles include <sup>lú</sup> galaturru "novice lamentation priest" (TCL 6 46), <sup>lú</sup> kalû "lamentation priest" (passim), and <sup>lú</sup> tupšar Enūma Anu Enlil "astrologer" (ACT 102).

The guarantor, Anu-ittannu/Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit//Kurî, also appeared as a witness to the sale of prebendal shares concerning those who may enter the temple in 95 S.E. (OECT 9 33).

# Among the witnesses:

- # 1, Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-zēr-līšer//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed sales of shares of the brewer's prebend in 96 S.E. (OECT 9 34 = OECT 9 35) (seal: cf. Buchanan 1982, 20, no. 44) and 108 S.E. (NCBT 1971) (seal: no. 10), of the oil processor's prebend in 111 S.E. (text V) (seal: no. 10), and of the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend, ca. 102-119 S.E. (OECT 9 44). He also witnessed the sale of a storehouse in the Rēš temple, ca. 90-125 S.E. (BRM 2 9) (seal: no. 10). Anu-balāssu-iqbi also served as guarantor to the sale of shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the temple in 83 S.E.; the contract was written by the present buyer (VAS 15 11).
- # 2, Mukin-apli/Nidintu-Anu/Tanittu-Anu//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed a sale of real estate in 123 S.E. (MLC 2182) (seal: no. 72), the dedication of slaves ca. 123-125 S.E. (YBC 11633) (seal: no. 72), and the sale of shares in a prebend concerned with the Kiriḫallat, Kusaggani and Bēlet-ṣēri temples in 132 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 4 and WI # 7 (TCL 13 244) (seal: no. 72).
- # 3, Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu/Níkarchos//Aḥ-ūtu,² also witnessed real estate sales in 102 S.E., perhaps also witnessed by WI # 5 (VAS 15 48), and in 137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13) (seal: cf. Weisberg 1991, pl. 24, Lo.E. [B2], and pl. 25, U.E. [T3]), a quitclaim concerning a food allotment in 118 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 (BRM 2 31) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 361, 544), and the sale of a food allotment in 124 S.E. (BRM 2 33) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 316, 990).
- # 4, Anu-aḫḫē-iddin/Tanittu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed sales of real estate in 121 S.E. (VAS 15 44) and 128 S.E. (MLC 2187) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 692, 706), and sales of shares in a prebend concerned with the Kiriḫallat, Kusaggani and Bēlet-sēri temples in 132 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 7 (TCL 13 244).
- # 5, Anu-ikṣur/Anu-aḫḫē-iddin//Ḥunzû, may also have witnessed a quitclaim to shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the temple in 116 S.E. (TCL 13 243), where the grandfather's name is given as Anu-aḫ-ittannu, and a real estate sale in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Níkarchos and his descendants are treated in Doty 1988.

102 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 (VAS 15 48), where the grandfather's name is given as Anu-aḥ- $\lceil MU \rceil$ -[nu?].

# 6, Lā-bāši/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Ištar-šum-eriš//Aḫ-ūtu, also witnessed a quitclaim regarding a food allotment in 118 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 (BRM 2 31) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 361, 544). Lā-bāši had himself purchased shares of the *gerseqqû*-prebend on two different occasions in 108 S.E. (MLC 2165, VAS 15 18), as well as shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend in 111 S.E. (OECT 9 45 = OECT 9 46).

# 7, Anu-mār-ittannu/Tanittu-Anu//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed the sales of shares in a prebend concerned with the Kiriḥallat, Kusaggani and Bēlet-ṣēri temples in 132 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 4 (TCL 13 244), and in the butcher's prebend in 150 S.E. (BRM 2 40 = FuB 16 30f. 9) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 1051), as well as a cession of land in an undated text (FuB 16 29f. 8).

# 8, Bani-apli/Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed the sales of real estate in 119 S.E. (NCBT 2305 = VAS 15 6) (seal: no. 2), and of shares in the brewer's prebend in 141 S.E., the latter also witnessed by WI # 9 (BiMes 24 10) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 17, U.E. [T1]). He may also have witnessed a text concerning both the rental and sale of pieces of real estate in 91 S.E. (FuB 16 24f. 1<sup>3</sup>).

# 9, Illut-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî, also witnessed the sale of shares in the brewer's prebend in 141 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 8 (BiMes 24 10) (seal: cf. Weisberg 1991, pl. 16, Le.E. [L1], Lo.E. [B3]), and sales of real estate in 153 S.E. (text **IX**) (seal: no. **37**) and perhaps 159 S.E. (YBC 8955<sup>4</sup>).

The scribe, Šamaš-īṭer/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Šibqāt-Anu/Ekur-zakir, is otherwise only known from the colophons to several canonical texts which he wrote, including TCL 6 38 (n.d.) and TCL 6 39 (n.d.), and owned, including ACT 600 (118 S.E.), ACT 163 (n.d.), ACT 171 (n.d.), ACT 651 (n.d.); in two texts (ACT 600, TCL 6 39) his title is given as lú āšipu Anu u Antu "exorcist."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> FuB 16 24f. 1:56 ... <sup>m</sup>Dù-A DUMU šá (57) <sup>md</sup>[... A <sup>m</sup>lu-uš]-<sup>r</sup>tam-mar <sup>¬-d</sup>IM.

## VII TEXT VII

HSM 913.1.4 (7312)

Scribe: Anu-qīšan/Nidintu-Anu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni

Dimensions:  $9.5 \times 10.4 \times 3.9$ 

Date: 8.IX.122 S.E. Duplicate: BRM 1 98<sup>1</sup>

Type: quitclaim

Properties: shares of the builder's prebend, a food allotment, and a storehouse in the

Irigal temple in the gate of Ištar Waiver-Guarantor: Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši/Anu-mār-ittannu, builder: R1 (56)

Beneficiary: Lā-bāši/Rihāt-Anu/Lā-bāši, (chief) builder (of Anu)

Co-beneficiaries: Lā-bāši/Anu-mār-ittannu, builder; Šāpik/Anu-aḥ-ušabši, builder; Nanâ-iddin/Kidin-Anu, builder

# Witnesses:

(1) Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu: cf. B1 (54), B3 (64)

- (2) Anu-uballit/Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû: T1 (88)
- (3) Anu-šum-līšer/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû: T3 (19)
- (4) Anu-ahhē-iddin/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-ahhē-iddin//Ah-ūtu: L2 (53)
- (5) Anu-mār-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî: L1 (55)
- (6) Illut-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû: B2 (74)
- (7) Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-bēlšunu, citizen of Uruk: cf. B1 (54), B3 (64)
- (8) Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu, parchment scribe of the estate of Anu: T2 (73)
- Obv. 1- mim-ma dib-bi DI.KU $_5$  ù ra-ga-mu  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{\rm md}$ 60-DUMU-MU-nu DUMU  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{\rm m}la$ -ba- $\check{s}i^a$ 
  - 2- dumu šá  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-dumu-mu- $^{\mathrm{hi}}$ dím a-na ugu- $\dot{h}i$  giš. Šub.ba.meš gab-bi šá
    - AŠ <sup>é</sup>re-eš
  - 3-  $^{\rm 6}{\rm IRI_{10}}.{\rm GAL}~u$  É- $\dot{a}$ -ki- $tu_4.{\rm ME}$ Š šá a-na  $^{\rm lú}{\rm D\acute{I}M}$ - $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$ a-na  $^{\rm m}la$ -ba-ši
  - 4- DUMU šá  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-DUMU-MU-nu  $^{\mathrm{m}}$ DUB-ki DUMU šá  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-ŠEŠ-GÁL-ši u  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ na-na-a-MU DUMU šá
  - 5-  $^{\mathrm{m}}ki$ -din- $^{\mathrm{d}}60^{\mathrm{a}}$   $^{\mathrm{l\acute{u}}}\mathrm{D\acute{I}M.ME\r{S}}$   $\grave{u}$  UGU- $\grave{h}i$  ku-ru-um-mat  $\check{s\acute{a}}$  MU- $\check{s\acute{u}}$   $\check{s\acute{a}}$   $^{\mathrm{b}}$   $^{\mathrm{m}}\mathrm{DUB}$ -ki DUMU
  - 6- <sup>md</sup>60-šeš-gál-*ši u* <sup>md</sup>*na-na-a*-mu dumu *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ki-din*-<sup>d</sup>60 aš níg.ga <sup>d</sup>60 aš é
  - 7- šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> AŠ É.SAR-ri šat-rat-ta u a-na UGU-hi É ŠU<sup>II</sup>
  - 8- šá AŠ <sup>é</sup>IRI<sub>10</sub>.GAL AŠ KÁ šá <sup>d</sup>INANNA <sup>a</sup>tak-ka-<sup>r</sup>iš -ši-du-ú-tú <sup>a</sup> KI <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši
  - 9- DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši<sup>a lú</sup>DÍM a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa-a-tú ia-a-nu<sup>b</sup>
  - 10- ul i-šal-lat-ma<sup>a md</sup>60-DUMU-MU-nu a-ga-a GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ MU.MEŠ
  - 11- ku-ru-um-mat MU.MEŠ ua É ŠU<sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-na ri-'-i-tu<sub>4</sub>b
  - 12- a-na nu-dun-nu-ú a-na e-peš su-bu-ú-tú a-na mim-ma gab-bi
  - 13- ua ma-am šá-nam-mab e-lat a-na mla-ba-ši a-ga-ac ul i-din
  - 14- ul i-nam-din ki-i<sup>a</sup> id-din u ki-i it-tan-nu ul ú-šu-zu<sup>b</sup>
  - 15- ù ú-mar-raq<sup>a md</sup>60-DUMU-MU-nu<sup>b</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši<sup>c</sup> a-ga-a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For an edition, see Funk 1984, 234-239.

- 16- šá la DI.KU<sub>5</sub> u la ha-àr-ra 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR bab-ba-nu-ú i-nam-din
- 17- GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ MU.MEŠ ŠUK.HI.A MU.MEŠ  $\hat{u}$  É ŠU $^{\Pi}$  MU.MEŠ  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\mathrm{m}}la\text{-}ba\text{-}\check{s}i$
- 18- DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>ri-ḫat-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši <sup>lú</sup>DÍM GAL-ú šá <sup>d</sup>60 a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-tú šú-nu

Rev. 19- lúmu-kin

L.E. un-ga

- 20-  $^{\rm md}$ 60-en- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu dumu  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\rm m}ni$ -din- $tu_4$ - $^{\rm d}$ 60 dumu  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\rm md}$ 60-en- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu a  $^{\rm m}\acute{a}\acute{b}$ - $^{\rm i}$ - $\acute{u}$ -
- 21-  $^{\rm md}$ 60-tin-it dumu šá  $^{\rm md}$ 60-mu-giš dumu šá  $^{\rm md}$ 60-numun-mu a  $^{\rm m}$ hun-zu-u
- 22- <sup>md</sup>60-MU-GIŠ DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>AŠ-*qí-bit-* <sup>d</sup>60 DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>- <sup>d</sup>60 A <sup>m</sup>*hun-zu-ú*
- 23-  $^{\text{md}}60$ -šeš.Meš-Mu Dumu šá  $^{\text{m}}ni$ -din-tu<sub>4</sub>- $^{\text{d}}60$  Dumu šá  $^{\text{md}}60$ -šeš.Meš-Mu A  $^{\text{m}}áh$   $^{\text{-}}\acute{\iota}\acute{\iota}\acute{\iota}\acute{\iota}$
- 24-  $^{\rm md}$ 60-dumu-mu-nu dumu šá  $^{\rm m}$ Aš-qí-bit- $^{\rm d}$ 60 dumu šá  $^{\rm m}$ ni-din-tu $_4$ - $^{\rm d}$ InAnna A  $^{\rm m}$ kur- $^{\rm d}$
- 25-  $^{\rm m}il$ -lut- $^{\rm d}60$  dumu šá  $^{\rm m}ki$ -din- $^{\rm d}60$  dumu šá  $^{\rm md}60$ -numun-mu a  $^{\rm m}hun$ -zu-ú
- 26-  $^{\text{md}}$ 60-EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu DUMU  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{md}}$ 60-EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu  $^{\text{l}\acute{u}}$ UNUG $^{\text{ki}}$ -a-a
- 27- mìr-dmaš dumu *šá* md60-dumu-mu-nu lúse-pir níg.ga d60
- 28-  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60-BA- $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -an-ni  $^{\mathrm{l\acute{u}}}\check{\mathrm{S}}\mathrm{ID}$   $^{\mathrm{l\acute{u}}}\mathsf{G}\mathsf{ALA.MAH}$   $^{\mathrm{d}}$ 60 dumu  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\mathrm{m}}ni$ -din- $tu_4$ - $^{\mathrm{d}}$ 60 a  $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 30-TI-

un-ga

- 29- unugʻki itugan u $_4$ .8.Kám mu.122.Kám man-ti- $^{\circ}$ -i $^{-}$ -ku-su lugal
- U.E. un-qa un-qa un-qa un-qa (88) (73) (19)  $^{md}60$ -TIN-it  $^{m}$ ÌR- $^{d}$ MAŠ  $^{md}60$ - $^{a}$ MU-GIŠ $^{a}$
- Lo.E. *un-qa un-qa un-qa* (54) (74) (64)
- $^{\text{md}}60$ - $^{\text{a}}\text{EN}$ - $\check{s}\acute{u}$ - $nu^{\text{a}}$   $^{\text{m}}il$ -lut- $^{\text{d}}60$   $^{\text{md}}60$ -EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu
- (55) (53) md 60-DUMU-MU-nu md 60-šeš.meš-mu
- R.E.  $un-qa^{md}60$ -DUMU-MU- $nu^{1d}na$ -din-na-anzuk-ku (56) a- $na^a$ UGU-hi GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ ŠUK.HI.A $^a$  u É ŠU $^{II}$  MU.MEŠ
- (1) There will be no lawsuit, legal proceeding or claim of any kind on the part of Anumār-ittannu, son of Lā-bāši, son of Anu-mār-ittannu, the builder pertaining to all the shares that are in the Rēš, Irigal and *akītu*-temples, those of the builder's prebend, (which belong) to Lā-bāši, son of Anu-mār-ittannu, Šāpik, son of Anu-aḥ-ušabši, and Nanâ-iddin, son of (5) Kidin-Anu, the builders; and to the food offering which is recorded in the name of Šāpik, son of Anu-aḥ-ušabši, and Nanâ-iddin, son of Kidin-Anu, in the estate of Anu, in the temple of the gods of Uruk, (and) in the record office; and to the store-house which is in the Irigal in the gate of Ištar against Lā-bāši, son of Riḥāt-Anu, son of Lā-bāši, the builder, in perpetuity.

(10) This Anu-mār-ittannu has no power of disposition, and he did not transfer and is not transferring those shares, that food offering, or that store-house for money, as a gift, as a dowry, in a business transaction, for any reason or (to) anyone else, except to this Lā-bāši. (But) if he transferred (them) or shall transfer (them), they will not enter (them in the temple records). (15) Further, Anu-mār-ittannu guarantees to this Lā-bāši that there is no legal proceeding and no protestation (or else) he will pay 1 mina of good quality silver.

Those shares, that food offering, and that store-house of Lā-bāši, son of Riḫāt-Anu, son of Lā-bāši, the master builder of Anu, are his in perpetuity.

(19–27) (list of eight witnesses)

(28) Anu-qīšan, the scribe, the chief singer of dirges of Anu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Sîn-leqi-unnīni. (29) Uruk. Kislimu 8, year 122, Antiochus, king.

#### Notes

Text A = text VII. Text B = BRM 1 98.

- 1<sup>a</sup> B shows an additional illegible sign following.
- 5a So A: B: mBÁR-d60.
- 5<sup>b</sup> B omits.
- 8<sup>a-a</sup> So A; B: GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ ku-ru-um-mat u É ŠU<sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ (9)  $š\acute{a}$  ik- $ka\check{s}$ -ši-du- $\acute{u}$ - $t\acute{u}$  {DIŠ}.
  - 9ª So A: B: MNU-TÉŠ.
  - 9b So A; B (10): ia-a-'.
- 10<sup>a</sup> So A; B: *i-šal-ma*. Compare text **VIII**:13 *i-šal-am-ma*, written by the same scribe.
- 11a So A; B: ù.
- 11<sup>b</sup> So A; B (12): ri-mut-ú-tú.
- 13a So A; B: ù.
- 13<sup>b</sup> B adds gab-bi.
- 13° So A; B (14): DUMU šá <sup>m</sup> ri-hat-<sup>d</sup> 60 <sup>lú</sup> DÍM
- 14<sup>a</sup> So A; B (15): ki.
- 14<sup>b</sup> So A; B (15): šu-zu.
- 15<sup>a</sup> So A; B: ú-mar-raq-qu.
- 15<sup>b</sup> B (16) adds *a-ga-a*.
- 15° B (16) omits personenkeil.
- U.E.<sup>a-a</sup> Over erasure.
- Lo.E. a-a Over erasure.
- R.E.<sup>a-a</sup> So A; B: {DIŠ} GIŠ.ŠUB.BA ku!-ru-um-mat.

#### **Comments**

For the standard formulary for quitclaims, see Krückmann 1931, 47–53; Lewenton 1970, 33–39; Doty 1977, 93–100. Note the addition of the provision for the clearing of future

claims by the donor following the clause restricting the power of disposition of the waiver (l. 14) (Lewenton 1970, 80, n. 289).

Three of the persons named in this transaction also occur in one combination each of two and three in two other transactions concerning prebends. In addition, nine persons, including all of the preceding, occur individually in yet another twenty-eight transactions, of which six concern prebends and twenty concern real estate.

The waiver-guarantor, Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši/Anu-mār-ittannu lú*itinnu*, in 82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 610), had received a house in the Market Gate district, shares in the builder's prebend and the appurtenant food offerings in a division of property with his older brother, Riḥāt-Anu. The prebendal shares and food offerings are likely the same to which Anu-mār-ittannu is here relinquishing claim. In 124 S.E. (see text VIII, written by the present scribe and also witnessed by WI#8), Anu-mār-ittannu, now bearing the title lú arad-ekalli,² "gave" for a compensatory payment of silver the Market Gate district property, along with a female slave, to Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši/Riḥāt-Anu, and his brother Nidintu-Anu,³ probably grandsons of Anu-mār-ittannu's brother.⁴ The seal (no.56) used by Anu-mār-ittannu here on text VII was later used at least three times between 124 and 144 S.E. by one Nidintu-Ištar/Anu-aḥḥā-iddin lú sepīr makkūr Anu; Anu-mār-ittannu himself used seal no. 3 on text VIII in 124 S.E. Seal no. 56 also appears on an undated clay bulla (YBC 3052) originally enclosing a parchment document.

The beneficiary, Lā-bāši/Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši lúitinnu, lúštitingallu ša Anu, probably the nephew of the waiver, first appears without title as the guarantor to the sale by his father, an lúarad-ekalli, of a house in the Ištar City Gate district in 89 S.E. (BRM 2 28 = BiMes 24 19) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 854). Lā-bāši appears with the title lúitinnu both as a buyer of land in the Ištar City Gate district in 137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13) and as a witness to a quitclaim to shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend, ca. 126-129 S.E. (OECT 9 54 = OECT 9 55), to the sale of shares of the same prebend, ca. 125-137 S.E. (OECT 9 42), and to the sale of a house in the Miḥallake Temple district in 138 S.E. (MLC 2156) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 1090).

In text IV (109 S.E.), the seller of a storehouse within the precincts of the Irigal was one Nidintu-šarri/Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši látinnu who may very well be the brother of the present Lā-bāši. However, in OECT 9 47 (112 S.E.), in which the present scribe was a witness, the seller of a similar storehouse at the Irigal was one Lā-bāši, whose other name is Nidintu-šarri, the son of Riḥat-Anu (the remainder of the patronymic being lost). It is therefore conceivable that Lā-bāši/Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši látinnu in text VII and Nidintu-šarri/Riḥāt-Anu/[...] in text IV are one and the same person.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare Aram. אַדִּדְּכֶּל אָדְדִּכֶּל "architect, key-stone setter" (Jastrow 1903, 115b, s.v.): see Kaufman 1974, 35, s.v. arad ekalli.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Nidintu-Anu appears in 146 S.E., with the title  $^{\text{l\'u}}$  itinnu, among the witnesses to the sale of property within the Irigal (MLC 2166).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. McEwan 1981, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Note further that Nanâ-iddin/Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad, the buyer of the Irigal storehouse from

Among the co-beneficiaries, Lā-bāši/Anu-mār-ittannu lú itinnu, may either be the waiver's father or an otherwise unknown son. Nanâ-iddin/Kidin-Anu lú itinnu, apparently when a very much younger man, was one of a group of eleven assignees, all lú arad-ekalli, designated in 67 S.E. to perform a ritual (BRM 2 17). Šapik/Anu-aḫ-ušabši lú itinnu is otherwise unknown.

Among the witnesses:

- # 1, Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed the sale of a storehouse within the Rēš, ca. 151-161 S.E. (MLC 2175) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, no. 969).
- # 3, Anu-šum-līšer/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Anu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed a real estate sale in the Pleasure Garden district in 96 S.E. (Speleers Recueil 298 = Speleers Recueil 300).
- # 4, Anu-aḥḥē-iddin/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Aḥ-ūtu, also witnessed the sale of shares in the baker's prebend ca. 103-119 S.E. (NCBT 1961) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 521, 742). He and his brother, Ištar-šum-eriš, were the sellers of real estate in the Šamaš City Gate district in 161 S.E. (Bab. 15 188ff.).
- # 5, Anu-mār-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî, also witnessed the sale of shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the temple, ca. 102-119 S.E. (NCBT 1955) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 599), the sale of a storehouse within the Irigal in 122 S.E. (OECT 9 49), and the dedication of three slaves, ca. 123-125 S.E. (YBC 11633) (seal: no. 55).
- # 7, Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-bēlšunu <sup>lú</sup> *Urkāyya*, is the only person in the present corpus, and one of a few in the corpus at large, to have the same personal name as his father; <sup>6</sup> he is also the only free person in the present corpus not to be identified either with the name of an eponymous ancestor or a temple-related occupational title, but rather with a gentilic. He may be the same person, the grandson of Nanâ-iddin (without any further identification given), who witnessed a real estate sale in the Ištar City Gate district, ca. 125–137 S.E. (OECT 9 56).
- # 8, Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu lú sepīr makkūr Anu, whose grandfather's name was Nidintu-Ištar, also witnessed the sales of shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend in 111 S.E. (OECT 9 45 = OECT 9 46), shares of the prebend concerning those who may enter the temple together with the butcher's prebend, ca. 120-124 S.E., written by the present scribe (BRM 2 55 + FuB 16 36 21 + AoF 5 86f. 13) (seal: no. 73), and shares of the brewer's prebend in 141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 143). He also witnessed: the gift of a house in the Market City Gate district together with a female slave in 124 S.E., written by the present scribe and in which the present waiver was the donor (text VIII) (seal: no. 77); an exchange of properties in the Ištar City Gate district in 129 S.E.

Nidintu-sarri in text IV is among the witnesses (restoring the ancestral name) to the sale of the Irigal storehouse by  $L\bar{a}$ -bāši—Nidintu-šarri in OECT 9 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Other Babylonians exhibiting this rare naming practice include Anu-ab-uṣur/Anu-ab-uṣur/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ḥunzû (BRM 2 50 = Speleers Recueil 295, MLC 2175), Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Anu-aḥ-ittannu//Ḥunzû (NCBT 1959), Anu-mukin-apli/Anu-mukin-apli/Anu-mār-ittannu (BRM 2 36), Anu-uballiṭ/Anu-uballiṭ//Ekur-zakir (OECT 9 51), and Kītu-Anu/Kītu-Anu/Kītu-Anu/Kītu-Anu (MLC 2186); also note Anu-aḥ-ittannu—Dumqi-Anu/Dumqi-Anu//Luštammar-Adad (BiMes 24 13). A single Greek, Apollōnous (NCBT 2304), is also observed.

(BRM 2 35) (seal: no. 77); and sales of real estate in the Ištar City Gate district in 133 S.E. (BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23) (seal: no. 77), in an unknown district in 143 S.E. (VAS 15 34), and in the Pleasure Garden district in 147 S.E. (MLC 2169) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 143). He was also the seller of real estate in an unknown district in 122 S.E. (VAS 15 38). Seal no. 73, the first of Ardi-Ninurta's three known seals, also appears on an undated clay bulla (YBC 3051) originally enclosing a parchment document.

The scribe, Anu-qīšan/Nidintu-Anu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, recorded at least nine different transactions, including the present text, between 102 and perhaps as late as 137 S.E. The remaining eight texts include the real estate sales VAS 15 48 (102 S.E.), VAS 15 12 = Bab. 8 27ff. (130 S.E.), BRM 2 32 = MLC 2171 (119 S.E.), and MLC 2652 = MLC 2655 (119 S.E.), the sale of prebendal shares BRM 2 55 + FuB 16 36 21 + AoF 5 86f. 13, also witnessed by WI # 8 (ca. 120-124 S.E.), the gift of a house and a slave text VIII, in which the present waiver was the donor and WI # 8 was also a witness (124 S.E.), the division of property VAS 15 39 = VAS 15 40 = VAS 15 49 (132 S.E.), and the lease of a storehouse in the Anu sanctuary within the Rēš temple VAS 15 31 (ca. 123-137 S.E.). Anu-qīšan is the only Seleucid Uruk scribe to include his priestly title, <sup>16</sup> galmāḥ Anu, when identifying himself as the scribe of archival tablets. He appears, without his title, among the witnesses to a real estate sale within the Irigal temple in 112 S.E., in which the present beneficiary may have been the seller (OECT 9 47).

## VIII TEXT VIII

HSM 913.1.5 (7313)

Dimensions:  $9.7 \times 11.1 \times 4.0$ 

Date: 18.X.124 S.E.

