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Thomas A. Holland • Editor
with the assistance of Thomas G. Urban
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS
IN THE NEAR EAST: ANCIENT KUDURRUS

Text

_Ignace J. Gelb† • Piotr Steinkeller_

_Robert M. Whiting, Jr._
To Hester, John, and Walter
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LIST OF GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

A
Com.
DN
env.
FN
GN
GSG (or: gsg)
h
K.B. (or: k.b.)

Amount
Commodity
Divine Name
envelope
Field Name
Geographical Name
GUR.SAG.GÁL (or: gur-sag-gál)
hectare(s)
KUG.BABBAR (or: kug-babbar)

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

A
AAS
AHWB
AJA
AJSL
AnOr
AO
AOF
AOIr
ARET
ARM
ARMT
AS
ASJ
ATU
AUAM
AUCT
AWL
BA
BAL

Tablets in the collections of The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago
See Grégoire, AAS
American Journal of Archaeology
American Journal of Semitic Literature
Analecta Orientalia (Rome)
Tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre
Archiv für Orientforschung
Archiv Orientáli
Archivi reali di Ebla. Testi (Rome)
Archives royales de Mari (Paris)
Archives royales de Mari (texts in translation and translation) (Paris)
Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
Acta Sumerologica
Prefix of signs appearing in Falkenstein, ATU
Tablets in the collections of Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University
Andrews University Cuneiform Texts (Berrien Springs, Michigan)
See Bauer, AWL
Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig)
See Borger, BAL

MB
NB
OB
OS
P
PN
S(s)
SS(s)

Middle Babylonian
Neo-Babylonian
Old Babylonian
Object of Sale
Price
Personal Name
Seller(s)
Secondary Seller(s)

Bauer, AWL
BE
Bibl. Mes.
BIN
Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies
Bibliotheca Orientalis
BiOr
Biot, Tableettes
Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu, California)
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (Manchester)
BM
Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Bohl Coll.
Tablets in the F. M. T. de Liagre Bohl Collection, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
Borger, BAL
BWL
Ryke Borger, Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke (Rome, 1963)
See Pinches, BTBC
See Lambert, BWL

Josef Bauer, Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch, Studia Pohl 9 (Rome 1972)
The Babylonian Expedition of The University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts (Philadelphia)
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (Manchester)
Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Tablets in the F. M. T. de Liagre Bohl Collection, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
Ryke Borger, Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke (Rome, 1963)
See Pinches, BTBC
See Lambert, BWL
BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

**CAD** The Assyrian Dictionary of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago, ed. by I. J. Gelb, et al. (Chicago and Gluckstadt, 1956–)

**CBS** Tablets in the collections of the Babylonian Section of The University Museum, Philadelphia

**Chiera, CBTC** Edward Chiera, Catalogue of the Babylonian Cuneiform Tablets in the Princeton University Library (Princeton, 1921)

**CIRPL** See Sollberger, CIRPL

**Coll. de Clerq** Collections de Clerq (Paris, 1888–1913)

**CRAI** Comptes rendus . . . Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres

**Cros, NFT** Gaston Cros, Nouvelles fouilles de Tello, publiées avec le concours de Léon Heuzey, Fonds Thureau-Dangin (Paris, 1910)

**CST** See Fish, CST

**CT** Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London)

**DC** Ernest de Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldee . . . (Paris, 1884–1912)

**De Genouillac, FT** Henri de Genouillac, Fouilles de Telloh, 1–2 (Paris, 1934–1936)

**De Genouillac, TSA** Henri de Genouillac, Tablettes sumériennes archaïques . . . (Paris, 1909)

**Deimel, Pantheon babylonicum** Anton Deimel, Pantheon babylonicum: Nomina deorum e textibus cuneiformibus excerpta . . . (Rome, 1914)

**Deimel, SL** Anton Deimel, ed., Sumerisches Lexikon (Rome)

**Dok.** M. V. Nikolski, Dokumenty khoziaistsvennoj otechestnosti . . ., 1–2 (St. Petersburg, 1908–Moscow, 1915)


**DP** M. Allotte de la Fu\üe, Documents présargoniques (Paris, 1908–1920)

**ECTJ** See Westenholt, ECTJ

**Edzard, SRU** Dietz O. Edzard, Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, n.F. 67 (Munich, 1968)


**ESEM** Tablets in the collections of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi)

**Falkenstein, ATU** Adam Falkenstein, Archaische Texte aus Ur, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Ur-Uruk-Warka 2 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936)


**FAOS** Freiburger alorientalische Studien (Stuttgart)

**Fara** Anton Deimel, Die Inschriften von Fara, 1–3, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 40, 43, 45 (Leipzig, 1922–1924)

**Fish, CST** Thomas Fish, Catalogue of the Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library (Manchester, 1932)

**FM** See Gelb, FM

**Forde, NCT** Nels W. Forde, Nebraska Cuneiform Texts of the Sumerian Ur III Dynasty (Lawrence, Kansas, 1967)

**FT** See De Genouillac, FT


**Gelb, FM** Ignace J. Gelb, Old Akkadian Inscriptions in Chicago Natural History Museum, Fieldiana: Anthropology 44/2 (Chicago, 1955)

**Gordon, Smith College** Cyrus Gordon, Smith College Tablets (Northampton, Massachusetts, 1952)

**Grégoire, AAS** Jean-Pierre Grégoire, Archives administratives sumériennes (Paris, 1970)

**Hallo, Royal Titles** William W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis, American Oriental Series 43 (New Haven, 1957)

**Heimpel, Tierbilder** Wolfgang Heimpel, Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur, Studia Pohl 2 (Rome, 1968)

**Hoffner, Alimenta** H. A. Hoffner, Jr., Alimenta Hethaeorum, American Oriental Series 55 (New Haven, 1974)

**Hrozný, Getreide** F. Hrozný, Das Getreide im alten Babylonien, 1 (Vienna, 1913)

**HSS** Harvard Semitic Series (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

**IM** Tablets in the collections of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>Ist. Mus. Adab</td>
<td>Tablets in the Adab collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul</td>
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<td>Tablets in the Lagash collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul</td>
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<tr>
<td>ITT</td>
<td>François Thureau-Dangin et al., <em>Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman</em>, 1-5 (Paris, 1910–1921)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JCS</td>
<td>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</td>
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<td>JEOL</td>
<td><em>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”</em></td>
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<td>Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JNES</td>
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<td>Kish</td>
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<td>Krebernik, Beschworungen</td>
<td>Manfred Krebernik, <em>Die Beschworungen aus Fara und Ebla</em>, Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, Band 2 (Hildesheim, 1984)</td>
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<td>Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago)</td>
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<td>MAH</td>
<td>Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève</td>
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<td>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig)</td>
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<td>Mari, <em>Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</em></td>
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<td>MDP</td>
<td>Délégation en Perse: Mémoires (Paris)</td>
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<td>MEE</td>
<td>Materiali epigrafici di Ebla (Naples)</td>
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<td>The Museum Journal</td>
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<td>MSL</td>
<td>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (Rome, 1937–)</td>
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<td>Materiali per il vocabolario neo-sumerico (Rome)</td>
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<td>M. Çığ and H. Kızılyay, <em>Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur 1</em>, Türk tarih kurumu yayinlarindan, 6 seri, no. 7 (Ankara, 1965)</td>
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<td>NSGU</td>
<td>See Falkenstein, <em>NSGU</em></td>
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<td>NT</td>
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| NTSS | Raymond R. Jastin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Suruppak au Musée d'Istanbul*, Bibliothèque archéologique
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<td>OA</td>
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<td>OIC</td>
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<td>Aage Westenholz, Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, 1: Literary and Lexical Texts and the Earliest Administrative Documents from Nippur, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 1 (Malibu, California, 1975)</td>
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<td>Giovanni Pettinato, Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Landwirtschaft, 1–2, Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Ricerche 2–3 (Naples, 1967)</td>
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<td>Theophilus G. Pinches, The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection, Asiatic Society Monographs 16 (London, 1915)</td>
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<td>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London)</td>
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<td>The Sumerian Dictionary of The University Museum of The University of Pennsylvania, ed. by Åke W. Sjöberg et al. (Philadelphia, 1984–)</td>
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<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale</td>
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<td>RAI</td>
<td>Compte rendu de la... Recontre Assyriologique Internationale</td>
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<td>RÉC</td>
<td>Prefix of signs appearing in François Thureau-Dangin, Reserchés sur l'origine de l’écriture cunéiforme (Paris, 1898)</td>
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<td>RGTC</td>
<td>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (Wiesbaden, 1974)</td>
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<td>Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Leipzig and Berlin, 1932–)</td>
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<td>Yvonne Rosengarten, Répertoire commenté des signes présargoniques sumériens de Lagas (Paris, 1967)</td>
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<td>Revue sémitique d’épigraphie et d’histoire ancienne(s) (Paris 1893–1914)</td>
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<td>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)</td>
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<td>François Thureau-Dangin, Recueil de tablettes chaléennes (Paris, 1903)</td>
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Schneider, Nikolaus Schneider, *Die Göttternamen von Ur III*, Analecta Orientalia 19 (Rome, 1936)

SEb | Studi Eblaiti |
SEL | Studi epigrafici e linguistici |
Serota Coll. | Tablets in the Serota Collection, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago |
Sjöberg | Åke Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung*, 1 (Stockholm, 1960)
SL | See Deimel, SL |
Sollberger, CIRPL | Edmond Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagas* (Geneva, 1956) |
SRU | See Edzard, SRU |
StOr | Studia Orientalia (Helsinki) |
STTI | See Donbaz-Foster, STTI |
Szekchter, TJA | Émile Szekchter, *Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la IIe dynastie d’Ur et de la Ire dynastie de Babylone*... (Paris, 1963) |
TA | Tablets in the Tell Asmar collection of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago |
TCL | Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales |
TCS | Texts from Cuneiform Sources (Locust Valley, New York) |
TÉL | Charles Virolleaud and Maurice Lambert, *Tablettes économiques de Lagash* (époque de la IIIe dynastie d’Ur) ... (Paris, 1968) |
Thureau-Dangin, SAKI | François Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsschriften*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1907) |
TIM | Texts in the Iraq Museum (Baghdad and Wiesbaden) |
TJA | See Szekchter, TJA |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TLB</strong></td>
<td>Tabulae cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae (Leiden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TMH</strong></td>
<td>Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (Berlin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TSA</strong></td>
<td>See De Genouillac, TSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TSDU</strong></td>
<td>See Limet, TSDU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TSS</strong></td>
<td>Raymond R. Jestin, Tablettes sumériennes de Suruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul, Mémoires de l’Institut français d’archéologie de Stamboul 3 (Paris, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TUT</strong></td>
<td>George A. Reisner, Tempelurkunden aus Telloh, Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen 16 (Berlin, 1901)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UCP</strong></td>
<td>University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (Berkeley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UE</strong></td>
<td>Ur Excavations (London)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UET</strong></td>
<td>Ur Excavations, Texts (London)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UM</strong></td>
<td>Tablets in the collections of The University Museum of The University of Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unger AV</strong></td>
<td>Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des alten Orients: Im memoriam Eckhard Unger, ed. by Manfred Lurker (Baden-Baden, 1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNL</strong></td>
<td>See Pettinato, UNL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UVB</strong></td>
<td>Vorläufiger Bericht über ... die Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka (Berlin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VA</strong></td>
<td>Tablets in the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, East Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VAS</strong></td>
<td>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Leipzig and Berlin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VDI</strong></td>
<td>Vestnik drevnej istorii (Moscow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waetzoldt, UNT</strong></td>
<td>Hartmut Waetzoldt, Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie, Studi economici e tecnologici 1 (Rome, 1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Westenholz, ECTJ</strong></td>
<td>Aage Westenholz, Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-Filosofiske Skrifter 7/3 (Copenhagen, 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WO</strong></td>
<td>Die Welt des Orients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WZKM</strong></td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YBC</strong></td>
<td>Tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YNER</strong></td>
<td>Yale Near Eastern Researches (New Haven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yondorf Coll.</strong></td>
<td>Tablets in the collection of the late Milton Yondorf of Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YOS</strong></td>
<td>Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts (New Haven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ZA</strong></td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ZAW</strong></td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This book is the culmination of a long effort which extends over a period of four decades. Its beginning can be traced back to 1952, when in his Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar Ignace J. Gelb listed seven stone inscriptions of the Pre-Sargonic date, all of which dealt with fields and contained a number of Akkadian words and personal names. These inscriptions and their Sumerian counterparts, Gelb promised, were to be discussed "soon in a separate study." Due to his preoccupation with editing Sargonic texts and other duties, the publication of the promised study unfortunately was long delayed. Throughout the fifties and sixties, however, Gelb continued to work on the "ancient kudurrus," in which he was assisted by Joyce Bartles. At that time the transliterations and synoptic charts of some thirty "kudurrus" were prepared.

In 1974 the "ancient kudurrus" project entered a new phase, when Gelb received a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to write the promised work. At that time Gelb was joined by two research associates, Piotr Steinkeller and Robert M. Whiting, then Ph.D. candidates in Assyriology at the Oriental Institute. During 1974–1976 Gelb and Whiting revised or wrote new transliterations and commentaries to the "kudurrus" (chap. 3). During the same years Steinkeller made transliterations of all the sale documents dating from the Fara through the Ur III periods, prepared synoptic charts of the "kudurrus" and sale documents (either working on the basis of the older charts by Gelb or independently), and began writing chapters 6–11.

The association of Whiting with the project ended officially in 1976, but he continued making additions to the manuscript and offering advice in the following years. Steinkeller, while working primarily on the project "Source Book for the Social and Economic History of the Ancient Near East," completed chapters 6–11 and typed all the synoptic charts in the years 1976–1981. He continued adding textual comments to the "kudurrus" and prepared, working in collaboration with Gelb, transliterations and commentaries to several new "kudurrus." During the same period Gelb and Steinkeller, with the assistance of Lawrence A. Smith and Howard Farber, compiled the indexes (chap. 4).

Although Steinkeller had left Chicago in the summer of 1981, his work on the project continued virtually uninterrupted. From 1981 to 1985 he wrote translations to the "kudurrus," revised large sections of chapters 6–11, drew several figures, and continued to provide new readings and commentaries to the "kudurrus." During those years Gelb, who worked in collaboration with Maureen Gallery, wrote chapters 1, 2, and 5, and prepared new transliterations and commentaries to the earliest "kudurrus" (nos. 1–12). At that time a decision was made to exclude from the book several chapters, written entirely by Gelb, which addressed the questions of household organization, family structure, and land tenure conditions. In making this decision we had been motivated primarily by practical and financial considerations, since the enormous size of the manuscript made it impossible to publish as a single volume. The excluded chapters were to be published by Gelb separately, under the title "Oikos Economy."

The status of the book, already in hands of the editor, changed dramatically in December of 1985. After three months of brave battle Gelb succumbed to leukemia, leaving his beloved "ancient kudurrus" project unfinished and his collaborators grief-stricken and uncertain about the future of the book. Although painfully aware that Gelb's death had created a void in the project that could not be filled, they nevertheless decided to go on with the original plans, in the knowledge that that had been his parting wish, and in hope that by completing the book they would build a truly lasting monument to his memory as a great scholar.

In April of 1986 Steinkeller assumed responsibility for preparing the book for publication. It became obvious to him at that time that the manuscript, due to its long period of gestation and the collective nature of its authorship, required major revisions and adjustments. This concerned especially the book's philological apparatus. Accordingly, in the fall of 1986 and during most of 1987 he revised systematically the whole manuscript. All the transliterations of the "kudurrus" (chap. 3) were checked against the photographs. This resulted in many new or improved readings and in changes in the evaluation of the meaning, origin, and date of some of these documents. Textual notes to the "kudurrus" were expanded and updated to reflect better the present state of cuneiform scholarship. Equally extensive revisions were made in chapters 1 and 2. Section 1.11, which discusses land tenure conditions, is completely new; for the views there expressed, which are somewhat at variance with Gelb's earlier writings, Steinkeller takes entire responsibility.

Due to the fact that the synoptic charts and figures had already been photographed in preparation for publication, it was impossible to make any major changes in them. Only two synoptic charts and some of the smaller figures were completely redone; in other synoptic charts only
small alterations were made (primarily updated bibliographic information). Because of this, the reader will find some discrepancies between the transliterations of the “kudurrus” and the data in the synoptic charts; this affects primarily the readings. For the updated transliterations of the Ur III sale documents, consult Steinkeller’s *Sale Documents of the Ur III Period* (Stuttgart, 1989).

Although the readings were improved and updated throughout the volume, the basic system of transliteration, which is characteristic of Gelb’s publications, was left unchanged. In the case of the readings that Gelb favored and consistently defended (e.g., Inin against Inanna or en₅-si against énsi), no attempt was made to modify them. The numbering of homophones follows R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), though their marking is in accordance with Thureau-Dangin’s system.

So many persons contributed to the “ancient kudurrus” project over the years that it is almost impossible to list them all. We should mention here especially the names Joyce Bartels, Maureen Gallery, Lawrence A. Smith, and Howard Farber, whose valuable assistance is deeply appreciated. For advice we are particularly indebted to Miguel Civil and Robert D. Biggs. Among the contributors of copies, Margaret W. Green and Aage Westenholz deserve our special gratitude. Thanks are also due William W. Hallo, Åke W. Sjöberg, Edmond Sollberger, and Christopher B. F. Walker for granting us publication rights to the “kudurrus” and sale documents in their care and for other forms of assistance. For collations we are particularly grateful to Aage Westenholz. The assistance rendered by other persons and institutions is acknowledged in the respective commentaries to the “kudurrus.”

We are grateful to Robert McC. Adams, the former director of the Oriental Institute, for agreeing to have this volume appear in this series. To him and to Janet H. Johnson, the present director of the Oriental Institute, go our deep thanks for the continuous and unwavering support of the project.

We were fortunate in being able to secure financial support over a five year period from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Lesser sums were provided by the National Science Foundation, The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago, and an anonymous benefactor. To all of them goes our heartfelt gratitude.

Of special importance has been the assistance and extraordinary patience of Thomas A. Holland, the editor, and of Thomas G. Urban, the editor’s assistant, in bringing this volume to print.

Our great regret is that Jay did not live to see the publication of this book, the work he so cherished, and to which he devoted several decades of his life. We may only hope that he would have graciously overlooked its imperfections.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

1.1. Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents

The area under investigation in this study is Mesopotamia, present-day Iraq, mainly its southern part, which extends from a line near Baghdad where the Tigris and the Euphrates come closest to each other, in the northwest, and down to the Persian Gulf, in the southeast. Within this area we distinguish Sumer in the south and Akkad in the north. The four provincial extensions of this central area of Sumer and Akkad consist of the Diyala region around the city Eshnuna on the Diyala River, of Assyria around Assur upriver on the Tigris, of the Mari region around Mari upriver on the Euphrates, and of Elam around Susa in southwestern Iran.

The time with which we are concerned in this study extends from the oldest periods of written history down to the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The following epigraphic periods are distinguished:

- Uruk III period, about 3100–2900 B.C.
- Early Dynastic I–II periods, about 2900–2600 B.C.
- Early Dynastic IIIa, the Fara period, about 2600–2450 B.C.
- Early Dynastic IIIb, the Pre-Sargonic period, about 2450–2340 B.C.
- Sargonic period, about 2340–2159 B.C.
- Ur III period, about 2117–2008 B.C.

There are no primary sources describing the structure of ancient Mesopotamian society and economy. We have no original studies of the ancient clan and family, the ruling and the working classes, agriculture, and other means of production. Because of that, our information can be reconstructed only on the basis of sources dealing indirectly with social and economic matters. While the laborious culling of information from such sources may be deemed less conducive to solid results than utilizing descriptive studies on the subject, the former has certain advantages in that it contains synchronic and objective information, while the latter contains (or may contain) diachronic and personal, and therefore, subjective information. Ancient Mesopotamia cannot boast of anything close to Aristotle's *Politeia*, but it has thousands of original documents approximating in type and value to the English *Doomsday Book*.

The number of original sources which can be utilized for the reconstruction of the structure of ancient Mesopotamian society and economy is virtually unlimited. It is much greater for Mesopotamia than for any other area of the ancient Near East, such as Egypt, Palestine, Anatolia, or Iran; it is even greater than that for classical Greece and Rome. And the number of sources published, and thus made available to scholars who can read cuneiform, forms only a part, often a very small part, of the collections of cuneiform texts which lie buried in the museums of the world.

By type, the ancient Mesopotamian sources can be divided into several classes, such as administrative texts, "ancient kudurrus," legal documents, letters, royal inscriptions, law codes, literary texts, rituals, omens, incantations, seals, school texts, and others. Of these, by far the largest is the class of administrative texts. In contrast, sources such as literary texts and incantations are scarce in number and of limited importance for our purpose.

The aim of the present volume is the elucidation of the ancient Mesopotamian land-tenure systems, as they may be reconstructed mainly from the "ancient kudurrus" on stone and sale documents on clay.

In the first edition of *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar (MAD 2, Chicago, 1952)* pp. 3f., eight stone inscriptions of the Pre-Sargonic period were listed, all dealing with fields and containing a number of Akkadian words and personal names. At that time, our interest in these texts was primarily linguistic, since the Akkadian words and names occurring in them reflected the oldest attested stage of written Akkadian, and thus appeared to be of importance for the history of the Akkadian language and Semitics in general.

Since the stone inscriptions dealing with landed property in the third millennium B.C. had certain characteristics linking them with the kudurrus or "boundary stones" of the much later Kassite and post-Kassite periods, they were dubbed there "ancient kudurrus." The term has stuck and is now in general use among Assyriologists. The terms "ancient kudurrus" or simply "kudurrus" will be used for these documents throughout this volume.

The use of the term "kudurrus" for these documents is somewhat anachronistic since the word *kudurrus*, meaning "boundary stone," is not attested before the Middle
Babylonian period. Furthermore, the later kudurrus most frequently recorded a grant of land from the king to an individual and thus served a somewhat different purpose than the ancient kudurrus. On the other hand, both the later and ancient kudurrus served the ultimate purpose of describing the land owned by an individual and the manner by which it came into his possession.

Despite its inadequacy, the term "ancient kudurru" is brief and therefore useful. Over the years, several attempts have been made to replace it by long descriptive terminologies but without success. See now the full discussion in section 1.10.

In 1952, Gelb expressed the hope that he might "discuss these ancient 'kudurrus' and their Sumerian and Akkadian parallels soon, in a separate study" (MAD 2, p. 3f.). In working on ancient kudurrus, especially on the extent and sequence of their formulary, it soon became clear, however, that there were so many parallels between the kudurrus written on stone and sale documents written on clay that it would be impossible to understand the former without taking full account of the latter. The scope of the investigation thus grew from the original eight kudurrus to fifty-seven kudurrus and 282 sale documents, altogether 339 texts.

Similar optimistic forecasts about the forthcoming publication of the ancient kudurrus and related texts were made by Gelb in 1971, in his article "On the Alleged Temple and State Economies in Ancient Mesopotamia," Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra 6 (Milan, 1971) pp. 137–54, which was devoted to a brief evaluation of these documents. In the same article Gelb also proposed the existence of private-family and private-individual ownership of land which occurred besides the public ownership by the state and temple.

The history of the study of ancient kudurrus begins with the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40), first published in 1900, which was treated independently by three scholars in the years 1906–7: E. Cuq, "La propriété foncière en Chaldéa d’après les pierres-limites (Kouroudourus)," Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et d’étranger 30 (1906) pp. 701–38 (republished with small changes in his Études sur le droit babyloniens, les lois assyriennes et les lois hittites [Paris, 1929] pp. 77–112, expanded on pp. 112–49); J. Flach, "La propriété collective en Chaldée," Revue historique 95 (1907) pp. 309–36; and F. Hrozny, "Der Obelisk Maništušus’s," WZKM 21 (1907) pp. 11–43, and "Das Problem der altbabylonischen Dynastien von Akkad und Kiš," WZKM 23 (1909) pp. 191–219. While Cuq and Flach discussed the Manishtushu Obelisk only cursorily, in connection with the Kassite kudurrus as providing evidence for the existence of private, tribal ownership of land, Hrozny treated it very extensively, both from the philological and the historical points of view.

At approximately the same time that Gelb first expressed interest in the study of ancient kudurrus, I. M. Diakonoff began his investigations which provided evidence favoring the existence of private, familial property contrasting with the state- and temple-owned land. His pertinent studies are: "O ploščadi i sostave naseljenya šumerskogo 'goroda-gosudarstva,'" VDI 32 1952/2 pp. 77–93; "Sale of Land in Pre-Sargonic Sumer," Papers Presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists (Moscow, 1954) pp. 19–29; "Kupla-prodaža zemlji v drevnješem Šumere in vopros o šumskoj obščine," VDI 1955/4 pp. 10–40; and Obsčestvennyi i gosudarstvennyi stroj Drevnego Dvurečya. Šumr (Moscow, 1959).


The fact that the ancient kudurrus were written on stone is significant in its own right. Stone was rare and expensive in Mesopotamia and its use for inscriptions was always limited. With a few exceptions, third millennium stone inscriptions can be narrowly circumscribed. There are votive inscriptions in the form of stelae, statues, tablets, vessels, maceheads, etc., either commemorating conquests or building activities and dedicated to some deity usually "for the life" of the votant; there are seal inscriptions, generally not meant to be read from the seal itself but cut in reverse to be read from the impression, and used for the identification of the seal owner and the security of property; there are weights in the form of ducks; and finally there are the ancient kudurrus.

The use of stone for the ancient kudurrus means that they were considered to have great significance at the time they were made and that they were intended to be a permanent and indestructible record.

The contribution of ancient kudurrus to our understanding of the social and economic structure of ancient Mesopotamia cannot be overestimated. Let it suffice to stress here two points only, land tenure and structure of clan and family.

As will be fully elaborated later on, ancient kudurrus deal with the acquisition of landed property by a single buyer from several sellers, the latter often being related to each other by blood. Thus, ancient kudurrus testify to the existence of a land tenure system based on family-owned property, contradicting the reconstructions of all those scholars who visualize land ownership as being limited to the state or the temple.

Ancient kudurrus enable us to see the structure of the ancient family and clan much better than at any other time of Mesopotamian history. Texts such as Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40) describe the ancestry of sellers which is often as long as six generations. These long lists of generations provide us with evidence that there were also extended families besides nuclear families, which in turn were grouped into larger social configurations up to the level of "clans."

This volume as a whole is concerned with the records of purchase or sale of immovable and movable property in the third millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and with their socio-economic and legal evaluation.

Two types of records are treated:

a) Ancient kudurrus on stone, which deal with the acquisition by purchase of multiple parcels of land by one individual. This type of document is peculiar to the third millennium B.C.
DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Figure 1. Main Characteristics of Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancient Kudurrus</th>
<th>Sale Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time:</strong></td>
<td>From Fara to Ur III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place:</strong></td>
<td>Sumer, Akkad, Diyala Region, Assyria, Elam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material:</strong></td>
<td>Clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Form:</strong></td>
<td>Tablet, stela, statuette, animal figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language:</strong></td>
<td>Sumerian, Akkadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contents:</strong></td>
<td>Purchase of a single piece of property (field, orchard, house, slave, animal, etc.) from one or more sellers by one buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose:</strong></td>
<td>Record of the purchase, prepared for the buyer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Sale documents on clay, which deal with the purchase or sale of any kind of property, immovable and movable. This type of text is known from early, as well as from later Mesopotamian times.

This volume includes the edition of fifty-seven ancient kudurrus, about one-third of which are published here for the first time, and a treatment of 282 sale documents, about one-fourth of which have not been published previously. The texts are widely scattered in the various museums of Europe, Asia, and America. In size and state of preservation, they vary from small, broken, and insignificant fragments to the magnificent Manishtushu Obelisk, which is about one and one-half meters high and contains hundreds of lines of writing.

The fifty-seven kudurrus consist of fifty-two single plus five intercalated entries (nos. 19a and 19b, from Lagash, and nos. 30a, 30b, and 30c, from Nippur). The 282 sale documents consist of 271 single entries plus eleven intercalated entries (nos. 113a, 113b, 113c, 127a, 127b, 156a, 182a, 247a, 274a, 309a, and App. to no. 32).

Two texts are added to the transliterations of the kudurrus: App. to nos. 22 and 23 (= no. 144), from Lagash, and App. to no. 32, from Adab. Each is on clay, not stone, and each deals with a single purchase. The two appendices were added because they shed important light on the respective kudurrus.

There are eight entries under the kudurrus whose inclusion must be justified. Two texts from Lagash, namely nos. 19a and 19b, contain numerous sections, each with amounts of various commodities and personal names, but not fields or prices. Four texts, namely nos. 32, 33, 43, and 44, are written on clay, in contrast to the related nos. 31 and 42, which are written on stone. All these clay tablets are kudurrus in the sense that they record multiple purchases of land and in other respects parallel the structure of the kudurrus on stone. We take these documents to be either first drafts of the final copy or private copies destined for the personal use of the purchaser of land (see also section 1.3). The inclusion of two Lagash texts in this volume, namely nos. 19 and 24, is quite open to question. They both deal on the obverse with fields whose sizes are comparable to those of other kudurrus. On the reverse of no. 24, however, we are confronted with immense areas, possibly 67 kilometers by 67 kilometers or 21 kilometers by 21 kilometers, which have no parallels anywhere and can hardly be interpreted as purchases of fields. For some tentative interpretations, see the introductory comments to nos. 19 and 24.

Figure 1 contrasts the main characteristics of ancient kudurrus and sale documents. For details, see the following sections, especially section 1.10.

1.2. Date and Provenience

The sequence of the fifty-seven ancient kudurrus in this volume is generally chronological. However, nine texts of different periods are grouped together under Lagash and nine texts under Nippur.

The ancient kudurrus extend almost from the beginning of cuneiform writing in the Uruk III period (the so-called Jemdet Nasr period), through Early Dynastic I–II, Early Dynastic IIIa (Fara period), and Early Dynastic IIIb (Pre-Sargonic period), down to the Sargonic period. There are no examples of ancient kudurrus from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur onward. The lack of kudurrus in the Ur III period can be easily interpreted as resulting from the prohibition of alienating landed property, which probably took place at that time.

Since there are no reliable paleographic charts showing the evolution of signs in terms of time, place of origin, and material used (stone as against clay), the dating of the earliest kudurrus is quite disputable. Generally, in determining the date of the early kudurrus we have been guided more by the degree of their legibility and understandability than by the form of the signs and other graphic criteria.

The place of origin of most ancient kudurrus can be determined with varying degrees of assurance, depending on the reliability of excavation reports. They have been found throughout the Akkadian area, namely, Akkad (Sippar, Kish, Babylon, and possibly Dilbat and Cuthah), the Diyala region (Eshnuna and Tutub), Assyria (Assur), and the Sumerian area (Lagash, Nippur, Adab, Ur, and possibly Umma and Shuruppak). The origin of over one-third of the kudurrus is unknown.

It is noteworthy that the ancient kudurrus come from the areas occupied by the Semites (Akkad, Diyala, and Assyria) and from the sites in the Sumerian area which were or might have been under Semitic influence. With the exception of a single text from Ur (no. 47), the Sumerian sites in the far South, such as Uruk, Eridu, and Larsa, have yielded no ancient kudurrus. For the linguistic
distribution of the ancient kudurrus, see the extensive discussion in section 1.5.

Some typical examples of ancient kudurrus are listed below to enable the reader to visualize their distribution in terms of time and area. The oldest, Uruk III, group is represented by a group of texts of unknown geographic origin, including, among others, seven texts with a unique and characteristic tablet shape (nos. 1–7) and Blau Obelisk and Plaque (nos. 10 and 11). Although due to the difficulties in reading early cuneiform texts much of their content cannot be understood, the occurrence of the signs for fields and their measurements makes it safe to assume that the texts deal with large parcels of land. To the second group, Early Dynastic I–II, belong, e.g., no. 12 of unknown origin and no. 18 from Lagash. Typical examples of the next group, Early Dynastic IIIa and b (= Fara and Pre-Sargonic), are the two very large and important texts nos. 14 and 15, both of unknown origin, and the texts from Kish (nos. 16 and 17), Lagash (nos. 20–23) Adab (nos. 31–33), and a number of mostly fragmentary and ill-dated texts from Nippur (nos. 25–30c). The latest group consists of thirteen Sargonic inscriptions, almost all written in Akkadian and found in the Akkadian area of Babylonia. Among them are nos. 40, 41, and the texts from Eshnuna (nos. 42–44).

In terms of time, the fifty-seven ancient kudurrus are represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 kudurrus of the Uruk III period</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kudurrus of the ED I–II periods</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kudurrus of the Fara period</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 kudurrus of the Pre-Sargonic period</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 kudurrus of the Sargonic period</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proceeding approximately from northwest to southeast, the geographical distribution of ancient kudurrus is:

- Assur: 1
- Tutub: 1
- Eshnuna: 3
- Sippar: 7 including 6 uncertain
- Cuthah: 1 uncertain
- Kish: 3 including 1 uncertain
- Babylon: 1
- Dibbat: 1 uncertain
- Nippur: 9
- Adab: 3
- Shiruppak: 1 uncertain
- Umma: 1 uncertain
- Lagash/Girshu: 9 including 1 uncertain
- Ur: 1
- Unknown Origin: 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Origin</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagash/Girshu</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isin</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adab</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagash</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Origin</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are 282 sale documents on clay treated in this book. Their sequence is chronological. Period groupings are further subdivided, whenever necessary, by place of origin, contents, or type of transaction.

Sale documents begin in the Fara period, continue through the Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods, and then on to the end of cuneiform writing.

The temporal distribution of the sale documents is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42 Fara (nos. 101–136)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Pre-Sargonic (nos. 137–156a and App. to no. 32)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 Sargonic (nos. 157–246)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 Ur III (nos. 247–370)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proceeding approximately from northwest to southeast, the geographical distribution of these texts is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gasur</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eshnuna</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm-el-Jir</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adab</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isin</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagash</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Origin</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reorganizing this chart by regions, we have two texts from Assyria (Gasur), ten texts from the Diyala River region (Eshnuna), four texts from Akkad (Sippar, Kish, and Umm-el-Jir), 227 texts from Sumer (Nippur, Isin, Shuruppak, Adab, Umma, Lagash, Girshu, and Ur), two texts from Elam (Susa), and thirty-seven texts of unknown provenience.

The distribution of ancient kudurrus and sale documents by period, site, and language is shown in figures 2–4. Their linguistic distribution is discussed in section 1.5. The circumstances of their discovery are discussed in section 1.10.

1.3. Material and Form

The material and form of the ancient kudurrus are systematically registered below in section 5.1.

In about one half of the fifty-seven kudurrus, the material is generally described merely as "black stone tablet," "light brown stone," or even simply "stone tablet."

When the material is known, limestone appears in about one half of the fifty-seven kudurrus, and diorite in three (nos. 21, 40, and 42). One or two cases are represented by...
### DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

#### Figure 2. Distribution of Ancient Kudurrus by Period, Site, and Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uruk III</th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>Fara</th>
<th>Pre-Sargonic</th>
<th>Sargonic</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkad North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuthah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 + 1^b</td>
<td>1^a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilbat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1^a</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumer Near South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 + 2^b</td>
<td>3^b</td>
<td>2 + 1^b</td>
<td>3^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 + 1^b</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 + 1^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagash/Girshu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far South</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1^b</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyala Region</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutub</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eshnuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Origin</td>
<td>10^a</td>
<td>2^a</td>
<td></td>
<td>1^a</td>
<td>1^a</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, Site</td>
<td>1 + 10^a</td>
<td>2 + 1^a</td>
<td>7 + 3^a</td>
<td>14 + 5^a</td>
<td>7 + 7^a</td>
<td>31 + 26^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, Language</td>
<td>11 3</td>
<td>5 2 + 3^b</td>
<td>5 + 3^b</td>
<td>8 + 3^b</td>
<td>2 12 26 + 3^b 22 + 6^b</td>
<td>57 57 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, Period</td>
<td>11 3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57 57 57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\(a = \text{Site uncertain} \quad b = \text{Language uncertain}\) S = Sumerian A = Akkadian

Alabaster (nos. 31 and 51?), gypsum (nos. 12 and 25), onyx (no. 4), schist (nos. 97 and 30?), serpentine or shale (nos. 10 and 11), shale (no. 30c), slate (nos. 29 and 30b), and syenite (no. 35).

Apart from stone, four kudurrus are preserved on clay: nos. 32 and 33 (both from Adab), and nos. 43 and 44 (both from Eshnuna). We do not know the reason for the use of clay at Adab and Eshnuna. The broken condition in which the fragments making up no. 43 were found in the field suggests that the tablet was smashed after being used as a first draft, from which the scribe prepared the final copy on stone.

On the other hand, it should be noted that while the purpose of setting up a stone kudurru is public, the purpose of preparing a clay document is private. Thus, it is quite possible that the clay texts were written to serve either as a first draft or as a private copy for the personal use of the purchaser of land. A similar draft may be the Isin Sammelurkunde no. 182a (see section 1.7).

By far the most common form of ancient kudurru is in the shape of tablets (square, rectangular, or round), slabs, or plaques. Other forms represented are: obelisks (nos. 10 and 40), stelae (nos. 12 and 19), a disk (no. 30a), a vessel (no. 46), and a cylinder (no. 51).

Still other forms, all of early periods, are statues or statuettes (nos. 21, 25, and 26, all Fara) and animal figurines (nos. 8 and 9, both Uruk III). Human figures are carved on nos. 10 and 11 of the Uruk III period, and nos. 12, 18 and 19 of the ED I–II periods.

The form of sale documents is regularly a tablet (rectangular, square, or round), occasionally a cone (nos. 139, 140, 141, 145, 147, and 148, all Pre-Sargonic Lagash, and no. 263, Ur III), or a brick (no. 146, Pre-Sargonic Lagash). The form, use, and function of the cones are discussed in section 1.10.

### 1.4 Writing

The writing of the ancient kudurrus begins with the pictorial stage, in which the signs generally represent pictures, and progresses steadily in its formal development to the cuneiform stage, in which the signs have the characteristic wedge-like form.

The ability to read and understand ancient kudurrus grows remarkably between the Uruk III period, the time of the earliest kudurrus, and the classical Sargonic period, to which our latest kudurrus are dated.

During these periods, important innovations took place in the graphotactical arrangement of writing. They affect 1) the vertical/horizontal orientation of the text, 2) the sequence of the sides, rows/columns, and cases/lines, and 3) the sequence of the signs within cases/lines.

Figure 5 shows the form and orientation of writing as it developed from pictorial to linear and from vertical to...
Figure 3. Distribution of Sale Documents by Period, Site, and Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Pre-Sargonic</th>
<th>Sargonic</th>
<th>Ur III</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm-el-Jir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumer</td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near South</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippur</td>
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<td></td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Isin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagash</td>
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<td>Far South</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyria</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Gasur</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Eshnuna</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Unknown Origin</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, Site</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, Language</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, Period</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a = Site uncertain  S = Sumerian  A = Akkadian

The signs selected for the illustration show easily recognizable pictures of objects and living beings. The signs are GUD “bull” (here, its head), SAL “woman” (here, vulva), UR “dog” (here, its head), SE “barley,” APIN “plow,” DU “foot,” and UD “sun.”

In drawing A, which illustrates the older stage, the form of the signs is pictorial. They are grouped in small cases, which run in horizontal rows from right to left across the obverse and then the reverse. As in other types of writing, such as Egyptian, hieroglyphic Hittite, or the Phaistos Disk, certain signs that have a “front” and a “back,” such as UR “dog,” APIN “plow,” or DU “foot,” regularly face towards the beginning of a row of writing.

In drawing B, which illustrates the younger stage, the orientation of the text changed by 90° to the left and the forms of the pictures changed from a standing position to one that shows them lying on their backs. Accordingly, the right-to-left orientation of the cases within the rows changed to a top-to-bottom orientation of the cases within columns, and the right-to-left orientation of the signs within the cases changed to the left-to-right orientation. All that affected the sequence of the rows/columns on the obverse and reverse. While in the older stage the rows ran consecutively from top to bottom across the whole tablet, including obverse and reverse, in the younger stage the columns ran consecutively first from left to right across the obverse and then from right to left across the reverse, as in all later stages of cuneiform writing. Thus the three rows of the older stage in our illustration become six columns in the younger stage, three on the obverse and three on the reverse. By observing the two drawings, it is easy to see that the three-row number is self-imposed in the older stage by the easy flow of cases in one row from obverse to reverse, with the cases often overlapping the boundary between them. By contrast, there is a clean division between the obverse and reverse in the younger stage, and the six-column number is imposed by the fact that, while column iv of the reverse continues column iii of the obverse, column v does not continue column ii and column vi does not continue column i.

The formal evolution of the signs, from pictorial to linear to cuneiform, is a matter of paleography, which is of no concern to us here.

There is no doubt that the first drawing represents the older stage and the second drawing the younger stage of writing. All ancient pictographic writings such as the old Egyptian, hieroglyphic Hittite, or Aegean, as well as modern American Indian or African systems, represent the signs in their natural, vertical standing position, as in the first drawing; and this vertical orientation of the signs is the only one that is attested on stone inscriptions in all horizontals.
Figure 4. Map of Geographical Distribution of Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents.
stages of the cuneiform writing from the oldest pictographic to the Old Babylonian period. Consequently, the orientation of the signs in a horizontal, lying position, attested on clay tablets and illustrated in the second drawing, must be a later development, which took place in Mesopotamia and nowhere else. The reason for the development is a moot question. Our feeling is that it is connected with the use of writing on clay tablets and with the way the tablets were held in the hand by the scribe. When the tablets were small and only slightly elongated, the scribe could hold them by their two broader sides and write the signs vertically without difficulty. As the shape of the tablets became ever longer, it may have been difficult for the scribe to hold the tablet by its two broad sides, now wider apart, and he was forced to abandon holding the tablet by its two broad sides and to begin holding it by its two narrow sides. This in turn may have forced the change in the orientation of writing from the vertical to the horizontal position.

The exact time when the orientation of writing changed from vertical to horizontal is unknown. It could have taken place suddenly and systematically at one time and in one area and slowly and gradually at other times and in other areas. It is our firm judgment that the question of the vertical-horizontal orientation of writing on clay tablets cannot be resolved without a microscopic investigation of the imprints of the fingers of the scribes which were left at the time when the scribe held a soft clay tablet in his hand. The possibility also may be envisaged that the writing in a horizontal position may have been introduced on clay tablets at the same time that its reading in a vertical position may have been continued.

M. W. Green reported in Chicago in 1979 that the imprints preserved on archaic Uruk tablets clearly indicate that a scribe holding naturally a tablet in his hand could produce only signs lying in their horizontal orientation and not standing in their natural, vertical position. She offered a similar opinion at the international conference on the language of Ebla in Naples in 1980. H. Nissen, in his comments at the conference, agreed completely with her conclusions, which were also drawn, more than fifty years ago, by A. Falkenstein, *ATU* pp. 9ff., on the basis of the orientation of the wedges in signs of the Uruk III writing. For reasons unknown, Green chose not to discuss this important question in her paper "The Construction and Implementation of the Cuneiform Writing System," *Visible Language* 4 (1981) pp. 345–60.

The Falkenstein-Green-Nissen conclusion that the horizontal orientation of writing may be proven as far back as the Uruk III period is contrary to the conclusion reached recently on the basis of a study of the Pre-Sargonic texts from Ebla by S. A. Picchioni, “La direzione della scrittura cuneiforme e gli archivi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla,” *Or. n.s.* 44 (1980) pp. 225–51, and by G. Pettinato, *Ebla* (Milan, 1979) p. 46, and *MEE* I p. xix and nn. 26 and 31. They both contend that the writing was vertical, not horizontal, but while Pettinato limits his observation to Ebla, Picchioni extends it widely to cover cuneiform writing, both on clay and stone, from its inception to and including the Old Babylonian period.

The new conclusion is explained in detail by Picchioni, *op. cit.* pp. 240–45. As found ordered in rows on the room floor, the Ebla tablets allowed immediately two important observations: the front or obverse of the tablet faced towards the center of the room, that is, towards a prospective reader, and its back or reverse faced towards the wall; each tablet was lying with one of its longer edges touching the ground of the room, allowing the text to be read in a vertical, but not horizontal, orientation of the writing. This led Picchioni to assume that the order and orientation of the tablets as they were found on the floor reflect exactly the order and orientation of the tablets as they were lying on the original shelves from which they had fallen to the ground. The vertical orientation would allow, according to Picchioni, easy consultation of the text by the scribes, especially of its most important part, the title or the colophon, by reading it in the top right corner of the reverse, which was abutting the first signs of the first column in the top right corner of the obverse.

Plausible as these observations and conclusions appear on the surface, we note that they affect the reading, not the writing, of the text and that the orientation of the tablets on the shelf allows easy reading of the vertical writing on the obverse, but not of the backward-running vertical writing on the reverse of the tablet.

We shall proceed in the following with the illustration of the various aspects of early cuneiform writing discussed above on the basis of ancient kudurrus and sale documents.

As is generally known, the vertical orientation of writing on stone monuments is attested from its beginning up to and including the Old Babylonian period. The standing position of the signs in their vertical orientation is easily provable in the early kudurrus which contain writing interspersed with iconographic representations. The oldest of these are nos. 10 and 11, of Uruk III time, in which the pictorial signs can still be clearly recognized, and nos. 12 and 18, of ED I–II time, which testify to a gradual evolution of the signs from pictorial to linear.

The earliest sale documents treated in this volume date from the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods (ED IIIa and IIIb). While nothing clear about the vertical-horizontal orientation of the writing can be found—as far as we can see—in our Fara texts, Falkenstein, *ATU* p. 10 and n. 1, pointed out that the writing accompanying the pictorial representations in two Fara texts, *Fara* 2, 62, and E. Heinrich, *Fara* (Berlin, 1931) pls. 27f., can be read normally in their horizontal orientation. The decisive evidence in favor of the horizontal orientation is offered by the writing on clay cones (nails or pegs) of the Pre-Sargonic period. Six of these truncated cones, recording sale transactions, are discussed in section 1.10. Of these, only no. 140 *DP* 31 has an inscription running not only on the side of the cone, but also on its wider base. Since the purpose of the cones was to make the sale public, the wider base with the inscription must have faced the prospective reader, while the narrower base rested against the wall. Looking at the cone attached to the wall in this way, the writing can be read horizontally when standing to the left of the cone or vertically when standing in front of it. There are many truncated and tapering cones of the Pre-
Figure 5. Evolution of the Form and Orientation of Writing

A. Older Stage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Case 5</th>
<th>Case 4</th>
<th>Case 3</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Case 2</th>
<th>Case 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row i</td>
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<td>Case 10</td>
<td>Case 9</td>
<td>Case 8</td>
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<td>Case 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row ii</td>
<td>Case 17</td>
<td>Case 16</td>
<td>Case 15</td>
<td>Case 14</td>
<td>Case 13</td>
<td>Case 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row iii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Younger Stage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. i</th>
<th>Col. ii</th>
<th>Col. iii</th>
<th>Col. vi</th>
<th>Col. v</th>
<th>Col. iv</th>
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<tr>
<td>Case 1</td>
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<td>Case 7</td>
<td>Case 16</td>
<td>Case 13</td>
<td>Case 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 2</td>
<td>Case 5</td>
<td>Case 8</td>
<td>Case 14</td>
<td>Case 11</td>
<td>Case 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 3</td>
<td>Case 6</td>
<td>Case 9</td>
<td>Case 17</td>
<td>Case 15</td>
<td>Case 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

Sargonic rulers of Lagash, three of which are photographically reproduced in DC 2 pl. 32bis, figs. 3–5; all of them are inscribed on the side, but not on the base. With the narrow side attached to the wall, the inscription of figures 4–5 (Urukagina) can be read horizontally when standing to the left of the cone and vertically when standing in front of it, exactly as on no. 140 DP 31, described above, or BIN 2 pl. LVII (Entemena). On the other hand, the inscription of figure 3 (Entemena) can be read horizontally when standing to the right of the cone, but cannot be read vertically at all, since the writing in the vertical orientation would appear upside down to the reader no matter where he stood. Thus, no matter how the cone was attached to the wall and whether the person stood in front or beside the inscription, he could always read it horizontally, but not vertically.

The following examples serve to illustrate the sequence of the sides and rows/columns of the ancient kudurrus in both the older and younger practice. We shall leave out of consideration the kudurrus with ill-defined sides, such as those on figurines or statuettes, because of their unpredictable sequence of text.

In considering the kudurrus with well-defined sides, we should distinguish: a) solids in the form of flattened tablets and b) solids with all sides more or less equal in size, such as a cube, obelisk, or stela. The tablets, in turn, can be separated into two types: a) tablets with all six sides clearly defined (obverse, lower edge, reverse, upper edge, left edge, and right edge) and b) tablets in which two sides, obverse and reverse, taper off gradually in all directions, leaving no or very little room for writing in the lower, upper, left, and right edges. On a tablet with six well-defined sides, the inscription may cover only obverse and reverse, or all six sides, or obverse, reverse, plus some other sides.

Here are some typical Uruk III examples of the older sequence on tablets in which each row (later, column) of writing runs across the obverse and reverse: nos. 3 and 4 run across the obverse, lower edge, reverse, and upper edge. No. 7 runs across the obverse, lower edge, and reverse, with the first row further subdivided by a line. No. 2, inscribed on the obverse only, contains a group of signs within a linear enclosure, which apparently stands for a personal name. The function of the enclosure resembles that of the Egyptian cartouche. In no. 9 the rows of signs run from the obverse to the reverse, with the upper and lower edges rounded off. The obverse-reverse sequence of writing is apparent in no. 11.

The same sequence continues in some kudurrus of the following Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods. Among them, the sequence obverse–lower edge–reverse–upper edge appears in no. 13 (Fara period), but in addition, small strokes are used to separate the individual entries for number plus commodities; the same sequence of the four sides persists in the Pre-Sargonic period in the two Lummatur tablets from Lagash (nos. 22 and 23) and possibly of the three preserved sides in no. 35.

The separate sequence of columns on the obverse and reverse first appears occasionally in the kudurrus of the ED I–II, Fara, and Pre-Sargonic periods and becomes standard in the Sargonic period. In between, a number of variations are attested. This sequence is well exemplified in no. 18 of the ED I–II periods and in no. 14 of the Fara period, the latter being a tablet without well-defined edges. In the related text no. 15, a slab with well-defined edges, the sequence of columns is first upper edge plus obverse, from left to right, and then lower edge plus reverse, from right to left. The same sequence is attested in no. 37 of the Pre-Sargonic period. This sequence of the sides, proposed here, is contrary to that followed in the original publication in CT 32, 7f.

In contrast to the standard, right-to-left sequence of the columns on the reverse, some kudurrus exhibit a sequence which may run from left to right. The context and formulary favor this sequence on the reverse of nos. 18 (ED I–II), 20 (Fara), and 32 (Pre-Sargonic). No. 34 (Pre-Sargonic) has only one column on the reverse, which is on the left side.

The standard sequence of the columns, left to right on the obverse and right to left on the reverse, is exemplified in no. 33 (Pre-Sargonic period) and in numerous kudurrus of the Sargonic period (nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, and 48).

Two of the kudurrus have the left side preserved. In no. 15 of the Fara period and no. 41 of the Sargonic period, the direction of writing on the left edge is consistent in relation to that of the reverse. The left edge begins near where the last line of the last column of the reverse ends and is, therefore, a continuation of the reverse. Only no. 37 has the right edge preserved; it must follow the left edge, now destroyed, which should begin on top on a line parallel to the last line on the left edge, now destroyed on the tablet.

The sequence of the sides on the kudurrus that have the form of a stela, cube, or obelisk, is, or should be, identical with that of tablets. On no. 12 (ED I–II), the sides run from right to left in the order (A-)B-C-D, with each row of signs running across several sides. Of the pieces now gathered under no. 16 (Fara) several have sides whose form suggests that the original object had some sort of cubical shape. Unfortunately, the sequence of the sides cannot be ascertained owing to the poor state of preservation of the fragments. The kudurrus no. 40 Manishtushu Obelisk (Sargonic) exhibits the older sequence of sides and the younger sequence of columns. As in the earlier periods, the sides run from right to left in the order A-B-C-D, but the columns run not across the whole obelisk, but within each side, from left to right. The sequence of the sides here proposed is different from that given in the original publication of the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40) in MDP 2. See the introductory remarks to the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40) in chapter 3.

The second sequence, in which the columns of writing run consecutively first from left to right on the obverse and then from right to left on the reverse, attested already on the clay tablets of the Uruk III period, can be clearly recognized from Falkenstein, ATU 323, 324, and many others. Examples of texts with this sequence are given in J. Friberg, The Early Roots of Babylonian Mathematics 2.
Thus, we are faced with the following situation: in one sequence each row of writing runs consecutively from the obverse to reverse as occurs on the stone kudurrus dated to the Uruk III and partially to the ED I–II, Fara, and Pre-Sargonic periods; in the other sequence the columns of writing run consecutively first on the obverse and then on the reverse as on clay tablets of the Uruk III and all subsequent periods. Two possible explanations may be envisioned. One possibility is that the two kinds of sequences co-existed side by side, one favored on stone monuments and the other on clay tablets. The second possibility is that the sequence on stone is older than the one on clay, and that it was preserved archaically up to and including the Pre-Sargonic period, just as the vertical orientation of the signs was preserved on stone up to and including the Old Babylonian period, when the horizontal orientation of the signs was fully enforced in writing on clay tablets. Of the two possibilities, the second is to be favored mainly because of the unnatural orientation of the columns of the reverse in which only the first column of the reverse continues directly the last column of the obverse, while the other columns of the reverse run backwards in relation to the obverse.

Discounting small and fragmentary texts, kudurrus in the form of tablets often exhibit distinctly different profiles of the obverse and reverse in that the former is flat and the latter is rounded or convex. The curvature of the reverse can vary from slight to prominent. Tablets with the characteristic curvature are found in the Fara period (nos. 13, 14, and 20), the Pre-Sargonic period (nos. 22, 23, 31, and 35), and the Sargonic period (no. 41), all on stone tablets; and in the Pre-Sargonic period (nos. 32 and 33) and the Sargonic period (no. 42), all on clay tablets.

The knowledge of the difference between the flat obverse and rounded reverse was of great help in ascertaining the correct sequence of the text in the case of nos. 31, 32, 33, 35, 41, and 42.

No discernible difference between the obverse and reverse was found in a number of stone tablets of various periods: nos. 1–7 (Uruk III), 15 (Fara), 23, 34 and 37 (Pre-Sargonic), and 45 (Sargonic).

One important question relating to early writing concerns the graphotactical arrangement and order of signs within a case or line. A case contains a small number of signs which normally express a linguistic unit, which corresponds to our word or a brief phrase, such as a noun with a preposition or postposition, a number plus the name of a commodity, etc. The formal development of a case to a line, the orderly sequence of signs within a case, that is, the sequence of signs following the sequence of speech elements, comes into being, becoming mandatory in both Sumerian and Akkadian texts during the later phase of the Pre-Sargonic period (ED IIIb). However, there are great discrepancies in the just-preceding periods. More details on this question are given in section 1.5.

1.5. Language

As can be seen from the introductory sections to each ancient kudurru, those of the earliest date, Uruk III and ED I–II (nos. 1–12, 18, and 19), are hardly comprehensible. What we can read safely or interpret in them is no more than the sign-groups for areal measures and fields and for a few names and words. Their language could be either Sumerian or Akkadian.

Some general comment is necessary about how the linguistic affiliation of a text, Akkadian or Sumerian, was determined for this volume. The linguistic affiliation of a text is assured whenever it contains any clear linguistic, Akkadian or Sumerian, elements. In addition, some of the texts without any clearly definable linguistic elements were identified as Akkadian-written due to the occurrence of certain extra-linguistic, mainly graphic features which are otherwise found only in Akkadian sources. Among these Akkadian extra-linguistic features are: a) the use of certain logograms, such as AB + ĀŠ “witness,” instead of Sumerian lú-ki-inim-ma, NĠ.KĠ.GAR “additional payment,” instead of níg-dirig, DUL “statue,” instead of alam, and DUMU.DUMU “descendant,” which are not used in Sumerian; b) the use of logograms without the verbal affixation, such as SAG.RIG, “he offered ex-voto,” instead of Sumerian a-mu-ru or a-mu-na-ru; c) the use of certain syllabograms, such as išši (LAM+KUR) and ‘a(t)E, which are not used in Sumerian; and d) the use of the genealogical structures of the type PN DUMU.NITA PN₂, “PN son of PN₁,” and PN DUMU.SAL PN, “PN daughter of PN₁,” instead of PN dumu PN₁, “PN child (male or female) of PN₁,” in Sumerian, and of PN LŪ (= Akkadian šu) PN₂ “PN of the household of PN₁,” which are rarely used in Sumerian-written texts.

There is a difference in the graphotactical order of “measures plus things counted” between the Sumerian and Akkadian kudurrus. The specific measures are those of weight and liquid capacity. Not applicable in the present discussion are measures of length, area, and dry capacity.

The Sumerian kudurrus of the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic periods regularly have the sequence “thing counted plus measure,” as in:

- x kug gin “x shekels of silver” 14 and 15, Fara
- x kug ma-na “x pounds of silver” 14 and 15, Fara
- x sig ma-na “x pounds of wool” 14, 15, and 21, Fara; 32 and 33, Pre-Sargonic
- x urudu ma-na “x pounds of copper” 20 and 21, Fara
- x i siša “x quarts of oil” 14 and 15, Fara
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

The Akkadian kudurrus of the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic periods regularly have the sequence “measure plus thing counted,” that is, the reverse order from the Sumerian convention, as in:

- x GĪN KUG. BABBAR “x shekels of silver”
- x MA.NA KUG. BABBAR “x pounds of wool”
- x MA.NA SĪG “x pounds of copper/bronze”
- x URUDU/UD.KA.BAR “x quarts of oil”
- x DUG I.SĀH/1.DŪ.G.GA “x pots of lard/perfume”
- x SILA İ “x quarts of soup”

The general conclusion that may be drawn is that the Sumerian kudurrus use the order “thing counted plus measure,” while the Akkadian kudurrus use the order “measure plus thing counted.” The exceptions are few and all are found in the Akkadian-written kudurrus of the later phase of the Pre-Sargonic period, which have the Sumerian order in x KUG.BABBAR MA.NA, x SĪG MA.NA, x I SILA, and x I.SĀH SILA (nos. 34, 36, and 37). Very few scattered exceptions are found even in the Akkadian kudurrus of the Sargonic period (nos. 40 and 41).

Unfortunately, the rather consistent use of the Sumerian graphotactical convention in writing “thing counted plus measure,” observable in ancient kudurrus of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, is not fully duplicated in the legal and administrative texts of the same periods.

The same applies, pari passu, to the graphotactical convention of writing the signs within a case, either in the free order of the linguistic elements, as in the spellings A-da-ma, A-ma-da, Ma-da-a, etc., or in the fixed order of the linguistic elements, as in the spelling A-da-ma. In section 1.4 above we noted that the free order of signs within a case was characteristic of early cuneiform writing. The development from the free to the fixed order of signs takes different lines in Akkadian and Sumerian kudurrus. While the order of signs is fixed in the Akkadian kudurrus of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, there are some discrepancies in the Sumerian kudurrus of the same periods. Thus, the sequence of signs in nos. 13 and 20, both of the Fara period, is quite unpredictable, but the sequence in nos. 14 and 15, also of the Fara period (or perhaps of the earlier phase of the Pre-Sargonic period) is generally orderly. The same discrepancies are observable in the Sumerian legal and administrative texts of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods. And the fixed order of signs does not become mandatory in all phases and genres of cuneiform writing until the later phase of the Pre-Sargonic period.


The gains obtained by utilizing the features discussed above in defining the linguistic affiliation of the kudurrus of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, especially those preserved in a fragmentary state, are considerable. Nevertheless, a note of warning is necessary, as may be judged from a text such as JCS 31 (1979) p. 52. This text has features that are both Akkadian, such as SE.BA šu 1 ITI “barley rations of one month” (colophon), and Sumerian, such as SE.BA.BI “their rations” (passim). It is such misuse of Sumerian as shown in the writing of ossified SE.BA.BI, meaning “its rations” (= “their rations”), that leads to the conclusion that this text of the classical Sargonic period (not “Early Dynastic” as stated by M. de J. Ellis, ibid. p. 32) would presumably have been read in the Akkadian language. Similar problems are found in the areas of mixed Sumerian and Akkadian influences, as at Nippur or Adab (see below), where the occurrence of a Sumerian feature in a kudurru does not necessarily mean that it was written in Sumerian. There are three kudurrus (nos. 26 and 30a from Nippur, and no. 33 from Adab), each of which contains certain distinctive features that are Akkadian and others that are Sumerian. In such cases, the definition of the language of a kudurru must be governed by additional considerations, such as whether a certain feature is used exclusively and does not allow of any exceptions in groups of texts of ascertainable linguistic affiliation. Such considerations lead to the conclusion that kudurrus nos. 26, 30a, and 33 are to be identified as Akkadian, with or without question mark, in the listing of kudurrus given in section 5.1, despite their Sumerian features.

There are, in addition, some fragmentary kudurrus that contain no distinctive Sumerian or Akkadian features. In such cases, the language of a kudurru was generally marked as “unknown,” unless other considerations led to a different conclusion. Thus, we concluded that the language of no. 51 (allegedly from Cuthah) must be Akkadian because the kudurru is Sargonic in date and comes from the north, which proffers only kudurrus composed in the Akkadian language.

In the past, it has been taken for granted that the Semitic language of the kudurrus and related sources of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods represents merely an earlier dialect of the Old Akkadian of the Sargonic period. A recent restudy of all these sources, both in relation to the contemporary material of Abu Salabikh, Ebla, and Mari and to the later Old Akkadian material of the Sargonic period, brought about some surprising results. In the earlier-cited article “Ebla and the Kish
DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The great majority of the 127 sale documents of the Ur III period are written in Sumerian. Of the 122 Sumerian-written texts, two are from Eshnuna, sixty-six from Nippur, nine from Adab, eleven from Umma, nine from Lagash, ten from Ur, two from Susa, thirteen of unknown provenience. The five Akkadian-written texts are of unknown provenience.

Data concerning the linguistic distribution of ancient kudurrus and sale documents are given in figures 2 and 3. A map illustrating it is shown in figure 4.

In accordance with the standard Sumerian designation ki-en-gi ki-uri “the land of Sumer and Akkad” for Babylonia, we normally distinguish the Akkadian north from the Sumerian south. This bipartite division of Babylonia is not adequate for the purpose of the linguistic distribution of the kudurrus and sale documents, as the evidence forces us to distinguish not two but three areas: north, near south, and far south. The north designates the Akkadian Akkad, and the areas to the north, including the Diyala River region and Assyria. The south is divided into the near south, with Nippur, Isin, Adab, Shuruppak, Umma, and Lagash (Girshu), situated close to and potentially under the influence of the Akkadian north, and the far south, with Ur, Uruk and Larsa, with less likelihood of Akkadian influence.

The statistical evaluations of the linguistic distribution of ancient kudurrus and sale documents, given above, must be viewed with a certain amount of caution. This is imposed by the accident of archaeological discovery and the fact that the written attestations for the third millennium B.C. are much richer in the near south than either in the north or the far south.

With these reservations in mind, we may draw certain conclusions. Akkadian kudurrus are used in the north and near south, while Sumerian kudurrus dominate only in the near south. Sumerian sale documents of the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic periods are attested in the near south, while no sale documents are known from the far south. There is only one Akkadian sale document of Pre-Sargonic date (of unknown provenience), and the Sargonic-period sale documents are attested only in the north and from unknown sites. In the Ur III period, we can observe an almost complete Sumerization of the language of sale documents. Coming from the capital city of Ur in the far south, the Sumerian influence—ephemeral as it was—extends in the Ur III period from the far south, through the near south, to the north, with only a handful of sale documents (all from unknown sites) testifying to the use of Akkadian.

Some striking conclusions may be drawn from the geographical distribution of the ancient kudurrus. One is that the Akkadian-written kudurrus are at home not only in the Akkadian north, but also at Nippur and Adab in the near south, evidencing the influence emanating from the Akkadian north to the Sumerian near south. Much more striking is the fact that even the Sumerian-written kudurrus are attested only at Nippur, Adab, Lagash, Umma(?), and Shuruppak in the near south, but not at Ur, Uruk, Eridu, or Larsa in the far south. This may allow a tentative conclusion that the custom of selling

Civilization,” pp. 60ff. and 72, Gelb pointed out several features of the Sargonic dialect which cannot be derived from the dialect of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, and suggested that the Fara and Pre-Sargonic dialect represents a linguistic entity that may have been different from the later Old Akkadian of the Sargonic period. He proposed tentatively to call this earliest Semitic dialect of Babylonia “Kishite” after the city Kish, the capital and the heart of the Kish Civilization.

The first understandable kudurrus come from the Fara period. Of these, five texts are written in Sumerian and four in Akkadian.

In three Sumerian-written texts, nos. 13 (from Shuruppak?), 20, and 21 (both from Lagash), the sequence of individual signs within a case is still free to a large extent, and as a result these texts teem with textual difficulties. In contrast, the texts nos. 14 and 15 (both of uncertain provenience, possibly Isin) are characterized by an orderly sequence of signs, and we have few difficulties in following the interpretation of the texts.

The four oldest Akkadian-written texts are dated to the Fara period and come from Kish (nos. 16) and Nippur (nos. 25, 26, and 30b). No. 16 can be recognized as Akkadian because of the occurrence of NIG.KI.GAR “additional payment” (instead of the Sumerian nig-dirig), and of the writing KU “he/they ate,” that is, “received the price” (instead of the Sumerian i-ki or the like), whereas no. 26 betrays its Akkadian background by the writing of in GN “in GN,” and by the occurrence of Enna-II king of Kish. The Akkadian affiliation of the two other Nippur texts is less certain.

From the Pre-Sargonic period there are eight Sumerian kudurrus, from Lagash (nos. 19a?, 19b?, 22, and 23), Nippur (nos. 27?, 29?, and 30?), and Adab (no. 32), and eleven Akkadian kudurrus, from Nippur (nos. 28, 30a, and 30b?), Adab (nos. 31 and 33?), Kish (no. 34), Sippar (nos. 35 and 36), Dilbat (no. 37), Ur (no. 47?), and of unknown origin (no. 46).

From the Sargonic period there are only two Sumerian kudurrus, one from Lagash (no. 24) and one of unknown provenience (no. 39). There are twelve Akkadian texts: from Sippar (nos. 38, 40, 41, 48, and 49), Babylon (no. 50), Cuthah (no. 51), Eshnuna (nos. 42, 43, and 44), Assur (no. 45), and of unknown provenience (no. 52).

The linguistic distribution of sale documents presents a less varied picture than that of the kudurrus. All forty-two Fara sale documents from Shuruppak (including one found at Uruk), all twenty Pre-Sargonic sale documents from Lagash, and one sale document from Adab are written in Sumerian. The exception is the Pre-Sargonic text no. 156a, which is of unknown provenience and is written in Akkadian.

The ninety-one sale documents of the Sargonic period consist of seventy-one entries written in Sumerian: ten from Nippur, thirty-two from Isin, seven from Adab, one from Umma, nine from Lagash, and twelve of unknown provenience; and of twenty entries written in Akkadian: two from Gasur, eight from Eshnuna, two from Kish, one from Sippar, one from Umm-el-Jlr, and six of unknown provenience.
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

Figure 6. Distribution of Sale Documents by Object of Sale (Sammelurkunden are counted only once, under main object of sale)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fields</th>
<th>Orchards</th>
<th>Humans</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Animals</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fara</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2 unidentif. real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15 = 282</td>
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</table>

Figure 7. Distribution of Sales in Sale Documents by Object of Sale

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Orchards</th>
<th>Humans</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Animals</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2 unidentif. real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95+</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9 unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>161+</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15 = 366+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(arable) land originated in the Akkadian north, from where it expanded southward to the Sumerians. See in detail section 1.11.

There is nothing radical about the assumption of the Akkadian influence in the near south between the Fara and Sargonic periods, as it can be corroborated by the use of the Akkadian language in letters and administrative documents at Adab and Lagash, of Akkadian personal names at Adab, Lagash, Nippur, Umma, and Shuruppak, and of Akkadian month names at Adab, Lagash, Nippur, and Umma. Compare the evidence collected by Gelb in MAD 2 pp. 1–13 (which has grown in the meantime), and discussed in “Thoughts about Ibla” pp. 6f., and “Ebla and the Kish Civilization” p. 66.

1.6. Objects of Sale

An ancient kudurru deals exclusively with land (fields), while a sale document deals with any kind of property, movable (humans, animals, also dates and gold) and immovable (fields, orchards, and houses).

Detailed information about the different kinds of objects of sale in sale documents is given in chapter 8; some general discussion is found in section 1.8.

The distribution of 282 sale documents by period and object of sale is shown in figure 6.

This does not reflect the actual number of sale transactions because some tablets record several purchases from different sellers by one or more buyers. A truer view of the frequency of sales results from counting the number of separate transactions, as shown in figure 7.

The most common object of sale over all periods is humans. Of the texts that deal with the sale of humans, nearly two thirds are of Ur III date, which may be correlated with the complete lack of field sales in this period. Sales of humans involve men, women, and children, either chattel slaves or debt slaves. Next in number are sales of houses and fields. A relatively small number of orchard sales are found; the size is given either in area (passim) or in number of palm trees grown on it (nos. 266–268). The most frequent animal sold is gud “bull” (nos. 317, 319, 321, 322, and 348) and GIR “heifer” (no. 316), followed by anše “donkey” (nos. 223, 318, 323, and 368), and also two kinds of equids with uncertain meaning, namely ANŠE.BAR.AN (nos. 225 and 235) and ANŠE.LIBIR (nos. 222 and 320). There are two sales of gold (nos. 226 and 236), one of dates (no. 224), and one of a canal (?) (no. 183).

Detailed information on the sizes, quantities, qualities, and prices of objects of sale is given in chapter 8.

1.7. Multiple and Single Transactions

An ancient kudurru records several purchases of arable land (fields), while a sale document usually records a single purchase of property, which can be immovables (fields, orchards, and houses) or movables (humans, animals, and commodities).
As may be seen from the synoptic charts of ancient kudurrus (pls. 87-115), the number of purchases per kudurru varies from two to as many as sixteen and seventeen. This number rises to at least twenty-seven in no. 41, and at least twenty-eight in no. 16, with the possibility that the total number of the transactions originally recorded in no. 41 may have been as high as one hundred.

The question of a single occurrence of one parcel of land in some of the earliest kudurrus, such as no. 2, is discussed in chapter 2.

Although the overwhelming majority of sale documents deals with single purchases, there are also examples of texts recording two or more purchases, made by the same buyer from different sellers. Such texts are especially common among the Sargonic material from Isin and Nippur, though they occasionally appear also in the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods. The Isin and Nippur texts of this type may in addition include transactions other than sales. The following is a complete listing of the sale documents recording multiple purchases, showing the numbers and types of properties sold:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fara period</th>
<th>Pre-Sargonic period</th>
<th>Sargonic period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. 107</td>
<td>2 houses</td>
<td>no. 143 2 houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 166</td>
<td>3 houses and 2 fields</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 167</td>
<td>1 house (and another transaction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 172</td>
<td>2 fields</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 179</td>
<td>2 fields</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 181</td>
<td>4 orchards and 1 house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 182a</td>
<td>20 fields and 12 orchards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 189</td>
<td>2 persons (and 2 other transactions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 191</td>
<td>1 house (and another transaction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 204</td>
<td>3 houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 210</td>
<td>3 fields and 4(?!) houses (and another transaction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 211</td>
<td>2 fields</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 212</td>
<td>2 fields (and another transaction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 232</td>
<td>2 persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the documents of this type are extremely rare in the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, it is possible that nos. 107 and 143 deal with the sales that took place at the same time and involved related sellers. The same explanation may also apply to the Sargonic text no. 232, of unknown origin. In contrast, the Sargonic examples from Isin (nos. 166, 167, 172, 179, 181, 182, 189, and 191) and Nippur (nos. 204, 210, 211, and 212) must be interpreted as the records of separate purchases, which involved unrelated sellers and took place independently of one another. This interpretation rests primarily on the fact that the Isin text no. 169, which deals with a single purchase of a field, reappears verbatim in no. 182a (as transaction F). This shows quite conclusively that no. 182a is a Sammelurkunde of separate purchases which involved the same buyer, whose name apparently is not spelled out in the text (in pls. 143-45 transactions D, E, H, I, J, and U, the persons identified as "buyers" should, in all likelihood, be reclassified as sellers).

The Isin and Nippur Sammelurkunden thus bear an uncanny resemblance to the stone kudurrus, since they both record (mostly) unrelated purchases, made, over a period of time, by one buyer. This comparison is particularly apt in the case of no. 182a, which, because of its huge size (thirty-two separate purchases), is virtually indistinguishable from the kudurrus. In fact, it cannot be excluded that no. 182a actually is the clay draft of a stone kudurru (for similar drafts, see nos. 32, 33, 43, and 44, discussed in section 1.3). It should be noted, however, that no. 182a deals, apart from fields, also with orchards, which otherwise do not appear in the kudurrus. An identical text is IM 11053/156, also stemming from Isin and dealing with the purchases of fields and orchards, which will be published by Steinkeller as no. 4 in his forthcoming book Third Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

As concerns the other Isin and Nippur texts dealing with multiple (but fewer) transactions, we probably find here composite records of purchases (and sometimes of other transactions as well) that the buyer compiled periodically for his own records, based on the individual sale documents in his possession. It appears that once the buyer accumulated a considerable number of such records (either multiple or individual), he had them copied on a stone kudurru, which he then deposited in a temple, to serve as a permanent and public record of his purchases (see section 1.10).

A completely unique case is presented by the Pre-Sargonic sale document no. 156a, which records the sale of two fields by the same seller to different buyers. Unless this text was prepared for the seller (which is most unlikely, considering the complete absence of parallels for such a practice), we have to assume that the buyers were related and resided together, which made the preparation of two separate sale documents unnecessary.

1.8. Buyers and Sellers

Of primary importance for the evaluation of land tenure conditions in Mesopotamia during the third millennium B.C. is the question of the numbers of buyers and sellers appearing in sale transactions. We exclude here from consideration the earliest kudurrus nos. 1–12, as well as nos. 13, 18, 19, 19a, 19b, 24, and 38, whose interpretation as sale transactions is uncertain (see section 2.4 and the respective commentaries).

In all periods, both in the kudurrus and sale documents, there is regularly only one buyer named. Although due to the fragmentary state of the final portions of many kudurrus (where the name of the buyer is expected) the number of occurrences of buyers is exceedingly small, all the kudurrus whose final portions are preserved list only one buyer, as in nos. 20(7), 21, 22, 23, 37, and 40. A notable exception here are nos. 14 and 15 which, though fully preserved, do not name the buyer anywhere in their texts. A possible explanation is that these related pieces
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

were followed by still another kudurru, which presumably listed the name of the buyer at the end of the inscription.

With four exceptions, nos. 124, 125, 156a, and 260, all of the sale documents from the Fara through the Ur III periods list a single buyer.

The situation pertaining to the numbers of sellers is considerably more complicated. In order to obtain a full and objective picture of this issue, we offer first a summary of the relevant data in chronological order.

In the sale documents from Shuruppak (Fara period), dealing with fields and houses, the numbers of sellers (including secondary sellers) range from one to nine. The most common number of sellers is between two and five (twenty-eight instances out of the thirty-nine texts where such a determination can be made). The figures of sellers may be actually lower, since some of the examples counted doubly may involve the construction PN PN2 "PN Of PN2.

In nos. 14 and 15, dating to the Fara or the earlier phase of the Pre-Sargonic period, and possibly stemming from Isin, in the overwhelming majority of instances there are either one or two sellers listed. There are six instances of three sellers, and one instance of four sellers. As in the case of the Shuruppak sale documents, the actual figures may be lower, due to the use of the construction PN PN2 in these two kudurrus.

In the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus from Lagash and in the contemporaneous Lagash sale documents dealing with fields, orchards, and houses, the numbers of sellers (including secondary sellers) are generally high (up to twenty-seven in no. 137), though there are also cases of single sellers (as in nos. 142, 143, and 146). In the instances involving large numbers of sellers, these are generally related by blood (see especially nos. 22, 23, and 139). Both in the kudurrus and in the sale documents, secondary sellers regularly receive additional payments and gifts. A different situation exists in the Lagash sales of persons, which usually involve single sellers and as a rule list neither secondary sellers nor additional payments and gifts (the only exception here is no. 150, which records one secondary seller receiving a gift).

Two Pre-Sargonic kudurrus from Adab (nos. 31 and 32) yield conflicting data. No. 31 lists a single seller in each of its eleven transactions. In contrast, no. 32, which records two sale transactions, names eighteen sellers (including secondary sellers or primary witnesses) in the first transaction and four sellers in the second. It is significant that in each case the sellers were members of the same kinship grouping.

In the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus from northern Babylonia which are sufficiently preserved to make such a determination (nos. 34, 36, and 37), the numbers of sellers are generally small: one or two, occasionally three or more. Of special interest is the mention of the "sons/descendants of Ur-ma," who appear in addition to the two sellers, and who receive the additional payment, in no. 37 rev. i–ii. It is characteristic that the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus from northern Babylonia regularly list additional payments and gifts, which, we may assume, were always intended for secondary sellers (even though secondary sellers may not be named in the text).

In the Sargonic sale documents, which come primarily from southern Babylonia, there is generally only one seller listed. This applies equally to the transactions involving immovables (fields, orchards, and houses) and those concerning movables (persons, animals, and commodities). Occasionally, there are two sellers, and very rarely, three or four sellers. It is notable that secondary sellers virtually disappear in this period; the only occurrences of secondary sellers are found in no. 237 (which may actually belong to the Pre-Sargonic period) and possibly in no. 177. Concomitant with this development is the comparative rarity of additional payments and gifts in the sales of real property, which, as we have seen, were an indispensable element of the Fara and Pre-Sargonic sales.

The picture offered by the Sargonic kudurrus, which without exception come from northern Babylonia and places farther north such as Assur and Eshnuna, is considerably different. In the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40), the most representative Sargonic kudurru, the numbers of sellers, designated as "lords of the field" and "brother-lords of the field," are conspicuously large (up to twenty-six individuals). In the case of the three transactions recorded on side A (and, similarly, the transactions on side C), it can be demonstrated that all the sellers, as well as the witnesses of the sellers, were members of the same kinship grouping. See Gelb in E. Lipiński, ed., State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East 1 (Leuven, 1979) pp. 76–89. In other Sargonic kudurrus, the numbers of sellers are considerably lower. For example, in no. 41 there is usually only one seller listed in a transaction, though there are also single occurrences of two, three, and four sellers. In addition, some of the Sargonic kudurrus do not mention secondary sellers (e.g., nos. 42 and 43). It is notable, however, that all of these documents are consistent in listing additional payments and gifts, which, as noted above, become rare in the Sargonic sale documents.

