

# Babylonische Archive

## Band 5

The Archive of Mušēzib-Marduk, Son of Kiribtu and Descendant of Sîn-nāṣir:  
A Landowner and Property Developer at Uruk in the Seventh Century BC

Grant Frame

# BABYLONISCHE ARCHIVE 5

Herausgeber  
Cornelia Wunsch

ISLET  
Dresden 2013



# The Archive of Mušēzib-Marduk

Son of Kiribtu and Descendant of Sîn-nāṣir

A Landowner and Property Developer  
at Uruk in the Seventh Century BC

by  
Grant Frame



Dresden 2013

Grant Frame

The Archive of Mušēzib-Marduk, Son of Kiribtu and Descendant of Sîn-nāšir:  
A Landowner and Property Developer at Uruk in the Seventh Century BC

© 2013

© Grant Frame

© ISLET-Verlag Dresden

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photo-copying, recording, or otherwise, without the permission of the publisher

Schriftsatz: Cornelia Wunsch

Herstellung: Quickprinter Overath

Printed in Germany

ISBN 13: 978-3-9808466-7-7

To J. A. Brinkman and D. A. Kennedy<sup>†</sup>



## PREFACE

I first became aware of this archive over thirty years ago, while writing my doctoral dissertation on the history of Babylonia in the mid-seventh century BC at the University of Chicago. At that time, John A. Brinkman and Douglas A. Kennedy gave me access to their preliminary transliterations of numerous unpublished legal and administrative texts from the eighth and seventh centuries, among which were most of the texts treated in this volume. At one point, Kennedy intended to publish some of the texts in the British Museum, but his untimely death on May 22, 1987 prevented this. (For a brief obituary by J.-M. Durand, see *RA* 81 [1987]: 97–98.) J.A. Brinkman kindly passed on to me his own rights to the publication of YBC 11413 in order that it could be included here with the other texts in this archive. This book is dedicated to them with gratitude for their generosity and support.

Most of my work on this volume was carried out in the research archives of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project, Toronto, and in the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. Through the auspices of a University of Pennsylvania and Katholieke Universiteit Leuven faculty exchange agreement, I was able to spend two months in the summer of 2008 working on the manuscript at the Department Oosterse en Slavische Studies in Leuven; my appreciation must be extended to Prof. K. Van Lerberghe, then head of the ancient Near East section, and to T. Boiy, A. Goddeeris, and J. Tavernier for their kind help and hospitality while I was there. I was also able to work in the library of the Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten at the University of Leiden in the summer of 2009. I must also express my gratitude toward W. van Soldt, Professor for Assyriology, and to J.G. Dercksen, W. von Egmond, J.C. Fincke, D. Katz, and Th.J.H. Krispijn for making my stay there both enjoyable and productive.

Unpublished texts in the British Museum are presented here with the kind permission of the Trustees of British Museum and those in the Yale Babylonian Collection with that of the curators of the Collection. FLP 1288 and MAH 15976 are included here with the permission of the curators of the Rare Book Department of the Free Library of Philadelphia and with that of J.-L. Chappaz, curator in the Département d'archéologie of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, respectively. My appreciation must also be expressed to the staff of the department of Special Collections of the University of Delaware Library for their help while I was examining the papers of John Frederick Lewis in their archives.

I am greatly indebted to many colleagues for collations, information, suggestions or hospitality during the course of my work on these tablets and the preparation of this volume: B. André-Salvini, P.-A. Beaulieu, M. deJong Ellis, I.L. Finkel, A.R. George, A.K. Grayson, W.W. Hallo, M. Jaques, J. Jeffers, U. Kasten, E.V. Leichty, J.P. Nielsen,

J. Novotny, E. Payne, J.E. Reade, M. Rutz, St J. Simpson, R.F.G. Sweet, J. Taylor, C.B.F. Walker, R. Zadok, and R. Zettler. My particular thanks go to H.D. Baker, M. Jursa and Cornelia Wunsch for providing numerous valuable comments on a draft of this manuscript, to M. Schmidl for help with checking the tables, indices and page proofs, and to G. Shemkovitz and K. Sonik for editorial assistance. The copies of NBC 8392 and 8393 by M. deJong Ellis originally published in *JCS*36 are printed here with her kind permission. Finally, I am grateful to C. Wunsch for suggesting that this study appear in the series *Babylonische Archive* and for all her work in getting the manuscript ready for publication.

# Table of Contents

Preface .....	vii
Table of Contents .....	ix
List of Tables and Figures .....	xi
Catalogue of Texts .....	xii
Index of Museum Numbers .....	xiii
Previous Publications .....	xiv
Miscellaneous Abbreviations .....	xv
Dating of Transactions .....	xvi
Bibliographic Abbreviations .....	xvii
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. The Archive of Mušēzib-Marduk .....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 Reconstructing the Archive .....	7
2.2 The Tablets .....	10
2.3 Provenance .....	13
2.4 Types of Transactions .....	14
2.5 Two Other Tablets in the British Museum Registration Series 1927–11–12 ..	15
2.6 Personal Names and Filiation .....	17
2.7 Location of Real Estate .....	19
2.8 Sizes and Prices of Real Estate .....	21
2.9 Witnesses .....	26
2.10 Scribes .....	27
2.11 Fingernail Impressions .....	28
2.12 Duplicate Copies .....	30
<b>3. Career of Mušēzib-Marduk .....</b>	<b>31</b>
3.1 Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Tābiya Family (nos. 8*, 9*, 16, 18, 19, and 20) .....	31
3.2 Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Sons of Ahhēšāya (nos. 12, 13, and 23) .....	38
3.3 Real Estate Transactions .....	41
3.3.1 Houses, Ruined Houses, and Empty Plots of Urban Land .....	41
3.3.1.1 Market Gate (Bāb-Mahīri) District Inside Uruk (nos. 1, 4, and 18–2) .....	41
3.3.1.2 Eanna District Inside Uruk (nos. 6, 12, 13, 15, and 17) ....	44
3.3.1.3 Other, Uncertain, and Unknown (nos. 8*, 9*, 10, 16, and 20) .....	49
3.3.2 Agricultural Land .....	51
3.3.2.1 Ninurta Temple District Inside Uruk (nos. 3, 5, 11, and 14) ..	51
3.3.2.2 Royal Canal (at Uruk) (nos. 18–1, 18–3, 19, 22*, 24, and 26) .....	56
3.3.2.3 Beside the <i>Harīṣu</i> (of the Gate of the Goddess Irnin(n)a Inside Uruk) (nos. 2* and 7) .....	62

3.3.2.4 District of the Iššeti Canal (New Canal) in the Meadow- land of the <i>District</i> of Uruk (no. 25) . . . . .	64
3.3.2.5 Uncertain and Unknown (nos. 9*, 16, 21, and 23) . . . . .	65
3.4 Promissory Notes and Transfer of Debt (nos. 8*, 9*, 16, and 26; and cf. nos. 20, 21, 22*, and 24) . . . . .	68
3.5 Law Case (no. 20) . . . . .	70
4. Texts . . . . .	71
5. Conclusion . . . . .	201
<b>Indices</b> . . . . .	205
1. Personal Names . . . . .	205
2. Officials and Professions . . . . .	226
3. Cities and Towns . . . . .	227
4. Watercourses . . . . .	228
5. Shrines . . . . .	228
6. Deities . . . . .	228
7. Miscellaneous Topographical Features . . . . .	229
<b>Bibliography</b> . . . . .	231



## List of Tables and Figures

### Tables

1	Place of Composition . . . . .	13
2	Orientation of Properties . . . . .	20
3	Access of Properties to Streets and Watercourses . . . . .	20
4	Size of Properties . . . . .	22
5	Details of Property Purchases . . . . .	25
6	Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Tābiya Family . . . . .	31
7	Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Sons of Aḥḥēšāya . . . . .	39
8	Properties Located in the Market Gate District Inside Uruk . . . . .	42
9	Properties Located in the Eanna District Inside Uruk . . . . .	45
10	Other Urban Properties . . . . .	49
11	Properties Located in the Ninurta Temple District Inside Uruk . . . . .	52
12	Comparison of Properties in Nos. 3 and 5 . . . . .	53
13	Properties Located Along the Royal Canal or in the District of the Royal Canal . . . . .	57
14	Comparison of Transactions Nos. 22* and 24 . . . . .	58
15	Properties Located Near the <i>Harīṣu</i> . . . . .	62
16	Properties Located in the District of the Išēti Canal (New Canal) . . . . .	65
17	Other Orchards and Arable Land . . . . .	65
18	Promissory Notes and Transfer of Debt . . . . .	68
19	Law Case . . . . .	70

### Figures

1	Tābiya and Basiya Families . . . . .	32
2	The Sons of Aḥḥēšāya . . . . .	39
3	Ruined House of Dumqāya, Descendant of Šullumāya (no. 6) . . . . .	45
4	House of Mukīn-zēri, Son of Aḥḥēšāya (nos. 12 and 13) . . . . .	46
5	Two Ruined Houses in the Eanna District (nos. 15 and 17) . . . . .	48
6	Empty House Plot of Nanāya-uballit, Son of Nabū-šuma-iškun, and Aplāya, Son of Dannāya (no. 10) . . . . .	50
7	The Šangū-Ninurta Family . . . . .	55
8	Orchard of Aḥḥēšāya, Son of Hašdiya (no. 11) . . . . .	56
9	Orchard of Aḥḥē, Son of Zabdānu (nos. 22* and 24) . . . . .	59
10	Orchard of Bēlšunu, Son of Aḥḥēšāya (no. 2*) . . . . .	63
11	Orchard of Bēl-uballit, Mukīn-zēri and Nabū-nāšir, Sons of Aḥḥēšāya (no. 23) . . . . .	67

## Catalogue of Texts

Text no.	Museum no.	Place of composition	Date
1	BM 118964	Uruk	23-IV – yr. 3 Esar. (678)
2*	BM 118965	Uruk	22- I – yr. 6 Esar. (675)
3	BM 118979	Uruk	23-VII – yr. 7 Esar. (674)
4 a <sup>1</sup>	BM 118970	Šapīya	5-VII – yr. 8 Esar. (673)
b	BM 118976		
5	BM 118972	Uruk	23-VII – yr. 8 Esar. (673)
6 a	BM 118975	Uruk	19-XII – acc. yr. Asb. (669)
b	BM 118969		
c	MAH 15976		
7	BM 118981	Uruk	18-X – yr. 1 Ššu (667)
8*	FLP 1288	Babylon	3-VIII – yr. 2 Ššu (666)
9*	BM 118986	Nuḫšanītu	28- I – yr. 5 Ššu (663)
10	BM 118984	Uruk	[?]-X – yr. 7 Ššu (661)
11	BM 118968	Ur	29-VI – yr. 8 Ššu (660)
12	BM 118967	Uruk	5-X – yr. 9 Ššu (659)
13 a	AO 10347	Uruk	9-VIII – yr. 10 Ššu (658)
b	AO 10318		
14 a	IM 57079	Uruk	10-VIII – yr. 10 Ššu (658)
b	BM 118966		
15 a	BM 118978	Ur	5-XI – yr. 10 Ššu (658)
b	BM 118971		
16	YBC 11413	Babylon	1-IX – yr. 12 Ššu (656)
17 a	BM 118985	Uruk	8-XII – yr. 12 Ššu (656)
b	BM 118988		
18 <sup>2</sup>	AO 10337	Babylon	10-III – yr. 14 Ššu (654)
19	BM 118980	Babylon	10[(+)-VIII – yr. 14 Ššu (654)
20	BM 118983	Babylon	26-VIII – yr. 15 Ššu (653)
21	NBC 4576	UD.[...]	[?]-[?] – yr. 16 Ššu (652)
22*	BM 118977	Borsippa	11-IV – yr. 18 Ššu (650)
23	BM 118973	Babylon	5-V – eponymy of Aqara
24	BM 118982	Ša-šuru-Adad	27-VIII – yr. 20 Asb. (649)
25	NBC 8392	[x.K]I <sup>2</sup>	11-VII – yr. 2 Kan. (646)
26	NBC 8393	Uruk	15-XII – yr. 15 Kan. (633)

<sup>1</sup> When a transaction is found recorded on more than one tablet, the tablet considered to be the main exemplar in this study is indicated by "a" (e.g., no. 4a = BM 118970) and the duplicate by "b" or "c" (e.g., no. 17b = BM 118988).

<sup>2</sup> Three different properties are purchased in this transaction. In order to differentiate among them in this study, the first (an orchard) will sometimes be referred to as 18-1, the second (an empty house plot) as 18-2, and the third (an arable field) as 18-3.

\* Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in this text.

# Index of Museum Numbers

Museum no.	Text no.	Museum no.	Text no.
AO 10318	13b	BM 118979 (1927-11-12,16)	3
AO 10337	18	BM 118980 (1927-11-12,17)	19
AO 10347	13a	BM 118981 (1927-11-12,18)	7
BM 118964 (1927-11-12,1)	1	BM 118982 (1927-11-12,19)	24
BM 118965 (1927-11-12,2)	2*	BM 118983 (1927-11-12,20)	20
BM 118966 (1927-11-12,3)	14b	BM 118984 (1927-11-12,21)	10
BM 118967 (1927-11-12,4)	12	BM 118985 (1927-11-12,22)	17a
BM 118968 (1927-11-12,5)	11	BM 118986 (1927-11-12,23)	9*
BM 118969 (1927-11-12,6)	6b	BM 118988 (1927-11-12,25)	17b
BM 118970 (1927-11-12,7)	4a	FLP 1288	8*
BM 118971 (1927-11-12,8)	15b	IM 57079	14a
BM 118972 (1927-11-12,9)	5	MAH 15976	6c
BM 118973 (1927-11-12,10)	23	NBC 4576	21
BM 118975 (1927-11-12,12)	6a	NBC 8392	25
BM 118976 (1927-11-12,13)	4b	NBC 8393	26
BM 118977 (1927-11-12,14)	22*	YBC 11413	16
BM 118978 (1927-11-12,15)	15a		

No. 15b (BM 118971) states that it was composed at Ur (ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI); the main exemplar, no. 15a (BM 118978), has erroneously <ŠEŠ>.UNUG.KI. See the commentary to no. 15 line 43, where it is argued that the transaction took place at Ur as opposed to Uruk (UNUG.KI).

## Previous Publications

Museum no.	Text no.	Publication (Copy and/or Edition)
AO 10318	13b	Contenau, TCL 12 10 (copy) Moore, <i>NBBAD</i> , pp. 12–13 no. 10 (edition)
AO 10337	18	Contenau, TCL 12 12 (copy) Moore, <i>NBBAD</i> , pp. 14–17 no. 12 (edition)
AO 10347	13a	Durand, <i>TBER</i> , pls. 33–34 (copy) Joannès, <i>TEBR</i> , pp. 287–90 no. 77 (edition)
BM 118973	23	Frame, <i>RA</i> 76 (1982): 157–166 (copy, edition)
IM 57079	14a	Figulla, UET 4 15 (copy) San Nicolò, <i>BR</i> 8/7, pp. 21–23 no. 11 (edition)
NBC 8392	25	Ellis, <i>JCS</i> 36 (1984): 38–39 no. 4 (copy)
NBC 8393	26	Ellis, <i>JCS</i> 36 (1984): 52 no. 17 (copy)

J. A. Brinkman and D. A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721–626 B.C." *JCS* 35 (1983): 1–90.

Text no.	B & K no.	Text no.	B & K no.	Text no.	B & K no.
1	I.5	9*	K.15	17a	K.64
2*	I.11	10	K.22	17b	K.65
3	I.19	11	K.28	18	K.79
4a	I.22	12	K.33	19	K.85
4b	I.23	13a	K.37	20	K.101
5	I.24	13b	K.36	21	—
6a	J.2	14a	K.38	22*	K.117
6b	J.3	14b	K.39	23	S.1
6c	J.4	15a	K.41	24	J.14
7	K.5	15b	K.42	25	L.4
8*	K.12	16	K.54	26	L.94

## Miscellaneous Abbreviations

Asb.	Ashurbanipal
Esar.	Esarhaddon
Kan.	Kandalānu
Ššu	Šamaš-šuma-ukīn
AO	signature for tablets in the Louvre, Paris
BM	signature for tablets in the British Museum, London
FLP	signature for tablets in the Free Library of Philadelphia
IM	signature for tablets in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
MAH	signature for tablets in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
MMA	signature for tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NBC	signature for tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, New Haven
O.	signature for tablets in the Musées Royaux du Cinquenaire, Brussels
VAT	signature for tablets in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
YBC	signature for tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
acc.	accession (year)
dup.	duplicate
yr.	year
DN	divine name
PN	personal name
*	is used to indicate texts treated in this study that do not mention Mušēzib-Marduk (nos. 2*, 8*, 9* and 22*).

## Dating of Transactions

In this study, each Babylonian year is given just one year equivalent according to the Julian calendar even though it would have actually comprised parts of two Julian years since the ancient year began around the time of the vernal equinox. Thus, for example, no. 6 was composed in the twelfth month of Ashurbanipal's accession year and that transaction is said here to have occurred in 669. Actually it would have occurred in February or March of the following Julian year, 668 BC. Days are cited in Arabic numerals and months in Roman numerals, in the order in which they occurred in the Babylonian year. Thus, 29-VI-660 stands for the twenty-ninth day of the month Ulūlu in the year 660 BC. The Babylonian months are as follows:

I Nisannu	March-April	VII Tašrītu	September-October
II Ayyāru	April-May	VIII Araḥsamna	October-November
III Simānu	May-June	IX Kislīmu	November-December
IV Dūzu, Du'ūzu	June-July	X Ṭebētu	December-January
V Abu	July-August	XI Šabātu	January-February
VI Ulūlu	August-September	XII Addaru	February-March
VI <sub>2</sub> Intercalary Ulūlu		XII <sub>2</sub> Intercalary Addaru	

For an attempt to provide an exact correlation between ancient dates and Julian dates before the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, see Parpola, *LAS* 2, pp. 382–383 for the years 681–648 (reign of Esarhaddon and the first part of the reign of Ashurbanipal) and Walker in Swerdlow, *Ancient Astronomy*, pp. 69–71 for 646–634 (most of the reign of Kandalanu).

## Bibliographic Abbreviations

- ABL** Harper, R. F. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the K(ouyunjik) Collection(s) of the British Museum*. 14 volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892–1914.
- ADOG** Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- Afo** *Archiv für Orientforschung*
- AnOr** *Analecta Orientalia*
- AnOr 8 and 9** Pohl, A. *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*. 2 volumes. AnOr 8 and 9. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1933–34.
- AnOr 12** *Miscellanea orientalia dedicata Antonio Deimel annos LXX complenti*. AnOr 12. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1935.
- AOAT** *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
- AoF** *Altorientalische Forschungen*
- Armstrong, Nippur** Armstrong, J. A. "The Archaeology of Nippur from the Decline of the Kassite Kingdom until the Rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire." Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989.
- AuOr** *Aula Orientalis*
- AUWE** *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte*
- B & K** Brinkman, J. A. and D. A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721–626 B.C." *JCS* 35 (1983): 1–90.
- Bagh. Mitt.** *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
- Baker, Nappāhu** Baker, H. D. *The Archive of the Nappāhu Family*. *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* 30. Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2004.
- Baker and Jursa, Approaching the Babylonian Economy** Baker, H. D. and M. Jursa, eds. *Approaching the Babylonian Economy. Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1–3 July 2004*. AOAT 330. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.
- BE** The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts.
- BE 8/1** Clay, A. T. *Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods Chiefly from Nippur*. BE 8/1. Philadelphia: Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1908.
- Beaulieu, CBCY 1** Beaulieu, P.-A. *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection*. Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1994.
- Beaulieu, Pantheon** Beaulieu, P.-A. *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Cuneiform Monographs 23. Leiden: Brill / Styx, 2003.
- BiOr** *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
- Bongenaar, Ebabbar** Bongenaar, A. C. V. M. *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 80. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997.
- Borger, BIWA** Borger, R. *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Fuchs. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.
- Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon** Borger, R. *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*. AOAT 305. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004.
- Brinkman, Prelude** Brinkman, J. A. *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747–626 B.C.* Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7. Philadelphia, 1984.
- BRM** Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan.
- BRM 1** Clay, A. T. *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.* BRM 1. New York: n.p., 1912.
- Brosius, Ancient Archives** Brosius, M., ed. *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- BSA** *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*

- CAD Gelb, I.J., et al., eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–.
- CDA Black, J., A. George, and N. Postgate, eds. *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2<sup>nd</sup> (corrected) printing. SANTAG 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.
- Cocquerillat, *Palmeriaies* Cocquerillat, D. *Palmeriaies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559–520)*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 8. Berlin: Mann, 1968.
- Cole and Machinist, SAA 13 Cole, S.W., and P. Machinist. *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. SAA 13. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998.
- CRRA 30 Veenhof, K.R., ed. *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 57. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986.
- CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
- Durand, *TBER* Durand, J.-M. *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Cahier 6. Paris: Éditions A.D.P.F., 1981.
- Essays Emerton* Day, J., R.P. Gordon, and H.G.M. Williamson, eds. *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Falkenstein, *Topographie* Falkenstein, A. *Topographie von Uruk. I Teil: Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 3. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1941.
- Festschrift Haase* Hengstl, J., and U. Sick, eds. *Recht gestern und heute. Festschrift zum 85. Geburtstag von Richard Haase*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.
- Festschrift Walker* Wunsch, C., ed. *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*. Babylonische Archive 1. Dresden: ISLET, 2002.
- Frame, *Babylonia 689–627* Frame, G. *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 69. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1992.
- FuB* *Forschungen und Berichte*
- George, *House Most High* George, A.R. *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 5. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993.
- Grayson, *Chronicles* Grayson, A.K. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5. Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1975.
- Hackl, *Subordinierte Satz* Hackl, J. *Der subordinierte Satz in den spätbabylonischen Briefen*. AOAT 341. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007.
- Hieroglyphen* Borchers, D., F. Kammerzell, and S. Weninger, eds. *Hieroglyphen, Alphabete, Schriftreformen. Studien zu Multilateralismus, Schriftwechsel und Orthographieneuregelungen*. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2001.
- Hölscher, *Personennamen* Hölscher, M. *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*. Imgula 1. Münster: Rhema, 1996.
- IOS Israel Oriental Studies.
- IOS 18 Isre'el, S., I. Singer, and R. Zadok, eds. *Past Links: Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*. Israel Oriental Studies 18. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998.
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*.
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- Joannès, *Borsippa* Joannès, F. *Archives de Borsippa: La famille Ea-ilūta-bāni. Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* Hautes Études Orientales 25. Geneva: Droz, 1989.
- Joannès, *TEBR* Joannès, F. *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente (Étude des textes de TBER - Cahier n° 6)*. Recherche sur les civilisations, Cahier 5. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982.
- Johansen, *Gudea* Johansen, F. *Statues of Gudea: Ancient and Modern*. With a chapter by B. Alster. Mesopotamia 6. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1978.



- Jursa, *Bēl-rēmanni* Jursa, M. *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmanni*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 86. Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1999.
- Jursa, *Guide* Jursa, M. *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives*. Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.
- Jursa, *Sippar* Jursa, M. *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 25. Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1995.
- Kessler, AUWE 8 Kessler, K. *Uruk. Urkunden aus Privathäusern. Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs. Teil 1: Die Archive der Söhne des Bēl-ušallim, des Nabū-ušallim und des Bēl-supē-muhur*. AUWE 8. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991.
- Kümmel, *Familie* Kümmel, H. M. *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*. ADOG 20. Berlin: Mann, 1979.
- Landsberger, *Brief* Landsberger, B. *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965.
- Leichty, *Sippar 3* Leichty, E., J. J. Finkelstein and C. B. F. Walker. *Tablets from Sippar 3*. Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 8. London: British Museum Publications, 1988.
- Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography* Liverani, M., ed. *Neo-Assyrian Geography*. Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5. Rome: Studium Urbis, 1995.
- Luckenbill, OIP 2 Luckenbill, D. D. *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Oriental Institute Publications 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.
- Miglus, *Wohnarchitektur* Miglus, P. *Städtische Wohnarchitektur in Babylonien und Assyrien*. Baghdader Forschungen 22. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999.
- Millard, SAAS 2 Millard, A. *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910–612 BC*. With a contribution by R. Whiting. SAAS 2. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1994.
- Moldenke, *CTMMA* Moldenke, A. B. *Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. 2 vols. New York: 1893.
- Moore, *NBBAD* Moore, E. W. *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents with Transliteration, Translation and Notes*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935.
- NABU* *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*.
- Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants* Nielsen, J. P. *Sons and Descendants: A Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 43. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011.
- OECT Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts.
- OECT 10 McEwan, G. J. P. *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*. OECT 10. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- OECT 12 Joannès, F. *Les tablettes néo-babyloniennes de la Bodleian Library conservées à l'Ashmolean Museum*. OECT 12. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications.
- Or NS* *Orientalia*, Nova Series.
- OrAnt* *Oriens Antiquus*.
- Parpola, *LAS* Parpola, S. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*. 2 vols. AOAT 5. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag, 1983.
- Parpola, *SAA 9* Parpola, S. *Assyrian Prophecies*. SAA 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997.
- Pedersén, *Archives* Pedersén, O. *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1998.
- Pedersén, *Babylon* Pedersén, O. *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon. Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldewey 1899–1917*. ADOG 25. Saarbrücken: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag, 2005.
- Petschow, *Kaufformulare* Petschow, H. *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare*. Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 118. Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1939.

- Petschow, *Pfandrecht* Petschow, H. *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse 48/1. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956.
- PIHANS Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul.
- PNA Radner, K., ed. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–.
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*.
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*.
- Reynolds, SAA 18 Reynolds, F. *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. SAA 18. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003.
- RIMB Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods.
- RIMB 2 Frame, G. *Rulers of Babylonia From the Second Dynasty of Isin To the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- RLA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.
- Roth, *Marriage Agreements* Roth, M.T. *Babylonian Marriage Agreements, 7th–3rd Centuries B.C.* AOAT 222. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989.
- SAA State Archives of Assyria.
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies.
- San Nicolò, BR 8/7 San Nicolò, M. *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. und des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge 34. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1951.
- Sassmannshausen, *Beiträge* Sassmannshausen, L. *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*. Baghdader Forschungen 21. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2001.
- Shiff, *Nūr-Sin* Shiff, L.B. "The Nūr-Sin Archive: Private Entrepreneurship in Babylon (603–507 B.C.)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.
- Smith, *MAT* Smith, S.A. *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts of the British Museum with Textual Notes*. Leipzig: Edward Pfeiffer, 1887.
- von Soden, *AHW* von Soden, W. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–81.
- Spar and von Dassow, *CTMMA 3* Spar, I., and E. von Dassow. *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Vol. 3: *Private Archival Texts from the First Millennium B.C.* With contributions by J.N. Postgate and L.B. Bregstein. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Brepols, 2000.
- Speleers, *Recueil* Speleers, L. *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Brussels: Vanderpoorten et C<sup>o</sup>, 1925.
- Stamm, *Namengebung* Stamm, J.J. *Die akkadische Namengebung*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft 44. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939.
- Starr, SAA 4 Starr, I. *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. SAA 4. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.
- Stolper, *Entrepreneurs* Stolper, M.W. *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 54. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985.
- Strassmaier, *Cyrus* Strassmaier, J.N. *Inscriptionen von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.)*. Babylonische Texte 7. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1890.
- Strassmaier, *Darius* Strassmaier, J.N. *Inscriptionen von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)*. Babylonische Texte 10. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1892.
- Streck, *Asb.* Streck, M. *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninivehs*. 3 volumes. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916.
- Studies Diakonoff* [Dandamayev, M.A. et al., eds.] *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982.

- Studies Hallo* Cohen, M.E., D.C. Snell, and D.B. Weisberg, eds. *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993.
- Studies Lambert* George, A.R., and I.L. Finkel, eds. *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.
- Studies Leichty* Guinan, A.K., et al., eds. *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*. Cuneiform Monographs 31. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Studies Levine* Chazan, R., W.W. Hallo and L.H. Schiffman, eds. *Ki Baruch Hu. Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999.
- Studies Sjöberg* Behrens, H., D. Loding, and M.T. Roth. *dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11. Philadelphia: Babylonian Section, University Museum, 1989.
- Swordlow, Ancient Astronomy* Swordlow, N.M., ed. *Ancient Astronomy and Celestial Divination*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.
- Tadmor, Tigl. III* Tadmor, H. *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994.
- Tallqvist, NBN* Tallqvist, K. L. *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Samsarsumukin bis Xerxes*. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 32/2. Helsinki, 1902.
- TCL* Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales.
- TCL 12* Contenau, G. *Contrats néo-babyloniens*. Volume 1: *De Téglat-phalasar III à Nabonide*. TCL 12. Paris: Geuthner, 1927.
- TuM* Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena.
- TuM 2/3* Krückmann, O. *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte*. TuM 2–3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933.
- UET* Ur Excavations, Texts.
- UET 4* Figulla, H. H. *Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia to Mesopotamia. Ur Excavations, Texts 4. London: Trustees of the Two Museums, 1949.
- Ungnad, Glossar* Ungnad, A. *Glossar*. Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte, Beiheft zu Band 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937.
- UVB* Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka.
- UVB 12–13* Lenzen, H. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Winter 1953/54 · Winter 1954/55*. Mit Beiträgen von A. Falkenstein and W. Ludwig. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Berlin: Mann, 1956.
- VAS* Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
- VAS 4* Ungnad, A. *Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft 4*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907.
- VAS 5* Ungnad, A. *Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft 5*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908.
- von Weiher, AUWE 12* von Weiher, E. *Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18. Teil IV*. AUWE 12. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993.
- Weisberg, OIP 122* Weisberg, D.B. *Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Oriental Institute Collection*. OIP 122. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2003.
- WO* *Die Welt des Orients*.
- Wright, Larsa* Wright, P.H. "The City of Larsa in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Study of Urban and Intercity Relations in Antiquity." Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, 1994.
- Wunsch, Egibi* Wunsch, C. *Das Egibi Archiv*. 2 vols. Cuneiform Monographs 20A–B. Groningen: Styx, 2000.

- Wunsch, *Urkunden* Wunsch, C. *Urkunden zum Ehe-, Vermögens- und Erbrecht aus verschiedenen neubabylonischen Archiven*. Babylonische Archive 2. Dresden: ISLET, 2003.
- WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
- YOS Yale Oriental Studies, Babylonian Texts.
- YOS 6 Dougherty, R. P. *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.)*. YOS 6. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.
- YOS 7 Tremayne, A. *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses (538–521 B.C.)*. YOS 7. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.
- YOS 19 Beaulieu, P.-A. *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus*. YOS 19. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*.
- Zadok, *On West Semites* Zadok, R. *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study*. Jerusalem: H.J. & Z. Wanaarta and Tel-Aviv University, 1977.
- Zadok, Rep. géogr. 8 Zadok, R. *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*. Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1985.

## 1. Introduction

Over the past twenty to thirty years, there has been a great revival of interest among Assyriologists in the legal and administrative texts from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, including both those derived from private contexts and those from state and temple contexts. As a result, numerous studies have appeared by such scholars as Kathleen Abrahams, Heather D. Baker, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, A.C.V. M. Bongenaar, Muhammad A. Dandamaev, Rocío da Riva, Eva von Dassow, G. van Driel, Erlend Gehlken, Bojana Janković, Francis Joannès, Michael Jursa, Karlheinz Kessler, John MacGinnis, Martha T. Roth, Ronald H. Sack, Matthew W. Stolper, Caroline Waerzeggers, David Weisberg, Cornelia Wunsch, Ran Zadok, and Stefan Zawadzki, among others. This revival was spurred in large part by the publication of two British Museum trilogies in the 1980s: three volumes of copies of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid tablets in the British Museum made by Theophilus G. Pinches in 1892–94 were published in 1982<sup>1</sup>; and a three-volume catalogue of Sippar tablets in the British Museum by Erle Leichty (with the aid of several other scholars) that included a number of unpublished economic texts from this period appeared in 1986–88.<sup>2</sup> These publications made a vast number of Neo-Babylonian economic texts known to the scholarly world and reminded Assyriologists that this neglected area could provide a great deal of important new information on the economy, daily life, social structure, religion, and political events in southern Mesopotamia around the middle of the first millennium BC.

Many recent studies have treated whole or parts of large family archives (e.g., those of the Egibi family and of Murašû and his descendants) or of large general topics (e.g., agriculture at Sippar, the officials of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar, and the pantheon of Uruk) from the time of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian dynasties (625–330 BC); although, it must be noted that the number of tablets drops off dramatically after the first quarter of the fifth century. In contrast, the present study will examine a much more limited topic: the small private archive of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu<sup>3</sup> and descendant of Šin-nāšir, who was active around the middle of the seventh century when

<sup>1</sup> T. G. Pinches, *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*, 3 volumes (CT 55–57) (London: British Museum Publications, 1982). The copies made by Pinches in the late nineteenth century were prepared for publication in these volumes by I. L. Finkel.

<sup>2</sup> E. Leichty, *Tablets from Sippar 1* (Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 6) (London: British Museum Publications, 1986); E. Leichty and A. K. Grayson, *Tablets from Sippar 2* (Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 7) (London: British Museum Publications, 1987); and E. Leichty, J. J. Finkelstein and C. B. F. Walker, *Tablets from Sippar 3* (Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 8) (London: British Museum Publications, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> On one occasion the paternal name may have been given in a fuller form, Kiribtu-Marduk (no. 19:12 [DUMU-šū šā m<sup>ki</sup>-rib]-ti-š<sup>AMAR.UTU</sup>).

Babylonia lay under Assyrian domination and immediately before the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian empire.<sup>4</sup> This archive comes from the end of what is sometimes called the "Early Neo-Babylonian Period," a nebulous term used to describe Babylonia during the period ca. 800–626. Very few economic texts from Babylonia that date to the period from the end of the Kassite dynasty in the mid-twelfth century until the middle of the eighth century are known to scholars. From 800 until Nabopolassar ascended the throne of Babylon in 626 and ushered in a new age in Babylonia's political history, about seven hundred such tablets are attested<sup>5</sup>; however, most of these cannot be proven to come from any particular archival collection. As is well known, the number of tablets increases dramatically after 626. As of 1984, about thirteen thousand legal and administrative tablets from the period 625–331 had been published in some form.<sup>6</sup> The archive of Mušēzib-Marduk comprises only thirty-three tablets, recording twenty-six transactions, and is thus far smaller than many of the later archives. Nevertheless, it is important in its own right for shedding light on the mid-seventh century.

For the seventh century before the end of Assyrian domination, only five private archives of even moderate size are currently known. A brief description of each of these follows:

(1) *Archive of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Lē'ēa — Babylon, 719–628*

German excavators discovered approximately forty-nine tablets in two clay pots in a private house located in the Merkes quarter of Babylon. Most of these are now found in Berlin's Vorderasiatisches Museum. The transactions recorded date to the period 719–628. This archive has only been partially published: L. Jakob-Rost, "Ein neubabylonisches Tontafelarchiv aus dem 7. Jahrhundert v.u.Z.," *FuB* 10 (1968): 39–62 and "Urkunden des 7. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z. aus Babylon," *FuB* 12 (1970): 49–60, esp. p. 58 no. 11. Most of the transactions recorded are debt notes for silver. Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Lē'ēa (or Ingal-lē'ēa), the owner of the archive, is the creditor in most of the more recent texts, appearing in transactions composed between 662 and 628.<sup>7</sup>

(2) *Archive of Ninurta-uballit, son of Bēl-usāti — Nippur, 710–ca. 624*

Twenty-eight tablets were found at Nippur in what was likely a pit in area TA during the second season of excavations conducted by the Oriental Institute of the University

<sup>4</sup> Papers based upon the author's preliminary work upon the archive were read at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Heidelberg in 1992 (paper read for him by R. F. G. Sweet) and at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society at Chapel Hill in 1993.

<sup>5</sup> See Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 1–90 and 38 (1988): 99–106. Most of these texts remain unpublished and/or unedited. Although the author has attempted to examine all the texts from the time period relevant to the archive published here for purposes of comparison, he can make no claim to have examined every single one of them or to have noted every appearance of an individual mentioned in this archive in the other texts.

<sup>6</sup> See Jursa, *Guide*, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> See Jursa, *Guide*, p. 60 no. 7.1.1.1; Pedersén, *Archives*, p. 186 "Babylon 12"; and in particular Pedersén, *Babylon*, pp. 203–208 "N11." The author was able to examine a number of the published and unpublished texts from this archive in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in 1978 through the courtesy of Dr. Jakob-Rost.



of Chicago. The tablets are currently housed in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. It is not certain that all of the tablets come from one archive, but most transactions involve in some way Ninurta-uballiṭ or his father Bēl-usāti, son of Marduk(a). All but three date between 651 (eighteenth year of Ashurbanipal) and ca. 624 (third year of Sîn-šarra-iškun); the exceptions were composed in 710, 703 and likely 686 respectively. Neither Ninurta-uballiṭ nor Bēl-usāti appears in the texts composed in 710 and 686, but Bēl-usāti was the purchaser of a house located at Cutha that was sold in the transaction drawn up in 703 (IM 57904 = 2 NT 284). Among the transactions are one letter and several real estate documents, promissory notes, and several contracts recording the purchase of young girls from their parents who were selling them because of extreme hardship brought about by the siege of the city. A. Leo Oppenheim published a number of these texts in "Siege-Documents' from Nippur," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 69–89.<sup>8</sup>

- (3) *Archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Erība-Marduk and descendant of Egibi — [Dilbat?], 701–ca. 626*

The collections of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the Louvre in Paris include seventeen tablets that appear to come from the archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, son of Erība-Marduk (abbrev. Bammāya) and descendant of Egibi. These seventeen tablets include some duplicates and retroacts. The transactions involving Marduk-šāpik-zēri date from the twentieth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (648) until the accession year of Sîn-šumu-līšir (626?), but the retroacts date as far back as the second year of Bēl-ibni (701). The archive is mostly made up of title deeds for real estate; yet one promissory note and two copies of a transaction involving the prebend of a temple-enterer in *é-im-bi-a-num* (the temple of Uraš at Dilbat) are included. Although a few more transactions in this archive were concluded at Babylon than at Dilbat, the focus of activity was clearly at the latter city. One text was also drawn up at Borsippa. Copies of most of the texts in the archive are found in G.J.P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (OECT 10) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) and M. deJong Ellis, "Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *JCS* 36 (1984): 1–63.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 115 no. 7.10.2.6; Pedersén, *Archives*, p. 198 "Nippur 6"; J.A. Armstrong, "The Archaeology of Nippur from the Decline of the Kassite Kingdom until the Rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire" (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989), p. 155. The tablets in this archive were found on January 8, 1950 (information courtesy of R. Zetler). The author was able to examine casts of most of these texts in the Oriental Institute in the late 1970s with the permission of J.A. Brinkman and many of the original tablets in the Iraq Museum in 1982 with the permission of McG. Gibson.

<sup>9</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 100–101 no. 7.4.3. Jursa indicates that the archive ends in the nineteenth year of Kandalānu (= 629), but Marduk-šāpik-zēri is also attested in Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 61–62 no. 24 and OECT 10 400, texts composed at Babylon in the accession year of Sîn-šarra-iškun and in the [accession [year] of Sîn-šumu-[līšir] ([MUSAG.NAM.LUG]AL.E md30-MU-[S1.SĀ x (x)], line 41) respectively. In both texts the paternal name is abbreviated to Bammāya and in the latter text Marduk-šāpik-zēri is shortened to Šāpik-zēri.

(4) *Archive of the Šamšēa Family — Uruk, 700–593*

Thirty-two tablets were found in a pot in a private house at Uruk southwest of the Eanna temple. The transactions recorded date from the accession year of Aššur-nādin-šumi (700) until at least the twelfth regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar II (593), though most come from the period 631–593. They involve several members of the Šamšēa family, in particular Nabû-ušallim son of Bēl-iddin, his son Marduk-nāšir, and his grandson Nabû-šumu-lišir. For the most part, the transactions are the sale of prebends and real estate, and it is clear from them that members of the family were prebendary bakers in the Eanna complex at Uruk. These texts have been published by H. Hunger in “Das Archiv des Nabû-ušallim,” *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 193–305, and by K. Kessler in *Uruk. Urkunden aus Privathäusern. Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna Tempelbereichs. Teil 1: Die Archive der Söhne des Bēl-ušallim, des Nabû-ušallim und des Bēl-supê-muḫur* (AUWE 8) (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), pp. 55–62.<sup>10</sup>

(5) *Archive of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu and descendant of Šin-nāšir — [Uruk?], 678–633*

This archive is the subject of the current study and dates from the third year of Esarhaddon (678) to probably the fifteenth year of Kandalānu (633). It is considered here to comprise thirty-three tablets that record twenty-six separate transactions, mostly the purchase of real estate, but also a few promissory notes and one legal proceeding. Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in four of these transactions, but it is argued below that these additional texts belong to this group and are retroacts. One of the thirty-three tablets may have been found during Sir Leonard Woolley’s excavations at Ur, but the original provenance of the remaining tablets is not known. About half of the transactions were concluded at Uruk and almost all the properties sold in the transactions were located in or near that city. Copies of seven tablets, recording six transactions, have already been published by various scholars, the earliest in 1927 by G. Contenau, and editions of five of these have previously appeared in print.<sup>11</sup>

A number of smaller private archives from the period of Assyrian control over Babylonia have also been identified<sup>12</sup> and a few texts from the large Ea-ilūta-bani archive

<sup>10</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 148 no. 7.13.3.6; Pedersén, *Archives*, p. 210 “Uruk 5”.

<sup>11</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 146 no. 7.13.2.11. Jursa prefers to call this group of texts the “Šin-nāšir archive,” after the family/ancestral name. Since not a single relative of Mušēzib-Marduk can be identified as taking a part in any of these texts (whether actively involved in a transaction or being a witness to one), the author prefers to call it the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk. For the previous publication of texts in this archive, see p. xiv.

<sup>12</sup> For these smaller archives, some of which extend into the time of the Neo-Babylonian period itself, see in particular Jursa, *Guide*, p. 72 no. 7.1.2.12 (archive of Šumāya from Babylon); p. 80 no. 7.2.3.3 (Banē-ša-ilia archive from Borsippa); p. 101 nos. 7.4.4 and 7.4.5 (Šangū-Dilbat and Upāqu archives from Dilbat); p. 101 no. 7.5.1 (archive of Nabû-ušallim/Gilua from Dūr-Šarrukku); p. 133 no. 7.12.1.1 (archive of Damqia from Ur); p. 137 no. 7.12.2.1 (from Ur); and note p. 150 no. 7.14.1.3 (an institutional archive comprised of thirty tablets dating to the period ca. 751–734).



date to this period, but this latter group is primarily from the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, though it stretches from 687 to (probably) the first regnal year of Xerxes.<sup>13</sup>

Of the five groups of tablets described above, three are real archives; their provenances are known. The documents in archives 1 and 3 were found stored in clay vessels and those in archive 2 were found together, most likely in a pit where they had been discarded as rubbish at a later point in time.<sup>14</sup> The archives of Marduk-šāpik-zēri and Mušēzib-Marduk (3 and 5), however, are modern reconstructions, made up of texts thought to form a group based not upon their archaeological provenance, but rather upon other grounds (usually prosopographical evidence). The archives of Bēl-ušallim and Ninurta-uballit come from Babylon and Nippur respectively, while that of Marduk-šāpik-zēri likely comes from Dilbat, or possibly Babylon. The archive of Šamšēa was found at Uruk, as may have been that of Mušēzib-Marduk. The archive of Mušēzib-Marduk is distinct from that of Šamšēa in that its chronological scope is limited completely to the period of Assyrian domination. Moreover, unlike the Šamšēa archive, and indeed most other archives from Uruk during the following Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, it has no clear connection to the Eanna complex.<sup>15</sup> The archive of Bēl-ušallim (in as far as it is known) includes mostly debt notes from Babylon, while that of Mušēzib-Marduk is comprised mostly of texts recording the purchase of real estate located at Uruk. The archive most comparable to that of Mušēzib-Marduk is the one of Marduk-šāpik-zēri of the Egibi family; although the latter archive is only about half the size of the former. Both are modern reconstructions, and both include some retroacts and duplicates. The two archives are mostly comprised of real estate transactions.<sup>16</sup> Few of those transactions in the archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri are simple purchase documents while most of them in the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk are. The archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri includes transactions drawn up at three different locations, while those of Mušēzib-Marduk's archive are from at least eight different locations; both include a number transactions drawn up at Babylon. Moreover, each of the two archives includes one particularly interesting and complex dossier involving retroacts. For the archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, the dossier involves orchards located along the Lā-gamāl canal formerly owned by members of the Basiya family. For the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk, the dossier involves

<sup>13</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 77–79 no. 7.2.2.1; Joannès, *Borsippa*; and note text 9, commentary to line 2.

<sup>14</sup> For the provenance of archive 2 at Nippur, see Armstrong, *Nippur*, p. 155: "... indicating the presence of a very large pit coming down from a higher (probably Achaemenid) level. It is most likely that these documents were resting in that pit and were not buried in a small hole. At the time of deposition, then, they were probably regarded as rubbish, not important documents which needed to be hidden for safekeeping."

<sup>15</sup> *I.e.*, they are either known to have been found within the Eanna precincts or show clear connections to the Eanna temple (*e.g.*, by dealing with prebends in that temple or by involving property owned by it or individuals employed by it). See Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 138–149 no. 7.13 for information on the various known archives from Uruk. For a possible connection of Mušēzib-Marduk to the Eanna temple, see § 3.3.1.2.

<sup>16</sup> For the importance of land ownership in ancient societies, see B. Haring and R. de Maaijer, eds., *Landless and Hungry? Access to Land in Early and Traditional Societies* (CNWS Publications 67) (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1998).

his dealings with the Ṭābiya family.<sup>17</sup> As already mentioned, one of the interesting features of the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk is its (apparent) lack of connection to the Eanna complex (or indeed any temple complex). The archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, however, includes one transaction indicating that Marduk-šāpik-zēri owned at least one prebend in the Eimbianu temple at Dilbat.<sup>18</sup>

Four of these archives appear to end around the same time: that of Mušēzib-Marduk in 633, that of Bēl-ušallim in 628, that of Marduk-šāpik-zēri ca. 626, and that of Ninurta-uballiṣ ca. 624. The end of the recorded activity of each of these individuals may well be connected in some way to the unstable conditions prevailing in Babylonia around the time of the deaths of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal and the Babylonian ruler Kandalānu (in ca. 631 and 627 respectively), and during the period Nabopolassar fought to expel Assyrian troops from southern Mesopotamia and to consolidate all of Babylonia under his own control (beginning by 626).

<sup>17</sup> For these dossiers, see Jursa, "Economic Change and Legal Innovation: On Aspects of Commercial Interaction and Land Tenure in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC" in *I diritti del mondo cuneiforme (Mesopotamia e regioni adiacenti ca. 2500–500 a.C.)*, ed. M. Liverani and C. Mora (Pavia: IUSS Press, 2008), pp. 605–606 and § 3.1 below respectively.

<sup>18</sup> OECT 10 398 and duplicate Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 54–55 no. 19.

## 2. The Archive of Mušēzib-Marduk

### 2.1 Reconstructing the Archive

It is not the author's intention to define the term "archive." Nor is it his intention to argue whether or not this term should be used for groups of tablets of unknown provenance—such as the one studied in this monograph—that are thought by some modern scholar to form the archive of one individual, family or institution based upon various internal criteria (in particular prosopography, place of composition, date, type of transaction, toponymy, palaeography, orthography, lexicon, and physical characteristics). From the point of view of modern archival science, it certainly should not.<sup>19</sup> Strictly speaking, an archive should be determined solely upon the provenance of the items in it, and none of the tablets studied here has a known provenance.<sup>20</sup> These matters have been discussed in recent Assyriological literature; among the various discussions we may note in particular:

K. R. Veenhof, "Cuneiform Archives. An Introduction" in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*, edited by K. R. Veenhof (PIHANS 57) (Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986), pp. 1–36.

M. Maidman, *BiOr* 49 (1992): 153–161, esp. 154–160 (review of J. N. Postgate, *The Archive of Urad-Šerūa and his Family*).

E. von Dassow, "Archival Documents of Borsippa Families," *AuOr* 12 (1994): 105–120, esp. 108–111 (review article of F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: La famille Ea-ilūta-bānī*).

H. D. Baker, *The Archive of the Nappāhu Family* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 30) (Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2004), pp. 5–6.

Maidman, in particular, correctly points out the problems with using the term "archive" for a group of documents with no archaeological provenance. Nevertheless, Michael Jursa states in his recent guide to Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative documents: "Archival science offers sophisticated terminology and concepts ... whose practical usefulness for Assyriological purposes is however often somewhat limited. 'Archives' are culturally determined entities and not governed by universal principles."<sup>21</sup> The archive of Mušēzib-Marduk as reconstructed here is certainly an incomplete one and may include some tablets that were not found in the ground with the others, assuming that any of

<sup>19</sup> For this, the author offers his apologies to his teachers in archival studies at the Faculty of Information Studies of the University of Toronto, Drs. Barbara Craig and Wendy Duff.

<sup>20</sup> With the possible exception of IM 57079 (no. 14a), but this matter is discussed below.

<sup>21</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 57 n. 350.

them were indeed found together. However, it is the author's contention that most, if not all, of the texts edited in this volume were probably found together by illegal diggers and that it is useful to consider them as a group. Even the true archives of Bēl-ušallim and Šamsēa found together in clay pots by modern archaeologists (see above, §1) will likely have comprised only a portion of those individuals'/families' original archives. In her study of the Nappāhu family, Heather D. Baker presents a useful chart detailing what was originally written in an "archive" and what we now both have and lack; it is illuminating and thought-provoking, but also depressing.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, the texts assembled here and presumed to come from the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk (or at least to be related to his business activities in some way) will undoubtedly have comprised only a small percentage of the documents originally produced for, or at times belonging to, Mušēzib-Marduk; thus all conclusions about the general nature of his activities based upon these texts must be considered to be merely provisional.

The documents studied here were selected from among the documents known to the author from the period in question based upon their meeting one or more of the following criteria:

- (a) Mušēzib-Marduk is involved in the transaction recorded (nos. 1, 3–7, 10–21 and 23–26)<sup>23</sup>
- (b) Although Mušēzib-Marduk is not mentioned in the transaction, it deals in some manner with property that was later acquired by Mušēzib-Marduk (nos. 8\* and 22\*)<sup>24</sup>
- (c) The text is found in the British Museum registration series 1927–12–10<sup>25</sup> and dates to the period of Mušēzib-Marduk's activity, or is a duplicate of one that does (nos. 1, 2\*, 3–7, 9\*, 10–12, 14–15, 17, 19–20, 22\*, and 23–24).

These texts are in general similar in form, script and content; however, many of the tablets may be later copies. It seems likely that nos. 2\*, 8\*, 9\* and 22\*, the texts that do not involve Mušēzib-Marduk in the transactions recorded in any way, are retroacts, documents given to him when he later acquired the properties mentioned in those texts. This was done in order to prevent them from being used by anyone in the future to make a claim against his ownership of the properties in question; certainly this can be argued convincingly for no. 8\* (see below, § 3.1, Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Tābiya family) and no. 22\* (see below, § 3.3.2.2, in connection with property located

<sup>22</sup> Baker, *Nappāhu*, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> In no. 24 the name Mušēzib-Marduk is only partially preserved and no paternal/ancestral name is given; and in no. 25, the reading of the paternal/ancestral name of the Mušēzib-Marduk involved in the text is only partially preserved. Since these texts are among the latest ones in the archive and since one of them (no. 25) is not part of the 1927–12–10 registration group, their assignment to this archive is less certain than that of the others; however, the transactions recorded in these texts fit well with the others in the group (see below).

<sup>24</sup> Four transactions that do not mention Mušēzib-Marduk are included in this study; the numbers of these texts are followed by an asterisk (nos. 2\*, 8\*, 9\*, and 22\*).

<sup>25</sup> The collection was acquired by the British Museum from I. E. Gélou and it is known that he also supplied tablets to at least two other collections that also have tablets studied here (Louvre and Yale Babylonian Collection); see below, § 2.2.

along the royal canal). The reasons for the inclusion of nos. 2\* and 9\* in this group are discussed in detail below (no. 2\* with those texts dealing with orchards located near the *ḥariṣu*, “ditch/moat,” § 3.3.2.3, and no. 9\* with Mušēzib-Marduk’s involvement with the Tābiya family, § 3.1). It is suggested there that these are retroacts, but these suggestions are just that, (unproven) suggestions. It is quite possible that they were never in his possession. Nevertheless, it seems best to examine them together with the other documents clearly related to him. In order to make them stand out from the other documents, they are always cited with an asterisk.

It should be noted that Mušēzib-Marduk is mentioned in no other text known to the author, even as a witness. In addition, no individual who was clearly a member of his immediate family or closely related to him in some way appears in these texts or, as far as the author is aware, in any other text.

Jursa considers the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk to be a “live” archive. By this he means that the archive was “found more or less just as the archive holder last used it. This would normally mean that the ‘life’ of the archive (and conceivably that of the archive holder too) was interrupted by a catastrophic event. Such archives are recognisable by a high percentage of title deeds, especially for real estate and prebends, that is possessions of continuing value.”<sup>26</sup> He would contrast it with “dead” archives that are “groups of documents which have been selected by the archive holder(s) as being of no or no immediate importance. Such archives could be stored for safe-keeping and/or further reference, they could be simply left behind when the archive holders had to quit their habitation for some reason or other, or they could be discarded (and subsequently put to secondary use, for example as fill). The decisive diagnostic criterion for the recognition of such archives is the (near-)total absence of title deeds for real estate and prebends, and to a lesser extent that of family documents, especially for the final archive-holding generation. Such archives can be termed business archives since they consist mostly of the ephemeral documentation of the archive holder’s day-to-day affairs; however, it is important to note that this is not their primary purpose: they are the results of ‘negative’ selection.”<sup>27</sup>

The archive studied here is primarily comprised of title deeds (transactions recording the sale of real estate) and ends only a few years before there was a major political change in Babylonia, with the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty by Nabopolassar and the forcible expulsion of Assyrian forces from southern Mesopotamia. Certainly Uruk was much affected by the events of that time.<sup>28</sup> The archive covers forty-five years (678–633), and given life expectancy at the time, Mušēzib-Marduk may have died of natural causes around 633. Thus, the “catastrophic event” that ended it may have been simply the death of the archive holder; however, his heirs would certainly have wanted to retain

<sup>26</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 58 and n. 355, referring to our archive as “Uruk/Sin-nāšir.”

<sup>27</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 58.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, P.-A. Beaulieu, “The Fourth Year of Hostilities in the Land,” *Bagh. Mitt.* 28 (1997): 367–394. Jursa has recently argued that Nabopolassar was the son of Kudurru, the governor of Uruk in 647 and possibly 646 (“Die Söhne Kudurru und die Herkunft der neubabylonischen Dynastie,” *RA* 101 [2007]: 125–136 and see below no. 25, commentary to line 21).

possession of the title deeds. Because this archive is a scholarly reconstruction and not one based on true provenance and because the last document identified as belonging to it is dated thirteen years after the next latest, the author reserves judgment on the matter. One must also note that many of the tablets in the archive give the appearance of being copies; they are very similar in size, shape, and script.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the high percentage of duplicates in our archive might also suggest that at some point it was deemed necessary to make copies of the original documents even though none hold indications that they were such; see below sub “Duplicates” (§ 2.12).

The transactions are numbered and presented in chronological order in § 4, with the probable exception of no. 23, composed during the eponymy of Aqara, the governor of Babylon. It is unknown exactly when that eponymy took place, although it is suggested below (commentary to lines 43–44 of no. 23) that it may have occurred shortly before the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion of 652–648 BC. It is presented after the last of the texts dated according to the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (no. 22) and before the one transaction dated by the regnal years of Ashurbanipal during the rebellion (no. 24). When a transaction is attested by more than one tablet, the edition presented in § 4 is based on exemplar “a” but textual variants in the other tablet(s) (those marked “b” and “c”) are noted.

## 2.2 The Tablets

The texts that are examined in this study are preserved in collections in London (23 tablets), New Haven (4 tablets), Paris (3 tablets), Baghdad, Geneva and Philadelphia (1 tablet each), thus in six different collections and in five different countries. The largest number come from the 1927–11–12 collection of the British Museum (London), which is made up of twenty-five cuneiform tablets (1927–11–12, 1–25 = BM 118964–88). Twenty-three tablets in this collection are either certainly or likely connected to the activities of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu and descendant of Sin-nāšir. (For the other two tablets, see below, § 2.5.) The British Museum purchased this collection in 1927 from I. E. Géjou,<sup>30</sup> a prominent dealer in antiquities who was based in Paris and active from at least 1895 until 1939. Géjou sold over sixteen thousand items to the British

<sup>29</sup> The text on one tablet (no. 25) states that the seller had impressed his fingernail on the tablet instead of his seal, while in fact no impressions are found on the tablet. This would suggest that this was not the original copy of the transaction.

<sup>30</sup> In many of the records in the British Museum and the Louvre, and in several publications, his initials are given as J. E., rather than I. E.; however, “I. Elias Géjou” is clearly found on the letterhead of his correspondence. The I. is said to stand for Isaac in the British Museum database and for Ibrahim in publications by J. E. Reade (in Leitchy, *Sippar* 3, p. xxv and ZA 92 [2002]: 261) and F. Joannès (*Borsippa*, p. 22). In the records of the French Legion of Honour, his name is given as Ibrahim Georges Géjou, but a letter in the same file from a notary looking after his estate in 1944 refers to him as “Ibrahim Elias.” Most of the information on Géjou in this paragraph is derived from the British Museum’s database (courtesy of St John Simpson, assistant keeper of the department of the Middle East) and from the records of the French Legion of Honour, with some additional information kindly supplied by Dr. E. Gubel, Senior Keeper of the Antiquity Department of the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels. With regard to Géjou, and in particular his involvement with the sale of statues of Gudea, see also Johansen, *Gudea*, pp. 15, 16, 18, 19, *passim* and Reade, ZA 92 (2002): 279–284.



Museum over the years. On the letterhead of a communication sent by Gėjou in 1913 to Étienne Combe, he described himself as “Fournisseur des Principaux Musées d’Europe et d’Amérique. Spécialité: Antiquités Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.” At that time he was based at 77<sup>bis</sup> Avenue de Breteuil, in Paris’ 15<sup>th</sup> arrondissement and was offering “à des prix modérés plusieurs antiquités & tablettes babyloniennes entre autre une collection de 300 tablettes de Singara & Tel abu Nekhla.” At some point he acquired a residence at Cosne-sur-Loire (Nièvre) that he named “Villa Goudea.” Born in Baghdad on May 12, 1868, Gėjou became a citizen of France in 1913, and died on July 12, 1942.<sup>31</sup> He became attached to the French diplomatic service at a very young age, serving as interpreter and clerk (*commis*) in the chancellery of the French consulate in Baghdad from 1880 (or 1881) until 1887, and was a member of French archaeological missions in Syria and Mesopotamia, in particular, participating in archeological work conducted by Ernest de Sarzec. For his services to France with regard to archaeology, he was made a member of the French Legion of Honour in 1926. As an antiquities dealer, Gėjou sold cuneiform materials to numerous other institutions and individuals in addition to the British Museum. These included the Louvre and the Yale Babylonian Collection (see below). In his letters, Gėjou mentions that he had sold or sent items to the German Assyriologists Arthur Ungnad (1879–1945), Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922), and Felix E. Peiser (1862–1921), as well as to Columbia University in New York. While professor of Assyriology in Leiden, Franz Marius Theodor Böhl (1882–1976) acquired several hundred tablets from Gėjou in the years 1931–39.<sup>32</sup> Gėjou was one of the major suppliers of tablets to the Russian historian Nikolai P. Likhachev during the period 1900–14;<sup>33</sup> the latter’s collection now forms the core of the tablet collection in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Gėjou specialized in Mesopotamian materials but also dealt in antiquities from Egypt and Turkey, in particular after 1914. For example, he sold the University of Michigan Library Greek papyri from Egypt and an important tenth-century Hebrew codex of the Pentateuch; the library of the University of Cambridge acquired some Syriac manuscripts from him.<sup>34</sup>

Copies of NBC 8392 and 8393—two of the four tablets in the Yale Babylonian collection in New Haven that are studied here (nos. 25–26)—were published by Maria de-Jong Ellis in 1984 (*JCS* 36 [1984]: 38–39 no. 4 and 52 no. 17 respectively); these are

<sup>31</sup> According to Johansen, *Gudea*, p. 15, Gėjou was an Armenian who died in 1943. The information that he was of Armenian origin may go back to statements by the Danish scholar and traveller Frederik Poulsen who was acquainted with Gėjou (see *ibid.* p. 16). Gėjou describes himself as a cousin of J. J. Naaman, who also supplied objects to the British Museum (Reade, *ZA* 92 [2002]: 283).

<sup>32</sup> W. F. M. Henkelman, C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper, “Clay Tags with Achaemenid Seal Impressions in the Dutch Institute of the Near East (NINO) and Elsewhere,” *Arta* (2004.001): 6 (via Achemenet).

<sup>33</sup> See [www.hermitagemuseum.org/html/En/12/2003/hm12\\_1\\_16\\_1.html](http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html/En/12/2003/hm12_1_16_1.html).

<sup>34</sup> E. Birnbaum, “The Michigan Codex: An Important Hebrew Bible Manuscript Discovered in the University of Michigan Library,” *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1967): 373–415 esp. 374 n. 1. S. A. Cook in W. Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, with an Introduction and Appendix by S. A. Cook, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), p. xvii.

the two latest documents in the archive. These two and one other (YBC 11413, no. 16 below) were known to J. A. Brinkman and D. A. Kennedy and are mentioned in their catalogue of early Neo-Babylonian economic documents. The fourth tablet (NBC 4576, no. 21 below) is mentioned in Paul-Alain Beaulieu's 1994 catalogue of the *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection* (Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1) (Bethesda, Maryland, 1994), p. 29. With regard to these four tablets Ulla Kasten, Associate Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, informs me: "I don't know where and when exactly we got those tablets—looking through old correspondence and ledgers, there aren't many clues—surrounding numbers were entered in the catalogue in the 30s and 40s, but that is as far as it goes—these particular ones don't have any data attached to them! Clay did buy from M. Géjou and we have plenty of letters back and forth, but earlier—in the 10s and early 20s. However, it is possible that these tablets were purchased at that time and only entered in the catalogues much later by Mr. Stevens" (private communication, June 11, 2008).

Three of the tablets are in the Département des Antiquités Orientales of the Louvre Museum in Paris. Georges Contenau published copies of two of these (AO 10318 and 10337, nos. 13b and 18 respectively) in 1927 (TCL 10 10 and 12), and the third (AO 10347, no. 13a) was published by Jean-Marie Durand in 1981 (*TBER*, pls. 33–34). The three are part of a group purchased from Géjou and were entered into the Louvre's *Inventaire* on December 24, 1925, thus about two years before the British Museum registered its group. Géjou sold numerous other items to the Louvre, including some Gudea statues.<sup>35</sup>

A copy of the one tablet treated here that is in Baghdad (IM 57079, no. 14a) was published by H. H. Figulla as UET 4 15 and thus may have been found at Ur (see below, § 2.3). However, this tablet does not appear to have been given an Ur excavation number and the transaction that it records was concluded at Uruk.

Along with 834 other cuneiform inscriptions, MAH 15976 (no. 6c) was acquired by the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva from Professor Alfred Boissier (1867–1945) in 1938<sup>36</sup>; but according to the museum's curator Jean-Luc Chappaz nothing is known of how Boissier obtained this particular piece. The author is not aware of any record stating that Boissier had been one of Géjou's clients, but he may well have been.

The tablet, FLP 1288 (no. 8\*), in the Free Library of Philadelphia is part of a large collection donated to that library in 1930 by John Frederick Lewis, a Philadelphia lawyer who was also an important collector and philanthropist.<sup>37</sup> It is not known how Lewis obtained this particular tablet. An examination of his correspondence preserved in the University of Delaware Library's Special Collections found no evidence of any contact between him and Géjou. Lewis did have extensive correspondence with John Khayat, an antiquities dealer based at 2109 Pacific Street, Brooklyn, NY. They corresponded between 1916 and 1929, and their interaction appears to have been particularly frequent

<sup>35</sup> See above, n. 30.

<sup>36</sup> M. W. Deonna, "A.—Collections archéologiques et historiques, Salle des Armures, Arts décoratifs, Collections lapidaires," *Genava* 17 (1939): 2, and see also p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> For a brief biography of John Frederick Lewis, see E. Shaffer, "John Frederick Lewis, 1860–1932," *Manuscripts* 15/1 (1963): 42–46.



around 1928. Khayat sold Lewis a large number of tablets and clay cones. On June 7, 1928 Khayat refers to having sold Lewis an “entire lot of Babylonian tablets” for \$190.00. In a letter to the Rev. James A. Montgomery on November 27, 1929, Lewis said “I am adding to my collection at the rate of almost one hundred tablets every week or so.” Of course Lewis had dealings with other individuals selling tablets in addition to Khayat. For example, on September 6, 1927, E. S. David of New York wrote offering to show Lewis “most rare pieces from Babylonia & Assyria”; in 1921 Lewis told the well-known supplier of Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets Edgar J. Banks that he might be interested in acquiring something novel from him. For an introduction to the FLP collection, see David I. Owen, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection* (Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 3) (Roma: Multigrafica Editrice, 1975), pp. 13–14. Owen refers to approximately 250 Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid and Seleucid period texts in the collection; many of these can be found in: C. F. Pfeiffer, “Neo-Babylonian Documents in the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia” (Ph. D. dissertation, Dropsie College, 1953); H. G. Stigers, “Achaemenian Tablets in the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library” (Ph. D. dissertation, Dropsie College, 1953); R. B. Dillard, “Neo-Babylonian Texts from the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia” (Ph. D. dissertation, Dropsie University, 1975); and H. G. Stigers, “Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection,” *JCS* 28 (1976): 3–59.

### 2.3 Provenance

The provenance of the individual texts considered here to be part of this archive is not known, and they may in fact have come from more than one place. The texts themselves state that they were composed at a number of places, as indicated in Table 1.

*Table 1: Place of Composition*

Location	Texts	Number of Transactions
Babylon	8*, 16, 18, 19, 20 and 23	6
Borsippa	22*	1
Nuḫṣānītu	9*	1
Šapīya	4	1
Ša-šuru-Adad	24	1
UD.[x.(x).KI] <sup>38</sup>	21	1
Ur	11 and 15 <sup>39</sup>	2
Uruk	1, 2*, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, and 26	12
[x.KI] <sup>40</sup>	25	1

\* = Mušēzib-Marduk not mentioned in the transaction

<sup>38</sup> With regard to the location at which this text was composed, see the commentary to no. 21 line 21.

<sup>39</sup> With regard to no. 15, BM 118978, the main exemplar for this text, has <ŠEŠ>.UNUG.KI for the place of composition, but the duplicate BM 118971 has ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI. For the reasoning as to why the author thinks the transaction was carried out at Ur, see the commentary to no. 15 line 43.

<sup>40</sup> It is argued below that the transaction took place at Uruk; see the commentary to no. 25 line 29.

Thus, the documents were composed in at least eight different places, although about half come from Uruk. The texts from Borsippa and Nuššānītu, however, do not mention Mušēzib-Marduk; thus, there is no reason to assume that he went to those places. The texts indicate that individuals owning property, both urban property and rural orchards, did not always live in or near those properties. They may have granted leases on some of the houses and agricultural property or hired individuals to carry out the necessary work on the orchards and arable fields.

In theory, one tablet, no. 14a (IM 57079), was found at Ur during the excavations of the joint expedition of the British Museum and of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. H. H. Figulla published it in *Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period* (volume 4 of the series *Ur Excavations Texts*), but no excavation number is given for the piece in the publication and the inscription on the tablet states that it was drawn up at Uruk. Two transactions in our archive, however, state that the documents recording them were drawn up at Ur: no. 11 and no. 15 (note the commentary to no. 15 line 43). Over one quarter of the texts published in UET 4 do not have Ur excavation numbers cited for them. Another text from the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn that is not given any excavation number in that volume states that it was composed at Ur (UET 4 84). Thus, it is possible that IM 57079 was indeed found during Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Ur between 1922 and 1934. However, it is conceivable that Sir Leonard Woolley acquired the tablet from one of his workmen or from another individual who had found it at Uruk, located about 60 km from Ur. A great deal of illegal digging took place at Uruk over the years and numerous Neo-Babylonian tablets without any provenance but with inscriptions stating that they were composed at that site are found in museum collections throughout the world. As far as we can tell, all the property that Mušēzib-Marduk purchased in the various transactions was located at Uruk; approximately half of the transactions state that they were carried out at Uruk, and the last dated text identified as part of this archive (no. 26, NBC 8393) was also composed at Uruk. Thus, it seems likely that Mušēzib-Marduk had been based at Uruk and that our texts were unearthed at that city, but there is no proof of either of these suppositions. It is possible that the texts studied here come from some other site and/or from more than one site.

## 2.4 Types of Transactions

Jursa has argued for the division of private archival materials into five general categories<sup>41</sup> and the texts treated here can be categorized as follows:

- 1) Family documents (documents on adoption, dowry, marriage, etc.): none
- 2) Property documents
  - purchase of real estate
    - houses, ruined houses, empty plots: 1, 3–4, 6, 10, 12–13, 15, 17–18
    - orchards, fields: 2\*, 3, 5, 7, 11, 14, 18, 19, 22\*, 23–25
  - transfer of ownership of an orchard in settlement of a debt: 21
  - record of a court proceeding over ownership of a house: 20

<sup>41</sup> Jursa, *Bēl-rēmanni*, pp. 9–10 and *Guide*, p. 58; see also Baker, *Nappāhu*, pp. 8–10.

- 3) Business documents
  - promissory notes for silver: 8\*, 16 and 26
  - transfer of responsibility for a debt: 9\*
- 4) "Internal" administrative documents (notes and lists): none
- 5) Other/miscellaneous documents, including letters: none

Compared to the situation in the sixth century, the percentage of real estate documents among legal and administrative texts in the seventh century is high; this is particularly true for the percentage of such documents in this archive and in the archive of Marduk-šāpik-zēri mentioned in § 1. Is this simply due to chance of recovery or is there some further reason behind it? Jursa suggests that "the troubled political history of the seventh century ... caused many property owners to deposit their more important tablets in a supposedly 'safe' place, from which they never managed to retrieve them."<sup>42</sup> The fact that several seventh century archives seem to end when the political situation in Babylonia was in a state of flux (see § 1) could support this view. Wunsch notes that many of the real estate title deeds from the seventh century that do not have any apparent archival connection look much like library copies and thus raises the possibility that they may have been deposited in some sort of bureau or central records office.<sup>43</sup> Certainly many of the tablets in the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk either are or give the appearance of being copies (see §§ 2.11–12). Thus, it is regrettable that nothing is known of the actual find spots of any of the tablets in this archive (see § 2.3). This matter is one that deserves further examination, but is beyond the scope of this study.

A useful study of record-keeping practices in Neo-Babylonian private archives, with an emphasis on the native terminology, is found in H. D. Baker, "Record-Keeping Practices as Revealed by the Neo-Babylonian Private Archival Documents," in M. Brosius, ed., *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 241–263 and see also Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 4–6 on tablets as material objects. As is typical for the period, the real estate sales transactions in our archive have a portrait orientation (longer than they are wide), while the promissory notes (nos. 8\*, 9\*, 16 and 26), record of a law case (no. 20) and document recording the transfer of ownership of a property in order to settle a debt (no. 21) have a landscape orientation (wider than they are long).

## 2.5 Two Other Tablets in the British Museum Registration Series 1927–11–12

As mentioned earlier, most of the documents treated in this study come from one registration series of tablets in the British Museum: 1927–11–12, 1–25 = BM 118964–88. These tablets form a group purchased in 1927 from I. E. Gêjou of Paris. Only two tablets in this series are clearly not part of the archive: BM 118974 (1927–11–12, 11) and BM 118987 (1927–11–12, 24). These are described below.

BM 118974 is the upper-right corner of a clay tablet divided into 4 columns. It preserves part of the well-known Sumerian literary work "The Exaltation of Inanna" (Inanna B), and is dated to the Old Babylonian period. The piece was identified by

<sup>42</sup> Personal communication, December 2009.

<sup>43</sup> Personal communication, December 2009.

E. Sollberger and later published by Claus Wilcke in 1976 (C. Wilcke, "Nin-me-šar-ra—Probleme der Interpretation," *WZKM* 68 [1976]:79–92, especially 91–92 and figs. 1–2 following p. 88). Wilcke states that "E. SOLLBERGER hat auch die Vermutung geäußert, der Text komme vielleicht aus Ur, da die Schrift der der Ur-Tafeln sehr ähnlich ist" (*ibid.*, p. 91) and Annette Zgoll tentatively included it among the Ur exemplars of the text when she did a new edition and study of the hymn in 1997 (A. Zgoll, *Der Rechtsfall der En-hedu-Ana im Lied nin-me-šara* [AOAT 246] [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1997], p. 199, UrG<sup>2</sup>). This text is much older than all the others in the registration group and there is no particular reason to assume that this tablet was ever owned by Mušezib-Marduk or was found together with the texts of interest to this study.

BM 118987 (1927–11–12, 24) is a Late Babylonian portrait-oriented administrative document of forty (17 [2 of which are erased]+3+17+3) lines that deals with the assignment of flour (Zl.DA, *qēmu*) to various individuals and groups on certain days of the month of Tašritu (VII). Unfortunately, the document contains no date formula indicating the name of the king during whose reign the text was composed or the city/town at which it was written. The flour was given to royal workmen and to craftsmen who were doing work on the royal chariot (*a-na ú-qu šá LUGAL ù LÚ um-man-nu šá x [(x x)] šá GIŠ.GIGIR šá LUGAL ip-pu-šú SUM.NA*, lines 2–3). Mentioned specifically are a number of individuals and groups, including goldsmiths and jewelers/stone-carvers (LÚ.KÙ.DIM.ME *u* LÚ.GÁB.SAR.ME, line 11), captive soldiers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ša-ab-tu-tu*, line 13), men who received rations from the king (LÚ.ERIM.ME *šá ŠUK.HLA LUGAL*, line 21), workmen of the *qīpu* (LÚ.ERIM.ME *šá LÚ qī-i-pi*, lines 32–33), and boatmen (LÚ.MA.LAH<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ, line 28). Some of the food went to oblates of the moon-god in connection with wine from the Egišnugal: 5(BÁN) *a-na šá LÚ.RIG<sub>7</sub>.ME šá d30 šá GEŠTIN ul-tu é-giš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal* ..., lines 8–9. In view of this latter matter, one might wonder if the text came from Ur, the city of the moon-god and the location of the Egišnugal; we might note Sollberger's suggestion that the other extraneous text in this BM collection might have been written at Ur (BM 118974, see above) and that two transactions in the archive of Mušezib-Marduk state that they were composed at Ur (nos. 11 and 15). However, none of the personal names in the text mention the moon god and the moon god also had a temple by the same name at Babylon up until the Seleucid period.<sup>44</sup> Since the name of one individual in the text contains the divine name Ištar (<sup>md</sup>15-*a-lik-IGI*, LÚ.SAG, line 12; reading P.-A. Beaulieu) and those of two others mention the god Anu using the writing <sup>d</sup>60 (<sup>md</sup>60-ZI-MU-URÙ 'A' <sup>mi</sup>-mut LÚ.A.KIN, lines 19–20; <sup>md</sup>60-NUMUN-TIL<sup>45</sup> A <sup>md</sup>AG-KAL, line 33), we might speculate that the text came from Uruk—where many of the texts in the archive of Mušezib-Marduk were composed—and from the Hellenistic period. However, none of the individuals mentioned in BM 118987 can be identified with persons in published texts of the Hellenistic period.<sup>46</sup> Paola Corò informs the author that the names in the text do not seem to be very "Urukian" and Tom Boiy has suggested

<sup>44</sup> George, *House Most High*, p. 114.

<sup>45</sup> Or perhaps better -PAB since the latter sign can appear similar to TIL and since names of the type DN-zēra-ušur are well attested.

<sup>46</sup> Information courtesy Paola Corò and Laurie Pearce, who kindly examined their databases of Hellenistic personal names for the author.

that we might expect more of the personal names to mention Anu if the text came from Hellenistic Uruk (private communications). Since individuals with names mentioning the god Anu written <sup>460</sup> are already attested at Ur during the Persian period (e.g., UET 4 48: 13 and 100: 9–10), both the place and date of composition of this text must remain uncertain.<sup>47</sup> A detailed study of the text—which is beyond the scope of the current study—and the publication of additional documents from the Persian and Hellenistic periods may allow a more precise determination of the original date and provenance of the text.

## 2.6 Personal Names and Filiation

In his recent guide *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives*, pp. 7–8, Jursa presents a concise overview of the matter of Neo-Babylonian personal names, citing the pertinent literature, and noting in particular H. D. Baker, “Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in First-Millennium B.C. Mesopotamia” in *Festschrift Walker*, pp. 1–24.

It is rare for any two scholars working on Neo-Babylonian archives to transcribe Neo-Babylonian personal names in exactly the same way. When transcribing logograms in Neo-Babylonian texts, including those in names, Jursa prefers to “restore final short vowels (which were probably dropped in most instances in the spoken language) in the grammatically ‘correct’ form” and with “the accusative singular ... not ... rendered by the entirely anachronistic *-a* but by *-u*. Hence: Nabû-ahu-iddin.”<sup>48</sup> While fully appreciating his view on the matter, the author feels that it best to maintain the use of the anachronistic *-a* for the accusative singular rather than use a *-u* which may well not have been pronounced either. Jursa is certainly correct in that “Given the vagaries of the writing system, normalising Neo-Babylonian always entails a certain degree of arbitrariness.”<sup>49</sup> The author has also chosen to write the element at the end of names indicated by *-Ca-a*, *-Ca-a-a* and *-a-a* as *-Cāya*, *-Cāya* and *-āya* respectively, even though they may not have the same etymological origin or pronunciation. On this latter matter, see Streck, *ZA* 83 (1993): 270–271 no. 12.

<sup>47</sup> Anu-type names begin to appear in southern Mesopotamia already in the fifth century. The logographic writing <sup>460</sup> is used for Anu in the two relevant names in BM 118987. In a study of late Achaemenid legal texts from Uruk and Larsa, M. W. Stolper notes that “In Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid Uruk texts, the divine name Anu is most often written syllabically (*A-num*, *A-nu-um* or *A-nu*), but logographic spellings ... are not uncommon. In Seleucid and Arsacid texts, the logographic writing is overwhelmingly preponderant. This general change in scribal habits took place during late Achaemenid times, but it cannot have been sudden or thoroughgoing. The texts given here do not encourage reliance on this orthographic feature as a dating criterion for individual texts” (M. W. Stolper, *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 [1990]: 562). On the rise of the cult of Anu at Uruk, see K. Kessler, *Aof* 31 (2004): 237–262.

According to von Soden, *AHW*, p. 1427, although the term *ūqu* (which is found in lines 2 and 4 of BM 118987) does appear in one Neo-Babylonian text and a few Achaemenid royal inscriptions, it is most frequently attested in legal and administrative texts composed after 500. Thus, this text probably dates to the fifth century or later.

<sup>48</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 3 n. 15.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*



In this study, individuals are normally referred to by a one-part filiation: PN<sub>1</sub> *māršu ša* PN<sub>2</sub>, “PN<sub>1</sub>, son of PN<sub>2</sub>,” or PN<sub>1</sub> *mār* PN<sub>2</sub>, “PN<sub>1</sub>, son/descendant of PN<sub>2</sub>.” When the latter format is used, it is often impossible to tell if PN<sub>2</sub> is the actual father of PN<sub>1</sub>, or some more remote ancestor, or the eponymous tribal ancestor, or the professional name associated with the family or family ancestor.<sup>50</sup> In a number of cases, PN<sub>1</sub> is variously said to be the son (*māršu ša*) and descendant (*mār*) of the same PN<sub>2</sub>.<sup>51</sup> In this study the author has generally translated PN<sub>1</sub> *mār* PN<sub>2</sub> by “PN<sub>1</sub>, descendant of PN<sub>2</sub>,” and has employed “PN<sub>1</sub>, son of PN<sub>2</sub>,” only when other information makes such an understanding clear (normally another occurrence of the individual in the archive where *māršu ša* is used). It must be admitted, however, that in many cases — possibly even in most cases — the PN<sub>2</sub> in PN<sub>1</sub> *mār* PN<sub>2</sub> was probably the actual father of PN<sub>1</sub>.<sup>52</sup> The following professional designations are employed as ancestral/family names in this archive: Barber (*Gallābu*), Builder (*Itinnu*), Butcher (*Ṭābiḫū*), Šangū-Adad, Šangū-Ninurta, Šangū-Sippar, Šangū-Zāriqu, Smith (*Nappāhu*), and LÚ.U.MUG (reading and meaning uncertain).<sup>53</sup> Approximately half of the occurrences are in texts from Babylon. Only Šangū-Ninurta appears in any of the texts drawn up at Uruk (see no. 3 rev. 11 and no. 5:6 and 31); however, it is also found in one text from Ur (no. 11:4, 6 and 7) as well as one from Babylon (no. 18:50).

In only five texts (nos. 11, 16 and 18–20) is a two-part filiation attested: PN<sub>1</sub> *māršu ša* PN<sub>2</sub> *mār* PN<sub>3</sub>, “PN<sub>1</sub>, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, descendant of PN<sub>3</sub>.” The use of this two-part filiation is the normal practice in the sixth century, but is less well-attested in the seventh century before the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. The first attestation of this two-part filiation in an early Neo-Babylonian legal or administrative text known to the author is in O.638, a document drawn up at Borsippa during the reign of Esarhaddon, where it is used for the last witness but for none of the other individuals whose names are preserved in the text.<sup>54</sup> It is worthy of note that not one of the five texts in this archive in which the two-part filiation is found comes from Uruk. Two documents from Babylon (nos. 19 and 20) use this two-part filiation for Mušēzib-Marduk, the other major figure(s) involved in the transactions, and the witnesses.<sup>55</sup> Two others from Babylon (nos. 16 and 18) use it only for Mušēzib-Marduk and the other major figure(s) involved in the trans-

<sup>50</sup> See also J. A. Brinkman in *Studies Sjoberg*, p. 46.

<sup>51</sup> For example, Ahhēšāya, [DUM]U Nanāya-ušalli (no. 15:6), and Ahhēšāya, DUMU-šū ša Nanāya-ušalli (no. 17:7); this individual owned a house bordering on two properties that were sold to Mušēzib-Marduk. See the discussion of nos. 15 and 17 in §3.3.1.2.

<sup>52</sup> This is particularly true for individuals mentioned in texts from Uruk and other locations in southern Babylonia (see below).

<sup>53</sup> See the index of personal names for the individual text attestations. With regard to LÚ.U.MUG, see the commentary to no. 23 line 27.

<sup>54</sup> Speleers, *Recueil*, no. 278. This text has been recopied and re-edited by C. Waerzeggers in *Akkadica* 126 (2005): 154–156 no. 18. Almost nothing of the obverse of the tablet is preserved. The last witness is described as the seller of the tablet (SUM-*nu* A.ŠA, line 20') and the name of his father, Nabū-aḫa-ēreš, is likely the name of the person who impressed his fingernail on the tablet.

<sup>55</sup> While the scribe of no. 19 gave himself a two-part filiation, that of no. 20 did not. The neighbours to the orchard being sold in no. 19 are only given a one-part filiation and this is also common in the other texts. A two-part filiation may be given only the first time an individual is mentioned in a transaction and thereafter be reduced to a one-part filiation or simply the name of the individual himself.

action (including the original owner of the orchard purchased in no. 18). The earliest text in our archive using two-part filiation dates to 660 and comes from Ur (no. 11); however, it uses it only for the individual selling property to Mušēzib-Marduk (lines 3–4), and not for Mušēzib-Marduk himself or for anyone else mentioned in the document. As far as the author is aware, this is the earliest attestation of the use of a two-part filiation in economic texts from southern and central Babylonia (*i.e.*, up to and including the city of Nippur). John P. Nielsen has studied the families of southern Mesopotamia in the early Neo-Babylonian period and pointed out that the use of family names and two-part filiation is earlier and more common in northern Babylonia—at Babylon, Borsippa, and Dilbat in particular—than in southern Babylonia.<sup>56</sup> In three of the texts from Babylon (nos. 16, 18 and 19), the other main individual acting in the text (*i.e.*, in addition to Mušēzib-Marduk) was a member of the Tābiya family and a member of that family is also mentioned in the fourth text from Babylon (no. 20).<sup>57</sup> Since each of the five texts in our archive using the two-part filiation was written by a different scribe, it was clearly not a practice peculiar to just one scribe, but rather reflects a growing tendency to distinguish individuals more clearly by referring to their fuller genealogy.

## 2.7 Location of Real Estate

Most of the sales of property in this archive composed up until 654 (no. 18) deal with urban properties—thus properties located within the city of Uruk (houses, derelict houses, and empty plots, but also orchards)—while all those after that point appear to deal with properties located outside the city (orchards and waste land); no. 18 itself deals with both (see Table 5). In view of the relatively small number of texts involved in our archive and the fact that in some transactions the location of the property in question is not certain (nos. 7, 10, and 23), this may not necessarily be indicative of a real change in Mušēzib-Marduk's purchasing interests. It is worthy of note that only one text (no. 18) shows Mušēzib-Marduk purchasing a field, and then it is in association with an orchard and a house.

Cardinal directions are provided for the sides of only a few of the houses, derelict houses and empty plots located inside the city of Uruk, and for one orchard probably located just outside that city (no. 2\*).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants*. Nielsen notes that the use of family names at Uruk and Ur was unusual at this time. The author is grateful to J. P. Nielsen for providing him with a copy of his dissertation on this topic before his book was published in 2011. The earliest text from Babylon using a two-part filiation known to the author is YBC 9120 (G. R. Driver, "The Sale of a Priesthood," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Centenary Supplement 1924, pp. 41–48 and plates 4–5 following p. 48); this sale of a prebend was composed in 666 and uses the two-part filiation for the main actors in the transaction and for most of the witnesses. As far as the author is aware, the first attestation of the two-part filiation in an economic text from Uruk is in YBC 7407 (Uruk, 20–II–645), where it is used for the scribe.

<sup>57</sup> On the matter of names and methods of indicating filiation at Uruk, see in particular Kümmel, *Familie*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>58</sup> In addition to the texts mentioned below, it seems likely the cardinal directions of the four sides were given in no. 10. The description of the empty plot purchased in that text is badly damaged, but the spacing of what is preserved suggests that these had been present.

Table 2: Orientation of Properties

	North	West	South	East
Upper Side	1 & 4, 6, 15, 17	12 & 13, [18–2]		2
Lower Side		2*	1 & 4, 6, 15, 17	12 & 13, 18–2
Upper Front	2*, 12 & 13, 18–2	1 & 4, 6, 15, 17		
Lower Front			2*, 12 & 13, 18–2	1 & 4, 6, 15, 17

Except for no. 2\*, the “upper side” is always either to the north or the west, the “lower side” to the south or the east, the “upper front” to the west or the north, and the “lower front” to the east or the south. Thus the basic orientation was northwest to southeast.

It is also useful to consider how the sides of a property are related to streets (primarily in the case of urban properties) and watercourses (primarily in the case of rural properties and/or orchards).

Table 3: Access of Properties to Streets and Watercourses

	Street	Watercourse
Upper Side		
Urban	6, 18–2	—
Rural	—	—
Lower Side		
Urban	6, 12 & 13, 17	—
Rural	2*	—
Upper Front		
Urban	3 & 5, 10	—
Rural	—	7?, 22* & 24, 23
Lower Front		
Urban	1 & 4, 11, 12 & 13, 18–2	—
Rural	23	2*, 7?, 18–1, 19, 25

Nos. 1 & 4: A wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king.

No. 2\*: An orchard possibly located just outside the city of Uruk (see commentary to text no. 2\* lines 2–3 and 6); a road, the thoroughfare of the god and king, on the lower side and a *ḥariṣu*, “moat,” on the lower front. See the commentary to no. 2\* lines 2–3 for the suggestion that the property lay outside the city.

Nos. 3 & 5: An orchard and waste land located inside the city of Uruk; a street on the upper front and the city wall on the upper side.

No. 6: A wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and king, on the lower side and a dead-end street on the upper side.

No. 7: The document tells us that the orchard is located along a *ḥariṣu* and gives us the names of the neighbours on the upper and lower sides of the property, but provides no information on which of the two fronts bordered the moat. It is not clear if this property was located in a rural area or urban one, but it seems more likely to have been a rural one; see § 3.3.2.3.

No. 10: A wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king. It is not stated explicitly that the empty plot was located inside the city, but this seems likely; see § 3.3.1.3.

No. 11: An orchard located inside the city of Uruk; a street on the lower front and the temple of the god Ninurta on the lower side.

Nos. 12 & 13: A wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and king, on the lower side and a blind alley on the lower front.

No. 17: A blind alley.



- No. 18-1: [Bank] of the royal canal.  
 No. 18-2: A wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and king, on the upper side and a narrow street on the lower front.  
 No. 19: The royal canal.  
 No. 22\* & 24: The royal canal.  
 No. 23: A canal on the upper front and a road (*harrānu*, KASKAL.II) on the lower front. It is not certain that this property (a date palm orchard) was located outside the city of Uruk as opposed to inside it; see the commentary to no. 23 line 2.  
 No. 25: Bank of the Iššeti canal.
- Note also:
- No. 14: We are told that the orchard bordered on the temple of the god Ninurta, but no other information on the neighbours of the property is given.  
 No. 15: The ruined house that is sold is not said to border on any street or watercourse. Likely the seller of this property had access to it by means of the house on its lower front that was owned by a relative, both belonging to descendants of Nanāya-ušalli. Mušēzib-Marduk also owned the house on its upper front and would have been able to get to it from that direction if his purchase of the property did not include with it a former right of access.  
 No. 26: The house used by Mušēzib-Marduk as security is said to be located along the royal canal, but none of the sides of the property seem to be that canal; see the commentary to no. 26 lines 7-9.