Scribe: Anu-qīšan/Nidintu-Anu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni

Duplicate:

Type: gift (*ana rīmūt*) of a finished house in the Market City Gate district, Uruk, and one female slave

Property boundaries:

N: the bank of the Ištar Canal

S: the vacant lot of the sons of Ardi-Ninurta, parchment scribe of the estate of Anu

W: the street leading down to the Ištar Canal

E: the vacant lot of that house and the vacant lot of the sons of Anu-aḥ-iddin/Nidintu-Anu//Ekur-zakir

Slave: fRihāt-Bēlet-sēri/Sumuttu-Anu

Slave mark: none

Compensatory gift: 50 sheqels

Donor-Guarantor: Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši, architect: R1 (3)

Recipients: Rihāt-Anu and Nidintu-Anu/Lā-bāši/Riḥāt-Anu

Witnesses:

(1) Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Hunzû: cf. B3 (33), T2 (4)

(2) Anu-bēlšunu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû: B1 (14)

(3) Ina-qibīt-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Hunzû: cf. B3 (33), T2 (4)

(4) Lā-bāši/Anu-uballiṭ/Kidin-Anu//Ḥunzû: T3 (57)

(5) Anu-aḫ-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Kurî: L2 (80)

(6) Idat-Anu/Illut-Anu/Dannat-Bēlti//Luštammar-Adad: B2 (8)

(7) Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar, parchment scribe of the estate of Anu: T1 (77)

(8) Usuršu-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni: L1 (17)

Obv. 1- <sup>md</sup>60-DUMU-MU-nu DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši ÌR-É.GAL AŠ *ḫu-ud* ŠÀ-bi-šú É-su

2-  $\acute{e}p-\check{s}\acute{u}$  AŠ KI- $\acute{t}$ i KÁ.GAL GANBA  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $q\acute{e}$ -reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup> UŠ AN- $\acute{u}$  <sup>im</sup>SI.SÁ

3- GÚ ÍD dINANNA UŠ KI- $\acute{u}$  imulu $_3$ lu DA ki- $\check{s}ub$ -ba-a  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  DUMU.MEŠ  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  mir-dMAŠ se-pi-ri NíG.GA d60

4- SAG.KI AN.TA  $^{\mathrm{im}}$ MAR.TU DA SILA mu-rad ÍD  $^{\mathrm{d}}$ INANNA SAG.KI KI.TA

5-  $^{\mathrm{im}}$ KUR.RA DA ki- $\check{s}ub$ -ba-a  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  É MU.MEŠ u DA ki- $\check{s}ub$ -ba-a  $\check{s}\acute{a}$  DUMU.MEŠ  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\mathrm{md}}$ 60- $\check{s}$ EŠ-MU

6- DUMU šá  $^{\rm m}ni$ -din-tu $_4$ - $^{\rm d}$ 60 A  $^{\rm m}$ É.KUR-za-kir ŠU.NIGIN UŠ.MEŠ u SAG.KI.MEŠ mi-ših-tú

7- É MU.MEŠ É MU.MEŠ *i-ṣi u ma-a-du ma-la ba-šu-ú gab-bi u <sup>mí</sup>ri-ḥat-*<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-EDIN

8- GEME2 šá ŠU II 15-šú la šaṭ-rat DUMU. MÍ šá "su-mut-tu4-d60 a-na ri-mut-ú-tú a-na

9-	<sup>m</sup> ri-ḥat- <sup>d</sup> 60 u <sup>m</sup> ni-din-tu <sub>4</sub> - <sup>d</sup> 60 dumu.meš šá <sup>m</sup> la-ba-ši dumu šá <sup>m</sup> ri-ḥat- <sup>d</sup> 60
	lú ÌR-É.GAL
10-	$a$ -na $U_4$ -mu ṣ $a$ - $a$ -tú it-t $a$ -din ku-um ri-mut-ú-tú šá É u ${}^{\mathrm{mi}}$ ri-hat- ${}^{\mathrm{d}}$ GAŠAN-EDIN
11-	GEME <sub>2</sub> MU.MEŠ <sup>5</sup> / <sub>6</sub> MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <i>is-ta-ter-ra-nu šá</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>an-ti-</i> '- <i>i-ku-su</i>
	bab-ba-nu-ú-tú
12-	AŠ ŠU <sup>II m</sup> $ri$ - $hat$ - $d60$ $u$ m $ni$ - $din$ - $tu$ 4- $d60$ DUMU.MEŠ š $\acute{a}$ m $la$ - $ba$ - $\check{s}i$ m $d60$ -DUMU-
	MU-nu DUMU šá <sup>m</sup> NU-TÉŠ
13-	lúìR-É.GAL <i>qu-bu-lu ul i-šal-am-ma</i> <sup>a md</sup> 60-DUMU-MU- <i>nu a-ga-a</i> É MU.MEŠ
14-	$u^{\text{mi}}$ $ri$ - $hat$ - $^{\text{d}}$ GAŠAN-EDIN GEME $_2$ MU.MEŠ $a$ - $na$ KÙ.BABBAR $a$ - $na$ $ri$ - $^{\text{-}}$ - $u$ - $tu$ $u$ -
15	nu-dun-nu-ú
15-	a-na e-peš ṣu-bu-ú-tú a-na mim-ma gab-bi u ma-am šá-nam-ma gab-bi
10-	<i>e-lat a-na</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>ri-ḫat-</i> <sup>d</sup> 60 <i>u</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>ni-din-tu</i> <sub>4</sub> - <sup>d</sup> 60 šEš- <i>šú</i> <sup>a</sup> DUMU.MEŠ <i>šá</i> <sup>a m</sup> <i>la-ba-ši</i>
	ÌR-É.GAL
17-	ul i-din ul i-nam-din ki-i i-din ki-i it-tan-nu ul ú-šu-zu
18-	ù ú-mar-qu $^{\rm md}$ 60-DUMU-MU-nu a-ga-a a-na $^{\rm m}$ ri-hat- $^{\rm d}$ 60 u $^{\rm m}$ ni-din-tu <sub>4</sub> - $^{\rm d}$ 60
	ŠEŠ- <i>šú</i>
. 19-	šá la DI.KU5 u la ḫar-ri 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR bab-ba-nu-ú-tú¹a i-nam-din
20-	É MU.MEŠ $u^{\text{mi}}ri$ - $hat$ - $^{\text{d}}GAŠAN$ -EDIN GEME $_2$ MU.MES šá $^{\text{m}}ri$ - $hat$ - $^{\text{d}}60$ $u^{\text{m}}ni$ - $din$ -
	$tu_4$ -d60 ŠEŠ-šú
21-	<sup>a</sup> DUMU.MEŠ <i>šá</i> <sup>a m</sup> <i>la-ba-ši</i> DUMU <i>šá</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>ri-ḥat-</i> <sup>d</sup> 60 <sup>lú</sup> ìR-É.GAL <i>a-na</i> U <sub>4</sub> - <i>mu ṣa-a-</i>
22-	tú šú-nu tú šú-nu lú mu-ki $n_7$ mdum-qí-d60 dumu šá $^{\rm md}$ 60-tin-iṭ dumu šá $^{\rm md}$ na-na-a-mu A $^{\rm m}$ hun-
22-	
22	md60 my */ my */ my */ / 1: d60 my */ my */ my */ / 1: d60 my */ my */ my */ /
23-	<sup>md</sup> 60-EN-šú-nu DUMU šá <sup>m</sup> AŠ-qí-bit- <sup>d</sup> 60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup> ki-din- <sup>d</sup> 60 A <sup>m</sup> hun-zu-ú
24-	<sup>m</sup> AŠ-qí-bit- <sup>d</sup> 60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup> dum-qí- <sup>d</sup> 60 DUMU šá <sup>m</sup> AŠ-qí-bit- <sup>d</sup> 60 A <sup>m</sup> hun-zu-ú
25-	<sup>m</sup> la-ba-ši dumu šá <sup>md</sup> 60-tin-iṭ dumu šá <sup>m</sup> ki-din- <sup>d</sup> 60 A <sup>m</sup> hun-zu-ú
26	md 60 črč MI mula DIMI žá mazomat to d60 DID GI ží md

Rev.

- 26- <sup>md</sup> 60-ŠEŠ-MU-*nu* <sup>la</sup> DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>*su-mut-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup> 60 DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>*na-na-a*-MU A <sup>m</sup>*kur-i*
- 27- <sup>m</sup>*i-dat*-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>*il-lut*-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup>BAD<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN A <sup>m</sup>*lu-uš-tam-mar*<sup>d</sup>IM
- 28-  $^{\rm m}$ ìr- $^{\rm d}$ Maš dumu šá  $^{\rm md}$ 60-dumu-mu-nu dumu šá  $^{\rm m}$ ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>- $^{\rm d}$ Inanna  $^{\rm l\acute{u}}$ se-pi-ri níg.ga  $^{\rm d}$ 60 29-  $^{\rm m}$ ú-ṣur-šú- $^{\rm d}$ 60 dumu šá  $^{\rm m}$ šá- $^{\rm d}$ 60-iš-šu-ú dumu šá  $^{\rm md}$ na-na-a-mu a  $^{\rm m\acute{e}}$ 6.
- BABBAR-MU-DÙ 30- <sup>md</sup> 60-BA-*šá-an-ni* <sup>lú</sup> ŠID <sup>lú</sup> GALA.MAḤ <sup>d</sup> 60 DUMU *šá* <sup>m</sup> *ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup> 60 A <sup>md</sup> 30-TI-
- 31- <sup>itu</sup> AB U<sub>4</sub>.18.KÁM MU.124.KÁM <sup>m</sup>*an-ti-* '-*i-ku-su u* <sup>m</sup>*se-lu-ku* DUMU-*šú* LUGAL. MEŠ

U.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(77)	(4)	(57)
	<sup>m</sup> ÌR- <sup>d</sup> MAŠ	<sup>m</sup> AŠ-qí-bit- <sup>d</sup> 60 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>m</sup> la-ba-ši
Lo.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(14)	(8)	(33)
	<sup>md</sup> 60-EN- <i>šú-nu</i>	mi-dat-d60	mAŠ-qí-bit-d60a

Le.E. *un-qa* (17) "ú-ṣur-šú-⁴60

*un-qa* (**80**) <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-*nu* 

R.E. un-qa  $^{md}$ 60-DUMU-MU-nu (3)  $^{l\acute{u}}$  na-din-na-an  $\acute{e}$  u  $^{m\acute{l}}$  ri-hat- $^{d}$  GAŠAN-EDIN MU.MEŠ

(1) Anu-mār-ittannu, son of Lā-bāši, the architect, of his own free will, has given as a gift his finished house in the district of the Market City Gate, which is in Uruk — the upper long side on the north is the bank of the Ištar Canal; the lower long side on the south is adjacent to the vacant lot of the sons of Ardi-Ninurta, the parchment scribe of the estate of Anu; the upper short side on the west is adjacent to the street leading down to the Ištar Canal; the lower short side on the (5) east is adjacent to the vacant lot of that house and the vacant lot of the sons of Anu-aḫ-iddin, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir: the total of the long sides and short sides is the measured area of that house — that house, less or more, as much as there is, all of it, and Riḥāt-Bēlet-ṣēri, the slave-girl whose right hand is not marked, daughter of Sumuttu-Anu, to Riḥāt-Anu and Nidintu-Anu, sons of Lā-bāši, son of Rihāt-Anu, the architect, (10) in perpetuity.

In place of the gift of that house and Riḫāt-Bēlet-ṣēri, that slave, Anu-mār-ittannu, son of Lā-bāši, the architect, accepted  $^5/_6$  mina of silver, staters of Antiochus in good condition, from Riḫāt-Anu and Nidintu-Anu, sons of Lā-bāši, the architect. This Anu-mār-ittannu has no power of disposition, and he did not transfer and is not transferring that house and Riḫāt-Bēlet-ṣēri, that slave-girl, for money, as a gift, as a dowry, (15) in a business transaction, for any reason or (to) anyone else, except to Riḫāt-Anu and Nidintu-Anu, sons of Lā-bāši, the architect. (But) if he transferred (them or) shall transfer (them), they will not enter (them in the temple records). Further, this Anu-mār-ittannu guarantees to Riḫāt-Anu and Nidintu-Anu, his brother, that there is no legal proceeding and no protestation (or else) he will pay 1 mina of good quality silver.

(20) That house and Riḥāt-Bēlet-ṣēri, that slave-girl of Riḥāt-Anu and Nidintu-Anu, his brother, sons of Lā-bāši, son of Riḥāt-Anu, the architect, are theirs in perpetuity.

(22–29) (list of eight witnesses)

(30) Anu-qīšan, the scribe, the chief singer of dirges of Anu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Sîn-leqi-unnīni. Uruk. (31) Tebêtu 18, year 124, Antiochus and Seleucus, his son, kings.

# Notes

- 13<sup>a</sup> Compare text VII:10 *i-šal-laṭ-ma*, and its duplicate BRM 1 98:10 *i-šal-ma*, written by the same scribe.
- 16<sup>a-a</sup> Written DUMUךá.MEŠ šá.
- 19<sup>a</sup> Written -nu.
- 21<sup>a-a</sup> Written DUMUךá.MEŠ šá.
- 26<sup>a</sup> Written d60.

U.E.<sup>a</sup> May be error for <sup>m</sup>*dum-qí-*<sup>d</sup>60.<sup>1</sup> Lo.E.<sup>a</sup> (see preceding note).

#### Comments

Text **VIII** is one of five texts presently known in which a compensatory payment is made in exchange for the property "given" as a gift ( $ana \ r\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}t$ ): NCBT 1950 (10.VIII.27 S.E.), the gift of a female slave by a mother to her daughter in exchange for 60 sheqels; NCBT 1939² (-.-.[67–89] S.E.), the gift to an unrelated individual of a plot of land in an unknown district in exchange for between two and four sheqels; the present text (18.X.124 S.E.), the gift of a finished house in the Market City Gate district together with a female slave to the donor's brother's grandsons in exchange for fifty sheqels; OECT 9 50 (28.–.125 S.E.), the gift to an unrelated individual of shares in the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend in exchange for ten sheqels; and FuB 16 32f. 13 + AoF 5 83 [W 15016x] (-.-.155 S.E.), the gift of a finished house in the vicinity of the Irigal by a mother to her son in exchange for sixty sheqels. A sixth text, BRM 2 50 = Speleers Recueil 295 (20.VIII.166 S.E.), records the gift ( $ana \ r\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}t$ ), without compensatory payment, of a one-third share in a house in the Šamaš City Gate district together with a garment and a pot, by a son to his mother and father.

How these gifts differed in fact from ordinary sales (ana kaspi nadānu) of such items for often comparable prices is difficult to say. In the case of the present text, the donor may or may not have been motivated to avoid payment of the slave sale tax (ἀνδραπόδων) and attendent registration fees with the Royal Records Officer (χρεοφύλαξ). Note, however, that the other gift of a slave, NCBT 1950, took place a decade prior to the imposition of the Seleucid slave sale tax and registration, circa 37 S.E., and that none of the remaining gifts ever appear to have been subject to taxation or registration.<sup>3</sup> For the standard formulary for deeds of gift, see Krückmann 1931, 44–47; Lewenton 1970, 19–20; Doty 1977, 83–87. Note the addition of the provision for the clearing of future claims following the clause restricting the power of disposition of the waiver (l. 17) (Lewenton 1970, 80–81).

Eight of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to three each in six other transactions, of which four concern real estate. In addition, nine persons, including six of the preceding, occur individually in yet another twenty-eight transactions, of which nineteen concern real estate.

The slave, <sup>f</sup>Riḥāt-Bēlet-ṣēri/Sumuttu-Anu, is specifically noted as not having had her right hand marked (l. 8: šá šU<sup>II</sup> 15-šú la šaṭ-rat) with the name of her owner (cf. text

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The scribe captioned two impressions, T2 (no. 4) and B3 (no. 33), with the name Ina-qibīt-Anu. One of these seals belongs to WI # 3: Ina-qibīt-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ḥunzû, the only witness listed with such a personal name; the other seal must belong to WI # 1: Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, whose personal name does not appear in any seal captions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Doty 1977, 247–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For a summary of the evidence concerning the imposition of royal taxes and registration requirements and their attendant effects on the cuneiform corpus, see Doty 1977, 312–35; cf. Stolper 1994, 338–41.

### Text VIII

I:3–4). This formula occurs on just three other documents in reference to both male and female slaves: NCBT 1948 (division of property: 68 S.E.), OECT 9 17 (gift: ca. 60–90 S.E.), and OECT 9 43 (division of property: 107 S.E.). A variant of the formula (*šá* ŠU<sup>II</sup> 15-*šú a-na* MU *šá* <sup>1ú</sup> *man-am la šaṭ-rat*) occurs in OECT 9 58:14 (exchange of properties: 143 S.E.).<sup>4</sup>

The donor-guarantor, Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši, had received the present house in the Market Gate district, as well as shares in the builder's prebend and the appurtenant food offerings, in a division with his older brother, Rihāt-Anu, of property belonging of his father and his father's brother, Nanâ-iddin, in 82 Š.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 610). Those prebend shares and food offerings are likely the same to which Anu-mār-ittannu relinquished claim in 122 S.E. (text VII = BRM 1 98) (seal: no. 56) in a quitclaim also witnessed by WI # 7 and written by the present scribe.

The recipients, Riḫāt-Anu, and his brother Nidintu-Anu/Lā-bāši/Riḫāt-Anu, are probably grandsons of the donor Anu-mār-ittannu's brother. The title hid arad-ekalli following the patronymic of the recipients in this text is always written in the singular (ll. 9, 16, 21): it would therefore appear not to be their title, but rather their father's (see 1. 16). Nidintu-Anu, with the title hid itinnu, appears among the witnesses to the sale of a storage structure within the Irigal in 146 S.E. (MLC 2166) (seal: cf. Wallenfels 1994, nos. 749, 804).

Among the neighbors, Ardi-Ninurta, the parchment scribe, father of the present owners of the neighboring property to the south, is probably the same man, the son of Nidintu-Ištar, referred to in a property description in the Market City Gate district in a division of properties in 82 S.E. in which the present donor was a recipient (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A).

Among the witnesses:

# 1, Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, also witnessed the sale of prebendal shares in 95 S.E. (OECT 9 33), and the sale of a house in the Ištar City Gate district in 119 S.E., also written by the present scribe (BRM 2 32 = MLC 2171) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 602). He was the seller of shares of various prebends in 84 S.E. (OECT 9 24), 108 S.E. (NCBT 1971) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 397), and ca. 90–125 S.E. (VAS 15 28). He may also have been the seller of land in the Ištar City Gate district in 79 S.E. (TCL 13 239), and the neighbor named in a property description in the same district in 89 S.E. (BRM 2 28 = BiMes 24 19).

# 3, Ina-qibīt-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed the sale of a storehouse within the Irigal in 160 S.E. (BRM 2 48 = AoF 5 85 4 + AoF 5 85 5) (seal:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Neither the presence nor absence of slave marks are noted in one other division of property, BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A (82 S.E.), nor in any of the dedications of slaves into temple service, YBC 11633 (ca. 123–125 S.E.), BiMes 24 44 (179 S.E.), BRM 2 53 (180 S.E.), and BiMes 24 43 (184 S.E.); the latter three dedications date from the Arsacid period and concern children stated to be between the ages of five and ten (see Sarkisian 1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. McEwan 1981, 49.

Wallenfels 1994, no. 777) and a cession of land in the vicinity of the Rēš, ca. 151–161 S.E. (FuB 16 29f. 8).

# 4, Lā-bāši/Anu-uballiṭ/Kidin-Anu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed the sale of a storehouse in the Irigal in 126 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 (OECT 9 53), the sale of shares of food allotments together with a house in the Ištar City Gate district in 131 S.E. (BRM 2 36) (seal: no. 57), and another sale of land in the same district in 137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13) (seal: cf. Weisberg 1991, pls. 24 [B2], 25 [T3]).

# 5, Anu-aḫ-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Kurî, also witnessed an exchange of properties within the Ištar City Gate district in 129 S.E., in which WI # 6 was among the owners of neighboring properties and WI # 7 was also a witness (BRM 2 35) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 597); he also appears as a neighbor in a property description in the same district in 104 S.E. (NCBT 2306).

# 6, Idat-Anu/Illut-Anu/Dannat-Bēlti//Luštammar-Adad, was the buyer of shares in the prebend concerning those who may enter the sacristy together with the goldsmith's prebend, ca. 102–119 S.E. (OECT 9 44) and ca. 110–119 S.E. (OECT 9 57), and was the beneficiary in a quitclaim to such a combination of prebends, ca. 126–129 S.E. (OECT 9 54 = OECT 9 55). He purchased storehouses within the Irigal in 122 S.E. (OECT 9 49) and 126 S.E. (OECT 9 53), the latter transaction also witnessed by WI # 4. Idat-Anu also appears as a neighbor in a property description in the Ištar City Gate district in 129 S.E., in an exchange of properties also witnessed by WI # 5 and WI # 7 (BRM 2 35).

#7, Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar l<sup>ú</sup> sepīr makkūr Anu, also witnessed the sale of various prebendal shares in 111 S.E. (OECT 9 45 = OECT 9 46), ca. 120–124 S.E., written by the present scribe (BRM 2 55 + FuB 16 36 21 + AoF 5 86f. 13 ) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 783), and in 141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 143). He also witnessed: a quitclaim to prebendal shares, a food allotment and a temple storehouse within the Irigal in 122 S.E., in which the present donor was the waiver and which was written by the present scribe (text VII = BRM 1 98) (seal: no. 73); an exchange of properties in the Ištar City Gate district in 129 S.E., in which WI # 5 was also a witness and WI # 6 was listed among the owners of neighboring properties (BRM 2 35) (seal: no. 77); and the sales of houses in the Ištar City Gate district in 133 S.E. (BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23) (seal: no. 77), in an unknown district in 143 S.E. (VAS 15 34), and in the Pleasure Garden district in 147 S.E. (MLC 2169) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 143). He was also the seller of real estate in an unknown district in 122 S.E. (VAS 15 38). Seal no. 73, the first of Ardi-Ninurta's three known seals, also appears on an undated clay bulla (YBC 3051) originally enclosing a parchment document.

# 8, Usuršu-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni, also witnessed the sale of a storehouse within the Irigal in 149 S.E. (BRM 2 39) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 275), and a house in the Market City Gate district near the Ereškigal temple in 150 S.E. (BRM 2 54 = BiMes 24 28) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 275).

The scribe, Anu-qīšan/Nidintu-Anu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, recorded at least nine different transactions, including the present text, between 102 and perhaps as late as 137 S.E. The remaining eight texts included the sales of land in VAS 15 48 (102 S.E.), VAS 15 12 = Bab. 8 27ff. (130 S.E.), BRM 2 32 = MLC 2171, also witnessed by WI # 1 (119 S.E.), and MLC 2652 = MLC 2655 (119 S.E.), a quitclaim to prebendal shares, a food allotment and a temple storehouse in text VII, in which the present donor was the waiver

#### Text VIII

and WI # 7 was also a witness (122 S.E.), the sale of prebendal shares in BRM 2 55 + FuB 16 36 21 + AoF 5 86f. 13, also witnessed by WI # 7 (ca. 120–124 S.E.), the division of property in the Adad Temple district in VAS 15 39 = VAS 15 40 = VAS 15 49 (132 S.E.), and the leasing of a storehouse in the Rēš in VAS 15 31 (ca. 123–137 S.E.). Anu-qīšan is the only Seleucid Uruk scribe to include his priestly title,  $^{\text{lú}}$  galmāḥ Anu ("chief singer of dirges"), when identifying himself as the scribe of archival tablets. He appears, without his title, among the witnesses to a real estate sale within the Irigal temple in 112 S.E. (OECT 9 47).

#### IX TEXT IX

HSM 913.1.7 (7315)<sup>1</sup>

Scribe: Anu-uballit/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ekur-zakir

Dimensions:  $9.6 \times 10.9 \times 3.9$ 

Date: 15.XI.153 S.E. Duplicate:

Type: sale of a finished house, its passageway and yard, tenured property, the property of Anu, in the Istar City Gate district, Uruk

Price: 10 sheqels Property boundaries:

N: a house, the property of Anu, the tenured property of Illut-Ištar, a construction worker of the temple of the gods of Uruk

S: the street "The Thoroughfare of the People," and the right-of-way of that house W: the yard and outbuilding of Ana-rabût-Anu/Anu-ah-ittannu, the gadāyya-official

E: the house and yard of Dumqi-Anu/Usuršu-Anu/Dumqi-Anu//Hunzû

Seller-Guarantor: Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ah-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu//Kurî: R1 (5)

Buyer: Idat-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ardi-Rēš, who is among the kiništu-priests of the Rēš temple

#### Witnesses:

- (1) Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-ah-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir: T3 (86)
- (2) Anu-ah-ušabši/Anu-uballissu//Ekur-zakir: B1 (12)
- (3) Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-usur//Hunzû: B2 (84)
- (4) Rabi-Anu/Lā-bāši/Rabi-Anu//Hunzû: L1 (66)
- (5) Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-ah-ittannu/Balāṭu//Luštammar-Adad: B3 (28)
- (6) Ša-Anu-iššû/Anu-ah-ittannu/Balātu//Luštammar-Adad: T1 (76)
- (7) Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Hunzû: L2 (75)
- (8) Illut-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî: T2 (37)
- Obv. 1-  $^{\rm m}$ AŠ-E- $^{\rm d}$ 60 A šá  $^{\rm md}$ 60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu A šá  $^{\rm m}$ su-mut- $tu_4$ - $^{\rm d}$ 60 A  $^{\rm m}$ kur-i
  - 2- AŠ hu-ud ŠÀ-bi-šú É-su DÙ-uš édul-ba-né-e-šú u TUR-su

  - 3- É rit-ti-šú NÍG.GA d60 KI-tì KÁ.GAL dINANNA šá gé-reb
  - 4- UNUG<sup>ki</sup> UŠ AN-ú <sup>im</sup>SI.SÁ DA É NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>60 É *rit-ti*
  - 5- šá <sup>m</sup>il-lut-<sup>d</sup>INANNA <sup>lú</sup>e-piš dul-lu IM.HI.A šá É DINGIR.MEŠ šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
  - 6- UŠ KI- $\acute{u}^{\mathrm{im}}$ ULU $_{3}^{\mathrm{lu}}$  DA SILA SIG mu-taq UN.MEŠ u mu-su- $\acute{u}$   $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $\acute{\mathrm{E}}$  MU.MEŠ
  - 7- SAG.KI AN.TA <sup>im</sup>MAR.TU DA TUR *u* <sup>é</sup>*a-su-up-pu šá* <sup>m</sup>DIŠ-GAL-<sup>d</sup>60
  - 8- A šá <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-*nu* <sup>lú</sup>*gad-da-a-a* SAG.KI KI.TA <sup>im</sup>KUR.RA DA
  - 9- É u TUR šá <sup>m</sup>dum-qí-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>URU<sub>3</sub>-šú-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>dum-qí-<sup>d</sup>60 A
  - 10- mhun-zu-ú ŠU.NIGIN UŠ.MEŠ u SAG.KI.MEŠ mi-ših-tu<sub>4</sub>
  - 11- É MU.MEŠ É MU.MEŠ *i-si u ma-a-du ma-la ba-šu-ú*
  - 12- gab-bi a-na 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ga-lu-ú bab-ba-nu-ú
  - 13- a-na ŠÁM TIL.MEŠ a-na <sup>m</sup>i-dat-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>dum-qí-<sup>d</sup>60
  - 14- A šá mìR-é SAG šá TA lúki-niš-tu4 šá é SAG a-na

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a partial edition (II. 2–10), see Doty 1977, 292–93.