While the documentation grows considerably in the Ur III period, there are no sales of fields, and the number of sellers in sales of orchards and houses varies from one to four, with the great majority of cases represented by one seller only. Single sellers predominate also in the Ur III sales of chattells.

In consideration of the above data, the following tentative conclusions may be reached. During the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, sales of real property (fields, orchards, and houses) generally involved multiple sellers, who comprised sellers proper, the actual "owners" of the sold property, and their kinsmen, who acted as "secondary sellers." The latter invariably received gifts and additional payments. As far as we can judge, humans (and probably other types of chattells) were sold freely by single individuals, without the participation (and, presumably, the consent) of their kinsmen (= secondary sellers). It appears that this picture obtained equally for southern and northern Babylonia.

In the Sargonic period, we can observe in southern Babylonia a clear transition toward sales involving single sellers, as evidenced in the disappearance of secondary sellers and the rarity of additional payments and gifts. In contrast, in northern Babylonia sales continued to involve...
MULTIPLE SELLERS

This is shown best by the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40), but equally well by the fact that the northern Babylonian kudurrus consistently list additional payments and gifts, which implies the attendance of sale transactions by secondary sellers (even though they may not be explicitly mentioned in texts).

This evolutionary process, from multiple to single sellers, beginning in southern Babylonia in the Sargonic period, culminated in Ur III times, with the practice of both secondary sellers and additional payments and gifts becoming completely extinct. The question whether the same was true of northern Babylonia in that period is difficult to evaluate, because of the great scarcity of written documentation coming from that region.

It is equally difficult to assess if, and to what extent, the described development reflects a transition from the “familial” to the “private” form of ownership (this affects only real property, since it is clear that chattels were privately/individually owned as early as the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods and probably even much earlier). Here we must note that already in the earliest periods the actual “owners” (= primary sellers) of sold real property were either single individuals or, at best, nuclear families. This, in our view, precludes any possibility of the existence of a truly familial/communal ownership of land during the time-span with which this study is concerned.

This conclusion is consistent with the fact that throughout the second half of the third millennium buyers of real property were invariably single individuals. Obviously, if fields and other types of real property were owned by kinship groupings larger than nuclear families, we would expect to find multiple purchasers in at least some of the texts.

At the same time, it must be emphasized that the vesting of land tenure in an individual as distinct from a social group is a very modern notion (see C. Brinkman, “Land Tenure,” in Encyclopedia of the Social Science [New York, 1937] p. 74), and thus one cannot talk of purely private/individual ownership in third millennium Mesopotamia either. Therefore, all that our evidence permits us to say is that during the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods familial (or, more broadly, communal) consent was required to permit the alienation of real property by individuals or nuclear families. The importance of such a consent declined visibly in the Sargonic period, but only in southern Babylonia. In Ur III times, there is no evidence for any form of familial or communal consent in sales of orchards and houses (sales of fields apparently were prohibited), with such transactions now possibly being supervised and authorized by the state.

The above questions are taken up in greater detail in section 1.11, where it is also suggested that there may have existed significant differences between southern and northern Babylonian systems of land tenure.

From the socio-economic point of view, another important issue is the status of the buyers and sellers. Figure 8 offers a listing of the professions and titles of the buyers and sellers occurring in the kudurrus and sale documents, ordered by the object of sale.

As shown in figure 8, nos. 1–52 are kudurrus and nos. 100–370 are sale documents. The temporal distribution of the sale documents is as follows: nos. 100–136 (Fara), nos. 137–156a (Pre-Sargonic), nos. 157–246 (Sargonic), and nos. 247–370 (Ur III). The date of the kudurrus is reflected only approximately from the sequence since certain groups of kudurrus are ordered not by date but by provenience.

The first impression one gets from scanning the figure is that practically anyone could be either a seller or a buyer. This is especially important for the fields, since this evidence shows that landed property could be sold and consequently “owned” by private persons and not exclusively by the temples or state as claimed until quite recently.

Considering the accidents of discovery of texts in our limited sampling, any conclusion that might be drawn about the relative frequency of the occupations and titles of buyers and sellers must be viewed with a certain amount of suspicion. With this in mind, we note that the most common among both the buyers and sellers are various high administrative officials: lugal “king” (or, in the Pre-Sargonic Lagash, “governor”), en-5-si “governor,” sanga “chief temple administrator,” sabra or ugula é “chief temple steward.” Also conspicuous in their frequency are dam-gar “merchant,” dub-sar “scribe,” and sipa “shepherd.” All other professions and titles occur fewer than five times.

Women participate very frequently in sale transactions, both as buyers and sellers (primary and secondary). Among them, we find gemé DN “servant of DN” (no. 150), GEM.ŠEŠIGIR “temple servant” (nos. 40 D iii 10–12, 41 iv 12–15′), SAL.ŠEŠIGIR “lamentor” (nos. 43 viii 8–9, x 6–7, 44h iv 4–5′), and wives of such people as lugal “king,” here “governor” (no. 154), en-si “governor” (nos. 149, 151, 152, 153, and 155), sanga “chief temple administrator” (nos. 14 viii 6–10, 137, and 150), sag-du, “field recorder” (no. 22 iv 4–6), lú-udu “shepherd” (no. 109), asgab “leather worker” (no. 155), and sagi, “cupbearer” (no. 159). A daughter of a simgab “smith” occurs in no. 33 rev. iv 3–8. Wives, daughters, and sisters of men not identified by name, as well as mothers of sold individuals, appear in nos. 15 iii 9–10, v 28–30, 32 v 18–vi 2, rev. ii 12–13, 36 iii 7–9, 37 R, E. 9–12, 44h ii 5′–6′, 125, 142, 145, 157, 159, 164, 168, 175, 182a B, M, T, Y, CC, DD, 184, 186, 187, 188, 205, 215, 216, 227, 234, 253, 263, 300, 304, 306, and 308. In other instances, either sellers or buyers may be identified as female on the basis of their names and the verbal form used (in Akkadian texts; see, e.g., nos. 41 v 22–24′ and 235).

In evaluating the status of buyers, in the case of field sales a sharp distinction must be made between the buyers appearing in the kudurrus (and in the Sammelarkunde no. 182a) and those found in the sale documents. This follows from the simple fact that the kudurrus involve incomparably greater land areas, such as 770.5 iku (no. 14 plus no. 15), 144.3 iku (no. 22 plus no. 23), 206 iku (no. 32), 217 iku (no. 36), 9723 iku (no. 40), 628.6 iku (no. 41—one only fourteen transactions out of the possible total of 100 transactions that were originally recorded in this document!), and 427 iku (no. 182a). Naturally, the purchasers of these huge tracts of land must have been important and exceedingly rich individuals. Although the
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

Figure 8. Sellers and Buyers Appearing in Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CIVIL AUTHORITY</th>
<th>SELLERS</th>
<th>BUYERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Field</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lugal &quot;king&quot;</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>182a A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>30b</td>
<td>34 iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en₅-si &quot;governor&quot;</td>
<td>20b</td>
<td>182a A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAR-en₅-si</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMPLE</th>
<th>SELLERS</th>
<th>BUYERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Field</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en DN &quot;en-priest of DN&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanga (DN) &quot;chief temple administrator&quot;</td>
<td>App. to 32</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>14 viii</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SAN]GA?GAR 44 i</td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABRA(.E) &quot;chief temple steward&quot;</td>
<td>44 i</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugula é &quot;chief temple steward&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugula É-sikil</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arād DN &quot;servant of DN&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gala &quot;cantor&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemé DN &quot;servant of DN&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEMÉ.DINGIR &quot;temple servant&quot;</td>
<td>40 D iii</td>
<td>41 i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudâ? (a type of priest)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iṣib DN &quot;purification priest of DN&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-ēš (a type of priest)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pab-šēš (DN) (a type of priest)</td>
<td>16d B iii</td>
<td>182a FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAL.BALAG.DI &quot;lamenter&quot;</td>
<td>43 viii, x</td>
<td>44h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFFICIALS</th>
<th>SELLERS</th>
<th>BUYERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Field</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB+ÁŠ.URU GN &quot;city elder&quot;</td>
<td>40 A vi, vii, x</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aga-uš lugal &quot;royal constable&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

#### OFFICIALS (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agrig “manager”</td>
<td>15 L. E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-kud “judge”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dub-sar “scribe”</td>
<td>40 C xiv</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>309a orchard:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 D ii</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>182a N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dub-sar gud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dub-sar-mah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÁ-dub-ba “archivist”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAL.UKÚ “military commander”</td>
<td>40 A iv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAL. URI “chief of the Akkadians”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU.SUR.NUN “field assessor”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫa-za-núm GN “mayor”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>equid: 368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḡ “equerry”</td>
<td>40 A vi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>182a U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-guru “granary superintendent”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUG.GÁL “canal inspector”</td>
<td>41 rev. ix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-banda “overseer”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>314 bovid?: 348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sag-du₃ “field recorder”</td>
<td>40 B v</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>unknown: 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>22 iv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagi “cupbearer”</td>
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status of buyers is known only in four kudurrus (a son of the governor of Lagash [nos. 22 and 23], a son of a northern Babylonian governor [no. 35], and the king Manishtushu [no. 40]), it can be safely assumed that in all other cases the buyers were members of the highest social stratum (if not the ruling elite).

1.9. Formulary

In general, the formulary of the kudurrus closely resembles that of the sale documents. This is especially true of the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus from Lagash, which are clearly compilations of individual sale documents. Among the kudurrus, operative sections styled ex latere venditoris predominate. In contrast, the sale documents usually use operative sections styled ex latere emptoris.

The information contained in an individual transaction of a kudurru can be so terse as to furnish only the size of the sold field, the purchase price, and the names of the buyer and the seller. In its most complete form, the transaction also specifies additional payments and gifts, and the names of secondary sellers (= primary witnesses), witnesses, and various officials who authorized or witnessed the sale. Additional clauses, the so-called Schlussklauseln, are rare in the kudurrus.
The same basic information is given in the sale documents, with a difference that sale documents are generally longer and more informative than the individual transactions of the kudurrus. In particular, the sale documents use a large repertoire of Schlussklauseln. For a detailed discussion of the formulary of the kudurrus and sale documents, see chapters 6 and 7.

1.10. **Purpose and Function**

The discussion of the purpose and function of the ancient kudurrus may profitably proceed by comparing them with their Kassite/post-Kassite counterparts.

A Kassite or post-Kassite kudurru deals usually with a grant of land by the king (or official) to an individual (or temple), very rarely, with a gift of land by an individual to a member of his family or with a purchase or sale of land by one individual from another.

The main characteristics of the ancient kudurrus are shown in figure 1. These characteristics compared with those of the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus are charted in figure 9. This figure lists only the main characteristics of the grants of land preserved on conical stelae, which form the bulk of the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus, and not the many internal and external variations of the texts which are usually included under the overall class of these documents.

The brief description of the contents of the Kassite and post-Kassite and ancient kudurrus given in the chart shows several convergences and divergences.

The most apparent outward feature of the Kassite and post-Kassite and ancient kudurrus is that both are made of stone. As noted in section 1.1, stone was rare and expensive in Mesopotamia, and its use in writing was generally limited to votive-building-memorial inscriptions, seals, weights, and kudurrus. The use of stone for kudurrus means that they were intended to be a permanent and indestructible record. Because of that, kudurrus and stelae with votive-building-memorial inscriptions were considered sacred and inviolable. The Sumerian term for them is often deified (ša-Na-dū-a), the dedicated stelae are to be anointed at regular intervals, and the inscriptions bear curses against potential violators. While Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus contain curse formulas and extensive representational symbolism placing the kudurrus under the divine protection, ancient kudurrus have neither. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a badly preserved ancient kudurru presumably from Sippar (no. 48), has a brief curse formula that was added at the end of the inscription in the Neo-Babylonian period.

Some ancient kudurrus at Adab and Eshnuna are written on either stone or clay. See section 1.3, where it is suggested that the clay tablets served either as first drafts written in preparation for the final edition on stone or as private copies destined for the personal use of the purchaser of land.

Since ancient kudurrus contain a collection of purchases of land, it is reasonable to assume that they were based on documents of clay, each recording a purchase of a single piece of land. For a good illustration of the latter, see App. to kudurrus nos. 22–23.

Since the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus regularly have the form of a more or less conical stela made of stone, parallel texts (but without the curse formulas) which were preserved on clay tablets may be—as in the case of ancient kudurrus on clay—either first drafts or private copies of the purchaser of landed property.

As is well known, the term kudurru, when applied to the Kassite and post-Kassite periods, means “boundary” or “boundary stone.” It is this meaning, plus the form of the kudurrus, and some rather debatable textual evidence (see just below), which led scholars to argue that the kudurrus were actually set up on the boundary of the property with which they were concerned. See W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I* (Philadelphia, 1907) pp. 8ff.; L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1912) p. vii; F. X. Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurrus (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform* (Padeborn, 1922) pp. 95, 97, and 101ff. Even V. Seidl, in an article published in *Bagh. Mitt.* 4 (1968) pp. 7–220, especially p. 73, still defended the proposition that at least all kudurrus of the early first millennium were set up in the field. Against this, several scholars have noted in the past that the phrase ina muḫḫi eqišu, which occurs frequently in the kudurrus, could just as well be translated “concerning his field,” rather than “on his field,” and the passage narā ša ina eqiš šāšu šaknu “the monument that was set up in this field” (*MDP* 6 p. 45 v 9f.) is unique, and does not allow for generalizations. See J. A. Brinkman, *RLA* 6 (1982) p. 270a, for the latest statement on this matter.

As may be seen from the ensuing discussion, the Akkadian word kudurru lost its original meaning “boundary,” “boundary stone,” when the stones were no longer set up in the field, but were deposited in a temple. A good parallel is provided by the Greek *horos* that also originally meant “boundary,” “boundary stone,” but was deposited not in the field, but in a building (see below, p. 24).

New information concerning the setting up of the Kassite kudurru in the Ebabbar temple of Larsa gave rise to the publication of two articles, one by J.-C. Margueron, *RA* 66 (1972) pp. 147–61, and the other by D. Arnaud, *ibid.* pp. 163–76. The information indicates that the kudurrus of Nazi-maruttash (1307–1282 B.C.) and of Kudurri-Enlil (1254–1246 B.C.), and an uninscribed fragment were discovered in a disturbed context within the complex of the Ebabbar temple (pp. 147, 157, and 161). While the temple Ebabbar is cited, in inconclusive context, in both inscribed kudurrus (pp. 164 line 6, 172 lines 56 and 59), Nazi-maruttash writes of having placed the kudurru in the sanctuary of Gula (p. 167 lines 48–50), which must have formed a part of the Ebabbar temple complex at Larsa. Gula of Larsa is briefly mentioned by R. Franken, *RLA* 3 p. 696a, with reference to F. R. Kraus, *JCS* 3 (1951) p. 85.

Certain conclusions about the topographic origin of the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus may be drawn from the fact that the great majority of these documents are housed today in two museums, the British Museum and the Louvre. Almost all Louvre kudurrus were excavated.
in faraway Susa in Elam, where they had been brought as booty by the Elamite invaders of Babylonia in the early first millennium B.C., just as the Hammurapi Code and the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40) had been. The first question is, did the Elamite soldiers collect the individual stones as they found them lying in the fields as markers of property or did they find them together in one place in one of the cities of Babylonia? In answer to this question, we submit that the Elamites were much more likely to carry away the stones which they had found in one place rather than to hunt for them in fields. As for the identity of that place, the most likely candidate here is the temple of Shamash at Sippar. In our opinion, this suggestion is supported, despite doubts expressed by some scholars, by the Sippar origin of the Code of Hammurapi, which was dedicated to Shamash of Sippar and was also found at Susa, and by our assumed Sippar derivation of the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus now housed in the British Museum. The latter assumption is based on the results of the recent "rediscovery" of the Sippar archive in the British Museum, which has shown that many British Museum texts (not necessarily kudurrus) which were suspected as having originated at Sippar or were noted as being of unknown origin had actually been excavated at Sippar. See, for instance, Sollberger, RA I 11 pp. 6f., RA I 15 pp. 103–7, and JEOL 20 (1968) pp. 50–70, especially his observations on the Sippar origin of the Cruciform Monument of Manishtushu (dedicated to Shamash of Sippar) and its copies on clay tablets. On that basis, we venture to suggest that many, if not most, of the middle Babylonian kudurrus in the British Museum may have come from Sippar, presumably the Shamash temple.

In suggesting that the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus of the Louvre and the British Museum come mainly from the temple of Shamash in Sippar, we do not wish to imply that this was the only place where the kudurrus were deposited. As a matter of fact, Seidl, op. cit., pp. 69f., lists fifteen sites where kudurrus were excavated or allegedly found, among them Babylon, Nippur, and Warka, to name only the sites with a larger number of kudurrus. On pp. 72f., Seidl lists several sites which yielded information about the findspots of the kudurrus. Of the seven cases she discusses, five describe the location as a temple, unfortunately, in almost all cases, of the period following that of the post-Kassite kudurrus. Still, the fact that these kudurrus were excavated in a temple area supports our suggestion that the Louvre and British Museum kudurrus come mainly from the temple of Shamash in Sippar.

If it can be proven that a large number of the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus served not as boundary stones to be erected in the field but as records to be deposited in the temple, then the same point may be applied also to the ancient kudurrus. As can be seen from section 1.3, most of the latter have the form of tablets or slabs which were more likely to be deposited in a building than in a field. Others, in the form of human statuettes and animal figurines, suggest a display purpose and again favor the proposition that they were accessible for viewing in a public building, such as a temple.

A note by C. B. F. Walker and D. Collon, "Hormuzd Rassam's Excavations for the British Museum at Sippar in 1881–1882" in L. de Meyer, ed., Tell ed-Der 3 (Leuven, 1980) pp. 93–114, sheds very important light on the Shamash temple at Sippar as the place of origin of several ancient, Kassite, and post-Kassite kudurrus, and other types of texts now housed in the British Museum. While Walker and Collon could list only three ancient kudurrus (nos. 55, 58, and 66 on p. 111 under B, corresponding to our kudurrus nos. 36, 49, and 48) and eight Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus (p. 112 under F) among the 108 mainly inscribed items as certainly or possibly found in the Shamash temple at Sippar, they pointed out on p. 96 that their listing "is certainly far from complete since many of the objects recorded in Rassam's inventories cannot be identified." The expectation that many more ancient and Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus in the British Museum will be identified in the course of time as coming from the Shamash temple at Sippar derives from the information given on p. 111: "Rassam's brief account of the excavations and his plans show that most of his efforts were concentrated on the Shamash temple, Ebabbar, although he may have worked in official or private buildings on the periphery of the temple, and his workmen doubtless brought him objects picked up elsewhere at Abu Ḥabba. It seems reasonable to suppose that most of the objects listed above were found in the temple, which seems to have functioned also as a local treasury or museum (...). Some (...). of this material may have been brought into the temple as booty, for its historical or religious significance, or for the sake of permanent record."

The concrete evidence in favor of the Sippar origin of a number of ancient kudurrus is not conclusive but sug-
gestive. Of the seven kudurrus marked as coming from Sippar, with or without a question mark in the listing in section 5.1, none was found in a controlled excavation: three are now in the British Museum (nos. 36, 48, and 49), two in the Louvre (nos. 35 and 40), one in the Istanbul Museum (no. 41), and one in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (no. 38). Of these, the most informative is the British Museum kudurru no. 48, which states at its end that this stone was NIG.GA dUTU “property of Shamash (of Sippar),” and continues with a brief curse formula. Note that this addition was made in the Neo-Babylonian period, almost two thousand years after the date of the original stone inscription, testifying to a long continuity of the temple of Shamash at Sippar, which is reflected also in the Sippar origin of the Cruciform Monument, dedicated to Shamash of Sippar (see above) and probably of the Manishtushu Obelisk.

The information that the ancient kudurru no. 48 (and probably other kudurrus from Sippar) were deposited in a temple may be duplicated by kudurrus from other sites. Thus, no. 26, excavated at Nippur and dating to the Fara period, has at the end of the inscription a brief remark stating that “Ennā-Il king of Kish set up (this statute) before Innin (in Nippur).” Confirming this ancient statement we find that the statue was excavated in a Parthian fill just above the temple of Innin. Similarly, kudurru no. 25 was found buried below a cella in a temple, and kudurru no. 9 was excavated in a room near the entrance to the Sin temple.

Additional information about the temple origin of ancient kudurrus may be obtained from nos. 18, 19, 19a, and 24, all of which were excavated from Tell K at Girshu (Telloh) which was identified as the temple of Ningirshu by A. Parrot, Telloh (Paris, 1948) pp. 56ff.

An apparent discrepancy exists between kudurrus nos. 22 and 23, which were excavated in an unknown locus at Telloh (= Girshu), while the related sale document published as App. to nos. 22–23 was excavated in Al-Hiba (= Lagash) in Area C which yielded both private administrative and legal texts, as well as royal inscriptions. This discrepancy may be resolved by assuming that the two kudurrus, like the kudurrus discussed just above, were deposited in the temple of Ningirshu in Girshu, while the clay tablet was kept in the house of the buyer, in this case, the palace of Lumnatur in Lagash.

The purpose of depositing kudurrus, ancient and later, in a temple was not to register them in a sort of record office, but to afford them the protection of gods and, at the same time, to make them accessible to public scrutiny, and, therefore, to publicize the deed of purchase or donation of land by or to an individual.

The act of publicity, “ius publicitatis” (French “pub-licité,” German “Publizität”), connected with Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus, had been noted previously by several legal historians, especially E. Cucq, Études sur le droit babyloniens (Paris, 1929) pp. 85f.; and P. Koshaker, Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarnazeit (Leipzig, 1928) p. 178, and idem, Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden... (Leipzig, 1931) pp. 101ff.

Ample and direct evidence in favor of the act of publicity as part of sale transactions is found in the ancient kudurrus of the Pre-Sargonic period and in the sale documents of the Pre-Sargonic to Ur III periods. The first references to such an act are attested in the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus nos. 22 and 23, which contain the formula that the main seller kag-bi ē-gar-ra bi-di i-bi zag-gi bi-ag “drove this cone into the wall and spread the oil on the side,” that is, he performed certain actions to symbolize and legitimize the transfer of the title to the buyer. The exact meaning and form of Sumerian kag, Akkadian sikkatum, which is usually translated as “cone,” “nail,” or “peg,” is clear from the six Pre-Sargonic and the Ur III sale documents which were written on clay cones (see below). The various forms of clay “cones” are described by F. R. Kraus, Halil Edhem Hâtira Kurumu I (Ankara, 1947) pp. 71–113, and R. S. Ellis, Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia (New Haven, 1968) pp. 72–93. The act of attaching the clay cone to the wall with the help of a wooden peg that pierces the center of the cone and is driven into the wall is discussed in section 7.12.5.1.

Although not clearly drawn, an illustration of a cone driven into the wall of a tall structure, which is apparently a doorway, may be shown in kudurru no. 12 of Early Dynastic I–II times (see introduction to no. 12).

The six Pre-Sargonic contracts on cones dealing with the sale of houses (nos. 139, 140, and 141), a field (no. 145), and unknown properties (nos. 147 and 148) contain the same symbolic formula of driving the cone into the wall and pouring oil as kudurrus nos. 22–23, cited above. In addition to the six Pre-Sargonic cones, three Pre-Sargonic texts (App. to nos. 22–23, concerning a field, no. 142, a house, and no. 151, an individual) contain the same formula, but are preserved on tablets, and one Ur III text (no. 263, concerning a house) is written on a clay cone, but does not contain the formula in question.

It is notable that, whereas in the sales of fields the kag ceremony was performed by the (main) seller (nos. 22, 23, and 144), in the sales of houses (nos. 139, 140, 141, and 142) and persons (no. 151) the actor was a nigir(-uru), “(town) herald.”

Thus, in the Pre-Sargonic period the publicity of sale transactions was achieved by driving the cone into the wall of a house in such a way that the exposed part of the cone containing the inscription would be accessible to private scrutiny.

Further illustration of the use of cones in legal transactions is furnished by several loans of barley from the Old Babylonian period at Susa (MDP 23, 179, 182, 184, 186, and 189). What we learn from them is that sikkatum maḫṣat “the cone was driven” by the creditor into the house, field, or orchard of the debtor, and stayed there until the debtor repaid his debt.

Three Sargonic examples of the use of the cone are inconclusive. Of these, BIN 8, 121 states that two persons apparently went to court and that the witnesses testified that the first of the two persons (the seller?) drove the cone into the wall under the oath of the king; a similar text, sale document no. 239, states at its conclusion that the cone was driven under the oath of Narām-Sin. In addition to these two clay tablets, there is a text on a clay
cone, MAD 4, 170, about the witnesses who testified that two individuals came to an agreement under the oath of the king and the temple administrator (sanga) of Isin.

Up to now, we have been considering primarily similarities between the ancient and later kudurrus. A crucial difference between the two lies in the following: ancient kudurrus deal almost exclusively with multiple purchases of land by a single buyer from several sellers, while the Kassite/post-Kassite kudurrus deal mainly with a single grant of land by the king to an individual (or temple) or rarely with a single purchase of land by a single buyer from a single seller. It is true, of course, that some of the later kudurrus contain multiple contractual arrangements that took place over a longer period of time, but in all cases they deal with one and the same landed property, while the ancient kudurrus deal regularly with several purchases of different properties.

Different field names and locations and different sets of sellers prove that ancient kudurrus deal with the acquisition of different pieces of landed property. This general statement is valid even though a kudurru may occasionally contain a few acquisitions of land that lay in the same location and/or were bought from the same sellers. The same applies to the question of the date of the acquisitions within a single kudurru. The occurrence of dozens of acquisitions listed in a kudurru obviously means that the many plots of land were acquired at different times. On the other hand, the acquisition of three parcels, of the same size of 9 ¼ iku “acres,” at exactly the same price of 288 siša “quarts” of barley per 1 acre, from three families by the son of the ruler of Lagash (no. 22), implies that the land was acquired at one time.

Outside Mesopotamia, the only possible parallel to the ancient kudurrus, with their multiple purchases of land, are the Greek horoi stones which, contrary to ancient kudurrus, deal regularly with a single property, but on some points resemble both ancient and Kassite/post-Kassite kudurrus, as well as the clay cones. As we learn from M. I. Finley, Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 B.C. (New Brunswick, 1952), “the basic meaning of the word horos in Greek is ‘limit,’ ‘boundary,’ ‘definition’. By an easy figure of speech the same word was applied to the object that marked a boundary” (p. 3). The horoi were, Finley continues, “slabs of marble, limestone, volcanic rock, or other available stone driven into the ground at appropriate spots” (p. 4); “At some point, the Athenians found a second use for the horoi (. . .) a stone serving to make public the fact that a particular piece of property was legally encumbered and hence in a certain sense not fully at the disposal of the proprietor” (p. 4);

“The owner-debtor remained in physical possession of his holding while it served as guaranty of a debt” (p. 10). A whole section on pp. 13–21 is devoted to the relation of horoi to such instruments of publicity as the “announcement by herald, consummation of the sale before a magistrate, payment of a token to three neighbors, or public sacrifice and an oath.” According to Finley, the normal procedure at Athens “was the creation of an obligation by mutual agreement, the affixing of horoi in the presence of witnesses, eventually the payment of the debt on the agreed date and the removal of the horoi, again before witnesses” (p. 18). On pp. 26f. Finley states that horoi of land, houses, or orchards were sometimes deposited with officials or temples, mainly, however, with private individuals.

In section 1.1, we stated that the term “ancient kudurrus” is somewhat anachronistic when applied to the stones of the third millennium B.C., mainly because the meaning of kudurrus as “boundary stone” is not attested before the Middle Babylonian period. In spite of its inadequacy, we use the term “ancient kudurrus” if for no other reason than because we know of no other term, brief and useful, that might adequately describe the function of these objects.

Diakonoff, Oikumene 3 (1982) pp. 15f. n. 21, objected to the use of this term by calling it “rather unfortunate,” and pointed out that “the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus were usually grants of land and/or charters of immunity, while the Sammelurkunden of the third millennium B.C. are deeds of purchase.” It is interesting to note that while Diakonoff calls the ancient kudurrus Sammelurkunden, elsewhere in the same article he describes them in a roundabout way and uses no term whatsoever.

Recently, Brinkman, RLA 6 p. 273b, discussed the terminology as applied both to the ancient kudurrus of the third millennium B.C. and the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus. He pointed out the important differences between these two types of documents and concluded that “on this evidence it seems unlikely that the later type descended from the earlier, despite the modern choice of nomenclature.”

The characteristics of the ancient kudurrus, on the one hand, and the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus, on the other, are charted in figure 9. While no genetic relationship between them can be proven at the present time—because of the substantial gap in time separating them—it seems to us that the convergences and divergences of these two groups of texts are neither greater nor smaller than those characterizing the earliest ancient kudurrus and the classical ancient kudurrus or even the ancient kudurrus and the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurrus, on the one hand, and the Greek horoi, on the other.

Symbolic of the great discrepancy between meaning and function is that both the Akkadian term kudurrus and the Greek horos lost their original meaning “boundary,” “boundary stone” when they were no longer set up in the field, but were deposited in a building.

Until some more adequate term comes up, we shall continue using the term “ancient kudurrus” for the stones of the third millennium B.C. that deal with the transfer of landed property.

1.11. Landed Property in Light of the Kudurrus and Sale Documents

One of the most important points which have emerged from this study is the uneven geographical and linguistic distribution of the ancient kudurrus. As already noted in sections 1.2 and 1.5, there are virtually no kudurrus stemming from the far south (Uruk, Ur, Eridu, and Larsa). The surviving kudurrus are distributed rather evenly in the north (northern Babylonia, Diyala region, and Assyria) and in the near south at Nippur, Isin, Adab,
Shuruppak, Umma, and Lagash (Girshu). It is notable, however, that many of the kudurrus coming from the near south, especially from the places situated closest to the Akkadian north and thus potentially under the Akkadian influence, are written in Akkadian.

A corollary to the above observation is the uneven geographical distribution of sizes of the fields sold. Summarized below is the information on field sizes, culled from the kudurrus and sale documents (with the exclusion of the earliest kudurrus nos. 1–12, 18, and 19).

1) Lagash. In the kudurrus nos. 22 and 23 the attested sizes of fields are 9½ iku (3 times), 14½ iku (twice), 22½ iku (once), 29½ iku (once), and 36 iku (once), with an average size being ca. 18 iku. The kudurru no. 21 records fields whose sizes range from 6 to 72 iku. In the contemporaneous sale documents from Lagash field sizes are 16½ iku (no. 144), 18 iku (no. 145), and 20 iku (no. 146). The last example involves an orchard. A drastically different picture is offered by no. 20, the Enregistered Tablet, which records considerably larger fields, from 54 to 504 iku; the total of land listed in this document is 2700 iku.

2) Shuruppak. In the sample of twenty-two Shuruppak field sales, sizes of fields range from 60 sar to 41 iku, with the most common figures being between 2 and 8 iku. An average size of a sold field is ca. 8½ iku.

3) Adab. In the Adab kudurru no. 31 sizes of fields range from 8 to 24 iku. An average size is ca. 15.8 iku. In another Adab kudurru, no. 32, the sizes of the two fields sold are 84 iku and 122 iku.

4) Nos. 14 and 15 date to the Fara or the earlier phase of the Pre-Sargonic period, and possibly come from Isin. In these two documents sizes of fields range from 2½ iku to 132 iku; the most common figures are between 6 and 30 iku. An average size of the field is ca. 23.3 iku.

5) Isin. In the Isin field sales, which date to the late Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods (nos. 169, 170, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, and 179), sizes of fields range from 1½ to 18 iku. An average size of the field is 6 iku. In the Isin Sammelurkunde no. 182a, which dates to the late Pre-Sargonic period, sizes of the twenty fields range from 2 to 180 iku. An average size of the field is ca. 20 iku.

6) Nippur. In four Nippur field sales (nos. 207, 210, 211, and 212) field sizes range from 2 to 6 iku. An average size of the field is 5.3 iku.

7) No. 36, from northern Babylonia. Sizes of fields range from 4 to 96 iku. An average size of the field is ca. 31 iku.

8) No. 37, from northern Babylonia. Sizes of fields range from 6 to 48 iku. An average size of the field is ca. 12 iku.

9) No. 41, from Sippar. Sizes of fields range from 1½ to 118(?!) iku. An average size of the field is ca. 45 iku.

10) No. 40, from northern Babylonia. Sizes of fields range from 73 to 3834 iku. An average size of the field is ca. 1215 iku.

Although the picture presented by the above data is far from uniform, it can be observed that the kudurrus stemming from the north generally involve larger fields than the southern kudurrus and sale documents. Moreover, among the southern kudurrus and sale documents, field sizes tend to become larger as one moves from Lagash to places situated farther north, such as Adab and Isin. The only document which is seriously dissonant with this distribution is the Lagash kudurru no. 20, which involves conspicuously large fields.

This general trend, by which the sizes of fields increase along the south-north axis, is paralleled by the corresponding increase in the total acreage of land sold: from 144.3 iku in the Lagash kudurrus nos. 22 and 23 and 300+ iku in the Lagash kudurru no. 21, to 427 iku in the Isin Sammelurkunde no. 182a and 770.5 iku in the Isin(?!) kudurrus nos. 14 and 15, to 628.6 iku in the Sippar kudurru no. 41 (only fourteen out of the possible total of 100 transactions), to 9723 iku in no. 40. The case of the Lagash kudurru no. 20, which records a total of 2700 iku of land, presents the only anomaly here.

These facts seem to indicate that during the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic periods the “private” ownership of land was considerably more widespread in the north than in the south. As for the south, “private” land holdings appear to have been insignificant in the far south, their importance gradually increasing in the near south as one moves in the northern direction.

Coupled with the decreasing significance of “private” land holdings as one passes from northern Babylonia into the south, is the complementary phenomenon of the increasing importance of temple households and temple estates within the same geographical area. As is abundantly shown by the third millennium economic sources, temple households and temple domains were most prevalent in the far south and in the lower section of the near south, at Lagash and Umma. Their importance was markedly less in the places located farther north, such as Adab, Isin, and Nippur, decreasing even further in northern Babylonia, where the dominant forms of economic organization were the royal and private households.

On the basis of these data it can be tentatively suggested that the institution of “private”/alienable landed property originated in the north, from where it spread to the south. Conversely, the institution of the temple household and its peculiar system of land tenancy appears to have been originally a southern phenomenon, which was eventually transmitted to the north, though never superseding in importance the royal and private households.

It is significant that these deep-rooted differences between the southern and northern economies, though becoming progressively less and less distinct, survived well into the second millennium. The importance of temple households in the south, as contrasted with their comparative insignificance in the north, is still discernible in the Old Babylonian period. Even more telling is the fact that among the Old Babylonian sale documents dealing with (arable) land there is only a handful of texts that originated in the south (we owe this information to J. Renger).

The fact remains, however, that, in spite of its comparative rarity in the south, “private” landed property did exist in the region already in very early times. This raises the question as to the origin of that type of land. Two possible answers may be considered here: either the southern “private” land represented a survival of the familial or communal holdings, which may have theoretically existed...
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there prior to the formation of temple estates, or it was a comparatively late innovation that came into being under the northern influence. Against the first solution is the fact that the sellers of fields who appear in the Fara and Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents from the south are generally either single individuals or nuclear families. It is equally significant that, in the cases when their status is known, the sellers invariably turn out to be high administrative or priestly officials, such as lugal “king” (no. 20), sag-duš “field recorder” (no. 22), and pab-šeš “anointing priest” (no. 23), and not, as one would expect, members of rural or tribal groupings. These factors favor the assumption that in the south alienable land represented a foreign and rather marginal addition to the temple-estate system, and that its possession was reserved to the city-state’s ruling elite. Note that in Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents from Lagash the sold fields are described by the phrase es šâm-ma-ta “(measured) by the purchase(?) rope,” which may refer to that category of holdings.

In the Sargonic period, especially during the reigns of Narâm-Sin and Shar-kali-sharri, the spread of northern institutions throughout the south greatly intensified. Perhaps the most significant innovation of that time was the creation in the south of a new category of land, the crown land, which was distributed in exchange for services among various types of royal dependents. It appears that the crown land was formed primarily through the confiscation of temple estates, though it is possible that the development of new tracks may have also played an important part in its creation. Temple estates, though severely diminished by the royal encroachments, retained much of their former importance and continued to be managed according to the old system.

An important source attesting to the creation of royal estates in southern Babylonia is no. 24, the Stela of Victory. This document records a total of 444,505½ iku of land, comprising seventeen major towns and eight large villages, which was confiscated in the province of Lagash by an unnamed Sargonic king (probably Narâm-Sin) and distributed among his dependents.

The mode of management of southern royal estates can be studied in great detail on the example of the “Mesag Archive.” This group of texts, probably stemming from the province of Lagash and Umma, illustrates the activities of a large royal estate managed by Mesag, the governor of Umma during the reigns of Narâm-Sin and Shar-kali-sharri. See provisionally S. J. Bridges, “The Mesag Archive: A Study of Sargonic Society and Economy” (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1981); B. R. Foster, *Administration and Use of Institutional Land in Sargonic Sumer* (Copenhagen, 1982) pp. 52–84.

We have also strong indications that during the Sargonic period private landed property became more prevalent in the south. Although the only Sargonic sale documents stemming from the south that deal with fields are Isin and Nippur texts, and there is a total absence of southern kudurrus in this period, the existence of large private holdings in the south is proven by the administrative text *BIN* 8, 291 (collated by Foster, *op. cit.* p. 57), stemming from the “Mesag Archive.” This text records the total of land held by Mesag in the province of Lagash. His holdings comprised 1176 iku of purchased land (gânu šâm-a³), as well as 2424 iku of prebend land (gânu ŠUKU), granted to him on usufruct by the crown.

Another important Sargonic source attesting to the existence of private land holdings in southern Babylonia is the Lagash tablet *ITT* 1, 1091. This text lists five minas or pounds of purified silver, various silver objects and garments, and quantities of wool and oil, of the total value of over 937 shekels of silver, which are designated as the “price of the field” (nig-šâm GÂN-kam). At the rate of 3.3 shekels of silver per 1 iku of land, used in kudurru no. 40, the Manishtushu Obelisk, 937 shekels of silver would purchase ca. 284 iku of land. Unfortunately, the text names neither the buyer nor the seller of the field.

Both in the case of the private holdings of Mesag and the field alluded to by *ITT* 1, 1091 the crucial question is what was the source of the purchased land. Given the very large sizes of the fields involved, it seems unlikely that these holdings could have been purchased from small landowners. In this connection, it is striking that the contemporaneous sale documents and administrative texts from Umma and Lagash offer no allusions to the sale of fields by private individuals. Therefore, a more probable answer is that the holdings in question were purchased directly from the crown.

The picture of land tenure conditions changed considerably in Ur III times. It appears that the kings of Ur became the de facto owners of the southern temple estates and possibly of all other categories of arable land as well. Although the temple estates continued to function, at least in theory, as the domains of individual gods, they were now managed and exploited directly by the state, through the medium of provincial governments. The category of crown land, first introduced by the Sargonic kings, was greatly expanded in the Ur III period, to support the vast numbers of state dependents, and equally, to provide the king with a strong power base.

The question of the existence of “private” land in Ur III times is difficult to evaluate. This is primarily due to the fact that our documentation comes almost exclusively from the south, where, as we stressed before, this type of land was always comparatively insignificant. As far as testimony of the Ur III sale documents is concerned, they attest only to the “private” ownership of orchards and houses. At any rate, the absence of any references to the sale of fields in Ur III times, though not precluding the existence of “private” land, suggests that the alienation of arable land was prohibited by the state in that period.
CHAPTER 2

THE EARLIEST KUDURRUS: NOS. 1–12, 18, AND 19

This chapter discusses the fourteen earliest kudurrus, dating to the Uruk III (nos. 1–11) and Early Dynastic I–II periods (nos. 12, 18, 19). Our decision to treat this group of documents separately from other ancient kudurrus is due partly to the overall difficulties involved in their interpretation, and partly to their unique characteristics, which set them apart from the later kudurrus.

2.1. External Structure (Form) and Iconography

a) Nos. 1–7

Tablets nos. 1–7 are all of stone and all share a characteristic shape. Both the obverse and reverse of the tablets are convex, tapering off more severely toward the corners than toward the edges, with the result that all the edges of the tablets have the shape of a pointed ellipse when viewed head on. All seven tablets have this same basic form, but the most extreme variation is found in no. 4, which has a thickness almost as great as its length and width, giving it a more nearly spherical or cubical shape than the other six. This peculiar shape, which is common to these seven tablets, is not found in any other group of documents, either of stone or clay, from any other period or area.

Despite the fact that the flat/rounded contrast which distinguishes obverse from reverse in later tablets is not present in our texts, it is quite easy to determine which side is the obverse and which is the reverse. One way is simply by concluding that the fully inscribed side constitutes the beginning of the text and therefore its obverse, while the partially inscribed side constitutes the end of the text and therefore its reverse. Confirming the determination of the obverse/reverse sequence of the text is the fact that each column of what must be taken as the reverse is the continuation of the same column from the obverse. In other words, a column was begun on the obverse and continued until completed, using the reverse if necessary. The next column was again begun on the obverse, continuing on the reverse, and so on.

The remarkable formal similarity of nos. 1–7 makes it immediately apparent that they all served the same purpose. Unfortunately for the assessment of the significance of the overall similarity of these tablets, not one of them was found in situ or can be directly associated with a definite site.

The seven tablets form a unique group and share several notable features:

a) All are of stone.
b) All have the same peculiar shape which is not found in any other group of tablets, either of stone or clay, from any other period or area.
c) All have the sign for field (GÁN) in the first row (column) in association with numbers of the type used for giving measurements of fields in later periods.
d) All have the signs symbolized here as “DUG.SILA,” in association with the sign for field (GÁN).
e) All belong to the same stage of writing, roughly dated to the Uruk III (= “Jemdet Nasr”) period.
f) In all cases, even though most of the signs can be identified, the texts cannot be read by extrapolation from our knowledge of later sale documents. Even personal and geographical names cannot be identified with certainty.

Since there is no possibility that these tablets are forgeries, the unique shape of the tablets rules out coincidence as a possible explanation of their similarity. Two broad situations are possible: the tablets have either a different or a single origin. In the former case, their existence may be explained as a widespread cultural phenomenon showing a uniform treatment of real estate transactions at a very early stage of Mesopotamian civilization. This possibility is unlikely in the light of our knowledge of the uneven development of the ancient kudurrus in later periods. For that reason, a single origin of the kudurrus nos. 1–7 should be favored, and it may be suggested that they all came from the same period, the same site, and possibly the same hand.

It is quite possible that these seven tablets could have come from the same site and reached the antiquities market at different times and different places. The possibility that they may have come from different sites does not necessarily imply that they had diverse origins. The tablets are stone, which is rare in Mesopotamia, and the antiquity of the inscriptions would have made them objects of interest even to the ancients themselves. As a
consequence, they could have been dispersed in antiquity, carried off as booty or souvenirs from one locale.

b) Nos. 8–12, 18, and 19

In contrast to kudurrus nos. 1–7, which are written on tablets with a peculiar shape, other early kudurrus are either animal figurines (nos. 8 and 9) or solid forms covered by text and human representations (nos. 10–12, 18, and 19).

Of the two kudurrus written on animal figurines, one is possibly a sheep (no. 8) and the other is a lion-headed bird (no. 9). No relationship between the form of the animal figurines and the text can be detected.

Of the four kudurrus with human representations, nos. 18 and 19 show only one person, who cannot be connected unambiguously with any of the actors of the transactions. In contrast, the figures in nos. 10–11 and 12 are possibly those of the buyer and sellers. Additionally, nos. 10–11 and 12 may provide information about the feast and the rite of passage accompanying the transfer of property, both features known only from the kudurrus of later times. For specifics, see commentaries to the respective texts.

2.2. Internal Structure (Text)

a) Nos. 1–7 (and 8, 9, and 19)

The contents and sequence of the text show a strong coherence within the group nos. 1–7. All of these tablets obviously deal with fields because of the appearance of the signs for measures of area and field (GAN) in each text.

An overall view of the formulary and sequence of nos. 1–7 is given in figure 10. Included there are nos. 8, 9, and 19 which, while of a different shape, share certain textual characteristics with nos. 1–7, especially the occurrence of the sign-group DUG.SILA.

Although there is some variation in the individual texts, all have the same general structure, which can be divided into two basic parts: a) the first part, always in column i of the text, giving the total amount of land involved in the transaction and possibly the name of the buyer, and b) the second part, listing the individual parcels making up the total, and possibly their sellers.

The first case (= line) always includes: a number giving the total size of the field, the sign for field (GAN), a two-sign-group which can be analyzed as DUG.SILA (pictographically, "PITCHER"+"CUP"), and a number of signs which vary from one text to another.

The numbers occurring in these texts in conjunction with the sign GAN for "field" are of the type used for field measurements in later periods, and it is easy to see that the size of field given in column i is always, that is, in ascertainable cases, the total of the individual parcels of land listed in the remainder of the text.

The sign-group DUG.SILA and its variants are in immediate juxtaposition to the sign GAN. The reading of the two signs as DUG and SILA is based on the characteristic forms of these two signs found in the early texts. For DUG, which is a pictogram of a spouted jar or pitcher, compare ATU-139, RÉC-380 and Supplément p. 19, and LAK-636f.; for SILA, a pictogram of a cup or solid-footed goblet, compare ATU-132, RÉC-164, and LAK-269. The two signs were taken together and interpreted as GAN by Edzard, SRU p. 168, a reading which had earlier been suggested by Deimel, Or. 9 p. 93, and S. Langdon, OECT 7 no. 323, for one of the groups with a variant form of SILA. However, the characteristic form of the sign GAN is a jar or pitcher on a flat two-legged stand (cf. RÉC-382, LAK-644), while the second element of our sign-group can always be seen to be a cup even though the representation of the cup varies slightly in a few cases. Recently, J. Friberg, The Early Roots of Babylonian Mathematics 2 (Goteborg, 1979, photomechanical reproduction) p. 9, argued that our DUG.SILA is a compound sign, "dug × sila," and not GAN (or HE) of other scholars. Although Friberg's conclusion is very close to ours, the evidence he adduced in its favor, namely, "the fact that both signs, HÉ and 'dug × sila,' appear in Jemdet Nasr type texts," is not supported by the copies or photographs of the texts: JRAS 1931 p. 842 no. 6 has DUG.GAN, but no DUG.SILA, while UVB 25 p. 26, W.21864 and W.21866, have the signs DUG and a variant of DUG in DUG.SILA, but no HÉ (or GAN). It is interesting that this DUG.SILA is preceded by what apparently are measures of area, as in two other Uruk texts, discussed just below. Variations in the DUG.SILA group of signs appear in several texts.

The sign in no. 2 is probably a graphic variant of the standard DUG.SILA.

No. 3 has two variants, one in the standard form in ii 3 and two diverging forms in i 1 and iii 1. Edzard, SRU p. 168, read the diverging forms as GUD QA, but the first sign cannot be GUD (the two lines representing the horns should not be connected in the sign GUD), and Thureau-Dangin, RA 24 (1927) p. 25, unquestioningly saw this as the same sign which is in column i of our no. 4.

No. 6 has SA.DUG ("CUP+GUNU"+"PITCHER") instead of the sign-group DUG.SILA ("PITCHER"+"CUP"), which is three signs removed from the sign GAN. This sign-group may be analyzed as SILA-guna.

DUG, a reversed form of the standard DUG.SILA.

No. 19 has a variant sign combination of DIN.SILA.

All these variants may be due to the uneven development of the pictographic writing.

Outside of the ancient kudurrus, the sign-group DUG.SILA occurs very rarely, as in the Uruk texts cited just above and in two other Uruk texts of the Uruk III period, which are cited here courtesy M. W. Green. The first of these texts, W.20551.1, gives the total size of the fields expressed in measures of area, followed by DUG.SILA and a number of signs, in the colophon at the end of the text; the reverse of this text is either destroyed or unavailable. The second text, W.20552.8 + 20593.2, gives the sizes of two fields on the reverse and the sign-group DUG.SILA in the midst of unreadable signs in column ii of the reverse.

A compound word dug-silà is normally used for a vessel measuring one silà or about one quart in the Ur III
## The Earliest Kudurrus

### Figure 10. Structure of the Earliest Kudurrus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Total Field in bûr</th>
<th>DUG.SILA and Variants</th>
<th>Buyer (?)</th>
<th>Individual Fields + Sellers(?) + Qualifications + Gifts(?)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>AN.ATU-912.KI sanga or sanga 4ATU-912.KI</td>
<td>ii 1) 15(bûr) SELLER; ii 2) 15(bûr) SELLER + signs; iii 1) 10(bûr) SELLER; iii 2–4) 15(bûr) SELLER + signs</td>
<td><em>Written within a “cartouche”</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>*AN.EN.SAR.NUN or 4EN.SAR.NUN</td>
<td>SELLER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>GI.ATU-329.AN.SAL or 4GI.ATU-329.SAL</td>
<td>ii 1) 3(bûr) SELLER; ii 2) 2(bûr) SELLER; [= ii 3) 5(bûr) gán ]; ii 4–iii 2) signs include ; iii 3–5) 2(bûr) gán SELLER + signs; iii 6) 3(bûr) gán SELLER + signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>JN-67.NAD.PAB.GÁ.IB</td>
<td>ii 1) 60(bûr) gán SELLER; ii 2–5) 45(bûr) SELLER + signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>ŠIR.SIG/ÁB.KU.AN or 4ŠIR.SIG/ÁB.KU</td>
<td>ii 1) 20(bûr) SELLER + signs; ii 2) 5(bûr) SELLER + signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>NIN.IS.X</td>
<td>SELLER engar + signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>*3</td>
<td>*KUG? GIŠ+SÚ</td>
<td>ii–iii Rest very difficult; no sign for field and no signs for numbers or measures visible</td>
<td><em>Preceded by 18 gemé-arad “18 slave women and slaves” plus name of seller and his qualification?</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>ÈN.ATU-328 è 4Nin-gal or 4Nin-é-gal</td>
<td>8 fields and sellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>x fields, gifts(?) and sellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ALAM.NE.PAB.KÍD?, GÍR.DU engar eš</td>
<td>gifts and sellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ušum-gal pab-šeš 6Šarâ?</td>
<td>x fields, gifts, and sellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>AG.EN.NAM</td>
<td>x fields</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>72,001</td>
<td>[…]</td>
<td>x fields</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

period. Different types of these one-quart vessels are listed in the administrative texts discussed by H. Waetzoldt, WO 6 (1971) pp. 13ff. and pl. opposite p. 12. Thousands of these vessels were produced (ibid. pp. 7–41, especially pp. 19ff.) and transported on boats (TEL 16 and 18).

Still within the first line (case) of the obverse of the kudurrus nos. 1–7, the sign-group DUG.SILA and its variants are followed by three to five signs, which may provisionally be taken to stand for the name of the buyer of the property.

There are several points in favor of the assumption that the signs following the sign-group DUG.SILA are to be interpreted as the name of the buyer. From the structure of the ancient kudurrus of later times, we know that they regularly name only one buyer, usually of high status, and several sellers of several parcels of land, who are generally related to each other. In application to our case, this would mean that the name occurring with one large field in the first part should be that of the buyer of the land, in contrast to the several names occurring with several parcels of land in the second part of the text, who should be the sellers of the land.

Beginning with column ii, the second part of the text lists several fields representing a breakdown of the total given in the first part. Each field is usually allotted one case of writing, which gives the size of the individual parcel, with or without the sign GAN, and several signs which may stand for the name of the seller.

Additional information associated with the total field, DUG.SILA, and the name of the buyer(?) in the first part, and with the individual parcels and their sellers(?) in the second part, is furnished by groups of signs that are generally difficult to interpret.

Relatively understood are the signs that denote the description of the field in the first part of kudurrus nos. 1–3. The groups of signs, intermingling with the size of the parcels and their sellers(?), which occur in the second part, as in nos. 1, 3, and 5, cannot be read, and we may only suggest that the groups of signs which occur in several cases at the end of nos. 1, 4, and 5 yield information about the family relationship of the sellers(?) of the property.

Clearly, the meaning of the sign-group DUG.SILA and its variants is crucial to our full understanding of the exact nature and significance of these texts. Unfortunately, the sphere of possibilities is too broad to allow any sure conclusions at the present time. As an educated guess, we may suggest that the sign-group DUG.SILA means something like “purchase”; or, if we wish to avoid confusion with the meaning $am “to buy,” “to purchase,” it may be suggested that the meaning of DUG.SILA revolves around the sphere of “to alienate,” “alienated.”

Still within the considerations of the exact meaning of DUG.SILA in the first part of the kudurrus nos. 1–7, one has to keep in mind the occurrence of this sign-group in other contexts, namely, in the second part of the kudurrus no. 3 and in the administrative texts from Uruk (see above).

As a good example of the structure of the earliest kudurrus, we may cite no. 1. The first part lists first 55 būr of land, followed by DUG.SILA and the name of the buyer(?), and ending with a few signs, which may represent a description of the field. The second part of the text lists four fields, 15, 15, 10, and 15 būr in size (= 55 būr of the first part), which were alienated(?) by four sellers(?) whose family relationship may be given in the few unreadable signs at the end of the text.

Variations to this structure are found in several texts, usually for readily apparent reasons. No. 2 evidently deals with only one field, making the second part of the formulary unnecessary, and hence contains a one-column inscription which presumably gives the size of the field and the names of the buyer(?) and seller(?). No. 3 has a subtotal in column ii, which gives the total of the two fields listed in that column. Significantly, the subtotal contains the sign GAN and the sign-group DUG.SILA, but not in immediate juxtaposition to one another. Following the subtotal are several additional cases which continue into column iii before the listing of individual fields is resumed.

By far the most unusual variation among the first seven tablets is found in no. 7, which begins not with a total of fields, but with a total of 18 gemē-arād “18 slave women and slaves.” This total is then broken down into 10 gemē “10 slave women” and 8 arād “8 slaves,” and the total size of the field, DUG.SILA, and the name of the buyer(?) follow after this, still in column i. No individual fields can be discerned in columns ii and iii. For a possible interpretation, see the introductory comments to that text.

b) Nos. 8–12

Several characteristics pertaining to internal structure distinguish the first group (nos. 1–7) from the second (nos. 8–12).

While the texts of the first group are terse and contain limited information, the texts of the second group are larger and contain much more information.

Both groups of kudurrus agree in internal structure in that the first part of the text records the total of the alienated(?) land. But while the second part of the texts of the first group generally deals with the breakdown of the total land area into smaller parcels, there is a great variation in the contents of the second part in the second group. Already no. 7, which belongs by its physical form to the first group, gives in its second part not the breakdown of the fields, but presumably the names of the slaves. No. 8 of the second group follows the structure of the first group in giving the breakdown of the total fields into smaller parcels. The structure of no. 9 is controversial and it may concern both the fields and the commodities given to the sellers(?) in lieu of the price. In support, we note that no. 12 also treats of both the breakdown of the total field into parcels and of commodities. The structure of the related nos. 10 and 11 is more straightforward. No. 10 deals with only one field, while no. 11 contains a listing of commodities.

2.3. Object of the Transaction

Like the later kudurrus, their early counterparts deal with fields and only fields. The ascertainable sizes of the alienated fields are: 55 būr (no. 1), 10 būr (no. 2), 10 būr...
(no. 3), 105 bür (no. 4), 25 bür (no. 5), 10 bür (no. 6), 3 bür (no. 7), 68 bür (no. 8), 5? bür (no. 9), and 5 bür (nos. 10–11) in the Uruk III period; and 25 bür (no. 12) in the Early Dynastic I–II periods. Nota bene: 1 bür = 6.35 hectares = 15.7 acres.

Several important observations may be made on the basis of this listing.

First, all field dimensions are given in bür (and higher area measures, here converted to bür), and not in subdivisions of 1 bür, such as 1 ale = ½ bür and 1 iku = ¼ bür. As a matter of fact, subdivisions of 1 bür are not utilized even when citing the sizes of the smaller parcels forming part of the alienated field in any of the kudurrus of the Uruk III period, and they do not appear until the time of the kudurrus nos. 12 and 18 in the Early Dynastic period.

Second, the recorded sizes of fields are generally large, in fact very large, in comparison with those recorded in the kudurrus of the later periods.

Third, the recorded sizes of fields are often given in round figures, such as 5 bür (twice), 10 bür (three times), or 25 bür (twice). This characteristic of the earliest kudurrus is unmatched anywhere in later periods. For important implications of the last two observations, see section 2.5.

### 2.4. Multiple and Single Transactions

An ancient kudurru regularly deals with multiple purchases of land (fields), while a sale document generally deals with a single purchase of property (see section 1.7). This rule affects all kudurrus from the Fara to Sargonic periods, as best exemplified by the numerous purchases of smaller parcels of land recorded in nos. 14 and 15 of Fara date.

In contrast, the earliest kudurrus exhibit several exceptions to that rule. Of the thirteen kudurrus here discussed, at least two and possibly two more deal with one transaction only: nos. 2 and 10–11, and possibly no. 6 (unfinished) and no. 7 (mostly destroyed).

### 2.5. Function of the Earliest Kudurrus

Passing now to the question of the function of nos. 1–12, 18, and 19, it goes without saying that the simplest and most obvious solution to this problem is to assume that these documents are counterparts of the later ancient kudurrus, and, accordingly, to see in them records of the purchases of fields, each involving a single buyer and multiple sellers. This is, in principle, the position adopted in this volume, in which we follow the previous students of the earliest kudurrus. See, e.g., Edzard, *SRU* pp. 167–98 Anhang.

Based on the assumption that the earliest kudurrus record purchases of fields, in texts nos. 1–9, and perhaps in no. 19, the sign-group found after the total of land and after the signs DUG.SILÁ in column i could be identified as the name of the buyer, whereas the similar sign-groups appearing in connection with the individual parcels elsewhere in the inscription could be interpreted as the names of the sellers. In the same way, in texts nos. 10–11, 12, and 18, the personal name associated with the total of land could be interpreted as that of the buyer, whereas the names found elsewhere in the inscription, depending on the unique structure of each of these documents, could be taken as those of the sellers.

While this may be the easiest, and probably the most rational, way out of our dilemma, there are important reasons to question the validity of such a solution. It is noteworthy that the earliest kudurrus exhibit a number of unique characteristics that are not duplicated in the Fara and later kudurrus. To begin with, ten of the earliest kudurrus (nos. 1–9, 19) use, following the total of land, the sign-group DUG.SILÁ, which is found only in this group of texts and in a number of contemporaneous tablets from Uruk (see above section 2.2). It has been suggested earlier that the meaning of DUG.SILÁ may revolve around the sphere of “to alienate” or “alienation.” It is equally possible, however, that DUG.SILÁ has a different, yet unknown, meaning, which may provide a key to the understanding of the function of the earliest kudurrus.

Another point that radically distinguishes the earliest kudurrus from their later counterparts is the absence in the former of any terminology for “buying,” “selling,” and “price.” Even more striking is the fact that, with one or possibly two exceptions, these texts do not record any numerals and signs for commodities (such as silver, barley, oil, wool, etc.) which could be interpreted as the purchase price and/or additional payments, both of which are regularly recorded in the later kudurrus. The only early kudurrus which clearly records commodities is no. 11. In addition, a list of commodities may also be included in no. 9, though this is far from certain, due to the overall difficulties involved in the interpretation of this document. Of course, one could attribute the absence of references to the price and additional payments in these documents to their small size and the extreme terseness of their texts. As the ancient kudurrus is a record of the buyer’s acquisitions of land, not a binding contract between the buyer and seller, the only three points that are absolutely necessary in such a record are the size of the alienated field and the names of the buyer and seller. Or, alternatively, we could speculate that the custom of recording the price and additional payments in kudurrus was not introduced until much later. Admittedly, however, neither of these explanations is fully satisfactory.

Also in contrast to the later texts, the earliest kudurrus involve surprisingly large areas of land. The highest figures attested in these documents are 55, 68, and 105 bür (see section 2.3). These figures are considerably larger than those found in the later kudurrus, except for no. 40, which records areas as great as 62 bür, 130 bür, and 213 bür. The figures found in other kudurrus are considerably smaller.

Finally, as already noted in section 2.4, two or possibly four of the fourteen earliest kudurrus deal not with multiple but with one land transaction only. This phenomenon is not attested in the kudurrus of later periods, which uniformly record multiple transactions.

All these facts caution against too-ready an assumption that the earliest kudurrus deal with the purchases of land. While considering alternative solutions, the possibility
that comes first to mind is that these documents are records of land grants, comparable to those of the Kassite and post-Kassite periods. See section 1.10 and figure 9, which show the main characteristics of the earliest kudurru as contrasted with the kudurru of the Kassite and post-Kassite periods.

Partly favoring this possibility are several distinctive features which the earliest kudurru share with later land grants. The first among them is the occurrence of a single transaction in several of the earliest kudurru (see section 2.4), just as the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurru record a single grant of land.

Another feature common to the earliest kudurru and later land grants is that both groups of texts involve relatively large areas of land. It is noteworthy that the sizes of fields attested in the Kassite kudurru are consistently large, such as 336 iku (= ca. 19 bûr), 500 iku (= ca. 28 bûr), and 1130 iku (= ca. 63 bûr).

With reference to section 2.3, it also may be noted that the earliest kudurru frequently exhibit round figures, such as 10 bûr occurring three times and 25 bûr occurring twice, for the size of the field. This characteristic is unmatched anywhere in other ancient kudurru. In contrast, among the eleven kudurru of Kassite and post-Kassite date which specify the size of the granted field, we found 50 and 100 iku occurring twice and 200 and 500 iku occurring once.

Interesting as these similarities may be, it seems nevertheless quite certain that, even if the earliest kudurru involve a type of grant, they cannot be merely analogues of the Kassite and post-Kassite kudurru. This follows from the simple fact that the institution of royal grant, which is characteristic of the latter documents, seems to be completely out of place in the historical realities of the Uruk III period.

As we know from the archaeological record, the Uruk III period was a time of great upheavals and changes, constituting in many ways a completely unique stage in Mesopotamian history. There is all reason to believe that it was precisely then that the social and economic organization of Babylonia, as it is known from the later third millennium sources, acquired its basic shape. This formative and transitional character of the proto-historical age militates against the assumption that the earliest kudurru are merely an earlier manifestation of the phenomenon known from the later periods. It could very well be that they are a phenomenon sui generis, which was characteristic of and unique to proto-historical times. If so, the internal differences between the earliest and the later kudurru could find explanation in the unique purpose of the former.

Needless to say, any speculation as to what that hypothetical purpose of the earliest kudurru might have been cannot be anything but pure guesswork. We may, however, consider at least two possibilities. The first of them is that these documents record the transfers or grants of family-owned land on behalf of temple households. Such transfers of familial property could have occurred, at least theoretically, when an extended family, attracted by a combination of economic and ideological incentives, joined the temple community of their own free will. The second possibility is that the earliest kudurru are simply listings of the fields belonging to individual temple households. In either case, these documents would concern the holdings of temples, and this could account for the large sizes of the fields involved.

It should be stressed, however, that the above suggestions must be considered highly tentative, and that we lay no claims of having found the final answer. In view of all the uncertainties pertaining to the function of the earliest kudurru, we feel it advisable to leave this question open for now. Clearly, its resolution will depend on the improved understanding of the archaic script and the discoveries of new inscriptions.
CHAPTER 3

ANCIENT KUDURRUS

No. 1 Hoffman Tablet

Photograph: Plate 1, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, negative no. L67161 A.
Copy: Plate 1, copied from the original by Gelb and redrawn by Steinkeller from copy and photograph.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Publications: E. S. Ogden, JAOS 23 (1902) pp. 19ff. (copy); G. A. Barton, JAOS 23 (1902) pp. 21–28; idem, A Sketch of Semitic Origins (New York, 1902) pp. 213ff.; idem, The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing (= BA 9, Leipzig, 1913) p. VII (photograph); Deimel, Fara 1 p. 74 no. 5 (copy); Edzard, SRU no. 109.
Description: Smooth black stone tablet measuring 9.1 x 8.9 cm. Its thickness varies from 2.6 cm in the center to 1 cm on the edges.
Text: The Hoffman Tablet has beautifully preserved writing on the obverse; its reverse is uninscribed. Column i of the text deals with the acquisition (?) of a total of 5 bur'û (= 900 iku) and 5 bur (= 90 iku), that is, 990 iku = 349.24 hectares of land by what is written, after the sign-group DUG.SILA, as AN.ATU-912.KI.SANGA, that is, either “AN.ATU-912.KI (= PN), the temple-administrator,” or “the temple-administrator of the household of the deity dATU-912.KI.” For another example of a name or profession connected with a temple household, see no. 8. In columns ii and iii the total of 55 bur of column i is broken up into four fields:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Text Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 1)</td>
<td>5(bur'û) 5(bur) gan DUG.SILA AN.ATU-912.KI.SANGA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 1)</td>
<td>l(bur'û) 5(bur) ŠAGA,(LAK-175).NE.A. SIG.UR,A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 2)</td>
<td>l(bur'û) 5(bur) X.NUN.A.DA NĀM.vertical-GIS.TE.UD. NIN.A.LAK-131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 1)</td>
<td>l(bur'û) Ė.UD.SUKKAL.LAK-131. “NINDÅ”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 2)</td>
<td>l(bur'û) 5(bur) X.DU₆.SÅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 3)</td>
<td>UR.A.PA.KUG.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 4)</td>
<td>LUL.NAGA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

1.2.—The compound sign transliterated here as LĀL-vertical-GIŠ is found five times in the ancient kudurrus in combination with other signs in the following contexts:
1) SAL.LĀL+vertical-GIŠ.TŪR (1 i 2), following the size of the field and the name of the buyer(?).
2) NIN.LĀL-vertical-GIŠ (5 ii 1), following the size of the field.
3) LĀL-vertical-GIŠ.NĪN (8 iii 2), following the size of the field and followed by the name of a seller(?).
4) SAL.ŠX.LĀL+vertical-GIŠ? (8 iv 2), following the size of the field.
5) [...] LĀL-vertical-GIŠ X (9 ii 20), in difficult context.
In the third of these attestations (8 iii 2), the best meaning that can be assigned to LĀL-vertical-GIŠ is a field description. This meaning seems to fit the other occurrences as well.
The recurrent sign-group in these five examples is LĀL-vertical-GIŠ, that is, LĀL, written DUG “vessel” with an inscribed DUG “sweet,” plus a vertical GIŠ at the end of the sign. In four cases, the sign LĀL appears without the initial “spout,” in one case (5 ii 1) with one. The function of the vertical GIŠ, written after LĀL, is not clear. In earlier pictographic writing, this sign is a long horizontal rectangle, which may depict the stand on which the vessel stood. Its reflexes may be detected in the vertical wedge that is found in the later forms of LĀL (as in Gudea Cyl. A xviii 20) and in other compounds with DUG.
Three parallels to these spellings should be noted: the initial “spout” found in the sign LĀL-vertical-GIŠ in no. 5 ii 1 occurs also in the writing of lāl “honey” in no. 11:15. In place of the sign LĀL, written DUG+DUG, occurring in all six examples, we find the sign-group DUG+1 in DUG+1 “vessel of oil” (three times in no. 13) and in 2 DUG+1-vertical-GIŠ.X (no. 11:7c). In these cases, the sign-group DUG+1 occurs with an initial “spout,” and both occurrences clearly stand for a commodity. A variant of LĀL, written DUG+DUG
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in no. 15 i 9, occurs as DUG+KAG in no. 14 ii 16 and iii 5, as it does in ITT 3, 5258,2, Ur III.
i 1.—For the reading of LAK-175 as ša-ga₂, see note to no. 18 rev.
i 2.
iii 1.—The sign transliterated here as “NINDÁ” has the form of NINDÁ plus a vertical wedge at the end. The same form is found in the writing of ŠAM in “NINDÁ”-SE in no. 3 iii 5. This irregular form of “NINDÁ,” with a vertical wedge, occurs also in the writing of ŠAM at Eb1a (e.g., ARET 2, 6 v 1, vi 1, and xi 6).

No. 2 Walters Tablet

Photograph: Plate 1, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, negative no. H 41.
Copy: Plate 1, V. Scheil, MDP 2 p. 130, collated by Gelb.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?). Present location: Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), 41.219.
Publications: Scheil, RT 22 (1900) pp. 149ff.; idem, MDP 2 pp. 129ff. (copy); F. Delitzsch, Mehr Licht (Leipzig, 1907) p. 24 (copy); Barton, JAOS 22 (1901) pp. 126ff. (copy); B. Meissner, Die Keilschrift (Berlin and Leipzig, 1913) p. 19 (copy); idem, Die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927) p. 14 (copy); Deimel, Fara 1 p. 73 no. 3 (copy); idem, Or. 9 (1924) pp. 93ff. (copy); Edzard, SRU no. 106.
Description: Rectangular stone tablet of reddish color, measuring 6.5 x 6.5 cm. Thickness varies from 2.3 cm in the center to 0.8 cm on edges.
Text: Obverse is inscribed, reverse rough, with no trace of a sign, probably never inscribed. The text deals with the acquisition(?) of 1 bur’u = 180 iku = 63.51 hectares of land either by a person named AN.EN.SAR.NUN or by a temple household of the deity 4EN.SAR.NUN, written within a “cartouche” after the sign-group DUG.SILĀ, from(?) a person(?) named MI.ŠAGAN(without gunû). EN.DU. The two signs following GAN, read here as KI?.ZAG?, possibly are the description (location?) of the field.

Transliteration

MI.ŠAGAN(without gunû).EN.DU
1(bur’u) gan KI?.ZAG?
DUG.SILĀ AN.EN.SAR.NUN

No. 3 Philadelphia Tablet

Photographs: Plate 2, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, negative nos. 7578, 7586, 7590, and 7591.
Copy: Plate 2, copied from the original by Gelb and redrawn by Steinkeller from copy and photographs.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased at Nippur).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Present location: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), CBS 16105.
Publications: Barton, The Museum Journal 3 (1912) pp. 4-6 (copy); idem, PBS 9 (1915) pp. 9ff., no. 1, and Pl. LXV (copy and photographs); idem, The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing (Leipzig, 1913) p. VIII (copy); idem, OLZ 16 (1913) pp. 6–12 (photograph); Deimel, Fara 1 p. 75 no. 4 (copy); Edzard, SRU no. 107.
Description: Greenish-black stone tablet measuring 7.2 x 7.4 cm. Its thickness, 1.8 cm at the center, tapers off towards the edges.
Text: The sequence of writing runs consecutively in each of the three columns from the obverse to the lower edge to the reverse to the upper edge (see section 1.4). Column i of the text deals with the acquisition(?) of a total of 1 bur’u, that is 180 iku = 63.51 hectares of land, by a person(?) named, following the sign-group “DUG”.SILĀ, as GI.ATU-329.AN.SAL or, possibly, by a temple household of the deity 4GI.ATU-329.SAL, or by a combination of a name or profession plus a temple household. His further description may be given in the subsequent cases of column i. In columns ii and iii the total of 180 iku of column i is broken up into four fields:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 1)</td>
<td>1(bur’u) gan “DUG”.SILĀ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GI.ATU-329.AN.SAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 2)</td>
<td>X.UD.APIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 3a)</td>
<td>[X].SU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 3b)</td>
<td>SA.DA.GI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 4)</td>
<td>X.MUD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 5?</td>
<td>KA.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 1)</td>
<td>3(bir) SAL.A.ATU-768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 2)</td>
<td>2(bir) EZEN.KI.NUN.SA.BAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 3)</td>
<td>3(bir) gan UD.SAG.NITA DUG.SILĀ PAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 4)</td>
<td>DU.PAB.X.1(LAK-131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 5?</td>
<td>KA.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 1)</td>
<td>UD.X1.DUG.“SILĀ”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 2)</td>
<td>A.X.RAD(ATU-850)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 3)</td>
<td>2(bur) gan KUG.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 4)</td>
<td>EN.DU,DU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 5)</td>
<td>ŠAM KUG GI,K.LAK-131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 6)</td>
<td>3(bur) SĀ gan DUMU.NUN.DU.DU.X.LAK-131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

i 1 and iii 1.—For divergent forms of DUG and SILĀ, see section 2.2.
iii 5.—For the form of ŠAM, see note to no. 1 iii 1.

No. 4 Louvre Tablet

Copy: Plate 3, Thureau-Dangin, RA 24 (1927) p. 23, collated by Gelb.
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Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?).

Presentation: Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 8844.
Publication: Thureau-Dangin, RA 24 (1927) pp. 23–26 (copy); Edzard, SRU no. 111.
Description: Light-green onyx tablet measuring about 4 x 4 cm. Its thickness varies from 4 cm in the center to 2 cm on the edges. The Louvre Tablet is much thicker in relation to its height and width than the other tablets of this group, giving it a more nearly spherical shape.

Text: The sequence of writing runs consecutively in each of the two columns from the obverse to the lower edge to the reverse to the upper edge (see section 1.4). Column i of the text deals with the acquisition(?) of a total of 1 sár (= 1080 iku) 4 bur⁻²u (= 720 iku) 5 bûr (= 90 iku), that is, 1890 iku = 666.86 hectares of land, by a person(?) named, after the sign-group DUG.SILA, in five signs. The total of 1890 iku of column i is broken up in column ii into two fields:

1 sár (= 1080 iku)
4 bur⁻²u (= 720 iku) 5 bûr (= 90 iku)

Each of the two fields is followed by signs and cases that cannot be interpreted safely. They could express the names of the sellers, but see section 2.5.

Transliteration

i 1) 1(sár) 4(bur⁻²u) 5(bûr) gân DUG.SILA
   JN-67, NÂD.PÂB.GÂ.IB
ii 1) 1(sár) gân SL.A.EN.X.SL.X.X.KA?
   2) 4(bur⁻²u) 5(bûr) A'rGI?, UD.DU₆
   3) GAL.S.LÂ.A.KÂ/PÂ
   4) LÂL.È
   5) UNUG.A

Notes

i 1.—Against Thureau-Dangin's copy, the sign SILÂ in DUG.SILA has a small circle, as in other forms of SILÂ in the earliest kudurru.
ii 5.—The personal(?) name UNUG.A occurs also in no. 8 ii 2.

No. 5 Yale Tablet I

Photographs: Plate 4, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven.
Copy: Plate 4, G. G. Hackman, BIN 8, 1, collated by Gelb.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Present location: Babylonian Collection, Yale University (New Haven), YBC 2245.
Publication: Hackman, BIN 8 p. 4 and no. 1 (copy); Edzard, SRU no. 108.
Description: Square black stone tablet measuring 7.7 x 7.7 cm. The thickness is 2.2 cm in the center, tapering off to 1 cm on the edges.

Text: Writing begins in column i of the obverse, then, instead of continuing in the same column on the reverse, goes on to column ii of the obverse to be continued in the same column on the reverse.

Column i of the text deals with the acquisition(?) of a total of 2 bur⁻³u (= 360 iku) 5 bûr (= 90 iku), that is, 450 iku = 158.78 hectares of land, by what is written, after the sign-group DUG.SILA, as either the personal name ŠIR.SIG/Â.B.KU,AN or (temple household of the deity) ²ŠIR.SIG/Â.B.KU. The total of 450 iku of column i is broken up in column ii into two fields:

2 bur⁻³u (= 360 iku)
5 bûr (= 90 iku)

The difficulty with the interpretation of 5 bûr in the second part of column ii is that the circles read here as bûr are of the same size as the circles for 2 bur⁻³u at the beginning of column ii. However, the interpretation of 5 bûr + 2 bur⁻³u in column ii would force the interpretation of 7 bur⁻³u in column i and the reading as 5 bur⁻³u of the five circles that are clearly smaller than the two circles read as 2 bur⁻³u. This interpretation, therefore, is hardly to be considered. Edzard, SRU p. 169, takes the unit in column i not as the total of the two units of column ii, but as one of three independent units. M. Lambert's reconstruction of the units, offered in RA 53 (1959) p. 219, is without parallels.

Each of the two field occurrences is followed by a large number of signs that cannot be safely interpreted. They could express the names of the sellers, but see section 2.5.

Transliteration

i 1) 2(bur⁻³u) 5(bûr) gân DUG.SILA
   ŠIR.SIG/Â.B.KU,AN
ii 1) 2(bur⁻³u) NIN.LÂL+vertical-GIŠ
   SIG/Â.B.GA.SIKIL?
   URU.TE?A.
   UKU.SAG?
   LÂK-131.UK.U.A
   2) 5(bûr) X.SAL.SI
   X
   KISAL.KI

Notes

i 1.—It may be tempting to break up the sign-group ŠIR.SIG/Â.B.KU,AN into a name ŠIR.AN or AN.ŠIR and his occupation AB.KU = unud₆ (for the reading, see Waetzoldt, Krais AV p. 396).
ii 1.—In the compound sign transliterated here as LÂL+vertical-GIŠ, the sign LÂL has an initial horizontal wedge, as in no. 11:15. The vertical GIŠ appears to have small horizontal wedges inside as if it were the sign ES. Its reading as a vertical GIŠ is recommended by the case of a clear LÂL+vertical-GIŠ in no. 1 i 2. See note to no. 1 i 2.
ii 1 and ii 2.—The large number of signs in these cases suggests they should be subdivided.

ii 1.—The sign transliterated here as TE? has a small circle in the middle, and not the small vertical wedge that is found in the standard form of TE, as in no. 1 ii 2.
ii 2.—The horizontal wedge in front of KISAL is part of the sign. Compare the forms of KISAL in E. Burrows, UET 2 pl. 28 no. 357.
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No. 6 Yale Tablet II

Photograph: Plate 4, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven.
Copy: Plate 4, Hackman, BIN 8, no. 2, collated by Gelb.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Present location: Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University (New Haven), YBC 2244.
Publication: Hackman, BIN 8 p. 4 and no. 2 (copy).
Description: Square light-brown stone tablet measuring 8.8 x 8.8 cm. The thickness is 2 cm in the center, tapering off to 0.5 cm on the edges.

Text: The text, inscribed only on the obverse, was left unfinished in ancient times, but there is no reason to suspect its genuineness, as was done by F. J. Stephens in BIN 8 p. 4. Column i of the text deals with the acquisition(?) of 1 bur’u = 180 iku = 63.51 hectares of land by a person(?) named NIN.IS.X, whose name is followed by the sign-group ŠA.DUG, not preceded by the sign-group DUG.SILA as in the case of the kudurrus treated above. Column ii contains, in two cases, seven(?) signs, which may be interpreted as a personal name (the seller?) and the profession engar “farmer.”

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 1)</td>
<td>l(bur’u) gán NIN.IS.X ŠA.DUG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 2)</td>
<td>KA!ŠA.SE APIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 1)</td>
<td>I’ DARA₂ UD?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 2)</td>
<td>KA!ŠA.SE APIN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

i 1.—For the spelling ŠA.DUG instead of the standard DUG.SILA, see section 2.2.
ii 1.—The interpretation of the first sign as l(iku) is unlikely, since the lowest area measure attested in the earliest kudurrus is l(burū) (see section 2.2).
ii 2.—For the reading of the first sign as KA, see the photograph. The sign-group KA!ŠA could be interpreted as PUZUR₄.