It is not surprising that a property located inside a city would have a street adjoining one or more of its four sides or that in rural areas orchards had watercourses located along one or the other of their short sides (fronts). It is worthy of note that none of the orchards located inside the city of Uruk (in the Ninurta Temple district; see § 3.3.2.1) was located next to a watercourse.<sup>59</sup>

## 2.8 Sizes and Prices of Real Estate

The size of only a few of the purchased properties in this archive can be determined with any degree of certainty because in most of the transactions no measurements are given for the sides of the property (nos. 6-7, 11, 14-15, 17-19, and 25) or are given for only some of them (nos. 2\*, 22\* & 24, and 23).<sup>60</sup> In the case of only four properties are the measurements of all four sides given: nos. 1 & 4, 3 & 5, 10, and 12 & 13 (*i.e.*, three of the properties appear in two transactions each). The areas of three of these properties can be determined but only if we assume that they were rectangular in shape (*i.e.*, with all four interior angles being 90 degrees). Although all four measurements are given for a property (part orchard and part waste land) located inside Uruk that Mušēzib-Marduk purchased in nos. 3 and 5, the measurements indicate that we are not dealing with a

<sup>59</sup> Mario Liverani has discussed the rural landscape and field sizes and shapes in his article "Reconstructing the Rural Landscape of the Ancient Near East," *JESHO* 39 (1996): 31-41, but his conclusions with regard to the Neo-Babylonian period must be modified substantially as noted by Cornelia Wunsch in *Egibi* 1, pp. 26-30.

<sup>60</sup> On the following few pages, texts that deal with the same piece of property (1 & 4, 3 & 5, 12 & 13 and 22\* & 24) are listed together in the charts.

simple rectangular piece of land; the lower side is shorter than the upper side and the lower front is shorter than the upper front.<sup>61</sup> Without knowing any of the angles involved, it is not possible to estimate the actual size of the property in question, although it must have been considerable since the sides range from 190 to 350 cubits in length (see Table 12). The minimum sizes of three further properties—those for which the lengths of only some of the sides are stated (nos. 2\*, 22\* & 24, and 23)—may also be determined if we assume that those properties were rectangular in shape and that the sides—*šiddu*, “(long) side of a piece of real estate”—were at least as long as the fronts—*pūtu*, “(short) side of a piece of real estate.”<sup>62</sup>

Table 4: Size of Properties

Text(s)	Property	Area	Price <sup>63</sup>
1 & 4	Ruined house in the Market Gate district inside Uruk	412.5 m <sup>2</sup>	1: 90 shekels 4: 120 + 2 shekels
2*	Orchard beside the <i>ḥarīṣu</i> (moat) of the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a that is inside Uruk	at least 2,500 m <sup>2</sup>	170? shekels
10	Empty plot likely located inside Uruk	2,500 m <sup>2</sup>	56 + 2 shekels
12 & 13	House in the Eanna district inside Uruk	456 m <sup>2</sup>	12: 600 shekels 13: 600 shekels
16 <sup>64</sup>	13 reeds (of land)	159.25 m <sup>2</sup>	—
22* & 24	Orchard in the district of the royal canal in the meadowland of Uruk	at least 13,225 m <sup>2</sup>	22*: 150 shekels + 1 garment; 24: [?]
23	Orchard in the Akītu district (likely at Uruk)	at least 27,225 m <sup>2</sup>	320 + 10 shekels

Unlike some other periods, the measurements given for Neo-Babylonian houses are for the total area of a house, not just for internal, roofed space.<sup>65</sup> The sizes of the houses in nos. 1 & 4 and 12 & 13—and also that of the empty plot in no. 10—are quite large in comparison to most houses described in Neo-Babylonian texts. In 2004, Baker noted that of 57 urban plots for which she had textual information, 34 were less than 100 m<sup>2</sup> in size, 15 between 100 and 300 m<sup>2</sup>, and only 8 over 300 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>66</sup> She also noted, however, that the data presented in the texts does not necessarily reflect the size of the houses in which people actually lived. Archaeological evidence would suggest that houses were

<sup>61</sup> Although the same basic property is involved in both texts, each of the four measurements given for the property in no. 5 is less than the corresponding one given in no. 3. See the discussion on these texts in §3.3.2.1.

<sup>62</sup> In these cases only the measurement of one or both of the fronts of the property are given and when both are given, they are the same (22\* & 24, 230 cubits). If we assume that the sides were at least as long as the fronts—and indeed they may well have been much longer—the figures given in Table 4 are the minimum possible sizes of the properties.

<sup>63</sup> In the chart, “120 + 2 shekels,” means that the price was 120 shekels and that a further two shekels were given as an additional payment. With regard to the prices, see also Table 5.

<sup>64</sup> The property in this transaction was not purchased by Mušezib-Marduk; it was his security for the repayment of a debt.

<sup>65</sup> With regard to the manner in which houses were measured in the Neo-Babylonian period, see Baker, *Nappāhu*, p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> Baker, *Nappāhu*, pp. 58–59.

larger than indicated in the texts. The average size of excavated Neo-Babylonian houses in general is 470.06 m<sup>2</sup>, over twice that of houses located at Uruk that are purchased in cuneiform documents. Only 17 % of the excavated Neo-Babylonian houses are less than 200 m<sup>2</sup> in area while about 79 % of the houses in the documents studied by Baker are. A similar difference between the sizes of houses mentioned in texts and those of excavated houses has been noted for the Old Babylonian period. Baker thinks that the urban properties mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian texts often represent only parts of whole houses, although properties described as derelict or ruined houses may more often refer to whole houses.<sup>67</sup>

The fact that so many of these transactions did not state either the dimensions of the property sold or its surface area is puzzling. These properties included ruined houses (nos. 6, 15, and 17), empty plots (no. 18–2), orchards (nos. 7, 11, 14, 18–1, 19, 25), and arable land (no. 18–3), and were located both inside the city of Uruk (nos. 6, 11, 14, 15, 17, and 18–2) and in its environs (nos. 18–3, 19, 25 and likely 18–1). Baker, who has carried out a detailed study of Babylonian real estate transactions and the urban landscape of the first millennium, has noted that transactions that do not supply any dimensions were composed almost exclusively at Uruk or in its vicinity and are only attested down until 581 BC. She points out that the tablet recording one of these transactions could have been used to prove an individual's legal ownership of a particular property, but it could not prove the exact size of that property or where its precise boundaries lay. Knowing the names of the neighbours to a property established the relative location of that property but not its absolute location.<sup>68</sup>

No comprehensive study of the prices of fields, orchards and houses in first-millennium Babylonia has been carried, although Baker is preparing one on house prices. Using data collected by C. Wunsch, M. Jursa has noted that based upon the Egibi archive productive orchards ranged in price from 120 to 672 shekels per *kurru*, and arable and uncultivated land from 18 to 60 shekels per *kurru*; productive arable land was 70 shekels per *kurru*. (One *kurru* in the late seventh to late fourth centuries was equivalent to about 50,000–60,000 square cubits or 12,500–15,000 m<sup>2</sup>.) He also notes that at Cutha in the late sixth and fifth century “one reed (12.25 square metres) of a habitable house cost around 30 shekels [and] one reed of a dilapidated house around 10 shekels.”<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> See Baker, *Nappāhu*, pp. 61–62; H. D. Baker, “Beyond Planning: How the Babylonian City was Formed,” *Babel und Bibel* (forthcoming); and P. A. Miglus, *Städtische Wohnarchitektur in Babylonien und Assyrien* (Baghdader Forschungen 22) (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 206–207 and 341 Table 27. H. D. Baker will discuss in detail the reasons behind the difference between the sizes of textually-documented houses and archaeologically-excavated houses in her forthcoming work *The Urban Landscape in First Millennium BC Babylonia*.

<sup>68</sup> See the article by Baker on “Babylonian Land Survey in Socio-Political Context” in *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies / Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen*, edited by G. Selz, with the assistance of K. Wagensonner (Wiener Offene Orientalistik 8) Vienna 2011, pp. 179–194, for an important study of Babylonian land survey terminology and conventions, and the changes in them over the second half of the second millennium and the earlier first millennium BC. Baker kindly allowed the author to see a pre-print version of this article.

<sup>69</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 19 and 55; Wunsch, *Egibi* 1, pp. 39–43 with table 4.

In most of the property sales, a small “extra” or “additional” payment called *atru* (DIRI) was given in addition to the actual price of the property in question. This matter has been studied by numerous scholars, in particular Petschow, *NBKf* pp. 25–28 and San Nicolò, “Zum *atru* und anderen Nebenleistungen des Käufers beim Neubabylonischen Immobilienkauf,” *Or NS* 16 (1947): 273–302, and more recently in Joannès, *TEBR* pp. 295–297. San Nicolò describes its function as “die einer Zugabe an den Verkäufer für seine den Erwerb des Käufers sichernde Siegelung der Kaufurkunde” (*Or NS* 16 [1947]: 283). Although it does not happen in any of the texts in our archive, it is sometimes stated that this additional payment was for sealing the tablet (e.g., Durand, *TBER*, pl. 62 AO 19537: 15–16), or as a gift for the wife of the seller (e.g., Strassmaier, *Cyrus* no. 345: 26–27)<sup>70</sup> or for the parents of the seller (see Joannès, *TEBR*, pp. 296–297). Sometimes the wife received a garment instead of, or in addition to, a small payment in silver. In two of our texts (nos. 17 and 22\*), the additional payment is a garment, but it is not stated in either text that it was for the wife of the vendor or for some other particular individual; thus it is not clear for whom the garments were intended. Grain and dates could also be given as additional payments, although no examples of this are found in our texts.<sup>71</sup>

Not every property transaction in our archive mentions an additional payment. As indicated in Table 5, the transactions with the highest purchase prices (nos. 12 & 13 and 18) are among those that do not mention one, while the transaction involving the second smallest purchase price (no. 10) is among those that do. The size of the additional payment in our texts varies from one shekel (no. 25) to ten shekels (nos. 14 and 23), with the larger amounts found in the two transactions dealing with relatively large property prices (300 and 330 shekels). Since two shekels were given in connection with a 120-shekels purchase price in no. 4 and five shekels in connection with the same purchase price in no. 7, there does not appear to have been a fixed rate for the additional payment; of course differences in time and place may play a part. Compare also the additional payment of five shekels in no. 19 and seven shekels in no. 11, both in connection with a purchase price of 230 shekels. A garment is given instead of additional monetary payments in the transaction involving the smallest purchase price (50 shekels, no. 17), but also in one involving a more sizeable price (150 shekels, no. 22\*). The additional payment was probably a matter of negotiation between the two parties involved in the transaction, just like the purchase price itself. It may have been influenced by the existence of members of the seller’s family who had some real or perceived claim on the property or by the need for the seller to carry out some extra action in connection with the sale (e.g., come from a distance in order to conclude the contract).

In connection with additional payments, the documents tend either to use the terms *u* (“and”) or *adi* (“plus/in addition to” or “including”) in connection with the relationship between the purchase price and the additional payment. For example:

<sup>70</sup> See also the commentary to no. 22\* line 13.

<sup>71</sup> Grain: e.g., TCL 12 6:12 EN 2 GUR ŠE.BAR *šá ki-i DIRI SUM.NA* (Borsippa, year 7 of Kandalānu [641]). Dates: e.g., BE 8/1 3: 15–16 15 GÍN 3 *ri-bat 2 gi-re-e KÙ.BABBAR ù 5 GUR / ZU.LUM.MA šá ki-i a-tar SUM-nu* (Babylon, year 5 of Kandalānu [643]). See CAD A/2, p. 502 for further examples.

Table 5: Details of Property Purchases

No.	Property	Price named (in shekels)	Amount paid (in shekels)	adi/u	Additional payment ( <i>atru</i> ) in shekels	No. of sellers	City of composition
1	H <sub>2</sub> U	90	90	—	—	1	Uruk
2*	O R?	—	170?	—	—	1	Uruk
3	O & W U	150	150	adi	5	2	Uruk
4	H <sub>2</sub> U	120	120	ù	2	1	Šapīya
5	O U	150	150	adi	5	2	Uruk
6	H <sub>2</sub> U	240	240	—	—	1	Uruk
7	O R?	120	120	ù	5	1	Uruk
10	W U?	56	56	adi	2	2	Uruk
11	O U	230	230	ù	7	1	Ur
12	H <sub>1</sub> U	600	600	—	—	1	Uruk
13	H <sub>1</sub> U	600	600	—	—	1	Uruk
14	O U	300	300	ù	10	1	Uruk
15	H <sub>2</sub> U	90	90	ù	2	1	Ur
17	H <sub>2</sub> U	50	50	adi	1-en TÚG.KUR.RA	1	Uruk
18-1	O [R]						
-2	W[U]	900	2040(+) <sup>72</sup>	—	—	1	Babylon
-3	F R						
19	O R	[180+5]0	230	ù	5	1	Babylon
22*	O R	150	150	adi	1-et TÚG tal-bul-ti	1	Borsippa
23	O [R?]	320	330	adi	10	3	Babylon
24	O R	?	[?]	[(?)]	[(?)]	1	Š-Š-A
25	O & W R	[?+17]	[?]	adi	1	1	[x.K]I <sup>7</sup>

F = field/arable land

H<sub>1</sub> = houseH<sub>2</sub> = ruined house

O = orchard

R = rural, outside city

Š-Š-A = Ša-šuru-Adad

U = urban, inside city

W = empty plot, waste land

For the possible location of the property treated in no. 10 being inside Uruk and those in nos. 2\*, 7 and 23 being outside that city, see the discussions of these texts below.

For the sizes of the properties in nos. 1, 2\*, 4, 10, 12, 13, 16, 22\*, 23 and 24 see Table 4. In several cases it is expressly stated that only a share in the property was being sold to Mušēzib-Marduk: nos. 3 & 5, 7, 14 and possibly 18-1 and 19.

PAP 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU

ù 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i pi-i at-ru SUM-nu ... (no. 4: 14-15)

PAP 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR

a-di 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i pi-i DIRI SUM.NA (no. 5: 12)

In at least one text, *adi* is clearly used with the meaning “including” rather than “plus/in addition to.” In no. 23 line 7 the purchase price that has been settled upon is stated to be 5½ minas (320 shekels), but lines 11-12 tell us that the amount handed over was:

PAP 5½ MA.NA KÙ.<sup>f</sup>BABBAR KÙ.<sup>1</sup>PAD.D[U]‘a-di’ 10 G[IN KÙ.BABBAR] šá ki-i pi-i a-tar<sup>1</sup> na-ad-n[u] ...

“a total of five and one half minas of silver in pieces, including ten sh[ekels of silver] that were given as an additional payment ...”

<sup>72</sup> See the commentary to no. 18 line 24 on the amount.

In this case, the total amount 5 ½ minas, or 330 shekels, includes the ten-shekel additional payment. This could simply be a scribal error, but the signs are clearly written ½ and ½ in lines 7 and 11 respectively. Since *adi* must mean “plus/in addition to” when it is dealing with garments (texts 17 and 22) and since *u*, “and,” is clearly not intended to suggest “including,” in this volume *adi* is always translated with the meaning “plus/in addition to” in these contexts unless there is explicit evidence to the contrary (no. 23). However, it must be noted that in the sixth century, *adi* always means “including” when the additional payment is in silver<sup>73</sup> and the same may well be the case in these texts.

## 2.9 Witnesses

Every single real estate purchase transaction that took place at Uruk in this archive was carried out in the presence of the governor of that city or that of the governor and the chief administrator (*šatammu*) of the Eanna temple.<sup>74</sup> Of the real estate transactions concluded at other cities, the one that took place at Šapīya in 673 (no. 4) was carried out in the presence of the head of the Chaldean tribe of Bīt-Amukāni, not totally unsurprising since Šapīya was an important centre for that tribe.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the *šangū*-priest of Larsa was present at one transaction that took place at Babylon in 654 (no. 18 line 38). Since he was not an official at Babylon itself, the text did not state that the transaction was carried out in his official presence (*i.e.*, by putting *ina* GUB-zu before his name). His high status was simply indicated by his being mentioned first among the witnesses. Perhaps it was the duty or custom of the governor of Uruk to preside over sales of real estate and thereby indicate official approval or acknowledgement of the transaction whenever possible, or perhaps Mušēzib-Marduk was such an important figure in the city that the high officials there felt it politic to attend such transactions involving him.

Generally it is not possible to determine why any particular witness was present at a given transaction, although in a few cases we can speculate that one was a relative (or neighbour) of an individual involved in the transaction or the owner (or relative of an owner) of property adjoining the one sold in the transaction.<sup>76</sup> Some witnesses may have had a possible claim upon the property mentioned in the transaction and thus their presence indicated their approval/acceptance of the transaction and their relinquishment of any claim to it. The article by E. von Dassow, “Introducing the Witnesses in Neo-Babylonian Documents,” in *Ki Baruch Hu. Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo and L. H. Schiffman, eds. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), pp. 3–22, presents a useful and convenient study

<sup>73</sup> Information provided by M. Jursa (private communication).

<sup>74</sup> With regard to transaction 15, a real estate transaction where no official presided and where one of the two copies of the transaction suggests that it was composed at Uruk, see the commentary to line 43 of that text. It is assumed here that this transaction took place at Ur (<ŠEŠ>.UNUG.KI).

<sup>75</sup> See Frame, *RLA* 12/1 (2009), p. 29 sub “Šapīya.”

<sup>76</sup> For example, in no. 1 an Ibnāya, descendant of Aḫū-šubši, owned a neighbouring property (line 4) and a Bēl-ēreš, descendant of Aḫū-šubši, was the first witness listed in the contract (line 28).



of how witness lists in Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative texts were organized, who the witnesses were, and what terminology was used in them.<sup>77</sup>

Only three individuals appear as witnesses in more than three transactions in this archive: Nāširu, son of Zākir (5 transactions), Nergal-ibni, son of Nabû-ušallim (4 transactions), and Šākin-šumi, son of Šullumu (at least six transactions).<sup>78</sup> In the case of each of these individuals, all the transactions in which they appeared were composed at Uruk and the properties purchased in the relevant transactions were not located in just one area at Uruk (*i.e.*, not just in the district of Eanna or in the district of the Temple of Ninurta). The latter fact might suggest that these men were not neighbours to the properties in every transaction. Possibly they were friends, colleagues, or neighbours of Mušēzib-Marduk himself whom he had asked to witness the conclusion of the transactions.

## 2.10 Scribes

While it is true that this archive covers a lengthy period of time and comes from several locations in addition to Uruk, we might expect Mušēzib-Marduk to have used some favourite scribe to record many of the transactions and thus for the transactions to have been recorded by a limited number of scribes. With regard to the Nappāhu family archive from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, however, Baker noted the relatively large number of scribes employed; the 214 cases in that archive where the name of the scribe is either wholly or partially preserved reveal that at least 149 different scribes were used; although one scribe in that archive was responsible for twelve transactions<sup>79</sup>. Only three scribes were responsible for recording more than one transaction in our archive:

Bēl-īpuš, descendant of Šamaš-bāri

no. 3 BM 118979 rev. 20	scribe	Uruk, 23-VII-674
no. 5 BM 118972:40	scribe	Uruk, 23-VII-673

Mukīn-zēri, son of Šākin-šumi

no. 12 BM 118967:38	scribe	Uruk, 5-X-659
no. 13 AO 10347:38	scribe	Uruk, 9-VIII-658
dup. AO 10318		

Balātu, son of Bēl-lē'i

no. 14 IM 57079:45	scribe	Uruk, 10-VIII-658
dup. BM 118966		
no. 17 BM 118985:37	scribe	Uruk, 8-XII-656

<sup>77</sup> As noted by von Dassow in her article, in the documents of Iddin-Marduk of the Nūr-Sin archive the witnesses are frequently "relatives, partners, or business agents, or are scribes of other documents of his (and they may be all of the above)" (p. 7). Regrettably, the connection of most of the witnesses in the transactions of the Mušēzib-Marduk archive to either the main actors or the property of interest remains unknown, but see below for several individuals who appeared both as scribes and witnesses (§ 2.10).

<sup>78</sup> For these three individuals, see the name index and the commentaries to nos. 3 rev. 10, no. 1: 33, and no. 6: 33 respectively. Two of the documents in which Nergal-ibni appears are closely related (nos. 12 and 13), and the same is the case with regard to Nāširu (nos. 3 and 5).

<sup>79</sup> Baker, *Nappāhu*, p. 16.

With regard to the first two individuals, although in neither case are their two texts duplicates, the transactions they record are in fact very similar. Nos. 3 and 5 record the sale of what is likely the same half share in a property to Mušēzib-Marduk by the same two individuals (a man and his mother) for the same price. Nos. 12 and 13 record the sale of the same property to Mušēzib-Marduk by the same individual for the same price. These transactions are discussed below (§§ 3.3.2.1 [nos. 3 & 5]; and 3.2 and 3.3.1.2 [nos. 12 & 13]).

It is possible that the third scribe listed above is to be identified with the Balātu, descendant (*mār*) of Bēl-lē'i, who appears as a witness in text no. 1 (BM 118964:40), a document also composed at Uruk, but twenty years earlier than no. 14. In addition, four other scribes of texts in this archive are also mentioned as witnesses in transactions in the archive:

Ammēni-ilī, descendant of Bulluṭ

no. 1 BM 11864:36	witness	Uruk, 23-IV-678
no. 7 BM 118981:39	scribe	Uruk, 18-X-667

Aplāya, descendant of Šangū-Sippar

no. 16 YBC 11413:25	scribe	Babylon, 1-IX-656
no. 18 AO 10337:49	witness	Babylon, 10-III-654

Bēl-rēmāni, son of Kudurru

no. 11 BM 118968:32	witness	Ur, 29-VI-660
no. 15 BM 118978:42	scribe	Ur, 5-XI-658
dup. BM 118971		

Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Mudammiq-Adad

no. 16 YBC 11413:24	witness	Babylon, 1-IX-656
no. 20 BM 118983:24	scribe	Babylon, 26-VIII-653
no. 21 NBC 4576:17	witness	UD.[x.(x).KI <sup>1</sup> ], [?]-[?]-652 <sup>80</sup>

## 2.11 Fingernail Impressions

Not a single tablet in the archive has a seal impression on it, but every one of the property sales transactions has a statement at the end of the document stating that the seller<sup>81</sup> had impressed—or more accurately “marked/identified”—his fingernail on the tablet instead of his seal: *šupur PN kīma kunukkišu / kamgišu / kangišu / kankišu (tuddāta / tuddāti / tuddātu)*.<sup>82</sup> Not one of the non-real estate sales transactions has either fingernail impressions on it or a statement saying that it had them. When present, fingernail-shaped marks are typically found on tablets in sets of three impressions on all four edges of the tablet, at the ends of each edge and at times also in the middle. It has been suggested by

<sup>80</sup> We might also hesitatingly note that the scribe of no. 21 had a name ending in AN ([...]-AN, line 20) and that a witness in no. 16 also did ([...]-AN, line 21).

<sup>81</sup> The person who gave up rights (e.g., gave up ownership of something) was the individual who impressed his fingernail on the tablet.

<sup>82</sup> With regard to the reading of the logogram IM/NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB/DUB as *kunukku / kamgu / kangu / kanku*, see Owen and Watanabe, *OrAnt* 22 (1983): 44–47 and Baker in Brosius, *Ancient Archives*, p. 252. See also the commentary to no. 1 line 25.



some scholars that the impressions found on many Neo-Babylonian tablets may have been drawn with a stylus or some other implement rather than being actually impressed by a fingernail.<sup>83</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan states that he found at Nimrud "associated with the Nimrud tablets ... little cushion-shaped pieces of terracotta with incurving sides" that looked as if they had been used for making fingernail marks "for when stamped on wet clay they reproduce exactly the curved nail mark of the *šupru*."<sup>84</sup> Despite a statement indicating that it had been impressed with the seller's fingernail, one tablet (no. 25, NBC 8392) has no impressions on it. This could suggest that it was not the original tablet recording the transaction but was either made at the same time as the transaction occurred or at some later date and that the writer of the copy had not bothered to indicate the presence of fingernail impressions on the original tablet by using his stylus or an artificial fingernail. C. B. F. Walker is preparing a study of fingernail marks on tablets in connection with his larger work on late Babylonian seal impressions and based upon his examination of the first-millennium Babylonian tablets with fingernail impressions in the British Museum, including those belonging to the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk, he is of the opinion that all the impressions are actual fingernail or thumb nail marks. In the cases when more than one individual is said to have left fingernail impressions (nos. 3, 5, 10 and 23), he is unable to recognize any clear differences in the impressions that could represent different individuals.<sup>85</sup>

For an overview of sealing practices in first-millennium Babylonia, see J. Oelsner "Zur neu- und spätbabylonischen Siegelpraxis," in *Festschrift für Lubor Matouš*, vol. 2, B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy, eds. (Assyriologia 5) (Budapest: 1978), pp. 167–186, and note also his "Zur Siegelung mittelbabylonischer Rechtsurkunden," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 41/2 (1980): 89–95 for Middle Babylonian practices. With regard to the impression of fingernail impressions on cuneiform tablets, the standard study is G. Boyer, "*šupru x kima kunnukkišu*," in *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, J. Friedrich, J. G. Lautner and J. Miles, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1939), pp. 208–218. Note also the study by D. Homès-Fredericq that also deals with seventh century archives, albeit ones from an Assyrian provincial centre: "Empreintes d'ongles dans les 'Archives d'un Centre Provincial', conservées aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles," in *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius*, unter Mitwirkung von N. Cholidis, M. Krafeld-Daugherty und E. Rehm, herausgegeben von M. Dietrich und O. Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), pp. 103–109.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> The question of whether or not the impressions were actually made with fingernails as opposed to some other instrument has a long history. In 1908, A. T. Clay argued that a stylus had been used (BE 8/1, p. 3) and see also San Nicolò, *Or. NS* 16 (1947): 282 n. 5. If a stylus had been used to create the impressions, one would expect to see small lumps of clay at the end of each impression (as pointed out to the author by D. Collon), and none are visible on the tablets in the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk.

<sup>84</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1950," *Iraq* 12 (1950): 173 (reference provided by C. B. F. Walker).

<sup>85</sup> Private communications (August and October 2009). The author's thanks must be expressed to C. B. F. Walker for providing him with this information and allowing him to cite it here.

<sup>86</sup> Note also Wunsch, *Egibi* 1, pp. 38–39 with regard to fingernail marks on tablets in the Egibi archive.

## 2.12 Duplicate Copies

One of the distinctive things about this archive is the presence of a comparatively large number of duplicate copies. Of the twenty-six transactions, five are attested in duplicate (nos. 4, 13, 14, 15, and 17) and one in triplicate (no. 6). Most of these record the purchase of houses (either ones in good repair or ruined and needing to be torn down and rebuilt) in the Eanna district at Uruk (nos. 6, 13, 15 and 17), and the others also deal with property located inside the city (no. 4, a ruined house in the Market Gate district, and no. 14, an orchard in the Ninurta Temple district). The presence of three copies of no. 6 is unusual, but not unique.<sup>87</sup> For another example, Baker, *Nappāhu*, no. 58, is attested by three copies; it records the bequest of a butcher's prebend before the gods Ishara and Papsukkal in Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. All three exemplars of that transaction, however, were copies of a damaged original. Some comments on the matters of duplicate copies in Neo-Babylonian archival texts are found by Baker in Brosius, *Ancient Archives*, pp. 246–247 and in *Nappāhu* p. 13. As Baker notes, “it is impossible to determine whether a duplicate was prepared at the time of the original transaction or later, except when the phrase *hīpi* (*eššu*) is present, indicating a copy made from an older, damaged original.”<sup>88</sup> None of ours have such an indication, but the similar appearance of the tablets—and the possibility that some of the “fingernail impressions” may have been made with a stylus or some other artificial object—might suggest that some/many of them are indeed later copies. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that each of the texts attested by one or more copies involves Mušēzib-Marduk's purchase of a piece of urban real estate. These were thus important documents and Mušēzib-Marduk may have felt it was safest to have duplicate copies in case something happened to one of them. It seems unlikely that these were copied for scribal purposes, as Jursa has convincingly argued was the case with the duplicates in the Bēl-rēmāni (or Šangū-Šamaš) archive. That archive also included some eighty-eight magical and medical texts.<sup>89</sup> Based upon its script, BM 118974, the single literary text in the 1927–11–12 registration group, dates from a much earlier period and is thus unlikely to have anything to do with the texts in our archive (see § 2.5). While the presence of two sets of near duplicates—3 & 5 and 12 & 13—raises questions of whether they could be scribal exercises, with numerous mistakes, the particular differences between them are not such that one would be led to such a conclusion. The reason for these near duplicates is considered below, but remains uncertain.

<sup>87</sup> Baker in Brosius, *Ancient Archives*, p. 246. The archive of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Lēša (see above, § 1), also contains a good number of duplicates and one case of three copies of the same transaction. While some of the real estate transactions in that archive are attested in more than one copy, it is interesting that duplicate copies of five debt notes were also found. See Pedersén, *Babylon*, pp. 205–208.

<sup>88</sup> Of course, this assumes that the script does not provide a clue. H. D. Baker (private communication) raises the question of whether we can be sure that only one scribe would have been employed when more than one copy of a transaction was made at the time of the original transaction. C. Wunsch, *Egibi* 1, p. 37–38, presumes that in cases where more than one scribe is mentioned there were as many copies issued as scribes are named.

<sup>89</sup> Jursa, *Bēl-rēmāni*, pp. 13–31; Jursa in *CTMMA* 3, p. 179; and Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 127–128 no. 7.11.2.11.

### 3. Career of Mušēzib-Marduk

#### 3.1. Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Tābiya Family

Perhaps the most interesting part of the archive of Mušēzib-Marduk involves his relations with the family of Tābiya.<sup>90</sup> None of the transactions involving this family took place at Uruk. Five of the six relevant transactions were recorded at Babylon and one at Nušānītu, likely located close to Borsippa (see below, commentary to no. 9\* line 24). Thus, the Tābiya family was probably based in Babylon.<sup>91</sup> All six transactions in some way involve property that members of this family owned at either Babylon or Uruk. Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in the two earliest transactions, but these documents were probably passed on to him because they dealt with property that ended up under his control as a result of debts of one particular family member, Šulāya, son of Aḥḥēa and descendant of Tābiya. The other four documents involve Mušēzib-Marduk as an active participant. Only five texts in this archive do not record the purchase or transfer ownership of real estate, and all but one of these involves the Tābiya family in some way; the exception is no. 26, the very latest text.<sup>92</sup>

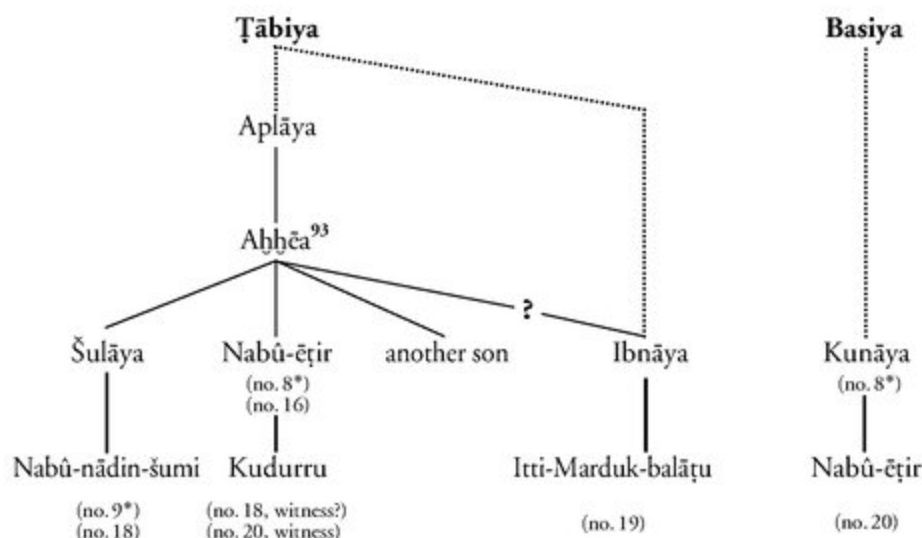
Table 6: *Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Tābiya Family*

Text	Museum no. (Published copy)	Location	Date	Summary
8*	FLP 1288	Babylon	3–VIII–666	Promissory note (transfer of debt) with a house as security
9*	BM 118986	Nušanītu	28–I–663	Transfer of debt; “[the cattle] pen and orchard ... that are at Uruk” used as security
16	YBC 11413	Babylon	1–IX–656	Promissory note, with land at Babylon and all other assets as security
18	AO 10337 (TCL 12 12)	Babylon	10–III–654	Purchase of three parcels of land at Uruk
19	BM 118980	Babylon	10[+]-VIII–654	Purchase of orchard in the meadowland at Uruk
20	BM 118983	Babylon	26–VIII–653	Court proceedings over a house

<sup>90</sup> With regard to Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Tābiya family, see also Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants*, pp. 194–199.

<sup>91</sup> One or more members of the Tābiya family appear in each of the texts in this archive coming from Babylon (as well as in the text from Nušanītu), either as a main actor or as a witness. When a member of the family is a main actor in the transaction, one or more other members of the family normally appear as witnesses (e.g., Rāšil [=Rāši-ili], descendant of Tābiya, in no. 8\* line 11), undoubtedly to indicate their or their family's consent to or acknowledgement of the transaction. No member appears in any of the texts from Uruk, except possibly in no. 26 rev. 2', but there the name is partially restored ([...]x-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>) A mDUG.G[A<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>2</sup>] and could be read some other way. It is worth noting that Kümmel does not mention any member of the Tābiya family in his study of Uruk in the sixth century (Kümmel, *Familie*).

<sup>92</sup> But note that a member of that family may be a witness in that text (see the preceding note).



..... = "descendant of"

Fig. 1: Tābiya and Basiya Families (the text references indicate the actual presence of the individual in question at the transactions of concern to this section.)

We will begin by looking at nos. 8\*, 16 and 20 since they likely involve the same property, a house originally belonging to Nabû-ēṭir, son of Ahhēa and descendant of Tābiya. The earliest document, no. 8\* (FLP 1288), was composed in Babylon in Šamaš-šumukīn's second regnal year (666), and does not mention Mušēzib-Marduk. According to this document, Šulāya of the Tābiya family had owed Kunāya, descendant of Basiya, two minas of silver. Responsibility for the debt was now transferred to Šulāya's brother Nabû-ēṭir and the debt was to incur interest of one shekel per mina per month or 20% per annum, a common interest rate during this period. A house was used as security for the debt, but it is not stated in the text where that house was located. From the immediate context, one would assume that the house belonged to Nabû-ēṭir; it is called "his house" and Nabû-ēṭir was mentioned in the text immediately before this as the one responsible for paying the interest (lines 5–6). Yet it is possible that it had belonged to Šulāya or that they owned it jointly (see below). Since the debt bore interest, the house would not have been handed over to Kunāya at the time of the transaction, but would have remained under the control of Nabû-ēṭir as long as interest was paid on the debt. The text states: *LÚ ra-šu-ú šá-l[am-ma<sup>2</sup> (ina<sup>2</sup> UGU<sup>2</sup>)] ul<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>-šal<sup>2</sup>-l[at<sup>2</sup>]*, "No or[her] creditor has a right [(to it)]" (line 7) until the debt was paid. It seems likely that at some point the interest due on the debt was not paid and that the debtor and creditor came to an agreement that the house be handed over to Kunāya for him to use instead of receiving

<sup>93</sup> It seems likely that Ahhēa had four sons and that Šulāya was the eldest (see below). See n. 102 below for a possible modification of the family relationships proposed here.

interest on the debt or for full or partial repayment of the debt (see below). It is probably this house that became the subject of a law case between Kunāya's son and Mušēzib-Marduk (no. 20). We will see that as a result of that law case, Mušēzib-Marduk gained possession of the house and FLP 1288 was probably given to Mušēzib-Marduk at that time so that it could not in the future be used by Kunāya or any other member of the family of ʿĀbiya to contest his ownership of the property.

Text no. 16 (YBC 11413) was composed at Babylon in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's twelfth regnal year, that is ten years later than no. 8\*. According to this text, Mušēzib-Marduk was owed fifteen minas of silver by Nabû-ēṭir, son of Aḥḥēa, of the family of ʿĀbiya, in other words the same individual who assumed responsibility for Šulāya's debt in no. 8\*. Interest on the debt was to accrue against him at the same rate of 20% per annum (one shekel of silver per mina per month). As security for the debt, Nabû-ēṭir gave Mušēzib-Marduk four specific items—his own sixth share in an orchard, his brother Šulāya's half share in that orchard,<sup>94</sup> a house in Uruk, and (a house measuring) thirteen reeds of land in Babylon—all his assets (NIG.SID-šū šā URU [u EDI]N ma-la ba-šu-ú, lines 9–10). According to lines 6–7 of the text, Nabû-ēṭir had already borrowed silver against the house in Uruk—or against the two shares in the orchard and the house in Uruk—in order to pay back a debt owed by Šulāya. In both nos. 8\* and 16 we see Nabû-ēṭir looking after debts incurred by his brother Šulāya and property being used as security. The debt Nabû-ēṭir owed to Kunāya in no. 8\* was much smaller than the one owed by him to Mušēzib-Marduk—two minas of silver versus fifteen minas of silver—and so the latter naturally required more security than the former. Two members of the ʿĀbiya family are listed among the witnesses to this transaction (lines 22–23), but unfortunately their names are not preserved.<sup>95</sup>

The third text, no. 20 (BM 118983), was composed at Babylon three years later, in the eighth month of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's fifteenth regnal year (653). No member of the family of ʿĀbiya appears actively in the document, but the fact that Nabû-ēṭir had assumed guaranty for a debt of two minas of silver owed by Šulāya—the same amount owed by Šulāya in no. 8\*—is mentioned in the testimony given and Nabû-ēṭir's son Kudurru is recorded as one of the witnesses to the proceedings. Kudurru was presumably present at the court case to acknowledge that what was being stated by the contesting parties was correct with regard to the house and, in effect, to acknowledge that he relinquished any claims that he might have had to it. Kunāya's son, Nabû-ēṭir—Nabû-ēṭir, son of Kunāya, descendant of Basiya (who must not to be confused with the individual of the family of ʿĀbiya by the name Nabû-ēṭir)—said the following to Mušēzib-Marduk: "Kunāya, my father, is owed two minas of silver by Šulāya, descendant of ʿĀbiya. Nabû-ēṭir, his (Šulāya's) brother, who bears guaranty (for the silver), gave his house to my father as security (for) the interest-bearing loan (*maškanu ḥubullānu*). I have certainly received it (*i.e.*, the interest in question). (It was only) at a later point (that) Nabû-ēṭir

<sup>94</sup> Two other brothers probably owned the remaining one-third share of the orchard (a one-sixth share each), or at least had inherited it when their father Aḥḥēa died. Since Šulāya had a one-half share in the orchard, he was undoubtedly the eldest son of Aḥḥēa; see below.

<sup>95</sup> See the commentary to no. 16 lines 22–23 for the tentative suggestion that they may have been brothers (or other close relatives) of Šulāya and Nabû-ēṭir.



drew up a sealed document (about the matter) and gave (it) to me." In reply, Mušēzib-Marduk said: "That [house] is my [secu]rity! You shall not receive (it)!" The assembly of Babylonians and (their) governor then decided the matter. The tablet is unfortunately damaged at this point, but it seems clear that the house ended up in the possession of Mušēzib-Marduk. It appears, however, that Mušēzib-Marduk had to give a sum of silver to Nabû-ēṭir, son of Kunāya—presumably the money due to the latter by Nabû-ēṭir of the Ṭābiya family—and that Nabû-ēṭir, son of Kunāya, was required to witness, and thus publicly show his consent to, the transfer of possession of the house to Mušēzib-Marduk. When Mušēzib-Marduk did away with any claim on the house that Nabû-ēṭir, son of Kunāya, had, he was undoubtedly given no. 8\*, the document that supported the son of Kunāya's claim to that house. One would assume that the house in question had belonged to Nabû-ēṭir, since, as in no. 8\*, it is called "his house" and the individual mentioned immediately prior is Nabû-ēṭir; although, here he is called "Nabû-ēṭir, his brother" (i.e., Šulāya's brother). However, in lines 16–17 we are told that Nabû-ēṭir of the Basiya family will bear guaranty for witnessing concerning the "house of Šulāya," so perhaps the house in question belonged to him. Of course, it is possible that Šulāya was at this time deceased, and had been so for some time, since he himself does not actually appear in any of these texts. Possibly Nabû-ēṭir had inherited the house from his brother (although the latter is known to have had a son, Nabû-nādin-šumi) or it was a house that they had owned jointly, possibly inherited from their father Ahhēa.

Nos. 8\* and 20 both refer to a house (location unspecified) being used as security for Kunāya of the family of Basiya. No. 16 refers to all of Nabû-ēṭir's assets—including Nabû-ēṭir's house at Uruk (line 6) and land (presumably a house/house plot) at Babylon (lines 7–9)—being security for Mušēzib-Marduk. It is uncertain whether the house used as security in no. 8\* and mentioned in no. 20 is to be identified with one of these two properties in no. 16 or with some other house, but since no. 16 does indicate that the house at Uruk had already been used as security for a debt (lines 6–7) it may well have been that one. Nevertheless, it was likely that Nabû-ēṭir's use of the same house as security for two different debts—one owed to Kunāya (no. 8\*) and one to Mušēzib-Marduk (no. 16)—and his inability to pay off the debts or to continue to pay interest on them resulted in the court case recorded in no. 20. On the one hand, there are several reasons to think that the house in question would have been located at Babylon: all three documents come from Babylon; the family of Ṭābiya seems to have been based there; that family used land situated there as security for money owed to Mušēzib-Marduk in no. 16; and the dispute over the ownership of the house was decided by the governor of Babylon and an assembly of individuals from that city. On the other hand, the Ṭābiya family clearly owned land at Uruk as well as Babylon—indeed no. 16 refers to a house there belonging to Nabû-ēṭir—and all the other texts indicated that Mušēzib-Marduk was most interested in acquiring property located there. Moreover, since the original transactions were concluded at Babylon, the dispute might logically have been settled there, even if the property was located elsewhere. The assumption here is that these three texts (nos. 8\*, 16 and 20) deal with the same house even though it cannot be stated as a fact that such was the case. The three texts are found in different museum collections (Free Library of Philadelphia, Yale Babylonian Collection, and British Museum respectively); there is no proof that they were found together in the ground, or even acquired

from the same dealer at about the same time; the specific location of the house of interest is not given in either no. 8\* or no. 20; and Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in no. 8\*.

The three other texts involving the family of Tābiya, nos. 9\*, 18 and 19, deal with the next generation of that family. They probably all involve the same orchard at Uruk, an orchard that was also mentioned in no. 16. Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in no. 9\* (BM 118986), the earliest text, and the tablet was probably given to him when he purchased the property nine years later by means of nos. 18 and 19. No. 9\* was composed in the fifth regnal year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (663) at the town of Nušānītu (likely located near Borsippa)<sup>96</sup> and deals with expenses amounting to the sum of ten minas of silver that Nabû-aḥḫē-erība of the Barber (Gallābu) family had incurred on behalf of Šulāya's son Nabû-nādin-šumi.<sup>97</sup> Nabû-aḥḫē-erība now asked Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim of the family of Ilūta-bani to give him ten minas of silver so that he could pay those expenses and the latter did so. (For the family of Ilūta-bani, or Ea-ilūta-bani, see the commentary to no. 9\* line 2.) Real estate belonging to Nabû-nādin-šumi was stated to be security for Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim: [T]UR u GIŠ.SAR | [(x)] šá<sup>md</sup> AG-na-din-MU šá [(ina)] 'UNUG'.KI, "[The cattle] pen and orchard of Nabû-nādin-šumi that are at Uruk" (no. 9\* lines 8–9). There is no indication as to why Nabû-aḥḫē-erība had incurred expenses for Nabû-nādin-šumi in the first place or why he felt Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim might reimburse him the money. In any case, although only property belonging to Nabû-nādin-šumi was used as security, both he and Nabû-aḥḫē-erība were stated to be responsible for the accruing interest—at the rate of one eighth shekel per shekel per year (i.e., 16 2/3% per annum). Another member of the Ilūta-bani family (family name only partially preserved), Nabû-ušabši, is one of the witnesses to the transaction.

As already mentioned, according to text no. 16, on 1–IX–656, Nabû-ēṭir, son of Aḥḫēa, descendant of Tābiya, gave several properties to Mušēzib-Marduk as security for a debt of fifteen minas of silver. Included among the properties were Nabû-ēṭir's own one-sixth share in an orchard and his brother Šulāya's half share in that orchard; these properties may have already been given as security previously (see above). Since it was the custom for the eldest son to receive a larger share in the paternal estate than the other sons did, it is likely that Šulāya was the eldest son of Aḥḫēa. Nabû-ēṭir received a sixth share in the orchard; thus there were undoubtedly two other brothers who also inherited shares in the orchard.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> See the commentary to no. 9\* line 24 for the location of Nušānītu.

<sup>97</sup> The document refers to Nabû-nādin-šumi only as descendant of Tābiya, but no. 18 and likely 19 both refer to Nabû-nādin-šumi, son of Šulāya and descendant of Tābiya. It seems reasonable to assume that the same person is meant in all three texts.

<sup>98</sup> The eldest son normally received "a double portion as his preferential share" in the paternal estate (J. Oelsner, B. Wells, and C. Wunsch, "Neo-Babylonian Period," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Westbrook [Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/72/2] [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003], vol. 2, p. 938), but when there were four sons it appears that the eldest one could receive half the estate and the other sons one sixth each (see Wunsch, *Urkunden*, pp. 144–145). Some unpublished texts from the later Atkuppū archive at Borsippa, however, record that the four sons of Marduk-šuma-ibni divided up their father's estate with the eldest son receiving two-fifths of the estate and the other three receiving one-fifth each (information courtesy C. Waerzeggers).

No. 18 (AO 10337) was composed at Babylon nine years later, in Simannu of 654. Nabû-nādin-šumi, son of Šulāya (who in turn was the son of Ahhēa), descendant of Tābiya, sold three properties to Mušēzib-Marduk:

- (1) *a half share* in the orchard of [Ahhēa, son of] Aplāya, descendant of Tābiya (*i.e.*, of Nabû-nādin-šumi's paternal grandfather), located along the [royal] c[anal in the meadowland] of Uruk (lines 1–8a),
- (2) an empty house plot at Uruk, likely located in the [Market] Ga[te dis]trict ([*(ina)* K]I-ti K[Á KI.LAM? šá qé-r]eb UNUG.KI) (lines 8b–15);
- (3) arable land in the meadowland of the Angillu irrigation district and by the upper royal canal in the meadowland of Uruk (lines 16–17a).

This property is described as “all the share (*zittu*, 𒀭.𒀭) of Šulāya, descendant of Tābiya, as much as there is (of it) in Uruk that he divided with his brothers,”<sup>99</sup> in other words, everything at Uruk that Šulāya had inherited when the estate of his father Ahhēa was divided up among his sons. Presumably Šulāya was now dead and his son Nabû-nādin-šumi was selling off property he had inherited. Possibly he was obliged to do so in order to pay off debts left by his father or ones of his own. Could the orchard be the same one that had been used as security in no. 9\* and/or in no. 16? Both no. 9\* and 18 appear to involve one located at Uruk, and it is not improbable that the one mentioned in no. 16 was also located there.<sup>100</sup> This cannot be proven, but it might explain why transaction no. 9\*, which does not mention Mušēzib-Marduk, might have been found with texts belonging to him. Although Mušēzib-Marduk is stated to have named fifteen minas of silver as the purchase price, the published copy suggests that Nabû-nādin-šumi received 34[(+)] minas in payment.<sup>101</sup> The difference is certainly too great to be an additional payment, which normally involves only a few shekels, certainly not 19[(+)] minas. Without knowing the exact size of the properties in question and the productivity of the agricultural land in question, it is not possible to determine which figure sounds more reasonable. However, fifteen minas of silver is in itself a very substantial sum of money and another share in just the orchard was sold a few months later for less than four minas of silver. If Mušēzib-Marduk owed the difference between 15 minas and 34[(+)] minas of silver for some other reason (possibly the purchase of some other property), we would certainly expect it to have been mentioned. In legal transactions of this type and importance, financial matters are normally explained explicitly, just as they are in documents today. We should probably assume an error by either the ancient scribe or the modern copyist when recording the amount actually received by Nabû-nādin-šumi (line 24). (For problems in collating the tablet, see the introduction to the text edition of no. 18.) Fifteen minas of silver is the same amount that is stated to have been owed to Mušēzib-Marduk two years earlier in no. 16 and in that text several properties (including Šulāya's

<sup>99</sup> This might instead refer to just the second and third properties (or just the third one?) because after the first property is a statement that describes it as “*the half [share in the orchard of] Šulāya, son of Ahhēa, descendant of [Tābiya (...)]*” (lines 7–8).

<sup>100</sup> Note that the house mentioned immediately after the orchard in no. 16 line 6 was located in Uruk.

<sup>101</sup> See the commentary to no. 18 line 24 on the amount.



half share in an orchard) were also mentioned. Possibly the properties in no. 18 were actually being given to Mušezib-Marduk in payment for that debt. We may note that Nabû-ahhē-erība of the Barber family who was involved in no. 9\* (being owed money by Šulāya's son Nabû-nādin-šumi) is a witness to this transaction (line 44).

No. 19 (BM 118980) records a transaction that took place at Babylon in Araḥsamna of 654, thus only five months after no. 18. In this document, Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Ibnāya (and) descendant of Ṭābiya, sold to Mušezib-Marduk for three minas and fifty shekels of silver (plus five shekels as an additional payment) "the orchard of Ahhēa, son of Aplāya that is (located) along the royal canal in the meadowland at Uruk" (lines 1–2), or more likely a share in that orchard. This is the same orchard mentioned in no. 18–1 (lines 1–8a). In both texts the names of the neighbours bordering the property are the same. If read correctly, no. 18 line 7 indicates that only a share in the orchard (a half share) was sold in that text; line 7 in no. 19 may also indicate that only a share in the orchard was of concern but the reading of that line is more problematic. Unfortunately, the four lines in BM 118980 (no. 19 lines 7–10) that might describe the family relationship of Itti-Marduk-balātu to Nabû-nādin-šumi (assuming he is mentioned in line 8) and their respective relationships to the orchard are poorly preserved. The author tentatively understands them to refer to the property as the share (*zittu*, H.A.1A) that Ibnāya, son of A[hēa], descendant of Ṭābiya, received when the estate of Ahhēa was divided up. He would suggest that Nabû-nādin-šumi and Itti-Marduk-balātu were cousins, that their fathers—Šulāya and Ibnāya respectively—had been brothers, and that the two cousins were selling their shares in the orchard that they had inherited from their fathers: Nabû-nādin-šumi his half share in no. 18 and Itti-Marduk-balātu his one-sixth share in no. 19. Thus, Ibnāya would have been the third son of Ahhēa known to us by name, and as a younger son, he would have received a sixth share in the paternal estate. Undoubtedly Ibnāya had died by this time and had left his share in the orchard to his son Itti-Marduk-balātu. We may note that no. 18 had referred to "the share of Šulāya ... that he had divided with his brothers" (lines 17–19), not "brother" as we should expect if Nabû-ētir had been the only one.<sup>102</sup> (See Fig. 1 for a possible family tree of the Ṭābiya family.) Line 9 appears to refer to another relative named Na[bû-uš]allim (<sup>md</sup>A[G-SI]LIM<sup>2</sup>:im<sup>1</sup>).<sup>103</sup> Mušezib-Marduk was probably attempting to acquire all rights to this

<sup>102</sup> J. P. Nielsen (*Sons and Descendants*, pp. 195–197) raises the possibility that Itti-Marduk-balātu may have been a cousin of Šulāya and Nabû-ētir, with his father Ibnāya being a brother of their father Ahhēa. He bases this suggestion upon the fact that an Ibnāya, son of Aplāya, and an Ahhēa, son of Aplāya, both appear in a record drawn up at Uruk in 718 (year four of Merodach-Baladan II) that gave the names of ninety-one individuals who were called LÚ.GAL.50.MEŠ (NBC 4848:6 and 81; duplicate Crozer Theological Seminary no. 201) and in a similar record from the same year (AnOr 9 1:8 and 83). (With regard to LÚ.GAL.50.MEŠ, see below, commentary to line 6 of text no. 22\*) Since, as Nielsen points out, the three names are relatively common at the time and since the two individuals are not mentioned near to one another in either list, it must remain uncertain whether or not the two were related or even members of the Ṭābiya family.

<sup>103</sup> Possibly the son of Ahhēa's fourth son and thus a cousin of Itti-Marduk-balātu, Nabû-nādin-šumi and Kudurru?

particular orchard which had been inherited jointly by several sons of Aḥḥēa, and had then been passed on by all or some of them to their own offspring. Mušēzib-Marduk may have also attempted to acquire rights to the orchard from Nabû-ēṭir, or the latter's son Kudurru, although we have no document testifying to this. It is important to note that Kudurru was a witness to the dispute between Nabû-ēṭir, son of Kunāya, and Mušēzib-Marduk (no. 20 line 22). We should also note that a Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Ṭābiya, may have been a witness to the land sales recorded in both no. 18 (line 45) and no. 19 (line 31, family name only partially preserved). Was he a (close?) relative—the fourth son of Aḥḥēa?—present to acknowledge the legitimacy of the sale of the property (or at least some or all of his family's shares in it) to Mušēzib-Marduk and thus the alienation of family land? In addition, it is possible that the Nabû-kudurri-ušur, descendant of Ṭābiya, who witnessed no. 18 (line 46), is to be identified with Nabû-ēṭir's son Kudurru, since Kudurru can at times be proven to be—and is regularly thought by scholars to be—a shortened form of a longer name.<sup>104</sup>

With regard to the orchard at Uruk, the author would suggest that Mušēzib-Marduk purchased Šulāya's half share in it from Šulāya's son Nabû-nādin-šumi by means of no. 18–1 (having previously received the share as security for a debt in no. 16) and Ibnāya's one-sixth share from Ibnāya's son Itti-Marduk-balātu by means of no. 19. In addition, he received Nabû-ēṭir's one-sixth share in the orchard from the latter's son Kudurru as security for a debt in no. 16. Thus, he either owned or controlled all but a one-sixth share in the orchard. It is not impossible, of course, that he eventually purchased Nabû-ēṭir's one-sixth share and the missing one-sixth share by means of transactions no longer preserved.

It is clear from these texts that some members of the family of Ṭābiya were in financial difficulties and that at least some of these difficulties can be traced to Šulāya, son of Aḥḥēa. Mušēzib-Marduk was likely making use of those difficulties to gain possession of property owned by members of that family, at times taking real estate properties from them as security for debts and later acquiring full title to those properties when they were unable to repay the debts.

### 3.2 Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Sons of Aḥḥēšāya

Three transactions involve the sons of a man by the name of Aḥḥēšāya and all three record the sale of property to Mušēzib-Marduk.

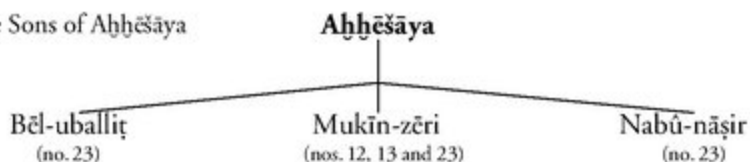
Although they were written almost a year apart, the first two documents are almost duplicates. They describe the sale of the same property—"a house in good repair, with doorframes in place, roofed, (and) with door(s) (and) lock(s) installed, in the Eanna district that is inside Uruk"—to Mušēzib-Marduk by Mukīn-zēri, son of Aḥḥēšāya, for ten minas of silver; both texts were written by the same scribe, Mukīn-zēri, son of Šākin-šumi.

<sup>104</sup> See for example Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 92. With regard to the abbreviation of names in the Neo-Babylonian period, see Tallqvist, *NBN*, pp. XIV–XIX and M. P. Streck, "Das Onomastikon der Beamten am neubabylonischen Ebabbar-Tempel in Sippar," *ZA* 91 [2001]: 110–119, esp. 110–111.

Table 7: *Mušēzib-Marduk's Involvement with the Sons of Ahhēšāya*

Text	Museum no. (Published copy)	Location	Date	Summary
12	BM 118967	Uruk	5-X-659	Purchase of a house in Eanna district at Uruk
13 a	AO 10347 (Durand, <i>TBER</i> pls. 33–34)	Uruk	9-VIII-658	Purchase of a house in Eanna district at Uruk
b	dup. AO 10318 ( <i>TCL</i> 12 10)			
23	BM 118973 (Frame, <i>RA</i> 76 [1982]: 157–66)	Babylon	5-V-eponymy of Aqara	Purchase of an orchard in the district Akītu [in the meadowland of Uruk]

Fig. 2: The Sons of Ahhēšāya



Apart from some minor, mostly orthographic variants,<sup>105</sup> the transactions recorded in nos. 12 and 13 are different in the following ways:

- They were dated just over ten months apart, on 5-X-659 and 9-VIII-658 respectively.
- The measurement of the long sides of the house may be slightly different in one of the two exemplars of no. 13. AO 10347 (no. 13a) may have 58 cubits rather than 57 cubits as in AO 10318 (no. 13b) and BM 118967 (no. 12).
- Five witnesses who appear in no. 12 (lines 29, 31, 34, and 36–37) do not appear in no. 13.
- Four witnesses in no. 13 (lines 31–32, 36 and 37b) do not appear in no. 12.
- The witnesses who appear in both texts do not always appear in the same order.

The same two attending officials and six other witnesses appear in both texts. In neither transaction was an additional payment (*atru*) given to the seller, unlike the case in most, but not all, of the other property purchase contracts involving Mušēzib-Marduk (see §2.8). Why was this transaction recorded twice and almost a year apart? Was the first transaction considered invalid for some reason and a new contract had to be drawn up? Had the purchase price and/or the house not been handed over in Tebētu 659 and/or had some other individual raised a legal objection over the sale? Or did Mušēzib-Marduk end up paying twice (*i.e.*, a total of twenty minas of silver)? Is it possible that Mukīn-zēri had only owned one share in the house at the time no. 12 was composed and after he had

<sup>105</sup> For example, the line arrangement is sometimes different between the two; no. 12 gives the paternal name of one neighbour as <sup>md</sup>EN-ū-du-ū-a (line 8), while no. 13 has <sup>md</sup>EN-i-du-ū-a (line 8); and no. 12 refers to Mušēzib-Marduk as the DUMU of Kiribtu in line 11, while no. 13 uses A-šū šā in the corresponding passage (line 11).

sold that one to Mušēzib-Marduk he inherited/acquired another share in the property and then sold that one in transaction no. 13? While property sales transactions did not always indicate when only a share in a property was being sold, we might have expected one of the two transactions to have indicated this. Do we have evidence here of a later scribe recopying one or the other of the texts as a scholarly exercise and making numerous major slips/mistakes? This seems unlikely since many of the differences between the two transactions are not such as one would easily assign to scribal error. Although the house is quite large in size compared to most houses sold in Neo-Babylonian times (see § 2.8) and is stated to be in good condition, the price is also very high compared to those for other houses sold.<sup>106</sup> With regard to the size and location of the property, see § 3.3.1.2.

It is not clear when the transaction recorded in no. 23 took place in relation to those in nos. 12 and 13 since exactly when the eponymy of Aqara—the year in which it was composed—occurred is not known, and it is arbitrarily treated in this study after the last text dated by the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (no. 22\*) and before one composed in the middle of the rebellion of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and dated by Ashurbanipal's regnal years (no. 24). The author has suggested that it might have been ca. 656–653 (see below, commentary to no. 23 lines 43–44), thus two to five years after no. 13, but this is only one possibility and no. 23 could conceivably have been composed before nos. 12 and 13. According to no. 23, Mukīn-zēri and two of his brothers, Bēl-uballit and Nabū-nāšir, sold Mušēzib-Marduk a date palm orchard in the Akītu district for five minas and thirty shekels of silver (including 10 shekels as an additional payment). The statement as to where the Akītu district was located is not preserved, but it was likely near Uruk; thus, the passage has tentatively been restored as indicating that it lay in the meadowland of Uruk (see the commentary to no. 23 line 2). Since Mukīn-zēri is mentioned second on all three occasions when the names of the three brothers are given (lines 8, 12–13, and 45), it is likely that he was the middle brother with respect to age.<sup>107</sup>

There is no evidence that Mukīn-zēri or his brothers were in debt to Mušēzib-Marduk or any other individual and thus having to sell their property, as was likely the case with regard to Nabū-ētir of the Tābiya family. Possibly Mušēzib-Marduk was simply willing to pay a good price for the house (nos. 12 and 13) and orchard (no. 23). Possibly the three brothers found it more convenient to sell the orchard and receive their shares of the sales price in silver than share the work on, and any profits from, the orchard among the three of them. If they lived at Babylon, where no. 23 was composed, they may well have found it more convenient to sell land located at (likely) Uruk than to hire someone to work it

<sup>106</sup> See Joannès, *TEBR*, p. 290 and § 2.8.

<sup>107</sup> Baker has shown that among the property-owning families at Babylon in the sixth and early fifth centuries, the name of the eldest brother in a family often included the theophoric element Marduk, that of the second brother Nabū, and that of the third brother Nergal. She also notes that in naming practices, Marduk and Bēl (another name for Marduk) were not interchangeable; see Baker in *Festschrift Walker*, pp. 9–11. If we assume that the brothers were mentioned from oldest to youngest in no. 23, their names would not fit this pattern. However, this pattern is based on data exclusively from northern Babylonia and for the century following the one to which our archive is dated. Moreover, Baker also notes exceptions to it in the texts examined by her.

for them or to lease it to someone. Nevertheless, since we have two transactions showing Mukīn-zēri disposing of property, it is possible that he needed to do so for some reason, perhaps because he was in debt to Mušēzib-Marduk or some other individual and needed money to pay off his debts.

### 3.3 Real Estate Transactions

The transactions involving real estate are examined here according to the type of property involved (houses, ruined houses and house plots, as opposed to agricultural land, comprising orchards and fields) and according to their location in or near Uruk. The two matters are for the most part complimentary, with all the houses, ruined houses and house plots being located inside the city and most of the orchards and the arable land outside the city. A good number of orchards, however, were located in Uruk's Ninurta Temple district (see §3.3.2.1) and one was beside the *ḥarīšu* ("ditch" or "moat") of the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a inside Uruk (no. 2\*; see §3.3.2.3). Because a few transactions involve more than one type of real estate and/or real estate located in more than one location, some transactions appear in more than one place below (in particular no. 18). It is clear that on at least some occasions Mušēzib-Marduk was attempting to acquire full title to properties in which he already owned a share and that he was purchasing properties adjoining or near to ones he already owned, undoubtedly to facilitate the exploitation or development of those properties.<sup>108</sup> Other types of transactions that involve real estate, in particular as security for promissory notes, are discussed briefly in connection with the locations of those properties, when those are known.

#### 3.3.1 Houses, Ruined Houses, and Empty Plots of Urban Land

Thirteen transactions involve houses, ruined houses and empty plots of land, and most of these were clearly located inside the city of Uruk, in particular in the Market Gate district and the Eanna Temple district. Five of these, however, deal with houses or unused plots where the exact location of the property is not stated, and at times it is not clear if it was located at Uruk or somewhere else, perhaps Babylon. Four of these five (nos. 8\*, 9\*, 16 and 20) concern property used as security (either as stipulations in promissory notes or being referred to in connection with a lawsuit) and have been discussed in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Ṭābiya family and in particular its members Šulāya and Nabū-ēṭir; see §3.1.

##### 3.3.1.1 Market Gate (*Bāb-Maḥīrī*) District Inside Uruk

Two or possibly three transactions record Mušēzib-Marduk's purchase of ruined houses or empty plots in the Market Gate district that is said to be located inside Uruk: KI-ri KÁ KI.LAM *ša qe-reb* UNUG.KI, *eršet(i) bāb maḥīrī ša qereb Uruk*. D. Cocquerillat locates the Market Gate in Uruk's city wall, on the northeast side of the city, in the direction of

<sup>108</sup> For transactions involving the sale (and lease) of real estate in the Neo-Babylonian period, see the useful overview in Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 17–31, where the distinctions between transactions involving orchards (pp. 18–24), fields (pp. 24–27) and houses (pp. 27–31) are pointed out and further bibliography is given in notes.



the royal canal.<sup>109</sup> A. R. George has argued that at Babylon the Market Gate and the Grand Gate were not located in that city's wall, but rather lay "well inside the city wall, close to the centre" and may have been "relics of an earlier city wall of smaller compass" than the current city wall.<sup>110</sup> In a forthcoming book, Baker will argue that at Uruk the Market Gate was also situated within the city itself and not in the city wall.<sup>111</sup> The use of KÁ (*bābu*) instead of KÁ.GAL (*abullu*) might also suggest that the gate was not located in the city wall. The city quarter named after the Market Gate would presumably have been adjacent to that gate.

Table 8: Properties Located in the Market Gate District Inside Uruk

Text	Museum no. (Published copy)	Location	Date	Summary
1	BM 118964	Uruk	23-IV-678	Purchase of a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built
4 a b	BM 118970, dup. BM 118976	Šapīya	5-VII-673	Purchase of a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built
18-2?	AO 10337 (TCL 12 12)	Babylon	10-III-654	Purchase of an empty plot

Text no. 1 (BM 118964), the earliest text in our archive, describes the sale of a ruined house at Uruk to Mušēzib-Marduk by Ina-tēši-eṣir, descendant of Nabû-zēra-iddin, for one and a half minas of silver in Esarhaddon's third regnal year (678). The same piece of land—with the same measurements and same neighbours—was sold to Mušēzib-Marduk just over five years later according to text no. 4 (BM 118970 and duplicate BM 118976) which was drawn up at Šapīya. On that occasion, however, the seller was Aḥa-iddin-Marduk, descendant of Aplāya, and the property sold for two minas of silver, plus two shekels of silver as an additional payment. No individual served as witness in both transactions<sup>112</sup> and the texts were recorded by different scribes. This is not surprising because of the five-year difference in the dates of the transactions and because no. 1 was drawn up at Uruk, while transaction no. 4 took place at Šapīya.<sup>113</sup> It seems likely that the property had originally been owned jointly by Ina-tēši-eṣir, descendant of Nabû-zēra-iddin, and Aḥa-iddin-Marduk, descendant of Aplāya. Each individual was likely selling his share in the ownership of the property. It must be noted, however, that in neither

<sup>109</sup> Cocquerillat, *Palmeriaies*, p. 17 and pl. 3b; see also Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 59 with regard to a village by the name of Bāb-mahīri.

<sup>110</sup> A. R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 40) (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), pp. 372–373.

<sup>111</sup> The author is grateful to H. D. Baker for allowing him to mention her view of this matter here.

<sup>112</sup> Some of the witnesses may, however, have been related. For example, descendants of Aḥḥē-erība—Nabû-šuma-ēreš, descendant of Aḥḥē-erība, no. 1:37, and Bulluṭa, descendant of Aḥḥē-erība, in no. 4:42—and Bulluṭ—Ammēni-ilī, descendant of Bulluṭ, in no. 1:36, and Bēl-ēreš, descendant of Bulluṭ, and Balāssu, descendant of Bulluṭ, in no. 4:39 and 42 respectively—appear at both transactions. Could Ēzu-u-pāšir, descendant of Ammēni-ilī, in no. 4:41, be the son of Ammēni-ilī, descendant of Bulluṭ, in no. 1:36?

<sup>113</sup> For the location of Šapīya, see the commentary to no. 4 line 45.

text are the words *ahū*, “half, half share, share,” or *zittu* (𒀠.𒊕), “share,” mentioned although this is sometimes explicitly stated in sales documents (e.g., no. 3, BM 118979 line 9; and cf. the promissory note no. 16, YBC 11413 lines 4–5). It is not known if Inatēši-eṭir and Aḥa-iddin-Marduk were related to one another or not. In both cases the filiation PN<sub>1</sub> *mār* PN<sub>2</sub> is employed, thus depriving us of the knowledge of whether PN<sub>2</sub> was the father of PN<sub>1</sub> or some more remote ancestor.<sup>114</sup> If these were both paternal names, then it is not impossible that they were first cousins. Mušēzib-Marduk purchased Inatēši-eṭir’s share in the property in no. 1 and Aḥa-iddin-Marduk’s share in no. 4, thus giving himself sole ownership of the property; this assumes, however, that their ownership in the property had not been shared with any other additional individuals.

The eastern side of the property sold in nos. 1 and 4 bordered on “the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king”; thus it possibly lay on the (north)western side of a street leading from the centre of the city with its Eanna complex to the Market Gate. We can note that it was one of the shorter sides of the property that lay along the major road. The property measured 55 cubits on its northern and southern sides and 30 cubits on its eastern and western sides, for a total of 1,850 square cubits or c. 412.5 m<sup>2</sup> (assuming the field was a true rectangle in shape). This is a very large size for a textually-documented urban property. Baker has studied urban properties in the Neo-Babylonian period and only four of the fifty-seven cases she identified deal with properties larger than the one here.<sup>115</sup> In forty-three cases the property is smaller than 150 m<sup>2</sup> and she has noted that “the larger plots tend to consist either partly or entirely of bare ground and/or derelict properties, without viable standing buildings. Such plots need not have a direct bearing on individual house size, since they were most likely intended for redevelopment and could well have been used for more than one house.”<sup>116</sup> This fits well with our case, since what is being sold is “a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built.”

Text no. 18 (AO 10337; *TCL* 12 12) records the sale of shares in three properties to Mušēzib-Marduk almost twenty years later, in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s fourteenth regnal year. These properties are (1) a share in an orchard located along the royal canal in Uruk’s meadowland, (2) an empty plot inside Uruk, and (3) arable land near the upper royal canal in Uruk’s meadowland (see § 3.1). From the traces copied by Contenau, it is clear that the empty plot was located inside Uruk in a district whose name likely began with the logogram KÁ and the author proposes to read the passage: É *ki-šub-bu-ú* [(ina) K]i-ti/K[Á K].LAM<sup>2</sup> *šā qé-r*eb UNUG.KI (lines 8–9). The property also lay along “the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king,” although in this case the street would have been located on the western side of the property. Since several other districts of the city in the first millennium were named after the gates near them<sup>117</sup> and since there was more than one “wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king” in the city, the exact

<sup>114</sup> Neither Nabû-zēra-iddin nor Aplāya is clearly attested as a family name in this period (information courtesy J. P. Nielsen), thus it is likely that they are paternal names here.

<sup>115</sup> Baker, *Nappāhu*, pp. 56–62, especially pp. 58–59.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>117</sup> H. D. Baker informs the author that she knows of at least eight city districts named after gates in first-millennium Uruk (private communication).

location of this property must remain uncertain. Nevertheless, it remains conceivable that this property was also situated in the Market Gate district and possibly near the property mentioned in nos. 1 and 4. We might also note that the other properties being purchased in this document lay along/near the royal canal in Uruk's meadowland (line 2, reading partially restored) and that Cocquerillat has located the city's Market Gate close to the royal canal.<sup>118</sup> Of course, there is no reason to assume that all three properties mentioned in no. 18 had to be located near one another. It is interesting to note that in this case the property is described as being an empty plot and in nos. 1 and 4 it is a ruined house (*bītu abtu*). Was Mušēzib-Marduk making a practice of purchasing urban property in unused/usable conditions for improvement or development? Was this area of the city of Uruk less fully inhabited/developed than other parts in this period?<sup>119</sup> Based on these few texts, these questions must remain unanswered.

### 3.3.1.2 Eanna District Inside Uruk

Mušēzib-Marduk appears to have been particularly interested in acquiring houses (both those in good repair and those needing to be demolished and rebuilt) in Uruk's Eanna district, which would have been situated in the centre of Uruk around the Eanna temple complex. Five transactions deal with his purchase of properties in this area; of these, two (nos. 12 and 13) deal with the same house, and two others (nos. 15 and 17) deal with adjoining properties. Although nothing else in the documents suggests that Mušēzib-Marduk had any connection with the Eanna temple, the fact that he owned property in the immediate area of that temple may suggest that he did. Baker will suggest in a forthcoming article that housing located within the Eanna district may have been reserved for temple personnel.<sup>120</sup>

It is noteworthy that these five transactions are represented by ten tablets, with one transaction (no. 6) being attested by three copies and three others (nos. 13, 15 and 17) by two copies each. Only two other transactions in our archive are attested by duplicate copies (nos. 4 and 14), and one of these also deals with a ruined house inside Uruk (no. 4). Is there some reason why Mušēzib-Marduk would have wanted to have duplicate copies of those transactions that recorded his purchase of houses (both those in good condition and those in need of reconstruction) located inside Uruk as opposed to other properties? On the question of the large number of copies in this archive, see above § 2.12.

<sup>118</sup> Cocquerillat, however, located the Market Gate in the city wall, but it may instead have been situated inside the city itself (see above). The royal canal is also thought to have flowed in part inside the city (see § 3.3.2.2).

<sup>119</sup> During the first millennium a large part of the area within the old city wall of Uruk was not inhabited. See E. Cancik, "Neu- und spätbabylonische Zeit," in U. Finkbeiner, *Uruk: Kampagne 35–37, 1982–1984. Die archäologische Oberflächenuntersuchung (Survey)* (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 4) (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), p. 210. The texts of the period refer to a large number of orchards within the city walls (see 3.3.2.1 for example).

<sup>120</sup> H. D. Baker, "Beyond Planning: How the Babylonian Capital was Formed," *Babel und Bibel* (forthcoming). Baker suggests that ownership of property in the Rēš and Ešgal temple districts at Uruk in the Hellenistic period carried with it obligations to those temples. The author must express his gratitude to her for allowing him to see the manuscript of her article.



Table 9: Properties Located in the Eanna District Inside Uruk

Text	Museum no. (Published copy)	Location	Date	Summary
6 a b c	BM 118975, dup. BM 118969 dup. MAH 15976	Uruk	19-XII-669	Purchase of a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built
12	BM 118967	Uruk	5-X-659	Purchase of a house in good repair, with doorframes in place, roofed, (and) with door(s) (and) lock(s) installed
13 a b	AO 10347 (Durand, <i>TBER</i> pls. 33-34), dup. AO 10318 ( <i>TCL</i> 12 10)	Uruk	9-VIII-658	Purchase of a house in good repair, with doorframes in place, roofed, (and) with door(s) (and) lock(s) installed
15 a b	BM 118978, dup. BM 118971	Ur <sup>121</sup>	5-XI-658	Purchase of a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built
17 a b	BM 118985, dup. BM 118988	Uruk	8-XII-656	Purchase of a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built

According to no. 6 (BM 118975, and duplicates BM 118969 and MAH 15976), late in Ashurbanipal's accession year (669) Mušezib-Marduk purchased the derelict house of Dumqāya, descendant of Šullumāya, in the Eanna district for the sum of four minas of silver from Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Šumāya.

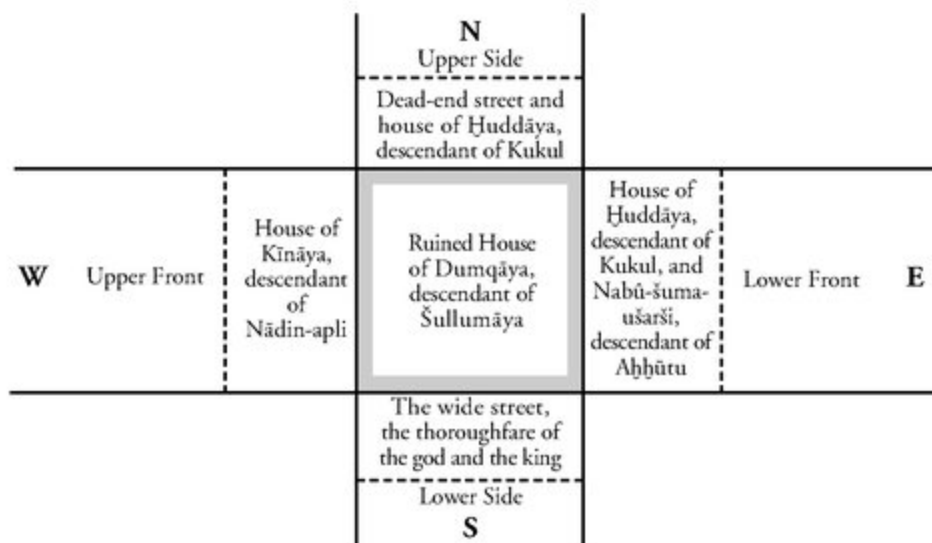


Fig. 3: Ruined House of Dumqāya, Descendant of Šullumāya (no. 6)

<sup>121</sup> See the commentary to no. 15 line 43 with regard to the location at which the transaction was concluded.

How Iddin-Marduk acquired Dumqāya's house is not stated. Presumably he had either purchased or inherited it at some point in the past. Dumqāya may have been his uncle or some other relative since it is not clear if Šullumāya and Šumāya should be taken to be paternal or ancestral/family names.<sup>122</sup> A Bēl-usātu, *mār* Šumāya, appears as the last witness to the transaction (line 35). Possibly he was a brother of Iddin-Marduk present to indicate his consent to the transaction. As with the transactions mentioned above involving the Market Gate district, one of the sides of the property (in this case the long, southern side) bordered on "the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king" (line 7). One neighbour, Huddāya, descendant of Kukul,<sup>123</sup> had a house that bordered on parts of both the northern and eastern sides of the house (lines 5–6 and 9–10). No measurements are given for the sides of the property and thus we do not know its actual size.

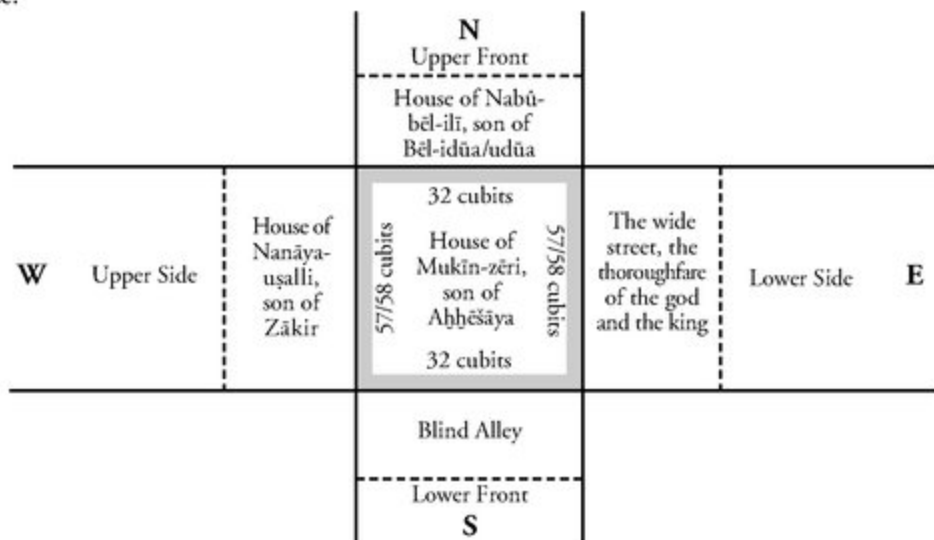


Fig. 4: House of Mukīn-zēri, Son of Aḥḥēšāya (nos. 12 and 13)

Transactions nos. 12 (BM 118967) and 13 (AO 10347, and dup. AO 10318) record the sale of "a house in good repair, with doorframes in place, roofed, (and) with door(s) (and) lock(s) installed" in Uruk's Eanna district from Mukīn-zēri, son of Aḥḥēšāya, for the large sum of ten minas of silver. The two transactions are in effect duplicates of one another except for the fact that they were dated just over ten months apart (no. 12 on 5-X-659 and no. 13 on 9-VIII-658), that one copy of no. 13 may have a slightly different measurement for the long sides of the house than in the other texts (possibly 58 cubits on no. 13a rather than 57 as on 12 and 13b), and that there are a number of differences

<sup>122</sup> Neither Šullumāya nor Šumāya is clearly attested as a family name in this period, thus it is likely that they are paternal names here. (Information courtesy J. P. Nielsen.)

<sup>123</sup> Kukul is not attested as a family name in this period and thus it is more likely to be a paternal name here. (Information courtesy J. P. Nielsen.)

in the witness list.<sup>124</sup> It is not clear why the transaction took place on two different occasions; with regard to this matter and Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the family of Ahhēšāya, see § 3.2. The ruined house measured 57 (or 58) cubits on its long sides and 32 cubits on its short sides and, assuming a true rectangular shape, it covered an area of 1824 (or 1856) square cubits, or ca. 456 (or 464) m<sup>2</sup>. As in the case of the house mentioned in nos. 1 and 4, this is quite large compared to most textually-documented houses in the Neo-Babylonian period, but fits Baker's observations that the larger urban house plots generally did not include "viable standing buildings" (see § 3.3.1.1 in connection with nos. 1 and 4). As in all previously mentioned transactions the property also lay next to a major road; its eastern side was along a processional street (no. 12:6 and no. 13:6). Fig. 4 provides detailed information on the location of the property being purchased by Mušēzib-Marduk.

Transactions nos. 15 and 17 describe Mušēzib-Marduk's purchase of two ruined houses that adjoined one another on one side and, on another side (western side), were next to a house he already owned (see Fig. 5). Clearly Mušēzib-Marduk was attempting to expand the area he owned, possibly in order to increase the size of the house he already owned, or to redevelop the larger property. According to no. 15 (BM 118978, duplicate BM 118971) composed late in the tenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (658), Nabū-aḥa-ēreš *mār* Nanāya-ušalli sold "a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built" in Uruk's Eanna district to Mušēzib-Marduk for one and one-half minas of silver (plus two shekels as an additional payment). The property was bordered on the west by a house already owned by Mušēzib-Marduk, on the north by the house of Šāpiku, the oil presser, on the east by the house of Ahhēšāya, son<sup>1</sup> (*mār*) of Nanāya-ušalli (quite likely a brother or relative of the seller), and on the south by a house owned by Nabū-ēreš, descendant (*mār*) of Hašdiya.<sup>125</sup> The property appears to have had no access to any street or canal. Did the owner have a right of way through one of the neighbouring properties, perhaps through that of his neighbour (and possible relative) Ahhēšāya, to the east? No. 17 (BM 118985, duplicate BM 118988) records the fact that just over two years later, late in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's twelfth year (8–XII–656), Mušēzib-Marduk purchased another derelict house for redevelopment from Nabū-ēreš, son of (*māršu ša*) Hašdiya (line 9, cf. line 12), for the much smaller sum of 50 shekels of silver, plus a garment that was given as an additional payment. The house is said to be bordered on the west and the north by the house of Mušēzib-Marduk, on the east by the house of Ahhēšāya, son (*māršu ša*) of Nanāya-ušalli, and on the south by a blind alley. Thus, in no. 15 Mušēzib-Marduk purchased property to the northeast of a house he already owned and then in no. 17 he purchased a property to the southeast.

Regrettably, it is not possible to determine if all the properties in the Eanna district owned by Mušēzib-Marduk were located close to one another, although we may note that two did border on a major public thoroughfare (no. 6 and nos. 12 & 13). We might note that the neighbour to the west of the house purchased in nos. 12 & 13 was Nanāya-ušalli,

<sup>124</sup> For details of the differences between the two texts, see § 3.2.

<sup>125</sup> The author will suggest below (§ 3.3.2.1) that this Hašdiya is the same as the Hašdiya who was the father of Ahhēšāya and descendant of Šangū-Ninurta in no. 11:3–4.

son of Zākir (no. 12:4 and no. 13:4). Could he be identified with the father of the Ahhēšāya who owned the house on the east side of the property mentioned in nos. 15 and 17? And with the ancestor (father?) of the seller of no. 15? Is it possible that the house of Nanāya-ušalli, son of Zākir (nos. 12 & 13), and the house of Ahhēšāya, son of Nanāya-ušalli (nos. 15 and 17), are the same house, with Ahhēšāya having inherited it from his father at some point during the time between transactions 13 and 15? If so, then this house ended up being situated on both its western and eastern sides next to properties belonging to Mušēzib-Marduk. We might also note that the properties in nos. 12 & 13 and 17 had a blind alley on their southern sides. Could this be one that ran from the public thoroughfare to the east of the property described in nos. 12 & 13?<sup>126</sup> Since the name Nanāya-ušalli could have been used by more than one person at Uruk, since the period of time between the composition of no. 13 and that of no. 15 was only about three months, and since there would have been numerous blind alleys in the city, this suggestion must remain mere supposition. Nevertheless, it is possible that Nanāya-ušalli, son of Zākir, died soon after nos. 12 and 13 were composed and his property was then divided between two of his sons, with the westernmost part going to Nabū-aḥa-ēreš and the easternmost part going to Ahhēšāya. The former immediately sold the part he had inherited to a neighbour (Mušēzib-Marduk) in no. 15, while the latter held on to his inheritance.

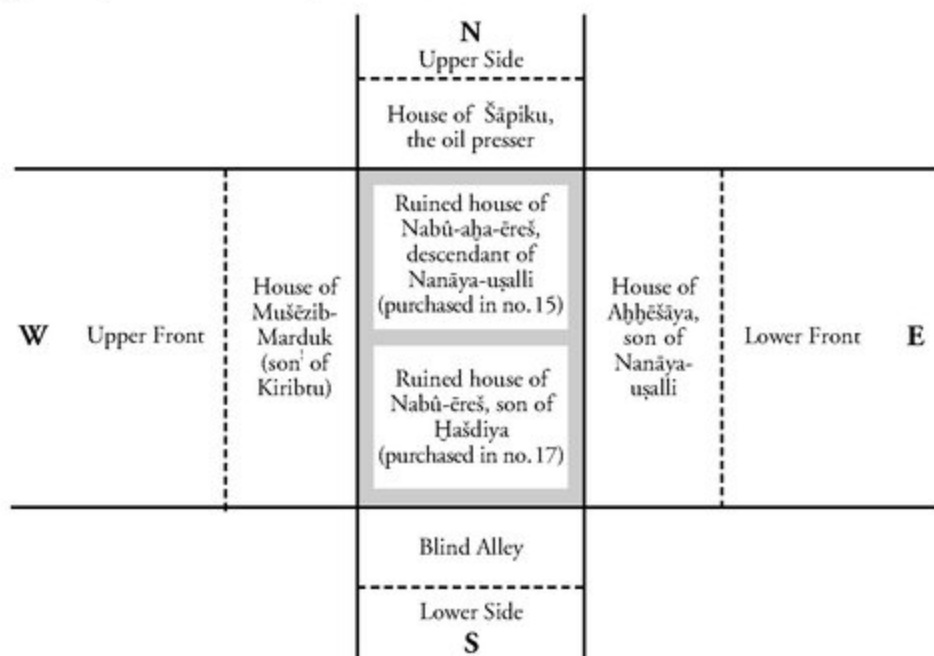


Fig. 5: Two Ruined Houses in the Eanna District (nos. 15 and 17)

<sup>126</sup> When attempting to connect nos. 12, 13, and 17, it is perhaps worthy of note that three witnesses appear in all three texts: Balāssu, son of Ubār(u); Bēl-uballit, son of Balāssu; and Nergal-ibni, son of Nabū-ušallim (see the name index at the back of the volume).

### 3.3.1.3 Other, Uncertain, and Unknown

Five transactions deal with houses or house plots where the exact location of the property is not stated, and where at times it is not clear if it was located at Uruk or somewhere else, perhaps Babylon.

Table 10: Other Urban Properties

Text	Museum no.	Location	Date	Summary
8*	FLP 1288	Babylon	3–VIII–666	Promissory note (transfer of debt) with a house as security
9*	BM 118986	Nuḥṣānītu	28–I–663	Transfer of debt; “[the cattle] pen and orchard ... that are at <i>Uruk</i> ” used as security
10	BM 118984	Uruk	[?]-X–661	Purchase of an empty plot
16	YBC 11413	Babylon	1–IX–656	Promissory note, with land at Babylon and all other assets as security; reference to a house at Uruk
20	BM 118983	Babylon	26–VIII–653	Court proceedings over a house

Four of these (nos. 8\*, 9\*, 16 and 20) are discussed in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Ṭābiya family and in particular its members Šulāya and Nabû-ēṭir; see § 3.1. In summary, in nos. 8\* and 16, what is probably the same house is used as security for two different debts, in the latter text for a debt owed to Mušēzib-Marduk. The debts were apparently never paid off and no. 20 describes a lawsuit over the ownership of that house. Mušēzib-Marduk gave a sum of money to the other claimant to the house (the heir of the person who was owed money in no. 8\*) and ended up in possession of it. No details about the location of the house (i.e., the name of the city district or the names of neighbours) are provided in any of the texts. Thus, in this section we will only look at the properties mentioned in nos. 9\* and 10.

No. 9\* (BM 118986) records the fact that Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim of the family of (Ea-) ilūta-bani has given Nabû-aḥḫē-erība of the Barber (Gallābu) family ten minas of silver to reimburse the latter for expenses he had incurred on behalf of Nabû-nādin-šumi of the Ṭābiya family. Interest on the debt is to accrue at the rate of one-sixth shekel per shekel (16⅔ %) per annum and to be charged against both Nabû-aḥḫē-erība and Nabû-nādin-šumi. Nabû-nādin-šumi's cattle pen and orchard that were apparently situated at Uruk (šá [(ina)] ‘UNUG’<sup>1</sup>.KI) are stated to be Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim's security for the payment of the debt. Mušēzib-Marduk is not involved in this transaction, but Nabû-nādin-šumi of the Ṭābiya family, one of the debtors in the text, sold three properties located at Uruk (including a share in an orchard) to him nine years later (no. 18, AO 10337). It is thus possible that the same orchard is in question and that this old document was given to Mušēzib-Marduk at the time of the later transaction. It is worthy of note that Nabû-aḥḫē-erība served as a witness to the later transaction (line 44), thereby indicating his acquiescence to the sale and his agreement not to raise any claim against the properties in question in the future. In sum, no details are given in the text about the exact location of the house (or orchard), except that they were likely at Uruk (assuming the reading UNUG in line 9 is correct).