#### Text IX

15- U<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa-a-tú it-tad-din KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 10 GÍN ŠÁM É MU.MEŠ 16- TIL.MEŠ  $^{\rm m}$ AŠ-E- $^{\rm d}$ 60  $^{\rm l\acute{u}}$ na-din É MU.MEŠ AŠ ŠU $^{\rm H}$   $^{\rm m}i$ -dat- $^{\rm d}$ 60 ma-hir Rev. 17- e-tìr U<sub>4</sub>-mu pa-qa-ri a-na 「UGU¬-hi É MU.MEŠ it-tab-šu-ma 18- <sup>m</sup>AŠ-E-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>lú</sup>na-din É MU.MEŠ ú-mar-raq-qa-ma a-di 12-TA.ÀM 19- a-na <sup>m</sup>i-dat-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>dum-qí-<sup>d</sup>60 a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu sa-a-tú ina-an-din 20- É MU.MEŠ NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>60 É *rit-ti šá* <sup>m</sup>*i-dat-*<sup>d</sup>60 A *šá* <sup>m</sup>*dum-qí-*<sup>d</sup>60 21- A šá <sup>m</sup>ÌR-<sup>é</sup>SAG šá TA <sup>lú</sup>ki-niš-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>é</sup>SAG a-na U<sub>4</sub>-mu 22- sa-a-tú šu-ú 23- lúmu-kin7 24-  $^{\text{md}}60$ -EN- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ -nu A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{md}}60$ - $\check{s}$ EŠ-MU A  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{\text{md}}60$ -DUMU-MU-nu u  $^{\text{md}}60$ - $\check{s}$ EŠ-GÁL- $\check{s}i$ 25- A šá <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-su A.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>É.KUR-za-kir <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá 26-  $^{\text{md}}$ 60-AD-URU $_3$  u  $^{\text{m}}$ GAL- $^{\text{d}}$ 60 A  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{\text{m}}$ NU-TÉŠ A  $\check{s}\check{a}$   $^{\text{m}}$ GAL- $^{\text{d}}$ 60 A.MEŠ 27-  ${}^{\rm m}hun$ -zu- $\acute{u}$   ${}^{\rm md}$ 60-MU-GIŠ u  ${}^{\rm m}$  $\check{s}\acute{a}$ - ${}^{\rm d}$ 60- $\check{i}$  $\check{s}$ - $\check{s}$  $\check{u}$ - $\acute{u}$  A.MEŠ  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   ${}^{\rm md}$ 60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu28- A šá <sup>m</sup>TIN A.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar-<sup>d</sup>IM <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá 29- mi-dat-d60 A šá mšá-d60-iš-šu-ú A mhun-zu-ú 30- <sup>m</sup>il-lut-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>INANNA A <sup>m</sup>kur-i 31-  $^{\text{md}}60$ -TIN-it  $^{\text{lú}}$ ŠID A šá  $^{\text{m}}$ AŠ-qi-bit- $^{\text{d}}60$  A  $^{\text{m}}$ É.KUR-za- $^{\text{r}}kir$  $^{\text{T}}$  UNUG $^{\text{ki}}$ 32-  $^{\text{itu}}$ ZÍZ.KÁM U<sub>4</sub>.15.KÁM MU.153.KÁM  $^{\text{m}}$ de-e-mi- $^{\text{r}}$ ti $^{\text{-}}$ -[ri]-su LUGAL

U.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-qa
	(76)	(37)	(86)
	<sup>m</sup> šá- <sup>d</sup> 60-iš-šu-ú	mil-lut-d60	<sup>md</sup> 60-EN- <i>šú-nu</i>
Lo.E.	un-qa	un-qa	un-ga
	(12)	(84)	(28)
	<sup>md</sup> 60-šeš-gál- <i>ši</i>	mAŠ-qí-bit-d60	<sup>md</sup> 60-MU-GIŠ
Le.E.	un-qa		un-qa
	(66)		(75)
	mGAL-d60		mNÍG.SUM.MU-d60
R.E.	un-qa		
	mAŠ-E-d60		
	(5)		
	lúna-din É u lúmu-mar-raq-q	a-an-nu	
	É MU.MEŠ		

(1) Ina-qibīt-Anu, son of Anu-aḫ-ittannu, son of Sumuttu-Anu, descendant of Kurî, of his own free will, has sold his finished house, its passageway and its yard, his tenured property, the property of Anu, in the district of the Ištar City Gate, which is in Uruk — the upper long side on the north is adjacent to the house, the property of Anu, the tenured property (5) of Illut-Ištar, a construction worker of the temple of the gods of Uruk; the lower long side on the south is adjacent to the narrow street, "The Thoroughfare of the People," and the right-of-way of that house; the upper short side on the west is adjacent to the yard and outbuilding of Ana-rabût-Anu, son of Anu-aḫ-ittannu, the <code>gadāyya</code>-official; the lower short side on the east is adjacent to the house and yard of Dumqi-Anu, son of

Uṣuršu-Anu, son of Dumqi-Anu, descendant of (10) Ḥunzû: the total of the long sides and short sides is the measure of that house — that house, less or more, as much as there is, all of it, for 10 sheqels of silver in good condition as the full sale price to Idat-Anu, son of Dumqi-Anu, son of Ardi-Rēš, who is among the *kiništu*-priests of the Rēš temple, in (15) perpetuity.

The money, 10 sheqels, the full sale price of that house, Ina-qibīt-Anu, the seller of that house, received from (and) was paid by Idat-Anu. When a claim is brought against that house, accordingly, Ina-qibīt-Anu, the seller of that house, will clear (it) and pay the 12-fold (penalty) to Idat-Anu, son of Dumqi-Anu, in perpetuity.

- (20) That house, the property of Anu, the tenured property of Idat-Anu, son of Dumqi-Anu, son of Ardi-Rēš, who is among the *kiništu*-priests of the Rēš temple, is his in perpetuity.
  - (23–30) (list of eight witnesses)
- (31) Anu-uballit, the scribe, son of Ina-qibīt-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir. Uruk. (32) Šabaṭu 15, year 153, Demet[ri]us, king.

#### Notes

12<sup>a</sup> Note the absence of the usually following \*istaterrānu ša RN.

#### **Comments**

For the standard formulary for the sale of real estate, see Krückmann 1931, 24–38; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 2–7; Doty 1977, 64–82.

Thirteen of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to seven each in fourteen other transactions, of which ten concern real estate. In addition, nine persons, including eight of the preceding, occur individually in yet another twenty-six transactions, of which sixteen concern real estate.

The seller and guarantor, Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu//Kurî, is the husband of 'Nūptu-Nanâ/Balātu (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179). Just two months earlier to the day, on 15.IX.153 S.E., 'Nūptu-Nanâ had purchased the very same piece of property from the very same man to whom it is presently being sold by her husband for the identical price! Two of the present witnesses, WI # 2 and WI # 7, were also witnesses to 'Nūptu-Nanâ's purchase.

The buyer, Idat-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ardi-Rēš,<sup>2</sup> a *kiništu*-priest,<sup>3</sup> who also bore the title of doorkeeper,<sup>4</sup> made several other real estate purchases, all recorded by the present scribe, within the Anu gate of the Irigal in 149 S.E. (BRM 2 39), in the vicinity of the Ištar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The business activities of Idat-Anu, as well as of other members of his immediate family, and especially of his father, Dumqi-Anu, are treated extensively in Doty 1977, 270–302.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> <sup>1ú</sup>kiništu ša <sup>é</sup>Rēš (OECT 9 61), ša ultu <sup>1ú</sup>kiništu ša <sup>é</sup>Rēš (text **IX**, MLC 2175, BRM 2 41 = BiMes 24 35, BRM 2 46 = MLC 2185 + FuB 16 37 22), ša ultu <sup>1ú</sup>kiništu ša bīt ilānī ša Uruk<sup>ki</sup> (BRM 2 45, FuB 16 26f. 2 + AoF 5 82 [W15034i+k] = FuB 16 34f. 16).

<sup>4</sup> lúatâ (BRM 2 42 + FuB 16 28f. 6 + AoF 5 82f. [W15034h] = MLC 2180 + Aof 5 88 24, FuB 16 31 10), lúatâ ša būt makkūri (BRM 2 39, VDI 1955/4 157f. 8), lúatâ būt makkūr Anu (BRM 2 40 = FuB 16 30f. 9).

City Gate in 151 S.E. (BRM 2 42 + FuB 16 28f. 6 + AoF 5 82f. [W15034h] = MLC 2180 + AoF 5 88 24) and 152 S.E. (BRM 2 41 = BiMes 24 35), and within the entrance gate of the Rēš, ca. 151–161 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 (MLC 2175). He was the recipient of land in the vicinity of the Ištar City Gate in an exchange of properties with Nidintu-Anu/Riḥāt-Anu/Mattattu-Anu, <sup>lú</sup>epiš dulli ṭiṭṭi ša bīt ilānī ša Uruk, in 154 S.E. (BRM 2 45) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 598).

Idat-Anu also purchased shares of the butcher's prebend in 150 S.E. (BRM 2 40 = FuB 16 30f. 9) and 155 S.E., (FuB 16 26f. 2 + AoF 5 82 [W15034i+k] = FuB 16 34f. 16): the first purchase was also witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 5, the second by WI # 7; both were recorded by the present scribe. In 165 S.E., Idat-Anu leased a small portion of these shares to Nidintu-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ana-rabût-Anu//Kurî (VDI 1955/4 157f. 8) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 598). Idat-Anu also purchased shares of the brewer's prebend in 153 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (OECT 9 61).

Idat-Anu was guarantor, along with his brothers Nidintu-Anu and Anu-uballit—Zōros, to the sale of real estate in the vicinity of the Ištar City Gate by his father in 166 S.E. (BRM 2 49 = AoF 5 86 10) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 598). He also witnessed the sale of prebendal shares in 155 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (BRM 2 46 = MLC 2185 + FuB 16 37 22) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 598), a division of real estate in the Adad temple district in 160 S.E. (NCBT 2304) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 598), and a land sale in the vicinity of the Rēš, ca. 151–161 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (FuB 16 31 10).

Among the neighbors, Illut-Ištar <sup>1ú</sup>*epiš dulli ṭiṭṭi ša bīt ilānī ša Uruk*, Ana-rabût-Anu/Anu-aḫ-ittannu <sup>1ú</sup>*gadāyya*, and Dumqi-Anu/Uṣuršu-Anu/Dumqi-Anu//Ḥunzû are also referred to in the description of the present property when it was purchased by the present seller's wife just two months earlier (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179).

#### Among the witnesses:

# 1, Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-aḫ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir, may have been the same man whose name appears, without his grandfather's name, among the witnesses to the sale of a house in the Ištar City Gate district in 131 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 3 (BiMes 24 22 = MLC 2183 + MLC 2206) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 51, U.E. [T2]).

#2, Anu-aḥ-ušabši/Anu-uballissu//Ekur-zakir, whose grandfather's name was Anu-mār-ittannu,<sup>5</sup> also witnessed the sales of houses in the Adad City Gate district in 128 S.E. (MLC 2187), and in the Ištar City Gate district in 153 S.E. (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179) (seal: no. 12), the former also witnessed by WI # 3, the latter purchased by the present seller's wife from the present buyer and also witnessed by WI # 7. Anu-aḥ-ušabši also witnessed the purchase of shares of the butcher's prebend in 150 S.E. by the present buyer, also witnessed by WI # 5, and recorded by the present scribe (BRM 2 40 = FuB 16 30f. 9) (seal: no. 12), and a *donatio mortis causa*, ca. 151–161 S.E. (BiMes 24 49).

# 3, Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-uṣur//Ḥunzû, whose grandfather's name was Anu-mār-ittannu,<sup>6</sup> also witnessed the sales of houses in the Adad City Gate district in 128 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 (MLC 2187) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 991), and in the Ištar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BRM 2 43:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> MLC 2175:12f.

City Gate district in 131 S.E., probably also witnessed by WI # 1 (BiMes 24 22 = MLC 2183 + MLC 2206) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 991), and again in 133 S.E. (BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 991; Weisberg 1991, pl. 54, Le.E. [L1]). He also witnessed the division of real estate in the Adad temple district in 132 S.E. (VAS 15 39 = VAS 15 40 = VAS 15 49) (seal: Schroeder 1916, Taf. 2, o.R. [T4] = Wallenfels 1994, no. 991), the sale of a storehouse within the  $R\bar{e}$ s, ca. 151–161 S.E., purchased by the present buyer and recorded by the present scribe (MLC 2175) (seal: no. 84), and perhaps the sale of prebendal shares in 145 S.E. (VAS 15 337).

#4, Rabi-Anu/Lā-bāši/Rabi-Anu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed real estate sales within the Irigal in 126 S.E. (OECT 9 53), in the Adad temple district in 140 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 (BiMes 24 32 = BiMes 24 37), and in an unknown district, ca. 144–150 S.E. (NCBT 1945) (seal: no. 66). He also witnessed the sale of prebendal shares, ca. 126–129 S.E. (OECT 9 54 = OECT 9 55), and a cession of land in the Rēš temple district, ca. 151–161 S.E. (FuB 16 29f. 8).

# 5, Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Balāṭu//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed real estate sales in the Miḥallake temple district in 138 S.E. (MLC 2156) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 722), in the Adad temple district in 140 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 4 (BiMes 24 32 = BiMes 24 37), and in the Rēš temple district in YOS 15 9 (n.d.). Anu-šum-līšer also witnessed the purchase of prebendal shares by the present buyer in 150 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2, and recorded by the present scribe (BRM 2 40 = FuB 16 30f. 9) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 1014). He also appears, without ancestral name, in a property description in the Irigal temple district in 159 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 146f. 3).

# 6, Ša-Anu-iššû/Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Balāṭu//Luštammar-Adad, also witnessed a real estate sale in the Adad temple district in 144 S.E. (VAS 15 30) (seal: Schroeder 1916, Taf. 1, VAT 9158 o.[sic]R. [B2]).

#7, Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Hunzû, also witnessed the real estate purchase in the Ištar City Gate district in 153 S.E. made by the present seller's wife from the present buyer, also witnessed by WI # 2 (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179) (seal: no. 75), a real estate sale within the Irigal in 162 S.E. (text X) (seal: cf. nos. 18, 60, 81), and the purchase of prebendal shares in 155 S.E. by the present buyer, recorded by the present scribe (FuB 16 26f. 2 + AoF 5 82 [W15034i+k] = FuB 16 34f. 16).8

# 8, Illut-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî, also witnessed the sale of various prebendal shares in 119 S.E. (text **VI** = VAS 15 32) (seal: no. **52**) and 141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10) (seal: cf. Weisberg 1991, pl. 16, Le.E. [L1], Lo.E. [B3]), and perhaps the sale of a house in the vicinity of the Irigal in 159 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (YBC 8955°).

The scribe, Anu-uballit/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ekur-zakir, wrote two astronomical texts, ACT 702 (124 S.E.), in which he is entitled <sup>lá</sup>āšipu Anu u Antu ("exorcist"), and TCL 6 27 (124 S.E.). He also recorded some nineteen archival texts, including the present text. The remaining archival texts include: sales of real estate in BRM 2 39, purchased by the present buyer (149 S.E.), BRM 2 42 + FuB 16 28f. 6 + AoF 5 82f. [W15034h] = MLC

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  VAS 15 33:24  $^{\rm m}$ AŠ-qi-bit- $^{\rm d}$ 60 dumu šá  $^{\rm md}$ 60-AD-[...].

<sup>\*</sup> Also note the witness to the sale of prebendal shares, ca. 151–161 S.E., in OECT 9 59:r11' [...]- dat d60.

A *šá* <sup>m</sup>*šá* <sup>\_d</sup>60-*iš*-*šu*-*ú*.

<sup>9</sup> YBC 8955:r13' . . . <sup>m</sup>*il-lut*-<sup>d</sup>60 A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Aš-*qí-bit*-<sup>d</sup>60 (r14' ) [A <sup>m</sup>. . .].

#### Text IX

2180 + AoF 5 88 24, purchased by the present buyer (151 S.E.), BRM 2 41 = BiMes 24 35, purchased by the present buyer (152 S.E.), VAS 15 27 (156 S.E.), YBC 8955, perhaps witnessed by WI # 8 (159 S.E.), FuB 16 31 10, witnessed by the present buyer (ca. 151–161 S.E.), and MLC 2175, purchased by the present buyer and witnessed by WI # 3 (ca. 151–161 S.E.); sales of prebendal shares in BRM 2 40 = FuB 16 30f. 9, purchased by the present buyer and witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 5 (150 S.E.), BRM 2 46 = MLC 2185 + FuB 16 37 22, also witnessed by the present buyer (155 S.E.), OECT 9 60 (153 S.E.), OECT 9 61, purchased by the present buyer (153 S.E.), FuB 16 26f. 2 + AoF 5 82 [W15034i+k] = FuB 16 34f. 16, purchased by the present buyer and witnessed by WI # 7 (155 S.E.), and VAS 15 16 (ca. 151–161 S.E.); quitclaims in BRM 2 44 (154 S.E.) and MLC 2186 (156? S.E.); leases of prebendal shares in BRM 2 47 (157 S.E.) and OECT 9 62 (157 S.E.); and perhaps the fragment FuB 16 40 26/5 (ca. 140–159).

Anu-uballit's name, with his title <sup>16</sup>tupšarru, but without his ancestral name, also appears written in cuneiform above a seal impression on the fragmentary clay bulla FuB 16 72 18 (n.d.). <sup>10</sup> Since the seal impressions on clay bullae are normally without captions, and since scribes do not normally seal the documents they write, <sup>11</sup> the presence of his name on this bulla cannot as yet be satisfactorily explained.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  (1)  $^{[m] \ \Box d}$  60-tin-  $^{\Box} it$  (2) a šá  $^m$  Aš-qí-bit-  $[^d60]$  (3)  $^{l\acute{u}}$  Šid.

In each of the following four exceptions the scribe is a principal party ceding rights or properties within the transaction, and therefore must and does seal the right edge of the tablet: (1) Riḥāt-Ištar/Nanâ-iddin, seller of real estate in MLC 2163 (29 S.E.); (2) Anu-aḥḥē-iddin/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, seller of real estate together with prebendal shares in VAS 15 23 (33 S.E.), and prebendal shares alone in BRM 2 8 (35 S.E.); (3) Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu//Ekur-zakir, one of two sellers of prebendal shares in BRM 2 16 (57 S.E.); (4) Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, one of three dividers of real estate in MLC 2170 = BiMes 24 53 (88 S.E.).

### X TEXT X

HSM 913.1.8 (7316)

Dimensions:  $8.8 \times 10.2 \times 3.5$ 

Date: 5.VII.162 S.E. Scribe: Ina-qibīt-Anu/Šamaš-īṭer//Ekur-[zakir]

Duplicate: MLC 2161

Type: sale of a storehouse and upper stories in the Irigal

Price: 50(+) shequels Property boundaries:

N: a storehouse, the tenured property of the buyer S: a large wall facing the courtyard of the north door

W: storehouse and upper story of Mušallim-Anu/Anu-ab-usur

E: the right-of-way between them beyond the upper story of the sellers

Sellers-Guarantors:

(1) Kidin-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu//Ḥunzû: R1 (67)

(2) Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû: R2 (15)

Buyer: Dumqi-Anu/Ardi-Rēš/Dumqi-Anu, doorkeeper of the estate of Anu for the office of tenured property

Witnesses:

(1) Anu-ah-iddin/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû: T2 (26)

(2) Anu-zēr-iddin/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ḥunzû: T3 (89)

(3) Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-uṣur//Ḥunzû: T1 (65)

(4) Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû: cf. B1 (81), B2 (60), L2 (18)

(5) Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Ḥunzû: cf. B1 (81), B2 (60), L2 (18)

(6) Arad-Ummi-rēmet/Anu-qīšan/Ubār//Kidin-Marduk: 「B3¬(-)

(7) Ana-rabût-Anu/Sumuttu-Anu/Kītu-Anu/Kurî: L1 (9)

(8) Nidintu-Anu/Šala-lišlim/Illut-Anu//Imbi-Anu: cf. B1 (81), B2 (60), L2 (18)

Obv. 1- mBÁR-d60 u md na-na-a-MU A.MEŠ šá md60-DUMU-MU-nu A šá mBÁR-d60 A mhun-zu-ú

2- AŠ hu-ud Šà-bi-šú-nu É ŠU $^{\rm II}$ -su-nu u É ru-gu-ub-bu-ti-šú-nu ŠUB ép-šu-ú-tú

3- É rit-ti-šú-nu AŠ <sup>é</sup>IRI $_{10}$ .GAL šá  $q\acute{e}$ -reb UNUG $^{ki}$  UŠ AN- $\acute{u}$   $^{im}$ SI.SÁ

4- DA É ŠU<sup>II</sup> É *rit-ti šá* <sup>m</sup>*dum-qí-*<sup>d</sup>60 A *šá* <sup>m</sup>ÌR-<sup>é</sup>SAG <sup>lú</sup>*ma-ḥir-an-na* É ŠU<sup>II</sup>

5- MU.MEŠ UŠ KI-ú <sup>im</sup>ULU<sub>3</sub> lu DA <sup>é</sup>a-ma-áš-tu<sub>4</sub> GAL-tu<sub>4</sub> šá IGI TÙR

6-  $\check{s}\check{a}$  ká  $^{\mathrm{im}}$ si.sá sag.ki an.ta  $^{\mathrm{im}}$ mar.tu da é šu $^{\mathrm{II}}$  u é ru-gu-bu

7- šá  ${}^{\rm m}{
m GI}$ - ${}^{\rm d}60$  a šá  ${}^{\rm md}60$ -ad-uru $_3$  sag.ki ki.ta  ${}^{\rm im}{
m KUR.RA}$  da mu-su-  ${}^{\rm i}u$ 

8- *šá bé-rit-šú-nu e-lat* É *ru-gu-ub-bu* NÍG.GI<sup>a</sup> UR.BI *šá* <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60 *u* <sup>mrd¬</sup>[*na-na-a*-MU]

9- MU.MEŠ ŠU.NIGIN UŠ.MEŠ u SAG.KI.MEŠ mi- $\check{s}ih$ - $tu_4$  É ŠU $^{\text{II}}$  MU.MEŠ u É  $[\ldots]$ 

10- MU.MEŠ *i-ṣi u ma-a-du ma-la ba-¬šú-ú gab-bi¬ a-na ⁵/*6 MA.NA ¬ù¬ [x(?) GÍN(?)

11- KÙ.BABBAR qa-lu-ú is-ta-ter-ra-nu šá Гт [a-lik-sa-an]-Гdar bab-ba-nu-Гú П

12- a-na ŠÁM TIL.MEŠ a-na  $^{m}dum$ - $^{-}qi$ - $^{-d}$ [60 A Šá  $^{m}$ ÌR- $^{e}$ ] $^{-}$ SAG $^{-}$  A Šá  $^{m}dum$ -qi- $^{-[d}$ 60]

	13- $^{\text{lú}}$ LDU <sub>8</sub> NÍG.GA $^{\text{d}}$ 60 $^{\text{d}}$ 60 $^{\text{d}}$ 60 $^{\text{d}}$ 60 $^{\text{d}}$ 7 $^{\text{e}}$ 7 $^{\text{e}}$ 7 $^{\text{e}}$ 8 $^{\text{e}}$ 8 $^{\text{e}}$ 9				
	14- $it$ - $tan$ - $nu$ -' KÙ.BABBAR- $a_4$ $\frac{1}{6}$ [MA.NA $\dot{u}$ X(?) GÍN(?) ŠÁM É] $\ddot{S}$ MU.MEŠ				
	TIL.MEŠ				
	15- ${}^{\mathrm{m}}\mathrm{B\acute{A}R}$ - ${}^{\mathrm{d}}60~u$ ${}^{\mathrm{md}}na$ - $[na$ - $a$ - $\mathrm{MU}\ldots\mathrm{A\check{S}}$ $\mathrm{\check{S}U^{II}}$ ${}^{\mathrm{m}}dum$ - $q\acute{i}$ - ${}^{\mathrm{d}}60~ma$ - $hir$ ]. ${}^{\mathrm{r}}\mathrm{ME\check{S}}$				
	16- $e$ - $\hat{q}$ r.MEŠ U <sub>4</sub> - $mu$ $pa$ - $qa$ - $q$				
Rev	. 17- <sup>m</sup> BÁR- <sup>d</sup> 60 <i>u</i> <sup>md</sup> <i>na-na-a</i> -MU MU.MEŠ <i>ú-mar-rag-ú-ma</i> EN 12-TA.ÀM				
	18- a-na <sup>m</sup> dum-qí- <sup>d</sup> 60 a-na U <sub>4</sub> -mu ṣa-a-tú i-nam-din-šú-nu-' pu-ut a-ha-a-meš				
	19- <i>a-na mur-ru-qu šá</i> É ŠU <sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup> BÁR- <sup>d</sup> 60 <i>u</i> <sup>md</sup> <i>na-na-a</i> -MU MU.MEŠ				
	20- a-na <sup>m</sup> dum-qí- <sup>d</sup> 60 a-na U <sub>4</sub> -mu ṣa-a-tú na-šu-ú É ŠU <sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ É rit-ti				
	21- šá <sup>m</sup> dum-qí- <sup>d</sup> 60 MU.MEŠ a-na U <sub>4</sub> -mu sa-a-tú šu-ú				
	22- $^{\text{l}\acute{u}}$ $mu$ - $kin_7$ $^{\text{md}}$ 60-ŠEŠ-MU $u$ $^{\text{md}}$ 60-NUMUN-MU A.MEŠ $\check{s}\acute{a}$ $^{\text{md}}$ $na$ - $na$ - $a$ -MU A $\check{s}\acute{a}$				
	<sup>md</sup> 60-DUMU-MU- <i>nu</i>				
	23- $^{\text{md}}60$ -ŠEŠ-MU- $nu$ A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ $^{\text{m}}$ AŠ- $q\acute{i}$ - $bit$ - $^{\text{d}}60$ A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ $^{\text{md}}60$ -AD-URU $_3$ $^{\text{m}}$ NÍG.SUM.MU- $^{\text{d}}60$				
	A $\check{s}\check{a}^{a \text{ md}}60$ -DUMU-MU- $nu$				
	24- A šá $^{\rm md}$ na-na-a-MU $u$ $^{\rm m}$ NÍG.SUM.MU- $^{\rm d}$ 60 A šá $^{\rm m}i$ -dat- $^{\rm d}$ 60 A šá $^{\rm m}$ šá- $^{\rm d}$ 60- $i$ š-š $u$ - $u$				
	25- A.MEŠ <sup>m</sup> hun-zu-ú <sup>m</sup> ÌR- <sup>d</sup> AMA-ARḤUŠ A šá <sup>md</sup> 60-BA-šá-an-ni A šá <sup>m</sup> ú-bar				
	26- A <sup>m</sup> BÁR- <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU <sup>m</sup> DIŠ-GAL- <sup>d</sup> 60 A <i>šá</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>su-mut-tu</i> <sub>4</sub> - <sup>d</sup> 60 A <i>šá</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>ki-tu</i> - <sup>d</sup> 60				
	27- A <sup>m</sup> kur-i <sup>m</sup> NÍG.SUM.MU- <sup>d</sup> 60 A šá <sup>md</sup> ša-la-liš-lim A šá <sup>m</sup> il-lut- <sup>d</sup> 60				
	28- A mim-bi-d60				
	29- $^{\text{m}}$ AŠ- $qi$ - $bit$ - $^{\text{d}}$ 60 $^{\text{lú}}$ ŠID A $\check{s}\check{a}$ $^{\text{md}}$ UTU-SUR $^{\text{T}}$ A $^{\text{m}}$ É.KUR- $za$ $^{\text{T}}$ - $[kir]$ $^{\text{T}}$ UNUG $^{\text{Ni}}$ $^{\text{itu}}$ DU $_{6}$ 30- $^{\text{U}}$ 4.5.KÁM MU.162.KÁM $^{\text{m}}a$ - $lik$ - $sa$ - $^{\text{T}}$ a $^{\text{T}}$ - $[dar$ LUGAL]				
	30- 04.3.KAM MO.102.KAM	A -a-lik-sa- an '-laar Lu	GAL		
U.E.	un-qa	un-[qa]	[un]-qa		
	(65)	(26)	(89)		
	md 60-šeš-mu-nu	md 60-šeš-mu	md 60-NUMUN-MU		
Lo.E.	$\lceil un \rceil - [qa]$	[un-qa]	[un-qa]		
	(81)	(60)	(-) <sup>1</sup>		
	[mNíg]. sum.mu-d60	mNÍG.SUM.MU-d60	mÌR-d[AMA-ARḤUŠ]		
Le.E.	un-qa		un-qa		
	(9)		(18)		
	mDIŠ-GAL-d60		mNÍG.SUM.MU-d60		
R.E.	un-qa <sup>m</sup> BÁR- <sup>d</sup> 60		un-qa <sup>md</sup> na-na-a-MU		
	(67)		(15)		

(1) Kidin-Anu and Nanâ-iddin, sons of Anu-mār-ittannu, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Hunzû, of their own free wills, have sold their storehouse and their upper stories, collapsed (or) built, their tenured property, in the Irigal which is in Uruk — the upper long side on the north is adjacent to the storehouse, the tenured property of Dumqi-Anu, son of Ardi-Rēš, the buyer in question of that storehouse; (5) the lower long side on the

]

 $l^{u}$ na-din- $\lceil na \rceil$ - $\lceil$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Wallenfels 1994, no. 660.

south is adjacent to the large wall which faces the courtyard of the north door; the upper short side on the west is adjacent to the storehouse and upper story of Mušallim-Anu, son of Anu-ab-uṣur; the lower short side on the east is adjacent to right-of-way which is between them beyond the upper story, *justly jointly* the one of that Kidin-Anu and [Nanâ-iddin]: the total of the long sides and short sides is the measured area of that storehouse and [...] — that [...], (10) less or more, as much as there is, all of it, for  $^{5}$ /<sub>6</sub> mina [...] of refined silver, staters of [Alexan]der in good condition, as the full sale price, to Dumqi-[Anu, son of Ardi-Rēš], son of Dumqi-Anu, the door keeper of the estate of Anu for [the office of tenured property, i]n perpetuity.