No. 7 Leiden Tablet

Photographs: Plate 5, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.
Copy: Plate 5, copied from the original by Gelb and redrawn by Steinkeller from copy and photograph; collated by M. Stol.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased).
Date: Uruk III.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Present location: F. M. Th. de Liagre Bohl Collection of Cuneiform Tablets, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden), LB 1383.
Description: Black stone, almost square in shape measuring 10 x 9.5 m. Its thickness is 3 cm in the center, tapering off to 0.5 cm on the edges.

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 1a)</td>
<td>18 gem(e)(ŠAL+[KUR])-arâd(NITA+[KUR])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 1b)</td>
<td>10 gem(e)(ŠAL+[KUR])[2]+6 arâd([NI]TA+[KUR])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 1c)</td>
<td>GUD-inversum.GUD.ME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 2)</td>
<td>X.SAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i 3)</td>
<td>[nothing?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 1)</td>
<td>BA.GUD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 2)</td>
<td>[X].KI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 3)</td>
<td>[X.TU]R?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 4)</td>
<td>’X’[X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 5)</td>
<td>’HA’?[X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 6)</td>
<td>[X].’X’[X].TAB.[A]N?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 7)</td>
<td>DA.DU.PAB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
household, see no. 1. The deity Ningal is at home at Ur, which may be of some importance for the question of the original provenience of our kudurru. The total of 1,224 iku of column i is broken up in columns ii–v into eight fields:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 bûr (= 162 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 bûr (= 90 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 bûr (= 72 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5 bûr (= 90 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 bûr (= 36 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1 bûr’u (= 450 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 bûr’u 4+2 bûr (= 288 iku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2 bûr (= 36 iku)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sizes of the sixth and seventh fields in column iv were reconstructed in such a way as to fit the total given in column i.

The above interpretation assumes that no. 8, like nos. 1–6, consists of two parts, the first part recording the total of land and the second giving the breakdown of the total into smaller parcels. The fact is, however, that the word gân “field” is never given in the second part of the text, and thus, at least theoretically, the circle-like numerals in the second part could refer to commodities. Against this possibility are the two occurrences of the numeral shaped as a circle within a circle (iv 1 and 3), which cannot be interpreted in any other way but as an area measure bur’u, making it necessary to interpret the ambivalent circle-like numerals as bûr.

Area measures in the second part of the inscription are followed by signs which, in some instances at least, may be interpreted as personal names and the descriptions of fields. For example, in ii 2 UNUG.A, attested also in no. 4 ii 5, may stand for a personal name (or, alternatively, a toponym), whereas in iii 2 the sign-group LÂL+vertical-GIS, which appears in combination with other signs in several kudurrus (see note to no. 1 ii 2), could be the field’s description.

### Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>I(sâr) 8(bûr) gân DUG.SILA ÉN.ATU-328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>9(bûr) SU.É.SAGAN.GI.X¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>5(bûr) X.LÂL+SAR.ŠE.É/SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>2(bûr) LÂL+vertical-GIS.NIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>1 bûr’u 4+2 bûr UMBIN? ŠÄ?.ÉŠ.X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

iii 3.—The sign transliterated here as INNIN? could alternatively be read SES. Note, however, that the resulting combination SES.KI cannot be interpreted as the divine name Nanna (or the PN Nanna...
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(-ak)), for in the archaic script Nanna’s name is written SES.NA, i.e., Nanna,(SES)**. See Burrows, UET 2 pl. 2 no. 12.

No. 9 Khafajah Bird

Photographs: Plates 7, 8, and 10, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negatives nos. N 13796, 13797.

Copy: Plates 9 and 10, copied by Green on the basis of photographs and casts, assisted by Whiting.

Synopsis: Figure 10.

Provenience: Khafajah, Field number Kh. V 68.

Date: Uruk III. The object was found in a room near the entrance to the Sin Temple (R 42:2) in level VIII, which was dated to Early Dynastic II by the excavators. The manner in which the pieces of the lion-headed bird were found in the field suggests that the object may already have been in a fragmentary condition when it came to the room where it was discovered. Furthermore, its archaeological context is apparently secondary since it is clearly several hundred years older than the level in which it was found.

Language: Sumerian(?).

Present location: Iraq Museum (Baghdad), IM 24341.


Description: “An inscribed stone (schist?) object in the shape of a bird with a lion’s head” (OIP 58 p. 58). “It represents, no doubt, the lion-headed eagle Imdugud, and is most carefully made, the tongue being cut separately from red jasper. Unfortunately the stone is a kind of schist which flakes easily, and one side with the inscription is entirely lost” (OIC 20 p. 29). Length from head to tail is 25 cm, width 9.5 cm, thickness 3.5 cm.

Text: The inscription begins in column i on the head near the eye and continues to the tail. The same column is presumably continued on the reverse around the tail and back towards the head. The inscription continues with column ii to the right (or below it) on the obverse, which also presumably continues around the tail on the reverse until the head is reached. The obverse of column iii also extends from the head to the tail, but, because of the crowded conditions on the corresponding parts of the reverse, it continues as column iv to the left of column i on the obverse, ending near the tail. The ways in which columns iii and iv are written on the statuette are similar in that the top (or left) sections of column iii are written on the obverse, while its lower (or right) sections are written on the bottom of the bird, just as the lower (or right) sections of column iv are written on the obverse, while its top (or left) sections are written on the back part of the bird. The approximate dividing line between the obverse and the bottom and between the obverse and the back part of the bird is marked by a dash line in our drawing.

The first case of the inscription contains a number, a rectangular sign which is presumably GAN, the sign-group DUG.SILA, and several additional signs which can be read as KAR, LAGAB, and GI.

Five large circles, which are of the same size and form as the large circles in the rest of the inscription, should be read as 5(bur). There is no circle within the circle in any of them and the measure cannot, therefore, be interpreted as bur-u or sar-u (see also below).

The greatest problem lies with the sign which is presumably GAN but which has two additional strokes attached to it. One can only note that the stone is soft and that the inscription was not cut with any great care so that there are numerous extraneous lines appearing on the tablet as well as a number of poorly made signs.

Accordingly, one can conclude that i 1 deals with the acquisition(?) of a field that was 5(bur) or 90 iku = 31.76 hectares in size. The sign-group KAR.LAGAB.GI, which is clearly related to KAR.LAGAB.BAR in i 5 and KAR.LAGAB.[N]IN?.KUG.GI§? in i 6, possibly is a description (location?) of the field.

As can be seen at a glance, all cases (or lines) from i 2 onward, except i 8, ii 1, 15–19, and iv 6–9, begin with a number, which is followed by one to three signs. A priori, it can be considered that the cases with a number express either the area measures of individual parcels or the amounts of commodities, while the cases without a number stand for the parties to the transaction.

To judge from nos. 1–8, what we expect to find after the introductory statement in i 1, discussed just above, is the breakdown of the total of 5(bur) into sections dealing with the acreage of smaller fields. The following numbers are commonly used in the text:

A large circle, of the same size and shape as the sign bur in i 1, a small circle, or a combination of large and small circles. If the circles are to be taken as area measures, then the small circle should stand for 1(bur), and the large circle for 1(bur-u) or 1(sar), or potentially, even 1(sar-u).

While, theoretically, it is possible to assign any of these measures to the large and small circles, there is no way to add up the occurring and reconstructed measures so that they would correspond to the total area of 5 large circles given in i 1, even if we interpret it not as 5(bur), but as 5(bur-u), 5(sar), or 5(sar-u).

From the fact that the area of land given in i 1 cannot represent a sum of the numbers appearing elsewhere in the inscription, we may conclude that the subsequent sections of the inscription deal with either additional fields or commodities. Clear attestations of fields seem to be found in i 5 (gân KAR.LAGAB.BAR) and i 6 (KAR.LAGAB.[N]IN?.KUG.GI§?), where the sign-group KAR.LAGAB is probably a topographic description (as it appears to be the case in i 1). Note also the possible occurrences of the sign GAN in ii 9 and iii 3, and the mentions of Lagash (BUR.LA.SIR) in iii 7, and of the “canebrake of Antum” (giš-gi An-tum) in iii 8. On the other hand, commodities may be sought in, e.g., 7 small circles UD.GÜG (i 14), 2 horizontal strokes UD.LU (i 17), and 4 large circles MA.GID (iv 1), which could respectively be interpreted as “7 white cakes” (gûg babbar), “2 white turnips/sheep” (lu/udu babbar), and “40 big figs” (peš gid). In light of this, it is possible that, following i 1, the inscription lists both fields and various commodities. The final resolution of this problem is not possible at
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Present, due partly to the difficulties in understanding the archaic script and partly to the poor state of preservation of the inscription.

**Transliteration**

Obv. i
1) 5(bur) gan? DUG.SILÅ
   KAR.LAGAB.GI
2) 3 large circles + 2 small circles
   LÁL+SAR
3) 2 large circles SÁ.R.KI.A
4) 4 large circles + 4 small circles BAR.A
5) 2 large circles gan? KAR.LAGAB.BAR
6) 1 large circle + 5 small circles
   KAR.LAGAB.[N]IN?, KUG, GIŠ?
7) 3 large circles KA.DUMU.UR
   X.X.EN.GÜ?, GI?, GI?
8) [..]
Rev. i
9) [..]
10) [..]
11) [..]
12) [..]
13) [..]
14) [..]
15) [..]
16) [..]
17) [..]
Obv. ii
1) 4UD1.MUG.KI
2) 4 large circles + 3 small circles
   UD.NIN.KUG
3) 3 large circles X.A.LÁL+SAR
4) 5 large circles GIŠ?.A.NUN
5) 3 large circles NIN.KUG
6) 5 large circles MAR?, NA.A.X.SU?
7) 2 large circles SU.É.GABA.X
8) 2 large circles + 8 small circles
   SIG.MAR.GAL
9) 4 large circles GI.GÁN?
10) 4 large circles AG?.NE.NAGAR
11) [..] É

Rev. ii
12) [..]
13) [..]
14) [..]
15) [..]
16) [..]
17) [..]
18) [..]
19) [..]
20) [..]
21) [..]
22) [..]
23) [..]
24) [..]
Obv. iii
1) 2 large circles AN?, LÁL+SAR
2) 4 large circles vertical GIŠ.TE.BAR
3) 4 large circles GI.GÁN?
4) 4 large circles BAR.UD.ŠAGAN
5) 4 large circles DU6.KI
6) 4 large circles BA.ḪA2?
7) 1 large circle NIN[DÁ].X1
   BUR.LA.ŠIR
8) 2 large circles AN.TUM.GIŠ.GI
9) 1 large circle LÁL+SAR.HA?
Obv. iv
1) 4 large circles MA.GID
2) 2 large circles SAR.NIN.TAB?.GIibling.
   AG?.
3) 2 large circles + [x] X
4) [x]+1 X.A?X1
5) [x] Ü.X.X
6) 5 large circles “DUG”
7) 5 large circles “DUG”
8) KA?.X.RX1.LA.RX1.RU
9) KA?.SAG

**Notes**

iii 7.—If our reading of the last three signs as BUR.LA.ŠIR is correct, we would find here the earliest mention of the city of Lagash.

iii 8.—Probably to be interpreted as giš-gi An-tum “canebrake of Antum.” For giš-gi “canebrake,” see J. Bauer, *AWL*, p. 175.

**No. 10 Blau Obelisk and No. 11 Blau Plaque**

**Photographs:** Plates 11 and 12, British Museum, London.

**Copy:** Plates 11 and 12, copied by Green from photographs and copy from the original by Gelb.

**Synopsis:** Figure 10.

**Provenience:** Unknown (purchased) — said to have been obtained by A. Blau near Warka. For a possibility that the Blau tablets come from Tell 'Uqair, see below under Iconography and Text.

**Date:** Uruk III.

**Language:** Sumerian(?).

**Present location:** British Museum (London), BM 86261 and 86260; the two numbers are wrongly identified in Edzard and Fenzel (see the last two entries under Publications, just below), since BM 86261 is the obelisk and BM 8620 is the plaque.

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Description: The Blau Obelisk is a small obelisk with a pointed top and a flat bottom. It is made of the same material as the Blau Plaque. Maximum measurements are 18 x 4.3 x 1.3 cm. Both sides are flat.

The Blau Plaque is a small plaque with a rounded top and a flat bottom. The material is “greenish stone” or “jade-like green stone, perhaps a variety of serpentine,” according to Ward, and “dark shale,” according to Mallowan. Maximum measurements are 15.9 x 7.2 x 1.5 cm. Both obverse and reverse are flat.

Both Blau tablets contain writing and iconography. Although the inscriptions on both are oriented in the same manner with respect to the long axis of the tablets, the iconography of the plaque is horizontal while that of the obelisk has a vertical format. Since both sides of the plaque are inscribed, it is easy to see from the writing that one side is continued on the other side and that, therefore, the former is the obverse and the latter is the reverse. Since only one side of the obelisk is inscribed and the other side contains only pictorial representations, we arbitrarily designated the inscribed side as the obverse, although it cannot be determined whether the inscription was written first or as a sequel to the representations.

The occurrence of 5(bür) dân “5 bür of land” on the obelisk places it in the class of ancient kudurrus dealing with landed property. Although the plaque does not contain any references to fields, the identity of material and the stylistic and epigraphic similarity between the two tablets, especially in respect to the representations of the kneeling figures, indicate that they were fashioned at the same time and by the same hand. From the fact that the obelisk records a field, whereas the plaque lists what appear to be the price and/or additional payments, we can infer that the obelisk constitutes the beginning of the transaction and that the plaque is its conclusion.

Both the iconography and the writing appearing on the Blau tablets were considered so unusual at the time of their publication that their authenticity was seriously questioned by a number of scholars. Note the arguments brought forth in favor of the spurious character of the two pieces by Ménant, op. cit. pp. 360–66, and by W. St. Chad (and Ward’s answer) in The Athenaeum 1 (1900) pp. 312, 440, 535ff., and 696. Since that time, however, a large number of stylistic parallels have become available (cf. Strommenger, op. cit. pls. 16–22 and 32–33), and today the authenticity of the Blau tablets can no longer be questioned.

Iconography and Text: The interpretation of both the inscriptions and the scenes depicted on the Blau tablets abounds with difficulties. Therefore, the following discussion and the resulting conclusions are highly tentative, and we offer them with the utmost caution. This applies particularly to our analysis of the iconography of the two tablets.

a) Blau Obelisk

One side of the obelisk contains representations of two humans, the other a five-line cuneiform inscription.

The first side of the obelisk shows two male figures in two registers, upper and lower. The standing man in the upper register is represented with a beard, a skirt with a border, and a bulky band around his hair; he holds in his hands a four-legged animal, probably a goat. This man shows all the features of the central figure on the obverse of the plaque, with a difference that the latter holds instead an elongated object. In the lower register, there is visible a kneeling figure of a naked man, with a pestle and mortar, exactly paralleling the two kneeling figures depicted on the reverse of the plaque.

Given the similarity between the kneeling man in the lower register and the kneeling figures on the reverse of the plaque, it is possible that the scene depicted on the obelisk finds its continuation on the reverse of the plaque (or vice versa). The combined evidence of the two pieces suggests the preparation of food in connection with a feast (the goat(?]) in the hands of the bearded man, the kneeling figures working with pestles and mortars). This point will be elaborated on below.

Of the five-line inscription on the other side of the obelisk easiest to understand are the first and the last lines. Line 1 reads 5(bür) dân Uŋ₃,Nin-GIR,HA.RAD “5 bür of land,” that is 90 iku or 31.76 hectares, “(located?) in the meadow(?) of(?) Nin-GIR,HA.RAD.” Nin-GIR,HA.RAD appears to be a divine name (for the reading, see below), here probably standing for a temple household.

The last line has two signs, AB.APIN or APIN.AB, which almost certainly are to be interpreted as the profession or title engar 耴. The term engar seems to denote here a high official in charge of the agricultural sector in a household, comparable to the Greek agronomos. The combination engar 耴 “agronomos of the temple household” occurs also in Jemdet Nasr tablets (OECT 7, 5, 15, 52 twice, 102, 139, 144, and 164) and in a tablet from Tell ’Uqair (JNES 2 [1943] pl. XXI no. 117 rev.), always at the end or near the end of the text. A similar term is sanga 耴 “administrator of the temple household,” which appears in several tablets from Jemdet Nasr (OECT 7, 11 ii 2, 31 rev. i 4, 110 i 2’). For 耴 as the archaic term for “temple household” (later ṣ), see Burrows, UET 2 pp. 13f.; H. T. Wright, The Administration of Rural Production in an Early Mesopotamian Town (Ann Arbor, 1969) pp. 41f. The “temple household” of the present example is possibly that of Nin-GIR,HA.RAD in line 1.

In all probability, the “agronomos of the temple household” referred to in our inscription is to be identified with the bearded man depicted on the other side of the obelisk. His name may be recorded in the preceding line (see below).

Line 4, which has the signs ALAM,NE,PAB,KĪD?. GĪR,DU, possibly gives the name of the official engar 耴 in line 5. This leaves us with lines 2 and 3, which read GI₄,RAD and HA.ŪR.LAK-131 respectively. The signgroup HA.ŪR in line 3 is almost certainly to be connected with HA.RAD.ŪR, the archaic writing of the city of Urum, for which see M. W. Green, ASJ 8 (1986) pp. 77ff. Note that the latter logogram can be optionally abbreviated as RAD.ŪR or even as UR (ibid. p. 78). At the same time, it cannot be excluded that lines 2–3 are in fact to be read together; in that case, we would arrive at the
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combination HA.RAD.UR, the full spelling of the name of Urum.

The assumption that lines 2-3 contain the name of Urum finds support in the occurrence of the divine (?) name Nin-GIR.HA.RAD in line 1. The sign-group HA.RAD appears also in the Uruk name En-HA.RAD-dug, where, as Green proposes (ibid. p. 79), HA.RAD may be the archaic spelling of the city of A.HA, a neighbor of Urum. [Given that the pair Urum and A.HA is replaced in RA 70 (1976) p. 112 G 24, M 13, by the pair U-ra-mu-umkipi/Wu-ru-mukipi and Ti-Wakii, A.HA is probably to be read Tiwa or Tuwa and equated with Tubal(A.HA) of lexical texts; cf. Steinkeller, JCS 32 (1980) p. 28.] Accordingly, Nin-GIR.HA.RAD of our text could very well be a goddess of A.HA.

Naturally, if the above identifications are correct, they would be of great importance for the question of the provenience of the Blau tablets. As Green convincingly argues, HA.RAD.UR = Urum is very likely to be identified with the site of Tell Uqair in northern Babylonia (op. cit. pp. 78ff.). In favor of this interpretation, note that the title engar es also occurs, at the very end of the text, in a tablet from Tell Uqair (see above). In this connection, it also may be significant that all other examples of this title come from the tablets from Jemdet Nasr (none in the texts from Uruk!), which too is located in northern Babylonia, less than 15 miles from Tell Uqair. And finally, it is noteworthy that three of the items listed on the obverse of the plaque, namely, šen, uri, and gada, routinely appear in the tablets from Tell Uqair. For šen, see Falkenstein, ATU 629 i 5, 644 i 1, and 649 ii 1; for uri, see ibid. 631 i 1, 644 ii 2, and 649 ii 2; for gada, see ibid. 624 ii 4, 625 ii 2, 629 ii 2, 643 i 1, and 649 i 2.

On the basis of the occurrences of the toponyms HA(RAD),UR (= Tell Uqair) and HA.RAD (location unknown—possibly Jemdet Nasr) on the obelisk, we should thus consider that the Blau tablets come from either Tell Uqair or the unknown site of A.HA. Of these two possibilities, the choice of Tell Uqair is probably to be favored, given the fact that Tell Uqair had produced a number of illicitly-excavated archaic tablets, which were purchased in 1903 by the Berlin Museum (see Green, op. cit. p. 78).

Disregarding whether the provenience of the Blau tablets is Tell Uqair or A.HA, the point, if proven, that they stem from northern Babylonia, would have important implications for the question of the language of their inscriptions. Assuming, as it seems quite likely, that in the Jemdet Nasr (= Uruk III) period northern Babylonia already supported a Semitic population, the Blau tablets could very well be written in Akkadian. In this connection, note the possible occurrence of the word ba-dar, a loan from the Akkadian patarrum, among the commodities listed on the plaque (see below).

Let us now return to the iconography of the obelisk. As we have suggested above, the bearded man depicted on the obelisk is to be identified with the engar es official (line 5), whose name may be ALAM.NE.PAB.KID?. GIR.DU (line 4). Assuming that the Blau tablets record a sale transaction, he could, accordingly, be seen as either the buyer or the seller. In favor of interpreting him as the buyer is the fact that the scene shown on the obelisk may represent the preparation of the feast that, in the later periods, was customarily offered by the buyer in his house at the conclusion of the transaction (see section 7.12.5.7).

b) Blau Plaque

The Blau Plaque contains the representations of two humans on the obverse and four humans on the reverse plus the text running from obverse to reverse. The obverse-reverse designation is easily established from the iconography depicting the major scene on one side, which must, therefore, be the obverse, and the minor scene on the other side, which, consequently, is the reverse; and from the writing, which runs smoothly from the end (left side) of the obverse to the beginning (right side) of the reverse.

The obverse of the plaque shows two standing figures facing each other near the center. The larger figure (on the left) is a bearded man wearing a skirt of a net-like material. The man wears a cap which rolls up to form a bulky band around his head, and holds with both hands an elongated object which may represent a phallic symbol or a vessel. The smaller figure, apparently a woman, wears a skirt of solid material and stands with both hands raised and clasped in front of her body.

The reverse bears the representations of one standing, two kneeling, and one sitting male figures. The standing male is beardless and hairless, with no headdress, and wears the same kind of "net-skirt" as the man on the obverse. His hands are uplifted in the manner of the female figure on the obverse. In front of him there are figures of two persons kneeling on one knee, naked, without beard or headdress, and working with a pestle and mortar. The man behind the standing figure has all the features of the kneeling figures, except that he is slightly larger and that he sits on a stool.

The bearded man on the obverse is clearly the most important person represented on the plaque. Since the major figure shown on the obelisk should probably be identified as the buyer (see above), the bearded man on the plaque may be the seller. If so, the woman facing him could represent his wife or daughter, and thus a co-seller of the field. This assumption seems to find support in the fact that the commodities recorded on the obverse of the plaque are subdivided into two groups, each group followed by a personal name (see below). Because of their position in relation to the two figures, these two names, Hashur.lal and ka-gir-gal, can respectively be interpreted as the names of the bearded man and his female companion. The implication is that Hashur.lal and ka-gir-gal were the recipients of the itemized goods, thus corroborating the hypothesis that the two figures shown on the obverse of the plaque are the sellers. Further, it is possible that the enigmatic object held by the bearded man should be interpreted as a phallic symbol, comparable to the cone (kag) that was driven by the seller into the wall (of a public building?) as part of the rite symbolizing the transfer of the sold field to the buyer. See section 7.12.5.1 and discussion of no. 12 for a possible depiction of this rite on that piece.
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The two kneeling and one sitting figures shown on the reverse of the plaque probably represent, like the lower figure on the obelisk, the personnel involved in the preparation of the feast celebrating the conclusion of the transaction. For a possible parallel, see the register of the Uruk Vase showing naked servants carrying baskets with food (Strommenger, op. cit. pls. 19–22).

The interpretation of the standing male figure on the reverse of the plaque is more problematic. Given his position within the scene, it would be tempting to see in this man the supervisor of the working personnel. Against this solution is the fact that he is identified by name (AN.GIR.JN-312.NUNUZ.SAG, written immediately to his right), which indicates that he must have been a major party to the transaction. Excluding the unlikely possibility that he is another co-seller, he could be either a relative (son?) of the buyer or an official authorizing the transaction.

The inscribed portions of the Blau Plaque are found both on the obverse and reverse, partly independently, partly interwoven with the human figures. The beginning and the end of the text is clear: it begins with 2 BA.DAR in the top right corner of the obverse and ends with the signs AN.GIR.JN-312.NUNUZ.SAG on the reverse, following the right to left direction in the earlier, vertical orientation of signs, or top to bottom in the later, horizontal orientation of signs (this question is fully discussed in section 1.4).

Because of the difficulties in citing the various portions of the text, we have decided to number the cases or lines consecutively from 1 to 16.

As can be seen at a glance, all entries, with the exception of lines 6, 15, and 16, begin with signs for numbers and measures and are followed by signs that can be interpreted as standing for commodities. The interpretation of some items is easy and self-evident, of others difficult and even completely unknown at the present stage of our knowledge of the archaic script.

The following numbers and measures occur in the text:

- A small horizontal stroke is used for units (1–9), as in 1 arad “1 slave” in line 9.
- A small circle is used for tens (10–50), as in 10 màš “10 goats” in line 12. The same circle also appears before kaš in line 14, where it should stand for 10 (dug) kaš “10 (pots) of beer.”
- Two longer horizontal strokes are used before sig “wool” in line 8. They should stand for a measure of weight, probably meaning 2 (ma-na) sig “2 (pounds) of wool.”
- One longer horizontal stroke and one longer vertical stroke occur before US.BUR.TÚG in line 11. They should stand for a measure of weight, meaning 1½ (ma-na) US.BUR.TÚG, “an US.BUR cloth/garment (weighing) 1½ (pounds).” A close parallel to fractions in our text is provided by 1½ (ma-na) NĪG.LĀM.TÚG, meaning “a lamahuššām garment (weighing) 1½ (pounds)” in no. 13 passim. This interpretation is based on such fully-written examples as 1½ sig ma-na tūg “a cloth/garment (weighing) 1½ pounds of wool” (Fara 3, 33 ii 1–2 = our no. 115). For the occurrences of fractions with tūg in later periods, see Waetzoldt, UNT pp. 237 and 242. It is tempting to identify our US.BUR.TÚG with the later tūg us-bar “weaver cloth.”
- Two vertical strokes with circles on their top and bottom occur before ninda “bread” in line 13. They cannot be simple numbers, meaning “2 (or 20) (loaves) of bread,” since the numbers for units and tens are expressed by different shapes in this inscription. They should, therefore, stand for a measure of dry capacity, either 2(ul) or 2(bán) (of bread).

The following commodities occur:

- 2 BA.DAR and 2 BA.NAM in lines 1 and 2. The first item should probably be identified with ba-da-ra “prod” or the like (see PSD B pp. 18f.), a loan from the Akkadian patarrum (see Steinkeller, JNES 46 [1987] p. 58). The same spelling is attested in 1 ba-dar UD.KA.BAR (PBS 9, 132:3, Akkadian, Sargonic). This identification is somewhat weakened by the fact that BA can alternatively be read IGI; the resulting form IGLI.DAR could then be interpreted as igin-gûn, possibly a piece of jewelry. The meaning of BA.NAM (or IGI.NAM) is unknown.
- 2 šén in line 3. Šén is a large metal container, weighing as much as twenty-five pounds. For a recent discussion of šén, see Steinkeller, OA 40 (1981) pp. 243–49.
- 30 EN.SÂ and 30 EN.A in lines 4 and 5. Both items are not understandable.
- 2 uri in line 7a. Uri is a large metal container.
- 2 gada “2 linen cloths/garments” in line 7b.
- 2 DUG+I+vertical-GIŠ.X in line 7c is probably “2 vessels of . . . oil.” For a similar compound sign, see note to no. 1 i 2.
- “2” sig “2 (pounds) of wool” in line 8.
- 1 arad “1 slave” in line 9. For the occurrence of “slave” among commodities, compare no. 7 i.
- 2 KUG.NA in line 10. KUG.NA looks like an object na and kug “silver.” Alternatively, one could interpret it as 2 kug (ma-na) “2 pounds of silver.”
- “1½” US.BUR.TÚG “1½ (pounds) of US.BUR cloth/garment” in line 11 (see above).
- 10 màš “10 goats” in line 12.
- 2(ul) or 2(bán) ninda “120 (or 20) quarts of bread” in line 13 (see above).
- 10 kaš “10 (pots) of beer” in line 14.

Following the first five commodities, one finds the PN KA-GĪR-gal, which seems to identify the female figure represented on the obverse of the plaque. Accordingly, it can be assumed that the items listed in the preceding lines represent her share of the commodities.

By analogy, the signs ḤĂŠHŬR.LĂL (15), which appear at the very end of the second group of the commodities, can be interpreted as the name of the bearded man, with the preceding items constituting his share of the proceeds.

The inscription ends with the signs AN.GIR.JN-312.NUNUZ.SAG (16), which are written to the right of the beardless man on the reverse of the plaque. Because of their position in relation of the beardless man, they can be interpreted as his name.

In summary of our discussion of the texts and iconography of the Blau tablets, it may be suggested that they deal with a sale transaction, whose object was a single
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field, measuring 90 iku in size. The buyer of the field presumably was an "agronomos of the temple household," named ALAM. NE.PAB.KID?. GİR.DU. The sellers were a certain ḤAŞHÜR. L.LAL and his wife or daughter named KA-GİR-gal. The price received by the two sellers consisted of the commodities that are listed on the obverse of the plaque. The parties to the transaction also included a man named AN. GİR.JN-312. NUNUZ.SAG, who was either a relative of the buyer or an authorizing official.

It needs to be stressed, however, that the above interpretation is by no means certain. To begin with, the absence of any terminology for "buying" and "selling" in either text raises the question as to whether the transaction recorded in the Blau tablets is in fact a sale. Moreover, the analysis of their iconography is open to other explanations. For example, it cannot be excluded that the bearded man shown on the obelisk is actually the same person as the main figure on the obverse of the plaque. These and other questions will, however, have to wait for the recovery of similar contemporaneous material that should provide our speculations with a sounder footing.

Transliteration

No. 10 Blau Obelisk

Obv. 1) S(bür) gàn U8.SAL Nin-GİR.ḫA.
RAD(ATUS-850)
2) GI4.RAD
3) ḤA.UR.LAK-131
4) ALAM. NE.PAB.KID?. GİR.DU
5) engar ēš

Rev. Figure of a bearded man holding a goat(?). Figure of an attendant.

No. 11 Blau Plaque

Obv. i 1) 2 BA.DAR
2) 2 BA.NAM
3) 2 šen
ii 4) 30 EN.ŠÂ
5) 30 EN.Ā
6) KA-GİR-gal
Figure of a woman.
7) 2 ury
7b) 2 gada
7c) 2 DUG+1+vertical-GIŞ.X
Figure of a bearded man holding a phallic-like object.
i 8) "2" (ma-na) ēş
9) 1 arād(NITA+KUR)
10) 2 KUG.NĀ

Rev. 11) "1½" (ma-na) UŞ.BUR.TŪG
12) 10 mášt
13) 2(u)/2(bān) ninda
14) 10 (dug) kaš
15) ḤAŞHÜR.L.LAL
Figure of an attendant.
16) AN. GİR.JN-312. NUNUZ.SAG
Figure of a bearded man.
Figures of two attendants.

Notes

No. 10:1.—The word U8.SAL is possibly to be connected with the toponym/topographical feature SAL, U8.DI, which appears in a number of Pre-Sargonic texts from Nippur and Isin(?); gàn SAL, U8.DI (TMH 5, 72:i), gù U8.DI.UD.SAL.ME (OSP 1, 114 ii 1), gàn gù SAL, U8.DI (ibid. 119:3*), and gàn da SAL, U8.DI ki ḥ-la (MVNS 3, 14 ii 2, 3, Isin?). SAL, U8.DI should perhaps be read u8-sal(? (read, accordingly, U8.DI.UD.SAL.ME in OSP 1, 114 ii 1), as u8-sal*-u*-me?) and interpreted as a variant spelling of u-sal(-ia), Akk. usallum, "meadow." In favor of this interpretation, note the following passage: 15(gur) še gur ud SAL, U8.DI-a (= u8-sal*-a?) dun-na PN PN*-ra urs-lé mu-na-ta-gub "PN gave (lit.: put out) 15 bushels of barley as a loan to PN2, when he excavated the meadow?" (MVNS 3, 29 i 1–ii 1, Isin?). In this connection, note also GIS.UB.UR.LAK(= na-ba-du/tum in Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 254 line 487, for which compare nubatu “bivouac” and nubattu, a topographical term (CAD N/2 pp. 207ff.). Alternatively, U8.SAL could simply be SAL-u8 "ewe," for which see Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 66 line 27; Bauer, AWL p. 295.

No. 11:—For the element GİR-gal, in later periods written GIR-gunu-gal, see note to no. 14 vi 4. For another archaic occurrence of GIR-gal, where GIR likewise lacks the gunu wedges, see the PN A-GİR-gal in no. 12 Side D.

No. 12 Ushumgal Stela


Copy: Plates 13, 16, and 17, copied in 1960 and 1963 by Gelb from the original—redrawn from copies and photographs by Green, assisted by Whiting.

Synopsis: Figure 10.

Provenience: Unknown (purchased), from Larsa (Senkereh) according to Parrot; perhaps from Umma, according to Crawford (see refs. below). The Umma origin of the stela is supported by the occurrence of Sharar(?), the chief deity of Umma on side A, the personal name 4Sarâ?-igi-zi-ZU.AB on side D, and the toponym Guedina in the personal name Ur-gû-edin?-na on side E.

Date: Early Dynastic I–II.

Language: Sumerian(?).

Present location: Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), 58.29.


Description: Stela of light to dark-brown gypsum measuring 22 × 14 × 9.5 cm. Only the front (A) and the base (B, C, D) above the figures, occasionally across them, and on the top (E) and bottom (F) of the stela. The antiquity of the writing and the necessity of squeezing in the writing wherever space was available make the interpretation of the written parts very difficult.

The three main terms used below are: "iconography" for the figures represented on sides A–D; "adscriptions"
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for the text accompanying the figures on sides A–D; and “inscriptions” for other text appearing on sides A–F.

The sequence of the sides may be established tolerably well. Side A is flat and marks, therefore, the beginning of the stela. From there on, the flow of the writing progresses normally from right to left, following the sequence from A to B to C to D, as, for instance, in no. 40.

Taking into consideration the iconography plus the adscriptions, the sequence of the four sides is different from that given above on the basis of the inscriptions. The images on the four sides of the stela form a continuous frieze, composed of two central panels (A and D) and two accessory panels (B and C). As will be seen below, sides A and D are linked together because the two figures represented on them face each other and are, due to their large size, the most important actors of the transaction. Since the “small” woman on side C follows the “large” woman on side D, side C should be considered an extension of side D. Analogously, since the three “small!” men on side B follow the “large” man on side A, side B must be considered an extension of side A. In this way the scene depicted on the stela can be analyzed as two processions, meeting one another at the gate(?) of a building, with the men proceeding from left to right, and with the women proceeding from right to left.

In the following, iconography plus adscriptions will be taken up first, to be followed by inscriptions without the accompanying iconography.

Iconography Plus Adscriptions on Sides A–D

Side A. The flat front of the stela shows a man, with a beard and long hair, facing a tall, narrow structure. He wears a long skirt and holds in his hands close to his chest an object which was interpreted as a cup by Crawford. For parallels, see Strommenger, The Art of Mesopotamia figs. 50–55 and especially 73. The signs written across the figure read 4ŠARÁ? PAB.ŠEŠ GAL.ŠUŠUM, to be interpreted as Ušum-gal pab-šeš 4Šarā “Ushumgal, the pab-šeš priest of Shara(?).” The divine name read here as 4Šarā? (also in the personal name 4Šarā?-igi-zi-ZU.AB on side D) has the Gestalt of SARRA but does not resemble in detail the sign ŠARÁ (= LAK-782) as it appears in the Fara and later periods.

There is little doubt that Ushumgal is the major figure in the transaction and, assuming that a sale is meant here, he is probably the buyer. Note that the same Ushumgal is named in conjunction with the total acreage of land in the inscription of side C.

There are several features on side A that illuminate further the nature of the scene depicted on the stela. First, we note that the stonemaster has taken pains to indicate what is apparently a cone or peg that has been driven into the wall (doorway?) of the building. This is very likely the “cone” (kag) that was customarily driven into the wall, either by the main seller or by the town herald, according to the sources from the Pre-Sargonic period onwards (see section 7.12.5.1). The structure from which the cone is protruding is quite elaborate, very much like the three-towered building of the Proto-literate period reproduced in Frankfort, OIP 72 pl. 6 no. 34. In all probability, it represents a public building, either the gate/doorway of a temple or a city gate. This interpretation agrees with our conclusion that the cones employed in the transfers of property at Pre-Sargonic Lagash were displayed on the wall of some public building (see section 7.12.5.1). In this connection, note that temple and city gates were the customary location of legal transactions and oath-taking in ancient Mesopotamia (see, e.g., the examples cited in CAD A/1 p. 84 under abulûtu, B pp. 19f. under bâbûtu).

Side D. This side stands to the right of the front side A. It is occupied by a figure of a woman dressed in a long cloak, and, although larger, not much different from the figure represented on side C. She holds in her right hand a jar, and there is possible a container or basket at her feet. The woman faces Ushumgal (on side A), apparently offering him a drink. The signs drawn across her figure identify her as 4Šarā?-igi-zi(wr. G1)-ZU.AB dumu Ušumgal ES.A “Shara(?)-igizi-Abzu, the daughter of Ushumgal, the . . .” The meaning of ES.A (also side C) is unclear. The fact that Shara(?)-igizi-Abzu is represented with a jar, and possibly a basket, may indicate that she, as the daughter of the buyer, was in charge of the preparation of the feast that regularly took place in the house of the buyer (see section 7.12.5.7).

Side C. The back of the stela, to the right of side D, is occupied by a figure of a woman, dressed in a long cloak, and, though considerably smaller, very similar to the daughter of Ushumgal (side D), whom she is clearly following. The signs in front of the figure read: dumu Mesi pab-ses E-nun. On the cloak of the figure appear three signs, IGI.ES.A, preceded by two signs which look like RU? and NUN. If the signs on the cloak should be connected with the signs in front of the figure, then the whole could be interpreted as “IGI.RU?.NUN, the . . . (ES.A), the daughter of Mesi, the pab-ses priest of (the temple) Enun.” The meaning of ES.A (also side D) is obscure. The role of IGI.RU?.NUN in the transaction is unclear.

Side B. Side B, to the right of side C, is divided into two registers, with the figures of one man in the upper register and of two men in the lower register. The latter two are of the same size as Mesi on side C; the man in the upper register is considerably smaller, due, apparently, to the restrictions of space. All three men are depicted with arms crossed over their chests and with kilts looped up into the belt barring one leg. Their position within the frieze makes it clear that they are following Ushumgal (side A). The man in the upper register, without hair and beard, is identified by the adscription a) Ag gal-ukkin “Ag, chief of the assembly.” For the form of UKKIN in the present text (also in ugula-ukkin in adscription b), compare UKKIN in the Abu Salabikh and Ebla mss. of ED Lu A line 16 (MSL 12 pl. II i 16; MEE 3/A pl. I no. 1 ii 4). The first man in the lower register, shown with a beard, bears over his body the adscription b) SES.KI/NA ugula-ukkin “Nanna, the foreman of the assembly.” As far as we know, the title ugula-ukkin is a hapax le-gomenon. Written over the figure of the second man, without hair and beard, is the name X.KU.EN and, just next to his head, the title gal-nigir “chief herald.”

In view of the fact that the last line of column i on sides B–C records I(bûr) gâni Ag “18 iku of land (of?) Ag,” where Ag could be the same person as the “chief of the
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assembly" of adscription a), it would be tempting to
interpret the three men depicted on side B as co-sellers.
However, their titles (note especially gal-nigir “chief her-
ard,” who frequently appears in later sale documents)
make it fairly certain that these three men were the
officials who either authorized or witnessed the transaction.

Inscriptions on Sides A–E

Inscriptions without associated iconography appear on
all six sides. The sequence of the inscriptions cannot be
fully established, although certain sides obviously go
together:

Side A standing alone.
Side B followed by C, continuing with one line on D
behind the figure.
Side E continuing with one line on D above the
figure.
Side D with the inscription in front of the figure.
Side C with the inscription behind the figure.
Side F standing alone.

Side A. Above the central figure on side A there are five
lines of writing listing three houses (6-dū). The three
houses are those of 1AN.DAM.ŠE.DU.[A]? in line 1
(also in line 5 of the inscription on sides E–D), Ė.TUR.
ḪUB!?!X1 in line 2, and 1È?:KÏ?:SAR!:X1 in line 4.

Sides B–C. A two-column inscription begins on side B
and continues on side C, with one line continuing on side
D. This inscription is discussed together with that on sides
E–D, just below.

Sides E–D. Of the five-line inscription, four lines are
preserved on side E (top of the stela) and one line above
the figure on side D.

The inscriptions on sides B–C and E–D obviously go
together since both record measures/numbers, fields, ani-
mals, and personal names.

We may begin with the small round circles which are
followed by gān “field” and, therefore, are to be inter-
preted as the area-measure būr (B–C i 3, 6, ii 5, E–D 1).
To be interpreted similarly are the subdivisions of būr,
written as semi-circles, as in 1(būr) (E–D 5), 3(iku) gān (B–C ii 3),
or a combination of a circle plus a semi-circle, as in 1(ešē)
gān (E–D 5). What follows the measures of area and the
sign gān are personal names and/or descriptions of fields.
Clear examples of personal names are Ag (B–C i 6),
which recurs in adscription a) on side B, AN.DAM.
ŠE.DU.A (E–D 5), also attested in line 1 of the inscription
of side A, ŠAG₃.TUR nig[i]? (B–C ii 3), and possibly
1È!:EZEN (B–C ii 6). A field description may be found in
E–D lines 1 and 3, which have the same sign-group
GŪ.GŪ.SIG₄.??

Scattered throughout the inscription B–C and probably
once in E–D 2, we find small squares which greatly
resemble the semi-circles used for the area measure iku.
The squares are regularly followed by the name of an
animal, and must therefore be interpreted as standing for
units. Thus we read: [x]+2 [g]ud-anāše “[x]+2 bulls and
donkeys” (B–C i 1); 2 udu “2 sheep” (ii 2); 1 gud “1 bull”
(ii 4); and 3(wr. as semi-circles) gud “3 bulls” (E–D 2).
Alternatively, the squares could stand for tens, as is
suggested by the spelling 4 vertical strokes gud-nita “4(?)
bulls” in the inscription on side D (see below). The
interpretation of 6 se PŪ? in B–C ii 1 is unknown.

In three instances, the numbers and the terms for
animals are followed by personal names: sanga LÚ.Á.
GAL.GU (B–C i 2), KUR pob-nēš (B–C ii 4), and
LÚ.TIL?.PA Ur-gū-edin?-na (E–D 2). The name Ur-gū-
edin?-na of the last example contains the toponym Gue-
dina, which, by virtue of its proximity to Umma,
corroborates the assumption that the Ushumgal Stela
comes from Umma (see above under Provenience).

Side D. In front of the figure there are twenty-five signs,
the first eighteen of which, ordered in two columns, may
be reconstructed as yielding a similar structure:

nam-kūd INNIN.TAB.AMAR “the oath of INNIN.
TAB.AMAR”
6 vertical strokes gān GI.LAGAB “...”
nam-kūd A-GIR-gal “the oath of A-GIR-gal”
3 vertical strokes gān GI.LAGAB “...”

What we find here, apparently, is a record of two
separate oaths, made by a certain INNIN.TAB.AMAR
(= Amar-INNIN.TAB?) and A-GIR-gal concerning the
field GI.LAGAB. The role of these two persons in our
transaction is unclear. Since the numbers in front of gān
cannot be area measures, we should probably interpret
them as simple numbers. We may speculate that, perhaps,
they denote the numbers of the kinsmen of INNIN.TAB.
AMAR and A-GIR-gal. This would result in the transla-
tion: “the oath of six (members of the family of) INNIN.
TAB.AMAR (concerning) the field GI.LAGAB; the oath
of three (members of the family of) A-GIR-gal (concern-
ing) the field GI.LAGAB.”

The inscription then reads: 4 vertical strokes gud-nita.
Theoretically, it is possible that this line is a continuation
of the inscription on side E (top), which continues with
one line on side D. If so, the present line (to be assigned
number 6) could be interpreted as 4 gud-nita “four bulls.”
The problem with this interpretation, however, is that, as
we have argued earlier, elsewhere in the stela the units of
animals are written with squares and not with vertical
strokes, as in the present example. This discrepancy could
only be resolved by assuming that the squares actually
stand for tens.

Finally, over the basket(?) in front of the woman, there
are written the signs BUR, SI, EN, and LU. The first two
signs should probably be interpreted as a PN Bur-si, for
which see Burrows, UET 2 p. 30. Note also bur-si, a type
of bowl, in Falkenstein, ATU 644 ii 1. The following two
signs could possibly be analyzed as en udu “owner of the
sheep,” but we lack any parallels for it. The relationship
of Bursi (if in fact it is a person) to other parties to the
transaction is unknown.

Side C. In back of the female figure are nine signs
arranged in two columns. The signs, which clearly go
together, read 2(būr(u) 5(būr) gān GŪ.AN, to be inter-
preted as gū-an(-ēš) 2(būr(u) 5(būr) gān “grand total of
450 iku (or 158.75 hectares) of land.” As now preserved,
the first number is a large double circle, which is 1
būr(u) = 10 būr, the second number is a large circle, which
in normal circumstances should be read as 1 sūr = 60 būr,
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and the third number is written as five small circles or 5 bur. Since a larger number cannot be written below or after a smaller number, the large circle cannot be interpreted as 1 sár, but must be explained as 1 bur u with the inner circle destroyed. Unfortunately, the reading of the total given here cannot be verified by adding up the various fields listed in sections B–C–D and E–D because of the poor state of preservation of the latter. Nevertheless, what is preserved in these two sections suffices to make the interpretation of the large circle as 1 sár = 60 bur too high for serious consideration. Following a vertical line, we read GAL, USUM, ŚIĎ, TA?, and NAM, of which only the name of Ushumgal (also in the adscription on side A) is clear.

Side F. The lower side of the stela contains two lines of writing, reading: 1) En-ē-gal Dim 2) ḠA? SAR, RA?.

We can interpret the first line as En-ē-gal dim “Enhegal, the maker (of the stela),” as in a later parallel on the Samarra tablet reading Sā-um-si-en Dim “S., the maker (of the tablet)” (RA 9 [1912] p. 2 bottom). The three signs of the second line could then be interpreted as a tall, narrow sign, very dimly preserved, which could be A, then a clear SAR, and finally a possible RA. One would like to find in ḠA? SAR RA? a word for “stela” or “inscription,” comparable to na-dū-a, mu-sar(-ra), or maš-darā. However, none of the possible readings of the first sign yields anything familiar.

The order in which the inscriptions on sides A–F were presented above can be justified by several considerations.

The inscription on side A, listing three houses, stands alone, but it is given on the stela in the same order, that is, from right to left, as the two-column inscription on sides B–C, listing fields and livestock. The section on sides E–D also lists fields and livestock. This section is probably followed by the inscription in front of the figure on side D, which deals with two oaths. The total of the fields is given in the inscription on side C. The subscription or colophon on side F giving the name of the maker of the stela completes the text.

The interpretation of the transaction recorded on the Ushumgal Stela is exceedingly difficult. The only point that can be determined with assurance is the object of the transaction. That object was 450 iku of land, located in various fields listed in several separate fields, plus various livestock and three houses. The personal names associated with the fields and livestock should probably be interpreted as the names of the tenants of the fields and of the renters of the animals. Accordingly, the names associated with the houses probably identify the occupants/tenants of the respective houses.

Turning now to the question of the nature of the transaction, it is clear that the main actor of the transaction was Ushumgal, who, therefore, must have stood in some proprietary relationship to the estate in question.

Assuming that, as we have speculated earlier, Ushumgal is to be identified as the buyer, the most likely candidates for the sellers would be either IGI.RU?.NUN, daughter of Mesi (side C), or INNIN.TAB.AMAR and KA-GİR-gal, whose oaths are recorded on side D. Accordingly, the three men represented on side B could be interpreted as the officials who authorized or witnessed the transaction.

However, the validity of this interpretation can be questioned for several reasons. First and the most important argument against analyzing the Ushumgal Stela as a sale is the fact that it records neither the price nor any terminology for “buying” and “selling.” Second, one is troubled by the conspicuous role that is assigned to Shara(?)-igizi-Abzu, Ushumgal’s daughter, in the stela. The fact that the inscription makes no mention of Ushumgal’s sons implies that he had no male progeny, and it may be this particular circumstance that is crucial for the understanding of the transaction. And third, the use of the description ES.A in reference to both Shara(?)-igizi-Abzu and IGI.RU?.NUN, and the fact that IGI.RU?.NUN is represented as following Shara(?)-igizi-Abzu, makes one think that there was some sort of connection between these two women.

Among alternative interpretations one could consider the possibility that, as was suggested to us orally by I. Winter, the Ushumgal Stela records the grant of an estate, made by Ushumgal on behalf of Shara(?)-igizi-Abzu. The need for such a grant may have been occasioned by the fact that Ushumgal had no male descendants. Yet another solution would be to see in this inscription a record of the real estate owned by a temple household, whose chief administrator was Ushumgal.

Transliteration
Adscriptions

Side A
Adscription over the figure of a bearded man holding a cone:

Ušum-gal pab-šēt 4Šarā?

Side D
Adscription over the figure of a woman holding a vase:

4Šarā?-igi-zi(wr. GI)-ZU.AB dumu Ušum-gal ES.A

Side C
Adscriptions over and below the figure of a woman:

IGI.RU?.NUN ES.A dumu Me-si pab-šēt Ė-nun

Side B
Top register
Adscription a) next to the figure of a beardless man:

Ag gal-ukkin

Lower register
Adscription b) over the figure of a bearded man:

ŠEŠ.KI/NA ugula-ukkin

Adscription c) over the figure of a beardless man:

X.KU.EN gal-nigir

Inscriptions

Side A
1) ḠA? DAM.ŠE.DU.[A]? ṣ-dū
2) ḠE.TUR.ḪUB? L X
3) ṣ-dū
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4) 'E?KI?.SAR?.XI
5) é-gú

Sides B-C, continuing with one line on side D
i 1) [x]+2 (or 20) gud-an-se
2) sanga LÚ,Á.GAL.GÚ
3) l(búr) gán [X]
4) 1'X.X'
5) [x] X
6) l(búr) gán Ag

ii 1) 6 še PÚ?
2) 2 (or 20) udu
3) 1(búr) 3(iku) gán SAG₅.TUR nig[ir]?
4) 1 (or 10) gud KUR pab-šes
5) 4(búr) gán 'A?.DÍM?
6) 2(iku) gán 'X'.EZEN (on Side D)

Side E (Top), continuing with one line on side D
1) 4(búr) gán GU'rGOI.SIG 4
2) 3 (or 30) gud LU.TIL?.PA Ur-gi-edin?-na
3) 1(búr) GU.GU.SIG 4
4) gan BAL.LAGAB?.MUD.AB?.GI§.GIR.A
5) 1(ese) gan AN.DAM.SE.DU.A (on Side D)

Side D
Inscription in front of the figure of a woman:

nam-kud INNIN.TAB.AMAR
6 vertical strokes gán GI.LAGAB
nam-kud A-GÍR-gal
3 vertical strokes gán GI.LAGAB
4 vertical strokes gud-nita (possibly the continuation of side E)

Inscription over the basket(?) before the woman:

Bur-si EN.LU

Side C
Inscription behind the figure of a woman:

gú-an(-šè) 2(bur'ú) 5(búr) gán
Ušum-gal ŠI.D.TA?.NAM

Side F (Base)
1) En-ḫē-gál dim
2) 1A?..SAR.RA?

No. 13 RA 6 p. 143

Photographs: Plate 18, Louvre, Paris.
Copy: Plate 19, Thureau-Dangin, RA 6 (1907) p. 143, collated by Gelb.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased), possibly from Shuruppak/Fara (see note to rev. i 7).
Date: Fara or earlier.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 2753.
Description: Rectangular tablet of light-buff limestone, measuring 10.5 × 10 × 4 cm. Obverse flat, reverse slightly rounded.
Text: With the exception of the sign GÁN and signs denoting numbers for measures of area for fields and a few signs near the bottom, the obverse is almost totally destroyed. The sequence of the inscription is quite clear. The obverse runs from column i to ii to iii. The last column of the obverse continues, directly under it, with signs on the lower edge, and then with column i of the reverse and upper edge. As the rest of the lower edge is uninscribed, the sequence follows, from right to left, with column ii of the reverse and upper edge and with column iii on the reverse only.

A noteworthy and unusual feature of the inscription is the use of vertical lines to mark off one commodity from another within a case. This feature, standard in Uruk III tablets, and attested once in the archaic material from Ur (see Burrows, UET 2 p. 4), suggests a pre-Fara date.

In contrast to the reverse, the obverse is badly preserved. From the surviving traces we can see that it deals with several fields and their sellers(?). The long portion from the end of column iii on the obverse to the end of column ii on the reverse records various commodities offered by the buyer(?) to the sellers(?). The inscription ends in column iii of the reverse with the name and profession of the buyer(?), written MUL?.MUD um-me ⁴TIR “MUL?.MUD, the master scribe(?) of (the temple household of) ⁴TIR.”

To judge from the preserved portions, the inscription is rather crudely cut, and the sloppy execution of the signs and lines does not allow much praise for the stonecutter.

Transliteration

| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Side E (Top) | 1) 4(búr) gán GU'.GÚ.SIG 4 2) 3 (or 30) gud LU.TIL?.PA Ur-gi-edin?-na 3) 1(búr) GU.GU.SIG 4 4) gan BAL.LAGAB?.MUD.AB?.GI§.GIR.A 5) 1(ese) gan AN.DAM.SE.DU.A (on Side D) | i 1) 5(bur'ú) [. . ] gán 2) [. . ] 3) 2(bur'ú) [. . ] 4) [. . ] 5) [. . ] 6) 4(bur'ú) [. . ] 7) rX.1.M.KI
| Side C | 1) En-ḫē-gál dim 2) 1A?..SAR.RA? | ii 1) rX field 2) rX field 3) rX field 4) rX field 5) rX field 6) [. . ] 7) INNIN?.ZÍ?
| Side F (Base) | 1) En-ḫē-gál dim 2) 1A?..SAR.RA? | iii 1) l(bur'ú) [. . ] 2) [. . ] 3) [. . ] 4) [. . ] 5) 4X /
| No. 13 RA 6 p. 143 | | 

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U. E. i 1) 1 gud / ½ Nīg. Lām. Tūg
2) Pa. Ur. Nīgir.? × 7

Rev. ii 1) 30 sig
2) ½ Nīg. Lām. Tūg
3) Hū. E.? × 7
4) 1 gud
5) ½ [Nīg]. Lām. Tūg
6) Sār. Kī
7) 1 gud

U. E. ii 1) ½ Nīg. Lām. Tūg
2) Pa [. . .]

Rev. iii 1) Mūl.? Mūd
2) um-me ë Tīr

Notes

The following commodities occur in the text:

- gud "bull"; 1 or 2 are given.
- sig "wool" is preceded by the numbers 30 or 60 which should refer to ma-na "mina." The older texts frequently give high numbers of minas disregarding the use of gūl "talent." In this volume, compare e.g., 720, 180, 300 ma-na, etc. in no. 20.
- i "(animal) oil/fat" is given in the amount of 1 dug. The dug is a variable measure which normally consists of 20 or 30 sila "quarts."

The two words dug i are written here with the sign i inscribed inside DUG, as in no. 11:7c discussed in the note to no. 1:2.

Nīg. Lām. Tūg, the lamāḫuššum garment, is given in each instance in the amount of ½; which should be interpreted as a Nīg. Lām. garment weighing ½ ma-na of wool, as, for instance, in no. 115 = Fara 3, 33 ii 1-2. The same usage is found in ½ (ma-na) US. Būr. Tūg i in no. 11:11. For the difference between the sign Tūg and Nām see R. D. Biggs, JCS 20 (1966) p. 77 figure 1 and p. 81 n. 59. The sign Nām in Lo. E. iii 1 is clearly differentiated from Tūg in Nīg. Lām. Tūg.

Rev. i 7.—It is on the basis of the occurrence of SU. KUR. RU that Thureau-Dangin, op. cit. p. 145, drew the conclusion that our tablet came originally from Fara (Shuruppak).

Rev. iii 1.—Since the "star" in this line has about 15–17 rays, in contrast to the "star" in DINGIR of ë Tīr, which has the normal number of rays, Thureau-Dangin, op. cit. p. 145, assumed that the form with many rays stands for mul or nāb.

Rev. iii 2.—The profession or occupation UM. ME "wet nurse" is borne by women in the Pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash, as can best be seen from Deimel, AnOr 2 pp. 41 iii 3, 42 ii 6. Compare also Steinkeller, ASJ 3 (1981) pp. 88ff. The other possibility is to consider, with Edzard, SRF p. 176, that the spelling um-me is a variant of um-mi-a "master," usually "master scribe" in the texts of early periods. The latter possibility appears more plausible considering the lowly social position of a wet nurse, who could hardly be in a position to acquire the large-size fields recorded in the kudurru (assuming that the buyer is meant here). The divine name ë Tīr is found also in RTC 8 iii 1, and at Shuruppak (TSŠ 629 vi 5).

No. 14 Chicago Stone


Copy: Plates 21 and 23, copied by Green from the original and photographs, assisted by Whiting and Gelb.

Synopsis: Plates 87, 88, and 91.

Provenience: Unknown; purchased from a private individual in 1943. The dealer had claimed that it came from Telloh. The origin of this kudurru (and of the related piece no. 15) is possibly Isin. This is suggested by the following evidence: 1) the occurrences of the PN Išin (IN)81-dūg in no. 14 ii 15, xvii 9; 2) the fact that the field name ë-gud, attested in no. 14 xvii 13 and in no. 15 i 2, iv 27, occurs also in the Isin Sammelurkunde no. 182a transactions A, D, E, and F; 3) the attestations of the PN Lugal-nīg-BE-dūg in no. 14 iii 4 and in no. 182a ii 20 (this name is also common at Nippur, with whom Isin traditionally had close political and cultural ties; for the examples of Lugal-nīg-BE-dūg in Nippur sources, see Westenholz, OSP 1, p. 90); 4) the attestations of the container umbin?, used for sheep oil (i-udu), in no. 14 i 7 and passim and in no. 182a transactions I and J; and 5) the fact that "Abhari in Southern Babylonia," the alleged find-spot of no. 15 (see no. 15 under Provenience) may very well be a garbled (Išaš) Baḥriyāt.

Date: Fara or the earlier phase of the Pre-Sargonic period.

Language: Sumerian.

Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, A 25412.

Description: Black basalt tablet measuring 25 × 32 cm; rectangular in outline, with thin rounded edges. Thickness varies from 5.5 cm in the center tapering off to 2.5 cm at the edges. Obverse flat, reverse rounded.

Text: The writing is found in nine columns of the obverse and nine columns of the reverse. The state of preservation of the text is very good. In fact, with the exception of a few signs in the first two columns of the reverse, all signs are perfectly preserved. The sequence of the writing is from left to right in columns i to ix of the obverse, and from right to left in columns x to xviii of the reverse, following the order of columns known from later periods. There is no dividing line nor any space between the last lines of the columns of the obverse and the first lines of the columns of the reverse, so that—at first glance—the writing appears to be consecutive from the obverse to the reverse. The difficulties disappear, however, after a more thorough study of the different sections of the inscription based on the formulary.

The text of no. 14 must be studied together with that of no. 15, since there is no doubt that the two inscriptions were written in the same place, in the same period, and perhaps by the same scribe. This can be proved by the following points:

1) The forms of the signs in the two inscriptions are identical.
2) The formulary, including the list of commodities, is identical in the two inscriptions and found nowhere else.
3) The following field names appear in both inscriptions: gān DUN (14 i 2, ii 7, vii 3, xvi 5, xvii 4, and 15 ii 2, 29, iii 27, xiii 17, L. E. 22) (gān) ë-gud (14 xviii 13 and 15 i 2, iv 27)
4) The following personal names appear in both inscriptions:

- Kum-tuš-šē (14 i 12 and 15 xii 3)
- Ur-Ab-ra (14 iii 13 and 15 ix 9, 17)
- Zur-Zur (14 i 15 and 15 xiv 29)
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The sequence of two signs within each line is free. As a consequence, the reading and interpretation of many personal and field names in both the Chicago and Baltimore inscriptions, whether indicated by capitalization or not, cannot be safely established.

The two inscriptions list sixteen and seventeen transactions, respectively, pertaining to the acquisition of land from different sellers by a single(?) buyer. It is disconcerting that the name of the buyer, which normally should be listed at the end of the inscription, can be found nowhere on the Chicago and Baltimore Stones. This leads us to suspect that the two inscriptions were followed by still another inscription (or perhaps even more than one), now lost, which listed additional pieces of acquired land and ended with the name of the buyer.

For the structure of individual transactions, see section 6.2.

**Transliteration and Translation**

| Obv. i | 1) | I(esē) gān | 6 | 6 iku of land, the field DUN; |
| 2) | gān DUN | 7 | 10 shekels of silver (as its price) |
| 3) | 10 kug gīn | 8 | (to) 2(?) PNs |
| 4) | Nin-dalla | 9 | were weighed out. |
| 5) | Sum-tī | 10 | 1 umbin?-container of sheep oil, |
| 6) | an-na-lāl | 11 | 2 pounds of wool, |
| 7) | 1 i-udu umbin? | 12 | 1 NI-ga of . . . , |
| 8) | 2 sig ma-na | 13 | 10 ninda-bappir |
| 9) | 1 iš-gān NI-ga | 14 | (and) 3 table-breads (is the additional payment). |
| 10) | 10 ninda-bappir | 15 | 5(?) PNs |
| 11) | 3 ninda-bansūr | 16 | are the witnesses. |
| 12) | Kum-tūš-ē | 17 | The oil |
| 13) | Ur-Ab-ra | 18 | was spread on the side (of the field?). |
| 14) | Iš-dup-II | 19 | This transaction |
| 15) | Zur-zur | 20 | “left the house” (i.e., was completed). |
| 16) | LAK-483-TAR |  |  |

| Obv. ii | 1) | Iš-ki-inim-ma | 6 | 7 iku of land, the field DUN; |
| 2) | i-bi | 7 | 12 shekels of silver |
| 3) | zag ag | 8 | (and) Additional Payment |
| 4) | inim-bi | 9 | were given. |
| 5) | é-ta ab-ē | 10 | The oil |

| Obv. iii | 1) | zag ag | 6 | was spread on the side. |
| 2) | inim-bi | 7 | This transaction “left the house.” |
| 3) | é-ta ab-ē(DU+UD) | 8 | 3(?) PNs |
| 4) | Lugal-nig-BE-dūg | 9 |  |
| 5) | Engur-lāl | 10 |  |
| 6) | Maš-lugal | 11 |  |
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7) dumu
8) Lugal-ezen
9) lu-ki-inim-ma

10) 2(es) 3(iku) gán
11) gán Gúg
12) dumu
13) Ur-sag-a-me-nàd
14) ½ kug ma-na
15) Á-kal-li
16) an-sê-lal
17) 3 i-udu umbin?
18) 6 sig ma-na

Obv. iv 1) 2(NI-ga) 2(UL) is-gán NI-ga
2) 30 ninda-bappir
3) 4 ninda-ban($ur)
4) Ur-$En-ki
5) GIS.BU
6) NI-su-NI
7) Lú-barag-si
8) SIG,
9) Gúg-bar-rûm(NE.RU)Kl
10) lu-ki-inim-ma
11) i-bi
12) zag ag
13) inim-bi
14) é-ta ab-ê(wr. DU)
15) 4(es) 2(iku) gán
16) gán É-ad-KID

Obv. v 1) 2/3 (ma-na) 3 gin
l sám-ma-na
2) 1(bûr) 2(es) gán
3) gán É-l-la-lum
4) 1 kug ma-na lal 10 gin
5) Ur-$En-nu-ra
6) Lú-barag-si
7) an-na-sum
8) 20 lal 2 sig ma-na
9) 9 is-gán NI-ga
10) 9 i-udu umbin?
11) 90 ninda bappir

12) 1(bûr) 4(iku) gán
13) gán Él-ad-KID
14) ½ kug ma-na 6 gin
15) Ur-DUN
16) dumu X(erasure?)
17) SEŠ.KI-na

are the witnesses.

15 iku of land,
the field Gúg,
(the former? property) of the son(s) of
Ur-sag-a-me-nàd;
30 shekels of silver
(to) 1 PN
were weighed out.

Additional Payment.

5(?) PNs

The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
"left the house."

26 iku of land,
the field É-ad-KID;
43½ shekels of silver
(is its price);
30 iku of land,
the field É-l-la-lum;
50 shekels of silver (is its price);
(the silver to) 2(?) PNs
was given.

Additional Payment.

5(?) PNs

are the witnesses.

3(?) PNs,
the "farmers,"
sat on the side (of the field?).

22 iku of land,
the field Él-ad-KID;
36 shekels of silver
(to) 2 PNs

sat on the side (of the field?).
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Obv. vii 1) an-na-lal  
2) 4 i-udu umbin?  
3) 8 sig ma-na  
4) 4 iš-gán še NI-ga  
5) Me-dTud  
6) Ḥar-tu  
7) dumu  
8) Pab-geštin  
9) Šēš-GIr-gunū-gal  
10) dumu  
11) Lū-dingir-mu  
12) lū-ki-inim-ma  
13) i-bi  
14) zag ag  
15) inim-bi  

Obv. viii 1) é-ta ab-ē  
2) 6(būr) gán  
3) gán DUN  
4) I(būr) l(eše) gán  
5) gán E-udu-ninda-kū  
6) Šēš-GIr-gunū-gal  
7) sanga  
8) 4½ kug ma-na 5 gin  
9) dam  
10) Šēš-GIr-gunū-gal  
11) Edin-ri  
12) an-na-tūm  
13) 21 iš-gán še NI-ga  
14) (blank)  

Obv. ix 1) 42 sig ma-na  
2) 21 i-udu umbin?  
3) Edin-ri  
4) Pab-da-māḥ  
5) Ur-sag-Utu  
6) dumu  
7) Edin-ri  
8) Inim-ma-zī  
9) dumu  
10) Edin-ri  
11) Ur-PA  
12) dumu  
13) Ur-AN.U+Ê  
14) lū-ki-inim-ma  

Rev. x 1) kiš-gân?-šām?  
2) i-durun-durun  
3) 1(būr) 3(iku) gán  
4) gán E-udu-ninda-f/kūš  
5) ½ kug ma-na 5 f/gin  
6) 7 f/sig ma-na  
7) 4 f/ki-udu um[bin?]  
8) 3(NI-ga) 2(UL) iš-gán še NI-ga  
9) ŠES.KI³-na  
10) dumu  
11) Ur-dEn-līl  
12) Engur-ušum  
13) an-na-sum  
14) Nam-maḥ  
15) dumu

were weighed out.  
Additional Payment.

3 PNs

are the witnesses.  
The oil  
was spread on the side.  
This transaction  
“left the house.”

108 iku of land,  
the field DUN,  
(and) 24 iku of land,  
the field É-udu-ninda-kū,  
(the property of) Š.,  
the temple administrator;  
275 shekels of silver (as their price)  
(to) the wife of  
Š.

Additional Payment.

5(?) PNs,

were brought.

the witnesses,  
in the place where the field was sold?,  
they sat.

21 iku of land,  
the field É-udu-ninda-f/kūš;  
35 shekels of silver  
(and) Additional Payment

(to) 2 PNs

1 PN

were given.

1 PN
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Rev. xi
1) Lugal-GÁR.KAG  
2) é-ta ib-ē (wr. DU)

3) X-si-ga  
4) Nin-SAL-zí  
5) dumu  
6) Kun?-LAGAB?  
7) lú-ki-inim-ma  
8) i-bi  
9) zag ag  
10) inim-bi  
11) é-ta ab-ē

12) 2(búr) 3(iku) gán  
13) 1 kug ma-na 5 gin  
14) 13 sig ma-na

Rev. xii
1) 6(NI-ga) 2(UL) iš-gán NI-ga  
2) 7 ī-udu umbin?  
3) Mes-ZU.AB  
4) é-ta ib-ē  
5) Ḩur-sag  
6) GAM.GAM  
7) lú-ki-inim-ma

8) 2(búr) 3(iku) gán  
9) gán X.PAB.ŪS  
10) 1 kug ma-na 5 gin  
11) 13 sig ma-na  
12) 6(NI-ga) 2(UL) iš-gán NI-ga  
13) 7 ī-udu umbin?  
14) Ri-ti  
15) Ur-ēEn-lil  
16) Amar-as?-ē  

Rev. xiii
1) é-ta ib-ē

2) 2(búr) 3(iku) gán  
3) gán X.PAB.ŪS  
4) 1 kug ma-na 5 gin  
5) 13 sig ma-na  
6) 6(NI-ga) 2(UL) iš-gán NI-ga  
7) 7 ī-udu umbin?  
8) Ur-AN.UR.GAN?.GA.IGI?  
9) é-ta ib-ē

10) 3(búr) gán  
11) gán Pab-rūm  
12) 1½ kug ma-na  
13) Ri-ti  
14) Ur-ēEn-lil  
15) Amar-as?-ē  
16) é-ta ib-ē  
17) 10 lal 1 iš-gán NI-ga

Rev. xiv
1) 10 lal 1 ī-udu umbin?  
2) 20 flal 2½ sig ma-na  
3) Ur-PA dumu  
4) Ur-NE-ra  
5) é-ta ib-ē  
6) Lugal-ki-ni  
7) iš-gán  
8) nu-ag  
9) Ur-ēGu-nu-ra

Lugal-GAR.KAG removed it (i.e., the price and additional payment?) from the house.”

2 PNs

are the witnesses.

The oil was spread on the side.

This transaction “left the house.”

39 iku of land;
65 shekels of silver

(and) Additional Payment

1 PN

“removed from the house” (i.e., received).
2(?) PNs

are the witnesses.

3(?) PNs

“removed from the house.”

1 PN

“removed from the house.”

1 PN

“removed from the house.”

Additional Payment

54 iku of land,
the field Pab-rūm;
90 shekels of silver
3(?) PNs

“removed from the house.”

Additional Payment

1 PN

“removed from the house.”

L.
did not give (lit.: make)
the additional payment;
U.
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Rev. xv 1) i-ag gave (it).
2) zag ag This transaction “left the house.”
3) Lum-ma 5(?) PNs,
4) AN.MAŠ.LU.USB
5) Lugal-á-zi-da
6) Lugal-na-nam
7) Lugal-{f}x-{x}³
8) Baragu?-me?-{f}x³-{x}³-GAR
9) lá-ki-inim-ma are the witnesses;
10) Ur-^d^ Gu-nu-ra 12 PNs, the . . .
11) É-Ma-ma
12) Lugal-ezen(sic)
13) Mes-ZU.AB
14) Lugal-á-ma
15) Ur-PA
16) Úr-ni
17) É-kur-ri
18) Me-kar-si
19) IGI.ZA
20) Ü-da-ur₃

Rev. xvi 1) <d>Ur-dingir-ra

2) 1(bûr) 2(iku) gân 20 iku of land,
3) É-sag-ki-ti (the field) É-sag-ki-ti;
4) 1(bûr) 1(eše) 1(iku) gân 25 iku of land,
5) gân DUN the field DUN;
6) 1(bûr) 4(iku) gân 22 iku of land,
7) gân Mu-ni-gâr the field (of) Mu-ni-gâr;
8) 2 kug ma-na lai 7{gîn³ 113 shekels of silver
9) 11 iš-gân še NI-ga (and) Additional Payment
10) 22 šig ma-na
11) 11 i-udu umbin?
12) Lugal-maš-usu(A.KAL) (to) 2 PNs
13) Lugal-kar-si
14) an-ne-tûm?

Rev. xvii 1) 2(eše) gân 12 iku of land,
2) gân Kug-gâlKI the field (located in) Kug-gâl;
3) ½ kug (ma-na) 20 shekels of silver
4) Lugal-da-gur!-ra (to) 1 PN
5) an-na(-lal) were (weighed out).
6) 2 iš-gân NI-ga Additional Payment
7) 2 i-udu umbin?
8) 4 šig ma-na (to) 2(?) PNs
9) Isin,_(IN)KI-dug
10) En-na-ll
11) an-na-sum

12) 2(eše) gân 12 iku of land,
13) gân Ur-^d^ Gu-nu-ra the field (of) Ur-^d^ Gu-nu-ra,
14) ENGUR! da im-ru the . . . ;

This transaction “left the house.”
5(?) PNs,
the “farmers,”
sat in (this) place.
6(?) PNs
was spread on the side.
20 iku of land,
the field É-sag-ki-ti;
25 iku of land,
the field DUN;
22 iku of land,
the field (of) Mu-ni-gâr;
113 shekels of silver
(and) Additional Payment
(were brought.
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Revised by

15) ½ kug ma-na
16) 2 iš-gān NI-ga
17) 2 i-udu umbin?
18) 4 sig ma-na
19) 37

Notes

i 4.—For the PN Nin-dalla, see THM 5 p. 20 (passim).
i 7 and passim.—The sign which we tentatively read as umbin? is composed of the UR sign crossed in the middle with three or four parallel vertical wedges (𒄁). For the sign UR, compare xv 16 and no. 15 xiv 27. The vertical wedges crossing the sign seem to represent the gunūtu but, given the difficulties the stonemason had in reproducing many of the signs appearing in these two inscriptions, they may stand as well for TAG₄. The sign appears to be the same as LAK-289 (= UR+TAG₂) of the Fara texts, which was identified by Deimel as the later UMBIN (= GADA+ÜR+TAG₂). The same sign, preceded by the word bur “bowl,” appears in a Fara/Pre-Sargonic votive inscription (M. Lambert, RA 70 [1976] p. 191 i 1), clearly demonstrating that umbin? was a type of container. The same container, likewise serving as capacity of two sila, is found in no. 182a transactions i and j, which stems from the completion of the transaction, see section 7.12.3.2.

2(e'e) 3(iku) gán
4) gán DUN
5) Ur-sag-gur?-ra?!
6) 15 kug gín
7) l(NI-ga) 2(UL) iš-gán ⟨NI⟩-ga
8) 3 sig ma-na
9) 3 i sila
10) Lugal-da-gur-ra
11) an-na-sum
12) 2(e'e) 3(iku) gán
13) E-gud
14) X-kar
15) ½ kug (ma-na) 5 gin
16) Lugal-da-gur-ra
17) an-gi₄
18) 5 i sila

9 iku of land,
the field DUN,
(to) 1 PN
were given.

20 shekels of silver
(and) Additional Payment

(to) 1 PN
were given.

Additional Payment?

The examination of the commodities listed in nos. 14 and 15 shows that i-udu “sheep oil,” which is measured in umbin?, alternates with the i “oil,” which is measured in sila. Furthermore, given the constant nature of the relationships between the amounts of the commodities in these two inscriptions, one can establish that one umbin? corresponds to two sila. Accordingly, the umbin? must have had the capacity of two sila.

19) 37

i 9 and passim.—The interpretation of this commodity, which is also written iš-gān še (vii 4, x 8, xvi 9, and passim in no. 15), presents serious difficulties. In view of the variant spelling with še, the simplest explanation, of course, would be to assume that the commodity in question is simply še “barley,” and that iš-gān is the well-known term for “additional payment” (see section 7.5.2). This interpretation, however, leaves open the question as to why the term iš-gān should in each case describe only barley and not, as is the usual practice, all of the commodities included in the additional payment. As an alternative solution one could speculate that iš-gān (še) is a type of commodity (but note the occurrence of iš-gān, clearly “additional payment,” in xiv 6–10), but this appears even less likely, considering the complete absence of references to such a commodity. Further, the latter explanation would require us to assume that še in iš-gān (še) is a phonetic or semantic indicator, which too is a most unlikely proposition. Because of this, the question of the meaning of iš-gān (še) must be left unanswered for the time being.

The sign iš-gān (še) occurs also in several different names in this inscription and in no. 15 (see, e.g., Barag-ga-šu in no. 15 i 25, ii 24, etc., and Barag-šag-nu-di in no. 15 xii 1, 9). In form, our sign is identical with DARA₄ (= LAK-670), for which see the equation DARA₄ = db-ri-hum in...
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Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 198 line 58, and the syllabic spelling da-ra for DARA 4 in the "Animal List A" (Th. J. H. Krispijn, JEOL 27 [1981–82] p. 141; Pettinato, KUB 27 [1983] p. 184f.). This form of BARAG in which the sign lacks the small wedges that are attached to the four sides of the standard BARAG (see Y. Rosengarten, Répertoire p. 48 no. 267), is also found in the Pre-Sargonic texts from Nippur; see, e.g., the PN Nin-barag-gi in OSP 1, 23 vii 16, viii 20, 24 vii 11, 13 vi 3.

v 5.—For the DN*Gu-ru-na, appearing in this name (found also in xiv 9, 14, xv 10, xvi 13 and in no. 15 vi 12 and vii 26), see Deimel, Pantheon Babyliophilicum p. 89 no. 549; N. Schneider, Götternamen p. 32 no. 179. Note the spelling 4Gu-nir-ia in the IV III PN UR-Gu-nir-ra (TUT 258x4), as contrasted with Ur-Gu-nu-ra in other sources (H. Limet, Anthroponymie p. 547).

vi 3.—For this PN, cf. Im-ta-ts in OSP 1, 45 vii 7.

vi 4.—In the element GIR-gunu-gal, found in this and various other names (see A-GIR-gunu-gal and Lugal-GIR-gunu-gal in Burrows, UET 2 pp. 27, 34, and Westenholz, OSP 1 pp. 75, 89, and the examples cited in Limet, Anthroponymie p. 332), the first sign is regularly GIR-gunu- (= LAK-7). See Biggs, OIP 99 pp. 69f., who also suggests that GIR-gunu-gal, probably to be read ul-gal, is to be connected with GIR-gal = Ur-gal. Note, however, that in the archaic texts the first sign in GIR-gunu-gal is GIR, as in the names KA-GIR-gal in no. 11 ii 6 and A-GIR-gal in no. 12 side D.

vi 7–11.—For this clause, see section 7.11.1.

vi 9.—Note the second sign of Gala is clear DÜR/TUS. This is in agreement with the observation of Biggs, JCS 20 (1966) p. 78 n. 37, that the archaic spelling of gala was US.KU. (Later US.KU).

vi 11.—The verb durun-durun, found also in xiv 18 and passim in no. 15, is an abbreviation of i-durun-durun, the latter attested in x 2 and no. 15 xii 15. As suggested by Steinkeller, Or. n.s. 48 (1979) p. 56 n. 6, durun-durun is almost certainly to be read duruna(TUS), duruna(LAGAB+IM), duruna(SU.LAGAB.NA), and turu-na, all meaning "oven." vii 17.—This person is probably identical with SES.KI-na, son of Ur-En-il, who is the seller in x 9–11.

viii 6–7, 9–10.—SES-GIR-gunu-gal may be the same person as one of the sellers in no. 15 x 12 and the witness in no. 14 vi 4, vii 9, and no. 15 xi 9.

viii 11, ix 3, and 10.—In spite of the divergent forms, the first sign of Edin-ri is assuredly EDIN (= LAK-747). This precludes any possibility of reading the name as Bahr iri. For a clear BAHAR of Edin-ri is assuredly EDIN (= LAK-747). This precludes any possibility of reading the name as Bahair-ri. For a clear BAHAR of Edin-ri is assuredly EDIN (= LAK-747). This precludes any possibility of reading the name as Bahair-ri. For a clear BAHAR of Edin-ri is assuredly EDIN (= LAK-747). This precludes any possibility of reading the name as Bahair-ri. For a clear BAHAR

ixii 3.—Note, however, that in the archaic texts the first sign in GIR-gunu-gal is GIR, as in the names KA-GIR-gal in no. 11 ii 6 and A-GIR-gal in no. 12 side D.

vi 7–11.—For this clause, see section 7.11.1.