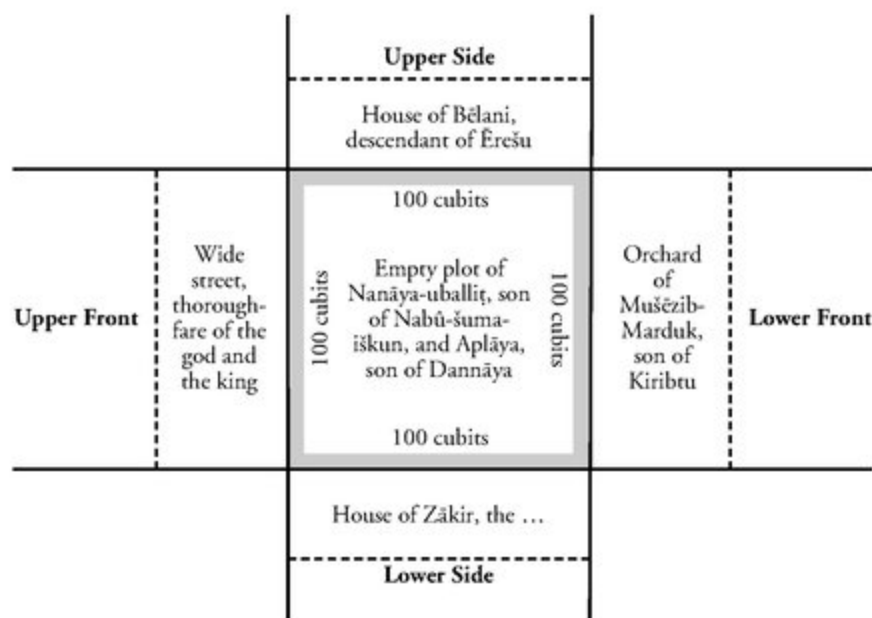


Fig. 6: Empty plot of Nanāya-uballiṭ, son of Nabū-šuma-iškun, and Aplāya, son of Dannāya (no. 10)

According to no. 10 (BM 118984) Mušēzib-Marduk purchased an unused plot of land—*bīt(u) kišubbū*<sup>127</sup>—belonging to two individuals: Nanāya-uballiṭ, son of Nabū-šuma-iškun, and Aplāya, son of Dannāya, for fifty-six shekels of silver. Since only the paternal names of both sellers are given, it is not clear if they were related or not. It is not stated where the land was located, not even in which city it was found; however, the text was composed at Uruk and all other properties that Mušēzib-Marduk purchased—when their locations are clear—were situated in or near Uruk.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, it is not impossible that this empty plot was located in Uruk's Ninurta Temple district next to a property—partially a date palm orchard and partially unused land—that Mušēzib-Marduk purchased twelve years earlier (nos. 3 and 5; see § 3.3.2.1). The land of concern in no. 10 is next to an orchard already owned by Mušēzib-Marduk (line 6) and had as its other neighbours the house of Bēlani, descendant of Ērešu (line 3)<sup>129</sup>; the house of Zākīr<sup>130</sup>; and a processional street ("the wide road, thoroughfare of the god and the king," line 5). The property partially purchased by him in no. 5 had as its neighbours the city

<sup>127</sup> For the use of this term, see the commentary to no. 10 line 1.

<sup>128</sup> It is likely that one house that was used as security in connection with a debt owed to him was located at Babylon; see the discussion of nos. 8\*, 16 and 20 in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Ṭābiya family (§3.1).

<sup>129</sup> Bēlāni is not attested as a family name in this period (information courtesy J.P. Nielsen) and thus may more likely be the paternal name here.

<sup>130</sup> The reading of Zākīr's profession is uncertain (LÚ x x), but it is possible that he was a leatherworker; see the commentary to text 10 line 4.

wall (line 3); the house of Zākir, the leatherworker (line 4); a street (E.SfR, line 5); and Zibāya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta (line 6) (See Table 12). Do nos. 5 and 10 refer to the same Zākir and the same street? In view of the fact that Mušēzib-Marduk owned several orchards, that the terms used to describe Zākir may be different in the two texts, and that the streets are described differently in the texts—let alone the fact that there were numerous streets in the city—this must remain uncertain. However, the property in no. 5 was apparently part of a larger property in which Mušēzib-Marduk purchased a share a year earlier in no. 3 (for the relationship between nos. 3 and 5, see below § 3.3.2.1 and Table 12). In no. 3, the neighbour on one side was Zibāya, son of Ērešu (line 6), not Zibāya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta, as in no. 5. Assuming that the two Zibāyas are the same individual, he might also have been the father of Bēlani, descendant of Ērešu in no. 10 line 3. In sum, it is not impossible that the unused plot of land purchased by Mušēzib-Marduk in no. 10 was located near to the property he purchased in nos. 3 and 5.<sup>131</sup> Whether or not the empty plot mentioned in no. 10 was located in the Ninurta Temple district or even at Uruk, it nevertheless shows Mušēzib-Marduk purchasing property next to property he already owned.

Each side of the property in no. 10 is said to measure 100 cubits, thus ca. 50×50 m or 2500 m<sup>2</sup>, an extremely large area. Baker records only one larger plot in her list detailing the size of urban properties in the Neo-Babylonian period (*Nappāhu*, p. 59). While we cannot prove that the land in no. 10 was situated within a city, let alone Uruk, the fact that it lay next to a processional street, would suggest it was.<sup>132</sup> However, compared to the prices Mušēzib-Marduk paid for other urban properties, including derelict houses, the price for this property, 56 shekels, is quite low and this might go against the view that the land was situated inside a city.

### 3.3.2 Agricultural Land

Sixteen transactions involve in some way agricultural land, in particular orchards, and again most of these were located in or near Uruk.

#### 3.3.2.1 Ninurta Temple District Inside Uruk

Four transactions show Mušēzib-Marduk acquiring ownership of date palm orchards located in the district of the Temple of Ninurta inside Uruk. This temple and district clearly bordered on the city wall since the orchard(s) purchased by Mušēzib-Marduk in that district by means of transactions 3 and 5 were said to be located next to the city wall (see below).<sup>133</sup> None of the orchards purchased in this district are stated to adjoin a

<sup>131</sup> Two of the witnesses to no. 10 (Bēl-iddin, son of Šillāya, and Šākin-šumi, son of Šullumu, lines 24 and 28 respectively) also appear as witnesses in no. 14 (lines 33 and 35), a transaction that took place three years earlier and involved Mušēzib-Marduk's purchase of an orchard in the Ninurta Temple district.

<sup>132</sup> Moreover, based upon the spacing, it seems clear that the cardinal directions for the sides of the property were given, something that was only done for urban properties in this group (see § 2.7).

<sup>133</sup> Texts that are not part of this archive also indicate that the temple was close to the city wall (e.g., AnOr 9 2:53). For the worship of the god Ninurta at Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian period and for some information on this temple, see Beaulieu, *Pantheon*, pp. 298–303.



watercourse, which is surprising in view of the need to irrigate the date palms (and any vegetables or other plants that might be planted between them). Unless they were in fact near to (unmentioned) canals, the labour involved in getting water to the orchards must have been great.<sup>134</sup> G. van Driel has noted that access to water is “sometimes hidden by the fact that a (royal) road running along a river or canal is given as a boundary” in Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid texts.<sup>135</sup> That is undoubtedly more applicable to rural areas than to those located inside a city; nevertheless, it is worth noting that in all but one of the documents in our group, the orchard is stated to be located next to a street along one of its shorter sides.<sup>136</sup> In the remaining document (no. 14), no information on what was located along the sides of the orchard is provided beyond the brief statement that the property lay next to the temple of the god Ninurta. (See also §2.7.)

*Table 11: Properties Located in the Ninurta Temple District Inside Uruk*

Text	Museum no. (Published copy)	Location	Date	Summary
3	BM 118979	Uruk	23–VII–674	Purchase of a half share in a field, (comprising both) an orchard planted with date palms and unused land
5	BM 118972	Uruk	23–VII–673	Purchase of a half share in a field, an orchard planted with date palms
11	BM 118968	Ur	29–VI–660	Purchase of a field, an orchard planted with date palms
14 a	IM 57079 (UET 4 no. 15)	Uruk	10–VIII–658	Purchase of a half share in an orchard planted with date palms
b	dup. BM 118966			

No. 3 (BM 118979) records the sale of a half share (*abi*) in a date palm orchard and in an unused plot of land located against the city wall in this district, with the transaction being concluded on the twenty-third day of Tašritu (VII) in the seventh year of Esarhad-don (674). Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Kudurru (and grandson of Nabû-aḫa-ēreš), together with his mother Nasqat received from Mušēzib-Marduk two and a half minas of silver,

<sup>134</sup> For information on the growing of date palms and the importance of irrigation, see for example P. Popenoe, *The Date Palm*, edited by H. Field (Coconut Grove, Miami, FL: Field Research Projects, 1973), especially pp. 79–86 (note: “If it is to be asked how much water is given the palm, the most nearly general answer would be, ‘All there is.’ Usually irrigation is limited solely by the amount of water available,” p. 79), and V. H. W. Dowson, *Dates & Date Cultivation of the Iraq*, 3 volumes (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., for the Agricultural Directorate of Mesopotamia, 1921–23), especially vol. 1 pp. 20–26 (note: “Though a palm can live for a long time without being irrigated ... in such circumstances it does not bear well, and may not bear at all. For the maximum yield, the roots of the palm must be supplied very plentifully with water, especially during the hotter part of the year,” p. 20).

<sup>135</sup> Van Driel, *BSA* 4 (1988): 131.

<sup>136</sup> Baker states that “generally orchards and gardens [located within a city] would be restricted in their location to the low-lying margins of the site where they could be served by gravity-flow canals” since “the use of water-drawers would be more labour-intensive” and that she has been able to determine the names of ten intramural watercourses at Uruk in texts from the first millennium (*Iraq* 71 [2009]: 95).

plus 5 shekels as an additional payment, in return for the property. Presumably Kudurru, Bēl-ahhē-iddin's father and Nasqat's husband, was no longer living. Nasqat, who appears in this text and in no. 5, is the only woman to appear in this archive. Was she acting in association with her son because he was underage and it was necessary for her to show her consent to this action? Or did she too have a claim on the property, one left her by her late husband? The property was irregular in shape with the upper and lower sides being 350 and 300 cubits in length and the upper and lower fronts being 300 and 200 cubits in length respectively. This makes it impossible to determine the exact size of the property.

According to text 5 (BM 118972), a year to the day after the transaction recorded in no. 3 took place, Bēl-ahhē-iddin and Nasqat sold a half share (*ahi*) in the property to Mušēzib-Marduk for exactly the same price and exactly the same additional payment as in no. 3. In no. 3 the property sold is described as being "a field, (comprising both) an orchard planted with date palms and unused land, in the district of the Temple of Ninurta that is inside Uruk," while in no. 5 it is called "a field, an orchard planted with date palms, in the district of the Temple of Ninurta that is inside Uruk," *i.e.*, no unused land is mentioned in no. 5. As in no. 3, the shape of the property being sold is irregular.

Table 12: Comparison of Properties in Nos. 3 and 5

	No. 3 Measurements	No. 3 Next to:	No. 5 Measurements	No. 5 Next to:
Upper side	350 cubits	city wall	300 cubits	city wall
Lower side	300 cubits	Zākir, the leatherworker	240 cubits	house of Zākir, the leatherworker
Upper front	300 cubits	Eanna-ibni, the potter, and the street	240 cubits	the street
Lower front	200 cubits	Zibāya, son of Ērešu	190 cubits	Zibāya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta

(The cardinal directions for the four sides of the property are not given in either text.)

As the above chart shows, each of the four sides of the property sold in no. 5 was shorter than the corresponding side in no. 3. The reduced size of the field in no. 5 is also reflected in the fact that the property is not stated to include any unused land at the beginning of the text and in the fact that in no. 5 text the upper front of the property is said to have bordered on the street while the upper front in no. 3 is stated to have bordered on property belonging to Eanna-ibni, the potter, as well as the street. Even though it is impossible to determine the exact size of the property/properties due to its/their irregular shape(s), each text clearly deals with a large area of land, with the shortest side (lower front in no. 5) measuring 190 cubits (ca. 95 m) and the longest side (upper side in no. 3) measuring 350 cubits (ca. 175 m). The differences in the description of the property mean that the operative sections of the two documents diverge at a few points. In addition, there are numerous orthographic differences between the two texts; and the neighbour on the lower front is given his paternal name in no. 3 (*māršu ša Ērešu*, line 6) and his family/ancestral name in no. 5 (*mār Šangū-Ninurta*, line 6). Nevertheless, the two texts are dated exactly a year apart; the same two officials and the same fourteen witnesses appear at both transactions. Moreover, both texts were written by the same scribe. There are, however, some

slight changes in the order of the witnesses, with the eighth witness in no. 3, Nabû-udammīq, descendant of Šulāya (rev. 13), appearing in seventh position in no. 5 (line 32) and the fourteenth (last) witness in no. 3, Kunāya, descendant of Lābāši (rev. 19), appearing in tenth position in no. 5 (line 35). Although Mušēzib-Marduk arranged the price with only Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin in no. 3 lines 10–12, he did so with both him and his mother in no. 5 lines 9–10; the purchase price was paid to the two of them in both texts.

It is possible that Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and his mother Nasqat sold a half share in the property in 674 (no. 3) and later found it necessary to sell their remaining half share in the orchard part of the property in 673 (no. 5). Could the fact that the two documents were composed a year to the day apart suggest that the date of the later sale was set in advance? For example, when the first sale was carried out, Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and Nasqat may have made an arrangement with Mušēzib-Marduk to sell their remaining share a year later if certain circumstances occurred. However, it seems most unlikely that exactly the same witnesses would have been available to attend both transactions. We must also consider the possibility that we simply have here two copies of one transaction, with one copy having numerous scribal “errors.” However, the differences between the two texts are not such as would support such a view (*i.e.*, inconsistent shortening of the measurements of the field and variations in the names of the witnesses). One might consider the possibility of the first being a seriously flawed record (measurements being incorrectly stated or calculated) with the result that a totally new record of the transaction had to be made. However, in this case, one would have expected the flawed copy to be destroyed; moreover the difference in the dates would be unexpected, unless we assume a mistake here as well.

The matter becomes more complex if, passing over no. 11 for the moment, we look at no. 14 (IM 57079 and duplicate BM 118966). According to this transaction, fifteen years after no. 5, Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin sold his half share in a date palm orchard in the district of the temple of Ninurta to Mušēzib-Marduk (who already owned the other half share in the property) for five minas of silver (plus ten shekels as an additional payment), twice the amount paid in nos. 3 and 5, or exactly the sum of the two. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin’s mother Nasqat may have died in the meantime or perhaps she no longer had any say in this matter. Neither the measurements of this orchard nor its various neighbours are explicitly mentioned in no. 14, but the property is said to border on the temple of Ninurta: PAP *qaq’-qar-šū šā* DA É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ *ma-la ba-šū-ú’*, “all his property which borders on the temple of the god Ninurta, as much as there is (of it)” (line 6). Perhaps it was felt that there was no further need to specify where the property was since it was the only one located next to the temple that was owned jointly by Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and Mušēzib-Marduk. Although the property sold in nos. 3 and 5 was also located in the Temple of Ninurta city district, the temple of Ninurta is not stated to be one of the neighbours when the property is described. However no. 3 does later describe the property as being next to that temple—“all the field of Kudurru, son<sup>1</sup> of Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, as much as there is (of it) beside the temple of the god Ninurta,” PAP A.ŠA *šā* <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-APIN-eš *ma-la ba-šū-ú’ šā* DA É <sup>d</sup>*nin-urta* (lines 7–8)—and, as already noted, no. 14 refers to the orchard in a similar way. Thus the same property, or parts of it, may well be in question in both texts, with Mušēzib-Marduk purchasing the second half share of the property in no. 14. Or possibly

at some point during the fifteen years between transactions no. 5 and no. 14 the temple of Ninurta had purchased the land on the orchard's lower side (house of Zākīr) and/or lower front (property of Zibāya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta), the two sides of the orchard in no. 5 that did not border on public/state property (the city wall and a street; see Table 12), and thus the orchard could now be said to border on the temple of Ninurta? Or was the house occupied by Zibāya actually owned by that temple and thus the scribe could legitimately state that the property bordered on land belonging to the temple and on property occupied by Zibāya? If the property sold in no. 14 lay close to that sold in no. 11 (see below) then it was situated near to the temple because the latter property bordered on it (no. 11 line 8). Nevertheless, it is conceivable that in addition to selling one or two half shares in one orchard to Mušēzib-Marduk via nos. 3 and 5, Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin had owned another orchard jointly with Mušēzib-Marduk in the same area of the city and that he was selling this one in no. 14. In any case, no. 14 shows Mušēzib-Marduk attempting to gain full ownership of an orchard in this city district and ending his joint ownership of the property with Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin.

According to no. 11 (BM 118968), Mušēzib-Marduk acquired a date palm orchard in the Ninurta temple district for three minas and fifty shekels of silver (plus seven shekels as an additional payment) from Aḥḥēšāya, son of Ḥašdiya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta; this had been Aḥḥēšāya's share in an estate that he had divided with his father's brother Zibāya (JA.LA šá it-ti mzi-ba-a ŠEŠ AD-šú ú-za-zu, lines 5–6). One of the neighbours to the property sold in nos. 3 and 5 is stated to be Zibāya, son of (*māršu ša*) Ērešu in no. 3:6 and descendant (*mār*) of Šangū-Ninurta in no. 5:6 (see above). Thus, it is possible that the same individual is mentioned in all three texts. This would result in the following genealogy:



Fig. 7: The Šangū-Ninurta Family

Moreover, Zibāya is one of the neighbours in no. 11 (Zibāya *mār* Ērešu, upper front, line 9).<sup>137</sup> Is Zibāya's own father—and thus Aḥḥēšāya's paternal grandfather—still alive and identifiable as the neighbour on the property's upper side (Ērešu *mār* Šangū-Ninurta, line 7)? This would seem unlikely since we would not expect his grandson Aḥḥēšāya to be acting independently if his paternal grandfather was still alive. Perhaps the name Ērešu was popular in the (extended) family. If the property that Zibāya owned next to the orchard of Aḥḥēšāya (no. 11) is the same property mentioned as bordering the property

<sup>137</sup> Admittedly he is called *mār* Ērešu in no. 11 line 9, not *māršu ša* Ērešu, but as noted earlier *mār* can be used both for actual sons and for more remote descendants. The witness list of no. 11 consistently uses *māršu ša* but Mušēzib-Marduk is called *māršu ša* Kiribti in lines 17–18 and *mār* Kiribti in line 12.

sold in nos. 3 and 5, then the properties that Mušezib-Marduk was purchasing by means of these transactions lay both close to one another in the Ninurta Temple district and close to the temple itself.

Several other sons of Hašdiya are attested in this archive: Ina-tēši-ētir, Marduk-erība, Marduk-šuma-ibni, Nabû-ēreš and Nabû-ušēzib; see the index of personal names sub Hašdiya. All of these, except for Marduk-šuma-ibni, appear in no. 17, suggesting that they were related. In no. 17, Nabû-ēreš sold a ruined house in the Eanna district to Mušezib-Marduk. Moreover, Nabû-ēreš and Nabû-ušēzib also appear in no. 15, which like no. 11 was composed at Ur. Possibly some or all of these individuals were brothers of Aḫḫēšāya and should be added to Fig. 7.

No. 10, which might deal with an empty plot of land in the district of the Temple of Ninurta, has been discussed above (§ 3.3.1.3).

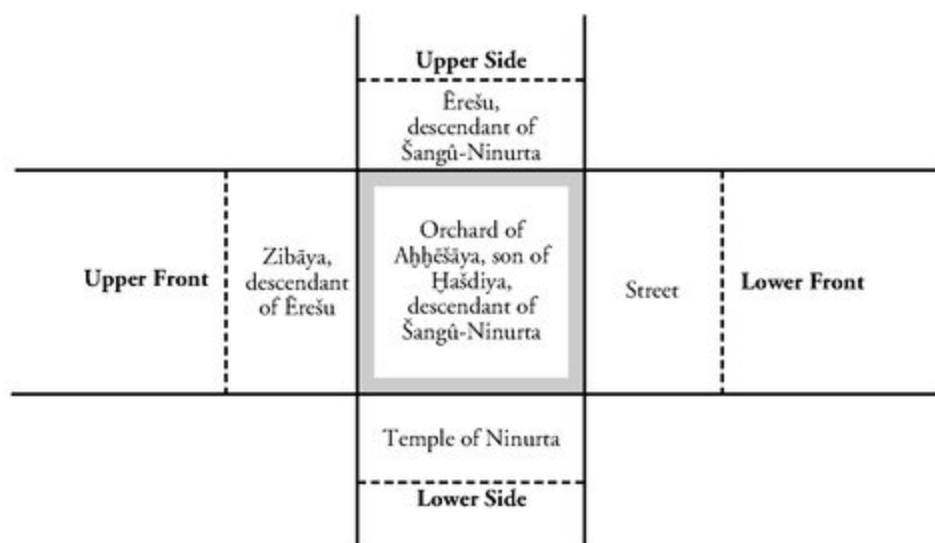


Fig. 8: Orchard of Aḫḫēšāya, Son of Hašdiya (no. 11)

### 3.3.2.2 The Royal Canal (at Uruk)

Four transactions in our archive involve orchards or arable land located in the meadowland (*ugāru*, A.GAR)<sup>138</sup> of Uruk along the royal canal (nos. 18–1 [partially restored], 18–3, and 19) or in the district of the royal canal (nos. 22\* and 24 [partially restored]); a fifth transaction composed at Uruk simply states that the orchard used as security for

<sup>138</sup> It is difficult to know how best to translate the Akkadian word *ugāru*. The CAD translates it as “grassland, meadow, arable land” (CAD U/W, p. 27); the CDA calls it a “(communally controlled) meadow” (p. 418); and Wunsch uses the more general translation “Gebiet” (Wunsch, *Egibi* 2, p. 2 no. 2: 2). The author has used the term “meadowland” in this study, but acknowledges that this translation has its limitations. See van Driel, *BSA* 4 (1988): 142–143 on this term and its relation to the term *tamirtu*.

a debt was located along the royal canal (no. 26). According to van Driel, the Euphrates and the royal canal (*nār šarri*) were the main sources of irrigation water for Uruk.<sup>139</sup> As is not surprising in view of its name, more than one “royal canal” is attested in Babylonia. They are mentioned at Nippur, Sippar and likely Babylon, in addition to Uruk.<sup>140</sup> D. Cocquerillat suggests that it approached Uruk from the north, ran along the north-eastern side of the city and then entered the city itself about halfway down its eastern side.<sup>141</sup> The five transactions mentioning this canal all date toward the end of the archive, from 654 BC and after.

Table 13: Properties Located Along the Royal Canal or in the District of the Royal Canal

Text	Museum no. (Published copy)	Location	Date	Summary
18-1 & 18-3	AO 10337 (TCL 12 12)	Babylon	10-III-654	Purchase of an orchard and arable land
19	BM 118980	Babylon	10[(+)]-VIII-654	Purchase of an orchard
22*	BM 118977	Borsippa	11-IV-650	Purchase of an orchard planted with date palms
24	BM 118982	Ša-šuru-Adad	27-VIII-649	Purchase of an orchard planted with date palms
? 26	NBC 8393 (Ellis, JCS 36 [1984]:52 no. 17)	Uruk	17-XII-633	Promissory note, with an orchard used as security

No. 18 (AO 10337, TCL 12 12) informs us about Mušēzib-Marduk's purchase of three properties—or shares in some or all of the properties—located at Uruk from Nabū-nādin-šumi, son of Šulāya, descendant of Tābiya. Although the two lines describing the orchard of interest (18-1) are damaged, the reading G[IS.SA]R šā<sup>m</sup> [ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a DUMU-šū šā<sup>m</sup>]A-a DUMU<sup>m</sup> DUG.GA-šā<sup>1</sup> / šā<sup>1</sup> (<ina>) UGU<sup>1</sup> f[<sup>1</sup>D LUGAL A.GĀR] UNUG.KI, “O[rcha]rd of [A]h[ē]a, son of [A]plāya, descendant of Tābiya, that is (located) along the [royal] c[anal] in the meadowland of Uruk” (lines 1-2) seems likely in view of the parallel in no. 19 lines 1-2 (see below), and since the property's lower front was “[on the bank] of the royal canal” (ZA[G K].TA GÚ) f[<sup>1</sup>D] LUGAL, line 6). A field that was also sold in the text (18-3) may have also been located in the same general region: “Arable land, cultivated (for cereals), in the meadowland of the Angillu irrigation district and (by) the upper royal canal in the meadowland of Uruk” (ŠE.NUMUN pi-i šul-pu A.GĀR GARIM<sup>2</sup> an-gil-lu<sub>4</sub> u f[<sup>1</sup>D] LUGAL e-lu-ú A.GĀR UNUG.KI, lines 16-17). Zadok suggests that Angillu was probably on the right bank of the royal canal.<sup>142</sup> This is the only case in which we find Mušēzib-Marduk purchasing a field used for growing grain; in all other known cases he is purchasing houses, derelict houses, empty plots, or orchards (sometimes accompanied by waste land). The third property mentioned in the document (18-2) was a house located inside Uruk; it is discussed above in connection with property in Uruk's Market Gate

<sup>139</sup> Van Driel, *BSA* 4 (1988): 126.

<sup>140</sup> See Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 384-385.

<sup>141</sup> Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 16-19 and pls. 3a-b.

<sup>142</sup> Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 23-24.



district (§3.3.1.1). While the precise location is given for the orchard and house—all four neighbours being cited—this is not the case for the plot of arable land. This transaction is discussed in more detail in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Ṭābiya family (§3.1).

It is likely that Mušēzib-Marduk purchased only one share in the ownership of at least the orchard along the royal canal in no. 18, since according to no. 19 (BM 118980), he purchased the same property five months later for three minas and fifty shekels of silver from Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Ibnāya and descendant of Ṭābiya. The description of the location of the property (in particular the neighbours bordering it) in both texts appears to be identical, but the relevant passage in no. 18 (lines 1–6) is admittedly somewhat damaged. Undoubtedly the orchard had been owned jointly by these two members of the Ṭābiya family and Mušēzib-Marduk was attempting to gain full ownership of the property. Regrettably lines 7–10 of no. 19 that might have clarified matters are poorly preserved. See the section on Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the Ṭābiya family (§3.1) for more on this transaction and the possible family relationship between the two former owners, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and Nabû-nādin-šumi.

Nos. 22\* and 24 deal with the same property, “the orchard of Aḥḥēa, son of Zabdānu” in the district of the royal canal in the meadowland of Uruk. The following chart and plan provide the essential details of the transactions:

Table 14: Comparison of Transactions Nos. 22\* and 24

	No. 22*	No. 24
Seller	Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Aḥḥēa	Aḥa-iddin-Marduk, [son/descendant of Bēl-ibni]
Purchaser	Bēl-ibni, son of Šamaš-īpuš	[Mušēzib]-Marduk
Price	2½ minas of silver, the amount ( <i>rašūtu</i> ) owed by Aḥḥēa, son of Zabdānu, plus one <i>talbultu</i> - garment	[... silver, the amo]unt ( <i>rašūtu</i> ) owed by Bēl-ibni ...]
Date	11–IV–yr. 18 Ššu (650)	27–VIII–yr. 20 Asb. (649)
Place of composition	Borsippa	Ša-šuru-Adad

Two years into the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn revolt and on the very same day that the Assyrian siege of Babylon began, the eleventh day of Dūzu,<sup>143</sup> a contract was drawn up at Borsippa—thus not far from Babylon—recording the sale of an orchard by Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Aḥḥēa, to Bēl-ibni, son of Šamaš-īpuš, for two and one-half minas of silver (no. 22\*, BM 118977). Possibly no money actually changed hands at this time since lines 9–10 tell us that this sum was “the amount (*rašūtu*) owed by Aḥḥēa, son<sup>1</sup> of Zabdānu” (i.e., by Bēl-aḥḥē-erība's father and the original owner of the field, see line 7). Only the additional payment, one *talbultu*-garment, may have been given to the seller Bēl-aḥḥē-erība despite the fact that lines 13–16 tell us that he had received the two and a half minas of silver. The measurement of only one side of the field, “the upper front,” thus one of

<sup>143</sup> Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 15: 19.



the shorter sides, is given; it is stated to be 230 cubits in length (ca. 115 m) and to lie along the royal canal (line 5). Thus, it is not possible to determine the actual size of the orchard, but it should have been at least 13,225 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>144</sup> Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in this transaction.

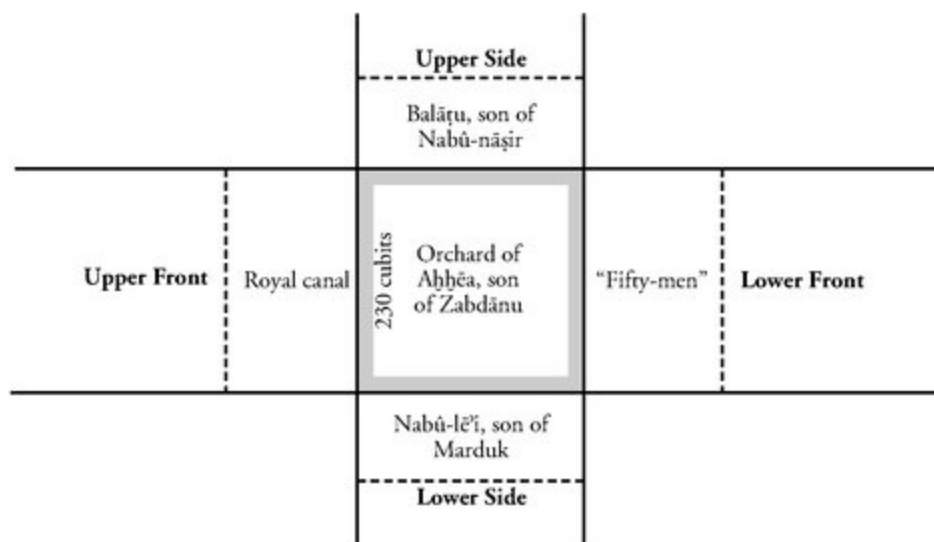


Fig. 9: Orchard of Ahhēa, Son of Zabdānu (nos. 22\* and 24)

According to no. 24 (BM 118982), it is clear that the same orchard (or a share in it) was sold a year later to a [...] -Marduk. Although the passage in no. 24 is slightly damaged, the orchard is described in the same way as in no. 22\* (an orchard planted with date palms in the district of the [royal] ca[nal], in the meadowland of Uruk); it is also said to have been the orchard of Ahhē[a, son] of Zabdānu; the neighbours are the same; and the same measurement is given for the upper front. No paternal or ancestral name is given for the purchaser in no. 24 and his own name is only partially preserved ([...] -<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, line 9), but the individual is likely to be our Mušēzib-Marduk in view of (i) the presence of this tablet in the 1927-12-10 registration series, (ii) his interest in property located near the Royal Canal at Uruk, and (iii) the similarity of this tablet to others associated with him. Probably no. 22\* was given to him at the time the transaction recorded in no. 24 was concluded. If the restoration of the name of the purchaser in no. 24 as [Mušēzib] -Marduk is not correct, then both nos. 22\* and 24 may have been retroacts, documents later transferred to him in connection with a transaction not represented by any of the documents in the current archive. As in no. 22\*, the orchard was likely being sold in order to pay off a debt, but presumably this time one

<sup>144</sup> This figure is based upon the assumption that the property was a regular rectangle and that since it was one of the shorter sides ("Upper front") that was 230 cubits (ca. 115 m), the longer sides (upper and lower sides) were at least the same length.

owed to Mušēzib-Marduk. Unfortunately the relevant passage in lines 8–9 is damaged. Probably the seller in no. 24, Aḫa-iddin-Marduk, was the son of the purchaser in no. 22\*, Bēl-ibni, and the land was being sold to settle the father's debt. The transaction may just be the official transfer of ownership of property that had been used as security for a debt that could not be repaid. In text no. 4, an Aḫa-iddin-Marduk, descendant of Aplāya, sold a ruined house in the Market Gate district of Uruk to Mušēzib-Marduk about twenty-five years earlier than no. 24, but there is no other reason to assume that the same person was meant in both texts.

By the time that no. 22\* was composed, the rebellion led by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn had been going on for about two years. On the twenty-third day of the month Ayyāru (II) in 652, Ashurbanipal appealed to the people of Babylon not to join Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in rebellion;<sup>145</sup> an extispicy was performed in the middle of the fourth month of that year to determine if Šamaš-šuma-ukīn would be captured if Assyrian forces entered Babylon;<sup>146</sup> and actual hostilities commenced on the nineteenth day of Ṭebētu (X).<sup>147</sup> Borsippa, the city at which transaction no. 22\* was concluded, stood on the side of the rebels and, along with Babylon and Sippar, closed its gates to the Assyrians at the start of the rebellion.<sup>148</sup> Assyrian forces besieged the city at some point during the rebellion, but it is not known when exactly that occurred.<sup>149</sup> Since Borsippa lay close to Babylon, it may have been besieged at the same time as Babylon, in the month Dūzu (IV) of 650,<sup>150</sup> and later fallen around the same time Babylon did. The last known document dated by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's regnal years at Borsippa was composed on the twenty-eighth day of Abu (V) in 648 (BM 134973), only two days before the last one dated by him at Babylon (BM 40577). While the war was going on, some individuals probably attempted to sell off property to which they no longer had access since it was located in areas under the control of the opposing side or was in danger of being looted or damaged by enemy actions. Documents refer to individuals selling land, prebends, slaves, and indeed even themselves in order to acquire silver to purchase food that had risen dramatically in price because of the siege.<sup>151</sup> It is possible that the transaction recorded in no. 22\* was prompted in some way by the current political problems and instability, although there is no explicit indication of this in the text itself. The transaction may simply record a son paying off a debt owed by his (presumably deceased) father by transferring to the creditor an orchard. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the son did not want to continue to pay

<sup>145</sup> ABL 301. According to the Akītu chronicle (Grayson, *Chronicles* no. 16:9–10), the *rab bīti* ("steward") carried out some activity (possibly the levying of troops) in Babylonia from the second month through to the tenth month of 652. Exactly how this action was connected to the rebellion remains uncertain, although it undoubtedly was in some manner; see Frame, *Babylonia 689–627*, pp. 131, 139–140 and 243–244.

<sup>146</sup> Starr, SAA 4 279.

<sup>147</sup> Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:11.

<sup>148</sup> Edition A of Ashurbanipal's Annals iii 107–108 (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 30–31 and Borger, *BIWA*, pp. 40 and 233).

<sup>149</sup> Edition A of Ashurbanipal's Annals iii 130–132 (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 32–33 and Borger, *BIWA*, pp. 41 and 233) and see Frame, *Babylonia 689–627*, p. 142.

<sup>150</sup> Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 15:19.

<sup>151</sup> See Frame, *Babylonia 689–627*, pp. 152–153 and Frame, *JCS* 51 (1999): 101–106.

interest due on a debt while he no longer had access to income derived from the orchard located in an area held by the enemy and thus he used this method to pay off the debt. While Borsippa supported the rebellion, Uruk remained on the side of Assyria and the orchard was located there. However, could the fact that Bēl-ibni gave a garment as an additional payment indicate that this method of paying off the debt was fully acceptable to him and had not been forced upon him, as perhaps it might have been if the orchard had been originally used as security for a debt? The purchaser in no. 24 must have felt that he would be able to have access to, and gain control of, the land, either at that time or at some time in the near future; otherwise he would not have purchased it.

If the understanding of the transaction presented above is correct, Bēl-ibni either already had debts of his own at the time no. 22\* was composed or he later incurred them since no. 24 appears to refer to a sum owed by him (line 8), a debt presumably owed to Mušēzib-Marduk. Bēl-ibni either left Borsippa before the Assyrians besieged the city or managed to leave it during the siege. In no. 24, we find him over one year later in Ša-šuru-Adad, a town clearly under Assyrian control since that transaction was dated according to the regnal years of Ashurbanipal and not those of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn as no. 22\* had been. Ša-šuru-Adad may have been located in the area of Bīt-Amukāni and thus not far from Uruk (see the commentary to nos. 24 line 31), but this remains uncertain. Clearly it was possible for individuals to move about the country to at least some degree. Perhaps Bēl-ibni was a supporter of the Assyrians, or at least not a supporter of anti-Assyrian actions. Thus, he had wanted to leave the rebel-held Borsippa and was willing to accept property at Uruk in settlement of a debt that he might otherwise not have been able to collect due to the war. Uruk was Assyria's strongest supporter in Babylonia<sup>152</sup> and so he might have been happy to settle there; possibly he even came from there originally. Now, however, he needed to settle a debt of his own and was required to dispose of the orchard that he had only acquired the previous year. All this remains mere supposition, but would fit well with the political situation at the time.

The last transaction involving an orchard along the royal canal is the latest transaction studied here, no. 26 (NBC 8393), taking place at Uruk in the fifteenth year of Kandalānu (633), thirteen years after no. 25. Because of damage to the text, the names of none of the neighbours to the orchard in question are clear.<sup>153</sup> Line 5 tells us that it lay along the royal canal, but we are not told if it lay in the meadowland of Uruk or indeed if it was situated anywhere near Uruk. As already mentioned, there was more than one "royal canal" in Babylonia and some lay far from Uruk. This orchard may be one of those mentioned above or one otherwise unknown to us. No. 26 is the only document in the archive that would show Mušēzib-Marduk in debt or 'alienating' property, even though he is only using it as security for a debt of [x] minas of silver owed to two men: Bēl-aḥa-iddin, son of Ubār(u), and Ša-Nabû-šū, son of Nabû-ēṭir.<sup>154</sup> Perhaps Mušēzib-Marduk's financial situation had worsened as he grew older, but this must remain uncertain since

<sup>152</sup> See Frame, *Babylonia 689–627*, pp. 157–162.

<sup>153</sup> See the commentary to no. 26 lines 7–9.

<sup>154</sup> Bēl-aḥa-iddin appeared as a witness almost thirty years earlier in another transaction drawn up at Uruk involving Mušēzib-Marduk (no. 10:30).

this idea would be based solely upon this one transaction. Promissory notes were normally kept by the creditor and either returned to the debtor or destroyed when the debt was repaid. If this text was found together with the others examined in this study—a distinct possibility since Yale is known to have purchased tablets from Gêjou—then it would mean that the debt had been repaid by Mušēzib-Marduk. However, even if it were found elsewhere, this would not prove that the debt had never been repaid. As Jursa notes, “creditors frequently seem to have kept duplicates of old promissory notes in their archives or issued receipts instead of returning the original promissory note.”<sup>155</sup>

### 3.3.2.3 *Beside the Ḫarīṣu (of the Gate of the Goddess Irnin(n)a Inside Uruk)*

Two transactions deal with orchards located next to a *ḫarīṣu*. According to no. 2\*, the *ḫarīṣu* was that of the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a that was located inside Uruk, but in fact the *ḫarīṣu* and the adjoining property may have lain outside the city (see commentary to no. 2\* lines 2–3). No precise location is given for the orchard and *ḫarīṣu* in no. 7; nevertheless it may also have been located in or near Uruk since the transaction was carried out there and since Mušēzib-Marduk bought numerous other properties at Uruk. The names of two individuals who are said to have property adjoining the orchard in no. 7 are preserved, but the author is not aware of them appearing in any other text. A *ḫarīṣu* is known to have flowed close to Uruk's city wall and temple of Ninurta, places near which Mušēzib-Marduk acquired land (see § 3.3.2.1 and nos. 3 and 5). In itself, the word *ḫarīṣu* simply means “ditch” or “moat,” but it has been suggested that it referred to a main canal in the Neo-Babylonian period and that it might be the name of a particular canal at Uruk.<sup>156</sup> Baker will argue for the translation “moat” in her forthcoming book on the urban landscape in first-millennium Babylonia. Her study suggests that the term *ḫarīṣu* was used solely for a watercourse associated with the city wall and located just outside the city.<sup>157</sup>

Table 15: Properties Located Near the *Ḫarīṣu*

No.	Museum no.	Location	Date	Summary
2*	BM 118965	Uruk	22–I–675	Purchase of a field, an orchard planted with date palms beside the <i>ḫarīṣu</i> of the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a that is inside Uruk
7	BM 118981	Uruk	18–X–667	Purchase of a half share in an orchard located along a <i>ḫarīṣu</i>

<sup>155</sup> Jursa, *Guide*, p. 42.

<sup>156</sup> See Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 349–350 and van Driel, *BSA* 4 (1988): 142. See also the commentary to no. 2\*: 2.

<sup>157</sup> Personal communication from H. D. Baker.

No. 2\* (BM 118965) records the sale of a date palm orchard by Bēlšunu, son of Aḫḫēšāya, to Lābāši, son of Nabū-lē'i, for two and *five-sixths* minas of silver.<sup>158</sup> It is possible that one of the witnesses was a brother of the seller (Arrabi, son of Aḫḫēšāya, line 27) and another a brother of the purchaser (Bulluṣ, son of Nabū-lē'i, line 29). If so, they were likely there to indicate their approval or acceptance of the transaction. The lower front in the south was the *harīṣu*, thus it was one of the short sides that bordered on it.

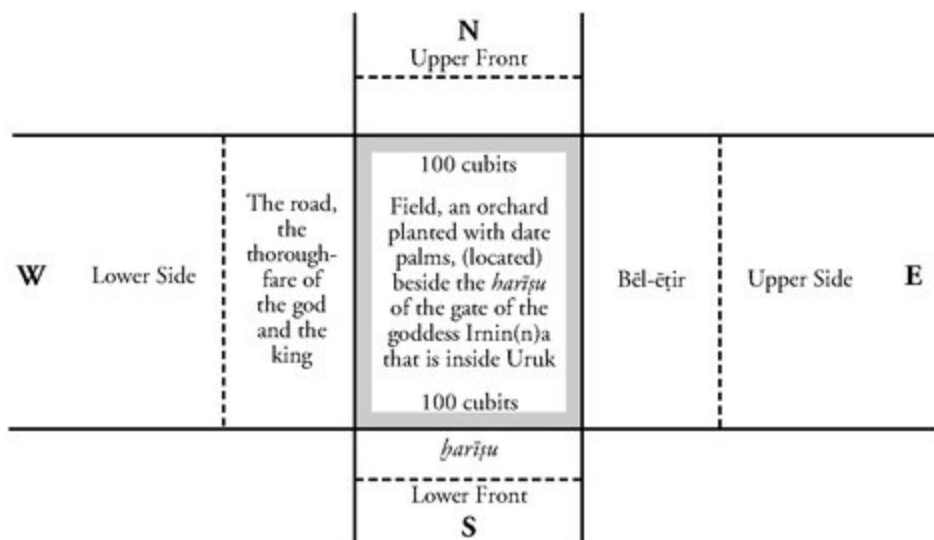


Fig. 10: Orchard of Bēlšunu, Son of Aḫḫēšāya (no. 2\*)

Assuming that the sides were longer than the fronts and that the orchard was rectangular in shape, the property would have measured a minimum of 2,500 m<sup>2</sup> in size, and likely much larger. Mušēzib-Marduk is not mentioned in no. 2\* and no known document involves Mušēzib-Marduk and either Bēlšunu or Lābāši. However, a connection of this document to the Mušēzib-Marduk archive is suggested for several reasons. First, the document is part of the 1927–11–12 group of texts in the British Museum, as are most of the texts in the archive. Second, one of the witnesses to the transaction (Nādin-aḫi, son of Upāqu, line 34) appears as witness in three texts that do involve Mušēzib-Marduk (no. 3 rev. 14; no. 4: 35; and no. 5: 34). These three texts also record the sale of real estate located at Uruk; two of them were also drawn up at Uruk and the third at the town of Šapīya. In addition, these three texts were drawn up close in time to the transaction recorded in text no. 2\* (within the next two and one-half years). Third, several years later, in 667, Mušēzib-Marduk purchased a half share in an orchard located along a

<sup>158</sup> The reading of “ $\frac{5}{6}$ ” is slightly uncertain.

<sup>159</sup> The seller also appears as witness to a transaction conducted at Ur seven years later, where he is said to be the “son” (DUMU-šū šū) of Nabū-nāšir (no. 11: 36).

*ḥarīšu* (no. 7). Fourth, the transaction recorded in no. 2\* is similar in form to most of the other texts studied here. Since no. 7 does not specify exactly where the orchard and *ḥarīšu* in that document were located and since none of the neighbours mentioned in the two texts—apart from possibly the *ḥarīšu*—are the same, it cannot be assumed that the same piece of land was in question or even plots of land close to one another. Nevertheless, it does indicate that Mušēzib-Marduk was interested in gaining possession of orchards located along a *ḥarīšu* that was likely in or near Uruk. Three sons of an Abhēšāya are later involved selling property to Mušēzib-Marduk in the transaction described in no. 23 (cf. nos. 12 and 13) but there is no reason to assume that the same Abhēšāya was meant. Possibly no. 2\* is a background document that was transferred to Mušēzib-Marduk along with some no longer preserved/located document recording his purchase of the land from Lābāši, or someone to whom Lābāši had sold the orchard subsequent to text no. 2\*.

As already mentioned, it is not clear that the orchard located along a *ḥarīšu* mentioned in no. 7 (BM 118981) in 667 was located in or near Uruk, although it may well have been. According to this text, Mušēzib-Marduk purchased half a share in “the orchard of Šāpik-zēri, son of Balāssu, the musician,” from Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Nabû-nāšir,<sup>159</sup> for two minas of silver, plus five shekels as an additional payment. The text informs us that the property had been acquired in the past by Nabû-nāšir, son of Bulluṭāya, who was undoubtedly the father of the current seller. The property in question is said to be “all the orchard of Nabû-nāšir, as much as there is (of it), that is along the *ḥarīšu*.” The owner of a plot of land bordering the orchard appears as one of the witnesses to the transaction (Zēra-ukīn, descendant of Šāpik-zēri, lines 4 and 31). His presence may have been in part to confirm the borders of the field; alternately, he may simply have been “readily available” as a witness.<sup>160</sup> It is assumed here that the property lay outside of the city of Uruk for three reasons: the property was an orchard; it lay along a *ḥarīšu*; and no cardinal directions are given for any of the sides of the property. However, there is no proof of this and one should note that nos. 3 and 5, for example, deal with an orchard and waste land located within the city and that cardinal directions are not provided for the borders of that property.

### 3.3.2.4 District of the Išēti Canal (New Canal) in the Meadowland of the District of Uruk

One additional transaction deals with property associated with or near a watercourse. No. 25 (NBC 8392) records the purchase of a field, comprised of both an orchard planted with date palms and unused land in the district of the Išēti canal—likely to be identified with the New Canal (*nāru eššetū*)—in the meadowland of the *district* (literally: temple) of Uruk (<sup>1</sup>KI-ti ID iš-še-ti A.GAR É UNUG.KI, line 2).<sup>161</sup>

<sup>160</sup> See Roth, *Marriage Agreement*, p. 21. Could one even raise the possibility that the other neighbour, Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Nādin (line 3), was also present and is to be identified with the witness Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Iddin-Nergal (line 26), with Nādin being an abbreviated form of the ancestral name?

<sup>161</sup> See the commentary to no. 25 line 2 with regard to the location of the property.



Table 16: Properties Located in the District of the Išēti Canal (New Canal)

No.	Museum no. (Publication)	Location	Date	Summary
25	NBC 8392 (Ellis, JCS 36 [1984]:38–39 no.4)	[x.k]I <sup>2</sup>	11–VII–646	Purchase of a field (comprising both) an orchard planted with date palms and unused land

The neighbours on the two sides of the property are mentioned and the lower front is said to border on the canal. Šāpik, descendant (*mār*) of Bēlani, sold the property for an unknown number of minas and seven shekels of silver (plus one shekel as an additional payment) to a Mušēzib-Marduk in the second year of Kandalānu (646). The paternal name of the purchaser is only partially preserved (line 8'), but the traces would fit a reading *[mki-rī]b-īrī*. For this reason, and because the Mušēzib-Marduk of interest to this study purchased other date palm orchards located at Uruk until at least 654 (no. 19), and likely as late as 649 (no. 24), it is assumed here that the Mušēzib-Marduk of this text is the individual of interest to our study. The current governor of Uruk was present at the conclusion of this transaction and governors of that city were regularly present at Mušēzib-Marduk's land purchases. (With regard to the reading of the name of the governor in this text, see the commentary to no. 25 line 21.)

### 3.3.2.5 Uncertain and Unknown

Four documents refer to orchards or arable land whose locations are not known or uncertain. Three of these have already been discussed and so will be only mentioned briefly here.

Table 17: Other Orchards and Arable Land

No.	Museum no. (Publication)	Location	Date	Summary
9*	BM 118986	Nuḥṣānītu	28–I–663	Transfer of debt; “[the cattle] pen and orchard ... that are at Uruk” used as security
16	YBC 11413	Babylon	1–IX–656	Promissory note, with 16 reeds of land at Babylon and all other assets as security; reference to one or two orchards and house at Uruk
21	NBC 4576	UD.[...]	[?]-[?]-652	Conditional transfer of ownership of an orchard (forfeiture)
23	BM 118973 (Frame, RA76 [1982]: 157–166)	Babylon	5–V–cponymy of Aqara	Purchase of a field, an orchard planted with date palms bearing fruit, in the district Akītu [ <i>in the meadowland of Uruk</i> ]

In connection with the transfer of a debt, no. 9\* (BM 118986) states that a cattle pen and an orchard that were likely located at Uruk and that belonged to Nabû-nādin-šumi, descendant of Tābiya, were used as security for a debt amounting to ten minas of silver owed to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim, descendant of Ilūta-bani. Nothing further is known about the precise location of the property. An interesting stipulation in the document states that no cow was to go even half a *bēru* (*i.e.*, the distance that could be covered in one hour) away from the property without the permission of the creditor, Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim. The author is not aware of this stipulation appearing in any other transaction.



Presumably the cows were also considered security for the debt and Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim did not want them to disappear in case he should eventually want to try and take actual possession of them. They were undoubtedly kept in the cattle pen.<sup>161a</sup> Although Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in no. 9\*, a member of the family of Ṭābiya does, and this text is discussed more fully in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with that family (§ 3.1) and with urban houses (§ 3.3.1.3).

No. 16 (YBC 11413) is a promissory note for fifteen minas of silver owed to Mušēzib-Marduk. It refers to Nabû-ēṭir, son of Aḥḫēa, descendant of Ṭābiya, drawing silver on his one-sixth share in an orchard, his brother Šulāya's share in an orchard (undoubtedly the same orchard), and Nabû-ēṭir's house at Uruk in connection with paying off his brother's debt. The location of the orchard is not known. The text also refers to thirteen reeds of land in Babylon bordering on the houses of two individuals (Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Amati, and Šumāya, descendant of Miširāya)—as well as all his other assets—as Mušēzib-Marduk's security. The reed system of measurement tends to be used for urban plots, with each reed being about 12.25 m<sup>2</sup>, so the property measured about 159.25 m<sup>2</sup>. Baker's list of 57 Neo-Babylonian urban properties whose size is known gives 43 with smaller areas, one with the same area, and 13 with larger areas.<sup>162</sup> This transaction is also discussed further in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's involvement with the family Ṭābiya and with urban properties (§§ 3.1 and 3.3.1.3).

In the year in which the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn revolt broke out (year 16 of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn = 652), a document was drawn up stating that if four and one-half minas of silver owed by Bēl-iddin were not paid to Mušēzib-Marduk by the month of Dūzu (IV), Mušēzib-Marduk would take possession of an orchard (no. 21, NBC 4576). Since the debt was supposed to be repaid by the month of Dūzu (IV), this document must come from earlier that year. The silver was to be handed over by Bēl-iddin's son, Rāši-ili, so Bēl-iddin was likely dead at this time. The document does not indicate where the orchard was located, although it does state that it was one that Bēl-iddin had acquired from Bēl-nāšir, son of Ilūa. On the basis of the other real estate transactions involving Mušēzib-Marduk, the orchard may well have been situated at Uruk. The location at which the transaction took place is uncertain (see the commentary to no. 21 line 21). Unfortunately, since the name of the month in which the transaction was concluded is not preserved and since the reading of the place of composition remains uncertain it is impossible to determine if the transaction was in any way connected to or affected by the political events of the time; although, it may well have been since it was composed early in the year in which the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion began. That rebellion had begun by Ayyāru (II) of 652 and the amount due on the debt was supposed to have been paid in the fourth month (lines 1–4). Since the document was dated according to the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, it must come from either the time immediately before the rebellion (thus presum-

<sup>161a</sup> An alternate understanding of this stipulation would be that the creditor wanted to use the pledged cattle pen himself and thus the debtor's cows were not to go near it (suggestion C. Wunsch).

<sup>162</sup> Baker, *Nappāhu*, pp. 58–59.

ably the month of Nisannu) or from a location that supported the rebellion or had not yet heard that it had broken out. (See the commentary to no. 21 line 21 for the place of composition of the transaction and see also above § 3.3.2.2 in connection with nos. 22\* and 24 for possible scenarios.)

According to no. 23 (BM 118973), Mušēzib-Marduk purchased “a field, an orchard pl[anted] with date palms, bearing fruit, in the district Akītu [*in the meadowland of Uruk*]” for five and one-third minas of silver (plus ten shekels as an additional payment) from three brothers: Bēl-uballit, Mukīn-zēri and Nabū-nāšir, the sons of Aḥḥēšāya; the middle brother had earlier sold a house in Uruk’s Eanna district to Mušēzib-Marduk (nos. 12 and 13). (See also the section on Mušēzib-Marduk’s involvement with the family of Aḥḥēšāya, § 3.2.) With regard to the likelihood that the Akītu district and the property mentioned in the text were located at Uruk, see the commentary to no. 23 lines 2 and 5. One of the short sides of the property was located along the canal of the goddess Nanāya (SAG KI AN.TA GÚ ID *ḥar-ri ša* <sup>rd</sup> *na-na-a*, line 5) and the opposite short side bordered on a road (SAG.KI KI.TA ŪS.S[A.D]U [K]ASKAL.II, line 6), with the two longer sides bordering on properties owned by individuals (lines 3–4). Only the measurements of the two fronts are given: 330 cubits, or ca. 165 m. Assuming the sides were at least as long as the fronts, the property must have been a minimum of 27,225 m<sup>2</sup> in size. The transaction was carried out in the eponymy of Aqara, for the date of which see the commentary to no. 23 lines 43–44.

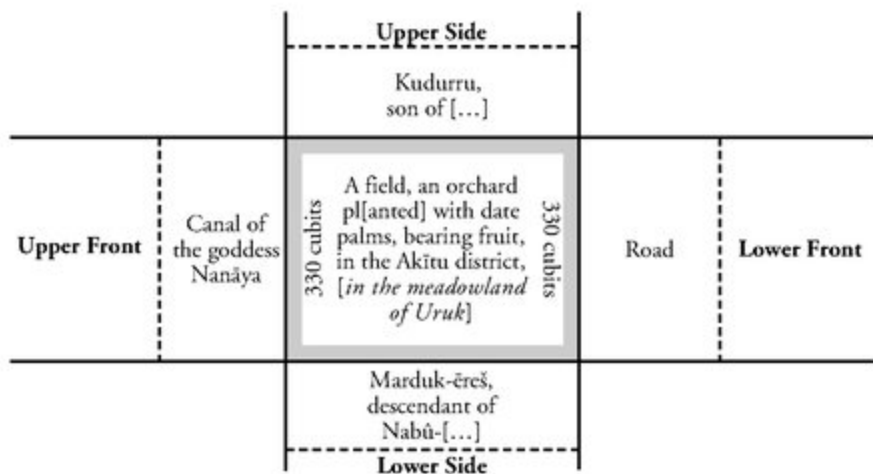


Fig. 11: Orchard of Bēl-uballit, Mukīn-zēri and Nabū-nāšir, Sons of Aḥḥēšāya (no. 23)

### 3.4 Promissory Notes and Transfer of Debt

Four documents record promissory notes or transfers of debt: nos. 8\*, 9\*, 16 and 26.<sup>163</sup> All four transactions mention property being used as security for the debts.

*Table 18: Promissory Notes and Transfer of Debt*

Text	Museum no.	Location	Date	Amount of debt (in shekels)	Summary
(Publication)					
8*	FLP 1288	Babylon	3–VIII–666	120	Promissory note (transfer of debt) with a house as security; interest rate 20%
9*	BM 118986	Nuḫšānītu	28–I–663	600	Transfer of debt; “[the cattle] pen and orchard ... that are at Uruk” used as security; interest rate 16⅔ %
16	YBC 11413	Babylon	1–IX–656	900	Promissory note with 13 reeds of land at Babylon and all other assets as security; reference to one or two orchards and a house at Uruk; interest rate 20%
26	NBC 8393 (Ellis, JCS 36 [1984]: 52 no. 17)	Uruk	17–XII–633	[...]	Promissory note with an orchard located along the royal canal used as security; interest rate possibly 20%

Nos. 8\*, 9\* and 16 all involve members of the Ṭābiya family and the connection between these texts and Mušezib-Marduk is discussed in the section on his involvement with that family (§ 3.1, and see also § 3.3.1.3). No. 8\* (FLP 1288)—a document in which Mušezib-Marduk does not appear—states that two minas of silver, the amount owed to Kunāya, descendant of Basiya, by Šulāya, descendant of Ṭābiya, were now charged against the latter's brother Nabû-ēṭir, the debt would accrue interest at the rate of 20% per annum beginning on the third day of Araḫsamna (the date the transaction was concluded), and that his (presumably Nabû-ēṭir's) house was security for the debt.

No. 9\* (BM 118986)—another document in which Mušezib-Marduk does not appear—records that Nabû-aḫḫē-erība of the Barber (Gallābu) family asked Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim of the (Ea-)ilūta-bani family to give him the sum of ten minas of silver in order to reimburse him for the expenses that he had incurred on behalf of Nabû-nādin-šumi of the Ṭābiya family. Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim agreed and gave him the money. Two properties owned by Nabû-nādin-šumi were to be security for the debt, but the interest on it (at the rate of 16⅔ %) was to be held against both Nabû-aḫḫē-erība and Nabû-nādin-šumi. It is not known how or why Nabû-aḫḫē-erība incurred expenses for Nabû-nādin-šumi or

<sup>163</sup> With regard to promissory notes in general, see the concise overviews in Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 41–42 and by J. Oelsner, B. Wells and C. Wunsch, “Neo-Babylonian Period,” in R. Westbrook, ed., *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, vol. 2 (Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/72/2) (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 949–951 sub 7.4. For more details see Petschow, *Pfandrecht* and the more recent comments by C. Wunsch in “Debt, Interest, Pledge and Forfeiture in the Neo-Babylonian and Early Achaemenid Period: The Evidence from Private Archives,” in *Debt and Economic Renewal in the Ancient Near East*, M. Hudson and M. Van De Microop, eds. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2002), pp. 221–255.

why he felt Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim might be willing to reimburse him for them. The latter clearly expected to be paid back the ten minas of silver by Nabû-nādin-šumi and/or Nabû-aḥḫē-erība, otherwise he would not have received interest on the amount or security for the amount.<sup>164</sup>

No. 16 (YBC 11413) is a promissory note in which Nabû-ēṭir of the Tābiya family promises to pay Mušēzib-Marduk fifteen minas of silver, having apparently already paid back a debt owed by his brother Šulāya. The debt was to bear interest at the rate of 20% per annum and property at Babylon and all of Nabû-ēṭir's other assets (both those in town and those in the country) were to be security for repayment of the debt.

No. 26 (NBC 8393) states that Mušēzib-Marduk owed a sum of money (amount not preserved) to two men — Bēl-aḫa-iddin, son of Ubār(u), and Ša-Nabû-šū, son of Nabû-ēṭir — that it would bear interest at the rate of 11[(+)] shekels per mina (likely 12 shekels per mina and thus 20% per annum) beginning at the start of the month Nisannu (the following month), and that an orchard of Mušēzib-Marduk's located along the royal canal was security for the debt. For more on this transaction, see above under orchards located near the royal canal, § 3.3.2.2).

Of these four transactions, two do not involve Mušēzib-Marduk and were likely given to him as retroacts when he later acquired the properties used as security in each text (nos. 8\* and 9\*). One has an interest rate of 16<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> % per annum (one sixth) (no. 9\*), two interest rates of 20% (nos. 8\* and 16), and one an interest rate that was likely 20% (no. 26). In all four cases, property was used as security for the debts; these properties were located at Babylon and Uruk. Because interest is payable on the debts in all four cases, these are not antichretic loans where the creditor takes possession of the property given as security and uses it to his own benefit until the debt was repaid. It may have been when one of the creditors attempted to take control of the property used as security in nos. 8\* and 16 that it was discovered that the owner had been using it as security for two different loans and a lawsuit resulted (no. 20; see § 3.1). He had presumably done this despite the fact that in each of the two promissory notes there was a statement that no other individual (than the creditor) was to have any right to the property used as security until the debt was repaid (no. 8\* line 7, partially damaged, but reading likely, and no. 16 lines 11–13). The same can happen today with individuals using the same asset as collateral for different debts and with lawsuits resulting when the debtor defaults on one or both debts.

In addition to these four transactions, credits or outstanding obligations (*rašūtu*) are mentioned in connection with four other transactions:

No. 20 (BM 118983; Babylon, 26–VIII–653), a law case that arose because the same property had been used as security for two different loans.

No. 21 (NBC 4576; UD.[...], [?]-[?]-652), the transfer of ownership of an orchard to a creditor if four and a half minas of silver that had been owed by the father of the orchard's current owner is not repaid by the month of Dūzu.

<sup>164</sup> The transaction includes an interesting stipulation with regard to the security given; see above § 3.3.2.5.

No. 22\* (BM 118977; Borsippa, 11–IV–650), the sale of an orchard for the amount (*rašūtu*; two and one-half minas of silver) that was owed by the father of the field's current owner.

No. 24 (BM 118982; Ša-šuru-Adad, 27–VIII–649), the sale of an orchard in which the purchase price is connected to an outstanding amount (*rašūtu*) possibly owed by the seller's father (see above §3.3.2.2).

Not one of these four additional transactions took place at Uruk and all were conducted between 26–VIII–653 and 27–VIII–649, thus either immediately before the outbreak of the rebellion of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (no. 20) or after it had begun (nos. 21, 22\* and 24).<sup>165</sup> Moreover, nos. 21, 22\* and possibly 24 involve individuals alienating property to pay off debts incurred by their fathers.<sup>166</sup> Perhaps due to the unsettled conditions at the time individuals were having problems paying the interest due on outstanding debts and/or creditors were pressing them for immediate repayment of the debts themselves and thus they found it necessary to sell off property in order to meet their obligations. Their fathers may have died recently either through natural causes or due to military actions.

### 3.5 Law Case

The only court case in this archive is no. 20 and the reasons for it and the house that was the item of dispute in it have already been discussed in detail in connection with Mušēzib-Marduk's relations with the Tābiya family, §3.1; see also §3.3.1.3).

Table 19: Law Case

No.	Museum no.	Location	Date	Summary
20	BM 118983	Babylon	26–VIII–653	Court proceedings over a house

We will just note here that the document was composed at Babylon and records the statement of one party to the dispute (Nabû-ēṭir, son of Kunāya, descendant of Basiya) and then the response by the other party (Mušēzib-Marduk). The matter was heard and then decided by an assembly of men from Babylon and the governor (of Babylon). The dispute was heard at Babylon presumably because the reason for the case could be traced back to transactions that had taken place at Babylon (nos. 8\* and 16); the house was located there and Nabû-ēṭir was based there. Mušēzib-Marduk paid a sum of money to the other party and gained possession of the house. Among the witnesses to the dispute was Kudurru, son of Nabû-ēṭir, descendant of Tābiya, the nephew of the man who had originally incurred the debts that resulted in the house being used as security for two different debts, and the son of the man whose house had been used as security. He was undoubtedly present at the proceedings so that he could both confirm that what was being stated by the contesting parties was correct with regard to the house and publicly demonstrate that he relinquished any claims that he might have had to it.

<sup>165</sup> For a date after the outbreak of the rebellion for no. 21, see the commentary to line 21 of that text.

<sup>166</sup> The legal dispute in no. 20 can also be traced back to the paying off of debts originally incurred by an individual's brother; see §3.1.

## 4. Texts



## No. 1

BM 118964 (1927-11-12, 1)

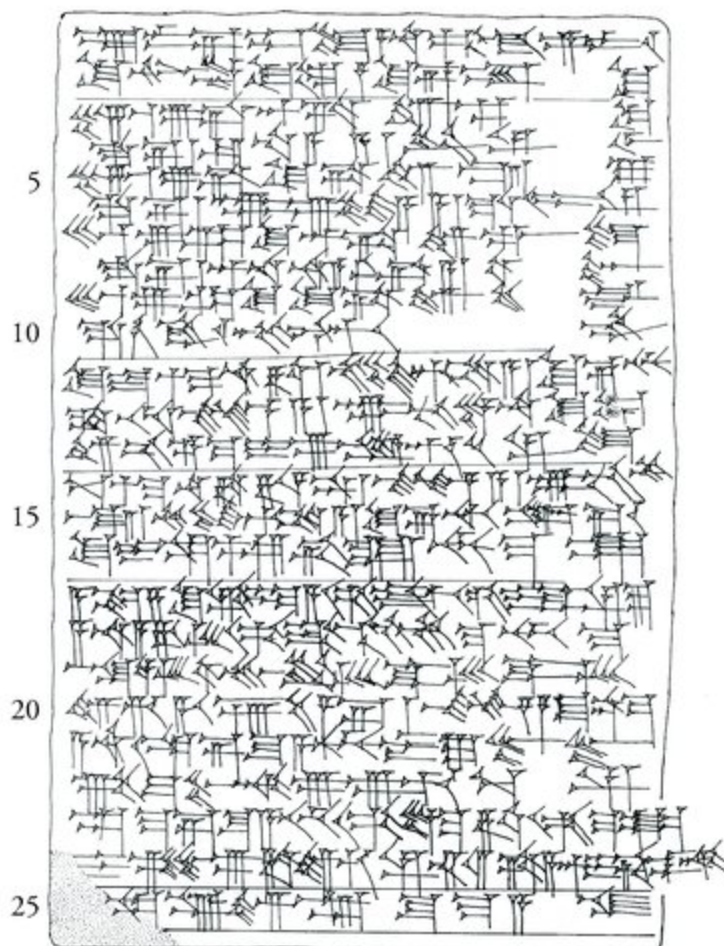
Uruk, 23-IV-yr. 3 Esar. (678)

Dimensions: 104 × 66 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 17 I.5

Purchase of a ruined house located at Uruk

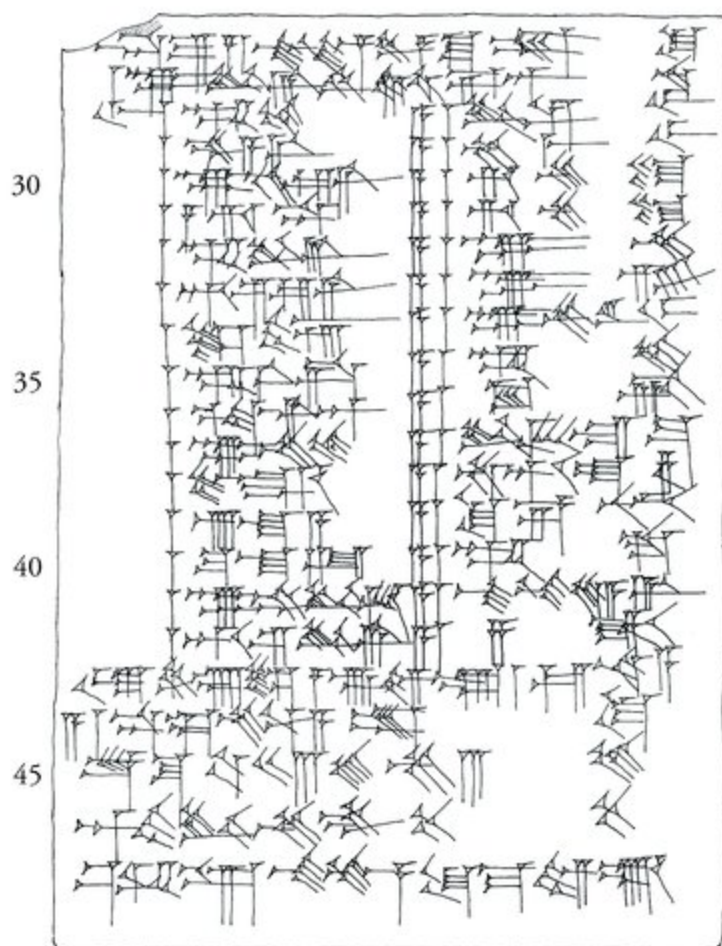


- obv. 1 *ṭup-pi É ab-tu šá na-pa-šu u e-pe-šú*  
 2 *KI-ti KÁ KI.LAM šá qé-reb UNUG.KI*  
 3 *55 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ*  
 4 *DA É <sup>m</sup>ib-na-a A <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šub-ši*  
 5 *55 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU*  
 6 *DA É <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-še-zib A «A» <sup>m</sup>da-mi-ru*



- 7 30 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA IM.MAR.TU  
 8 DA É <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-DÛ-uš A <sup>mpir</sup>u  
 9 30 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI KI.TA IM.KUR.RA  
 10 DA SILA rap-šú mu<sup>1</sup>-taq DINGIR u LUGAL
- 
- 11 ki-i 1½ MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 12 it-ti <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-SUR A <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-SUM.NA KI.LAM  
 13 im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠÁM-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 14 PAP 1½ MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.PAD.DU <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-SUR A <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU  
 15 ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti ŠÁM É-šú  
 16 ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti ma-ḥir
- 
- 17 a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma(over erasure)  
 18 a-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu ma-ti-ma  
 19 ina EGIR.MEŠ u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ  
 20 IM.RIA u sa-lat šá É <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-SUR šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma  
 21 a-na UGU É šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-bu  
 22 ú-šad-ba-bu BAL-ú ú-paq-qa-ru  
 23 um-ma É šu-a-ti ul SUM-ma KÛ.BABBAR ul ma-ḥir  
 24 ṽ-qab-bu-ú KÛ.BABBAR im-ḥu-ru EN 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-pal
- 
- 25 [ina] ka-nak IM.DUB šu-ma-a-tu<sub>4</sub>

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built in the Market Gate district that is inside Uruk:
- (3-4) 55 cubits, upper side, in the north, bordering on the house of Ibnāya, descendant of Aḥu-šubši;
- (5-6) 55 cubits, lower side, in the south, bordering on the house of Nabû-ušēzib, descendant of Dāmiru;
- (7-8) 30 cubits, upper front, in the west, bordering on the house of Nanāya-īpuš, descendant of Pir'u;
- (9-10) 30 cubits, lower front, in the east, bordering on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king.
- (11-13) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named one and one half minas of silver as the purchase price with Ina-tēši-ēṭir, descendant of Nabû-zēra-iddin, and purchased (the house) for its full price.
- (14-16) Ina-tēši-ēṭir, descendant of Nabû-zēra-iddin, has received a total of one and one half minas of silver in pieces from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.
- (17-18a) (Ina-tēši-ēṭir) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house).
- (18b-24) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family<sup>1</sup>, relations, or kin of the house of Ina-tēši-ēṭir comes forward and brings a claim against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This house has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.
- (25) [At] the sealing of this tablet:



- rev. 26 *ina* GUB-zu *ša* <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-SUR LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI  
 27 <sup>md</sup>AG-URÛ-ir LÚ.ŠA.TAM É.AN.NA  
 28 IGI <sup>md</sup>EN-KÁM A <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šub-ši  
 29 <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-a-ni A <sup>m</sup>mu-šeb-ši  
 30 <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-ib-ni A <sup>m</sup>re-mu-tu  
 31 <sup>m</sup>ša-re-du A <sup>m</sup>re-mu-tu  
 32 <sup>md</sup>EN-URÛ-ir A <sup>md</sup>AG-MU  
 33 <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-ib-ni A <sup>md</sup>AG-GI  
 34 <sup>m</sup>šar-*hi*-sa A <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-TUK-ši  
 35 <sup>md</sup>EN-DÛ-uš A <sup>md</sup>EN-KÁM  
 36 <sup>m</sup>am-me-ni-DINGIR A <sup>m</sup>bul-luṭ  
 37 <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KÁM A <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba  
 38 <sup>m</sup>bu-ra-šú A <sup>m</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KUG  
 39 <sup>m</sup>šil-la-a A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti

- 40 <sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu A <sup>md</sup>EN-DA  
 41 <sup>md</sup>AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú A <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-KAR-ir  
 42 <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-URÛ-ir A <sup>m</sup>za-kir  
 43 ù LÚ.DUB.SAR šá-ṭir IM.DUB <sup>m</sup>ib-na-a  
 44 A <sup>m</sup>du-um-mu-qa-a UNUG.KI  
 45 ITI.ŠU U<sub>6</sub>.23.KÁM MU.3.KÁM  
 46 AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-MU LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 47 UMBIN <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-SUR ki-ma IM.KIŠIB-šú

- (26) In the presence of Ina-tēšī-ēṭir, the governor of Uruk  
 (27) (and) Nabû-nāšir, the *šatammu* of Eanna.  
 (28) Before: Bēl-ēreš, descendant of Aḫū-šubši;  
 (29) Šarrani, descendant of Mušebši;  
 (30) Nabû-zēra-ibni, descendant of Rēmūtu;  
 (31) Šarēdu, descendant of Rēmūtu;  
 (32) Bēl-nāšir, descendant of Nabû-iddin;  
 (33) Nergal-ibni, son<sup>1</sup> of Nabû-ušallim;  
 (34) Šarḫiṣsa, descendant of Nabû-šuma-ušarši;  
 (35) Bēl-īpuš, descendant of Bēl-ēreš;  
 (36) Ammēni-ilī, descendant of Bulluṭ;  
 (37) Nabû-šuma-ēreš, descendant of Aḫḫē-erība;  
 (38) Burāšu, descendant of Arad-Nergal;  
 (39) Šillāya, descendant of Kiribtu;  
 (40) Balātu, descendant of Bēl-lē'i;  
 (41) Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, descendant of Ina-tēšī-ēṭir;  
 (42) Nergal-nāšir, descendant of Zākīr;  
 (43-44a) and the scribe, writer of the tablet, Ibnāya, descendant of Dummuqāya.  
 (44b-46) Uruk, month of Dūzu, twenty-third day, third year of Esarhaddon, king of the  
 lands.  
 (47) Ina-tēšī-ēṭir's fingernail (impression) (is marked on the tablet) instead of his seal.

### Commentary

See § 3.3.1.1 and cf. no. 4.

- 2 For the location of this district, see the introduction § 3.3.1.1.  
 6 <sup>m</sup>da-mi-ru may be an Arabian name; see Zadok, *On West Semites*, pp. 234, 325, 335, and 366. See also AnOr 9 3:4 (time of Kandalānu).  
 10 Or “the thoroughfare of the gods and the king,” following CAD M/2, p. 298. In every case in which this phrase occurs in the archive, we have simply DINGIR, and not DINGIR.MEŠ (see index 7 for a list of the relevant passages). Early Neo-Babylonian texts usually have DINGIR in this phrase while later ones have DINGIR.MEŠ (H. D. Baker, private communication).  
 19 One expects *kimtu* (IM.RIA) instead of the second DUMU.MEŠ.

- 25, 43 & 47 The signs DUB and KIŠIB(/MES/) are generally not distinguishable in this period and can be preceded by both the determinatives IM and NA<sub>4</sub>. Owen and Watanabe, *OrAnt* 22 (1983): 44–47 prefer to read KIŠIB in all cases. They have carefully collected and listed all the syllabic writings in Neo-Babylonian economic texts of the three relevant phrases in these lines and shown that the underlying word is *kamgu*, “(sealed) document, seal,” on many, if not all occasions, although they do note that the phrase *ina kanāk* (line 25) is sometimes followed by a syllabic writing for *tuppu*. Logically, as they point out, when stating that an individual’s fingernail is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal (line 47) the word *tuppu* cannot be intended. All the texts in this study use a sign form similar to a normal DUB in these three phrases and the author has transliterated it as DUB unless (a) it is in the phrase about the seller using his fingernail instead of his seal or (b) it is preceded by the determinative NA<sub>4</sub>. In those cases it has been transliterated KIŠIB. In this archive, the determinative NA<sub>4</sub> is used instead of IM before DUB/KIŠIB in approximately 60% of the clauses dealing with fingernail impressions being indicated on the tablet instead of the seller’s seal and only once otherwise, in the clause “at the sealing of this tablet” in no. 19:27. In not one of the texts in this archive do we find a syllabic writing for the Akkadian word intended. Note, however, Baker’s comments on this matter in Brosius, *Ancient Archives*, p. 252.
- 25 As C. Wunsch notes, the formula “at the sealing of this tablet” should not be taken too literally since many tablets with this expression were not actually sealed. She suggests that the phrase actually means “eine offizielle Urkunde ausstellen” (Wunsch, *Urkunden*, p. 74) i.e., “to authenticate” or “to establish as genuine” (Abraham, *AJO* 51 [2005–2006]: 201 commentary to line 28b).
- 29 With regard to the name Mušebši, see von Weiher, *AUWE* 12, p. 136 commentary to no. 221 line 30.
- 33 This individual appears as witness in three other documents in this archive drawn up at Uruk (no. 12:27, no. 13:29, and no. 17:27), the last one composed in 656, thus twenty-two years later. In those three texts he is referred to as the “son,” *māršu ša* of Nabû-ušallim. Three of the four texts concern property located in the Eanna district (nos. 12, 13, and 17) and one in the Market Gate district (no. 1).
- 34 R. Zadok has suggested to the author that the personal name written <sup>m</sup>*šar-ḥi-sa* “may consist of *šar* < *Iššar* as a theophoric element (usually written <sup>d</sup>*SAR*, but the spelling *šar*-interchanges with the former in NB/LB for *Šar-ta-ri-bi* for one and the same individual from Sippar ...)” (see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 109, s.v. *Iššar-nādin-ahi*) “and *ḥi-sa* as the predicative element. The latter may derive from H-S-Y ‘to be pure, innocent’ (Old Syriac), ‘to consecrate’ (D, Palmyrene Aram. with a derivative in Official Aram. ...). The denotation ‘to seek refuge’ is confined to Hebrew and therefore seems to be less appropriate for an individual living in an Aramaic-speaking region (this surely applies to the referent of the onomastic parallel, viz. the Aramean tribesman NB *Abi-ḥa-sa-a*, PNA 1, 10a with reference to my *On West Semites* ..., 86, 341). *-ḥi-sa* (*-ḥe-sa* is equally possible) is apparently a verbal form. However, its formation is not clear to me: for a G perfect one would expect *qatal* (cf. *-ḥa-sa-a* above), not *qelital* as is the case here (unless we have here *qatāl* with attenuation of an unstressed short *a*) or G imperative, but a shift *qitil* > *qital* in verba ultimae infirmae is recorded only in later Aramaic dialects ...”
- 35 Many scholars prefer to transliterate the last sign in the line and the sign following the numbers in line 45 as KAM (e.g., Baker, *Nappāhu*, no. 234: 12 and 15 and Jursa, *Bēl-rēmāni*, p. 249 and pl. LXVI BM 79055: 21 and 26). The author prefers to use KAM (following such scholars as Brinkman [e.g., *Sjöberg Festschrift*, pp. 39–40 rev. 15’–16’]

- and Stolper [e.g., *Entrepreneurs*, no. 1: 19 and no. 63: 8]). Borger suggests that the forms be transliterated KAM' or KAM\* (*Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, p. 170).
- 37 It is not certain that the small, sixth wedge in the KAM is actually there.
- 40 There is no clear consensus on how to understand names that are written DN-DA/Ā.GĀL and one can find them read DN-*le'i*, DN-*lē'i*, DN-*ile'i* and DN-*ile'i* in various recent books. For the purposes of this volume, DA/Ā.GĀL in such positions is assumed to be a construct of the G participle, thus -*lē'i*. There is no proof of this, but it is in accord with what is done in the *PNA* for Assyrian texts (see for example *PNA* 1/1, p. 193 sub Aššūr-*lē'i*)—although, of course, what may have been done in Assyria was not necessarily done in Babylonia—and such syllabic writings as -*le-i* (see, for example, Wunsch, *Urkunden*, no. 23 rev. 11' <sup>nd</sup>AG-*le-i* 'A<sup>1</sup>-[šú šá PN], and Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 320). The writings -*le-i* could, of course, equally stand for the G stative (-*lē'i*).
- 42 Possibly to be identified with Nāširu, descendant of Zakir, who appears as witness in a few other texts from Uruk: no. 3 rev. 10 (674), no. 5:30 (673), no. 6:30 (669), no. 7:29 (667), and no. 14:30 (658). See also commentary to no. 23 line 36.
- 45 See commentary to line 35.
- 46 This document is the earliest Babylonian economic text that accords Esarhaddon the title "king of the lands" in its date formula. Previously, the earliest published economic text with him bearing this title was one, also from Uruk, in the collection of the Oriental Institute (Chicago) dating to the fourth month of the king's eighth year (673); see Weisberg, *Studies Hallo*, pp. 297–299. For the use of this title in letters, economic texts, and one oracle in the time of Esarhaddon, see D. B. Weisberg, "Esarhaddon and Egypt: A Preliminary Investigation," *Michmanim* 9 (1996): 147–155 and D. W. Redford, "Quest for the Crown Jewel: The Centrality of Egypt in the Foreign Policy of Esarhaddon" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 1998), pp. 107–115. The oracle giving this title to Esarhaddon has recently been republished as Parpola, *SAA* 9 1 (see i 4'). Weisberg and Redford argue that the title carried ties with Egypt and was used intentionally by Esarhaddon in connection with his policy with respect to Egypt. It would not be surprising if Esarhaddon had his eyes on Egypt early in his reign, but the view that his use of this title was connected with an intent to expand his empire in that direction remains uncertain.



## No. 2\*

BM 118965 (1927-11-12, 2)

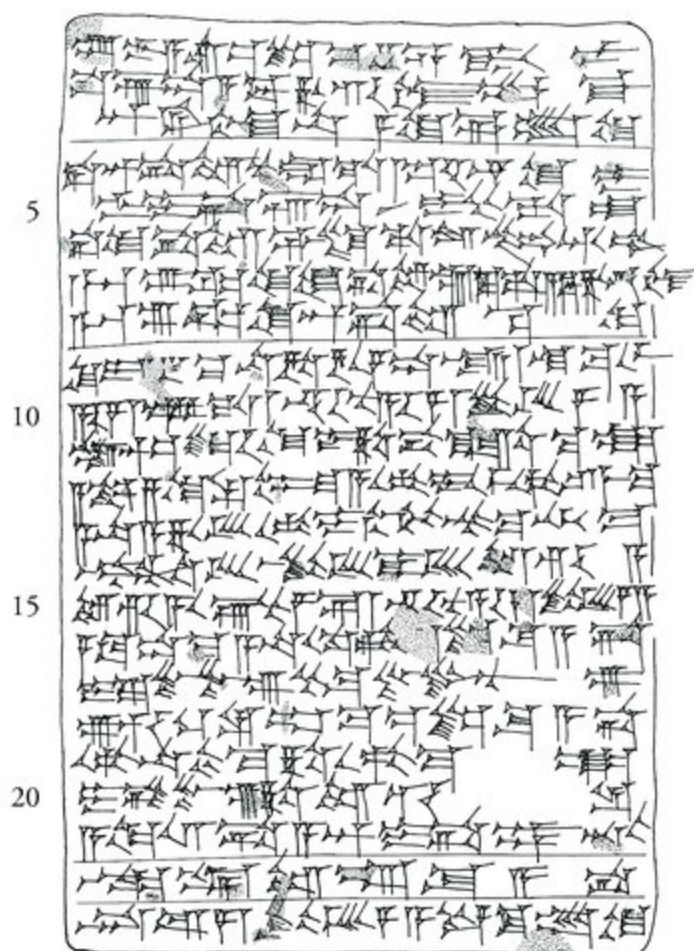
Uruk, 22-l-yr. 6 Esar. (675)

Dimensions: 105 x 65 mm; portrait format; salt encrustations on reverse and right edge

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 18 I.11

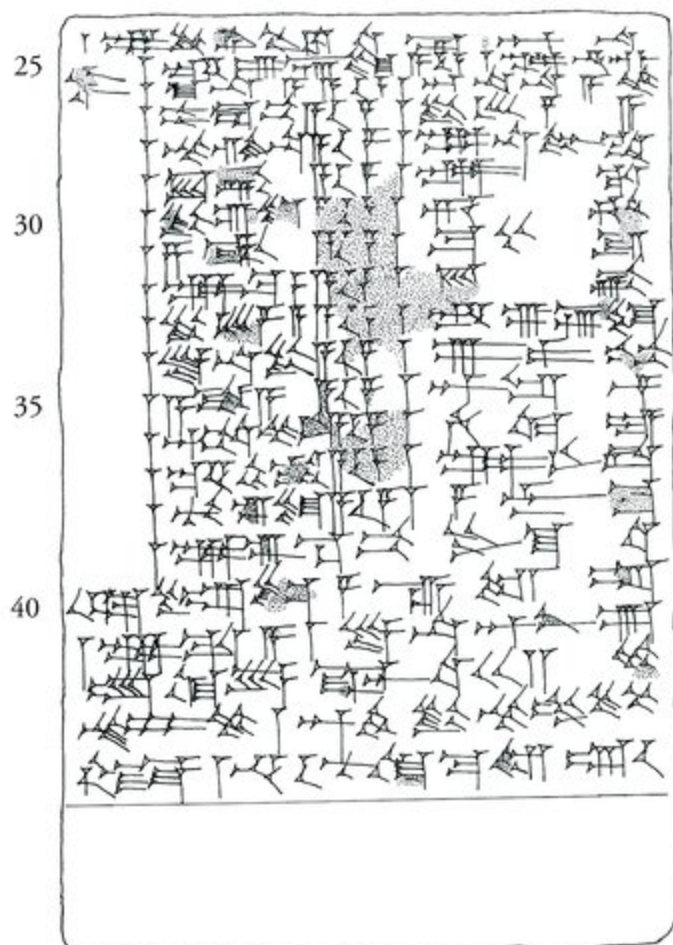
Purchase of an orchard located at Uruk



- obv. 1 *tup-pi* A.ŠA GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR *zaq-pi*  
 2 <sup>1</sup>ÚŠ.SA.DU ÍD *ha-ri-šu* <sup>1</sup>KÁ.GAL  
 3 <sup>d</sup>ir-nin-na šá *qé-reb* UNUG.KI
- 
- 4 UŠ AN.TA IM.KUR.RA DA
- <sup>md</sup>
- EN-SUR
- ki-i*
- 
- 5
- pi-i*
- ÚŠ.SA.DU <<x>
- i-šad-da-ad*
- 
- 6 UŠ KI.TA IM.MAR.TU DA KASKAL
- <sup>II</sup>
- mu-taq*
- DINGIR
- u*
- LUGAL
- 
- 7 1 ME
- ina*
- 1 KÚŠ SAG.KI KI.TA IM.U
- <sub>18</sub>
- .LU DA ÍD
- ha-ri-šu*
- 
- 8 1 ME
- ina*
- 1 KÚŠ SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ
- 
- 9
- ki-i*
- <sup>2</sup>
- /
- <sub>6</sub>
- <sup>21</sup>
- MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU
- ina*
- ŠU
- <sup>II</sup>
- <sup>m</sup>
- la-ba-ši
- 
- 10 A-šú šá
- <sup>md</sup>
- AG-DA
- <sup>m</sup>
- EN-šú-nu A-šú šá
- <sup>m</sup>
- ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a
- 
- 11 ŠÁM GIŠ.SAR-šú
- ki-i*
- KÙ.BABBAR
- ga-<sup>1</sup>mir<sup>1</sup>-tú*
- ma-<sup>h</sup>ir*
- 
- 12
- a-pil*
- za-ki*
- ru-gúm-ma-a*
- ul*
- i-ši*
- ul*
- GUR.ME-
- ma*
- 
- 13
- a-na*
- a-<sup>h</sup>a-meš*
- ul*
- i-rag-gu-mu*
- ma-ti-ma*
- 
- 14
- ina*
- ár-kát*
- U
- <sub>4</sub>
- .MEŠ
- ina*
- ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ IM.RI.A
- 
- 15 IM.RI.A
- u*
- sa-lat*
- šá É
- <sup>m</sup>
- EN-šú-nu A-šú
- <sup>1</sup>
- šá
- <sup>1</sup>
- <sup>m</sup>
- ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a
- 
- 16 šá E
- <sub>11</sub>
- 
- <sup>1</sup>
- ma
- <sup>1</sup>
- a-na*
- muh-<sup>h</sup>i*
- [GI]Š.
- <sup>1</sup>
- SAR
- <sup>1</sup>
- šu-a-ta*
- 
- 17
- i-dab-bu-bu*
- ú-šad-ba-bu*
- in-nu-ú*
- 
- 18
- ú-paq-qa-ru*
- um-ma*
- GIŠ.SAR
- šu-a-ta*
- 
- 19
- ul*
- na-din-ma*
- KÙ.BABBAR
- ul*
- ma-<sup>h</sup>ir*
- 
- 20
- i-qab-bu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>*
- KÙ.BABBAR
- im-<sup>h</sup>u-ru*
- 
- 21
- a-di*
- 12.TA.ÀM
- i-ta-nap-pal*
- 
- 22
- ina*
- ka-nak*
- IM.DUB
- šu-a-ta*
- 
- 23
- ina*
- GUB-zu šá
- <sup>m</sup>
- ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI

- (1–3) Tablet concerning a field, an orchard planted with date palms, (located) beside the moat of the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a that is inside Uruk;  
 (4–5) Upper side, in the east, bordering on (the property of) Bēl-ēṭir, extending as far as (that of) (this) neighbour;  
 (6) Lower side, in the west, bordering on the road, the thoroughfare of the god and the king;  
 (7) 100 cubits, lower front, in the south, bordering on the moat;  
 (8) 100 cubits, upper front, in the north.  
 (9–11) Bēlšunu, son of Aḫḫēšāya, has received two and *five-sixths* minas of silver in pieces as the full purchase price of his orchard from the hands of Lābāši, son of Nabû-lē'i.  
 (12–13a) (Bēlšunu) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the orchard).  
 (13b–21) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Bēlšunu, son of Aḫḫēšāya, comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.  
 (22) At the sealing of this tablet:  
 (23) In the presence of Aḫḫēšāya, the governor of Uruk





- rev. 24 <sup>md</sup>AG-URÙ-<sup>f</sup>ir<sup>1</sup> LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM É.AN.NA  
 25 <sup>f</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-sa-tu A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-DINGIR.ME  
 26 <sup>f</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ku-na-a A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-KÁM  
 27 <sup>m</sup>ár-ra-bi A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a  
 28 <sup>m</sup>MU-GI.NA A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-na-<sup>2</sup>-id  
 29 <sup>m</sup>bul-lu<sup>1</sup> A-šú <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-DA  
 30 <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-ú-tu A-šú <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>re-m[u]t  
 31 <sup>m</sup>za-<sup>f</sup>kir<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ba-la<sup>1</sup>-su  
 32 <sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá A-šú <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>bul<sup>1</sup>-lu<sup>1</sup>  
 33 <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a A-šú <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-sa-tu  
 34 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ú-pa-qu  
 35 <sup>m</sup>a-qar-a A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-SUR  
 36 <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>baš-di-ia  
 37 <sup>md</sup>EN-TIN-i<sup>1</sup> A-šú <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-DÙ-uš

- 38 <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-tu A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>šá-pi-<sup>l</sup>ku<sup>l</sup>  
 39 <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-se-pí LÚ.AZLAG<sup>l</sup>  
 40 ú LÚ.DUB.SAR šá-<sup>l</sup>ir IM.DUB  
 41 <sup>md</sup>AG-DA A <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal  
 42 UNUG.KI ITI.BÁR U<sub>4</sub>.22.KÁM  
 43 MU.6.KÁM <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-MU LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 44 <sup>su-pur</sup><sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu ki-ma IM.KIŠIB-šú

- (24) (and) Nabú-nāšir, the *šatammu* of Eanna.  
 (25) Before Bēl-usātu, son of Nabú-bēl-ilī;  
 (26) Before: Kunāya, son of Nanāya-ēreš;  
 (27) Arrabi, son of Ahhēšāya;  
 (28) Šuma-ukīn, son of Nabú-na'id;  
 (29) Bulluṭ, son of Nabú-lē'i;  
 (30) Ahhūtu, son of Rēmūt;  
 (31) Zākīr, son of Balāssu;  
 (32) Nabú-iqīša, son of Bulluṭ;  
 (33) Ahhēšāya, son of Bēl-usātu;  
 (34) Nādin-aḫi, son of Upāqu;  
 (35) Aqara, son of Nergal-ētir;  
 (36) Marduk-šuma-ibni, son of Hašdiya;  
 (37) Bēl-uballit, son of Nabú-īpuš;  
 (38) Zērūtu, son of Šāpiku;  
 (39) Nabú-useppi, the fuller;  
 (40–41) and the scribe, writer of the tablet, Nabú-lē'i, descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal.  
 (42–43) Uruk, month of Nisannu, twenty-second day, sixth year of Esarhaddon, king of the lands.  
 (44) Bēlšunu's fingernail (impression) (is marked on the tablet) instead of his seal.