The money,  $\frac{5}{6}$  mina [...], the full [sale price of] that [storehouse], (15) Kidin-Anu and Na[nâ-iddin receiv]ed [from] (and) were paid [by Dumqi-Anu]. When a clai[m is brought concerning that storehouse...], that Kidin-Anu and Nanâ-iddin will clear (it) and pay the 12-fold (penalty) to Dumqi-Anu in perpetuity. That Kidin-Anu and Nanâ-iddin mutually assume guaranty for the clearing of that storehouse (20) for Dumqi-Anu in perpetuity. That storehouse, the tenured property of that Dumqi-Anu, is his in perpetuity.

(22–28) (list of eight witnesses)
(29) Ina-qibīt-Anu, the scribe, son of Šamaš-īṭer, descendant of Ekur-za[kir]. Uruk. Tašrītu (30) 5, year 162, Alexan[der, king].

### Notes

Text A = text **X**. Text B = MLC 2161. All restorations as per text B or from context.

8<sup>a</sup> Emend to read NÍG.GI.<NA> or NÍG.ZI<sup>!</sup>, i.e., *kittu*? 23<sup>a</sup> B omits.

### Comments

For the standard formulary for the sale of real estate, see Krückmann 1931, 24–38; Petschow 1939, 69–72; Lewenton 1970, 2–7; Doty 1977, 64–82.

Ten of the persons named in this transaction also occur in various combinations of from two to five each in seven other transactions, of which five concern real estate. In addition, six persons, including five of the preceding, occur individually in yet another twenty transactions, of which eleven concern real estate.

The seller, Kidin-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu/Hunzû, was the guarantor to the sale of another storehouse in the Irigal by his father to the present buyer in 160 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 2 (BRM 2  $48 = \text{AoF} 5 85 4 + \text{AoF} 5 85 5^2$ ) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 156).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Note that the fragments AoF 5 4 and AoF 5 5 were actually excavated from the Irigal during the 1933/34 and 1935/6 seasons.

The buyer, Dumqi-Anu/Ardi-Rēš/Dumqi-Anu lúatû makkūr Anu, purchased a doorkeeper's prebend in 124 S.E. (BRM 2 34), and real estate in the Ištar Gate district ca. 125–137 S.E. (OECT 9 56), and within the Irigal in 160 S.E., the latter from the present seller's father, guaranteed by the present seller, and witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 2 (BRM 2 48 = AoF 5 85 4 + AoF 5 85 5). Dumqi-Anu sold real estate in the Ištar City Gate district in 166 S.E. in a transaction recorded by the present scribe (BRM 249 = AoF5 86 10) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 657); he was referred to in boundary descriptions there in 133 S.E. (BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23) and 151 S.E., the latter transaction also witnessed by WI # 3 (BRM 2 42 + FuB 16 28f. 6 + AoF 5 82f. [W15034h] = MLC 2180 + AoF 5 88 24). Dumqi-Anu also witnessed sales of real estate in an unknown district in 143 S.E. (VAS 15 34), and within the Irigal in 159 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (VDI 1955/4 146f. 3) (seal: Sarkisian 1955, fig. 4 [L1]), an exchange of houses in the Ištar City Gate district in 154 S.E. (BRM 2 45) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 409), and sales of prebendal shares in 155 S.E. (BRM 2 46 = MLC 2185 + FuB 16 37 22) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 409), and ca. 151-161 S.E., recorded by the present scribe (Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 315ff. 5).

The neighbor, Mušallim-Anu/Anu-ab-uṣur, a descendant of Ḥunzû,<sup>4</sup> also appears in boundary descriptions of two storehouses within the Irigal, one purchased in 160 S.E. by the present buyer from the present seller's father, guaranteed by the present seller, and witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 2 (BRM 2 48 = AoF 5 85 4 + AoF 5 85 5), the other purchased ca. 151–161 S.E. (FuB 16 38f. 25). Musallim-Anu was also the lessor of prebendal shares in 157 S.E. (OECT 9 62).

#### Among the witnesses:

#1, Anu-aḥ-iddin/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed a quitclaim concerning prebendal shares ca. 126–129 S.E. (OECT 9 54 = OECT 9 55), the sale of land in the Ištar City Gate district in 137 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 2 and WI # 7 (BiMes 24 13) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 24, Lo.E. [L1]), and the purchase of a storehouse within the Irigal by the present buyer from the present seller's father in 160 S.E., guaranteed by the present seller and witnessed by WI # 2 (BRM 2 48 = AoF 5 85 4 + AoF 5 85 5) (seal: no. 26). Anu-aḥ-iddin also purchased prebendal shares ca. 125-137 S.E. (OECT 9 42) and in 145 S.E. (VAS 15 33).

# 2, Anu-zēr-iddin/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ḥunzû, also witnessed the sale of land in the Ištar City Gate district in 137 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 7 (BiMes 24 13) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 25. U.E. [T2]), and the purchase of a storehouse within the Irigal by the present buyer from the present seller's father in 160 S.E., guaranteed by the present seller and witnessed by WI # 1 (BRM 2 48 = AoF 5 85 4 + AoF 5 85 5) (seal: no. 89).

# 3, Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-uṣur//Ḥunzû, also witnessed the sale of a house in the Ištar City Gate district in 151 S.E. in which the present buyer was the owner of a neighboring property (BRM 2 42 + FuB 16 28f. 6 + AoF 5 82f. [W15034h]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Elsewhere Dumqi-Anu is identified as ša ultu l<sup>ú</sup>kiništi ša <sup>6</sup>Rēš, a low status priest of the Rēš temple (BRM 2 46 = MLC 2185 + FuB 16 37 22, BRM 2 47), and as ša ultu l<sup>ú</sup>kiništi ša bīt ilānī ša Uruk<sup>ki</sup>, a low status priest of the temple of the gods of Uruk (BRM 2 48 = AoF 5 85 4 + AoF 5 85 5).
<sup>4</sup> BRM 2 48:7.

= MLC 2180 + AoF 5 88 24) (seal: Wallenfels 1994, no. 541).

# 4, Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nanâ-iddin//Hunzû, also witnessed the sale of prebendal shares in 171 S.E. (VAS 15 37) (seal: cf. Šchroeder 1916, Taf. 1, VAT 8548 o.R. [T1 and T2]), and the dedication of two slaves in 184 S.E. (BiMes 24 43) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 107, U.E. [T1]).

# 5, Nidintu-Anu/Ĭdat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Ḥunzû, twice witnessed the sale of the same house in the Ištar City Gate district two months apart in 153 S.E. (text **IX**) (seal: no. **75**), (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179) (seal: no. **75**); he also witnessed the sale of prebendal shares in 155 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 6 (FuB 16 26f. 2 + AoF 5 82 [W15034i+k] = FuB 16 34f. 16).<sup>5</sup>

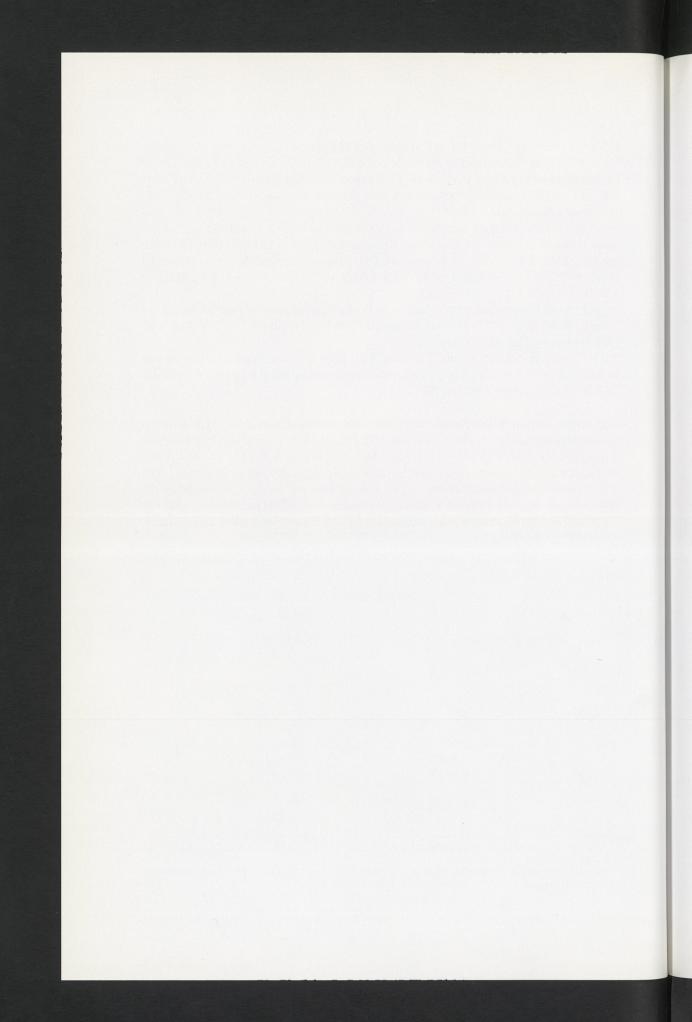
# 6, Arad-Ummi-rēmet/Anu-qīšan/Ubār//Kidin-Marduk, also witnessed the sale of prebendal shares in 155 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 5 (FuB 16 26f. 2 + AoF 5 82 [W15034i+k] = FuB 16 34f. 16).<sup>6</sup>

#7, Ana-rabût-Anu/Sumuttu-Anu/Kītu-Anu/Kurî, also witnessed a real estate sale in the Ištar City Gate district in 137 S.E., also witnessed by WI # 1 and WI # 2 (BiMes 24 13) (seal: Weisberg 1991, pl. 24. Le.E. [L2]).

The scribe, Ina-qibīt-Anu/Šamaš-īṭer//Ekur-zakir, recorded numerous other business transactions including: the real estate sales VDI 1955/4 146f. 3, witnessed by the present buyer (159 S.E.), Bab. 15 188ff. (161 S.E.), TCL 13 246 (161 S.E.), BRM 2 49 = AoF 5 86 10, in which the present buyer was the seller (166 S.E.), and VAS 15 24 (ca. 162–166 S.E.); the sale of prebendal shares, Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 315ff. 5, witnessed by the present buyer (ca. 151–161 S.E.); the *donatio mortis causa* BiMes 24 49 (ca. 151–161 S.E.); and the gift of a house along with other movable properties BRM 2 50 = Speleers Recueil 295 (166 S.E.).

Also note the witness to the sale of prebendal shares, ca. 151–161 S.E., in OECT 9 59:r11' [...]- $^{\Gamma}dat^{\neg \_d}60$  A  $\delta a^m \delta a^{-d}60$ - $i\delta \delta u^m \delta u^$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Also note the neighbor in the description of real estate in the Ištar City Gate district being divided, ca. 163–165 S.E., in OECT 9 63:34 . . . AMEŠ šá <sup>m</sup> ìR-<sup>d</sup>AMA-ARHUŠ (35) [. . .].



## XI CATALOGUE OF SEAL IMPRESSIONS













1 Elliptical gem.  $13 \times 14+$ . Male bust facing profile right, ear and beard in shape of a pigeon facing left; headband.

Anu-mār-ittannu/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu:

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI T2.

Cap. un-qa  $^{md}60$ - $^{\square}DUMU^{\square}$ -[MU]- $^{\square}nu^{\square}$ .

Anu-mār-ittannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 1051 on 17.VII.150 S.E. (BRM 2 40 B2).

The renderings of facial features in the shapes of birds are seen on a sixth century Phoenician scarab (Zazoff 1983, Taf. 21, 2), and among the seal impressions in a "collector's cabinet" from an Achaemenid period coffin at Ur (Legrain 1951, nos. 720–21). Other examples from Seleucid Uruk occur on both bulla (e.g., Jordan 1928, Taf. 87d) and tablet impressions (e.g., Wallenfels 1994, no. 13), as well as on bulla impressions from Seleucia on the Tigris (unpublished, courtesy A. Invernizzi).

2 Elliptical gem.  $17 \times 14+$ . Beardless male head facing profile right.

Bani-apli/Nanâ-iddin/Bani-apli//Luštammar-Adad:

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI L2.

Cap. un-qa mDÙ-A.

Other occurrences:

-.-.119 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, NCBT 2305 [B3].

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 1, no. 7 (NCBT 2305 [B3]).

Compare Weisberg 1991, pl. 17, U.E. [T1], used by Bani-apli on 10.—.141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10). Compare the similar slender neck, long pointy nose, thin lips and small chin with portraits of the youthful Antiochus III on coins from Seleucia (Newell 1941, pls. 18–20, passim) and Susa (Newell 1941, pls. 29–31, passim) (see further Fleischer 1991, 31–33, Taf. 15, c-e). Note the absence of the diadem (indicative of both royalty and divinity) on this and several other heads and busts with features otherwise reminiscent of coin portraits (e.g., Wallenfels 1994, nos. 4, 6, 18, 19).

3 Ellipse.  $11 \times 14$ . Female head facing right, wears hair gathered in bun and diadem; raised linear border.

Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši lúarad ekalli:

18.X.124 S.E., donor of gift of house and slave, text VIII R1.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>md</sup> 60-DUMU-MU-*nu* <sup>lú</sup> *na-din-na-an* É *u* <sup>mí</sup> *ri-hat-* <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN-EDIN MU.MEŠ.

Anu-mār-ittannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 610 on 11.VII.82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A R2), and no. **56** on 8.IX.122 S.E. (text **VII** = BRM 1 98 R1).

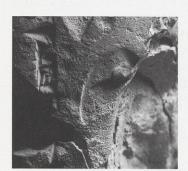
Compare the prominant bridge of the pointed nose and pointy chin with those features in portraits of Arsinoë III on coins issued by her husband-brother Ptolemy IV Philopater (e.g., Richter 1965, fig. 1828), and on a gold ring bezel in the Hermitage (Richter 1968, no. 641); see also the portrait of a queen on a convex gem in Geneva (Vollenweider 1976, no. 35). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 22–26, 26:B-C.













**4** Elliptical gem.  $9 \times 14+$ . Beardless bust facing right; plumed helmet. Ina-qib $\bar{t}$ t-Anu:<sup>1</sup>

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII T2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60.

This helmeted beardless bust may be that of a youthful warrior or the goddess Athena.

5 Elliptical gem.  $16+ \times 9$ . Female bust, hair gathered in bun, facing right, confronts beardless male bust, facing left.

Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ah-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu//Kurî:

15.XI.153 S.E., seller-guarantor to sale of house, text IX R1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>AŠ-E-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>lú</sup>na-din É u <sup>lú</sup>mu-mar-raq-qa-an-nu É MU.MEŠ.

A similar pair of confronted heads occurs on an undated bulla impression (S9–287) from Seleucia on the Tigris (courtesy A. Invernizzi); cf. jugate portraits of Demetrius I and his wife Laodice on contemporary coins (e.g., Fleischer 1991, Taf. 30, d-g). Already in evidence among the tablet impressions from Achaemenid Nippur (Bregstein 1993, no. 588), confronted human heads are most popular on seals and coins of the late Roman Republican (Zazoff 1983, Taf. 79,6) and early Imperial periods (e.g., Vollenweider 1976, nos. 187–88, 232, 239, 243). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, no. 29.

6 Ellipse fragment.  $7+ \times 10+$ . Bearded male with hair beneath peaked cap gathered in chignon at shoulder, wearing full length robe stands facing profile left, holding long staff with left hand; vertical crescent at right.

Anu-qīšan/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I T3.

Cap.  $[NA_4.KIŠIB]^{md}60-BA-\lceil \check{s}\check{a}\rceil-\lceil an\rceil-\lceil nu\rceil$ .

Other occurences:

10.VI.15 S.E., witness to sale of slaves, VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1 T2.

Publ. Sarkisian 1955, fig. 2 (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1).

This portrayal of a worshiper may reflect Herodotus' (I, 195) observation that every Babylonian "owns...a walking stick specially made for him." The latest example of this motif occurs in a tablet seal impression (Boehmer 1984, Taf. 29c) on the latest archival tablet from Uruk (BaM 15 274f.), dated 9.XI.203 S.E., i.e., some forty years after the Arsacid capture of Uruk. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 21; and nos. 58–61, 61:B. For examples on Hellenistic bullae from Seleucia on the Tigris, see Invernizzi 1994, 357, figs. 2, 3.

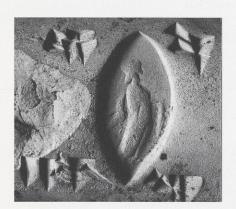
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The scribe captioned two impressions, T2 (no. 4) and B3 (no. 33), with the name Ina-qibīt-Anu. One of these seals belongs to WI # 3: Ina-qibīt-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ḥunzû, the only witness listed with such a personal name; the other seal must belong to WI # 1: Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, whose personal name does not appear in any seal captions. Ina-qibīt-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 777 on 1.VIII.160 S.E. (BRM 2 48 L1); Dumqi-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 397 on 3.IX.108 S.E. (NCBT 1971 R1), and 602 on 24.V.119 S.E. (BRM 2 32 = MLC 2171 L1).













7 Elliptical gem.  $10 \times 13$ . Female in full length garment stands facing right, torso bent back at waist, head forward(?), right hand on hip(?), left raised(?).

Anu-ah-ittannu:2

23.VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) L3.

Cap. un-qa md60-šEŠ-MU-nu.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. VI, no. 162; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 6, no. 106 (BRM 2 27 L3).

Neither impression of this convex gem was sufficiently deep to render all of the details at the top edge of the seal. Compare the similarly posed and rendered figure on a contemporary bulla impression from Seleucia on the Tigris (Invernizzi 1976, 177, fig. 5, row 4, far left).

**8** Ellipse.  $7.5 \times 13$ . Persian woman, hair in long pigtail with globular terminal, wearing full-sleeved chiton-like dress, holding ointment jar(?) and flowers(?), stands profile left; raised linear border.

Idat-Anu/Illut-Anu/Dannat-Bēlti//Luštammar-Adad:

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII B2.

Cap. un-ga mi-dat-d60.

A number of late fifth and fourth century Greek and Graeco-Persian gems<sup>3</sup> as well as several late fourth and third century gem impressions<sup>4</sup> display a standing Persian woman holding a variety of jars, lids, cups, flowers and/or wreaths, either in individual studies or with a Persian man. The present seal may be an heirloom, although it cannot be excluded that this is an early second century copy of an older piece: the stiffness of the pose is not unlike some Graeco-Persian types and the well modeled figure is somewhat unusual among the Hellenistic Uruk tablet impressions, especially those with raised linear borders (e.g., Wallenfels 1994, pl. 59, nos. 1038–43).

**9** Pointed ellipse.  $9 \times 18$ . Bearded male wearing full length garment stands profile right, body bent rearward at waist, weight on forward leg; indistinct object draped over shoulder, club held downward in front.

Ana-rabût-Anu/Sumuttu-Anu/Kītu-Anu//Kurî:

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text X L1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>DIŠ-GAL-<sup>d</sup>60.

Ana-rabût-Anu also used Weisberg 1991, pl. 24, Lo.E. [L2] on 10.XII.137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13).

This motif recalls the nude Herakles with the pelt of the Nemean lion over his arm or shoulder and a club in his hand (e.g., Boardman 1970, pls. 368, 441).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. T3 (no. 39); note WI # 5: /Ana-rabût-Anu//Kurî, WI # 6: /Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû. Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu used Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [R1] on 4.VIII.99 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7), and no. 63 on 25.VI.111 S.E. (text V T1) and ca. 108–109 S.E. (MLC 2177 T2). Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 380 on 6.I.48 S.E. (BRM 2 12 L3), 1041 on 21.VIII.63 S.E. (NCBT 1951 T2), and 680 on 14.V.104 S.E. (NCBT 2306 T1).

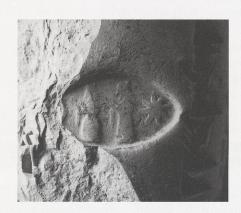
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Boardman 1970, 311, fig. 283; 315, fig. 289; 317, figs. 294, 297; pls. 854, 876, 879, 880, 891, 892, 903, 950; von der Osten 1934, no. 460; Muscarella 1981, nos. 175, 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Samaria (ca. 375–334 B.C.E.): Leith 1990, pl. 30 (WD 52). Elephantine (284/3 B.C.E.): Rubensohn 1907, Taf. 2, fig. 26. Selinunte (< 249 B.C.E.): Salinas 1883, pl. 10, fig. 104.</p>















10 Ellipse.  $9 \times 17$ . Water god, bearded, hair beneath short pointed miter gathered in chignon at shoulder, wearing full length garment, stands facing right; two streams, originating in vase held at chest seen fully frontal, flow over shoulders and down into two globular vessels near either foot.

Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-zēr-līšer//Ah-ūtu:

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V T3;

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI B1.

Cap. un-ga  $^{md}60$ -TIN-su-E (text  $\mathbf{V}$ ); un-ga  $^{md}60$ -TIN-su-[E] (text  $\mathbf{VI}$ ).

Other occurrences:

3.IX.108 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, NCBT 1971 [T3];

-.-.[90-125] S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 9 T4.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. 7, no. 198 (BRM 2 9 T4). Wallenfels 1994, pl. 8, no. 137 (NCBT 1971 T3).

The water god, Ea (or one of chidren or attendants), is the representation of the zodiacal sign Aquarius, <sup>mul</sup>GU.LA "the giant." See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 31-33, 155; and nos. 126–36, 138-41, 141:A-C.

11 Pointed ellipse.  $17 \times 9$ . Twin gods, bearded, hair beneath short pointed miters gathered in chignon at shoulders, wearing full length garments, and holding short sticks with angled tops, stand facing left; vertical crescent left, eight-pointed star right.

Nidintu-Anu/Bēlšunu//Aḫ-ūtu:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) T1.

Cap. \( \tau n^- \) [qa] \( \text{mNIG.SUM.MU-d60}. \)

Other occurrences:

16.XII.[102-119] S.E., witness to sale of prebend, NCBT 1955 B1.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. IV, no. 75; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 9, no. 147 (BRM 2 30 T1).

Nidintu-Anu also used either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 478 or 727 on 6.I.[95–96] S.E. (NCBT 1954 B3, T3).

The twin gods, Meslamtaea and Lugalgirra or Nabû and Nergal, holding their characteristic weapons, the *hinšu*, a whip or goad, and *uskāru pāšu* "sickle-ax," are the representation of the zodiacal sign Gemini, <sup>mul</sup>MAŠ.TAB.BA GAL.GAL "the great twins." See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 33–34, 154; and nos. 144–46, 148, 152:A-F.

12 Pointed ellipse.  $19 \times 8$ . Twin gods as above, wearing caps with double peaks, stand facing right behind kneeling third figure holding angled stick in left hand and indistinct object in right; balance at left, diagonal crescent right.

Anu-ah-ušabši/Anu-uballissu//Ekur-zakir:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX B1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-šEš-GÁL-ši.

Other occurrences:

17.VII.150 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, BRM 2 40 L2;

15.IX.153 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 43 B2.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. IV, no. 74; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 9, no. 150 (BRM 2 40 L2).

The balance is the representation of the zodiacal sign Libra, <sup>mul</sup>GIŠ.ERIN<sub>2</sub> "the *zibānītu*-balance": Libra and Gemini are in the harmoneous trine aspect. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 155, 156–57; and nos. 148, 151–52, 152:F(?).













13 Elliptical gem.  $10 \times 13$ . Winged(?) Zeus(?) wearing full length garment stands three-quarter left, head profile left, with weight on forward right leg, winged thunder-bolt(?) in extended right arm, left arm at side; baseline.

Kidin-Anu:5

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text **IV** (= BRM 2 30) T4. Cap. *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. VI, no. 160; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 10, no. 162 (BRM 2 30 T4).

14 Ellipse.  $9 \times 12$ . Tyche wearing full-length girded chiton with long draping sleeves stands in front view, head left; cornucopia in left arm, rudder in right; baseline. Anu-bēlšunu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Hunzû:

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII B1.

Cap. un-ga md 60-EN-šú-nu.

Compare the very similarly posed and dressed Tyche with cornucopia and torch on a Hellenistic ringstone (Henig 1994, no. 85). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 35–36; and nos. 157–58.

15 Ellipse.  $9 \times 9+$ . Apollo with *chlamys* draped over right arm stands three-quarters left in front of column; branch(?) in right hand; bottom lost.

Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû:

5.VII.162 S.E., seller of storehouse, text X R2.

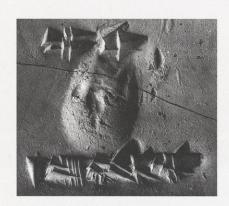
Cap. R1-R2: un-qa <sup>m</sup>PN un-qa <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-MU <sup>lú</sup>na-din-¬na¬-[...].

The image of Apollo, facing three-quarters left, standing completely nude, leaning on a tripod behind him with his left elbow and holding an arrow in his outstretched right hand, was a common reverse type on coins of Seleucus II, Antiochus III, and Seleucus IV. During the reign of the latter, the seal of the  $\chi \rho \epsilon \phi i \lambda \alpha \xi$  at Uruk depicted a variation of this motif (Rostovtzeff 1932, nos. 42–47). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 34-35; and no. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. T3 (no. **23**); note WI # 5: /Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Ḥunzû, WI # 8: /Ardi-Ninurta lúsepīr makkūr Anu.













16 Ellipse.  $10 \times 16$ . Nude male figure, *chlamys* draped behind shoulder and right arm, stands profile right, weight on right foot, right arm bent up at elbow with hand near face, left hand down holding vertical staff; baseline; head indistinct and incomplete.

Anu-balāssu-igbi/Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II T1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-su-E.

Anu-balāssu-iqbi may also have used Wallenfels 1994, no. 827 on 20.VIII.68 S.E. (BRM 2 18 T5).

The figure is too poorly drawn and incomplete to be certain whether a deity or hero was intended.

17 Elliptical gem.  $9 \times 14$ . Indistinct figure with lowered wing faces right, right arm forward holding indistinct vertical object, head lost; baseline(?).

Usuršu-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni:

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII L1.

Cap. un-qa mú-sur-šú-d60.

Usuršu-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 275 on 1.XI.149 S.E. (BRM 2 39 T1) and 5.IV.150 S.E. (BRM 2 54 = BiMes 24 28 T1).

18 Pointed ellipse.  $10 \times 20$ . Fish-apkallu with a bearded man's face emerging from beneath the head of an upright fish, one foot beneath the fish's tail and the second, and the leg above it to mid-thigh emerging from the fish's belly, stands profile right, sprinkler in raised right hand, bucket in lowered left hand.

Nidintu-Anu:6

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text  $\mathbf{X}$  (= MLC 2161) L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60.

Publ. Wallenfels 1993, Taf. 123, Nr.23; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 11, no. 188.

The motif of the semi-divine exorcist *par excellence* (Oannes or Adapa) engaged in a purification ritual, rendered after the Neo-Assyrian style, enjoyed renewed popularity during the Seleucid period, especially at Uruk, where it was predominantly employed by exorcists and their immediate family members (Wallenfels 1993). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 39–41; and nos. 180–87, 188:A-C.

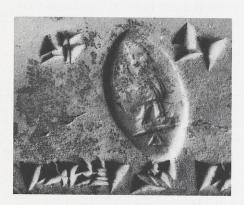
<sup>6</sup> Cf. B1 (no. 81), B2 (no. 60); note WI# 4:/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, WI#5:/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Ḥunzû, WI# 8: /Šala-lišlim/Illut-Anu//Imbi-Anu. Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu used either Schroeder 1916, Taf. 1, VAT 8548 o.R. [T1] or [T2] on 7.VII.171 S.E. (VAS 15 37); he also used Weisberg 1991, pl. 107 U.E. [T1] on —I.184 S.E. (BiMes 24 43). Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu also used no. 75 on 15.IX.153 S.E. (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179 T1) and 15.XI.153 S.E. (text IX L2).













19 Pointed ellipse.  $17+ \times 9.5$ . Centaur with scorpion and horse tails leaps right; he wears a short pointed miter and draws a bow and arrow; curved baseline.

Anu-šum-līšer/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû:

8.IX.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) T3.