No. 15 Baltimore Stone

Photographs: Plates 24 and 26, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, negative nos. H 63 (1), (2), and (3).

Copy: Plates 25 and 27, copied by Green from photographs, assisted by Whiting and Gelb.


Provenience: Unknown.—purchased (possibly Isin, see under Provenience of no. 14). According to the information from the dealer, the stone "was found at a ruin called Abhari in Southern Babylonia." Abhari or Ab Huri is situated between Sunkara (Larsa) and Warka (Uruk), according to information gathered by A. Poebel, JAOS 57 (1937) p. 362.

Date: Fara or the earlier phase of the Pre-Sargonic period.

Language: Sumerian.

Present location: Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), 41.107.

Description: Square tablet of reddish-brown stone measuring 25 x 26 x 4.4 cm.

Text: In contrast to no. 14, which is a rectangular tablet with all edges rounded, no. 15 is a regular square slab, with its six sides fully delineated. The writing is preserved on all sides with the exception of the right edge. The sequence of writing can be established without difficulty on the basis of the formulary. The text begins with column i on the obverse and so on to column vii, the last one of the obverse. The text then follows the same way from the lower edge to the reverse, until the end of the seventh column on the reverse. The text then continues on the left edge of the tablet.

The writing is generally well preserved and easy to read. Certain parts of the reverse, which had chipped off, were incorrectly pasted on by the dealer in whatever empty space on the inscription he felt needed filling. Subsequently, the fragments have been placed in correct positions by the museum staff with the help of our reconstructed text.

For the relationship of no. 15 to no. 14, see no. 14 under Text.
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

Transliteration and Translation

U. E. i
1) I(bûr) gân 18 iku of land, 1 PN
2) gân Ê-gud the field Ê-gud;
3) ½ kug ma-na 30 shekels of silver (as its price)
4) Nam?-maḫ to 1 PN

Obv. i
5) dumu were weighed out.
6) Sum-du-du 2 PNs
7) an-na-lal “removed it (i.e., the additional payment?) from the house.”
8) Ur-ur Additional Payment.
9) Lâl-ad-da-na
10) ē-t[a] īb-ē

11) 2 iš-gân še NI-ga
12) 6 sig ma-na
13) 3 l-udu umbin?
14) 30 ninda-bappir
15) Ur-sag-ki-gal-la 1 PN
16) dumu
17) Êdî-ni-sî
18) lû-ki-inim-ma is the witness.
19) i-bî The oil
20) zag ab-ag was spread on the side.
21) inim-bi This transaction
22) ē-ta ab-ē “left the house.”
23) Lugal-ezen 4 PNs,
24) lû-me-i-îum
25) Barag-gan-ni
26) Ê-Anzûd,(AN.MI.MUŠEN) the “farmers,”
27) engar sat on the side.
28) zag durun-durun

U. E. ii
1) 2(esê) gân 12 iku of land, 6(? ) PNs
2) gân DUN the field DUN;
3) ½ (ma-na) kug 20 shekels of silver
4) Ė-U+E-X to E.

Obv. ii
5) an-na-lal were weighed out.
6) 2 iš-gân še NI-ga Additional Payment.
7) 4 sig ma-na
8) 4 î siîa
9) 20 ninda-bappir
10) 4 ninda-banšûr
11) Igi-dûn3 are the witnesses.
12) Lugal-bi-tûm The oil
13) Ad-da was spread on the side.
14) En-ra-rûm This transaction
15) MU-i-li “left the house.”
16) Lugal-bi-tûm 4 PNs,
17) lû-ki-inim-ma
18) i-bî
19) zag ab-ag
20) inim-bi
21) ē-ta ab-ē
22) Lugal-ezen
23) lû-me-i-îum
24) Barag-gan-ni
25) Ê-Anzûd, the “farmers,”
26) engar sat on the side.
27) zag durun-durun
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28) 2(eše) gán
29) gán DUN
30) ½ kug (ma-na)

U. E. iii 1) Mes-níg-b[ur-LUL]
2) A-bu-bu
3) an-na-ra[l]
4) *21 is-gán [še] N[I-g]a

Obv. iii 5) 4 sig ma-na
6) 4 i silā
7) 20 ninda-bappir
8) 4 ninda-banšur
9) dam
10) Mes-níg-bur-LUL
11) Lugal-mu-dù
12) A-bu-bu
13) Ki-li-li
14) Mes-níg-bur-LUL
15) lú-ki-inim-ma
16) i-bi
17) zag ab-ag
18) inim-bi
19) é-ta ab-è
20) Lugal-ezen
21) Iš-me-i-lum
22) Barag-gan-ni
23) É-Anzud,
24) engar
25) zag durun-durun

12 iku of land,
the field DUN;
20 shekels of silver
were weighed out.

Additional Payment.

5 (?) PNs
are the witnesses.
The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
"left the house."
4 PNs,
the "farmers,"
sat on the side.

6 iku of land,
the field DUN;
10 shekels of silver
(to) 2 (?) PNs
were weighed out.

9 (?) PNs
are the witnesses.
The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
"left the house."
4 PNs,
the "farmers,"
sat on the side.
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

26) 2(eše) 3(iku) gán
27) gán É-gud
28) ½ kug (ma-na) 5 gin
29) Ad-da
30) Amar-d EN. ZU
31) an-na-lal

Additional Payment.

U. E. vi 1) [2(NI-ga)] 1(2(UL))
2) [5 sig ma-na]
3) [5 i silâ]
4) [23]-2 ninda-ba[ppir]
5) [2]+4 ninda-bans[ur]
6) A-mu-m[i]
7) É-ZU. AB
8) Bâd-sî-du
9) Ša-gû-ba
10) dumu
11) Bâd(-sî)-du
12) Šag-šag,
13) nar?
14) lû-ki-inim-ma
15) i-bi
16) zag ab-ag
17) inim-bi
18) é-ta ab-(w. DU)
19) Lugal-ezen
20) Iš-me-i-lum
21) Barag-gan-ni
22) É-Anzud,
23) engar
24) zag durun-durun

Obv. vi 5) [x i silâ]
6) [x ninda-bappir]
7) [x ninda-bansur]
8) Ur-ĤAR
9) É-GÂN
10) Igi-gûn
11) Ur. d Sud(w. BU)-da
12) Ur. d Gu-nu-ra
13) Si-gar
14) BU. TUS. ĤU
15) A-ki-gal
16) Ad-da
17) ugula anše
18) Lugal-bî-tûm
19) I-gu-i-li
20) lû-ki-inim-ma

5 iku of land, the field É-gud;
25 shekels of silver were weighed out.

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21) 1-bi
22) zag ab-ag
23) inim-bi
24) é-ta ab-è
25) Lugal-ezen
26) Iš-me-i-lum
27) Barag-gan-ni
28) É-Anzud, x
29) engar
30) zag durun-durun

The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
"left the house."
4 PNs,
the "farmers,"
sat on the side.

31) I(bûr) 2(eše) gân
U. E. vii 1) gân D[UN]
2) 1 kug (ma-na) lal 10? [gin]
3) [PN]
4) [an-na-lal]
5) [x iš-gân še NI-ga]
Obv. vii 6) [x sig ma-na]
7) [x i silâ]
7a) [x ninda-bappir]
7b) [x ninda-banšur]
8) [A[N-. . .]
9) AN-?x?-? [. . .]
10) Mah?-? [. . .]
11) É-GÂN
12) Ad-da⟨de⟩
13) ugel aâne
14) Mu-ni-ḫur-sag
15) Ur-4:Sud-da
16) IG1.UR
17) É-GÂN
18) lu-ki-inim-ma
19) 1-bi
20) zag ag
21) inim-bi
22) é-ta ab-è
23) Lugal-ezen
24) Iš-me-i-lum
25) Barag-gan-ni
26) É-Anzud, x
27) engar
28) zag durun-durun

30 iku of land,
the field DUN;
150 shekels of silver
[to] 1 PN
[were weighed out].
[Additional Payment].
9(?) PNs
are the witnesses.
The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
"left the house."
4 PNs,
the "farmers,"
sat on the side.

29) 1(eše)(wr. 2(iku)) gân
30) gân É-dûr-BAHÂR!].A.DU.GIN
31) 10 kug gin
Lo. E. viii 1) SĪG.BU-šē
2) an-na-lal
3) 1(eše) gân
4) gân SAG.A
Rev. viii 5) 10 kug gin
6) [X-dja?]
7) [an-na-lal]
8) [1(eše) gân]
9) [gân X]
10) [ .. .?x?]?
11) ?E].TU[M]
12) BAD [. . .]
13) 10 kug gî[n]

6(?) iku of land,
the field É-dûr-BAHÂR!].A.DU.GIN;
10 shekels of silver
(to) 1 PN
were weighed out.
6 iku of land,
the field SAG.A;
10 shekels of silver
[to] 1 PN
[were weighed out].
[6 iku of land],
[the field X];
r, . . ?
r, . . ?
r, . . ?
10 shekels of silver
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

14) Na-n[a]  3(?) PNs
15) Me-é-mugl-si
16) S[IG]BU-še
17) an-fkú
18) U[...]
19) 'É[p-...]
20) Ú[...]
21) Me-é-[mug-si]
22) Igi-g[un]
23) Ur-[S]jud-da
24) 'BU,TUS,/[HU]
25) [A]-[kí]-[ga]
26) Ur-[d]-Gu-[nu-ra]
27) 'Si?-[gar]
28) 'Ad-[da]

Lo. E. ix 1) ugula anše  are the witnesses.
2) lú-ki-inim-ma
3) i-bi
4) zag ab-ag  was spread on the side.
Rev. ix 5) inim-bi  This transaction
6) é-ta ab-è  “left the house.”

7) I(eše) gán  6 iku of land;
8) 10 kug [n]  10 shekels of silver
9) Ur-Ab-[ra]  to U.
10) an-[n-a-lal]  were weighed out.
11) 1 [is-gán še NI-ga]  Additional Payment.
12) '21 sig [ma]-n[a]
13) 2 [i sila]
14) [10 ninda-bap]pir
15) [x ninda-ban]šur
16) [Ad?-d]a  3(?) PNs
17) Ur-Ab-ra
18) 'UD-[la]
19) lú-ki-inim-ma  are the witnesses.
20) [i-bî]
21) [zag ab-al]g  [The oil]
22) [inim-bî]
23) [é-ta ab-è]  was spread on the side.
24) [Lugal-ez]en
25) [Ís-me-i]-lum
26) [Barag-gan-njí]
27) [É]-A[nzud,]  4 1PNs
28) engar

Lo. E. x 1) zag durun-durun  the “farmers,”
          sat on the side.

2) I(eše) 3(iku) gán
3) gán É-dür-BAHÁR! ZA.NUN.DU  9 iku of land,

Rev. x 4) 15 gin  the field É-dür-BAHÁR! ZA.NUN.DU;
5) 5 gin  15 shekels (of silver is its price);
6) Lugal-gal-zu  (out of it:) 5 shekels
7) an-kú  received;
8) 5 gin  5 shekels
9) Ur-[d]-En-ki  1 PN
10) an-kú  received;
11) 5 gin  5 shekels
12) [Šeš-GIr-gunû-gal [an-k]ú  1 PN received.
13) 2[NI-ga] 2[UL] is-[gán še NI]-g[a]  Additional Payment.
14) 3 sig ma-na
15) 3 i[ilâ]
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16)  '151 ninda-bappir
17)  3 ninda-bansur  
18)  A-ki-gal  
19)  fil-bi  
20)  [zag ab-ag]  
21)  [inim-bi]  
22)  [é-ta ab-é]  
23)  [Lugal-ezen]  
24)  [Is-me-i-lum]  
25)  Barag-ga'[n-ni]  
26)  É-Anz[ud₃]  
27)  [englar]  
28)  [zag durun-durun]

The oil
[was spread on the side].
[This transaction]
["left the house"].

Lo. E. xi 1) 3(iku) gán
2) 5 kug gín
3) 2(UL) ış-gán še NI-ga
4) 1 sig ma-na
Rev. xi 5) 1 i silâ
6) A-ki-gal
7) Lugal-gal-zu
8) an-na(wr. Kl)-sum
9) Šeš-GfR-gunu-gal
10) Ur-eEn-ki
11) lú-[ki-injim-ma
are the witnesses.

12) 2(eše)  '3(iku) gán
13)  Ė-gud
14) ½ kug [ma]-l₃ lua 2 gín
15) 2(NI-ga) 2(UL) ış-gán [še] NI-g[a]
16) 5 sig ma-na
17) 5 i silâ
18) 25 ninda-bappir
19) 3(iku) gán
20) gû-fnu₁-[...]
21) ½ ku[g] (ma-na) 5 [gın]
22) [x ış-gán še NI-ga]
23) [x sig ma-na]
24) [x i silâ]
25) [x ninda-bappir]
26) [PN]
27) [PN]
28) [PN]

Lo. E. xii 1) Barag-s₃ag₂-nu-di!
2) an-na(wr. Kl)-sum
3) i-bi
Rev. xii 4) zag ab(-ag)
5) inim-bi
6) é-ta ab-è
7) Pab-ki-gal
8) dumu
9) Barag-s₃ag₂-nu-di!
10) Amar-₃Ezinu(SE.TIR)
11) Igi-gûn
12) dumu
13) É-ki-tuṣ
14) šeš gán
15) ki-ba i-durun-durun

[(to) 37]+1 PNs

were given.
The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
"left the house.”
3 PNs,

the “brothers of the field,”
sat in this place (i.e., of the transaction).
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

Lo. E. xiii 1) Ur-êEn-ki
2) Dingir-en-ni
3) Kum-tuššê
Rev. xiii 4) Bi-li-li
5) lû-ki-inim-ma
6) i-bi
7) zag ag
8) inim-bi
9) é-ta ab-è
10) Lugal-ezen
11) Is-me-i-lum
12) Barag-gan-ni
13) Ê-Anzudx
14) engar
15) zag durun-durun

Additional Payment.

Lo. E. xiv 1) lû-ki-inim-ma
2) i-bi
3) zag ag
4) inim-bi
Rev. xiv 5) é-ta ab-è
6) Lugal-ezen
7) Is-me-i-lum
8) tBarag1-gan-ni
9) tÊ1-Anzudx
10) engar
11) zag durun-durun

Additional Payment.

Lo. E. xiv 1) lû-ki-inim-ma
2) i-bi
3) zag ag
4) inim-bi
Rev. xiv 5) é-ta ab-è
6) Lugal-ezen
7) Is-me-i-lum
8) tBarag1-gan-ni
9) tÊ1-Anzudx
10) engar
11) zag durun-durun

Additional Payment.

Lo. E. xiv 1) lû-ki-inim-ma
2) i-bi
3) zag ag
4) inim-bi
Rev. xiv 5) é-ta ab-è
6) Lugal-ezen
7) Is-me-i-lum
8) tBarag1-gan-ni
9) tÊ1-Anzudx
10) engar
11) zag durun-durun

Additional Payment.

Lo. E. xiv 1) lû-ki-inim-ma
2) i-bi
3) zag ag
4) inim-bi
Rev. xiv 5) é-ta ab-è
6) Lugal-ezen
7) Is-me-i-lum
8) tBarag1-gan-ni
9) tÊ1-Anzudx
10) engar
11) zag durun-durun

Additional Payment.

Lo. E. xiv 1) lû-ki-inim-ma
2) i-bi
3) zag ag
4) inim-bi
Rev. xiv 5) é-ta ab-è
6) Lugal-ezen
7) Is-me-i-lum
8) tBarag1-gan-ni
9) tÊ1-Anzudx
10) engar
11) zag durun-durun

Additional Payment.
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

18) Igi-guin
19) Ur-nin
20) an-kú
21) 3 iš-gán NI-ga
22) 6 sig ma-na
23) 3 i-udu umbin?
24) 30 ninda-bappir
25) 4 ninda-bانšur
26) 'A1-nu-GÁN
27) [E]-úr-bi-dúg!
28) 'X1-nigir
29) 'Zur1-zur
30) D[a]2-ti?
31) lú-ki-im-ma
32) i-bi

Notes

i 26 and passim in the list of engar's “farmers” — For the reading of the DN AN.IM.MI.MUSEN as Anzud, see most recently Pettinato, JCS 31 (1979) pp. 116f. The abbreviated (or archaic) spelling AN.MI.MUSEN, occurring in the present text, is found also in the Abu Salabikh ms. of the ED Names and Professions List line 231, in the PN Anzud(AN.MI.MUSEN)-Me-ru; the corresponding Ebla ms. offers in its place a syllabic spelling An-zu-Me-ru (A. Archi, SEb 4 [1981] p. 187; cf. also ibid. p. 185 line 140).

ii 4. — For the sign U+E (= LAK-397), see note to no. 14 ix 13. The sign read as X is illegible.

iii 29 — The same person is the seller in iv 29.

iv 9. — The second sign cannot be identified.

iv 12. — The signs could alternatively be interpreted as KAR.

v 26. — For the reading of GAM.GAM, see note to no. 14 xii 6.

vi 11, vii 15, and viii 23. — For the DN dSud-da (probably different from dSud, the titulary goddess of Shuruppak), compare the parallels discussed by Gelb, FM pp. 198f., and Steinkeller, ZA 72 (1982) p. 242 n. to line 14.

vii 30, x 3, xii 17, and L. E. 11. — The GN in these four lines consists of the signs:

x 3 gán É-dúr-BAHÁR!.ZA.NUN.DU
xii 17 gán! É-dúr-BAHÁR.ZA.NUN

L. E. 1) zag ag
2) inim-bi
3) é-ta ab-ē
4) Lugal-ezen
5) lš-me-i-lum
6) Barag-gan-ni
7) É-ANzud
8) engar
9) zag durun-durun

The oil

10) [eš]e gán
11) É-dúr-BAHÁR!.DU
12) Kun?-si
13) 10 kug gin
14) Ur-En-ki
15) agrig
16) an-na(-lal)
17) i-bi
18) 'zag ag'
19) inim-b[i]
20) é-ta ab-ē

6 iku of land
(the field) É-dúr-BAHÁR!.DU
the . . .
10 shekels of silver
(to) 1 PN
were weighed out.
The oil
It was spread on the side.
This transaction
“left the house.”

21) [eš]e gán
22) gán DUN
23) 10 kug gin
24) Lugal-da-gur-r[a]
25) an-na-lal
26) i-bi
27) zag ag
28) inim-bi
29) é-ta ab-ē

6 iku of land,
the field DUN;
10 shekels of silver
(to) 1 PN
were weighed out.
The oil
was spread on the side.
This transaction
“left the house.”
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

The form of BAḪĀR becomes progressively more schematic, from the clear form in xii 17, to L. E. 11, vii 30, and lastly x 3. The spelling ē-du-r seems to correspond to the later ē-dur(A). The geographical name is surely to be identified with the city E.BAḪĀR.NUNUZ in an Uruk III geographical list, cited in M. W. Green and H. J. Nissen, Zeichentafeln der archaischen Texte aus Uruk (Berlin, 1987) p. 261 no. 423, in turn identical with the ED ē-du-r-BAḪĀR.NUN.ZA (Fara 2 23 iv 9). The same sign-group occurs also in Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 236 line 326: Ė.ZA.NUN.BAḪĀR = zī-la-ra/ru-um. Unfortunately, the meaning of the Semitic gloss (Zilurum or Zir(u)rum) is unknown. In these various spellings, ZA.NUN and NUN.ZA evidently represent snumu-nu(ZA).

viii 1 and 16.—The signs SĪG.BU, forming part of this name, are probably to be read as sulûhu. Another PN using the same word in Lugal-SĪG.BU/SUD, for which see Limet, Anthroponymie p. 472. For sulûhu, Akk. sulumḫa (suluhu, etc.), a long-haired breed of sheep, see CAD S p. 371f.; W. Heimpel, Tierbilder p. 227.

x 2–28.—The sellers and witnesses appearing in this transaction recur in the following transaction (x 1–11). Thus Lugal-gal-zi is a seller in both instances; Ur-dEn-kī, a seller in the first transaction, is a witness in the second transaction; Ses-GIR-gunu-gal, a seller in the first transaction, is a witness in the second transaction; and A-ki-gal, a witness in the first transaction, is a seller in the second transaction. Further, note that Ur-dEn-ki agrig in L. E. 14–15.

xii 1 and 9.—For the reading of this name, written also -sag,-nu-di, -sag,-nu-di, and -sag(PA)-nu-di, see H. Steible, FAOS 5 p. 5. The verb involved is the later sag(PA.GAN). . . durg(di, Akk. sapâḫum (see CAD S p. 151) and nasûkum (see CAD N 2 p. 15). Note here the equation SAG-DL = nu-du-um, na-za-gûm in Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 293 line 828 (cf. also line 829, where the second gloss is clearly nasûkum.

xiii 19.—The same(?). Ur-dEn-ill appears as a seller in no. 14 xii 15 and xiii 14.

No. 16 Kish Stone Fragments I


Copies: Plates 29 and 31, copied by Green from photographs and copy of originals by Gelb.

Synopsis: Plate 92.

Provenience: Kish, found by excavators during the 1930–31 and 1931–32 seasons.

Date: Fara.

Language: Akkadian—the texts are written in Akkadian, not Sumerian, because of the occurrence of NĪG.KI.

GAR “additional payment,” the absence of Sumerian affixes, as in KŪ “to eat,” and the graphotactical sequence of “measure plus thing counted,” as in x GIN KUG.BABBAR “x shekels of silver,” against the Sumerian sequence x kug gin.

Present location: Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).


Description: All ten fragments are of whitish limestone. Although it cannot be proven that all or some of these fragments belong to the same tablet, their overall similarity in coloring, content, and writing makes it probable that they do.

Since none of the preserved fragments extend from edge to edge, it is impossible to determine the original shape and size of the pieces. The two edges preserved in fragment b suggest that the object may have had some sort of cubical shape about 12 cm² in size. It was probably not a rectangular slab such as no. 15, but was rather a free-standing piece such as no. 12. Owing to the fragmentary state of preservation of the texts, the sequence of the sides and columns of the fragments with more than one side (16a, 16b, 16c, and 16d) cannot be determined. Data concerning the fragments are presented below in tabular form. The measurements given below differ slightly from those offered by Grégoire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fragment</th>
<th>Grégoire No.</th>
<th>Museum No.</th>
<th>Field No.</th>
<th>Locus</th>
<th>Measurements (cm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1930, 153</td>
<td>KM 13</td>
<td>C5 at plain level</td>
<td>8.9 x 9.0 x 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1930, 154</td>
<td>KM 125</td>
<td>YWN 1 m below plain level</td>
<td>Side A: 7.7 x 9 x 12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1930, 155</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Side B: 10.4 x 11 x 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1930, 156</td>
<td>V 337</td>
<td>Side C: 4.8 x 5.7 x 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1930, 178a</td>
<td>KM 196</td>
<td>Side A: 3 x 4.2 x 2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1930, 178b</td>
<td>KM 260</td>
<td>Side B: 2 x 4.7 x 2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1930, 179a</td>
<td>KM 101</td>
<td>Side A: 9.5 x 12.3 x 5.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1930, 179b</td>
<td>KM 102</td>
<td>Side B: 5 x 12 x 9.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1930, 180</td>
<td>KM 239</td>
<td>Side C: 9 x 4.7 x 12.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1931, 162</td>
<td>K 838</td>
<td>YW 1 m below plain level</td>
<td>Side A: 5.5 x 3.5 x 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YW 1 m below plain level</td>
<td>Side B: 4.5 x 3.8 x 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Side C: 4.2 x 4.9 x 1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Side A: 2 x 3.4 x 3.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Side B: 11 x 9 x 3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Side C: 3.4 x 3.4 x 2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Transliteration

**No. 16a (Kish 1930, 153)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>[. . .] x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>[NIG.KI.GAR x]+1 GIN [KUG.BABBAR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>[. . .] AN? EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
<td>[. . .] rx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 6') | 1(EŠE) 2(IKU) GÁN |
| 7') | SÁM |
| 8') | 1? ŠA.PI[1 KUG.BABBAR] (rest destr.) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3') | 2(EŠE)+[x?]IKU GÁN] |
| 4') | Š[AM] (rest destr.) |

**No. 16b (Kish 1930, 154)**

A i 1) 3(IKU) GÁN 2) ŠÁM 3) 15 GIN KUG.BABBAR 4) NIG.KI.GAR 1 GIN KUG.BABBAR (rest destr.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
<th>1) 2(EŠE) 1GÁN? 2) ½ (MA.NA) 4+[x GIN] KUG.BABBAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR[1]+[x] GIN KUG.BABBAR (rest destr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B i (blank)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>1 (MA.NA) 'x ŠÁM [ . . .] GIN KUG.BABBAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR 3 GIN KUG.BABBAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>'m-ii[k?]-X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
<td>'b[. . .]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No. 16c (Kish 1930, 155)**

A i (beg. destr.)

| 1') | [x GIN KUG.BABBAR] |
| 2') | [NIG.KI.GAR [x GIN KUG.BABBAR] |

**No. 16d (Kish 1930, 156)**

A i (beg. destr.)

| 1) | NIG.KI.GAR |
| 2') | 1?1+[x] GIN [KUG.BABBAR] |
| 3) | A-NI-NI/GAR |
| 4) | Ü-mes |
| 5) | K.A.GAR |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>[. . .] x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>[K]A.GAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3') | [x]+2(IKU) GÁN |
| 4') | 7 GIN KUG.BABBAR |
| 5') | I-bi-DINGIR |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iii</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>[. . .] ^x1-[L]UM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>^x1-na-ma-nuK1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>LÛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
<td>A-a-[. . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5')</td>
<td>UK[Ü.GAL]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B i 1) 1(EŠE) 2(IKU) GÁN 2) ŠÁM 3) [x]+4 [GIN KUG.BABBAR] (rest destr.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
<th>1) KIL-da-DINGIR 2) DUMU I-mu-mu (rest destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>1) PAB.SÉS 2) &quot;f/min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>1(IKU) 'x1 GÁN (rest destr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No. 16e (Kish 1930, 178a)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>[x]+1 GIN[N KUG.BABBAR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>[X]-la-m[u(-x)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>r . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No. 16f (Kish 1930, 178b)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>[. . .] KUG[BABBAR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>1?1-[um]?-[. . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>'l-b[i]-bi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No. 16g (Kish 1930, 179a)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>(almost destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>(beg. destr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

1') DUMU tŠu-d-[ . .] x-[ . .]
2') 2(ESE) I[(IKU)+[x(IKU) GÂN]
3') SÁM 1 Š[A.PI] K[U.G.BABBAR] (rest destr.)

No. 16h (Kish 1930, 179b)
(beg. destr.)
1') [x]+1 MA.N[A] KUG.BAB[BAR] (rest destr.)

No. 16i (Kish 1930, 180)
i (destr.)
ii (beg. destr.)
1') 20+[x GÎN KUG.BABBAR]
2') NĪG.KI.GAR
3') Ur-mes

No. 16j (Kish 1930, 162)
(beg. destr.)
1') 1 ŠA.PI KUG.BABBAR (rest destr.)

Notes

16a ii 5' and passim.—The Kish texts regularly write KA.GAR, side by side, for KÛ (= KA+GAR) “to eat.” The occurrence of the forms KA.GAR instead of KA+GAR for KÛ, and KA.ME instead of KA+ME for EME at Ebla was noted by Edzard, ARET 2 p. 131. The spelling KA.GAR appears also in an unusual text of the Fara period, which shows various features characteristic of Ebla texts. See M. Lambert, RA 67 (1973) p. 96 iii 3 and F. Pomponio, OA 19 (1980) pp. 172 and 175f.

16b A ii 2.—Note the very unusual way of writing ½ (MA.NA).

No. 17 Kish Stone Fragment II

Copy: Plate 31, copied by Green from photograph and copy of original by Gelb.
Provenience: Kish, Field no. Y 222, locus V—found in debris at the extreme south of trench Y (Grégoire, see below); “from mound Z . . . above red-stone level” (Langdon, see below).
Date: Fara or earlier.
Language: Akkadian(?).
Description: Fragment of a red stone slab measuring 9.2 x 6.9 x 3 cm.

Transliteration
i (beg. destr.)

2') [. . ] URUDU.URUDU (rest destr.)
ii (beg. destr.)
1') Ú-iš-dar (or Aš-dar-û)
2') Aš-dar-BALA?
3') I(ESE) 1½ (IKU) GÂN KI (rest destr.)

Notes

ii 1'–2'.—The sign DAR in both lines is preceded by a short horizontal line which does not quite join the longer horizontal line extending from the back of the bird. If this short horizontal line is not part of the sign DAR, the sign should be read Aš-dar. This reading may yield two personal names in these two lines: Aš-dar-û and BALA?-Aš-dar. These two names appear in the Abu Salabikh texts as Ú-iš-dar (OIP 99, 506 ii' 3') and Aš-dar-BALA (OIP 99 p. 66 line 146).

No. 18 Figure aux Plumes

Copy: Plate 33, Thureau-Dangin, DC 2 p. XXXIV.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Girshu (Telloh)—found (not in situ) in Tell K, identified as a temple of Ningirsu by Parrot, Tello pp. 56ff.
Date: ED I–II.
Language: Sumerian.
Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 221.
Publications: E. de Sarzec, DC 1 p. 164ff. and 414; idem, DC 2 p. XXXIV (copy by Thureau-Dangin) and pl. 1bis 1 (photograph); L. Heuzey, Une villa royale chaldéenne (Paris, 1900) p. 53 (free drawing); idem, RA 5 (1903) p. 41 (free drawing); idem, Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes (Paris, 1902) pp. 76–79 (free drawing); Encyclopédie photographique de l’art 1 (Paris, 1935) p. 175 (photograph of the side with figure); Parrot, Tello (Paris, 1948) p. 56; p. 57, fig. f; p. 70; p. 71, fig. a (free drawing); and p. 103, fig. g (free drawing); idem, Sumer, The Dawn of Art (New York, 1961) fig. 158 A–B (photographs of the side with figure); Moortgat, Die Kunst des alten Mesopotamien (Cologne, 1967) p. 33 and figure 30 (photograph of the side with figure); Edzard, SRU no. 112.
Description: Rectangular stone tablet measuring 15.7 x 13.4 x 3.5 cm—"Calcaire blanc à patine orangée." The obverse bears the representation of a male (?) figure with a two-plume headdress, holding in his left hand an elongated pole marked by several circular hatchings just below the knob near the top of the pole. Two more such poles are shown to the right.
Text: Langdon, OECT 7 p. IV, and Edzard, SRU no. 112, proposed—without giving any reason—to reverse the obverse-reverse designation given in the original publication in DC 2. Since the side with the figure appears to portray the main actor of the text and should, therefore, be the obverse, and since the older sequence of columns from left to right, as on the side without figure, is mandatory for the obverse, but optional for the reverse, we see no reason for changing the older designation.

If there is anything certain that can be said about this text, it is that we understand nothing about it. Even the
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

earliest texts in this volume, nos. 1-7, for example, yield more information than the Figure aux Plumes. We can no more than guess that the AG.EN.NAM group of signs, which occurs five times on the obverse of this text, stands for a name, and that it is the name of the person who acquired(?) the field that is described on the reverse.

Transliteration

Between the second and third poles:

Obv. 1) AG.EN.NAM Š.A.Ü.DU (cf. line 8) X.TU (cf. line 7) MAŠ.KAG

Between the first pole and the figure:

2) ŠĪTA KUR.ZA,(LAK-813) GÂL.TI
3) ME.TE.TI.X.DU
4) IG.LÈS.GÎD X.X.DU DA NUN

Behind the figure:

5) NU.GÎS.KAG NU.GI.KAG AG.EN.NAM
6) NU.SAG.HÜB NU.PA.HÜB AG.EN.NAM
7) ʿX?.,TU (cf. line 1) IGI.ʿX¹.TU AG[EN].NAM
8) Š.À.Ü.[D]U (cf. line 1) AG.EN.NAM

Rev. 1) 4(þur) gân NI.SUM
2) 1(þur-gunu) SAR.LAK-175
3) 5(þur) ME.NAM? ʿX¹
4) 3(þur) X.A
5) 3(bur²u) NI.DU₆
6) 1((þur)?) BE.SUG

ii 1) ʿIN-Γir-su
2) Gir-su-me (cf. vi 5)
3) NISABA.ḪU.Ü.ME.TAB.É
4) Nin-Gir-su ʿX.X.X¹
5) GÂN.GAR (cf. iii 3) SAR.LAK-175

iii 1) TAB.SUD.ÉḪU.ME.NISABA.Ü
2) ʿIN-Gir-su IM/SUD.X.X
3) GÂN.GAR (cf. ii 5) ʿX.X.ZI³
4) ē Nin-G[ir-su]²

iv 1) AG.EN.NAM
2) UD.TU.ʿX.X¹
3) ʿX.X¹.IGI.É.TI
4) ʿX.IGI.GÂL¹
5) AN.X

v 1) BARAG.É? 1(þe) 5(iku) ʿIGI.Ş.GÂL²
2) ʿX.X.GÂL³
3) 3(þur)²[...]
4) [...]

vi 1) NU.Š.LAL.?),ŠU.?),ENGAR
2) ME-KA-zâ-me
3) Nin-Gir-su-zâ-me¹
4) EN.SAG.?),SIG.X.GÂL
5) [Nin?]⁻Gir-su-me

Notes

Obv. 1.—The combination of three signs AG.EN.NAM occurs five times on the obverse. The sequence of these signs cannot be ascertained. They may stand for a PN or a PN plus a title or profession. PN AG is found in the adscription of side B of no. 12. The Sumerian nam-en is Akkadian bêlâmû “lordship,” and EN.NAM corresponds to bêl-pi-hanim “governor” of much later times.

Obv. 2.—The sign-sequence ŠĪTA KUR.ZA,(LAK-813) corresponds to ŠĪTA KUR.ZA,(LAK-798) found in the temple hymns from Abu Salabikh (Biggs, OIP 99 p. 52 line 226 and commentary on p. 56), and to šîta za-gin “lapis lazuli macé” of later texts (e.g., SRT 14:12; CT 36, 34:13). For LAK-813 as a graphic variant of LAK-798, see Biggs, RA 60 (1966) p. 175 and n. 5.

Obv. 3.—The sign transliterated here as X is a number, as in no. 11 line 13.

Rev. i 1-6.—These lines list six fields, each with measurements of area along with some information as to the quality or location of the land. The three measurements in lines 1, 3, and 4, given in the form of circles, read: 4(þur), 5(þur), and 3(þur), equal to 72 iku, 90 iku, and 54 iku. The measurements in line 5, given in the form of double circles in the drawing, are not clearly recognizable on the photo. As double circles, the measurements should be read as 3(þur)²u or 540 iku.

The measurement in line 2 has the form of a double circle plus gunû markings in the copy, but of a single circle plus gunû markings in the photo. The former sign is known from the numerical system, where it expresses 216,000; the latter is known from no. 20, where it clearly stands for l(þur)-u. Thus, in accordance with the discussion under no. 20 note to i 1, we must assume that both the gunû circle of rev. 2 and the double circle of rev. i 3 stand for l(þur)-u. The measure in line 6 cannot be identified either in the copy or in the photo.

Rev. i 2, 6, ii 5.—BE.SUG and SAR.LAK-175 occur together in Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 163 lines 96-97, an ED lexical text. The reading of LAK-175 is given as ša-ga-um in Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 197 line 27. See also Civil in L. Cagni, ed., II bilinguismo a Ebla (Naples, 1984) p. 95.

Rev. ii 1 etc.—In contrast to rev. ii 1 and iii 2, where the divine name Ningirshu is written Nin-Gir-su, with the semantic indicator ʿIN, other occurrences in ii 4, iii 4, and vi 3 and 5 either omit the indicator or the indicator is hidden among the signs that are preserved in traces after the name.

Rev. ii 2 and vi 5.—The combination of the signs GÎR.SU.ME and [Nin?]⁻GÎR.SU.ME may be interpreted as Gir-su-me “they are of Girshu” or Nin-Gir-su-me “they are of Ningirshu.” Note the omission of the indicator KI in Gir-su-me, as regularly in the inscriptions of Ur-Nanshe.

Rev. vi 3.—The signs in this case look suspiciously like Nin-Gir-su zâ-me³ “praise be to Ningirshu” or Nin-Gir-su-me³ “they are of Ningirshu.” Note the omission of the indicator KI in Gir-su-me, as regularly in the inscriptions of Ur-Nanshe.

No. 19 Lagash Stela

Photographs: Plate 34, from DC 2 pl. 1st 6.
Copy: Plate 35, Thureau-Dangin, DC 2 p. XXXV 2 A and B.
Synopsis: Figure 10.
Provenience: Girshu (Telloh)—found in Tell K, identified as a temple of Ningirshu by Parrot, Tello pp. 56ff.
Date: ED I–II.
Language: Sumerian(?).

Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris); not found.

Publications: De Sarzec, DC 1 p. 414, DC 2 p. XXXV 2 A and B (copy by Thureau-Dangin), and Plate 1st 6 (photograph); Heuzey, Une villa royale chaldéenne (Paris, 1900) p. 53 (free drawing); idem, RA 5 (1903)
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

p. 41 (free drawing); Parrot, *Tello* (Paris, 1948) p. 56, p. 57 figure c (free drawing), and p. 74.

*Description:* Fragment of a small stela of gray limestone, measuring 21 cm wide with traces of a human head on the obverse.

*Text:* Nothing is clearly recognizable on this little fragment but the numbers for the areas of different fields. The occurrence of the grand total on the obverse and of smaller-size fields on the reverse speaks strongly in favor of the obverse-reverse sequence proposed by Thureau-Dangin.

Beginning with the obverse, we can recognize the following signs in the copy: GÂN, GAL, measures of area expressed in two large double circles (preceded by GAL) and a smaller single circle, and the DIN.SILÂ group of signs, which appears as DUG.SILÂ in the total of fields in the very early kudurrus discussed in section 2.2. The reading of this number is 2(sar'u)-gal 1(bûr). At 1 sar'u-gal = 36,000 bûr, this total yields 72,001 bûr or 45.73 km² or an area of about 6.7 km by about 6.7 km.

The copy of the reverse has a variety of larger double and single circles and once, in ii 3, two smaller circles following upon one larger circle, none of which can be confirmed by the photograph. Since all larger circles are shaded in the copy and one of them appears in the midst of true double circles, we assume that all larger circles, whether clear or not, probably stand for bur'û.

The only other kudurru which has high figures that are comparable to those of the obverse of our text is the reverse of no. 24, which concerns a territory of 24,694 bûr and 13¼ iku or about 15,684 km² or an area of about 40 km by 40 km.

The purpose of the present text is unclear. Given the great area of land involved, it is doubtful that it recorded a sale transaction. See the discussion in section 2.5.

**Transliteration**

**Obv.**

1) [2 dug i] 2) [1 NUN.IR.LAL.A] 3) 1 zu-lum gur 4) Bu-pum 5) 1 Gam.ERIN?

**Rev. i**

1) [2 dug i] 2) [1 NUN.IR.LAL.A] 3) 1 zu-lum gur 4) Bu-pum 5) 1 Gam.ERIN?

**Rev. ii**

1) [2 dug i] 2) [1 NUN.IR.LAL.A] 3) 1 zu-lum gur 4) Bu-pum 5) 1 Gam.ERIN?

**Rev. iii**

1) [2 dug i] 2) [1 NUN.IR.LAL.A] 3) 1 zu-lum gur 4) Bu-pum 5) 1 Gam.ERIN?

**Present location:** Istanbul Archaeological Museum, EŞEM 424.

**Publications:** De Sarzec, *DC* 2 p. XXXV 3 A and B (copy by Thureau-Dangin), and plate 1ter 5 (photograph of obv. only); Parrot, *Tello* (Paris, 1948) p. 74.

*Description:* Tablet of black stone ("matière noire")—obverse is flat, reverse rounded. The upper left corner is preserved 7.8 cm high and 11.5 cm wide; as the outer, left corner is 2 cm thick but the inner, right corner is still increasing at 5.3 cm thick, and has thus not yet reached the middle of the tablet, the original width should have been at least twice the preserved.

*Text:* The obverse has six columns; the reverse is unruled and unscribed except for one column on the bottom left with a two-line subscription. Though there is no mention of fields or prices, the listing of commodities resembles the listings of commodities given to sellers or officials participating in kudurrus. There are several commodities listed, among them oil (l, i-nun), dates (zu-lum), and garments (gada and NIG.LAM). Among the recipients (?) of commodities are three occurrences of Gatumdug, the chief goddess of Lagash. The final subscription names Lu-lu sang 4X1.GAR/KAG IGI. GAR2, where IGI.GAR? is possibly to be interpreted as gurûm "inspection."

Even though no. 19a is written on stone, the fact that it mentions neither fields nor prices makes it highly unlikely that it deals with a sale transaction. Rather, one thinks of a list of offerings assigned in perpetuity to a temple or temples. For a similar text, compare no. 19b.

**Photographs:** Plate 34, Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

**Copy:** Plate 35, Thureau-Dangin, *DC* 2 p. XXXV A and B, collated by Gelb in 1963.

**Provenience:** Girshu (Telloh).

**Date:** Pre-Sargonic or earlier.

**Language:** Sumerian(?).
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

iv 1) 1 GAM.ERIN?
2) É/? SANGA-ta
3) ḍGá-tum-dûg
4) 1 dug 1
5) 4 gada
6) 1 NIG.LAM
7) 1 AN.SÁR+ A Ś
8) TAGΔ ALAM
9) 2 [šak]an X
(restr destr.)
v 1) 1 [dug i]
2) 6 šak[an x]
3) 1 NU.N.LAL.A
4) 1 GAM.ERIN?
5) 1 zú-lum gur
6) ŠE.BAR.GI₄ TA
7) ḍGá-tum-dûg
8) 2 [dug i]
(restr destr.)
vi 1) [...]
2) [...]
3) [...]
4) gal [...]
5) gal [...]
6) 10 [...]
7) 1 dug[gi]-nu[n]
8) 1 [...]
(restr destr.)
Rev. i 1) Lu-lu sang a 'X'. GAR/KAG
2) IGL.GAR?
(restr blank)

Notes

ii 2 and passim.—The sign read here as X looks like a ligature of KAG and N.I.

iv 8.—For TAGΔ ALAM “statue,” also an occupation (“statue-maker”), see most recently Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 42 n. to line 20.

v 6.—Possibly to be interpreted as še bar-ta gu₄ “grain/food returned from the outside.” Compare še DU “assigned/deposited (gub?) grain” in iii 4 and še ḍGá-tum-dûg ku “grain consumed by Gatumdug” in iii 7.

No. 19b Cros, NFT p. 222

Photograph: Plate 34, Louvre Museum, Paris.
Copy: Plate 35, Thureau-Dangin in G. Cros, NFT p. 222.
Provenience: Girshu (Telloh).
Date: Pre-Sargonic or earlier.
Language: Sumerian(?).
Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 4397.
Publication: Cros, NFT p. 222 (copy by Thureau-Dangin); Edzard, SRU no. 116; Civil, N.A.B.U. 1989/3 pp. 39f.
Description: Fragment of a black stone slab measuring 8 x 9.3 x 2.3 cm (all maximum measurements). The inscribed part is flat, the reverse is completely effaced. All sides are destroyed with the exception of the right side.
Text: The preserved portion of the inscription lists commodities and personal names, but no fields. For a similar text, compare 19a. Certain commodities are preceded by numbers or measures, others are preceded by an empty space. Some of the lines with signs which do not express commodities and which were drawn without an empty space at the beginning of the line may be taken as expressing personal names, such as GU.GIS or MĀ? LI, even though we cannot find any parallels.

Transliteration

i' (beg. destr.)
1') [X] SUM.[X].KI
2') [20]+30 SUM.[T].KI
3') 30 ga dug
4') [X] garā
(restr destr.)

ii' (beg. destr.)
1') (x) EŠ MĀ?
2') 30 GI.GIS.INNIN
3') 30 X
4') GÜ.GIS
5') (x) EŠ MĀ?.GĪD
6') (x) GI.GIS.LAL.LU
7') (x) EŠ
8') (X)-mar-[...]
(restr destr.)

iii' (beg. destr.)
1') (x) f̣x̣
2') (x) dug še
3') 30 ninda
4') MĀ? LI
5') (x) dug
6') (x) ninda
7') (x) udu
8') (x) dug geštin
9') MĀ? GUR 8 GU
10') 1 dug [...]
(restr destr.)
(col. iv and rest blank)

Notes

ii' 1', ii' 5', iii' 4' and 9'.—The reading of the sign transliterated here as MA? in (x) EŠ MĀ?.GĪD, MĀ? LI, and MĀ?.GUR 8 GU cannot be safely established, since the form of the sign MĀ can be easily confused with the forms of the signs SI and GUR. See note to no. 20 i 3. For EŠ MĀ?.GĪD, compare ēš mā-giš cited in A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien (Helsinki, 1939) p. 118.

No. 20 Enhegal Tablet

Photographs: Plate 36, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, negative nos. 56142, 56143, 6548.
Copy: Plate 37, Barton, PBS 9 plates II and III; collated by Gelb.
Synopsis: Plates 93 and 94.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased, allegedly from Telloh/ Girshu).
Date: Fara.
Language: Sumerian.
Present location: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), CBS 10000.

Description: A square stone tablet of light-buff limestone, measuring 12.4 × 12.8 × 3.8. Obverse flat, reverse rounded.

Text: The inscription consists of seven columns on the obverse, with some signs extending to the lower edge, and of two columns on the reverse. The sequence of the two columns of the reverse cannot be ascertained; however, this is immaterial for the context since each column consists of a self-contained unit. The five preserved signs appearing on the lower edge were incised with much thinner lines than the signs in the main part of the inscription.

As here provisionally interpreted, the inscription deals with eight acquisitions of eleven parcels of land by Lugal-kigala from Enhegal, the king of Lagash, and a certain Sidu.

The Enhegal Tablet is very well preserved, but the reading of many signs is difficult due to sloppy execution.

For over seventy years now, the Enhegal Tablet has been challenging the interpretational skills of scholars. For the widely diverging views of its meaning and purpose, compare Diakonoff, op. cit. and Edzard, op. cit. Unfortunately, we too have failed to arrive at a fully satisfactory explanation of this inscription.

The crux of the inscription is the role of Enhegal, king of Lagash, in the transaction and, with it, the question of the buyer and sellers. In all normal circumstances, we would expect Enhegal to be the buyer of the fields. As a general rule, it is the rich and powerful who acquire landed property in third millennium sources. Still, two points can be raised against this assumption.

In three instances, Enhegal's name and title are followed by the sign ES (i 6, ii 9, iv 10; lacking in iii 5), which should probably be interpreted as the terminative postposition -še. Assuming that the phrase En-he-gal lugal Lagas-še stands for the construction x (Buyer-e) Seller-še e-še-šam “(Buyer) bought x from Seller,” which is frequent in the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents from Lagash (see section 6.3), Enhegal would have to be interpreted as a seller. On the other hand, one notes the absence of ES following the name and title of Sidu, who, as argued below, should too be considered a seller.

The term lugal, occurring after Sidu's name in five(?) transactions (ii 3, 10, v 12?, vi 6, 10?), appears to be the same as lugal gän “owner of the field,” and must therefore denote a seller.

If neither Enhegal nor Sidu can be the buyer, we must look for him elsewhere in the inscription. The most plausible candidate for this role is Lugal-ki-gal-la išib dNin-Gir-su “Lugal-kigala, the isib priest of Ningirshu,” in rev. ii 1–2. In the following line, one finds the signs GAN GAR, where GAR is possibly a defective spelling of kú, i.e., KA+GAR (cf. Edzard, SRU p. 178). If so, this line could be translated “(Lugal-kigala) received (lit.: consumed) the fields.”

Returning to the question of the sellers, we can tentatively identify them as Enhegal and Sidu. Enhegal appears in three transactions, Sidu in certainly three and possibly five transactions, and both Enhegal and Sidu occur in one transaction.

In addition, in several transactions there appear other persons, with or without titles. The titled individuals are SES.IB-gēštin engar “farmer” (v 3–4, 10), Lugal-nim-du sag-dušs “field recorder” (iii 8, v 11), Maš GU.SUR.NUN “field assessor” (iii 9, v 9), and Maš engar “farmer” (vii 4, 7), the last two possibly being one and the same person. Since the engar, ság-duš, and GU.SUR.NUN routinely occur as authorizing/witnessing officials in the later kudurrus and sale documents (see section 7.11), we may assume that their presence in the Enhegal Tablet is to be explained in the same way. The role of the untitled persons (Lugal-ki in iv 5, Lugal-kur-geštin? in iv 6, Bar-saq?-ṣağš in iv 7, and E-muš-sî? in vii 5) is unclear.

All eight transactions show basically the same pattern (the order of component parts varies):

1) Size of the field
2) Price (in copper, barley, emmer, goats, and pigs)
3) Location/name of the field
4) Names of the authorizing/witnessing officials
5) Name of the seller(?)

Following the last transaction, one finds the statement gän BUR.ŠIR.LA1 áš[m] “the purchased fields in/of Lagash,” plus the totals of the fields and prices paid. Contrary to Barton's copy, the reading I(sár) + I(sár) + I(bur-gum) + I(bur-gum) that is 150 bûr, is clear on the stone, as it is on the photograph. In order to obtain that total, we were forced to reconstruct [9(bur)] gän ... in vi 11. The totals of prices agree with the prices given in individual transactions, with the following qualifications: the 21½ še gur “21½ bushels of grain” of the total corresponds to the sum of 20¼ še gur “20½ bushels of barley” and 1 zîz gur “1 bushel of emmer” of the individual transactions; for reasons unknown, the eleven pigs paid in the price of one field (iii 3) have been omitted in the totals. The items given in lieu of the prices are labeled as šám gän “price of the fields.”

The line with the name of Lugal-kigala and the signs GAN GAR (see above) then follows. And finally, on the lower edge there is a name Lugal-šud(SAG+ŠU)-dē plus a few illegible signs. This line does not seem to form an intrinsic part of the inscription; it may have been added later. Several points indicate that we are dealing here with a later addition. Unlike the rest of the inscription, the signs are not written in cases, but in a long continuous line which runs from the left to the right side of the stone. The signs are not carved in, but superficially
scratched on the surface. The line is placed below the
obverse, not at the end of the reverse, where it would
properly belong if it were part of the text. Possibly, the
person mentioned in this line is identical with Lugal-sű-
dē dub-sar-maḫ "chief scribe," who appears in CT 50, 44
vi 2–3, a Lagash economic tablet dating to the reign of
Urukagina.

Transliteration

Obv. i
1) f2(bûr-gûnû) 3(bûr) gán
2) 720 urudu ma-na
3) 2 še gur
4) 1 ẓîz gur
5) gán 'DU? ?
6) [En-ḫe-gâl] 'lugal1 Lagaš-šê

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>7(bûr) gán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>f180š urudu [ma-na]a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii
1) 20 Ur-ú
2) 2 še gur
3) Si-dû lugal
4) gán ganun(GÁ+NUN)-dû

<table>
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<th>Transliteration</th>
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<td>5)</td>
<td>1(bûr-gûnû) 1(bûr) gán ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>300 urudu ma-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>2½ še gur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>gán Ú.PAD.ME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>En-ḫe-gâl lugal Lagaš-šê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>Si-dû lugal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii
1) 8(bûr) gán
2) 20 BAL+U
3) 11 šâb-niga
4) 1½ še gur
5) En-ḫe-gâl lugal
6) E+PAB.KASK1
7) LAL?.KI
8) Lugal-nim-du sag-du5
9) Maš GU.SUR.NUN

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<td>10)</td>
<td>3(bûr-gûnû) lal 2(bûr) gán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>7201 urudu ma-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iv
1) 4 še gur
2) 2(bûr-gûnû) lal 1(bûr) gán
3) 420 urudu ma-na
4) 1½ še gur
5) 40 Lugal-ki
6) 30 Lugal-kur-geštin Kl
7) Bar-sag?-šag5
8) Gû-KALAM?
9) En-ḫe-gâl
10) lugal Lagaš-šê

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<th>Transliteration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>1(bûr-gûnû) 4(bûr) gán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>720 urudu ma-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

v
1) 2 še gur
2) Bâd-giš-gi4

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>ŠEŠ+IB-geštin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>engar!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>1(bûr-gûnû) gán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>200 urudu ma-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>2 še gur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>gán A.USH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>Maš GU.SUR.NUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>ŠEŠ+IB-geštin engar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>Lugal-nim-du sag-du5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>[Siǐ?-dü?] [lu]gal?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vi
1) 8(bûr) gán
2) 3 še gur
3) gán A+X-a-X-e7/sag7?
4) Innin-sar engar
5) Maš GU.SUR.NUN
6) Si-dû lugal

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>3(bûr) gán nîg-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>gán gud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>80 urudu [ma-na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>[Si-dû lugal]?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>[9(bûr) gán...]?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vii
1) 1(bûr-gûnû) gâ[n]
2) A.H[A. ...]
3) 360 urudu ma-na
4) Maš engar
5) 30 Ė-mu-u-si?
6) 120 urudu ma-na
7) Maš engar

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>gân BUR.fŠIR.LA1 šâ[m]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev. i
1) GÛ.AN.SE
2) 2(sár) 3(bûr-gûnû) gân
3) 3820 urudu ma-na
4) 21½ še gur
5) 20 BAL+U
6) gán šám

<table>
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<th>Transliteration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>Lugal-ki-gal-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>isib 6Nin-Gir-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>GÂN.GAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lo. E.
1) Lugal-sûd(SAG+ŠU)-dê BA/IGI.NU 
[...]

Notes

i 1.—In the present text bûr-gûnû stands for 10 bûr and thereby corresponds in form to what is known as bur'u = 10 bûr. The archaic texts regularly use the bur'u form, that is a small circle inscribed within a larger circle, as best shown by the total in no. 1, and, without the total, in other archaic texts of the same type. The Jemdet Nasr texts also regularly use the bur'u form for 10 bûr, as pointed out by Langdon, OECT 7 pp. 66f. no. 461. The change from bur'u to bûr-gûnû is first attested in the Early Dynastic I–II periods, as can be seen from the discussion under no. 18, note to rev. i 1–6, and both are still found in Fara texts, as can be seen from the interchange of the two
forms in Fara 3, 53 end and 55 end to indicate the same total (cf. Langdon, *op. cit.*). Apparently, the change was made because of the difficulty of incising the smaller circle within the larger circle, especially on stone where the danger of damage in the inner or outer circle could easily result in a confusion between bûr and bur'u. On the other hand, increasing the size of the outer circle to accommodate an inner circle could result in a confusion with sâr and sar'u. For such possibilities, compare nos. 12 and 18.

2.—Against Barton's copy, the text reads 600+120 urudu ma-na, as clearly visible in the photograph.

3, 4 and passim.—The sign here read as GUR has the same form as SI (in Si-dû in iii 3 and passim). For similar cases, see Cros, *NFT* p. 222 ii 1 and *OIP* 99, 492 i 2 as compared with *OIP* 99, 491 i 2.

5.—There is only one sign, partly preserved, after gán. The reading "DU" is preferable to "URU".

ii 3, 10, and vi 6.—Despite the consistency of the spelling KÁG.SI, this PN must be interpreted as Si-dû because of the many occurrences of Si-dû in the Sargonic texts from Lagash (e.g., Donbaz-Foster, *STTI* 62:4).

ii, iii 4, iv 4, and rev. i 4.—The sign is used for ½ gur(-mah) in the Fara texts, as pointed out by Deimel, *Or*. 9 pp. 190f., and as can be seen from calculation in Fara 3, 61. As the totals show, the sign in question is used for ½ gur in our text. Since the measure occurs only with the gur-mah (which had 8 ul) in Fara texts, it is possible that the gur of our text is also the gur-mah. The measure gur-mah is often written simply gur in the Abu Salabikh texts, as in *OIP* 99, 494, 495, and 503.

8.—Edzard, *SU* p. 177, reads the toponym as ú-gúdá, i.e., ú-UH.ME. However, the second sign is clearly PAD and not UH.

ii 3 and rev. i 5.—The sign symbolized here as BAL+U is LAK.-20. It is frequent in the Fara texts, where it denotes a type of animal. See, e.g., TSS 453, 536, and 548, which list BAL+U together with udu-nita. In another Fara text (Fara 3, 126), one finds a total of 15 udu-nita and 23 BAL+U described as udu. In the Sargonic period, *HSS* 10, 171 lists sîla, udu-kur, BAL+U (or MÁS+U), úz, and udu, all identified in the total as udu “sheep.” For variants of the sign form, see also *HSS* 10, 178:4 and 180:5. The same animal also appears in *MDP* 14, 27 together with udu. For the identification of BAL+U as “male goat,” see Steinkeller, *Third Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (forthcoming). Compare also Pomponio, *RA* 80 (1986) pp. 187f., who translates it “she-goat.”

iii 9, v 9, and vi 5.—The occupation GU.SUR.NUN, “field assessor” or the like, was the subject of an exhaustive study by W. Farber, *AOR* 45 (1977) pp. 148–56. The following observations may be added to it. The alternative spelling GAR.GUR.SUR.NUN (with SUR being occasionally replaced by NUN), which is attested at Fara (for examples, see Farber, *op. cit.* pp. 148f.), Abu Salabikh (GAR.GUR.SUR.NUN) in ED Names and Professions List 27, replaced by GAR.GUR.GAR in the Ebla ms.—Archi, *SEB* 4 (1981) p. 181, and Nippur (*TMH* 5, 164 i 3, 168 i 4), is to be interpreted as ní-gur.SUR(NUN), as is demonstrated by the lexical entry Ní.GU.SUR = ne-gú-sú-taš-um in Pettinato, *MEE* 4 p. 365 line 0254. Compare also SUR.TÜG = ne-gú-sú-taš-um, su-ru-um, gá-zi-taš-um (ibid. p. 216 line 165), where the relationship between SUR.TÜG and Ní.GU.SUR is unclear. It appears, therefore, that the occupation in question had originally two forms, GU.SUR(NUN) and ní-gur.SUR(NUN). As is shown by the fact that the same occupation is later written gu-sur (for examples, see Farber, *op. cit.* pp. 150f.), in the combination GU.SUR(NUN) the sign NUN is either a logogram, to be read gusur, or a phonetic indicator, to be read either gu or sur. Given that neither the reading gusur, nor gu, nor sur, of NUN finds corroboration in the outside evidence, this question cannot be resolved in this way.

iv 6.—The reading of the sign GESÍN? in the PN Lugal-kur-gešim284 is based on the comparison with GESÍN in v 10, whose reading, in turn, is assured by v 3.

v 3 and 10.—For the name ŠES+1B-gešim, see *UET* 2, 81A i 1. The element ŠES+1B frequently occurs in the archaic texts from Ur (Burrows, *UET* 2 pl. 2 no. 13). See also Sollberger, *CIRPL* Umm. 49 ii 4, E-ŠES+1B4 as at Abu Salabikh (*OIP* 99, p. 73 line 99), and two Ebla lexical entries where IB.ŠES plus other signs is identified with gamaru “to please,” “to save,” and raʿanum “to love” (Pettinato, *MEE* 4 p. 225 lines 236–237; cf. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 [1983] p. 11). v 8.—With the PN gán A.ÜS compare [gán] A.ÜS [...] in no. 21. v 14 and gán A.ÜS.TA in *DP* 352, 353, 354, etc. (all discussed by Deimel, *Or*. 5, pp. 37f.).

No. 21 Lupad Statue

*Photographs:* Plate 38, Louvre Museum, Paris.

*Copy:* Plate 39, Thureau-Dangin, *DC* 2 pp. LIVf.

*Provenience:* Girshu (Telloh). Found in the "tell des tablettes," see *DC* 1 p. 448.

*Date:* Fara.

*Language:* Sumerian.

*Present location:* Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 3279–3280, 4494.


*Description:* Statue of dark-gray diorite measuring about 42 × 30 × 20 cm.

*Text:* In spite of certain difficulties, we follow here the sequence of columns and lines as proposed by Thureau-Dangin. The inscription begins with the name of Lú-pâd, written in line one of column i on the right shoulder (= obverse), and continues, after a long break, with the five-line fragment mentioning zag É-ti on the back (= reverse). This fragment continues on the left arm and across the chest of the statue. In normal circumstances the beginnings of column ii and the following columns should be aligned with the beginning of column i. This is impossible, as shown clearly by the preserved portions of column iii. The relationship of the two fragments of columns iv–vi to the rest of the inscription cannot be established. In addition, there is a small unnumbered and an unattached fragment, 3 × 4 cm, in the Louvre Museum, on which a few signs can be read, such as bi/kaš, engar, and 5 sig [ma-na].

It is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the sequence of the Lupad Statue, partly because its individual parts appear to be unequal in length, partly because of the poor state of preservation of the inscription. For these reasons, the following reconstruction must be considered very tentative.

Lines i 1–7, reading "Lupad, the field recorder of Umma, the son of Nalu, the field recorder, the father(?) of [...]x,", plus a few lines now destroyed, probably gave the total area acquired by Lupad and constituted a general résumé prefacing the rest of the inscription. For a
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

possible parallel, compare the introductory lines on side A of no. 40.

The acquisition of the first group of fields begins around i 11 and should end around ii 12. As tentatively reconstructed, it consists of the following parts:

1) Size and location of the individual parcels, as indicated by the structure: x field located at the side (zag) of PN (i 11–39)
2) Lupad, the field recorder of Umma, bought [a total of x ik of land from PN] (ii 1–6)
3) Price paid in še “barley,” sig “wool,” and nig-uruду-babbar “white”... copper” (ii 7–8)
4) [Additional Payment] (ii 9–12)

The acquisition of the second group of fields begins around ii 13 and should end around iii 12. It consists of the following parts:

1) [Size and location of the individual parcels] (ii 13–24)
2) Lupad bought a total of x land from PN (ii 25–28)
3) [Price] (ii 29–30)
4) Additional Payment, including commodities in various amounts, paid to the main seller, and five pounds of wool each to the secondary sellers and officials (ii 31–iii 8)

The acquisition of the third group of fields should begin around iii 13, but it is too much destroyed to allow any safe reconstruction. The rest yields fragmentary information.

In summary, the inscription deals with the acquisition of at least three groups of fields by Lupad, the field recorder of Umma, the son of Nadu, who was also a field recorder, presumably also at Umma.

Transliteration

1) Lú-pād
2) sag-duš
3) UmmaKI
4) dumu Na-dū
5) sag-duš
6) [a]ld-da
7) [..]f[x¹]
8–17) [..]
18) [x(iku)]r..1
19) zag E-ti
20) (bär) 3+[x]š(iku)
21) zag E-NI
22) (bär) 3(iku) da lu[gal]
23) [zag ..]f[x¹]
24) [x(iku) ..]
25) [zag ..]
26) (eše) [ ..]
27) zag [ ..]
28) (eše) [ ..]
29) zag [ ..]
30) (eše) [ ..]-gal-[..]
4') zag Amar-tuir
5') [a-sa] ḤU.TUS.BU-rûm
6') 4(bûr) [...]
7'–12') [...] sag [...]-šé
8') [gân?] A.UŠ [...] KI?
(rest destr.)

Notes

i 31.—For the PN A-getsin, see UET 2, 2 and TMH 5, 159 ix 15 and compare also ŠEŠ+1B-getsin in no. 20 v 3 and 10, and Pab-getsin in no. 14 vii 8.

i 38.—The occupation or profession read here as TE.GAL can stand for GAL.TE (Sumerian tiru, Akkadian tirum), which denotes some kind of service personnel. It could also stand for galla(TE.LAL)-gal, a type of official, possibly a policeman.

ii 2.—For the name of the seller, cf. v 2.

iii 9.—Possibly to be reconstructed ud i zag [(bi)-ag] kag [ē-gara4 (bi-jep)] “at that time oil [was spread] on the side (and) the nail [was driven into the wall.]” For this clause, found passim in the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents from Lagash, see sections 7.12.5.1 and 7.12.5.2.

iii 30.—For this toponym, also in v 1 and 5, compare gišīt gân ḤU.TUS.BU-rûm-ma-kam (DP 446 v 1) and other occurrences in Lagash texts.

iii 33.—For the reading of the DN, note the personal name spelled Ur-ŠE.EŠ.NUN.BU on the seals of the Ur III documents MYNS 3, 361 and Grégoire, AAS 112, and Ur-ŠAGAN-na, in the respective texts.

v 2'.—This line possibly records the name of the seller mentioned in ii 2 ([(bi)-ag] KAG?-zi?).

v 3'.—For the GN E-ga-rin, compare the occurrences listed in MAD 27 p. 213 additions to p. 109 no. 280.

v 14'.—For the field gân A.UŠ, see note to no. 20 v 8.

No. 22 Lummatur Tablet I

Photographs: Plates 40 and 41, courtesy Westenholz.

Copy: Plates 40 and 41, Thureau-Dangin, DC 2 p. XLIX (obverse and reverse are exchanged here).

Synopsis: Plates 95, 96, and 100.

Provenience: Girshu (Telloh).

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Sumerian.

Present location: Istanbul Museum, EŞEM 1600.


Description: Black stone tablet measuring 32.5 × 23 cm (maximum). Thickness varies from 3 to 8.6 cm, increasing from left to right and from top to bottom. One side is flat, the other rounded. The roundness is clear on top, bottom, left side; the right side is cut off roughly.

Text: The sequence of obverse-reverse given in DC 2 p. XLIX is certainly wrong, as is the suggestion of Thureau-Dangin, SAKI p. 30 d) n. 1, proposing to reverse the obverse-reverse order of DC 2 p. XLIX. The context shows quite clearly that the sequence of each column runs from the obverse (the old reverse of DC 2 p. XLIX) to the lower edge, to the reverse, to the upper edge, and so on for other columns to the end. This is also the order found in no. 23. Gelb reconstructed this sequence of Lummatur I, as did Diakonoff and Edzard, long before he had a chance to inspect the stone tablet in the Istanbul Museum and to note that one side of it is flat and the other rounded, confirming the new reconstruction. Lambert, op. cit., gives a transliteration and translation of the text following the old order of DC 2 p. XLIX. Except for the reconstruction of broken sections, the sequence, followed by Edzard, SRU no. 117, corresponds to ours.

The inscription consists of four columns of writing. To the right of the four inscribed columns the stone is uninscribed, although there are definite traces of a vertical ruling on both the obverse and the reverse, which must have been drawn in anticipation of a fifth column of writing, never written. For a similar case compare no. 36 under Text.

Apparently neither the stone tablet nor the inscription were completed. That the tablet is unfinished can be seen from the fact that the right side of the stone was not adjusted to the intended rectangular form but left rough. That the inscription is unfinished can be deduced from the fact that the expected list of witnesses is not given in the preserved parts of the inscription and may have been intended, therefore, for the fifth column. It may very well be that the irregular form of the tablet, rising abnormally in thickness from top to bottom and from left to right, as well as some space difficulties on the right side of the tablet, induced the ancient scribe to abandon his work before its completion and to try to erase the whole inscription. He succeeded rather well—to our detriment—in erasing the major part of the obverse. The reverse, upper and lower edges, show some traces of erasure.

The text deals with the acquisition of four parcels of land by Lummatur, son of Enanatum, the governor of Lagash, from different families. Three of the parcels are 9/4 iku in size, while the fourth measures 29/4 iku. For Lummatur, son of Enanatum I, compare Sollberger, CIRPL En. I 10.

We thank Dr. Sollberger for the collations of the text he kindly provided to us.

No. 22 is related to no. 23 and to the clay tablet here published as App. to nos. 22–23 by identical structure and the fact that all of them deal with the land acquired by Lummatur son of Enanatum, the governor of Lagash. In
addition, the following individuals recur in two or three of these sources:

Ur-dDumu-zi-da, father of two "sons of the field" in no. 22 iv 54, may correspond to Ur-dDumu-zi-da, father of the "lord of the field" in no. 23 obv. vii 8.

Inim-ma-ni-zi, a "lord of the field" in no. 22 iv 43, may correspond to Inim-ma-rnil-zi, the "lord of the field" in no. 23 obv. ix 8.

[Lu]gal-iS-pid, a "son of the field" and son of E-me-nam-nun, a "lord of the field" in no. 22 ii 36, may correspond to Lugal-si-p'd-da, a "lord of the field" and a "son" of E-ib-zi in App. to nos. 22-23 iii 9. Accordingly, Lugal-Sa-pad-da may not be a son of E-ib-zi, but his grandson or descendent.

The same two men, Lugal-bé-gal-sir, the chief scribe, and E-nam-zu-se, the chief of the servants of the "Inner-quarters," are named among the witnesses in no. 23 obv. x 3-7 and App. to nos. 22-23 v 8-vi 2.

For the commodities included in the additional payment in nos. 22, 23, and App. to nos. 22-23, see chapter 11.

Sample Interpretation

i 1-10: Lummatur, son of Enanatum, the governor of Lagash, bought $9\frac{3}{4}$ iku of land, (measured?) by the "purchase rope," from PN$_1$ and PN$_2$ sons of PN$_x$, the "lords of the field" (= primary sellers).

i 11-12: The rate is 1 iku of land at 2 gursaggal of barley.

i 13-30: PN$_1$ (= first primary seller) received $18\frac{1}{2}$ gursaggal of barley as the price of the field and x commodities as the gift.

i 31-56: PN$_2$, the "lord of the field" (= second primary seller), and PN$_3$, PN$_4$, PN$_5$, PN$_6$, (4) sons of PN$_1$ (= first primary seller), and PN$_7$, PN$_8$, PN$_9$, PN$_10$, PN$_11$, PN$_12$, PN$_13$, (7) children of PN$_2$ (= second primary seller), the "sons of the field," received x commodities per person as the gift.

i 57-59: PN$_1$ (= first primary seller) drove this nail into the wall and spread the oil on the side.

Transliteration and Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Lo. E.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 1</td>
<td>1) [1(eše) 3\frac{3}{4} (iku) gán ėš šá̃m-ma-ta]</td>
<td>9\frac{3}{4} iku of land, (measured?) by the &quot;purchase-rope&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) [X-pirig] (= i 57)</td>
<td>[from PN$_1$]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) [X-x] (= i 46)</td>
<td>[(and) PN$_2$]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) [dumu PN$_x$-me]</td>
<td>[sons of PN$_x$]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) [lugal gán-šē]!</td>
<td>[the &quot;lords of the field&quot;],</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Lúmm-a-tur</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) dumu En-an-na-túm</td>
<td>son of E.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) en$_3$-si</td>
<td>the governor of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) LagašKL,ka-ke$_4$</td>
<td>Lagash,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) []ne-še-šam$^1$</td>
<td>i bought!,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) iku 1-a!</td>
<td>Of 1 iku of land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) še 2 gur-sag-gál-ta</td>
<td>(its) barley (equivalent) is 2. gsg;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) še-bi 20 lal 1(gur) 2(ul) gur-sag-gál</td>
<td>the (corresponding) 18.2. gsg of barley,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) níg-šam gán-kam</td>
<td>the price of the field,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) šu-ba-ti</td>
<td>(the sellers) received.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16) 5 sig-bar-u-du-bar</td>
<td>Commodities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17) l [i] šakan</td>
<td>[PN$_1$]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) l ninda$^2$-sag</td>
<td>[son of PN$_x$],</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19) l ŠU.KÉŠDA</td>
<td>[as the gift],</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20) 40 ninda-še</td>
<td>[received].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21) 10 ninda-kalag</td>
<td>[PN$_2$]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22) 40 ku$_x$-dar-ra</td>
<td>[son of PN$_x$]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23) 10 tu$_y$, silâ</td>
<td>[the &quot;lord of the field&quot;],</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24) [1] sa [ga-raš]$^\text{SAR}$</td>
<td>[4 PNs]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25) [1] s[aj]$^\text{SAR}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26) [1] sa sum-si$^2$[i] $^2$ kil!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

35) [1 PN₄]  
36) [1 PN₅]  
37) [1 PN₆]  
38) [dumu X-pirig-ka-me] [sons of PN₄]  
39) [1] Uṣur[1.LAL.+LAGAB]-r[a-ni]? 7 PNs  
40) 1 Mes-ZU.A[B]  
41) 1 Ur-u³Nin-Gir-su  
42) 1 Tur-tur  
43) 1 Šul-kug  
44) 1 Huš-KAL-igi  
45) 1 ŠAL-tur  
46) dumu ′X′-[x-m]e (= i 3) children of ′PN₄′,  
47) dumu gán-me the "sons of the field,"  
48) lú 1-šé per each person  
49) 5 ninda-šé Commodities,  
50) 1 ninda-kalag  
51) 3 tu₇ siša  
52) 3 ku₄-dar-ra  
53) 1 sa ga-raq₉AR  
54) 1 siša še-sa  
55) nig-ba-šé as the gift,  
56) šu-ba-ti received.  
57) ′X′-pirig-ke₄ (= i 2) ′PN₄′  
58) kag-bi ě-gar₈-ra frbi₈-du drove this nail into the wall  
U. E. i 59) i-b[i] zag-[gi] bi-ag⁽¹⁾ (and) spread the oil on the side.  

60) ′(eše) 3½ (iku) gán [ēš] šām-m[a-ta] 9¾ iku of land, (measured?) [by the "purchase-rope"],  
Obv. ii 1) [Ē-me-nam-nun] [from E.]  
2) [dumu Lugal]-i[-z]i?-dè [son of L.],  
3) Ė-geistin-sīr E.,  
4) 1 Da-d[a] D.,  
5) ′i³ Gu-ni-du (and) G.,  
6) dumu UD.MÁ.NIN₉ sum-pa-tr[me] sons of U.,  
7) ′lugal gān]-i[šè] the "lords of the field",  
8) Lum-m[a-tur] L.  
9) dumu Ėn-an-[na-tūm] son of E.,  
10) en₉-{si} the governor of  
11) Laga₉-[K]₉-ka-ke₄ L.,  
12) e-[ñ]-[ē]-šám ′bought′.  
13) [iku 1-₉a] [Of 1 iku of land]  
14) [še 2 gur-sag-gāl-ta] [(its) barley (equivalent) is 2 gsg];  
15) [še-bi] 20 [lā 1(gur)] 2(ul) [gur-sag-gāl] the (corresponding) 18.21 [gsg of barley],  
16) nig-[šām gán-kam] [the "price" [of the field],  
17) [šu-ba-ti] [of the sellers] received.  
18) 2½? [sig-bar-udu-bar] Commodities  
19) 1! [i šakan]  
20) 1 [ŠU.KEŠDA]  
21) 20 ninda-[šè]  
22) 5 n(n[d]-kalag  
23) 20 ku₄-dar-ra  
24) 5 tu₇ siša  
25) 1 sa lu₉AR  
26) 1 sa ga-raq₉AR  
Lo. E. ii 27) [Ē-me-nam-nun] [E.]  
28) [dumu Lugal-zi?-dè] [son of L.],  
29) nig-ba-šé [as the gift],  
30) [šu-ba-ti] [received].
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

Rev. ii 31) [É-geštin-sir] [3 PNs]
32) [1 Da-da]
33) [1 Gu-ni-du]
34) [dumu UD.MÁ.NINA,ŠUM-pal]-e-[me]
35) [lu]gal f-gán-me
the "lords of the field",
36) [Lu]gal-ša-pád
4 PNs,
37) [dumu] É-me-nam-nun-ka
38) Sag?-šu-du,
39) dumu É-geštin-sir
40) UD.MÁ.NINA,ŠUM-pa-è
41) dumu Da-da
42) Lugal-Anzu₄,(AN.IM.MI.
MUSEN)
43) dumu Gu-ni-du
44) dumu gán-me
the "sons of the field,"
45) lú 1-še
per each person
46) 5 ninda-še
Commodities,
47) 1 ninda-kalag
48) 3 tu₇ sīlā
49) 3 kū₇-dar-ra
50) 1 sa ga-ra₇ŠAR
51) 1 sīlā še-sa
52) nīg-ša-še
as the gift,
53) šu-ba-ši
received.
54) É-me-nam-nun-ke₄
E.
55) kag-bi é-gar₄-ra bi-dū
drove this nail into the wall
56) l-bi zag-[gi b]i-ag
(and) spread the oil on the side.

Obv. iii 1) [i(eše) 3]/₄ (iku) f-gán³ ėš šam-
ma-ta [9]½ iku of land, (measured?) by the "purchase-
2) Ba-ni
rope,"
3) Ba-lum
from B.
(and) B.
5) [p]aš-b-[šeš³]
[so]ns of 'A.₁,
6) Ú-[t]i
the 'pab-šeš³-priest,
7) KA₄-[IM-ti]?
'U.₁
8) DUMU M[u-ni]-kala[m-ma-
m]e
(sons of [M.],
9) [Mes-sa]
[ M.]
10) [dumu A-ZU.AB-si]
[son of A.],
11) [É-ži]
[(and) E.]
12) [dumu] TAR.ḪU
[son of T.],
13) [lugal gán-še]
[the "lords of the field"],
14) [Lum-ma-tur]
[L.]
15) [dumu] En-an-na-täm
[son of E.],
16) [en-si]
[the governor of]
17) [Lagaš⁴]-ka-ke₄
[L.],
18) [e-ne-šeš-am]
[bought].
19) [iku] 1[-a]
[Of] 1 [iku of land]
20) [še] 2[ gur-sag-gál]-ta
[(its] barley (equivalent) is] 2 [gsg];
21) [še]-ʃ-bi₇ 20 lat 1(gur) 2(ul) gur-
sag-gál
the (corresponding) 18.2. gsg of [barley],
22) [ni]l₁-šam gán-kam
the price of the field,
23) šu-ba-ti
(the sellers) received.
24) 3+[x] sig-bar-udu-[bar]
Commodities
25) [I] i šakan
26) [I] 'ŠU.KEŠDA₁
27) [x] ninda-še
28) [x ninda-kalag]
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

29) [x ku₆-dar-ra] [B.]
30) [x tu₇ si]là [son of A.]
31) [I sa luŠAR] [as the gift],
32) [I sa ga-rašŠAR] [received].