### Commentary

See § 3.3.2.3.

- 2–3 Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, p. 350 indicates that it is uncertain if *l*ḫa-ri-*su* should be taken as a topographical name or just as the appellative “ditch” at Uruk but van Driel thinks “In Uruk ... *l*ḫa-ri-*su* is probably the name of a specific canal” (*BSA* 4 [1988]: 142). In *AnOr* 9 2:60 it flowed near the city wall of Uruk and the temple of Ninurta (*GÚ l*ḫa-ri-*ši* *DA BĀD ku-tal* É *MAŠ*). The translation “moat” follows that to be employed by H. D. Baker in her forthcoming book on the urban landscape in first-millennium Babylonia. Her study suggests that the term *ḫarīsu* was used solely for a watercourse associated with the city wall and located just outside the city. The orchard in question is said to be located “beside the moat of the gate of the goddess Irin(n)a that is inside Uruk” and thus one would normally assume that the orchard, and the *ḫarīsu*, lay within the city walls. Baker will argue, however, that the phrase *ša qereb Uruk*, “that is inside Uruk,” actually refers to the location of the gate (*i.e.*, it was a gate in the city wall) rather than the property in question. She has identified several other features that texts of the first millennium refer to as being located *ša qereb Uruk* that were in fact not actually found within the city walls, but rather were situated in the immediate hinterland of the city. The author is grateful to H. D. Baker for this information. See also the commentary to line 6.

Or <sup>d</sup>*ir-nin*<sup>a</sup>. No other reference to the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a is known to the author. The name of the goddess is normally written <sup>d</sup>*ir-ni-na/ni*. According to A. R. George, she can be “an aspect of the warlike Ištar” or “a deity ... of chthonic character” (*The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, vol. 2 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003], p. 815 commentary to tablet III lines 105–106). It seems likely that this text refers to an aspect of Ištar since the *harīšu* is located in Uruk, the city of Ištar. With regard to the deity, see also A. W. Sjöberg, “in-nin ša-gur<sub>4</sub>-ra. A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna,” *ZA* 65 (1975): 208 commentary to line 1 and other studies mentioned by George and Sjöberg.

- 6 Normally a processional street (“thoroughfare of the god and the king”) is described as being “a wide street,” *sūqu rapšu* (see index 5), while here it is called a road, *harrānu*, a term that is normally used only for roads outside of cities. H. D. Baker uses this fact to support her suggestion that the property purchased in this document was situated outside of the city of Uruk (see above, commentary to lines 2–3). If she is correct, this road was presumably a continuation of a processional street located inside the city that led to the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a in the city wall. Possibly it then carried on to a temple located outside of the city.
- 8 The scribe has omitted the name of the owner of the property on the northern front of the orchard.
- 8–9 Between the section detailing the borders of the property being sold (lines 4–8) and the section recording the payment of the purchase price by the buyer to the seller (lines 9–11) is normally a section about the buyer naming the price and buying the property for its full price: “Lābāši, son of Nabū-lē'i, named two and five-sixths minas of silver as the purchase price with Bēšunu, son of Aḥḥēšāya, and purchased (the orchard) for its full price” (cf. no. 1 lines 11–13 for example). While this clause may have been omitted by the scribe who recorded the transaction in 675, it is more likely that the omission should be ascribed to a later copyist of the document whose eye skipped over the missing section on the original tablet.
- 34 Or Iddin-aḥa, but see, for example, Baker, *Nappāhu*, p. 356 where the same person has this name written <sup>m</sup>*na-din-ŠEŠ*, <sup>m</sup>*SUM.NA-ŠEŠ* and <sup>m</sup>*MU-ŠEŠ* (Bēl-iddin, son of Nādin-aḥi, descendant of Maštukku). With regard to his parentage, see no. 4 commentary to line 35.
- 36 For the reading of the paternal name, see Kümmel, *Familie*, p. 23 n. 12. In addition to the examples cited by Kümmel, note, for example, Joannès, *TEBR*, p. 103 no. 34: 18 and Spar and von Dassow, *CTMMA* 3, p. LXXV.
- 39 AZLAG<sup>1</sup>: The author cannot detect any trace of the expected vertical wedge at the beginning of the sign, but this wedge is only barely visible on some other KU signs on the tablet (in particular the one in line 26).
- 41 A person by the same name appears as a witness in BE 8/1 2: 27, a text composed at Borsippa twenty years later, on 13–VII<sup>2</sup>–655. The Iddin-Papsukkal family is well-attested at Borsippa (see Joannès, *Borsippa*, pp. 375–376), but also appears at some other cities, including Uruk (see Kümmel, *Familie*, p. 131) and Ur. For a study of the involvement of some members of this family in temple matters in southern Babylonia, see J. P. Nielsen, “Trading on Knowledge: The Iddin-Papsukkal Kin Group in Southern Babylonia in the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C.,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 9 (2009): 171–182.

## No. 3

BM 118979 (1927-11-12, 16)

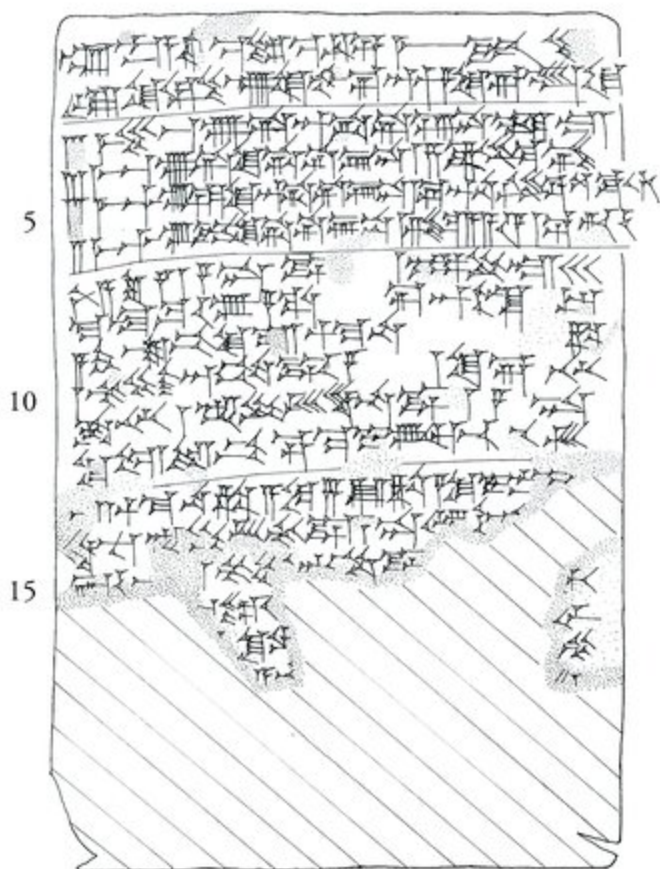
Uruk, 23-VII-yr. 7 Esar. (674)

Dimensions: 95 × 60 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all preserved sides

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 19 I.19

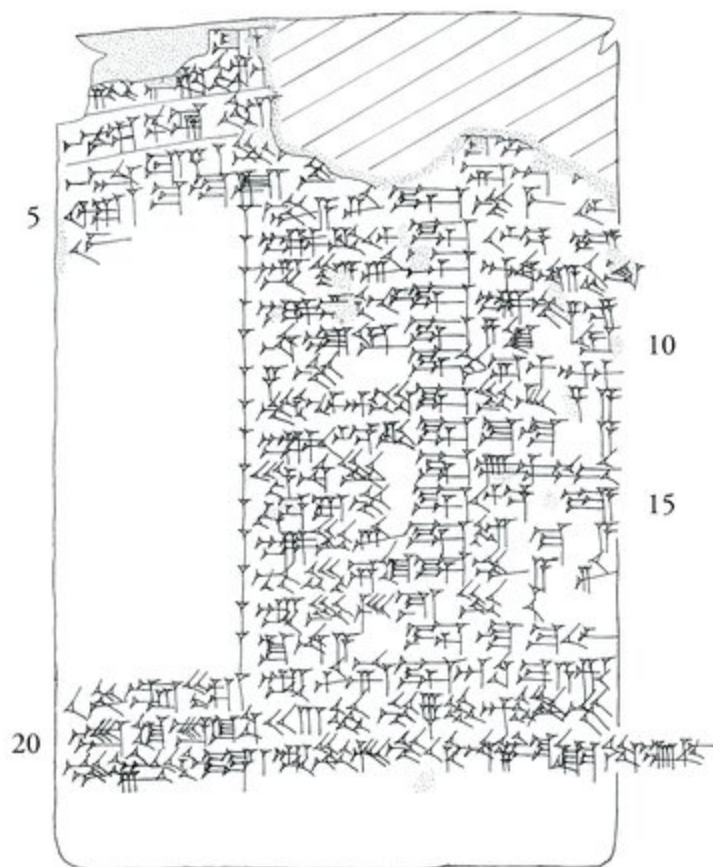
Purchase of a half share in an orchard and waste land located at Uruk



- obv. 1 *tup-pi* A.<sup>1</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR.ME *zaq-p[u]*  
 2 *ù ki-šub-bu-ú* KI-tì É<sup>d</sup>MAŠ šá *qé-reb* UNUG.KI  
 3 <sup>1</sup>3<sup>1</sup> ME 50 *ina* 1 KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU BÀD URU  
 4 3 ME *ina* 1 KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>za-kir LÚ.ÁŠ<sup>1</sup>(text: MA).GAB  
 5 <sup>1</sup>3<sup>1</sup> ME *ina* 1 <<ina>> KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>É.AN.NA-DÛ  
 LÚ.BÁHAR<sup>1</sup>(text: E.QA.BUR) *u* SILA  
 6 2 ME *ina* 1 <<ina>> KÙŠ ZAG KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>zi-ba-a A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>e-re-šú  
 7 PAP A.ŠA šá <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-APIN-eš  
 8 *ma-la* ba-šú-ú šá DA É<sup>d</sup>nin-urta  
 9 *a-ḫi* *ina* lib-bi ki-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 10 <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 11 *it-ti* <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA DUMU <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU  
 12 <sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>.LAM *im-bé-e-ma* i-šam ši-me-šú TIL.MEŠ  
 13 <sup>1</sup>PAP<sup>1</sup> 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-di* 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i pi-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> D[IRI]  
 14 <sup>1</sup>SUM<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-MU DUMU <sup>m</sup>NÍG<sup>1</sup>.DU <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>n[as-qat]  
 15 <sup>1</sup>AMA-šú *ina* [ŠU<sup>11</sup>] <sup>m</sup>mu-šé<sup>1</sup>-[zi]b<sup>1d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU DUMU [<sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti]  
 16 [ŠAM *a-ḫi* GI]Š.SAR-š[ú-nu ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti]  
 17 [mah-ru a-pil z]a-ki r[u-gú-ma-a ul i]š-ši  
 18 [ul i-tur-ru-ma] a-n[a a-ḫa-meš ul i-rag-gu]-mu  
 19 [...] x  
 Broken

- (1–2) Tablet concerning a field, (comprising both) an orchard planted with date palms and waste land, in the district of the temple of the god Ninurta that is inside Uruk:  
 (3) 350 cubits, upper side, bordering on the city wall;  
 (4) 300 cubits, lower side, bordering on (the property of) Zākir, the leatherworker;  
 (5) 300 cubits, upper front, bordering on (the property of) Eanna-ibni, the potter, and the street;  
 (6) 200 cubits, lower front, bordering on (the property of) Zibāya, son of Ērešu.  
 (7–12) With regard to all the field of Kudurru, son<sup>1</sup> of Nabû-aḫa-ēreš, as much as there is (of it) beside the temple of the god Ninurta, Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, named two and one half minas of silver as the purchase price for a half share of it with Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, son<sup>1</sup> of Kudurru, and purchased (it) for its full price.  
 (13–17a) Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, son<sup>1</sup> of Kudurru, and N[asqat], his mother, [have received] a total of two and one half minas silver, plus five shekels of silver which was given as an addi[tional payment], from [the hands] of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of [Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of a half share of] th[eir] orchard.  
 (17b–18) [(Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin and Nasqat) have been paid (and) are q]uit (of further claims). [(They) ha]ve [no (grounds for)] d[ispute]. They will not return (to court) and dispu[te] with [one another (about the orchard)].





- rev. 1 [a-bi GIŠ.SAR] šu-a<sup>1</sup>-[ti ul na-din-ma kàs-pi ul ma-hir]  
 2 [i]<sup>1</sup>-qab-bu-ú KÙ<sup>1</sup>.BABBAR im-b[u-ru EN 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-pal]  
 3 ina ka-nak IM.[DUB šu-a-tú]  
 4 ina GUB-zu šá<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.M[EŠ-šá-a LÚ.GA]R.<sup>1</sup>UMUŠ<sup>1</sup> UN[UG.KI]  
 5 ù<sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu LÚ.[ŠA.TAM] É.<sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.N[A]  
 6 IGI<sup>m</sup>LUGAL-a-ni DUMU<sup>m</sup>mu-šeb-ši  
 7 <sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši DUMU<sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia  
 8 <sup>md</sup>EN-<sup>1</sup>KAR-ir<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>3</sup> <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-TIN-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 9 <sup>md</sup>AG-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šal-lim DUMU<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un  
 10 <sup>m</sup>na-ši-ru DUMU<sup>m</sup>za-ki-ru  
 11 <sup>m</sup>GAR-MU DUMU LÚ.É.BAR<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 12 <sup>m</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a  
 13 <sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq DUMU<sup>m</sup>šu-la-a  
 14 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ DUMU<sup>m</sup>ú-pa-qu



- 15 <sup>m</sup>šul-lu-mu DUMU <sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>7</sub>-ia  
 16 <sup>md</sup>AG-URÛ-ir DUMU <sup>m</sup>im-ma-a  
 17 <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN.TIR.KI DUMU <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-a-ni  
 18 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU ŠEŠ-šú  
 19 <sup>m</sup>ku-na-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši  
 20 u LÚ.DUB.SAR <sup>md</sup>EN-DÛ-uš DUMU <sup>md</sup>UTU-ba-a-ri  
 21 UNUG.KI ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub>.23.KÁM MU.7.KÁM AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-MU  
 22 LUGAL kiš-šat šu-pur <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU u <sup>i</sup>na-as-qat ki-ma NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú-nu

(19–rev. 2) [If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Bēl-aḥḫē-iddin, (son of Kudurru), comes forward and brings a claim against the half share of this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement)], saying: [“The half share of] thi[s orchard has not been sold and the money has not been received,” he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times] the silver that he rece[ived].]

(3) At the sealing of [this] ta[blet]:

(4) In the presence of Aḥḫ[ēšāya, the gove]rnor of Ur[uk]

(5) and Balātu, the [šatammu] of Eanna.

(6) Before: Šarrani, descendant of Mušebši;

(7) Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Damqiya;

(8) Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Nanāya-uballiṭ;

(9) Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Nabû-šuma-iškun;

(10) Nāširu, son<sup>i</sup> of Zākuru;

(11) Šākin-šumi, descendant of Šangû-Ninurta;

(12) Mušallim-Marduk, descendant of Aḥḫēšāya;

(13) Nabû-udammiq, descendant of Šulāya;

(14) Nādin-aḫi, son<sup>i</sup> of Upāqu;

(15) Šullumu, descendant of Damqiya;

(16) Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Immāya;

(17) Zēr-Bābili, descendant of Šarrani;

(18) Bēl-aḥḫē-erība, his brother;

(19) Kunāya, descendant of Lābāši;

(20) and the scribe, Bēl-īpuš, descendant of Šamaš-bāri.

(21–22a) Uruk, month of Tašrītu, twenty-third day, seventh year of Esarhaddon, king of the world.

(46–47) The fingernail (impressions) of Bēl-aḥḫē-iddin and Nasqat (are marked on the tablet) instead of their seal(s).

### Commentary

See § 3.3.2.1 and note also under § 3.3.1.3. Cf. nos. 5 and 14.

BM 118979, 118966 and 118980 (nos. 3, 14b and 19) stand out from the other tablets of this archive in the British Museum due to their distinctively squared edges; on later tablets, such edges seem to have been made in order to prepare for the impression of cylinder seals (observation of C.B.F. Walker).

- 4 Zākir is described as leatherworker, *aškapu*, in no. 5 (<sup>3</sup>*za-kir* LU.AŠGAB, line 4), and cf. no. 10:4. The scribe of no. 3 may have intended to give a syllabic or pseudo-logographic rendering of the word given a logographic rendering in no. 5. M. Jursa, however, reminds the author that similar phonetic spellings of logograms are found in the archive of Bēl-rēmanni. He suggests that BM 118979 was not the original copy of the transaction and that its scribe was taking dictation from someone reading the original document who pronounced the logogram in Sumerian (personal communication of December 2009; see I. L. Finkel in *Studies Lambert*, p. 139 and Jursa, *Bēl-rēmanni*, pp. 21–22). For the suggestion that many of the tablets in this archive are not the original documents, but later copies, see also §§ 2.1 and 2.11–12.
- 11 In addition to selling property to Mušēzib-Marduk in this text and in nos. 5 and 14, Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Kudurru, also appears as a witness in no. 7:33 (composed at Uruk) and no. 11:35 (composed at Ur).
- 13 Or perhaps better “including” instead of “plus” for *adi* in this and several similar passages in these texts. See § 2.8.
- 17 Note the use of the singular verb forms *apil* and *zaki* (former restored) following *maḥrū* here and in no. 5:15 (fully preserved), even though they refer to Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and his mother Nasqat. See also no. 23 line 16 for the same usage.
- 19 Possibly [... *ni-su-t*]u?
- rev. 10 This individual appears as witness in at least four other documents in this archive drawn up at Uruk (no. 5:30, no. 6:30, no. 7:29, and no. 14:30, thus from 674 to 658 BC; see the commentary to no. 1 line 42 for another possible attestation. Three of the five transactions that he witnessed deal with property located in the district of the Temple of Ninurta (nos. 3, 5, and 14), one with property in the Eanna district (no. 6), and one with property located along a *ḥarīṣu*, “moat” (no. 7).
- rev. 11 For the use of occupation names as family names already in the Kassite period, see Brinkman in *Studies Leichty*, pp. 23–43. See also the commentary to no. 6:33.
- rev. 13 The exact reading of -SIG<sub>5</sub>-*iq* is not certain, with -*mudammīq* and -*dammīq* being other possibilities, but Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 150 does list a writing -*ū-dam-mi-iq* for the final part of this name.
- rev. 20 Or Šamaš-(a)bāri; see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 187.

## No. 4

(a) BM 118970 (1927-11-12, 7)

(b) BM 118976 (1927-11-12, 13)

Šapīya, 5-VII-yr. 8 Esar. (673)

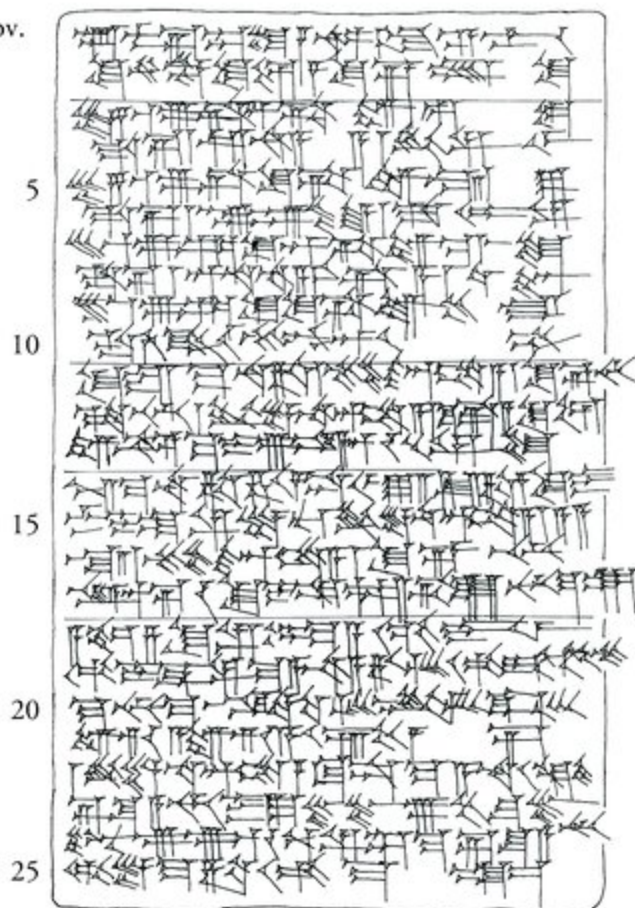
Dimensions: 100 × 59 mm (BM 118970); 93 × 56 mm (BM 118976); portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges of both exemplars

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 19 I.22-23

Purchase of a ruined house located at Uruk

BM 118970 obv.

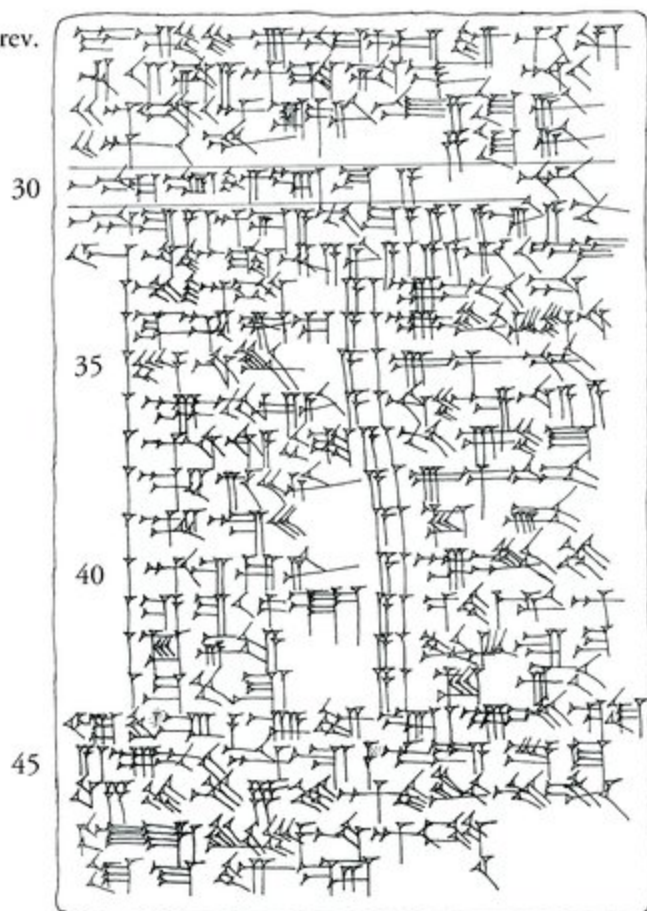


- obv. 1 *ṭup-pi É ab-tu šá na-pa-šu u e-pe-šú*  
 2 *KI-tì KÁ KI.LAM šá qé-reb UNUG.KI*  
 3 *55 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ*  
 4 *DA É <sup>m</sup>ib-na-a A <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šub-ši*  
 5 *55 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU*

- 6 DA É<sup>md</sup> AG-ú-še-zib A<sup>m</sup> da-mi-ru  
 7 30 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA IM.MAR.TU  
 8 DA É<sup>md</sup> na-na-a-DÜ-uš A<sup>m</sup> pīr-<sup>3</sup>u  
 9 30(over erasure) ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI KI.TA IM.KUR.RA  
 10 DA SILA rap-šú mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL  
 11 ki-i 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR<sup>m</sup> mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-ti  
 12 it-ti<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ-SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>m</sup> IBILA-a KI.LAM  
 13 im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠÁM-šú gam-ru-tu  
 14 PAP 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU ù 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i  
 15 pi-i at-ru SUM-nu<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ-SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>m</sup> A-a  
 16 ina ŠU<sup>ll</sup> mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-ti  
 17 ŠÁM É-šú ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti ma-hir  
 18 a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a ul i-ši  
 19 ul i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu  
 20 ma-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ  
 21 IM.RIA IM.RIA u sa-lat šá É  
 22<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ-SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na muḥ-ḥi  
 23 É šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu  
 24 in-nu-ú ú-paq-qa-ru um-ma É šu-a-ti  
 25 ul SUM-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul ma-hir

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built in the Market Gate district that is inside Uruk;  
 (3-4) 55 cubits, upper side, in the north, bordering on the house of Ibnāya, descendant of Aḥu-šubši;  
 (5-6) 55 cubits, lower side, in the south, bordering on the house of Nabū-ušēzib, son<sup>1</sup> of Dāmiru;  
 (7-8) 30 cubits, upper front, in the west, bordering on the house of Nanāya-īpuš, son<sup>1</sup> of Piṛu;  
 (9-10) 30 cubits, lower front, in the east, bordering on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king.  
 (11-13) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named two minas of silver as the purchase price with Aḥa-iddin-Marduk, descendant of Aplāya, and purchased (the house) for its full price.  
 (14-17) Aḥa-iddin-Marduk, descendant of Aplāya, has received a total of two minas of silver in pieces, and two shekels of silver that were given as an additional payment, from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.  
 (18-19) (Aḥa-iddin-Marduk) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house).  
 (20-27) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Aḥa-iddin-Marduk comes forward and brings a claim against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This house has not been sold and the money has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

BM 118970 rev.



- rev. 26 *i-qab-bu-ú ka-sap im-bu-ru*  
 27 EN 12.TA.ÀM it-ta-nap-pal  
 28 niš<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU u<sup>d</sup> zar<sup>1</sup>-pa-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> za-ki-ir  
 29 niš DINGIR u LUGAL za-ki-ir  
 30 *ina ka-nak IM.DUB šu-a-ti*  
 31 *ina GUB-zu šá<sup>md</sup> é-a-NUMUN-BA-šá A<sup>m</sup> a-muk-a-nu*  
 32 IGI<sup>m</sup> na<sup>3</sup>-id-EN-a-ni A<sup>m</sup> a-a-ri-mi-i  
 33 <sup>m</sup>mu-<še>-zib<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>md</sup> AG-NUMUN-GIN  
 34 <sup>md</sup>DUMU<sup>d</sup> EN-al-si A<sup>md</sup> AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA  
 35 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ A<sup>m</sup> ú-pa-qu  
 36 <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-ib-ni A<sup>m</sup> na-bu-un-na-a-a  
 37 <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-TIN-i<sub>4</sub> A<sup>m</sup> NUMUN-ú-tu

- 38 <sup>md</sup>EN-re-man-ni A <sup>m</sup>ú-pa-qu  
 39 <sup>md</sup>EN-APIN-eš A <sup>m</sup>bul-luṭ  
 40 <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-ib-ni A <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-KÁM  
 41 <sup>m</sup>e-zu-u-pa-šir A <sup>m</sup>am-me-ni-DINGIR  
 42 <sup>m</sup>bul-luṭ-a A <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba  
 43 <sup>m</sup>ba-laṭ-su A <sup>m</sup>bul-luṭ  
 44 ù LÚ.UMBISAG šá-tir IM.DUB <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ  
 45 A <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-GIN URU šá-pi-ia ITI.DU<sub>6</sub>  
 46 U<sub>4</sub>.5.KÁM MU.8.KÁM AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-MU LUGAL ŠÚ  
 47 šu-pur <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 48 ki-ma IM.KIŠIB-šú

(28–29) He (Aḥa-iddin-Marduk) has taken an oath by the god Marduk and the goddess Zarpanītu. He has taken an oath by the god and the king.

(30) At the sealing of this tablet:

(31) In the presence of Ea-zēra-(i)qīša, the Amukānian (leader).

(32) Before: Na'id-bēlani, descendant of Aya-rimī;

(33) Mu<šē>zib-Marduk, descendant of Nabû-zēra-ukīn;

(34) Mār-Bēl-alsi, descendant of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin;

(35) Nādin-aḥi, son<sup>1</sup> of Upāqu;

(36) Nabû-zēra-ibni, descendant of Nabūnnāya;

(37) Nanāya-uballit, descendant of Zērūtu;

(38) Bēl-rēmanni, descendant of Upāqu;

(39) Bēl-ēreš, descendant of Bulluṭ;

(40) Nergal-ibni, descendant of Nabû-aḥa-ēreš;

(41) Ēzu-u-pāšir, descendant of Ammēni-ilī;

(42) Bulluṭa, descendant of Aḥḥē-erība;

(43) Balāssu, descendant of Bulluṭ;

(44–45a) and the scribe, writer of the tablet, Nabû-šumu-lišir, descendant of Nabû-zēra-ukīn.

(45b–46) Šapīya, month of Tašritu, fifth day, eighth year of Esarhaddon, king of the world.

(47–48) Aḥa-iddin-Marduk's fingernail (impression) (is marked on the tablet) instead of his seal.

### Variants

#### BM 118976 (no. 4b)

BM 118976 has the inscription on 47 lines. The line numbers for the variants are the same on both exemplars.

- |    |  |    |                                 |
|----|--|----|---------------------------------|
| 6  | A-šú šá for A                          | 21 | IM.RI.<A> IM.RIA                |
| 8  | A-šú šá for A                          | 22 | -MU- for -SUM.NA-; ana for a-na |
| 16 | <sup>md</sup> mu- for <sup>m</sup> mu- | 33 | -še- present                    |
| 17 | -tú for -ti                            | 37 | <sup>md</sup> na-na-<a>-        |
| 20 | ina for ina <sup>1</sup>               |    |                                 |



# Commentary

See § 3.3.1.1 and cf. no. 1.

6 For the name <sup>m</sup>da-mi-ru, see the commentary to no. 1:6.

6&8 In view of the writing A-šú šá in the duplicate BM 118976, it is assumed that it is the paternal name and not the family name that is given. Cf. no. 1:6 and 8 where A <<A> and A are found respectively.

12 Aplāya was likely the father of Aḥa-iddin-Marduk rather than some more remote ancestor since Aplāya is not attested as a family name at this time (information courtesy J. P. Nielsen). In view of the above comment to lines 6 and 8, it is possible that mār (A) should be translated “son” rather than “descendant” in many instances in this text.

28–29 Similar passages are not found in most real estate and prebend sales transactions and it is not clear why the scribe of this text included it. Could the fact that the same piece of property had been sold to Mušēzib-Marduk a few years earlier by a different individual (no. 1, BM 118964) have had something to do with it? Had there been some dispute over the matter and as a result on this occasion oaths had been taken—or simply been explicitly stated in the contract—to try to avert further problems? Note that the gods mentioned in the oath are those of Babylon: Marduk and Zarpanītu. See also CAD Z, pp. 19–20. Cf. for example, Budge, *PSBA* 10 (1887–88): pl. V following p. 146 line 44 (sale of an orchard at Babylon in 650) and Baker, *Nappāhu*, no. 58 lines 16–17 (a), 18 (b) and 20–21 (c), composed at Babylon in 573 BC, where the name of the king (Nebuchadnezzar) is expressly stated.

With regard to curse formulae in Chaldean and Achaemenid documents, see the article by J. Lorenz, in the forthcoming publication of papers presented at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Münster, 2006.

31 Normally in the texts of this period—in particular in texts recording the sale of real estate and temple prebends—the person(s) cited following the phrase *ina kanāk tuppi šu’āti*, “at the sealing of this tablet,” and before the general list of witnesses (begun *maḥar*, “before”) are important local officials, most frequently the city governor and chief administrator of the main temple in the city. Ea-zēra-(i)qīša, however, was the ruler of the Chaldean tribe of Bit-Amukāni and thus an important individual in his own right and in many ways the equal of a provincial governor. Later, during at least some part of the rebellion of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in 652–648, he was held hostage in Assyria as security for his tribe’s loyalty. He had apparently been accused of complicity in the rebellion and of being an associate of Nabū-ušēzib, the Puqudian rebel leader, and thus he wrote a letter (*ABL* 896) to his mother, Humbuṣti, asking her to assure Ashurbanipal of Bit-Amukāni’s loyalty and to deliver Nabū-ušēzib and his family to the Assyrians if it were true, as it had been reported, that Nabū-ušēzib had fled from the Puqudu to Bit-Amukāni. While it may be true, as Ea-zēra-(i)qīša claimed, that he had not been involved in the rebellion, it seems likely that some of his sons had been and were punished for being so. See Frame, *Babylonia 689–627*, pp. 172–174 on Ea-zēra-(i)qīša and his sons.

32 <sup>m</sup>a-a-ri-mi-i, a West Semitic name; see Zadok, *On West Semites*, p. 187 and *ibid.*, pp. 58–59 on the element <sup>a</sup>ayya (in some names a theophoric element, but in most, if not all, it is distinct from the Mesopotamian goddess Ayya in Zadok’s view). Cf. also *PNA* 1/1, p. 92 sub Aia-rimmu (“Ea is exalted”).

35 He also appears as witness in three texts in our archive that were composed at Uruk: no. 2:34, no. 3 rev. 14 and no. 5:34. The transactions in those texts took place two years before, one year before, and only eighteen days after the one recorded in no. 4 respectively. He is said to be “the son of” (A-šú šá) Upāqu in no. 2; thus in this text A probably means “son” rather than “descendant.”

- 41 This individual also appears as a witness in no. 22\*:30, a transaction that took place twenty-three years later at Borsippa. This name is also written <sup>m</sup>e-zu-u-pa-šir in AnOr 8 8:35 (Babylon year 19 of Nebuchadnezzar II), but can be written other ways, such as <sup>m</sup>e-zi-pa-šir in AnOr 9 4 i 36 and ii 36 (Uruk, year 1 of Nabopolassar) and <sup>m</sup>e-zi-u-pa-šir in Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 46 no. 9:30 (Borsippa, year 8 of Kandalānu). In Kassite texts the name can be written <sup>m</sup>e-ez-ū-pa-šir, <sup>m</sup>e-ez-ū-pa-šī-ir and <sup>m</sup>e-zu-ū-pa-š[i-ir]; see Hölscher, *Personennamen*, p. 76 and Sassmannshausen, *Beiträge*, p. 474. Hölscher suggests transcribing the name as Ēz-u-pāšir and understanding it to mean “Er zürnt und löst” (Hölscher, *Personennamen*, p. 76) and Lambert suggests “ez-u-pašir, ‘savage then relaxing’” (*Essays Emerton*, p. 34; reference courtesy H. D. Baker). Cf. *PNA* 1/2, p. 410 sub Ezipašar.
- 45 Šapīya (also written Šapī, Sapē, and Sapīya; normally with /s/ rather than /š/ in Assyrian texts) appears to have been the main centre of the Chaldean tribe of Bīt-Amuk(k)āni. It is useful to note that the transaction took place “in the presence of” (*ina* GUB-zu šā) the head of that tribe (commentary to line 31). Šapīya may possibly be the same place as Šapī-Bēl, the stronghold of the Aramean tribe of Gambulu and seat of Bēl-iqīša and his son Dunanu in the time of the Assyrian rulers Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. In 731, the Babylonian king Mukīn-zēri, whom Babylonian Kinglist A assigns to the dynasty of Šapī (iv 7), was attacked by Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria and shut up in his tribal capital of Sapē/Sapīya. Tiglath-pileser’s official inscriptions do not state that he captured the city, even after a further siege of the place in 729, but it was there that Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-Baladan) of the Bīt-Yakīn is reported to have come and submitted to him (Tadmor, *Tigl. III*, Summ. 7:23 and 26–27 and Summ. 11:16; Assyrian Eponym Canon, Millard, *SAAS* 2, p. 45). Sapīya was listed first among 39 fortresses belonging to Bīt-Amuk(k)āni in an inscription of Sennacherib (Luckenbill, *OIP* 2, p. 53 lines 42–47). A sacking of Šapīya at some point in the past is mentioned in an inscription possibly coming from the reign of Bēl-ibni (702–700), although the reading of the royal name in the text is problematic (RIMB 2, p. 158 B.6.26.1:10’). Ša-pī-Bēl is said to have been located “in the midst of rivers” (*ša qereb nārātī nadār*, Borger, *BIWA*, p. 105 B vi 23–24 and C vii 18–19), thus on an island, at the juncture of two or more streams, or perhaps simply in a marshy area. For attestations of the place in Neo-Babylonian texts, see Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 287, to which add the present text and YOS 19 20:4 and 9. See also Frame, *RLA* 12/1 (2009): 19 sub “Šapīya.”

## No. 5

BM 118972 (1927-11-12, 9)

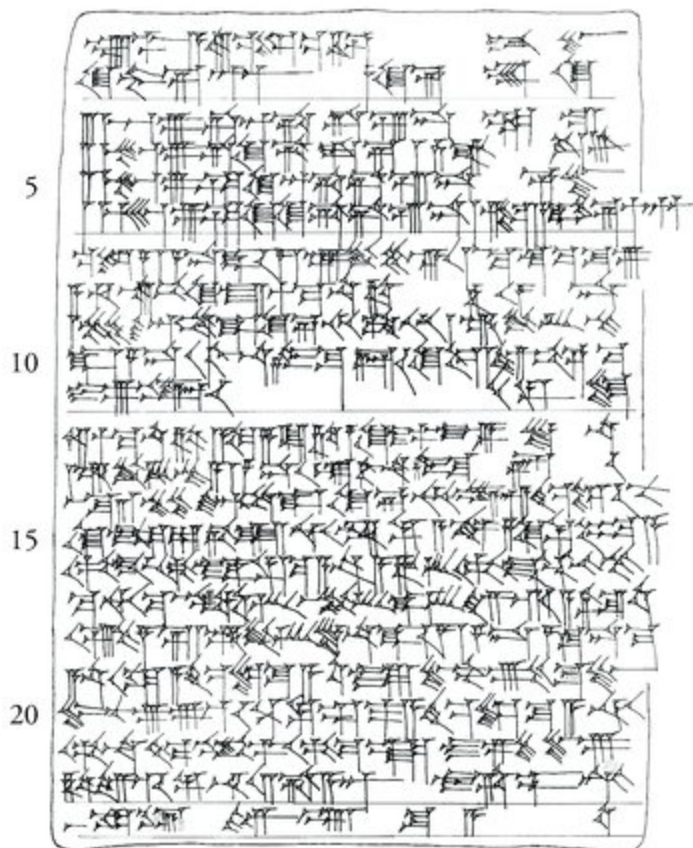
Uruk, 23-VII-yr. 8 Esar. (673)

Dimensions: 93 × 66 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 19 I.24

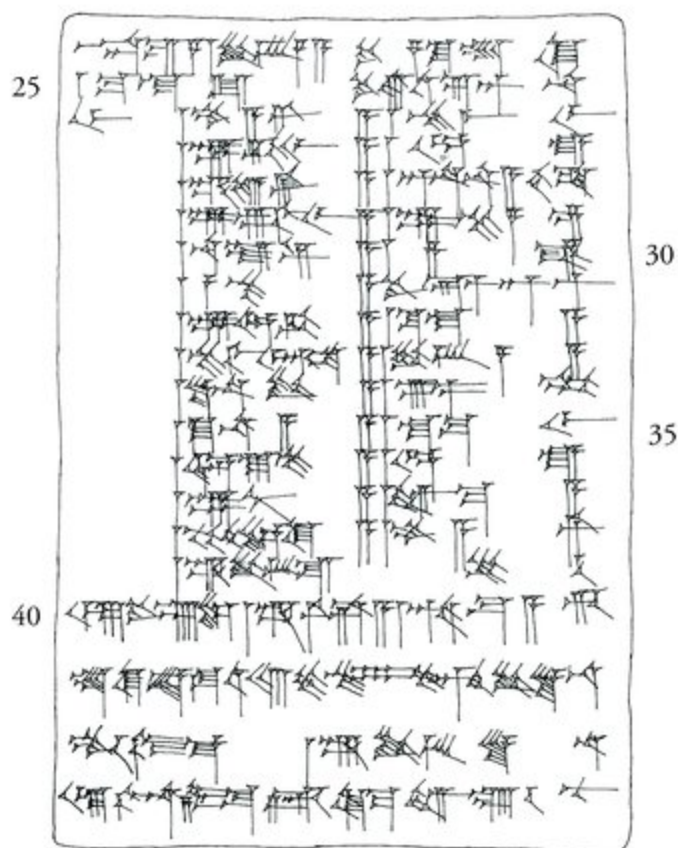
Purchase of an orchard located at Uruk



- obv. 1 *tup-pi* A.ŠA GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR *zaq-pu*  
 2 KI-ti É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ ša *qé-reb* UNUG.KI
- 
- 3 3 ME *ina* 1 KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU BÀD URU  
 4 2 ME 40 *ina* 1 KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA DA É <sup>m</sup>za-kir LÚ.AŠGAB  
 5 2 ME 40 *ina* 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU E.SÍR  
 6 1 ME 90 *ina* 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>zi-ba-a DUMU LÚ.É.BAR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ

- 7 GIŠ.SAR šá<sup>m</sup> NÍG.DU DUMU-šú šá<sup>md</sup> AG-ŠEŠ-KÁM DIRI u LÁ ma-la ba-šu-ú  
 8 a-hu ina lib-bi ki-i 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU  
 9 <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti it-ti <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU  
 10 DUMU <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU u <sup>f</sup>na-as-qat AMA-šú KÍ.LAM im-bé-e-ma  
 11 i-šam ŠÁM-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 12 PAP 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-di 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i pi-i DIRI SUM.NA  
 13 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU ù <sup>f</sup>na-as-qat AMA-šú  
 14 ina ŠU<sup>ll</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti ŠÁM a-ḫi GIŠ.SAR-šú-nu  
 15 ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti mah-ru a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a  
 16 ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḫa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu  
 17 ma-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ IM.RIA ni-su-tú  
 18 u sa-lat šá É <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup> NÍG.DU šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma  
 19 a-na UGU a-ḫi GIŠ.SAR šu-a-tú i-dab-bu-ub ú-šad-ba-bu  
 20 in-nu-ú ú-paq-qa-ru um-ma a-ḫi GIŠ.SAR šu-a-ti  
 21 ul na-din-ma kàs-pi ul ma-ḫir i-qab-bu-ú  
 22 KÙ.BABBAR im-ḫu-ru EN 12.TA.ĀM i-ta-nap-pal  
 23 ina ka-nak IM.DUB šu-a-tú

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a field, an orchard planted with date palms, in the district of the temple of the god Ninurta that is inside Uruk:  
 (3) 300 cubits, upper side, bordering on the city wall;  
 (4) 240 cubits, lower side, bordering on the house of Zākir, the leatherworker;  
 (5) 240 cubits, upper front, bordering on the street;  
 (6) 190 cubits, lower front, bordering on Zibāya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta.  
 (7-11) With regard to the orchard of Kudurru, son of Nabū-aḫa-ēreš, whether it be more or less, as much as there is (of it), Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named two and one half minas of silver in pieces as the purchase price for a half share of it with Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, son<sup>1</sup> of Kudurru, and Nasqat, his mother, and purchased (it) for its full price.  
 (12-15a) Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, son<sup>1</sup> of Kudurru, and Nasqat, his mother, have received a total of two and one half minas of silver, plus five shekels of silver that were given as an additional payment, from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of a half share of their orchard.  
 (15b-16) (Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin and Nasqat) have been paid (and) are quit (of further claims). They have no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the orchard).  
 (17-22) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Kudurru, comes forward and brings a claim against the one half share of this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "The half share of this orchard has not been sold and the money has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.  
 (23) At the sealing of this tablet:



- rev. 24 *ina* GUB-zu šá<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI  
 25 <sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu LÚ.ŠA.TAM É.AN.NA  
 26 IGI <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-a-ni A <sup>m</sup>mu-šeb-ši  
 27 <sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši A <sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia  
 28 <sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-ir<sup>1</sup> A <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-TIN-iš  
 29 <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-šal-lim A <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un  
 30 <sup>m</sup>na-ši-ru A <sup>m</sup>za-kir  
 31 <sup>m</sup>GAR-MU A LÚ.É.BAR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 32 <sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq A <sup>m</sup>šu-la-a  
 33 <sup>m</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a  
 34 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ A <sup>m</sup>ú-pa-qu  
 35 <sup>m</sup>ku-na-a A <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši  
 36 <sup>m</sup>šul-lu-mu A <sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia  
 37 <sup>md</sup>AG-PAB A <sup>m</sup>im-ma-a  
 38 <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN.TIR.KI A <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-a-ni  
 39 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU ŠEŠ-šú

- 40 ù LÚ.DUB.SAR <sup>md</sup>EN-DÙ-*uš* A <sup>md</sup>UTU-*ba-a-ri*  
 41 UNUG.KI ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub>.23.KÁM MU.8.KÁM AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SUM.NA  
 42 LUGAL ŠÚ *šu-pur* <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA  
 43 ù <sup>f</sup>*na-as-qat* AMA-šú *ki-ma* IM.KIŠIB-šú-*nu*

- (24) In the presence of Ahhēšāya, the governor of Uruk  
 (25) (and) Balāṭu, the *šatammu* of Eanna.  
 (26) Before: Šarrani, descendant of Mušebši;  
 (27) Nabú-ušabši, descendant of Damqiya;  
 (28) Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Nanāya-uballiṭ;  
 (29) Nabú-ušallim, descendant of Nabú-šuma-iškun;  
 (30) Nāširu, son<sup>1</sup> of Zākīr;  
 (31) Šākin-šumi, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta;  
 (32) Nabú-udammiq, descendant of Šulāya;  
 (33) Mušallim-Marduk, descendant of Ahhēšāya;  
 (34) Nādin-aḫi, son<sup>1</sup> of Upāqu;  
 (35) Kunāya, descendant of Lābāši;  
 (36) Šullumu, descendant of Damqiya;  
 (37) Nabú-nāšir, descendant of Immāya;  
 (38) Zēr-Bābili, descendant of Šarrani;  
 (39) Bēl-aḫḫē-eṛiba, his brother;  
 (40) and the scribe, Bēl-īpuš, descendant of Šamaš-bāri.  
 (41–42a) Uruk, month of Tašrītu, twenty-third day, eighth year of Esarhaddon, king of  
 the world.  
 (42b–43) The fingernail (impressions) of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin and Nasqat, his mother, (are marked  
 on the tablet) instead of their seal(s).

### Commentary

See § 3.3.2.1 and see also sub § 3.3.1.3. Cf. nos. 3 and 14.

- 35 Lābāši is not clearly attested as a family name at this time (information courtesy J.P. Nielsen); thus it is more likely a paternal name here. Note also the individuals in lines 30 and 34 and the index of personal names for those individuals.



**No. 6**(a) **BM 118975** (1927-11-12, 12)(b) **BM 118969** (1927-11-12, 6)(c) **MAH 15976**

Uruk, 19-XII-acc. yr. Asb. (669)

Dimensions: portrait format; 93 × 68 mm (BM 118975)

103 × 57 mm (BM 118969)

100 × 70 mm (MAH 15976)

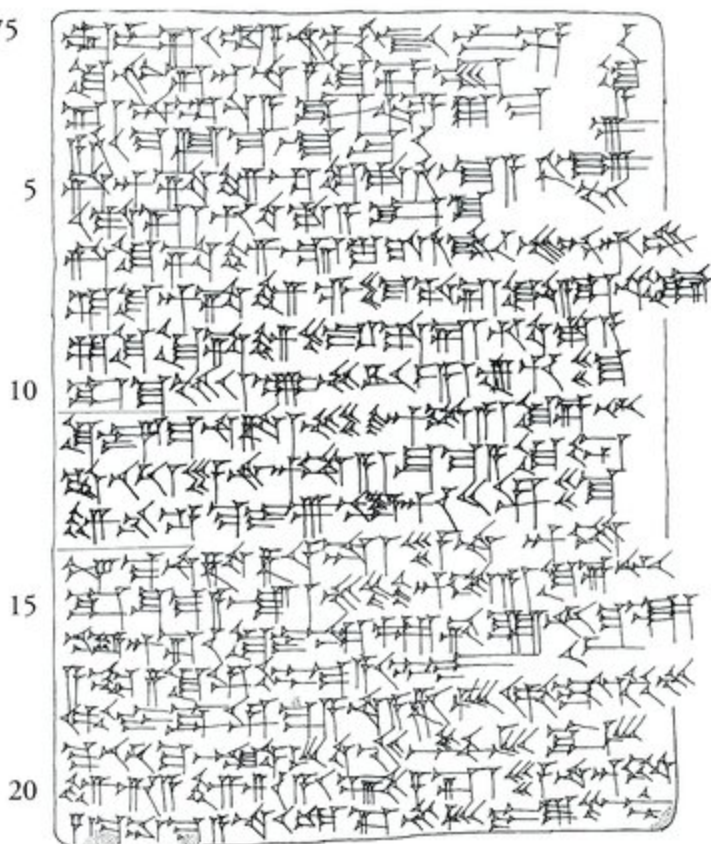
Fingernail impressions on all four edges of all three exemplars

Catalogue entry: Sollberger, *JCS* 5 (1951): 19 no. 2.11 (MAH 15976);Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 21 J.2-4

Purchase of a ruined house located at Uruk

The Musées d'Art et d'Histoire (Geneva) purchased MAH 15976 from Alfred Boissier in 1938, as part of a collection of 834 cuneiform documents (see W. Déonna, *Genava* 17 [1939]: 2). The author transliterated the tablet from the original in 1984, and in June 2009, M. Jaques kindly checked his transliteration against the original. The text is published here with the permission of Jean-Luc Chappaz, conservateur.

BM 118975  
obv.



- obv. 1 *ṭup-pi É GUL šá na-pa-ṣu u <e>pe-<<e>-šú*  
 2 KI-tì É.AN.NA šá qé-reb UNUG.KI  
 3 É <sup>m</sup>du-um-qa-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>šul-lu-ma-a  
 4 a-tar u ma-ṭu ma-la ba-šú-ú  
 5 UŠ AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ DA SILA la a-ṣu-ú  
 6 u DA É <sup>m</sup>ḫu-ud-da-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>ku-kul  
 7 UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU DA SILA rap-šú mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL  
 8 SAG.KI AN.TA IM.MAR.TU DA É <sup>m</sup>ki-na-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>na-din-IBILA  
 9 SAG.KI KI.TA IM.KUR.RA DA É <sup>m</sup>ḫu-ud-da-a  
 10 DUMU <sup>m</sup>ku-kul u <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-TUK-ši A <sup>m</sup>ḫu-ḫu-tu  


---

 11 ki-i 4 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 12 it-ti <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>šu-ma-a KI.LAM  
 13 im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-šú gam-ru-tu  

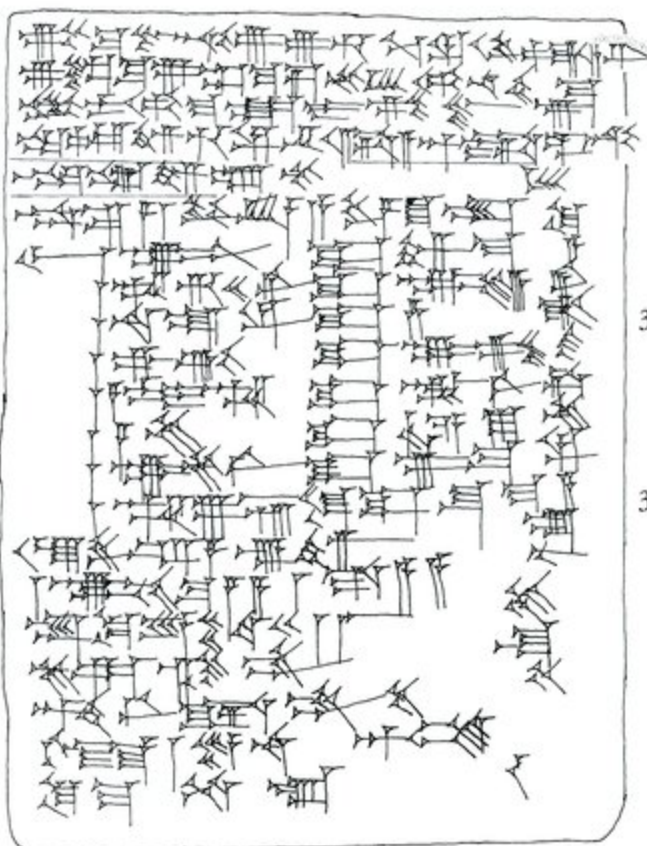

---

 14 PAP 4 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 15 DUMU <sup>m</sup>šu-ma-a ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 16 ŠAM É-šú ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti ma-ḫir  
 17 a-pil za-ki ru-gum-ma-a ul<sup>1</sup>(text: MI) i-ši  
 18 ul i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḫa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu  
 19 ma-ti-ma ina EGIR.MEŠ u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ  
 20 IM.RIA IM.RIA u sa-lat šá É <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 21 šá <sup>E</sup><sub>11</sub>-ma<sup>3</sup> a-na UGU É MU.MEŠ i-dab-bu-ub

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built in the district of Eanna that is inside Uruk—  
 (3-4) The house of Dumqāya, descendant of Šullumāya, whether it be more or less, as much as there is (of it):  
 (5-6) Upper side, in the north, bordering a dead-end street and the house of Ḫuddāya, descendant of Kukul;  
 (7) Lower side, in the south, bordering on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king;  
 (8) Upper front, in the west, bordering on the house of Kīnāya, descendant of Nādin-apli;  
 (9-10) Lower front, in the east, bordering on the house of Ḫuddāya, descendant of Kukul, and Nabû-šuma-ušarši, descendant of Aḫḫūtu.  
 (11-13) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named four minas of silver as the purchase price with Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Šumāya, and purchased (the house) for its full price.  
 (14-16) Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Šumāya, has received a total of four minas of silver in pieces from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.  
 (17-18) (Iddin-Marduk) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house).

BM 118975  
rev.

25



30

35

40

- rev. 22 *ú-šad-ba-bu* BAL-ú *ú-paq-qa-ru* u LÚ *pa-qir-á-ni*<sup>1</sup>  
 23 *ú-šar-šu-ú um-ma É* MU.MEŠ *ul na-din-ma*  
 24 *kàs-pi ul ma-ḥir i-qab-bu-ú*  
 25 *ka-sap im-ḥu-ru* EN 12.TA.ÀM *i-ta-nap-pal*  
 26 *ina ka-nak* IM.DUB MU.MEŠ  
 27 *ina* GUB-zu *ša* <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ša-a* LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI  
 28 IGI <sup>md</sup>AG-PAB DUMU <sup>m</sup>im-ma-a  
 29 <sup>md</sup>EN-re-man-ni DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-KAR-ir  
 30 <sup>m</sup>na-ši-ru DUMU <sup>m</sup>za-kir  
 31 <sup>m</sup>mar-duk DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-še-zib  
 32 <sup>m</sup>ša-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU <sup>md</sup>EN-<sup>1</sup>-DÙ-uš  
 33 <sup>m</sup>GAR-MU DUMU <sup>m</sup>šul-lu-mu  
 34 <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-DÙ DUMU <sup>m</sup>ú-ba-ru  
 35 <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-sa-tu DUMU <sup>m</sup>šu-ma-a  
 36 *ù* LÚ.UMBISAG *ša-ṭir* IM.DUB  
 37 <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-BA-*ša* A <sup>m</sup>da-a-a-nu  
 38 UNUG.KI ITI.ŠE U<sub>4</sub>.20.I.LÁ.KÁM  
 39 MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA  
 40 AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-IBILA LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 41 *šu-pur* <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 42 *ki-ma* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-*šú*

(19–25) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Iddin-Marduk comes forward and brings a claim against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), or causes there to be a claimant (for the house) saying: “This house has not been sold and the silver has not been received,” he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

(26) At the sealing of this tablet:

(27) In the presence of Ahḫēšāya, the governor of Uruk.

(28) Before: Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Immāya;

(29) Bēl-rēmanni, descendant of Nabû-ēṭir;

(30) Nāširu, son<sup>1</sup> of Zākir;

(31) Marduk, descendant of Nabû-ušēzib;

(32) Ša-pī-Bēl, descendant of Bēl-īpuš;

(33) Šākin-šumi, son<sup>1</sup> of Šullumu;

(34) Nabû-šuma-ibni, descendant of Ubāru;

(35) Bēl-usātu, descendant of Šumāya;

(36–37) and the scribe, writer of the tablet, Nabû-zēra-iqīša, descendant of Dayyānu.

(38–40) Uruk, month of Addaru, nineteenth day, accession year of Ashurbanipal, king of the lands.

(41–42) Iddin-Marduk's fingernail (impression) (is marked on the tablet) instead of his seal.

## Variants

## BM 118969 (No. 6b)

The obverse is not completely preserved; in particular, the beginnings of the lines on the obverse are not preserved. The tablet has the text on 44 lines. Line numbers on this exemplar are given in square brackets here when they are different from those on BM 118975 (no. 6a).

- 1 The end of the line is not preserved on this text.  
 3 ]-*mu-qa-a*  
 6 A for DUMU  
 8 A for DUMU  
 17 *ul* clear  
 19 EG1]R.<MEŠ>  
 21 *mul-bi* for UGU  
 22 *ú-šad-da-ba-bu*;  
     *-ri* for *-ru*; erased *-ra-* between *-gir-* and *-a-* [23]  
 31 *-še<sup>1</sup>-*, the sign has only three *Winkelbaken*, one above the other [33]  
 32 <sup>m</sup>*šá-pi*-<sup>d</sup>EN [34]  
 37 DUMU for A; *-na* for *-nu* [39]  
 40 KUR.KUR.MEŠ [42]  
 42 IM.<sup>f</sup>KIŠIB<sup>3</sup>-*šú* [44]

## MAH 15976 (No. 6c)

MAH 15976 has the text on 41 lines; line numbers on this exemplar are given in square brackets here when they are different to those on BM 118975 (no. 6a).

- 1 *e-pe-šú*  
 17 *ul* clear  
 22 *ú-paq-qa-ri*  
 25 no line ruling after this line of text [24]

# Commentary

See § 2.12 and 3.3.1.2.

- 3 The duplicate BM 118969:3 apparently had the name as Dummuqāya ([...]-*mu-qa-a*). Šullumāya, Kukul (line 6), Nādin-apli (line 8) and Aḥḥūtu (line 10) do not appear as family names at this time (information courtesy J. P. Nielsen) and thus *mār* (DUMU/A) should in these cases, and likely some/many others in this text (certainly in lines 11, 30 and 33) be translated “son” rather than “descendant.”
- 6 The meaning and origin of the name Huddāya are uncertain, but Ku(k)kul(l)u may be an Anatolian name; see *PNA* 2/1, pp. 476 and 635.
- 22 BM 118969 has *ú-šad-da-ba-bu* for *ušadbabu*. With regard to the writing (C)VC–CV for /CVC/ in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian texts, see Streck in *Hieroglyphen*, pp. 80–81.
- 33 This individual also appears as witness in five other documents in this archive drawn up at Uruk—no. 7:34, no. 10:28, no. 12:34, no. 14:35, and no. 17:34, in the last four as “son of” (*māršu ša*) Šullumu—thus from 669 to 656 BC. These deal with property located in the Eanna district (nos. 6, 12, and 17), in the district of the temple of Ninurta (nos. 14 and likely 10), and along the *ḥarīšu* (no. 7). Is he possibly to be identified with Šakin-šumi, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta, who appears in no. 3 rev. 11 and no. 5 rev. 31?



## No. 7

**BM 118981** (1927-11-12, 18)

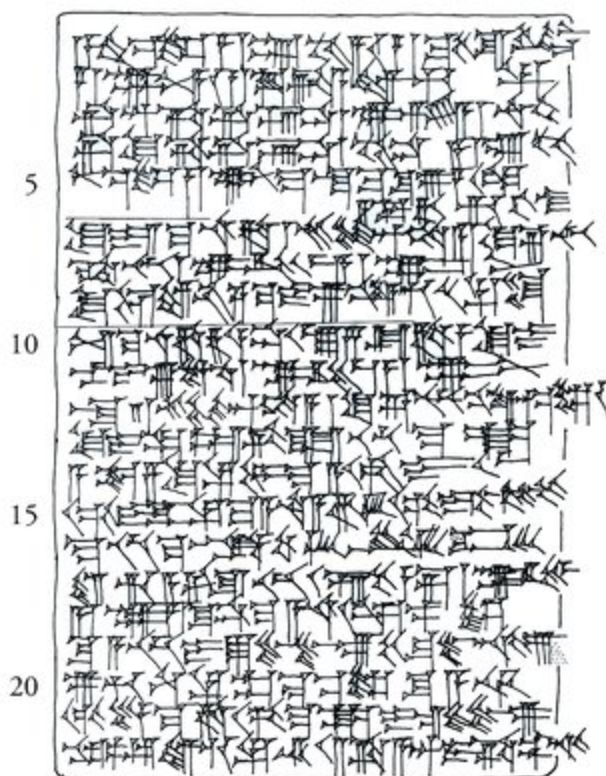
Uruk, 18-X-yr. 1 Ššu (667)

Dimensions: 85 × 58 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 25 K.5

Purchase of a share in an orchard

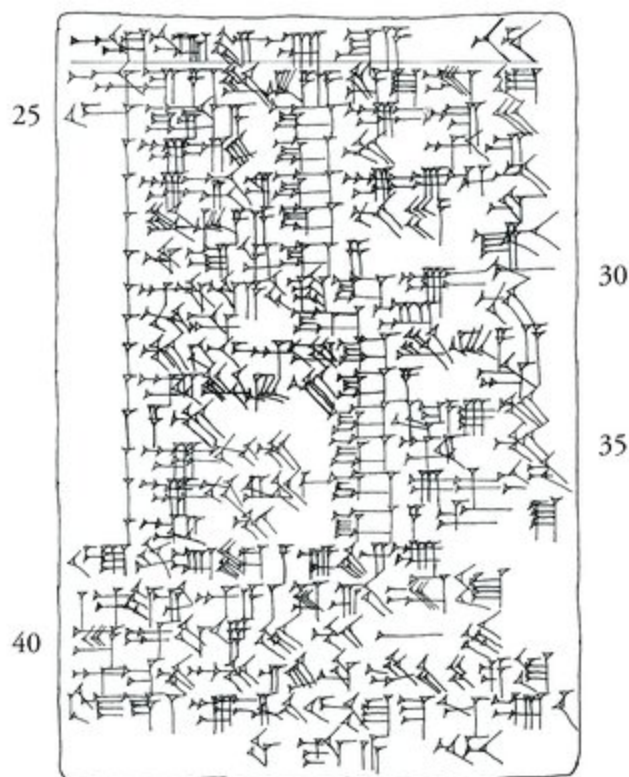


- obv. 1 *a-ḫi* GIŠ.SAR šá<sup>m</sup> DUB-NUMUN A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ba-laṭ-su LÚ.NAR  
 2 šá<sup>md</sup> AG-PAB A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> bul-luṭ-a im-ḫu-ru  
 3 UŠ AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>md</sup> AG-GI A<sup>m</sup> na-din  
 4 UŠ KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>m</sup> NUMUN-GIN A<sup>m</sup> DUB-NUMUN  
 5 PAP GIŠ.SAR šá<sup>md</sup> AG-PAB ma-la ba-šu-ú šá<sup>m</sup> UGU  
 6 ID ḫa-ri-šu
- 
- 7 ki-i 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR<sup>m</sup> mu-še-zib-d<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-ti  
 8 it-ti<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši A<sup>md</sup> AG-PAP  
 9 KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 10 PAP 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU ù 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i  
 11 pi-i DIRI SUM.NA<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši A<sup>md</sup> AG-PAB  
 12 ina ŠU<sup>ll</sup> mu-še-zib-d<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-ti ŠAM GIŠ.SAR-šú  
 13 ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti ma-ḫir  
 14 a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a ul i-ši  
 15 ul i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḫa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu  
 16 ma-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 17 IM.RIA ni-su-ti u sa-lat šá É<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši  
 18 A<sup>md</sup> AG-<PAB> šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na UGU GIŠ.SAR  
 19 šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu BAL-ú  
 20 ú-paq-qa-ru um-ma GIŠ.SAR šu-a-ti  
 21 ul SUM-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul ma-ḫir i-qab-bu-ú  
 22 ka-sap im-ḫu-ru EN 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-pal

- (1-2) A half share of the orchard of Šāpik-zēri, son of Balāssu, the musician, which Nabû-nāšir, son of Bulluṭa, had acquired:  
 (3) Upper side, bordering on (the property of) Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Nādin;  
 (4) Lower side, bordering on (the property of) Zēra-ukīn, descendant of Šāpik-zēri –  
 (5-6) All the orchard of Nabû-nāšir, as much as there is (of it), that is along the moat.  
 (7-9) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named two minas of silver as the purchase price with Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Nabû-nāšir, and purchased (the orchard) for its full price.  
 (10-13) Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Nabû-nāšir, has received a total of two minas of silver in pieces and five shekels of silver which was given as an additional payment from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his orchard.  
 (14-15) (Nabû-ušabši) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the orchard).  
 (16-22) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Nabû-<nāšir>, comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

- rev. 23 *ina ka-nak* IM.DUB *šu-a-ti*  
 24 *ina* GUB-zu *ša* <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ša-a* LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI  
 25 IGI <sup>m</sup>IBILA-*a* DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-APIN-*eš*  
 26 <sup>md</sup>AG-GI DUMU <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 27 <sup>md</sup>AG-*ga-mil* DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-*ú-se-pí*  
 28 <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ša-a* DUMU <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-SUM.NA  
 29 <sup>m</sup>na-*ši-ru* DUMU <sup>m</sup>za-*kir*  
 30 <sup>md</sup>na-na-*a*-TIN-*iš* DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-PAB  
 31 <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-GIN DUMU <sup>m</sup>DUB-NUMUN  
 32 <sup>m</sup>mu-*šal-lim*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ša-a*  
 33 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU  
 34 <sup>m</sup>GAR-MU DUMU <sup>m</sup>šul-lu-mu  
 35 <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU DUMU <sup>md</sup>EN-MU  
 36 <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-GÁL-*ši* DUMU <sup>m</sup>ú-pa-qu  
 37 <sup>md</sup>EN-MU DUMU <sup>m</sup>ša-pi-ku  
 38 *ù* LÚ.DUB.SAR *ša-šir* IM.DUB  
 39 <sup>m</sup>am-me-ni-DINGIR A <sup>m</sup>bul-lu UNUG.KI  
 40 ITI.AB U<sub>4</sub>.18.KÁM MU.1.KÁM  
 41 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI  
 42 *šu-pur* <sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-*ši* *ki-ma* NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>(text: QA).KIŠIB-*šú*  
 43 *tú-da-a-ti*

- (23) At the sealing of this tablet:  
 (24) In the presence of Ahhēšāya, the governor of Uruk.  
 (25) Before: Aplāya, descendant of Nabû-ēreš;  
 (26) Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Iddin-Nergal;  
 (27) Nabû-gāmil, descendant of Nabû-useppi;  
 (28) Ahhēšāya, descendant of Zēra-iddin;  
 (29) Nāširu, son<sup>1</sup> of Zākir;  
 (30) Nanāya-uballiṣ, descendant of Nabû-nāšir;  
 (31) Zēra-ukīn, descendant of Šāpik-zēri;  
 (32) Mušallim-Marduk, descendant of Ahhēšāya;  
 (33) Bēl-ahhē-iddin, descendant of Kudurru;  
 (34) Šākin-šumi, son<sup>1</sup> of Šullumu;  
 (35) Nabû-zēra-iddin, descendant of Bēl-iddin;  
 (36) Nabû-zēra-ušabši, descendant of Upāqu;  
 (37) Bēl-iddin, descendant of Šāpiku;  
 (38–39) and the scribe, the writer of the tablet, Ammēni-ilī, descendant of Bulluṣ.  
 (39–41) Uruk, month of Ṭebētu, eighteenth day, first year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.  
 (42–43) Nabû-ušabši's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.



### Commentary

See § 3.3.2.3.

- 3 Is it possible that the neighbour Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Nādin, is to be identified with the witness Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Iddin-Nergal (line 26)?
- 4 This neighbour appears as one of the witnesses to the transaction (line 31).
- 8 It is possible that he is to be identified with the Nabû-ušabši, "son" (DUMU-šú šā) of Nabû-nāšir, who appears as a witness in no. 11:36 (transaction conducted seven years later at Ur).

## No. 8\*

## FLP 1288

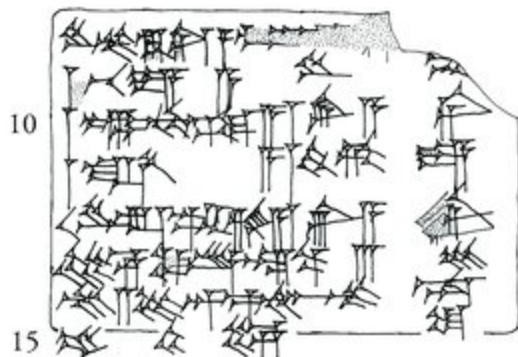
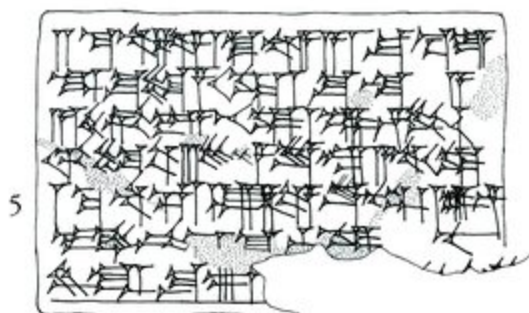
Babylon, 3–VIII-yr. 2 Ššu (666)

Dimensions: 52 × 35 mm; landscape format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 26 K.12

Promissory note (transfer of debt) with security



- obv. 1 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>m</sup>ku-na-a A <sup>m</sup>ba-si-ia  
 2 ra-šu-tu šá UGU <sup>m</sup>šu-la-a  
 3 A <sup>m</sup>DÙG.GA-ia ina UGU <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR ŠEŠ-šú  
 4 ul-tu U<sub>4</sub>.3.KÁM (erasure) šá ITI.APIN a-na UGU  
 5 1 <sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.NA-e I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ITI ina <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR  
 6 i-rab-bi <sup>r</sup>É-su maš<sup>1</sup>-ka-nu  
 7 LÚ ra-šu-<sup>r</sup>ú šá<sup>1</sup>-[nam-ma<sup>2</sup> (ina<sup>2</sup> UGU<sup>2</sup>)] <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>-šal<sup>2</sup>-l[<sup>r</sup>a<sup>2</sup>]

- rev. 8 LÚ mu-kin-ni <sup>m</sup>šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>2</sup> A<sup>2</sup> m<sup>2</sup>1[...]  
 9 <sup>m</sup>IDIM-ia A LÚ.ŠIT[IM<sup>2</sup>]  
 10 <sup>m</sup>dAG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ A <sup>m</sup>ir-a-ni  
 11 <sup>m</sup>ra-šil A <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 12 u LÚ.UMBISAG <sup>m</sup>dEN-GI A <sup>m</sup>ir-a-ni(over erasure)  
 13 TIN.TIR.<sup>f</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> ITI.APIN U<sub>4</sub>.3.KÁM  
 14 MU.2.KÁM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GIN  
 15 LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

- (1-3) Two minas of silver belonging to Kunāya, descendant of Basiya, the amount (literally "credit") owed by Šulāya, descendant of Tābiya, is (now) charged against Nabû-ētir, his brother.  
 (4-6a) From the third day of the month of Araḥsamna (VIII), each month one shekel of silver per mina will accrue against Nabû-ētir.  
 (6b-7) His house is security (for the debt). No ot[her] creditor has a right [(to it)].  
 (8) Witnesses: Ša-pī-Bēl, descendant of [...];  
 (9) Kabtiya, descendant of the Buil[der];  
 (10) Nabû-zēru-līšir, descendant of Ir'anni;  
 (11) Rāšil, descendant of Tābiya;  
 (12) and the scribe Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Ir'anni.  
 (13-15) Babylon, month of Araḥsamna, third day, second year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

### Commentary

See §§ 3.1, 3.3.1.3, and 3.4. Cf. nos. 16 and 20 that likely involve the same house used as security in this text.

- 1 The meaning and origin of the name written <sup>m</sup>ba-si-ia in Neo-Babylonian texts are uncertain; see M. Streck, ZA 91 (2001): 116.  
 6 With regard to the location of the house, see § 3.1.  
 6-7 CAD M/1, p. 369 gives as one meaning of the Akkadian word *maṣkanu* "pledge given as security for an outstanding debt." According to its legal definition, a pledge is an individual's personal property that is actually handed over to a creditor (or to some third party for safe-keeping). See Bryan A. Garner, ed., *Black's Law Dictionary*, 8th ed. (St. Paul, MN: Thomson West, 2004), pp. 1192-1193 sub *pledge* "1. A formal promise or undertaking. 2. The act of providing something as security for a debt or obligation. ... 3. A bailment or other deposit of personal property to a creditor as security for a debt or obligation ... 4. The item of personal property so provided ..." and the following quote at the end of the entry taken from R. D. Henson, *Secured Transactions*: "In this transaction the debtor borrows money by physically transferring to a secured party the possession of the property to be used as security, and the property will be returned if the debt is repaid. Since the debtor does not retain the use of pledged goods, this security device has obvious disadvantages from the debtor's point of view." In FLP 1288 the house is in fact not handed over to the creditor and is later used as security for another debt, resulting in a court case over possession of the house (see above, § 3.1). A more appropriate translation of *maṣkanu* in this situation would be *hypotheca* (Garner, ed., *Black's Law Dictionary*, p. 759 sub *hypotheca* "Roman law". A mortgage of property in which the debtor was allowed to keep, but not alienate, the property" and cf. the related verb *hypothecate*, "To pledge (property)



as security or collateral for a debt, without delivery of title or possession." Since it is not always clear who had possession of something given as *maškanu*, the author has preferred to translate the term as "security" since an item given as security may or may not be handed over to the creditor (Garner, ed., *Black's Law Dictionary*, p. 1384 sub *security* "1. Collateral given or pledged to guarantee the fulfillment of an obligation; esp., the assurance that a creditor will be repaid (usu. with interest) any money or credit extended to a debtor"). See also von Dassow *AuOr* 12 (1994): 117.

The security did not automatically become the possession of the creditor even if the debtor defaulted on the debt unless that was specifically stated in the agreement. However, no other creditor of the debtor could take possession of it until he was repaid in full. For the practice of providing security for debts in the Neo-Babylonian period, see in particular Petschow, *Pfandrecht*; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 83–87 n. 68; Jursa, *RLA* 10/5–6 (2004): 451–454 sub "Pfand. G. Neu- und Spätbabylonisch"; and J. Oelsner, B. Wells, and C. Wunsch, "Neo-Babylonian Period," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Westbrook (Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/72/2) (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 951–953. More specific articles on this topic in English: J. Oelsner, "The Neo-Babylonian Period," in *Security for Debt in Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Jasnow and R. Westbrook (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East) (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 289–305; C. Wunsch, "Debt, Interest, Pledge and Forfeiture in the Neo-Babylonian and Early Achaemenid Period: The Evidence from Private Archives," in *Debt and Economic Renewal in Antiquity*, ed. M. Hudson and M. van de Mieroop (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2001), pp. 221–255.

- 11 <sup>m</sup>ra-šil for Rāši-ili; see Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 252. He is a member of the same family as the debtors.
- 12 Is he to be identified with the individual of the same name selling land in TCL 12 11, a transaction composed at Babylon in 654? Another member of the Ir'anni family, Ṭāb-ašābi-Marduk, was scribe of that document. A son of Bēl-ušallim may appear in VAT 17902, a text composed at Babylon in 634 (<sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ DUMU-šū šā | <sup>m</sup>EN-GI DUMU <sup>m</sup>ir-a-ni, lines 1–2, collated); see Jakob-Rost, *FuB* 10 (1968): 58–59 no. 17 (see also Jakob-Rost's name index on p. 60).

## No. 9\*

BM 118986 (1927-11-12, 23)

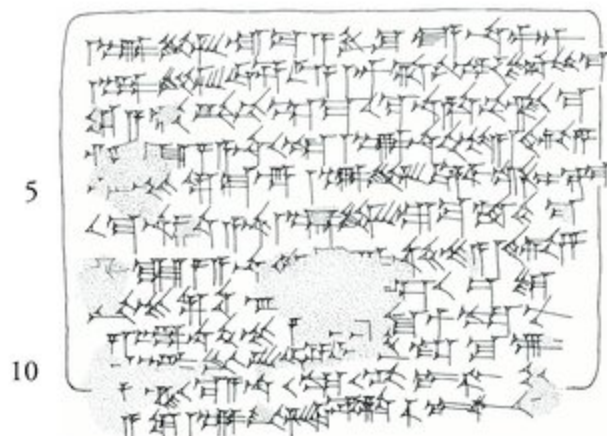
Nuhšānītu, 28-I-yr. 5 Ššu (663)

Dimensions: 48 × 70 mm; landscape format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 26 K.15

Transfer of a debt, with security

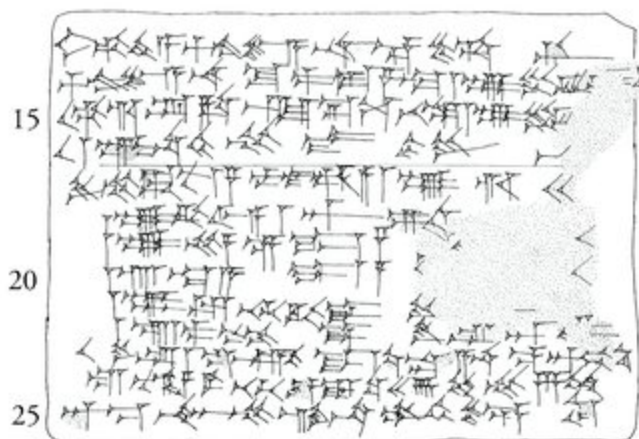


- obv. 1 <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba A LÚ.ŠU.I a-na pa-an  
 2 <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šul-lim A <sup>md</sup>DINGIR-ta-DÙ il-li-kám-ma  
 3 'ki'-a-am iq<sup>1</sup>-bi um-ma 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR bi-nam-ma  
 4 'gi'-[m]ir šá a-na UGU <sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU A <sup>md</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 5 a[g]-mu-ru lu<sup>12</sup>-tir <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šul-lim iš-me<sup>1</sup>-e-ma  
 6 10 MA.NA 'KÙ'.BABBAR a-na <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba id-din-ma  
 7 'gi'-mir šá a-na UGU <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-na-din-MU A <sup>md</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 8 'ig'-mu-ru u<sup>1</sup>-t[il]r (x) T]ÜR u GIŠ.SAR  
 9 [(x)] šá <sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU šá [(ina)] 'UNUG<sup>2</sup>.KI maš-ka-nu  
 10 [(x)] 'šá <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šul-lim 'LÚ<sup>1</sup> ra-šu-ú  
 lo. c. 11 [(x)] 'šá<sup>1</sup>-nam-ma a-na UGU ul i-šal-laṭ  
 12 [(x)] a-di <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šul-lim KÙ.BABBAR-šu i-šal-lim<sup>1</sup>

(1-3a) Nabû-ahhē-erība, descendant of the Barber, came before Nabû-ahhē-šullim, descendant of Ilūta-bani, and said the following (to him):

(3b-5a) "Please give me ten minas of silver so that I can pay the expenses that I incurred on behalf of Nabû-nādin-šumi, descendant of Tābiya."

(5b-8a) Nabû-ahhē-šullim listened (to him) and gave Nabû-ahhē-erība ten minas of silver; he (Nabû-ahhē-erība) paid the expenses that he had incurred on behalf of Nabû-nādin-šumi, descendant of Tābiya.



- rev. 13 ÁB.GU<sub>4</sub>.HIA 1/2 DANNA a-na e-le-ni<sup>1</sup>  
 14 1/2 DANNA a-na šu-pa-lu šá la<sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-š[u]l-lim<sup>1</sup>  
 15 ul tal-lak KÙ.BABBAR ina 1 GÍN bit-qa ina UGU<sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ[eri-ba]  
 16 u<sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU i-rab-be<sup>1</sup>  
 17 LÚ mu-kin-nu<sup>md</sup>šá-pi-i<sup>d</sup>EN A<sup>md</sup>AG-re-man-[(ni)]  
 18<sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši A<sup>md</sup>DINGIR-ta-[DÙ]  
 19<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un DUMU<sup>md</sup>GAR x [(x)] x  
 20<sup>md</sup>šil-la-a DUMU<sup>md</sup>GAR x [(x)] x  
 21<sup>md</sup>AG-ip-ti-ig DUMU LÚ [x] x [(x)]  
 22<sup>md</sup>ú-pa-qu DUMU LÚ.ŠANGA<sup>d</sup>ŠKUR<sup>21</sup>  
 23 u LÚ.UMBISAG<sup>md</sup>mar-duk DUMU<sup>md</sup>ē-a-na-ZÁLAG<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 24 URU nu-ub<sup>1</sup>-šá-ni-ti<sup>1</sup>ITI<sup>1</sup>.BÁR U<sub>4</sub>.28.KÁM MU.5.KÁM  
 25<sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>

(8b–10a) [The cattle] pen and orchard of Nabû-nādin-šumi that are at Uruk are security for Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim.

(10b–12) No other creditor has a right to them until Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim is paid back his silver in full.

(13–15a) No cow may go (even) one half *bēru* above (or) one half *bēru* below (the property) without (the permission of) Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim.

(15b–16) One eighth shekel of silver per shekel (per year) will accrue against Nabû-aḥḥē-eriba and Nabû-nādin-šumi.

(17) Witnesses: Ša-pī-Bēl, descendant of Nabû-rēman[(ni)];

(18) Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Ilūta-[bani];

(19) Nabû-šuma-iškun, descendant of ...;

(20) Šillāya, descendant of ...;

(21) Nabû-iptiq, descendant of the ...;

(22) Upāqu, descendant of Šangû-Adad;

(23) and the scribe, Marduk, descendant of Lūši-ana-nūr-Marduk.

(24–25) Nuḥṣānītu, month of Nisannu, twenty-eighth day, fifth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

# Commentary

See §§ 3.1, 3.3.1.3, 3.3.2.5, and 3.4. Nos. 18 and 19 likely involve the same orchard mentioned in this transaction. This is a dialogue document concerning a 'debt' involving silver; normally such transactions are dealt with by a normal *u'iltu* document.

- 1 The "Barber" or Gallābu family is well-attested at Borsippa and in the archive of (Ea-)ilūta-bani; see Joannès, *Borsippa*, p. 373 (name index); Zadok in *IOS* 18, pp. 254–271; and Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 82–83 no. 7.2.3.6. For this family at Ur, see Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 133–134 no. 7.12.1.2 and Oelsner in *Festschrift Haase*, pp. 75–87.
- 2 The family of Ea-ilūta-bani, regularly abbreviated to Ilūta-bani, is well attested at Borsippa. Another member of the family appears in line 18 as a witness to the transaction (family name partially restored). In his careful study of this family, Joannès traces family members from 687 until the early fifth century BC (*Borsippa*). He was not aware of the present document, which would be the second-earliest text mentioning the family. Nabū-ahhē-šullim also appears in BM 82645 (also unknown to Joannès), a transaction drawn up at Borsippa on 5–VIII–651; in that text, reference is made to a legal decision/agreement (*purussū*) that needed to be made between him and one Bēl-iqīša, descendant of Munnabitti. For additional information on this family, see van Driel, *BiOr* 49 [1992]: 28–50 and Jursa, *Guide*, pp. 77–79 no. 7.2.2.1.
- 4–5 & 7–8 For the idiom *gimru + gamāru*, "incur expenses" / "spend for expenses," see *CAD* G, pp. 77–78 and cf. p. 39 for *gamra gamāru*.
- 5 The sign before TIR appears to be MA, but traces of two vertical wedges at the beginning of the sign are visible and thus suggest the proposed reading LU (reading suggested by M. Jursa). The scribe appears to have begun to write a sign other than MI following IS and then corrected his mistake, resulting in a sign that looks like TAR-LfMMU.
- 13–15 This is a stipulation about antichretic usage of the cattle pen by the creditor, but in negative formulation. It does not appear in any other transaction known to the author. The measurement is symbolic. Such symbolic usage can be found in BM 64245:5–7, where an oath occurs: *kī 1/2 GIN qaq-qar-ru šā la PN ul-tu GN āš-te-qī* "if I leave (place name) even half a metre without (the permission of) PN" (courtesy C. Waerzeggers). Although the collective determinative HLA is used with AB.GU<sub>6</sub>, the verb is singular (*tallak*). For an alternate interpretation of this stipulation, see n. 161a.
- 21 I am not aware of *patāqu* appearing in any other personal name of the period and it is not listed in the *Wörterverzeichnis* in Tallqvist, *NBN*. M. Jursa has suggested to the author the possibility of reading the name <sup>md</sup>AG-DIB<sup>1</sup>-ti-iq<UD.DA>, Nabū-mušētiq<uddū> (communication of December 7, 2009). Although no writing DIB-ti-iq is listed for *mušētiq* in Tallqvist, *NBN*, pp. 138 and 307–308 (or in *CAD* E, p. 395), *mušētiq* is written in several different ways in Neo-Babylonian names—including DIB, DIB-iq, mu-DIB, mu-še-DIB, and mu-še-ti-DIB—thus a writing DIB-ti-iq would not be unexpected. The sign on the tablet, however, appears to be IB rather than DIB.
- 22 The reading of the theophoric element in the family name is uncertain, but a member of the family Šangū-Adad does appear in a text that likely comes from Borsippa in the seventh year of Cyrus (TuM 2/3 219:11; see Joannès, *Borsippa*, p. 227).
- 23 The family of Lūši-ana-nūr-Marduk is attested in numerous texts from Borsippa; see, for example, the name indices in Joannès, *Borsippa*, p. 385 and TuM 2/3, p. 31.
- 24 Although the form of the /UJ/ is slightly abnormal, the reading seems certain. Zadok, *Rep. géogr.* 8, p. 244 lists two places by the name of Nuḫšānītu, but both are preceded by GARIM, not URU. He locates one near Uruk and the other (tentatively) near Borsippa. The town in BM 118986 may have been situated near Borsippa for the following reasons: (a) Two members of the family Ilūta-bani (abbreviated form of Ea-ilūta-bani)—a family

well-attested at Borsippa—appear in the document (lines 2 and 18, latter instance partially restored).

(b) Nabû, the patron deity of Borsippa, is mentioned in a high percentage of the names of individuals in the text.

(c) Two of the individuals mentioned in the transaction (Nabû-nādin-šumi and Nabû-aḥḫē-erība) also appear in no. 18, a text composed at Babylon, which is located close to Borsippa.

(d) The Barber (Gallābu) and Lūši-ana-nūr-Marduk families who appear in the text are also well-attested at Borsippa (see commentary to lines 1 and 23).

(e) A town (URU) by this name is also attested in BM 31705 (1876–11–17, 1432), an unpublished transaction unknown to Zadok and dated to 5–VII–year 2 of Darius. The text is described by C. Wunsch in *Egibi* 1, p. 137 no 274, as a rental contract. This document deals with a field located at Nuḫšānitu and was drawn up at that site (URU nu-uh-ša-ni-tu, lines 1 and 20). Since the field is mentioned in connection with the Nār-Barsip (ul-tu GU 1D bar-sip.KI, line 3), the town was likely located near Babylon and Borsippa (see Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 367).