Cap. un-qa md 60-MU-GIŠ.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, U.E., and IV, second row, third from left; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 12, no. 204 (BRM 198 T3).

The centaur archer is the representation of the zodiacal sign Sagittarius, <sup>mul</sup>PA.BIL.SAG. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 42–44, 155; and nos. 195–203, 205–6, 206:A-G.

**20** Ellipse.  $17 \times 8$ . Merman, bearded, bare-headed, hair gathered in chignon at shoulder, hands clasped at chest seen fully frontal, faces profile right; horizontal crescent above back.

Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin/Nadin//Kurî:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) T2.

Cap. un-qa msu-mut-tu4-d60.

Other occurrences:

14.V.104 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, NCBT 2306 B1;

14.IX.106 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, MLC 2188 L2;

n.d., bulla, MLC 2637.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 13, no. 211 (NCBT 2306 B1).

Sumuttu-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 252 on 11.VII.82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A B1).

The merman, Akk. *kulullu* (*kulīlu*), is one of the attributes of the water god Ea. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 44-45; and nos. 209–10, 211:A.

21 Pointed ellipse.  $9 \times 17$ . Human-headed bearded winged scorpion monster with pair of lion's legs walks profile right, hair beneath short pointed miter gathered in chignon at shoulder; framed triangle beneath baseline.

Anu-ab-usur/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû:

23. VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) T1.

Cap. un-qa md 60-AD-URU3.

Other occurrences:

17.XII<sup>II</sup>.85 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, NCBT 1937 T3;

-.V.[76-88] S.E., witness to quitclaim, NCBT 1964 T1.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 13, no. 220 (NCBT 1937 T3).

Anu-ab-usur also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 225 on 14.V.104 S.E. (NCBT 2306 T2).

The triangle was symbolic of both Anu and Enlil; it is perhaps a geometric stylization of their emblematic horned miters (see no. **88**, below). Two triangles, one captioned <sup>d</sup>*a-nim*, the other <sup>d</sup>*en-lil*, are among numerous drawings on the reverse of TCL 6 47 (Thureau-Dangin 1922, pl. 91), a Late Babylonian theological commentary to the *lilissu* (kettle-drum) ritual performed by the *kalû* (lamentation)-priests, apparently written at Nippur, but found at Uruk (Oelsner 1986, 424, n. 624).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 45; and nos. 212-19, 222-28, 232-36, 237:A-G.













22 Ellipse.  $9 \times 17$ . Scorpion monster as above, no hair visible beneath feathered(?) cap; baseline with downturn at left and upturn at right.

Nanâ-iddin/Mukin-apli//Ebabbar-šum-ibni:

23. VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) B1.

Cap. un-qa mdna-na-a-MU.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 13, no. 221 (BRM 2 27 B1).

Nanâ-iddin used either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 421 or 850 on 20.IV.88 S.E. (MLC 2170 B4, B1).

23 Ellipse.  $16 \times 10$ . Scorpion monster as above, hair beneath short pointed miter gathered in chignon at shoulder; seven-pointed star at left, crab facing right at right. Kidin-Anu:<sup>7</sup>

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 230) T3.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. IV, no. 51; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 14, no. 229 (BRM 2 30 T3).

The crab is the representation of the zodiacal sign Cancer, mul AL.LUL.

**24** Ellipse.  $7 \times 16$ . Scorpion monster as above; bare-headed(?); baseline. Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu/Lā-bāši/Ah-ūtu:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) L1.

Cap. un-qa mla-ba-ši.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 14, no. 230 (BRM 2 30 L1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. T4 (no. 13); note WI # 5: /Anu-ahhē-iddin//Ḥunzû, WI # 8: /Ardi-Ninurta lú sepīr makkūr Anu.













25 Pointed ellipse.  $18 \times 10$ . Scorpion monster as above; bare-headed, hair gathered in chignon at shoulder; confronting eagle with reversed head at right.

Mukin-apli/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) B2.

Cap. un-qa mDU-A.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. IV, no. 52; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 14, no. 231 (BRM 2 30 B2).

Mukin-apli also used Weisberg 1991, pl. 5, U.E. [T3] on 29.III.109 S.E. (BiMes 24 2), and either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 267 or 961, in 128 S.E. (MLC 2187 T3, T1).

26 Pointed ellipse.  $8.5 \times 18$ . Scorpion monster as above; baseline with five pendant circles.

Anu-ah-iddin/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû:

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text **X** (= MLC 2161) T2.

Cap. *un*-[*qa*] <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ-MU.

Other occurrences:

1.VIII.160 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 48 B3.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 14, no. 237 (BRM 2 48 B3).

Compare Weisberg 1991, pl. 24, Le.E. [L1], used by Anu-aḫ-iddin on 10.XII.137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13).

27 Ellipse. 15  $\times$  9.5. Beardless sphinx with curled wing-tip, wearing feathered cap recumbent profile left, tail up; raised linear border.

Kidin-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//[Aḥ-ūtu(?)]:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I B3.

Cap. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>m</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>60.

Kidin-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 333  $\leq$ 17 S.E. (YBC 4645 L1), 8.II.[8-20] S.E. (MLC 2168 = NCBT 1967 L2), and on 20.XI.20 S.E. (BRM 2 3 T1), and 822 (= Oelsner 1970, 908, Abb. 3b [B2]) on 21.XII<sup>II</sup>.47 S.E. (BRM 2 11 L4) and 14.–.48 S.E. (WZJ 19 905ff. B2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 49; and nos. 249-50.













28 Pointed ellipse.  $9 \times 14+$ . Bare-headed sphinx seated profile right, tail up, second wing projecting forward; baseline.

Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-ah-ittannu/Balātu//Luštammar-Adad:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX B3.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-MU-GIŠ.

Anu-šum-līšer also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 722 on 22.II.138 S.E. (MLC 2156 T2) and 1014 on 17.VII.150 S.E. (BRM 2 40 T1).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 251–259, 259:A.

29 Ellipse.  $19 \times 10.5$ . Bearded bare-headed sphinx, hair gathered in chignon at shoulder, walking profile right, tail down.

Anu-ab-uter/Anu-balassu-iqbi//Ah-ūtu:

23.VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) B2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup> 60-AD-URU<sub>3</sub>[sic].<sup>8</sup>

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 18, no. 305 (BRM 2 27 B2).

Anu-ab-utēr also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 642 on 1.I.65 S.E. (NCBT 1963 B2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 298–304, 307–11.

30 Ellipse.  $16 \times 7$ . Beardless(?) sphinx as above.

Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu/Tattannu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni:

23. VIII.87 S.E., waiver in quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) R1.

Cap. un-qa mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60 lúna-din zu-ú-ku MU.MEŠ.

Other occurrences:

20.IV.88 S.E., witness to division of property, MLC 2170 B3.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. V, no. 135; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 18, no. 306 (BRM 2 27 R1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The caption on the duplicate correctly reads <sup>md</sup> 60-AD-GUR.













31 Ellipse.  $14 \times 8.5$ . Sphinx as above, tail up. Dumqi-Anu/Kidin-Anu <sup>lá</sup> sepīr makkūr Anu: 21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text **VI** L1. Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>dum-qi-<sup>d</sup>60.

32 Ellipse.  $14 \times 8.5$ . Sphinx as above, hair beneath short pointed miter gathered in chignon at shoulder; seven-pointed star right; some abrasion. Lā-bā $\dot{s}i:^9$ 

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI T4.

Cap. \( \tau n - qa \) \( \text{m} \) \( \text{NU-TÉŠ} \).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 312-26, 326:A, C-D.

33 Elliptical gem.  $20 \times 10$ . Sphinx as above, wearing dentate crown; two pairs of leaves on diagonal stem at right; baseline.

Ina-qibīt-Anu:10

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII B3.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>Aš-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60.

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 333-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Note WI#3: /Anu-bēlšunu/Níkarchos//Aḥ-ūtu, WI#6:/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Ištar-šum-eriš//Aḥ-ūtu. Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu may also have used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 361, 544, or one of two other missing seals on 18.IX.118 S.E. (BRM 2 31 B1'); he did use either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 316 or 990 on 28.III.124 S.E. (BRM 2 33 T2, B3), and either Weisberg 1991, pl. 24, Lo.E. [B2] or pl. 25, U.E. [T3] on 10.XII.137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13). Lā-bāši/Ina-qibīt-Anu used either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 361, 544, or one of two other missing seals on 18.IX.118 S.E. (BRM 2 31 B1').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The scribe captioned two impressions, T2 (no. 4) and B3 (no. 33), with the name Ina-qibīt-Anu. One of these seals belongs to WI # 3: Ina-qibīt-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ḥunzû, the only witness listed with such a personal name; the other seal must belong to WI # 1: Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, whose personal name does not appear in any seal captions. Ina-qibīt-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 777 on 1.VIII.160 S.E. (BRM 2 48 L1); Dumqi-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 397 on 3.IX.108 S.E. (NCBT 1971 R1), and 602 on 24.V.119 S.E. (BRM 2 32 = MLC 2171 L1).













34 Ellipse.  $15+ \times 9.5$ . Sphinx, bare-headed, beardless(?), tail down, leaping profile right; faint.

Ištar-zēr-ibni/Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II L3.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>mrd</sup>INANNA-NUMUN-DÙ<sup>¬</sup>.

Ištar-zēr-ibni may have used one among Wallenfels 1994, nos. 366, 550, 673, 674, or five other missing seals, on 16.VII.85 S.E. (NCBT 1947); he may also have used one among Wallenfels 1994, nos. 564, 795, or four other missing seals on –.V.[76-88] S.E. (NCBT 1964).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 344-59, 361-64.

35 Ellipse.  $18 \times 8$ . Sphinx as above, hair piled in bun atop head; six-pointed star left, triangle below, diagonal crescent right.

Nidintu-Anu/Erība//Ekur-zakir:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) B4.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. V, no. 118; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 21, no. 360 (BRM 2 30 B4).

36 Pointed ellipse.  $14.5 \times 9$ . Pair of confronted bare-headed, beardless, seated sphinxes, tails up.

Nidintu-Anu/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., seller of slave, text I R1.

Cap. un-qa  $^{m}ni$ -din- $tu_{4}$ - $^{d}60$  [DUMU  $\check{s}\acute{a}$   $^{m}ta$ ]- $^{r}nit$   $^{r}$ - $tu_{4}$ - $^{d}60$  [...].

Nidintu-Anu also used either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 373 or 900 on 12.V.9 S.E. (BRM 2 2 B1, L1), 32 or 476 on 8.II.[8–18] S.E. (NCBT 1967 L3), and 75<sup>11</sup> or 374 on 12.–.28 S.E. (MLC 2194 T1, T4).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 260-70, 270:A, C-E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This seal was also used by Anu-uballit/Šamaš-ittannu//Aḫ-ūtu, as co-guarantor to a slave sale 3(+).I.17 S.E. (NCBT 1973); it is one of the very few seals seemingly used at Hellenistic Uruk by more than one individual (see Wallenfels 1994, 144). Anu-uballit also used no. 42, below, at least three times, ca. 8–18 S.E.













37 Ellipse.  $19 \times 9$ . Pair of sphinxes as above flanking central column; four-pointed star at left.

Illut-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX T2.

Cap. un-qa mil-lut-d60.

Illut-Anu also used no. **52** on 21.X.119 (text **VI** T3), and either Weisberg 1991, pl. 16, Le.E. [L1] or Lo.E. [B3] on 10.—.141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 271-83, 283:A-B, D.

38 Ellipse.  $17+ \times 9.5$ . Human-headed winged bull, bearded, hair beneath short pointed miter gathered in chignon at shoulder, tail up, leaps profile right above fox leaping profile right; diagonal crescent right.

Anu-uballit/Ištar-šum-eriš//Hunzû:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text **II** T3.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it.

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 60, 63; and nos. 398-402.

39 Pointed ellipse.  $18 \times 10.5$ . Human-headed winged bull as above; diagonal crescent left; balance beneath.

Anu-ah-ittannu:12

23. VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) T3.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-nu.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. VI, no. 140; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 24, no. 420 (BRM 2 27 T3).

The balance is the representation of the zodiacal sign Libra, <sup>mul</sup>GIŠ.ERIN<sub>2</sub> "the *zibānītu*-balance." See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 410–19, 421–26, 426:A-D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. L3 (no. 7); note WI #5: /Ana-rabût-Anu//[Kurî], WI #6: /Nidintu-Anu//[Hunzû]. Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu used Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [R1] on 4.VIII.99 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7), and no. **63** on 25.VI.111 S.E. (text V T1) and ca. 108–109 S.E. (MLC 2177 T2). Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 380 on 6.I.48 S.E. (BRM 2 12 L3), 1041 on 21.VIII.63 S.E. (NCBT 1951 T2), and 680 on 14.V.104 S.E. (NCBT 2306 T1).













**40** Pointed ellipse. 19 × 9.5. Winged griffin with bird's tail leaping profile right. Rihāt-Anu/Anu-uballit//Luštammar-Adad:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II B1.

Cap. un-qa mri-hat-d60.

Other occurrences:

14.XII<sup>II</sup>.77 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, BRM 2 22 = BiMes 24 1 B3.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. V, no. 115; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 27, no. 467 (BRM 2 22 B3). Weisberg 1991, 19, no. 6, and pl. 3, Lo.E. (BiMes 24 1 B3).

Riḥāt-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 22 on 6.I.48 S.E. (BRM 2 12 T4), Sarkisian 1955, fig. 3 [T2] on 16.IV.54 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 142ff. 2), Wallenfels 1994, nos. 637 on 22.VIII.61 S.E. (MLC 2162 B3), and one among 366, 550, 673, 674, or five other missing seals, on 16.VII.85 S.E. (NCBT 1947).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 70; and nos. 463–66, 468–70.

41 Pointed ellipse.  $14.5 \times 9$ . Winged bull, tail up, leaping profile right.

Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu//Ah-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I B2.

Cap. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it.

Anu-uballit also used Sarkisian 1955, fig. 2 [L3] on 10.VI.15 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 139ff. 1).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 73; and nos. 487–511, 511:A, C-E.

42 Ellipse.  $15 \times 10$ . Winged bull as above; fox leaping profile right beneath.

Anu-uballit/Šamaš-ittannu//Ah-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I [B1].

Cap.  $\lceil NA_4.KIŠIB \rceil [^{md}60-TIN] - \lceil it \rceil.^{13}$ 

Other occurrences:

16. VIII. 16 S.E., witness to sale of slaves, MLC 2184 L1;

8.II.[8-18] S.E., seller of slaves, MLC 2168 R1.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 32, no. 559 (MLC 2168 R1).

Anu-uballit also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 32 on 3(+).I.17 S.E. (NCBT 1973 R3).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 558, 560-61, 563-66, 566:A-B.

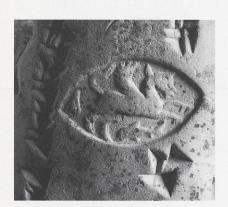
 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  Contrast the captions to the impressions of this seal on MLC 2168 and MLC 2184 where they read un-qa PN.













43 Ellipse.  $14.5 \times 9.5$ . Winged bull as above, tail lost; indistinct dolphin(?)/fish(?) facing profile right beneath.

Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-MU-GIŠ.

Anu-šum-līšer also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 575 on 25.VI.75 S.E. (BRM 2 21 T4). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 567–79, 581–86, 586:A, C-E.

44 Ellipse. 12 × 7. Winged bull as above, tail up; reversed Aram. ש beneath. Balāṭu/Tanittu-Anu//Luštammar-Adad:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II T2.

Cap. un-qa mTIN.

Two other contemporary seals also depicting leaping winged bulls (Wallenfels 1994, nos. 554, 556, the latter perhaps also owned by the present seal owner) display the same monogram (though not reversed) which is perhaps that of the seal cutter. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 148–49; and nos. 553–57.

45 Pointed ellipse.  $18 \times 10.5$ . Winged bull as above; dolphin with fish-like dorsal and anal fins facing profile left beneath; triangle left.

Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Lā-bāši//Kurî:

23.VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. VI, no. 139; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 33, no. 580 (BRM 2 27 L2).

The Seleucid Uruk seal cutters probably knew of the dolphin motif only from gems and coins imported from the west where it enjoyed considerable popularity. They likely did not distinguish this marine mammal from fish, and thus did not understand the western convention of rotating the horizontal flukes into view, assuming them to be the same as the vertical tail fin of a fish; thus they occasionally added fish-like dorsal and anal fins to their representations. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 570, 577(?), 579, 582–84.













**46** Ellipse.  $15 \times 7.5$ . Winged bull as above, fox leaping profile right beneath; nearly vertical crescent left.

Tanittu-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû:

23.VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) L1.

Cap. *un-qa* [m] *ta-nit-tu*<sub>4</sub>-d60.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 32, no. 562 (BRM 2 27 L1).

Tanittu-Anu also used Ménant 1886, 184, fig. 167 on 18.I.68 S.E. (Oppert-Ménant Doc.jur. 301ff. 2 B1').

47 Ellipse.  $20 \times 9.5$ . Winged bull as above; seven-pointed star left, diagonal crescent right.

Anu-ah-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) B3.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-*nu*.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. V, no. 98; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 31, no. 537 (BRM 2 30 B3).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 533–36, 538–42.

48 Pointed ellipse.  $15 \times 8.5$ . Winged bull as above; diagonal crescent right.

Dumqi-Anu/Tattannu//Ḥunzû:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text **IV** (= BRM 2 30) L2.

Cap.  $\lceil un \rceil - qa^{m} dum - qi - ^{d}60$ .

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 30, no. 519 (BRM 2 30 L2).

Dumqi-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 533 on 1.VI.85 S.E. (BRM 2 26 B3), and no. 49 on 25.VI.111 S.E. (text V T2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 512–18, 520–25, 525:A-B.













**49** Pointed ellipse.  $15 \times 8$ . Winged bull and crescent as above.

Dumqi-Anu/Tattannu//Hunzû:

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V T2.

Cap. un-qa mdum-qí-d60.

Dumqi-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 533 on 1.VI.85 S.E. (BRM 2 26 B3), and no. **48** on 16.VIII.109 S.E. (text **IV** = BRM 2 30 L2).

**50** Pointed ellipse.  $18+ \times 10.5$ . Winged bull as above, fox(?) leaping profile right beneath; eight-pointed star upper right; abraded.

Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni:

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V L1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>šá-<sup>d</sup>60-iš-šu-ú.

Ša-Anu-iššû also used Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [B3] or [B4] on 4.VIII.99 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7), and no. **59** on 14.IX.106 S.E. (MLC 2188 B4) and 16.VIII.109 S.E. (text **IV** = BRM 2 30 B1).

**51** Pointed ellipse.  $17 \times 9$ . Winged bull as above; two-handled(?) amphora left, eight-pointed star beneath.

Šamaš-ittannu/Anu-ab-uşur//Luštammar-Adad:

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V T4.

Cap. un-qa mdUTU-MU-nu.













**52** Fragment of ellipse.  $12+ \times 7$ . Winged bull as above; fish(?) facing profile left beneath.

Illut-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî:

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI T3.

Cap.  $[un-qa]^{\lceil m\rceil}[il-lut]^{\lceil d}60\rceil$ .

Illut-Anu also used either Weisberg 1991, pl. 16, Le.E. [L1] or Lo.E. [B3] on 10.—.141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10), and no. **37** on 15.XI.153 (text **IX** T2).

53 Ellipse.  $15 \times 9$ . Winged bull as above.

Anu-ahhē-iddin/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-ahhē-iddin//Ah-ūtu:

8.IX.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ.MEŠ-MU.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, L.E., and IV, first row, second from left; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 29, no. 509 (BRM 198 L2).

Anu-aḥḥē-iddin also used either Wallenfels 1994, nos. 521 or 742 on 4.V.[103–119] S.E.

**54** Ellipse.  $16 \times 9.5$ . Winged bull as above; dolphin facing profile right beneath; seven-pointed star right.

Anu-bēlšunu:14

8.IX.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 198) B1.

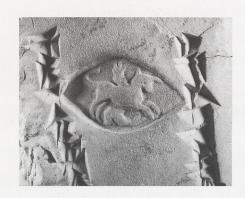
Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-EN-šú-nu.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, Lo.E., and IV, third row, far right; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 33, no. 582 (BRM 1 98 B1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cf. B3 (no. **64**); note WI # 1: /Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu, WI # 7: /Anu-bēlšunu lú *Urkāyya*.













55 Ellipse.  $15.5 \times 10$ . Winged bull as above; diagonal crescent right.

Anu-mār-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî:

8.IX.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) L1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-DUMU-MU-nu.

Other occurrences:

13.-.[123-125] S.E., witness to dedication of slaves, YBC 11633 B3.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, Lo.E., and IV, first row, far left; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 30, no. 523 (BRM 1 98 L1).

Anu-mār-ittannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 599 on 16.XII.[102–119] S.E. (NCBT 1955 B4).

**56** Pointed ellipse.  $16 \times 9.5$ . Winged bull as above, dolphin facing left beneath.

Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši/Anu-mār-ittannu lúitinnu:

8.IX.122 S.E., waiver in quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) R1.

Cap. un-qa  $^{\rm md}$ 60-DUMU-MU-nu  $^{\rm l\acute{u}}$ na-din-na-an zuk-ku a-na UGU-hi GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ ŠUK.HI.A u  $\acute{\rm E}$ .ŠU $^{\rm II}$  MU.MEŠ. $^{\rm 15}$ 

Other occurrences:

Nidintu-Ištar/Anu-ahhē-iddin/Ardi-Ninurta lúsepīr makkūr Anu:

12.-.124 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, BRM 2 34 T1;

20.-.129 S.E., witness to exchange of properties, BRM 2 35 T1;

-.-.144 S.E., witness to sale of food allowance, BRM 2 56 T1.

[...]:

n.d., bulla, YBC 3052.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, R.E., and IV, fourth row, far left (BRM 1 98 R1). Wallenfels 1994, pl. 33, no. 583 (BRM 2 34 T1).

The first user of this seal, Anu-mār-ittannu, is unrelated to the later user, Nidintu-Anu. Note that both are temple personnel: the former a builder ( $^{\text{lú}}$  *itinnu*), and the latter a parchment scribe ( $^{\text{lú}}$  *sepīr makkūr Anu*). It cannot at present be determined which user of this seal applied it to the undated bulla YBC 3052. Anu-mār-ittannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 610 on 11.VII.82 S.E. (BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A R2), and no. 3 on 18.X.124 S.E. (text **VIII** R1).

57 Pointed ellipse.  $12 \times 8.5$ . Winged bull as above, tail lost; indistinct object beneath; circle upper right.

Lā-bāši/Anu-uballit/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû:

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII T3.

Cap. un-qa mla-ba-ši.

Other occurrences:

12.III.131 S.E., witness to sale of prebend and real estate, BRM 2 36 T3.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 34, no. 596 (BRM 2 36 T3).

Lā-bāši also used either Weisberg 1991, pls. 24, Lo.E. [B2] or 25, U.E. [T3] on 10.XII.137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13).

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  Cf. BRM 1 98 R1: un-qa  $^{\rm md}$ 60-dumu-mu-nu  $^{\rm l\acute{u}}$ na-din-na-an zuk-ku a-na {diš} giš.šub.ba  $ku^!$ -ru-um-mat u  $\acute{\text{E.Su}}^{\rm II}$  mu.meš.













**58** Ellipse.  $12 \times 8$ . Ambiguous winged quadruped stands facing right, bird(?) head; tip of tail and hindmost foot lost; well modeled.

Mattān-Anu/[...]:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., guarantor to sale of house, text II R2.

Cap. un-qa mat-tan-na-d60 mu-ru-qu.

**59** Ellipse. 19 × 10. Winged quadruped leaping profile right, tail back; circle(?) right. Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni:

16.VIII.109 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) B1.

Cap. un-qa mšá-d60-iš-šu-ú.

Other occurrences:

14.IX.106 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, MLC 2188 B4.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 37, no. 652 (BRM 2 30 B1).

Ša-Anu-iššû also used Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [B3] or [B4] on 4.VIII.99 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7), and no. **50** on 25.VI.111 (text **V** L1).

**60** Ellipse fragment.  $8+ \times 7+$ . Winged quadruped as above, tail up; six(?)-pointed star left; face and forelegs lost.

Nidintu-Anu:16

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text X B2.

Cap. [un-qa] <sup>m</sup>NíG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cf. B1 (no. 81), L2 (no. 18); note WI#4:/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, WI#5:/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Ḥunzû, WI#8:/Šala-lišlim/Illut-Anu//Imbi-Anu. Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu used either Schroeder 1916, Taf. 1, VAT 8548 o.R. [T1] or [T2] on 7.VII.171 S.E. (VAS 15 37); he also used Weisberg 1991, pl. 107 U.E. [T1] on —I.184 S.E. (BiMes 24 43). Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu also used no. 75 on 15.IX.153 S.E. (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179 T1) and 15.XI.153 S.E. (text IX L2).













**61** Ellipse.  $15 \times 10$ . Goat-fish facing profile right, left leg extended forward, right leg folded beneath body, one rearward horn; six-pointed star left, horizontal crescent top, triangle right.

Iqīšâ/Anu-ah-iddin//Hunzû:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II B2.

Cap. un-qa mBA-šá-a.

The goat-fish (Akk. *suḥurmašû*) is one of the attributes of the water god Ea; it is also the representation of the zodiacal sign Capricornus, <sup>mul</sup>SUḤUR.MÁŠ "carp-goat." See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 90–91, 155; and nos. 661–71, 673–82, 684–96, 696:A-B, D-U.

**62** Ellipse.  $16 \times 9.5$ . Goat-fish as above, two horns, one rearward, one forward; horizontal crescent above tail.

Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû:

23. VIII.87 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text III (= BRM 2 27) T2.

Cap. un-qa mdna-na-a-MU.

Other occurrences:

11. VII.82 S.E., witness to division of property, BRM 2 24 = MLC 2124A B5;

1.VI.85 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 26 T2.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. IV, no. 67 (BRM 2 27 T2). Wallenfels 1994, pl. 38, no. 672 (BRM 2 24 B5).

Rutten 1935, 126 [III], describes what may be another impression of the same seal on TCL 13 239 X2, dated 23.XI.79 S.E.

**63** Ellipse.  $16 \times 8$ . Goat-fish as above facing left, one rearward horn; horizontal crescent above back.

Anu-ah-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Kurî:

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V T1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu.

Other occurrences:

-.-.[108-109] S.E., witness to sale of prebend, MLC 2177 T2.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 39, no. 683 (MLC 2177 T2).

Anu-aḥ-ittannu also used nos. **7** or **39** on 23.VIII.87 S.E. (text **III** L3, T3), and Sarkisian 1955, fig. 8 [R1] on 4.VIII.99 S.E. (VDI 1955/4 154ff. 7).













**64** Elliptical gem.  $11 \times 14$ . Goat-fish as above facing right; horizontal crescent above back, grain spike at right.

Anu-bēlšunu:17

8.XI.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) B3.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-EN-šú-nu.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, Lo.E., and IV, third row, far left; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 40, no. 698 (BRM 1 98 B3).

The spike is the representation of the zodiacal sign Virgo, <sup>mul</sup> AB.SíN, Akk. *šer'u* "furrow"; Virgo and Capricorn are in the harmoneous trine aspect. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 156–57; and nos. 697, 699–703.

**65** Ellipse.  $18 \times 9.5$ . Goat-fish, crescent, and spike as above; stem of spike extends beneath legs.

Anu-ah-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-usur//Hunzû:

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text **X** (= MLC 2161) T1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-nu.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 40, no. 704 (MLC 2161 T1).

Anu-aḥ-ittannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 541 on 9.XII.151 S.E. (BRM 2 42 = MLC 2180 L2).

66 Pointed ellipse.  $18 \times 9.5$ . Goat-fish as above at left with two horns, one forward, one rearward, pursues leaping humped bull with reversed head at right; Aram. w(?) above goat-fish's tail, two-handled vessel above bull's back at center, diagonal crescent right. Rabi-Anu/Lā-bāši/Rabi-Anu/Hunzû:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX L1.