Rev. iii
33) [I Ba-nil] [B.]
34) [dumu Ad-da-τur] [son of A.],
35) [nig-ba-še] [as the gift],
36) [šu-ba]-ti [received].
37) [I Ba-[lum]] B.
38) dumu Ad-da-τur son of A.,
39) [I Ū-ti] U.
40) [1 KA+1M-[i]]? (and) K.
41) dumu Mu-ni-kalam-[m[a-m]e] sons of M.,
42) [I Mes-ša] M.
43) dumu A-ZU.AB-si son of A.,
44) [I Ė-zi] E.
45) dumu TAR.HU son of T.,
46) lugal gán-me the "lords of the field,"
47) [1 GIŠGAL-ir-nun] G.
48) [I Lum-ma-ki-gal-la] (and) L.
49) dumu Ú-ti-me sons of U.,
50) [1 DUG.RU-ma-da-āg] D.,
51) [I Di-Utu] D.,
52) [1 A-šu-El] (and) A.
53) dumu Ba-ni-me sons of B.,
54) dumu gán-me the "sons of the field,"
55) [lù 1-šè] per each person Commodities,
56) 5 ninda-še
57) 1 ninda-kalag
58) 3 tu₇ silà
59) 3 ku₆-dar-ra
60) [I sa ga-rašŠAR]
61) 1 silà še-sa
62) nig-ba-še as the gift,
63) šu-ba-ti received.
64) Ba-nil B.
65) kag-bi é-gar₉ bi-dû drove this nail into the wall
66) i-bi zag-gi bi-[a[g] (and) spread the oil on the side.

U. E. iii
67) [I(eše) [2]¼ (iku) gán 18½ iku of land,
Obv. iv 1) [gán . . . ] [the field . . . ];
2) [l(būr) 3(iku) gán] 21 iku of land,
3) gán sag-[du₇-ka]
4) É-barag-šu-du₇ the field of the field recorder;
5) [dam₁ Amar-tûr]
6) [šag-[du₇]-k¹]¹ the field recorder,
7) [Ama-barag-si] [A.]
8) [dam Ur-[Dumu-zī-da]?
9) [En-SAL.US.DI-zi] [wife of U.?,
10) [Inim-ma-ni-zi] [E.],
11) [Nin-kal-SI.A] [I.],
12) [Lugal-x-ni-x] [N.],
13) [Me-kisal-si?] [L.],
14) [A- . . . ] [M.],
15) [Lū- . . . ] [and) L.]
16) [dumu Amar-tûr] [children of A.],
16a) [sag-du₇-ka-me] [the field recorder],
17) [lugal gán-še] [the "lords of the field"],
18) [Lum-ma-tur] [L.]
19) [dumu En-an-na-tûm] [son of E.],
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

Lo. E. iv
30) 1 $U.[KESDA]
31) [x ninda-še]
32) [x ninda-kalag]
33) [x ku₂-dar-ra]
34) [x tu₁ sila]

Rev. iv
35) [...]\n36) [...]
37) 2 $x(-x)²-[KEŠDA]
38) $É₃-[bağrag-šu-du₇]
39) Ama-barag-si
40) níg-ba-šê
41) šu-ba-ti
42) $En-SAL₁.U₇.$[DI-zī]
43) Inim-ma-ni-zi
44) Nin⁻kal-SI.A₁
45) Lugal-fx₁⁻ni-[x]
46) Me-kisal-[si]?
47) A⁻... \n48) Lū-[...]
49) dumu Amar-[tūr]
50) sag⁻du₉-kal⁻me
51) ⟨lugal gán-me⟩
52) Lāl?-li-[i]?
53) Barag-ul-tu
54) dumu Ur⁻dUmu-zi-da-me
55) Nin-uru-ni-še-ḫi-li
56) dam Inim-ma-ni-zi
57) Igi-zi-barag-gi
58) Ur⁻dNin-PA
59) Ur⁻dGU₄⁻fx₁
60) Barag-ga-[ni]
61) dumu In[mim-ma]-ni-[zi-me]
62) Dug⁻[...]
63) d[umu ...]

U. E. iv
64) [dumu gán-me]
65) [lū₁-šē]
66) [5 ninda še]
67) 1 n[inda kalag]
68) [3 tu₁ sila]
69) [3 ku₂-dar-ra]
(beg. of cols. v and vi destr.)
(rest of cols. v and vi blank)

Notes
i 1, 60, iii 1, 67, and iv 2.—Although nowhere fully and clearly written, it can be safely assumed that the first three fields (i 1, 60, iii 1) were of the same size, namely 9½ iku. This can be reconstructed from i 12–14 (and elsewhere), which indicate that the price was 18 gur-sag-
gál and 2 ul of barley, at the rate of 2 gur-sag-gál of barley for 1 iku of land. Thus:
18 gur-sag-gál še = 9 iku
2 ul še = ½ iku
(N.B.: 1 gur-sag-gál = 4 ul = 144 sila)
By the same reckoning of 2 gur-sag-gal of barley for one iku of land, we learn that the fourth field, comprising two parcels (ii 67, iv 2), was 29% iku in size and cost 58% gur-sag-gal of barley.

The area of the field is followed by 6 šām-ma-ta in three cases in no. 22 (all partially preserved), in several cases in no. 23 (all reconstructed), and in App. to nos. 22-23 (fully preserved). The interpretation of x gān šām-ma-ta “land (measured?) by the ‘purchase rope’” is uncertain. If this tentative translation is correct, the term šām would denote a certified measuring rope that was used in purchases of land. There are no occurrences of šām outside Lagash. However, a parallel case of the usage of such a term may be found in x GAN ES,GID SLSA “x field (measured by the standard?) measuring rope” in nos. 30a ii 1’ and rev. iii 14, iv 16.

Photographs: Plates 43 and 44. Fragments a and c from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, fragment b from the Louvre Museum, Paris.

Copy: Plates 42-44, copied by Green from photographs and copies of originals by Gelb.

Synopsis: Plates 97-100.

Provenience: Girshu (Telloh).

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Sumerian.

Present location: a) Istanbul Museum, ESEM 4808
b) Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 4464
c) Istanbul Museum, ESEM 2517

Publication:
a) Unpublished
b) Unpublished
c) Cros, NFT pp. 246 and 262ff. (copy by Thureau-Dangin); Edzard, SRU no. 118

Description of a): Fragment of light-buff limestone. Measurements of the inscribed surface of the obverse are 15.1 × 13.8 cm; of the reverse 17 × 18.2 cm. Thickness is about 8.2 cm. All edges are broken away and both sides are flat. Viewed from the side, the grain of the stone varies in color: the upper half, near the obverse, is darker than the lower half, near the reverse.

Description of b): This fragment, acquired in 1906 from Géjou, a dealer of antiquities, is of light-buff limestone, measuring 10 × 17.7 cm and roughly triangular in shape. Thickness varies from 5.5 to 7.7 cm. Only the obverse, which is flat, is preserved; the reverse and all edges are broken away. Viewed from the side, the grain of the stone varies in color: the upper half, near the obverse, is darker than the lower half, near the reverse. We acknowledge with thanks the kind cooperation of the late J. Nougayrol, who offered us this stone fragment for publication.

Description of c): Fragment of light-buff limestone, measuring 16 × 18 × 7.5 cm. The fragment is the upper right corner of the tablet and has the obverse, upper edge, and right edge preserved. The reverse is completely broken away. Viewed from the side, the grain of the stone varies in color: the upper half, near the obverse, is darker than the lower half, near the reverse.

Composite description: Since all three fragments share the same characteristic variation in the grain of the stone, there is no doubt that they form part of the same inscription. In the summer of 1963, Miss Lucienne Laroche of the Louvre Museum staff prepared a plaster cast of AO 4464 (= fragment b), which Gelb subsequently took to Istanbul to see whether the Louvre fragment would join the corner piece published by Cros, NFT p. 263 (= fragment c), in the Istanbul Museum. When he discovered that Istanbul Museum 4808 (= fragment a) belonged to the same tablet, he tried all three fragments for possible “joins.” The only possible “join” is between fragments b) and c), where the right side of b) fits along the left side of c). At that point the two fragments fit more or less together, but not tightly. Considering the fact that a plaster cast of the Louvre fragment was used in place of the original for this test, it is not surprising that the two pieces did not fit snugly. The correct positioning of these two pieces is shown by the fact that the beginnings of lines in three separate columns preserved in fragment b) are continued in fragment c).

Knowledge of the structure of the inscription, coupled with the physical characteristics of the fragments, allows all three pieces to be placed in their proper positions.
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relative to one another. See plate 42 and below under Text. On the basis of the assumptions made in the reconstruction of the text, the original inscription was a tablet that measured approximately $52 \times 40 \times 8.2$ cm.

Text: The original tablet bore at least eleven columns. It is possible that there were more columns at the beginning of the inscription since the left edge of the tablet is not preserved. However, the last three preserved columns of the obverse of fragment a) are the continuation, after a gap of four or five lines, of the first three preserved columns of fragments b) and c), which have the right edge preserved. The tablet was originally inscribed on the obverse, lower edge, reverse, and upper edge, and the sequence of the inscription followed the same order as that of no. 22. This sequence is clearly demonstrated by fragment c), which has the upper edge and obverse preserved. In each case where the end of a column is preserved on the upper edge, the text continues in the next column over on the obverse. This same sequence for the text is also found in no. 22.

For relationships between nos. 23 and 22, as well as between these two kudurrus and the sale document here published as App. to nos. 22–23, see the introductory remarks to no. 22, under Text.

The tablet originally recorded at least nine individual purchases of land by Lummatur, son of Enanatum, the governor of Lagash. The missing text of the individual transactions is restored freely with the constraints of the preserved portions of the inscriptions, the fixed sequence of the formulary, and an assumption of approximately equal length for each column. The first two factors force the numerical value for the third, which, to fit the required text into the gaps, requires a column length of approximately thirty-five lines for both obverse and reverse. In this calculation, the lower edge is included with the obverse while the upper edge is included with the reverse. Where the upper edge is actually preserved, it is indicated but still counted with the reverse. The assumed number of thirty-five lines per column is actually the number of cases per column and does not count the number of lines of writing in each case. It can be seen from the preserved portions of the tablet that the cases vary in height. However, because of the repetitive nature of the transactions, the differences in case height tend to average out over the length of the columns giving each column approximately the same number of cases. As a check on this, the amount of space taken up by a number of consecutive cases was measured at six places in the preserved parts of the inscription and a value of 1.72 cm per case was obtained, with the greatest variations being 1.48 and 2.09 cm per case. This value of 1.72 cm per case was used to reconstruct the vertical dimension of the tablet as approximately 52 cm, by multiplying it by the assumed column length of 35 cases and allowing 8 cm for the upper and lower edges.

The only real variation in the length of each transaction is caused by the number of personal names included in it, since the number of lines required for the formulary is more or less fixed. Large numbers of personal names may occur in two places in the transaction: near the beginning in the description of the field where the names of the owners of the field are given (including the primary owners); and near the end of the transaction before the list of commodities given to the secondary owners of the field and to the children of the owners. Because of that fact, the reconstructed amount of space allowed for personal names near the end of the transaction is larger than the amount of space allowed for personal names near the beginning.

The reconstruction of the text assumes that the inscription begins with two transactions of average length, with the first preserved column of fragment a) being the first column of the inscription. Next, a very short transaction begins in obv. iii 6, which continues only to the end of the column on the obverse (actually lower edge). This reconstruction is required by the preserved portions of the text, which do not leave room for even the required formulary without considering personal names. This can only be accommodated by assuming that there is only a primary owner and no secondary owners or children of the owner and that the portion of the inscription which normally deals with these latter two is not included in the text. Note that the gap which forces this reconstruction is between the obverse and reverse of the same fragment, and so the problem cannot be resolved by assuming the incorrect positioning of two fragments relative to one another.

The text continues with five transactions of normal length to obv. vii 31. At this point begins what is either two fairly short transactions or one lengthy one. The present reconstruction favors the latter possibility because it is easier to fit to the preserved portions of the inscription and, moreover, a transaction of this length also occurs in no. 22. Following the final transaction, there begins in obv. ix 11 a list of witnesses who are not marked with a Personenkeil, and who receive gifts. Here the reconstructed number of lines is probably misleading, since this section consists almost entirely of personal names which tend to have more lines of writing per case and hence fewer cases per column. For this reason, the reconstructed line total should not be taken to indicate the number of witnesses listed. Following the list of commodities received by these witnesses, there begins in obv. x 1 a list of witnesses who are marked with a Personenkeil and who do not receive gifts. This list continues to obv. xi 1. In obv. xi 2 begin the names of the surveyors. It cannot be determined how much more of col. xi was inscribed since it breaks off after the names of the surveyors, and col. xi of the upper edge is not inscribed.

No. 23 has the same formulary as no. 22, except that it gives the rate and the price in both šé "barley" and sig "wool" (i 13–18). For the translation, see no. 22.

Transliteration

Obv. i 1) [x(iku) gān ēš šām-ma-ta] 2) [PN] 3) [PN₂] 4) [PN₃] 5) [PN₄] 6) [dumu PNₓ-me]
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

7) [lugal gân-še]
8) [Lum-ma-tur]
9) [dumu En-an-na-túm]
10) [en-si]
11) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]
12) [e-ne-še-šám]
13) [iku 1-a]
14) [še gur-2-ul 2-ta]
15) [iku 1-a]
16) [sig-SÂ,ŠÈ 3 ma-na-ta]
17) [še-bi x gur-2-ul]
18) [sig-bi x ma-n]a²
19) [nig-šâm? [gân-kam]
20) [šu-ba-ti]
21) [x sig-bar-udu]
22) [1 i šakan]
23) [1 ŠU.KEŠDA]
24) [x ninda-še]
25) [x ninda-kalag]
26) [x ku₄-dar-ra]
27) [x tu₇, silâ]
28) [x silâ še-sa]
29) [x sa ga-ra-ŠAR]
30) [PN]
31) [dumu PN₄]
32) [nig-ba-še]
33) [šu-ba-ti]
34) [PN₂]
35) [PN₃]

Rev. i 1) [PN₄]
2) [dumu PN₄-me]
3) [lugal gân-me]
4) [PN₃]
5) [dumu PN]
6) [PN₃]
7) [dumu PN₄]
8) [PN₄]
9) [dumu PN₃]
10) [PN₅]
11) [dumu PN₄]
12) [dumu gân-me]
13) [lú 1-še]
14) [x ninda-še]
15) [1 ninda-kalag]
16) [x ku₄-dar-ra]
17) [x tu₇, silâ]
18) [1 udu]
19) [1 silâ še-sa]
20) [1 sa ga-ra-ŠAR]
21) [nig-ba-še]
22) [šu-ba-ti]
23) [PN]
24) [kag-bi é-gar₄, bi-dù]
25) [1-bi zag-gi bi-ag]
26) [x(iku) gân-š ūš šám-ma-ta]
27) [PN]
28) [dumu PN₄]
29) [PN₃]
30) [PN₃]
31) [PN₄]
32) [PN₃]
33) [dumu PN₄-me]
34) [PN₃]
35) [PN₃]

Obv. ii 1) [dumu PN₄-me]
2) [PN₃]
3) [PN₃]
4) [dumu PN₄-me]
5) [lugal gân-še]
6) [Lum-ma-tur]
7) [dumu En-an-na-túm]
8) [en-si]
9) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]
10) [e-ne-še-šám]
11) [iku 1-a]
12) [še gur-2-ul 2-ta]
13) [iku 1-a]
14) [sig-SÂ,ŠÈ 3 ma-na-ta]
15) [še-bi x gur-2-ul]
16) [sig-bi? [x]+15 [ma]-n[a]
17) [nig]-šâm gân-kam
18) šu-ba-ti
19) 43+[2]? sig-bar-udu
20) [1 i šakan]
21) [1 ŠU.KEŠDA]
22) [x ninda-še]
23) [x ninda-kalag]
24) [x ku₄-dar-ra]
25) [x tu₇, silâ]
26) [x silâ še-sa]
27) [x sa ga-ra-ŠAR]
28) [PN]
29) [dumu PN₄]
30) [nig-ba-še]
31) [šu-ba-ti]
32) [PN₃]
33) [PN₃]
34) [PN₄]
35) [PN₃]

Fragt. a) 1) [PN₄]
2) [dumu PN₄-me]
3) [lugal gân-me]
4) [PN₃]
5) [dumu PN]
6) [PN₃]
7) [dumu PN₄]
8) [PN₄]
9) [dumu PN₃]
10) [PN₅]
11) [dumu PN₄]
12) [dumu gân-me]
13) [lú 1-še]
14) [x ninda-še]
15) [1 ninda-kalag]
16) [x ku₄-dar-ra]
17) [x tu₇, silâ]
18) [1 udu]
19) [1 silâ še-sa]
20) [1 sa ga-ra-ŠAR]
21) [nig-ba-še]
22) [šu-ba-ti]
23) [PN]
24) [kag-bi é-gar₄, bi-dù]
25) [1-bi zag-gi bi-ag]
26) [x(iku) gân-š ūš šám-ma-ta]
27) [PN]
28) [dumu PN₄]
29) [PN₃]
30) [PN₃]
31) [PN₄]
32) [PN₃]
33) [dumu PN₄-me]
34) [PN₃]
35) [PN₃]

Fragt. a) 1) [PN₄]
2) [dumu PN₄-me]
3) [lugal gân-me]
4) [PN₃]
5) [dumu PN]
6) [PN₃]
7) [dumu PN₄]
8) [PN₄]
9) [dumu PN₃]
10) [PN₅]
11) [dumu PN₄]
12) [dumu gân-me]
13) [lú 1-še]
14) [x ninda-še]
15) [1 ninda-kalag]
16) [x ku₄-dar-ra]
17) [x tu₇, silâ]
18) [1 udu]
19) [1 silâ še-sa]
20) [1 sa ga-ra-ŠAR]
21) [nig-ba-še]
22) [šu-ba-ti]
23) [PN]
24) [kag-bi é-gar₄, bi-dù]
25) [1-bi zag-gi bi-ag]
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Obv. iii
1) [nig-ba-šê]
2) [šu-ba-ti]
3) [PN]
4) [kag-bi é-gar₃ bi-dû]
5) [i-bi zag-gi bi-ag]

Fragt. a)

6) [22½ (iku) gän es šam-ma-ta]
7) [PN]
8) [dumu PN₃]
9) [lugal gän-šê]
10) [Lum-ma-tur]
11) [dumu En-an-na-tûm]
12) [en₃-sî]
13) [Lagaš₃-ka-ke₄]
14) [e-šê]-šâm
15) [iku] 1-a
16) [sig-ŠA-SÈ1 ma-na-ta³]
17) sig-bi 67 ma-na
18) nig-šâm gän-kam
19) šu-ba-ti
20) 33 sig-bar-udu
21) [1 i šakan]
22) [1 ŠU.KEŠDA]
23) [x ninda-šê]
24) [x ninda-kalag]
25) [x ku₈-dar-ra]
26) [x tu₇ silâ]
27) [x silâ še-sa]
28) [x sa ga-ra₅SAR]
29) [PN]
30) [dumu PN₃]
31) [nig-ba-šê]
32) [šu-ba-ti]
33) [PN]
34) [kag-bi é-gar₃ bi-dû]
35) [i-bi zag-gi bi-ag]

Rev. iii
1) [x(iku) gän es šam-ma-ta]
2) [Dug₃-ga-ni] (= obv. iv 21)
3) [PN₃] (= [X]₃-barag-si³ of obv. iv 7)
4) [PN₃]
5) [dumu PN₃]
6) [lugal gän-šê]
7) [Lum-ma-tur]
8) [dumu En-an-na-tûm]
9) [en₃-sî]
10) [Lagaš₃-ka]-ke₄¹
11) [e]-šê-[šê]-šâm
12) [iku] 1-a
13) [še gjur-2-[u]l 2]-ta
14) [iku] 1-a
15) [sig-ŠÀ-SÈ 3 ma-na-ta]
16) [še-bi x gur-2-ul]
17) sig-bi x ma-na
18) [nig-šâm gän-kam]
19) [šu-ba-ti]
20) [x sig-bar-udu]
21) [1 i šakan]
22) [1 ŠU.KEŠDA]
23) [x ninda-šê]
24) [x ninda-kalag]
25) [x ku₈-dar-ra]
26) [x tu₇ silâ]
27) [x silâ še-sa]
28) [x sa ga-ra₅SAR]
29) [Dug₃-ga-ni]
30) [dumu PN₃]
31) [nig-ba-šê]
32) [šu-ba-ti]
33) [PN₃] (= [X]₃-barag-si³ of obv. iv 7)

Fragt. b)

6) [. . .]-ma?!³
7) [dumu XI³-barag-si³]
8) [PN₃]
9) [dumu PN₃]
10) [dumu gän-šê]
11) [lù 1-šê]
12) [x udu]
13) 5 ninda-šê
14) 1 ninda-kalag
15) 3 tu₇ silâ
16) 3 ku₇-dar-ra
17) 1 sa ga-ra₅SAR
18) 1 silâ še-sa³
19) nig-ba-šê
20) šu-ba-ti
21) Dug₃-ga-ni (= rev. iii 2)
22) kag-bi é-gar₃ bi-dû
23) [i-bi] zag-gi [gi bi-ag]

Fragt. a)

24) [x(iku) gän es šam-ma-ta]
25) [PN] (= [. . .]-mu³-[. . .]-zu of obv. v 7)
26) [PN₃]
27) [dumu PN₃-me]
28) [lugal gän-šê]
29) [Lum-ma-tur]
30) [dumu En-an-na-tûm]
31) [en₃-sî]
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

32) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]
33) [e-ne-še-šam]
34) [iku 1-a]
35) [še gur-2-ul 2-ta]
36) [iku 1-a]

Rev. iv
1) [sig-SA.SÈ 3 ma-na-ta]
2) [še-bi x gur-2-ul]
3) [sig-bi x ma-na]
4) [nig-sam gán-kam]
5) [šu-ba-ti]
6) [x sig-bar-udu]
7) [1 šakkan]
8) [1 ŠU.KESDA]
9) [x ninda-še]
10) 1 ninda-kalag
11) 1 tu₇ sila
12) 20 ku₆-dar-ra¹
13) 1 ninda-i
14) 3 sila [x]
15) 1 sila še-[sa]
16) 1 sila [x]
17) 1 sum-gu¹
18) 1 'sa ga¹-[rašSAR]
19) [PN] (= obv. iv 25)
20) [dumu PN₁]
21) [nig-ba-šè]
22) [šu-ba-ti]
23) [PN₂]
24) [dumu PN₃]
25) [lugal gán-kam]
26) [PN₃]
27) [dumu PN₃]
28) [PN₄]
29) [dumu PN₂]
30) [dumu PN₃]
31) [lú 1-šè]
32) [x ninda-še]
33) [1 ninda-kalag]
34) [x ku₆-dar-ra]

Obv. v
1) [x tu₇ sila]
2) [1 udu]
3) [1 sila še-sa]
4) [1 sa ga-raSAR]
5) [nig-ba-šè]
6) [šu-ba-ti]
7) [PN₁]
8) [PN₂]
9) [PN₃]
10) [PN₄]
11) [PN₃]
12) [PN₄]
13) [PN₃]

Fragt. a)
10) 1 ninda-kalag
11) 1 tu₇ sila
12) 20 ku₆-dar-ra¹
13) 1 ninda-i
14) 3 sila [x]
15) 1 sila še-[sa]
16) 1 sila [x]
17) 1 sum-gu¹
18) 1 'sa ga¹-[rašSAR]
19) [PN] (= obv. iv 25)
20) [dumu PN₁]
21) [nig-ba-šè]
22) [šu-ba-ti]
23) [PN₂]
24) [dumu PN₃]
25) [lugal gán-kam]
26) [PN₃]
27) [PN₄]
28) [PN₃]
29) [PN₄]
30) [PN₄]
31) [dumu PN₁-me]
32) [PN₂-me]
33) [dumu PN₄]
34) [dumu PN₃-
35) [dumu PN₃-
36) [dumu PN₄-
37) [dumu PN₄-
38) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]

Fragt. b)
7) [. . .]- disgusted [. . .]-zu
27) [14½ or 14¾(iku) gán šè šam-ma-ta]
28) [PN]
29) [PN₂]
30) [dumu PN₃-me]
31) [PN₃]
32) [PN₄]
33) [dumu PN₄-me]
34) [lugal gán-šè]
35) [Lum-ma-tur]
36) [dumu En-an-na-tūm]
37) [en₅-si]
38) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]

Obv. vi
1) [e-ne-še-šam]
2) [iku 1-a]
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Fragt. b)

3) [še gu]r-2-[ul] ¡2ª-ta
4) [iku] 1-a
5) sig-ŠA.ŠE 3 ma-na-ta
6) [še-bi] 30 lat 1 gur-2-ul
7) sig-bi 43 ma-[na]
8) [nig-šám gán-kam]
9) [šu-ba-ti]
10) [x sig-bar-udu]
11) [1 i šakan]
12) [1 ŠU.KEŠDA]
13) [x ninda-še]
14) [ninda-kalag]
15) 20 ku₄-[dar-ra]
16) [tu₄ sila]
17) 2+[x sila še-sa]
18) [1 sa ga-rašSAR]
19) [PN]
20) [dumu PN₁]
21) [nig-ba-še]
22) [šu-ba-ti]
23) [PN₂]
24) [dumu PN₁]
25) [PN₃]
26) [PN₄]
27) [dumu PN₅-me]
28) [lugal gán-me]
29) [PN₅]
30) [dumu PN]
31) [PN₆]
32) [dumu PN₂]
33) [PN₇]
34) [dumu PN₃]
35) [PN₈]
36) [dumu PN₄]

Rev. vi
1) [dumu gán-me]
2) [iš 1-še]
3) [x ninda-še]
4) [1 ninda-kalag]
5) [x ku₄-dar-ra]
6) [x tu₄ sila]
7) [1 udu]
8) [1 sila še-sa]
9) [1 sa ga-rašSAR]
10) [nig-ba-še]
11) [šu-ba-ti]
12) [PN]
13) [kag bi é-gar₄ bi-dü]
14) [i-bi zag-gi bi-ag]
15) 2(būr)? [x(iku)] gán es šam-ma-ta
16) [UD.MA.NINA.KI.ŠUM-düg]
(= obv. vii 7)
17) [PN₂]?
18) [dumu Ur-4Dumu-zi-da-še]
(= obv. vii 8)
19) [lugal gán-še]
20) [Lum-ma-tur]
21) [dumu En-an-na-tüm]
22) [en₅-si]
23) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]
24) [e-ne-še-sám]
25) [iku 1-a]
26) [še gur-2-ul 2-ta]
27) [iku 1-a]
28) [sig-ŠA.ŠE 3 ma-na-ta]
29) [še-bi x gur-2-ul]
30) [sig-bi x ma-na]
31) [nig-šám gán-kam]
32) [šu-ba-ti]
33) [x sig-bar-udu]
34) [1 i šakan]
35) [1 ŠU.KEŠDA]
36) [x ninda-še]
37) [̄]
38) [i-bi zag-gi bi-ag]
39) [14½ or 14¾(iku)] gán es šam-ma-ta
40) [INIM-MA-NI-NI-ZI]
(= obv. ix 8)
41) [PN₂]
42) [dumu Ur-4Dumu-zi-da-še]
(= obv. vii 8)
43) [lugal gán-še]
44) [Lum-ma-tur]
45) [dumu En-an-na-tüm]
46) [en₅-si]
47) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]

Fragt. a)

15) 2(būr)? [x(iku)] gán es šam-ma-ta
16) [UD.MA.NINA.KI.ŠUM-düg]
(= obv. vii 7)
17) [PN₂]?
18) [dumu Ur-4Dumu-zi-da-še]
(= obv. viii 8)
19) [lugal gán-še]
20) [Lum-ma-tur]
21) [dumu En-an-na-tüm]
22) [en₅-si]
23) [LagašKI-ka-ke₄]
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31)</td>
<td>[e-ne-šē-šām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32)</td>
<td>[iku 1-a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fragt. c) U. E. vii**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33)</td>
<td>šē gur[1-2]-ul 2-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34)</td>
<td>iku 1-a</td>
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**Obv. viii**

<p>| | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>še-bi 30 lal 1 gur-2-ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>sig-bi 43 ma-na</td>
</tr>
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**Fragts. b-c)**

<p>| | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>nīg-šām gān-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>šu-[b]a-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>20 sig-[b]ar[1]-udu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>l i šak[an]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Obv. ix**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>šU.KESDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>[x] 'ninda-šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>[x ninda-kalag]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>[x ku₆-[dar]-ra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>[x tu₅, siša]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>[x šiša še-sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>[x sa ga-raš[AR] ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14)</td>
<td>[nim-ma-ni-zi] (= obv. ix 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15)</td>
<td>[dumu PN₇]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td>[nig-ba-šē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17)</td>
<td>[šu-ba-ti]</td>
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**Rev. viii 1–31) [ ] [ ]**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32)</td>
<td>[dumu gān-me]</td>
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**Fragt. c) U. E. viii**

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<table>
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<tr>
<td>33)</td>
<td>lū 1-šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34)</td>
<td>7 ninda-šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35)</td>
<td>[i]¹ nim-ma-kalag</td>
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**Obv. ix**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>5 ku₆-[dar]-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>[x tu₅, siša]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>[x udu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>[x šiša še-sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>[x sa ga-raš[AR] ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>[nig-ba-šē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>[šu-ba-ti]</td>
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**Rev. ix 1–26) [ ] [ ]**

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<tr>
<td>27)</td>
<td>[lū-ki-inim-ma-bi-me?]</td>
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<tr>
<td>28)</td>
<td>[lū 1-šē]</td>
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<tr>
<td>29–32)</td>
<td>[ ] [ ]</td>
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**Fragt. c) U. E. ix**

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<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33)</td>
<td>[x]¹-i₃ šiša i-[sag]¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34)</td>
<td>[nig-ba gān-kam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35)</td>
<td>[šu][ba-ti]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Obv. x**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12–35)</td>
<td>[ ] [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27)</td>
<td>[lū-ki-inim-ma-bi-me?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28)</td>
<td>[lū 1-šē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29–32)</td>
<td>[ ] [ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rev. x 1–33) [ ] [ ]**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34)</td>
<td>[1] Lugal-nig-lu-lu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fragt. c) U. E. x**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35)</td>
<td>[1]X1-NI</td>
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**Obv. xi**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>lū-ki-inim-ma-bi-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>Ša-tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>Lugal-nam-mu-šub-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>[dub-sa-me]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>[lū-ga[n-gid-da-me]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

Obv. vi 2–7 and rev. vii 32—obv. viii 2.—The amounts of barley and wool listed in these two passages do not agree exactly with the reconstructed area of land. In both instances, the amount of barley is 29 gur-2-ul, which equals 14/2 iku at the rate of 2 gur-2-ul for 1 iku of land, while the amount of wool is 43 ma-na, which equals 14/3 iku at the rate of 3 ma-na for 1 iku. Since the size of the field is not preserved in either case, there is no way of resolving this discrepancy.

Obv. x 3–7.—The same two individuals appear in App. to nos. 22–23 v 8–vi 2.

Rev. x 34.—With the PN Lugal-nig-lu-lu, compare dUtu-nig-lu-lu in Ist. Mus. L. 30226, unpublished.

Appendix to nos. 22–23 = no. 144 Bibl. Mes. III 10

**Synopsis:** Plates 95, 96, and 100.

This sale document, which was excavated at Al-Hiba, is treated here because it closely parallels the two stone inscriptions of Lummatur (nos. 22–23) and thereby sheds important light on a number of controversial points in them.

For relationships between App. to nos. 22–23 and nos. 22 and 23, see the introductory remarks to no. 22 under Text.

The text concerns the acquisition of a single parcel of land by Lummatur, son of Enanatum, the governor of Lagash, from Ibmud, son of Anikura, of the family of E-ibzi. The size of the parcel is 16/2 iku, and it was purchased for 83 ul or 498 sila of barley. This corresponds to just a little over 5 ul or 30 sila per 1 iku of land or about ten times cheaper than the price of land in no. 22.

Although a large portion of the tablet is missing, the reconstruction of the text presents no difficulty. As can be seen from notes to i 2, iii 6–8, and iv 7, the text is not free of mistakes.

---

**Transliteration and Translation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i 1)</td>
<td>2(ēte) 4½(iku) gān ēš šām-ma-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>gān Gi-lugal-la(-ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>[i]b-mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>dumu A-ni-kur-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>[f]É₂-i₇-[zi]-ka-šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>Lum-ma-tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16½ iku of land, (measured?) by the “purchase rope,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the field Gi-lugal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from Ibmud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>son of Anikura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of (the household of) E-ibzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lummatur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7) dumu En-an-na-túm
8) en₃-sí
9) Lagas₃₅-ka-ke₄

ii 1) e-šè-šám
2) 20(gur) 3(ul) še gur-sag-gál
3) nig-šám gán-kám
4) šu-ba-tí
5) 10 šig-bar-udu
6) 1 šakan
7) 1 ŠU.KEŠDA
8) 5 ninda-kalag
9) 20 ninda-šè`t
10) 20 kuₙ₂-dar-ra
11) 5ŠSUₘ₁₃-silà`
12) 1 sa luSAR

iii 1) [x silà še-sa]? 
2) [x ninda-s]? 
3) [x ninda-sag]? 
4) [x sum-gu]? 
5) [1 sa ga-raSAR] 
6) [nig-ba] 
7) Ib-mud-šè! 
8) šu-ba-tí 
9) 1 Lugal-ša-pád-da 
10) 1 Lugal-fû-l-ma 
11) [d]umu Ŭ-[i]b-zí-me

iv 1) [lugal gán-me] [are the "lords of the field"].
2) [PN₁] [PN₁] 
3) [PN₂] [PN₂] 
4) [dumu Lugal-ša-pád-me]? [sons of Lugal-shapada]?,
5) [PN₃] [PN₃] 
6) dumu [Lugal-ú]-ma)? son of Lugal-uma?,
7) dumu gán(-kam)-me are the "sons of the field";
8) là 1-šè 
9) 1 ninda-kalag
10) 5 ninda-sè 
11) 3 tùs silà 
12) 3 kuₙ₂-dar-ra

v 1) [1 silà še-sa] 
2) [1 sa ga-raSAR] 
3) [nig-ba-šè] 
4) [šu-ba-tí] 
5) [Ib-mud] 
6) [kag-bì é-gâr₃-ra bi-dû] 
7) i-bì zag-gi bi-ag 
8) 1 Lugal-hè-gál-sir 
9) dub-sar-maḥ 
10) 1 É-š₄-nam-zu₁-šè 

vi 1) [gal-ukû] 
2) [ir é-šà-ga] 
3-5) [. . .] 
6) [1] Lugal-uru-bar 
7) 1 Lugal-d₄En-ši 
8) lû-us₅ 
9) Aššak₅ 
10) 1 Mes-š₃ki?⁻nùm 

vii 1-6) [. . .] 
7) [X-X-X] 
8) 1 L[um-ma]-₄[X] 
9) fX x₁ IR KU 
10) fŠSubûrʔ?
Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East

Rev. viii 1) ḫr ʾennī-sī GĀR
2) ḫ[L]ugal-[ṯ]ī[r̂]
3) ugula e-me-a [(x)]
4) I Du-[d][u]
5) enjo ki gu[b]
6) I Lū-[t] [. . .]
7-11) [ . . .]
ix 1) lū-gān-gi[d]-da-me
2) ḫ Mes-barag-si
3) ḫ Lūm-ma-en-TE.ME-na
4) ḫ Lūm-ma-EZEN+tX̔-gal
5-8) [( . . .)]
ix 1) I Lugal-barag-ga-ni-dūg
2) nu-banda ḫ Lūm-ma-tur-ka
3) I Nam-lugal-ni-dūg
4) tūl [. . .]
5-8) [ . . .]
(2-3 cols. blank)
xi 1) ud Šu-ni-al-dugud-đe
2) dumu-ni
3) Lūm-ma-tur-ra
4) gān Gi-lugal-la-ka
5) e-na-sām-a
6) ki-GRISERIN-ra-bi
7) ba-ba 4

Notes

i 2.—The reconstruction of gān Gi-lugal-la-(k) follows xi 4.
3-5.—For the structure PN PN2, “PN of (the household/family
of) PN2,” which is frequent in Fara and Pre-Sargonic sources, see in
detail Gelb in E. Lipinski, ed., State and Temple Economy in the
1b-mud occurs also in iii 7, and E-ib-zi in iii 11. The name 1b-mud
apparently occurs in the form 1b-d mud in the Abu Salabikh text OIP
99, 254 rev. vi 3 and perhaps also in 124 rev. i 2 and 485.
iii 6-8.—The sign SuS is clearly written between IB and MUD in
line 7. Based on parallels in nos. 22 and 23, we expect nīg-ba-šē 1b-
mud Su-ba-ti “Ibmud received as a gift.”
iv 7.—The writing dumu-gān-kam-me stands for dumu gān-me.
v 8-vi 2.—Both Lugal-hē-gal-sīr and E-nam-zu-tē, with the same
titles, reappear in no. 23 obv. x 3-7.
vii 9.—We cannot offer any reconstruction for this line.
viii 3.—The term e-me-a [(x)] is obscure.
viii 4-5.—For PN engar ki gu[b] “PN, the ‘farmer,’ who stood in
this place,” cf. PNs engar ki gu[b]-[TUŠ.TUŠ] of nos. 14 and
15, discussed in section 7.11.1.
xi 1-3.—According to this passage, Shuni-aldugud was the son of
Lummatur and therefore the grandson of Enanatum I. The same
person occurs in another inscription from Al-Hiba, published by
Biggs in Bibl. Mes. 3 p. 18 no. 2 and briefly discussed on p. 3. The latter
text records the building of KIB by Shuni-aldugud, who is
termed ir-ra-ni “his (i.e., Enanatum’s) servant.” An exact parallel to
the inscription published by Biggs is Sollberger, CIRPL En. I 10,
except that it names Lummatur, son of Enanatum, governor of
Lagash, in place of Shuni-aldugud and his attributes and titles.
xi 6.—The closest parallels to the term ki-GRISERIN-ra are e-ki-
ERIN-ra-ka (RTC 47 i 2), a location, cited in MAD 2 p. 212 under
no. 226, and e-ki-ERIN-ra (Sollberger, CIRPL Ukg 16 i 2), a
building burned down by a ruler of Umma [see now Steinkeller,
N.A.R.U. 1990/1 pp. 9f., who proposes the reading ki-GRISERIN-ra-bi].
The date “4th (year)” is written in the standard form of the Pre-
Sargonic texts from Lagash.

No. 24 Stela of Victory

Photograph: Plate 45, from DC II pl. 5bis 3c.
Copy: Plate 46, Thureau-Dangin, DC 2 p. LVII; collated by Gelb.
Provenience: Girshu (Tello); found in Tell K (Parrot,
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Sumerian.
Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 2679 (according to Parrot, loc. cit.).
Publications: L. Heuzey, RA 3 (1896) pp. 113-17, especially pp. 115ff. and pl. VI c (photo); Thureau-Dangin,
RS 5 (1897) pp. 166-73 (copy); idem, SAKI p. 170 (transliteration and translation); DC 2 p. LVII (copy)
and pl. 5bis 3c (photo of reverse only); B. R. Foster, Iraq
Description: The inscribed fragment is of limestone measuring
9 cm high, 26 cm wide.
Another limestone fragment, AO 2678, 34 cm high, 28
cm wide, bearing a relief in three registers on each side of
the fragment but no inscription, was published by Heuzey,
RA 3 (1896) pls. VI A and B. The preserved portions of the
fragment show battle scenes with the execution of
prisoners of war.
The scholars referred to above have taken for granted that the two fragments, inscribed and sculptured, formed
part of a large stela. Only Thureau-Dangin, RS 5 p. 166,
expressed caution by adding the adverb “probablement.”
Not to be confused with these two fragments is “stela
militaire” from Telloh discussed by Heuzey, RA 3 p. 113.
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

The very bulky block of limestone, 2 m wide, 85 cm high, and 20 cm thick, was covered by a partially preserved register of marching soldiers in relief, as shown in the excavation photo DC 2 pl. 56 fig. 2 and in the free drawing of Parrot, op. cit. p. 57 fig. a.

Foster, *Iraq* 47 pp. 15f., proposed that the Yale stone fragment YBC 2409, published in this volume as no. 39, formed part of the same inscription as no. 24. Foster also assumes, without providing any convincing evidence, that the sculptured fragment AO 2678 likewise belongs to the same stela (in fact, his own description of the physical characteristics of the latter piece, offered *ibid.* p. 15 n. 2, seems to contradict this conclusion).

The arguments in favor of connecting no. 39 with no. 24 are: 1) the fact that both pieces have a similar mineralogical analysis and composition (see the mineralogical analysis of nos. 24 and 39 by C. W. Skinner *apud* Foster, *op. cit.* pp. 29f.), and 2) that no. 39, like no. 24, stems from the general area of Girshu/Lagash. A strong argument against such an assumption is the fact that no. 39 was reused as a door socket, which necessarily means that, if nos. 24 and 39 are parts of the same stela, they were dispersed already in antiquity. In the circumstances, the probability of recovering two (or perhaps even three) fragments of the same object would be virtually nil. Further, if the first sign in no. 39 iii' 3' is KUG (as copied by Steinkeller—compare the photograph), then no. 39 would record a price, thus contrasting no. 24, whose preserved section lists neither prices nor additional payments.

In the same article, Foster proposes to date no. 24 to the reign of Rimush, basing this interpretation on the epigraphic evidence and his reconstruction of Rimush's name in rev. iv' 12' (incidentally, Foster's translation of the preceding line as "after he received kingship in Agade" is incorrect; the expected verbal form would have to be *su-ba-an-ti-a-ta*, and not *su-ba-ab-ti-a-ta*). The sole epigraphic argument offered by Foster is the alleged "archaic" form of LUGAL in rev. iv' 10'. This argument is simply untenable. On the other hand, Foster completely ignores other dating criteria of the script and language of the inscription. As concerns Foster's interpretation of the traces of the last sign in iv' 12' as US, this reading does not find sufficient support in the photograph of the inscription. In view of this, we see no reason to question the classical Sargonic date of no. 24, as determined already by Thureau-Dangin.

**Text:** The contents of the inscription should be divided into two parts: the part listing the assignment of individual fields, occupying the major part of the inscription, and the part listing totals, occupying the end of the inscription. This is the sequence followed by Thureau-Dangin in his transliteration, although he never tried to justify the discrepancy between his obverse-reverse designation and the sequence of columns i–iv on the reverse. The preserved units in the major part of the inscription are given in a standard order: first, the size and the name of the individual field or fields; then, the total size of these fields; and finally, the name of the recipient (plus his paternity and title). The titles of the recipients are "senior(s) messenger," "captain of the Amorites," and "senior carpenter."

Almost all the names of the fields recur in the Lagash/Girshu area:

- [g]an *Ú-[dūg]-KU₄ = gan *Ú-dūg-KU₄ in *RTC* 142 iv 1, Sargonic;
- gan d*Nanše*-gar-ra = a-ša 4*Nanše*-gar-ra in Pettinato, *UNL* no. 610, Ur III;
- gan *Ú*-dūg-ga = a-ša Ú-a-dūg-ga in Pettinato, *UNL* no. 785, Ur III;
- gan *Lagaš⁷¹ = a-ša sug Lagaš⁷¹ in Pettinato, *UNL* no. 84, Ur III;
- gan *Gir*-gir-maḥ: Pettinato, *UNL* nos. 374–77 lists a-ša GIR Gir and three other Ur III field names composed of GIR GIR with a qualifier, but not with -maḥ.

We interpret the grand total in rev. iv 6' as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>bûr</th>
<th>bûr</th>
<th>iku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6(sar-gal)</td>
<td>= 6 x 3,600</td>
<td>= 21,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(sar' –u-gunu)</td>
<td>= 5 x 600</td>
<td>= 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(sar)</td>
<td>= 1 x 60</td>
<td>= 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(bûr-gunu)</td>
<td>= 3 x 10</td>
<td>= 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(bûr)</td>
<td>= 4</td>
<td>= 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(esē)</td>
<td>= ⅚</td>
<td>= 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(iku)</td>
<td>= ⅛</td>
<td>= 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⅕(iku)</td>
<td>= ⅕</td>
<td>= ⅕</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 24,694 53/72 = 444,505 ⅘

The area of 444,505⅘ iku (as counted here and earlier in *MAD* 3 p. 269) corresponds to 24,694 bûr and 13⅜ iku or 156,837,450 m² (counted exactly) or slightly less than 40 km by 40 km. Counting differently, Thureau-Dangin, *RS* 5 p. 168 (and similarly in *idem*, *SAKI* p. 170) interpreted the total as 39,694 bûr and 13⅜ iku by reading the first two numbers as 11(sar-gal) in place of our 6(sar-gal) and 5(sar'–u-gunu). Thureau-Dangin's reading is improbable, perhaps impossible, in the light of his own observation in *RS* 5 p. 168 n. 3 that "on ne distingue aucune trace de barres transversales" in the first six circles, as confirmed by Gelb's own collation.

There is a slight possibility of reading 5(sar-gal), instead of 6(sar-gal), according to Thureau-Dangin's transliteration and Gelb's collation.

Within this large territory there were 17 uru-sag "17 main towns" and 8 maš-ga-na-sag "8 main settlements." The term uru-sag must denote the major towns within the territory of the province of Lagash, such as Girshu, Urub₄(UŘU+KÁR), Sirara, Ki'esh, Kinunir, and Guabba, all listed in *BM* 14618, which was discussed by Gelb, *StOr* 46 (1975) pp. 43–76. The exact definition of maš-ga-na-sag is not clear; it probably describes large villages or hamlets.
The rest of the inscription, reading A-ga-deKI nam-lugal ṣu-aba-ab-ti-a-ta [. . . ]x³, is to be translated "after Akkadé received the kingship, [. . . ]." Due to the absence of parallels, there is no way of knowing what followed next. The reconstruction [nam-en-ti-zi lagašK] [. . . ]-ra mun-na-ta-sum, "[la patesitat de Shirpourla à . . . fut donné]," proposed by Thureau-Dangin, RS 5 p. 169 (also idem, SAKI p. 171), is only a guess.

As far as one can ascertain, the purpose of no. 24 was to record the distribution of land among various types of royal dependents. In this connection, note especially the presence among the fields' recipients of a nu-banda MAR. TU-ne, a high military commander in charge of Amorite troops. In all probability, the land was distributed according to the prebendal (ŠUKU) system, in lieu of services (IL, Akk. ilkum) provided by its recipients for the crown. It seems likely that most, if not all, of the land listed in no. 24 had been obtained through the confiscation of temple holdings. However, there is no reason to suppose, as does Foster, op. cit. pp. 27ff., that this event was necessarily the outcome of a punitive military operation that had been carried out by an Akkadian king against Girshu/Lagash. At any rate, even if the confiscation of the fields in question had a military prelude, it seems unthinkable that a document recording the land's redistribution, to be publicly displayed in Girshu/Lagash, would have been adorned with a scene of the slaughter of Lagashites. This, we believe, constitutes an important argument against assuming a connection between no. 24 and the sculptured fragment AO 2678.

Transliteration

Obv.
1') [x gān UBLE[dug]-1KU² (rest destr.)
Rev. i'
1') [. . . ]x³ ṣe (rest destr.)
ii'
1') [. . . ] diri(IS.I.A)³
2') [2]+2(bur-gunu) gān 4nanše-gar-ra
3') 2(bur-gunu) gān U-a-dug-ga
4') [. . . ]x³ (rest destr.)
iii'
1') [su-nigin x] gān
2') [. . . ]-ṣag
3') [gal]-su-kkal
4') [3]+2(bur) gān sug lagašK¹
5') 5(bur-gunu) gān Gir-gir-maḥ (blank)
6') su-nigin 1(bur-gunu) gān
7') U-zé-Ma-liḵ
8') [nu]-banda Mar-tu-[n]e
9') [. . . ] gān? (rest destr.)
Rev. ii'
1') [x gān] giššE.DUG (double line)
2') [su-nigin? x] gān
3') [. . . ]x³
4') [Na]-ba-lu₃
5') [ni]gar-gal (blank)
6') su-nigin 6(sar-gal) 5(sar²u-gunu) 1(sar)
7') su-nigin 20 laš 3 uru-sag (double line)
8') su-nigin 8 maš-ga-na-sag (double line)
9') A-ga-deKI
10') nam-lugal
11') su-aba-ab-ti-a-ta
12') [. . . ]x³ (rest destr.)

No. 25 Nippur Statue

Photographs: Plates 47 and 48, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, prints P. 47407, 47408 from field negatives of 3N-360, 3N-361.
Copy: Plate 48, new copy by Biggs, based on the copy in OIP 97 (Chicago, 1978) p. 78 no. 1; collated from photographs.
Provenience: Nippur, found in the Northern Temple in locus NT 99 III 1, field no. 3N 402. It was "among several [statues] found in a cache, apparently buried when the cella of the temple was extended in Level II" (see Biggs, OIP 97 p. 71). Compare also ibid. pp. 17, 21, 29, and pl. 32.
Date: Fara.
Language: Akkadian, because of the graphotactical sequence x MANA URUDU. For the discussion of the linguistic and extra-linguistic features which help in defining the linguistic affiliation, Sumerian or Akkadian, of the Nippur texts (nos. 25–30c), see section 1.5; for the discussion of the Akkadian influence in Sumerian Nippur, see section 1.5.
Present location: Iraq Museum (Baghdad), IM 56506.
Publication: The statue was first discussed by D. E. McCown, Archaeology 5/2 (Summer 1952) p. 75; the statue is reproduced on the cover of the issue, but the inscription is not shown. A photograph of the torso and head was published by Parrot, Sumer (Paris, 1961) fig. 132, where it was incorrectly identified as coming from the Diyala region. The statue and inscription were published by McCown, Haines, and Biggs, assisted by E. F. Carter, OIP 97 pp. 72 no. 1, p. 78 (copy of inscription), and pls. 67, 3 and 68, 1–2 (photographs).
Description: According to OIP 97 opposite pl. 67: "white gypsum; worn inscription on back; bitumen in eyes, two pieces of light green steatite inlay in left eyebrow; possibly vertical grooves on side locks; h. 75.8, at elbows w. 23.7, at skirt bottom w. 22.0, th. 23.5 cm." The inscription runs across the back between the neck and the waist band. It consists of three full columns and a fourth with only two lines. The surface is so badly worn that it is not certain where cols. i–iii begin; some of the dividing lines are carelessly and irregularly drawn.
Text: The text deals with the transfer of at least twelve fields, each of which is identified by the size of the field,
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

the price in copper, and the name of the seller. Where both the size and price are adequately preserved the following ratios are found: 1 iku for 1.66 minas of copper (i 4–5, 7–8, 10–11, ii 9–10), 1 iku for 1.8 minas (iii 3–4), and 1 iku for 2.2 minas (iii 7–8). Apart from this, only one personal name in iii 5 and the term ifecycleé GÁN “owner(?) of the field” in iii 10 can be read. LÁN GÁN occurs also in no. 34 ii 9, from northern Babylonia.

Transliteration


ii 1) [PN] 2) [x GÁN] 3) 40 MA.NA [URUDU] 4) ?PN 5) 3(IKU) GÁN 10) 5 MA.NA [URUDU] 11) [PN] 12–14) ... 15) rX ?X 16) [PN]

iii 1–2) ... 3) 5(IKU) GÁN 4) 10 LÁL 1 MA.NA URUDU 5) An-nu-me 6) 1M KUR LAGAB? KAG?

7) 1(BÚR) [GÁN] 8) 40 MA.NA URUDU 9) ?UR? GÁN? ... 10) ?LÁN GÁN

No. 26 Enna-II Statue

Photographs: Plates 49 and 50, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, print nos. P. 50175, 50176, and 50177 from field negatives of 6N-215, 6N-216, and 6N-217.

Copy: Plate 50, copied by Green from photographs and copy of the original by Gelb.

Provenience: Nippur, Field no. 6 N 271—found at SB 76 in fill of the Parthian platform under a temple, built over the Inanna Temple below level II. See McCown and Haines, OIP 78 p. 150 and Crawford, Archaeology 12 (1959) pp. 77ff.

Date: Fara.

Language: Akkadian, as indicated by the occurrence of in GN “in GN” in i 3, as in the Akkadian-written Pre-Sargonic texts no. 37 U. E. iv 2’ and rev. iii 16, and no. 38 i 7 and 13, by the Akkadian graphotactical sequence x MA.NA URUDU, and by a possible occurrence of áš-dé “with,” “from” in i 11’ (see below). On the other hand, the Sumerian usage of the logogram A[LAM] “statue” in ii 3 is contrary to the Akkadian usage of DÚL “statue.” See general remarks in section 1.5.

Present location: Iraq Museum (Baghdad), IM 61325.


Description: Part of a limestone statuette of a male figure—only the right half of the upper torso is preserved. The head of the statue, now missing, was probably made separately and was attached to the torso by means of a dowel passing into a hole, following the vertical axis of the statuette. Measurements are 10.2 × 10.7 × 8.8 cm.

Text: The two-column inscription is partially preserved on the front and back of the statuette. It is possible that the inscription did not continue around the arm of the statuette (where the curvature is the greatest) but stopped and then continued on the flat surface of the back. If this was the case, then the lines given as i 7’-8’ and ii 4–6 in the transliteration should be ignored.

The structure of the text in column i is difficult to determine. Three different fields occur in the preserved portions. The first two fields mentioned are followed by what appear to be personal names and field locations. At the end of the column we find the third field, followed immediately by GÁN SÁM and two lines of writing, which may be read as personal names Áš/Su-bi/dé and Inim-ma-ni?-ř3i’ñi?’. Thus, the end of the column could be interpreted as “2 bûr of land, the purchased field (GÁN SÁM) of PN and PN2” or “2 bûr of land, the price of the field (SÁM GÁN), PN and PN2 (received).” In either case, the two PNs would stand for the sellers of the field. No prices of the fields are apparent in the preserved portions of the inscription. Another interpretation of the end of column i results from interpreting Áš/Su-bi/dé not as a name, but as the preposition áš-dé “with,” “from,”...
and of the whole passage as "2 būr of land, the field purchased from Inimanizi." The occurrence of the form ḏš-dē, in place of the standard Old Akkadian ḏš-dē, is not so surprising as may appear at first glance. A possible graphic variant of ḏš-dē is ḏš-ṭi in no. 48 rev. iii 8 (from Sippar). Equally important are the occurrences of ḏš-dē PN in two unpublished texts from Kish, discussed by Gelb in L. Cagni, ed., La lingua di Ebla (Naples, 1981) p. 68. The attestations of ḏš-dē and ḏš-da at Kish, Sippar, and Adab are duplicated at Ebla in Syria, furnishing another important link between the language of the "Kish Civilization" in the east and that of Ebla in the west. See full discussion in ibid. pp. 57 and 66–70.

Both the beginning and end of column ii are preserved. If the arm of the statuette was not inscribed, then no full line of writing is missing and the column can be translated: "Enna-II, king of Kish, set up [his statue] before Innin." The ruler En-na-II LUGAL Kiš, occurring in ii 1–2, is possibly identical with En-na-II, son of A-Anzud, (AN. 1)IM.11.MI.ḪU), who vanquished Elam and dedicated an object to Innin, as suggested by Goetze, JCS 15 p. 107. A king Enna-II is also known from a literary text from Nippur which treats of his religious activities in Ur and Nippur(?)(ECTJ p. XVIII no. 219.) Against Westenholz, ECTJ p. 100, who denies any connection between our Enna-II and that of the literary text, it is tempting to speculate that in each instance the same ruler is meant. Compare J. S. Cooper, Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions (New Haven, 1986) p. 21 commentary to Ki 7.

The buyer of the fields is apparently Enna-II, king of Kish, who set up his statue in the temple of Innin on the occasion of his acquisition of three(?) fields.

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>[x]+4(BÜR) GĀN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>E? HA? GUD? X?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>in Ur-sag ḏš-K [X1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
<td>6(BÜR) GĀN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5')</td>
<td>ḏš X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6')</td>
<td>GĀN [. . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7'–8')</td>
<td>[. . .]?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9')</td>
<td>2(BÜR) GĀN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10')</td>
<td>GĀN SĀM (or ŠĀM GĀN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11')</td>
<td>ḏš-dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12')</td>
<td>Inim-ma-ni?-[a-z]i[a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rest destr.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>En-na-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>LUGAL Kiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>A[LAM?-su?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4–6)</td>
<td>[. . .]?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>IG1 [ININ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>MU.GUB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 27 10 NT 1

Photographs: Plate 51, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, nos. 10 N 247+248.

Copy: Plate 51, copied by Westenholz from a cast and photographs.

Provenience: Nippur, Field No. 10 NT 1—found in a dump from the old Pennsylvania excavations on top of the Parthian fortress.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Possibly Sumerian because of the graphic-official sequence of x kug gin. See general remarks in section 1.5.

Present location: Iraq Museum (Baghdad).

Description: Fragment of a red stone tablet measuring 6.2 x 4 x 5.5 cm. Part of the right edge is preserved.

Text: It is interesting, but perhaps no more than coincidental, that the preserved portions of the obverse of this tablet and no. 30 are parallel. This duplication is most striking in column i', where all signs preserved in both pieces, including ḏš-KAG.KAG, are identical.

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>[x]+4(BÜR) GĀN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>E? HA? GUD? X?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>in Ur-sag ḏš-K [X1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
<td>6(BÜR) GĀN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5')</td>
<td>ḏš X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6')</td>
<td>GĀN [. . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7'–8')</td>
<td>[. . .]?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9')</td>
<td>2(BÜR) GĀN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10')</td>
<td>GĀN SĀM (or ŠĀM GĀN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11')</td>
<td>ḏš-dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12')</td>
<td>Inim-ma-ni?-[a-z]i[a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rest destr.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ii</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>4 [. . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>ḏš KAG.KAG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 28 PBS XV 3

Photograph: Plate 51, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Copy: Plate 51, copied by Westenholz.

Provenience: Nippur—in a letter A. Westenholz expresses his belief that PBS 15, 3 is in all likelihood identical with a stone fragment that was found by J. P. Peters on February 6, 1890, in the northwestern corner of Tablet Hill. In his field catalogue (unpublished) Peters describes the object as follows: "Two fragments of a piece of gypsum inscribed on one side, parts of three columns preserved, much effaced, very rude line characters. Length of two joined together 15 cm, breadth 11.5 cm. Found by the corner of mud brick wall, about 2.5 meters below surface, Fleyah's trench. V:1 [= Tablet Hill, trench 1]. Too much effaced to copy" (courtesy Westenholz). Westenholz's identification of this piece with PBS 15, 3 is "based on the general agreement of the description with the object, particularly the measurements. However, the two constituent fragments of PBS 15, 3 were entered by Hilprecht in the CBS catalogue with the information that one of them was excavated by Peters in 1890, the other by Haynes in 1893; but there are so many errors in Hilprecht's entries in the CBS catalogue that this disagreement is of little consequence."
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

No. 29 PBS XV 17

Photograph: Plate 52, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
Copy: Plate 52, copied by Westenholz.
Provenience: Nippur.
Date: Pre-Sargonic.
Language: Probably Sumerian, because of the graphotactical sequence of x kug gin. See general remarks in section 1.5.
Present location: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), CBS 9568.
Publication: Legrain, PBS 15, 17.
Description: Small fragment of dark-gray slate or shale measuring 4.8 x 5.5 x 0.9 cm. All edges are broken away, with the exception of the bottom, which is smooth. The bottom may have been smoothed off for a secondary use, as in the case of no. 30. The reverse is broken away.
Text: The inscription is preserved in small portions of three columns.

Transliteration

i' (beg. destr.)
1') [...]  
2') [...]  
3') [...]  
4') [...]  
5') [...] 

ii' (beg. destr.)
1') [...]  
2') [...]  
3') [...]  
4') [...]  

iii' (beg. destr.)
1') [...]  
2') [...]  

No. 30 PBS XV 20

Photograph: Plate 52, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
Copy: Plate 52, copied by Westenholz.
Provenience: Nippur.
Date: Pre-Sargonic.
Language: Possibly Sumerian, because of the graphotactical sequence of x kug gin. See general remarks in section 1.5.
Present location: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), CBS 14033.
Publication: Legrain, PBS 15, 20.
Description: A small fragment of buff "schist," cut and reused as a round lid in ancient times. Measurements are 4.5 x 4.5 x 1.3 cm. Reverse is broken away.
Text: Small portions of two columns are preserved. See comments to no. 27 for a discussion of the similarity between the contents of these two fragments.

Transliteration

i' (beg. destr.)
1') [...]  
2') [...]  
3') [...]  
4') [...]  

ii' (beg. destr.)
1') [...]  
2') [...]  
3') [...]  
4') [...]  
5') [...]  

iii' (beg. destr.)
1') [...]  
2') [...]  

Photograph: Plate 53, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (negative no. 6442 = old no. 933).
Copy: Plate 54, copied by Westenholz from an old squeeze and photograph.
Provenience: Nippur—surface find on Mound X during the third campaign of the Nippur Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania (1893–1896).
Date: Pre-Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian, because of the occurrence of DUMU.DUMU.(ME) "descendant(s)" in i 7' and iv 3', of EŠ.GI.D [SI].SÁ in ii 1' (which is attested only in the Akkadian kudurru no. 37 rev. iii 14, iv 16), and of Akkadian personal names. On the other hand, the Sumerian graphotactical sequence of "thing counted plus measure" is used throughout. See general remarks in section 1.5.
Present location: Unknown; a squeeze and photograph of the disk belong to the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, but the disk itself cannot be located now. Westenholz suggests that this object may be the one described in the CBS catalogue as: “CBS 9326. Fr. [= fragmentary?] disk in limestone, restored from many frags., inscribed but largely destroyed. Pre-Sargonic. III Exp. excavated by Haynes 1893(?)”
Description: As the disk cannot now be located, this
description is based on an old paper squeeze, photo-
graph, and a letter written by J. H. Haynes to J. P.
Peters, dated January 19, 1895. Haynes describes the
stone as follows:

(....) an inscribed block of broken and crumbling limestone
(....). It was found near the surface of the ground in the bottom
of a deep valley immediately below the outhouse of our second
year's encampment. It has at some time been subjected to fire.
Probably a fire was built upon it as upon a hearthstone, and a
part of its inscription is entirely destroyed. From the fact that
incised lines can be traced across the face of the stone, I judge
its entire surface was inscribed (....). It is made from several
fragments of the stone bound together to make the inscription
continuous.

It is not known whether the paper squeeze and photo-
graph were made in the field or when the stone was first
transported to Philadelphia.

The photograph shows a flat slab with a curved edge,
and parts of nine columns of inscription. The text is
preserved only in a strip along the left and lower edge, the
center being badly cracked and worn. A paper squeeze of
part of the inscription along the curved edge is now
somewhat distorted, but does allow one to calculate the
size of the stone. The squeeze containing part of col. i
10'-col. vi seems to have its true shape, according to the
photograph; from the top of NA in i 10' to the bottom of
the column, edge, the disk measures 7.5 cm; the corre-
ponding section of the photograph is 3.5 cm. Thus, the
photo is at a scale of 1:2.11 or slightly less than 1:2. As
the total height of the preserved disk is 19.8 cm on the
photograph, the extrapolation gives 39.6 cm as the actual
height. The maximum width on the photograph is 17.3 cm,
which gives 34.6 cm for the actual disk. The maximum
width on the photograph is 19.8 cm on the
photograph, the extrapolation gives 39.6 cm as the actual
height. The maximum width on the photograph is 17.3 cm,
which gives 34.6 cm for the actual disk. The maximum
curvature at the width appears to be at i 4', while the
maximum along the height seems to be a little beyond the
preserved edge, perhaps at vii or viii. If so, the radius (on
the photograph) would be 14.8 cm, which is (14.8 x
2.11 =) 31.2 cm to actual scale. The original diameter
would have been ca. 62.5 cm. The present piece is about
one-quarter to one-third of the original, though the
inscribed surface is much less.

Text: The fragmentary state of the inscription does not
allow one to draw any certain conclusions as to its
structure. It is quite certain, however, that it recorded
several purchases of fields, each section giving the size
of the field, its price, and the name of the seller. The
sizes and prices of fields are preserved in six instances (i,
ii, iii, iv, v, and vi). In each case the price of one iku of
land is five shekels of silver: 36 iku for 180 shekels in i,
25 iku for 125 shekels in ii, 6.5(?) iku for 32.5(?) shekels
in iii, 7.5 iku for 37.5 shekels in iv, 2 iku for 10 shekels
in v, and 2.5(?) iku for 12.5(?) shekels in vi.

The information, description, photograph, and copy of
the text were kindly provided by Westenholz.

Transliteration

i
2') f'7y-f'x1-l-...]
3') T'ÜG N[i?...]
4') KU? T'UM?-. ...]
5') f'X1 [...]
6') f'MES1-nąd
7') f'DUMU.DUMU
8') [SAN]GA?. GAR
9') 2(B'UR) GÂN
10') 3 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA
11') [f]'7-y-[y]-[A]?-ZU

ii
(beg. destr.)
1') EŠ.GID [SI].SÁ
2') SAG GIS'X1 GÂN
3') I(B'UR) I(EŠE) I(IKU) GÂN
4') 2 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA 15' GĬN

iii
(beg. destr.)
1') f'X1 [...]
2') Pū-Ma1-[ma?]
3') DUMU.DUMU.ME
4') I(EŠE) 1/2(?)(IKU)1 GĀ[N]
5') 1/2 (MA.NA) KUG.BABBAR
LAL 2/5 SA.NA GĬN

iv
(beg. destr.)
1') f'X1 [...]
2') DUMU'X-x3
3') I(EŠE) 1/2(?)(IKU)1 GĀ[N]
4') 1/2 (MA.NA) KUG.BABBAR
GĬN

v
(beg. destr.)
1') 2(IKU) GĀN
2') 10 KUG.BABBAR GĬN
3') Pū-1 Ma-?-mu?!
4') Uru-mu

vi
(beg. destr.)
1') [...][x-...]
2') DUMU.DUMU.ME
3') 10 KUG.BABBAR GĬN
4') [X1 [...]
5'-7') [...]
8') f'Lū'7-y-f'x1-nąd-a [...]

vii
(beg. destr.)
1') f'X1 [...]
2') [...]f'a?
3') I1-su-ra-b[t]
4') f'Ü-l-f'x1 [...]

Notes

i 6'.—The name f'MES1-nąd is probably identical with the one
spelled MES-na-at in no. 40 C vi 15.
ii 1'.—For EŠ.GID [SI].SÁ ‘(measured with) the standard(?)
measuring rope,’ see the full discussion in note to no. 22 i 1.

No. 30b IM 57944

Photograph: Plate 52, Oriental Institute, The University
of Chicago, print P. 46758 from field negative of
2N/905. Fragment at top of column ii is upside down.
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

Copy: Plate 52, copied by Westenholz, from a cast and field photograph.

Provenience: Nippur, Field No. 2NT 328—found in TA level III locus 59, floor 2, which is a private house dated to the Assyrian period (see OIP 77 [1967] p. 70). Many dated tablets were found in chronologically remote strata due in large part to ancient construction activity (see ibid. p. 74).

Date: Fara.

Language: Akkadian(?), because of the graphotactical sequence of x SILÀ [X] “x quarts of [X].” See general remarks in section 1.5.

Present location: Iraq Museum (Baghdad), IM 57944.

Description: Fragment of a slate tablet measuring 7.2 x 7.5 cm. One edge is preserved; the reverse is broken away.

Text: The inscription is preserved in the lowest parts of two columns. The Fara date of the inscription is indicated by the occurrence in it of the personal name Ag-ŠEn-lîl, since names employing the element Ag are not attested after the end of the Fara period. Compare the names Ag-ŠGibûš (e.g., TSŠ 1 vii 6'), Ag-ŠNu-maš-da (e.g., Fara 3, 13 iii), and Ag-ŠŠud (e.g., TSŠ 1 iv 16').

The information, description, and copy of the text were kindly provided by Westenholz.

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i'</th>
<th>(beg. destr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1')</td>
<td>DUMU PA.TE.SÌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2')</td>
<td>1 TÚG dEn-lîl-IGI.SÌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3')</td>
<td>[ȘE]Š PA.TE.SÌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4')</td>
<td>[NÌG]ŠÁM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

i' 2'.—The sign SÌ in the PN is possibly Š. Compare the Fara name 4En-lîl-IGI.Š, attested in Edzard, SRU no. 6 iv 1.

ii' 4'.—INNIN.ÛH, usually written UH.INNIN or UH.ûNININ, is synonymous with ŠTÁ.ûNININ. Both are equated in lexical texts with the Akk. urûḫu, and, apparently, both have the reading urûḫu/. The urûḫu/ was a type of funerary official, “undertaker;” or the like. See now in detail Civil, N.A.B.U. 1987/1 pp. 4f.

No. 31 Adab Stone Fragment

Photographs: Plate 55, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negatives N. 33707, 33708.

Copy: Plate 55, D. D. Luckenbill, OIP 14, 48 (obverse and reverse incorrectly identified); collated.

Synopsis: Plate 101.

Provenience: Adab.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian, as indicated by the occurrence of šu “he of (the household),” the graphotactical sequence of x MA.NA URUDU “x pounds of copper,” and Akkadian personal names. For the discussion of the linguistic and extra-linguistic features which help in defining the linguistic affiliation, Sumerian or Akkadian, of the Adab texts nos. 31–33, see section 1.5; for the discussion of the Akkadian influence in Sumerian Adab, see section 1.5.

Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, A 265.

Publication: Luckenbill, OIP 14, 48.

Description: Part of an alabaster tablet measuring 11.6 x 8.2 x 2–3.7 cm with the two columns preserved on each side. The sides were misidentified in OIP 14, 48. The flat side (Luckenbill’s reverse) must be the upper right corner of the obverse; the other side is slightly convex, and is the lower right corner of the reverse. As the thickness of the edge is still increasing down the edge, the midway point has not yet been reached; thus the fragment is less than twenty-five percent of the original.

Sample Interpretation

iii' 5'–9': PN (= Seller) of GN(?) (received) 45 (pounds) of copper for 9 iku of land.

Transliteration

Obv. i' 1–2) [ . . ]
| 3) | [ . . ] GÁN |
| 4) | [ . . ] X'.KÌ |
| 5) | [X].ME.RÜKÌ |

| 6) | [I(BUR)]? P(3IKU) GÁN |
| 7) | 3/2 ȘA.NA.ÚP1 6 (MA.NA) URUDU |
| 8) | Sù₂-ma-t₁ . . . |

| 9) | I(BUR)? (1ES) GÁN |
| 10) | [P(Ú)] [X]+2 (MA.NA) URUDU |

(rest destr.)
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

No. 32 Adab Clay Fragment I

Photographs: Plates 56 and 57, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negatives N. 33709 and 33710.
Copy: Plates 56 and 57, Luckenbill, OIP 14, 49; collated.
Synopsis: Plate 102.
Provenience: Adab.
Date: Pre-Sargonic.
Language: Sumerian, as indicated by the words šam-bi “its price,” lú-ki-inim-ma “witness,” the Sumerian grapho-
tactical order of x sig ma-na “x pounds of wool,” and Sumerian personal names. See general remarks in sec-
tion 1.5.

Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, A 1118.

Publications: E. J. Banks, Bismaya (New York, 1912) pp. 322f. (photograph); Luckenbill, OIP 14, 49 (copy); Diakonoff, Obščestvenny i gosudarstvenny stroj Drev-
него Двуречья. Сumer (Moscow, 1959) pp. 657f.; Ed-
zard, SRU no. 119.

Description: Fragment of clay tablet measuring 19.0 × 13.5 × 4.8 cm. The right and lower edges of the tablet are broken away, the left and upper are preserved. Obverse is flat, reverse is rounded. Judging from its thickness and the curvature of the reverse, the fragment represents slightly more than one-fourth of the original tablet. In other words, slightly more than half of the vertical and horizontal dimensions are preserved. The original tablet was approximately square, measuring about 24 × 23 cm and containing twelve columns of writing on the obverse with each column being approximately 18–20 lines (cases) in length. The number of columns on the reverse cannot be safely determined because of the variable spacing of the columns.

The size of the tablet is determined both by physical measurements and by the amount of text it must ac-
accommodate. The curvature of the reverse shows where the thickest part of the tablet must have been. Although this is not necessarily the exact center of the tablet, the measurements obtained from taking it as such should not be far off by much more than a centimeter or two in each direction.

Text: Seven columns of writing are preserved on the obverse and two columns on the reverse. The recon-
struction of the text is based on the reconstructed size of the tablet, the formulary, and the totals.

The text records the acquisition of two fields belonging to the families of Munsubx(PA.USAN) (i–v) and E-sir-ag (v–vii) by an unknown buyer. Columns viii-xii of the obverse (destroyed), the preserved column i of the reverse, and the destroyed first lines of column ii probably con-
tained a very long list of officials, scribes, surveyors, and witnesses of the buyer, such as is found in no. 33. The text concludes in rev. ii with the totals of commodities given to the families of Munsubx and E-sir-ag. The destroyed portion of the reverse probably contained the name of the buyer.

No. 32 is related to no. 33 by identical structure and by the fact that both documents deal with land acquired from two or three identical families. Also related is App.
to no. 32, which involves several of the persons found in the other two texts. Note the following prosopographic links:

1) Bil-lâl-lâ, son of Munsubx, one of the sellers appearing in no. 32 ii 6, is mentioned in App. to no. 32 i 6 and passim in this text;
2) Ur-En-lîl, another son of Munsubx and a seller in no. 32 ii 9 and in no. 33 rev. iv 10, occurs as a witness in App. to no. 32 iv 7;
3) DUME Ti-ti
4) Ju dAS?.TE?
5) GAN TART.X1
6) [I(ESE)] 4(IKU) GAN
7) ½ (GÜ) 2 (MA.NA) URUDU
8) Mu-mu
9) [su]? Um-1-ma-DUG
10) [I(ESE)] 2(IKU) GAN
11) [x MA.NA] [URUDU]
(restr destr.)

Rev. iii
1') [x(IKU) GAN]
2') [x MA.NA] URUDU
3') Pi-su-tum
4') DUMU I-LUL-Il!
5') I(ESE) 3(IKU) GAN
6') ½ [SA.NA.PI] 5 (MA.NA) URUDU
7') Ma-šam
8') [su] Ur-l-Sum
9') HI.MA.KI
10') 1(BUR) I(ESE) GAN
11') 1 (GU) LAL 10 MA.NA URUDU
12') Ir-i-pum
13') [su] Pu-Su-tum

(rest destr.)

iv
1') [x LAL 1(IKU) GAN
2') [x] +4 (MA.NA) URUDU
3') Ú-bi-bi
4') [su] Da-tum
5') [X1] GAL A-tum
6') [I(ESE)] +[I(ESE)] 3(IKU) GAN
7') [½] SA.NA.PI [URUDU]
8') [Ad]?-da
9') [su ...] X1

(rest destr.)
3) Ur-dŠul-pa-ē, another son of Munsub, and a secondary seller in no. 32 iii 6, occurs as a witness in App. to no. 32 iv 9;
4) Na-nar, another son of Munsub, and a secondary seller in no. 32 iii 12, occurs as a witness in no. 33 rev. i 1;
5) Ri-ti, another son of Munsub, occurs as a witness in no. 32 v 4 and no. 33 iii 1';
6) Sa-gu-ba guruš-tab Lu-lum-ma, another son of Munsub, occurs as a witness in no. 32 v 7-9 and no. 33 i' 3'-6';
7) Gu-ni-du, one of the three “sons” (include one son-in-law) of Ė-sir-āg and a seller in no. 32 vi 8, occurs as a witness in no. 33 iv 6'.

Transliteration and Translation

Obv.       i 1) 6(būr) 2(eše) 2(iku) găn Ė-kas 122 iku of land, the field Ė-kas;
           2) šām-bi its price is
           3) 1½ ma-na 'kug gīn̄ 2 šām-
               ma-na 80 ½ shekels of silver;
           4) găn Munsub(PA.USAN) the field of (the family of) Munsub;
           5) [1 SU.A.TÜG] 9 PNs, each receiving
           6) [5 sig ma-na] 1 SU.A.TÜG cloth and 5 pounds of wool,
           7) [PN] [5 sig ma-na]
           8) [1 SU.A.TÜG] [PN]
           9) [5 sig ma-na] [1 SU.A.TÜG]
           10) [PN] [5 sig ma-na]
           11) [1 SU.A.TÜG] [PN]
           12) [5 sig ma-na] [1 SU.A.TÜG]
           13) [PN] [5 sig ma-na]
           14) [1 SU.A.TÜG] [PN]
           15) [5 sig ma-na] [1 SU.A.TÜG]
           16) [PN] [5 sig ma-na]

   ii 1) 1 SU.A.TÜG [the sons/children of]
       2) 5 sig ma-na Munsub,
       3) Ė-da-da are the sellers.
       4) 1 SU.A.TÜG
       5) 5 sig ma-na
       6) Bīl-lāl-la(wr. -LA.LĀL) 4 PNs, each receiving 1 SU.A.TÜG cloth,
       7) 1 SU.A.TÜG
       8) 5 sig ma-na
       9) Ur-diš-ša-di 5 PNs, each receiving 5 pounds of wool,
      10) [1 SU.A.TÜG] [5 sig ma-na]
      11) [5 sig ma-na] [1 SU.A.TÜG]
      12) [PN] [5 sig ma-na]
      13) [1 SU.A.TÜG] [PN]
      14) [5 sig ma-na] [1 SU.A.TÜG]
      15) [PN] [5 sig ma-na]
      16) [dumu] [PN]

   iii 1) Munsub
       2) lūš-ašā-kū 4 PNs, each receiving 1 SU.A.TÜG cloth,
       3) 1 SU.A.TÜG
       4) A-bi-bi
       5) 1 SU.A.TÜG
       6) Ur-diš-ša-di
       7) 1 SU.A.TÜG
       8) Šēš-šeš
       9) 1 SU.A.TÜG
       10) Ur-diš-MUŠ
       11) 5 sig ma-na
       12) [Na-n]ar
       13) [5 sig ma-na]
       14) [PN]
       15) [5 sig ma-na]
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

16) [PN]
17) [5 šig ma-na]
18) [PN]
19) [5 šig ma-na]
20) [PN]

iv 1) [lú-ki]-nim-ma
2) 1 Sâ-gú-ba
3) 1 Sag-an-tuku
4) 1 KA-ki-bi-šê
5) 1 Lugal-sag,ga
6) 1 Lugal-gal-zu
7) 1 Ur-igi-sag
8) 1 Barag-sag,(GAN)-nu-di
9) 1 Sâ-gú-ba
10) [P]A.URU

11–17) [7 PNs]

v 1–2) [2 PNs]
3) 1 Ab-ba
4) 1 Ri-ti
5) 1 Sâ-da-nu-NE
6) 1 Ulu-mu-kûš
7) 1 Sâ-gú-ba
8) guruš-tab(wr. TAB.GURUš)
9) Lú-lum-ma
10) lú-ki-nim-ma
11) Munsub

vi 1) [dam]
2) 'É-sir-ág1
3) 1 SU.[A.TUG]
4) A...]
5) SAL.DI.ÜS
6) É-sir-ág
7) 5 šig ma-na
8) Gu-ni-du
9) [dumu?]
10) [É-sir-ág]
11) [1 SU.A.TÜG]
12) [PN]
13) [dumu?]
14) [É-sir-ág]
15) [lú-šám-kû]

16–18) [3 PNs]

vii 1–6) [6 PNs]
7) 1 f...]
8) 1 Bu-[x]-nu-[x]
9–16) [8 PNs]
17) [lú-ki-nim-ma]
18) [É-sir-ág]

(viii–xii)

Rev. i 1) [1 PN]
2–5) [4 PNs]

are the secondary sellers (= primary witnesses).
22 PNs

are the witnesses of
(the family of) Munsubx.