## No. 10

**BM 118984** (1927–11–12, 21)

Uruk, [?]-X-yr. 7 Ššu (661)

Dimensions: 75 × 47 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

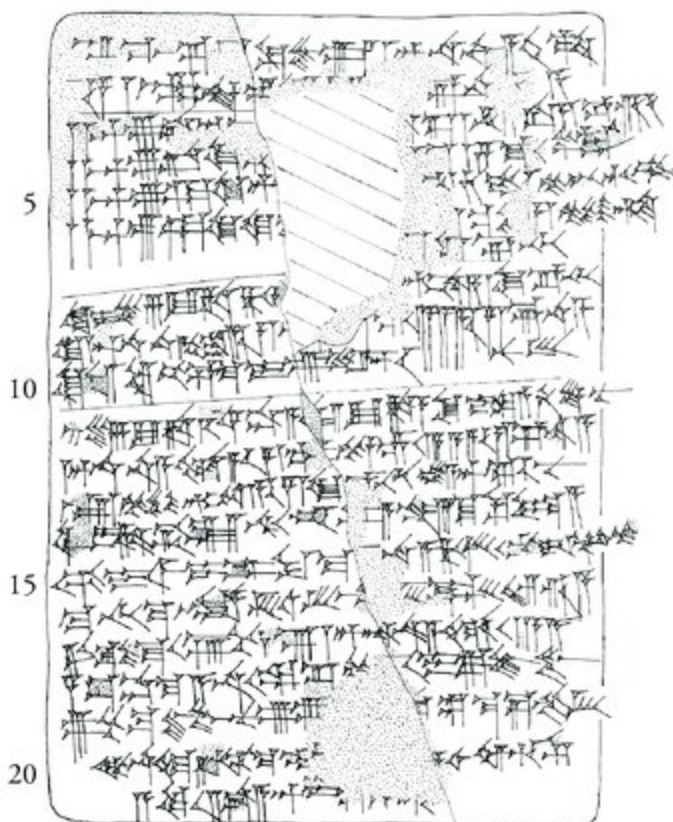
The signs on this tablet are small and often so cramped that wedges can be obscured by other wedges.

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 27 K.22

Purchase of an empty plot

- obv. 1 <sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-pi É <sup>2</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-šub-bu-ú šá <sup>3</sup>na-na-a-TIN-i<sup>4</sup>  
 2 <sup>5</sup>A-šú šá <sup>6</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un u <sup>7</sup>A-a A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>8</sup>an-na-(erased A<sup>2</sup>)-a  
 3 1 ME ina 1 KÜŠ UŠ AN.T[A IM ... D]A É <sup>9</sup>EN-<sup>10</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ni A <sup>11</sup>e-re-šú  
 4 1 ME ina 1 KÜŠ UŠ <sup>12</sup>KI.TA<sup>1</sup> [IM ... D]A <sup>13</sup>E<sup>1</sup>-<sup>14</sup>za<sup>1</sup>-kir<sup>1</sup> LÚ x x  
 5 1 ME ina 1 KÜŠ SAG.<sup>15</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> AN.T[A IM ... D]A SILA rap-šú mu<sup>16</sup>-taq<sup>1</sup> DINGIR u LUGAL  
 6 1 ME ina 1 KÜŠ SAG.KI KI.T[A IM ... D]A<sup>17</sup> GIŠ.S[A]R šá <sup>18</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>19</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 7 [A-šú šá] <sup>20</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-rib-ti  
 8 ki-i 56 GÍN KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.PA[D.DU <sup>21</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>22</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>23</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 9 KI <sup>24</sup>na-na-a-TIN-i<sup>25</sup> A-šú šá <sup>26</sup>[AG-MU-GA]R-un<sup>1</sup> u <sup>27</sup>A-a A-šú šá <sup>28</sup>dan-na-a  
 10 KI.<sup>29</sup>LAM<sup>1</sup> im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-šú TIL.MEŠ  
 11 PAP<sup>1</sup> 56 GÍN KÜ.BABBAR <sup>2</sup>KÜ<sup>1</sup>.PAD.DU a<sup>3</sup>-di<sup>1</sup> 2 GÍN KÜ.BABBAR šá ki-i KA a-tar  
 SUM-nu  
 12 <sup>3</sup>na-na-a-TIN-i<sup>4</sup> A-šú šá <sup>5</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un u <sup>6</sup>A-a A-šú šá <sup>7</sup>dan-na-a  
 13 ina <sup>8</sup>ŠU<sup>11</sup> <sup>9</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>10</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá <sup>11</sup>ki-rib<sup>1</sup>-ti ŠAM É-šú-nu  
 14 <sup>12</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-i KÜ.BABBAR ga<sup>13</sup>-mir<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>14</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ru<sup>1</sup> a<sup>15</sup>-pil<sup>1</sup> za<sup>16</sup>-ku ru-gum-ma-a  
 15 ul i-ši <ul> i-tur<sup>17</sup>-ru-ma <sup>18</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu  
 16 ma-ti-ma ina <sup>17</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ U<sup>18</sup>.MEŠ ina <sup>19</sup>Š[<sup>20</sup>EŠ.M]EŠ DUMU.MEŠ IM.RIA  
 17 ni-su<sup>21</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup> u sa-lat <sup>22</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> É <sup>23</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-na-a-TIN-i<sup>24</sup> u <sup>25</sup>A-a  
 18 šá <sup>26</sup>E<sup>11</sup>-ma a-na UGU É MU.<sup>27</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> i-dab-bu-bu

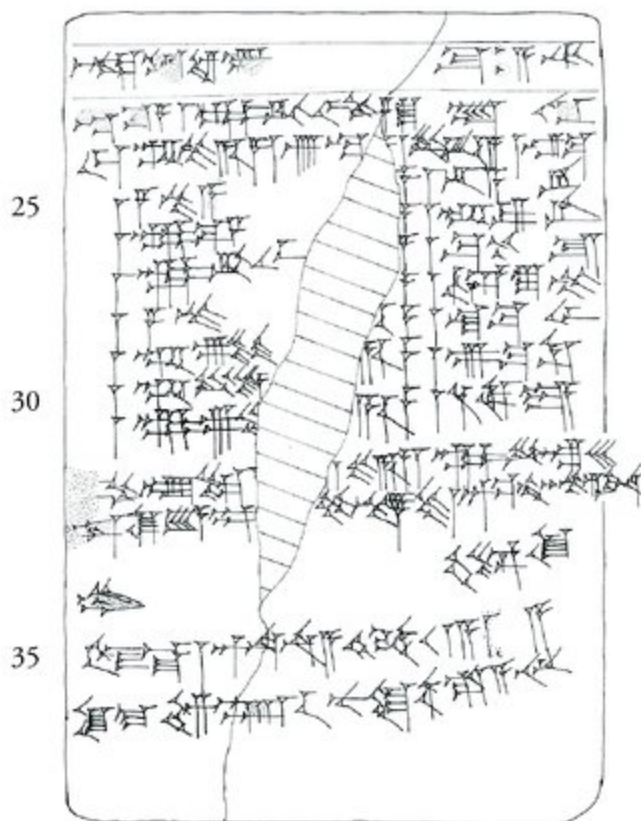




- 19 *ú-šad-ba-bu in-nu-ú ú-[paq-qa-r]u um-ma É MUMEŠ*  
 20 *ul na-din-ma 'KÜ.BABBAR' ul ma-'hír' [i-qab-bu-ú K]Ü.BABBAR im-ḫu-ru'*  
 21 *a-di I2.TA.ÀM 'i-ta-nap-pal'*

- (1-2) Tablet concerning an empty house plot belonging to Nanāya-uballiṭ, son of Nabû-šuma-iškun, and Aplāya, son [of] Dannāya;  
 (3) 100 cubits, upper side, [in the ..., border]ing on the house of Bēlani, descendant of Ērešu;  
 (4) 100 cubits, lower side, [in the ..., border]ing on the house of Zākir, the *leatherworker*;  
 (5) 100 cubits, upper front, [in the ..., bord]ering on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king;  
 (6-7) 100 cubits, lower front, [in the ... bord]ering on the orchard of Mušēzib-Marduk, [son of] Kiribtu.  
 (8-10) [Mušēzib]-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named fifty-six shekels of silver in pie[ces] as the purchase price with Nanāya-uballiṭ, son of [Nabû-šuma-išk]un, and Aplāya, son of Dannāya, and purchased (the house plot) for its full price.  
 (11-14a) Nanāya-uballiṭ, son of Nabû-šuma-iškun, and Aplāya, son of Dannāya, have received a total of fifty-six shekels of silver in pieces plus two shekels which were given as an additional payment from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of their house (plot).





- rev. 22 *ina ka<sup>1</sup>-nak<sup>1</sup> IM. 'DUB<sup>1</sup> šu-(erasure)-a-ti*
- 23 *ina 'GUB<sup>12</sup>-zu<sup>121</sup> šá<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG. 'KI<sup>1</sup>*
- 24 *IGI<sup>md</sup> EN-MU A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> sil-la-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> mŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú A<sup>m</sup> eri-ba*
- 25 *<sup>m</sup>GAR-MU (erased A) [A-šú] šá<sup>m</sup> EN-a-ni*
- 26 *<sup>md</sup> AG-BA-šá [A-šú] šá<sup>md</sup> EN-ib-ni*
- 27 *<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši [A-šú] šá<sup>m</sup> ba-laṭ-su*
- 28 *<sup>m</sup>GAR-MU [A-šú] šá<sup>m</sup> šul-lu-mu*
- 29 *<sup>md</sup> EN-ú-še-zib [A]-šú šá<sup>m</sup> la-ba-ši*
- 30 *<sup>md</sup> EN-ŠEŠ-SUM. [(NA)] 'A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ú-ba-ru*
- 31 *<sup>md</sup> AG-ú-še-[zib] A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> haš-di-ia*
- 32 *'ú<sup>21</sup> LÚ.DUB.SAR<sup>fm21</sup> [...] -x-KUR A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> AG-ŠEŠ-APIN-eš*
- 33 *'UNUG<sup>1</sup>.KI ITI.LAB [U<sub>4</sub>.x].KÁM MU.7.KÁM<sup>md</sup> GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA*
- 34 *LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI*
- 35 *šu-pur<sup>md</sup> na-na-a-TIN-iṭ u<sup>m</sup> A-(erasure)-a*
- 36 *ki-ma IM.KIŠIB-šú-nu tu-ud-da-a-ti*

- (14b-15) (Nanāya-uballiṭ and Aplāya) have been paid (and) are quit (of further claims). They have no (grounds for) dispute. They will <not> return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house plot).
- (16-21) If ever in the future anyone among the br[other]s, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house(s) of Nanāya-uballiṭ and Aplāya comes forward and brings a claim against this house (plot), (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) [contest]s (this agreement), [saying]: "This house (plot) has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.
- (22) At the sealing of this tablet:
- (23) In the presence of Nabú-ušabši, the governor of Uruk.
- (24) Before: Bēl-iddin, son of Šillāya; Aḫḫēšu, descendant of Erība;
- (25) Šākin-šumi, [son] of Bēlani;
- (26) Nabú-iqīša, [son] of Bēl-ibni;
- (27) Nabú-ušabši, [son] of Balāssu;
- (28) Šākin-šumi, [son] of Šullumu;
- (29) Bēl-ušēzib, [son] of Lābāši;
- (30) Bēl-aḫa-iddin, son of Ubāru;
- (31) Nabú-ušē[zib], son of Ḫašdiya;
- (32) and the scribe, [...]..., son of Nabú-aḫa-ēreš.
- (33-34) Uruk, month of Tēbētu, [...] day], seventh year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.
- (35-36) The fingernail (impressions) of Nanāya-uballiṭ and Aplāya are marked (on the tablet) instead of their seal(s).

### Commentary

See § 3.3.1.3.

- 1 It is unclear if the properties described as *bīr(u)* (É) *kišubbū* here and in no. 18:8 have to refer to empty house plots as opposed to unbuilt plots in general, i.e., plots of land with nothing constructed upon them. H. D. Baker thinks that the É before *kišubbū* may simply be a determinative to indicate urban property as opposed to agricultural land (private communication). Land described simply as *kišubbū* is mentioned in connection with orchards in the Ninurta temple district inside Uruk in no. 3:2 and in the meadowland of Uruk in no. 25:1. The fact that the property in no. 10 is described simply as É in lines 13, 18, and 19 could suggest that it was a house plot that was being purchased; however, the property in question is 2,500 m<sup>2</sup> in area, much larger than an average house (see § 2.8). With regard to *kišubbū* land in cities of the first millennium, see Baker, *Iraq* 71 (2009): 89–98, especially 90–94.
- 4 Is the neighbour to be identified with Zākir, the leatherworker, who appears over a decade earlier in no. 3:4 and no. 5:4 owning property in the Ninurta Temple district at Uruk that was next to an orchard purchased by Mušēzib-Marduk? (See § 3.3.1.3.) The end of the line does not appear to have LÚ.AŠGAB as in no. 5:4, but could it perhaps have LÚ.AŠ<sup>21</sup>.GAB<sup>21</sup>? Cf. LÚ.AŠ<sup>21</sup>(text: MA).GAB in no. 3:4 and note the commentary to that line. Or could it possibly be LÚ.GAL<sup>21</sup>.DŪ<sup>21</sup> (tentative suggestion by E. V. Leichty)? We might not, however, have expected a leatherworker to be described as (or have later become) a *rab banē*.
- 8 & 11 The fifth *Winkelhaken* in the number is much smaller and less firmly impressed than other four but is clearly present in both cases.
- 23 The traces do not fit the expected GUB-zu (*ušuzzu*) very well, but no other likely reading comes to mind.

## No. 11

**BM 118968** (1927-11-12, 5)

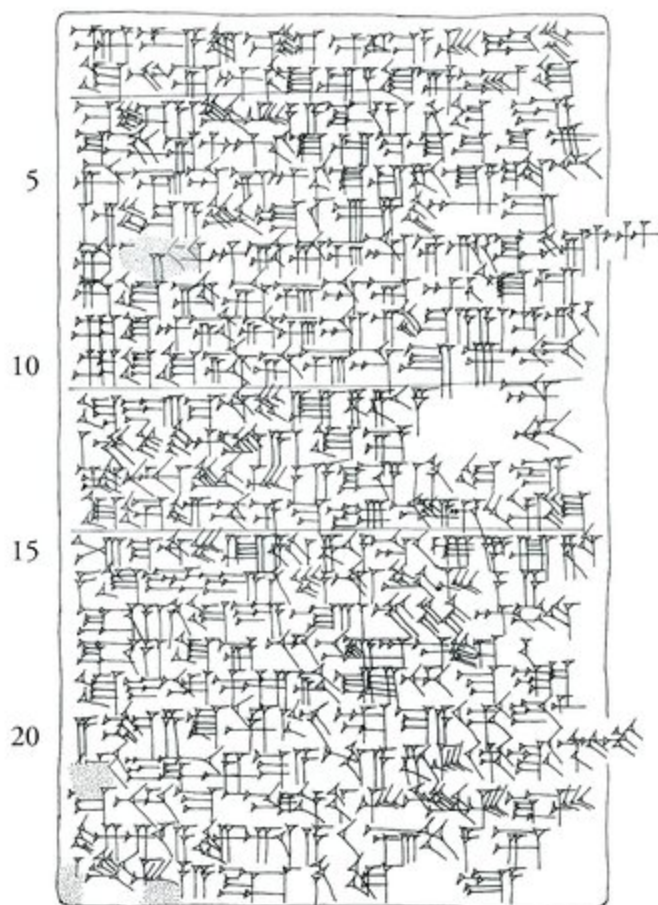
Ur, 29-VI-yr. 8 Ššu (660)

Dimensions: 99 × 60 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 27 K.28

Purchase of an orchard located at Uruk



- obv. 1 *tup-pi* A.ŠA GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ *zaq-pu*  
 2 KI-ti É <sup>d</sup>nin-urta šá qé-reb UNUG.KI  
 3 GIŠ.SAR šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia  
 4 DUMU LÚ.É.BAR <sup>d</sup>nin-urta ma-la ba-šu-ú  
 5 ÚS.SA.DU É <sup>d</sup>nin-urta HA.LA šá it-ti  
 6 <sup>m</sup>zi-ba-a ŠEŠ AD-šú ú-za-zu  
 7 UŠ (erasure) AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>e-re-šú DUMU LÚ.É.BAR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 8 UŠ KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU É <sup>d</sup>nin-urta  
 9 SAG.KI AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>zi-ba-a A <sup>m</sup>e-re-šú  
 10 SAG.KI KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU su-ú-qu  
 11 *ki-i* 3 MA.NA 50 GÍN KÙ.<BABBAR> KÙ.PAD.DU  
 12 <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 13 it-ti <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia  
 14 KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-šú gam-ru-tu  
 15 PAP 3 MA.NA 50 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU ù 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 16 šá *ki-i pi-i a-tar* SUM.NA <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a  
 17 DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 18 DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti ŠAM GIŠ.SAR-šú  
 19 *ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti ma-ḥir*  
 20 *a-pil za-ku ru-gu-um-ma-a ul i-ši*  
 21 <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup> i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu  
 22 <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ  
 23 IM.RIA IM.RIA u sa-lat šá É  
 24 <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a field, an orchard planted with date palms, in the district of the temple of the god Ninurta that is inside Uruk—  
 (3-6) The orchard of Aḥḥēšāya, son of Ḥašdiya, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta, as much as there is (of it), beside the temple of the god Ninurta, the share which he divided with Zibāya, the brother of his father:  
 (7) Upper side, bordering on (the property of) Ērešu, descendant of Šangū-Ninurta;  
 (8) Lower side, bordering on the temple of the god Ninurta;  
 (9) Upper front, bordering on (the property of) Zibāya, son<sup>1</sup> of Ērešu;  
 (10) Lower front, bordering on the street.  
 (11-14) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named three minas and fifty shekels of silver in pieces as the purchase price with Aḥḥēšāya, son of Ḥašdiya, and purchased (the orchard) for its full price.  
 (15-19) Aḥḥēšāya, son of Ḥašdiya, has received a total of three minas and fifty shekels of silver in pieces, and seven shekels of silver which was given as an additional payment, from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his orchard.  
 (20-21) (Aḥḥēšāya) has been paid (and) is quit (of further obligations). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the orchard).  
 (22-24) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Aḥḥēšāya, son<sup>1</sup> of Ḥašdiya,

- rev. 25 *ša E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na UGU GIŠ.SAR šu-a-ti*  
 26 *i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu in-nu-ú*  
 27 *ú-paq-qa-ru um-ma GIŠ.SAR šu-a-ti*  
 28 *ul na-din-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul ma-ḥir i-qab-bu-ú*  
 29 *KÙ.BABBAR im-ḥu-ru a-di 12.TA.ÀM it-ta-nap-pal*  
 30 *ina ka-nak IM.DUB šu-ma-a-ti*  
 31 *IGI<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-SUM.NA DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>za-kir*  
 32 *<sup>md</sup>EN-re-man-ni DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU*  
 33 *<sup>md</sup>30-EN-NUMUN DUMU-šú šá<sup>md</sup>30-MU*  
 34 *<sup>m</sup>ú-ba-ru DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ba-laṭ-su*  
 35 *<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU*  
 36 *<sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši DUMU-šú šá<sup>md</sup>AG-URÙ-ir*  
 37 *<sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-ir DUMU-šú šá<sup>md</sup>na-na-a-DÙ-uš*  
 38 *<sup>m</sup>IBILA-a DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>za-bi-du*  
 39 *<sup>md</sup>30-SAG.KAL DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-a*  
 40 *<sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>nad-na-a*  
 41 *<sup>m</sup>ḥaš-di-ia DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>MU-GI.NA*  
 42 *ù LÚ.DUB.SAR<sup>m</sup>šu-la-a DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ib-na-a*  
 43 *ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI ITI.KIN U<sub>4</sub>.29.KÁM*  
 44 *MU.8.KÁM<sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA*  
 45 *LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI*  
 46 *šu-<pur><sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a ki-ma NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú*  
 47 *tú-da-a-ti*

(25–29) comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: “This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been received,” he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

(30) At the sealing of this tablet:

(31) Before: Nabû-zēra-iddin, son of Zākīr;

(32) Bēl-rēmanni, son of Kudurru;

(33) Sîn-bēl-zēri, son of Sîn-iddin;

(34) Ubāru, son of Balāssu;

(35) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Kudurru;

(36) Nabû-ušabši, son of Nabû-nāšir;

(37) Bēl-ēṭir, son of Nanāya-īpuš;

(38) Aplāya, son of Zabīdu;

(39) Sîn-ašarēd, son of Iddināya;

(40) Kudurru, son of Nadnāya;

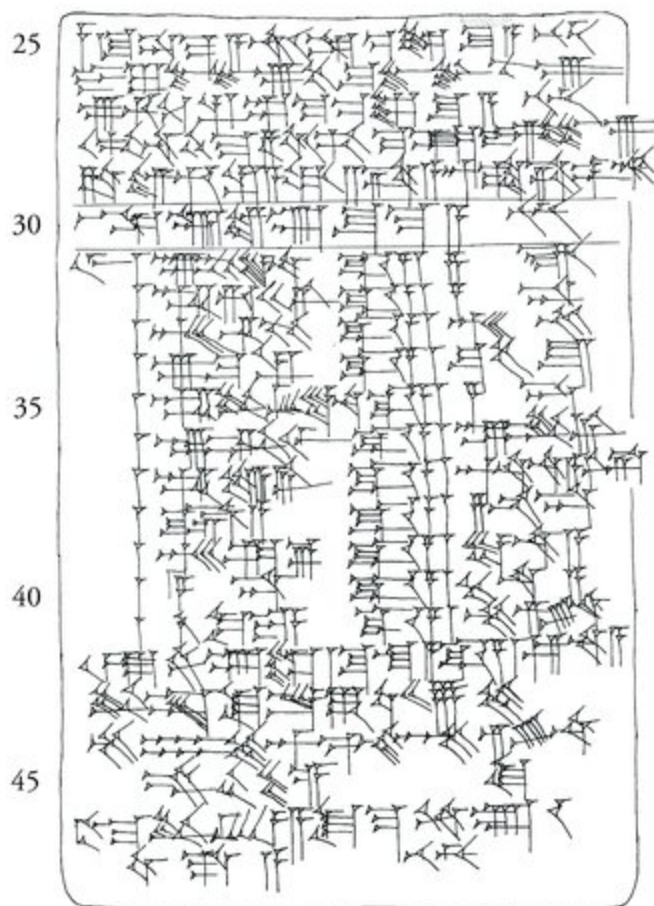
(41) Ḥašdiya, son of Šuma-ukīn;

(42) and the scribe, Šulāya, son of Ibnāya.

(43–45) Ur, month of Ulūlu, twenty-ninth day, eighth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

(46–47) Aḥḥēšāya's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.





### Commentary

See § 3.3.2.1.

- 3-4 As far as the author is aware, this is the earliest attestation of the use of two-part filiation in any economic text from southern or central Babylonia in the 8th and 7th centuries. See § 2.6.
- 9 He is also a neighbour in no. 3:6 (*māršu ša Ērešu*) and cf. no. 5:6, in the latter text as descendant of Šangū-Ninurta.
- 22 *ina'*: The scribe had likely started to write ŠEŠ and then realized he needed to have *ina* before it.
- 32-34 & 41 These four witnesses also appear in no. 15 composed two years later; see the commentary to no. 15 line 43.
- 36 He is likely to be identified with the seller of a half share of an orchard in no. 7, although there he is called the "descendant" (A) of Nabū-nāšir on three occasions.
- 38 Zabīdu is an Aramaic name meaning "Given" or "Donated"; see Zadok, *On West Semites*, pp. 125, 336, and 399.
- 40 The paternal name could conceivably be read in several other ways; see Weisberg, OIP 122, p. 24 commentary to lines 38, 43-45.



## No. 12

BM 118967 (1927-11-12, 4)

Uruk, 5-X-yr. 9 Ššu (659)

Dimensions: 94 × 67 mm; portrait format

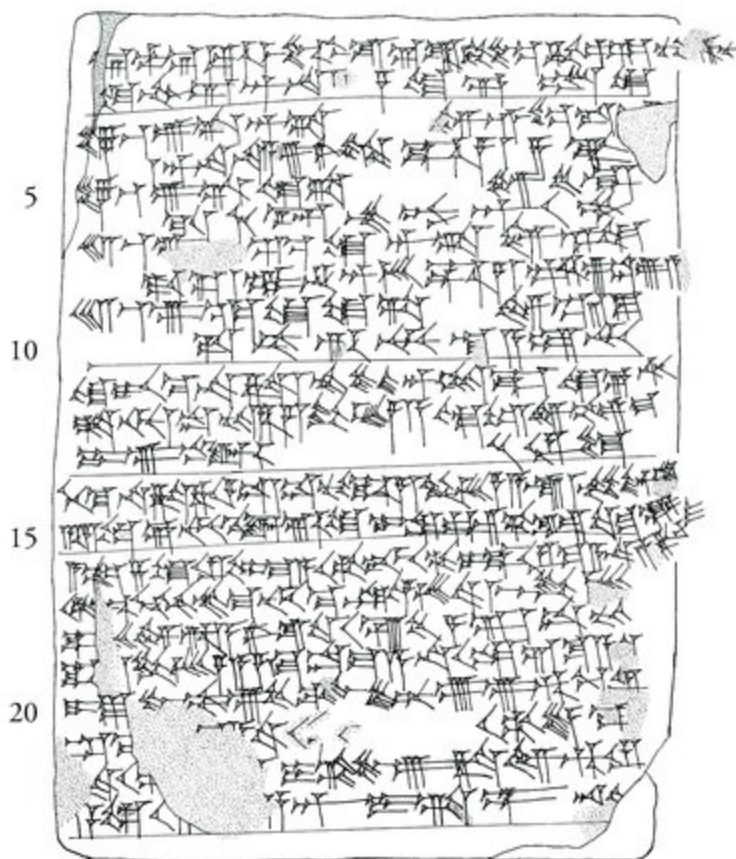
Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 28 K.33

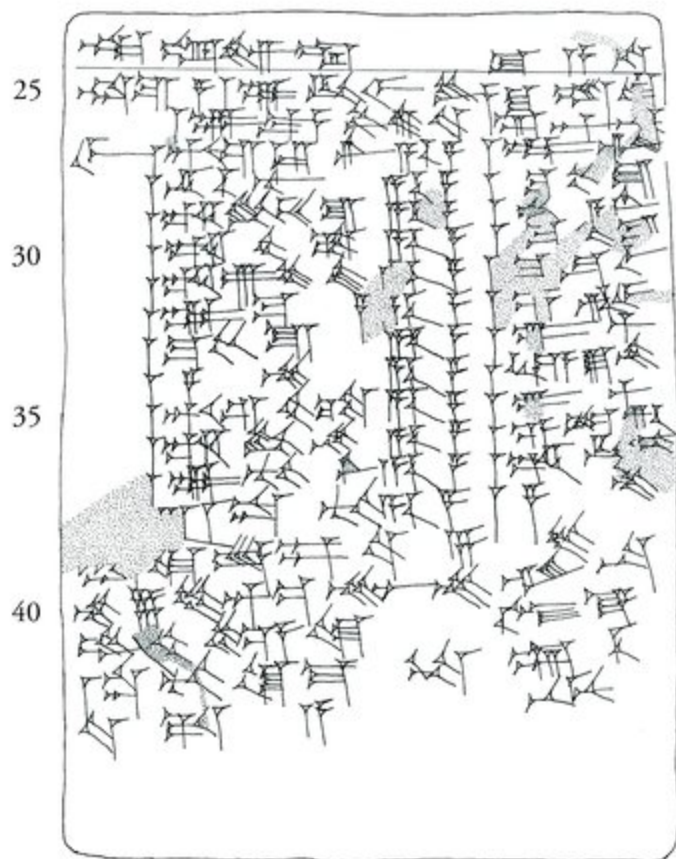
Purchase of a house located at Uruk

- obv. 1 [r]up-pi É ep-šú sip-pu rak-su É rug-gu-bu GIŠ.IG GIŠ.SAG.KUL [k]un-nu  
 2 KI-ti É.AN.NA (erasure) šá qé-reb UNUG.KI
- 
- 3 57 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA IM<sup>1</sup>.MAR.TU DA É<sup>1</sup>  
 4 <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-ú<sup>1</sup>-šal-li DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>za-kir  
 5 57 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA IM.KUR.RA  
 6 DA SILA DAGAL mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL  
 7 32 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ  
 8 DA É <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-du-ú-a  
 9 32 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 10 DA bi-ri-ti 'la' a-ši-ti
- 
- 11 ki-i 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 12 it-ti <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma  
 13 i-šam ŠAM-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 14 PAP 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN DUMU-šú šá  
<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU  
 15 A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-rib-ti ŠAM É-šú ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-tú ma-ḫir
- 
- 16 a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḫa-meš  
 17 ul 'i<sup>1</sup>-rag-gu-mu ma-ti-ma ina EGIR.MEŠ u<sub>4</sub>-me ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ  
 18 DUMU.[M]EŠ IM.RI.A ni-su-tú u sa-lat šá É <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN  
 19 DUMU-šú [šá] <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na UGU É šu-a-tú<sup>1</sup>  
 20 i-dab-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-ub ú-šad-ba-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup> in-nu-ú ú-paq-qa-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>  
 21 [u]m-m[a É š]u-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tú (erasure) ul SUM-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 22 [K]Ù.BABBAR u[l ma-ḫi]r i-qab-bu-ú KÙ.BABBAR im-ḫu-ru  
 23 'a'-di '12'.[TA].AM i-ta-nap-pal

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a house in good repair (literally "built"), with doorframes in place, roofed, (and) with door(s) (and) lock(s) installed, in the Eanna district that is inside Uruk;
- (3-4) 57 cubits, upper side, in the west, bordering on the house of Nanāya-ušalli, son of Zākir;
- (5-6) 57 cubits, lower side, in the east, bordering on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king;
- (7-8) 32 cubits, upper front, in the north, bordering on the house of Nabû-bēl-ilī, son of Bēl-udūa;
- (9-10) 32 cubits, lower front, in the south, bordering on the blind alley.



- (11-13) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named ten minas of silver as the purchase price with Mukīn-zēri, son of Ahhēšāya, and purchased (the house) for its full price.
- (14-15) Mukīn-zēri, son of Ahhēšāya, has received a total of ten minas of silver in pieces from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.
- (16-17a) (Mukīn-zēri) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house).
- (17b-23) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Mukīn-zēri, son [of] Ahhēšāya, comes forward and brings a claim against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This [house] has not been sold and the silver has not been [receiv]ed," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.



- rev. 24 *ina ka-nak IM.DUB šu-a-tú*
- 25 *ina GUB-zu šá<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>*
- 26 *<sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá LÚ.ŠA.TAM É.AN.<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>*
- 27 *IGI<sup>md</sup> U.GUR-ib-ni A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> AG-GI*
- 28 *<sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ba-laṭ-su<sup>1</sup>*
- 29 *<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU A-šú šá<sup>r</sup> <sup>m</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-a-ni*
- 30 *<sup>md</sup>EN-TIN-iṭ A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ba-laṭ-su<sup>1</sup>*
- 31 *<sup>md</sup>EN-ú-še-zib <sup>r</sup>A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> la<sup>1</sup>-ba-ši*
- 32 *<sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá <sup>r</sup>A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> e<sup>1</sup>-re-ši*
- 33 *<sup>m</sup>ba-laṭ-su A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ú<sup>1</sup>-bar*
- 34 *<sup>m</sup>GAR-MU A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> šul-lu-mu*
- 35 *<sup>md</sup>U.GUR-TIN-iṭ A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ú<sup>1</sup>-bar*
- 36 *<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> e-ṭè-ri*
- 37 *<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-DÙ A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> EN-ik<sup>r</sup>sur<sup>1</sup>*

- 38 [u LÚ.UMBIS]AG <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>GAR-MU  
 39 'UNUG'.KI ITLAB U<sub>4</sub>.5.KÁM  
 40 MU.9.KÁM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 41 LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI *šu-pur*  
 42 <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN *ki-ma* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú  
 43 *tú-da-a-ti*

- (24) At the sealing of this tablet:  
 (25) In the presence of Nabû-ušabši, the governor of Uruk  
 (26) (and) Nabû-iqīša, the *šatammu* of Eanna.  
 (27) Before: Nergal-ibni, son of Nabû-ušallim;  
 (28) Bēšunu, son of Balāssu;  
 (29) Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Šarrani;  
 (30) Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Balāssu;  
 (31) Bēl-ušēzib, son of Lābāši;  
 (32) Nabû-iqīša, son of Ēreši;  
 (33) Balāssu, son of Ubār;  
 (34) Šākin-šumi, son of Šullumu;  
 (35) Nergal-uballiṭ, son of Ubār;  
 (36) Bēl-aḥa-iddin, son of Ēteru;  
 (37) Nabû-zēra-ibni, son of Bēl-iḫsur;  
 (38) [and the scri]be, Mukīn-zēri, son of Šākin-šumi.  
 (39–41a) Uruk, month of Ṭebētu, fifth day, ninth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.  
 (41b–43) Mukīn-zēri's fingernail (impression) is marked instead of his seal.

### Commentary

See §§ 3.2 and 3.3.1.2. Cf. nos. 13 (a near duplicate of this transaction) and 23 (involving the same seller).

- 1 For *sippu raksu*, see Joannès, *TEBR*, p. 288 n. 1.  
 3–10 The document describes the piece of property being sold as a house measuring 57 by 32 cubits, approximately 1824 square cubits or 456 m<sup>2</sup>.  
 12 The exact reading of the name <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN is not certain; it might be read several other ways, including Kīn-zēra.

## No. 13

## (a) AO 10347

## (b) AO 10318

Uruk, 9-VIII-yr. 10 Ššu (658)

Dimensions: 104 × 80 mm (AO 10347); 100 × 78 mm (AO 10318); portrait format

Fingernail impressions on both tablets<sup>167</sup>

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 28 K.36–37

Bibliography: Contenau, *TCL* 12 10 (copy) (AO 10318)

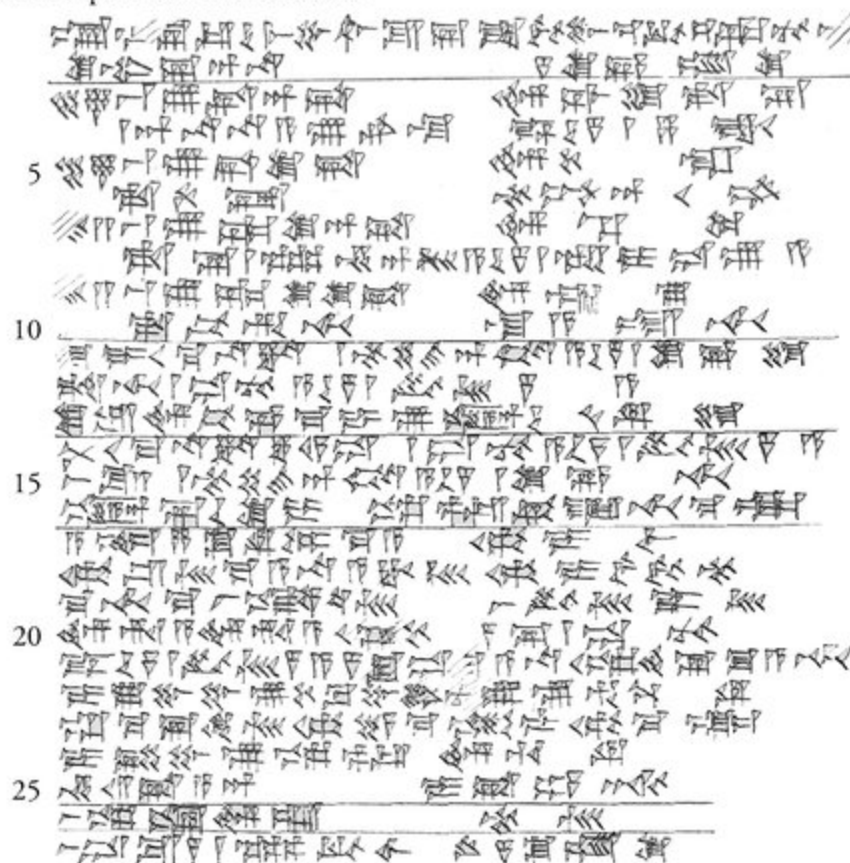
Moore, *NBBAD*, pp. 12–13 no. 10 (edition) (AO 10318)

Durand, *TBER*, pls. 33–34 (copy; obv. and rev. mislabeled) (AO 10347)

Joannès, *TEBR*, pp. 287–290 no. 77 (edition, study) (AO 10347)

Purchase of a house located at Uruk

Both exemplars have been collated.



Copy of AO 10318 (no. 13b) by Contenau from *TCL* 12 10

<sup>167</sup> AO 10318 (no. 13b) has fingernail impressions on all four edges, but AO 10347 (no. 13a) has them only on its top, left, and right edges.

- obv. 1 <sup>1</sup>rup-pi<sup>1</sup> É ep-šú sip-pu rak(over erasure?)-su É rug-gu-bu GIŠ.IG  
 2 GIŠ.SAG.KUL kun-nu KI-ti É.AN.NA šá qé-reb UNUG.KI
- 
- 3 <sup>57</sup> ina I KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA IM.MAR.TU DA É  
 4 <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-ú-šal-li DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>za-kir  
 5 <sup>57</sup> ina I KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA IM.KUR.RA  
 6 DA SILA <sup>1</sup>DAGAL<sup>1</sup> mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL  
 7 32 ina I KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA IM.(erasure).SI.SÁ  
 8 <sup>1</sup>DA<sup>1</sup> É <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-i-du-ú-a  
 9 32 ina I <sup>1</sup>KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> SAG.KI KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU  
 10 DA bi-ri-ti la a-ši-ti
- 
- 11 ki-i 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 12 <sup>1</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a  
 13 KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 14 PAP 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD<sup>1</sup>DU<sup>1</sup>(erased)<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.ME-šá-a  
 15 ina ŠU<sup>11</sup> <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti  
 16 ŠAM É-šú ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti ma-ḫir  
 17 a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma<sup>2</sup> ul i-ši  
 18 ul GUR.MEŠ-ma a-na a-ḫa-meš ul i-rag-gúm-mu  
 19 ma-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ  
 20 IM.RIA IM.RIA u sa-lat šá É <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN  
 21 DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma ana muḫ(erasure)-ḫi  
 (erasure)  
 22 É šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a house in good repair, with doorframes in place, roofed, (and) with door(s) (and) lock(s) installed, in the Eanna district that is inside Uruk;  
 (3-4) 57 cubits, upper side, in the west, bordering on the house of Nanāya-ušalli, son of Zākir;  
 (5-6) 57 cubits, lower side, in the east, bordering on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king;  
 (7-8) 32 cubits, upper front, in the north, bordering on the house of Nabû-bēl-ilī, son of Bēl-idūa;  
 (9-10) 32 cubits, lower front, in the south, bordering on the blind alley.  
 (11-13) Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, named ten minas of silver as the purchase price with Mukīn-zēri, son of Aḫḫēšāya, and purchased (the house) for its full price.  
 (14-16) Mukīn-zēri, son of Aḫḫēšāya, has received a total of ten minas of silver in pieces from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.  
 (17-18) (Mukīn-zēri) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house).  
 (19-22) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Mukīn-zēri, son of Aḫḫēšāya, comes forward and brings a claim against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim,



- rev. 23 *in-nu-ú ú-paq-qa-ru um-ma É UR<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ*  
 24 *ul SUM-ma kàs-pi ul ma-ḥir i-qab-bu-ú*  
 25 *ka-sap im-ḥu-ru EN.12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-pal*  
 26 *ina ka-nak IM.DUB MU.MEŠ*  
 27 *ina GUB-zu šá<sup>md</sup> AG-GÁL-ši LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI*  
 28 *<sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM É.AN.NA*  
 29 *IGI <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-ib-ni A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> AG-GI*  
 30 *<sup>md</sup>EN-šú-nu A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> ba-laṭ-su*  
 31 *<sup>md</sup>EN-KÁM A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> šu-zu-bu*  
 32 *<sup>md</sup>šil-la-a A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> šu-ma-a*  
 33 *<sup>md</sup>ba-laṭ-su A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> ú-bar*  
 34 *<sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> e-re-ši*  
 35 *<sup>md</sup>U.GUR-TIN-iṭ A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> ú-bar*  
 36 *<sup>md</sup>SUM.NA-a A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> EN-DÛ-uš*  
 37 (erasure) *<sup>md</sup>EN-TIN-iṭ A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> ba-laṭ-su<sup>md</sup> ba-laṭ-su A<sup>md</sup> AG-MU-KÁM*  
 38 *u LÚ.DUB.SAR šá-ṭir IM.DUB<sup>md</sup> GIN-NUMUN A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> GAR-MU*  
 39 *UNUG.KI ITI.APIN U<sub>4</sub>.9.(erasure).KÁM*  
 40 *MU.10.KÁM<sup>d</sup> GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI*  
 41 *UMBIN<sup>1</sup> GIN-NUMUN GIM IM.KIŠIB-šú tú-da-a-ta*

(23–25) (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: “This house has not been sold and the silver has not been received,” he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

(26) At the sealing of this tablet:

(27) In the presence of Nabû-ušabši, the governor of Uruk

(28) (and) Nabû-iqīša, the *šatammu* of Eanna.

(29) Before: Nergal-ibni, son of Nabû-ušallim;

(30) Bēlšunu, son of Balāssu;

(31) Bēl-ēreš, son of Šūzubu;

(32) Šillāya, son of Šumāya;

(33) Balāssu, son of Ubār;

(34) Nabû-iqīša, son of Ēreši;

(35) Nergal-uballiṭ, son of Ubār;

(36) Iddināya, son of Bēl-īpuš;

(37) Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Balāssu; Balāssu, descendant (dup.: son) of Nabû-šuma-ēreš;

(38) and the scribe, the writer of the tablet, Mukīn-zēri, son of Šākin-šumi.

(39–40) Uruk, month of Araḥsamna, ninth day, tenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

(41) Mukīn-zēri's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.



### Variants

#### AO 10318 (no. 13b)

Text on 42 lines; line numbers on this exemplar are given in square brackets here when they are different from those on AO 10347 (no. 13a). Lines 31–41 [31–42] are partially damaged.

1	<i>rak-</i> clear	29	IGI omitted on copy but present on tablet
3	clear 57	34	<i>-šú</i> for <i>-ši</i>
4	<i>-la</i> for <i>-li</i>	37	on two lines [37–38]; <i>ʾA-šú ʾšá</i> for A and <i>-APIN-eš</i> for <i>-KÁM</i> [38]
5	clear 57	38	<i>ú</i> for <i>u</i> ; line ruling following this line of text [39]
11	<i>-tu</i> for <i>-ti</i>	40	<i>-GI.&lt;NA&gt;</i> [41]
14	MEŠ for ME	41	UMBIN fine. Despite the published copy, the tablet has <i>ʾIM.KIŠIB-šú</i> ; the copy also omits the line ruling following this line of text [42]
15	erasure between <i>ŠU<sup>II</sup></i> and <i><sup>m</sup>mu-</i>		
17	<i>-ku</i> for <i>-ki</i> ; <i>-a</i> for <i>-</i>		
18	<i>-gu-</i> for <i>-gám-</i>		
21	<i>a-na</i> for <i>ana</i>		

### Commentary

See §§3.2 and 3.3.1.2. Cf. nos. 12 (a near duplicate of this transaction) and 23 (involving the same seller). There are a number of erasures in no. 13a.

3 & 5 The duplicate AO 10318 (no. 13b) has 57 cubits in both places, as does the almost duplicate text no. 12 (lines 3 and 5). The published copy of AO 10347 (no. 13a) suggests 50+<sup>7</sup>8<sup>1</sup> in line 3 and 30[+10/20]+<sup>7</sup>8<sup>1</sup> in line 5 and Joannès read 58 in both places in *TEBR*, p. 287. Collation of AO 10347 indicates that the numbers are so damaged that it is impossible to determine if they originally ended with a 7 or an 8. Thus, the transliteration assumes 57.

22 The scribe wrote the first sign (É) of AO 10347:22 (no. 13a) slightly higher up on the tablet, but then erased it, and wrote it again slightly lower.

37 Presumably for reasons of space the scribe of AO 10347 (no. 13a) wrote A instead of *A-šú šá* with the second individual.

## No. 14

(a) IM 57079

(b) BM 118966 (1927–11–12, 3)

Uruk, 10–VIII–yr. 10 Ššu (658)

Measurements: unknown (IM 57079); 102 × 62 mm (BM 118966)

Fingernail impressions on IM 57079<sup>168</sup> and on all four edges of BM 118966Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 28 K.38–39

Bibliography: Figulla, UET 4 15 (copy) (IM 57079)

San Nicolò, *BR* 8/7, pp. 21–23 no. 11 (edition) (IM 57079)

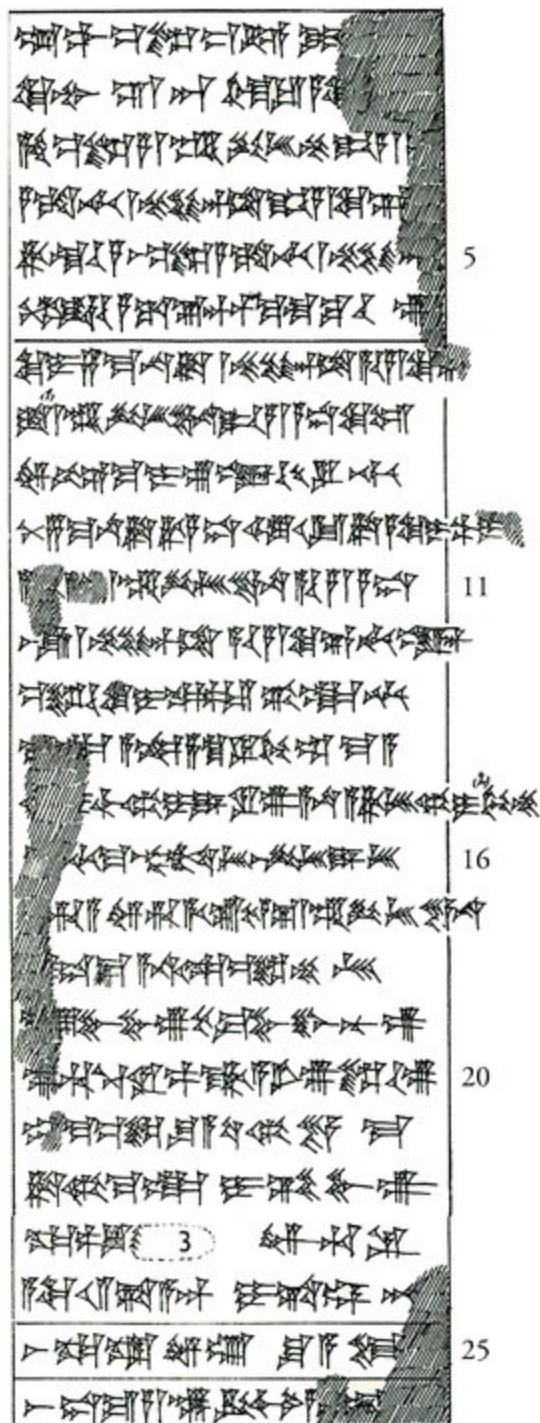
Purchase of an orchard located at [Uruk]

It was not possible to collate IM 57079 and that exemplar is edited from the published copy.

- obv. 1 *ṣup-pi* GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR *zaq-[pu]*  
 2 KI-ti È ð<sup>1</sup>nin-urta šá q[é-reb UNUG.KI]  
 3 a-ḫi GIŠ.SAR šá ð<sup>1</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU-šú šá ð<sup>1</sup>N[IG.DU]  
 4 šá it-ti ð<sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-ð<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU-šú šá ð<sup>1</sup>ki-rib-[ti]  
 5 ḪA.LA-šú šá ina GIŠ.SAR šá it-ti ð<sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-ð<sup>1</sup>[AMAR.UTU]  
 6 PAP *qaq<sup>1</sup>-qar-šú šá* DA È ð<sup>1</sup>MAŠ *ma-la ba-šú-ú<sup>1</sup>*  
 7 *ki-i* 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ð<sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-ð<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá ð<sup>1</sup>ki-rib-[ti]  
 8 *it-<ti>* ð<sup>1</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA DUMU-šú šá ð<sup>1</sup>NÍG.DU KI.LAM  
 9 *im-bé-e-ma i-šam* ŠAM-šú *gam-ru-ti*  
 10 PAP 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU ð<sup>1</sup> 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá *ki-i pi-i*  
 11 a-[ta]r S[UM<sup>2</sup>]-n[u<sup>2</sup>] ð<sup>1</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA A-šú šá ð<sup>1</sup>NÍG.DU  
 12 ina ŠU<sup>11</sup> ð<sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-ð<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá ð<sup>1</sup>ki-rib-ti ŠAM  
 13 GIŠ.SAR-šú ð<sup>1</sup>ki-i ka-sap ga-mir<sup>1</sup>(copy: ŠIR)-ti  
 14 ð<sup>1</sup>ma-ḫir<sup>1</sup> a-pil za-ku ru-gu-um-ma-a  
 15 u[l] ð<sup>1</sup>i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ú a-na a-ḫa-meš ul i-<rag>-gu-mu  
 16 m[a]-ti-ma ina ár-kát U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ  
 17 [IM].RIA IM.RIA u sa-lat šá È ð<sup>1</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA  
 18 [šá] ð<sup>1</sup>E<sub>11</sub>-ma<sup>1</sup> a-na UGU GIŠ.SAR MU.MEŠ  
 19 ð<sup>1</sup>i-[d]ab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu in-nu-ú  
 20 ð<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-paq-qa-ru pa-qir-a-ni ú-šar-šú-ú  
 21 ð<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma GIŠ.SAR šu-a-tú ul SUM-ma  
 22 KÙ.BABBAR ul ma-ḫir i-qab-bu-ú  
 23 ka-sap (erasure) im-ḫu-ru  
 24 a-di 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-*nap-pa*[l]  
 25 ina ka-nak IM.DUB šu-a-tu  
 26 ina GUB-zu šá ð<sup>1</sup>AG-GÁL-ši LÚ.GAR.U[MUŠ<sup>12</sup>] ð<sup>1</sup>UNUG<sup>1</sup>. [KI]

<sup>168</sup> According to UET 4, pl. 10, IM 57079 has fingernail impressions only on the left, upper, and lower edges. From the published copy it appears that the upper and lower ends of the right side of IM 57079 are damaged, and thus any marks originally there might now be lost or obscured.

- (1-2) Tablet concerning an orchard plan[ted] with date palms in the district of the temple of the god Ninurta that is inside [Uruk]—
- (3-6) The half (share) in the orchard of Bēl-ahhē-iddin, son of K[udurru], that (he owns) with Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kirib[tu]—his share in the orchard that (he owns) with Mušēzib-[Marduk]—all his property which borders on the temple of the god Ninurta, as much as there is (of it).
- (7-9) Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kirib[tu], named five minas of silver as the purchase price with Bēl-ahhē-iddin, son of Kudurru, and purchased (the half share) for its full price.
- (10-14a) Bēl-ahhē-iddin, son of Kudurru, has received a total of five minas of silver in pieces, and ten shekels of silver which was given as an additional payment, from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price (of his share in the orchard).
- (14b-15) (Bēl-ahhē-iddin) has been paid; he is quit (of further claims). He has (no grounds) for dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the share in the orchard).
- (16-24) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Bēl-ahhē-iddin comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), (or) causes there to be someone who contests (it), saying: "This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.
- (25) At the sealing of this tablet:
- (26) In the presence of Nabû-ušabši, the governor of Uruk



(1) sic (2) rag omitted (3) erasure

- rev. 27 *ù* <sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM É.<sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.N[A]  
 28 IGI <sup>md</sup>EN-NIGIN<sup>1</sup>-ir DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-DÛ-uš  
 29 IGI <sup>md</sup>AG-DA DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>ba-laṭ-su  
 30 IGI <sup>md</sup>na-ši-ru DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>za-kir  
 31 <sup>md</sup>e-ṭè-ru DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>mar-duk  
 32 <sup>md</sup>ib-na-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-GI  
 33 <sup>md</sup>EN-MU DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>šil-la-a  
 34 <sup>md</sup>mar-duk-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši<sup>1</sup>  
 35 <sup>md</sup>GAR-MU DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>šul-lu-mu  
 36 <sup>md</sup>EN-SUR DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-ik-ṣur<sup>1</sup>(copy: ÁB.ŠE)  
 37 <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAB DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>IBILA-a  
 38 <sup>md</sup>šu-zu-bu DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-DA  
 39 <sup>md</sup>na-di-nu DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>ka-ši-ru  
 40 <sup>md</sup>EN-MU-GAR-un DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-GI  
 41 <sup>md</sup>bi-bé-e-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>la-ba-ši  
 42 <sup>md</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>NUMUN-SUM.NA  
 43 <sup>md</sup>EN-ri-i-bi DUMU <sup>md</sup>dan-(erased NI<sup>2</sup>)-na-a<sup>1</sup>(copy: ŠÁ)-a  
 44 <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-sep-pi DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a  
 45 LÚ.DUB.SAR <sup>md</sup>ba-la-ṭu DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-DA  
 46 UNUG.KI ITI.APIN U<sub>4</sub>.10.KÁM  
 47 MU.10.(erasure).KÁM <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.<sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>  
 48 LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI  
 49 *ṣu-pur* <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU GI[M NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú]  
 50 *tú-da-a-tú<sup>1</sup>*

- (27) and Nabú-iqīša, the *šatammu* of Eanna.  
 (28) Before: Bēl-upahḫir, son of Bēl-īpuš.  
 (29) Before: Nabú-lē'i, son of Balāssu.  
 (30) Before: Nāširu, son of Zākir;  
 (31) Èṭeru, son of Marduk;  
 (32) Ibnāya, son of Nabú-ušallim;  
 (33) Bēl-iddin, son of Šillāya;  
 (34) Marduka, son of Nabú-ušabši;  
 (35) Šākin-šumi, son of Šullumu;  
 (36) Bēl-ēṭir, son of Bēl-ikṣur;  
 (37) Marduk-nāšir, son of Aplāya;  
 (38) Šūzubu, son of Nabú-lē'i;  
 (39) Nādinu, son of Kāširu;  
 (40) Bēl-šuma-iškun, son of Bēl-ušallim;  
 (41) Bibēa, son of Lābāši;  
 (42) Aḫḫēšāya, son of Zēra-iddin;  
 (43) Bēl-rībi, son of Dannāya;  
 (44) Bēl-useppi, son of Aḫḫēšāya;





- (45) and the scribe, Balātu, son of Bēl-lē'i.  
 (46-48) Uruk, month of Araḥsamna, tenth day, tenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.  
 (49-50) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) in ste[ad of his seal].

Nail-marks on left, upper and lower edges  
 (1) and (3) *sic*. (2) and (4) probably erasures



## Variants

## BM 118966 (no. 14b)

BM 118966 has the inscription on 49 lines; where there is a difference in line number with IM 57079 (no. 14a), the line number on BM 118966 is given below in square brackets. The text is not as well preserved as on IM 57079, in particular the ends of lines 1–7, the beginnings of lines 31–38 [30–37], and the middle of lines 40–45 [39–44].

- 2 ... *qé-reb* [...]; line ruling following this line of text
- 3 DUMU for DUMU-šú šá
- 4 DUMU for DUMU-šú šá
- 6 *ʿqaq-qar*<sup>1</sup>-šú; no line ruling following this line of text
- 7 <sup>1</sup>A for A-šú šá
- 8 [it]-ti; <sup>1</sup>DUMU for DUMU-šú šá
- 9 -<sup>1</sup>tu for -ti; line ruling following this line of text
- 11 a-<sup>1</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> SUM-nu; -MU for -SUM.NA; A for A-šú šá
- 12 DUMU-šú for A-šú
- 13 *ga-mir-ti*
- 15 *i-tur-ru-ma; i-rag-gu-mu*
- 16 EGIR for *ár-kát*
- 17 *kim-ti* for [IM].RIA; ù for *u*;  
-MU for -SUM.NA [18]
- 18 šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma;  
*ʿmuh-ḫi*<sup>1</sup> for UGU [19]
- 19 *i-dab-bu-bu*  
BAL-ú for *in-nu-ú* [20]
- 20 *pa-qir-a-ni ú-šar-šú-ú* omitted
- 21 MUMEŠ for *šu-a-tú*; MU-ma for SUM-ma
- 26 LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI [25]
- 27 É.AN.NA
- 28 NIGIN clear [27]
- 30 IGI omitted [29]
- 34 -šú clear [33]
- 36 -*sur* [35]
- 42 -S]UM.NU for -SUM.NA [41]
- 43 ]-na-a-a [42]
- 45 ù LÚ.UMBISAG for LÚ.DUB.SAR [44]
- 49 -S[UM].N[A] for -MU [48]  
GIM NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú

# Commentary

See § 3.3.2.1 and cf. nos. 3 and 5.

- 23 From the copy, it appears that the scribe began to write the IM of *im-hu-ru* and then erased it so that he could place it closer to the end of the line.
- 34 The copy in UET 4 has a sign similar, but not identical to UB for the final sign of the paternal name; that sign was read *-ḫu(r)!* in San Nicolò, *BR 8/7*, p. 22. The duplicate BM 118966, however, has a clear ŠI (<sup>m</sup>AG-GAL-ŠI).
- 40 A Bēl-ušallim, son of (A-Šu šā) Bēl-šuma-iškun, appears as a witness in a transaction concluded at Uruk in 639, almost twenty years later (Weisberg, OIP 122, no. 6:39). Could he be the father of the Bēl-šuma-iškun of no. 14, with the latter having been given the same name as his grandfather? Two other “sons” of Bēl-šuma-iškun appear in Weisberg, OIP 122, no. 6: Šillāya (<sup>m</sup>šil-la-a, witness, line 40) and Iddin-Marduk (<sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-AMAR.UTU, seller of a ruined house, lines 10, 14, 17, 24, and 50). Weisberg reads line 10 of that text as indicating that the latter individual was also the “descendant of Eṭir” (<sup>m</sup>e(?)-ṭir); however, based on the photograph of the cast published by Weisberg (*ibid.*, pl. 4), we may have instead *a-tar u DIRI*, followed by *ma-la ba-šu-ū* in line 11, and thus a scribal error for a phrase often used to describe properties being sold: *atar u maṣu mala bašū*, “more or less, whatever there is” (see *CAD N/2*, p. 488).
- 43 San Nicolò read the paternal name as <sup>1</sup>*dan-ni-e(!)-a*, thus omitting the NA and emending the ŠA to E (*BR 8/7*, p. 23), but the copy in UET 4 has <sup>m</sup>*dan-ni-na-šā-a*, with a note from Figulla saying that the <sup>1</sup>*ni* is probably an erasure. The duplicate BM 118966 has <sup>1</sup>*-na-a-a*.
- 47 It is clearly MU.10.KAM on BM 118966:46.

## No. 15

(a) BM 118978 (1927-11-12, 15)

(b) BM 118971 (1927-11-12, 8)

Ur,<sup>169</sup> 5-XI-yr. 10 Ššu (658)

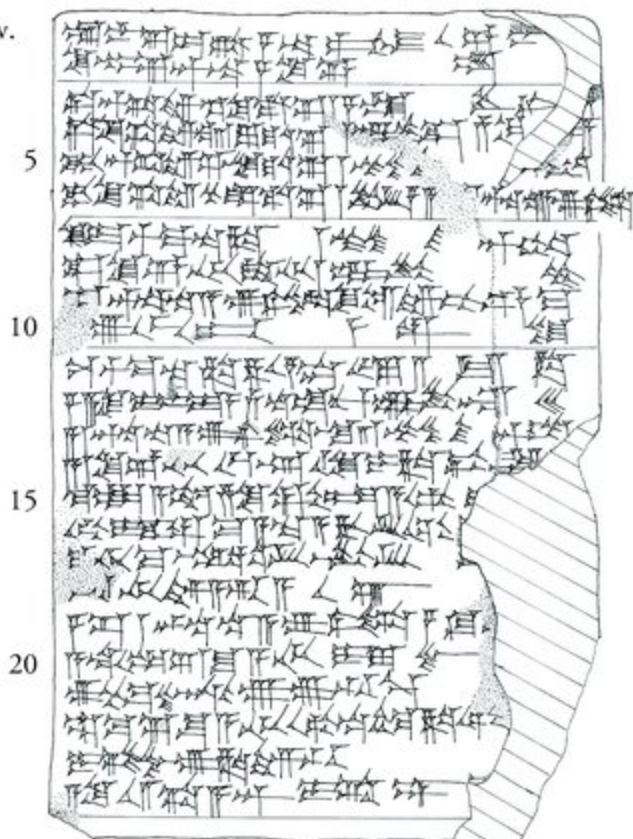
Dimensions: 92 × 59 mm (BM 118978); 98 × 54 mm (BM 118971); portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges of both exemplars

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 28 K.41-42

Purchase of ruined house located at Uruk

BM 118978 obv.



- obv. 1 *tup-pi É.ab-ta šá na-pa-šu u e-pe<sup>1</sup>-[šú]*  
 2 *KI-ti É.AN.NA šá qé-reb UNUG.[KI]*  
 3 *UŠ AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ DA É<sup>m</sup>šá-pi-ku LÚ.Í.[ŠU]R*  
 4 *UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU DA É<sup>md</sup>AG-KÁM<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>m</sup>baš-di-[i]a*  
 5 *ZAG AN.TA IM.MAR.TU DA É<sup>m</sup>mu-še-z[i]b<sup>fd</sup>[A]MAR.UTU*

<sup>169</sup> For the place of composition, see the commentary to line 43.

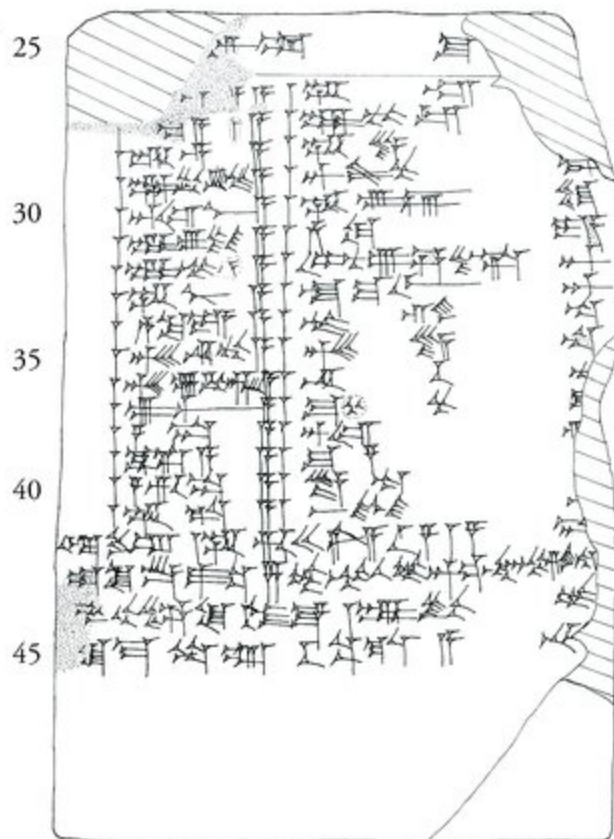
- 6 ZAG KI.TA IM.KUR.RA DA É<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a [DUM]U<sup>fm</sup>d na-na-a-ú-šal-li  
 7 ki-i 1½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR<sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 8 DUMU<sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti it-ti<sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-KÁM  
 9 'DUMU<sup>1</sup><sup>md</sup>na-na-a-ú-šal-li KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma  
 10 [i]-šam ši-mi-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 11 PAP 1½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU ù 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 12 šá a-ki-i<sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-i a-tar na-ad-nu<sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-APIN-eš  
 13 A<sup>md</sup>na-na-a-ú-šal-li ina ŠU<sup>11</sup><sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 14 A<sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti<sup>1</sup> ši-me É-šú ki-i KÙ.BABBAR ga<sup>1</sup>mir<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 15 ma-ḥir a-pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a ul<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ši]  
 16 ul i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ḥa-meš ul<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[rag-gu-mu]  
 17 'ma<sup>1</sup>-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ D[UMU.MEŠ]  
 18 'kim<sup>1</sup>-ti IM.<<A>>.RIA u sa-[at]  
 19 šá É<sup>md</sup>na-na-a-ú-šal-li šá E<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-[ma (x)]  
 20 a-na UGU É šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-[bu]  
 21 ú-šad-ba-bu BAL-ú ú-paq-qa-[ru]  
 22 um-ma É šu-a-ti ul na-din-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul [ma-ḥir]  
 23 i-qab-bu-ú KÙ.BABBAR im-ḥu-[ru]  
 24 a-di 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-p[al]

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a ruined house to be torn down and (re)bui[lt] in the district of Eanna that is inside Uruk:  
 (3) Upper side, in the north, bordering on the house of Šāpiku, the oil [pres]er;  
 (4) Lower side, in the south, bordering on the house of Nabû-ēreš, descendant of Ḥašdiya;  
 (5) Upper front, in the west, bordering on the house of Mušēzib-Marduk (dup. BM 118971 adds: son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu);  
 (6) Lower front, in the east, bordering on the house of Aḥḥēšāya, [so]n<sup>1</sup> of Nanāya-ušalli.  
 (7-10) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named one and one half minas of silver as the purchase price with Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, descendant of Nanāya-ušalli, and purchased (the house) for its full price.  
 (11-15a) Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, descendant of Nanāya-ušalli, has received a total of one and one half minas of silver in pieces and two shekels of silver which was given as an additional payment from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.  
 (15b-16) (Nabû-aḥa-ēreš) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He [has] no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and [dispute] with one another (about the house).  
 (17-24) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, s[ons], family, relations, or ki[n] of the house of Nanāya-ušalli comes forw[ard and] brings a cla[im] against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) conte[sts] (this agreement), saying: "This house has not been sold and the silver [has] not [been received]," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he receiv[ed].

- rev. 25 *[ina ka-nak I]* M.DUB šu-[a-ti]  
 26 [IGI <sup>md</sup>A]G-[SU]R A <sup>md</sup>EN-eri-[ba]  
 27 [<sup>m</sup>SUM.N]A-a A <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-ib-[ni]  
 28 <sup>md</sup>EN-SUR A <sup>md</sup>EN-SUM.[NA]  
 29 <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A <sup>md</sup>KASKAL.KUR-<sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 30 <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-PAP A <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-sa-tu  
 31 <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-še-zib A <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia  
 32 <sup>md</sup>AG-MU (erasure) A <sup>m</sup>mi-nu-ú-e-pu-uš-DINGIR  
 33 <sup>md</sup>EN-PAP A <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši-DINGIR  
 34 <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia A <sup>m</sup>MU-GI.NA  
 35 <sup>md</sup>30-EN-NUMUN A <sup>md</sup>30-SUM.NA  
 36 <sup>md</sup>30-NIR.GÁL-DINGIR.MEŠ A <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu  
 37 <sup>m</sup>ú-bar A <sup>m</sup>ba-(erased KUR)-laṭ-s[u]  
 38 <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU A <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-G[I]  
 39 <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a A <sup>m</sup>BA-šá-[a]  
 40 <sup>m</sup>šá-re-du A <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-[a]  
 41 <sup>md</sup>EN-DA A <sup>m</sup>ina-SUH-S[UR]  
 42 ù LÚ.UMBISAG <sup>md</sup>EN-re-man-ni A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>NÍG.D[U]  
 43 <ŠEŠ>. <sup>f</sup>UNUG<sup>2</sup>.KI ITI.ZÍZ U<sub>4</sub>.5.KÁM MU.10.KÁM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 44 [L]UGAL TIN.TIR.KI šu-pur <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-KÁM  
 45 ki-ma NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú tú-da-a-t[i]

- (25) [At the sealing] of th[is] tablet;  
 (26) [Before Na]bú-[ēṭ]ir, descendant of Bēl-erī[ba];  
 (27) [Iddin]āya, son<sup>1</sup> of Nabú-zēra-ib[ni];  
 (28) Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Bēl-iddin;  
 (29) Nabú-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Balīḥu;  
 (30) Nergal-nāšir, descendant of Bēl-usātu;  
 (31) Nabú-ušēzib, son<sup>1</sup> of Ḥašdiya;  
 (32) Nabú-iddin, descendant of Mīnū-ēpuš-ilu;  
 (33) Bēl-nāšir, descendant of Lábāši-ilī;  
 (34) Ḥašdiya, son<sup>1</sup> of Šuma-ukīn;  
 (35) Sīn-bēl-zēri,<sup>1</sup> of Sīn-iddin;  
 (36) Sīn-etel-ilī, descendant of Bēlšunu;  
 (37) Ubār, son<sup>1</sup> of Balāssu;  
 (38) Kudurru, descendant of Nergal-ušall[im];  
 (39) Aplāya, descendant of Iqīša[ya];  
 (40) Šarēdu, descendant of Iddin[āya];  
 (41) Bēl-lē'i, descendant of Ina-tēši-ē[ṭir];  
 (42) and the scribe, Bēl-rēmanni, son of Kudurru.  
 (43-44a) Ur, month of Šabātu, fifth day, tenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.  
 (44b-45) Nabú-aḥa-ēreš' fingernail (impression) is marked instead of his seal.

BM 118978 rev.



## Variants

## BM 118971 (no. 15b)

BM 118971 is less well preserved than BM 118978 (no. 15a), although often a sign missing on the latter is found on the former and in those cases restorations come from BM 118971 (e.g., in lines 3–6 and in the witness list). When the line number on BM 118971 is different from that on BM 118978 it is given in square brackets below.

- 5 adds DUMU <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti [6]
- 12 ki-i for a-ki-i [14]
- 15 ru-gu<sup>1</sup>-u[m-...] [17]
- 18 IM.RIA u 'sa-lat' [20]
- 21 in-nu-ú for BAL-ú [23]
- 26 line complete: IGI <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR A <sup>md</sup>EN-eri-ba [28]
- 27 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<a> [29]
- 37–38 On one line [39]
- 38 Although the relevant sign is on the edge of the tablet, it appears to be <sup>md</sup>IM- instead of <sup>md</sup>U.GUR- [39]



39–40 On one line [40]

42 *u* for *ir*; *-re-ma-an-ni* [42]

43 ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI [43]

### Commentary

See § 3.3.1.2.

6 Aḥḥšāya is called the son (DUMU-*šū šā*) of Nanāya-ušalli in no. 17:7.

27, 31, 34, 35, and 37 These individuals all appear in other documents where they are stated to be the “son,” *māršu ša*, of the following individual; for the references, see the commentary to line 43. This would suggest that many, if not all, of the other individuals in this witness list were also sons, rather than descendants.

29 With regard to the family and family name Baliḥu, see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, pp. 464–469.

43 The duplicate, BM 118971, clearly has ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI and it is assumed here that the scribe of BM 118978 erroneously omitted the ŠEŠ sign. Preference is given to the writing in the former text (ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI) over the latter text (UNUG.KI) for the following reasons:

(a) Many of the texts in the archive deal with properties at Uruk but were recorded at other locations; thus, the fact that no. 15 deals with a house there cannot be taken as proof that this transaction was concluded at that city.

(b) Neither the governor of Uruk nor the temple administrator (*šatammu*) of Eanna are stated to have been present at the conclusion of the transaction, although the governor, often with the temple administrator, is mentioned in all other real estate sales contracts in this dossier that were drawn up at Uruk.

(c) In addition to Mušēzib-Marduk, only five other individuals mentioned in this document appear in other texts in this archive. In particular, the scribe of this document was the scribe of another document drawn up at Ur. Four of these five appear in no. 11 (BM 118968), a transaction that took place at Ur and that also has no officials from Uruk present: Bēl-rēmāni, son of Kudurru (line 42, scribe; no. 11:32, witness); Hašdiya, son of Šuma-ukīn (line 34, witness; no. 11:41, witness); Sīn-bēl-zēri, son of Sīn-iddin (line 35, witness; no. 11:33, witness); and Ubāru, son of Balāssu (line 37, witness; no. 11:34, witness).<sup>170</sup> The last-mentioned individual, however, also appears as a witness in no. 13:33, a text from Uruk, and Nabū-ušēzib, descendant of Hašdiya (line 31), appears as witness in two other texts from Uruk (no. 10:31 and no. 17:31; in both cases as “son,” *māršu ša*, Hašdiya).

(d) Sīn-bēl-zēri, son of Sīn-iddin, and two other witnesses in no. 15 are also attested in texts from Ur that are not part of this archive. Iddināya, son of Nabū-zēra-ibni (line 27), and Sīn-bēl-zēri, son of Sīn-iddin (line 35), appear in BM 113927 (lines 7 and 37 respectively; in both cases as “son,” *māršu ša*), a transaction composed at Ur in 658; and Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Bēl-iddin (line 28), appears as a witness in BM 113928:34, a document drawn up at Ur in 649; both texts were found at Ur by H. R. Hall in 1919.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>170</sup> In addition, could Šarēdu, descendant of Iddināya (line 40, <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-[a] in BM 118978 but <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-a in duplicate BM 118971), be identified with Sīn-ašarēd, son of Iddināya, in no. 11:39?

<sup>171</sup> For BM 113927 and 113928, see Jursa, *Guide*, p. 137 no. 7.12.2.1. The two texts are described more fully by C. Waerzeggers and the author in “The Prebend of Temple Scribe in First Millennium Babylonia,” *ZA* 101 (2011): 127–151.

(c) The names of two witnesses in no. 15—and that of the father of one of those two witnesses—are theophoric names that mention Šin, the patron god of Ur (see lines 35–36).<sup>172</sup> Only a few names of individuals appearing in this archive mention Šin, and none of these is found in a text that was clearly composed at Uruk.<sup>173</sup>

(f) Two further witnesses in no. 15 also appear in another document from the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, UET 4 201: Bēl-nāšir, descendant of Lābāši-ilī (no. 15:33 and UET 4 201:17) and Šin-etel-ilī, descendant of Bēlšunu (no. 15:36 and UET 4 201:18). Although UET 4 201 was supposedly found at Ur, it has no Ur excavation number associated with it and the name of the place at which the transaction was concluded is not preserved. Thus, it cannot simply be assumed that UET 4 201 was drawn up at Ur. However, since several individuals in that text bear names that mention the god Šin and since one witness was a priest of Šin (line 14), the transaction may well have taken place at that city.

(g) It is perhaps easier to assume that a scribe left out a ŠEŠ sign than added one that was unwanted. The fact that the transaction deals with property at Uruk might explain the scribal slip over the place of composition. If many of the tablets in our archive were copied at the same time (assuming that many of the texts we have are later copies), the fact that most were originally composed at Uruk would also help explain a slip by the copyist since he had been accustomed to putting Uruk at this point in a text. It is theoretically possible to assume that the ŠEŠ in BM 118971:42 goes with the preceding name, the scribe Bēl-rēmanni's paternal name, and to read ... <sup>2</sup>NÍG.DU-URÙ UNUG.KI ..., "... Kudurrī-ušur. Uruk ..." This would assume that a fuller form of the name was given in this one exemplar, but not in the duplicate BM 118978 or in no. 11:32 (see above). Although Kudurru is often thought to be an abbreviated form of a longer name, DN-kudurrī-ušur, one would not expect the name to be presented in this partially abbreviated—and, as far as the author is aware, otherwise unattested—form.

In sum, it seems best to assume that the formal conclusion of the transaction took place at Ur and not Uruk and that the scribe of BM 118978 made a mistake and omitted ŠEŠ before UNUG.KI.

<sup>172</sup> Mušēzib-Marduk's family name also included the divine name Šin (Šin-nāšir), but his family name is only given in texts from Babylon.

<sup>173</sup> Personal names mentioning Šin are of course attested in other texts from Uruk.

## No. 16

## YBC 11413

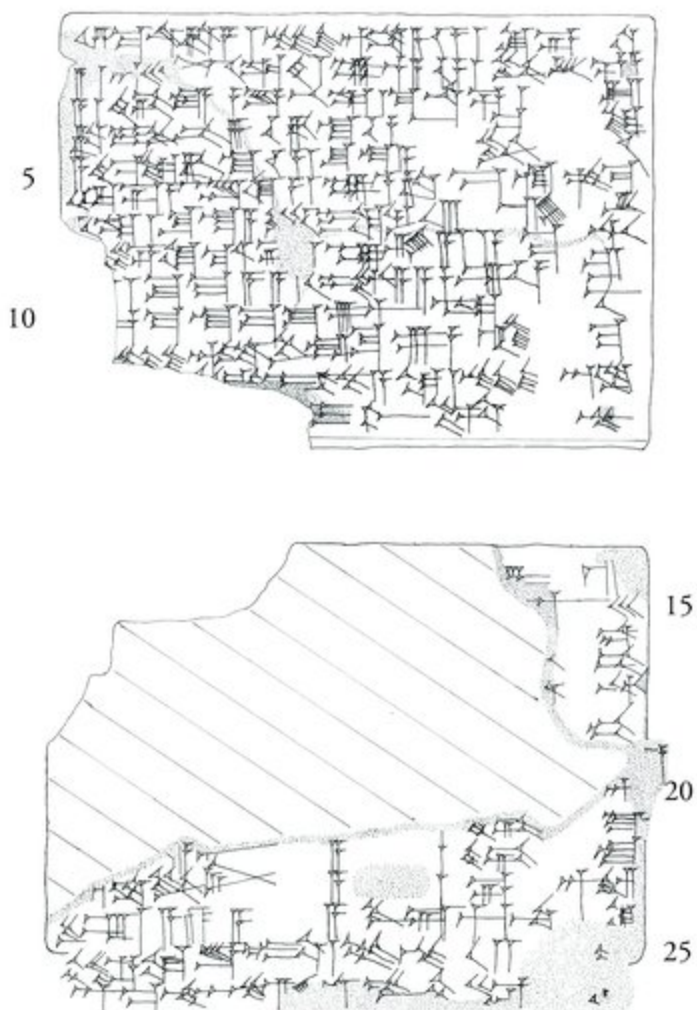
Babylon, 1-IX-yr. 12 Ššu (656)

Dimensions: 47 × 66 × 21 mm; landscape format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Goetze, *JNES* 3 (1944): 44 n. 13; Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 29 K.54

Promissory note with security



- obv. 1 15 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>m</sup> mu-še-zib<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-tú  
 2 A<sup>md</sup> 30-PAB<sup>1</sup> ina muh<sup>h</sup>-bi<sup>md</sup> AG-SUR A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a  
 3 A<sup>m</sup> DÜG.GA-ia šá ITI ina UGU I MA.NA-e I GÍN  
 4 KÙ.BABBAR i-rab-bi<sup>6</sup> šú H.A.LA-šú šá ina GIŠ.SAR  
 5 a-bi GIŠ.SAR H.A.LA-šú šá<sup>m</sup> šu-la-a ŠEŠ-šú  
 6 ù É šá ina UNUG.KI šá<sup>md</sup> AG-SUR KÙ.BABBAR is-sub-am-ma  
 7 'ana' UGU<sup>m</sup> šu-la-a ŠEŠ-šú i-ri-ru 13 GI.MEŠ  
 8 [ina T]IN.TIR.KI DA<sup>1</sup> [(šá)]<sup>md</sup> AG-GI A<sup>m</sup> a<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>-ti  
 9 [u<sup>2</sup>] É<sup>2</sup> šu-ma-a A<sup>m</sup> mi-šir-a-a NÍG.ŠID-šú šá URU  
 10 [u EDI]N ma-la ba-šu-ú maš-ka-nu  
 11 [šá<sup>2</sup> m]u-še<sup>1</sup>(text: 'zib<sup>1</sup>)-zib<sup>1</sup>(text: še)-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LÚ ra-šu-ú šá-nam-ma  
 12 [ina muh<sup>h</sup>-bi]<sup>2</sup> ul i<sup>1</sup> šal-laṭ a-di<sup>m</sup> mu-še<sup>1</sup>-zib<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU  
 13 [KÙ.BABBAR-šú] i<sup>1</sup> šal-li-mu  
 rev. 14 [... A<sup>md</sup> A]G-G[I]  
 15 [...]-<sup>md</sup>30  
 16 [...]-DU  
 17 [...]-X-BI  
 18 [...]-X-TI  
 19 [...]-ŠUR<sup>2</sup>  
 20 [...]-X  
 21 [...]-AN  
 22 [... A] <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 23 [...-KA]R-ir<sup>1</sup> A<sup>m</sup> DÜG.GA-i[a]  
 24 [m]<sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-URU-ir A<sup>m</sup> SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 25 LÚ.UMBISAG<sup>m</sup> A-(erasure)-a A LÚ.É.BAR sip-par.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 26 TIN.TIR.KI ITI.GAN U<sub>4</sub>.I.KAM MU.12.K[ÁM]  
 27 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU<sup>1</sup>GI.NA<sup>1</sup> LUGAL TIN.<sup>1</sup>TIR<sup>2</sup>.K[I]

- (1-3a) Fifteen minas of silver belonging of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, descendant of Sîn-nāšir, is owed by Nabû-ētir, son of Ahhēa, descendant of Tābiya.  
 (3b-4a) Each month one shekel of silver per mina will accrue (against him).  
 (4b-11a) His one-sixth (inheritance) share in an orchard, his brother Šulāya's half share in (that) orchard, and the house in Uruk from which Nabû-ētir has (already) drawn silver and paid back (a debt) owed by his brother Šulāya, (and a house measuring) thirteen reeds [in] Babylon bordering on the house of Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Amati, [and] the house of Šumāya, descendant of Miširāya, (and) (all) his (Nabû-ētir's) assets, as many as there are in (both) town [and coun]try, are security [for] Mušēzib-Marduk.  
 (11b-13) No other creditor has a right [to them] until Mušēzib-Marduk is paid back [his silver] in full.

- (14) [Witnesses: ..., descendant of Na]bū-ušal[lim];  
 (15) [..., descendant of ...]-Sin;  
 (16–21) Too poorly preserved to warrant a translation  
 (22) [..., descendant of] Ṭābiya;  
 (23) [...-ēṭ]ir, descendant of Ṭābiy[a];  
 (24) Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Mudammiq-Adad;  
 (25) (and) the scribe, Aplāya, descendant of Šangū-Sippar.  
 (26–27) Babylon, month of Kislīmu (IX), first day, twelfth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

### Commentary

See §§3.1, 3.3.1.3, 3.3.2.5, 3.4 and 3.5. Cf. no. 8\* and 20 that may involve the same house.

The author's thanks must be expressed to J. A. Brinkman for relinquishing his rights to publish this document and allowing him to include it with the other texts in the archive.

- 7–8 Thirteen reeds of land are about 159.25 m<sup>2</sup> in area, with one surface reed being the equivalent of 49 square cubits and ca. 12.25 m<sup>2</sup>. Thirteen reeds of land is slightly larger than the average urban house plot mentioned in Neo-Babylonian documents (see §2.8 and Table 4).
- 8–9 As is normal for pledge clauses in promissory notes, only two neighbours are mentioned in connection with the property instead of the more usual four in sales transactions and it is not stated which sides of the property they adjoined.
- 8 The meaning of the name written <sup>m</sup>a-<sup>f</sup>ma-ti is uncertain. It is more likely to be a paternal than a family name.
- 9 The earliest member of the Miširāya “family” attested is an Amēl-Nanāya <sup>mār</sup> Miširāya (<sup>m</sup>LÚ-<sup>a</sup>na-na-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>mi-šir-a-a) who appears selling a built-on house plot at Borsippa for two minas of silver in the reign of Nabū-šuma-iškun (mid-eighth century); see Zadok, *NABU* 1997/1, pp. 10–13 no. 11 commentary to line 4 of BM 26528, who points out that this is almost one hundred years before Esarhaddon's conquest of (northern) Egypt. For Egyptians in first-millennium Babylonia, see Zadok, *Göttinger Miszellen* 26 (1977): 63–68; many of the individuals listed by Zadok appear in one very late Neo-Assyrian document.
- 19 Likely a name ending with -ikšur or -ušur.
- 22–23 These witnesses are members of the same family as the debtor, perhaps the two other brothers who had inherited shares in the pledged date orchard (see the discussion in §3.1). Possibly they were present in order to show their acknowledgement of, and their assent to, the transaction. Conceivably they could have been part owners of the orchards mentioned in lines 4–5 since property was often held jointly family members. Possibly [<sup>m</sup>EN-KA]R-<sup>f</sup>ir<sup>3</sup>, [Bēl-ēṭ]ir in line 23; cf. no. 18:45 and no. 19:31.
- 25 The scribe also appears as a witness in no. 18:49 (Babylon, 10–III–654). The family Šangū-Sippar was particularly important at Sippar during the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, often holding the office of *šangū* of the city; see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, pp. 13 and 447–463. The earliest member of this family listed in his study of individuals at Sippar appears in the third year of Esarhaddon (678 BC). Bongenaar thinks that the family names Šangū-Sippar and Šangū-Šamaš were likely designations for the same family (*ibid.*, p. 447) and if so, Aplāya would appear in several texts from Babylon and Sippar; see Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants*, pp. 135–136 n. 28.

**No. 17**

(a) **BM 118985** (1927-11-12, 22)

(b) **BM 118988** (1927-11-12, 25)

Uruk, 8-XII-yr. 12 Ššu (656)

Dimensions: 73 × 41 mm (BM 118985); 69 × 48 mm (BM 118988); portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges of both exemplars

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 30 K.64-65

Purchase of a ruined house located at Uruk

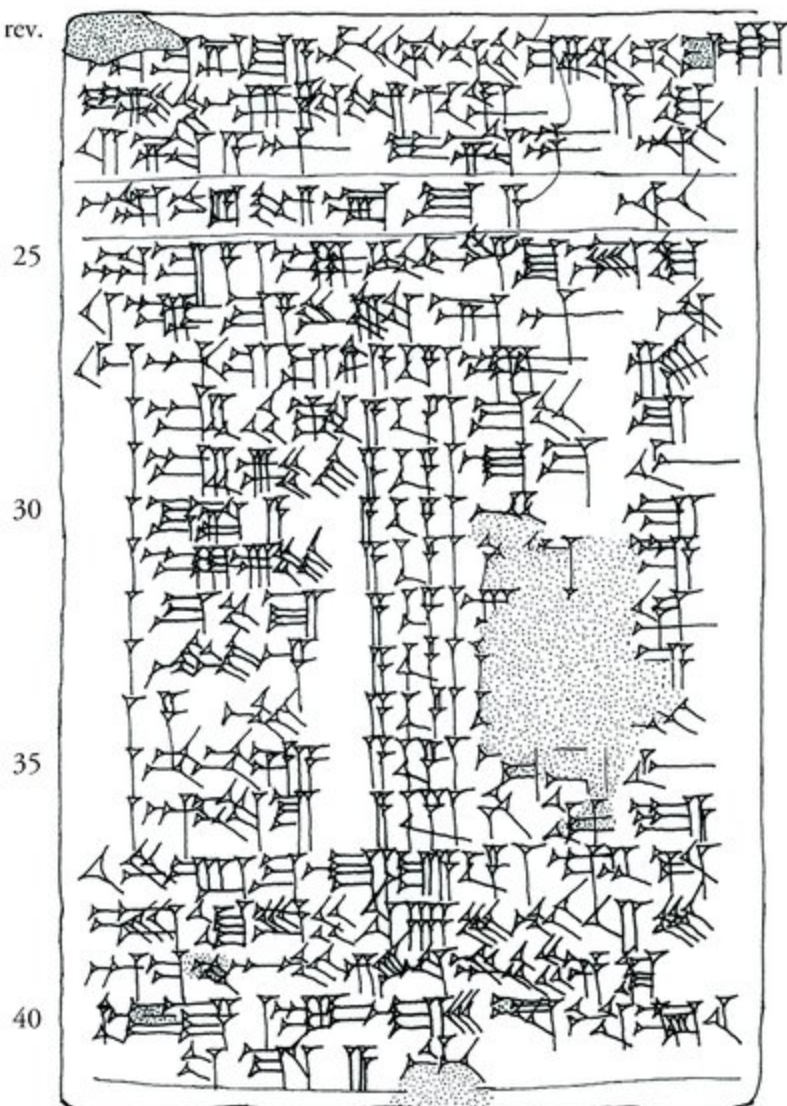




- obv. 1 *ṭup-pi É ab-ta šá na-pa-šu u e-pe-šú*  
 2 *KI-ti É.AN.NA šá qé-reb UNUG.KI*  
 3 *UŠ AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ DA É <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti*  
 4 *UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU DA bi-ri-ti la a-ši-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 5 *SAG.KI AN.TA IM.MAR.TU DA É <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-tú*  
 6 *SAG.KI KI.TA IM.KUR.RA DA É*  
 7 *<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>na-na-a-ú-šal-li*  
 8 *ki-i 50 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti*  
 9 *it-ti <sup>md</sup>AG-APIN-eš A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia*  
 10 *KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam ši-me-šú TIL.<sup>1</sup>MES<sup>3</sup>*  
 11 *PAP 50 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR a-di 1-en TÚG.KUR.RA šá ki-i pi-i a-tar SUM-nu*  
 12 *<sup>md</sup>AG-APIN-eš A <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia ina ŠU<sup>11</sup>*  
 13 *<sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti ši-mu É-šú*  
 14 *ki-i KÙ.BABBAR ga-mir-ti ma-ḥir a-pil za-ki*  
 15 *ru-gu-um-ma-a ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma*  
 16 *a-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu ma-ti-ma*  
 17 *ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ kim-ti*  
 18 *IM.RIA u sa-lat šá É <sup>md</sup>AG-APIN-eš*  
 19 *šá E<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-ma a-na UGU É šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-bu*  
 20 *<sup>1</sup>ú-šad-ba-bu in-nu-ú ú-paq-qa-ru*

- (1-2) Tablet concerning a ruined house to be torn down and (re)built in the district of Eanna that is inside Uruk;  
 (3) Upper side, in the north, bordering on the house of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu;  
 (4) Lower side, in the south, bordering on the blind alley;  
 (5) Upper front, in the west, bordering on the house of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu;  
 (6-7) Lower front, in the east, bordering on the house of Abhēšāya, son of Nanāya-ušalli.  
 (8-10) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, named fifty shekels of silver as the purchase price with Nabû-ēreš, son of Hašdiya, and purchased (the house) for its full price.  
 (11-14a) Nabû-ēreš, son<sup>1</sup> of Hašdiya, has received a total of fifty shekels of silver, plus one TÚG.KUR.RA-garment which was given as an additional payment, from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, as full payment for the price of his house.  
 (14b-16a) (Nabû-ēreš) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the house).  
 (16b-20) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Nabû-ēreš comes forward and brings a claim against this house, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement),

BM 118985 rev.