Cap. un-qa mGAL-d60.

Other occurrences:

-.V.[144–150] S.E., witness to sale of real estate, NCBT 1945 T1.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 40, no. 711 (NCBT 1945 T1).

The bull is the representation of the zodiacal sign Taurus, <sup>mul</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>.AN.NA "the bull of heaven": Taurus and Capricornus are in the harmoneous trine aspect. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 156–57; and nos. 705–10, 712–13, 714:A-C.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. B1 (no. **54**); note WI # 1: /Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu, WI # 7: /Anu-bēlšunu lú *Urkāyya*.













67 Ellipse.  $18 \times 9$ . Goat-fish with one rearward horn pursues humped bull as above; spike above bull's rump at center, vertical crescent right.

Kidin-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû:

5.VII.162 S.E., seller of storehouse, text  $\mathbf{X}$  (= MLC 2161) R1.

Cap. R1-R2: un-qa <sup>m</sup>BÁR-<sup>d</sup>60 un-qa <sup>m</sup>PN <sup>lú</sup>na-din-¬na¬-[...].

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 41, no. 714 (MLC 2161 R1).

Kidin-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 156 on 1.VIII.160 S.E. (BRM 2 48 R2).

Taurus, Virgo and Capricornus form one of four triplicities of zodiacal signs in the harmoneous trine aspect.

68 Pointed ellipse.  $19 \times 8$ . Recumbent lion profile left, down-turned tail; horizontal crescent above back.

Ubār/Anu-uballit/Ubār//Šumāt:

16. VIII. 109 S.E., guarantor to sale of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) R2.

Cap. un-qa mú-bar lúmu-mar-raq-an-na.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 41, no. 720 (BRM 2 30 R2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 97-98, 154; and nos. 716-19, 720:A.

**69** Pointed ellipse.  $17 \times 10$ . Lion walking right, tail up; crab at right facing up; baseline.

Līšer/Anu-ahhē-iddin//Gimil-Anu:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II L1.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>¬m¬</sup>*li-*GIŠ.

Other occurrences:

2.II.71 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, BRM 2 19 B1;

20.VI.71 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 20 = MLC 2178 L2.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. III, no. 39; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 44, no. 772 (BRM 2 19 B1).

Līšer also used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 723 on 22.II.67 S.E. (MLC 2164), 739 on 19.II.77 S.E. (NCBT 1949) and 14.XII<sup>II</sup>.77 S.E. (BRM 2 22 = BiMes 24 1 L3), and Speleers 1917, 231, no. 199 [second row, left] on 2.VIII.101 S.E. (Speleers Recueil 293 T?/B?4). The walking lion may be the representation of the zodiacal sign Leo, <sup>mul</sup>UR.GU.LA; the crab is the representation of Cancer, <sup>mul</sup>AL.LUL: Leo and Cancer are adjacent zodiacal signs. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 103; and nos. 771, 773–76.













**70** Ellipse.  $16.5 \times 8$ . Lion walking right, lolling tongue, tail down; animal leg right. Nidintu-šarri/Rihāt-Anu/Lā-bāši látinnu:

16.VIII.109 S.E., seller of storehouse, text IV (= BRM 2 30) R1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-LUGAL lúna-din-na É ŠU<sup>II</sup> MU.MEŠ.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 43, no. 765 (BRM 2 30 R1).

Nidintu-šarri also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 486 on 20.–.129 S.E. (BRM 2 35 R2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 756-64, 766-70, 770:A-B.

**71** Ellipse.  $18 \times 10$ . Lion as above, tail up; indistinct(?) object(?) in abraded area at right.

Anu-ab-usur:18

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V B1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup> 60-AD-URU<sub>3</sub>.

72 Ellipse.  $18 \times 10$ . Lion as above, tail down; Gr.  $\Phi$  at right.

Mukin-apli/Nidintu-Anu/Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu:

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI T1.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>DU-「A¬.

Other occurrences:

14.VII.123 S.E., guarantor to sale of real estate, MLC 2182 R2;

13.-.[123-125] S.E., witness to dedication of slaves, YBC 11633 B4;

20.III.132 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, TCL 13 244 B3.

Publ. Delaporte 1923, pl. 122, 2a; Rutten 1935, pl. 2, no. 27 (TCL 13 244 B3). Wallenfels 1994, pl. 44, no. 782 (MLC 2182 R2).

Note WI # 4: /Lā-bāši//Ekur-zakir, WI # 8: /Anu-uballissu/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir. Anu-ab-uṣur/Lā-bāši also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 528 on 1.VI.85 S.E. (BRM 2 26 T4).













**73** Ellipse.  $15 \times 9$ . Lion as above, pawing indistinct quadruped(?) at right; horizontal crescent upper right.

Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu lúsepīr makkūr Anu:

8.IX.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) T2.

Cap. un-qa mìR-dMAŠ.

Other occurrences:

3.V.[120-124] S.E., witness to sale of prebend, BRM 2 55 B2;

n.d., bulla, YBC 3051.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, U.E., and IV, second row, second from left (BRM 1 98 T2). Wallenfels 1994, pl. 45, no. 783 (BRM 2 55 B2).

Ardi-Ninurta also used no. 77 on 18.X.124 S.E. (text **VIII** T1), 20.–.129 S.E. (BRM 2 35 T3) and 16.XII.133 S.E. (BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23 T2), and Wallenfels 1994, no. 143 on 10.–.141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10 B2), 13.I.147 S.E. (MLC 2169 T1) and on an undated clay bulla (Jordan 1928, Taf. 86g, lower center).

**74** Ellipse.  $17+ \times 11$ . Lion as above; horizontal crescent above back, triangle and six-pointed star right.

Illut-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû:

8.IX.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) B2.

Cap. un-qa mil-lut-d60.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, Lo.E., and IV, third row, second from left; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 42, no. 743 (BRM 1 98 B2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 735–42, 744–53, 755, 755:A-P. Compare Invernizzi 1994, 359, fig. 6, from contemporary Seleucia on the Tigris.

75 Ellipse.  $18 \times 9$ . Lion as above, sex indicated; horizontal crescent above back, six-pointed star right.

Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Hunzû:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60.

Other occurrences:

15.IX.153 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179 T1.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. III, no. 22 (MLC 2179 T1). Wallenfels 1994, pl. 43, no. 754 (BRM 2 43 T1).

Nidintu-Anu also used one among nos. 18, 60 and 81 on 5.VII.162 S.E. (text X L2, B2, B1).













**76** Ellipse.  $17 \times 10$ . Lion as above; lamb facing profile right stands with reversed head at right.

Ša-Anu-iššû/Anu-ah-ittannu/Balātu//Luštammar-Adad:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX T1.

Cap. un-qa mšá-d60-iš-šu-ú.

Ša-Anu-iššû also used Schroeder 1916, Taf. 1, VAT 9158 o.[sic]R. on 25.III.144 S.E. (VAS 15 30 B<sup>1</sup>2).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 777–78, 778:B.

77 Ellipse.  $12 \times 6$ . Bull walking profile right with left foreleg raised, tail down; triangle right.

Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar <sup>lú</sup> sepīr makkūr Anu:

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII T1.

Cap. un-qa mìR-dMAŠ.

Other occurrences:

20.-.129 S.E., witness to exchange of properties, BRM 2 35 T3;

16.XII.133 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23 T2.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 49, no. 863 (BRM 2 35 T3). Weisberg 1991, pl. 55, U.E. (BiMes 24 23 T2).

Compare the position of the legs with those of a horse on a Hellenistic ringstone (Henig 1994, no. 83); also note the similarly posed right foreleg of the left-facing right-hand sphinx on a cylinder seal in the Pontifical Biblical Institute, said to be "Seleucid or Parthian work of the third or second century B.C." (Van Buren 1940, 42, no. 87, and pl. 9, fig. 87).

Ardi-Ninurta also used no. **73** on 8.IX.122 S.E. (text **VII** = BRM 1 98 T2), 3.V.[120–124] S.E. (BRM 2 55 B2) and on an undated clay bulla (YBC 3051), and Wallenfels 1994, no. 143 on 10.–.141 S.E. (BiMes 24 10 B2), 13.I.147 S.E. (MLC 2169 T1) and on an undated clay bulla (Jordan 1928, Taf. 86g, lower center).

This bull may be a representation of the zodiacal sign Taurus,  $^{mul}GU_4$ .AN.NA "bull of heaven." See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 109–10, 154; and nos. 842–62, 864–72, 872:A-G.

**78** Ellipse fragment.  $9+ \times 8$ . Quadruped walking profile right; upper half abraded and indistinct.

Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Ekur-zakir:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I T2.

Cap.  $\lceil NA_4 \rceil$ . [KIŠIB] <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60.

Cf. Weisberg 1991, pl. 99, Le.E. [L3'], used during the first half of the third century B.C.E. (BiMes 24 39).

Ina-qibīt-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 4 on 12.V.9 S.E. (BRM 2 2 T4), and Sarkisian 1955, fig. 2 [B4] on 10.VI.15 S.E. (VDI 1955/4, 139ff. 1 B4).













**79** Elliptical fragment.  $15+\times 10+$ . Rear quarters of leonine figure leaping profile right; right half abraded and indistinct.

Nidintu-Anu/[...]//Ah-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I T1.

Cap. NA<sub>4</sub>. KIŠIB mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60.

**80** Ellipse.  $15+ \times 9$ . Recumbent quadruped, single horn(?) projecting forward, tail down, faces profile right.

Anu-ah-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Kurî:

18.X.124 S.E., witness to gift of house and slave, text VIII L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-MU-nu.

Anu-aḥ-ittannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 597 on 20.—.129 S.E. (BRM 2 35 B3). The impression is clear but ambiguous.

81 Pointed ellipse.  $10+ \times 9+$ . Lion(?) walking profile right, tail down; horizontal crescent above rump; right half lost.

Nidintu-Anu:19

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text X B1.

Cap.  $\lceil un \rceil - \lceil qa \rceil \lceil mNiG \rceil \cdot \lceil SUM \rceil \cdot MU^{-d}60$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cf. B2 (no. 60), L2 (no. 18); note WI#4:/Anu-mār-ittannu/Nanâ-iddin//Ḥunzû, WI#5:/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Ḥunzû, WI#8:/Šala-lišlim/Illut-Anu//Imbi-Anu. Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu used either Schroeder 1916, Taf. 1, VAT 8548 o.R. [T1] or [T2] on 7.VII.171 S.E. (VAS 15 37); he also used Weisberg 1991, pl. 107 U.E. [T1] on —I.184 S.E. (BiMes 24 43). Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu also used no. 75 on 15.IX.153 S.E. (BRM 2 43 = MLC 2179 T1) and 15.XI.153 S.E. (text IX L2).













82 Ellipse.  $17 \times 10$ . Peacock(?) standing profile right, tail down; border of diagonal ellipses.

Rihāt-Ištar/Ubār:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., seller of house, text II R1.

Cap. un-qa mri-hat-dINANNA [...] É MU.MEŠ.

Compare the Parthian or Sassanian stamp seal depicting a bird surrounded by a circular border comprised of diagonal cuts (von der Osten 1957, no. 214).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 126; and nos. 973-77, 977:B-C.

83 Pointed ellipse.  $18 \times 10$ . Horizontal full-frontal bird with head turned profile left facing up above horizontal fish facing profile right at left, crab facing left at right; faint. Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-uballit/Hunzû:

25.VI.111 S.E., seller of prebend, text V R1.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>*tat-tan-*[*nu*] <sup>lú</sup>*na-*<sup>-</sup>*din-*x GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU<sup>-</sup>.MEŠ.

Tattannu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 266 on 4.V.[103–119] S.E. (NCBT 1961 R1). The zodiacal sign Pisces, mulkun.Meš "tails," is composed of a large swallow, MUL.ŠÍM. MAH, Akk. mulšinunūtu (Pisces South), and a fish, mulanunītu (Pisces North), joined at their tails by a V- shaped ribbon, mulrikis nūnu "ribbon of the fish." Pisces and Cancer are in the harmoneous trine aspect. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 128, 154, 156; and nos. 988–91, 993.

**84** Ellipse.  $16 \times 8.5$ . Crab facing up at left, horizontal bird above horizontal fish on string facing left at right; raised linear border.

Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-uşur//Hunzû:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX B2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qí-bit-<sup>d</sup>60.

Other occurrences:

24.II.[151-161] S.E., witness to sale of real estate, MLC 2175 B3.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 56, no. 992 (MLC 2175 B3).

Ina-qibīt-Anu also used Wallenfels 1994, no. 991 on -.-.128 S.E. (MLC 2187 L1), 3.II.131 S.E. (MLC 2183 B3), 22.VI.132 S.E. (VAS 15 40 T4) and 16.XII.133 S.E. (BRM 2 37 = BiMes 24 23 L1).













85 Ellipse.  $17 \times 7.5$ . Fish facing right at lower left, crab facing up at right; diagonal crescent upper left.

Anu-ah-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Illut-Anu//Hunzû:

25.VI.111 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text V L2.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ-「MU¬-nu.

Anu-aḥ-ittannu may also have used Wallenfels 1994, no. 1002 on 12.II.116 S.E. (MLC 2201 T1).

The fish probably represents, pars pro toto, Picses <sup>mul</sup>KUN.MEŠ "tails": Cancer and Pisces are in the harmoneous trine aspect. See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 1001–7, 1007:B-C.

86 Ellipse.  $10.5 \times 5.5$ . Crab facing up; diagonal crescent at right.

Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-ah-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir:

15.XI.153 S.E., witness to sale of house, text IX T3.

Cap. *un-qa* <sup>md</sup> 60-EN-*šú-nu*.

Anu-bēlšunu may also have used Weisberg 1991, pl. 51, U.E. [T2] on 3.II.131 S.E. (BiMes 24 22).

The crab represents the zodiacal sign Cancer <sup>mul</sup> AL.LUL, Akk. *alluttu* "crab." See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 130, 154; and nos. 994–1000, 1000:A.

87 Pointed ellipse.  $9.5 \times 16$ . Palm(?) tree; raised linear border.

Līšer/Nidintu-Anu//Gimil-Anu:

18.XII<sup>II</sup>.72 S.E., witness to sale of house, text II B3.

Cap. un-qa mli-GIŠ.

Other occurrences:

25.VI.75 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 21 T3;

n.d., bulla, YBC 3065.

Publ. Wallenfels 1994, pl. 58, no. 1025 (BRM 2 21 T3).

See additionally Wallenfels 1994, nos. 1026-28.













88 Circular gem. 10.5D. Pair of miters on baseline; vertical crescent at left.

Anu-uballit/Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû:

8.XI.122 S.E., witness to quitclaim, text VII (= BRM 1 98) T1.

Cap. un-qa <sup>md</sup>60-TIN-it.

Publ. Clay 1912, pls. 46, U.E., and IV, second row, far left; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 59, no. 1032 (BRM 1 98 T1).

This impression may depict the twin mitres of Anu, the miters of Anu and Enlil, or those of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. Similar Seleucid period gem impressions are known on bullae from Nippur (Legrain 1925, 356, No. 1009), Seleucia on the Tigris (McDowell 1935, pl. 3, fig. 44 = pl. 4, fig. 62), and Uruk (Jordan 1928, Taf. 86c). See additionally Wallenfels 1994, 135–36; nos. 1030-31, 1032:A.

89 Pointed ellipse.  $10 \times 18$ . Pointed ellipse and cross, ambiguous markings within each quadrant; raised linear border.

Anu-zēr-iddin/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû:

5.VII.162 S.E., witness to sale of storehouse, text **X** (= MLC 2161) T3.

Cap. [un]-qa <sup>md</sup>60-NUMUN-MU.

Other occurrences:

1.VIII.160 S.E., witness to sale of real estate, BRM 2 48 L2.

Publ. Clay 1913, pl. IV, no. 71; Wallenfels 1994, pl. 59, no. 1043 (BRM 2 48 L2).

Round four-spoked chariot wheels were occasionally depicted on sixth through fourth century Western coins (e.g., Brett 1974, nos. 47, 1018, 1036-38, 1168, 1374). Such wheels may represent the punishment of Ixion: on a fifth century Etruscan scarab (Richter 1968, no. 853), Ixion is shown bound to a elliptical wheel, apparently distorted to accommodate the overall shape of the gem.

Anu-zēr-iddin also used Weisberg 1991, pl. 25, U.E. [T2] on 10.XII.137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13).

**90** Ellipse fragment. 6+ × 5+. Lower half only; no details preserved; abraded. Ana-rabûtīka-Anu/Anu-ah-ušabši//Ah-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I L3.

Cap. NA<sub>4</sub>. 「KIŠIB¬ mDIŠ-¬GAL¬-ka-d60.

Cf. Wallenfels 1994, no. 923, used by Ana-rabûtīka-Anu on 3(+).I.17 S.E. (NCBT 1973 R1).













**91** Ellipse fragment. 5+ × 5+. Portion of lower half only; indistinct markings. Anu-aḥ-ittannu/[...]//Aḥ-ūtu: -.-.[12–17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text **I** T4. Cap. [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB] <sup>md</sup>60-ŠEŠ-「MU¬-[*nu*].

92 Ellipse fragment.  $9+\times 9$ . Right half lost; recumbent(?) animal(?) resting upon square patterned band.

Anu-ikṣur/Tanittu-Anu//Aḥ-ūtu:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I L2.

Cap.  $\lceil NA_4 \rceil$ .KIŠIB  $^{md}60$ -ik-[sur].

Cap. un-qa mla-ba- si7.

Compare Wallenfels 1994, nos. 250, 455–57, 716, 841, showing a variety of animals and monsters recumbent upon square-patterned bands; all date to  $\leq$ 35 S.E.

93 Ellipse fragment.  $8+\times 6+$ . Right half lost; indistinct markings. Lā-bāši/[...]: -...[12–17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I R2.









**94** Ellipse fragment. 11+ × 4+. Portion of upper left half; no details preserved; abraded. Rabi-Anu/Anu-zēr-ibni//Kurî:

-.-.[12-17] S.E., witness to sale of slave, text I L1.

Cap.  $NA_4$ .KIŠIB  $\lceil m GAL^{-d}60 \rceil$ .

Cf. Wallenfels 1994, no. 922, used by Rabi-Anu on 28.-.12 S.E. (MLC 2194 B3).

**95** Gem(?) fragment.  $4+ \times 4+$ . Small portion of top; indistinct markings. [...]:<sup>20</sup>

21.X.119 S.E., witness to sale of prebend, text VI B2.

Cap. un-qa [...].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cf. T4 (no. 32); note WI # 3: Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu/Níkarchos//Aḥ-ūtu, WI # 4: Anu-aḥḥē-iddin/Tanittu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Aḥ-ūtu, WI # 5: Anu-ikṣur/Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Ḥunzû, WI # 6: Lā-bāši/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Ištar-šum-eriš//Aḥ-ūtu. Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 316 or 990 on 28.III.124 S.E. (BRM 2 33 T2, B3), and Weisberg 1991, pl. 24, Lo.E. [B2] or U.E. [T3] on 10.XII.137 S.E. (BiMes 24 13). Anu-aḥḥē-iddin used Wallenfels 1994, nos. 692 or 706 on -.-.128 S.E. (MLC 2187 B1, B4). Anu-ikṣur used Rutten 1935, pl. 2, no. 21 on 29.IV.116 S.E. (TCL 13 243 Y1).

#### **INDICES**

#### **A Personal Names**

Alexander ( ' $\lambda$ λέξανδρος) ( $^{m}a$ -lik-sa-an-dar):

1 (I Balas) *šarru* **X**:11,30.

### Ana-rabût-Anu (mDIŠ-GAL-d60):

- 1 /Anu-aḥ-ittannu lú gaddāyya **IX**:7f.
- 2 /Kidin-Anu//Kurî, f. Anu-ah-ittannu III:25; V:32.
- 3 /Sumuttu-Anu/Kītu-Anu/Kurî X:26f.,L1(9).
- 4 f. Illut-Anu, gf. fAntu-banât/Illut-Anu V:13,25.

Ana-rabûtīka-Anu ("DIŠ-GAL-ka-d60):

1 /Anu-aḥ-ušabši//Aḥ-ūtu I:18,L3(90).

Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar ("DIŠ-GAL-ka-dINANNA):

1 f. Anu-ah-ittannu II:3,6.

Antiochus ('Αντίοχος) (man-ti-'-i-ku-su):

- 1 (III the Great) *šarru* IV:10,28; V:11,38; VI:8,30; VII:29; VIII:11,31.
- 2 /Antiochus (III) šarru IV:28; V:38; VI:30.

fAntu-banât (mían-tu4-DÙ-at):

1 /Illut-Anu/Ana-rabût-Anu, w. Illut-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Rabi-Anu//Kurî V:12f.,16,19,24f.

Anu-ab-usur (md 60-AD-URU3):

- 1 /Anu-uballissu/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir V:34, cf. B1(71).
- 2 /Lā-bāši//Ekur-za[kir] V:30, cf. B1(71).
- 3 /Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû III:23,T1(21).
- 4 //Hunzû, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu IX:25ff.
- 5 //Hunzû, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu, gf. Anu-ah-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu X:23ff.
- 6 //Luštam[mar-Adad], f. Šamaš-ittannu V:29.
- 7 f. Mušallim-Anu X:7.

Anu-ab-uter (md 60-AD-GUR):

- 1 /Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah-ūtu III:21,B2<sup>!</sup>(29).
- 2 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Ištar-zēr-ibni II:26.
- 3 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Nanâ-iddin IV:11,15,17f.,18f.

Anu-ah-iddin (md 60-ŠEŠ-MU):

- 1 /Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-bēlšunu IX:24f.
- 2 /Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû, br. Anu-zēr-iddin X:22ff.,T2(26).

- 3 /Nidintu-Anu//Ekur-zakir VIII:5f.
- 4 //Ḥunzû, f. Iqīšâ **II**:19.

### Anu-ah-ittannu (md 60-šEŠ-MU-nu):

- 1 /Ana-rabût-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Kurî III:25, cf. L3(7),T3(39); V:32,T1(63).
- 2 /Ana-rabûtīka-Ištar II:3,6.
- 3 /Balāṭu//Luštammar-Adad, f. Anu-šum-līšer, f. Ša-Anu-iššû IX:27f.
- 4 /Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-ab-usur//Hunzû **X**:23ff.,T1(**65**).
- 5 /Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Aḥ-ūtu IV:20f.,B3(47).
- 6 /Nidintu-Anu/Illut-Anu//Hunzû V:36,L2(85).
- 7 /Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû III:26, cf. L3(7),T3(39).
- 8 /Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//Kurî VIII:26,L2(80).
- 9 /Sumuttu-Anu//Kurî, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu IX:1.
- 10 /[...]//Aḥ-ūtu **I**:24f.,T4(**91**).
- 11 f. Ana-rabût-Anu IX:7f.

### Anu-ah-ušabši (<sup>md</sup>60-šEŠ-GÁL-*ši*):

- 1 /Anu-uballissu//Ekur-zakir **IX**:24f.,B1(**12**).
- 2 //Aḥ-ūtu, f. Ana-rabûtīka-Anu I:18.
- 3 //E[kur-zakir], f. Kidin-Anu V:28.
- 4 f. Šāpik **VII**:4,5f.

### Anu-ahhē-iddin (md60-šEŠ.MEŠ-MU):

- 1 /Anu-bēlšunu//Ekur-zakir lútupšarru V:37.
- 2 /Nanâ-iddin//Ah-ūtu **I**:5,8,11.
- 3 /Nidintu-Anu/Anu-ahhē-iddin//Ah-ūtu VII:23,L2(53).
- 4 /[Tanit]tu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin//[Ah-ūtu] VI:24; cf. [B2](95).
- 5 //Ah-ūtu, f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Anu-ahhē-iddin/Nidintu-Anu VII:23.
- 6 //Gimil-Anu, f. Līšer II:25.
- 7 //Hunzû, f. Anu-iksur VI:25.
- 8 //Hunzû, f. Kidin-Anu IV:7,22f.

#### Anu-balāssu-iqbi (md 60-TIN-su-E):

- 1 /Anu-zēr-līšer//Ah-ūtu V:27,T3(10); VI:21f.,B1(10).
- 2 /Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad II:20,T1(16).
- 3 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-ab-utēr III:21.

### Anu-bēlšunu (md 60-EN-šú-nu):

- 1 /Anu-ah-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir **IX**:24f.,T3(**86**).
- 2 /Anu-bēlšunu lú *Urkayya* VII:26, cf. B1(54),B3(64).
- 3 /Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû VIII:23,B1(14).
- 4 /Itti-Anu-nuh[šu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni] lútupšarru I:26.
- 5 /Lā-bāši//Ah-ūtu, f. Lā-bāši IV:20ff.
- 6 /Nanâ-iddin I:4.
- 7 /Nidintu-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu VII:20, cf. B1(54),B3(64).
- 8 /Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni VI:9,11f.,18,[20f].

- 9 /Ník[ar]chos//[Aḥ-ūtu], f. [Lā-bāši] VI:23.
- 10 //Ah-ūtu, f. Mukin-apli IV:21f.
- 11 //Ah-ūtu, f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Anu-ah-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu IV:20ff.
- 12 //Ah-ūtu, f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu VII:20.
- 13 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-ahhē-iddin V:37.
- 14 //Ekur-zakir, f. Nidintu-Anu IV:27.
- 15 f. Anu-bēlšunu VII:26.

### Anu-erība (md 60-SU):

1 //Kurî, f. Ištar-šum-eriš III:29.

## Anu-iksur (md 60-ik-sur):

- 1 /Anu-ahhē-iddin//Hunzû **VI**:25; cf. [B2](**95**).
- 2 /Tanittu-Anu//Ah-[ūtu], br. Anu-qīšan I:22,L2(92).

### Anu-ittannu (md60-MU-nu):

- 1 /Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit//Kurî, br. Anu-uballissu VI:14,[17].
- 2 /Saniqqâ lúardu I:3,7,9,14,15.

### Anu-mār-ittannu (md 60-DUMU-MU-nu):

- 1 /Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî (br. Illut-Anu) VII:24,L1(55).
- 2 /Kidin-Anu//Hunzû, f. Kidin-Anu, f. Nanâ-iddin X:1.
- 3 /Lā-bāši/Anu-mār-ittannu lú*itinnu*, lú*arad ekalli* (br. Riḫāt- Anu) **VII**:1f.,10,15,R1(**56**); **VIII**:1,12,13,18,R1(**3**).
- 4 /Nanâ-iddin//Hunzû, f. Nidintu-Anu X:23ff.
- 5 /Nidintu-Ištar, f. Ardi-Ninurta lúsepīr makkūr Anu VII:27; VIII:28.
- 6 /Tanittu-Anu//[Ah-ūtu] VI:26,T2(1).
- 7 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-aḥ-iddin, gf. Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-aḥ-iddin IX:24f.
- 8 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-uballissu, gf. Anu-ab-usur/Anu-uballissu V:34.
- 9 //Hunzû, f. Nanâ-iddin III:27.
- 10 //Ḥunzû, f. Nanâ-iddin, gf. Anu-aḫ-iddin/Nanâ-iddin, gf. Anu-zēr-iddin/Nanâ-iddin X:22ff.
- 11 f. Lā-bāši, gf. Anu-mār-ittannu/Lā-bāši VII:1f.,3.

### Anu-qīšan (<sup>md</sup>60-BA-*an-ni*, <sup>md</sup>60-BA-*an-nu*):

- 1 /Nidintu-Anu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni lágalmāḥ Anu, látupšarru VII:28; VIII:30.
- 2 /Tanittu-Anu//Ah-[ūtu], br. Anu-iksur I:21f.,T3(6).
- 3 /Ubār//Kidin-Marduk, f. Arad-Ummi-rēmet X:25.

#### Anu-šum-līšer (md 60-MU-GIŠ):

- 1 /Anu-ah-ittannu/Balātu//Luštammar-Adad, br. Ša-Anu-iššû IX:27f.,B3(28).
- 2 /Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû II:22,L2(43).
- 3 /Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû, f. Anu-uballit VII:21
- 4 /Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû VII:22,T3(19).