84 iku of land, the field
É-[kas]?; É-[kas]?

[x shekels of silver];

[the field of (the family of) É-sir-ag];

[1 SU.A.TÜG cloth]

[(and) 5 pounds of wool]

[PN]

[wife of]

'É-sir-ag (received)';

1 SU.[A.TÜG] cloth

A.

son-in-law of

É-sir-ag (received);

5 minas of wool

G.

[son? of]

[son? of]

[É-sir-ag (received)];

[these are the sellers].

19 PNs

[are the witnesses of]

[the family of) É-sir-ag].
Ancient Kudurrus

6) [1 ... ]-l-[1]  
7) [1 ... ]-l-[a]  
8) [I] Lugal-nir-gal  
9) 1 É-ziv  
10) 1 Ur-é-maḫ  
11) 1 Lugal-kur-da-kūš  
12) 1 Ė-pi-rig-sīr  
13) 1 Maš  
14) dumu  
15) Șēš-a  
16) 1 É-dam-si  
17) dumu  
18) Be-li-ši-li  
(blanke space of 2 cols.)

ii  
1) [lū-ki-i-nim-ma?]  
2) [PN]

[are the witnesses(?) of]  
[the buyer?].

3) [šu-nigina]  
4) 13 SU.A.TŪG  
5) 70 sig mā-na  
6) nīg-ba  
7) dumu  
8) Munsub x  
9) 3 SU.A.TŪG  
10) 10 sig mā-na  
11) nīg-ba  
12) dam  
13) É-sīr-āg  
14) dumu  
15) É-sīr-āg  
(blanke space of at least 2 cols.)

[Total]:  
13 SU.A.TŪG cloths  
(and) 70 pounds of wool  
is the gift of  
the sons/children of  
Munsub x;  
3 SU.A.TŪG cloths  
(and) 10 pounds of wool  
is the gift of  
The wife of  
É-sīr-ag  
(and) the sons/children of  
É-sīr-ag.

Notes

i 1 and v 12?—In the field name, ē-kas is evidently a variant spelling of ē-kas₂, “road, runner-house,” for which see, e.g., YOS 4, 189:3; AUCT 1, 340:2.

i 4, iii 1, v 11, and rev. ii 8.—The personal name or a profession meaning “shepherd,” which is expressed by the signs PA.USAN, occurs frequently in the Sumerian administrative texts of the third millennium, as in the Fara period (Lambert, Sumer 10 [1954] p. 182; TSS 160 ii 5; NSS 152 ii 2, 207 iii 2 and v 1; and our no. 123 = Unger A’V pp. 37f. no. 3 vii 6; Pre-Sargonic at Lagash (VAS 14, 159 ii 13, DP 59 v 11 and 233 ii 5; and our no. 140 = DF 31 v 15); early Sargon at Nippur (OSP 1, 125 i 2); and Ur III (CT 1, 6 i 11; UCP 9 p. 225 no. 100 rev. vi 5’). Since the lexical texts listed in AHWB p. 977, under rē’ā “shepherd,” yield for USAN the readings munsū, mūsū, and sūb, it appears that PA.USAN is to be interpreted as mūsū or, with A. Sjöberg, Mondgott p. 62, Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) p. 202, and Westenholz, OSP 1 p. 63, as mūsū. Of the two spellings, only PA.USAN is attested outside lexical texts, while USAN is not. Both USAN and PA.USAN correspond to the Akkadian rē’um “shepherd” according to lexical sources. The reading of tā3-giš-du-un, equated with PA.USAN in the Ebla lexical texts (Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 305 line 958), should be corrected to na-giš-du-un, with Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983) p. 35.

ii 6.—The sequence Bi-l-la-lā, instead of Bi-l-la-lā, is given in accordance with App. to no. 32 i 6 and pasśim in this text.

ii 16.—[dumu] Munsub, is reconstructed on the basis of rev. ii 7–8. 
iii 10.—For the DN 4MUŠ, see note to no. 41 obv. vii 17–18.

iv 8.—For the PN Barag =sāg-nu-di, see note to no. 15 xi 1.

iv 10.—For PA.URU “gang leader,” also “recruiter (of workers/soldiers),” as an early graph of zilul(PA.GIGGAL), Akk. zilullu, sulī, and saḫḫiru, see Steinkeller, ZA 69 (1979) p. 182. This interpretation is now corroborated by the Ebla Vocabulary, which offers the equation PA.URU = zu-ha-lum/lu-um (Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 305 line 953, p. 377 line 0447), where the Semitic word is evidently a derivative of the verb saḫram. Compare Steinkeller, JCS 35 (1983) p. 245.

iv 11–v 2, and in later sections.—Instead of single PNs, we can read, of course, PN + profession in some lines.

rev. i 18.—Although the sign LI is not fully preserved, the reading and interpretation of the name as Be-li-iš-li is very probable.

ii 3–5 and 9–10.—The 13 SU.A cloths and 70 pounds of wool listed as the total in rev. ii 3–5 enables us to reconstruct the text of i 5 to iii 20, listing the numbers of cloths and amounts of wool given to the sellers and secondary sellers. The same may be said for the total of 3 SU.A cloths and 10 pounds of wool of rev. ii 9–10, which enables us to reconstruct v 16–vi 15.

Appendix to no. 32 = Mesopotamia 8 pp. 68f.

Synopsis: Plate 103.

This unique sale document on a clay tablet from Adab, which was published by D. A. Foxvog in Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 8 = RAI 26 (Copenhagen, 1980) pp. 67–75, is presented here because it concerns Bil-lā-lā and his brothers, who appear in no. 32 as members of the family of Munsub(PA.USAN). For details, see the introductory remarks to no. 32 under Text. According to the information supplied by Foxvog, “a better enlarged photo of the obverse exists on p. 135 of the April 18, 1964 issue of Business Week magazine.”
The time-span separating the two documents cannot be longer than one generation. This is demonstrated by the fact that several of Bil-lâl-la's brothers were still alive when the *Mesopotamia* 8 tablet was written. Bil-lâl-la himself appears to have been either dead or incapacitated at that time; the person who acted as the main seller in the transaction was his (presumably the oldest) son, Lugal-ezen.

Since the interpretation of this unusual document is exceedingly difficult, it will be useful to give first the outline of its structure and contents. The document may be divided into the following nine sections:

1) i 1–6: Two amounts of barley, totaling 300 bushels and provided by two different households, ĝ Mug-si and ĝ dNin-mug, constituted the “price of the field of Bil-lâl-la.”

2) i 7–iv 3: Two groups of commodities were given to Bil-lâl-la and Lâl-la, his wife; the second group is followed by a statement explaining the purpose of these gifts. Two different interpretations of this statement are possible:

   a) The second group of gifts was given to Lâl-la, wife of Bil-lâl-la, to be used after “she dies and dwells buried together with him (i.e., Bil-lâl-la).” This interpretation assumes that Bil-lâl-la had already been dead when the transaction took place, and that his gifts, listed in the first group, were deposited in his grave. In contrast, Lâl-la was still alive at that time, and her gifts were to be used for her future funeral.

   b) The gifts were given to Lâl-la when “she was living together with him (i.e., Bil-lâl-la), (to be used) when she is dead and buried.” According to this interpretation, both Bil-lâl-la and Lâl-la were still alive at the time of the transaction, and the gifts were meant for their future funerals. Since Bil-lâl-la does not act as the main seller in the text, we would have to assume that he had become incapacitated because of old age, and consequently, had been replaced as the head of the household by his oldest son.

3) iv 4–6: Statement that Lugal-ezen, son of Bil-lâl-la, was the (main) seller of the field in this transaction.

4) iv 7–v 10: List of eleven witnesses, seven of whom are Bil-lâl-la’s brothers, two are his sons, and one is his brother’s son; the identity of the last witness is unclear.

5) v 11–vi 5: Statement that 5 minas of silver, the “price” or “merchandise” of Lâl-la, were obtained (duŠ-a or a-duŠ) in the land of Urua, apparently in exchange for the 300 bushels of barley listed in section 1.

6) vi 6–vii 14: List of fourteen witnesses, ten of whom are identified as “servants of Bil-lâl-la, the people who transported (lit.: carried) the barley”; the remaining four witnesses are called IB-me (meaning unknown).

7) viii 1–4: Statement that Ė-igi-nim-pa-ē, the GAR-en-Š-si of Adab, was the buyer of the property.

8) viii 5–8: Statement that Lugal-mu-da-kūš, the “major-domo” (ugula-ē), was the man who weighed out the silver and measured out the barley.

9) ix 1–3: Statement that KA-ba-ni-maḥ, the master (scribe), wrote this tablet.

As can be seen from the above outline, key to the understanding this transaction is the relationship between the 300 bushels of barley which constitute the price of Bil-lâl-la’s field (in section 1) and the 5 minas (= 300 shekels) of silver which are said to be the nig-Sgm of Lâl-la (in section 5). As noted by Foxvog, op. cit. p. 72, these two amounts are clearly equivalent, since the standard ratio of barley to silver in this period is 1 bushel of barley = 1 shekel of silver. The question thus arises whether the sum of 5 minas of silver is simply the silver equivalent of the 300 bushels of barley, or whether the 300 bushels of barley and the 5 minas of silver are two equal halves of the total price.

The simplest explanation of the events described in the text would be that the field in question was sold jointly by Lugal-ezen and Lâl-la, his mother, immediately after Bil-lâl-la’s death. The buyer, the GAR-en-Š-si of Adab (for this title, see note to viii 1–2), paid as the price 300 bushels of barley, which was supplied by two temple households of the Adab province. In addition, he provided funerary gifts for the interment of Bil-lâl-la, as well as a set of similar gifts for the future funeral of Lâl-la. The barley of the price was then transported to Urua, where it was exchanged for silver.

According to another explanation, the sellers of the field would be likewise Lugal-ezen and Lâl-la, but with the 300 bushels of barley and the 5 minas of silver representing two equal parts of the price, intended respectively for Lugal-ezen and Lâl-la. In order to account for the episode with Urua in section 5, one would have to speculate that Lâl-la resided in Urua at that time, and that her share of the price was paid/released to her in Urua.

In yet another scenario, the purpose of the sale was to obtain capital to ransom Lâl-la from her captivity in Urua. Assuming that Bil-lâl-la was already dead at the time of the transaction, one could speculate that Lâl-la’s capture and Bil-lâl-la’s death were connected with the same event, perhaps a raid of the army of Urua on Kesh. The amount of the ransom to be paid for Lâl-la had been set at 5 minas of silver. In order to meet that demand, Lugal-ezen, the oldest(?) of Bil-lâl-la’s sons, sold one of the family’s fields to the GAR-en-Š-si of Adab. The price was paid in grain, which was then transported to Urua.

Admittedly, neither of these three interpretations is fully satisfactory, and thus the question of the meaning of the present text cannot be resolved at this time.

Transliteration and Translation

<p>| Obv. | 1) 180(gur) še gur | 180 bushels of barley of the household of M. |
| 2) ĝ Mug-si | (and) 120 bushels of barley of the (temple) household of N. |
| 3) 120(gur) še gur | are the price of the field of |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ib-du-ocup</td>
<td>E-me-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 Ur-ur</td>
<td>ses Bil-lal-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 Sag-kud</td>
<td>An-na-bi-kiu son of Ur-ur, brother of Bil-lal-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 Ur-sag-Kes</td>
<td>An-na-bi-kiu son of Ur-ur, brother of Bil-lal-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 TUG.DUL.GARÁ.T. SÁR+ Diš</td>
<td>the temple-administrator of Kesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1 nig-lal-sag TUG</td>
<td>Commodities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 nig-lal-ga-ba TUG</td>
<td>commodities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 A.SU.TUG</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 NI.TUG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 Ib-dú TUG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 nád Gístaskarin</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1 IS.DÉ Gístaskarin</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1 ha-zi URUDU</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 esir₄(LAK-173) kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1 UD.KA.BAR kug-luh</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1 men kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1 SÁ.DAH</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1 Gir kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1 gid-da kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1 Bil-lal-la</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1 sang Kēš</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1 nig-bar-3 TUG</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1 A.SU.TUG</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>1 NI.TUG</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1 nig-sag-kēš</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1 nad Gístaskarin</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1 IS.ĐÉ Gístaskarin</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>1 ad-tab za-gin</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>1 MAŞ.DA.LÜ kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>1 gid-da kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1 é-ba PI kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1 gi₄-gi₄-lum kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1 UD.KA.BAR kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>1 Lugal-ezen</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1 X-ma-ni-dug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1 Ur-dEn-lil</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>1 Ur-dȘul-pa-č</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1 É-úr-bi-dug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1 Ú-ů-a</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>1 É-me-me</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>1 Ur-ur</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>1 šes Bil-lal-la-me</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1 Sag-kud</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>1 Ur-sag-Kes</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>1 An-na-bi-kūš</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>1 An-na-bi-kūš</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>1 dumu Ur-ur</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>1 šes Bil-lal-la</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>1 ŠÁ.DAH</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>1 Gir kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>1 gid-da kug</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>1 Bil-lal-la</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>1 sang Kēš</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>1 TUG.A.AL</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 PNs</td>
<td>Nimf-tum-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brothers of Bil-lal-la, (for) Bil-lal-la, (to be used after) she dies and lives
102 EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

11) 5 kug ma-na
12) nig-sām

vi 1) Lāl-la
2) dam Bil-lāl-la
3) sanga Kēš
4) ma-ta Urua(URU+A)
5) du₄-a (or a-du₄)
6) 1 Ma-sig-be-li
7) 1 La-li
8) 1 Im-ta-kaš₄-e
9) nagar
10) 1 Ú-tum-ma-i-lum
11) ašgab
12) 1 Šarat-men
13) 1 Kēš-pa-è
14) 1 Dingir-gá-ab-Fel

Rev. vii 1) 1 Nig-šā
2) 1 Úz-da-DU
3) sīpa
4) arād-me
5) 1 A-DU-nād
6) gemē
7) arād gemē Bil-lāl-la-me
8) lū-se-è-me
9) 1 Zi-ri-gām
10) 1 Zi-lū-AS-da
11) 1 Zag-mu
12) 1 US-āg-Kēš
13) IB-me
14) lū-ki-inin-ma-me

viii 1) É-igi-nim-pa-è
2) GAR-en-si
3) Adab
4) lū-nig-sām-ag
5) Lugal-mu-da-kūš
6) ugula-è
7) lū-kug-lal-a
8) lū-se-āg

ix 1) KA-ba-ni-maḥ
2) um-mi-a
3) dub mu-sar

5 minas of silver,
the “price” of
Lāl-la
wife of Bil-lāl-la,
the temple-administrator of Kesh,
were obtained in the land of
Urua (in exchange for 300 bushels of barley).
10 PNs,

Notes

i 2 and 4.—The barley given in the price of the field was provided by two households, ė Mug-sī "the household of Mug-sī" and ė Nin-mug "the household of Nin-mug." Of these, the household of Mug-sī was apparently named after Mug-sī, who is known as GAR-en-si Adab the . . . governor of Adab," (OIP 14, 52 rev. i 1–3) [but note the PN Me-e-mug-sī in no. 15 viii 15, 21], whereas the second household was named after the goddess Ninmug, whose temple must have been located at Adab or its area.

i 7–ii 10 and ii 13–iii 10.—For the commodities listed in these two passages, see chapter 11.


iv 8.—The first sign is possibly EZEN, but note the normal form and orientation of EZEN in iv 4.

v 9.—The reading and interpretation of RÉC-349.A.TU are unknown.

vi 4.—Note the spelling ma-ta in place of the expected ma-da. For the location of Urua in western Susiana and its contacts with Babylonia during the third millennium, see Steinkeller, ZA 72 (1982) pp. 244ff. and nn. 26–28.

vi 5.—The meaning of the verb du₄ (duh) in this context is obscure. For the meaning “to free,” “to manumit,” of du₄, see Gelb, JNES 32 (1973) p. 88.

vi 6.—The same name, spelled Ma-si-gi-be-li, occurs in M.A.R.I. 5 (1987) p. 113 no. 19 ii 5, a Pre-Sargonic Mari text. Compare also Ma-sig in ECTJ 28 ii 7 and 35 ii 4.

vi 10.—This PN apparently has no parallels.

vii 6.—The meaning of the occupation/title IB is not known. It occurs at Fara (e.g., Fara 3, 3 ii), Pre-Sargonic (e.g., OIP 14, 62 i 6), and Sargonic sources (e.g., FM 9:11).

viii 1–2.—É-igi-nim-pa-è, with the same title, is mentioned in several inscriptions from Adab. For the occurrences, see W. W. Hallo, Royal Titles p. 37. The meaning of the title GAR-en-si (and of the related? term GAR-sanga) remains obscure. Steinkeller, ASJ 3 (1981) p. 83 n. 29, proposed the translation “former/retired (gover-
No. 33 Adab Clay Fragment II

Photograph: Plate 58, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negatives N. 33711, and 33712.

Copy: Plate 58. Luckenbill, OIP 14, 51 (obverse and reverse incorrectly identified).

Provenience: Adab.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Sumerian or Akkadian. Sumerian for the language of the text is suggested by the similarities with no. 32 (in texture of the clay tablet, style of writing, and Sumerian personal names), and by the occurrence of [l][a]-ki-[nim]-ma in i' 7'. On the other hand, Akkadian as the language of no. 33 is suggested by the graphotactical sequence of 5 ma-na sig “5 pounds of wool” in rev. iv 5 and the genealogical structure PN dumu-SAL PN2 “PN daughter of PN2” in rev. iv 6–8. See general remarks in section 1.5.

Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, A 1131.

Publications: Luckenbill, OIP 14, 51 (copy); Edzard, SRU no. 120.

Description: Fragment of a clay tablet measuring 13.5 x 9.9 x 5.4 cm. One side is flat, the other rounded. Therefore, the obverse-reverse sequence of OIP 14, 51 should be reversed. Right and lower edges are preserved, left and upper edges are broken off, indicating that the fragment represents the lower right portion of the tablet. To judge from decreasing thickness from top to bottom and from left to right, the preserved portion corresponds to about one-fourth of the original.

Text: The text is preserved on four columns of the obverse and four columns of the reverse. Since the texture of the clay tablet and the style of writing are identical with those of no. 32, we may safely assume that the two texts were written by the same scribe. Because only about one-fourth of the original is preserved, it is impossible to reconstruct the text. Col. i' contains the end of a list of PNs, marked with a Personenkeil; they are witnesses of the seller [...]-KA-[...]-zi (i' 8'). What follows is a long list of PNs, also marked with a Personenkeil (cols. ii', iii', iv', rev. i, ii, iii). Finally, in rev. iv there is a list of unmarked PNs, who receive commodities. Several of the persons listed in this text also appear in no. 32. See discussion of no. 32 under Text.

Transliteration

Obv. i' (beg. destr.)
1'–2') [...]
3') [1 Ša-gú]-ba
4') [1 ...]-si
5') guruš-[tab][wr. [TAB].GURUŠ]
6') [L]u-[lum]-ma
7') [l][a]-ki-[nim]-ma
8') [...]-KA-[...]-zi
9') [...]-fx

Rev. i
1) I Na-nar
2) lâ-aslag
3) I Tûl(LAGAB+TIL)-li-li
4) kurusha
5) I Kur-mu-gam
6) I Ü-mu-i-li
7) I É-du-du
8) I DU6, A
9) I Ezi(mu(S.E.TIR)-ur-sag
10) I 'Za-Ni-NI

Rev. ii
1) I Ur-du-mu-zu-da
2) I Á-ni-kur-ra
3) I Ur-tud
4) I Lugal-mu-dûg
5) I Sâs.KI-na
6) I ...:SA.GU.HUB.DUKI
7) I Ur-dAŠ2,[giX-...]
8) dumu
9) I Di-Utu
10) [...]dAŠ2,[giX-...]

Rev. iii
1) [...]fx3-dûg
2) I Utu-šes-mu
3) I Ab-ba-ba
4) I Kum-tuš-šê
5) I La-ga-tum
6) I sâgi
7) I Gi-ni-šê
8) i-duš
9) I É-ti-la-dûg
10) [...]Ur-dEN3[X]

Rev. iv
1') I Sag-dAŠ2,[giX-...]
2') sagi
3') I šeš-pâd-da
4') sagi
5') I Ra-bi-Il
6') I Pab-kalam-dûg
7') I Gil-pum
8') I Lugal-a-mu

iii' (beg. destr.)
1') I Ri-ti
2') I Tûl(LAGAB+TIL)-sag
3') muhaldim
4') lû-bansûr-il
5') I Amar-GUL
6') šu-i
7') I Sag-dAŠ2,[giX-...]
8') sukkal
9') I Ur-DUN

Copy
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

iv 1-2) [. . .]
3) Ud-da
4) simug
5) 5 ma-na sig
6) AN.RU.KES.TA
7) dumu-SAL
8) [U]d-da
9) 1 SU.A.TÚG
10) Ur-šEn-Iš-
11) šeš

Notes

i) 'I'.—For the reading of 4SÁR+DIS-gi₄ as 4Aš₂-gi₄, see Biggs, JCS 24 (1971) pp. 1f. A detailed discussion of the values of SÁR+AS and the related signs SÁR+Aš and KAM will be offered by Steinkeller elsewhere.
ii) iv 6.—AN.RU is perhaps a defective spelling of dSiUd(SU.KUR.RU). Compare Edzard, SRU p. 196, who reads the signs as dSid!?-x-ta. If so, the name could be interpreted as dSid!-Ke-ta.

No. 34 BIN II 2

Photographs: Plate 59, Babylonian Collection, Yale University.
Copy: Plate 60, J. B. Nies, BIN 2, 2; collated by Gelb.
Synopsis: Plate 103.
Provenience: Unknown (purchased)—this text is alleged to have been found on the site of ancient Uruk. For its provenience from northern Babylonia, see the occurrence of Kish in ii 2. Further, note that if the governor ii-su-ERIN+X, who is mentioned in iv 10–11, is identical with the governor of Matar of that name (see note to iv 10–11), the origin of the text could very well be Matar.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian, because of the occurrence of 4š₃ “and” in i 2, for which compare IGI.3.GAL 4 1 GIN Ē “one-third sar and one shekel of a house,” in the Akkadian sale document no. 227. Similarly, the writing of KU “to eat,” without affixes (passim) and of DUMU. DUMU “descendant,” point to Akkadian as the language of the text. On the other hand, the text uses consistently the Sumerian graphotactical order of x KUG.BABBAR MA.NA “x pounds of silver.”
See general remarks in section 1.5.

Present location: Babylonian Collection, Yale University (New Haven), NBC 2515.
Publications: Nies, JAOS 38 (1918) pp. 188–96 (copy and photographs); Nies and C. E. Keiser, BIN 2 pp. 12ff. no. 2 and pl. LIX (copy and photographs); Diakonoff, Obščestvenny i gosudarstvenny stroy Drevnego Duvečya. Šumer (Moscow, 1959) pp. 59f.

Description: Nearly rectangular slab of soft, gray limestone, measuring 15 × 12 × 3.5 cm. The right edge is rounded out 1.5 cm beyond the corners, and the bottom edge slopes down slightly toward the right corner.

Text: There are four inscribed columns on the obverse; on the reverse are found four and one-half ruler columns of which only the one on the left is inscribed. Two lines in obv. iv are erased; the signs belonging to the last line of obv. iv extend over onto the lower edge. The text is apparently not finished.

The preserved portion of the text records the sale of eight fields. The name of the buyer is not given.

Sample Interpretation

i 1–7: PN (= seller) son of PN₂ received 100 shekels of silver (as the price of) 15 iku of land.

Transliteration and Translation

| Obv. | 1 | 1 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA                                      |
|      | 2 | 4š₃ (MA.NA)                                           |
|      | 3 | KUG.BABBAR ša-[n]a                                    |
|      | 4 | [2(EŠE) 3(IKU)] GÁN                                   |
|      | 5 | Na-ni                                                 |
|      | 6 | DUMU[?]'X'-zu-zu                                      |
|      | 7 | ŠÁM GÁN                                               |
|      | 8 | 4š₃ (MA.NA) KUG.BABBAR ša-na                          |
|      | 9 | 4š₃(EŠE) GÁN                                         |
|      | 10| [4š₃]'-lu-šu¹                                       |
| ii 1 | 1 | DUMU Pi-phi                                           |
|      | 2 | KIS KI                                                 |
|      | 3 | ŠÁM GÁN                                               |
|      | 4 | KÚ                                                    |

100 shekels of silver
(is the price of)
[15] iku of land;
N.
[son of] 'X.¹
the price of the field
received (lit.: ate).

40 shekels of silver (is the price of)
6 iku of land;
'r₁,ι
son of P., of
Kish,
the price of the field
received.

5) 4š₃(MA.NA) KUG.BABBAR ša-na 5(GIN)
6) 4š₃(EŠE) 4(GIN) GÁN
7) NE.USAN

45 shekels of silver, (the price of)
7 iku of land,
N.,
Notes

i 5.—The sign read as ‘X1 looks like MA. Compare Ma-[zu?-zu] in no. 37 i 5. The line could alternatively be read [X]-x1-za-ju-ju.

ii 7.—The reading of the second sign as USAN is only tentative. Note that the sign is preceded by a small horizontal wedge (AS?), and that it has two extra vertical wedges, both features being unexpected in USAN. Assuming that the sign is USAN, the word could be interpreted as ne-su-bu = nasāqum "to kiss." For the value mānuṣub (and hence sūb) of USAN, see already Ebī Syllabary line 35: USAN = en-sa-bu. See Archiv in C. H. Gordon et al., eds., Ebītiātu: Essays on the Ebītu Archives and Eblaitic Language (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1987) p. 94.

ii 9.—The element GIŠ.ERIN is common in Akkadian personal names of the Pre-Sargonic and Early Sargonic periods. See A-šu-GIŠ.ERIN in no. 40 C xvi 3 and no. 41 ii 2; A-ša-su-GIŠ.ERIN in no. 41 rev. vi’ 6; 4E-ZU-GIŠ.ERIN in no. 40 A x 5, and 1-lu-mu-GIŠ.ERIN in no. 41 ii 19 and iv 9; for other examples, see MAD 3 p. 121. This element appears to be a graphic variant of 1MG-lak-

8) LÜ f Su’(wr. ŽUN)-ba-ri-um
9) GIŠ.ERIN LÜ GAN

x shekels of silver

10) ½(KUG.BABBAR [MA.NA])

60 shekels of silver

x 1 KUG.BABBAR [MA.NA]

and 40 shekels of silver

¸a-na

3-4) (erasure)

6) ½(MA.NA) KUG.BABBAR

6 iku of land;

(b) 5 shekels of silver (is the price of)

13½ iku of land;

P.

son of A.

received the price (of the field).

7) 1(E§E) GAN

the price of

[the field, received].

8) A.SI

9) Lugal-X-nun

10) ½ (MA.NA) KUG.BABBAR

¸a-na

40 shekels of silver,

¸a-na

11) ŠÁM

12) [GAN KU]

¸a-na

52 sar of land;

Zu-zu

Ra-bi-ilum

DUMU.DUMU

Il-su(wr. ŽUN)-ERIN+X

PA.TE.SI

Rev.

i 1) ½(IKU) LAL 3 SAR GAN

2) ZAG ḫuri-ām

3) Ga-li-su(wr. ŽUN)-ma

4) DUMU Ur-ē

(unfinished, several cols. blank)

47 sar of land,

located? at the side? of H., (the property? of?),

G.

son of U.

32 sar of land;

4 shekels of silver (as its price)

Z.

(and) R.

sons of

I.,

the governor, (received).

40 shekels of silver (is the price of)

[the field, received].

13½ iku of land;

[(MĀ.NA) KUG.BABBAR [IA-na]

The term LÜ GAN, possibly meaning "owner of the field" (cf. lugal gān and similar expressions discussed in section 7.6.2), also occurs in no. 25 iii 10, from Nippur.

ii 10.—Since the price is 6.6 and 6.4 shekels of silver for 1 iku in two preceding and one following transactions, we expect to find the price of about 80 (ii 10) + 5 (iii 1) shekels for the 13½ iku of land (iii 2). But the reading of ii 10 as IMĀ.NA) KUG.BABBAR [ia-na] is very difficult. The first two wedges are drawn downwards as in the fraction 2/3; they are followed by a sign which can be PI or IGI, and a clear KUG.BABBAR. The rest of the line is destroyed.

iii 8.—Possibly to be read SI.A, i.e., DIRI. Compare MAD 3 p. 83 for various names with DIRI = watrum.

iii 9.—The second sign looks like URU with gunui marks inside and outside of the sign. We cannot offer any suggestion for its reading.

iii 10.—The price is given both here and in iii 6.

iv 5-6.—The price of 12+ shekels of silver for this small lot is about twice the price of other fields in this inscription.

iv 10-11.—The governor Il-su-ERIN+X is very likely the same person as the governor of Matar mentioned in the seal Coll. de
No. 35 DP 2


Copy: Plate 61, Allotte de la Fu
t$

Provenience: Unknown—the occurrence of Sippar in i 2' speaks in favor of a site in northern Babylonia.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian.

Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris), AO 13210.

Publication: Allotte de la Fu
t$

Description: Fragment of a tablet of “syénite” of reddish color, measuring 6.7 x 9.0 x 3.1 cm. Obverse flat, reverse rounded; left and lower edges are preserved, upper and right edges are broken off.

Text: The preserved portion of the tablet is inscribed in two columns on the obverse, in two lines on the lower edge of column i, and in two columns on the reverse.

The sequence of the inscription is not fully assured. Two possible sequences, both discussed in section 1.4, may be considered. One sequence, traditional in the Pre-Sargonic and later periods, but used occasionally in the earlier periods, runs from left to right, from column i to column ii, etc., on the obverse and then from right to left, from column i to column ii, etc., on the reverse. In accordance with this sequence, column i of the obverse contains the names of the sellers of the property; column i of the reverse gives the total of 20 witnesses who receive bread/food and beer, and column ii lists names of persons who performed the I šadādum rite. The other sequence, traditional in Pre-Sargonic and earlier periods, runs from column i of the obverse, across the lower edge, below, to column i of the reverse and, accordingly, from column ii of the obverse, below, to column ii of the reverse, etc. In accordance with this sequence, the text probably began with the size of the property, its price, and the names of the sellers, all now lost. The preserved part of column i gives the names of several individuals, possibly sellers, who performed the I šadādum rite; column ii contains the location of the property and a total of twenty witnesses who received bread/food and beer in the house of the buyer.

Of the two sequences, the second one is definitely preferred, first, because this obverse-reverse sequence is well documented in the Pre-Sargonic period and, second, because the sequence of the formulary accords with parallels from the same period.

For sellers performing the I šadādum rite, parallel to the i... ag rite in Sumerian, see section 7.12.5.2; for witnesses partaking in the feast in the house of the buyer, see section 7.12.5.7. The location of the field is given in the same terms (neighboring fields to the [north], south, west, and east) as in nos. 40 and 41.

Transliteration

Obv. i  
1') [PA.TE].SI  
2') [NUN.U]D.KIBI  
3') I-lum-GAR  
4') Pī-su-GI  
5') U₂(EZEN+AN)-zi-um  
6') I-GU-KU-DINGIR  
7') DUMU U₂-zi-um  

Lo. E.  
8') I-bi².AUTU  
9') [DUM]U Na-ni  

Rev. i  
10') Iš-du-du  
11') Pū-za-um  
12') PŪ.SA-be-li  
13') DUMU Su-su₂A-a  
14') I₁Iš-du-du  
15') I₁[b?-]u-DINGIR  
16') [I X]₁-Eš₅E₂ .dar  
17') [I₁Iš-du-d]u  

Obv. ii  
1') [ē-da]-[ṣu]  
2') [IM]₂.UBU  
3') A₂-rum  
4') Na-mu-ra-[zu]  
5') č-da-[ṣu]  

Transliteration

Obv. i  
1') [PA.TE].SI  
2') [NUN.U]D.KIBI  
3') I-lum-GAR  
4') Pī-su-GI  
5') U₂(EZEN+AN)-zi-um  
6') I-GU-KU-DINGIR  
7') DUMU U₂-zi-um  

Rev. i  
10') Iš-du-du  
11') Pū-za-um  
12') PŪ.SA-be-li  
13') DUMU Su-su₂A-a  
14') I₁Iš-du-du  
15') I₁[b?-]u-DINGIR  
16') [I X]₁-Eš₅E₂ .dar  
17') [I₁Iš-du-d]u  

Translation

Obv. i  
1') [PA.TE].SI  
2') [NUN.U]D.KIBI  
3') I-lum-GAR  
4') Pī-su-GI  
5') U₂(EZEN+AN)-zi-um  
6') I-GU-KU-DINGIR  
7') DUMU U₂-zi-um  

Transliteration

Obv. i  
1') [PA.TE].SI  
2') [NUN.U]D.KIBI  
3') I-lum-GAR  
4') Pī-su-GI  
5') U₂(EZEN+AN)-zi-um  
6') I-GU-KU-DINGIR  
7') DUMU U₂-zi-um  

Rev. i  
10') Iš-du-du  
11') Pū-za-um  
12') PŪ.SA-be-li  
13') DUMU Su-su₂A-a  
14') I₁Iš-du-du  
15') I₁[b?-]u-DINGIR  
16') [I X]₁-Eš₅E₂ .dar  
17') [I₁Iš-du-d]u  

Obv. ii  
1') [ē-da]-[ṣu]  
2') [IM]₂.UBU  
3') A₂-rum  
4') Na-mu-ra-[zu]  
5') č-da-[ṣu]  

Translation

Obv. i  
1') [PA.TE].SI  
2') [NUN.U]D.KIBI  
3') I-lum-GAR  
4') Pī-su-GI  
5') U₂(EZEN+AN)-zi-um  
6') I-GU-KU-DINGIR  
7') DUMU U₂-zi-um  

Rev. i  
10') Iš-du-du  
11') Pū-za-um  
12') PŪ.SA-be-li  
13') DUMU Su-su₂A-a  
14') I₁Iš-du-du  
15') I₁[b?-]u-DINGIR  
16') [I X]₁-Eš₅E₂ .dar  
17') [I₁Iš-du-d]u  

Obv. ii  
1') [ē-da]-[ṣu]  
2') [IM]₂.UBU  
3') A₂-rum  
4') Na-mu-ra-[zu]  
5') č-da-[ṣu]  

The preserved portion of the tablet is inscribed in two columns on the obverse, in two lines on the lower edge of column i, and in two columns on the reverse. The sequence of the inscription is not fully assured. Two possible sequences, both discussed in section 1.4, may be considered. One sequence, traditional in the Pre-Sargonic and later periods, but used occasionally in the earlier periods, runs from left to right, from column i to column ii, etc., on the obverse and then from right to left, from column i to column ii, etc., on the reverse. In accordance with this sequence, column i of the obverse contains the names of the sellers of the property; column i of the reverse gives the total of 20 witnesses who receive bread/food and beer, and column ii lists names of persons who performed the I šadādum rite. The other sequence, traditional in Pre-Sargonic and earlier periods, runs from column i of the obverse, across the lower edge, below, to column i of the reverse and, accordingly, from column ii of the obverse, below, to column ii of the reverse, etc. In accordance with this sequence, the text probably began with the size of the property, its price, and the names of the sellers, all now lost. The preserved part of column i gives the names of several individuals, possibly sellers, who performed the I šadādum rite; column ii contains the location of the property and a total of twenty witnesses who received bread/food and beer in the house of the buyer.

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ANCIENT KUDURRUS

6') IM.MAR.T[U] to the west is
7') Kar-ki-rum (the property of) K.;
8') è-da-su its border
9') IM sa-ti-um to the east is
10') LÜ I-nin-nûm (the property of) the man of I;
11') 'X' (blank)

Lo. E.
Rev. ii
12') SU.NIGÎN 20 AB+ÂŠ Total of 20 witnesses
13') in É! in the house of
14') I-lu-[lu],? I. (i.e., the buyer)
15') DUMU I-l-ix-x-[x]
16') PA.TE.[SI]
17') NINDA KU(KA+GAR) the governor,
18') KAS 1.NA[G][K[A+A]] (and) drank beer.
(rest destr.)

Notes

1 2'.—For the gunû form of KIB, cf. REC-171 and LAK-278. Instead of the crossed forms appearing there, our text has a form which is identical with that found in the PN Ur-sag-A.KIB.NUN in TMH 5, 56 i 4.

i 5' and 7'.—For the syllabic value u[N] of EZEN+AN, frequent in Ebla texts, see Krebernik, ZA 72 (1982) p. 186. Another example of this value in a text from Babylonia is found in the PN Uš-bar-tum (TMH 5, 67 i 3; OSP: 120 iii 3').

i 6'.—I-GU-KU-DINGIR, spelled I-KU-GU-II in no. 37 iii 4 and in the colophons of OIP 99, 113, 268, and 479, should probably be interpreted as I-lûku-II, i.e., Iku-in-II.

i 15'.—If the first sign of the name is IB, we could find here a variant spelling of the name IB-LUL-DINGIR. As proposed by Steinkeller, SEL 1 (1984) pp. 16f. n. 30, IB-LUL is to be read I-pu-lu- (or perhaps even I-pu-lu2) and interpreted as Iplus-. For this interpretation, see now the Ebla name I-pu-lu-zû (ARET 3 p. 282; 4 p. 247; MEE 2 p. 344), which probably represents /plus-su/ “He-Looked-Upon-Him.”

ii 4'.—For the PN Na-mu-ra-zu, see MAD 3 p. 193.

ii 11'.—There is apparently only one long sign in this line, which is possibly an erasure.

ii 13'.—Against the copy, the sign É is clear.

ii 17'.—The line could alternatively be read I.KU “they ate.”

No. 36 CT V 3

Copy: Plate 62, S. Smith, CT 5, 3; collated by Gelb.
Synopsis: Plate 104.
Date: Pre-Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.
Present location: British Museum (London), BM 22506 (= 82-7-14, 1046).

Transliteration and Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5 BUR 1(EŠE) GAN</td>
<td>96 iku of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SÅM-sú</td>
<td>its price is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5½ KUG.BABBAR MA.NA GIN</td>
<td>320 shekels of silver;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR</td>
<td>the additional payment is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 TÜG.A.SU</td>
<td>5 TÜG.A.SU cloths,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>26 I.SÁH SILÀ</td>
<td>26 quarts of pig oil,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Publications: H. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen 1 (Leipzig, 1893) p. 544 (copy); King, CT 5, 3 (copy).

Description: Large fragment of a limestone slab measuring 18.5 x 25 cm. Thickness varies from 3.5 to 5.7 cm. The obverse is flat, the reverse completely broken off. Traces of the upper edge are preserved above the first line of the first column of the obverse; also a large portion of the left edge is preserved; other edges are broken off.

Text: Five partially preserved columns can be counted on the obverse. The left edge is unincised, the reverse broken off. The inscription begins with the signs 5 BUR GAN in the first line of the first column. Since the deeply incised signs for numbers usually leave a trace even when much effaced, the lack of such a trace of a number in line 1 means that there was no sign either to the left or above the number 5; there is, however, a suggestion of a sign above GAN, which should be interpreted as I(EŠE), in accordance with the prices for fields given in other parts of the inscription. Following the five columns of the obverse there are two uninscribed columns, suggesting either that the inscription was left unfinished or that it had been finished, but that the stonecutter failed for one reason or another to cut off its unnecessary part. For a similar case compare no. 22 under Text.

The reconstruction of the length of the individual columns is tentative.

The reconstruction of the size and price of certain lots is based on their relationship to amounts given as the additional payment (NIG.KI.GAR). See the full discussion in chapter 9.

The preserved portions of the inscription deal with the acquisition of about seven parcels of land by an unknown person.
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>15(GUR) 2(PI) ŠE GUR</td>
<td>(and) 4,620 quarts of barley;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>[Am]ar-Dilmun-[na?k]</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-20)</td>
<td>[... ]</td>
<td>(and) x PNs received (it).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii | 1) | [... ] | No-contest clause. |
| 2) | DU[MU ...] | |
| 3) | LŪ NI ... | |
| 4) | NAM.KUD | |
| 5) | l.IR | |
| 6) | LŪ.NA.ME | |
| 7) | i-na-kir | |
| 8) | ap-lu | |
| 9) | GIR | |
| 10) | Lugal-Gišasal(RÉC-65.A) | |
| 11) | HILŪŠ | |
| 12) | [A]mar-Dilmun-na?K | |
| 13) | [... ]-NE | |
| 14-20) | [... ] | |

iii | 1) | [1 BUR GĀN] | [18 iku of land]; |
| 2) | [ŠAM-sū] | [its price is] |
| 3) | [1 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA] | [60 shekels of silver]; |
| 4) | NĪG.KI.[GAR] | the additional payment is |
| 5) | 6 KUG.BABBAR GĪN | 6 shekels of silver |
| 6) | 6 l SILĀ | (and) 6 quarts of oil; |
| 7) | D[u]2ba?-ba?1 | D. |
| 8) | DAM | wife of S. |
| 9) | Šu-Eš-dar | |
| 10) | LŪ Suš-be-li | of S. |
| 11) | ŠU.BA.TI | received (it). |
| 12) | 1 BUR GĀN | 18 iku of land; |
| 13) | ŠĀM | (its) price is |
| 14) | 1 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA | 161 shekels of silver; |
| 15) | NĪG.KI.[GAR] | the additional payment is |
| 16) | 6 KUG.BABBAR GĪN | [6 shekels of silver] |
| 17) | 6 l SILĀ | [(and) 6 quarts of oil]; |
| 18) | [PN] | [2? PNs] |
| 19) | [DUMU PN2] | |
| 20) | [PN1] | |
| 21) | [DUMU PN4] | |
| 22) | [ŠU.BA.TI] | [received (it)]. |

iv | 1) | [2 BUR I(ES) 3(IKU) GĀN] | [45 iku of land]; |
| 2) | ŠĀM | [(its) price is] |
| 3) | [2/3 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA] | [150 shekels of silver]; |
| 4) | NĪG.KI.[GAR] | the additional payment is |
| 5) | 15 KUG.BABBAR GĪN | [15 shekels of silver] |
| 6) | 15 l SILĀ | (and) 15 [quarts of oil]; |
| 7) | I-ku-tum | 2 PNs |
| 8) | DUMU U-hūb | |
| 9) | Ib-ni-DINGIR | |
| 10) | DUMU I-KA-lum | |
| 11) | ŠU.BA.TI | received (it). |
| 12) | 4(IKU) GĀN | 4 iku of land; |
| 13) | ŠĀM | (its) price is |
| 14) | 13 KUG.BABBAR GĪN | 13½ shekels of silver; |
| 15) | QCIM-[G]Ū, GAL | [4? PNs] |
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

16) [PN]
17) [DUMU PN₂]
18) [PN₃]
19) [DUMU PN₄]
20) [PN₅]

v 1) [DUMU PN₆] [received (it)].
2) [SU.BA.TI]

3) [2(EŞE) GÂN] [12 iku of land];
4) [ŞÂM] [(its) price is]
5) [½ KUG.BABBAR MA.NA] [40 shekels of silver];
6) [NİG.KI.GAR] [the additional payment is]
7) [21] [SE GUR] '600' [quarts of barley],
8) 2 KUG.BABBAR GÎN 2 [shekels] of silver,
9) 4 1 SILÂ (and) 4 quarts of oil;
10) P.ŠA-ra-ra P.
11) DUMU Ur-Ma-ma son of U.
12) SU.BA.TI received (it).

(cols. vi and viii are blank) (destr.)

Notes

1 i and passim.—For the writing 5 BUR in place of 5(BÜR), see note to no. 38 i 6.
2 i 8.—The reading of this PN is based on ii 12. The identification of the second sign as DILMUN (= LAK-514, EL.Les 268 in Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 350) is not completely certain. Note that the sign lacks the final vertical wedge that is diagnostic for DILMUN.

ii 1–20.—Lines 4–11 record what appears to be a no-contest clause, in which the sellers promise under oath not to violate the conditions of the transaction (see below). The preceding three lines may have contained the beginning of the clause or dealt with a different clause altogether; it is possible that this section of the inscription actually began in column i. Lines 12–13, which follow immediately after the no-contest clause, could be the continuation of the clause; note that line 12 mentions Amur-Dilmun-na'M1, who appears as a seller in i 8. Alternatively, we could find here the beginning of yet another clause.

Lines 4–11 can tentatively be translated as follows: “The oath by oil nobody should change/violate; (if somebody does change it), then the heirs (of the sellers) with the dagger of Lugal-asal will kill him,” or: “(the preceding persons) have sworn by oil that nobody should change/violate; (if somebody does change it), then etc.” It is noteworthy that all of the logograms found in this passage are documented in the lexical and administrative texts from Ebla (see below). If the interpretation here proposed is correct, it would add new and very important information to the ever growing evidence for the close connections between the language and writing of northern Babylonia and those of Ebla and Mari in Pre-Sargonic times.

Specific comments to lines 4–11:

Line 4. For NAM.KUD, meaning both “oath” and “to take an oath,” “to swear,” see LUGAL.BĀD NAM.KUD KĀ ḫ发布公告 “the commander of the fortress took an oath at the gate” (Sollberger, SICH 3/9–10 [1980] p. 144 lines 480–483, cf. also p. 145 line 546); wa ĪL IGIL.IGIL EN wa NAM.KUD “the lord raised his eyes and swore” (Edzard, SEh 4 [1981] p. 38 iv 18–v 4); GIS? SIR+ZA NAM.KUD E 4 Ku-ra “(I) swear . . . in the temple of Kura” (ibid. p. 43 xiii 5–8); wa NAM.KUD NAM.KUD AMA.GAL-ga NA NAM.KUD NI-st-in “you(?) swore an oath by(? ) your ‘Great Mother’ . . . .” (ibid. p. 43 xiii 14–xiv 2); NAM.KUD AMA.GAL LŪ an-na DUMU I-ti-a an-na LŪ NAM.KUD “I swear by(?) the ‘Great Mother’, that of I, son of Iti’a, the one who swears” (ibid. p. 43 xiv 5–13); wa NAM.KUD EN GABA ku-ra “the lord swore before Kura” (ibid. p. 45 xvi 14–xvii 1); in UD NAM.KUD É 4-dù-da “when he swore in the temple of Hadad” (Pettinato, MEE 2, 19 rev. ii 1–4); UD DUG₄ NA NAM.KUD “when he took an oath” (ibid. 20 ii 6–7); in UD DU.DU NAM.KUD É 4 Ku-ra “when he came to swear in the temple of Kura” (Edzard, ARET 2, 13 x 6–10); BA.DAR DU BI₄-gi-ba-ir NAM.KUD “in the presence(?) of the dagger(?) (= ba-dar gub) I. swore” (Pettinato, MEE 3, 65 iv 1–3). See also the occurrences of nam-kud in the Stela of the Vultures, discussed by Edzard, AS 20 pp. 79ff. Further, note the possible examples of nam-kud in no. 12 Side D. For an oath taken before the god’s dagger, see Falkenstein, NISGU 1 p. 65 n. 5, and compare the example from Pettinato, MEE 3, 65 iv 1–3, cited above.

p. 50), and see the examples of nakarum, with the meanings “to deny a statement, a fact, to contest an agreement, to refuse a request, to speak a falsehood,” in CAD N/1 pp. 165f.

Line 8. The interpretation of ap-1u as a plural of aplum “heir” is only tentative.


Line 10. Lugal-GISR-65.A is a variant spelling of Lugal-GIS asūl = Bēl-šarbi “Lord-of-Poplar,” the god of Baz (see CAD S, pp. 109f.) and of BAD UR/1a-bu-šumkī (R. Borger, BAL 2, p. 47 lines 50–51, reads -bu-bi-nī [ki]). For this deity, see already OIP 99, 82 rev. iii’ 21. The sign RĒC-65 (since Ur III times generally written GABA.LIS), which represents a tree trunk, has the following forms in ED texts: šu (URT 2, 241 i 1 and passim in this text); šu (TS 927; contrast with šu = GABA ibid. 715 ii 2’); Š = G (OIP 99, 82 rev. iii’ 21); šu = G (MEE 4 pl. 3 vii 25, pl. 8 v 9); šu = G (VAS 14, 98 iii 2). In this connection, note that RĒC-65 is also found in the sign GIII.MMAR (= “tree trunk” + “date-palm crown”). The most common spelling of /asal/ “poplar” in ED sources is A.”TU”. RĒC-65, where A is a phonetic indicator, “TU” (written ŠE.NUN.UZ at Ebla; see the examples from MEE 4 cited above) is “poplar crown,” and RĒC-65 is “trunk.” A, in fact, is often omitted, as in UET 2, 241, OIP 99, 82 rev. iii’ 21, and the Ebla examples.

Given the fact that the clause names Lugal-asal, who appears to have been primarily associated with the city of Baz, there is a strong possibility that the present text comes from Baz or its environs. The occurrence of Lugal-asal and the presence of the god of Baz, the “Lord of Poplar,” in the text indicates a possible connection to Baz. However, the exact provenience is not conclusively determined.

No. 37 CT XXXII 7f.

Photographs: Plate 63, British Museum, London.

Copy: Plate 64, King, CT 32, 7f.

Synopsis: Plate 105.

Provenience: Found at Dailem (ancient Dilbat) according to CT 32 p. 3—no information as to the provenience of this text can be deduced from the occurrence of the three GNs, Lugal-kalam-ma (rev. iii 16), É-dūr.-Me-me (U. E. iv’ 2), and Pū-sa-anki (R. E. 12). The GN É-dūr(sic)-Me-meki occurs in a text of unknown provenience (Fish, CST 20:2; cf. MAD 3, p. 20), while the other two GNs are hapax legomena.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian.

Present location: British Museum (London), BM 22460 (= D. 82-3-23-2252).

Publications: King, CT 32, 7f. (copy); Diakonoff, Ob-ščestvenny i gosudarstvenny stroy Drevnego Dvurečya. Šumer (Moscow, 1959) pp. 58f.

Description: Large fragment of a light-buff limestone tablet measuring 17 × 19.1 × 5.1 cm. Preserved are large portions of the obverse, reverse, upper and right edges. For the sequence, see below.

Text: The sequence of obverse-reverse given in CT 32, 7f. is very questionable. There is no doubt that what is called bottom edge and reverse on pl. 8 go together. This can be proved definitely by the fact that I-lu-lu and Ma-[u?]-[u] are added up as 2 DUMU in column iv (following the CT numeration) and that x ŠE GUR. SAG.GAL is followed by NĪ.G.ŢU.GAR in column i, as elsewhere in the inscription. As the bottom edge goes with the reverse, so the now lost upper edge must go with the obverse, following the sequence found, e.g., in no. 15. Therefore, the upper edge-obverse of the present inscription becomes the lower edge-reverse, and its lower edge-reverse becomes the upper edge-obverse. The sequence favored by us is not beyond doubt, but it is supported by the occurrence of the buyer in the last two lines of the right edge, which certainly forms the end of the inscription, and should, therefore, be aligned with the reverse.

The inscription is preserved in four columns of the upper edge, obverse, and reverse, and in one column of the right edge.

The reconstruction of the length of the individual columns is tentative.

The preserved portions of the inscription deal with the acquisition of ten(?!) parcels of land by a certain Tupsikka.

Sample Interpretation

Obv. iii’ 8–17: 6 iku of land; the price of the field is 15 gsg of barley, its additional payment is x commodities; 1 PN (= seller) (received it).

Transliteration and Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U. E.</th>
<th>i’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>1 ŠE GUR. SAG.GAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>2 SĪG MA.NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>2 1 SILĀ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>I-lu-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Ma-[u?]-[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>2 DUMU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>I-ku-La-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obv. i’</td>
<td>8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>[GAN ŚAJM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>[15 ŠE GUR. SAG.GAL]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>[NĪ.G.ŢU.GAR]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. gsg of barley, 2 pounds of wool, (and) 2 quarts of oil I. (and) M. 2 sons of I. (received).

[6 iku of land]; [the price of the field is] [15. gsg of barley]; [the additional payment is]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>[1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]</td>
<td>1. gsg of barley,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13)</td>
<td>[2 SIG MA.NA]</td>
<td>2 pounds of wool,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14)</td>
<td>[2 1 SILÁ]</td>
<td>(and) 2 quarts of oil;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15)</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
<td>5 PNs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td>[PN₂]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. E. ii’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>I-zil-núm</td>
<td>5 sons of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>IS-dup-II</td>
<td>S. (received it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>PÚ.SÀ-sù-DÜG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obv. ii’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>5 DUMU</td>
<td>5 sons of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Su₄-ma-Ma-lik</td>
<td>S. (received it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>(EŠE) GÁN</td>
<td>6 iku of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>GÁN SÁM</td>
<td>the price of the field is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>15 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL</td>
<td>15. gsg of barley;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>[NIG.D]ÚR.GAR</td>
<td>the additional payment is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>[1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]</td>
<td>1. gsg of barley,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>[2 SIG MA.NA]</td>
<td>2 pounds of wool,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>[2 1 SILÁ]</td>
<td>(and) 2 quarts of oil;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. E. iii’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>NIG.BA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>1 TÚG.SU.A</td>
<td>1 TÚG.SU.A cloth;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>Il-sù-LAK-647</td>
<td>3 PNs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obv. iii’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>I-KU-GU-ll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Ur-4DUB-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>DUMU.DUMU</td>
<td>sons of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>Ur-PA</td>
<td>U. (received it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>(EŠE) GÁN</td>
<td>6 iku of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>GÁN SÁM</td>
<td>the price of the field is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>15 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL</td>
<td>15. gsg of barley;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>[NIG.D]ÚR.GAR</td>
<td>the additional payment is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>[1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]</td>
<td>1. gsg of barley,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13)</td>
<td>[2 SIG MA.NA]</td>
<td>2 pounds of wool,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14)</td>
<td>[2 1 SILÁ]</td>
<td>(and) 2 quarts of oil;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15)</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
<td>[son of]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17)</td>
<td>[PN₂]</td>
<td>[PN₂ (received it)].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. E. iv’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>2(BUR) 2(EŠE) GÁN</td>
<td>48 iku of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>in Ė-dury-Me-me</td>
<td>in E.;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>GÁN SÁM</td>
<td>the price of the field is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>90 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL</td>
<td>90. gsg of barley;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obv. iv’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>NIG.DÚR.GAR</td>
<td>the additional payment is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>8 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL</td>
<td>8. gsg of barley,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>16 SIG MA.NA</td>
<td>16 pounds of wool,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>16 1 SILÁ</td>
<td>(and) 16 quarts of oil;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9)</td>
<td>NIG.BA</td>
<td>the gift is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10)</td>
<td>1 TÚG.SU.A</td>
<td>1 TÚG.SU.A cloth;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11)</td>
<td>Ra-bi-i-lum</td>
<td>R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12)</td>
<td>DUMU</td>
<td>son of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13)</td>
<td>IS-dup-DINGIR.DINGIR</td>
<td>I. (received it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14)</td>
<td>(EŠE) GÁN</td>
<td>6i iku of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15)</td>
<td>[GÁN ŠÁM]</td>
<td>the price of the field is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td>[15 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]</td>
<td>15. gsg of barley;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17)</td>
<td>[NIG.DÚR.GAR]</td>
<td>the additional payment is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18)</td>
<td>[1 ŠE.GUR.SAG.GÁL]</td>
<td>1. gsg of barley,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19)</td>
<td>[2 SIG MA.NA]</td>
<td>2 pounds of wool,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo. E. i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>[2 1 SILÁ]</td>
<td>(and) 2 quarts of oil;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

3) [DUMU] [son of]
4) [PN₂] [PN₂ (received it)].

Rev. i 5) [I(EŠE) GÁN] [6 iku of land];
6) [GÁN ŠÁJ] [the price of the field is]
7) [15 ŠE Gur.Sag.Gál] [15. gsg of barley];
8) Pu-pu 2 PNs (received it);
9) DUMU
10) Usš-Engur-na
11) Ur-Ab-ra
12) DUMU
13) A-lam-DUG
14) NIG.DUR.GAR the additional payment is
15) 1 ŠE Gur.Sag.Gál 1. gsg of barley,
16) 2 SIG MANA 2 pounds of wool,
17) 2 1 SILĀ (and) 2 quarts of oil;
18) DUMU.DUMU Ur-ma sons of U.
19) NIG.DU[R.GAR] received (lit.: ate) the
20) K[U] additional payment.

Lo. E. ii 1-4) [...] Rev. ii 5-8) [...]
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

15) [GU].AN.ŠE I (EŠE) GÁN 30
   SAR
Total: 6 iku and 30 SAR of land,
16) EŠ.GÍD SÍSÁ
(measured with) the standard(?) rope;
17) DUMU.DUMU
sons/descendants of
(1 or more cols. on lo.e. and rev.
broken; l.e. broken)

R. E.
1) [I ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
[1. gsg of barley]
2) [ŠÁM 1 KUG.BABBAR GÍN]
[costs 1 shekel of silver];
3) [I . . . I(P)]
[60 quarts of oil]
4) ŠÁM 14+[I KUG.BABBAR]
costs 15 [shekels of silver];
G[IN]
5) SÍ.GÍGI, I GÚ
1 talent of black wool
6) ŠÁM 15 KUG.BABBAR GÍN
(cost these are the rates of) the additional payment.
7) NÍ.G.ÚR.GAR
PN
8) 24 ŠE.NI.KID.NI GUR
9) I-a-ki-na-ni
10) DAM Ur-d.Gú-gú
wife of U.,
11) DUMU Ur-túl-sag
the son of U.,
12) Pú-sa-anKI
Pusan,
13) ŠU.BA.TI
received.
14) NÍ.G.ŠÁM
The acquisitions of
15) Dup-si-ga
Tupšikka.

Notes

iii 3.—As is indicated by the interchange of LAK-647 with URI in the ED Names and Professions List line 114 (Archi, SEH 4 [1981] p. 184), LAK-647 is a graphic variant of URI. The name thus probably means “His-God-is-Uri (i.e., Warium).” Compare II-LAK-647 (OIP 99, 116 xii, 283 rev.) and DINGIR-Wa-ar (Himrin 27:3, 31:2). The possibility that LAK-647 is identical with IGI+LAK-527 (see note to no. 34 ii 9), as suggested by Krecher, M.A.R.F. 5 (1987) pp. 62fl., appears unlikely.

iii 4.—For a discussion of the name I-KU-GÚ-II, see note to no. 35 i 6'.

iii 5.—dDUB-an is probably the defied Tabáin-river/canal, for which see the Sargonic names KA-Da-ba-an (MAD 1, 163 viii 40), "ki?-nam-Da-ba-an (ibid. 72 rev. 5’), and possibly SÁR.AN-mu-da (ibid. 241:15), if SÁR.AN- is to be interpreted as Tab-an. Further, note the name A-BAN-Da-ba-an in the Ebla text ARET 8, 522 vii 4. For the value dab₂ of DUB, see MAD 21 p. 69 no. 101. Physical occurrences of the Tabáin in third millennium texts are infrequent. See Ü, "Da-ba-an il-bi-ir-ma (CT 44, 2 ii’ 1–2, an OB copy of Shulgi’s 17 inscription); x su₂ . . . gú dDab-an (P. Michalowski, OJ 16 [1977] p. 295 YBC 5612:1–3, Ur III); E-dur-zi-za-núm gú dDab-bal-an (NSATN 208–9, 9, Ur III). For the Tabáin in OB sources, see RTGC 3 p. 312. The location of this watercourse was discussed most recently by Kh. Nashef, Bagh. Mitt. 13 (1982) pp. 177–41.

Rev. iii 14 and iv 16.—With our case of x GÁN EŠ.GÍD SÍSÁ “x land (measured with the standard?) measuring rope,” which occurs also in no. 30a ii 1’, compare x gán ét šá-ma-ta “x land (measured with the purchase?) rope,” discussed in note to no. 22 i 1.

R. E. 8.—The grain (?) called ŠE.NI.KID.NI is unknown elsewhere.

No. 38 Dar-a-a Tablet

Photographs: Plate 65, C. J. Ball, Light from the East p. 46.

Provenience: Allegedly found on the site of the Shamash temple in Sippar—the origin of the inscription is in all probability northern Babylonia. This is indicated by its language (Akkadian) and the occurrences of Ashnak (i 15) and the Akkadian toponyms U-sá-la-tim (Gen.) (i 7) and Tu-la(l)-tim (Gen.) (i 11). See also note to i 15. Date: Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian, as can be judged from the following: the preposition in “in” occurring three times (i 7, 13, 15); the phrase GÁN šu ba-la-ag Da-da-ri-im “the field of the canal of D.” (i 9); the logogram AB+ĀS occurring twice, in the meanings “elder” (ii 5) and “witness” (rev. i’ 1).

Present location: Originally in the possession of the Rev. C. J. Ball; now in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1971–408.


Description: A limestone tablet that appears to have been cut in half vertically so that the preserved piece, measuring 16 × 8.2 × 5.1 cm, is the left half of an originally square tablet. The thickness of the tablet is nearly one-third its height. The obverse is flat, the reverse rounded. There are two complete and inscribed columns on the obverse, but of the three ruled columns (two complete, one fragmentary) on the reverse only the middle of the last column is inscribed. Although rulings for four lines were drawn, only two were inscribed.

Text: The text contains a number of inconsistencies and mishapen signs. Note, for instance, among the former: 3 UDU.UDU (i 2), but 12 GUD 10 ĀB (i 4); LA in U-sá-la-tim (i 7) and ba-la-ag (i 9), but LAL in Tu-la(l)-tim (i 11), and KA+UD.BAR (ii 3), but UD.KA. [BAR] (ii 7). Among mishapen signs, note the second DA in Da-da-ri-im (i 9); the sign NIN with several horizontal wedges instead of two wedges in dNin-gal.
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(i 10); the sign GUR in GUR.SAG (ii 1); and the sign RA in Es 4 -dar-ra (ii 18). Also, the grammar of šu ba-la-ag Da-da-ri-im (i 9), instead of šu ba-al-gi Da-da-ri-im, is incorrect for the period.

The structure of the text resembles that of no other inscription in this volume. It can be divided into four sections:

1) A number of sheep and cattle, expended (?) by the palace (?) and received (?) by two shepherds (i 1-5).
2) Listing of six fields totaling 282 iku, together with their locations (i 6-15).
3) Listing of six commodities received by a city elder and two commodities received by at least nine persons, only one of whom is provided with a profession: “Edada, the gardener of the orchard of PAB.PAB (a PN)” (i 16-ii 19).
4) A long list of witnesses, of which only the end, reading “total of 25 witnesses of Dar’a’a,” now survives (rev. i’ 1-2).

Because the structure of this text is unique, the following suggestions must be considered very tentative.

1) The first section could be interpreted as the price given to the two shepherds who apparently functioned as primary sellers of the property. The value of the animals listed is very high, as it includes twenty-two head of cattle (which, at about ten shekels each, are valued at 220 shekels of silver) and three sheep. The high value of the animals would offer an indication that, in this context, the profession/title sipa does not denote a simple shepherd but a prosperous animal husbandman.

2) The six fields listed in the second section probably represent the sold property. Again, the high total of 282 iku of six fields in different locations would point to the high status and prosperity of the sellers.

3) The commodities listed in the third section might constitute the additional payment given to the secondary sellers.

4) The person Dar’a’a, named at the very end of the inscription, was probably the buyer.

However, the interpretation of no. 38 as a sale transaction is complicated by the absence in it of any terminology for “selling” and “buying,” and its failure to identify the livestock listed as “price.” Equally disturbing is the reference to a “palace(?)” at the very beginning of the inscription. We are forced to consider, therefore, that no. 38 may concern some other type of legal transaction, such as a donation or bequest. If so, the animals listed in the first section could simply form part of the donated/inherit estate, with the two shepherds representing their respective caretakers.

Transliteration and Translation

Obv. i 1) ʾÉ(?) GAL 3 UDU.UDU (From?) the palace(?)
2) 3 UDU.UDU 3 sheep (were received? by)
3) Be-li-BALA SIPA B., the shepherd;
4) 12 GUD 10 AB 12 bulls (and) 10 cows (were received? by)
5) Pū-Nu-nu SIPA P., the shepherd.
6) 1(BUR.GUNU) BUR GÂN (located) in Ushalatum;
7) in U.sā-la-tim 180 iku of land
8) 1 BUR GÂN (located) of (= on) the canal of Dad(d)arum;
9) šu ba-la-ag Da-da-ri-im 6 iku of land (of?/at? the household) of the goddess
10) I(ESE) GĀN Š Nin-gal Nin-gal;
11) I(ESE) GĀN (in)? Tu-la(1)-tim 6 iku of land (located in) Tula(l)tum;
12) 3 BUR GÂN 54 iku of land
13) in X.EDIN(KI) (located) in X.EDIN;
14) 1 BUR GÂN 18 iku of land
15) in As-na-akKI (located) in Ashnak.
16) 1 SI SI, Commodities
17) 20 DUG 1ŠĀH
18) 10 DUG 1DUG.GA

ii 1) 2 ŠE GUR.SAG (for) Š.,
2) 1 GĪN PI KUG.GI the city elder.
3) 1 KA+UD.BAR [X] Commodities
4) šu-i-li
5) AB+ÂŠ.URUKI
6) 1 GĪN PI KUG.GI
7) ½ MA.NA UD.KA.[BAR] (for) 9+[x] PNs
8) KA-Me-ir
9) Tūî(LAGAB+TIL)-ta
10) Bīl-zum
11) Be-li-GU
12) Ri-iš-DINGIR
13) I-mu-tum

ANCIENT KUDURRUS

14) E-da-da
15) NU.SAR
16) GIŠ.SAR
17) PAB.PAB
18) ES₄-dar-ra!
19) Um-me-DUG

(1-2 cols. destr.)

Rev.

i') 1) SU.NIGIN 25 AB+
2) Dar-a-a

(1-2 cols. destr.)

Notes

i 1.—The first sign could alternatively be interpreted as NIGIR. At any rate, since the beginning of the line definitely does not contain a numeral, the word in question cannot be a commodity.

i 6, 8, 12, and 14.—The spelling (circle) BUR GAN for 1 bûr or 18 iku, and its multiples in small circles, instead of the standard spelling i(BUR) without BUR, has a number of parallels, as in 5 BUR f1(EŠE) GAN (no. 36 ii 1 and passim); I BUR 3(IKU) GAN (MDP 14, 33 rev. i, and similarly rev. ii); 1 BUR 1(IKU) 4 SAR GAN (no. 246; correct to BUR in pl. 155); and 2 BUR GAN (Montserrat MM 697 and similarly in other lines, unpublished). The only parallel to the spelling i(BUR.GUNU) BUR is possibly i(BUR.GUNU) LAL 2 BUR GAN (MFA 5 27:1), where the reading 2 BUR is more plausible than 3(EŠE) BUR.

i 9.—The interpretation of Da-da-ri-im (not Da-da ri-im) is assured by the occurrence of Da-da-ri-im in the genitive in a Sargonic text recently excavated at Umm-al-Hafriyat (1 UmH 342, unpublished, courtesy McG. Gibson). For the meaning, compare the Akkadian word daddarum ("an ill-smelling plant, a thorny plant") in CAD D pp. 171.

i 13.—RGTC 1 p. 5 reads this toponym as A.EDEN. However, the first sign is not A (cf. A in rev. i 2) but a vertical wedge, identical with the capacity measure nigida. If the sign in question is in fact NIGIDA, one could interpret the toponym as Pān(NIGIDA)-gērim(EDIN), and compare it to the Middle Babylonian Pa-an-EDIN(NA), IGI-EDIN(NA), for which see RGTC 5 pp. 214f. For NIGIDA = pān(um), see AHWP p. 822b. Alternatively, "NIGIDA" could simply be a redundant wedge, attributable to the stonecutter's error. Compare here the toponym EDIN, attested in various Sargonic sources (RGTC 1 pp. 38f.) and in the Abu Salabikh/Ebla geographical list (MEE 3 p. 235 line 171). In this connection, note the existence of several other third millennium toponyms that include the sign EDIN: Bara-ra-az-EDINKI (no. 40 Side D vi 16, xiv 17), Š-gal-edin-na-KI (RGTC 1 p. 41), and [X].EDINKI (ibid. p. 198 under [X].EDEN).

i 15.—The closest contemporary evidence for Ashnak comes from an inscription of Naram-Sin, reading: in-ba-ri-ti URU+UDNI a As-na-akK1 "between URU+UD and Ashnak" (PBS 5, 36 iv 7-10, cited in RGTC 1 p. 199 under X₂-nak). Ashnak is also mentioned in the Abu Salabikh/Ebla geographical list: Aš-DIK1 (AbS), As-na-akKI (Ebla) (MEE 3 p. 232 line 82), and in an economic text from Abu Salabikh: Aš-DIK1 (OIP 99, 494 ii 3); for the spelling Aš-DIK1, see Steinkeller, Vicino Oriente 6 (1986) p. 34 and n. 31. The only later reference to this toponym is possibly found in an OB lexical text (MSL 11 p. 141 Forrerunner 8 iii 6), which lists Aš-nikKI. The above-cited occurrence of Ashnak in a tablet from OB Salabikh may provide evidence that Ashnak was located in the vicinity of Abu Salabikh, i.e., in the border area between southern and northern Babylonia.

Notes

No. 39 YBC 2409

Photograph: Plate 66, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven.


Provenience: Unknown—the fact that the toponyms É-duרג-sabra (i’ 1’) and [É-du]r[3]-en₃-si (i’ 2’) are both documented in Lagash sources (see RGTC 1 p. 40) offers strong indication that the inscription comes from the province of Girshu/Lagash, possibly from the city of Girshu itself.

Date: Sargonic.

Language: Sumerian.

Present location: Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University (New Haven), YBC 2409.


Description: Large irregular light-buff stone fragment measuring 20 x 21 x 12 cm. A full perforation extends from the bottom to the top, with the largest diameter of 7.5 cm at the top. The stone must have been reused at one time for some secondary purpose, perhaps as a door socket.

Text: Ends of three columns are preserved on one surface. Column i lists only the sizes of four fields and their locations. Column ii must have contained other fields, which were then totaled as "the field of Mir-ki-āg, the (supervisor? of) perfumers" (i-DU.DU-me).

The interesting feature of the fragmentary column iii is the sequence i'kug 14+x? gin?.. .1, which is paralleled in this corpus only by no. 47 ii' 3'.

For the possibility that the present text may be part of no. 24, see no. 24 under Text.

Transliteration

i') (beg. destr.)
1') [x]+2(bûr) 2½(iku) gān É-duṛ-sabra
2') [x]+3(bûr) laU ½(iku) gān [ É-du]r[3]-en₃-si
3') [x(bûr)] x+2½(iku) gān [. . .] rX₁-lū
4') [x(bûr)] x(iku) gān DUG?

ii') (beg. destr.)
1') 4(bûr) gān SUG 'AB? ZAG?!

(double line)
2') su-nigin 4(bûr) (wr. consecutively) gān
3') Mir-ki-āg
4') i-DU.DU-me

iii') (beg. destr.)
1') f.. .
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

No. 40 Manishtushu Obelisk

Photographs: Plates 67–72, courtesy J. Botterô.


Provenience: Unknown—the obelisk was excavated at Susa in Elam, to which the Elamites had carried it as booty from a site in northern Babylonia. Despite the fact that the obelisk deals with the fields of Dûr-Sin, Girtab, Marda, and Kish, it was probably deposited not in one of these four cities, but in Ebabbar, the temple of Shamash in Sippar. See section 1.10 for the evidence that the booty that was carried off by the Elamites to Susa had come mainly from the Ebabbar of Sippar.

Date: Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian.

Present location: Louvre Museum (Paris), S 820 ("S" = Susiane).


Description: Four-sided obelisk or pyramid of black diorite. The maximum height of the obelisk is at present 144 cm (measured along the side of the obelisk), including the 10–20 cm of plaster which was added in modern times at the bottom of the obelisk to ensure an even base. The original height of the obelisk is unknown.

The obelisk has four sides of uneven width (Side A, Side B, Side C, and Side D, henceforth abbreviated as A, B, C, and D). Measured at the bottom line of writing their width is: A-50 cm, B-45 cm, C-52 cm, and D-39 cm. The preserved top column of D is 12 cm wide. The top lines of other sides are broken away. While the top line of writing in column i of D is preserved, the very top of the obelisk is now destroyed, and we must assume that three columns of writing, now marked in transliteration as a, b, and c, preceded our column i.

Text: The inscription is preserved on four sides, with the number of columns and the number of lines in each column varying from one side to another:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Side</th>
<th>Columns</th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6–22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6–22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, with the exception of D, the top columns of individual sides are now destroyed, the missing columns and lines can be safely reconstructed on the basis of summations given in the preserved parts of the inscription.

The A, B, C, D sequence of the sides introduced by Scheil was accepted without question by Hrozny. However, Poebel, *JAOS* 57 (1937) p. 364, pointed out that this sequence is incorrect. As can be seen from the photographs published here as pls. 67–72, the end line of Scheil's B is followed by A, and the end line of Scheil's D is followed by C. The correct sequence of the sides is consequently not A, B, C, D, as proposed by Scheil, but A (= old A), B (= old D), C (= old C), D (= old B).

Structurally, the text may be analyzed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Side</th>
<th>Introductory statement</th>
<th>Transaction 1</th>
<th>Transaction 2</th>
<th>Transaction 3</th>
<th>Details concerning transactions 1, 2, and 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A i</td>
<td></td>
<td>A ii 1–v 16</td>
<td>A vii 4</td>
<td>A viii 5–ix 8</td>
<td>A ix 9–xii 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inscription deals with the acquisition of eight parcels of land, each from several sellers of the same kinship grouping, by the king Manishtushu. These eight parcels, totaling 9723 iku (= 3430 ha) of land, are situated in four areas around the cities Dûr-Sin, Girtab, Marda, and Kish, all in the land of Akkad.

Column i is separated from the beginning of transaction A 1 (in col. ii) by a full blank column. Only the last eight lines of column i are preserved. Of these, the first three lines and what preceded them are impossible to reconstruct. These lines are separated by a blank space from the last five lines, which read clearly that Manishtushu, king of Kish, bought 9723 iku of land.

The location of the four areas in which the eight parcels of land were purchased by Manishtushu is given in the text and is charted here in figure 11. The parcels acquired in each of the four areas are described by field names located near certain cities and abutting on four sides (north, west, east, and south) on the fields or households of neighbors and rivers or canals.

Locating the four areas on a modern map is relatively easy for B, C, and D, but difficult for A. Girtab of B lies on the Abgal Canal in the west, and the latter is a western branch of the Euphrates whose course passed through Sippar, Kish, and Nippur in ancient times. Marda of C is identified with the modern Wannat as-Sa’dûn. Kish of D is Al-Uḫaimir of modern times. That leaves Baz of Dûr-Sin to be discussed. At first glance, the location of Baz of Dûr-Sin offers no difficulties since the field of Baz is said to adjoin the Tigris River on its eastern border. However, several problems arise immedi-
Figure 11. Chart of the Fields of the Manishtushu Obelisk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field Name</th>
<th>Area (hectares)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Si-lu-ga-ru-ut</td>
<td>470 hectares (3 parcels)</td>
<td>&quot;(Property of) S.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÁN Ba-azKI</td>
<td>394 hectares (1 parcel)</td>
<td>&quot;Field of A.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En-bu-DINGIR šu NIN</td>
<td>2,286 hectares (3 parcels)</td>
<td>&quot;(Property of) E. of the household of the Queen&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÁN Mi-zu-a-NI-im</td>
<td>280 hectares (1 parcel)</td>
<td>&quot;Field of M.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ẹ.GIŠ.MA.NU</td>
<td>280 hectares (1 parcel)</td>
<td>&quot;(Property of) the descendants of K.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**
- **N**: North
- **DUMU.DUMU**
- **ME.ED.IN**
- **ID.ZI.KALAM.MA**
- **Bat-ER.DINGIR**
- **SUG Ru-[ba]-ra-az-sag KI**
- **GÁN Már-daKI**
- **GÁN ša-at Gu-li-zi**
- **ME.ED.IN**
- **ID.ZI.KALAM.MA**
- **Bat-ER.DINGIR**
- **SUG Ru-[ba]-ra-az-sag KI**
- **GÁN Már-daKI**
- **GÁN ša-at Gu-li-zi**
- **ME.ED.IN**
- **ID.ZI.KALAM.MA**
- **Bat-ER.DINGIR**
- **SUG Ru-[ba]-ra-az-sag KI**
- **GÁN Már-daKI**
- **GÁN ša-at Gu-li-zi**
- **ME.ED.IN**

Further information:
- A ix 9 — x 1, xvi 18–19; see also Dür-Sin in vi 12–13 = vii 11–12 = x 14–15, x 18–21
- B vii 11 — ix 12, xxii 13; see also Girtab in xv 3–5, 6–9
- C xiii 10–24, xxiv 25; see also Marda in xix 14–17, 18–28
Figure 12. Map Showing the Four Main Cities of the Manishtushu Obelisk
ately. First, locating Dūr-Sin on or near the Tigris would force the conclusion that it was quite distant from the three other fields, which, while not adjoining, lay farther south in close proximity to each other. This assumption, while not impossible, is highly improbable. More serious is the second point, to wit, that all we know about Dūr-Sin is that it must have been located in the vicinity of Kish. This is indicated by several considerations, such as: 1) one of the sellers of the land located in area A is a certain Ilum-bānī, son of Rabi-ilum of the household of Lamum, the temple-administrator of Zababa, who is at home in Kish (A viii 17–20 = ix 7–8); 2) one of the witnesses to the sale of the land in area A, and, therefore, related to the sellers of that land, is a certain Imtallik, son of Ur-nin of Kish (A x 2–4); and 3) a place Dūr-Sin occurs together with Kish in a Sargonic text excavated at Kish (MAD 5, 10). This evidence strongly suggests that Dūr-Sin cannot be adjoining the Tigris if we take the bed of the ancient Tigris to correspond, more or less, to its modern bed. That means either that the bed of the Tigris lay much farther south than the present one, or more probably that the Tigris of the Manishtushu Obelisk and other texts of early times must be identified with the canal ID.ZUBI, Sumerian Izubi, Akkadian Izubitum, which presumably was situated closer to Kish than to the present bed of the Tigris. Compare RGTC 1 p. 227; 2 p. 296; and 3 p. 316.

The four main cities of the obelisk are charted on the map reproduced in figure 12, based on McG. Gibson, The City and Area of Kish (Coconut Grove, Florida, 1972) fig. 69.

Genealogical tables of the main participants in the sales are fully discussed by Gelb in E. Lipiński, ed., State and Temple Economy in the Ancient near East 1 (Leuven, 1979) pp. 73–88.

Sample Interpretation

Transaction A1: ii 1–v 16 (first field).

ii 1–9: 439 iku of land, its price is 1463\(\frac{1}{3}\) gsg of barley, at the ratio of 1 shekel of silver = 1 gsg of barley, its price is 1463\(\frac{1}{3}\) shekels of silver. The price of the field.

ii 10–11: 219\(\frac{1}{2}\) (= 15 percent of price) shekels of silver is the additional payment.

ii 12–v 16: 4 PNPs who received x commodities as the “gift of the field” + 3 PNPs (who received no commodities) = total of 7 men, “lords of the field” (= primary sellers), recipients of the silver. 10 PNPs are “brother-lords of the field” (= secondary sellers).