- rev. 21 *ʿum-ma* ʿÉ šu-a-ti ul na-din-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul *ma* ʿ*h*ir  
 22 *i-qab-bu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR *im-hu-ru a-di*  
 23 12.TA.ÀM *i-ta-nap-pal*  
 24 *ina ka-nak* IM.DUB šu-a-ti  
 25 *ina* GUB-zu šá <sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši LÚ.GAR.LUMUŠ UNUG.KI  
 26 *u* <sup>md</sup>AG-BA-šá LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM É.AN.NA  
 27 IGI <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-ib-ni A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-GI  
 28 <sup>md</sup>EN-TIN-iš A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ba-laš-su  
 29 <sup>md</sup>EN-ú-še-zib A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši  
 30 <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>EN-URU  
 31 <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-še-zib A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ha[š]-di-ia  
 32 <sup>m</sup>ba-laš-su A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[b]a-ru  
 33 <sup>m</sup>ina-SÛH-SUR A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ha[š]-di-ia  
 34 <sup>m</sup>GAR-MU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>[ul-lu-m]u  
 35 <sup>m</sup>bi-bé-e-a A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši  
 36 <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>haš-di-ia  
 37 *u* LÚ.UMBISAG <sup>m</sup>ba-la-šu A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>EN-DA  
 38 UNUG.KI ITI.ŠE U<sub>4</sub>.8.KÁM MU.12.KÁM  
 39 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI  
 40 *šu-pur* <sup>md</sup>AG-APIN-eš GIM NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú  
 41 *tú-da-a-ti*

(21–23) saying: “This house has not been sold and the silver has not been received,” he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

(24) At the sealing of this tablet:

(25) In the presence of Nabû-ušabši, the governor of Uruk

(26) and Nabû-iqīša, the *šatammu* of Eanna.

(27) Before: Nergal-ibni, son of Nabû-ušallim;

(28) Bēl-uballiṣ, son of Balāssu;

(29) Bēl-ušēzib, son of Lābāši;

(30) Aplāya, son of Bēl-āli;

(31) Nabû-ušēzib, son of Hašdiya;

(32) Balāssu, son of Ubāru;

(33) Ina-tēši-ētir, son of Ha[šdiy]a;

(34) Šākin-šumi, son of Šullumu;

(35) Bibēa, son of Lābāši;

(36) Marduk-erība, son of Hašdiya;

(37) and the scribe, Balātu, son of Bēl-lē'i.

(38–39) Uruk, month of Addaru, eighth day, twelfth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

(40–41) Nabû-ēreš's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.

Restorations come from BM 118988 (no. 17b)

### Variants

BM 118988 (no. 17b):

- 1     'u' for u
- 11    EN' and TUG'(text: ŠU)
- 22    erasure between *im-hu-ru* and *a-di*
- 26    TAM over an erasure
- 28    TIN over an erasure
- 29    -ba- over an erasure
- 30    <sup>m</sup>EN-APIN?

BM 118988 has traces of salt encrustations on it.

### Commentary

See § 3.3.1.2.

- 9     Three sons of Hašdiya appear as witnesses to this transaction (line 31, 33 and 36). They are likely to have been relatives of the seller who were present to acknowledge their consent to the sale.
- 11    The Akkadian reading of TUG.KUR.RA remains unknown, but it likely stands for a woollen garment or piece of cloth and has sometimes been translated “blanket” or thought to be a type of poncho. See most recently Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, p. 426; B. Janković, “Travel Provisions in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC” in *L'Archive des fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*, edited by P. Briant, W. Henkelman, and M. Stolper (Persika 12) (Paris: De Boccard, 2008), pp. 452–453 and S. Zawadzki, “Garments in Non-Cultic Context (Neo-Babylonian Period)” in *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, edited by C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch (Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 409–429, especially pp. 412–414.
- 30    Bēl-āli (“City lord” or “[DN is] the lord of the city”) or Bēl-ālī (“Bēl is my city”); see *PNA* 1/2, p. 285.
- 31–35 The names are fully preserved on the duplicate BM 118988 (no. 17b).

**No. 18****AO 10337**

Babylon, 10–III–yr. 14 Ššu (654)

Dimensions: 110 × 72 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions<sup>174</sup>

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 31 K.79

Bibliography: Contenau, *TCL* 12 12 (copy)

Moore, *NBBAD*, pp. 14–17 no. 12 (edition)

Wright, *Larsa*, p. 127 (study)

Purchase of three parcels of land located at Uruk

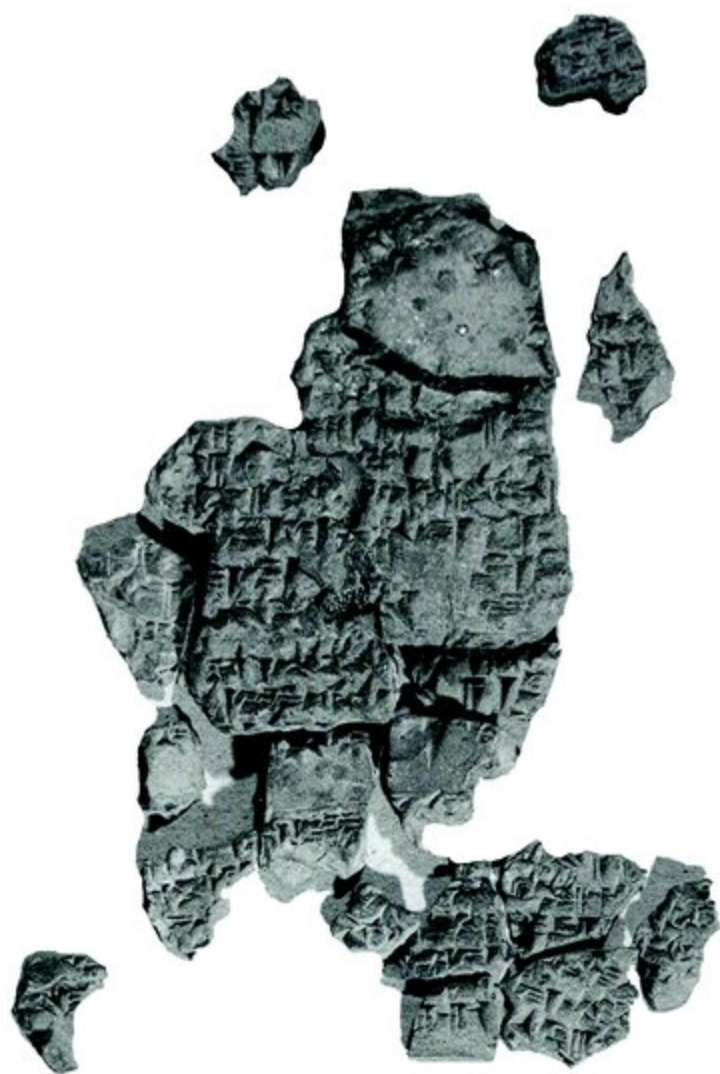
Photos on pp. 152 and 153

At some point after the tablet was copied by Contenau, the tablet shattered into over one hundred fragments. While a few of these are reasonably large, most are miniscule in size. Although the tablet has been collated, it is no longer possible to verify some of what was copied by Contenau—in particular parts of the obverse—and thus the edition presented below is based in part on the copy alone. The larger fragments are shown on photos pp. 152–53, which were kindly supplied by the Département des Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre and were taken by Christian Larrieu in 1994.

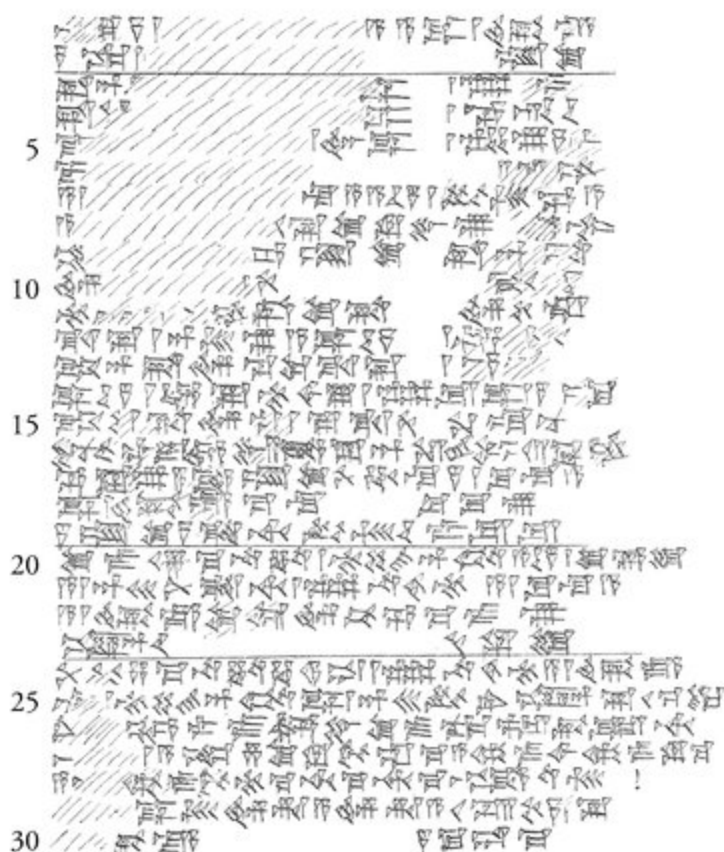
---

<sup>174</sup> Fingernail impressions are found on the left and right edges; there is not enough preserved of the top and bottom edges to determine if they also bore fingernail impressions.









Copy of AO10337 by Contenau in TCL 12 12

- obv. 1 G[IS.SA]R šá m[SEŠ.MEŠ-e-a DUMU-šú šá m]A-a DUMU mDÜG.GA-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 2 šá (<ina>) UGU í[D LUGAL A.GÀR] UNUG.KI  
 3 UŠ AN.T[A DA É mNÍG.DU D]UMU mAG-í<sup>1</sup>  
 4 UŠ 'KI'.[TA DA É mna-din D]UMU m'e-re-šú  
 5 ZA[G AN.TA DA É m]ir-<sup>2</sup>u DUMU mEN-ú-šep<sup>1</sup>(copy: GAR)-pi<sup>1</sup>  
 6 ZA[G KI.TA GÜ] 'ID' LUGAL  
 7 a-b[í<sup>2</sup> GIŠ.SAR<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup> mšú]-la-a A-šú šá mSEŠ.MEŠ-e-a  
 8 A [mDÜG.GA-ia (x x)] u<sup>2</sup> É ki-šub-bu-ú [(ina) K]I-ti  
 9 K[Á KI.LAM<sup>2</sup> šá qé-r]eb UNUG.KI UŠ AN.'TA'  
 10 IM.[MAR.TU D]A SILA 'rap-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 11 mu-taq DINGIR u<sup>1</sup> LUGAL UŠ KI.TA IM.KUR.RA  
 12 DA É mDINGIR.MEŠ-ú-a DUMU-šú šá mšul-l[u-m]u  
 13 ZAG AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ DA É mX-X  
 14 DUMU-šú šá mšul-lu-mu ù mAG-SU DUMU mšá-pi<sup>1</sup>-ku  
 15 ZAG 'KI.TA<sup>1</sup> IM.'U<sub>18</sub><sup>1</sup>LU DA SILA qa-at-nu  
 16 ŠE.NUMUN pi-i šul-pu A.GÀR GARIM<sup>2</sup> an-gil-lu<sub>4</sub> u 'ID'.LUGAL

- 17 *e-lu-ú* A.GÀR UNUG.KI PAP H.A.LA šá <sup>m</sup>šū-la-a  
 18 DUMU <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia ma-la ba-šū-ú  
 19 šá UNUG.KI šá it-ti ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú i-zu-zu
- 
- 20 *ki-i* 15 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-tu  
 21 A <sup>md</sup>30-PAB it-ti <sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU A <sup>m</sup>šū-la-a  
 22 A <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam  
 23 ŠAM-šú gam-ru-tu
- 
- 24 PAP <sup>r</sup>34(+) <sup>1</sup> MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU <sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU A <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 25 ina Š[U<sup>II</sup>] <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>md</sup>30-URÙ-ir ŠAM É u GIŠ.SAR  
 26 qaq-[qar] EDIN pi-i šul-pu ki-i ka-sap ga-mir-ti  
 27 m[a-hi]r a-pil za-ki ru-gu-um-ma-a ul i-ši ul i-<tur>-ru-ma  
 28 a-b[a-meš] ul i-<rag>-gu-mu <ma-ti> ma-ti-ma ina EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 29 [ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ] DUMU.MEŠ IM.RIA IM.RIA u sa-lat šá (x) É  
 30 [<sup>m</sup>DÜG].GA-ia šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma
- (1-2) O[rcha]rd of [Aḥḥēa, son of] Aplāya, descendant of Tābiya, that is (located) along the [royal] c[anal, in the meadowland] of Uruk;  
 (3) Upper side, [bordering on the house of Kudurru], descendant of Nabû-na'id;  
 (4) Lower side, [bordering on the house of Nādin], descendant of Ērešu;  
 (5) [Upper] front, [bordering on the house of P]ir'u, descendant of Bēl-useppi;  
 (6) [Lower] front, [on the bank] of the royal canal.  
 (7-8a) The half [share in the orchard of] Šulāya, son of Aḥḥēa, descendant of [Tābiya (...)]  
 (8b-9a) and an empty house plot [in] the [Market] Ga[te dis]trict [that is insi]de Uruk;  
 (9b-11a) Upper side, in the [west, border]ing on the wide street, the thoroughfare of the god and the king;  
 (11b-12) Lower side, in the east, bordering on the house of Ilū'a, son of Šull[um]u;  
 (13-14) Upper front, in the north, bordering on the house(s) of ..., son of Šullumu, and Nabû-erība, descendant of Šāpiku;  
 (15) Lower front, in the south, bordering on the narrow street.  
 (16-17a) Arable land, cultivated (for cereals), in the meadowland of the Angillu irrigation district and (by) the upper royal canal in the meadowland of Uruk—  
 (17b-19) All the share of Šulāya, descendant of Tābiya, as much as there is (of it) in Uruk that he had divided with his brothers.  
 (20-23) Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, descendant of Sîn-nāšir, named fifteen minas of silver as the purchase price with Nabû-nādin-šumi, son<sup>1</sup> of Šulāya, descendant of Tābiya, and purchased (the property) for its full price.  
 (24-27a) Nabû-nādin-šumi, descendant of Tābiya, has r[ecceiv]ed a total of thirty-four(+) minas of silver in pieces from the han[ds] of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Sîn-nāšir, as full payment for the price of the house (plot), orchard, (and) country pl[ot] cultivated (for cereals).  
 (27b-28a) (Nabû-nādin-šumi) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one [another] (about the properties).  
 (28b-36) If ever in the future anyone [among the brothers], sons, family, relations, or kin of

- rev. 31 *a-na* UGU É GIŠ.SAR [*u q*]aq-qar EDIN *šu-a-ti*  
 32 *i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu* BAL-ú *ú-paq-qa-ru*  
 33 *um-ma* É GIŠ.SAR *u qaq-qar* <EDIN> *šu-a-ti*  
 34 *ul na-ad-nu-ma kàs-pa ul ma-ḥir*  
 35 *i-qab-bu-ú ka-sap im-ḥu-ru a-di*  
 36 12.TA.ÀM *i-ta-nap-pal*  
 37 *ina ka-nak* IM.DUB *šu-a-ti*  
 38 IGI<sup>md</sup> AG-GIN-NUMUN LÚ.É.BAR UD.UNUG.KI  
 39 <sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq A <sup>m</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 40 <sup>m</sup>ša-pi-ku A <sup>m</sup>LÚ.AD.KID  
 41 <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-GIN A <sup>m</sup>e-gi-bi  
 42 <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un A <sup>m</sup>da-bi-bi  
 43 <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU A <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal  
 44 <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba A (erasure?) LÚ.ŠU.I  
 45 <sup>md</sup>EN-SUR A <sup>m</sup>DÛG.GA-ia  
 46 <sup>md</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-PAP A <sup>m</sup>DÛG.GA-ia  
 47 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU A <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA  
 48 <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP A <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU  
 49 <sup>m</sup>A-a A LÚ.É.BAR *sip-par*.KI  
 50 <sup>md</sup>AG-GÁL-ši A LÚ.É.BAR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 51 <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN A LÚ.SIMUG <sup>md</sup>AG-UR-DINGIR.MEŠ A LÚ.GÍR.LÁ  
 52 *u* LÚ.UMBISAG <sup>m</sup>re-mut-<sup>d</sup>BA.Ú A <sup>m</sup>EGIR-DINGIR.MEŠ  
 53 TIN.TIR.KI ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub>.10.KÁM MU.14.KÁM  
 54 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI  
 55 <sup>f</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-pur <sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU *ki-ma* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú  
 56 *tu-da-a-ti*

the house of [Ṭā]biya comes forward and brings a claim against this house (plot), orchard, [and] country plot, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This house (plot), orchard and <country> plot have not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

At the sealing of this tablet:

Before: Nabû-mukîn-zēri, the *šangû*-priest of Larsa

Nabû-udammiq, descendant of Nūr-Sîn

Šāpiku, descendant of the Reedworker

Nabû-zēra-ukîn, descendant of Egibi

Nabû-šuma-iškun, descendant of Dābibi

Kudurru, descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal

Nabû-aḥḥē-erība, descendant of the Barber

Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Ṭābiya

Nabû-kudurrī-ušur, descendant of Ṭābiya

Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, descendant of Nādinu



(48) Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Kudurru

(49) Aplāya, descendant of Šangû-Sippar

(50) Nabû-ušabši, descendant of Šangû-Ninurta

(51) Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of the Smith;

Nabû-qarrād-ilī, descendant of the Butcher;

(52) and the scribe Rēmūt-Bāba, descendant of Arkāt-ilī.

(53-54) Babylon, month of Simānu, tenth day, fourteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

(55-56) Nabû-nādin-šumi's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.



### Commentary

See §§ 3.1, 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.2.2. Cf. nos. 9\* and 19 (likely involving the same orchard mentioned in no. 18). The orchard is probably mentioned in no. 16.

This text involves three properties: an orchard (lines 1–8a), an empty house plot (lines 8b–15), and a grain field (lines 16–17a). These have been referred to as 18–1, 18–2, and 18–3 respectively in this study.

1–6 Restorations are based upon no. 19:1–6.

2 The published copy has KA, not UGU, but collation shows that the sign following *šá* began with a *Winkelhaken*.

5–6 ZAG is used here and in lines 13 and 15 instead of the more normal SAG.KI, but both can stand for Akkadian *pātu*. CAD P, p. 549 sub 3.a.2' did not note this text and thus erroneously states that *pātu* is always written SAG.KI in Neo-Babylonian when indicating the (short) sides of a piece of real estate.

7 The published copy has A [...] for the beginning of the line, but collation of the preserved fragment suggests that A was followed by the head of a small slanted wedge, thus perhaps the beginning of *ī*, or possibly *šā*. Possibly restore *īA.LA* instead of *GIŠ.SAR*, thus “the half [share inherited by ...]”

12 The name *Ilū'a* means “My god”; see Beaulieu, *JNES* 52 (1993): 254 n. 38 with regard to DINGIR.MEŠ standing for a singular deity.

Despite the published copy, collation shows that the first sign of the paternal name is clearly *šul*; the traces and spacing following it would allow *-l(u-m)u* although not a great deal is preserved of either sign.

13 Possibly *m<sup>r</sup>kal-bi<sup>2</sup>* or *m<sup>r</sup>ZĀLAG-e<sup>21</sup>-[a]* or *m<sup>r</sup>ZĀLAG-<sup>d21</sup>[DN]*?

16 The sign preceding *an-gil-lu<sub>4</sub>* is AMBAR (LAGAB × A) on the published copy, rather than GARIM (LAGAB × KUG) as read by Zadok in *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 23 (reading possibly influenced by other instances where GARIM does appear before Angillu). The sign is no longer sufficiently preserved on the tablet to determine which is the correct reading. According to Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 23–24, Angillu was probably located on the right bank of the Royal Canal in the northern section of Uruk region; see also Joannès, *TEBR*, p. 295.

16–17 In connection with this “upper royal canal,” we may note the following items cited by Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 385 in connection with the royal canal near Uruk: AnOr 9 2: 26 (ID LUGAL *e-le-nu-ú*, reign of Ashurbanipal), YOS 6 33:5 (ID LUGAL AN-*ú*, reign of Nabonidus) and YOS 7 162:2 (ID LUGAL UGU-*ú*, reign of Cambyses). Collation shows that ID is fine despite the published copy indicating simply two vertical wedges for the first part of the sign.

24 Moore read “15(?)” for the number (*NBBAD*, pp. 16–17), undoubtedly in order to match the number in line 20. Contenau's copy has a clear 4 for the final part of the number and two complete *Winkelhaken* and the trace of what is likely a third one for the beginning of the number. From the placement of the trace of the “third” *Winkelhaken* below the final one and from the spacing between the two complete *Winkelhaken*, there might well have been up to five *Winkelhaken* originally on the tablet and thus 54 minas (or 3240 shekels), a huge amount. Or were there only two *Winkelhaken*, with what appears to be the trace of the end of a third one actually being the bottom end of the first? The author was unable to identify the relevant section on any of the fragments of the tablet preserved in the Louvre. If the number was larger than 15, we then need to find a reason to explain the difference between the number in line 20 (price named) and that in line 24 (price paid). Since 15 minas is already a very large amount, Moore was most probably correct in supposing an error (of

either the ancient scribe or modern copyist) in line 24. We may note that there are a number of scribal errors in this text (signs omitted in lines 27, 28, and 33, and two signs written twice in line 28).

- 28 Collation shows that the traces of the sign following A would fit the beginning of HA.
- 31 Collation shows *šu-a-ti*, not BA-a-ti of published copy.
- 38 Nabû-mukîn-zêri, the *šangû* of Larsa, is listed as the first witness, with his name preceded by IGI / *maḥar*, "before," and not *ina ušuzzu* (*ša*), "in the presence of." When following the phrase "at the sealing of this document" in a contract, the latter phrase was normally followed by the names of officials overseeing the transaction. For example, in no. 1, which was drawn up at Uruk, it preceded the names of the governor of Uruk and the *šatammu* of Eanna (lines 26–27). Possibly Nabû-mukîn-zêri was listed first among the witnesses because of his important official position, but his name was not preceded by *ina ušuzzu* (*ša*) because, as an official at Larsa and not the location at which the document was drawn up (Babylon), he did not have any supervisory or legal authority/responsibility in connection with the matter. One transaction involving Mušēzib-Marduk may have taken place at Larsa (see no. 21 commentary to line 21). It is possible that some of Mušēzib-Marduk's transactions involved or were of concern to people at Larsa and this resulted in the *šangû* of that city's decision to be a witness to no. 18.  
On the use of the term *ina ušuzzu* (*ša*), see most recently von Dassow in *Studies Levine*, pp. 12–16.
- 41 A great deal of work on the Egibi family has been carried out recently by Cornelia Wunsch; see in particular Wunsch, *Egibi*. A good overview is found in her article "Neubabylonische Urkunden: Die Geschäftsurkunden der Familie Egibi" in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne. 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.–26. März 1998 in Berlin*, edited by J. Renger (Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2) (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), pp. 343–364. The family was particularly active (or at least attested) at Babylon in the sixth and fifth centuries, but it appears already in the seventh century. There was also a branch of this family at Uruk.
- 43 Possibly to be identified with a scribe by the same name who appears in BRM 1 34:29 (Dilbat, 666) and in BM 47353 rev. 4'–5' (Dilbat, 661)?
- 47 The name <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA could be read in several other ways in addition to Nādinu, as for example, Iddina.
- 50 An archive of the family Šangû-Ninurta is attested in texts drawn up at Babylon (and small places near it) from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian period. For this archive, see Wunsch in Baker and Jursa, *Approaching the Babylonian Economy*, pp. 365–379.
- 51 With regard to a reading *itinnu* for LÜ.SIMUG, see Kümmel, *Familie*, p. 35 n. 1.  
For an archive of the family of the Smith at Babylon in the sixth and early fifth centuries, see Baker, *Nappāhu*.
- 52 The exact reading of the god's name written <sup>d</sup>BA.Ū is not certain; see Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, p. 251.

**No. 19****BM 118980** (1927-11-12, 17)

Babylon, 10[(+)]-VIII-yr. 14 Ššu (654)

Dimensions: uncertain (tablet shattered); portrait format

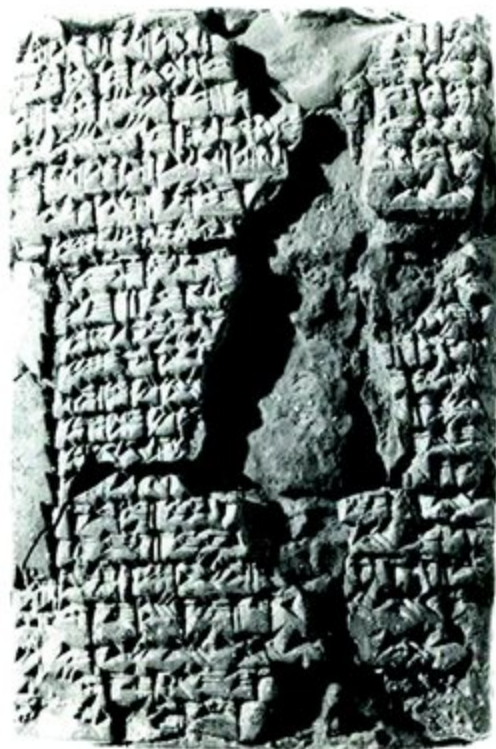
Fingernail impressions

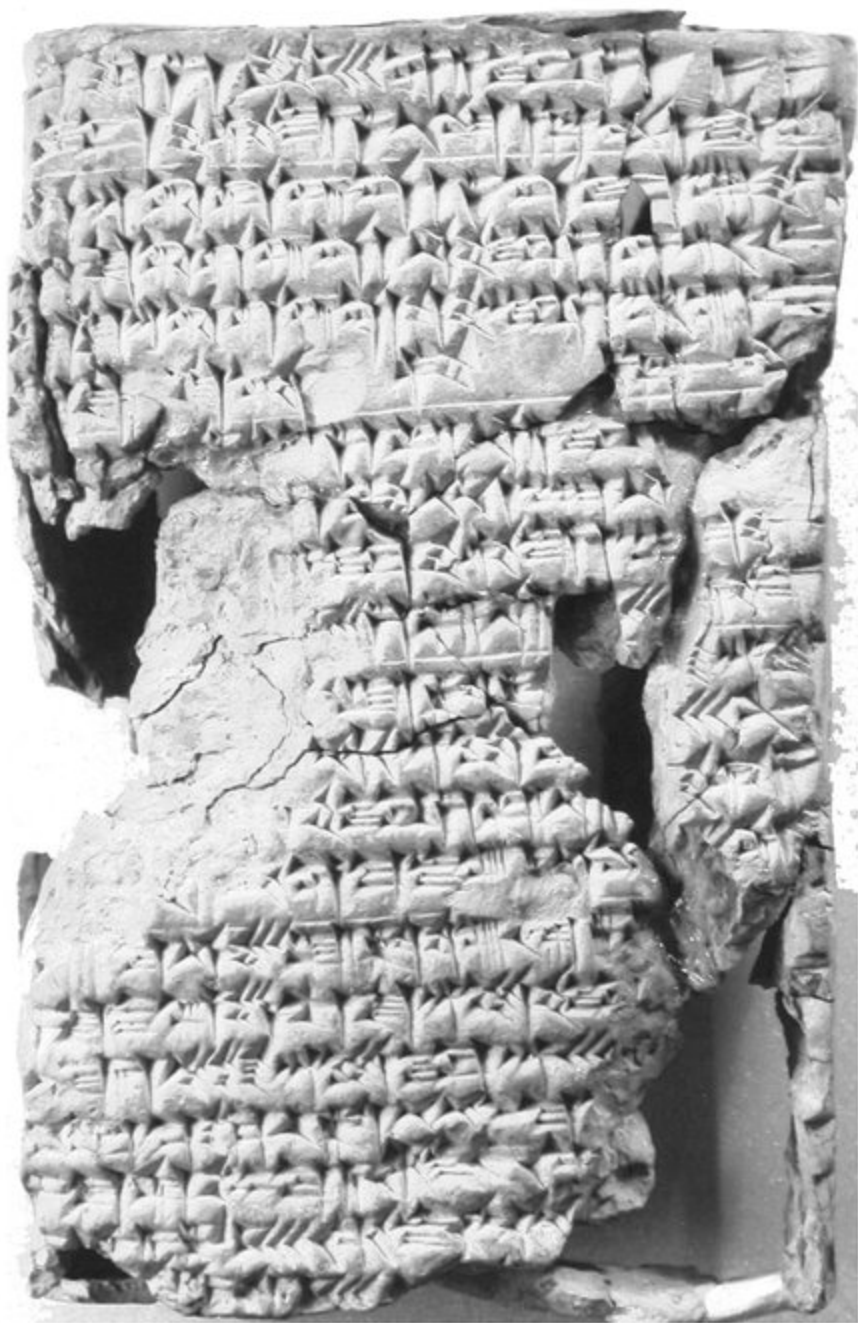
Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 31 K.85

Purchase of an orchard at Uruk

Photos pp. 161, 162, 164

The author made a preliminary transliteration of this tablet and had the tablet photographed (photos p. 161) before it and other pieces in this collection of the British Museum were sent for baking. The tablet was already in a damaged condition at that time; in the box with the tablet were over twenty small fragments with traces of one or more signs that had not been attached to the main piece and that are not shown on the photos. Many of the fragments clearly came from this tablet and their original positions could be placed with certainty, but it is not impossible that some of the tiny fragments did not come from this tablet. The piece shattered while baking, increasing the number of fragments and making it even more difficult to reassemble a complete document and to verify the author's initial transliteration. Its current state of preservation (see pp. 162 and 164) precludes the collation of some sections that were preserved when the text was first examined by the author and makes others uncertain. It was felt that it would be best not to attempt to copy what is preserved of the tablet today, but rather to publish the photographs here. The transliteration given below is based upon his initial transliteration, modified where collation either from the photographs or from what is currently preserved has been possible.



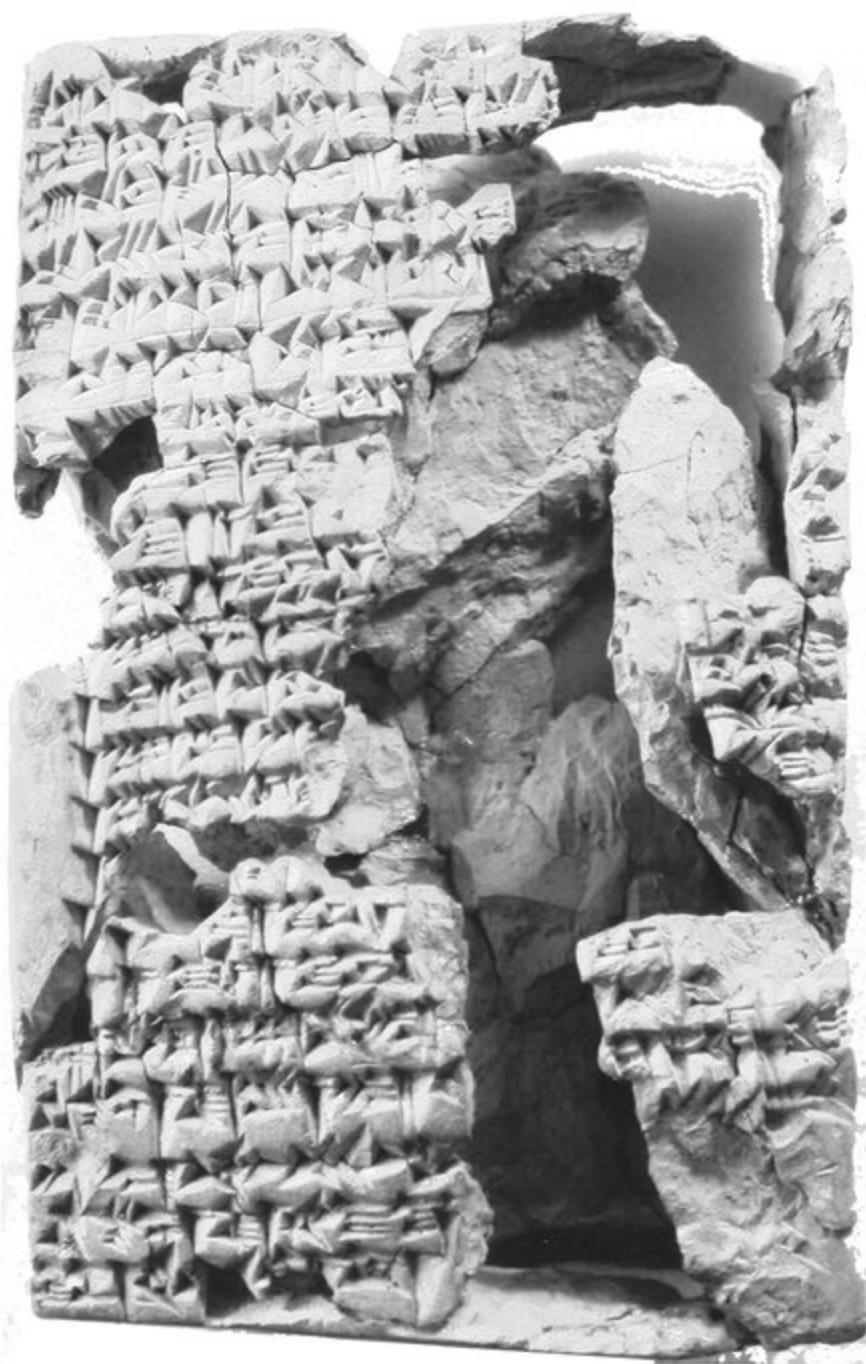




- obv. 1 GIŠ.SAR šá<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>A-a  
 2 DUMU<sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia šá<sup>m</sup>ina UGU ÍD LUGAL A.GÀR UNUG.KI  
 3 UŠ AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU DUMU<sup>m</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK  
 4 UŠ KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>m</sup>na-din DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>e-re-ši  
 5 SAG.KI AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>m</sup>pir-<sup>2</sup>u DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>EN-ú-sep-pi  
 6 SAG.KI KI.TA GÚ ÍD LUGAL  
 7 x (x) x<sup>1</sup>ina<sup>2</sup> lib-bi<sup>3</sup>JA<sup>2</sup>.LA<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>m</sup>ib-na-a DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>[EŠ<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ-e-a<sup>2</sup>]  
 8 DUMU<sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-[i]a šá<sup>m</sup>it-ti<sup>m</sup>AG-na-[x-x]  
 9 [DUM]U-šú šá<sup>m</sup>x [(x) x]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia<sup>m</sup>A[G-SÍ]LIM<sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>im<sup>1</sup>  
 10 [DUMU<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>2</sup>].MEŠ šá<sup>m</sup>ib-na-a DUMU.ME[Š<sup>m</sup>DÜG].GA-ia  
 11 [ki-i 3 MA.NA 5]0 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU<sup>m</sup>[mu-še]-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 12 [DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ki-rib]-ti-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU<sup>m</sup>[<sup>d</sup>]30-PAP  
 13 [KI<sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR].<sup>1</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>TIN DUMU-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ib-na-a DU[MU] <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 14 [KI.LA]M<sup>1</sup>im-bé<sup>1</sup>-e-ma i-šam a-na<sup>1</sup>ŠÁM<sup>1</sup>gam-ru-tu  
 15 PAP 3 MA.NA 50 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú ù 5 G[ÍN KÙ.BABB]AR  
 16 šá<sup>m</sup>ki-i DIRI SUM-nu<sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN DUMU<sup>m</sup>[DÜG.GA-i]a  
 17 ina ŠU<sup>11</sup><sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU<sup>m</sup>30-[PAP (x x)]  
 18 ŠÁM GIŠ.SAR-šú KÙ.BABBAR TIL-ti<sup>m</sup>ma-h[ir a-pil]  
 19 za-ku ru-gúm-ma-a ul i-ši u[l i-tur-ru-m]a  
 20 <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-[mu ma-t]i-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 21 [i]na EGIR U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ.M[EŠ DUMU.MEŠ]

- (1–2) Orchard of Ahhēa, son of Aplāya, descendant of Ṭābiya, that is (located) along the royal canal in the meadowland of Uruk;  
 (3) Upper side, bordering on (the property of) Kudurru, descendant of Nabû-naʾid;  
 (4) Lower side, bordering on (the property of) Nādin, son of Ēreši;  
 (5) Upper front, bordering on (the property of) Pirʾu, son of Bēl-useppi;  
 (6) Lower front, along the royal canal.  
 (7–10) [One-sixth] thereof (is) the share of Ibnāya, son of A[hhēa], descendant of Ṭābiya, which (he held jointly) with Nabû-[...] so]n of [...]āya, descendant of Ṭābiya (and) Na[bû-uš]allim [the sons of the brother]s of Ibnāya, descendants of [Ṭā]biya  
 (11–14) [Mušē]zib-Marduk, [son of Kirib]tu, descendant of Sin-nāšir, named [three minas and fifty shekels of silver in pieces [as the purchase price with Itti-Mar]duk-balāṭu, son of Ibnāya, desc[endant] of Ṭābiya, and purchased (the property) for its full price.  
 (15–18a) Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, descendant of [Ṭābiy]a, has receiv[ed] a total of three minas and fifty shekels of white silver and five sh[ekels of silv]er that were given as an additional payment from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Sin-[nāšir], as full payment in silver for the price of his orchard.  
 (18b–20a) [(Itti-Marduk-balāṭu) has been paid] (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. [They will] no[t return (to court)] and dispute with one another (about the orchard).  
 (20b–21) [If ever] in the future anyone among the brothers, [sons],





- rev. 22 IM.RI.A IM.RI.<sup>1</sup>A u IM.RI.<sup>1</sup>[A š]á É É DÜG.<sup>1</sup>GA<sup>1</sup>-iá  
 23 šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma ina UGU GIŠ.SAR MU.M[EŠ] <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-dab-bu-bu  
 24 ú-šad-ba-bu BAL-ú <sup>1</sup>ú-paq<sup>1</sup>-[qa-r]u um-ma GIŠ.SAR  
 25 MU.MEŠ NU SUM-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul m[a-<sup>1</sup>hir] i-qab-bu-ú  
 26 KÙ.BABBAR im-<sup>1</sup>hu-ru EN I2.TA.À[M i]-ta-nap-pal  
 27 ina ka-nak NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB [(x)] MU.MEŠ [(x)]  
 28 IGI <sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq DUMU-šú šá [<sup>m</sup>... A <sup>m</sup>ZÁLA]G<sup>2</sup>.f<sup>d1</sup>[30<sup>2</sup>]  
 29 <sup>m</sup>šá-pi-ku DUMU-šú šá [<sup>m</sup>... A (<sup>m</sup>)LÚ.A]D.<sup>1</sup>KID<sup>1</sup>  
 30 <sup>m</sup>la-a-ba-ši [DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>... A <sup>m</sup>...<sup>d</sup>]U.GUR  
 31 <sup>md</sup>EN-SUR DUMU-šú šá <sup>fm3</sup>[... A <sup>m</sup>DÜG.G]A<sup>2</sup>-ia  
 32 <sup>md</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-URÙ DU[MU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>...] <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>SUM.NA<sup>1</sup>.<sup>d1</sup>pap-sukkal  
 33 <sup>m</sup>eri-ba<sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UT[U DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>...] <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 34 <sup>md</sup>AG-UR-DINGIR.M[EŠ DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>...] x A LÚ.GÍR.LÁ  
 35 <sup>md</sup>EN-ši-man-ni DU[MU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>...] <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> LÚ.SIMUG  
 36 <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>-(x) [x (x) DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>...] -ni<sup>2</sup> A <sup>m</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 37 <sup>m</sup>NÍG.BA-ia DUMU-šú šá [<sup>m</sup>x x (x)] <sup>1</sup>DUMU <sup>m</sup>e-gi-bi<sup>1</sup>  
 38 <sup>m</sup>a-qar-a DUMU-šú [šá <sup>m</sup>(x)]-x-x-[(x) A <sup>m</sup>x]-x-MU LÚ.<sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup>.BAR  
 39 ù LÚ.UMBISAG <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-APIN-eš DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>šá-pik A LÚ.AD.KID  
 40 TIN.TIR.KI ITI.APIN U<sub>4</sub>.10[(+).K]AM MU.14.KAM  
 41 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.N[A] LUGAL  
 42 TIN.<sup>1</sup>TIR<sup>1</sup>.KI šu-pur <sup>fm3</sup>K[I]<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>-TIN  
 43 <sup>1</sup>DUMU <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia GIM N[A<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú]

(22–26) family, relations, or kin of the house of Tābiya comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) cont[ests] (this agreement), saying: “This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been re[ceived],” he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

(27) At the sealing of this tablet:

(28) Before Nabû-udammiq, son of [...], descendant of Nū[r]-[Sîn];

(29) Šāpiku, son of [...], descendant of the Re[ed]worker;

(30) Lābāši, [son of [...], descendant of ...]-Nergal;

(31) Bēl-ētir, son of [...], descendant of Tābiya;

(32) Nabû-kudurri-ušur, s[on of ...], descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal;

(33) Erība-Marduk, [son of ...] (and) descendant of Tābiya;

(34) Nabû-qarrād-ilī, [son of ...], descendant of the Butcher;

(35) Bēl-šimānni, s[on of ...], descendant of the Smith;

(36) Nabû-na[...], son of [...], descendant of Nūr-Sîn;

(37) Qištiya, son of [...], descendant of Egibi;

(38) Aqara, son [of] ... [descendant of] ..., the šangû-priest;

(39) and the scribe, Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, son of Šāpik, descendant of the Reedworker.

(40–42a) Babylon, month of Araḥsamna, tenth[(+)] day, fourteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

(42b–43) The fingernail (impression) of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, descendant of Tābiya, (is marked on the tablet) instead of [his seal].

*Commentary*

See §§ 3.1 and 3.3.2.2. Cf. nos. 9\* and 18 (likely involving the same orchard mentioned in this transaction).

- 7 The traces at the beginning of the line are uncertain, and it is not clear that they would fit 6-šú, although they might fit 'A/ŠA A/ŠA'. For the reason to want the text to refer to a sixth share in the orchard, see the discussion of this text in § 3.1. The restoration of the name is based on the possibility that Ibnāya might have been a brother of Šulāya and Nabū-ētir; see § 3.1.
- 8–9 The traces might fit ... <sup>md</sup>AG-na-[din<sup>2</sup>-MU<sup>2</sup>] | [DUM]U-šú šá <sup>m</sup>š[<sup>u</sup><sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>l</sup>a<sup>3</sup> ... (based on no. 18: 21–22), but Nabū-nādin-šumi, son of Šulāya, had sold his share in the orchard in no. 18.
- 10 We might expect a verb in this line to complete the phrase begun with *ša itti* in line 8, but it would be expected at the end of the line and not at the beginning.
- 12 Assuming the restoration is correct, this would be the only instance in the archive where a fuller form of the paternal name is given, Kiribti-Marduk ("Blessing of the god Marduk"). Or should we assume a scribal error here?
- 28 Cf. no. 18: 39.
- 29 Cf. no. 18: 40.
- 31 Cf. no. 18: 45.
- 32 Cf. no. 18: 43.
- 34 Cf. no. 18: 51.

Among the fragments that have not been treated above are the three following:

*Fragment A*

Lacuna  
1' [(...)] <sup>fd</sup>AG<sup>2</sup> [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
2' [(...)] x [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
Lacuna

In view of the line ruling after 1', this might be part of lines 10–11, if indeed it comes from this tablet. If it goes in line 10, perhaps we could read [<sup>u</sup> <sup>m</sup>] <sup>fd</sup>AG<sup>2</sup>-[x (x) DUM].MES ... for the beginning of the line.

*Fragment B*

Lacuna  
1' [...] x (x) [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
2' [...] -šú šá <sup>m</sup> [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
3' [...] -šú šá <sup>m</sup> x [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
4' [...] <sup>md</sup>AM[AR<sup>2</sup>UTU-...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
5' [...] šá <sup>md</sup>A[G/E[N- ...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
6' [...] x (x) [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
Lacuna

This fragment clearly preserves part of a witness list, perhaps the middle of lines 32/33/34–37/38/39.

*Fragment C*

Lacuna  
1' [...] <sup>l</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
2' [...] <sup>fd</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup> [...] [<sup>u</sup>]  
Lacuna

This fragment may come from the middle of lines 36–37.

## No. 20

BM 118983 (1927-11-12, 20)

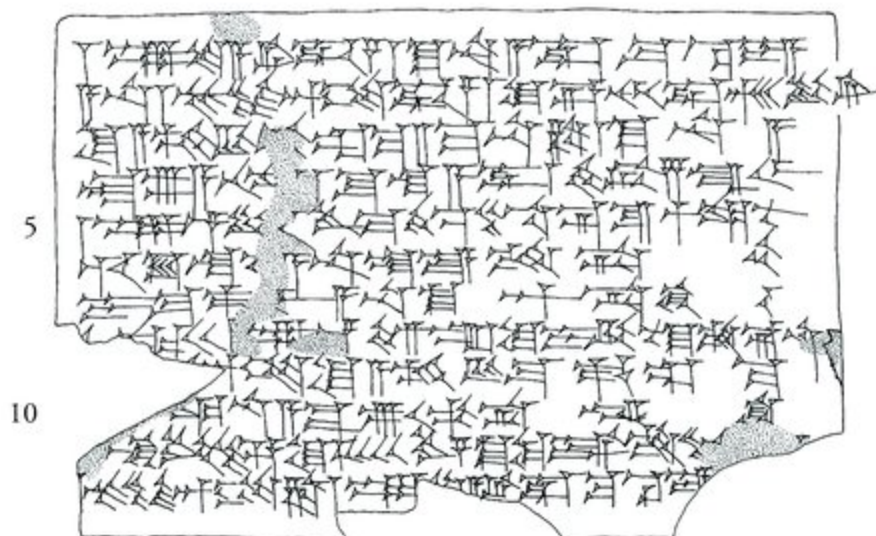
Babylon, 26-VIII-yr. 15 Ššu (653)

Dimensions: 50 x 77 mm; landscape format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 32 K.101

Law case



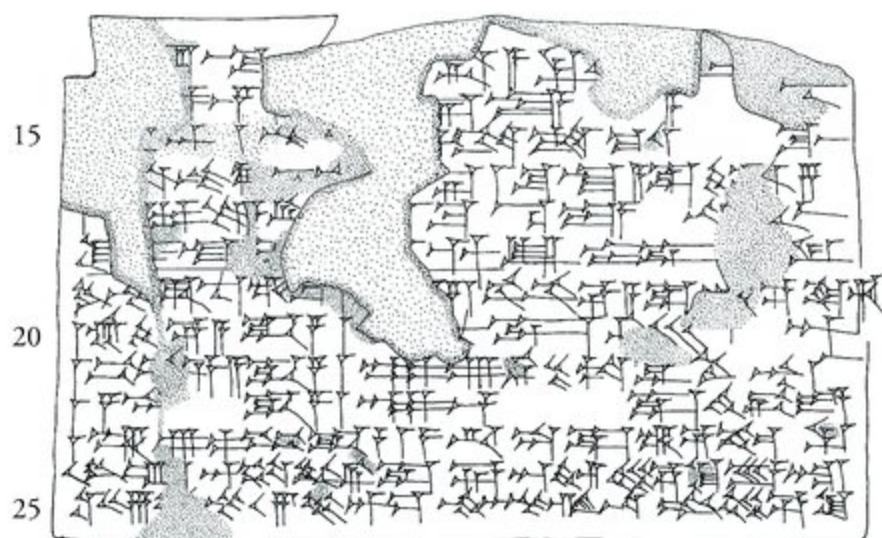
- obv. 1 <sup>md</sup>AG-KAR-ir DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ku-na-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>ba-si-ia  
 2 a-na <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti DUMU <sup>md</sup>30-URÙ-ir  
 3 ki-a-am iq-bi<sup>1</sup> um-ma 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>ku-na-a  
 4 AD-ú-a ina U[G]U <sup>m</sup>šu-la-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>DUG.GA-ia ra-ši  
 5 <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR ŠEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup> LÚ ma-bi-iš pu-tú É-su maš-ka-nu  
 6 hu-bul-la-n[u] <sup>1</sup>a-na AD-ia it-ta-din  
 7 i-ba-dš-[š]i a-na-ku an-ta-har-šú  
 8 [a]r-[k]a-niš <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR IM.DUB ki-i ik-nu-ku it-tan-<sup>1</sup>na-«šú»<sup>1</sup>

In order to help differentiate between like-named individuals in the following translation, "(A)" stands for Nabû-ētir (<sup>md</sup>AG-KAR-ir) of the Basiya family and "(B)" stands for Nabû-ētir (<sup>md</sup>AG-SUR) of the Ṭābiya family.

- (1-8) Nabû-ētir (A), son of Kunāya, descendant of Basiya, said the following to Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, descendant of Sin-nāšir:

"Kunāya, my father, is owed two minas of silver by Šulāya, descendant of Ṭābiya. Nabû-ētir (B), his (= Šulāya's) brother, who bears guaranty (for the silver), gave his house to my father as security (for) the interest-bearing loan. I have certainly received it (i.e., the interest in question). (It was only) at a later point (that) Nabû-ētir (B) drew up a sealed document (about the matter) and gave (it) to me."





- 9 [m<sup>u</sup>-še-zib]<sup>b</sup>-<sup>rd</sup> AMAR.UTU ki-a-am iq-ba-dš-šú um-ma  
 10 [É maš-k]a-na-a šu-ú ul ta-mah-bar  
 11 [p]u-hur LÚ.TIN.TIR.KI.MEŠ u LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ di-i-ni id-bu-b[u-m]a  
 12 <sup>fm</sup>mu-še-zib<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU KÙ.BABBAR <sup>md</sup>AG-<sup>f</sup>KAR<sup>l</sup>-ir DUMU <sup>m</sup>ba-si-ia [i-ṭir-(ma)]  
 rev. 13 [NA<sub>4</sub>.KI]ŠIB ina ŠU[<sup>l</sup>šú IGI-ir] <sup>f</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>-a-ru u [da<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>f</sup>ba<sup>2</sup>l-[bu<sup>2</sup>]  
 14 [KI<sup>2</sup> <sup>md</sup>A]G-SUR [ina<sup>2</sup> UGU<sup>2</sup>] <sup>f</sup>E<sup>1</sup> ia-a-nu  
 15 [É p]a-an <sup>m</sup>mu<sup>l</sup>-š[e-zib]<sup>-rd</sup> AMAR.UTU id-da-gal  
 16 [pu-ú]t mu-ki[n]-<sup>f</sup>nu<sup>l</sup>-t[u<sub>4</sub> šá] <sup>f</sup>E<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>šu-la-a DUMU <sup>m</sup>DÜG.<sup>f</sup>GA<sup>2</sup>l-ia  
 17 <sup>fm</sup>AG-KAR<sup>l</sup>-ir [DUMU] <sup>fm</sup>ba-si-ia <sup>f</sup>na<sup>l</sup>-ši  
 18 k[i]-<sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup> la i[t-ta-š]ú<sup>2</sup> ina 1 1/2 GÍN i-tur-ru  
 19 LÚ m[u-k]in-nu <sup>md</sup>EN-BA<sup>2</sup>-šá<sup>2</sup>l [DUMU-š]ú šá <sup>m</sup>bi-bé-e-a DUMU <sup>md</sup>EN-e<sup>1</sup>-ṭè-ri  
 20 <sup>m</sup>ah-be-e-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>x-[(x)-n]u<sup>2</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup>DÜ<sup>l</sup>-eš-DINGIR  
 21 <sup>m</sup>bi-bé-e<sup>1</sup>-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-šal<sup>l</sup>-li <sup>f</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> LÚ.GÍR.LÁ  
 22 <sup>m</sup>NÍG.D[U] DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR DUMU <sup>m</sup>DÜG.GA-ia  
 23 <sup>md</sup>EN-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-pa-qu DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>šá-re-du DUMU <sup>md</sup>EN-e-ṭè-ru  
 24 u LÚ.UMBISAG <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-URÜ-ir DUMU <sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR TIN.TIR.KI ITLAPIN  
 25 U<sub>4</sub>.26.K[Á]M MU.15.KÁM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(9-10) [Mušēzi]b-Marduk said the following to him:

"That [house] is my [secu]rity. You shall not receive (it)!"

(11-15) The assembly of Babylonians and the governor discussed the case and Mušēzib-Marduk [paid (back)] the silver belonging to Nabû-ēṭir (A), descendant of Basiya, [(and) received a sealed doc]ument (i.e., receipt) from [him]. There will be no returning (to court) and [disputing with] Nabû-ēṭir (A)[about] the house. [The house] belongs to Muš[ēzib]-Marduk.

(16-18) [Na]bû-ēṭir (A), [descendant] of Basiya, bears [guar]anty for witnessing [con-]cerning the house of Šulāya, descendant of Ṭābiya (i.e., for witnessing that Šulāya has proper title). If he does not [carry out (this task)], he will pay (as a fine) one half shekel (of silver) per one shekel (of debt).

- (19) Witnesses: Bēl-iqīša, [son] of Bibēa, descendant of Bēl-eṭēru;  
 (20) Aḥḥēa, son of ..., descendant of Eppēš-ili;  
 (21) Bibēa, son of Nabū-ušalli, descendant of the Butcher;  
 (22) Kudurru, son of Nabū-ēṭir, descendant of Ṭābiya;  
 (23) Bēl-upāqu, son of Šarēdu, descendant of Bēl-eṭēru;  
 (24a) and the scribe, Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Mudammiq-Adad.  
 (24b-25) Babylon, month of Araḥsamna, twenty-sixth day, fifteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-  
 ukīn, king of Babylon.

### Commentary

See §§ 3.1, 3.3.1.3, 3.4 and 3.5. Cf. nos. 8\* and 16 (likely involving the house mentioned in this transaction).

- 1 & 5 Note that the name of the son of Kunāya is written <sup>ms</sup>AG-KAR-ir while the name of the descendant of Ṭābiya is always written <sup>ms</sup>AG-SUR (see also no. 8\* lines 3 and 5, and no. 16 lines 2 and 6). Is this simply to help distinguish the two individuals or could it in fact reflect a different reading of the names?
- 6 The word *hubullānu* is not listed in either the *CAD* or *AHW*, although *hubullu*, an interest-bearing debt, does appear. According to no. 8\*, the debt owed to Kunāya was two minas of silver and interest was to be charged at a rate of one shekel per mina per month, i.e., an annual rate of 20%. Thus, another translation might be “as security for a debt bearing interest.” However, the author assumes that by this point Nabū-ēṭir had been given control of that house (although not ownership of it) instead of interest on the debt since it seems that it was under his control, giving rise to the law case.
- 8 More literally: “Afterwards, when Nabū-ēṭir had sealed a sealed document (*kunukku*), he gave (it) to me.”  
 It is not certain that there are traces of an actual sign (-šū) at the end of the line as opposed to a crack/damage.
- 10 Literally “[With regards to] the house], it is my [secu]rity.” We might have expected *lā* rather than *ul* before *tamaḥḥar*, for a negative imperative.
- 13 Possibly restore *im-ḥur* instead of *IGI-ir*. See *CADD*, pp. 9–10 for *tāru u dabābu ... jānu; dabābu + itti; and dabābu + ina muḥḥi*.
- 16–17 The phrase *pūt mukinnūtu ... naši* is found in a number of texts from around this time; see *CAD M/2*, p. 187.
- 18 Or *i[t-ta-š]u*; we would really want, however, *it-ta-šū/šū-ū*. The penalty would be half of the amount in question. One might read instead *k[i]-i<sup>1</sup> la i[t-ta-š]i<sup>2</sup> 1 1/2 GIN i-tur-ru*, “If he does not [carry out (this task)] he will pay (as a fine) one and one-half shekels of (silver),” but this would be a very small penalty. 1 1/2 GIN is unlikely to stand for “one and one-half (mina in) shekels.” Although 1/3 GIN often stands for “one third (mina in) shekels,” this usage is not attested for 1/2 GIN; see Lorenz, *AfO* 51 (2005–06): 248–251. (Readings suggested by C. Wunsch and M. Jursa.)  
 With regard to the G-stem of *tarū* having a transitive meaning in the sense of paying compensation, see *CAD T*, p. 262.
- 20 Eppēš-ili is an abbreviation for Ea-eppēš-ili, “Ea (is) the expert of the gods.”
- 22 Possibly to be identified with Nabū-kudurri-ušur, descendant of Ṭābiya, a witness in no. 18: 46?



## No. 21

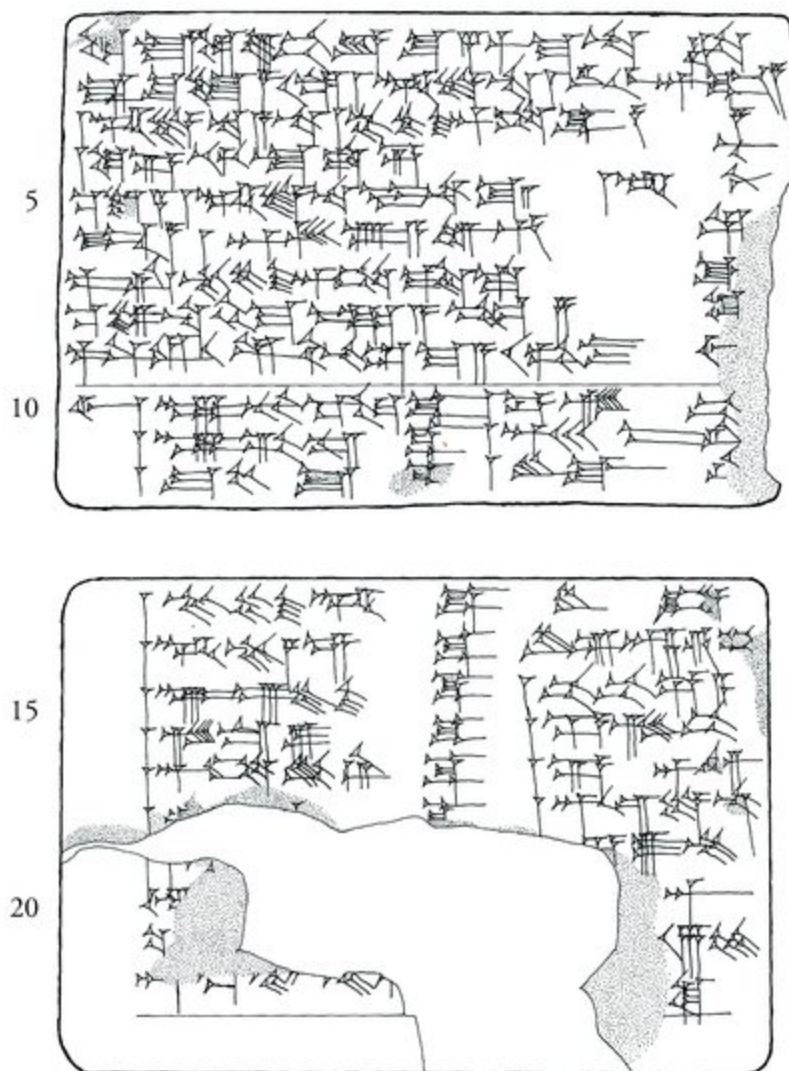
## NBC 4576

UD[...], [?]-[?]-yr. 16 Ššu (652)

Measurements: 55 × 81 × 25 mm; landscape format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Beaulieu, CBCY 1, p. 29

Conditional transfer of ownership of an orchard (forfeiture). (Beaulieu: *datio in solutum*)

- obv. 1 <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-i a-di lib-bi ITI.ŠU 4 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 2 ra-šu-tu šá UGU <sup>md</sup>EN-SUM.NA <sup>m</sup>TUK-ši-DINGIR DUMU-šu šá  
 3 <sup>md</sup>EN-SUM.NA a-na <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU-šu šá  
 4 <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti la it-tan-nu  
 5 GIŠ.SAR<sup>1</sup> šá <sup>md</sup>EN-SUM.NA i-na ŠU<sup>11</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-PAP  
 6 DUMU-šu šá <sup>md</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ-ú-a im-hu-ru  
 7 pa-ni <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU id-da-ga[l]  
 8 GIŠ.SAR na-din ma-hir a-pil za<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>  
 9 pa-qa-ru u ru-gu-um-ma-a ul i-ši
- 
- 10 IGI <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ DUMU <sup>m</sup>e-gi-bi  
 11 <sup>md</sup>AG-ga-mil DUMU <sup>md</sup>30-tab-ni  
 12 <sup>m</sup>ba-laṭ-su<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>LÚ.GAL-DÙ  
 rev. 13 <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU LÚ.SIMUG  
 14 <sup>md</sup>EN-MU-GAR-un DUMU LÚ.SANGA <sup>d</sup>za-ri-qu  
 15 <sup>md</sup>AG-ú-še-zib DUMU <sup>m</sup>bi-bé-e-a  
 16 <sup>m</sup>gi-mil-lu DUMU <sup>m</sup>e-gi-bi  
 17 <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-URÙ-ir DUMU <sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 18 <sup>m</sup>x [x] x <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-SUM.NA  
 19 <sup>fm</sup>x [x x x DUMU <sup>m</sup>šu]l-lu-mu  
 20 <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.UMBISAG/DUB.SAR ...]-AN  
 21 UD.[x.(x).KI<sup>2</sup>] ITI.x U<sub>4</sub>.x.KÁM MU].16.KÁM  
 22 <sup>rd</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU<sup>1</sup>-G[I.NA LUGAL TIN.TIR].KI

(1-7) If Rāši-ili, son of Bēl-iddin, does not give Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, in the month of Dūzu four and one-half minas of silver, the amount (literally "credit") owed by Bēl-iddin, the orchard that Bēl-iddin acquired from Bēl-nāšir, son of Ilū'a, (henceforth) belongs to Mušēzib-Marduk.

(8-9) The orchard has been handed over (and) received. He has been paid (and) is quit (of claims). He has no (grounds for) complaint or dispute.

(10) Before Nabû-zēru-lišir, descendant of Egibi;

(11) Nabû-gāmil, descendant of Sîn-tabnī;

(12) Balāssu, descendant of Rab-banē;

(13) Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of the Smith;

(14) Bēl-šuma-iškun, descendant of Šangū-Zāriqu;

(15) Nabû-ušēzib, descendant of Bibēa;

(16) Gimillu, descendant of Egibi;

(17) Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Mudammīq-Adad;

(18) ..., descendant of Nergal-iddin;

(19) [..., descendant of Šu]llumu;

(20) and [the scribe, ...]-AN.

(21-22) UD.[..., month of ..., ... day], sixteenth [year] of Šamaš-šuma-[ukīn, king of Babylon].

### Commentary

See §§ 3.3.2.5 and 3.4.

P.-A. Beaulieu generously supplied the author with a copy of his own preliminary transliteration of the text in 1999. There is a small, unnumbered fragment preserving the beginning of a list of personal names (*i.e.*, part of a witness list) in the same box as this piece, but it is not part of this tablet.

- 1 Although *kī* can stand for “because” as well as “if,” we have a conditional clause more likely than a causal one since contracts do not normally (ever?) start with “because” and since we would expect a preterite form, rather than a perfect form (*it-tan-nu*, line 4), in a causal clause (see for example, Hackl, *Subordinierte Satz*, pp. 64–65; reference courtesy M. Jursa).
- 8–9 These are standard clauses used in connection with the transfer of ownership of property. Here they are based upon the assumption that Rāši-ili does not hand over the silver and the property is transferred to Mušēzib-Marduk.
- 12 For the title *rab banēli*, “an administrator of temple property, especially orchards,” and its use as a family name, see in particular CAD R, pp. 4–5; Ungnad in AnOr 12, p. 323; Cocquerillat, WO 7 (1973–74): 96–97 especially n. 2; Kümmel, *Familie*, pp. 95–97; and Jursa, *Sippar*, pp. 57–79.
- 13 Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of the Smith, also appears as a witness in no. 18: 51 (composed at Babylon in 654).
- 14 For Zāriqu, a minor god who was a form of Nergal or from his circle, see CAD Z, p. 69 sub *zarriqu* and note Çağırkan and Lambert, JCS 43–45 (1991–93): 91–92 for his appearance in a late Babylonian ritual. A prebend before this deity is mentioned in a document composed at Babylon in 544 describing the division of an inheritance of prebends (see Baker, *Nappāhu*, no. 36). A witness in no. 24 was also a descendant of Šangū-Zāriqu (line 29).
- 16 A Gimillu, descendant of Egibi, also appears as a witness in the unpublished text BM 78085 rev. 6' (composed at Babylon at some point during the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in or after his tenth regnal year; Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 [1983]: 38 no. K.168).
- 17 Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Mudammiq-Adad, also appears as a witness in no. 16: 24 and as a scribe in no. 20: 24, documents which were composed at Babylon in 656 and 653 respectively.
- 21 The reading of the place name at which the text was composed is not certain. This is the latest dated text clearly involving Mušēzib-Marduk (although he likely also appears in three later documents, nos. 24–26), and most of the immediately preceding ones were composed at Babylon. Except for Mušēzib-Marduk, the only other individuals in NBC 4576 attested in other texts of the archive appear in ones composed at Babylon (see commentary to lines 13, 16, and 17). This could suggest that this document was drawn up in that general region. If UD is the first part of the logographic writing of a place name—as opposed to being the beginning of a place name written syllabically—Larsa (UD.UNUG.KI) and Sippar (UD.KIB.NUN.KI) are obvious possibilities, although there might not be room for the latter reading. Moreover, the fact that none of the individuals mentioned in the text has a name including the element Šamaš, the patron deity of both Sippar and Larsa, might argue against either location. Larsa was situated close to Uruk, where most of the archive was composed and where Mušēzib-Marduk was clearly attempting to acquire property, but it is far less well attested around this time than Sippar, located near Babylon (see Frame, *Babylonia* 689–627, p. 222). No other economic document is known to have been drawn up at Larsa in the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn or in that of Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, or Kandalānu. Economic documents composed at Sippar are attested for the reigns of Esarhaddon (one text), Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (one text), and Kandalānu (seventeen texts) (see *ibid.*, pp. 265–268).

However, it may not be insignificant that the *šangû* of Larsa served as a witness only two years earlier to a transaction concluded at Babylon that involved Mušēzib-Marduk (no. 18). P.-A. Beaulieu has argued that Larsa was to some extent subordinate to Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian period and that supplies were sent to Larsa's Ebabbar temple from Uruk. Certainly there seems to have been a connection between the Eanna temple at Uruk and the Ebabbar temple at Larsa. (For an overview of our knowledge about Larsa in the first millennium before the Neo-Babylonian period, see Beaulieu, *Or.* NS 60 [1991]: 58–81 and Wright, *Larsa*, pp. 43–49.) Since the amount remaining on the debt was supposed to be paid in the month of Dûzu, this document must have been composed before that month in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's sixteenth regnal year (652) (see Frame, *Babylonia* 689–627, pp. 137–139). Moreover, since the document was dated according to the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, it must come from either the time immediately before the rebellion (thus presumably the month of Nisannu) or from a location that supported the rebellion or had not yet heard that it had broken out. Sippar supported the rebellion, but it is not known if Larsa did, although the nearby cities of Ūr and Ūruk did not. Thus, the name of the location at which this transaction took place remains uncertain.

## No. 22\*

BM 118977 (1927-11-12, 14)

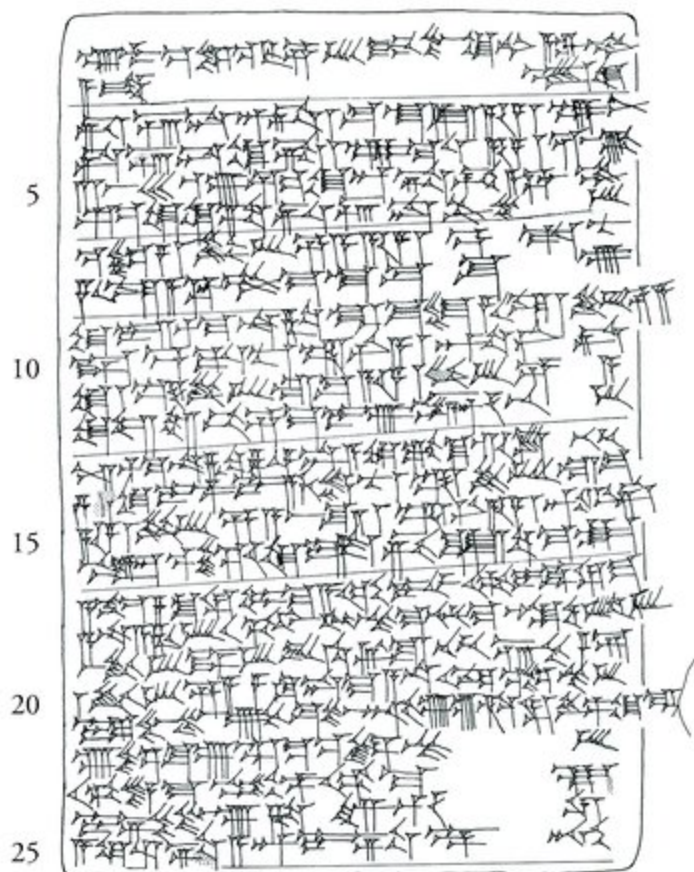
Borsippa, 11-IV-yr. 18 Ššu (650)

Dimensions: 96 × 62 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 34 K.117

Purchase of an orchard located at Uruk



- obv. 1 *ṭup-pi* GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ *zaq-pu* KI-tì ÍD LUGAL  
 2 A.GÀR UNUG.KI  
 3 ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA <sup>m</sup>*ba-la-ṭu* A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG-PAP  
 4 ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA <sup>md</sup>AG-DA A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>*mar-duk*  
 5 2 ME 30 *ina* 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA GÚ ÍD LUGAL  
 6 SAG.KI KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU LÚ.50.MEŠ



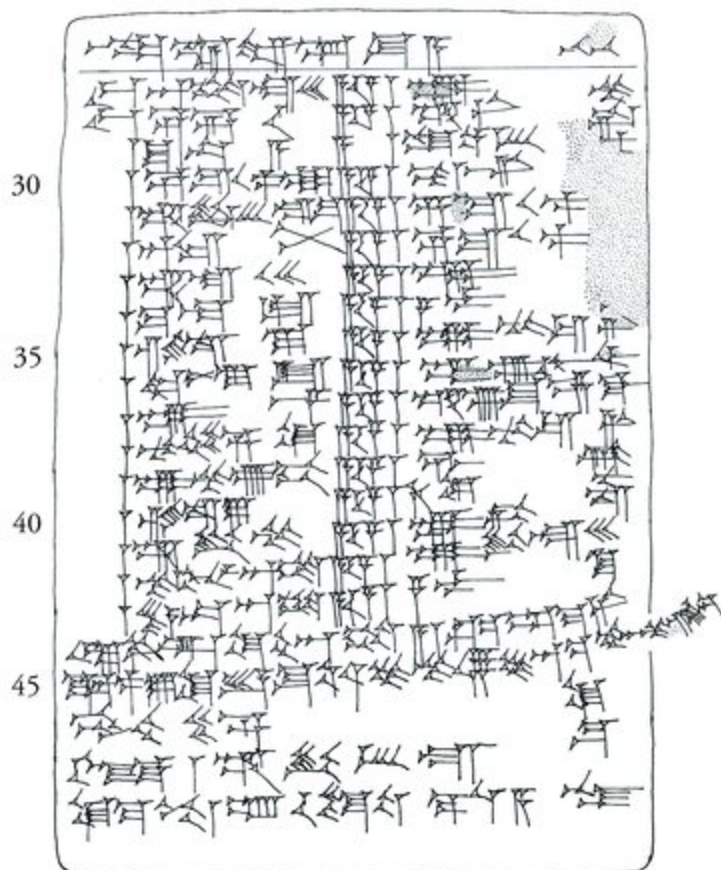
- 7 GIŠ.SAR šá mŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a A-šú šá m<sup>zab-da-nu</sup>  
 8 šá UGU ÍD LUGAL ma-la ba-šu-ú
- 
- 9 ki-i 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ra-šu-tu šá UGU mŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a  
 10 DUMU m<sup>zab-da-nu</sup> mdEN-DÙ A mdUTU-DÙ-uš  
 11 KI mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba A-šú šá mŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-e-a  
 12 KILAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-šú TIL.MEŠ
- 
- 13 PAP 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU a-di 1-er<sup>1</sup> TUG tal-bul-ti  
 14 šá<sup>1</sup> 'a-ki-i pi-i a-tar SUM-nu mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba  
 15 A-šú šá mŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> mdEN-DÙ A-šú šá mdUTU-DÙ-uš  
 16 ŠAM GIŠ.SAR-šú ki-i KÙ.BABBAR ga-mir-tú ma-ḥir
- 
- 17 a-pil za-ku ru-gúm-ma-a ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma  
 18 a-na a-ḥa-meš ul <i>rag-gu-mu ma-ti-ma ina EGIR.MEŠ U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 19 ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ kim-tú ni<sup>1</sup>(text: IR)-su-ti <u>sa-lat šá É  
 20 mŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a šá E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na UGU GIŠ.SAR MU.MEŠ  
 21 i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu BAL-ú ú-pa-q-qar-ru LÚ pa-qí-ra-[nu]  
 22 ú-šar-šu-ú um-ma GIŠ.SAR MU.MEŠ  
 23 ul SUM-ma kàs-pi ul ma-ḥir  
 24 i-qab-bu-ú KÙ.BABBAR im-ḥu-ru  
 25 a-di 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-pal
- 

- (1-2) Tablet concerning an orchard planted with date palms, in the district of the royal canal, in the meadowland of Uruk:
- (3) Upper side, (the property of) Balātu, son of Nabû-nāšir;
- (4) Lower side, (the property of) Nabû-lē'i, son of Marduk;
- (5) 230 cubits, upper front, along the royal canal;
- (6) Lower front, bordering on (the property of) the "Fifty-men"—
- (7-8) The orchard of Aḥḥēa, son of Zabdānu, that is along the royal canal, as much as there is (of it).
- (9-12) Bēl-ibni, son<sup>1</sup> of Šamaš-īpuš, named two and one half minas of silver—the amount (literally "credit") owed by Aḥḥēa, son<sup>1</sup> of Zabdānu—as the purchase price with Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Aḥḥēa, and purchased (the orchard) for its full price.
- (13-16) Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Aḥḥēa, has received a total of two and one half minas of silver in pieces and one *talbultu*-garment which was given as an additional payment from the hands of Bēl-ibni, son of Šamaš-īpuš, as full payment for the price of his orchard.
- (17-18a) (Bēl-aḥḥē-erība) has been paid (and) is quit (of further claims). He has no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the orchard).
- (18b-25) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, <or> kin of the house of Aḥḥēa comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), (or) causes there to be someone who contests (it), saying: "This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.



- rev. 26 *ina ka-nak* IM.DUB *šu-a-ti*<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 27 IGI<sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-APIN-*eš* A-*šú šá* <sup>mdf</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-MU
- 28 IGI<sup>m</sup> *e-rib-šú* A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-DÛ-*uš*
- 29 <sup>m</sup>*ku-na-a* A <sup>m</sup>EGIR.MEŠ-[DI]NGIR
- 30 <sup>m</sup>*e-zu-u-pa-šir* A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-*me-ni*-[DINGI]R
- 31 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba* A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*e-zu-u-pa-šir*
- 32 <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-PAP A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*e-zu-u-pa-šir*
- 33 <sup>md</sup>EN-APIN-*eš* A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-[...]
- 34 <sup>m</sup>*ba-la-tu* A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*šá-pi-k[u]*<sup>2</sup>
- 35 <sup>m</sup>*gi-mil-lu* A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-*ib-ni*<sup>1</sup>
- 36 <sup>m</sup>*lib-lu-tu* A-*šú šá* <sup>mdf</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-*ú-šal-lim*
- 37 <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-*ú-šu-un-gal*
- 38 <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN.TIR.KI A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-*ib-ni*
- 39 <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-*ú-šur* A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*mar-duk*
- 40 <sup>m</sup>*gi-mil-lu* A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*tar-de-nu*
- 41 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-*ga-mil*
- 42 <sup>m</sup>*mu-šal-lim*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-APIN-*eš*
- 43 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*šá-pi-ku*
- 44 *ù* LÚ.<sup>1</sup>UMBISAG<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>*ki-din*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>m</sup>SAG-*um-ma-ni*
- 45 *bár-sipa*.KI ITI.ŠU U<sub>4</sub>.11.KÁM MU.18.KÁM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA
- 46 LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI
- 47 *šu-pur* <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*eri-ba*
- 48 *ki-ma* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-*šú tu-ud-da-a-tu*<sub>4</sub>

- (26) At the sealing of this tablet:
- (27) Before: Marduk-ēreš, son of Nabû-iddin;
- (28) Before: Erībšu, son of Bēl-īpuš;
- (29) Kunāya, descendant of Arkât-ilī;
- (30) Êzu-u-pāšir, son of Ammēni-[ilī];
- (31) Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, son of Êzu-u-pa[šir];
- (32) Nergal-nāšir, son of Êzu-u-pā[šir];
- (33) Bēl-ēreš, son of Nabû-...;
- (34) Balātu, son of Šāpik[u];
- (35) Gimillu, son of Nabû-zēra-ibni;
- (36) Liblūtu, son of Nabû-ušallim;
- (37) Nabû-ēṭir, son of Bēl-ušungal;
- (38) Zēr-Bābili, son of Nabû-zēra-ibni;
- (39) Nabû-šuma-ušur, son of Marduk;
- (40) Gimillu, son of Tardennu;
- (41) Bēl-aḥa-iddin, son of Nabû-gāmil;
- (42) Mušallim-Marduk, son of Nabû-aḥa-ēreš;
- (43) Iddin-Marduk, son of Šāpiku;
- (44) and the scribe, Kidin-Marduk, descendant of (Ša)-rēš-ummāni.



(45-46) Borsippa, month of Dûzu, eleventh day, eighteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

(47-48) Bēl-ahhē-erība's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.

# Commentary

See §§ 3.3.2.2 and 3.4. Cf. no. 24.

- 4 It is possible that the brother of this neighbour appears as witness in line 39.
- 6 The orchard is next to land held in common by a group of fifty men (LÜ.50.MEŠ). For *ḥanšā/ḥamšā/ḥaššā*-land—"a field held in feudal tenure by 50 men," CAD H, p. 81 sub *ḥanšā*; "plot of land held by (group of) fifty," CDA, p. 104 sub *ḥamšā*—and the *rab ḥanšē*, see Peat, *Iraq* 45 (1983): 124–127; Cocquerillat, *RA* 78 (1984): 67–69; Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, pp. 32–33; Brinkman in Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, pp. 25–26; and G. van Driel, *Elusive Silver: In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment. Aspects of Mesopotamia's Society* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 95) (Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002), pp. 297–305.
- 7 With regard to the Aramaic name Zabdānu, see Zadok, *On West Semites*, pp. 115, 161, and 399.
- 10 The name could also be read several other ways, for example, Bēl-bani and Bēl-īpuš (although we would really expect DŪ-uš in the latter case).
- 13 CAD T, p. 93 provides three other examples of the occurrence of the word *talbuštu/talbultu* and describes it as an "issue of clothing." The word is also attested in BM 54655+55184:11'; Jursa describes it as an expensive textile, possibly a curtain or rug (*RA* 97 [2003]: 99–100 and 137). This appears to be the only case where a *tabuštu/tabultu* is given as an additional payment. In a few texts, however, a *lubāru* garment, sometimes specified as being for the "lady of the (sold) house," was given as, or as part of, the additional payment (e.g., Strassmaier, *Darius* 37: 15–16 = Baker, *Nappāhu*, no. 92, *ū 2½ GfN KÜ.BABBAR ki-i aṭ-ri' ū lu-bar-ri / šā GAŠAN É id-din-šū-nu-tu'*; Babylon, year 2 of Darius [520]).
- 14 The *šā* at the beginning of the line appears to have an extraneous wedge, making it resemble ZA.
- 27 See no. 23 line 4 and commentary to that line.
- 28 Or possibly <sup>m</sup>*e-rib*-<sup>ad</sup>ŠU, "Erib-Marduk."
- 30–32 The witness in line 30 appears to be the father of the next two witnesses. He also appears as witness in no. 4: 41, a text drawn up at Šapīya in 673.
- 37 The last part of the name is normally written logographically, UŠUMGAL(GAL.BÜR). When it is spelled syllabically, it is normally *ušumgallu* or *šumgallu*, but at least one other writing with /N/ is attested (*šū-un-gal-li*) and it also dates to the seventh century (*ABL* 951: 12' = Cole and Machinist, *SAA* 13 134). The name Bēl-ušun/mgal(li) is particularly attested at Babylon (see, for example, Baker, *Nappāhu*, p. 323, name index) and Borsippa (see, for example, Joannès, *OECT* 12 A 153:2', A 157:16 and likely A 145:6).
- 41 Should he be identified with the like-named witness appearing in a document drawn up at Uruk in 666 (Weidner, *Afo* 16 [1952–53]: 44 line 42, but *mār Nabû-gāmil*, rather than *māršū ša Nabû-gāmil*; see Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 [1983]: 25–26 no. K.8 for a fuller bibliography on this text)?
- 44 The family name (*ša*) *rēš ummāni* is fairly common at Borsippa in the Neo-Babylonian period (information courtesy C. Waerzeggers). For the name itself, see *AHW*, p. 974b. Another member of this family may have been the scribe of a text composed at Borsippa in the fourth year of Cambyses (526); see Joannès, *OECT* 12 A 115: 14–15 (word scribe restored).

- 45 A large number of economic texts that were composed at Borsippa are attested for the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. For an overview, see Waerzeggers in Baker and Jursa, *Approaching the Babylonian Economy*, pp. 343–363.

## No. 23

BM 118973 (1927-11-12, 10)

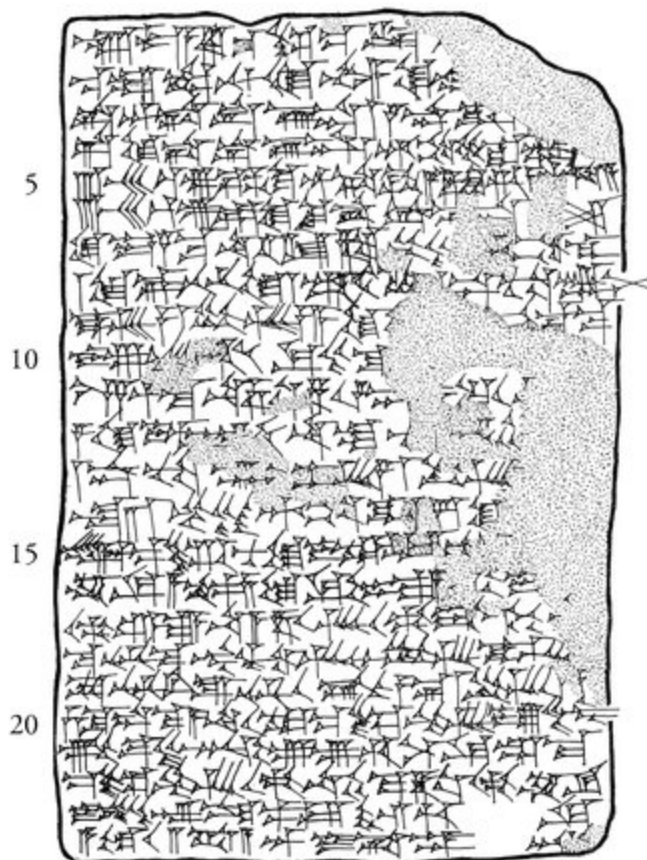
Babylon, 5-V-eponymy of Aqara

Dimensions: 95 × 62 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all four edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 61 S.1Bibliography: Frame, *RA* 76 (1982): 157-166 (copy, edition)Frame, *Babylonia* 689-627, pp. 286-287 (study)

Purchase of an orchard located at [Uruk]



- obv. 1 *tup-pi* A.ŠA<sup>1</sup> GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMA[R] *z[ag-pu]*  
 2 *iš-ši bil-ti ki-ti a-ki-t[u<sub>4</sub> A.GAR<sup>2</sup> UNUG.KI<sup>2</sup>]*  
 3 UŠ AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>m</sup> NÍG.DU DUM[U]<sup>1</sup> *šú šá<sup>m</sup> [...]*  
 4 UŠ KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-KÁM DUMU<sup>md</sup> AG<sup>1</sup>-x-[(x)]  
 5 3 ME 30 *ina* 1 KÚŠ SAG.KI AN.TA GÚ ID *har-ri šá<sup>fd</sup> na-na-a*  
 6 3 ME 30 *ina* 1 KÚŠ SAG.KI KI.TA ÚS.S[A.D]U [K]ASKAL.II  
 7 *ki-i* 5 MA.NA 1/3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR<sup>m</sup> *mu<sup>1</sup>-še-[zib]<sup>fd</sup> AMAR.UTU DUMU*  
 8 *ki-rib-ti* KI<sup>md</sup> EN-TIN<sup>1</sup> *i<sup>1</sup> [G]IN-NUMUN<sup>md</sup> AG-PAB*  
 9 DUMU.MEŠ *šá<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a* KIL[AM *im-b*]*é-e-ma*  
 10 *i-šam ŠAM<sup>1</sup>-šú gam-ru-tu [...]*  
 11 PAP 5 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ<sup>1</sup>.PAD.D[U] *a-di<sup>1</sup>* 10 G[IN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 12 *šá ki-i pi<sup>1</sup> i a-tar<sup>1</sup> na-ad-n[u<sup>1</sup> EN<sup>1</sup>-TIN-[i<sup>1</sup>]*  
 13 <sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN<sup>md</sup> AG-PAB DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *šá<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-š[á-a]*  
 14 *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup> *mu-še-zib<sup>fd</sup> AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU DUMU-šú<sup>1</sup> šá<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-ti*  
 15 ŠAM GIŠ.SAR-šú-nu *ki-i ka<sup>1</sup> sap ga<sup>1</sup>-m[ir-ti]*  
 16 *ma<sup>1</sup>-ru a-pil za-ki ru-gim-ma-a<sup>1</sup> ul<sup>1</sup> i-š[i]*  
 17 *ul* GUR.ME-ma a-na a-*ha-meš ul<sup>1</sup> i-rag<sup>1</sup>-gu-m[u]*  
 18 *ma-ti-ma ina ár-kát* U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ*  
 19 *kim-ti ni-su-ti u sa-lat šá<sup>1</sup> É<sup>m</sup> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a<sup>1</sup>*  
 20 *šá<sup>1</sup> E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na* UGU GIŠ.SAR MU.MEŠ *i-dab-bu-ub*  
 21 *ú-šad-ba-bu* BAL-ú *ú-paq-qa-ru um-ma*  
 22 GIŠ.SAR MU.MEŠ *ul na-din-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *ul ma<sup>1</sup>-ru*  
 23 *i-qab-bu-ú ka-sap im-*hu*-ru*  
 24 *a-di* 12.TA.ÀM *i-ta-nap<sup>1</sup>pal<sup>1</sup>*

(1-2) Tablet concerning a field, an orchard pl[anted] with date palms, bearing fruit, in the Akītu district, [in the meadowland of Uruk]:

(3) Upper side, bordering on (the property of) Kudurru, son of [...];

(4) Lower side, bordering on (the property of) Marduk-ēreš, descendant of Nabû- [...];

(5) 330 cubits, upper front, along the canal of the goddess Nanāya;

(6) 330 cubits, lower front, bordering on the road.

(7-10) Mušēzib-Marduk, son<sup>1</sup> of Kiribtu, [na]med five minas and one third (mina) of silver (in) shekels as the purchase [price] with Bēl-uballiṭ, Mukīn-zēri, (and) Nabû-nāšir, sons of Aḥḥēšāya, and purchased (the orchard) for its full price.

(11-16a) Bēl-uballiṭ, Mukīn-zēri, (and) Nabû-nāšir, sons of Aḥḥēšāya, have received a total of five and one half minas of silver in pieces, including ten sh[ekels of silver] that were given as an additional payment, from the hands of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Ki[ri]btu, as fu[ll] payment for the price of their orchard.

(16b-17) (Bēl-uballiṭ, Mukīn-zēri, and Nabû-nāšir) have been paid (and) are quit (of further claims). They [have] no (grounds for) dispute. They will not return (to court) and dispute with one another (about the orchard).

(18-24) If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or kin of the house of Aḥḥēšāya comes forward and brings a claim against this orchard, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), saying: "This orchard has not been sold and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) twelve times the silver that he received.