### Anu-uballissu (md60-ú-bal-lit-su, md60-TIN-su):

- 1 /Anu-mār-ittannu//Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-ab-usur V:34.
- 2 /Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit//Kurî, br. Anu-ittannu VI:1,11,17.
- 3 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-ah-ušabši IX:24f.

### Anu-uballit (md 60-TIN-it):

- 1 /Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû VII:21,T1(88).
- 2 /Ina-qibīt-Anu//Ekur-zakir lútupšarru IX:31.
- 3 /Ištar-šum-eriš//Hunzû **II**:24,T3(**38**).
- 4 /Kidin-Anu//Hunzû, f. Lā-bāši VIII:25.
- 5 /Nanâ-iddin//Hunzû, f. Dumqi-Anu VIII:22.
- 6 /Nidintu-Anu//Ah-ūtu I:18f.,B2(41).
- 7 /Nidintu-Anu/Tattannu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Nidintu-Anu III:1f.,12.
- 8 /Rabi-Anu//Kurî, f. Illut-Anu V:9f.,13f.,25f.
- 9 /Rihāt-Ištar//Ekur-zakir V:31.
- 10 /[Šamaš-ittan]nu//Aḥ-ūtu **I**:23f.,[B1](**42**).
- 11 /Tanittu-Anu III:5.
- 12 /Ubār//Šumāt, f. Ubār IV:14f.,17.
- 13 //Ḥunzû, f. Nanâ-iddin, gf. Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin, ggf. Nanâ-iddin/Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin V:1,18,22.
- 14 //Kurî, f. Illut-Anu, gf. Anu-ittannu/Illut-Anu, gf. Anu-uballissu/Illut-Anu VI:1,14,[17].
- 15 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Rihāt-Anu II:18.
- 16 //Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Dumqi-Anu II:27.
- 17 //Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Anu-bēlšunu/Nidintu-Anu VI:9.

### Anu-ušēzib ( $^{md}60$ -ú-še-zib, $^{md}60$ -KAR):

1 f. Rihāt-Anu **III**:11,15,17,20.

#### Anu-zēr-ibni (md 60-NUMUN-DÙ):

1 //Kurî, f. [Rabi-Anu] I:23.

### Anu-zēr-iddin (md 60-NUMUN-MU):

- 1 /Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû, br. Anu-ah-iddin X:22ff., T3(89).
- 2 //[Ah-ūtu(?)], f. Kidin-Anu I:20.
- 3 //Hunzû, f. Anu-šum-līšer II:22.
- 4 //Hunzû, f. Anu-šum-līšer, gf. Anu-uballit/Anu-šum-līšer VII:21.
- 5 //Hunzû, f. Kidin-Anu, gf. Illut-Anu/Kidin-Anu VII:25.

#### Anu-zēr-līšer (md 60-NUMUN-GIŠ):

1 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-balāssu-iqbi V:27; VI:21f.

#### Anu-[...] ( $^{md}60$ -[...]):

1 f. Lā-bāši **II**:4.

## Arad-Ummi-rēmet (mìR-dAMA-ARHUŠ):

1 /Anu-qīšan/Ubār//Kidin-Marduk X:25,B3.

### Ardi-Ninurta (mìR-dnin-urta, mìR-dMAŠ):

- 1 /Anu-mār-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar lú sepīr makkūr Anu VII:27,T2(73); VIII:3,28,T1(77).
- 2 f. Kidin-Anu IV:24.

### Ardi-Rēš (mìR-éSAG):

1 /Dumqi-Anu, f. Dumqi-Anu, gf. Idat-Anu/Dumqi-Anu IX:13f.,20f.; X:4,[12].

### Balātu ("ba-la-tu, "TIN):

- 1 /Tanittu-Anu//Luštammar-Adad II:23,T2(44).
- 2 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Anu-aḫ-ittannu, gf. Anu-šum-līšer/Anu-aḫ-ittannu, gf. Ša-Anu-iššû/Anu-ah-ittannu **IX**:27f.

### Bani-apli (mDÙ-A):

1 /Nanâ-iddin//Luštammar-Adad VI:27,L2(2).

#### Bēlšunu (mEN-šú-nu):

1 //Ah-ūtu, f. Nidintu-Anu IV:21f.

### Dannat-Bēlti (<sup>m</sup>BAD<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN):

1 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Illut-Anu, gf. Idat-Anu/Illut-Anu VIII:27.

### Demetrius ( $\Delta \eta \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \rho \iota o \varsigma$ ) ( $^{\rm m} de$ -e-mi- $^{\rm r} ti$ $^{\rm r}$ -[ri]-su):

1 (I Soter) šarru IX:32.

#### Dumqi-Anu (mdum-qí-d60):

- 1 /Anu-uballit/Nanâ-iddin//Hunzû VIII:22; cf. T2(4),B3(33).
- 2 /Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni lútupšarru II:27.
- 3 /Ardi-Rēš/Dumqi-Anu lú*atû makkūr Anu ana bīt rittūti*, f. Idat-Anu **IX**:13f.,19,20f.; **X**:4,12,18,20,21.
- 4 /Ina-qibīt-Anu//Hunzû, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu VIII:24.
- 5 /Kidin-Anu lú[sepīr makkūr Anu] VI:28,L1(31).
- 6 /Kidin-Anu II:3,7.
- 7 /Tattannu//Hunzû IV:23,L2(48); V:33,T2(49).
- 8 /Usuršu-Anu/Dumqi-Anu//Hunzû IX:9f.
- 9 //Hunzû, f. Usuršu-Anu, gf. Dumqi-Anu/Usuršu-Anu IX:9f.
- 10 f. Ardi-Rēš, gf. Dumqi-Anu/Ardi-Rēš X:12.

### Erība (msu-a):

1 //Ekur-zakir, f. Nidintu-Anu IV:26.

#### Idat-Anu (mi-dat-d60):

- 1 /Dumqi-Anu/Ardi-Rēš ša ultu lúkiništi ša éRēš IX:13f.,16,19,20f.
- 2 /Illut-Anu/Dannat-Bēlti//Luštammar-Adad VIII:27,B2(8).
- 3 /Ša-Anu-iššû//Hunzû, f. Nidintu-Anu IX:28f.; X:24f.

# Illut-Anu (mil-lut-d60):

- 1 /Ana-rabût-Anu, f. fAntu-banât V:13,16,25.
- 2 /Anu-uballit/Rabi-Anu//Kurî, h. f Antu-banât/Illut-Anu/Ana-rabût-Anu V:9f.,13f.,25f.
- 3 /Anu-uballit//Kurî, f. Anu-ittannu, f. Anu-uballissu, VI:1,11.
- 4 /Dannat-Bēlti//Luštammar-Adad, f. Idat-Anu VIII:27.
- 5 /Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî (br. Anu-mār-ittannu) **VI**:27f.,T3(**52**); **IX**:30,T2(**37**).
- 6 /Kidin-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû VII:25,B2(74).
- 7 //Hunzû, f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Anu-ah-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu V:36.
- 8 //Imbi-Anu, f. Šala-lišlim, gf. Nidintu-Anu/Šala-lišlim X:27f.

### Illut-Ištar (mil-lut-dINANNA):

1 lúepiš dulli titti ša bīt ilānī ša Urukki **IX**:5.

## Ina-qibīt-Anu ("Aš-qí-bit-d60, "Aš-E-d60):

- 1 /Anu-ab-usur//Hunzû **IX**:25ff.,B2(**84**).
- 2 /Anu-ab-usur//Hunzû, f. Anu-ah-ittannu X:23ff.
- 3 /Anu-ah-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu//Kurî IX:1,16,18,R1(5).
- 4 /Dumqi-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu//Hunzû VIII:24, cf. B3(33),T2(4).
- 5 /[Ištar-šum-eriš]//[Ah]-ūtu, f. [Lā-bāši] VI:25f.
- 6 /Kidin-Anu//Ekur-zakir I:21,T2(78).
- 7 /Kidin-Anu//Hunzû, f. Anu-bēlšunu VIII:23.
- 8 /Kidin-Anu/Lā-bāši//Kurî III:28,L2(45).
- 9 /Nidintu-Anu//Hunzû, f. Anu-šum-līšer VII:22.
- 10 /Nidintu-Ištar//Kurî, f. Anu-mār-ittannu, f. Illut-Anu VI:27f.; VII:24; IX:30.
- 11 /Šamaš-īter//Ekur-[zakir] lútupšarru X:29.
- 12 /Sibqāt-Anu//[Ekur-zakir], f. Samaš-īter VI:29.
- 13 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-uballit **IX**:31.
- 14 //Hunzû, f. Dumqi-Anu, gf. Ina-qibīt-Anu/Dumqi-Anu VIII:24.

#### Iqīšâ (mBA-šá-a):

1 /Anu-ah-iddin//Hunzû **II**:19,B2(**61**).

### Ištar-šum-eriš (mdINANNA-MU-KÁM):

- 1 /Anu-erība//Kurî lútupšarru III:29.
- 2 //[Ah]-ūtu, f. [Ina-qibīt-Anu], gf. [Lā-bāši]/[Ina-qibīt-Anu] VI:25f.
- 3 //Hunzû, f. Anu-uballit **II**:24.

#### Ištar-zēr-ibni (md INANNA-NUMUN-DÙ):

1 /Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad II:26,L3(34).

### Itti-Anu-nuh[šu] ("KI-d60-HÉ.[NUN]):

1 //[Sîn-leqi-unnīni], f. Anu-bēlšunu I:26.

### Kidin-Anu (mki-din-d60, mBÁR-d60):

- 1 /Anu-ah-ušabši//E[kur-zakir] V:28,B2.
- 2 /Anu-ahhē-iddin//Hunzû IV:7,22f., cf. T3(23),T4(13).
- 3 /Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû, br. Nanâ-iddin X:1,8,15,17,19,R1(67).
- 4 /Anu-zēr-iddin//[Ah-ūtu(?)] I:20,B3(27).
- 5 /Anu-zēr-iddin//Hunzû, f. Illut-Anu VII:25.
- 6 /Ardi-Ninurta lá sepīr makkūr Anu IV:24f., cf. T3(23),T4(13).
- 7 /Lā-bāši//Kurî, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu III:28.
- 8 //Ekur-zakir, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu I:21.
- 9 //Ḥunzû, f. Anu-mār-ittannu, gf. Kidin-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu, gf. Nanâ-iddin/Anu-mār-ittannu X:1.
- 10 //Hunzû, f. Anu-uballit, gf. Lā-bāši/Anu-uballit VIII:25.
- 11 //Hunzû, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu, gf. Anu-bēlšunu/Ina-qibīt-Anu VIII:23.
- 12 //Hunzû, f. Tanittu-Anu III:22.
- 13 //Kurî, f. Ana-rabût-Anu, gf. Anu-aḥ-ittannu/Ana-rabût-Anu V:32.
- 14 f. Dumqi-Anu II:[3],7.
- 15 f. Dumqi-Anu VI:28.
- 16 f. Nanâ-iddin VII:5,6.

### Kītu-Anu (mki-tu-d60):

1 //Kurî, f. Sumuttu-Anu, gf. Ana-rabût-Anu/Sumuttu-Anu X:26f.

#### Lā-bāši (mla-ba-ši, mNU-TÉŠ):

- 1 /Anu-bēlšunu/Lā-bāši//Ah-ūtu IV:20f.,L1(24).
- 2 /[Anu-bēlšu]nu/Ník[ar]chos//[Ah-ūtu] VI:23, cf. T4(32),[B2](95).
- 3 /Anu-mār-ittannu lú*itinnu*, f. Anu-mār-ittannu, f. Rihāt-Anu, gf. Lā-bāši/Rihāt-Anu, gf. Nidintu-šarri/Rihāt-Anu II:10,15f.; IV:1; VII:1f.,3f.,9,17f.; VIII:1,12.
- 4 /Anu-uballit/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû VIII:25,T3(57).
- 5 /Anu-[...] **II**:4.
- 6 /[Ina-qibīt-Anu]/[Ištar-šum-eriš]//[Ah]-ūtu **VI**:25f., cf. T4(**32**),[B2](**95**).
- 7 /Rabi-Anu//Hunzû, f. Rabi-Anu IX:26f.
- 8 /Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši lú*arad ekalli*, lú*itinnu*, lú*šitimgallu ša Anu*, f. Nidintu-Anu, f. Riḥāt-Anu, (br. Nidintu-šarri) **VII**:8f.,13,15,17f.; **VIII**:9,12,16,21.
- 9 /[...] **I**:25,R2(**93**).
- 10 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-bēlšunu, gf. Lā-bāši/Anu-bēlšunu IV:20ff.
- 11 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-ab-usur V:30.
- 12 //Kurî, f. Kidin-Anu, gf. Ina-qibīt-Anu/Kidin-Anu III:28.

#### Līšer (mli-GIŠ):

- 1 /Anu-aḥḥē-iddin//Gimil-Anu II:25,L1(69).
- 2 /Nidintu-Anu//Gimil-Anu II:21,B3(87).

## Mattān-Anu (\*מְתָנאַן (mat-tan-na-d60):

1 /[...] **II**:13,R2(**58**).

### Mukin-apli (<sup>m</sup>DU-A):

- 1 /Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu **IV**:21f.,B2(25).
- 2 /Nidintu-Anu/[Tanittu-Anu]//[Ah-ūtu] VI:22,T1(72).
- 3 //Ebabbar-šum-ibni, f. Nanâ-iddin III:24.

### Mušallim-Anu (mGI-d60):

1 /Anu-ab-usur X:7.

### Nadin (mna-din):

1 //Kurî, f. Nanâ-iddin, gf. Sumuttu-Anu/Nanâ-iddin IV:7f.,23f.

## Nanâ-iddin (mdna-na-a-MU):

- 1 /Anu-ab-utēr//Luštammar-Adad IV:11,13,15,17f.,18f.
- 2 /Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu//Hunzû, br. Kidin-Anu X:1,15,17,19,R2(15).
- 3 /Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû III:27,T2(62).
- 4 /Anu-mār-ittannu//Hunzû, f. Anu-ah-iddin, f. Anu-zēr-iddin X:22ff.
- 5 /Anu-uballit//Hunzû, f. Tattannu, gf. Nanâ-iddin/Tattannu V:1,16,22.
- 6 /Kidin-Anu lúitinnu VII:4f.,6.
- 7 /Mukin-apli//Ebabbar-šum-ibni III:24,B1(22).
- 8 /Nadin//Kurî, f. Sumuttu-Anu III:10; IV:7f.,23f.
- 9 /Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu, br. Nidintu-Anu I:2.
- 10 /Tattannu/Nanâ-iddin/Anu-uballit//Hunzû V:18,22.
- 11 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-ahhē-iddin I:5,8,11.
- 12 //[Aḥ-ūtu], f. [Tanit]tu-Anu, gf. Anu-aḥhē-iddin/[Tanit]tu-Anu VI:24.
- 13 //Ebabbar-šum-ibni, f. Ša-Anu-iššû, gf. Uṣuršu-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû **IV**:25; **V**:35; **VIII**:29.
- 14 //Hunzû, f. Anu-mār-ittannu, gf. Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mār-ittannu X:23ff.
- 15 //Hunzû, f. Anu-uballit, gf. Dumqi-Anu/Anu-uballit VIII:22.
- 16 //Kurî, f. Sumuttu-Anu, gf. Anu-ah-ittannu/Sumuttu-Anu VIII:26.
- 17 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Anu-balāssu-iqbi **II**:20.
- 18 //Luštammar-Adad, f. [Bani-apli] VI:27.
- 19 f. Anu-bēlšunu I:4.

### Nidintu-Anu (mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60, mNíG.SUM.MU-d60):

- 1 /Anu-ahhē-iddin//Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-ahhē-iddin VII:23
- 2 /Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-ah-ittannu IV:20ff.
- 3 /Anu-bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-bēlšunu VII:20.
- 4 /Anu-bēlšunu//Ekur-zakir lútupšarru IV:27.
- 5 /Anu-mār-ittannu/Nanâ-iddin//Hunzû X:23ff., cf. B1(81),B2(60),L2(18).
- 6 /Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu/Tattannu//Sîn-legi-unnīni III:1f.,9,12,19,R1(30).
- 7 /Anu-uballit//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Anu-bēlšunu VI:9,11f.,18,20f.
- 8 /Bēlšunu//Ah-ūtu IV:21f.,T1(11).
- 9 /Erība//Ekur-zakir IV:26,B4(35).

- 10 /Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššû//Hunzû **IX**:28f.,L2(**75**); **X**:24, cf. B1(**81**),B2(**60**),L2(**18**).
- 11 /Illut-Anu//Hunzû, f. Anu-ah-ittannu V:36.
- 12 /Lā-bāši/Rihāt-Anu, br. Rihāt-Anu VIII:9,12,16,18,20f.
- 13 /Šala-lišlim/Illut-Anu//Imbi-Anu X:27f., cf. B1(81),B2(60),L2(18).
- 14 /Tanittu-Anu//Ah-ūtu, br. Nanâ-iddin I:1,7,10,14,16,R1(36).
- 15 /[Tanittu-Anu]//[Ah-ūtu], f. Mukin-apli VI:22.
- 16 /Tattannu//Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Anu-uballit, gf. Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballit III:2.
- 17 /[...]//Ah-ūtu **I**:19f.,T1(**79**).
- 18 lú gallāb **III**:6,8.
- 19 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-uballit I:18f.
- 20 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-ah-iddin VIII:5f.
- 21 //Gimil-Anu, f. Līšer II:21.
- 22 //Hunzû, f. Anu-ab-usur III:23.
- 23 //Hunzû, f. Anu-ah-ittannu III:26.
- 24 //Hunzû, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu, gf. Anu-šum-līšer/Ina-qibīt-Anu VII:22.
- 25 //Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Anu-qīšan VII:28; VIII:30.

### Nidintu-Ištar (mni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-dINANNA, mNÍG.SUM.MU-dINANNA):

- 1 //Kurî, f. Ina-qibīt-Anu, gf. Anu-mār-ittannu/Ina-qibīt-Anu, gf. Illut-Anu/Ina-qibīt-Anu VI:27f.; VII:24; IX:30.
- 2 f. Anu-mār-ittannu, gf. Ardi-Ninurta/Anu-mār-ittannu VIII:28.

### Nidintu-šarri ("NÍG.SUM.MU-LUGAL):

1 /Riḥāt-Anu/Lā-bāši lúitinnu IV:1,13,17,R1 (70).

### Níkarchos (Níx $\alpha \rho \gamma o \varsigma$ ) ( $^{m}$ ni-iq-[ar]-ku-su):

1 //[Ah-ūtu], f. [Anu-bēlšu]nu, gf. [Lā-bāši]/[Anu-bēlšu]nu VI:23.

#### Rabi-Anu (mGAL-d60):

- 1 /Anu-zēr-ibni//Kurî I:23,L1(94).
- 2 /Lā-bāši/Rabi-Anu//Hunzû **IX**:26f.,L1(**66**).
- 3 //Hunzû, f. Lā-bāši, gf. Rabi-Anu/Lā-bāši IX:26f.
- 4 //Kurî, f. Anu-uballit, gf. Illut-Anu/Anu-uballit V:25f.

### Rihāt-Anu (mri-hat-d60):

- 1 /Anu-uballit//Luštammar-Adad II:18,B1(40).
- 2 /Anu-ušēzib lú gaddāvya III:11,15,17,20.
- 3 /Lā-bāši/Rihāt-Anu, br. Nidintu-Anu VIII:9,12,16,18,20f.
- 4 /Lā-bāši lú arad ekalli, f. Lā-bāši, f. Nidintu-šarri, gf. Nidintu-Anu/Lā-bāši, gf. Rihāt-Anu/Lā-bāši II:10,12,14,15f.; IV:1,17; VII:9,17; VIII:9,20f.

### fRihāt-Bēlet-sēri (míri-hat-dGAŠAN-EDIN):

1 /Sumuttu-Anu *amtu* VIII:7f.,10,14,20,R.E.

# Rihāt-Ištar (mri-hat-dINANNA):

- 1 /Ubār II:1,12,R1(82).
- 2 //Ekur-zakir, f. Anu-uballit V:31.

### Saniqqâ (msa-niq-qa-'):

1 f. Anu-ittannu I:3.

## Seleucus (Σέλευχος) (<sup>m</sup>se-lu-ku):

- 1 (II Callinicus) šarru II:9,28.
- 2 (III Soter) šarru III:30.
- 3 /Antiochus (III) šarru VIII:31.

### Sumuttu-Anu ( $^m$ *su-mut-tu*<sub>4</sub>- $^d$ 60, $^m$ *su-mut*<sup>ut</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>- $^d$ 60):

- 1 /Kītu-Anu//Kurî, f. Ana-rabût-Anu X:26f.
- 2 /Nanâ-iddin/Nadin//Kurî III:10; IV:7f.,23f.,T2(20).
- 3 /Nanâ-iddin//Kurî, f. Anu-ah-ittannu VIII:26.
- 4 //Kurî, f. Anu-aḥ-ittannu, gf. Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-aḥ-ittannu IX:1.
- 5 f. fRihāt-Bēlet-sēri VIII:8.

### Ša-Anu-iššû ( $^{\text{m}}$ šá- $^{\text{d}}$ 60-iš-šu- $\hat{u}$ ):

- 1 /Anu-ah-ittannu/Balātu//Luštammar-Adad, br. Anu-šum-līšer IX:27f.,T1(76).
- 2 /Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni, f. Uṣuršu-Anu IV:25,B1(59); V:35,L1(50); VIII:29.
- 3 //Hunzû, f. Idat-Anu, gf. Nidintu-Anu/Idat-Anu IX:28f.; X:24.

### Šala-lišlim (<sup>md</sup>ša-la-liš-lim):

1 /Illut-Anu//Imbi-Anu, f. Nidintu-Anu X:27.

### Šamaš-īter (mdUTU-SUR):

- 1 /Ina-qibīt-Anu/Šibqāt-Anu//[Ekur-zakir] lútupšarru VI:29.
- 2 //Ekur-[zakir], f. Ina-qibīt-Anu X:29.

### Šamaš-ittannu (<sup>md</sup>UTU-MU-*nu*):

- 1 /Anu-ab-usur//Luštam[mar-Adad] V:29,T4(51).
- 2 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-[uballit] I:23f.

#### Šāpik (<sup>m</sup>DUB-ki):

1 /Anu-ah-ušabši lúitinnu VII:4,5f.

### Šibgāt-Anu ("šib-gát-d60):

1 //[Ekur-zakir], f. Ina-qibīt-Anu, gf. Šamaš-īter/Ina-qibīt-Anu VI:29.

### Tanittu-Anu (mta-nit-tu<sub>4</sub>-d60, mta-nit-tú-d60):

- 1 /Kidin-Anu//Hunzû **III**:22,L1(**46**).
- 2 /Nanâ-iddin//[Ah-ūtu], f. Anu-ah[hē-iddin] VI:24.
- 3 //Ah-[ūtu], f. Anu-iksur, f. Anu-qīšan I:22.
- 4 //[Ah-ūtu], f. Anu-mār-ittannu VI:26.
- 5 //Ah-ūtu, f. Nanâ-iddin, f. Nidintu-Anu I:1,2,7,10,16.
- 6 //[Ah-ūtu], f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Mukin-apli/Nidintu-Anu VI:22.
- 7 //Luštammar-Adad, f. Balātu II:23.
- 8 f. Anu-uballit III:5.

### Tattannu (mtat-tan-nu):

- 1 /Nanâ-iddin/Anu-uballit//Hunzû, f. Nanâ-iddin V:1,15f.,21f.,R1(83).
- 2 //Hunzû, f. Dumqi-Anu IV:23; V:33.
- 3 //Sîn-leqi-unnīni, f. Nidintu-Anu, gf. Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu, ggf. Nidintu-Anu /Anu-uballit/Nidintu-Anu III:2.

### Ubār (mú-bar):

- 1 /Anu-uballit/Ubār//Šumāt IV:14f.,17,R2(68).
- 2 //Kidin-Marduk, f. Anu-qīšan, gf. Arad-Ummi-rēmet/Anu-qīšan X:25f.
- 3 //Šumāt, f. Anu-uballit, gf. Ubār/Anu-uballit IV:14f.
- 4 f. Rihāt-Ištar II:1.

### Usuršu-Anu ( $^{m}\acute{u}$ -sur-š $\acute{u}$ - $^{d}$ 60, $^{m}$ URU<sub>3</sub>-š $\acute{u}$ - $^{d}$ 60):

- 1 /Dumqi-Anu//Hunzû, f. Dumqi-Anu IX:9f.
- 2 /Ša-Anu-iššû/Nanâ-iddin//Ebabbar-šum-ibni VIII:29,L1(17).

### $[\ldots]$ :

- 1 //Ah-ūtu, f. Anu-ah-ittannu I:24f.
- 2 //Ah-ūtu, f. Nidintu-Anu I:19f.
- 3 f. Lā-bāši **I**:25.
- 4 f. Mattān-Anu II:13.

#### **B** Ancestral Names

### Ah-ūtu (máh- '-ú-tú):

Ana-rabûtīka-Anu 1.

Anu-ab-uter 1.

Anu-ah-ittannu 5, 10.

Anu-ah-ušabši 2.

Anu-ahhē-iddin 2, 3, 4, 5.

Anu-balāssu-iqbi 1, 3.

Anu-bēlšunu 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Anu-iksur 2.

Anu-mār-ittannu 6.

Anu-qīšan 2.

Anu-uballit 6, 10.

Anu-zēr-iddin 2(?).

Anu-zēr-līšer 1.

Bēlšunu 1.

Ina-qibīt-Anu 5.

Ištar-šum-eriš 2.

Kidin-Anu 4(?).

Lā-bāši 1, 2, 6, 10.

Mukin-apli 1, 2.

Nanâ-iddin 9, 11, 12.

Nidintu-Anu 1, 2, 3, 8, 14, 15, 17, 19. Níkarchos 1. Šamaš-ittannu 2. Tanittu-Anu 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. [...] 1, 2.

### Ebabbar-šum-ibni (mé.BABBAR-MU-DÙ, mé.BABBAR.RA-MU-DÙ):

Mukin-apli 3. Nanâ-iddin 7, 13. Ša-Anu-iššû 2. Usuršu-Anu 2.

## Ekur-zakir (<sup>m</sup>É.KUR-*za-kir*):

Anu-ab-usur 1, 2. Anu-ah-iddin 1, 3. Anu-ah-ušabši 1, 3. Anu-ahhē-iddin 1 Anu-bēlšunu 1, 13, 14. Anu-mār-ittannu 7, 8. Anu-uballissu 1, 3. Anu-uballit 2, 9. Erība 1. Ina-qibīt-Anu 6, 11, 12, 13. Kidin-Anu 1, 8. Lā-bāši 11. Nidintu-Anu 4, 9, 20. Rihāt-Ištar 2. Šamaš-īter 1, 2. Šibqāt-Anu 1.

## Gimil-Anu (mšu-d60):

Anu-aḫḫē-iddin 6. Līšer 1, 2. Nidintu-Anu 21.

### Hunzû (mhun-zu-ú):

Anu-ab-uṣur 3, 4, 5.
Anu-aḥ-iddin 2, 4
Anu-aḥ-ittannu 4, 6, 7.
Anu-aḥḍ-itdin 7, 8.
Anu-bēlšunu 3.
Anu-ikṣur 1.
Anu-mār-ittannu 2, 4, 9, 10.
Anu-šum-līšer 2, 3, 4.
Anu-uballiṭ 1, 3, 4, 5, 13.
Anu-zēr-iddin 1, 3, 4, 5.

Dumqi-Anu 1, 4, 7, 8, 9.

Idat-Anu 3.

Illut-Anu 6, 7.

Ina-qibīt-Anu 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 14.

Iqīšâ 1.

Ištar-šum-eriš 3.

Kidin-Anu 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Lā-bāši 4, 7.