Total of 17 men, descendants of Mezizi.

Transaction A2 v 17–viii 4 (second field) is similar to A1.

Transaction A3 viii 5–ix 8 (third field) is similar to A1.

Transaction A4 ix 9–xvi 23 refers to all 3 transactions:
ix 9–xvi 17: Total of 1333 iku of land (A1 + A2 + A3). Location described by four cardinal points. Field of Baz. 5 PNPs are witnesses of the field (= witnesses of the sellers). 190 men, inhabitants of Dūr-Sin, were “eaters of bread” (i.e., they participated in the feast celebrating the conclusion of the sale). 49 men, citizens of Akkadē, are witnesses of the field (= witnesses of the buyer).

xvi 18–23: Manishtushu, king of the totality, bought the field of Baz, situated in Dūr-Sin.

Transliteration and Translation

Side A (= old Side A)

i (ca. 10 lines destr.)

1') [ ... -K]\n2') [ ... G]I\n3') [X]\n4') [S\n5') [M]a-an-is-tu-su\n6') [L]UGAL\n7') [K]IS\n8') [I.SAM]\nA1 ii 1) [2(BUR.GUNU) 4(BUR)] [I(EŠE) 1(IKU) GAN]\n2) [NIG.SAM-su]\n3) [1463(GUR) 1(P) 2(BAN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GAL]\n4) [NIG.SAM]\n5) [1 GIN KUG.BABBAR]\n6) [1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GAL]\n7) KUG.BABBAR-su

[Total of] 9723 iku of land

M. king of

the totality bought.

[439 iku of land];

[its price is]

[1463.1.2 gsg of barley];

[at the price of]

[1 shekel of silver for]

[1.] gsg of barley,

its (i.e., of the barley) silver (equivalent) is
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

8) 24½ ša ma-na 3 gin 1 ma-na.tur kug. babbar
   1463½ shekels of silver;
9) nig.sám gán (this is) the price of the field;
10) 3½ ša ma-na kug. babbar lal 1 tar gin
    219½ shekels of silver is
   the additional payment of the field;
11) nig.kl.gar gán
12) 1 su-ga-nu kug.babbar maš-ga-na-at
    1... overlaid with silver,
13) ki.lal.bi 15 gin kug. babbar
    its weight is 15 shekels of silver,
14) 1 tug.su.du₇.a bal (and) 1 tug.su.du₇.a bal cloth
15) ši agrig (for) I.
16) dumu la-mu-sa son of L.
17) ši agrig of A.;
18) 1 tug.su.se.ga 1 tug.su.se.ga cloth

iii 1) [PN]
   2) [dumu ... -m]u [son of ]₁PN₂;
   3) [1 tug].su.[sē].ga [1 tug]. su[sē].ga cloth
   4) lam-gi-um (for) L.
   5) dumu e-bi-ir-mu-bi son of E.;
   6) 1 tug.su.se.ga 1 tug.su.se.ga cloth
   7) e-bi-ir-i-lum (for) E.
   8) dumu is-dup-dēn.zu son of I.;

9) šu.nigín 1 su-ga-nu kug. babbar maš-ga-na-at
   total of 1... overlaid with silver,
10) šu.nigín 1 tug.su. du₇.a bal (and) 1 tug.su.du₇.a bal cloth,
    total of 1 tug.su.du₇.a bal cloth,
11) šu.nigín 3 tug.su.se.ga total of 3 tug.su.se.ga cloths;
    total of 3 tug.su.se.ga cloths;
12) nig.ba gán 1 tug.su.se.ga (this is) the gift of the field;
13) 1 su-ru-us-gi 3 PNs (who received no gifts);
14) dumu i-ti-dingir
15) šu la-mu-sa
16) ši agrig
17) 1 is-dup-dēn.zu

iv 1) 1 i-bi₂-en.zu
total of 7 men,
2) 2 dumu gal.zu-di.tar
    the "lords of the field,"
3) dumu.dumu su-mu-nūm
    the recipients of the silver;
    total of 7 men,
4) šu.nigín 7 guruš
    total of 7 men,
5) be-lu gán
    the "lords of the field,"
6) kū kug.babbar
    the recipients of the silver;
7) i dingir-a-ḥa
    10 PNs,
8) dumu 1-lu-šu
9) gal.ukū
10) 1 sla-um
11) dumu la-mu-sa
12) ši agrig
13) 1 a-ar-dingir
14) dumu pū-ba-lum
15) sipa
16) 1 ēn.zu-al-su
17) dumu a-ar-dingir
18) ši pū-ba-lum
19) 1 ud.īš
20) 1 zu-zu

v 1) 2 dumu is-dup₂-en.zu
2) dumu.dumu īr-ra-ra
3) 1 a-ma₂-en.zu
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

4) DUMU Ga-zu-a-lum
5) ši 广泛关注 lu-lu
6) 1 DINGIR-a-zu
7) DUMU A-SI-gu-ru-ud
8) 1 Pū-d Da-gan
9) DUMU A-lá-la
10) 1 ARÁD-zu-ni
11) DUMU Me-zé-i-lum
12) SU.NIGIN 10 GURUS
13) SES be-lu GÁN
14) SU.NIGIN.SU.NIGIN
15) 20 LAL 3 GURUS
16) DUMU.DUMU Me-zi-zi
17) 4(BUR.GUNU) 5(BUR) 1(ESE) 5(IKU) GÁN
18) NIG.SAM-su
19) 2736(GUR) 2(PÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
20) NIG.SÁM
vi
1) 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR
2) 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
3) KUG.BABBAR-su
4) 45/2 MA.NA 6 GÍN 2 MA.NA. TUR KUG.BABBAR
5) NIG.SÁM GÁN
6) 7 MA.NA LAL 9 1 TAR GÍN KUG.BABBAR
7) NIG.KI.GAR GÁN
8) 1 su-ga-nu KUG.BABBAR maš-ga-na-at
9) KU.LAL.BÍ 15 GÍN KUG.BABBAR
10) 1 TÚG.SU.DU7.ABAL
11) Ėn-na-núm
12) AB+ AŠ.URU
13) BÁD.4 EN.ZU/KÍ
14) DUMU I-mi-4 EN.ZU
15) 1 TÚG.SU.SÈ.GA
16) Su-NÍ-um
17) DUMU ARÁD-zu-ni
18) IŠ
19) 1 TÚG.SU.SÈ.GA
20) ARÁD-zu-ni
21) DUMU IŠ-dap-DINGIR
vii
1) 1 TÚG.SU.SÈ.GA
2) Zu-zu
3) DUMU A-ar-È-a
(bank)
4) SU.NIGIN 1 su-ga-nu KUG. BABBAR maš-ga-na-at
5) SU.NIGIN 1 TÚG.SU.DU7.ABAL
6) SU.NIGIN 3 TÚG.SU.SÈ.GA
7) NIG.BA GÁN
8) 1 Ḫ-zi-dan
9) 1 I-mi-4 EN.ZU
10) 2 DUMU Ėn-na-núm

A2

17) 4(BÚR.GUNU) 5(BÚR)
I(EŠE) 5(IKU) GÁN
18) NÍĞ.SÁM-su
19) 2736(GUR) 2(PÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
20) NÍĞ.SÁM

821 iku of land;
its price is
2736.2.4 gsg of barley;
at the price of

17 men,
descendants of M.;
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

11) AB+ĀŠ.URU
12) BĀD-ŠEN.ZUKI
13) I ŠEN.ZU-a-ar
14) DUMU A-ar-Ē-a
15) I 1-li-sa-lik
16) DUMU Im₄-da-lik
17) I I-nin-me-Šum
18) DUMU Dam-ba-ba

(Blank)

viii 1) SU.NIGIN 10 LAL 1 GURUS total of 9 men,
2) be-lu GĀN the “lords of the field,"
3) KÙ KUG.BABBAR the recipients of the silver,
4) DUMU.DUMU Ši-ù-ni descendants of Š.

A₃ 5) (BŪR) I(IKU) GĀN 73 iku of land;
6) NĪG.SAM-su its price is
7) 243(GUR) 1(IK) 2(BĀN) ŠE at the price of
GUR.SAG.GĀL 243.1.2 gsg of barley;
8) NĪG.SAM 1 GĪN KUG.BABBAR 1 shekel of silver (for)
9) 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL 1. gsg of barley,
10) I KUG.BABBAR-su its silver (equivalent) is
11) 4 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 3 243½ shekels of silver;
12) GĪN 1 MA.NA.TUR (this is) the price of the field;
13) NĪG.SAM GĀN 36½ shekels of silver is
14) (Blank)
15) ½ MA.NA 6 1 TAR GĀN KUG.BABBAR the additional payment of the field;
16) 1 TŪG.SU.SĒ.GA 1 TŪG.SU.SĒ.GA cloth
17) DINGIR-ba-ni (for) I.
18) DUMU Ra-bi-DINGIR son of R.
19) šī La-mu-um Of L.,
20) SANGA 4-Za-ba₄-ba₄ the temple-administrator of Zababa;
21) 1 TŪG.SU.SĒ.GA 1 TŪG.SU.SĒ.GA cloth
22) PŪ.ŠA-Ma-ma (for) P.

ix 1) DUMU Ur-Šù-Nin-kar son of U.;
2) SU.NIGIN 2 TŪG.SU.SĒ.GA total of 2 TŪG.SU.SĒ.GA clothes;
3) NĪG.BA GĀN (this is) the gift of the field;
4) SU.NIGIN 2 GURUS total of 2 men,
5) be-lu GĀN the “lords of the field,"
6) KÙ KUG.BABBAR the recipients of the silver,
7) DUMU.DUMU La-mu-um descendants of L.,
8) SANGA 4-Za-ba₄-ba₄ the temple-administrator of Zababa.
9) SU.NIGIN I(SĀR) I(BŪR. GUNU) 4(BŪR) GĀN total of 1333 iku of land;
10) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
11) IM.MIR to the north is
12) Si-lu-ga-ru₂-ut (the property of) S.;
13) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
14) IM.MAR.TU to the west is
15) La-mu-um (the property of) L.,
16) GĀN LUGAL the royal land;
17) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
18) IM.KUR to the east is
19) ĪD.IDIGNA (or ĪD.ZUBI) the Tigris(?);
20) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
21) IM.U₃ to the south is
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

22) En-bu-DINGIR
23) šu NIN
    1) GÁN Ba-azK1
        (blank)
2) 1 Imx-da-lik
3) DUMU Ur-nin
4) KišK1
5) 1 4EN.ZU-GIŠ.ERÍN
6) 1 1-la-la
7) 1 Šu-i-li-su
8) 3 DUMU Zu-zu
9) ši A-ar-É-a
10) 1 Imx-da-lik
11) DUMU 1-la-la
12) MU
13) ši En-na-núm
14) AB+ĂŞ.URU
15) BÁD-4EN.ZUK1
        (blank)
16) ŠU.NIGIN 5 GURUŠ
17) AB+ĂŞ.AB+ĂŞ GÁN
18) 190 GURUŠ
19) DUMU.DUMU
20) BÁD-4EN.ZUK1
21) NINDA 1.KU
        (blank)
22) 1 A-li-a-hu
23) DUMU NI-ba-ri-im
    xii 1) ŠEŠ LUGAL
2) 1 Zu-zu
3) DUB.SAR
4) šu KURUŠDA
5) DUMU La-mu-um
6) 1 MES-zi
7) UM.MI.A
8) DUB.SAR
9) 1 4Ma-lik-zí-in-su
10) DUMU I-da-DINGIR
11) GAL.SUKKAL
12) 1 Ma-na-hír-su
13) DUMU Na-ní
14) GİR.NITA
15) 1 Šu-4Da-gan
16) DUMU Be-li-li
17) ši Na-zi-tim
18) SABRA.É
19) 1 É-ga-lum
20) DUMU Sa-NI
21) 1 Bi-su-še-ib-nim
22) 1 É-a-ra-bí
23) 2 DUMU A-hu-hu
24) ši Al-lu-lu
25) 1 In-su-mi-su-da-nu
    xii 1) DUMU Iš-a-lum
2) ši TE.LAL.GAL
3) 1 PŬ.SA-i-li
4) DUMU Be-li-GI
5) GİR.NITA
6) LŬ.GIŠ.TI
7) 1 UD-ti-ru

(22) the property of E.
(23) Of the queen;
(24) (this is) the field of Baz.

5 PNs,

total of 5 men,
are the witnesses of the field;
190 men,
inhabitants of Dûr-Sin,
ate bread,

49 PNs,
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

8) 1 Sar-ru-GI-i-li
9) 2 DUMU Bala-ga
10) šî NAR
11) 1 I-li-sar-ru
12) DUMU I-ti-sum
13) GÎR.NITA
14) LÛ.GIŠ.GÎD.DA
15) 1 DINGIR-su-su
16) DUMU Mu-mu
17) ŠU.I
18) šî Al-lu-lu
19) 1 A-bîl-dan
20) 1 BÂD-su-nu
21) 2 DUMU Su-ru-uš-GI
22) šî PAB.ŠEŠ
23) PA.TE.SI
24) GIŠ.ÜH
25) 1 I-zi-ir-gul-la-zi-in

xiii 1) DUMU Šu-i-li
2) SILÂ.ŠU.DUṣ
3) 1 U-za-si-na-at
4) DUMU Ki-ti-ti
5) 1 GIŠ.TUKUL-ga-su-al-si-in
6) DUMU UD-ma
7) 1 Ur-ša-MUŠ
8) DUMU Lugal-ku-li
9) 1 Zi-gur-mu-bi
10) DUMU I-li-a-ḫi
11) šî TE.LAL.GAL
12) 1 Ma-na-hir-su
13) DUMU Ra-bi-DINGIR
14) šî 1-li-la
15) 1 Mu-mu
16) DUMU Ur-Mâr-da
17) 1 En-bu-DINGIR
18) DUMU IM-ag-da-lik
19) šî GAL.SUKKAL-li
20) 1 GAL.ZU-DI.TAR
21) DUMU I-ti-DINGIR.DINGIR
22) UD.KIB.NUNKI
23) 1 U-bil-ga-zu
24) DUMU Ir-ru-zum
25) LÛ.IGI

xiv 1) 1 Ŭ-na-ĝar
2) DUMU Ŭ-ši-šî
3) NU.BANDA Ša-na-e
4) 1 Dan-i-li
5) DUMU Ir-e.Ša-Ma-lik
6) šî MAŠKIM.GI₄
7) 1 Uru-KA-ĝi-na
8) DUMU En-gil-sa
9) PA.TE.SI
10) ŠIR.BUR.LA₄
11) 1 Da-nûm
12) DUMU B-kûn-DINGIR
13) GAL.UKÛ
14) 1 I-pû-šum
15) DUMU DINGIR-su-ra-bi
16) PA.TE.SI
17) Ba-si-me₄
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<td>18) 1 La-li</td>
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<td>19) DUMU Iš-má-GÁR</td>
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<td>20) ši Ar-ri-im</td>
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<td>21) 1 I-lu-lu</td>
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<td>22) DUMU Ik-ru-ub-DINGIR</td>
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<td>23) ši A-gu-tim</td>
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<td>24) 1 Ga-li-i-li</td>
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<td>25) DUMU La-mu-sa</td>
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<td>26) GÚ.DU₈.A₆K₁</td>
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<td>27) 1 I-li-sa-lík</td>
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<td>3) DUMU Iš-Iš-me</td>
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<td>4) NU.BANDA AB+ĀŠ,AB+ĀŠ</td>
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<td>5) 1 U-bi-in-LUGAL-ri</td>
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<td>6) DUMU Ur-ur</td>
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<td>7) ši GAL.SUKKAL-li</td>
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<td>8) 1 Ma-ma-HU</td>
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<td>10) NU.BANDA Ša-na-e</td>
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<td>11) 1 U-bi-in-LUGAL-ri</td>
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<td>12) DUMU BALA-É-a</td>
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<td>15) DUMU Šu-Nu-nu</td>
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<td>16) ši Ha-lum</td>
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<td>17) 1 Šu-Nu-nu</td>
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<td>18) DUMU DINGIR-dan</td>
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<td>19) SANGA ḏA-ba₄</td>
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<td>20) I-ši-riK₁</td>
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<td>21) 1 Iš-da-lík</td>
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<td>22) DUMU I-su-DINGIR</td>
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<td>23) DUMU.DUMU A-ḫu-ḫu</td>
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<td>24) Da-mi-giK₁</td>
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<td>25) 1 Sar-ru-ši-lí</td>
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<td>26) DUMU Sar-ru-BAD</td>
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<td>27) EN.ME.LI</td>
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<td>3) 1 Da-kum</td>
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<td>4) DUMU ARÁD-zu-ni</td>
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<td>5) 1 Mu-sa-ir-su-nu</td>
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<td>6) DUMU Da-da-LUM</td>
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<td>7) DUB.SAR</td>
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<td>8) 1 Na-bi-um</td>
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<td>9) DUMU I-ti-ti</td>
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<td>10) Da-mi-giK₁</td>
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<td>11) in Dan-ni-rí-iš-tim</td>
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<td>12) 1 Tiš-šu-šu-da-nam</td>
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<td>13) DUMU I-li-li</td>
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<td>14) ši Mu-na</td>
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<tr>
<td>15) ŠU.NIGÍN 50 LAL 1 DUMU.</td>
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| total of 49 citizens of |
| Akkadē are |
| the witnesses of the field. |
| Field of Baz, |
| (located) in Dūr-Sin, |
| M. |
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

21) LUGAL  king of
22) KIŠ  the totality
23) 1.SĂM  bought.

Side B (= old Side D)

i 1) 6(BŪR.GUNU) 2(BŪR) GĀN  11161 iku of land;
2) [NĪG.]SĂM-su  its price is
3) [1 SE] GUR, [120] GUR. GĂL  3720.1 gsg of barley;
4) [NĪG.]ȘĂM  at the price of
5) [1 GĬN] KUG.BABBAR  1 shekel of silver (for)
6) 1 SE GUR.SĂG.GĂL  1. gsg of barley,
ii 1) KUG.BABBAR-su  its silver (equivalent) is
2) 1 GŬ 2 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR  3720 shekels of silver;
3) NĪG.SĂM GĂN  (this is) the price of the field;
4) 372 SE GUR.SĂG.GĂL  372. gsg of barley,
5) KUG.BABBAR-su  its silver (equivalent) is
6) 6 MA.NA 12 GĬN KUG. BABBAR  372 shekels of silver;

iii 1) 1 ERĬN ANĔ.BAR.AN  1 team of mules,
2) 1 GIȘ.GIGIR.NĬG.SŬ  1 NĬG.SŬ chariot,
3) 1 TŬG.SŬ.DŬ, A.BAL  1 TŬG.SŬ.DŬ, A.BAL cloth,
4) 1 ki-li-lum KUG.BABBAR  (and) 1 silver wreath,
5) K.I.LAL.BI 15 GĬN KUG. BABBAR  its weight is 15 shekels of silver,

iv 1) K.I.LAL.BI 15 GĬN KUG. BABBAR  1 silver wreath,

v 1) 1 TŬG.SŬ.DŬ, A.BAL  (and) 1 TŬG.SŬ.DŬ, A.BAL cloth
2) A-la  (for) A.;
3) 2 DŬMU Ab-ra-Ĭl  (these are) 2 sons of A.,
4) DŬMU DŬMU Is-dup-ĬB  descendants of I.;
5) 1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA  1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA cloth
6) 1 URUDU maš-sa-tum  (and) 1 bronze . . .
7) PŬ-su-GI  (for) P.,

vi 1) DŬMU DŬMU Ịb-Ƅu-ƅu  descendants of I.;
2) 1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA  1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA cloth
3) PŬ.ŠA-PAB.PAB  (for) P.,
4) DŬMU Lŭ-gaš-eken  son of L.;
5) 1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA  1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA cloth
6) TŬ-da-nu  (for) T.
7) DŬMU DŬMU Dingir-.rm-da  son of I.,
8) DŬMU DŬMU Ur-4SI.LU  descendant of U.;
9) 1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA  1 TŬG.SŬ.SŬ.E.GA cloth
10) KŬ-ku  (for) K.

vii 1) DŬMU En-na-Ĕ-a  son of E.,
2) DŬMU DŬMU Zi-zi  descendant of Z.;
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

3) 1 TŪG.ŠU.SÈ.GA cloth
4) DINGIR-a-ḫa (for) I.
5) DUMU I-ti-ES4-dar son of I.,
6) DUMU.DUMU LŪ.IGI descendant of L.;
7) 1 TŪG.ŠU.SÈ.GA cloth
8) ARĀD-zu-ni (for) A.
9) DUMU Iš-dup-pum son of I.,
10) DUMU.DUMU Ši-na-na-tim descendant of S.;

(blank)

viii 1) SU.NIGIN 1 ERĪN ANŠE.
   BAR.AN total of 1 team of mules,
2) SU.NIGIN 1 GIŠ.GIGIR. NĪG.SU total of 1 NĪG.ŠU chariot,
3) SU.NIGIN 2 ki-li-lum KUG. BABBAR total of 2 silver wreaths,
4) SU.NIGIN 1 URUDU maš-sa-tum UD.KA.BAR total of 1 bronze . . . ,
5) SU.NIGIN 2 TŪG.ŠU.DU7.A. BAL total of 2 TŪG.ŠU.DU7.A.BAL cloths,
6) SU.NIGIN 8 TŪG.ŠU.SÈ.GA total of 8 TŪG.ŠU.SÈ.GA cloths;
7) NĪG.BA GĀN (this is) the gift of the field;
8) SU.NIGIN 10 GURUS total of 10 men,
9) be-lu GĀN the “lords of the field,”
10) KŪ KUG.BABBAR the recipients of the silver.
11) GĀN ša-at Ė-ki-im Field of Ė-kum
12) ʿū Zi-ma-na-ak and Zimanak;

(blank)

ix 1) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
2) IM.MIR to the north is
3) GĀN An-za-ma-tim the field of A.;
4) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
5) IM.MAR.TU to the west is
6) ĪD.NUN.ME the Abgal canal;
7) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
8) IM.ū to the south is
9) GĀN Mi-zu-a-NI-im the field of M.;
10) GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border
11) IM.KUR to the east is
12) GĀN Si-im-tum the field of S.

(blank)

13) 1 I-zi-nūm 30 PNs,
14) 1 En-na-Ē-a

x 1) 2 DUMU Ur-sa(g)-nūm
2) DUMU.DUMU Ti-tī
3) 1 DINGIR-a-ḫa
4) DUMU Su₅-ma-ba-ni
5) UGULA
6) 1 Lugal-ezen
7) UGULA
8) DUMU Iš-dup-dEN.ZU
9) 1 Su-mu-nūm
10) DUMU Sa-tu-ni
11) 1 PŪ.SA-dNu-muš-da
12) Šu Dingir-nu-me-a
13) 1 DINGIR-a-ḫa
14) Šu Bi-e-tim

(xi 1) 1 Īr-e-pum
2) DUMU DINGIR-a-ḫa
3) šī DĒ.DĒ
4) 1 Ga-la-ab-Ē-a
5) DUMU I-ši-me
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<th>Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East</th>
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<tr>
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<td>9)</td>
<td>1 SI.A-um</td>
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<td>10)</td>
<td>DUMU Gu-li-zum</td>
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<td>DUMU Na-‘a-šum</td>
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<td>DUMU Ra-bi-DINGIR</td>
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<td>DUMU Gu-li-zum</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>LÜ.IGI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 Su-NI-um</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>DUMU Bi-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 Ši Zi-zi</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 I-nin-sa-tu</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>DUMU En-na-É-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>DAM.GAR</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1 Su-mi-su</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>DUMU Lu-zu-zum</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1 En-ki</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 A-ku-i-lum</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>DUMU PĒŠ-i-lum</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Ši Ur-ΔAB</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 Zi-gar-su</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>DUMU Ur-ΔEn-ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>DUB.SAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1 Im₄₅-da-lik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>DUMU I-bi-i-lum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ANCIENT KUDURRUS

#### xv

1. šu MES.BAR
2. 2 DUB.SAR
   (blank)
3. ŠU.NIG S 30 GURUS
total of 30 men, are
4. AB+ĀS.AB+ĀS GAN
   the witnesses of the field of
5. Gir₁₃-tab
   Girtab.
6. 94 GURUS
   94 men,
7. DUMU.DUMU
   citizens of
8. Gir₁₃-tab
   Girtab,
9. NINDA I.KÜ
   ate bread.
   (blank)
(xv 10 to xxii 12 = A x 22 to xvi 17 = 49 citizens of Akkadē)
(blank)

#### xxii

10. GAN Gir₁₃-tab
    Field of Girtab
11. Ma-an-iš-tu-su
    M.
12. LUGAL
    king of
13. KIŠ
    the totality
14. I.SAM
    bought.

---

**Side C (= old Side C)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>1) [2(SAR) 1(BÜR.GUNU) GJAN] (^{23401}) iku of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) [NIG.SAM]-su (1) shekel of silver for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) [2 ŠE GJUR, [600 GUR.SAG], GÁL (1) shekel of silver for</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4) [NIG.SÁM]M (1) shekel of silver for</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5) [1 GIN KUG] BABBAR [1] shekel of silver for</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6) [1 ŠE GUR.SAG, [G]ÁL (1) shekel of silver for</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7) [KUG.BABBAR-su] [1] shekel of silver (equivalent) is</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8) [2 GÚ 10 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR] [7800 shekels of silver];</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9) [NIG.SÁM GÁN] [(this is) the price of the field;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10) [31 GÚ SIG] [1860 pounds of wool;</td>
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<td>11) [NIG.SÁM] [1] shekel of silver for</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12) [1 GIN KUG] BABBAR [1] shekel of silver for</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13) [4 MA.NA SIG] [4 pounds of wool,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14) [KUG.BABBAR-su-in] [55 shekels of silver;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15) [7 MA.NA 45 GIN KUG. BABBAR] [465 shekels of silver;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ii | 1) 1 URUDU ba-da-ru-um UD. KA.BAR (and) 1 bronze prod(?) | |
|    | 2) NIG.SÁM 1 GIŠ.TUKUL \(465 shekels of silver; |
|    | 3) 5 GIN KUG.BABBAR \(55 shekels of silver; |
|    | 4) KUG.BABBAR-su-nu \(465 shekels of silver; |
|    | 5) 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR \(55 shekels of silver; |
|    | 6) 3 ERIN ANŠE.BAR.AN \(3 teams of mules; |
|    | 7) NIG.SÁM \[1\] mule for |
|    | 8) [1 ANŠE.BAR.AN] \[1\] mule for |
|    | 9) [5/2 ŠA KUG.BABBAR] \[20 shekels of silver, |
|    | 10) [KUG.BABBAR-su-nu] \[20 shekels of silver; |
|    | 11) [4 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR] \[20 shekels of silver; |
|    | 12) [1 ki-li-lum KUG.BABBAR] \[1 silver wreath, |
|    | 13) [KLLAL.BI 5/2 ŠA KUG. BABBAR] \[1 silver wreath, |

---

F23401 iku of land; its \([price\) (is)
Fgsg1 \([of barley, |
Fgsg1 \([of barley, |
Fgsg1 \([of barley, |
Fgsg1 \([of barley, |
...
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

14) [ŠU.NIGIN 13 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR] [the total of 780 shekels of silver];
15) [NIG.KI.GAR GÁN] [(this is) the additional payment of the field];
16) [1 ER[I.N ANŠE.BAR, AN] [1 team of mules];
17) [1 GIŠ.GIGIR,NIĜ.SU] [1 NÎ.G.SU chariot];
18) [1 ki-li-lum KUG.BABBAR] [(and) 1 silver wreath],

iii 1) KILLAL.BI ½ SA KUG. BABBAR

2) 1 URUDU ḤA.ZI UD.KA. BAR
3) 1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL (and) 1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL cloth
4) Zu-zu (for) Z.
5) DUMU Ur-Már-da son of U.,
6) DUMU.DUMU I-ki-lum descendant of I.,
7) PA.TE.SI the governor of
8) Ki-babbarKi Ki-babbar;
10) [T]u-tu (for) T.
11) [DUMU . . .]-gi [son of PN]
12) [DUMU.DUMU PN₃] [descendant of PN₃];
13) [1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL] [1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL cloth]
14) [PN] [(for) PN]
15) [DUMU PN₃] [son of PN₃],
16) [DUMU.DUMU PN₃] [descendant of PN₃];
17) [1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL] [1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL cloth]
18) [PN] [(for) PN]
19) [DUMU PN₃] [son of PN₃],
20) [DUMU.DUMU PN₃] [descendant of PN₃];

iv 1) 1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL 1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL cloth
2) I-bi-ZU.AB (for) I.
3) DUMU Ur-mes-an-ni son of U.;
4) 1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL 1 TUG.SU.DU₇.A.BAL cloth
5) Ti-ru-um (for) T.
6) DUMU A-da-na-ah son of A.,
7) DUMU.DUMU I-iti-É-a descendant of I.;
8) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth
9) Amar-ri-ri (for) A.;
10) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth
11) Be-li-sa-tu (for) B.;
12) 2 DUMU Zu-zu (these are) 2 sons of Z.,
13) [DU]MU.DUMU Ur-[Mā]-r-da

14) [sî I]-ki-lum [Of] 1 T,;
15) [1 TUG.SU.SE.GA] [1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth]
16) [PN] [(for) PN];
17) [1 TUG.SU.SE.GA] [1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth]
18) [PN₃] [(for) PN₃];
19) [2 DUMU PN₃] [(these are) 2 sons of PN₃];
20) [1 TUG.SU.SE.GA] [1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth]
21) [PN] [(for) PN];

v 1) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth
2) I-li-a-ji for I.;
3) 2 DUMU A-ḫu-mu-bi (these are) 2 sons of A.,
4) DUMU.DUMU Is-dup-DINGIR
descendants of I.
5) sî Ḥa-a Of E.;
6) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth
7) Ra-bi-DINGIR (for) R.
8) DUMU Pû.SA-É-a son of P.;
9) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

10) Ga-at-nûm
11) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
12) Sû-ma-Sîpa
13) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
14) Be-li-ba-nî
15) 3 Dûmu Ur-Zu.AB
16) Dûmu.Dûmu Dingîr-su-

17) [I] Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
18) [..]-Nî
19) [Dûmu .. -[a]-ba
20) [I] Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
21) [Pû]
22) [Dûmu Pû₂]
23) [Dûmu.Dûmu PN₃]

vi 1) I-ki-lûm
2) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
3) A-hu-hû
4) 2 Dûmu Is-mâ-Dîngîr
5) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
6) Gâl.Zû
7) Dûmu Ur-sag-Ud.Kîb.

Nûnᵏ¹
8) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
9) Dup-sî-gâ
10) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
11) Šu-i-li
12) 2 Dûmu Gâl.Zû
13) Dûmu.Dûmu Ur-sag-Ud.

Kîb.Nûnᵏ¹
14) 5 Dûmu.Dûmu
15) Mës-na-at
16) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
17) Dup-sî-gâ
18) Dûmu I-ki-lûm
19) Dûmu.Dûmu Ur-nîn
20) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
21) Ma-la-nî-sû
22) [Dûmu Dup-sî-gâ
23) [Dûmu.Dûmu I-[k]i-lûm
24) [..]-a-a

vii 1) 1 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga
2) Më-Sëš.Sëš
3) Dûmu Barag-gî-sî
4) Dûmu.Dûmu Ur-₅ En-lîl
(blank)
5) Šû.Nûnîn 1 Erîn Anšë.
7) Šû.Nûnîn 1 Ki-li-lûm Kûg.
8) Šû.Nûnîn 1 Urûdu Ha.Zî
11) Nûg.Ba Gân
12) Šû.Nûnîn 26 Gurûş

BAR.AN
BAR.BABBAR
UD.KA.BAR
BAL

(SU.Nûnîn 1 team of mules,
(SU.Nûnîn 1 Nûg.Sû chariot,
(SU.Nûnîn 1 sîlver wîreath,
(SU.Nûnîn 1 bronzê axe,
(SU.Nûnîn 6 Tûg.Sû.Dû₇.A.BAL cloths;
(SU.Nûnîn 20 Tûg.Sû.Sê.Ga cloths;
(SU.Nûnîn (this is) the gift of the field;
(SU.Nûnîn total of 26 men,
13) DUMU.DUMU Pù-uš-GAL descendants of P.,
14) PA.TE.SI the governor of
15) Ki-babbarKi Ki-babbar,
16) be-lu GÁN the “lords of the field,”
17) KÚ KUG.BABBAR the recipients of the silver.

---

C₂
18) 3(SÁR) 3(BÚR.GUNU) 3(BÚR) GÁN 3834 iku of land;
3(SÁR) 3(BÚR.GUNU) 3(BÚR) GÁN
19) NÍG.SÁM-su its price is
20) 3 ŠE GUR, 1980 GUR. 12780. gsg of barley;
   SAG.GÁL
21) NÍG.SÁM at the price of
22) 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR 1 shekel of silver for
23) 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL 1. gsg of barley,
24) KUG.BABBAR-su-nu its silver (equivalent) is

viii 1) 3 GÚ 33 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR
   BABBAR
   2) NÍG.SÁM GÁN (this is) the price of the field;
   3) 40 GÚ SÍG 2400 pounds of wool;
   4) NÍG.SÁM at the price of
   5) 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR 1 shekel of silver for
   6) 4 MA.NA SÍG 4 pounds of wool,
   7) KUG.BABBAR-si-in its silver (equivalent) is
   8) 10 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 600 shekels of silver;
   9) 3 ki-li-lu KUG.BABBAR 3 silver wreaths,
 10) KÍ.LAL.BI 1 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR their weight is 60 shekels of silver;

11) 6 URUDU ḤA.ZI UD.KA. UD.KA.BAR
   12) 4 URUDU na-ap-la-aq-tum 4 bronze axes,
       UD.KA.BAR
   13) 3 URUDU maš-sa-tum UD. (and) 3 bronze . . . ;
       KA.BAR
14) NÍG.SÁM 1 GÍŠ.TUKUL the price of 1 weapon is
15) 5 GÍN KUG.BABBAR 5 shekels of silver;
16) KUG.BABBAR-su-mu their silver (equivalent) is
17) 1 MA.NA 5 GÍN KUG. BABBAR 65 shekels of silver;

18) 3 ERĪN ANŠE.BAR.AN 3 teams of mules;
19) NÍG.SÁM the price of
20) 1 ANŠE.BAR.AN 1 mule is
21) ½ ŠA KUG.BABBAR 20 shekels of silver;
22) KUG.BABBAR-su-mu their silver (equivalent) is
23) 4 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 240 shekels of silver;
24) 40 1 DUG 40 jars of oil;
25) NÍG.SÁM at the price of
26) 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR 1 shekel of silver for
   ix 1) 10 1 SILÀ 10 quarts of oil,
   2) KUG.BABBAR-su its silver (equivalent) is
   3) 2 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 120 shekels of silver;
   4) 5 SAG.NITA 5 male slaves
   5) 4 SAG.SAL (and) 4 female slaves;
   6) NÍG.SÁM the price of
   7) 1 SAG 1 slave is
   8) ½ ŠA KUG.BABBAR 20 shekels of silver;
   9) KUG.BABBAR-su-mu their silver (equivalent) is
 10) 3 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 180 shekels of silver;
 11) 1 DUMU.SAL 1 girl,
 12) NÍG.SÁM-sa her price is
13) 13 GIN KUG.BABBAR
( blank )
14) ŠU.NIG.N 21½ ŠA MA.NA
LAL 2 GIN KUG.BABBAR
total of 1278 shekels of silver;
15) NIG.KI.GAR GÁN
(this is) the additional payment of the field;
16) 1 ERÍN ANŠE.BAR.AN
1 team of mules,
17) 1 GIŠ.GI.GIR.NIG.SU
1 NÍG.SU chariot,
18) 1 ki-li-tum KUG.BABBAR
1 silver wreath,
19) KLLAL.BI ½ ŠA KUG.
its weight is 20 shekels of silver,
20) 1 URUDU na-ap-la-aq-tum
UD.KA.BAR
1 bronze battle-axe,
21) 1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
( and ) 1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
22) I-ti-Ẹ-a
(for) I.
23) DÚMU Ur-Már-da
son of U.,
24) DÚMU DÚMU Ur-ŠékKI
descendant of U.

x 1)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
( for ) I.
2)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
3)  I-ti-ŠÉN
(for) I.
4) DÚMU DINGIR-su-GÁR
son of I.;
5)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
6)  PÚ.ŠA-Eš₅-dar
(for) P.;
7)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
8)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
9)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
10)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
11)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
12)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
13)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
14)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
15)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
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16)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
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17)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
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18)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
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19)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
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20)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
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21)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
22)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
23)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
24)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
25)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
26)  1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth

13 shekels of silver;
(total of 1278 shekels of silver;
(this is) the additional payment of the field;
1 team of mules,
1 NÍG.SU chariot,
1 silver wreath,
it's weight is 20 shekels of silver,
1 bronze battle-axe,
( and ) 1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
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(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
1 TÚG.SU.DU₇,A.BAL cloth
(for) I.
(total of 1 team of mules,
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

17) ŠU.NIĜIN 1 GIŠ.GIGIR.  total of 1 NĪG.SU chariot,
    NĪG.SU
18) ŠU.NIĜIN 1 ki-li-lum KUG.  total of 1 silver wreath,
    BABBAR
19) ŠU.NIĜIN 1 URUDU na-ap-
    la-aq-tum UD.KA.BAR
20) ŠU.NIĜIN 4 TŬG.SU.ĎU.7.A.
    BAL
21) ŠU.NIĜIN 8 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA  total of 8 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA cloths;
22) NĪG.BA GĀN  (this is) the gift of the field;
23) ŠU.NIĜIN 12 GURUŠ  total of 12 men,
24) DUMU.DUMU Dup-si-ga  descendants of T.

xii  
1) šī PŪ.SA-ru-um  Of P.,
2) NU.BANDA  the captain of
3) Šat-bar(r)imK1
4) be-lu GĀN  the “lords of the field,”
5) KŪ KUG.BABBAR  the recipients of the silver.

(bank)

C3  
6) I(BŪR.GUNU) 7(BŪR) GĀN  306 iku of land;
7) NĪG.SĀM-su  its price is
8) 1020 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL  1020. gsg of barley;
9) NĪG.SĀM  at the price of
10) 1 GĪN KUG.BABBAR  1 shekel of silver for
11) 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL  1. gsg of barley,
12) KUG.BABBAR-su  its silver (equivalent) is
13) 17 MA NA KUG.BABBAR  1020 shekels of silver;
14) NĪG.SĀM  at the price of
15) 7 GŪ LAL 12 MA NA SĪG  408 pounds of wool;
16) NĪG.SĀM  at the price of
17) 1 GĪN KUG.BABBAR  1 shekel of silver for
18) 4 MA NA SĪG  4 pounds of wool,
19) KUG.BABBAR-su-in  its silver (equivalent) is
20) 1/3 ŠA MA NA 2 GĪN KUG.
    BABBAR  102 shekels of silver;
21) NĪG.KI.GAR GĀN  (this is) the additional payment of the field;
22) 1 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA  1 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA cloth
23) Zu-zu  (for) Z.;
24) 1 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA  1 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA cloth
25) Ir-e-pum  (for) I.;
26) 2 DUMU Ģš-mā-DINGIR  (these are) 2 sons of I.
27) šī NIGIR  Of N.,

xiii  
1) DUMU.DUMU Ur-ur  descendants of U.
2) šī PA.HI  Of P.,
(bank)
3) ŠU.NIĜIN 2 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA  total of 2 TŬG.SU.ŠE.GA cloths;
4) NĪG.BA GĀN  (this is) the gift of the field;
5) ŠU.NIĜIN 2 GURUŠ  total of 2 men,
6) DUMU.DUMU Ur-ur  descendants of U.
7) šī PA.HI  Of P.,
8) be-lu GĀN  the “lords of the field,”
9) KŪ KUG.BABBAR  the recipients of the silver.
(bank)
10) ŠU.NIĜIN 6(SĀR) GĀN  The total of 6480 iku of land;
11) GĀN.NINDĀ  the field’s border
12) IM.MIR  to the north is
13) ŠI.ZI.KALAM.MA  the ŠI.ZI.KALAM.MA canal;
14) GĀN.NINDĀ  the field’s border
15) IM.Uš  to the south is
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

16) E.GIS.MA.NUKI
17) GÀN.NINDÁ
18) IM.KUR
19) ID A-mašt-ti-ak
20) GÀN.NINDÁ
21) IM.MAR.TU
22) d A-ba₄-i₄-d₄-ga₄ (the property of) A.
23) DUMU Sar-ru-GI
24) DUMU DINGIR-a-uzu
25) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth
26) 1 URUDU HA.ZI UD.KA.

BAR
xiv 1) Ba-ša-ah-DINGIR (for) B.,
2) LÚ.ES.GID the field-surveyor,
3) DUMU Ur-ur son of U.,
4) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth,
5) 1 URUDU HA.ZI UD.KA. (and) 1 bronze axe
BAR
6) lb-LUL-DINGIR (for) I.,
7) DUB.SAR the scribe,
8) DUMU Nu-gal son of N.,
9) 1 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth,
10) 1 URUDU HA.ZI UD.KA. (and) 1 bronze axe
BAR
11) Ur-dNin-kar (for) U.,
12) SAG.DU₄ the field recorder,
13) DUMU Barag-ki-ba son of B.,
14) DUMU DUMU A-ku-i-lum descendant of A.;
(blank)
15) SU.NIGIN 3 TUG.SU.SE.GA cloth,
16) SU.NIGIN 3 URUDU HA.ZI UD.KA.BAR total of 3 bronze axes;
17) NIG.BA (this is the gift of)
18) LÚ.GAN.GID.DA the men who measured the field;
(blank)
19) 1 PŪ.SA-Lu-lu 27 PNs;
20) DUMU DINGIR-a-uzu
21) DI.TAR
22) 1 GAL.ZU-DINGIR
23) šu NIN
24) SANGA
25) Lugal-Már-da
26) DINGIR-ba-na
27) AB+AS.URU

xv 1) DUMU Šā-gū-ba
2) 1 Be-li-a-mi
3) DUMU Ur-Ab-ra
4) ši Su₄-a-tum-mu-da
5) 1 A-bu-bu
6) DUMU I-mi-DINGIR
7) UGULA KA-zu-ra-ak
8) 1 Iš-dup-DINGIR
9) DUMU Amar-ri-ri
10) DUMU DUMU
11) SANGA
12) 1 Mi-su₄-a
13) DUMU I-ki-lum
14) NU.BANDA Eš₄-na-na-ak
15) 1 Ti-ir-su
16) DUMU PŪ.SA-Lu-lu
17) DUMU.DUMU SABRA
18) 1 I-li-a-ḥi
19) DUMU Ne-sag
20) NU.BANDA
21) 1 Ma-an-sa-ki-su
22) DUMU A-bi-da
23) 1 DINGIR-ba-ni
24) NU.BANDA MÁ.GUR
25) DUMU Gal-pum
26) 1 Na-mu-ru-um
27) DUMU I-da-DINGIR
28) 1 DINGIR-GŪ
29) DUMU Su-mu.4.ÈN.ZU

xvi 1) 1 Mi-it-lik
2) DUMU ฿-dup-DINGIR
3) NU.BANDA
4) 1 DINGIR-ba-ni
5) DUMU Mi-suš-a
6) 1 SL.A-um
7) DUMU I-ti.4.Đa-gan
8) 1 Tu-tu
9) DUMU I-li
10) 1 A-ku-È-a
11) DUMU PŪ.ŠA-È-a
12) 1 Ur.4.ÈN.ZU
13) DUMU Ur-ezen
14) NU.BANDA GIŠ.KIN.TI
15) 1 Ur-En-gal-DU.DU
16) DUMU Ur.5.Èzinu(ŠE.TIR)
17) NU.BANDA É-mar-zaKI
18) 1 Tu-tu
19) DUMU I-la-la
20) ŠEŠ Ra-bi-DINGIR
21) 1 DINGIR-GĀR
22) DUMU Ti-li-lum
23) 1 Ik-ru-ub-DINGIR
24) DUMU PŪ.ŠA-su
25) 1 DINGIR-mu-da
26) DUMU I-me-a
27) 1 Suš-ma-SIPA
28) DUMU I-nin-sa-tu
29) 1 Ur.5.PA.BIL.SAG

xvii 1) DUMU Ř-ni-il
2) ENGAR LUGAL
3) 1 Á-ḫu-GIŠ.ERÍN
4) DUMU Á-ḫa-ar-ši
5) DUMU.DUMU Lugal-ezen (blank)
6) ŠU.NIGÍN 3 DUB.SAR total of 3 scribes;
7) ŠU.NIGÍN 30 LAL 3 AB+ĀŠ total of 27 witnesses;
   AB+ĀŠ
8) 1 Be-li-sa-tu 10 PNs,
9) DUMU Ba-ša-aḫ-DINGIR
10) LÚ.ÈŠ.GĪD
11) 1 lS-LUL-DINGIR
12) DUMU lS-dup-DINGIR
13) 1 I-mi-DINGIR
14) DUMU Pu-be-li
15) 1 DINGIR-GI
16) DUMU GAL.ZU-DINGIR
17) šu NIN
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

18) SANGA
19) "Lugal-Már-da
20) 1 Ti-ru-um
21) DUMU Bur-zum
22) GAL.SUKKAL
23) DUMU.DUMU I-ri-iš-be-li
24) 1 Iq-bi-GI
25) DUMU Be-li-GÚ
26) NU.BANDA LÚ.IGI
27) 1 I-da-DINGIR
28) DUMU Iq-LUL-DINGIR
29) DUMU.DUMU Nu-gal

xviii 1) 1 DINGIR-a-ha
2) DUMU Be-li-GÚ
3) NU.BANDA
4) 1 Nu-ni-da
5) DUMU Be-li-a-mi
6) DUMU.DUMU Ur-Ab-ra
7) ši Sú-a-tum-mu-da
8) 1 Li-sa-núm
9) DUMU Ur-AN.KI
10) šu KUG.DÍM
(blink)
11) ŠU.NIGIN 10 DUMU.DUMU
12) AB+ĂŠ.ĂŠ.ĂŠ+ĂŠ
13) 1 Be-li-GÚ
14) DUMU Ra-bi-DINGIR
15) 1 A-nu-zu
16) DUMU Iq-ru-ub-DINGIR
17) 1 Iš-má-DINGIR
18) DUMU Iq-ru-ub-Ĕ-a
19) 1 I-rı-DINGIR
20) DUMU Ha-da-bi
21) 1 PŬ.SA-E3-a-dar
22) DUMU KA-Ma-ma
23) 1 Ur-Ab-ra
24) DUB.SAR
25) DUMU Su-mu-núm
26) 1 SIG-si-lum
27) DUMU Ra-bi-DINGIR
28) 1 PŬ.SA-Lu-lu
29) GAL.UKŬ
30) Ša-at-bar-ri-imK1

xix 1) 1 Ga-at-núm
2) DUMU Ra-bi-DINGIR
3) Ḫa-ar-ḫa-mu-na-akK1
4) 1 Ur-ur
5) DUMU Šu-NI-um
6) MĂ.R.XK1
7) 1 Ra-bi-DINGIR
8) DUMU DINGIR-su-a-ḫa
9) KA-ul-lumK1
10) 1 I-da-DINGIR
11) DUMU I-ku-Ĕ-a
12) KA-zu-ra-akK1
(blink)
13) ŠU.NIGIN 12 NU.BANDA ǜ UGULA
total of 12 overseers and foremen;
14) ŠU.NIGIN.ŠU.NIGIN 52 GURUŠ
the grand total of 52 men of
15) Már-daK1
Marda,
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

| 16 | AB+ĀŠ,AB+ĀŠ | the witnesses of |
| 17 | GĀN | the field. |
| 18 | 600 GURUŠ | 600 men |
| 19 | in Gā-za-lu<sup>Kl</sup> | in Kazalu |
| 20 | NINDA 1.KU | ate bread; |
| 21 | 600 GURUŠ | 600 men |
| 22 | šu 1 UD | for one day, |
| 23 | 1200 GURUŠ | 1200 men |
| 24 | šu 2 UD | for two days (= 600 men during two days), |
| 25 | in maš-ga-ni Be-li-ba-ni | in the settlement of B., |
| 26 | AGRIG <sup>4</sup>A-ba<sub>4</sub>-iš-da-gal | the steward of A., |
| 27 | NINDA 1.KU | ate bread; |
| 28 | LŪ Mār-da<sup>Kl</sup> | the citizens of Marda. |
|     | (blank) | (blank) |
| xxiv 25 | GĀN Mār-da<sup>Kl</sup> | Field of Marda |
| 26 | Ma-an-iš-tu-su | M. |
| 27 | LUGAL | king of |
| 28 | KIŞ | the totality |
| 29 | I.SĀM | bought. |

### Side D (= old Side B)

| a 1 | [4(BUR,GUNU) 4(BUR)] | [794 iku of land]; |
|     | 2(1KU) GĀN] | |
| 2 | [NĪG,SĀM-su] | [its price is]; |
| 3 | [2646(GUR) 2(PJ) 4(BĀN) ŠE GUR,SAG,GĀL] | [2646.2.4 gsg of barley]; |
| 4 | [NĪG,SĀM] | [at the price of]; |
| 5 | [1 GĪN KUG,BABBAR] | [1 shekel of silver for]; |
| 6 | [1 ŠE GUR,SAG,GĀL] | [1. gsg of barley]; |
| b 1 | [KUG,BABBAR-su] | [its silver (equivalent) is]; |
| 2 | [44 MA,NA 6 GĪN 2 MA,NA, TUR KUG,BABBAR] | [2646½ shekels of silver]; |
| 3 | [NĪG,SĀM GĀN] | [this is the price of the field]; |
| 4 | [17 GŪ 38½ MA,NA SĪG] | [1058½ pounds of wool]; |
| 5 | [NĪG,SĀM] | [at the price of]; |
| 6 | [1 GĪN KUG,BABBAR] | [1 shekel of silver for]; |
| 7 | [4 MA,NA SĪG] | [4 pounds of wool]; |
| c 1 | [KUG,BABBAR-si-in] | [its silver (equivalent) is]; |
| 2 | [4½ ŠA MA,NA 4 GĪN 2 MA,NA, TUR KUG,BABBAR] | [264½ shekels of silver]; |
| 3 | [NĪG,KI,GAR GĀN] | [this is the additional payment of the field]; |
| 4 | [1 ki-li-lum KUG,BABBAR] | [1 silver wreath]; |
| 5 | [KI,LAL,BI x GĪN KUG, BABBAR] | [its weight is x shekels of silver]; |
| 6 | [1 TŪG,ŠU,DU,7,A,BAL] | [(and) 1 TŪG,ŠU,DU,7,A,BAL cloth]; |
| 7 | [PN] | [(for) PN]; |
| 8 | [DUMU DINGIR-GĀR] | [son of I.]; |
| i 1 | [DUMU],DUMU [Da]-tum | [descendant of D.]; |
| 2 | [1 ki-li-[lu]m KUG,BABBAR] | [1 silver 'wreath', |
| 3 | [KI,LAL,BI x3 GĪN KUG, BABBAR] | its weight is 'x³ shekels of silver, |
| 4 | [1 TŪG,ŠU,DU,7,A,BAL] | [(and) 1 TŪG,ŠU,DU,7,A,BAL cloth]; |
| 5 | Sag-gul-lum | (for) S.; |
| 6 | [A]-hu-mu-bi | [1 TŪG,ŠU,SĒ,GA cloth]; |
| 7 | [A]-hu-mu-bi | (for) A.; |
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

8) [I] TUG.SU.SÈ.GA [I] TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
9) Pi-pù (for) P.;
10) [3 DUMU É-a-ra-bi [(these are) 3 sons of E.;
11) [I] TUG.SU.SÈ.GA [I] TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth

ii 1) Ez-dar-al-su (for) E.
2) DUMU IS-tu-tu son of I.;
3) 4 DUMU.DUMU ši A-pù-lum (these are) 4 descendants of A.;
4) 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
5) Is-mā-DINGIR (for) I.;
6) 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
7) I-ti-DINGIR (for) I.,
8) DUB.SAR the scribe;
9) 2 DUMU DINGIR-GÂR (these are) 2 sons of I.;
10) 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
11) É-a-GÛ (for) E.
12) DUMU IS-tu-tu son of I.;

iii 1) 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
2) ARAD-zu-ni (for) A.
3) DUMU La-mu-um son of L.;
4) 4 DUMU.DUMU Da-tum (these are) 4 descendants of D.;
5) 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
6) PŪ.SA-d-Za-ba4-ba (for) P.
7) DUMU Mu-mu son of M.,
8) DUMU.DUMU īr-am-Š Ma-lik descendant of L.;
9) 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA 1 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloth
10) Nu-ra (for) N.,
11) GEMÉ.DINGIR the temple servant,
12) DUMU.SAL PŪ.SA-Nu-ni daughter of P.,
13) DUMU.DUMU Bu-im descendant of B.,

iv 1) MĂ.LAH4 (blank)
2) ŠU.NIGĬn 2 ki-li-lum KUG. BABBAR total of 2 silver wraiths,
3) ŠU.NIGĬn 2 TUG.SU.DU7.A. BAL total of 2 TUG.SU.DU7.A.BAL cloths,
4) ŠU.NIGĬn 10 LAL 1 TUG. S.U.SÈ.GA total of 9 TUG.SU.SÈ.GA cloths;
5) NĪ.GA GĂN (this is) the gift of the field;
6) ŠU.NIGĬn 11 GURUS total of 11 men,
7) be-lu GĂN the “lords of the field,”
8) KÛ KUG.BABBAR the recipients of the silver;
9) 1 Su-AD.MU 9 PNs,
10) DUMU La-mu-um
11) 1 I-da-tum
12) 1 Su-ru-uš-GI
13) 2 DUMU DINGIR-su-GÂR
14) 1 Zi-ra

v 1) DUMU DINGIR-dan
2) 1 A-da-da
3) DUMU ḌKA-Me-ir
4) 5 DUMU.DUMU Da-tum
5) 1 Šu-EŠ4-dar
6) DUMU ME-Sâ-lim
7) DUMU.DUMU KA-KA
8) 1 DINGIR-a-zi
9) DUMU I-zu-GIĎ
10) 1 PŪ.SA-Il-la
11) DUMU Ur-Š Nin-kar
12) 2 DUMU.DUMU A-pù-lum
13) 1 DINGIR-ga-li
14) DUMU 1-lu-lu  
15) DUMU.DUMU Ir-am-Đ Ma-lik

vi
1) ŠU.NIGIN 10 LAL 1 GURUS (blank)  
2) SÈŠ be-lu GAN (blank)  
3) GÁN.NINDÁ  
4) IM.MIR  
5) DUMU.DUMU Ku-ku (the property of) the descendants of K.;  
6) GÁN.NINDÁ  
7) IM.U (the field) to the south is  
8) ša-at Gu-li-zi (the field?) of ox-drivers;  
9) GÁN.NINDÁ  
10) IM.ŠÅ.luc  
11) ME-ŠÅ.lim (the property of) M.,  
12) DUMU LUGAL son of the king;  
13) GÁN.NINDÁ the field’s border  
14) IM.MAR.TU to the north is  
15) BarK1  
16) GÁN Ba-ra-aż-EDINK1 (located) in Kish.  
17) GÁN Ba-ra-az-EDINK1 (located) in Kish.  
18) Ma-an-iš-tu-su king of  
19) LUGAL  
20) KIS the totality  
21) IŠÅM bought.

Notes
A xv 14.—The same PN is spelled A-bu-hu in B xxI 7.  
A xvi 10.—For this toponym, see Steinkeller, Vicino Oriente 6 (1986) p. 36 line 209.  
B xiv 12.—For the form of PÈŠ, see Krebernik, Die Beschworungen aus Fara und Ebla (Hildesheim, 1984) p. 287f., examples C1, C2, and C3.  
B xv 1.—Against RGTC 1 p. 151, which reads this GN as ŚID-bar1, the first sign is assuredly MES. Compare the form of ŚID in, e.g., B xv 5.  
C xii 3 and xviii 30.—Ša-at-bar-ri-imK1 may be the same toponym as Sa/Sa-at-ba-rìK1 of lexical texts. See Steinkeller, Vicino Oriente 6 (1986) p. 34 n. 36.  
C xv 14.—The toponym Eš-na-na-akK may be identical with the city of Eshnuna (actually Eshunak or Aschunak), variously written Eš-nu(n)-na, Eš-nu(n)-na, and Aš-nu(n)-na in third millennium texts (see RGTC 1 p. 80f.; 2 p. 18). For the evidence that Eshnuna’s name ended in /k/, see Jacobsen, AS 6 pp. 11–16.  
C xv 19.—The Sumerian word ne-sag, frequent as a PN in third millennium texts (see, e.g., examples listed in Hackman, BIN 8 p. 41f.) is equated with the Semitic ba-ga-lu(-um) /bakrum/ “first-born” in Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 226 line 243 (cf. also DUMU.SAG = bù-ga-lu, bù-ga-lu/ru; ibid. p. 229 line 270). For the Ebla entries, see Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983) p. 13. Civil suggests to us (personal communication) that ne-sag is a syllabic spelling of nisag “first/early fruit,” and brings our attention to the meaning “früh” of bakrum (said of dates), given in AHWB p. 97.  
C xvi 14.—In the title NU.BANDA GĪS.KIN.TI, GĪS.KIN.TI is either “workshop” (Akk. kiskattum) or, but less likely, the toponym Kiskattum/GĪS.KIN.TI, for which see RGTC 1 p. 94, 2 p. 106.  
C xix 6.—The sign read here as X is probably E. Compare RGTC 1 p. 116.  
C xix 9.—This toponym is probably to be interpreted as Żà-ul-lumK1. Compare RGTC 1 p. 148.

No. 41 Sippar Stone

Photographs: Plates 73 and 74, Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
Copy: None; collated by Gelb in 1947 and 1963.
Synopsis: Plates 110 and 111.
Provenience: Probably Sippar (Abû Habba)—this provenience is supported by the mention of three geographical names in the text: A-ga-daK1 (i 1’, rev. vii’ 17’), U₄-bi-umK1 (nisbe?) (vii’ 1’, 17’), and I-libK1 (vii’ 7’, rev. vii’ 8’), all situated in northern Babylonia. In the same direction points the occurrence of ḫA-baq (v 5’), the god of Akkadê. The eleven other geographical names occurring in the text are all hapax legomena.
**Ancient Kudurrus**

**Date:** Sargonic.

**Language:** Akkadian.

**Present location:** Istanbul Museum, ESEM 1022. The tablet entered the Museum by acquisition from a certain Camekian sometime between 1889 and 1891.


**Description:** Large fragment of a limestone tablet measuring 15.6 × 25.3 cm. The thickness, varying from 5.1 cm on the outside to 7.4 cm on the inside, increases from left to right and from top to bottom. The preserved fragment constitutes about one-fourth of the original, most probably the top left quarter of the original. One side is flat, the other is rounded.

**Text:** Since one side is slightly rounded in comparison with the flat surface of the other side, we must assume that what was taken by Hilprecht and Scheil as the obverse must really be the reverse, and vice versa, in accordance with the general convention for the form of cuneiform tablets in early periods. This is also indicated by the position of the left edge, which normally begins at a point near the left bottom of the obverse on tablets of the Sargonic period. As a final reason for taking the present obverse as the reverse, we should note that the old column iii’ of the reverse, containing a list of gifts for the witnesses of Zuzu of Abu-ilum, should follow, rather than precede, the old column iv’ of the reverse, containing the main provisions concerning the transfers of the property of Zuzu and Abu-ilum. Similar conclusions can be derived on the basis of the old column v’ of the reverse. All that means that the old sequence of columns of the reverse should be reversed, so that the old reverse ix’ should become obverse i, and so on; and similarly, that the old obverse ix should become reverse i’, and so on.

The list of correspondences between the old and new sequences of columns is given here to make it easier to find the citations given in the old sequence in previous publications:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old obv.</th>
<th>New rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ix’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>viii’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>vii’</td>
</tr>
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<td>iv</td>
<td>vi’</td>
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<td>v</td>
<td>v’</td>
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<td>vi</td>
<td>iv’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>iii’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>ii’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>i’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The text is preserved in nine columns of writing each on the obverse and reverse and in one column on the left edge. The right edge, now missing, could have contained the name of the buyer.

The preserved portions of the text deal with the acquisition of about twenty-seven parcels of land by an unknown person. Considering that the preserved portions constitute only about one-fourth of the original, and assuming that the destroyed portions listed a more or less corresponding number of parcels, we may be allowed to project the total of purchased parcels of land as over one hundred. This total is by far the highest among the texts in this collection.

**Sample Interpretation**

Obv. vi 10'-27': PN (= seller) received 73 1/2 shekels of silver as the price of the field seeded with 3,300 quarts of barley, at 60 quarts per (1 iku), that is, 110 iku of land, and 7 1/2 shekels of silver and 1 ŠU.ZA.GA cloth as the additional payment. Location of the field is given in E, W, N, and S directions.

Other transactions add information about commodities offered to the witnesses of the sellers and to the surveyors.

**Transliteration and Translation**

Obv. i *(beg. destr.)*

1') [A]-ga-dê²ki

2') [10] LAL 1 GUR GÁN 3(BÁN)

3') NÎG.SÂM-su

4') 2 KUG.BABBAR MA.NA

5') NÎG.KI.GAR

6') 12 GÎN KUG.BABBAR

7') 4 TÛG.ŠU.ZA.GA

2,700² quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 30
quarts per iku (= 90 iku of land); its price is
120 shekels of silver;
the additional payment is
12 shekels of silver
(and) 4 TÛG.ŠU.ZA.GA cloths;
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

8') in A-za-ra in Azara,
9') 1 ḫ-ḫu-ḫu 3 PNs,
10') DUMU Ma-la-ni-su
11') 1 ḫ-ḫu-ḫu
12') DUMU A-mur-rūm
13') 1 A-ḫi-AN.NA
14') GEME.DINGIR
15') SAL.DUMU Na-ni
16') DUMU.DUMU descendants of
17') A-nu-nu A.,
18') ma-ḫi-ru are the recipients
19') [KUG.B]ABBAR of the silver.
   (rest destr.)

ii

1') 1 SĪ[G MA.NA] 1 [pound of] wo[ol]
2') 1 A-ḫu-GIŠ.ERĪN for A.
3') šu SU.Ū.SAL Of S.,
4') DUB.SAR.GĀN the scribe of the field.

5') 4 GUR GĀN 1(PI) 1,200 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 60 quarts per iku (= 40 iku of land);
6') NĪ.G.ŠĀM-su its price is
7') 1/3 ŠA 7 GĪN LAL 1 MA.NA. 26 2/3 shekels of silver;
   TUR KUG.BABBAR
8') NĪ.G.KILAR the additional payment is
9') 2/4 TAR GĪN KUG.BABBAR 2/4 shekels of silver;
10') GĀN šu Sa-ba-ra? field of S.,
11') 1 ḫ-ḫu-ḫu-lum (the property of) I.
12') šu LŪ.KAS₄ Of L.
13') IM.KUR to the east is
14') GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border;
15') 1 I-bi-ZU (the property of) I.,
16') DUMU LUGAL the king’s son,
17') IM.MAR.TU to the west is
18') GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border;
19') 1 I-lum-GIŠ.ERĪN (the property of) I.
20') [šu Ku]?-ru [Of] K.₁
   (rest destr.)

iii

1') IM.MIR to the north is
2') GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border;
3') ša-at (the field) of
4') Sar-ra-tumKI Šarratum
5') IM.MAR.TU to the west is
6') GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border;
7') 1 Dam-ma (the property of) D.
8') DUMU A-pū-BĀD son of A.
9') šu Ba-lu-lu Of B.
10') IM.KUR to the east is
11') GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border;
12') 1 A-mu-mu (the property of) A.
13') šu Ba-zi-gūl Of B.
14') IM.Us to the south is
15') GĀN.NINDĀ the field’s border;
16') KUG.BABBAR the silver of
17') NĪ.G.ŠĀM the price of
18') 3 GĀN 3 fields
19') 1 A-ḫu-DŪG A.
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

20') DUMU 1-lum-sar
21') šu PA.TE.SI
22') im-hur

23') [. . J-ḤA
(rest destr.)

iv

1') KASK\1
2') IM.KUR
3') GÂN,NINDĀ
4') 1 I-ti-sum
5') IM.U5
6') GÂN,NINDĀ
7') 1 A-bi-ra
8') šu ŠU.A
9') 1 1-lum-GIS.ERĪN
10') šu Ku?-ru
11') 1 Šu-Ma-ma
12') DUMU Da-ba-la
13') 1 Šu-Ba-ba
14') šu A-da LŪ.GUNU+ŪS
15') 1 Su,v-Nl-um
16') šu A-nu-nu
17') 1 Šum-Ma-lik
18') šu Si-na
19') AB+AS.AB+ĀŠ
20') GÂN šu KĀ.[T]\1[1]\?
21') 1 TŪG.SU.ZA.GA
22') 1 SIG MA.NA
23') 1 Na-ni
24') šu Hu-bi-a
25') DUB.SAR.GÂN
(blank)

v
(beg. destr.)

1') [I . . ]
2') šu Bu-e-im
3') IM.U5
4') GÂN,NINDĀ
5') A-ba4
6') IM.MAR.TU
7') GÂN,NINDĀ
8') 1 A-hu-DŪG
9') šu PA.TE.SI
10') IM.KUR
11') GÂN,NINDĀ
12') 1 I-li-a-ḥi
13') šu Bu-hu-lum
14') AB+ĀŠ.AB+ĀŠ
15') GÂN šu Ú.SIG7

16') 3 GUR GÂN 1(PI)

17') NĪG.ŠĀM-su
18') ½ SA KUG.BABBAR
19') NĪG.KI.GAR
20') 1½ TĀR GĪN KUG.BABBAR
21') 1 TŪG.SU.ZA.GA

son of I.
Of the governor
received.

KAS
to the east is
the field's border;
(the property of) I.
to the south is
the field's border;
6 persons,

the witnesses of
the field of KĀ.[T]\1[1]\?;
1 TŪG.SU.ZA.GA cloth
(and) 1 pound of wool
for N.
Of Ḥ.,
the scribe of the field.

[(the property of) PN]
Of B.
to the south is
the field's border;
(the property of) A.
to the west is
the field's border;
(the property of) A.
Of the governor
to the east is
I.
Of B.,
the witness(!) of
the field of Ú.SIG7.

900 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 60 quarts
per iku (= 30 iku of land);
its price is
20 shekels of silver;
the additional payment is
1½ shekels of silver
(and) 1 TŪG.SU.ZA.GA cloth;
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

22') Da-bi-bi
23') šu Bi-za
24') dam-hur
25') 1 PA.TE.SI
26') IM.MIR
27') GÂN.NINDÁ
28') 1 PA.TE.SI
29') IM.KUR
30') [GÂN.NINDÁ]

[rest destr.]

[beg. destr.]

vi

1') [x GUR GÂN I(PI)?] [x iku of land;]
2') NÎG.ŠÁM-su [its price is]
3') ½ SA ½ TAR GÎN KUG. BABBAR
4') NÎG.KI.GAR [the additional payment is]
5') 2 GÎN KUG.BABBAR 2 shekels of silver;
6') 1 Zu-zu Z.
7') ŠEŠ Du-du brother of D. of
8') BÂD-ḤU.GAN?K1 BÂD-ḤU.GAN?
9') im-hur(-ra) received (it).

10') 11(wr. 12) GUR GÂN I(PI) 3,300 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 60 quarts
per iku (= 110 iku of land); its price is
11') NÎG.ŠÁM-su 73½ shekels of silver;
12') 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 13 GÎN 1 MA.NA.TUR
13') NÎG.KI.GAR the additional payment is
14') 7 GÎN KUG.BABBAR 1 MA. NA.TUR 7½ shekels of silver
15') 1 TÜG.SU.ZA.GA (and) 1 TÜG.SU.ZA.GA cloth;
16') A-pù-i-lum A.
17') šu A-ki Of A. of
18') URUDU?K1 URUDU?
19') im-hur received (it);
20') dLUGAL-bar-ga-ad (the property of) L.
21') IM.KUR to the east is
22') GÂN.NINDÁ the field's border;
23') SÎA (the property of) S.
24') šu ša-ti of the mountain(?) of
25') Ša-da-anK1 Sadan
26') IM.MAR.TU to the west is
27') [GÂN.NINDÁ] [the field's border];

[rest destr.]

vii

[beg. destr.]

1') 'X X1 [. . .]
2') ū and
3') a-na GÂN for the field of
4') Zu-zu Z.
5') ŠEŠ Du-du brother of D. of
6') 1 MA.NA SÎG 1 pound of wool
7') 1 I-kùn-nûm for I.
8') šu LÛ Of L. ;
9') 1 SÎG MA.NA 1 pound of wool
10') 1 PÛ.SA-ru for P.,
11') PAB.ŠEŠ the PAB.ŠEŠ priest;
12') 1 Šu-pù-la 3 PNs,
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

13') 1 Ɨ-šu-su-ŅIG.SAM-su 23') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN KUG.
14') 1 Ɨ-sù-su-DUG 24') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?
15') AB+ÂŠ.AB+ÂŠ 25') 6 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?
16') Ɨ-šu Be-la-su[sic]-nu 26') 1 Na-ni
17') Ɨ-šu Be-la-su[sic]-nu 27') 1 Na-ni
18') Ɨ-šu Be-la-su[sic]-nu 28') 1 Na-ni
19') a-na GÎN 29') 1 Na-ni
20') A-pù-sù-ɾim 30') 1 Na-ni
21') 10(GUR) LAL 2(PI) GUR 31') 1 Na-ni
GÎN 1(PI) 32') 1 Na-ni
22') NÎG.SAM-su 33') 1 Na-ni
23') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN KUG. 34') 1 Na-ni
BABBAR 35') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?
24') NÎG.KI.GAR 36') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?
25') 6 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1? 37') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?
MAN TUR] 38') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?
(rest destr.) 39') 1 MA.NA 4 GÎN [KUG.BABBAR 1?

the elders
of the towns of (i.e., which are located on)
the Irhan canal;
(the they are the witnesses) for the field of
A.

2,880 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 60 quarts
per iku (= 96 iku of land);
64 shekels of silver;
the additional payment is
6+½ shekels [of silver];

[x]+9 PNs,

the witnesses
for the field
of B. of
UpiPum;
300 quarts of barley
(and) 1 TUG.SU.ZA.GA cloth
for N.
the scribe of the field.

so[n of . . .]
(to [the . . . is]
the field's [border];
[(the property of) PN]
[(the property of) PN]
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

15') [M . . .]
16') [GÁN.NINDÁ]
   (rest destr.)

Rev. i'
   (beg. destr.)
1') [M? . . .]
2') Ra-b[i?]-lum?
3') šu Li-[g?]-im?
4') IM ...
   (rest destr.)

ii'
   (beg. destr.)
1') 1 Ḥu-[ . .]
2') DUMU Ba-[ . .]
3') 1 Ū°x-[ . .]
4') DUMU Ḥa-la-[X]
5') 1 Be-li-li
6') DUMU Bu-r-zi-[a]?
7') 1 Ra-bi-i-lum
8') DUMU Li-gi-[m]
9') 1 Ba-ša
10') DUMU Ku-ku PAB.ŠEŠ
11') 1 BALA-i-lum
12') DUMU Zi-at
13') 1 [. .]
14') DUMU [. .]
15') 1 Du-du
16') DUMU Tim-mu
17') 1 Ku-ku
18') DUMU I-ti-ÍD
19') 1 Ba-ša
20') DUMU Giš-[ . .]
21') 1 U-ḫuḫ [. .]
22') DUMU Zi-[ . .]
23') 1 Sa-[ . .]
   (rest destr.)

iii'
   (beg. destr.)
1') 3+[3 GÍN GI]¹⁴.GÁL³ [KUG. BARBAR]
2') 1(GUR) 1(PI) ŠE GUR
3') 2 TÚG.A.SU
4') 12 BAPPIR
5') 12 SILĀ 1
6') Šu- xã dar
7') û
8') 1 SLA-um
9') šu Ḥa-[r](x)-m[u]?
10') im-ḫu(r)-ru

16'/3 [shekels of silver],

360 quarts of barley,
2 TÚG.A.SU cloths,
12 beer-breads,
(and) 12 quarts of oil
S.
and
S.
Of Ḥ.
received.

11') 1(GUR) 2(BÁN) GUR GÁN
   2(BÁN)
12') 1(NÍG.SÁM-su
13') šA 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR l
   MA.N[ ]T[UR]
14') 1(NÍG.KI.GAR
15') 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR
16') 1(PI) ŠE
17') 2 BAPPIR

320 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 20 quarts
per iku (= 10½ iku of land);
its price is
21½ shekels of silver;
the additional payment is
1 shekel of silver,
60 quarts of barley,
2 beer-breads,
iv') 1 GUR (rest destr.)

1') [...]
2') (gulp X
3') [I]M.MAR.TU
4') [GA]N.NINDÁ
5') [L]U]GAL
6') [I]M.KUR
7') GÁN.NINDÁ
8') 1 Pú-GI
9') gulp Na-ba-li
10') IM.MIR
11') GÁN.NINDÁ
12') 1 A-bí-ra
13') gulp Iš-lam-GI
14') IM.U
15') GÁN.NINDÁ

16') 3(GUR) LAL 2(PI) GUR GÁN 780 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 20 quarts per iku (= 26 iku of land);
(rest destr.)
17') NIG.SÁM-su
18') 1 MA.NA KU.BABBAR LAL its price is
8 GÍN 52 shekels of silver;
19') NIG.KI.GAR
the additional payment is
20') 2½ TAR GÍN KUG 2½ shekels of silver,
21') 2(PI) 3(BÁN) ŠE 150 quarts of barley,
22') 5 BAPP[IR] 5 beer-breads,
23') 5 SILÁ Ī (and) 5 quarts of oil;
24') 1 ME-Šá-lim
25') im-hur
M. received (it).

v') 1 GUR [...]

1') [3(GUR) 2(PI) GUR GÁN [1,020 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 20(?) quarts per iku (= 34 iku of land)];
(rest destr.)
2') NIG.S[AM-su
3') 1 MA.NA KU.BABBAR] [its price is]
8 GÍN 68 shekels [of silver];
4') NIG.KI.GAR
the additional payment is]
5') [3½ TAR GÍN KUG.
BABBAR] [3½ shekels of silver],
6') [2(BÁN) ŠE] [210 quarts of barley],
7') [7 BAPP[IR] 7 beer-breads,
8') 7 SILÁ Į (and) 7 quarts of oil;
9') 1 É-a-ra-bí
E.
10') gulp Ku-ru-š[ša][a(KIŠ)] Of K.
11') im-hur
received (it).
12') A.SI
(The property of) A.,
13') UM.LIBIR
the old . . .
14') IM.MIR
the north (is the field’s border);
15') 1 Šu-Ma-ma (the property of) Š.
16') 1 Šu A-ku-sí-im
17') IM.U
18') ú to the south
19') IM.MAR.TU and
20') GÁN.NINDÁ
the field’s border;
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

21') A.SI (the property of) A.,
22') UM.GIBIL the new . . . ,
23') IM.KUR to the east is
24') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border.

25') 2(GUR) 2(PI)1 [GU]R [GAN 2(BÁN)]
(rest destr.)
720 quarts (of seed barley), [(at the rate of) 20 quarts
per iku (= 24 iku of land)];

vi'
(beg. destr.)
1') [IM.MAR.T]U [to the west is]
2') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border
3') ū and
4') IM.U5 to the south is
5') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border; (the property of) A.
6') 1 A-sa-su-GIS.ERÍN son of I.
7') DUMU I-mi-i-lum
8') IM.MIR to the north is
9') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border.

10') 2(PI) LAL I(BÁN) GAN 2(BÁN)
11') NIG.SÁM-su 110 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 20 quarts
12') 7½ GIN KUG per iku (= 3 1/2 iku of land);
13') NIG.KL.GAR its price is
14') 1 MA.NA.TUR KUG 7½ shekels of silver;
15') 2(BÁN) ŠE 20 quarts of barley,
16') 1 BAPPIR 1 beer-bread,
17') 1 SILÁ I (and) 1 quart of oil;
18') 1 E-mi E.
19') im-hur received (it).
20') 1 I-lum-GAR I.
21') šu La-ba-Ú Of L.,
(res rest destr.)
(vi')
1') [4)?-[i?-i]? [PN1]
2') im-[iur] received.
3') 1 A-mu-[.] (The property of) A.
4') šu La-ba-Ú OF L.
5') IM.MIR to the north is
6') GAN.NINDÁ (the property of) E. of
7') 1 En-bu-DINGIR lib
8') I-libK1
9') IM.KUR to the east is
10') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border;
11') 1 PÚ.SA-A-a (the property of) P.
12') šu É-bi-[r]a? Of E.
13') IM.U5 to the south is
14') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border;
15') 1 Sa-tu-na (the property of) S.,
16') SIMUG the smith of
17') A-ga-dēK1 Akkadian,
18') IM.MAR.TU to the west is
19') GAN.NINDÁ the field’s border.

20') 4(BÁN) GAN 1(BÁN) 5(SILÁ) 40 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 15 quarts
21') NIG.SÁM-su per iku (= 1 1/2 iku of land);
22') 4 GIN 1 MA.NA.TUR KUG. its price is
BABBAR 4½ shekels of silver;
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

23') NÎG.KI.GAR
24') IGI.4.GÂL 1 KUG.BABBAR
25') [I(BÁN) 5(SÍLÁ) ŠE]
26') [? BAPPIR]
27') [? SÍLÁ ŠE]
(rest destr.)

ix'

1') [2 GUR GÁN 3(BÁN)]
2') [NÎG.SÁM-su]
3') [ŠÁ 7 GÎN LAL 1 MA.NA.TUR KUG.BABBAR]
4') [NÎG.KI.GAR]
5') [I(GÎN 1 MA.NA.TUR]
6') [I(PI) 2(BÁN) ŠE]
7') 3 BAPPIR
8') 3 SÍLÁ ŠE
9') 1 Su-ra-uš-GÎ
10') šu NA.GADA
11') KI.SAR
12') im-su
13') 1 I-lum-GÂR
14') šu La-ba-Ú
15') IM.MAR.TU
16') GÂN.NINDÁ
17') 1 Pî-GI
18') šu Na-ba-li
19') IM.U3
20') GÂN.NINDÁ
21') 1 A-li-li
22') šu GÁN
23') IM.KUR
24') GÂN.NINDÁ
25') 1 Wa-X-rûm
26') šu Mu-mu
27') IM.MIR
28') GÂN.NINDÁ

ix'

1') [II(GUR) 4(PI) G]UR GÁN
2') NÎG.SÁM-su
3') 4 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR
4') NÎG.KI.GAR
5') 12 GÎN KUG.BABBAR
6') 2(GUR) 2(PI) ŠE GUR
7') 1 TÜG.ŠU.ZA.GA
8') 24 BAPPIR
9') 2(BÁN) 4(SÍLÁ) ŠE
10') 1 Is-má-i-lum
11') KUG.GÂL
12') 1 Bi-bi
13') DUMU šu-la-pi
14') 1 Zi-ra
15') DUMU Ib-bu-ru
16') 1 Hû-li-um
17') DUMU I-bi-dEN.ZU
18') [D]UMU.DUMU

the additional payment is
1/4 shekel of silver,
[15 quarts of barley],
[1(? beer-bread],
[(and) 1(?) quart of oil].