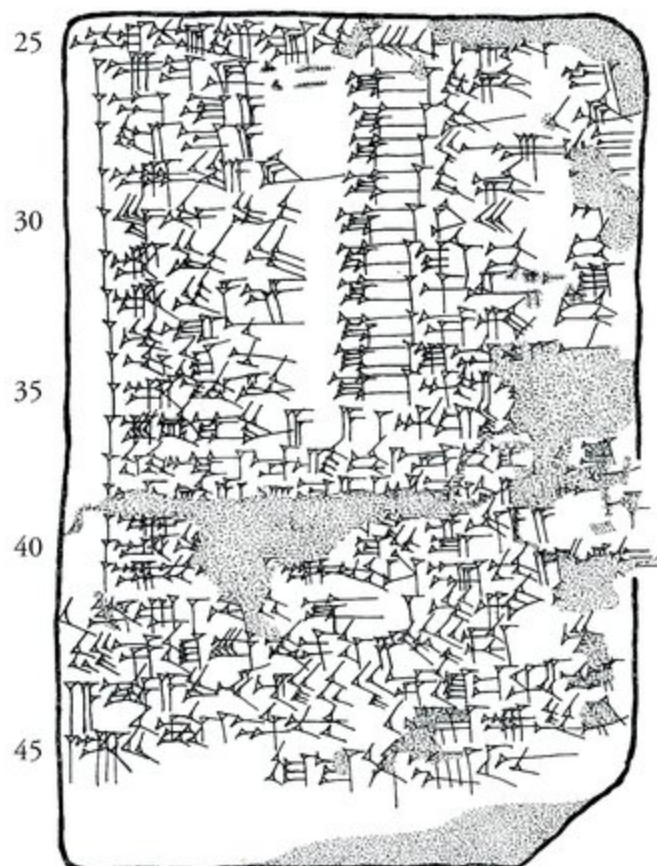


- rev. 25 *ina ka-nak* IM.DUB MU.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> IGI<sup>1</sup> AG-<sup>md</sup>NUMUN<sup>2</sup>-GAR<sup>21</sup> [(...)]  
 26 <sup>m</sup>ú-ba-ru (erasure) DUMU<sup>1</sup> DÜG.GA-<sup>f</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 27 <sup>m</sup>ap-la-a DUMU<sup>1</sup> LÚ.U.MUG  
 28 <sup>m</sup>im-ba-a DUMU<sup>1</sup> bu-ú-<sup>f</sup>su<sup>1</sup>  
 29 <sup>md</sup>AG-KAR-ir DUMU<sup>1</sup> DÜG.GA-<sup>f</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 30 <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ DUMU<sup>1</sup> DÜ-<sup>eš</sup>-<sup>f</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>  
 31 <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU DUMU<sup>1</sup> da-bi-bi  
 32 <sup>md</sup>EN-MU-GAR-un DUMU<sup>1</sup> maš-tuk-(erasure)-ku<sup>2</sup>  
 33 <sup>m</sup>mu-ra-nu DUMU<sup>1</sup> e-gi-bi  
 34 <sup>m</sup>na-di-nu DUMU<sup>1</sup> ku-du-<sup>f</sup>ra-nu<sup>1</sup>  
 35 <sup>md</sup>EN-Á.GÁL DUMU<sup>1</sup> IŠKUR-M[U<sup>2</sup>-KÁM<sup>2</sup>]  
 36 <sup>m</sup>bul-lu<sup>f</sup> DUMU<sup>1</sup> LÚ-a-a <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-<sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> [DUMU ...]  
 37 <sup>m</sup>pir-<sup>2</sup>u DUMU<sup>1</sup> e-gi-bi <sup>m</sup>kal-<sup>f</sup>bi DUMU<sup>1</sup> [ba<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>f</sup>la<sup>2</sup>-<sup>f</sup>su<sup>1</sup>  
 38 <sup>m</sup>mar-duk<sup>1</sup> A <sup>m</sup>x-<sup>f</sup>BA<sup>2</sup>-šá<sup>21</sup> <sup>md</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU-<sup>f</sup>PAP A<sup>1</sup> [m]x-(x)-x  
 39 <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-x-[(x)] DUMU/A <sup>m</sup>(d)n<sup>1</sup>a-<sup>f</sup>bu-un<sup>1</sup>-na-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>  
 40 <sup>md</sup>EN-MU-[x] DUMU<sup>1</sup> ba-la<sup>f</sup>-su  
 41 <sup>md</sup>AG-<sup>md</sup>NUMUN-x [DUMU] <sup>fm</sup>dAG-<sup>md</sup>NUMUN-DÜ<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>DUB-<sup>md</sup>NUMUN<sup>1</sup> A <sup>m</sup>bu-ú-<sup>f</sup>su<sup>1</sup>  
 42 u <sup>f</sup>LÚ<sup>11</sup>.UMBISAG <sup>m</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-din DUMU<sup>1</sup> MU-GI.N[A<sup>2</sup>]  
 43 TIN.TIR.KI ITI.NE U<sub>4</sub>.5.KÁM li-<sup>f</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>  
 44 <sup>m</sup>a-qar-a LÚ.EN.NAM TIN.TIR.KI UMBIN<sup>1</sup>  
 45 <sup>md</sup>EN-TIN-<sup>f</sup>ir<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>GIN-<sup>md</sup>NUMUN<sup>1</sup> <sup>f</sup>u<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-URU<sup>1</sup>-<sup>f</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>  
 46 ki-<sup>f</sup>ma NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu

(25) At the sealing of this tablet:

Before: Nabû-zēra-iškun, [(descendant of ...)];

- (26) Ubāru, descendant of Tābiya;  
 (27) Aplāya, descendant of the ...;  
 (28) Imbāya, descendant of Būšu;  
 (29) Nabû-ēṭir, descendant of Tābiya;  
 (30) Nādin-aḫi, descendant of Eppēš-ilī;  
 (31) Bēl-aḫa-iddin, descendant of Dābibī;  
 (32) Bēl-šuma-iškun, descendant of Maštukku;  
 (33) Murānu, descendant of Egibi;  
 (34) Nādinu, descendant of Kudurrānu;  
 (35) Bēl-lē'i, descendant of Adad-šu[ma-ēreš];  
 (36) Bullu<sup>f</sup>, descendant of Amēlāya;  
 Nergal-nāšir, [descendant of ...];  
 (37) Pir'u, descendant of Egibi;  
 Kalbi, descendant of [Ba]lāssu;  
 (38) Marduk, descendant of ...-iqīša;  
 Marduk-nāšir, descendant of ...;  
 (39) Nabû-..., [descendant of N]abūnnāya;  
 (40) Bēl-šuma-[..., descendant] of Balāssu;  
 (41) Nabû-zēra-..., [descendant] of Nabû-zēra-ibni; Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Būšu;  
 (42) and the scribe, Nādin, descendant of Šuma-ukīn.



(43-44a) Babylon, month of Abu, fifth day, eponymy of Aqara, the provincial governor of Babylon.

(44b-46) The fingernail (impressions) of Bēl-uballiṣ, Mukīn-zēri, and Nabû-nāṣir (are marked on the tablet) instead of their seals.

### *Commentary*

See §§ 3.2 and 3.3.2.5. Cf. nos. 12 and 13 (involving one of the same sellers).

Unlike the other property purchase documents in the archive, there are no line rulings on the tablet separating various sections of the text.

- 2 Although this document was drawn up in Babylon, the Akītu district was probably located at Uruk for several reasons. First, one of the sellers (Mukīn-zēri) sold property located in Uruk to Mušēzib-Marduk in texts nos. 12-13. Second, Mušēzib-Marduk is known to have purchased property at Uruk by means of transactions drawn up at Babylon (nos. 18-19). Third, Mušēzib-Marduk purchased numerous properties located in or near Uruk, but is never known to have purchased any property located at Babylon, although he did at least once receive property there as security for a debt (no. 16). Fourth, the orchard is said to be

located next to the canal of the goddess Nanāya (line 5). Both a canal and a district by this name are known to have been located at Uruk, the district explicitly inside the city; see Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 357–358 and see also the note to line 5 below. In the Neo-Babylonian and Hellenistic periods several *akītu* temples are attested for Uruk; see Falkenstein, *Topographie*, pp. 42–44. One certainly lay outside the city walls in the time of Ashurbanipal; see AnOr 9 2: 64 *a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> šá EDIN* (time of Ashurbanipal) and 3: 44 *a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>* (copy: 1) *šá EDIN* (time of Kandalānu). Falkenstein tentatively identified a large ruined structure located to the east of the city as an *akītu* temple; see Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 42 and note also UVB 12–13, pp. 35–42. (See also Frame, *RA* 76 [1982]: 164 n. 19). In *RA* 76 (1982): 159 and 162, the author restored at the end of the line [*šá qé-reb(?) UNUG.KI(?)*], “the Akītu district [which is inside(?) Uruk(?)]”. However, while “districts” are normally located inside cities, *akītu* temples normally lie outside them. Based on her study of the Neo-Babylonian urban landscape, H. D. Baker informs the author that she is aware of a few clear cases of “districts” being located outside of the city of Uruk and that she knows of no clear instance of a “road,” *harrānu* ([K]ASKAL<sup>II</sup>, line 6), as opposed to a “street,” *sūqu* (E.SfR), being located inside a city; “roads” are only found in rural areas (private communication). Baker suggests the tentative restoration A.GAR instead of *šá qé-reb*; she notes that another, less likely, alternative might be *šá NAM UNUG.KI*, “that is in the district of Uruk” or possibly “that is in the vicinity of Uruk” (private communication).

- 4 Possibly <sup>nd</sup>AG<sup>3</sup>-M[U<sup>2</sup>] at the end of the line if Marduk-ēreš is the same person as the one who appears as witness in no. 22\*: 27. Since the land in this text was located at Uruk and the latter text was drawn up at Borsippa, this must remain uncertain.
- 5 The canal is possibly to be identified with the Nāru-ša-Nanāya; see Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 357–358 and 392 (Nāru-ša-Nanā). H. D. Baker kindly informs the author that in a forthcoming book she will suggest that this canal lay on the northeast side of the city and flowed both inside and outside of the city wall; the author is grateful to her for providing him with this piece of information.
- 7 See no. 20 note to line 18.
- 22 Or “they have not received the silver” in view of *maḥ-ru*.
- 25 There does not appear to be sufficient room to give the name of the first witness’s ancestor at the end of the line.
- 27 The meaning and reading of LÚ.U.MUG are uncertain (see Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, p. 50 sub 13, with bibliography on the matter). One possibility is *sasinnu*, “maker of bows and arrows” (*CAD* S, pp. 191–192; note the comments at the end of the article, including “the writing of the logogram as well as the relationship of this designation to the *zadimmu* stonecutter offer problems that defy solution”); see also *CAD* A/2, pp. 443–444 and Z, p. 10.
- 28 Or <sup>m</sup>im-ma’(text: BA)-a, Immāya; however, both names are attested in Neo-Babylonian texts.
- 33 See below sub lines 43–44 sub e.
- 35 Few individuals at Babylon bear names beginning with the divine name Adad at this time. Adad-šuma-ēreš appears as a paternal name in Pinches, *AfO* 13 (1939–41): pl. 4 line 21 and VAS 4 5: 14; both texts were composed at Babylon and were drawn up in the eponymy of Ubāru (see below) and the fifteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (653) respectively.
- 36 Amēlāya also appears as a family name, written <sup>m</sup>LÚ-a-a, in several other early Neo-Babylonian texts, including in the witness list of a tablet recording the purchase of a date palm orchard that was drawn up at Babylon on 21–V–663 (Gurney, *Studies Diakonoff*, pp. 120–

124 no. 1 rev. 4' and 6') and in the witness list of a promissory note recorded at Babylon on 28-VII-657 (VAS 4 4:7). Is it possible that <sup>m</sup>LU-*a-a* actually stands for Amēl-Ea, a name that is well attested in Neo-Babylonian texts (normally written <sup>m</sup>LU-<sup>d</sup>IDIM/é-*a*, but sometimes without the masculine personal determinative)? See Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 6 and Baker, *Nappāhu*, p. 312. See also *PNA* 1/1, pp. XXV-XXVII on *a-a* standing for Ea in Neo-Assyrian names, but of course BM 118973 is a Babylonian document.

Likely simply Nergal-nāšir, [descendant of ...], in view of the limited amount of space available at the end of the line rather than <sup>m</sup>U.GUR-<sup>f</sup>ŠEŠ-[x]. Nergal-nāšir, descendant of Bēl-usātu, appears as a witness in no. 15:30 (Ur, 658) and Nergal-nāšir, descendant of Zākir, appears as witness in no. 1:42 (Uruk, 678). The latter might be identified with Nāširu, son/descendant of Zākir, who appears as witness at Uruk in no. 3 rev. 10 (674), no. 5:30 (673), no. 6:30 (669), no. 7:29 (667) and no. 14:30 (658).

- 38 The traces suggest that <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šā<sup>1</sup>, Bēl-iqīša, is more likely than <sup>m</sup>AG-BA-šā<sup>1</sup>, Nabū-iqīša.
- 43-44 While the reading of the name of the eponym <sup>m</sup>a-*qar-a* as Aqara is not certain, it does seem more likely than Aqar-aplu (<sup>m</sup>a-*qar-A*), as read in *CADA* 2, p. 209 and Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 296 and as tentatively followed by the author in *RA* 76 (1982):163. A second tablet dated by this eponym was found by Iraqi excavators at Babylon and was given the number no. 80-B-10. That text remains unpublished, but according to Brinkman and Kennedy it was also drawn up at Babylon and comes from the middle of Šabātu: TIN.TIR.KI ITI.LIZ U<sub>4</sub>.18.K[AM] *lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>a-*qar-a* EN.N[AM] (*JCS* 35 [1983]:62 S.2), thus six months later than no. 23. The eponym is given the same title, EN.NAM, *bēl pīḫati*, "provincial governor," in both texts, but in no. 23 the location of which he was governor (Babylon) is stated specifically.

The dating of events and texts by reference to annual eponyms, *limmus*, is an Assyrian practice and was not one generally adopted in Babylonia, even during the time it was under Assyrian control. Previous to the publication of BM 118973 in 1982, only one other Babylonian economic document known was dated according to a Babylonian eponym, a badly damaged tablet that was at one time no. 224 in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney and that was published by E. Weidner making use of a copy and material prepared by T. G. Pinches (*AJO* 13 [1939-41]:51-55 and pls. 3-4). The current whereabouts of the tablet are not known since it was sold after Pinches copied it. The transaction, likely the redemption of one Bibēa, son of Šangū-Nanāya, took place at Babylon on the fourth day of Ab in "the eponymy of Ubār(u), governor of Babylon" (*lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>u-bar LÜ.GAR.KU TIN.TIR.KI). Pinches (*ibid.*, pp. 53-54) and Landsberger (*Brief*, pp. 29-30) have argued cogently that Ubār's eponymy can likely be dated to early in the reign of Esarhaddon, and a date ca. 679-678 seems quite possible (see Frame, *RA* 76 [1982]:157-159 n. 5 and Frame, *Babylonia* 689-627, p. 286).<sup>175</sup> With regard to the matter of Babylonian eponyms, see Frame, *RA* 76 (1982):164-166; Frame, *Babylonia* 689-627, pp. 285-287; and Whiting in Millard, *SAAS* 2, p. 78.

<sup>175</sup> For two texts dated by Assyrian post-canonical eponyms and found at Dūr-Kurigalzu, see Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983):62 S.3-4 and Frame, *Babylonia* 689-627, p. 287. Note also Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983):62 Sn.1-2, the former being an Assyrian-style text supposedly found at Babylon and dated by an Assyrian eponym and the latter being a Babylonian-style text composed at Arbela (4-DINIGR.KI) in Assyria and dated by an Assyrian eponym. BM 47470 is a document possibly dated by both a king and an eponym (information courtesy C. Wunsch who is preparing the text for publication).

Nothing further is known about Aqara, although it is not impossible that he appears as the recipient of the letter *ABL* 912 (= Reynolds, SAA 18 160). Exactly when his eponymy is to be dated is not certain. In the original publication of BM 118973, the author suggested that it might have been sometime around 656–653 and it is useful to revisit the matter here. When attempting to date this document, a number of points should be noted:

(a) Mušēzib-Marduk is attested with certainty in documents dated from 678 to 652, but probably also in ones from 649–633 (nos. 24–26).

(b) In addition to no. 23, Mušēzib-Marduk appears in only four other documents that were drawn up at Babylon: nos. 16, 18, 19, and 20. These texts are dated to 656, 654, 654, and 653 respectively. In 654, Mušēzib-Marduk was in Babylon in the third and eighth months (nos. 18 and 19). While no. 8\* was also drawn up at Babylon and dates to 666, the second year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, Mušēzib-Marduk does not appear in the document and the tablet is unquestionably a retroact, connected to nos. 16 and 20 (see § 3.1).

(c) One of the sellers in this text, Mukīn-zēri, also sells a house at Uruk to Mušēzib-Marduk in nos. 12 and 13, transactions that took place at Uruk in 659 and 658 respectively. (For the close relationship between nos. 12 and 13, see § 3.2.)

(d) Nabû-ētir, descendant of Tābiya, who is a witness in no. 23:29, also appears in three other transactions in this collection dating to the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn: no. 8\* (lines 2–3 and 5), no. 16 (lines 2–3 and 6), and no. 20 (lines 5, 8 and 14). They come from years two, twelve, and fifteen of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (666, 656 and 653) respectively, and all three were composed at Babylon.

(e) Another witness in this text, Murānu, descendant of Egibi (line 33), might be identifiable with the scribe by that name in MMA 86.11.155 line 14 (Moldenke, *CTMMA* 2, no. 3; San Nicolò, *BR* 8/7, no. 55; Spar and von Dassow, *CTMMA* 3, no. 6, and see p. 18 for their commentary to line 14), composed at Babylon in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's sixteenth year (652), and in YBC 11378:38 (Ellis, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 62 no. 24, <sup>m</sup>mu-ra-nu A-šū šā <sup>md</sup>EN-GI DUMU <sup>m</sup>e-gi-bi), composed at Babylon in the accession year of Sin-šarra-iškun (ca. 627/626).

(f) It is possible that one of the neighbours to the orchard in this text, Marduk-ēreš son of Nabû-īddin (line 4), is to be identified with a like-named individual appearing in a text from Borsippa drawn up in 650 (no. 22\*: 27), but see the above commentary to line 4.

(g) This Assyrian-style dating formula is unlikely to have been used at Babylon during the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's rebellion, thus from early 652 to the middle of 648. Babylon did not fall to the Assyrians until after the end of the month of Abu (v) since BM 40577 (Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 [1983]: 36 K. 143) was dated at Babylon on the thirtieth day of Abu in the twentieth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and no. 23 was composed earlier in that month.

Thus, it seems quite likely that the eponymy of Aqara took place around the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, quite possibly in years leading up to the rebellion of 652–648 and in particular around 656–653 when Mušēzib-Marduk is known to have been active in Babylon, but there is no clear proof of this. We know that Ashurbanipal kept a close eye on what his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the official king of Babylonia, was doing and that Ashurbanipal carried out independent actions there, including temple building. As the author noted in 1982, Ashurbanipal may have sponsored this dating practice in Babylon in order to lessen the differences between Assyria and Babylonia or as a means of reducing his brother's authority over Babylon. Indeed, it may even have been one of the factors that finally prompted his brother to rise in rebellion in 652. In 1982, the author also raised the possibility that it may have come from 652, during a period of indecision before actual fighting broke out, with the scribe attempting to skirt the issue of who was his true ruler by using



this dating method. While actual hostilities did not begin until the middle of ʿTebētu in 652 (19-X; Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16: 11), Ashurbanipal had already appealed to the people of Babylon not to join his brother in rebellion in Ayyāru (23-II; *ABL* 301) and an extispicy was performed on the seventeenth of Dūzu (IV) to determine if Šamaš-šuma-ukīn would be captured if Assyrian forces entered Babylon (Starr, *SAA* 4 279). One would not have expected this Assyrian practice to be used at Babylon while the city was in a state of rebellion (or incipient rebellion) against Assyrian overlordship. Moreover, the existence of 80-B-10, composed on the eighteenth of Šabātu (XI), therefore after fighting had broken out, surely disposes of this possibility.

There remain several other possible scenarios. This eponymy could be dated close to the one of Ubāru, thus early in the reign of Esarhaddon, since Mušēzib-Marduk was also active at that time, though at Uruk and not Babylon. One might wonder about 668 since no documents dated to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's accession year (MUSAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA) are known and Mušēzib-Marduk was also active around that time, although again at Uruk. One could also raise the possibility of 647, or soon thereafter, thus immediately after the rebellion and likely during a period of uncertainty over the administration of Babylonia when a newly appointed governor of Babylon may well have had some special status and authority and when there may well have been some confusion over the use of dating methods. If no. 23 was composed in 647, it would date before the first known document mentioning the new king Kandalānu. No accession year is attested for him and the first document dated by him was composed at Babylon on the sixth day of ʿTebētu (X) of his first year, *i.e.*, 647 (VAS 5 3). While no. 23 would have been composed before that document, 80-B-10 would have been composed after it, on 18-XI. We might not expect to find documents dated by Aqara's eponymy at Babylon both before and after one dated by Kandalānu's regnal years. However, during a time of uncertainty, following the quashing of a major rebellion, this might well have happened.

Note that BM 52925 (Roth, *A/O* 36-37 [1989-90]: 50 no. 3) was drawn up in Babylon sometime in the reign of Ashurbanipal. Since it refers to an action that had taken place during the siege of Babylon (*ina edil bābi*, line 4') it must have come from the time after the rebellion. Possibly it was composed in between Ashurbanipal's capture of the city and his appointment of Kandalānu to be ruler of Babylonia; see Frame, *JCS* 51 (1999): 106 no. 8.

In sum, it remains uncertain exactly when the eponymy of Aqara took place, but with the currently available evidence, the years immediately before Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's rebellion still seem the most likely.



## No. 24

BM 118982 (1927-11-12, 19)

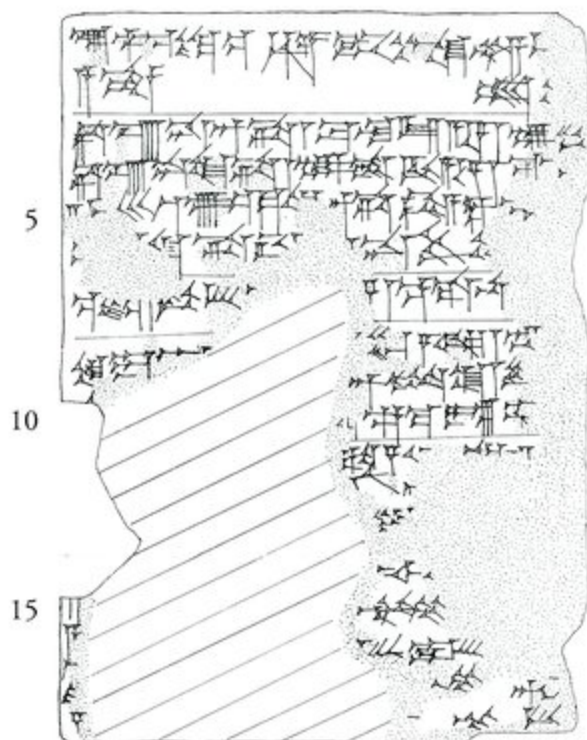
Ša-šuru-Adad, 27-VIII-yr. 20 Asb. (649)

Dimensions: 81 × 56 mm; portrait format

Fingernail impressions on all preserved edges

Catalogue entry: Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 22 J.14

Purchase of an orchard located at Uruk



- obv. 1 *tup-pi* GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR *zaq-pu*<sup>1</sup> KI-ti [(D LUGAL]  
 2 A.GAR UNUG.K[I]  
 3 ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA *ba-la-tu* A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> AG-URÚ<sup>1</sup>  
 4 ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA *md*AG-Á.GÁL A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> mar<sup>1</sup>-d[uk]  
 5 '2' ME 30 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> AN.TA GÚ ÍD LUG[AL]  
 6 S[AG.K]I 'KI<sup>1</sup>.TA 'ÚŠ<sup>1</sup>.[S]A.DU LÚ.5[0.MEŠ]  
 7 GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>SAR *md*ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>-[a A-šú] šá<sup>m</sup> zab-da-na [(x x)]  
 8 *ki-i* x x [(x) KÙ.BABBAR ra-š]u<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> šá UGU *md*E[N-DÚ<sup>2</sup>]  
 9 x [x x (x) *md*mu-še-zib<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU 'KI<sup>1</sup> *md*ŠE[Š-MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>2</sup>]  
 10 [A<sup>2</sup> *md*EN<sup>2</sup>-DÚ<sup>2</sup> KI.LAM im-b]e<sup>2</sup>-e-ma i-šam Š[AM-šú TIL.MEŠ]  
 11 [...] 'KÙ<sup>1</sup>.BABBAR šá U[GU<sup>2</sup>] ka<sup>2</sup>-s[ap<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 12 [...] x x [...]  
 13 [... GIŠ<sup>2</sup>].<sup>1</sup>SAR<sup>2</sup> [...] [...]  
 14 [...]  
 15 'a<sup>1</sup>-[pil za-ki ru-gúm-ma-a ul] 'i<sup>1</sup>-ši ul[ i-tur-ru-ma]  
 16 'a<sup>1</sup>-[na a-ḥa-meš ul i-ra]g-gu-mu [ma-ti-ma (...)]  
 17 in[a EGIR.MEŠ U<sub>3</sub>.MEŠ ina ŠEŠ].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> DUMU.MEŠ [IM.RIA]  
 18 I[M.RIA u sa-lat šá É *md*ŠE]Š-MU-<sup>d</sup>AM[AR.UTU]  
 19 šá [E<sub>11</sub>-ma a-na UGU GIŠ.SA]R<sup>2</sup> MU.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 rev. 20 i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu BAL-ú 'ú-paq-qa-ru<sup>1</sup>  
 21 LÚ pa-qir-ra-nu 'ú-šar<sup>1</sup>-šú-ú um<sup>1</sup>-mu GIŠ.SAR MU.MEŠ[Š]  
 22 [ul na]-din-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul ma-ḥir<sup>1</sup> i-qab-bu-ú KÙ.BABBAR im-[ḥu-ru]  
 23 [a-di 12.T]A.<sup>1</sup>AM i-ta-*nap-pal*<sup>1</sup>

- (1-2) Tablet concerning an orchard planted with date palms, in the district of the [royal] can[al], in the meadowland of Uruk;  
 (3) Upper side, (the property of) Balātu, son of Nabû-nāšir;  
 (4) Lower side, (the property of) Nabû-lē'i, son of Mard[uk];  
 (5) 230 cubits, upper front, along the roy[al] canal;  
 (6) Lower [front], bordering on (the property of) the Fi[fty]-men —  
 (7) The orchard of Aḥḥē[a, son] of Zabdānu [...].  
 (8-10) [Mušēzib]-Marduk [nam]ed ... *mi*[nas of silver, amo]unt (literally "credit") owed by Bē[l-ibni ...], as [the purchase price] with Aḥa-[iddin-Marduk, descendant of Bēl-ibni], and purchased (the orchard) [for its full] pr[ice].  
 (11-14) Too poorly preserved to allow translation.  
 (15-16a) [(Aḥa-iddin-Marduk) has been] p[aid (and) is quit (of further claims)]. He has [no (grounds for) dispute. They will] n[ot return (to court) and dis]pute with [one another (about the orchard)].  
 (16b-23) [If ever] in [the future anyone among the brother]s, sons, [family], re[la]tions, or kin of the house of Aḥa-iddin-Ma[rduk comes forward and] brings a claim [against] this [orcha]rd, (or) causes someone else to bring a claim, (or) alters (or) contests (this agreement), (or) causes there to be someone who contests (it), say- ing: "This orchard [has not been s]old and the silver has not been received," he will pay (as a penalty) [twelve] times the silver that he rec[eived].

- 24 [ina k]a-na[k IM/NA<sub>4</sub>.D]UB šu-a-t[i]  
 25 'IGI<sup>2</sup> m<sup>2</sup>š<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>-ma-[a<sup>2</sup> A] m<sup>re-eš</sup>-DINGIR m<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-<sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> A m<sup>d</sup>30-G[IN<sup>2</sup>]  
 26 m<sup>d</sup>AG-S[UR A] m<sup>ba-bu-tu</sup> m<sup>d</sup>UTU-MU A m<sup>za-kir</sup>  
 27 m<sup>mu</sup>MU-GI.NA A m<sup>d</sup>EN-DÜ-uš m<sup>d</sup>AG-GÁL-š<sup>i</sup> A m<sup>x</sup>x [(x)]  
 28 m<sup>d</sup>EN-am-me-ni A m<sup>š</sup>u-ma-a m<sup>d</sup>AG-GI A m<sup>ba-na-i</sup>[a<sup>2</sup>]  
 29 m<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ A LÚ.É.BAR d<sup>za-ri-qu</sup>  
 30 'u<sup>1</sup> LÚ.UMBISAG m<sup>na-di-nu</sup> A m<sup>EGIR</sup>.MEŠ-DINGIR<sup>1</sup> [(MEŠ)]  
 31 URU šá-m<sup>š</sup>u-ru-<sup>d</sup>ISKUR ITLAPIN U<sub>4</sub>.27.KÁM  
 32 MU.20.KÁM m<sup>AN</sup>.ŠÁR-DÜ-IBILA LUGAL KUR.K[UR]  
 33 šu-pur m<sup>š</sup>ES-MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UT[U] k[i-ma NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-š<sup>i</sup>ú]  
 34 tu-da-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[tu]

(24) [At the] sealing [of] this tablet:

(25) Before: Šuma[ya, descendant of] Rēš-ili; Nabû-šuma-ušur, descendant of Sin-mu[kīn];

(26) Nabû-ē[ti, descendant of] Bābūtu; Šamaš-iddin, descendant of Zākīr;

(27) Šuma-ukīn, descendant of Bēl-īpuš; Nabû-ušabši, descendant of ...;

(28) Bēl-ammēni, descendant of Šumāya; Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Bānāy[a];

(29) Nabû-šumu-lišir, descendant of Šangū-Zāriqu;

(30) and the scribe, Nādinu, descendant of Arkāt-ilī.

(31–32) Ša-šuru-Adad, month of Arašsamna, twenty-seventh day, twentieth year of Ashur-banipal, king of the lands.

(33–34) Aḥa-iddin-Marduk's fingernail (impression) is mark[ed (on the tablet) instead of his seal].

### Commentary

See §§ 3.3.2.2 and 3.4. Cf. no. 22\*.

1–7 Restorations are based on no. 22\* lines 1–7.

1 There does not appear to be sufficient room to restore LUGAL at the end of the line unless it ran over onto the edge.

8–10 Based on no. 22\* lines 9–12, we might expect:

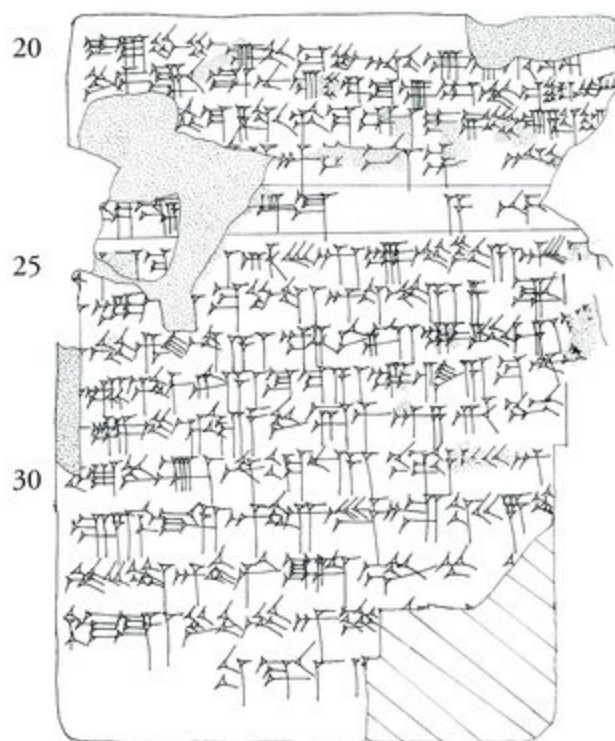
8 ki-i number MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ra-š<sup>i</sup>u-tu šá UGU m<sup>d</sup>EN-DÜ

9 A m<sup>d</sup>UTU-DÜ-uš m<sup>mu</sup>š<sup>e</sup>-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU KI m<sup>š</sup>ES-MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU

10 A m<sup>d</sup>EN-DÜ KILAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam ŠAM-š<sup>i</sup>ú TIL.MEŠ

“Mušēzib-Marduk named ... minas of silver—the amount owed by Bēl-ibni, son (literally “descendant”) of Šamaš-īpuš—as the purchase price with Aḥa-iddin-Marduk, son (literally “descendant”) of Bēl-ibni, and purchased (the orchard) for its full price.

However, the traces after *ki-i* would not fit a reading of '1 MA<sup>1</sup>.N[A very well (kindly collated by J. Taylor) and the traces at the beginning of line 9 would not seem to fit A (or DUMU). Moreover, it is not clear that there is sufficient room at the beginning of lines 9–10 for the necessary signs, and certainly not to have DUMU/A-š<sup>i</sup>ú šá instead of A; and the ends of lines 10 and 11 would have to be written along the edge of the tablet. Since the text does not give any filiation for the purchaser, it is possible that no filiation was given



for the seller and thus that line 10 began with KIL.LAM, but there seems too much room on the line to restore simply [KIL.LAM *im-b*]é-e-ma ...

Aḥa-iddin-Marduk is probably the son of Bēl-ibni rather than simply a descendant of his; see the discussion in §3.3.2.2.

- 9 & 18 The restoration of the names to read Aḥa-iddin-Marduk seems highly probable in view of the fact that the complete name is given in line 33 and it is regularly the person relinquishing rights (*i.e.*, the seller) who puts his fingernail impressions on the tablet or impresses his seal on it.

21 Note *um'-mu* for *um-ma*.

25 Or Nabû-nādin-aḥi instead of Nabû-šuma-ušur. *Sîn-ū[kīn]* instead of *Sîn-mu[kīn]*?

28 Or possibly <sup>m</sup>*ba-na*-<sup>r3</sup>?

29 Another member of the family Šangû-Zāriqu is found in no. 21 line 14. For the god Zāriqu, see the commentary to that line.

31 The exact location of Ša-šuru-Adad is not known. It is likely to be identified with Ša-iššur-Adad, a fortified town that Sennacherib's scribes say was situated in the territory of the Chaldean tribe of Bīt-Amukāni (Luckenbill, OIP 2, p. 53:42–47). See Walker in Walker and Kramer, *Iraq* 44 (1982):75 commentary to line 12'; Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 12 sub Ālu-Ša-Iššur-Adad and *WO* 16 (1985):60 no. 12.

**No. 25****NBC 8392**

[...K]I<sup>2</sup>, 11-VII-yr. 2 Kan. (646)

Measurements: 89 × 56 × 30 mm; portrait format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Goetze, *JNES* 3 (1944): 44 n. 14;

Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 40 L.4 and

*JCS* 38 (1986): 101 L.4

Bibliography: Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 38–39 no. 4 (copy)

Purchase of orchard and wasteland located at Uruk

P.-A. Beaulieu kindly collated a few signs for the author in the late 1990s and the author was able to collate the whole text in 2008.

A tablet fragment (NBC 8392A) is found in the same box as this piece, but it clearly comes from a different tablet.



Copy of NBC 8392 by Ellis in *JCS* 38, pp. 38–39 (no. 4)

- obv. 1 *tu[p]-pi A.ŠA GIŠ.SAR GIŠIMMAR zaq-pi u ki-šub-ba-a*  
 2 *‘KI-ti ID iš-še-ti A.GÀR É UNUG.KI*
- 
- 3 *[U]Š<sup>2</sup> ‘AN<sup>1</sup>.TA DA <sup>md</sup>EN-NUMUN A <sup>m</sup>ah-hu-tu*  
 4 *[UŠ<sup>2</sup> KI.T]A DA <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-KÁM A <sup>m</sup>EN-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>21</sup>*  
 5 *[SAG.KI<sup>2</sup> K]I.TA GÚ ID iš-še-ti k[i-i (pi-i)]*  
 6 *[(LÚ).ÚS.SA].DU.MEŠ i-šad-da-ad [(x x)]*
- 
- 7 *[x MA.NA] 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU*  
 8 *[A<sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup>ki-ri]b-<sup>f</sup>ti it-ti<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>šá-<sup>f</sup>DUB A <sup>m</sup>EN-a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>21</sup>*  
 9 *[KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma i-šam Š]ÁM-šú gam-ru-tu*  
 10 *[PAP x MA.NA 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>21</sup> a-di 1 GÍN*  
 11 *[KÙ.BABBAR šá ki-i pi-i a-tar SUM.N]A*  
 12 *[<sup>m</sup>šá-DUB A <sup>m</sup>EN-a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> ina ŠU<sup>11</sup>] <sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>2</sup>.UTU*  
 13 *[A<sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti ŠÁM GIŠ.SAR-šú KÙ.BABBAR g]a-mir-ti*  
 14 *[ma-hir ...] x x [(...)]*  
 15 *[...] (x) [(...)]*

- (1–2) Tablet concerning a field, (comprising both) an orchard planted with date palms and waste land, in the district of the New Canal, (in) the meadowland of the *district* (literally: “temple”) of Uruk:
- (3) Upper [*si*]de bordering on (the property of) Bēl-zēri, descendant of Ahhūtu;
- (4) [Low]er [*side*] bordering on (the property of) Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, descendant of Bēlani;
- (5–6) [Lo]wer [*front*] along the bank of the Iššeti canal, extending as [far as (the property of) the neigh]bours.
- (7–9) Mušēzib-Marduk, [son<sup>1</sup> of Kiri]btu, [named ... minas] (and) seven shekels of silver [as the purchase price (of the field)] with Šāpik, descendant of Bēlani (and) [purchased (it)] for its full price.
- (10–14a) [Šāpik, descendant of Bēlani, has received a total of ... minas (and) seven shekels of *whit*e [silver] plus one shekel [of silver that was given as an additional payment from the hands of] Mušēzib-Marduk, [son<sup>1</sup> of Kiri]btu, as the] full [price of his field].



- rev. 16 [... s]a-lat [(...)]  
 17 [šá É<sup>m</sup>šá-DUB A<sup>m</sup>E]N<sup>2</sup>f<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>1-ni šá E<sub>11</sub>-m[a]  
 18 [a-na UGU GIŠ.SAR] UR<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ i-dab-bu-ub  
 19 [KÜ.BABBAR im-hu-ru a-di 12.TA.ÀM] i-ta-nap-pal<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 20 [ina ka-nak IM.DU]B šu-a-ta  
 21 [ina GUB-zu šá<sup>md</sup>AG<sup>2</sup>-N]fG.DU-PAP<sup>2</sup> LÚ.GAR.<sup>1</sup>UMUŠ<sup>1</sup> UNUG.KI  
 22 [m...-m]i<sup>2</sup> A<sup>md</sup>EN-[(x)]-x-x-[(x)]  
 23 [m... A] <sup>f</sup>mšul-lu-mu<sup>1</sup>  
 24 [m<sup>x</sup> (x)] x x [(x)] <sup>f</sup>A<sup>1</sup> mba-lat-su  
 25 [m<sup>md</sup>A]G<sup>2</sup>-DA A<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-f<sup>1</sup>šá-a<sup>1</sup>  
 26 [m<sup>š</sup>]u<sup>2</sup>-ma-f<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> A<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.ME[Š-x]  
 27 [m<sup>md</sup>]f<sup>1</sup>e<sup>2</sup>-a-ib-ni A<sup>md</sup>EN-ra-a[m<sup>2</sup>]  
 28 [u/u LÚ.D]UB.<sup>f</sup>SAR<sup>1</sup> m<sup>e</sup>re-ši A<sup>m</sup>šá-pik  
 29 [x.K]I<sup>2</sup> ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub>.II.KÁM  
 30 [M]U.2.KÁM (erasure) mkan-dal-a-ni  
 31 LUGAL TIN.TIR.<sup>f</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>
- u. c. 32 šu-pur mšá-f<sup>1</sup>DUB<sup>1</sup> GIM-ma IM.KIŠIB-f<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 33 tu-ud-da-a-ta

(14b-19) [... If ever in the future anyone among the brothers, sons, family, relations, or] kin [of the house of Šāpik, descendant of Bē]lani, comes forward and brings a claim [against] this [orchard], he will pay (as a penalty) [twelve times the silver that he received].

(20) [At the sealing of] this [tablet]:

(21) [In the presence of Nabû-k]udurrī-ušur, the governor of Uruk.

(22) [Before ...], descendant of Bēl-...;

(23) [...], descendant of] Šullumu;

(24) [...], descendant of Balāssu;

(25) [Nab]û-lē'i, descendant of Ahhēšāya;

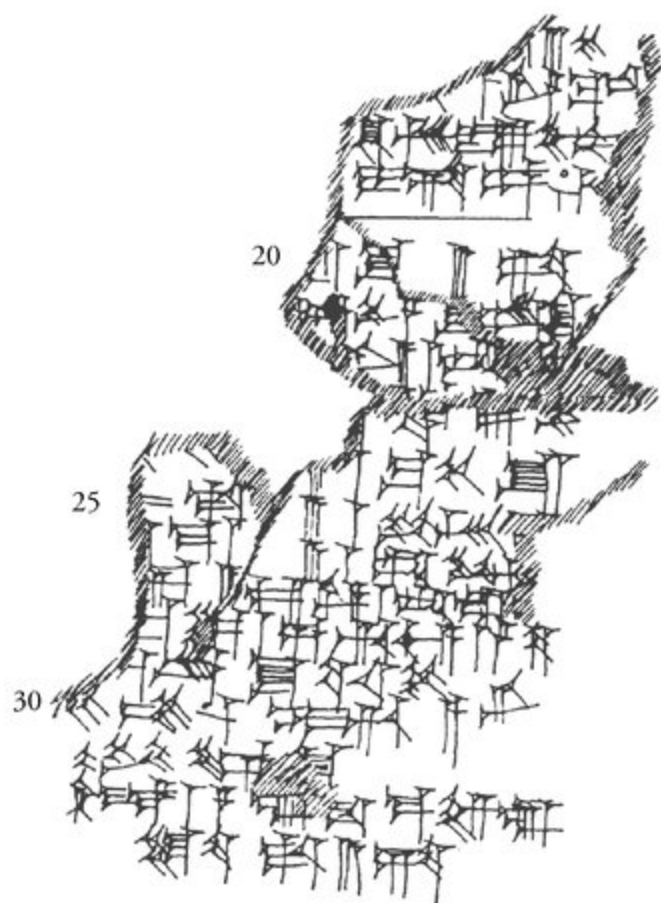
(26) [Š]umāya descendant of Bēl-ahhē-...;

(27) Ea-ibni, descendant of Bēl-rā[m];

(28) [(and) the] scribe, Ēreši, son<sup>1</sup> of Šāpik.


(29-31) [...], month of Tašrītu, eleventh day, second [y]ear of Kandalānu, king of Babylon.

(32-33) Šāpik's fingernail (impression) is marked (on the tablet) instead of his seal.



# Commentary

See § 3.3.2.4.

- 2 No Išēti canal (*nār Išēti*) is otherwise attested; thus ID *iš-še-ti* is likely a variant writing for *nāru išētu*, “new canal.” A canal by that name flowed near Uruk and Cocquerillat thinks that it joined the Royal Canal a little north of the city of Uruk (*Palmeriaes*, p. 17 and pl. 3b). See Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, p. 387 for references to that canal and note also YOS 19 2: 2 and 4.  
Literally “meadowland of the temple (É) of Uruk.” Normally we find just “meadowland of Uruk” and we might expect any temple to be specified by name (e.g., Eanna) or by deity (e.g., temple of the god Ninurta). H. D. Baker informs the author that she suspects É UNUG.KI may be “a synonym for ‘the district of Uruk’” (private communication).
- 4 Possibly <sup>md</sup>EN- instead of <sup>en</sup>EN- both here and in line 8, but if so the ligature is written differently than in line 3 where the signs are much clearer and more distinct. The sign immediately following <sup>en</sup>EN/<sup>md</sup>EN- appears to be closer to /E/ than /A/. The name Bēlani written <sup>en</sup>EN-a-ni appears in one other text in our archive: no. 10: 3 (descendant of Érešu) and 25 (father of Šākin-šumi). If the same ancestral (more likely paternal) name appears in both lines, one of the neighbours of the seller of the orchard was related to the seller.
- 5–6 For the restoration, see *CAD* Š/1, p. 29 sub 5a and the additional passages cited there. The restoration assumes that the scribe omitted the upper front of the orchard. Note that in no. 7, also recording the purchase of an orchard located along a watercourse (*ḫarīšu*), only the neighbours on the upper and lower sides of the property are mentioned.
- 8 See note to line 4.
- 14b–19 This text must have had an abbreviated version of what is normally found here in sales of orchards (cf. for example no. 2: 12–21 and no. 14: 14–24) and there are clearly problems of spacing in connection with what is proposed for the beginning of lines 17–19, with one expecting more in 17 and 18 and less in 19.
- 17 The published copy has BA x/DU<sup>2</sup> M[A<sup>2</sup> (...)] at the end of the line, but the tablet clearly had E<sub>11</sub>-m[a].
- 21 A Kudurru appears as governor of Uruk in 647 (AnOr 9 13: 27) and the author previously read the name of the governor mentioned here as simply Kudurru (Frame, *CRAA* 30, p. 263 n. 22; Frame, *Babylonia 689–627*, p. 280), although the published copy would suggest <sup>m</sup>NÍG.D[U] šá LÚ ... or <sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU<sup>121</sup> LÚ .... Collation of NBC 8392 indicates that there is indeed a small sign, possibly TAR or PAP, between the DU and LÚ signs: . In 1977, Brinkman suggested the full name of the governor Kudurru might be Nabû-kudurri-ušur since in *ABL* 859 an individual by the latter name used an introductory blessing formula normally used by high officials at Uruk (Brinkman, *Or.* NS 46 [1977]: 312; see also Frame, *CRAA* 30, p. 263). If the proposed reading of the name here should be correct, this would support Brinkman’s suggestion. Based upon his understanding of *ABL* 469, Jursa has suggested that the Kudurru who was governor of Uruk in the middle of the seventh century was the father of Nabopolassar, the founder of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty (*RA* 101 [2007]: 125–136).
- 22 Possibly <sup>md</sup>EN-[n]a<sup>2</sup>-di[n<sup>2</sup>]-x [(x)].
- 26 Collation shows that the crack/damage indicated on the published copy is immediately adjacent to the single vertical wedge after the /MA/ and that a reading -‘a’ is quite possible.
- 27 The name index in *JCS* 36 (1984): 10 gives the name at the end of this line as <sup>md</sup>EN-eri-ba but collation suggests that a reading -ra-x [(x)], where the sign after RA could con-

- ceivably be the beginning of AM, is preferable, although not certain. If it is *-ra-a[m]*, the name would mean "Bēl is sublime"; see Zadok, *On West Semites*, pp. 247 and 328 (/Ba'al-rōm/; cf. p. 384 Nabû-ra-am) and Streck, *ZA* 83 (1993):271 sub 13 (Nabû-rām).
- 28 The scribe appears as a neighbour in Smith, *MAT*, pl. 28:6 (composed at Uruk in 649) and as a witness in Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970):294 no. 19:10 and no. 20:11 (duplicate texts composed at Uruk in 653; here as "son of," *A-šū šā, Šāpik*).
- 29 The traces at the beginning of the line fit the end of a KI better than the published copy suggests, but there does not appear to be sufficient room at the beginning of the line to restore [UNUG.K]1, even though we would expect the transaction to have concluded at Uruk in view of the presence of the governor of that city (line 21) and the fact that the scribe is attested at Uruk in two other documents (see § 2.10). The fact that the location of the property being sold was at Uruk, however, does not have to point to the transaction being concluded there since several texts in this archive dealing with the purchase of land at Uruk were drawn up at other cities (nos. 4, 11, 15, 18, 19, 22\*, 24, and likely 23). The published copy suggests IT1.ŠU but the tablet clearly has IT1.DU<sub>6</sub>; see also Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983):40 L.4.
- 32 The traces of the *-šū* at the end of the line are not indicated on the published copy.
- 32-33 Despite the statement in these lines, there are no fingernail impressions found on what is preserved of the tablet. This could suggest that what we have here is not the original tablet recording the transaction, but rather a copy of that document made either at the same time as the original or at later time.

**No. 26****NBC 8393**

Uruk, 17-XII-yr. 15 Kan. (633)

Dimensions: 53 × 72 × 26 mm; landscape format

No fingernail impressions

Catalogue entry: Goetze, *JNES* 3 (1944): 44 n. 14 (erroneously as year 14);

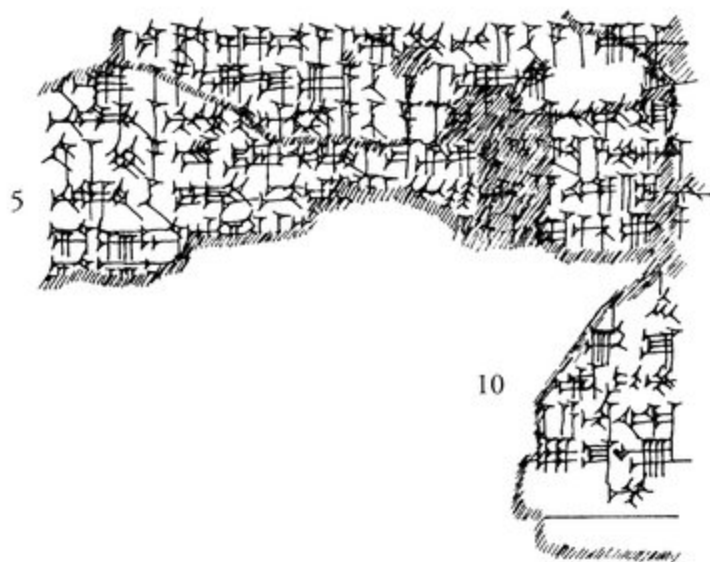
Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983): 45 L.94 and

*JCS* 38 (1986): 103 L.94

Bibliography: Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 52 no. 17 (copy)

Promissory note with security

The tablet has been collated.



Copy of NBC 8393 by Ellis in *JCS* 38, p. 52 (no. 17)

- obv. 1 [x M]A.NA KÙ.BABBAR SAG.DU šá<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ú-bar  
 2 ʾú<sup>1</sup> mšá<sup>d</sup>AG-šú-ú A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>mdAG-KAR-ir  
 3 ina muḫ-ḫi<sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ki-rib<sup>1</sup>ti ul-tu  
 4 U<sub>4</sub>.I.KÁM šá ITI.BÁR ina muḫ-ḫi 1 ma-né-e 11[(+)]<sup>1</sup>Gín<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR šá MU.AN.ʾNA<sup>1</sup>  
 5 ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi<sup>1</sup>GIŠ.SAR šá<sup>m</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-še-zib<sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup> šá ina UGU ʾID<sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>  
 6 ÚS.SA.DU AN.<sup>1</sup>TA<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1d</sup>[x x x A]-šú šá<sup>m</sup>lu-maš-šú-ú<sup>1a</sup>  
 7 ʾÚS.SA.DU<sup>1</sup> [KI.TA<sup>m</sup>... A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>...]-x  
 8 [SAG.KI AN.TA<sup>m</sup>... A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>]a<sup>2</sup>-din  
 9 [SAG.KI KI.TA<sup>m</sup>... A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>(x)-G]A<sup>2</sup>-SU  
 10 [... maš-ka-nu šá<sup>m</sup>]EN<sup>1</sup>SEŠ<sup>1</sup>-MU  
 11 [u<sup>m</sup>šá<sup>d</sup>AG-šú-ú LÚ ra-šú-ú šá-nam-m]a a-na UGU  
 12 [ul i-šal-laṭ a-di<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU u<sup>m</sup>šá<sup>1d</sup>]AG-šú-ú  
 13 [KÙ.BABBAR-šú-nu i-šal-li]-mu

Lacuna

- rev. Lacuna (1 or 2 lines missing)  
 1' [... x [(x)]  
 2' [... x<sup>1a</sup> A<sup>md</sup>DUG.G[A<sup>2</sup>-iá<sup>2</sup>]  
 3' [... A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>G]AR<sup>2</sup>-[MU<sup>2</sup>]  
 4' [... A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>]GAR<sup>2</sup>-[MU<sup>2</sup>]  
 5' [... ʾA-šú<sup>1</sup> šá<sup>m</sup>mar-duk-a  
 6' [...]-x A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>NÍG.DU  
 7' [mdx-M]U<sup>2</sup>-GIN A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>GAR-MU  
 8' ʾú LÚ.DUB.SAR<sup>1</sup>mdAMAR.UTU-MU-URÙ A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>na-ši-ru  
 9' UNUG.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> ITI.ŠE U<sub>4</sub>.17.KÁM MU.15.KÁM  
 10' mkan-da-la-nu LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1–4a) [... m]inas of silver, capital belonging to Bēl-aḫa-iddin, son of Ubār(u), and to Ša-Nabû-šū, son of Nabû-ēṭir, is owed by Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu.

(4b–5a) From the first day of the month Nisannu, each year 11[(+)] shekels of silver per mina will accrue (against him).

(5b–11a) The orchard of Mušēzib-Marduk that is along the royal canal—  
 upper side: [(the property of) PN, son] of Lū-maššū<sup>a</sup>;  
 [lower] side: [(the property of) PN, son of PN];  
 [upper front: (the property of) PN, son Mādin;  
 [lower front: (the property of) PN, son of ...]-erība—  
 [... is security for] Bēl-aḫa-iddin [(and Ša-Nabû-šū)].

(11b–13) [No other creditor has a right] to it [until Bēl-aḫa-iddin and Ša]-Nabû-šū are [paid back [their silver in full].

Lacuna



- (rev. 1') [...]  
 (rev. 2') [...], descendant of *Tā[biya]*  
 (rev. 3') [..., son of *Šākin-šumi*]  
 (rev. 4') [..., son of] *Šākin-šumi*  
 (rev. 5') [...], son of Marduka;  
 (rev. 6') [...], son of Kudurru;  
 (rev. 7') [DN-*šu*] *ma-ukin*, son of *Šākin-šumi*;  
 (rev. 8') and the scribe, Marduk-šuma-ušur, son of Nāširu.  
 (rev. 9'-10') Uruk, month of Addaru, seventeenth day, fifteenth year of Kandalānu, king of Babylon.

### Commentary

See §§ 3.3.2.2 and 3.4.

- 1 The published copy has <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-NUMUN but collation shows that the tablet actually has <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU. He also appears as a witness in no. 10, a text composed at Uruk almost thirty years earlier (<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-SUM. [(NA)] 'A<sup>1</sup>-šū šā<sup>1</sup> = *ū-ba-ru*, line 30).
- 2 Collation shows that the reading of the -KAR-ir is clear.
- 3 The first two signs of the paternal name are not well preserved, but collation shows that they are slightly better for *ki-rib* than the published copy indicates. Nevertheless, since the reading of the name is still not absolutely certain and since this text was composed quite some time after the next latest text mentioning Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu, the assignment of this text to this archive must be considered less than certain.
- 4 Almost certainly '12 GIN' since many debts incur interest at the rate of 20%.
- 6 Collation shows that the last sign ends in two vertical wedges, one on top of the other. The understanding of the name is uncertain, but may be a defective writing for Lū-aḫū'a (i.e., <sup>m</sup>lu-<a>-ḫu-ū-'a<sup>1</sup>) (suggestion C. Wunsch). For an individual by the latter name in the time of Sargon II, see *PNA* 2/2, p. 665.
- 7-9 Since the orchard is stated to be along the royal canal (*ša ina muḫḫi nār šarri*, line 5), we would expect one of the sides, in particular one of the short sides ("fronts"), to be said to be adjacent to it, but the traces would not seem to favour a reading LUGAL for the end of either line 8 or 9, or even for the end of line 7 (the lower "side"), although admittedly almost nothing is preserved at the end of 7.
- 8 The published copy has] x HI at the end of the line, but collation indicates that DIN is more likely than HI, with the sign possibly having been written with a split reed.
- 10-13 For the restorations, see, for example, no. 16 lines 10-13.
- 10 Collation shows that, against the published copy, the forms of the signs <sup>d</sup>EN and ŠEŠ in <sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU are fine, although the ŠEŠ is slightly damaged.
- 11 One would expect *i-na*, not *a-na*, before UGU.
- rev. 2' The published copy has ... A GAR DÜG.G[A but collation indicates ... A <sup>m</sup>DÜG.G[A.
- rev. 3'-4' The reading of the name(s) is uncertain. Other possibilities include Kudurru (<sup>m</sup>NI.G.DU, cf. line 6') and Šāpik(u) (<sup>m</sup>šā-pik/pi-ku).
- rev. 5' Against the published copy, the final sign in the line is A, not GAR. Collation also shows that there are no clear traces of a sign between DUK and A.
- rev. 8' Or Marduk-nādin-aḫi.

## 5. Conclusion

Compared to the large archives of the following Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods—for example, the archive of the Egibi family and that of Murašû and his descendants, and even those of the Nappāhu and Ea-ilūta-bani families—the Mušēzib-Marduk archive is small in size, comprising only twenty-six transactions and thirty-three tablets. Nevertheless, it provides an interesting view of an individual's activities in Babylonia while that land lay under Assyrian domination, a period for which few other private archives of any size are attested in Babylonia. Although the transactions recorded in the texts took place at eight or nine different locations, most come from Uruk and, to a lesser extent, Babylon. The modern provenance of only one of the tablets may be known (no. 14a, IM 57079, reportedly found at Ur), and thus the texts do not form a true “archive” in the terminology of modern archival studies. The author has assembled them based upon grounds other than provenance. Future research will undoubtedly locate additional documents that should be added to his group or that may suggest that one or more of those treated here belong to some other archive.

Mušēzib-Marduk's activities date from 678 until at least 649, and more probably 633, a career of at least forty-five years, a considerable span of time. It is likely that the political events of the period, in particular the rebellion of 652–648 led by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, influenced his actions, and the end of the archive may have been connected to the collapse of Assyrian control in southern Babylonia. Although he seems to have spent most of his active career at Uruk, he may have been based at Babylon in the years immediately before the rebellion (nos. 16, 18–20 and 23). During the rebellion itself, he may have moved from a location supporting Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (no. 21), to one supporting Ashurbanipal (no. 24). Since Uruk was the main pro-Assyrian base in southern Babylonia during the rebellion and since most, if not all, of his property was located there, he may well have wanted to be close to that property and/or have access to the profits derived from it.

Four of the transactions studied do not concern Mušēzib-Marduk, but were likely given to him when he later purchased the properties involved in those transactions. It is worthy of note that five transactions are attested by duplicate copies and one additional transaction by two duplicate copies. This is a large number of multiple copies with respect to the total number of transactions in the archive.

Mušēzib-Marduk was no common citizen, living off the sweat of his own brow, but nor does he appear to have held any priestly or temple office. He appears conducting business in at least five other locations in addition to Uruk: Babylon, Šapīya, Ša-šuru-Adad, Ur and UD.[x.(x).KI<sup>2</sup>]. He was present at Babylon in 656, 654 and 653 for the conclusion of five different business transactions. Every single document in the archive except for the very last one is connected in some way to his acquisition of property—either by purchase or as security for silver owed to him. He acquired property in several

different parts of Uruk, in particular the Eanna, Market Gate and Ninurta Temple districts inside the city and along the royal canal outside of the city. He appears to have been mainly interested in owning houses, ruined houses and date palm orchards, rather than grain fields. When the sizes of the houses can be determined, they are quite large in relation to those mentioned in other sales documents from the Neo-Babylonian period. The documents may suggest that over time he became more interested in acquiring orchards and less interested in houses, but in view of the limited number of documents involved, this must remain uncertain. He was clearly attempting to acquire property adjacent or near to property he already owned and to acquire full control of property to which he previously had only partial ownership. The presence of two sets of non-duplicate purchase documents for the same property (nos. 1 and 4 for a ruined house in Uruk's Market Gate district, and nos. 12 and 13 for a house in Uruk's Eanna district) is both interesting and enigmatic.

On a number of occasions, he accepted real estate as security for money due to him. Perhaps he hoped that their debtors would fail to pay him those sums and/or the interest on the debts and that he might then persuade them to transfer ownership of those properties to him in order to settle their debts.

The question arises as to what Mušēzib-Marduk was planning to do with the properties he acquired. Certainly the orchards and field(s) would have been exploited for their agricultural produce. He may have rented them out in return for a percentage of the yield or possibly for a fixed fee, or he may have had members of his own household or individuals whom he hired look after them. It seems unlikely that he needed all the houses and ruined houses (as well as the two empty house plots) that he acquired for his own use or for that of members of his own family, although some of them may have been. Presumably he leased some or all of the houses to other individuals in return for rental payments. He likely had the ruined properties restored before renting them out<sup>175</sup> or arranged for people to rebuild them in return for the right to occupy them for a period of time. Or he may have sold the properties outright after they were again habitable. Perhaps he built houses on the two empty house plots he purchased (nos. 10 and 18–2) and then rented or sold them. It seems unlikely that he turned the one located inside Uruk in no. 18–2 into an orchard—even though orchards are attested within the city—since that property does not appear to have been located along a watercourse, making cultivation difficult; however, the house plot purchased in no. 10 bordered on an orchard already owned by him and thus may have been acquired for agricultural purposes. Whatever he was planning to do with these properties, he was surely expecting to make a profit at the end. He clearly owned a large number of both urban and rural properties and was likely acting at times as a property developer.

Only the latest document (no. 26) shows him alienating property, and then only by using an orchard he owned as security for a debt. While this may indicate that he developed financial problems towards the end of his career, such a conclusion would be based

<sup>175</sup> These transactions always state that the ruined house was to be torn down and rebuilt (nos. 1, 4, 6, 15 and 17), but this is a standard clause found in sales of ruined houses.

upon only a single document.<sup>176</sup> However, documents recording his selling property or having debts would not be expected to figure prominently in his own archive; they would have been kept by the individuals to whom he sold land or owed money.

There is nothing about the texts that suggests that Mušēzib-Marduk had any connection to the Eanna temple—except for the fact that he owned property located in the district of that temple<sup>177</sup>—in contrast to many of the legal and administrative texts from the following Neo-Babylonian period at Uruk. No relatives of his appear in any of the documents, nor are any clearly attested in any other document known to the author.<sup>178</sup> Thus, this reconstructed archive is comprised of documents for a single generation and a single individual.

In conclusion, the texts examined in this study will undoubtedly be only a few of those originally created that relate to the business activities of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kiribtu and descendant of Sin-nāšir. Nevertheless, they provide light on the career of one individual during a period when relatively few such archives have been preserved.

<sup>176</sup> Moreover, if this tablet was actually found with the remainder of the documents, this could indicate that he repaid the money and he had then received the promissory note in return (see § 3.3.2.2).

<sup>177</sup> See § 3.3.1.2 for the suggestion by Baker that ownership of property in that district might have been restricted to individuals associated with the Eanna temple.

<sup>178</sup> Various individuals by the name of Mušēzib-Marduk and their sons/descendants appear in other documents (e.g., a Mušēzib-Marduk, his wife Kullāya and possibly his son Šāpik-zēri [the latter as a witness] appear in a text composed at Babylon in 649, during the time it was besieged by Assyrian forces; Pinches, *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 26 [1893]: 163 lines 2–3, 6, and 11), but without statements indicating that those Mušēzib-Marduks were descended from a Kiribtu and/or a Sin-nāšir there is no reason to assume that the Mušēzib-Marduk of interest to this study is meant.



# Indices

## 1. Personal Names

IN = individual's name

PN = paternal name

FN = family name

a. = ancestor of

b. = brother of

d. = descendant of

f. = father of

gf. = grandfather of

m. = mother of

s. = son of

**Adad-šur[ma-ēreš]** (<sup>md</sup>ISKUR-M[U<sup>2</sup>-KÁM<sup>2</sup>])

a. Bēl-lē'i

BM 118973 (no. 23): 35 (Babylon)

**Aḫa-iddin-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-MU/SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)

?[d. Bēl-ibni?]

BM 118982 (no. 24): 9 (mostly restored), 18 (partially restored), 33 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

d. Aplāya

BM 118970 (no. 4): 12, 15, 22, 47 (Šapiya)

**Aḫḫēa** (<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a; <sup>m</sup>aḫ-ḫe-e-a)

s. Aplāya, d. Ṭābiya; ?f. Itri-Marduk-balātu

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): [1] (Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 1, 7 (mostly restored) (Babylon)

s./d. Zabdānu; see also f. Bēl-aḫḫē-erība

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 7, 9, 15, 20 (Borsippa)

BM 118982 (no. 24): 7 (partially restored) (Ša-šuru-Adad)

s. <sup>m</sup>x-[(x)-n]u<sup>2</sup>, d. Eppēš-ili

BM 118983 (no. 20): 20 (Babylon)

f. Bēl-aḫḫē-erība; see also s./d. Zabdānu

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 11, 15, 20 (Borsippa)

f. Nabū-ēṭir, d. Ṭābiya

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 2 (Babylon)

f. Šulāya, d. Ṭābiya

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 7 (Babylon)

**Aḫḫē-erība** (<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba)

a. Bulluṭa

BM 118970 (no. 4): 42 (Šapiya)

a. Nabū-šuma-ēreš

BM 119864 (no. 1): 37 (Uruk)

**Aḫḫēšāya** (<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ/ME-Jā-a)

governor of Uruk (LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 23 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 4 (partially restored) (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 24 (Uruk)

BM 118975 (no. 6): 27 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 24 (Uruk)

s. Bēl-usātu

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 33 (Uruk)

s./d. Nanāya-ušalli

BM 118978 (no. 15): 6 (Ur)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 7 (Uruk)

s. Ḫašdiya, d. Šangū-Ninurta

BM 118968 (no. 11): 3, 13, 16, 24, 46 (Ur)

s./d. Zēra-iddin

BM 118981 (no. 7): 28 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 42 (Uruk)

f. Arrabi

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 27 (Uruk)

f. Bēšunu

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 10, 15 (Uruk)

f. Bēl-uballiṭ

BM 118973 (no. 23): 9, 13, 19 (Babylon)

f. Bēl-useppi

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 44 (Uruk)

f. Mukīn-zēri

BM 118967 (no. 12): 12, 14, 19 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 12, 14, 21 (Uruk)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 9, 13, 19 (Babylon)

f. Nabū-nāšir

BM 118973 (no. 23): 9, 13, 19 (Babylon)



- a. Mušallim-Marduk  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 12 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 33 (Uruk)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 32 (Uruk)
- a. [Naḫ]ū-le'i  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 25
- Aḫḫēšu** (<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šū)  
d. Eriba  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 24 (Uruk)
- Aḫḫūtu** (<sup>m</sup>ah-hu-tu; <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-ū-tu)  
s. Rēmūt  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 30 (Uruk)
- a. Bēl-zēri  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 3
- a. Nabū-šuma-ušarši  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 10 (Uruk)
- Aḫ-šubši** (<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šub-šū)  
a. Bēl-ēreš  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 28 (Uruk)
- a. Ibnāya  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 4 (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 4 (Šapiya)
- Amati** (<sup>m</sup>a-ma<sup>1</sup>-ti)  
a. Nabū-ušallim  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 8 (Babylon)
- Amēlāya** (LÚ-a-a)  
a. Bulluṭ  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 36 (Babylon)
- Ammēni-ili** (<sup>m</sup>am/am<sup>1</sup>-me-ni-DINGIR)  
d. Bulluṭ  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 36 (Uruk)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 39 (Uruk); scribe
- f/a. Ēzu-u-pāšir  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 41 (Šapiya)  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 30 (Borsippa)
- Amukānu** (<sup>m</sup>a-muk-a-nu)  
a. Ea-zēra-iqīša  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 31 (Šapiya)
- Aplāya** (<sup>m</sup>A-a; <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a; <sup>m</sup>ap-la-a)  
s. Bēl-āli (<sup>m</sup>EN-URU)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 30 (Uruk)
- s. Dannāya  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 2, 9, 12, 17, 35 (Uruk)
- s. Zabīdu  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 38 (Ur)
- d. Iqīšāya  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 39 (Ur)
- d. Nabū-ēreš  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 25 (Uruk)
- d. Šangū-Sippar  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 25; scribe  
(Babylon)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 49  
(Babylon)
- d. the LÚ.U.MUG  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 27 (Babylon)
- f. Aḫḫēa, d. Tābiya  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 1  
(Aḫḫēa restored) (Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 1 (Babylon)
- f. Marduk-nāšir  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 37  
(Uruk)
- a. Aḫa-iddin-Marduk  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 12, 15 (Šapiya)
- Aqara** (<sup>m</sup>a-qar-a)  
bēl pīḫati of Babylon, eponym  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 44 (Babylon)
- s. Nergal-ēṭir  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 35 (Uruk)
- s. [m(x)]-x-x-[(x)], [d. m(x)]-x-MU; the šangū-priest  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 38 (Babylon)
- Arad-Nergal** (<sup>m</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KUG)  
a. Burāšu  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 38 (Uruk)
- Arkāt-ili** (<sup>m</sup>EGIR(.MEŠ)-DINGIR(.MEŠ))  
a. Nādinu  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 30 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- a. Kunāya; <sup>m</sup>EGIR.MEŠ-[D]INGIR  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 29 (Borsippa)
- a. Rēmūt-Bāba; <sup>m</sup>EGIR-DINGIR.MEŠ  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 52  
(Babylon)
- Arrabi** (<sup>m</sup>ar-ra-bi)  
s. Aḫḫēšāya  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 27 (Uruk)
- Aššur-aḫa-iddin** (<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-MU/SUM.NA)  
with title "king of the lands" (LUGAL KUR.KUR)  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 46 (Uruk)  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 43 (Uruk)
- with title "king of the world" (LUGAL ŠU/kiš-šar)  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 21 (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 46 (Šapiya)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 41 (Uruk)
- Aššur-bāni-apli** (<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DŪ-IBILA)  
with title "king of (all) lands" (LUGAL KUR.KUR; LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ in  
BM 118969:42, no. 6b)  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 40 (Uruk)  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 32 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Atkuppū** (LULAD.KID, <sup>m</sup>LULAD.KID), the Reed-worker

- a. Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, s. Šāpik  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 39 (Babylon)
- a. Šāpiku  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 40 (Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 29 (partially restored) (Babylon)

**Aya-rimī** (<sup>m</sup>a-a-ri-mi-i), reading uncertain

- a. Na'id-bēlani  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 32 (Šāpīya)

**Bābūtu** (<sup>m</sup>ba-bu-tu)

- a. Nabû-ēṭir  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 26 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Balāssu** (<sup>m</sup>ba-laṣ-su)

- s./d. Nabû-šuma-ēreš  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 37 (Uruk); d.  
in AO 10347 but s. in AO 10318: 38,  
no. 13b
- s. Ubār(u)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 33 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 33 (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 32 (Uruk)
- d. Bulluṭ  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 43 (Šāpīya)
- d. Rab-bāni  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 12 (UD. [x x (x)])
- f. Bēšunu  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 28 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 30 (Uruk)
- f. Bēl-uballit  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 30 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 37 (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 28 (Uruk)
- f. Nabû-lē'i  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 29 (Uruk)
- f. Nabû-ušabši  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 27 (Uruk)
- f. Šāpik-zēri  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 1 (Uruk)
- f. Zākīr  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 31 (Uruk)
- f./a. Ubār(u)  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 34 (Ur)  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 37 (Ur)
- a. Bēl-šuma/šumu/nādin-[...] ]  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 40 (Babylon)
- ʔa. Kalbi  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 37 (reading uncertain: [<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>2</sup>]-laṣ<sup>2</sup>-su<sup>1</sup>) (Babylon)

- a. [<sup>m</sup>x (x)] x x [(x)]  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 24

**Balāṣu** (<sup>m</sup>ba-la-ṣu)

- šatammu of Eanna  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 5 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 25 (Uruk)
- s./d. Bēl-lē'i  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 40 (Uruk)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 45 (Uruk); scribe  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 37 (Uruk); scribe
- s. Nabû-nāšir  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 3 (Borsippa)  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 3 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- s. Šāpik[u<sup>2</sup>]  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 34 (Borsippa)

**Baliḥu** (<sup>m</sup>dKASKAL.KUR -i<sup>2</sup>)

- a. Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 29 (Ur)

**Bānāya** (<sup>m</sup>ba-na-i[a<sup>2</sup>])

- a. Nabû-ušallim  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 28 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Basiya** (<sup>m</sup>ba-si-ia)

- a. Kunāya; same as following  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 1 (Babylon)
- a. Nabû-ēṭir, s. Kunāya; same as preceding  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 1, 12, 17 (Babylon)

**Bēl-aḥa-iddin** (<sup>m</sup>dEN-ŠEŠ-MU/SUM. [(NA)])

- s. Ḫēru  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 36 (Uruk)
- s. Nabû-gāmil  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 41 (Borsippa)
- s. Ubār(u)  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 30 (Uruk)  
NBC 8393 (no. 26): 1, 10, [12] (Uruk)
- d. Dābibi  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 31 (Babylon)

**Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba** (<sup>m</sup>dEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU/eri-ba)

- s. Aḥḥēa  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 11, 14, 47 (Borsippa)
- s. Ḫēru-u-pā[šir]; b. Nergal-nāšir  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 31 (Borsippa)
- s./d. Šarrani; b. Zēr-Bābili  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 18 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 39 (Uruk)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 29 (Uruk)
- d. Nādinu, reading uncertain (<sup>m</sup>SUM.NA)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 47 (Babylon)

**Bēl-ahhē-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU/SUM.NA)  
 s./d. Kudurru (s. Nabū-aḥa-ēreš) and s. <sup>f</sup>Nasqat  
 BM 118979 (no. 3): 11, 14 and rev. 22  
 (Uruk)  
 BM 118972 (no. 5): 9, 13, 18, 42 (Uruk)  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 33 (Uruk)  
 BM 118968 (no. 11): 35 (Ur)  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 3, 8, 11,  
 17, 49 (Uruk)

**Bēl-ahhē-...** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ[Š-x])

- a. *Šumāya*  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 26

**Bēl-āli or Bēl-āli** (<sup>md</sup>EN-URU)

- f. *Aplāya*  
 BM 118985 (no. 17): 30 (Uruk)

**Bēl-ammēni** (<sup>md</sup>EN-am-me-ni)

- d. *Šumāya*  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 28 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Bēlani** (<sup>md</sup>EN-a-ni)

- d. *Ērešu*  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 3 (Uruk)  
 f. *Šākin-šumi*  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 25 (Uruk)  
 ?a. Nabū-aḥa-ēreš  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 4 (<sup>md</sup>EN-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>21</sup>)  
 ?a. *Šāpik(u)*  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 8 (<sup>md</sup>EN-a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>21</sup>),  
 [12], 17 ([<sup>md</sup>EN]N<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>21</sup>)

**Bēl-ēreš** (<sup>md</sup>EN-KĀM/APIN-eš)

- s. Nabū-...  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 33 (Borsippa)  
 s. *Šūzubu*  
 AO 10347 (no. 13): 31 (Uruk)  
 d. *Aḥu-šubši*  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 28 (Uruk)  
 d. *Bulluṭ*  
 BM 118970 (no. 4): 39 (Šāpiya)  
 a. *Bēl-īpuš*  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 35 (Uruk)

**Bēl-eriba** (<sup>md</sup>EN-eri-ba)

- a. Nabū-ēṭir  
 BM 118978 (no. 15): 26 (partially pre-  
 served, but complete on BM 118971:  
 28, no. 15b) (Ur)

**Bēl-eṭeru** (<sup>md</sup>EN-e-ṭe-ri/ru)

- a. *Bēl-iqīša*, s. *Bibēa*  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 19 (Babylon)  
 a. *Bēl-upāqu*, s. *Šarēdu*  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 23 (Babylon)

**Bēl-ēṭir** (<sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-ir; <sup>md</sup>EN-SUR)

- BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 4 (Uruk)  
 s. *Bēl-ikšur*  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 36  
 (Uruk)  
 s. *Nanāya-īpuš*  
 BM 118968 (no. 11): 37 (Ur)  
 d. *Bēl-iddin*  
 BM 118978 (no. 15): 28 (Ur)  
 d. *Nanāya-uballit*  
 BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 8 (Uruk)  
 BM 118972 (no. 5): 28 (Uruk)  
 s. [...], d. *Tābiya*  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 45  
 (Babylon)  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 31 (Babylon)

**Bēl-ibni** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ib-ni/DŪ)

- s./d. *Šamaš-īpuš*  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 10, 15 (Borsippa)  
 ?[a.] *Aḥ[a-iddin-Marduk]*  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 8 (mostly restored)  
 and 10 (restored) (Ša-šuru-Adad)  
 f. *Nabū-iqīša*  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 26 (Uruk)

**Bēl-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>EN-MU/SUM.NA)

- s. *Šillāya*  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 24 (Uruk)  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 33  
 (Uruk)  
 d. *Šāpiku*  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 37 (Uruk)  
 f. *Rāši-ili*  
 NBC 4576 (no. 21): 2, 3, 5 (UD.[x x (x)])  
 a. *Bēl-ēṭir*  
 BM 118978 (no. 15): 28 (Ur)  
 a. *Nabū-zēra-iddin*  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 35 (Uruk)

**Bēl-idūa/udūa** (<sup>md</sup>EN-i/ú-du-ú-a)

- f. *Nabū-bēl-ili*  
 BM 118967 (no. 12): 8 (Uruk)  
 AO 10347 (no. 13): 8 (Uruk)

**Bēl-ikšur** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ik-šur)

- f. *Bēl-ēṭir*  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 36 (-ik-  
 šur<sup>1</sup>; -ik-šur clear in BM 118966: 35,  
 no. 14b) (Uruk)  
 f. *Nabū-zēra-ibni*  
 BM 118967 (no. 12): 37 (Uruk)

**Bēl-īpuš** (<sup>md</sup>EN-DŪ-uš)

- d. *Bēl-ēreš*  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 35 (Uruk)

- d. Šamaš-bāri  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 20 (Uruk); scribe  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 40 (Uruk); scribe
- f. Bēl-upaḥḥir  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 28  
(Uruk)
- f. Eribšu  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 28 (Borsippa)
- f. Iddināya  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 36 (Uruk)
- a. Ša-pī-Bēl  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 32 (Uruk)
- a. Šuma-ukīn  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 27 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- Bēl-iqīša** (<sup>md</sup>EN-BA<sup>2</sup>-šā<sup>2</sup>)  
s. Bibēa, d. Bēl-eṭēru  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 19 (Babylon)
- Bēl-lē'i** (<sup>md</sup>EN-DA; <sup>md</sup>EN-Ā.GĀL)  
d. Adad-šū[ma-ēreš]  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 35 (Babylon)
- d. Ina-tēši-ēṭir  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 41 (Ur)
- f/a. Balāṭu  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 40 (Uruk)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 45  
(Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 37 (Uruk)
- Bēl-nāšir** (<sup>md</sup>EN-URŪ-ir; <sup>md</sup>EN-PAB)  
s. Ilū'a  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 5 (UD.[x x (x)])
- d. Lābāši-ili  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 33 (Ur)
- d. Nabū-iddin  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 32 (Uruk)
- Bēl-rā[m]** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ra-a[m<sup>2</sup>])  
a. Ea-ibni  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 27
- Bēl-rēmāni** (<sup>md</sup>EN-re-man-ni; <sup>md</sup>EN-re-ma-an-ni  
in BM 118971:42, no. 15b)  
s. Kudurru  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 32 (Ur)  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 42 (Ur); scribe
- d. Nabū-ēṭir  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 29 (Uruk)
- d. Upāqu  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 38 (Šapīya)
- Bēl-rībi** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ri-i-bi)  
d. Dannāya  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 43 (Uruk)
- Bēl-šimāni** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ši-man-ni)  
s. [...], d. Nappāhu  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 35 (Babylon)
- Bēl-šuma-iškun** (<sup>md</sup>EN-MU-GAR-un)  
s. Bēl-ušallim  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 40  
(Uruk)
- d. Maštukku  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 32 (Babylon)
- d. Šangū-Zāriku  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 14 (UD.[x x (x)])
- Bēl-šuma-...** (<sup>md</sup>EN-MU-[x])  
d. Balāssu  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 40 (Babylon)
- Bēl-šunu** (<sup>md</sup>EN-šū-nu)  
s. Aḥḥēšāya  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 10, 15, 44 (Uruk)
- s. Balāssu  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 28 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 30 (Uruk)
- a. Sin-etel-ili  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 36 (Ur)
- Bēl-uballit** (<sup>md</sup>EN-TIN-ir)  
s. Aḥḥēšāya  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 8, 12, 45 (Babylon)
- s. Balāssu  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 30 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 37 (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 28 (Uruk)
- s. Nabū-īpuš  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 37 (Uruk)
- Bēl-udūa**, see **Bēl-idūa**
- Bēl-upaḥḥir** (<sup>md</sup>EN-NIGIN-ir)  
s. Bēl-īpuš  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 28  
(-NIGIN<sup>1</sup>-ir; -NIGIN-ir clear in  
BM 118966: 27, no. 14b) (Uruk)
- Bēl-upāqu** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ū<sup>1</sup>-pa-qu)  
s. Šarēdu, d. Bēl-eṭēru  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 23 (Babylon)
- Bēl-usātu** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ū-sa-tu)  
s. Nabū-bēl-ili  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 25 (Uruk)
- d. Šumāya  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 35 (Uruk)
- f. Aḥḥēšāya  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 33 (Uruk)
- a. Nergal-nāšir  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 30 (Ur)
- Bēl-useppi** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ū-sep-pi)  
s. Aḥḥēšāya  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 44  
(Uruk)

- f/a. *Pir'u*  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 5 (Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 5 (Babylon)
- Bēl-ušallim** (<sup>md</sup>EN-GI)  
d. Ir'anni; scribe  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 12 (Babylon)  
f. Bēl-šuma-iškun  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 40 (Uruk)
- Bēl-ušēzib** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ú-še-zib)  
s. Lābāši  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 31 (Uruk)  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 29 (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 29 (Uruk)
- Bēl-ušungā** (<sup>md</sup>EN-ú-šu-un-gal)  
f. Nabū-ētir  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 37 (Borsippa)
- Bēl-zēri** (<sup>md</sup>EN-NUMUN)  
d. Aḥḥūtu  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 3
- Bēl...** (<sup>md</sup>EN-[(x)]-x-x-[(x)])  
a. [...-n]i?  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 22
- Bibēa** (<sup>mb</sup>bi-bē-e-a)  
s. Lābāši  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 41 (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 35 (Uruk)  
s. Nabū-ušalli, d. Tābiḥu  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 21 (Babylon)  
f. Bēl-iqīša; d. Bēl-ēṭēru  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 19 (Babylon)  
a. Nabū-ušēzib  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 15 (UD.[x x (x)])
- Bulluṭ** (<sup>mb</sup>bul-luṭ); see also **Bulluṭa**  
s. Nabū-lē'i  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 29 (Uruk)  
d. Amēlāya  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 36 (Babylon)  
f. Nabū-iqīša  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 32 (Uruk)  
a. Ammeni-ili  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 36 (Uruk)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 39 (Uruk)  
a. Balāssu  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 43 (Šapīya)  
a. Bēl-ēreš  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 39 (Šapīya)
- Bulluṭa** (<sup>mb</sup>bul-luṭ-a)  
d. Aḥḥē-erība  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 42 (Šapīya)  
f. Nabū-nāšir  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 2
- Burāšu** (<sup>mb</sup>bu-ra-šu)  
d. Arad-Nergal  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 38 (Uruk)
- Būšu** (<sup>mb</sup>bu-ú-šu)  
a. Imbāya  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 28 (Babylon)  
a. Šāpik-zēri  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 41 (Babylon)
- Dābibi** (<sup>md</sup>da-bi-bi)  
a. Bēl-aḥa-iddin  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 31 (Babylon)  
a. Nabū-šuma-iškun  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 42 (Babylon)
- Dāmīru** (<sup>md</sup>da-mi-ru), reading uncertain  
f/a. Nabū-ušēzib  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 6 (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 6 (s. on BM 118970: 6; f. on BM 118976: 6, no. 4b) (Šapīya)
- Damqīya** (<sup>md</sup>SIG<sub>7</sub>-ia)  
a. Nabū-ušabši  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 7 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 27 (Uruk)  
a. Šullumu  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 15 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 36 (Uruk)
- Dannāya** (<sup>md</sup>dan-na-(a)-a)  
f. Aplāya  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 2, 9, 12 (Uruk)  
a. Bēl-ribi  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 43  
(<sup>md</sup>dan-(erased Nī<sup>3</sup>)-na-a<sup>1</sup>(copy: ŠA)-a;  
[...] -na-a-a in BM 118966: 42, no. 14b) (Uruk)
- Dayyānu** (<sup>md</sup>da-a-a-nu)  
a. Nabū-zēra-iqīša  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 37 (Uruk)
- Dummuqāya** (<sup>md</sup>du-um-mu-qa-a)  
a. Ibnāya  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 44 (Uruk)  
see also **Dumqāya**
- Dumqāya** (<sup>md</sup>du-um-qa-a)  
d. Šullumāya  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 3 ([...] -mu-qa-a in  
BM 118969: 3, no. 6b) (Uruk)
- Ea-ibni** (<sup>md</sup>[ē<sup>1</sup>-a-ib-ni])  
d. Bēl-rā[m]  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 27
- Ea-zēra-(i)qīša** (<sup>md</sup>ē-a-NUMUN-BA-šá)  
d. Amukānu  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 31 (Šapīya)

**Eanna-ibni** (<sup>m</sup>E.AN.NA-DU)

the *paḥḥaru* (LÚ.BÁ.ĦAR<sup>1</sup> (Text: E.QA.BUR), the Potter)

BM 118979 (no. 3): 5 (Uruk)

**Egibi** (<sup>m</sup>e-gi-bi)

a. Gimillu

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 16 (UD.[x x (x)])

a. Murānu

BM 118973 (no. 23): 33 (Babylon)

a. Nabū-zēra-ukīn

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 41

(Babylon)

a. Nabū-zēru-lišir

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 10 (UD.[x x (x)])

a. Pir'u

BM 118973 (no. 23): 37 (Babylon)

a. Qištiya, s. [<sup>m</sup>x x (x)]

BM 118980 (no. 19): 37 (Babylon)

**Eppēš-ili** (<sup>m</sup>DÜ-ēš-DINGIR)

a. Aḥḥēa, s. [<sup>m</sup>x-(x)-n]u<sup>2</sup>

BM 118983 (no. 20): 20 (Babylon)

a. Nādin-aḥi

BM 118973 (no. 23): 30 (Babylon)

**Ēreši/Ērešu** (<sup>m</sup>e-re-šil-šú)

d. Šangū-Ninurta

BM 118968 (no. 11): 7 (Ur)

d. Šāpik; scribe

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 28

f. Nabū-iqīša

BM 118967 (no. 12): 32 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 34 (Uruk)

f./a. Nādin

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 4

(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 4 (Babylon)

a. Bēlani

BM 118984 (no. 10): 3 (Uruk)

f./a. Zibāya

BM 118979 (no. 3): 6 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 9 (Ur)

**Eriša** (<sup>m</sup>eri-ba)

a. Aḥḥēšu

BM 118984 (no. 10): 24 (Uruk)

**Eriša-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>eri-ba-šAMAR.UT[U])

[s. ...], d. Tābiya

BM 118980 (no. 19): 33 (Babylon)

**Erišu** (<sup>m</sup>e-rib-šú)

s. Bēl-īpuš

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 28 (Borsippa)

**Ēteri/Ēteru** (<sup>m</sup>e-ṭe-ru/ri)

s. Marduk

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 31 (Uruk)

f. Bēl-aḥa-iddin

BM 118967 (no. 12): 36 (Uruk)

**Ēzu-u-pāšir** (<sup>m</sup>e-zu-u-pa-šir)

s./d. Ammēni-ili

BM 118970 (no. 4): 41 (Šapīya)

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 30 (Borsippa)

f. Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 31 (Borsippa)

f. Nergal-nāšir

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 32 (Borsippa)

**Gallābu** (LÚ.ŠU.1), the Barber

a. Nabū-aḥḥē-eriba

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 1 (Nuḥšānītu)

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 44

(Babylon)

**GAR...** (<sup>m</sup>GAR x [(x)] x)

a. Nabū-šuma-iškun

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 19 (Nuḥšānītu)

a. Šillāya

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 20 (Nuḥšānītu)

**Gimillu** (<sup>m</sup>gi-mil-lu)

s. Nabū-zēra-ibni

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 35 (Borsippa)

s. Tardennu

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 40 (Borsippa)

d. Egibi

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 16 (UD.[x x (x)])

**Ḥašdiya** (<sup>m</sup>ḥaš-di-ia)

s./d. Šuma-ukīn

BM 118968 (no. 11): 41 (Ur)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 34 (Ur)

f. Aḥḥēšāya, d. Šangū-Ninurta; b. Zibāya

BM 118968 (no. 11): 3, 13, 17, 24 (Ur)

f. Ina-tēši-ēṭir

BM 118985 (no. 17): 33 (Uruk)

f. Marduk-eriba

BM 118985 (no. 17): 36 (Uruk)

f. Marduk-šuma-ibni

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 36 (Uruk)

f./a. Nabū-ēreš

BM 118978 (no. 15): 4 (Ur)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 9, 12 (Uruk)

f./a. Nabū-ušēzib

BM 118984 (no. 10): 31 (Uruk)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 31 (Ur)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 31 (Uruk)

**Ḥuddāya** (<sup>m</sup>ḥu-ud-da-a)

d. Kukul

BM 118975 (no. 6): 6, 9 (Uruk)

**Ibnāya** (<sup>m</sup>ib-na-a)

s. A[ḥḥēa], d. Tābiya; f. Itti-Marduk-balātu

BM 118980 (no. 19): 7, 10, 13 (Babylon)



- s. Nabû-ušallim  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 32 (Uruk)
- d. Aḫu-šubši  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 4 (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 4 (Šapīya)
- d. Dummuqāya; scribe  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 43 (Uruk)
- f. Šulāya  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 42 (Ur)
- Iddin-aḫa**, see **Nādin-aḫi**
- Iddināya** (<sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-*a*)
- s. Bēl-īpuš  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 36 (Uruk)
- d. Nabû-zēra-ib[ni]  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 27 (partially re-stored; <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA in BM 118971: 29, no. 15b) (Ur)
- f. Sīn-ašarēd  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 39 (Ur)
- a. Šarēdu  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 40 (partially re-stored) (Ur) = above?
- Iddin-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)
- s. Šāpiku  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 43 (Borsippa)
- d. Šumāya  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 12, 14, 20, 41 (Uruk)
- Iddin-Nergal** (<sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR)
- a. Nabû-ušallim  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 26 (Uruk)
- Iddin-Papsukkal** (<sup>m</sup>MU/SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal)
- a. Kudurru  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 43 (Babylon)
- a. Nabû-kudurri-ušur, [s. ...]  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 32 (Babylon)
- a. Nabû-lē'i  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 41 (Uruk)
- Ilūa** (<sup>m</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ-<sup>u</sup>-*a*)
- s. Šull[um]u  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 12 (Babylon)
- f. Bēl-nāšir  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 6 (UD.[x x (x)])
- Ilūta-bani** (<sup>m</sup>DINGIR-*ta*-DŪ)
- a. Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 2 (Nuḫšānītu)
- a. Nabû-ušabši  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 18 (Nuḫšānītu)
- Imbāya** (<sup>m</sup>im-*ba-a*); error for Immāya?
- d. Būšu  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 28 (Babylon)
- Immāya** (<sup>m</sup>im-*ma-a*)
- a. Nabû-nāšir  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 16 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 37 (Uruk)  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 28 (Uruk)
- Ina-tēši-ēṭir** (<sup>m</sup>ina-SŪH-SUR; <sup>m</sup>ina-SŪH-KAR-*ir*)  
governor of Uruk  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 26 (Uruk)
- s. Ḥašdiya  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 33 (Uruk)
- d. Nabû-zēra-iddin  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 12, 14, 20, 47 (Uruk)
- a. Bēl-lē'i  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 41 (partially damaged; complete in BM 118971: 41, no. 15b) (Ur)
- a. Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 41 (Uruk)
- Iqīšāya** (<sup>m</sup>BA-<sup>šā</sup>-*a*)
- a. Aplāya  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 39 (-(a)), but complete in BM 118971: 40, no. 15b) (Ur)
- Ir'anni** (<sup>m</sup>ir-*a-ni*)
- a. Bēl-ušallim  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 12 (Babylon)
- a. Nabû-zēru-lišir  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 10 (Babylon)
- Itinnu** (LŪ.ŠIT[IM?]), the Builder
- a. Kabtiya  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 9 (Babylon)
- Itti-Marduk-balātu** (<sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN)
- s. Ibnāya, d. Tābiya  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 13 (partially re-stored), 16, 42 (Babylon)
- Kabtiya** (<sup>m</sup>IDIM-*ia*)
- d. itinnu (LŪ.ŠIT[IM?], the Builder)  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 9 (Babylon)
- Kalbi** (<sup>m</sup>kal-*bi*)
- d. [Ba]lāssu  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 37 (Babylon)
- Kandalānu** (<sup>m</sup>kan-dal-*a-ni*; <sup>m</sup>kan-da-la-nu)  
king of Babylon (LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI)  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 30  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 10'

**Kāširu** (<sup>m</sup>ka-ši-ru)

f. Nādinu

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 39  
(Uruk)**Kidin-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)

d. (Ša)-rēš-ummāni; scribe

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 44 (Borsippa)

**Kināya** (<sup>m</sup>ki-na-a)

d. Nādin-apli

BM 118975 (no. 6): 8 (Uruk)

**Kiribti/u(-Marduk)** (<sup>m</sup>ki-rib-ti/tu/tū; BM 118980: 12 (no. 19) has [<sup>m</sup>ki-rib]-ti-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)

f./a. Mušēzib-Marduk, d. Šin-nāšir

BM 118964 (no. 1): 11, 15 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3): 10, [15] (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 11, 16 (Šapīya)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 9, 14 (Uruk)

BM 118975 (no. 6): 11, 15 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 7, 12 (Uruk)

BM 118984 (no. 10): 7, 8, 13 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 12, 18 (Ur)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 11, 15 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 11, 15 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 4, 7, 12  
(Uruk)BM 118978 (no. 15): 8, 14 (Ur); also BM  
118971: 5, no. 15b

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 1 (Babylon)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 3, 5, 8, 13 (Uruk)

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 20  
(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 12 (Babylon)

BM 118983 (no. 20): 2 (Babylon)

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 4 (UD. [x x (x)])

BM 118973 (no. 23): 8, 14 (Babylon)

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 8 ([A <sup>m</sup>ki-ri]b-ti'),  
[13']NBC 8393 (no. 26): 3 (A-šū šū <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-  
ti) (Uruk)

a. Šillāya

BM 118964 (no. 1): 39 (Uruk)

**Kudurrānu** (<sup>m</sup>ku-du-<sup>r</sup>ra-nu')

d. Nādinu

BM 118973 (no. 23): 34 (Babylon)

**Kudurru** (<sup>m</sup>NfG.DU)s./d. Nabū-aḥa-ēreš (A); f./a. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin  
(B)BM 118979 (no. 3): 7, 11, 14 (Uruk) (A  
and B)BM 118972 (no. 5): 7, 10, 13, 18 (Uruk)  
(A and B)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 33 (Uruk) (B)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 35 (Ur) (B)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 3 (re-  
stored), 8, 11 (Uruk) (B)

s. Nabū-ētir, d. Tābiya

BM 118983 (no. 20): 22 (Babylon)

s. Nadnāya

BM 118968 (no. 11): 40 (Ur)

s. [...]