Nanâ-iddin 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 14, 15.

Nidintu-Anu 5, 10, 11, 22, 23, 24.

Rabi-Anu 2, 3.

Ša-Anu-iššû 3.

Tanittu-Anu 1.

Tattannu 1, 2.

Usuršu-Anu 1.

### Imbi-Anu (mim-bi-d60):

Illut-Anu 8.

Nidintu-Anu 13.

Šala-lišlim 1.

## Kidin-Marduk ("BÁR-dAMAR.UTU):

Anu-qīšan 3.

Arad-Ummi-rēmet 1.

Ubār 2.

#### Kurî (mkur-i):

Ana-rabût-Anu 3.

Anu-ah-ittannu 1, 8, 9.

Anu-erība 1.

Anu-ittannu 1.

Anu-mār-ittannu 1.

Anu-uballissu 2.

Anu-uballit 8, 14.

Anu-zēr-ibni 1.

Illut-Anu 2, 3, 5.

Ina-qibīt-Anu 3, 8, 10.

Ištar-šum-eriš 1.

Kidin-Anu 7, 13.

Kītu-Anu 1.

Lā-bāši 12.

Nadin 1.

Nanâ-iddin 8, 16.

Nidintu-Ištar 1.

Rabi-Anu 1, 4.

Sumuttu-Anu 1, 2, 3, 4.

## Luštammar-Adad ("lu-uš-tam-mar-dIM):

Anu-ab-usur 6.

Anu-ab-uter 2, 3.

Anu-ah-ittannu 3.

Anu-balāssu-igbi 2.

Anu-šum-līšer 1.

Anu-uballit 15.

Balātu 1, 2.

Bani-apli 1.

Dannat-Bēlti 1.

Idat-Anu 2.

Illut-Anu 4.

Ištar-zēr-ibni 1.

Nanâ-iddin 1, 17, 18.

Rihāt-Anu 1.

Ša-Anu-iššû 1.

Šamaš-ittannu 1.

Tanittu-Anu 7.

## Sîn-leqi-unnīni (md30-TI-ÉR):

Anu-bēlšunu 4, 8.

Anu-qīšan 1.

Anu-uballit 7, 16, 17.

Dumqi-Anu 2.

Itti-Anu-nuhšu 1.

Nidintu-Anu 6, 7, 16, 25.

Tattannu 3.

## Šumāt ("MU.MEŠ):

Anu-uballit 12.

Ubār 1, 3.

### C Occupational and Gentilic Designations

### amtu (GEME<sub>2</sub>)

fRihāt-Bēlet-sēri 1.

### arad ekalli (lúÌR-É.GAL):

Anu-mār-ittannu 3.

Lā-bāši 8.

Rihāt-Anu 4.

## ardu (lúÌR):

Anu-ittannu 2.

- atû makkūr Anu ana bīt rittūti (<br/>¹úÌ. DU<sub>8</sub> NÍG.GA ¹60 a-na É rit-ti-ú-tú): Dumqi-Anu 3.
- epiš dulli țițți ša bīt ilānī ša Uruk ( $^{l\acute{u}}e$ -piš dul-lu IM.ḤI.A šá É DINGIR.MEŠ šá UNUG $^{ki}$ ): Illut-Ištar 1.
- gaddāyya ( $^{\text{l\'u}}$ ga-ad-da-a-a,  $^{\text{l\'u}}$ gad-da-a-a): Ana-rabût-Anu 1. Rihāt-Anu 2.
- gallāb (lú gal-la-ba). Nidintu-Anu 18.
- $galm\bar{a}\dot{h}^{\rm d}Anu$  ( $^{\rm l\acute{u}}$ GALA.MA $\ddot{\rm H}^{\rm d}$ 60): Anu-qīšan 1.
- itinnu (lúDÍM):
  Anu-mār-ittannu 3.
  Lā-bāši 3, 8.
  Nanâ-iddin 6.
  Nidintu-šarri 1.
  Šāpik 1.
- sepīr makkūr Anu (<sup>lú</sup> se-pir NíG.GA <sup>d</sup>60, <sup>lú</sup> se-pi-ri NíG.GA <sup>d</sup>60): Anu-mār-ittannu 5. Ardi-Ninurta 1. Dumqi-Anu 5. Kidin-Anu 6.
- ša ultu kiništi ša Rēš (šá TA lúki-niš-tu4 šá éSAG): Idat-Anu 1.
- šarru (LUGAL):
  Alexander 1.
  Antiochus 1, 2.
  Demetrius 1.
  Seleucus 1, 2, 3.
- šitimgallu ša Anu ( $^{l\acute{u}}$ DÍM.GAL šá  $^{d}$ 60): Lā-bāši 8.
- tupšarru (lúŠID):
  Anu-aḫḫē-iddin 1.
  Anu-bēlšunu 4.
  Anu-qīšan 1.
  Anu-uballit 2.

Dumqi-Anu 2. Ina-qibīt-Anu 11. Ištar-šum-eriš 1. Nidintu-Anu 4. Šamaš-īṭer 1.

*Urkāyya* (lúUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-*a-a*): Anu-bēlšunu 2.

#### **D** Divine Names

Adad (dim) V:4.
Antu (an-tu4) V:3; VI:4.
Anu (d60) V:3; VI:4.
Bēlet-ṣēri (dGAŠAN-EDIN) V:4; VI:4.
Bēlet-ṣa-Rēš (dGAŠAN-Šá-GSAG) V:5; VI:5.
Ea (dBE) V:3; VI:4.
Enlil (den-líl) V:3; VI:4.
Ištar (dINANNA) V:4; VI:4.
Marduk (dAMAR.UTU) V:4.
Nanâ (dna-na-a) V:4; VI:4.
Papsukal (dpap-sukal) V:4; VI:4.
Sîn (d30) V:3.
Šamaš (dUTU) V:3.
Šarraḥītu (dšar-ra-ḥi-i-tu4) V:5; VI:5.

### **E** Topographical Index

bāb ša dīštar IV:2,4,5; VII:8.
bīt akītāti VII:3.
bīt ilānī VII:6; IX:5.
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erṣeti abul dīštar II:2; III:3; IX:3.
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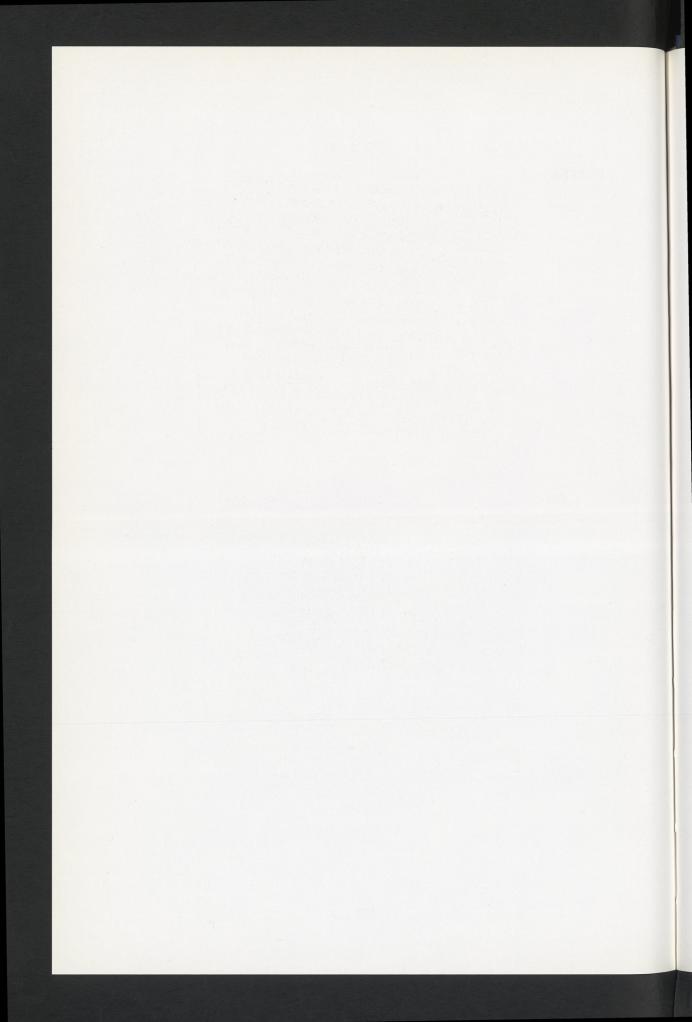
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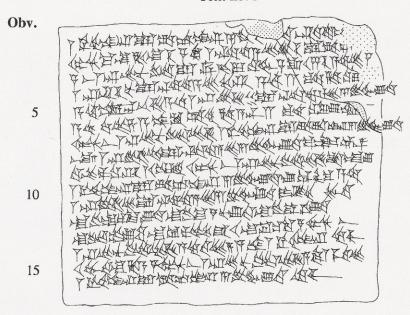
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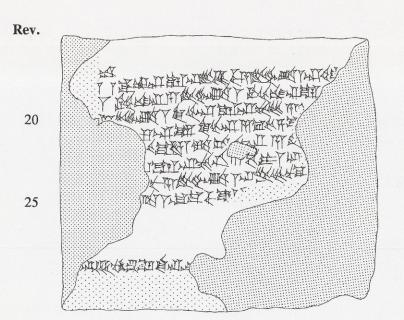
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# **PLATES**

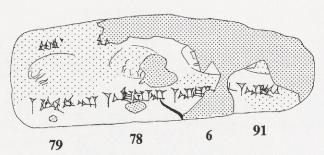


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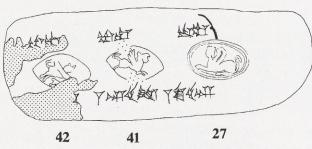




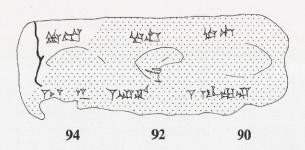




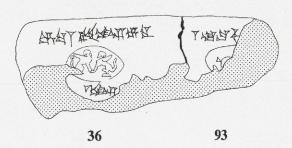
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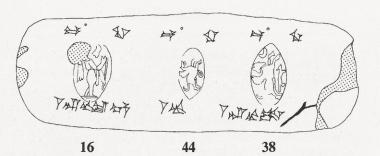
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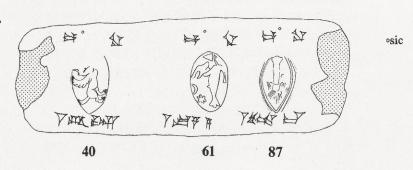
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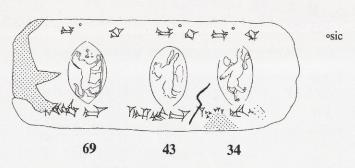


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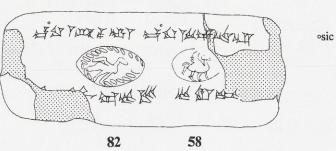
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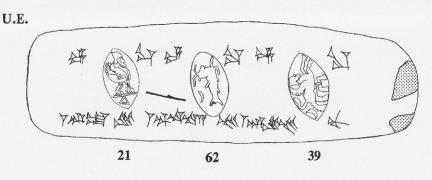


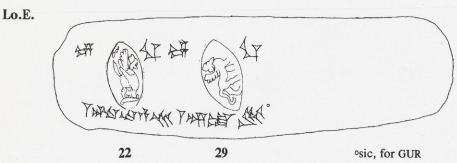
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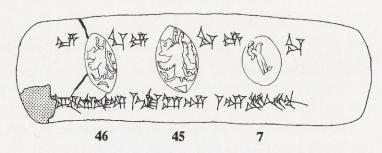
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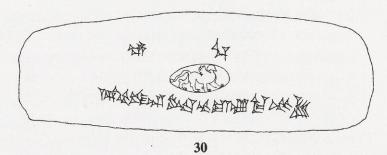
# Text no. III









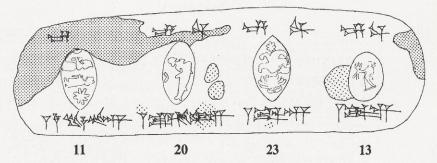


Text no. IV

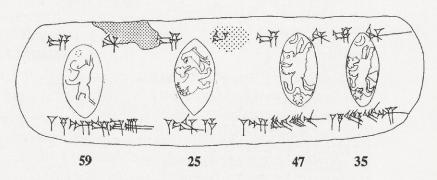
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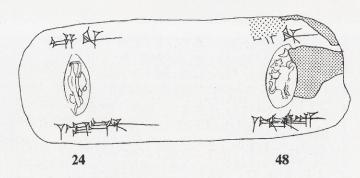
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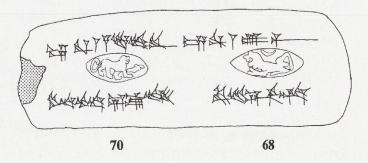


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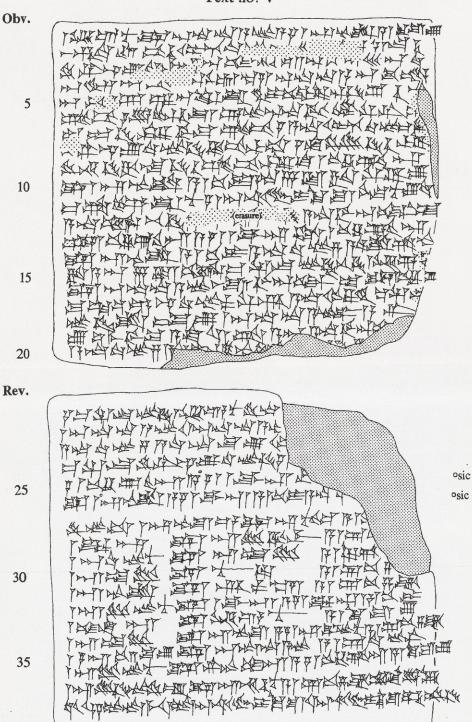


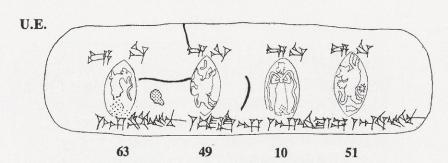
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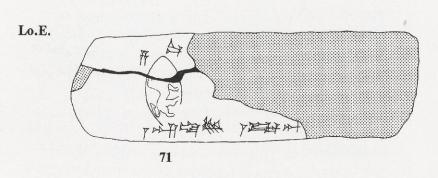


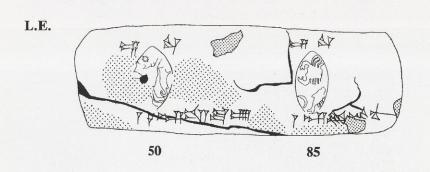


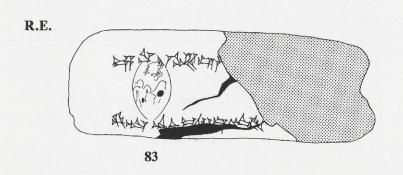
Text no. V





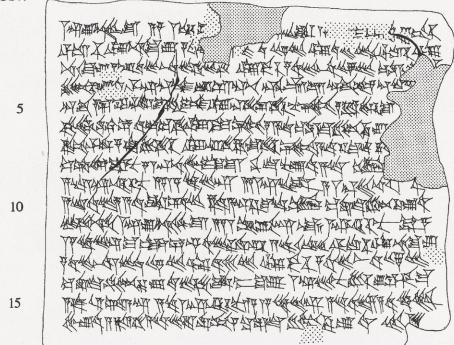




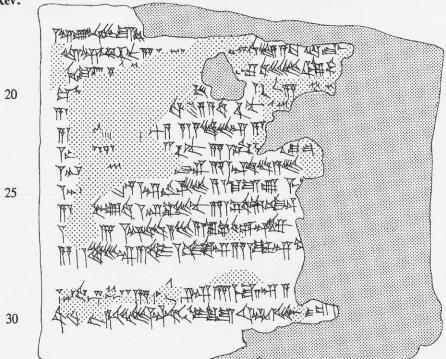


## Obv.

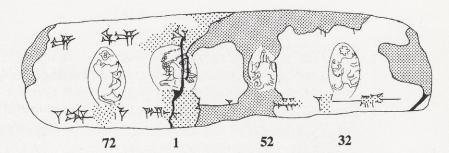
Text no. VI



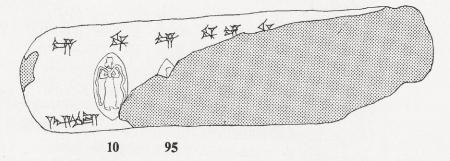
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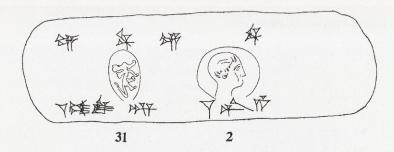




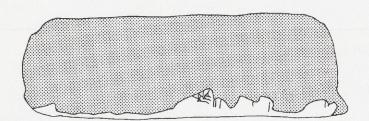
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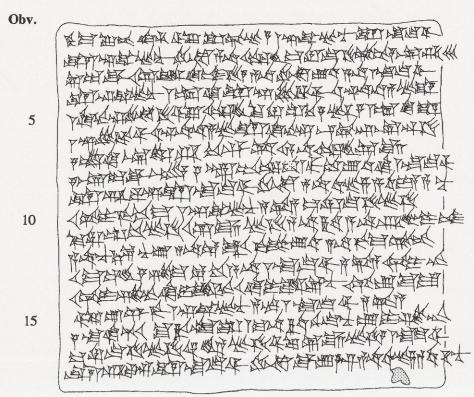
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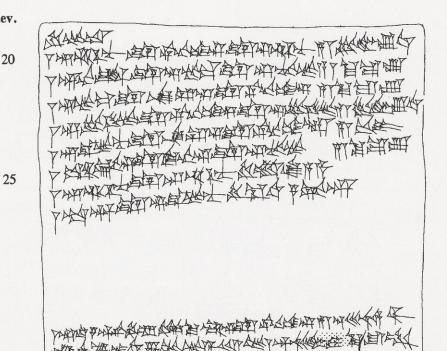


# Text no. VII

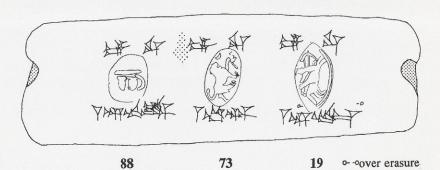


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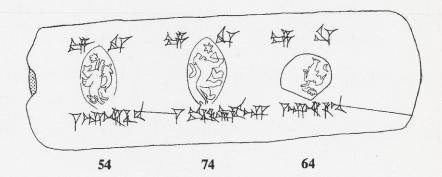
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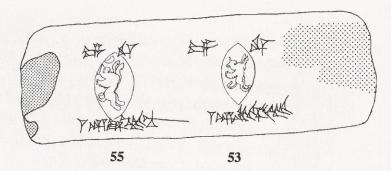


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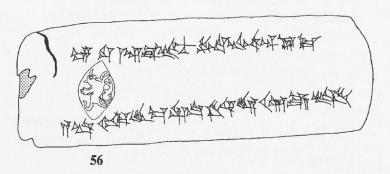


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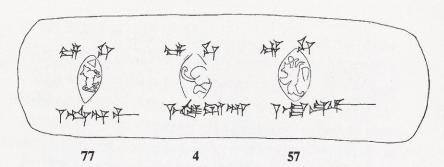
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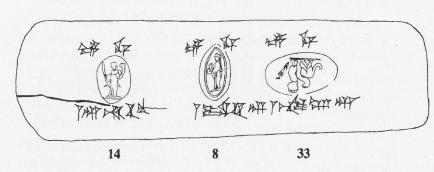
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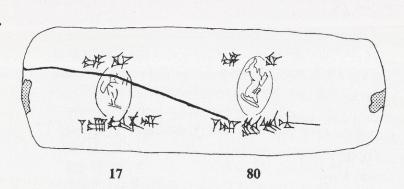
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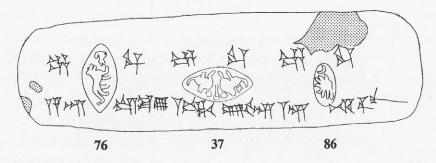




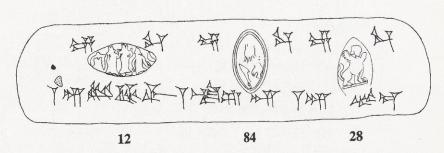
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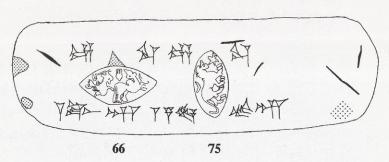
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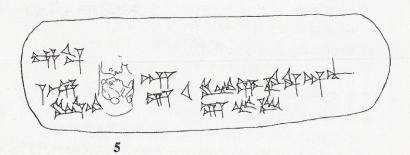


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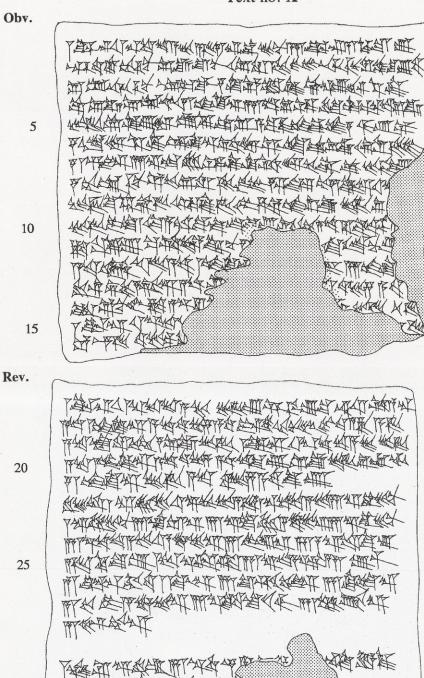


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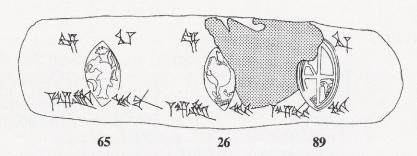




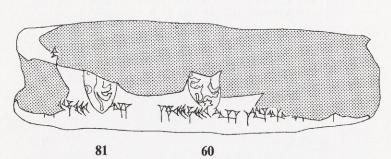
# Text no. X



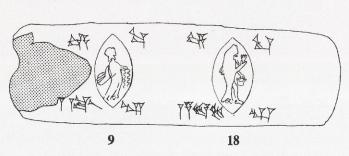


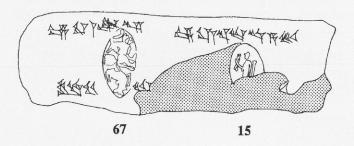


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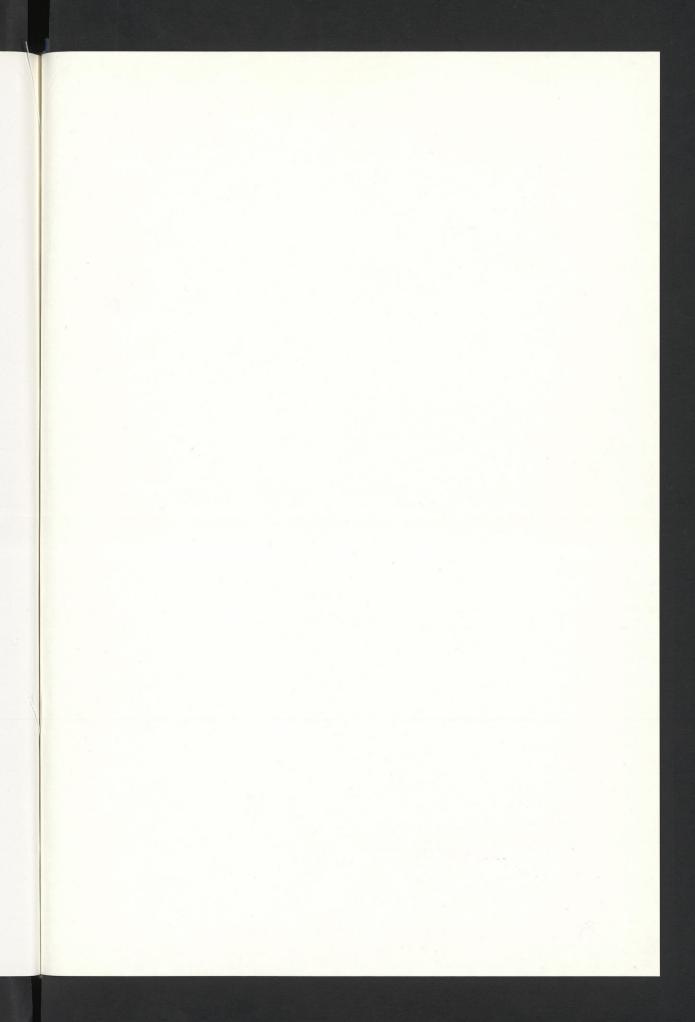
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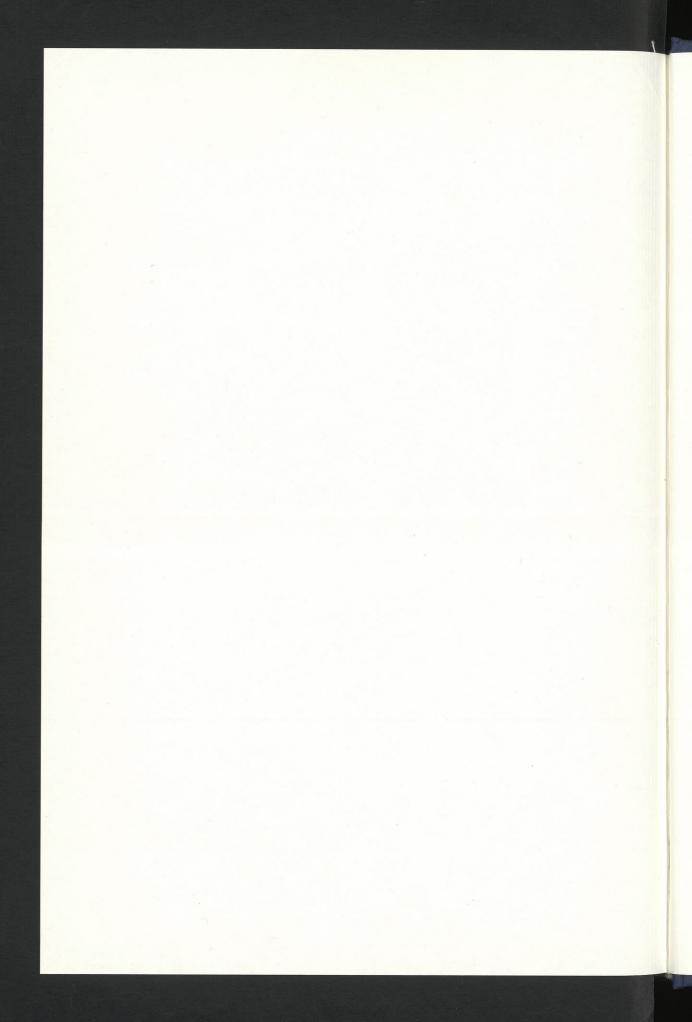




### ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. xiii, n. 1, end, add:
  - For the tablets in the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, see M. Jursa, "Neuund spätbabylonische Texte aus den Sammlungen der Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery," *Iraq* 59 (1997). pp. 118f., Nr. 37, and 199ff., Nr. 38.
- P. xiv, first paragraph, last sentence: add to the list of sites from which sealed cuneiform tablets are known that of Birtu-ša-Bēl-dumqi (CT 49 133), an otherwise unknown apparently fortified settlement in the vicinity of Babylon (cf. J. Oelsner, Review of D.A. Kennedy, CT 49: *Late-Babylonian Economic Texts*, ZA 61 [1971], p. 166; M.W. Stolper, *Late Achaemenid, Early Macedonian, and Early Seleucid Records of Deposit and Related Texts*. AION, Suppl. 77 [1993], p 33).









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