BM 118973 (no. 23): 3 (Babylon)

d. Iddin-Papsukkal

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 43  
(Babylon)

d. Nabū-na'id

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): [3]  
(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 3 (Babylon)

d. Nergal-ušallim

BM 118978 (no. 15): 38 (Ur)

f. Bēl-rēmanni

BM 118968 (no. 11): 32 (Ur)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 42 (Ur)

f./a. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin; see s. Nabū-aḥa-ēreš

f. [...]

NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 6' (Uruk)

a. Marduk-nāšir

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 48  
(Babylon)**Kukul** (<sup>m</sup>ku-kul)

a. Huddāya

BM 118975 (no. 6): 6, 10 (Uruk)

**Kunāya** (<sup>m</sup>ku-na-a)

s. Nanāya-ēreš

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 26 (Uruk)

f. Nabū-ētir, d. Basiya; same as following

BM 118983 (no. 20): 1, 3 (Babylon)

d. Basiya; same as previous

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 1 (Babylon)

d. Arkāt-ili

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 29 (Borsippa)

d. Lābāši

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 19 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 35 (Uruk)

**Lābāši** (<sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši; <sup>m</sup>la-a-ba-ši)

s. Nabū-lē'i

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 9 (Uruk)

[s. ..., d. ...]-Nergal

BM 118980 (no. 19): 30 (Babylon)

f. Bēl-ušēzib

BM 118984 (no. 10): 29 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 31 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 29 (Uruk)

- f. Bibēa  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 41 (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 35 (Uruk)
- a. Kunāya  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 19 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 35 (Uruk)
- Lābāši-ilī** (<sup>m</sup>la-ba-ši-DINGIR)  
a. Bēl-nāšir  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 33 (Ur)
- Libluṭu** (<sup>m</sup>lib-lu-ṭu)  
s. Nabū-ušallim  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 36 (Borsippa)
- Lū-maššū'a** (<sup>m</sup>lu-maš/bar-šū-ū'a), reading uncertain  
f. <sup>m</sup>š[...]  
NBC 8393 (no. 26): 6 (Uruk)
- Lūši-ana-nūr-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>lū-a-na-ZĀLAG-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)  
a. Marduk  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 23 (Nuḥṣānītu)
- Mār-Bēl-alsi** (<sup>m</sup>DUMU-<sup>d</sup>EN-al-si)  
d. Nabū-aḥḥē-iddin  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 34 (Šapīya)
- Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>mar-duk); see also **Marduka**  
d. Lūši-ana-nūr-Marduk; scribe  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 23 (Nuḥṣānītu)  
d. Nabū-ušēzib  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 31 (Uruk)  
d. <sup>m</sup>x-iqīša  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 38 (Babylon)  
f. Ēṣeru  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 31 (Uruk)  
f. Nabū-le'i  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 4 (Borsippa)  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 4 (Ša-šuru-Adad)  
f. Nabū-šuma-ušur  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 39 (Borsippa)
- Marduka** (<sup>m</sup>mar-duk-a)  
s. Nabū-ušabši  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 34 (Uruk)  
f. [...]  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 5' (Uruk)
- Marduk-ēreš** (<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-KĀM/APIN-eš)  
s. Nabū-iddin  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 27 (Borsippa)  
d. Nabū-  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 4 (Babylon)
- Marduk-erība** (<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU)  
s. Ḥašdiya  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 36 (Uruk)
- Marduk-nāšir** (<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-URU-ir;  
<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAB)  
s. Aplāya  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 37 (Uruk)  
d. Mudammiq-Adad  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 24 (Babylon)  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 24 (Babylon); scribe  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 17 (UD.[x x (x)])  
d. Kudurru  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 48 (Babylon)  
d. [m]x-(x)-x  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 38 (Babylon)
- Marduk-šuma-ibni** (<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DU)  
s. Ḥašdiya  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 36 (Uruk)
- Marduk-šuma-ušur** (<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-URU)  
s. Nāširu; scribe  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 8' (Uruk)
- Maštukku** (<sup>m</sup>maš-tuk-[erasure]-ku)  
a. Bēl-šuma-iškun  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 32 (Babylon)
- Mīnū-ēpuš-ilu** (<sup>m</sup>mi-nu-ū-e-pu-uš-DINGIR)  
a. Nabū-iddin  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 32 (Ur)
- Miširāya** (<sup>m</sup>mi-šir-a-a)  
a. Šumāya  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 9 (Babylon)
- Mudammiq-Adad** (<sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>ŠKUR)  
a. Marduk-nāšir  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 24 (Babylon)  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 24 (Babylon)  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 17 (UD.[x x (x)])
- Mukīn-zēri** (<sup>m</sup>GIN-NUMUN)  
s. Aḥḥēšāya  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 12, 14, 18, 42 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 12, 14, 20, 41 (Uruk)  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 8, 13, 45 (Babylon)  
s. Šākin-šumi  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 38 (Uruk); scribe  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 38 (Uruk); scribe
- Murānu** (<sup>m</sup>mu-ra-nu)  
d. Egibi  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 33 (Babylon)

**Mušallim-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)

- s. Nabû-aḥa-ēreš  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 42 (Borsippa)
- d. Aḥḫēšaya  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 12 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 33 (Uruk)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 32 (Uruk)

**Mušēbi** (<sup>m</sup>mu-šeb-šī)

- a. Šarrani  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 29 (Uruk)  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 6 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 26 (Uruk)

**Mušēzib-Bēl** (<sup>m</sup>mu-šē-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN)

- d. nappāḫu (LÚ.SIMUG, the Smith)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 51 (Babylon)  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 13 (UD.[x x (x)])

**Mušēzib-Marduk** (<sup>m</sup>mu-šē-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU)

- s./d. Kiribti/u-(Marduk), d. Sin-nāšir  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 11, 15 (Uruk)  
BM 118979 (no. 3): 10, 15 (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 11, 16 (<sup>m</sup>mu-šē-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU in BM 118976: 16, no. 4b) (Šapīya)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 9, 14 (Uruk)  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 11, 15 (Uruk)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 7, 12 (Uruk)  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 6, 8 (partially restored), 13 (Uruk)  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 12, 17 (Ur)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 11, 14 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 11, 15 (Uruk)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 4, 5, 7, 12 (Uruk)  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 5, 7, 13 (Ur)  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 1, 11 ([<sup>m</sup>m]u-šē-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU), 12 (Babylon)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 3, 5, 8, 13 (Uruk)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 20, 25 (Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 11, 17 (Babylon)  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 2, 9, 12, 15 (Babylon)  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 3, 7 (UD.[x x (x)])  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 7, 14 (Babylon)  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 9 (partially restored; no filiation) (Ša-šuru-Adad)  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 8 ([A<sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup>ki-ri]b-šī), 12  
NBC 8393 (no. 26): 3 (A-šū šā <sup>m</sup>ki-ri-b-šī), 5 (Uruk)

- d. Nabû-zēra-ukīn  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 33 (Šapīya), <sup>m</sup>mu-šē-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU; <sup>šē</sup>- present in BM 118976: 33, no. 4b

**Nabû-aḥa-ēreš** (<sup>m</sup>dAG-ŠEŠ-KĀM; <sup>m</sup>dAG-ŠEŠ-APIN-eš)

- s. Šāpik(u), d. the Atkuppū  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 39 (Babylon); scribe
- d. Bēlāni  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 4
- d. Nanāya-ušalli  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 8, 12, 44 (Ur)
- f/a. Kudurru  
BM 118979 (no. 3): 7 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 7 (Uruk)
- f. Mušallim-Marduk  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 42 (Borsippa)
- f. <sup>m</sup>21[...]-x-KUR  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 32 (Uruk)

- a. Nergal-ibni  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 40 (Šapīya)

**Nabû-aḥḫē-erība** (<sup>m</sup>dAG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba)

- d. gallābu (LÚ.SU.I, the Barber)  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 1, 6, 15 (Nuḫšānītu)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 44 (Babylon)

**Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin** (<sup>m</sup>dAG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU/SUM.NA)

- d. Balīḫu  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 29 (Ur)
- a. Mār-Bēl-alsi  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 34 (Šapīya)

**Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim** (<sup>m</sup>dAG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šul-lim)

- d. Ilūta-bani  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 2, 5, 10, 12, 14 (Nuḫšānītu)

**Nabû-bēl-ilī** (<sup>m</sup>dAG-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ/ME)

- s. Bēl-idūa/udūa  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 8 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 8 (Uruk)
- f. Bēl-usātu  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 25 (Uruk)

**Nabû-ēreš** (<sup>m</sup>dAG-APIN-eš; <sup>m</sup>dAG-KĀM)

- s./d. Ḥašdiya  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 4 (Ur)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 9, 12, 18, 40 (Uruk)
- a. Aplāya  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 25 (Uruk)

**Nabû-erība** (<sup>md</sup>AG-SU)

d. Šāpiku

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 14  
(Babylon)**Nabû-ēṭir** (<sup>md</sup>AG-KAR-ir; <sup>md</sup>AG-SUR)

s. Aḫḫēa, d. Ṭābiya; b. Šulāya

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 3, 5 (Babylon)

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 2, 6 (Babylon)

BM 118983 (no. 20): 5, 8, 14 (Babylon)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 29 (Babylon)

s. Bēl-ušungal

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 37 (Borsippa)

s. Kunāya, d. Basiya

BM 118983 (no. 20): 1, 12, 17 (Babylon)

d. Bābūtu

BM 118982 (no. 24): 26 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

d. Bēl-erība

BM 118978 (no. 15): 26 (partially pre-  
served; complete on BM 118971:  
28, no. 15b) (Ur)

f. Kudurru, d. Ṭābiya

BM 118983 (no. 20): 22 (Babylon)

f. Ša-Nabû-šū

NBC 8393 (no. 26): 2 (Uruk)

a. Bēl-rēmāni

BM 118975 (no. 6): 29 (Uruk)

**Nabû-gāmil** (<sup>md</sup>AG-ga-mil)

d. Nabû-useppi

BM 118981 (no. 7): 27 (Uruk)

d. Sin-tabni

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 11 (UD.[x x (x)])

f. Bēl-aḫa-iddin

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 41 (Borsippa)

**Nabû-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU)

d. Mīnū-ēpuš-ilu

BM 118978 (no. 15): 32 (Ur)

f. Marduk-ēreš

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 27 (Borsippa)

a. Bēl-nāšir

BM 118964 (no. 1): 32 (Uruk)

**Nabû-iptiq** (<sup>md</sup>AG-ip-ti-iq)

d. LU [x] x [(x)]

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 21 (Nuḫšānītu)

**Nabû-īpuš** (<sup>md</sup>AG-DU-uš)

f. Bēl-uballīq

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 37 (Uruk)

**Nabû-iqīša** (<sup>md</sup>AG-BA-īša)

šatammu of Eanna

BM 118967 (no. 12): 26 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 28 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 27 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 26 (Uruk)

s. Bēl-ibni

BM 118984 (no. 10): 26 (Uruk)

s. Bulluṭ

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 32 (Uruk)

s. Ēreši/u

BM 118967 (no. 12): 32 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 34 (Uruk)

**Nabû-kudurrī-ušur** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NI(G.DU-URU/PAB)

s. [...], d. Iddin-Papsukkal

BM 118980 (no. 19): 32 (Babylon)

d. Ṭābiya

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 46  
(Babylon)? governor of Uruk ([<sup>md</sup>AG<sup>2</sup>-N][G.DU-PAB<sup>2</sup>LÚ.GAR.UMUS<sup>3</sup> UNUG.KI)

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 21

**Nabû-lē'i** (<sup>md</sup>AG-DA/Ā.GĀL)

s. Balāssu

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 29  
(Uruk)

s. Marduk

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 4 (Borsippa)

BM 118982 (no. 24): 4 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

d. Iddin-Papsukkal; scribe

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 41 (Uruk)

d. Aḫḫēšāya

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 25 ([<sup>md</sup>A]G<sup>2</sup>-DA)

f. Bulluṭ

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 29 (Uruk)

f. Lābāši

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 10 (Uruk)

f. Šūzubu

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 38  
(Uruk)**Nabû-mukīn-zēri** (<sup>md</sup>AG-GIN-NUMUN)

šangū-priest of Larsa

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 38  
(Babylon)**Nabû-mušēzib**, see **Nabû-ušēzib****Nabû-na[...]** (<sup>md</sup>AG-na-[x x])[s.] "x [(x) x]<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>, d. Ṭābiya

BM 118980 (no. 19): 8 (Babylon)

**Nabû-na[...]** (<sup>md</sup>AG-na<sup>2</sup>-(x) [x (x)])

[s. ...]-ni, d. Nūr-Sin

BM 118980 (no. 19): 36 (Babylon)

**Nabû-nādin-aḫi**, see **Nabû-šuma-ušur** for

BM 118982 (no. 24): 25

**Nabû-nādin-šumi** (<sup>md</sup>AG-na-din-MU)

s/d. Šulāya, d. Ṭābiya

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 4, 7, 9, 16  
(Nuḫšānītu)

- AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 21, 24, 55 (Babylon)  
 ?BM 118980 (no. 19): 8 (partially restored) (Babylon) (see commentary to no. 19 lines 8–9)
- Nabû-na'id** (<sup>md</sup>AG-I/NÍ.TUK/na'-id)  
 f. Šuma-ukîn  
 BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 28 (Uruk)
- a. Kudurru  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 3 (Babylon)  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 3 (Babylon)
- Nabû-nāšir** (<sup>md</sup>AG-URÛ-(ir); <sup>md</sup>AG-PAB)  
 šatammu of Eanna (LÜ.ŠA.TAM É.AN.NA)  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 27 (Uruk)  
 BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 24 (Uruk)
- s. Ahhēšāya  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): 8, 13, 45 (Babylon)
- s. Bulluṭa; = f./a. Nabû-ušabši  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 2, 5 (Uruk)
- d. Immāya  
 BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 16 (Uruk)  
 BM 118972 (no. 5): 37 (Uruk)  
 BM 118975 (no. 6): 28 (Uruk)
- f. Balāṭu  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 3 (Borsippa)  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 3 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- f./a. Nabû-ušabši; = s. Bulluṭa  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 8, 11, 18' (Uruk)  
 BM 118968 (no. 11): 36 (Ur)
- a. Nanāya-uballiṭ  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 30 (Uruk)
- Nabûnnāya** (<sup>m</sup>na-bu-un-na-a-a)  
 a. Nabû-zēra-ibni  
 BM 118970 (no. 4): 36 (Šapiya)
- [a.] Nabû-x-[(x)]  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): 39 (Babylon)
- Nabû-qarrād-ili** (<sup>md</sup>AG-UR-DINGIR.MEŠ)  
 [s. ...]-x, d. ṭābiḫu (LÜ.GIR.LÁ, the Butcher)  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 51 (Babylon)  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 34 (Babylon)
- Nabû-rēman[(ni)]** (<sup>md</sup>AG-ri-man-[(ni)])  
 a. Ša-pī-Bēl  
 BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 17 (Nuḥšānitu)
- Nabû-šar-ahhēšu** (<sup>md</sup>AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šū)  
 d. Ina-tēši-ēṭir  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 41 (Uruk)
- Nabû-šuma-ēreš** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KÁM/APIN-eš)  
 d. Ahhē-erība  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 37 (Uruk)
- f./a. Balāssu  
 a. AO 10347 (no. 13a): 37 (Uruk); f. in AO 10318:38, no. 13b
- Nabû-šuma-ibni** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-DÜ)  
 d. Ubāru  
 BM 118975 (no. 6): 34 (Uruk)
- Nabû-šuma-iškun** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-GAR-un)  
 d. Dābibi  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 42 (Babylon)
- d. <sup>m</sup>GAR x [(x)] x  
 BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 19 (Nuḥšānitu)
- f. Nanāya-uballiṭ  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 2, 9 (mostly restored), 12 (Uruk)
- a. Nabû-ušallim  
 BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 9 (Uruk)  
 BM 118972 (no. 5): 29 (Uruk)
- Nabû-šuma-ušur** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-URÛ/ú-šur)  
 s. Marduk  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 39 (Borsippa)
- d. Šin-mukin  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 25 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- Nabû-šuma-ušarši** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-TUK-šī)  
 d. Ahhētu  
 BM 118975 (no. 6): 10 (Uruk)
- a. Šarḫissa  
 BM 118964 (no. 1): 34 (Uruk)
- Nabû-šumu-lišir** (<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ)  
 d. Nabû-zēra-ukin; scribe  
 BM 118970 (no. 4): 44 (Šapiya)
- d. Šangū-Zāriqu  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 29 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- Nabû-udammiq** (<sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq)  
 s. [...], d. Nā[r]-[Šin]  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 28 (Babylon)
- d. Nūr-Sin  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 39 (Babylon)
- d. Šulāya  
 BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 13 (Uruk)  
 BM 118972 (no. 5): 32 (Uruk)
- Nabû-useppi** (<sup>md</sup>AG-ú-se-pf)  
 ašlāku (LÜ.AZLAG, the Fuller)  
 BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 39 (Uruk)
- a. Nabû-gāmil  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 27 (Uruk)
- Nabû-ušalli** (<sup>md</sup>AG-ú-šal'-li)  
 f. Bibēa, d. Ṭābiḫu  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 21 (Babylon)



**Nabû-ušabši** (<sup>md</sup>AG-GĀL-šī)

governor of Uruk

BM 118984 (no. 10): 23 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 25 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 27 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 26

(Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 25 (Uruk)

s. Balāssu

BM 118984 (no. 10): 27 (Uruk)

s./d. Nabû-nāšir

BM 118981 (no. 7): 8, 11, 17, 42 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 36 (Ur)

d. Damqīya

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 7 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 27 (Uruk)

d. Ilūta-[bani]

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 18 (Nuḥšānītu)

d. Šangū-Ninurta

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 50

(Babylon)

d. <sup>m</sup>x x [(x)]

BM 118982 (no. 24): 27 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

f. Marduka

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 34

(-GĀL-šī<sup>2</sup>; -GĀL-šī in BM 118966: 33,

no. 14b) (Uruk)

**Nabû-ušallim** (<sup>md</sup>AG-GI/ú-šal-lim/SILIM-im)

d. Amati

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 8 (Babylon)

d. Bānāya

BM 118982 (no. 24): 28 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

d. Iddin-Nergal

BM 118981 (no. 7): 26 (Uruk)

d. Nabû-šuma-iškun

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 9 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 29 (Uruk)

d. Nādin

BM 118981 (no. 7): 3 (Uruk)

?d. Tābiya

BM 118980 (no. 19): 9, reading uncer-

tain (<sup>md</sup>A[G-SI]LIM<sup>2</sup>-im<sup>1</sup>) (Babylon)

f. Libluḥ

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 36 (Borsippa)

f./a. Nergal-ibni

BM 118964 (no. 1): 33 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 27 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 29 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 27 (Uruk)

f. Ibnāya

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 32

(Uruk)

[a. ...]

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 14 (Babylon)

**Nabû-ušēzib** (<sup>md</sup>AG-ú-šē-zib)

s./d. Hāšdiya

BM 118984 (no. 10): 31 (partially

restored) (Uruk)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 31 (Ur)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 31 (Uruk)

d. Bibēa

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 15 (UD.[x x (x)])

s./d. Dāmīru

BM 118964 (no. 1): 6 (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 6 (Šapiya)

a. Marduk

BM 118975 (no. 6): 31 (Uruk)

**Nabû-zēra-ibni** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-DŪ/ib-ni)

s. Bēl-iqšur

BM 118967 (no. 12): 37 (Uruk)

d. Nabūnnāya

BM 118970 (no. 4): 36 (Šapiya)

d. Rēmūtu

BM 118964 (no. 1): 30 (Uruk)

f. Gimillu

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 35 (Borsippa)

f. Zēr-Bābili

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 38 (Borsippa)

a. Iddin(āya)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 27 (damaged) (Ur)

[a.] Nabû-zēra-...

BM 118973 (no. 23): 41 (Babylon)

**Nabû-zēra-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU/SUM.NA)

s. Zākīr

BM 118968 (no. 11): 31 (Ur)

d. Bēl-iddin

BM 118981 (no. 7): 35 (Uruk)

a. Ina-tēši-ēṭir

BM 118964 (no. 1): 12, 14 (Uruk)

**Nabû-zēra-iqīša** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-BA-šā)

d. Dayyānu

BM 118975 (no. 6): 37 (Uruk); scribe

**Nabû-zēra-iškun** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN<sup>2</sup>-GAR<sup>21</sup>)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 25 (Babylon)

**Nabû-zēra-ukīn** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-GIN)

d. Egibi

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 41

(Babylon)

a. Mušēzib-Marduk

BM 118976 (no. 4): 33 (Šapiya)

a. Nabû-šumu-lišir

BM 118970 (no. 4): 45 (Šapiya)

**Nabû-zêra-ušabši** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-GÁL-šī)

d. Upāqu

BM 118981 (no. 7): 36 (Uruk)

**Nabû-zêra-...** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-x)

[d.] Nabû-zêra-ibni

BM 118973 (no. 23): 41 (Babylon)

**Nabû-zêru-līšir** (<sup>md</sup>AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ)

d. Egibi

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 10 (UD.[x x (x)])

d. Ir'anni

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 10 (Babylon)

**Nabû-...** (<sup>md</sup>AG<sup>3</sup>-x-[(x)])

[d.] Nabûnnāya

BM 118973 (no. 23): 39 (Babylon)

**Nabû-...** (<sup>md</sup>AG<sup>3</sup>-x-[(x)])

a. Marduk-ēreš

BM 118973 (no. 23): 4 (Babylon)

**Nabû-...** (<sup>md</sup>AG-...)

f. Bēl-ēreš

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 33 (Borsippa)

**Nādin(u)** (<sup>na</sup>na-din/di-nu; possibly <sup>na</sup>SUM.NA)

s./d. Ēreši/u

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): [4]

(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 4 (Babylon)

s. Kāširu

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 39

(Uruk)

d. Arkāt-ilī; scribe

BM 118982 (no. 24): 30 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

d. Kudurrānu

BM 118973 (no. 23): 34 (Babylon)

d. Šuma-ukīn; scribe

BM 118973 (no. 23): 42 (Babylon)

[f. ...]

NBC 8393 (no. 26): 8 (Uruk), reading

uncertain ([... <sup>na</sup>na<sup>2</sup>-din])

a. Nabû-ušallim

BM 118981 (no. 7): 3 (Uruk)

a. Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 47

(Babylon) (<sup>na</sup>SUM.NA)

**Nādin-aḥi** (<sup>na</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ)

s./d. Upāqu

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 34 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3): rev. 14 (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 35 (Šapīya)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 34 (Uruk)

d. Eppēš-ili

BM 118973 (no. 23): 30 (Babylon)

**Nādin-apli** (<sup>na</sup>na-din-IBILA)

a. Kināya

BM 118975 (no. 6): 8 (Uruk)

**Nadnāya** (<sup>na</sup>na-din-a)

f. Kudurru

BM 118968 (no. 11): 40 (Ur)

**Na'id-bēlani** (<sup>na</sup>na<sup>2</sup>-id-EN-a-ni)

d. Aya-rimi

BM 118970 (no. 4): 32 (Šapīya)

**Nanāya-ēreš** (<sup>na</sup>na-na-a-KAM)

f. Kunāya

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 26 (Uruk)

**Nanāya-īpuš** (<sup>na</sup>na-na-a-DU-uf)

s./d. Pir'u

BM 118964 (no. 1): 8 (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 8 (Šapīya)

f. Bēl-ēṭir

BM 118968 (no. 11): 37 (Ur)

**Nanāya-uballiṭ** (<sup>na</sup>na-na-a-TIN-iṭ)

s. Nabû-šuma-iškun

BM 118984 (no. 10): 1, 9, 12, 17, 35 (Uruk)

d. Nabû-nāšir

BM 118981 (no. 7): 30 (Uruk)

d. Zērūtu

BM 118970 (no. 4): 37 (Šapīya); <sup>na</sup>na-na-  
-<a> in BM 118976:37, no. 4b

a. Bēl-ēṭir

BM 118979 (no. 3): rev. 8 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 28 (Uruk)

**Nanāya-ušalli** (<sup>na</sup>na-na-a-ū/u-šal-li; -u-šal-la in

AO 10318:4, no. 13b)

s. Zākīr

BM 118967 (no. 12): 4 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 4 (Uruk)

f/a. Aḥḥēšāya

BM 118978 (no. 15): 6 (Ur)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 7 (Uruk)

a. Nabû-aḥa-ēreš

BM 118978 (no. 15): 9, 13, 19 (Ur)

**Nappāhu** (LÜ.SIMUG), the Smith

a. Bēl-simānni

BM 118980 (no. 19): 35 (Babylon)

a. Mušēzib-Bēl

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 51

(Babylon)

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 13 (UD.[x x (x)])

**Nasqat** (<sup>na</sup>na-as-gat)

m. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin

BM 118979 (no. 3): 14 (mostly restored)

and rev. 22 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 10, 13, 43 (Uruk)

**Nāširu** (<sup>m</sup>*na-ši-ru*)

s./d. Zākīr(u)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 10 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 30 (Uruk)

BM 118975 (no. 6): 30 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 29 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 30

(Uruk)

Possibly to be identified with Nergal-

nāšir, d. Zākīr

f. Marduk-šuma-ušur

NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 8' (Uruk)

**Nergal-ētir** (<sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-SUR*)

f. Aqara

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 35 (Uruk)

**Nergal-ibni** (<sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-ib-ni*)

d. Nabû-aḥa-ēreš

BM 118970 (no. 4): 40 (Šapīya)

s./d. Nabû-ušallim

BM 118964 (no. 1): 33 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 27 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 29 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 27 (Uruk)

**Nergal-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-SUM.NA*)a. <sup>m</sup>x [x] x

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 18 (UD.[x x (x)])

**Nergal-nāšir** (<sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-URU-(ir)*; <sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-PAB*)

s. Ēzu-u-pā[šir]; b. Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 32 (Borsippa)

d. Bēl-usātu

BM 118978 (no. 15): 30 (Ur)

d. Zākīr; possibly to be identified with

Nāširu s./d. Zākīr

BM 118964 (no. 1): 42 (Uruk)

[d. ...]

BM 118973 (no. 23): 36 (Babylon)

**Nergal-uballit** (<sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-TIN-it*)

s. Ubār

BM 118967 (no. 12): 35 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 35 (Uruk)

**Nergal-ušallim** (<sup>md</sup>*U.GUR-GI*)

a. Kudurru

BM 118978 (no. 15): 38 (-GI damaged,

clear on BM 118971:39, no. 15b) (Ur)

**Nūr-Sin** (<sup>m</sup>*ZĀLAG-d30*)

a. Nabû-udammiq

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 39

(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 28 ([<sup>m</sup>ZĀLA]G<sup>2</sup>-[<sup>31</sup>30<sup>2</sup>]) (Babylon)a. Nabû-na[...s. ...]-ni<sup>2</sup>

BM 118980 (no. 19): 36 (Babylon)

**Pir'u** (<sup>m</sup>*pir-'u*)

s./d. Bēl-useppi

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 5

(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 5 (Babylon)

d. Egibi

BM 118973 (no. 23): 37 (Babylon)

f./a. Nanāya-ipuš

BM 118964 (no. 1): 8 (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 8 (Šapīya)

**Qištiya** (<sup>m</sup>*NI.G.BA-ia*)s. [<sup>m</sup>x x (x)], d. Egibi

BM 118980 (no. 19): 37 (Babylon)

**Rab-banê** (<sup>m</sup>*U.GAL-DŪ*)

a. Balāssu

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 12 (UD.[x x (x)])

see also "Officials and Professions"

**Rāšil, Rāši-ili** (<sup>m</sup>*ra-šil*, <sup>m</sup>*TUK-šil-DINGIR*)

s. Bēl-iddin

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 2 (UD.[x x (x)])

d. Tābiya

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 11 (Babylon)

**Rēmūt-Bāba** (<sup>m</sup>*re-mut-d*BA.Ū)

d. Arkāt-ilī; scribe

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 52

(Babylon)

**Rēmūt(u)** (<sup>m</sup>*re-mu-tu*, <sup>m</sup>*re-mut*)

f. Aḥḥūtu

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 30 (Uruk)

a. Nabû-zēra-ibni

BM 118964 (no. 1): 30 (Uruk)

a. Šarēdu

BM 118964 (no. 1): 31 (Uruk)

**Rēš-ili** (<sup>m</sup>*re-eš-DINGIR*)

a. Šumāya

BM 118982 (no. 24): 25 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Rēš-ummāni**, see (Ša)-rēš-ummāni**Sin-ašarēd** (<sup>md</sup>*30-SAG.KAL*)

s. Iddināya

BM 118968 (no. 11): 39 (Ur)

**Sin-bēl-zēri** (<sup>md</sup>*30-EN-NUMUN*)

s./d. Sin-iddin

BM 118968 (no. 11): 33 (Ur)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 35 (Ur)

**Sin-etel-ili** (<sup>md</sup>*30-NIR.GAL-DINGIR.MEŠ*)

d. Bēšunu

BM 118978 (no. 15): 36 (Ur)

**Sin-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>*30-MU/SUM.NA*)

f./a. Sin-bēl-zēri

BM 118968 (no. 11): 33 (Ur)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 35 (Ur)

**Sîn-mukîn** (<sup>md</sup>30-GI[N<sup>2</sup>])

- a. Nabû-šuma-ušur  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 25 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Sîn-nāšir** (<sup>md</sup>30-URÛ-ir; <sup>md</sup>30-PAB)

- a. Mušēzib-Marduk, s. Kiribti/u(-Marduk)  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 2 (Babylon)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 21, 25  
(Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 12, 17 (partially re-  
stored) (Babylon)  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 2 (Babylon)

**Sîn-tabni** (<sup>md</sup>30-tab-ni)

- a. Nabû-gāmil  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 11 (UD.[x x (x)])

**Šillāya** (<sup>m</sup>šil-la-a)

- s. Šumāya  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 32 (Uruk)  
d. Kiribti  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 39 (Uruk)  
d. <sup>m</sup>GAR x [(x)] x  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 20 (Nuḥšānītu)  
f. Bēl-iddin  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 24 (Uruk)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 33  
(Uruk)

**Šākin-šumi** (<sup>m</sup>GAR-MU)

- s. Bēlani  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 25 (Uruk)  
s/d. Šullumu  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 33 (Uruk)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 34 (Uruk)  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 28 (Uruk)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 34 (Uruk)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 35  
(Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 34 (Uruk)  
d. Šangū-Ninurta  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 11 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 31 (Uruk)  
f. Mukīn-zēri  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 38 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 38 (Uruk)  
f. [DN-šū]ma-ukīn  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 7' (Uruk)  
? [f. PN<sub>1</sub>] (see commentary to no. 26: 3'–4')  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 3', reading un-  
certain, <sup>m</sup>GAR<sup>2</sup>-[MU<sup>2</sup>] (Uruk)  
? [f. PN<sub>2</sub>] (see commentary to no. 26: 3'–4')  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 4', reading un-  
certain, <sup>m</sup>GAR-[MU<sup>2</sup>] (Uruk)

**Šamaš-bāri** (<sup>md</sup>UTU-ba-a-ri)

- a. Bēl-īpuš  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 20 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 40 (Uruk)

**Šamaš-iddin** (<sup>md</sup>UTU-MU)

- d. Zākīr  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 26 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Šamaš-īpuš** (<sup>md</sup>UTU-DÛ-uš)

- a. Bēl-ibni  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 10, 15 (Borsippa)

**Šamaš-šuma-ukīn** (<sup>m</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA/GIN)

- king of Babylon (LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI)  
BM 118981 (no. 7): 41 (Uruk)  
FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 14 (Babylon)  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 25 (Nuḥšānītu)  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 33 (Uruk)  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 44 (Ur)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 40 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 40 (Uruk)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 47 (Uruk)  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 43 (Ur)  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 27 (Babylon)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 39 (Uruk)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 54  
(Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 41 (Babylon)  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 25 (Babylon)  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 22 (UD.[x x (x)])  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 45 (Borsippa)

**Ša-Nabû-šū** (<sup>m</sup>šā-d-AG-šū-u)

- s. Nabû-ēṭir  
NBC 8393 (no. 26): 2, [11], 12 (Uruk)

**Šangū-Adad** (LÜ.ŠANGA<sup>2</sup> d'ISKUR<sup>21</sup>)

- a. Upāqu  
BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 22 (Nuḥšānītu)

**Šangū-Ninurta** (LÜ.É.BAR d'MAŠ/nin-urta)

- a. Aḫḫēšāya s. Ḥašdiya  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 4 (Ur)  
a. Ērešu  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 7 (Ur)  
a. Nabû-ušabši  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 50  
(Babylon)  
a. Šākin-šumi  
BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 11 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 31 (Uruk)  
a. Zibāya  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 6 (Uruk)  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 6 (Ur)

Šangû-Sippar (LÜ.É.BAR/SANGA *sip-par.KI*)

## a. Aplāya

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 25 (Babylon)

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 49

(Babylon)

Šangû-Zāriqu (LÜ.É.BAR/SANGA *za-ri-qu*)

## a. Bēl-šuma-iškun

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 14 (UD. [x x (x)])

## a. Nabû-šumu-lišir

BM 118982 (no. 24): 29 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

Ša-pī-Bēl (*ša-pi-i*)-d<sup>EN</sup>

## ?d. [...]

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 8 (Babylon) (*ša-pi-i*-  
d<sup>EN</sup> A<sup>2</sup> m<sup>21</sup> [...])

## d. Bēl-īpuš

BM 118975 (no. 6): 32 (Uruk); *ša-pi-i*-d<sup>EN</sup>

in BM 118969: 34, no. 6b

## d. Nabû-rēman[(ni)]

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 17 (Nuḥšānītu)

Šāpik(u) (*ša-pik*; *ša-pi-ku*; *ša-pi*-DUB<sup>1</sup>)

## šāpīru (LÜ.L.SUR, the Oilpresser)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 3 (Ur)

## s. [...], d. Atkuppū

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 40

(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 29 (Babylon); [s.

..., d. (*m*)LÜ.A]D<sup>2</sup>.KID<sup>21</sup>

## d. Bēlani

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 8, [12], [17], 32

## ?f. Balāqu

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 34 (*ša-pi-k[u]*)

(Borsippa)

## f. Iddin-Marduk

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 43 (Borsippa)

## f. Nabû-aḥa-ēreš, d. Atkuppū

BM 118980 (no. 19): 39 (Babylon)

## ?a. Nabû-eriba

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 14 (*ša-**pi*<sup>21</sup>.*ku*) (Babylon)

## f. Zērūtu

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 38 (Uruk)

## a. Bēl-iddin

BM 118981 (no. 7): 37 (Uruk)

## a. Ēreši

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 28

Šāpik-zēri (*m*DUB-NUMUN)s. Balāssu; the musician (*nāru*, LÜ.NAR)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 1 (Uruk)

## d. Būšu

BM 118973 (no. 23): 41 (Babylon)

## a. Zēra-ukīn

BM 118981 (no. 7): 4, 31 (Uruk)

(Ša)-rēš-ummāni (*m*SAG-um-ma-ni)

## a. Kidin-Marduk

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 44 (Borsippa)

Šarḥissa (*m*Šar-ḥi-sa), reading uncertain

## d. Nabû-šuma-ušarši

BM 118964 (no. 1): 34 (Uruk)

Šarēdu (*m*Ša-re-du)

## f. Bēl-upāqu, d. Bēl-eṣeru

BM 118983 (no. 20): 23 (Babylon)

## d. Iddin[āya]

BM 118978 (no. 15): 40 (Ur)

## d. Rēmūtu

BM 118964 (no. 1): 31 (Uruk)

Šarrani (*m*LUGAL-a-ni)

## d. Mušēši

BM 118964 (no. 1): 29 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 6 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 26 (Uruk)

## f/a. Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba (A) and Zēr-Bābili (B)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 17 (Uruk) (A

and B)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 38 (Uruk) (A and B)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 29 (Uruk) (A)

Šulāya (*m*Šu-la-a)

## s. Aḥḥē, d. Ṭābiya; f. Nabû-nādin-šumi; b.

Nabû-ētir

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 2 (Babylon)

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 5, 7 (Babylon)

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 7

(partially restored), 17, 21 (Babylon)

?BM 118980 (no. 19): 9 (partially re-

stored) (Babylon)(see commentary to

no. 19 lines 8–9)

BM 118983 (no. 20): 4, 16 (Babylon)

## s. Ibnāya; scribe

BM 118968 (no. 11): 42 (Ur)

## a. Nabû-udammiq

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 13 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 32 (Uruk)

Šullumāya (*m*Šul-lu-ma-a)

## a. Dumqāya

BM 118975 (no. 6): 3 (Uruk)

Šullumu (*m*Šul-lu-mu)

## d. Damqiya

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 15 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 36 (Uruk)

## f. Ilūa

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 12

(partially restored) (Babylon)

## f/a. Šākin-šumi

BM 118975 (no. 6): 33 (Uruk)

- BM 118981 (no. 7): 34 (Uruk)  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 28 (Uruk)  
 BM 118967 (no. 12): 34 (Uruk)  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 35 (Uruk)  
 BM 118985 (no. 17): 34 (Uruk)
- f. <sup>m</sup>x-x  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 14  
 (Babylon)
- a. <sup>m</sup>x [x x x]  
 NBC 4576 (no. 21): 19 (UD.[x x (x)])  
 [a. ...]  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 23
- Šuma-ukīn** (<sup>m</sup>MU-GL.NA)  
 s. Nabū-na'id  
 BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 28 (Uruk)
- d. Bēl-īpuš  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 27 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- f./a. Hašdiya  
 BM 118968 (no. 11): 41 (Ur)  
 BM 118978 (no. 15): 34 (Ur)
- a. Nādin  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): 42 (partially re-  
 stored) (Babylon)
- Šumāya** (<sup>m</sup>ŠU-ma-a)  
 ?d. Bēl-aḥḥē-[...]  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 26 (reading un-  
 certain: [<sup>m</sup>š]u<sup>2</sup>-ma-a<sup>1</sup>)
- d. Miširāya  
 YBC 11413 (no. 16): 9 (Babylon)
- ?d. Rēš-ili  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 25 (reading un-  
 certain: [<sup>m</sup>š]u<sup>2</sup>-ma-a<sup>1</sup>) (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- f. Šillāya  
 AO 10347 (no. 13): 32 (Uruk)
- a. Bēl-ammēni  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 28 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- a. Bēl-usātu  
 BM 118975 (no. 6): 35 (Uruk)
- a. Iddin-Marduk  
 BM 118975 (no. 6): 12, 15 (Uruk)
- Šūzubu** (<sup>m</sup>ŠU-zu-bu)  
 s. Nabū-lē'i  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 38 (Uruk)
- f. Bēl-ēreš  
 AO 10347 (no. 13): 31 (Uruk)
- Tardennu** (<sup>m</sup>TAR-de-nu)  
 f. Gimillu  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 40 (Borsippa)
- Ṭābiḥu** (LÚ.GÍR.LÁ; <sup>m</sup>LÚ.GÍR.LÁ), the Butcher  
 a. Bibēa, s. Nabū-ušalli  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 21 (Babylon)
- a. Nabū-qarrād-ilī, [s. ...]-x  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 51  
 (Babylon)  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 34 (Babylon)
- Ṭābiya** (<sup>m</sup>DUG.GA-ia/ia)  
 a. Aḥḥēa, Aplāya, Nabū-ēṭir, Nabū-nādin-  
 šumi, and Šulāya; see Fig. 1  
 a. Aḥḥēa, s. Aplāya = A  
 a. Nabū-ēṭir, s. Aḥḥēa; b. Šulāya = B  
 a. Šulāya, (s. Aḥḥēa); b. Nabū-ēṭir = C  
 a. Nabū-nādin-šumi; s. / [d.] Šulāya = D  
 FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 2, 3 (Babylon) (B and  
 C)  
 BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 4, 7 (Nuḥšānītu) (D)  
 YBC 11413 (no. 16): 3 (Babylon) (B and C)  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 1, [8], 18,  
 22, 24, 30 (Babylon) ([A], C and D)  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 2, 9 (Babylon) (A  
 and D)  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 4, 16 (Babylon) (C)  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): 29 (Babylon) (B)
- a. Bēl-ēṭir, [s. ...]  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 45  
 (Babylon)  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 31 (reading uncer-  
 tain, [<sup>m</sup>DUG.GA]<sup>2</sup>-ia) (Babylon)
- a. Eriḥa-Marduk, [s. ...]  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 33 (Babylon)
- a. Ibnāya, s. A[ḥḥēa]  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 8, 10 (partially re-  
 stored) (Babylon)
- a. Itti-Marduk-balātu, s. Ibnāya  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 10 (partially re-  
 stored), 13, 16 (mostly restored), 22, 43  
 (Babylon)
- a. Kudurru, s. Nabū-ēṭir  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 22 (Babylon)
- a. Nabū-kudurri-ušur  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 46  
 (Babylon)
- a. Nabū-na[...], s. <sup>m</sup>x[(x) x]-a<sup>1</sup>  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 9 (Babylon)
- a. Rāšil  
 FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 11 (Babylon)
- a. Ubāru  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): 26 (Babylon)
- a. [...]-x-a<sup>1</sup>  
 NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 2' (partially  
 restored) (Uruk)
- a. [...-ē]ṭir ([...-KA]R-ir<sup>1</sup>)  
 YBC 11413 (no. 16): 23 (Babylon)
- [a. ...]  
 YBC 11413 (no. 16): 22 (Babylon)



**Ubar(u)** (<sup>m</sup>ú-ba-ru; <sup>m</sup>ú-bar)

s./d. Balāssu

s. BM 118968 (no. 11): 34 (Ur)

d. BM 118978 (no. 15): 37 (Ur)

d. Tābiya

BM 118973 (no. 23): 26 (Babylon)

f. Balāssu

BM 118967 (no. 12): 33 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 33 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 32 (Uruk)

f. Bēl-aḥa-iddin

BM 118984 (no. 10): 30 (Uruk)

NBC 8393 (no. 26): 1 (Uruk)

f. Nergal-uballit

BM 118967 (no. 12): 35 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 35 (Uruk)

a. Nabū-šuma-ibni

BM 118975 (no. 6): 34 (Uruk)

**LU.U.MUG**

a. Aplāya

BM 118973 (no. 23): 27 (Babylon)

**Upāqu** (<sup>m</sup>ú-pa-qu)

d. Šangū-Adad

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 22 (Nuḥšānītu)

f./a. Nādin-aḥi

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 34 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 14 (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 35 (Šapīya)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 34 (Uruk)

a. Bēl-rēmanni

BM 118970 (no. 4): 38 (Šapīya)

a. Nabū-zēra-ušabši

BM 118981 (no. 7): 36 (Uruk)

**Zabdanu** (<sup>m</sup>zab-da-nu/na)

f./a. Aḥḥēa; gf. Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 7, 10 (Borsippa)

BM 118982 (no. 24): 7 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Zabidu** (<sup>m</sup>za-bi-du)

f. Aplāya

BM 118968 (no. 11): 38 (Ur)

**Zākīr(u)** (<sup>m</sup>za-kir; <sup>m</sup>za-ki-ru)

aškāpu

BM 118979 (no. 3): 4 (Uruk);

LU.ĀŠ<sup>1</sup>(text:MA).GAB

BM 118972 (no. 5): 4 (Uruk); aškāpu

(LU.ĀŠGAB)

?BM 118984 (no. 10): 4 (Uruk); LU x x

s. Balāssu

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 31 (Uruk)

f. Nabū-zēra-iddin

BM 118968 (no. 11): 31 (Ur)

f. Nanāya-ušalli

BM 118967 (no. 12): 4 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 4 (Uruk)

f./a. Nāšīru

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 10 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 30 (Uruk)

BM 118975 (no. 6): 30 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 29 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 30 (Uruk)

a. Nergal-nāšīr

BM 118964 (no. 1): 42 (Uruk)

a. Šamaš-iddin

BM 118982 (no. 24): 26 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

**Zēra-iddin** (<sup>m</sup>NUMUN-SUM.NA, [...S]UM.NU)

f./a. Aḥḥēšāya

BM 118981 (no. 7): 28 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 42 (no.

14b BM 118966:41 [...S]UM.NU)

(Uruk)

**Zēra-ukīn** (<sup>m</sup>NUMUN-GIN)

d. Šāpik-zēri

BM 118981 (no. 7): 4, 31 (Uruk)

**Zēr-Bābili** (<sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN.TIR.KI)

s. Nabū-zēra-ibni

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 38 (Borsippa)

d. Šarrani; b. Bēl-aḥḥē-eriba

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 17 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 38 (Uruk)

**Zērūtu** (<sup>m</sup>NUMUN-ú-tu)

s. Šāpiku

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 38 (Uruk)

a. Nanāya-uballit

BM 118970 (no. 4): 37 (Šapīya)

**Zibāya** (<sup>m</sup>zi-ba-a)

s./d. Ērešu; possibly to be identified with

d. Šangū-Ninurta?

BM 118979 (no. 3): 6 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 9 (Ur)

d. Šangū-Ninurta; b. Ḥašdiya; possibly to be

identified with s./d. of Ērešu?

BM 118972 (no. 5): 6 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 6 (Ur)

**LU** [x] x [(x)]

a. Nabū-iptiq

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 21 (Nuḥšānītu)

<sup>m</sup>x [(x) x]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>

d. Tābiya; f. Nabū-na[...]

BM 118980 (no. 19): 9 (Babylon)

[...]-x-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>

d. Tā[biya]

NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 2' (Uruk)

- [...]-AN  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 20, possibly ancestral/family name; [scribe] (UD.[x x (x)])  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 21 (Babylon)
- [...]-x-BI  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 17, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- [...]-DU  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 16, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- [...-ē]tir ([...-KA]R-īr<sup>1</sup>)  
d. Tābiya  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 23 (Babylon)
- [<sup>m</sup>(x)-G]A<sup>2</sup>-SU  
[f. ...]  
NBC 8393 (no. 26): 9 (Uruk)
- <sup>m</sup>x-īqīša (<sup>m</sup>x-īBA<sup>2</sup>-īd<sup>21</sup>)  
a. Marduk  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 38, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- <sup>m</sup>21[...]-x-KUR  
s. Nabû-aḥa-ēreš  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 32 (Uruk); scribe
- [<sup>m</sup>x]-x-MU  
[a.] Aqara s. [<sup>m</sup>(x)]-x-x-[(x)]  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 38 (Babylon)
- [...]-Nergal ([...-d]U.GUR)  
[a.] Lābāši, s. [...]  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 30 (Babylon)
- [...]-nī<sup>2</sup>  
[f.] Nabû-na[...], d. Nūr-Sin  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 36 (Babylon)
- [...]-nī<sup>2</sup>  
d. Bēl-...  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 22
- <sup>m</sup>x-[(x)-nī]u<sup>2</sup>  
f. Aḥḥēa, d. Eppēš-ili  
BM 118983 (no. 20): 20 (Babylon)
- [...]-Sin ([...]-d<sup>1</sup>30)  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 15, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- [...]-ŠUR<sup>2</sup>  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 19, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- [DN-īu]ma-ukīn ([<sup>m</sup>d-x-M]U<sup>2</sup>-GIN)  
s. Šākin-šumi  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 7' (Uruk)
- [...]-x-TI  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 18, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- <sup>m</sup>x-x  
s. Šullumu  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 13 (Babylon)
- <sup>m</sup>x x [(x)]  
a. Nabû-ušabši  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 27 (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- <sup>m</sup>x [x] x  
d. Nergal-iddin  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 18 (UD.[x x (x)])
- [<sup>m</sup>]x-(x)-x  
a. Marduk-nāšir  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 38 (Babylon)
- <sup>m</sup>1x [x x x]  
d. Šullumu  
NBC 4576 (no. 21): 19 (UD.[x x (x)])
- <sup>m</sup>1d1[x x x]  
[s.] Lū-maššūa  
NBC 8394 (no. 26): 6 (Uruk)
- [<sup>m</sup>(x)]-x-x-[(x)]  
f. Aqara, [d. <sup>m</sup>x]-x-MU  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 38 (Babylon)
- [<sup>m</sup>x (x)] x x [(x)]  
d. Balāssu  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 24
- [...]-x  
s. Kudurru  
NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 6' (Uruk)
- [...]-x  
[f.] Nabû-qarrād-ili, d. Tābiḥu  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 34 (Babylon)
- [...]-x  
[f. ...]  
NBC 8393 (no. 26): 7 (Uruk)
- [...]-x  
[a. ...]  
YBC 11413 (no. 16): 20, likely ancestral/family name (Babylon)
- [<sup>m</sup>x x (x)]  
f. Qištiya, d. Egibi  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 37 (Babylon)

## 2. Officials and Professions

*aškāpu* (LÜ.AŠGAB), leatherworker

BM 118979 (no. 3): 4 LÜ.AŠ<sup>1</sup>(text:MA).GAB (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 4 (Uruk)

?BM 118984 (no. 10): 4 LÜ x x (Uruk)

*ašlāku* (LÜ.AZLAG), fuller

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 39 (Uruk)

*atkuṣṣu* (LÜ.AD.KID), reedworker

see under personal names

*bēl pīḫati* of Babylon (LÜ.EN.NAM TIN.TIR.KI)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 44 (Babylon), eponym

*gallābu* (LÜ.ŠULI), barber

see under personal names

*itinnu* (LÜ.ŠITIM), builder

see under personal names

*nappāhu* (LÜ.SIMUG), smith

see under personal names

*nāru* (LÜ.NAR), musician

BM 118981 (no. 7): 1 (Uruk)

*paḫāru* (LÜ.BAḪAR<sup>1</sup>(text:E.QA.BUR)), potter

BM 118979 (no. 3): 5 (Uruk)

*šāḫitu* (LÜ.ŠUR), oilpresser

BM 118978 (no. 15): 3 (only partially preserved, but complete on BM 118971:3, no. 15b) (Ur)

*šākin ṭēmi* (LÜ.GAR.UMUŠ), governor

BM 118983 (no. 20): 11 (Babylon)

*šākin ṭēmi Uruk* (LÜ.GAR.UMUŠ UNUG.KI), governor of Uruk

BM 118964 (no. 1): 26 (Uruk)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 23 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 4 (partially restored) (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 24 (Uruk)

BM 118975 (no. 6): 27 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 24 (Uruk)

BM 118984 (no. 10): 23 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 25 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 27 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 26 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 25 (Uruk)

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 21

*šangû* (LÜ.É.BAR), *šangû*-priest

BM 118980 (no. 19): 38 (Babylon)

*šangû*-priest of Adad

see *šangû-Adad* under personal names

*šangû*-priest of Larsa

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 38 (Babylon)

*šangû*-priest of Ninurta

see *šangû-Ninurta* under personal names

*šangû*-priest of Sippar

see *šangû-Sippar* under personal names

*šangû*-priest of Zāriqu

see *šangû-Zāriqu* under personal names

*šatammu* of Eanna (LÜ.ŠA.TAM É.AN.NA),

temple administrator

BM 118964 (no. 1): 27 (Uruk)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 24 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 5 (mostly restored) (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 25 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 26 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 28 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 27 (Uruk)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 26 (Uruk)

LÜ.50.MEŠ, "the fifty-men"

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 6 (Uruk)

BM 118982 (no. 24): 6 (partially restored) (Ša-šuru-Adad)

*šābiḫu* (LÜ.GIR.LÁ), butcher

see under personal names

*šupšarru* (LÜ.DUB.SAR; LÜ.UMBISAG), scribe

BM 118964 (no. 1): 43 (Uruk)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 40 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 20 (Uruk)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 44 (Šapīya)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 40 (Uruk)

BM 118975 (no. 6): 36 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 38 (Uruk)

FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 12 (Babylon)

BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 23 (Nuḫšānītu)

BM 118984 (no. 10): 32 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 42 (Ur)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 38 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 38 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 45 (Uruk)

BM 118978 (no. 15): 42 (Ur)

YBC 11413 (no. 16): 25 (Babylon)

BM 118985 (no. 17): 37 (Uruk)

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 52 (Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 39 (Babylon)

BM 118983 (no. 20): 24 (Babylon)

NBC 4576 (no. 21): 20 (restored) (UD.[x x (x)])

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 44 (Borsippa)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 42 (Babylon)

BM 118982 (no. 24): 30 (Ša-šuru-Adad)

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 28

NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 8' (Uruk)

LÜ.U.MUG

see under personal names

### 3. Cities and Towns

#### Babylon (TIN.TIR.KI)

- BM 118981 (no. 7): 41  
 FLP 1288 (no. 8\*): 13, 15  
 BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 25  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 34  
 BM 118968 (no. 11): 45  
 BM 118967 (no. 12): 41  
 AO 10347 (no. 13): 40  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 48  
 BM 118978 (no. 15): 44  
 YBC 11413 (no. 16): 8, 26, 27  
 BM 118985 (no. 17): 39  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 53, 54  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 40, 42  
 BM 118983 (no. 20): 24, 25; see also 11  
 LÚ.TIN.TIR.KI.MEŠ  
 NBC 4576 (no. 21): 22 (restored)  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 46  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): 43, 44  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 31  
 NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 10'

#### Borsippa (*bár-sipa*.KI)

- BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 45

#### Larsa (UD.UNUG.KI)

- AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 38

#### Nuḫṣānītu (URU *nu-uh<sup>1</sup>-šā-ni-ti*)

- BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 24

#### Sippar

- see Šangū-Sippar under personal names

#### Šapīya (URU *šā-pi-ia*)

- BM 118970 (no. 4): 45

#### Ša-šuru-Adad (URU *šā-šu-ru-<sup>2</sup>ISKUR*)

- BM 118982 (no. 24): 31

#### UD.[x.x.KI]<sup>2</sup>

- NBC 4576 (no. 21): 21

#### Ur (ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI)

- BM 118968 (no. 11): 43  
 BM 118971 (no. 15): 43 (<ŠEŠ>.UNUG.KI in  
 BM 118978)

#### Uruk (UNUG.KI)

- BM 118964 (no. 1): 2, 26, 44  
 BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 3, 23, 42  
 BM 118979 (no. 3): 2, rev. 4 (mostly  
 restored), 21  
 BM 118970 (no. 4): 2  
 BM 118972 (no. 5): 2, 24, 41  
 BM 118975 (no. 6): 2, 27, 38  
 BM 118981 (no. 7): 24, 39  
 BM 118986 (no. 9\*): 9<sup>2</sup>  
 BM 118984 (no. 10): 23, 33  
 BM 118967 (no. 12): 2, 25, 39  
 BM 118968 (no. 11): 2  
 AO 10347 (no. 13): 2, 27, 39  
 IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 2 (restored),  
 26, 46  
 BM 118978 (no. 15): 2; cf. 43  
 (<ŠEŠ>.UNUG.KI)  
 YBC 11413 (no. 16): 6  
 BM 118985 (no. 17): 2, 25, 38  
 AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 2, 9, 17, 19  
 BM 118980 (no. 19): 2  
 BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 2  
 BM 118973 (no. 23): [2<sup>2</sup>]  
 BM 118982 (no. 24): 2  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 2, 21  
 NBC 8393 (no. 26) rev. 9'  
 [x.KI]<sup>2</sup>  
 NBC 8392 (no. 25): 29

## 4. Watercourses

*ḥarīšu* (ID *ḥa-ri-šu*)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 2, 7 (Uruk)

BM 118981 (no. 7): 6 (Uruk)

*ḥarri ša Nanāya* (ID *ḥar-ri ša* <sup>63</sup>*na-na-a*)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 5, in the Akītu district  
[in the *ugāru* of Uruk] (Uruk)

*nār išseti* (ID *iš-še-ti*); for *nāru ešsetu*?

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 2, 5 ([x.K]i<sup>1</sup>)

*nār šarri* (ID LUGAL)

AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 2 (mostly  
restored), 6, 16 (*elū*), in *ugāru* of Uruk  
(Babylon)

BM 118980 (no. 19): 2, 6, in *ugāru* of Uruk  
(Babylon)

BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 1, 5, 8, in *ugāru* of  
Uruk (Borsippa)

BM 118982 (no. 24): 1 (mostly restored), 5, in  
*ugāru* of Uruk (Ša-šuru-Adad)

NBC 8393 (no. 26): 5 (Uruk)

## 5. Shrines

*bīt Ninurta* (É <sup>4</sup>*nin-urta*/MAŠ), at Uruk; see

also *eršeti bīt Ninurta*

BM 118979 (no. 3): 8 (Uruk)

BM 118968 (no. 11): 5, 8 (Ur)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 6 (Uruk)

*bīt Uruk* (É UNUG.KI)

NBC 8392 (no. 25): 2 (A.GAR É UNUG.KI)

([x.K]i<sup>1</sup>) Possibly a synonym for “district of  
Uruk”; see commentary to text no. 25 line 2.

*Eanna* (É.AN.NA); see also *eršeti Eanna*

BM 118964 (no. 1): 27 (Uruk)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 24 (Uruk)

BM 118979 (no. 3) rev. 5 (Uruk)

BM 118972 (no. 5): 25 (Uruk)

BM 118967 (no. 12): 26 (Uruk)

AO 10347 (no. 13): 28 (Uruk)

IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14) (Uruk): 27

BM 118985 (no. 17): 26 (Uruk)

## 6. Deities

*Adad*

see Šangû-Adad under personal name

*Irnin(n)a* (<sup>4</sup>*ir-nin-na*)

BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 3, *abul Irnin(n)a* (Uruk)

*Marduk* (<sup>4</sup>AMAR.UTU)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 28 (Šapīya)

*Nanāya* (<sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*)

BM 118973 (no. 23): 5, *ḥarri ša Nanāya*  
(Babylon)

*Ninurta*

see Šangû-Ninurta under personal names

see under shrines, *bīt Ninurta*

see under miscellaneous topographical  
features, *eršeti bīt Ninurta*

*Zāriqu*

see Šangû-Zāriqu under personal names

*Zarpanītu* (<sup>4</sup>*zar-pa-ni-tu*)

BM 118970 (no. 4): 28 (Šapīya)

## 7. Miscellaneous Topographical Features

- abul Irnin(n)a** (KĀ.GAL <sup>4</sup>*ir-nin-na*)  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 2–3 (Uruk)
- biriti lā āšiti** (*bi-ri-ti la a-ši-ti tu<sub>4</sub>*)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 10, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 10, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 4, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)
- dūr āli** (BĀD URU)  
BM 118979 (no. 3): 3, at Ninurta Temple district at Uruk (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 3, at Ninurta Temple district at Uruk (Uruk)
- eršeti akitu** (KI-ti *a-ki-ti tu<sub>4</sub>*)  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 2 (Babylon)
- eršeti bāb mahiri** (KI-ti KĀ KILAM) inside Uruk  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 2 (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 2 (Šapīya)  
?AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 8–9 (restored) (Babylon)
- eršeti bit Ninurta** (KI-ti É <sup>4</sup>MAŠ/nin-urta) inside Uruk  
BM 118979 (no. 3): 2 (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 2 (Uruk)  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 2 (Ur)  
IM 57079 (UET 4 15) (no. 14): 2 (Uruk)
- eršeti Eanna** (KI-ti É.AN.NA) inside Uruk  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 2 (Uruk)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 2 (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 2 (Uruk)  
BM 118978 (no. 15): 2 (Ur)  
BM 118985 (no. 17): 2 (Uruk)
- eršeti nāri iššeti** (<sup>4</sup>KI-ti ÉD *iš-še-ti*)  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 2, in the *ugāru* of Uruk ([x.K]i<sup>2</sup>)
- eršeti nār šarri** (KI-ti ÉD LUGAL) in the *ugāru* of Uruk  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 1–2 (Borsippa)  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 1–2 (mostly restored) (Ša-šuru-Adad)
- harrānu** ([K]ASKAL.II)  
BM 118973 (no. 23): 6, in the Akītu district, [in the *ugāru* of Uruk] (Babylon)
- harrānu mūtaq ili u šarri** (KASKAL.II *mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL*)  
BM 118965 (no. 2\*): 6, near the *hārīšu* of the gate of the goddess Irnin(n)a inside Uruk (Uruk)
- sūqu** (*su-ū-qu*; E.SĪR; SILA)  
BM 118979 (no. 3): 5, in Ninurta Temple district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
BM 118972 (no. 5): 5, in Ninurta Temple district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
BM 118968 (no. 11): 10, in Ninurta Temple district inside Uruk (Ur)
- sūqu lā āšiti** (SILA *la a-ši-ti*)  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 5, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)
- sūqu qatnu** (SILA *qa-at-nu*)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 15, in the Market Gate district inside Uruk (mostly restored) (Babylon)
- sūqu rapšu mūtaq ili u šarri** (SILA DAGAL/*rap-šū mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL*)  
BM 118964 (no. 1): 10, in the Market Gate district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
BM 118970 (no. 4): 10, in the Market Gate district inside Uruk (Šapīya)  
BM 118975 (no. 6): 7, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
BM 118984 (no. 10): 5 (Uruk)  
BM 118967 (no. 12): 6, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
AO 10347 (no. 13): 6, in the Eanna district inside Uruk (Uruk)  
AO 10337 (no. 18): 10–11, in the Market Gate district inside Uruk (mostly restored) (Babylon)
- ugār bit Uruk** (A.GĀR É UNUG.KI)  
NBC 8392 (no. 25): 2 ([x.K]i<sup>2</sup>)
- ugār (tamirti?) angillu** (A.GĀR GARIM<sup>2</sup> *an-gil-lu<sub>4</sub>*)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 16 (Babylon)
- ugār Uruk** (A.GĀR UNUG.KI)  
AO 10337 (TCL 12 12) (no. 18): 2 (partially restored), 17 (Babylon)  
BM 118980 (no. 19): 2 (Babylon)  
BM 118977 (no. 22\*): 2 (Borsippa)  
?BM 118973 (no. 23): 2 (restored) (Babylon)  
BM 118982 (no. 24): 2 (Ša-šuru-Adad)





## Bibliography

Abraham, K.

- "West Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Sources from the Sixth Century BCE: New Evidence from a Marriage Contract from Āl-Yahudu." *AfO* 51 (2005–2006): 198–219.

Armstrong, J. A.

- "The Archaeology of Nippur from the Decline of the Kassite Kingdom until the Rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire." Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989.

Baker, H. D.

- "Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in First-Millennium B.C. Mesopotamia." In *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, edited by C. Wunsch, pp. 1–24. Babylonische Archive 1. Dresden: ISLET, 2002.
- *The Archive of the Nappāhu Family*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 30. Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2004.
- "Babylonian Land Survey in Socio-Political Context." In *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies / Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen*, edited by G. Selz, with the assistance of K. Wagensonner. Wiener Offene Orientalistik 8 [forthcoming]
- "Beyond Planning: How the Babylonian City was Formed." *Babel und Bibel* [forthcoming]
- "Record-Keeping Practices as Revealed by the Neo-Babylonian Private Archival Documents." In *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, edited by M. Brosius, pp. 241–263. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- "A Waste of Space? Unbuilt Land in Babylonian Cities of the First Millennium BC." *Iraq* 72 (2009): 89–98.

Baker, H. D. and M. Jursa, (eds.)

- *Approaching the Babylonian Economy. Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1–3 July 2004*. AOAT 330. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.

Beaulieu, P.-A.

- "An Episode in the Fall of Babylon to the Persians." *JNES* 52 (1993): 241–261.
- "The Fourth Year of Hostilities in the Land." *Bagh. Mitt.* 28 (1997): 367–394.
- *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection*. Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1994.
- *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus*. YOS 19. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- "Neo-Babylonian Larsa: A Preliminary Study." *Or.* NS 60 (1991): 58–81.
- *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Cuneiform Monographs 23. Leiden: Brill / Styx, 2003.

Birnbaum, E.

- "The Michigan Codex: An Important Hebrew Bible Manuscript Discovered in the University of Michigan Library." *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1967): 373–415.

Black, J., A. George, and N. Postgate, (eds.)

- *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2<sup>nd</sup> (corrected) printing. SANTAG 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.

Bongenaar, A. C. V. M.

- *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: its Administration and its Prosopography*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 80. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997.

Borger, R.

- *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Fuchs. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.
- *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*. AOAT 305. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004.

Boyer, G.

- "šupur x kima kunnukkišu." In *Symbolae ad iura orientalis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, edited by J. Friedrich, J. G. Lautner and J. Miles, pp. 208–218. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939.

Brinkman, J. A.

- "A Legal Text from the Reign of Erība-Marduk (c. 775 B.C.)." In *dumu-e-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, edited by H. Behrens, D. Loding, and M. T. Roth, pp. 37–47. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11. Philadelphia: Babylonian Section, University Museum, 1989.
- "Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Mesopotamia in the Early Seventh Century B.C." *Or*. NS 46 (1977): 304–325.
- *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747–626 B.C.* Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7. Philadelphia, 1984.
- "Reflections on the Geography of Babylonia (1000–600 B.C.)." In *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, edited by M. Liverani, pp. 19–29. Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5. Rome: Studium Urbis, 1995.
- "The Use of Occupation Names as Patronyms in the Kassite Period: A Forerunner of Neo-Babylonian Ancestral Names?" In *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, edited by A. K. Guinan, et al., pp. 23–43. Cuneiform Monographs 31. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.

Brinkman, J. A. and D. K. Kennedy

- "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721–626 B.C." *JCS* 35 (1983): 1–90.
- "Supplement to the Survey of Dated Neo-Babylonian Economic Texts, 721–626 B.C. (*JCS* 35 [1983] 1–90)." *JCS* 38 (1986): 99–106.

Budge, E. A. W.

- "Sale of a Garden." *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* 10 (1887–88): 146 and pls. 4–6 following p. 148.

Çağiran, G. and W. G. Lambert

- "The Late Babylonian Kislîmu Ritual for Esagil." *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93): 89–106.

Cancik, E.

- "Neu- und spätbabylonische Zeit." In *Uruk: Kampagne 35–37, 1982–1984. Die archäologische Oberflächenuntersuchung (Survey)*, by U. Finkbeiner, with contributions by A. Becker, et al. Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 4. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991.

Clay, A. T.

- *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.* BRM 1. New York: n.p., 1912.
- *Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods Chiefly from Nippur.* BE 8/1. Philadelphia: Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1908.

Cocquerillat, D.

- "Compléments aux « Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk » II." *RA* 78 (1984): 49–70.
- *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559–520).* Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 8. Berlin: Mann, 1968.
- "Recherches sur le verger du temple campagnard de l'Akītu (KIRI<sub>6</sub> hallat)." *WO* 7 (1973–74): 96–134.

Cole, S. W., and P. Machinist

- *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.* SAA 13. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998.

Contenau, G.

- *Contrats néo-babyloniens.* Volume 1: *De Téglat-phalasar III à Nabonide.* TCL 12. Paris: Geuthner, 1927.

Dandamaev, M. A.

- Review of *Amel-Marduk, 562–560 B.C.*, by R.H. Sack, in *BiOr* 31 (1974): 281–282.

von Dassow, E.

- "Archival Documents of Borsippa Families," *Aula Orientalis* 12 (1994): 105–120.
- "Introducing the Witnesses in Neo-Babylonian Documents." In *Ki Baruch Hu. Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, edited by R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo and L. H. Schiffman, pp. 3–22. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999.

Deonna, M. W.

- "A. – Collections archéologiques et historiques, Salle des Armures, Arts décoratifs, Collections lapidaires." *Genava* 17 (1939): 1–9.

Dillard, R. B.

- "Neo-Babylonian Texts from the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia." Ph.D. dissertation, Dropsie University, 1975.

Dougherty, R. P.

- *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.).* YOS 6. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

Dowson, V. H. W.

- *Dates & Date Cultivation of the 'Iraq.* 3 volumes. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., for the Agricultural Directorate of Mesopotamia, 1921–23.

van Driel, G.

- *Elusive Silver: In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment. Aspects of Mesopotamia's Society.* Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 95. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002.
- "Neo-Babylonian Agriculture." *BSA* 4 (1988): 121–159.
- "Neo-Babylonian Texts from Borsippa," *BiOr* 49 (1992): 28–50.

Driver, G. R.

- "The Sale of a Priesthood." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Centenary Supplement 1924, pp. 41–48 and plates 4–5 following p. 48.

Durand, J.-M.

- *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Cahier 6. Paris: Éditions A.D.P.F., 1981.

Ellis, M. deJ.

- "Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection." *JCS* 36 (1984): 1–63.

Falkenstein, A.

- *Topographie von Uruk. I. Teil: Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 3. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1941.

Figulla, H. H.

- *Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia to Mesopotamia. UET 4. London: Trustees of the Two Museums, 1949.

Finkel, I. L.

- "On Late Babylonian Medical Training." In *Wisdom, Gods and Literature*, edited by A. R. George and I. L. Finkel, pp. 137–223. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.

Frame, G.

- "Another Babylonian Eponym." *RA* 76 (1982): 157–166.
- *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 69. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1992.
- "City Administration of Uruk During the Neo-Assyrian Period." *Babel und Bible* [forthcoming]
- "The Correspondence of Nabû-ušabši, Governor of Uruk." In *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*, edited by K. R. Veenhof, pp. 260–272. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 57. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986.
- *Rulers of Babylonia From the Second Dynasty of Isin To the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*. RIMB 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- "Šapīya." *RLA* 12/1 (2009): 29.
- "A Siege Document from Babylon Dating to 649 B.C." *JCS* 51 (1999): 101–106.

Frame, G. and C. Waerzeggers

- "The Prebend of Temple Scribe in First Millennium Babylonia." *ZA* 101 (2011): 127–151.

Garner, Bryan, A. (ed.)

- *Black's Law Dictionary*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. St. Paul, MN: Thomson West, 2004.

Gelb, I. J., et al. (eds.)

- *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–.

George, A. R.

- *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* 2 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- *Babylonian Topographical Texts*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 40. Leuven: Peeters, 1992.
- *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 5. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993.

George, A. R. and I. L. Finkel (eds.)

- *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.

Goetze, A.

- "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's Babylonian Chronology." *JNES* 3 (1944): 43–46.

Grayson, A. K.

- *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5. Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1975.

Gurney, O. R.

- "Three Contract Tablets from Babylon." In *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*, [edited by M. A. Dandamayev et al.], pp. 120–128. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982.

Hackl, J.

- *Der subordinierte Satz in den spätbabylonischen Briefen*. AOAT 341. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007.

Haring, B., and R. de Maaijer (eds.)

- *Landless and Hungry? Access to Land in Early and Traditional Societies*. CNWS Publications 67. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1998.

Harper, R. F.

- *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection(s) of the British Museum*. 14 volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892–1914.

Henkelman, W. F. M., C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper

- "Clay Tabs with Achaemenid Seal Impressions in the Dutch Institute of the Near East (NINO) and Elsewhere." *Arta* 2004.001: 1–66 (via Achemenet).

Hölscher, M.

- *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*. Imgula 1. Münster: Rhema, 1996.

Homès-Fredericq, D.

- "Empreintes d'ongles dans les 'Archives d'un Centre Provincial', conservées aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles." In *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius*, unter Mitwirkung von N. Cholidis, M. Krafeld-Daugherty und E. Rehm, herausgegeben von M. Dietrich und O. Loretz, pp. 103–109. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994.

Hunger, H.

- "Das Archiv des Nabû-ušallim." *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 193–304.

Jakob-Rost, L.

- "Ein neubabylonisches Tontafelarchiv aus dem 7. Jahrhundert v.u.Z." *FB* 10 (1968): 39–62.
- "Urkunden des 7. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z. aus Babylon." *FB* 12 (1970): 49–60.

Janković, B.

- "Travel Provisions in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC." In *L'Archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches*, edited by P. Briant, W. Henkelman, and M. Stolper, pp. 429–464. Persika 12. Paris: De Boccard, 2008.

Joannès, F.

- *Archives de Borsippa: La famille Ea-ilûta-bâni. Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* Hautes Études Orientales 25. Geneva: Droz, 1989.



- *Les tablettes néo-babyloniennes de la Bodleian Library conservées à l'Ashmolean Museum*. OECT 12. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
  - *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente (Étude des textes de TBER - Cahier n° 6)*. Recherche sur les civilisations, Cahier 5. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982.
- Johansen, F.
- *Statues of Gudea: Ancient and Modern*. With a chapter by B. Alster. Mesopotamia 6. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1978.
- Jursa, M.
- *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmani*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 86. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1999.
  - "Economic Change and Legal Innovation: On Aspects of Commercial Interaction and Land Tenure in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC." In *I diritti del mondo cuneiforme (Mesopotamia e regioni adiacenti ca. 2500–500 a.C.)*, edited by M. Liverani and C. Mora, pp. 601–628. Pavia: IUSS Press, 2008.
  - *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 25. Wien: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1995.
  - *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives*. Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.
  - "Pfand. G. Neu- und Spätbabylonisch." *RLA* 10/5–6 (2004) 451–454.
  - "Die Söhne Kudurrus und der Herkunft der neubabylonischen Dynastie." *RA* 101 (2007): 125–136.
  - "Spätachämenidische Texte aus Kutha." *RA* 97 (2003): 43–140.
- Kessler, K.
- *Uruk. Urkunden aus Privathäusern. Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs. Teil 1: Die Archive der Söhne des Bēl-ušallim, des Nabû-ušallim und des Bēl-supê-muhur*. AUWE 8. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991.
  - "Urukäische Familien versus babylonische Familien: Die Namengebung in Uruk, die Degradierung der Kulte von Eanna und der Aufstieg des Gottes Anu," *AoF* 31 (2004): 237–262.
- Krückmann, O.
- *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte*. TuM 2–3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933.
- Kümmel, H. M.
- *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*. ADOG 20. Berlin: Mann, 1979.
- Lambert, W. G.
- "Some New Babylonian Wisdom Literature." In *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton*, edited by J. Day, R. P. Gordon and H. G. M. Williamson, pp. 30–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Landsberger, B.
- *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965.
- Leichty, E.
- *Tablets from Sippar 1*. With an Introduction by J. E. Reade. Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 6. London: British Museum Publications, 1986.
- Leichty, E. and A. K. Grayson.
- *Tablets from Sippar 2*. Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 7. London: British Museum Publications, 1987.

Leichty, E., J. J. Finkelstein and C. B. F. Walker.

- *Tablets from Sippar 3*. Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 8. London: British Museum Publications, 1988.

Lenzen, H.

- *Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Winter 1953/54 · Winter 1954/55*. Mit Beiträgen von A. Falkenstein und W. Ludwig. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Berlin: Mann, 1956.

Liverani, M.

- "Reconstructing the Rural Landscape of the Ancient Near East." *JESHO* 39 (1996): 31–41.

Lorenz, J.

- "20, 30, 40 Schekel." *AfO* 51 (2005–2006): 248–251.

Luckenbill, D. D.

- *The Annals of Sennacherib*. OIP 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Maidman, M.

- Review of *The Archive of Urad-Šerūa and his Family*, by J. N. Postgate. In *BiOr* 49 (1992): 153–161.

Mallowan, M. E. L.

- "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1950." *Iraq* 12 (1950): 147–183.

McEwan, G. J. P.

- *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*. OECT 10. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Miglus, P. A.

- *Städtische Wohnarchitektur in Babylonien und Assyrien*. Baghdader Forschungen 22. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999.

Millard, A.

- *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910–612 BC*. With a contribution by R. Whiting. SAAS 2. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1994.

Moldenke, A. B.

- *Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. 2 vols. New York: 1893.

Moore, E. W.

- *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents with Transliteration, Translation and Notes*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935.

Nielsen, J. P.

- *Sons and Descendants: A Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 43. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011.
- "Trading on Knowledge: The Iddin-Papsukkal Kin Group in Southern Babylonia in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries B.C." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 9 (2009): 171–182.

Oelsner, J.

- "Zur neu- und spätbabylonischen Siegelpraxis." In *Festschrift für Lubor Matouš*, vol. 2, ed. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy, pp. 167–186. *Assyriologia* 5. Budapest: 1978.
- "Zur Siegelung mittelbabylonischer Rechtsurkunden." *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 41/2 (1980): 89–95.
- "Zu spätbabylonischen Urkunden aus Ur und dem Archiv der Familie *gallābu* 'Barbier'." In *Recht gestern und heute. Festschrift zum 85. Geburtstag von Richard Haase*, ed. J. Hengstl and U. Sick, pp. 75–87. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

Oelsner, J., B. Wells, and C. Wunsch

- "Neo-Babylonian Period." In *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Westbrook, vol. 2, pp. 911–974. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/72/2. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.

Oppenheim, A. L.

- "'Siege-Documents' from Nippur." *Iraq* 17 (1955): 69–89.

Owen, D. I.

- *The John Frederick Lewis Collection*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 3. Roma: Multi-grafica Editrice, 1975.

Owen, D. I. and K. Watanabe

- "Eine neubabylonische Gartenkaufurkunde mit Flügen aus dem Akzessionsjahr Asarhaddons." *OrAnt* 22 (1983): 37–48.

Parpola, S.

- *Assyrian Prophecies*. SAA 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997.
- *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. 2 vols. AOAT 5. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag, 1983.

Peat, J. A.

- "*Ḫanšū* Land and the *Rab Ḫanšū*." *Iraq* 45 (1983): 124–127.

Pedersén, O.

- *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon. Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899–1917*. ADOG 25. Saarbrücken: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag, 2005.
- *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1998.

Petschow, H.

- *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare*. Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 118. Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1939.
- *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse 48/1. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956.

Pfeiffer, C. F.

- "Neo-Babylonian Documents in the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia." Ph.D. dissertation, Dropsie College, 1953.

Pinches, T. G.

- "Ein babylonischer Eponym." With an addition by E. F. Weidner. *AfO* 13 (1939–41): 51–55 and plates 3–4.
- *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. 3 vols. CT 55–57. London: British Museum Publications, 1982.
- "Notes upon Some of the Recent Discoveries in the Realm of Assyriology, with Special Reference to the Private Life of the Babylonians." *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 26 (1893): 123–171.

Pohl, A.

- *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*. 2 volumes. AnOr 8 and 9. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1933–34.

Popenoe, P.

- *The Date Palm*. Edited by H. Field. Coconut Grove, Miami, FL: Field Research Projects, 1973.

Radner, K. (ed.)

- *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–.

Reade, J. E.

- "Early Monuments in Gulf Stone at the British Museum with Observations on Some Gudea Statues and the Location of Agade." *ZA* 92 (2002): 258–295.

Reynolds, F.

- *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. SAA 18. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003.

Roth, M. T.

- *Babylonian Marriage Agreements, 7<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries B.C.* AOAT 222. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989.
- "The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry." *AfO* 36–37 (1989–90): 1–55.

San Nicolò, M.

- *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. und des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge 34. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1951.
- "Zum *atru* und anderen Nebenleistungen des Käufers beim neubabylonischen Immobilienkauf." *Or NS* 16 (1947): 273–302.

Sassmannshausen, L.

- *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*. Baghdader Forschungen 21. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2001.

Shaffer, E.

- "John Frederick Lewis, 1860–1932." *Manuscripts* 15/1 (1963): 42–46.

Shiff, L. B.

- "The Nūr-Sin Archive: Private Entrepreneurship in Babylon (603–507 B.C.)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.

Sjöberg, Å. W.

- "in-nin šà-gur<sub>4</sub>-ra. A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna." *ZA* 65 (1975): 161–253.

Smith, S. A.

- *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts of the British Museum with Textual Notes*. Leipzig: Edward Pfeiffer, 1887.

von Soden, W.

- *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–81.

Sollberger, E.

- "The Cuneiform Collection in Geneva." *JCS* 5 (1951): 18–20.

Spar, I. and E. von Dassow

- *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Vol. 3: *Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C.* With contributions by J. N. Postgate and L. B. Bregstein. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Brepols, 2000.

Speleers, L.

- *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Brussels: Vanderpoorten et C<sup>o</sup>, 1925.

Stamm, J. J.

- *Die akkadische Namengebung*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft 44. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939.

Starr, I.

- *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. SAA 4. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.

Stigers, H. G.

- "Achaemenian Tablets in the John Frederick Lewis Collection of the Free Library." Ph.D. dissertation, Dropsie College, 1953.
- "Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection." *JCS* 28 (1976): 3–59.

Stolper, M. W.

- *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 54. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985.
- "Late Achaemenid Legal Texts from Uruk and Larsa." *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 (1990): 559–622 and pls. 49–51.

Strassmaier, J. N.

- *Inscriben von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.)*. Babylonische Texte 7. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1890.
- *Inscriben von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)*. Babylonische Texte 10. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1892.

Streck, M.

- *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's*. 3 volumes. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916.

Streck, M. P.

- "Keilschrift und Alphabet." In *Hieroglyphen, Alphabet, Schriftreformen. Studien zu Multilateralismus, Schriftwechsel und Orthographieuregelungen*, edited by D. Borchers, F. Kammerzell and S. Weninger, pp. 77–97. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2001.
- "Das Onomastikon der Beamten am neubabylonischen Ebabbar-Tempel in Sippar." *ZA* 91 (2001): 110–119.
- Review of *Uruk. Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv. Teil I: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, by E. Gehlken. In *ZA* 83 (1993): 268–274.

Tallqvist, K. L.

- *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamašsumukin bis Xerxes*. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 32/2. Helsinki, 1902.

Tremayne, A.

- *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses (538–521 B.C.)*. YOS 7. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Ungnad, A.

- "Babylonische Familiennamen." In *Miscellanea orientalia dedicata Antonio Deimel annos LXX complenti*, pp. 319–326. AnOr 12. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1935.
- *Glossar. Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, Beiheft zu Band 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937.
- *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft 4*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907.

- *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft 5*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908.
- Veenhof, K. R.
- "Cuneiform Archives. An Introduction." In *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*, edited by K. R. Veenhof, pp. 1–36. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul = PIHANS 57. Istanbul and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986.
- Wacziargers, C.
- "The Dispersal History of the Borsippa Archives." In *Approaching the Babylonian Economy. Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1–3 July 2004*, edited by H. D. Baker and M. Jursa, pp. 343–363. AOAT 330. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.
  - "Neo-Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels." *Akkadica* 126 (2005): 133–158.
- Walker, C. B. F.
- "Babylonian Observations of Saturn During the Reign of Kandalanu." In *Ancient Astronomy and Celestial Divination*, edited by N. M. Swerdlow, pp. 61–76. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.
- Walker, C. B. F. and S. N. Kramer
- "Cuneiform Tablets in the Collection of Lord Binning." *Iraq* 44 (1982): 70–86.
- Weidner, E. F.
- "Keilschrifttexte nach Kopien von T. G. Pinches. Aus dem Nachlass veröffentlicht und bearbeitet. 1. Babylonische Privaturkunden aus dem 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr." *AfO* 16 (1952–53): 35–46.
- von Weiher, E.
- *Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U18. Teil IV*. AUWE 12. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993.
- Weisberg, D. B.
- "Esarhaddon and Egypt: A Preliminary Investigation." *Michmanim* 9 (1996): 147–155.
  - *Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Oriental Institute Collection*. OIP 122. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2003.
  - "A Sale of Property from the Time of Esarhaddon, 'King of Lands'." In *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by M. E. Cohen, D. C. Snell, and D. B. Weisberg, pp. 297–299. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993.
- Wilcke, C.
- "Nin-me-šar-ra – Probleme der Interpretation." *WZKM* 68 (1976): 79–92.
- Wright, P. H.
- "The City of Larsa in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Study of Urban and Intercity Relations in Antiquity." Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, 1994.
- Wright, W.
- *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. With an Introduction and Appendix by S. A. Cook. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.
- Wunsch, C.
- "Debt, Interest, Pledge and Forfeiture in the Neo-Babylonian and Early Achaemenid Period: The Evidence from Private Archives." In *Debt and Economic Renewal in the Ancient Near East*, edited by M. Hudson and M. Van De Mieroop, pp. 221–255. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2002.



- *Das Egibi-Archiv*. 2 vols. Cuneiform Monographs 20A–B. Groningen: Styx, 2000.
- "Neubabylonische Urkunden: Die Geschäftsurkunden der Familie Egibi." In *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*. 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.–26. März 1998 in Berlin, edited by J. Renger, pp. 343–364. Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2. Saarbrücken: SDV, Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999.
- "The Šangû-Ninurta Archive." In *Approaching the Babylonian Economy. Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1–3 July 2004*, edited by H. D. Baker and M. Jursa, pp. 365–379. AOAT 330. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.
- *Urkunden zum Ehe-, Vermögens- und Erbrecht aus verschiedenen neubabylonischen Archiven*. Babylonische Archive 2. Dresden: ISLET, 2003.

Zadok, R.

- *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*. Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1985.
- "Notes on Borsippian Documentation of the Eighth-Fifth Centuries B.C." In *Past Links: Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Isr'el, I. Singer and R. Zadok, pp. 249–296. IOS 18. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998.
- "On Some Egyptians in First-Millennium Mesopotamia." *Göttinger Miszellen* 26 (1977): 63–68.
- "On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia." *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 164–181.
- *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study*. Jerusalem: H. J. & Z. Wanaarta and Tel-Aviv University, 1977.
- "Two NB/LB documents from the British Museum." *NABU* 1997/1 pp. 10–13 no. 11.
- "Zur Geographie Babyloniens während des sargonidischen, chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeitalters." *WO* 16 (1985): 19–79.

Zawadzki, S.

- "Garments in Non-Cultic Context (Neo-Babylonian Period)." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to First Millennium BC*, edited by C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch, pp. 409–429. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2010.

Zgoll, A.

- *Der Rechtsfall der En-he-du-Ana im Lied nin-me-šara*. AOAT 246. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1997.