[600 quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 30 quarts
per iku (= 118 iku of land)];

[1/2 shekel of silver];
[1] 1/2 shekels of silver,
80 quarts of barley,
3 beer-breads,
(and) 3 quarts of oil;

9.

Of N. of
KI.SAR
received (it).
(The property of) I.
Of L.
to the west is
the field's border;
(the property of) P.
Of N.
to the south is
the field's border;
(the property of) A.
Of G.
to the east is
the field's border;
(the property of) W.
Of M.
to the north is
the field's border.

[3,540] quarts (of seed barley), (at the rate of) 20
quarts per iku (= 118 iku of land);
its price is
236 shekels of silver;
the additional payment is
12 shekels of silver,
720 quarts of barley,
1 TÜG.ŠU.ZA.GA cloth,
24 beer-breads,
(and) 24 quarts of oil;
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

L. E.

19') [ISP]-lu-hu
20') [...]'X;

(rest destr.)

1') [NIG]1KILGAR1
2') 2 1/2 TAR GIN KUG.BABBAR
3') 2(P'I) 3(BAN) SE
4') 5 BAPPIR
5') 5 SILA 1
6') 1-lum-dan
7') su Ha-X-da
8') 1 J-NI
9') su KILLAM
10') 1 J-nin-sa-tu
11') su Stu-mu-E-a
12') im-lu(r)-ru
13') 1 PÜ-SA-DÜG!(wr. UD)
14') su GÁN.DAR
15') IM.MIR
16') [GÁN]NINDÁ
17') [1 Su]1-fI?-li-stu
18') [...]'X; [...]

(rest destr.)

the additional payment is

2 1/2 shekels of silver,
150 quarters of barley,
5 beer-breads,
(and) 5 quarters of oil;
I.
I.
Of K.
Of S.
received (it).
The property of) P.
Of G.

to the north is
the field's border;

Notes

i 2', ii 5', v 16', and passim.—The determination of land areas is based on the assumption that the seeding rate is the constant 30 quarts per iku. See in detail chapter 9 under No. 41 Sippar Stone.
i 9'.—The name interpreted here as Íg-dup-ir-pum! was read, with some misgivings, as Íg-dup-ir-pum!  in RSO 32 p. 92 and MAD 3 pp. 61 and 291.
i 14'—A-da LÍ.GUNU1+UŠ is probably to be interpreted as a-Adda(LÍ.GUNU1.US). For the syllabic adda, see Adda-ga-na2, alternating with Á-da-ga-na3, in the Abu Salabikh / Ebla Geographical List line 32 (Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 230).
v 22'—The masculine determinative pronoun su in Da-bi-bi su Bi-za dam-lu(-tum) is used here in place of the expected feminine šat.
v 22', vi 16', rev. ii' 2', iii' 6', and L. E. 6'.—Contrary to the general usage in this text and elsewhere, in these five occurrences the scribe failed to write a Personenkeil in front of the main entries.
vi 8'.—The interpretation of the GN BAD-ḪU.GAN4 is unknown. The questionable sign looks very much like GAN in RTC 80:25.
vii 17'-18'.—For the canal Irḫan, (also Urḫan), see the following: ÍD.AN.MUS.DIN.TIR.BALAG is glossed ir-ḫa-an and equated with Araktu and Purattum, and Irḫa-an is equated with Purattum at Abu Salabikh and later (Biggs, OIP 99 p. 55); BALAG.DIN.AN.MUS41 at Abu Salabikh (OIP 99, 331'v') corresponds to UR-ḫa-an41 at Ebla (Pettinato, MEE 3 p. 237 line 223); and Irḫa-an is equated with Irḫa-nim (Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 357 line 0138). Living examples of this canal are rare, as in gī MUS42 “on the shore of the Irḫa canal” (Sollberger, TCS 1, 360:8, Ur III). The deified canal occurs in the form 5(GUR)+b-DIN.DUB.U42 in the Early Dynastic (UET 2, 142 i 5, 190 i 3), and as 4MUS+2b-DIN.DUB.DU in the Ur III period (UET 3, 189:9, 191:16, 1110:1; 9, 37:9); see also PN Irḫa-n42 in no. 32 iii 10, no. 40 A xi 7, and passim in Sargonic sources) and PN Genē-MUS+2b-DIN.DUB.DU attested in the Ur III period (UET 3, 1040 ii 16). Compare G. J. P. McEwan, Or. n.s. 52 (1983) pp. 215–29; Krebernik, Beschworungen pp. 298ff.
vii 4'.—This PN is also attested in no. 48 iv 16, TSA 18 iii 18, HSS 10, 13 i 10, and MAD 1, 232 i 17.
vii 5'.—The interpretation of the GN SEG=b-d41 is unknown.

vii 21'.—Note the unusual form of the reversed U sign in the name U-hūb.
vii 2'.—The sign read here as X has the same form as the third sign in su Ḥa-X-da in L. E. 7'. It is possibly PEŠ (= LAK-245, 246, and 247). For the paleography of PES and related signs, see Krebernik, Beschworungen pp. 287–97.
iv' 16' and 18'.—Assuming a price of 1½ gin per 1 iku leads to the interpretation of line 18' as 1 MA.NA LAL 8 GIN (= 52 gin), and of line 16' as 3(GUR) LAL 2(P1) GUR GAN 2(BAN).
v. 10'.—For the reading "Irša.(KIŠ)”, see Steinkeller, ZA 77 (1987) pp. 165ff.
v. 13' and 22'.—The meaning of UM, which is designated in these lines as LIBIR “old” and GIBIL “new,” is unknown to us.

v. 16'.—Scheil's reading A-kū-st-im is preferable to Gelb's A-ra-ratu-im (RSO 52 p. 88, MAD 3 p. 60). This PN is probably a nisbe of the GN Akusum (Steinkeller, Vicino Oriente 6 [1986] p. 34).
vii 12'.—Scheil's reading ra in Ḫi-ra is not confirmed by the photographs, although it may find support in the clearly written A-bi-ra in iv 7' and rev. iv' 12'.
vii 6'.—The unusual writing of 1(P1) 2(BAN) as 1(P1) written over 2(BAN) finds parallels in PBS 9, 39, 59, and 84 (passim).
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

Publication: Gelb, MAD 1, 168.

Description: Fragment of a black diorite tablet measuring 8.1 × 13.7 × 6 cm. Since only one side is preserved, the original thickness is unknown. It has the ends of five columns, and a lower edge (uninscribed).

Text: If the preserved portion was part of the obverse, the order of the columns is left to right, giving a sequence of individual fields with price and additional payment, total of fields, and witnesses (with gifts). This is the expected order of the text.

Sample Interpretation

ii' 2'-iii' 3': 'PN¹ (= seller) received 8(? shekels of silver and 12,000 quarts of barley as the price of [x] iku of land, and 420 quarts of barley and x commodities as the additional payment.

Transliteration and Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>[SAM]-rsul</td>
<td>its [price] is [x] shekels of silver, [x] quarts of barley; [recei]ved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>[X] GIN [KUG.BABBAR</td>
<td>[x iku] of land; its [price] is 8x shekels of silver (and) 12,000 quarts of barley; its additional payment is 420 quarts of barley;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>[X] SE GUR</td>
<td>[son of] 'PN¹ Of A. received (it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>[DUMU] 'Gi-x³-ra</td>
<td>Total of 235 iku of land, (the field located) in (lit.: of) the field district of Ardanan, on the Atli-canal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>si A-a-BE</td>
<td>PN¹, the '...² Of 'PN²; 1 BA.AN container of barley each, 1 SIG.GAN (measure of wool) each, for P. Of B., N.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>im-hur</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>(blank)</td>
<td>SIG.GAN (measure of wool) each, for P. Of B., N.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su E-ri-x-[.]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
<td>1 SIG.GAN (measure of wool) each, for P. Of B., N.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su [D?... ]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su [E-[ ...]-]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>[1] BA.AN</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>передний</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su [B insecurity]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>8' Na-bi-um</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'</td>
<td>(beg. destr.)</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'</td>
<td>'Ar-[da]-na-[nK¹]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 42 Eshnuna Stone Fragment

Photograph: Plate 75, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negative N. 33718.
Copy: Plate 76, copied by Green.
Synopsis: Plate 112.
Provenience: Eshnuna (Tell Asmar), Field no. TA 1931, 130; found in Private House G 19:5, stratum IVa (Sargonic period)—see Delougaz et al., OIP 88 pp. 225 and 310.
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.
Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, on loan from the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Description: Fragment of a black diorite tablet measuring 8.1 × 13.7 × 6 cm. Since only one side is preserved, the original thickness is unknown. It has the ends of five columns, and a lower edge (uninscribed).

Text: If the preserved portion was part of the obverse, the order of the columns is left to right, giving a sequence of individual fields with price and additional payment, total of fields, and witnesses (with gifts). This is the expected order of the text.

Sample Interpretation

ii' 2'-iii' 3': 'PN¹ (= seller) received 8(? shekels of silver and 12,000 quarts of barley as the price of [x] iku of land, and 420 quarts of barley and x commodities as the additional payment.

Transliteration and Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>[SAM]-rsul</td>
<td>its [price] is [x] shekels of silver, [x] quarts of barley; [recei]ved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>[X] GIN [KUG.BABBAR</td>
<td>[x iku] of land; its [price] is 8x shekels of silver (and) 12,000 quarts of barley; its additional payment is 420 quarts of barley;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>[X] SE GUR</td>
<td>[son of] 'PN¹ Of A. received (it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>[DUMU] 'Gi-x³-ra</td>
<td>Total of 235 iku of land, (the field located) in (lit.: of) the field district of Ardanan, on the Atli-canal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>si A-a-BE</td>
<td>PN¹, the '...² Of 'PN²; 1 BA.AN container of barley each, 1 SIG.GAN (measure of wool) each, for P. Of B., N.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>im-hur</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>(blank)</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su E-ri-x-[.]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>[PN]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su [D?... ]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su [E-[ ...]-]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>[1] BA.AN</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>передний</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>su [B insecurity]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>Na-bi-um</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'</td>
<td>(beg. destr.)</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'</td>
<td>'Ar-[da]-na-[nK¹]</td>
<td>1 BA.AN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 42 Eshnuna Stone Fragment

Photograph: Plate 75, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negative N. 33718.
Copy: Plate 76, copied by Green.
Synopsis: Plate 112.
Provenience: Eshnuna (Tell Asmar), Field no. TA 1931, 130; found in Private House G 19:5, stratum IVa (Sargonic period)—see Delougaz et al., OIP 88 pp. 225 and 310.
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.
Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, on loan from the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Description: Fragment of a black diorite tablet measuring 8.1 × 13.7 × 6 cm. Since only one side is preserved, the original thickness is unknown. It has the ends of five columns, and a lower edge (uninscribed).

Text: If the preserved portion was part of the obverse, the order of the columns is left to right, giving a sequence of individual fields with price and additional payment, total of fields, and witnesses (with gifts). This is the expected order of the text.
**No. 43 Eshnuna Clay Tablet**

**Photographs:** Plates 75 and 77, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negatives N. 42203, 42204. Fragment with obv. ii is slightly misaligned.

**Copy:** Plates 76 and 78, copied by Green, assisted by Whiting.

**Synopsis:** Plates 112 and 113.

**Provenience:** Eshnuna (Tell Asmar)—found in locus E 15, a robber hole that was cut into the walls of the building that was called “Northern Palace” by the excavators. See Gelb, *MAD* 1 pp. xiv–xvii, and Delougaz et al., *OIP* 88 pp. 196 and 252. This tablet was found together with the twelve fragments published as no. 44.

**Date:** Sargonic.

**Language:** Akkadian.

**Present location:** Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, TA 1931, 5A, 4.

**Publication:** The fragments which have been joined to form this tablet were published individually in *MAD* 1 under the following numbers: 45 (TA 1931, 5A, 4 + 6A, 5), 50 (TA 1931, 6A, 1), 51 (TA 1931, 6A, 2 + 6), 52 (TA 1931, 6A, 3), and 58 (TA 1931, 6A, 9).

**Description:** Five fragments as published in *MAD* 1 have been joined after baking and cleaning to form a tablet which measures 17.4 x 18.6 x 3.9 cm. One of the joins was made by Westenholz, the rest by Whiting. All the fragments join physically, except for the left edge piece (*MAD* 1, 50), which, though it does not involve any overlapping text, still fits snugly in its proper place. Both left and right edges of the tablet are preserved, showing the entire width of the original. The upper and lower edges are not preserved, but in places the text is preserved to within a line or two of these edges. Adding the necessary 1.5–2 cm, the original tablet must have been square. The obverse is flat, the reverse rounded. More of the reverse is missing than of the obverse.

**Text:** The tablet is inscribed in six columns on the obverse and six columns on the reverse. The text contained a record of at least seventeen individual purchases of land. The name of the buyer is not preserved. The individual transactions occupy columns i through x. In column xi is found a summary of the prices paid and commodities given for the land. Presumably this summary also gave the total amount of land purchased and the name of the buyer. Column xii has only a brief inscribed portion which records the general location of the land purchased. There is no space in the text for a lengthy list of witnesses that is usually part of the ancient kudurru. Either the list of witnesses was very brief and occupied the end of column x or else no list of witnesses was included in this inscription.

**Sample Interpretation**

i 1–14: PN, PN₂, and PN₃ (= sellers) received 24 shekels of silver and 48 gsg of barley as the price of 36 iku of land, and 2 shekels of silver, 4 gsg of barley, 1 ½. axe, 6 SIG.GAN measures of wool, (and) 6 BA.AN containers; B₁, P₁, I₁ (received?) (it).
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

11) īš-ki-n[u-su]

12) [1 GIN 1 MA.NA.(TUR) KUG.BABBAR]

13) [2(GUR) 2(PI) 4(BAN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GșL]

14) [4 SĪ.G.GAN]

15) [4 BA.AN]

16) [PN]

17) [DUMU ši Ga-ra-az-ni-īš]

18) [PN]

19) [PN]

20) [DUMU PN2]

21) [im-ḥu-ra]

22) [x(IKU) GĀN]

23–24) [...] iii 1–9) [...] 10) [...] x3-a-h[u]

11) [Sā]-lim-a-ḫu

12) DUMU ši Ga-ra-az-ni-īš

13) im-ḥu-ru

14) [(EŠE) 2(IKU) GĀN]

15) šu DINGIR-GĀR

16) [ši]? Bu-lī-lī

17) [SĀM]-me-su

18) [12]+4 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL

19) īš-ki-n[u-su]

20) [1 MA.NA.(TUR) KUG. BABBAB]

21) 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL

22) [x] 1SĪ.G.GAN

23) [x BA.AN]

iv 1) [PN]

2) [im-ḥur]

14) [(EŠE) 2(IKU) GĀN]

15) šu DINGIR-GĀR

16) [ši]? Bu-lī-lī

17) [SĀM]-me-su

18) [12]+4 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL

19) īš-ki-n[u-su]

20) [1 MA.NA.(TUR) KUG. BABBAB]

21) 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GĀL

22) [x] 1SĪ.G.GAN

23) [x BA.AN]

iv 1) [PN]

2) [im-ḥur]

[its] additional payment is 1½ shekel of silver.

[2.2.4 gsg of barley].

[4 SĪ.G.GAN measures of wool],

[(and) 4 BA.AN containers];

[PN]

[son of PN2]

[Of PN3],

[(and) PN4]

[son of PN5],

[received (it)].

[x iku of land];

[(the property) of I.]

[Of]? B.1;

[its price is]

[16.5 gsg of barley;

[its additional payment is]

½ shekel of silver,

1. gsg of barley,

[(and) x BA.AN containers];

[PN]

[received (it)].

[12 iku] of land;

[its price is]

[8 shekels of silver]

[(and) 16.5 gsg of barley;

[its additional payment is]

½ shekel of silver,

[1.5 gsg of barley,

[1.2 gsg of barley,

[2 SĪ.G.GAN measures of wool,

[(and) 2 BA.AN containers;]

[PN]

[(received it)].

18 iku of land;

[its price is]

12 shekels of silver]
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

22) 24 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
23) iš-ki-nu-su
24) GIN 1 KUG.BABBAR
25) [2 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
26) [SIG.GAN]
27) [3 BA.AN]

1) [PN]
2) [PN₂]
3) [im-b[u-ra]]

4) 2(EŠE) [GÁN]
5) ŠAM-[su]
6) 8 GIN [KUG.BABBAR]
7) 16 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
8) iš-ki-nu-su
9) 2 MA.NA⟨.TUR⟩ KUG.
10) [GUR] 1(PR) 2(BÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
11) 2 SIG.[GAN]
12) 2 B[A.AN]
13) [PN]
14) [DUMU PN₂]
15) si′ . . .
16) [im-hur]

17) 1(BÚR) 1(EŠE) GÁN
18) ŠAM-su
19) 12 GIN KUG.BABBAR
20) 36 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
21) iš-ki-nu-su
22) 1 GIN 1 MA.NA⟨.TUR⟩ KUG.
23) 2(GUR) 2(PR) 4(BÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
24) 4 SIG.[GAN]
25) [4 BA.AN]
26) [PN]

vi 1) [DUMU PN₂]
2) [im-hur]

3) [x(IKU) GÁN]
4) [ŠÁM-su]
5) [x KUG.BABBAR]
6) [x ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
7) [iš-ki-nu-su]
8) [x KUG.BABBAR]
9) [x ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
10) [x SIG.GAN]
11) [x BA.AN]
12) [IS-ma]-DINGIR
13) [šu Za-a]b-tim
14) [Ir]-e³-um
15) [DUMU]³[PN]
16) [im-hu-r[a]

17) 2(EŠE) GÁN
18) ŠÁM-[su]

(1) 24. gsg of barley; its additional payment is
1 shekel of silver,
12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
Of . . . received (it).

12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
1,1,2 gsg of barley, 12 iku of land; its price is
8 shekels of silver;
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

19) 5 GIN KUG.BABBAR
20) 14(GUR) 1(PI) 2(BAN) [SE GUR.SAG.GAL]
21) [r21+[x . . .]]
22-26) ... shekels of silver]

Rev. vii 1-4) ...]
5) [im-hu-ru]

[received (it)].

6) [2(ESE) GÁN]
7) [su]SAG?-[. . .]
8) [ši Bar?-]DU-[. . .]
9) SÁM-su
10) 8 GIN KUG.BABBAR
11) 16 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
12) [iš-ki-nu-su]
13) 2 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG. BABBAR
14) 1(GUR) 1(PI) 2(BÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
15) [2]ŠI[G3].GAN
16) [f]21 BA.AN
17) [Ir-e-um]
18) DUMU [š]-má-DINGIR
19) [ši Za-ab-tim]
20) DINGIR-[ra]-bi1
21) [DUMU PN]
22) [im-hu-ra]

[received (it)].

23) [x(IKU) GÁN]
24-25) ...]

viii 1-7) ...]
8) ...]-X]-[. . .]
9) [SAL]-BALAG.DI
10) [X]-UD.DU-na
11) [im-hu-ru]

[x iku of land];

[PN],

the singer of lamentations,

[PN];

[PN]

[PN]

[PN]

[PN]

received (it).

12) [I(ESE) GÁN]
13) ŠÁM-su
14) 4 GIN KUG.BABBAR
15) 8 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
16) [iš-ki-nu-su]
17) [1 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG. BABBAR]
18) [2(PI) 4(BÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
19) [1 ŠI[G3].GAN]
20) [1 BA.AN]
21) [PN]
22) [DUMU PN]
23) [im-hu-ru]

[0.2.4 gsg of barley],

[1 SÍG.GAN measure of wool],

[(and) 1 BA.AN container];

[PN]

[PN]

[son of PN]

received (it).

24) [1(BÚR) 1(ESE) GÁN]
25) [ŠÁM-su]
26) [16 GIN KUG.BABBAR]
27) [32 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
ix 1) [iš-ki-nu-su]
2) [1 GIN 1 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG. BABBAR]

[24 iku of land];

[its price is]

[16 shekels of silver]

[(and) 32. gsg of barley];

[its additional payment is]

[1½ shekel of silver].
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

3) [2(GUR) 2(PI) 4(BÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL] [2.2.4 gsg of barley],

4) r41 [SÍG GAN] [41 [SÍG.GAN measures of wool],

5) 4 BA.[AN] (and) 4 BA.[AN] containers;

6) Tu-tu

7) šu Ib-la-NI-[x]

8) I-te-[...] (and) I.

9) DUMU [...] son of [PN]

10) [m-ḫu-ra] [received (it)].

11) [x(IKU) GÁN] [x iku of land];

12-22) [...] (rest destr., perhaps nothing missing)

23) [im-ḫur] [received (it)].

24) [1(BÚR) 1(EŠE) GÁN] [24 iku of land];

25) [ŠÁM-su] [its price is]

26) [16 GÍN KUG.BABBAR] [16 shekels of silver]

27) [32 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL] [and] 32 gsg of barley;

1) [iš-ki-nu-su] [its additional payment is]

2) [1 GÍN 1 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG.BABBAR] [1 1/3 shekel of silver],

3) r2(GUR) 2(PI) 4(BÁN) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL [2.2.4 gsg of barley],

4) 4 SÍG.GAN 4 SÍG.GAN measures of wool,

5) 4 BA.AN (and) 4 BA.AN containers;

6) [W]r-zum-tum [W.]

7) SAL.BALAG.DI the singer of lamentations,

8) KÁ₂, A K.,

9) [M]a-[a]-ga-ga [M.]

10) [PN] (and) PN

11) [DUMU PN₂] [son(s) of PN₂]

12) [im-ḫur] [received (it)].

(rest destr., perhaps nothing missing)

xi (beg. destr.)

1') ŠÁM 1 GÍN 1 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG.BABBAR (its) price is 1 1/3 shekel of silver;

2') ŠÚ.NIGÍN 40 MA.NA SÍG total of 40 pounds of wool—

3') ŠÁM 6 GÍN 2 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG.BABBAR (its) price is 6 2/3 shekels of silver;

4') ŠÚ.NIGÍN 20 SILÁ 1 total of 20 quarts of oil—

(rest destr.)

xii (beg. destr., perhaps nothing missing)

(blank)

1) GÁN Bi-ir-ti-in field of B.,

2) E+PAB At-li (located on) the A. canal

3) ū E+PAB PA.TE.SI (and on) the P. canal;

4) šu³ ḫb-me-ri₂ = ḫb-ri-me₂ (field) of GN.

(rest uninscribed)

Notes

iii 20 etc.—Even after a renewed collation of the tablets, we could find no trace of TUR after MA.NA; we must assume therefore that MA.NA stands for MA.NA(.TUR) in all the above cases. The sign TUR may have been omitted by the scribe because the context made the meaning of MA.NA as MA.NA.TUR explicit.

vi 12–13.—Reconstructed on the basis of vii 18–19.

ix 7.—Read perhaps ḫb-la-š-[ga], a nisbe of Ebla.

xii 2.—The same canal is mentioned in no. 42 iii 7'.

No. 44 Eshnuna Clay Fragments

Photographs: Plates 77–79, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, negative nos. 44a = N. 42201, 42202;
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

44b = N. 43969; 44c = N. 43966; 44d = N. 43945; 44e = N. 43968; 44f = N. 43948; 44g = N. 43963, 43964; 44h = N. 43946; 44i = N. 43947; 44j = N. 43947; 44k = N. 43965; 44l = N. 43962.

Copies: Plates 77–79, copied by Green, assisted by Whiting.

Synopsis: Plates 114 and 115.

Provenience: Eshnuna (Tell Asmar)—all texts were excavated “above the Northern Palace” at locus E 15, with the exception of MAD 1, 111, which comes from locus 16 (level unknown). The former pieces were found together with no. 43. Locus E 15 is a robber hole which cut into the walls of the building that was designated “Northern Palace” by the excavators. For a discussion of the find spots, see Gelb, MAD 1 pp. xiv–xvii, and Delougaz et al., OIP 88 pp. 196 and 252. For the field numbers, see the listing below.

Date: Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian.

Present location: Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago.

Publication: All the texts included here have been published individually in MAD 1. A number of improvements have been made in the present edition, mostly due to the baking and cleaning of the texts. For a concordance of the MAD 1 numbers of the texts, see the list below.

Description: All texts are on clay and all deal with multiple field transactions. All have a content similar to no. 43, but none of them belongs to that tablet. Although no physical joins can be made among these fragments, it is possible that some of them may be part of the same tablet. On the other hand, differences in textual characteristics such as column width, size, and style of the writing, and especially the size of the holes made with the end of the stylus for numbers, indicate that more than one tablet must have been involved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frag.</th>
<th>MAD 1</th>
<th>Field No.</th>
<th>Mst. (cm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>TA 1931, 1A, 24</td>
<td>4.3 x 4.3 x 1.7 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>TA 1931, 1A, 25</td>
<td>3.4 x 3.7 x 1.4 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>TA 1931, 1A, 35</td>
<td>1.8 x 2.8 x 1.6 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>TA 1931, 5A, 7</td>
<td>7.4 x 6.4 x 3.2 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>TA 1931, 6A, 18</td>
<td>5.8 x 7.5 x 2.5 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>TA 1931, 6A, 25</td>
<td>4.1 x 3.8 x 2.1 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>TA 1931, 12</td>
<td>2.7 x 2.8 x 1.7 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>TA 1931, 12A, 8</td>
<td>5.7 x 5.8 x 2.6 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>TA 1931, 12A, 9</td>
<td>4.6 x 4 x 1.5 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>TA 1931, 12A, 11</td>
<td>3.5 x 3.2 x 1.2 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>TA 1931, 10A, 21</td>
<td>6.3 x 7.4 x 2.2 (rev. flaked off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>TA 1931, 23</td>
<td>5.1 x 7.5 x 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Interpretation

44k ii' 5'-12': PN (= seller), son of PN2, received 10 bushels (of barley), corresponding to 10 shekels of silver, and 26. gsg of barley, as the price of 18 iku of land.

Transliteration

No. 44a

Obv. i' (beg. destr.)

1') [x ŠE GUR].SAG.GÁL
2') [I-I]-dan
3') [X]-tu-um
4') [A-h]-w-šu
5') [DUMU] Ga-NI-am-me-me
6') [x(IKU)] GÁN
7') [xG]IN KUG.BABBAR
8') [x]ŠE1 GUR.SAG.GÁ[L] (rest destr.)

ii' (traces of several lines)

Rev. (only small fragment of surface)

No. 44b

Obv. i' (beg. destr.)

1') A-bi-su
2') šu Û-hub

3') 2(EŠE) GÁN
4') [ŠÅM]-su
5') 8?(GUR) 1(PI) 4(BÁN) ŠE GUR
6') [ŠÅM 8? GÍN 1 MA.NA(.TUR) KUG.BABBAR] (rest destr.)

No. 44c

Obv. i' (beg. destr.)

1') [im]-ša-ra

2') [x(IKU) GÁN? (rest destr.)

ii' (beg. destr.)

1') Sa-lim-ša-[hu]
2') DUMU ši G[a]!-ra-az-[ni-iš] (rest destr.)

No. 44d

Obv. i' (beg. destr.)

1') [...] aš
2') [...] -sum
3') [...] -la
4') [...] -zu
5') [...] -DINGIR (rest destr.)

ii' (beg. destr.)

1') Be-šu-[da]
2') šu Iš-gu-[núm]?
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3') [I(ESE) GAN 20 S[AR]
4') ŠÁM-su
5') 20 LÁL 2 SE GU[R].S[AG.GÁL]
6') Li-m[u-[um]]?
(rest destr.)

No. 44e

i'
(beg. destr.)
1') [?-[?]-?-[?]b]-?-[?]bl
2') [DUMU']? Ū-ū
(rest destr.)

ii'
(beg. destr.)
1') [. . .]-[^X]-SU4
2') im-[ḫur-ra

3') 1(BÚR) 2(ESE) GÁN
4') ŠÁM-su
5') 10 GÍN KUG.BABBAR
6') 15 SE GUR
7') ŠÁM 15']GÍN KUG.BABBAR
8') [32]+3 [SE GUR.SAG.GÁL]
(rest destr.)

iii'
(beg. destr.)
1') ŠÁM 12 G[l(N] KUG.[BABBAR]
2') 40 LÁL 2 SE GUR.SAG.GÁL
3') Ma-[šum
4') šu l-[bi]-[bi]
5') im-[ḫur

6') 2(ESE) G[ĀN]
(rest destr.)

No. 44f

i'
(beg. destr.)
1') 2(ESE) GÁN
2') ŠÁM-su
3') 13 GÍN KUG.BABBAR
4') [12]+5 SE GUR.SAG.GÁL
5') [X]-ba-[X]
6') [. . .]-ḪUR-[. . .]
(rest destr.)

ii'
(almost completely destr.)

No. 44g

Obv.
(beg. destr.)
1') [x(IKU)] GÁN
2') [ŠÁM]-su
3') [x]+2 GÍN KUG.BABBAR
4') [20]+20 MA.NA SIG
5') ŠÁM 4]+2 GÍN 2'MA.NA[TUR] KUG.BABBAR
(rest destr.)

Rev.
(beg. destr.)
1') [I SIG],GAN
2') [. . .]-? Tišpak

3') [. . .]-sar
(rest destr.)

No. 44h

i'
(beg. destr.)
1') [šu] É
2') [I(ESE) GÁN
3') [Š]ÁM-su
4') [x]+1 SE GUR.SAG.GÁL
5') [Te-m]-?-tum
6') [DUMU:SA? L?][a]-li-tim
7') [. . .]-bu
8') [. . .]-si?-da
(rest destr.)

ii'
(beg. destr.)
1') [šu] É
2') ŠÁM 10 GÍN
3') 14 SE GUR.SAG.GÁL
4') Ša-a
5') SAL? BálAG.DI
6') dam-ḫur

iii'
(beg. destr.)
1') ŠÁM 12 G[l(N] KUG.[BABBAR]
2') 40 LÁL 2 SE GUR.SAG.GÁL
3') Ma-[šum
4') šu l-[bi]-[bi]
5') im-[ḫur

6') 2(ESE) G[ĀN]
(rest destr.)

No. 44i

Obv.
(beg. destr.)
1') [I SIG],GAN
2') [. . .]-? Tišpak
3') [šu? Ma-ga-ga
4') [ši] TE.LAL
5') 1 BA. AN ŠE
6') [I SIG],GAN
7') DINGIR-IGL.D[U]
8') SÁbra.ḪÉ
(rest destr.)

Rev.
(beg. destr.)
1') im-ḫu-ru
(blank)
2') GÁN E-AKKIL-tim
(blank)
3') [I SIG],GAN
4') [ši] TE.LAL
5') 1 BA. AN ŠE
6') [I SIG],GAN
7') DINGIR-IGL.D[U]
8') SÁbra.ḪÉ
(rest destr.)

No. 44j

Obv.
(beg. destr.)
1') im-ḫu-ru
(blank)
2') GÁN E-AKKIL-tim
(blank)
3') [I SIG],GAN
4') [ši] TE.LAL
5') 1 BA. AN ŠE
6') [I SIG],GAN
7') DINGIR-IGL.D[U]
8') SÁbra.ḪÉ
(rest destr.)

Rev.
(beg. destr.)
1') [I SIG],GAN
2') [. . .]-? Tišpak

3') [I SIG],GAN
4') [ši] TE.LAL
5') 1 BA. AN ŠE
6') [I SIG],GAN
7') DINGIR-IGL.D[U]
8') SÁbra.ḪÉ
(rest destr.)

No. 44k

Obv.
(beg. destr.)
1') [I SIG],GAN
2') [. . .]-? Tišpak
3') [I SIG],GAN
4') [ši] TE.LAL
5') 1 BA. AN ŠE
6') [I SIG],GAN
7') DINGIR-IGL.D[U]
8') SÁbra.ḪÉ
(rest destr.)
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4') [ŠÁM] [½ ŠA [3 G] ÎN KUG.BABBAR
(rest destruct.)
ii' (beg. destruct.)
1') ŠÁM 1+[x GÎN KUG.BABBAR]
2') Wel-tum
3') DUMU ši lr-e-um
4') ūm-hur
5') 1(BUR) GAN
6') ŠÁM-su
7') 10 ŠE GUR
8') ŠÁM 10 GÎN KUG.BABBAR
9') 26 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÁL
10') Ė-a
11') [DUMU G]a-li-l[i]̄
12') [im-hú]

No. 44 Assur Stone Fragment

Photograph: Plate 80—old photograph of the Staatliche Museen, Assur-Photo. S 5963.
Copy: None, collated by Westenholz.
Provenience: Assur—found in the area of the “Alter Palast” at the deepest level, corresponding to about levels H and G of the Ishtar temple, which are dated to the Sumerian-Sargonic periods. See W. Andrae, Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur (Leipzig, 1922) p. 9; E. Forrer, RLA 1 p. 230.
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian, though note the sequence x URUDU MA.NA.

Present location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, VA 5689 (formerly S 18208, on Assur-Photo. 5963).

Description: Described by E. Forrer, RLA 1, p. 230b, only a “steinerne Kaufurkunde Assur 18208 auf Assur-Photo. 5963.” From a photograph it has been possible to determine the size of the fragment as 6.1 × 6.3 cm. The reverse is completely broken away. Only part of one column with a left edge remains. Westenholz examined the stone and states in his letter that there may be “possibly traces of writing on the left edge.” In addition, Forrer, loc. cit., mentions a “Bruchstück (...) einer Stein?-Tafel [20876 on Assur-Photo. 6461] mit strichförmiger Keilschrift von vier Zeichen.”

Text: The eight preserved lines mention garments (TÜG. BAL) and 30 minas of copper which were presented as a gift (NÎG.BA) to the persons named in the following lines.

Transliteration

i' (beg. destruct.)
1') [In?]-zi?-b[a]-nim
2') A-Síi-a-li
3') DUMU Gi-šum
4') DUMU Be-líl-sa-tu
5') PA,TE.SI
6') Tu-tu-ub[1]

ii' (beg. destruct.)
1') 1 SIG.GAN
2') TÜG.BAL
3') DUMU A-bu-lum
4') ši! Lu-ga-tim
5') 1 BA.AN ŠE
6') 1 SIG.GA[N]
7') Is-lam-G[I]?

iii' (beg. destruct.)
1') PAB+E [...]
2') L-[...
3') šu L[i?...]
4') M[u...]
5') Šu[i...]

Rev. (rev. is ruled into 3 cols. but is blank)

Notes

44c ii' 1'-2'.—The reconstruction of these two lines is based on no. 43 iii 11-12.
44e i' 2'.—For the name Ū-ū, see MAD 5, 98 ii 5.
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Present location: Iraq Museum (Baghdad), IM 24684, located through the special efforts of Dr. Beijeh Khalil Ismail.

Publication: Van Dijk, TIM 9, 97.

Description: Fragment of a stone vessel measuring (with writing vertical) ca. 7.7 x 8.5 cm.

Text: The fragment contains portions of two columns. The sign 'Y' which follows LI.R "scented oil" in ii' 3' apparently denotes a capacity measure or a container, but none of the measures or containers (such as dug, šagan, and ā-gam) usually used in connection with oils fits the traces (see the photograph). However, the sign in question could conceivably be read as umbin?, the container used for i-udu "sheep oil" in nos. 14 and 15 (see note to no. 14 i 7).

Transliteration

\[ i' \quad \text{(beg. destr.)} \]
\[ 1') \quad [\ldots] \text{I} \cdot \text{X}' \cdot \text{L} \]
\[ 2') \quad [\ldots] \text{T} \cdot \text{T}' \text{P} \]
\[ \text{(rest destr.)} \]
\[ ii' \quad \text{(beg. destr.)} \]
\[ 1') \quad [\ldots] \text{S} \cdot \text{I} \cdot \text{W} \cdot \text{G} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{N} \cdot \text{A} \]
\[ 2') \quad \text{T}' \text{P} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{G} \]
\[ 3') \quad \text{L} \cdot \text{I} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{X}' \]
\[ 4') \quad \text{N} \cdot \text{I} \cdot \text{G} \cdot \text{B} \cdot \text{A} \cdot \text{S} \]
\[ 5') \quad \text{M} \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{M}' \cdot \text{X}' \]
\[ \text{(rest destr.)} \]

No. 47 UM 32-40-436

Photograph: Plate 80, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, print nos. P64233 and P64234—the inscription on loan from the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Copy: Plate 80, copied by Steinkeller.

Provenience: Ur—surface find at the site Diqdiqqah, 2 km northeast of the ziggurat at Ur, field no. U 17717. See L. Woolley, "UE 4 p. 186. For Diqdiqqah, see Woolley and Mallowan, UE 7 pp. 81-87.

Date: Pre-Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian(?).


Description: Fragment of a light-gray limestone(?) tablet measuring 8.1 x 6.2 x 2.7 cm. The lower edge is preserved; the reverse is broken away. The surface slopes down gently toward the lower edge.

Text: The inscription consists only of ten signs preserved on the bottom portions of two columns. One noteworthy feature is the sequence KUG \( \frac{1}{2} \) MA.NA, paralleled only in no. 39 ii' 3', in Sumerian.

This text was kindly communicated to us by Westenholz.

Transliteration

\[ i' \quad \text{(beg. destr.)} \]
\[ 1') \quad [\ldots] \text{X}' \]
\[ 2') \quad [\ldots] \text{D} \cdot \text{U} \]

No. 48 BM 91068


Copy: Plates 82 and 84, copy by T. G. Pinches, provided through the courtesy of E. Sollberger.

Provenience: Sippar (Abū Habba)—see C. B. F. Walker and D. Collon in L. de Meyer, ed., Tell ed-Dēr 3 (Leuven, 1980) p. 103 no. 66 and p. 111. On the reverse is a later, Neo-Babylonian, inscription stating that the document is the property of Shamash, chief god of Sippar.

Date: Sargonic.

Language: Akkadian.

Present location: British Museum (London), BM 91068 (= 82-7-14, 1045).


Description: Thin, light-buff limestone slab measuring 23 x 24.5 x 2.7-3.7 cm. All four edges are preserved.

Text: There are nine columns of writing on the obverse, with about 21-24 lines each. There are only three inscribed columns on the right side of the reverse. Its surface is so badly worn that very little of the inscription can be read. The left side of the reverse contained only a later, Neo-Babylonian, addition. See below.

The beginning of column i is lost. What is visible in the rest of the column is the object of the transaction, \([x]\) GĀN “x land,” its price expressed in 10 ŠE GUR “10 bushels of barley” and possibly other commodities, and some unreadable names of the sellers(?). In column ii several sections deal with \([x]\) TŪG.SU.A PN “[x] SU.A cloth (of/for) PN,” that is, x SU.A clothes paid to PN as the additional payment. From column iii to ix 7 there is a list of originally about sixty-four witnesses, subsumed as AB+ĀS,AB+ĀS ḌUPU?-\([x]\) “witnesses of PN.” The name of each witness is preceded by a single wedge, and is identified by a profession or as LŪ PN “of (the household of) PN” or, occasionally, as DUMU PN “son of PN.” A similar list of originally about twenty names from ix 8 to rev. ii 9 ends with AB+ĀS,AB+ĀS AB-za-\( \cdot \)x\( ^{\text{MKI}} \) “witnesses of Ab-za-\( \cdot \)x,” It is tempting to identify this geographical name with the one written AB-za-an\( ^{\text{KI}} \), AB-sa-an\( ^{\text{KI}} \), and AB-za-an\( ^{\text{KI}} \) in the Old Babylonian geographical lists (see, for instance, McEwan, WO 11 [1980] p. 162, and MSL 11 p. 102 line 180 and p. 140 ii 1), or AB-sa-an\( ^{\text{KI}} \) and AB-sa-\( ^{\text{KI}} \) in the late versions of the Cruciform Monument (see Sollberger, JEOL 20 [1968] p. 56). The latter sources place Apšan in the general area of later Opis, near Baghdad. The occurrence of this geographical name in
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our kudurru would help in circumscribing its area to northern Babylonia.

The readable names in these two lists of witnesses are A-hu-3u (iii 19'), Ur-ur (iv 4, vi 3, vii 13), Du-du (iv 11), I-ri-sum (iv 12), Ur-ezen (iv 14), IGI.SA4 (iv 16), [S]aru-ru-ru (iv 19), A-ba-<i>i</i>-lam (v 6, 14), Lü-44X-da (v 17), I-lu-lu (v 18), Lü-10XEn<sup>+</sup>Il? (vi 8), A-SI.A LÜ.Ü.UTU (vi 13–14), I-ti-lum (vi 15), La-gi-um (vii 9), and SES 1Pū-pū<sup>i</sup> (vii 14).

In the second half of rev. ii there are about five illegible lines, followed by: [1 X]-bu, [L]U [Z]u-<i>zu</i>, 1 Pū-<i>Il</i>, LÜ <i>BĀD</i>-<i>si</i>, AB+AS, A-<i>J</i>. . . "[X]-bu of (the household of) [Z]uju; Pu-Il of (the household of) BĀD-si, the witness of A. (a GN?)."

Column iii lists personal names that are not preceded by a Personenkeil but are qualified by a profession and the genealogical relationship DUMU “son” or SAL. DUMU “daughter” or the designation LÜ PN “of (the household of) PN.” This list of names is identified in lines 14–15 as GURUS.GURUS 1PN<sup>i</sup> “men of 1PN<sup>i</sup>.”

For a possible occurrence of the preposition āš-ti (rev. iii 8), see discussion of no. 26 under Text.

The interpretation of the last three lines of rev. iii is the most tantalizing. We can read 1SĀ/KI GĀN<sup>i</sup> “in(?) the field,” followed by NĪG.SĀM “price,” followed by IN. 1GĀR<sup>i</sup> MU<sup>i</sup>. MU<sup>i</sup>. To judge from the parallel NĪG.SĀM PN at the end of no. 37, we expect that the signs in the last line should stand for the name of the buyer.

In the empty space of the reverse are two lines (written upside down) of text) in Neo-Babylonian script: NĪG.GA 4UTU šā [TŪM(-lu)], MU-sā lih-liq “property of Šamaš; whosoever [removes it] may his name perish.”

**Transliteration**

Rev. ii
1') [1 X]-bu
2') [L]U [Z]u-<i>zu</i>
3') 1 Pū-<i>Il</i>
4') LÜ <i>BĀD</i>-<i>si</i>
5') AB+AS
6') A-<i>J</i> . . .

Rev. iii
1') DUMU<sup>i</sup>
2) I-<i>lu</i>-<i>lu</i>
3') GĪR<sup>i</sup>? <i>BĀD</i><sup>i</sup>
4) DUMU
5) Da-da
6) I<sup>b</sup>-<i>bu</i>-<i>bu</i>
7) LÜ <i>Kag-gū</i>-<i>tum</i>
8) āš-ti
9) LU GAR MA
10) SAL.DUMU
11) ...<i>li</i>-<i>li</i>-<i>[i]</i>
12) SANGA
13) Ū-<i>šu</i>-<i>ti</i>
14) GURUS.GURUS
15) NĪG<sup>i</sup>.<i>SA</i>
16) SĀ/KI GĀN<sup>i</sup>
17) NĪG.SĀM
18) IN!GĀR<sup>i</sup>.<i>MU</i>.<i>MU</i>!

No. 49 BM 90909

Photographs: Plate 85, British Museum (PS 097078).
Copy: Plate 86, copied by Steinkeller from a photograph and collations by K. Maekawa.
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.

Present location: British Museum (London), BM 90909 (previously BM 12037).
Description: Fragment of a limestone slab measuring 8 x 10.5 x 5 cm. One side is inscribed, the other is defaced.
Text: In its present condition, the inscription is preserved in portions of four columns. It is impossible to tell whether it represents the obverse or the reverse.
This text was kindly communicated to us by C. B. F. Walker.

**Transliteration**

i' (completely destr.)
ii' (beg. destr.)
1') [ . . ]
2') I.DINGIR-su-ra-bi
3') DUMU hr-ra-<i>Il</i>?
4') [. . ]-LU?
 (rest destr.)
iii' (beg. destr.)
1') [SI]G? 1 MA.NA K[UG?.BABBAR?]
2') NĪG.KI.GAR GA[N]
3') 1 ĀB
4') a-na NĪG.SĀM
5') 1 GĪGIGIR
 (rest destr.)
iv' (beg. destr.)
1') 2+x? . . .
 (rest destr.)

No. 50 BM 33429

Photographs: Plate 85, British Museum (PS 097079, 097080).
Copy: Plate 86, copied by Steinkeller from photographs and collations by K. Maekawa and Whiting.
Provenience: Registered as coming from Babylon.
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.

Present location: British Museum (London), BM 33429 (= Rm III 106).
Description: Fragment of a dark-gray irregular stone slab measuring 6.8 x 13.5 x 6.8 cm. Preserved are the portions of both sides. The original shape of the piece cannot be determined.
Text: The inscription is preserved on two sides of the stone (classified here as Sides A and B), each side bearing three columns of writing. Since Side B lists the totals of commodities, it is certain that it recorded the
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end of the inscription. However, the exact relationship of Side A to Side B cannot be determined. This text was kindly communicated to us by C. B. F. Walker.

Transliteration

Side A

i' (beg. destr.)
1') [. . .] 'I' UDÚ?
2') [. . .] 'I' NG? BA
ii' (beg. destr.)
1') [. . .-u]m?
2') KA-ME-IR
3') 'I-zu-GÍD
4') [. . .] 'I' XÍ-LUM

iii' (beg. destr.)
1') LU.' TÚG?
2') 'I-nin-me-sum
3') Barag'-ga-mes?
4') 'I-m-šu-rú
5') 'I DUMU [. . .]

Side B

i' (3? lines destr.)
1') ŠU.NIGÍN '3 GĪN? I.NUN?I
2') ŠU.NIGÍN 6' x6? MA.NA6 'x6 URUDU

ii' (several lines destr., numbers only)
1') ŠU.NIGÍN 40+ [x? . . . ]

iii' 1) 'SAG? [. . . ]
(rest destr.)

Notes

Side A iii' 2':—Note that the sign ŠUM is broken up into two parts.

No. 51 BM 45593

Photograph: Plate 85, British Museum (PS 097081).
Copy: Plate 86, copied by Steinkeller from a photograph and collations by Maekawa.
Provenience: Supposedly from Cuthah—the tablet was marked 'TI (= Tell Ibrahim = Cuthah).
Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.
Present location: British Museum (London), BM 45593 (= 71-7-1, 3354).
Description: Fragment of a light-gray alabaster (?) cylinder, originally about 9 or 10 cm in diameter. Measurements are 3.6 x 5.7 x 2.4 cm.
Text: Portions of two columns are preserved, one of which is inscribed and the other blank. Of the inscribed column, only one line remains: ŠU.NIGÍN 30+[10] plus a small circle. In the line below, now almost completely obliterated, two circles representing the number 20 are still visible.

The information concerning this fragment was kindly communicated to us by C. B. F. Walker.

No. 52 BM 139507

Photograph: Plate 85.
Copy: Plate 86, copied by Green.
Provenience: Unknown—in answer to our query, C. B. F. Walker writes:

We have no information on the provenance of this particular item, but while registering it Julian [Reed] noticed that it had a small red number '91' painted on it. Such numbers are also found on items from George Smith's Daily Telegraph expedition, so it is possible that this stone was brought back on that occasion.

Date: Sargonic.
Language: Akkadian.
Description: Fragment of gray limestone, measuring 12 x 11 x 6 cm.

Transliteration

Rev. i' (beg. destr.)
1') [. . .-DINGIR
2') [. . .-z]um
3') [. . .-NI]
4') [. . .]
(rest destr.)
iid' (beg. destr.)
1') 'I Mašum
2') DUMU PÚ.SA4-Za-ba4-ba4
3') 'I-sa-ru-um
4') DUMU Du-du
5') 'I Nu-ru
6') DUMU [. . .]
7') [. . .]
(rest destr.)
iid' (beg. destr.)
1') D[U MU]/'A[RÁD][. . . ]
2') 'I Ė-. . . ] KISAL [. . . ]
3') 'I ARÁD [. . . ]
4') 'I DIN[GI]-[. . . ]
5') 'A[RÁD][. . . ]
(rest destr.)
CHAPTER 4
INDEXES TO ANCIENT KUDURRUS

These indexes list the personal, divine, geographical, and professional names found in the ancient kudurrus, with the exclusion of the archaic kudurrus nos. 1-9. Note that in these indexes primes are not indicated in the references and italics are not employed to distinguish Akkadian from Sumerian words in the transliterations.

4.1. Personal Names

A-a-BE: [PN DUMU] Gi-x1-ra ši A-a-BE, 42 iii 2
A-a-[ . . . ] UK[U.GAL], 16d A iii 4
A-ar-DINGIR DUMU Pù-ba-lum SIPA . . . DUMU. DUMU Ir-ra-ra, 40 A iv 13
EN.ZU-si DUMU A-ar-DINGIR ši Pù-ba-lum . . . DUMU.DUMU Ir-ra-ra, 40 A iv 17
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  gi₄₄-
  . .]
  see under PNs

dAŠ.(SAR+DIS)-gi₄₄, see PNs Sag-dAš₄-gi₄₄-da, Ur-fdAš₄-L[
  gi₄₄-
  . .]
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  Ba-ba, see PN Su-Ba-ba

dDa-gan, see PNs I-ti-dDa-gan, Pū-dDa-gan, and Su-
  dDa-gan
dDUB-an, see PN Ur-dDUB-an
dDumu-zi, see PN Ur-dDumu-zi-da

É-a, see PNs A-ku-É-a, BALA-É-a, É-a-GÚ, É-a-ra-bi,
  En-na-É-a, Ga-la-ab-É-a, I-ku-É-a, I-ti-É-a, Ik-ru-
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dEn-li, see PNs Lú-dEn-li₄₄, Lugal-dEn-li₄₄, and Ur-
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  dar, Su-Eš₄-dar, and [X]-fX₀-Eš₄-dar
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  Su-Ma-ma, and Ur-Ma-ma
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dMUŠ, see PN Ur-dMUŠ
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4.4 Professions and Titles

[A:].ZU (asūm) "physician," 30a i 11
AB+ĀŠ.URUK (šibû alilm) "city elder," 38 ii 5
AB+ĀŠ.URU GN, 40 A vii 12-13, vii 11-12, x 14-15
AB+ĀŠ.AB+ĀŠ, see NU.BANDA AB+ĀŠ.AB+ĀŠ
a-bi URU ElamK, (gen.), 40 B xii 4–5
ad-KID (akkuppu) "reed-mat maker," see GN gān
É-ad-KID
agrig (baraakkum) "steward," 15 L. E. 15
AGRIG d-Abz-is-da-gal, 40 C xix 26
AGRIG, see under PNs
arād (wardum) "slave," App. to no. 32 vii 4
arād-gēmē, App. to no. 32 vii 7
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ašgab (aškāpum) "leather worker," 21 i 35; App. to no. 32 vi 11

BALAG.DI, see SAL.BALAG.DI

DAM.GAR (tamkārum) "merchant," 40 B xii 1, xiv 7
DI.TAR (daṭajum) "judge," 40 C xiv 21
dub-sar (tupsārum) "scribe," 21 iii 5, 34; 40 A xii 3, xiv 7, B xiv 16, xv 2, C xiv 7, xvi 6, xvii 24, D ii 8
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DUMU LUGAL (mar'u šarrim) "prince," 40 D vi 12; 41
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enāgar ṣš, 10:5
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17–18 (ki durūn-durūn; five men); 15 i 27–28 (four
men), ii 26–27 (four men), iii 24–25 (four men), iv
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(four men), vii 27–28 (four men), ix 28–x 1 (four
men), x 27–28 (four men), xiii 14–15 (four men), xiv
10–11 (four men), L. E. 8–9 (four men)
enši (ensūm, šā'ilum) "dream-interpreter," 40 A xv 27

gal-nigir "chief herald," 12 Adscription to Side B
see nigir
GAL.SUKKAL "senior messenger," 40 A xi 11, C xvi 22
see sukkal
see under PNs

gal-ukkin "chief of the assembly," 12 Adscription to
Side B
gal-ukû "military commander," 16d A iii 5; 40 A iv 9,
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gal-ukû ir ē-sā-ša-ga, 23 obv. x 6–7; App. to nos. 22–23
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gemē (amētum) "slave woman," App. to no. 32 vii 6
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GIR.NITA (Sum. šaqina, Akk. šakkanakkum) "governor-
general," 40 A xi 14
GIR.NITA LÚ.GIŠ.GIŠ.DA, 40 A xii 13–14
GIR.NITA LÚ.GIŠ.TI, 40 A xii 5–6
GIŠ.KIN.TI, see NU.BANDA GIŠ.KIN.TI
gu-li-zum "ox driver," see under PNs
gu-li-zi, see under GNs
GU.SUR.NUN "field assessor," 20 iii 9, v 9, vi 5

GURUŠ-TAB (barālum) "bachelor," 32 v 8; 33 i 5

I-DU.DU (muraqqi'um) "perfumer," 39 ii 4
dl-udu (atūm) "gatekeeper," 33 rev. iii 8
IB (meaning unknown), App. to no. 32 vii 13
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IR "servant"
ir enE-si-[GAR]3, App. to nos. 22–23 vii 1
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IŠ (Akk. kizūm) "equerry," 40 A vi 18
iššub (išippu) "purification priest"
iššub GIN-giš-su, 20 rev. ii 2

KUG.DIM (kuttimmum) "silversmith," see under PNs
kug-gāl (guggalum) "canal inspector," 15 xiv 16; 41 rev.
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kurušā (mūrum) "animal fattener," 33 rev. i 4
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lū-aššālāG (GIŠ.TŪG.KAR.DU) (aššākum) "bleacher, "ful-
eler," 33 rev. i 2
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LÚ.ĒS.GIŠ (sādid aslîm) "surveyor," 40 C xiv 2, xvii 10
lū-gān-gīd-da (sādid aslîm) "field surveyor," 23 obv. xi 5;
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LÚ.GI (meaning unknown), 40 A xii 3, B xiv 1
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see under PNs

LÚ.KAS₄ (lásimum) “courier,” see under PNs
lú-še-il “grain-carrier,” App. to no 32 vii 8
lú?.TUG₄ “tailor,” 50 Side A iii 1
lú-țų (rakkabum) “mounted messenger”
lú-țų AksakKI, App. to nos. 22–23 vi 8–9

lugal (šarrum) “king,” 21 i 22; 41 ii 12
lugal LAGAS, 20 i 6, ii 9, iv 10
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MÁ.LAḪ₄ (maláhum) “boatsman,” 40 D iv 1
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MU, see muhaldim
muhaldim (Akk. muhatimmum) “cook,” 40 A x 12 muhaldim lú-banšur-ıll, 33 iii 3–4

NA.GADA (nágıdum) “shepherd,” see under PNs
nagar (naggárum) “carpenter,” App. to no. 32 vii 9; 40 B xiii 4
[n]agar-gal, 24 rev. iv 5
nār (nårum) “singer/musician,” 15 v 13
see under PNs

nigir (nigırum) “herald,” 21 iii 3 nigir-gal, 19 rev. i 3 see gal-nigir
see under PNs

NIN (belatum) “Lady,” “Queen,” see under PNs
NU.BANDA (laputtum) “overseer,” 40 C xvii 20, xvi 3, xviii 3

NU.BANDA AB+ÁŠ.AB+ÁŠ, 40 A xv 4
nu-bandā e-gal, 23 obv. x 2
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NU.BANDA É-mar-zaKI, 40 C xvi 17
NU.BANDA És-na-na-akKI, 40 C xvi 14
NU.BANDA GIŠ.KIN.TI, 40 C xvi 14
NU.BANDA LÚ.GI₄, 40 C xvii 26
NU.BANDA MÁ.GUR₄, 40 C xv 24 [nu]-banda Mar-tu-[n]e, 24 rev. iii 8
NU.BANDA Ša-at-bar-ri-imKI, 40 C xii 2–3
NU.BANDA Ša-na-e, 40 A xiv 3, xv 10
NU.SAR (nakaribbum) “gardener”
NU.SAR GIŠ.SAR PAB.PAB, 32 vii 15–17

PA.TE.SI, see en₃-si
pab-šēş (paṭšūm) (a type of priest), 22 iii 5; 41 vii 11, rev. ii 10
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PAB.ŠĒS ʻIninn, 16d B iii 1–2
pab-šēş ʻSara, 12 Adscription to Side A
see under PNs

RÈC-349.A.TU (meaning unknown), App. to no. 32 v 9

sabra (ṣapīrum) “majordomo,” “temple steward”
SABRA.É, 40 A xi 18; 44i 8
see GN gān₁ É-dur₂-sabra
see under PNs

sag-du₄ (ṣassukkum) “field recorder,” 20 iii 8, v 11; 21 i 5; 22 iv 6, [16a], 50; 40 B v 1, C xiv 12
sag-du₄ UmmaKI, 21 i 2–3, ii 4–5
see GN gān sag-[du₄-ka]
sagī (ṣāqītum) “cupbearer,” 33 ii 2, 4, rev. iii 6; 40 A xii 3
SAL.BALAG.DI (ṣāḥītum) “singer of laments,” 43 viii 9, x 7; 44h v 5
sanga (ṣangüm) “temple-administrator,” 14 vii 8; 48 rev. iii 12
SANGA 4A-ba₄ I-bi-riKI, 40 A xv 19–20
sanga Kēš, App. to no. 32 ii 12, v, vi 3
SANGA 4Lugal-Mār-da, 40 C xiv 24–25, xvii 18–19
SANGA 4Za-ba₄-ba₄, 40 A vii 20, ix 8
[SAN]G[4], 30a i 8
sanga ʻX₄.GAR/KAG, 19a rev. i 1
see under PNs

SIG₄ (meaning unknown), 14 iv 8
SILĀ.ŠU.DU₄, see sagī
simug (nappāhum) “smith,” 21 i 31; 33 rev. iv 4
SIMUG A-a-gēKI, 41 rev. vii 16–17
SIPA (rējīm) “shepherd,” 38 iii 3, 5; 40 A iv 15, B xvi 6, xiii 10
sukkal (ṣekkalum) “messenger,” “secretary,” 33 iii 8, iv 2 see GAL.SUKKAL

šagina, see GIR.NITA
ŠES LUGAL (ahu šarrim) “brother of the king,” 40 A xi 1
[ŠE]Š [PA.TE.SI (ahu iššiakkim) “brother of the governor,” 30b i 3
šu-i (gallābūm) “barber,” 33 iii 6; 40 A xii 17
see under PNs

TE.GAL (possibly tiru, Akk. tērum “servant”), 21 i 38
TE.LAL (= gallum) “policeman,” see under PNs
TE.LAL.GAL (= galla-gal) “senior policeman,” see under PNs

ugula (waklum) “foreman,” 40 B x 5, 7
ugula anšē, 15 vi 17, vii 13, ix 1
ugula e-me-[a (x)], App. to nos. 22–23 vii 3
ugula-e, App. to no. 32 viii 6
UGULA KA-zi-ra-akKI, 40 C xv 7
ugula-ukkin, 12 Adscription to Side B
ŪH.INNIN (written INNIN.ŪH) (uruhhum) “undertaker,” 30b ii 4
UKU.GAL, see gal-ukū
um-me “master scribe(?)”
um-me ṭIR, 13 rev. iii 2
um-mi-a (ummičum) “master scribe,” App. to no. 32 ix 2
UM.MI.A DUB.SAR, 40 A xi 7–8

[ŠE]Š.LUGAL, 31 iv 5
CHAPTER 5

LISTING OF ANCIENT KUDURRUS AND SALE DOCUMENTS

The following three listings offer a bird’s-eye view of the main features of all the ancient kudurrus and purchase/sale transactions on clay.

5.1. Listing of Ancient Kudurrus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Material and Form</th>
<th>Size in cm</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lg. x wd. x th.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Hoffman Tablet</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Black stone</td>
<td>9.1 8.9</td>
<td>1.0–2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Walters Tablet</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Reddish stone</td>
<td>6.5 6.5</td>
<td>0.8–2.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Philadelphia Tablet</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Greenish-black stone</td>
<td>7.2 7.4</td>
<td>0.8–1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Louvre Tablet</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Light-green onyx</td>
<td>4.0 4.0</td>
<td>2.0–4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Yale Tablet I</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Black stone</td>
<td>7.7 7.7</td>
<td>1.0–2.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Yale Tablet II</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Light-brown stone</td>
<td>8.8 8.8</td>
<td>0.5–2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Leiden Tablet</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Black stone</td>
<td>10.0 9.5</td>
<td>0.5–3.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 Sheep(?) Figurine</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Stone figurine in the shape of a recumbent sheep(?)</td>
<td>4.0 11.0 4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Khafajah Bird</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Tutub</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Schist(?) figurine of a lion-headed bird</td>
<td>25.0 9.5 3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Blau Obelisk</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Greenish serpentine or dark shale(?)</td>
<td>18.0 4.3 1.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 Blau Plaque</td>
<td>Uruk III</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Greenish serpentine(?) or dark shale(?)</td>
<td>15.9 7.2 1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Ushumgal Stela</td>
<td>ED I–II</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Light to dark brown gypsum</td>
<td>22.0 14.0 9.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 RA VI p. 143</td>
<td>Fara or</td>
<td>Shuruppak(?)</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Light-buff limestone</td>
<td>10.5 10.0 4.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earlier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14 Chicago Stone</td>
<td>Fara or early Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Black basalt</td>
<td>25.0 32.0</td>
<td>2.5–5.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Baltimore Stone</td>
<td>Fara or early Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Reddish-brown stone slab</td>
<td>25.0 26.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Kish Stone Fragments I</td>
<td>Kish</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragments of a white limestone cube(?)</td>
<td>12.0 12.0 12.0 (estimated)</td>
<td>9.2 6.9 3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 Kish Stone Fragment II</td>
<td>Kish</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a red stone slab</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.4 12.8 3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Figure aux Plumes</td>
<td>ED I–II</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>White limestone tablet</td>
<td>15.7 13.4 3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Lagash Stela</td>
<td>ED I–II</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a gray limestone stela</td>
<td>? 21.0 ?</td>
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<tr>
<td>19a DC II p. XXXV 3</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a black stone</td>
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<td>7.8 11.5 2.0–5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>19b Cros, NFT p. 222</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a black stone slab</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.0 9.3 2.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Enēgal Tablet</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Light-buff limestone</td>
<td>12.4 12.8 3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Lupat Statue</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Dark-gray diorite</td>
<td>42.0 30.0 20.0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22 Lummatur Tablet I</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Black stone</td>
<td>32.5 23.0 3.0–8.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 Lummatur Tablet II</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Light-buff limestone (reconstructed)</td>
<td>52.0 40.0 8.2</td>
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EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

5.1. Listing of Ancient Kudurrus—continued

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Size in cm</th>
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<td>App. to nos. 22-23 = no. 144 Bibl. Mes. III 10</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Girshu</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Fragment of a limestone tablet</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>White gypsum</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a red stone tablet</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragments of a buff limestone tablet</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a dark-gray shale or slate tablet</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Sumerian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a buff “schist” tablet</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>limestone fragment, about (\frac{1}{3}) of the original of c. 62.5 cm diameter</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30b IM 57944</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Akkadian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a slate tablet</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30c A 33678</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Fragment of a black shale tablet</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Adab</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of an alabaster tablet</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Adab</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Fragment of a clay tablet</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. to nos. 32 = Mesopotamia VIII pp. 68f.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Adab</td>
<td>Akkadian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a clay tablet</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Kish(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Gray, soft limestone slab</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>Unfinished</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a reddish “syenite” tablet</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Unfinished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a limestone slab</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>Said to be from Sippar</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Dilbat(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a light-buff limestone tablet</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>Said to be from Dilbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Limestone, c. (\frac{1}{2}) preserved</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>Said to be from Sippar</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Girshu(?)</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Fragment of a light-buff stone</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Black diorite</td>
<td>144.0</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a limestone slab, less than (\frac{1}{3}) of original</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>Said to be from northern Babylonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Eshnuna</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a black diorite tablet</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Eshnuna</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>17.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Eshnuna</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>12 fragments</td>
<td>18.6</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Assur</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a stone tablet</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a stone vessel</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Ur</td>
<td>Akkadian(?)</td>
<td>Fragment of a light-gray limestone(?) tablet</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Light-buff limestone slab</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Sippar(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a limestone slab</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Registered as from Sippar</td>
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5.1. Listing of Ancient Kudurrus—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Language</th>
<th>Material and Form</th>
<th>Size in cm</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>50 BM 33429</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Babylon(?)</td>
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<td>Fragment of a dark-gray</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Registered as from Babylon</td>
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<tr>
<td>51 BM 45593</td>
<td>Sargonic</td>
<td>Cuthah(?)</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a gray</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Marked as from Cuthah</td>
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<td>52 BM 139507</td>
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<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Fragment of a gray</td>
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5.2. Listing of Sale Documents

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<th>Object of Sale</th>
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<td>100 Fara III 30</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
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<tr>
<td>101 Fara III 31</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
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<tr>
<td>102 TS 56</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
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<tr>
<td>103 TSH V 71</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>104 RTC 13</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 RAS XXXII p. 126</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>106 De Marcellis</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>2 houses</td>
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<td>107 IM 14182</td>
<td>Fara</td>
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<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>House</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>108 Fara III 32</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109 Fara III 33</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>110 Fara III 34</td>
<td>Fara</td>
<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Field</td>
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<tr>
<td>111 Fara III 36</td>
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<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Field</td>
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### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 5.2. Listing of Sale Documents—continued

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#### Notes
- **Self-sale**
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- **Bovid**: Bovid
- **Orchard**: Orchard
- **Unknown**: Unknown
5.2. Listing of Sale Documents—continued

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5.3. Concordance of Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents

This section contains all references to ancient kudurrus and sale documents that were cited in the previous sections, 5.1 and 5.2. The entries include the sigla used in these two sections and the publications in which the sources were published. Unpublished sources are cited by the name of the museum in which they are housed.
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

5.3. Concordance of Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents—continued

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DC II p. LIVf.
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IM 56506
IM 57944
IM 58820
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IM 61706

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## ANCIENT KUDURRUS

### 5.3. Concordance of Ancient Kudurrus and Sale Documents—continued

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CHAPTER 6

STRUCTURE AND TYPOLOGY OF ANCIENT KUDURRUS AND SALE DOCUMENTS

6.1. Introductory Remarks

This chapter studies the general composition of the ancient kudurrus and clay sale documents. Our main objective here will be to distinguish the patterns underlying the internal structure of these texts. As far as the kudurrus are concerned, each document is treated separately. Excluded from the discussion are only those kudurrus which are either unintelligible (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19a, 19b, and 20) or are not preserved sufficiently to judge their entire structure (nos. 17, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30a, 30b, 31, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51). Regarding the sale documents, patterns representative for groups of several texts each are established. Whenever it deems significant, the deviations from the respective patterns are noted. Not taken into consideration are a number of texts which lack a clearly defined pattern (nos. 154, 155, 156, 163, 166, 167, 180, 182a, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 210, 211, 212, 213, and 224).

6.2. Structure and Typology of Kudurrus

Nos. 14 Chicago Stone and 15 Baltimore Stone

The Chicago Stone and the Baltimore Stone record sixteen and seventeen transactions, respectively, pertaining to the purchase of fields from different sellers by presumably the same buyer. The two inscriptions were unquestionably written at the same time, at the same place, and for the same occasion. This is demonstrated by the use of the same sign-forms, the identical formulary, and the occurrence of the same field and personal names in both inscriptions. Since the name of the buyer is not stated in either text, it seems likely that they were originally accompanied by yet another inscription (or inscriptions) which recorded additional transactions and ended with the name of the buyer. The individual transactions use two basic structures (Structures 1 and 2), with each showing further variations, such as the use of different verbs, different order of the component parts, etc. The existence of these variations strongly suggests that the Chicago Stone and the Baltimore Stone are composite copies of the clay tablets, now lost, which recorded individual transactions and were written by different scribes.
Comments on Structures 1 and 2

According to the interpretation adopted here, in the transactions using Structure 1 the price, paid in silver, was received by the sellers, while the commodities were received by the witnesses. In contrast, in the transactions with Structure 2, both the silver and the commodities were given to the sellers, while the witnesses received nothing. Since this interpretation looks suspiciously artificial, it is possible that the commodities listed in Structure 1 after the names of sellers and the verb were in fact received by the sellers, and not by the witnesses.

Also, it should be pointed out that in several transactions the numbers of witnesses may actually be lower than the numbers one obtains through the simple addition of personal names. This is suggested by the instances in which the same person is listed among both the sellers and the witnesses. One is tempted to speculate that in those cases the second mention of the seller is simply a description of the preceding witness: "(man of) PN." See the following examples:

Sellers: PN, PN₂, PN₃; first two witnesses: PN₄ (of?) PN₃ (14. ii 6–iii 9);
Sellers: PN, PN₂; first two witnesses: PN₃ (of?) PN₂ (14. vi 15–vi 11);
Sellers: PN, PN₂, PN₃; first five witnesses: dam PN, PN₃ (of?) PN₂, PN₄, (of?) PN₁ (15. ii 28–iii 25);
Sellers: PN, PN₂; first five witnesses: PN₃ (of?) PN₂, PN₄, PN₅ (of?) PN (15. iii 26–iv 25);
Sellers: PN, PN₂; witnesses: PN₃ (of?) PN₂, PN₄ (of?) PN (15. xii 16–xiii 15).

No. 16 Kish Stone Fragments I

The ten stone fragments classified as Kish Stone Fragments I could very well belong to the same tablet, in spite of the fact that none of them join physically. This possibility is suggested by the similarity in their coloring, writing, and contents. In their present state of preservation, the fragments deal with at least twenty-eight transactions, all of which appear to follow the same pattern.

(1) x iku of land;
   x(ISIKU) GÂN
(2) (its) price is x shekels of silver;
   ŠÂM x GÎN KUG.BÂBBAR
(3) the additional payment is x shekels of silver;
   NÎG.KÎ.GAR x GÎN KUG.BÂBBAR
(4) the sellers received (lit.: ate) (it).
   KÛ

Nos. 21 Lupad Statue, 22 Lummatur Tablet I, and 23 Lummatur Tablet II

For the structure of these three inscriptions, see below under nos. 137–153.

Nos. 32 Adab Clay Fragment I and 33 Adab Clay Fragment II

The Adab Clay Fragment I records two transactions concerning the purchase of two fields belonging to two different families by the same buyer (i 1–v 11 and v 12–Rev. ii 2). Following the second transaction, the inscription contains a summary of the commodities presented as gifts to the sellers: [Su-nigin] Commodities nig-ba damu PN Commodities nig-ba damu PN₂, du mu PN₂ (Rev. ii 3–15). The very end of the inscription, now lost, probably recorded the name of the buyer. The Adab Clay Fragment II, consisting of a long list of witnesses, appears to have been part of a sale document whose structure paralleled that of Fragment I.

(1) x iku of land, (located in) GN.
   x(ISIKU) gân GN
(2) Its price (is) x pounds of silver.
   šâm-bi x ma-na kug
(3) The field of (the family of) PN.
   gân PN
(4) Commodities (received by) PN's sons/children of PN, the sellers.
   Commodities x PN's dumu PN lû-šâm-kû
(5) Commodities (received by) PN, the secondary sellers (= primary witnesses).
   Commodities x PN's lû-ki-inim-ma
(6) PN's, the (secondary) witnesses of (the family of) PN.
   x D PN's lû-ki-inim-ma PN

No. 34 BIN II 2

This text contains the record of eight transactions, six of which follow the same pattern (i 1–7, ii 1–ii 4, ii 5–9, ii 10–ii 3, iii 6–12, and iv 5–11). The remaining two
transactions (iv 1-4 and rev. i 1-4) are not finished. The name of the buyer does not appear anywhere in the inscription.

(1) x pounds / x shekels of silver
x MA-NA / x GÎN KUG.BABBAR
(2) (is the price of) x iku of land.
X(IKU) GÂN
(3) The seller(s) received (lit.: ate) the price of the field.
PN/PNs SÂM GÂN KÜ

No. 35 DP 2

As far as can be judged from the preserved part, DP 2 recorded a single transaction. Due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, its structure can be reconstructed only tentatively.

(1) [Size of the property?].
[...]
(2) [Its price?].
[...]
(3) [The sellers received it?].
[...]
(4) The sellers(?) spread the oil.
[x]+5 PNs
[...] is-du-du
2 D PNs
[...] is-du-du
2 D PNs
[...] is-du-du!
(5) Description of the property.
e-da-su IM1.0 PN
e-da-su IM.MAR.T U PN
e-da-su IM
sa-ti-um LU PN
(6) [20 PNs], the total of 20 witnesses, in the house of PN (i.e., the buyer), son of PNz, the governor, ate bread/food (and) drank beer.
[20 PNs] SU.NÎGÎN 20 AB+ÀS in É PN DUMU PNz PA.TE.[SI] NÎNDA KÜ(KA+GAR?) KAŠ 1.NA[G](K[Â+A])

No. 36 CT V 3

In its present state of preservation, CT V 3 lists seven(?) transactions, pertaining to the sale of fields by different persons (i 1-ii 20, iii 1-11, iii 12-22, iv 1-11, iv 12-v 2, v 3-12, and v 13-22). The name of the buyer was conceivably recorded at the very end of the inscription, which is now broken away. The pattern of the transactions is as follows:

10. Transactions in ii 5-9 and iv 5-11 omit SÂM GÂN KÜ.

(1) x iku of land;
x(IKU) GÂN
(2) its price is x shekels of silver;
SÂM-su x GÎN KUG.BABBAR
(3) the additional payment is Commodities;
NÎG.KI.GAR Commodities
(4) the seller(s) received (it).
PN/PNs ŠU.BA.TI

No. 37 CT XXXII 7f.

The preserved portions of CT XXXII 7f. contain a sequence of ten transactions which deal with the purchase of fields from different sellers by the same buyer (i’ 1-7, i’ 8-ii’ 5, ii’ 6-iii’ 7, iii’ 8-17, iv’ 1-13, iv’ 14–Rev. i 4, i 5–ii 8, ii 9–ii 12, iii 13–iv 14, and iv 15–17). The transactions closely follow the same pattern (see below). The inscription ends with the following statement: (a) the rates of barley, oil, and wool given as the additional payment (NÎG.DÛR.GAR); (b) the amount of barley received by one person, whose role in the transaction is unclear (24 ŠÈ.NI.KI.DGÎN PN DAM PNz DUMU PNy GN ŠU.BA.TI “PN, wife of PNz, son of PNy of GN, received 24 gur of . . .”); and (3) the identification of the purchased fields as NÎG.SÂM PN, “purchased (fields) of PN (i.e., the buyer).”

(1) x iku of land, (located in) GN;
x(IKU) GÂN in GN12
(2) the price of the field is x gsg of barley;
SÂM GÂN13 x(GUR) ŠÈ GUR.SAG.GÂL
(3) the additional payment is Commodities;
NÎG.DÛR.GAR Commodities14
(4) the gift is Commodities;
NÎG.BA Commodities15
(5) the seller(s) (received it).
PN/PNs

No. 38 Dar-a-a Tablet

The structure of this text finds no parallel among the extant kudurrus. The preserved part of the inscription, which appears to record a single transaction, has the following pattern:

(1) a number of animals and the names of two persons (possibly the price and the sellers);
(2) a list of six fields (= the object of sale?)

11. Transactions Rev. iii 13–iv 14 and iv 15–17 add ŠÈ.GÎD SÎLSÂ after GÂN.
12. The location of the field is stated only in iv’ 1–13 and Rev. iii 13–iv 14.
13. Rev. iii 13–iv 14 has ŠÂM-su instead of SÂM GÂN.
14. Rev. i 5–ii 8 reads NÎG.DÛR.GAR Commodities DUMU DUMU PN NÎG.DÛR.GAR KU; “the additional payment, Commodities; the descendants of PN received (lit.: ate) the additional payment.”
15. Attested only in ii’ 6–iii’ 7 and iv’ 1–13.
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

(3) A list of commodities and the names of two persons (possibly the additional payment and the secondary sellers).

(4) Names of eight persons (the secondary sellers or witnesses).

The missing part of the text may have recorded other transactions. The text concludes with the statement: SU.NIGIN 25 AB+ĂŚ PN, “total of 25 witnesses of PN,” where PN may be the buyer.

No. 40 Manishtushu Obelisk

The Manishtushu Obelisk records four transactions (A, B, C, and D), pertaining to the purchase of eight parcels of land by one buyer (Manishtushu) from different sellers. The beginning of the inscription (preceding A) gives the grand totals of the purchased land and prices, and the name of the buyer. The transactions show the following pattern:

(1) x iku of land;
   x(IKU) GÂN

(2) Its price is x gsg of barley.
   NÎG.SÂM-su x(GUR) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÂL
   Rate.
   1 GÎN KUG.BABBAR = 1 ŠE GUR.SAG.GÂL
   Its (of the barley) silver (equivalent) (is)
   KUG.BABBAR-su
   x pounds / x shekels of silver.
   x MANA / x GÎN KUG.BABBAR
   (This is) the price of the field.
   NÎG.SÂM GÂN

(3) x gsg of barley is the additional payment of the field.
   x(GUR) ŠE GUR.SAG.GÂL NÎG.KI.GAR GÂN

(4a) Commodities (received by) PNs.
   Commodities x PNs

(4b) Total of Commodities, the gift of the field.
   SU.NIGIN Commodities NÎG.BA GÂN

(4c) PNs (not receiving Commodities)
   x D PNs

(4d) Total of PNs, the “lords of the field,” the recipients of silver.
   SU.NIGIN x GURUŠ be- lu GÂN KÚ
   KUG.BABBAR

(5) PNs, total of PNs, the “brother-lords of the field.”
   x D PNs SU.NIGIN x GURUŠ SEŠ be- lu GÂN

(6) (Grand-total of PNs), descendents of (the clan of) PN.
   (SU.NIGIN.SU.NIGIN x GURUŠ)
   DUMU.DUMU PN

(7) Description of the field.
   GÂN.NÍNDÁ IM.MIR
   PN/GN

16. Written: Commodities PN, Commodities PN2, etc.
18. Only in A1 and D.
19. Missing in B and D.

GÂN.NÍNDÁ IM.MAR.TU
PN/GN
GÂN.NÍNDÁ IM.KUR
PN/GN
GÂN.NÍNDÁ IM.U5
PN/GN
GÂN FN (in GN)20

(8) PNs, total of PNs, the witnesses of the field
   (= witnesses of the sellers).
   x D PNs SU.NIGIN x GURUŠ AB+ĂŚ.AB+ĂŚ
   GÂN21

(9) x men, citizens of GN, (in Kazalu) ate bread.
   x GURUŠ DUMU.DUMU GN (in Ga-za-luKI)
   NÎNDÂ I.KÚ

(10) PNs, total of the citizens of Akkadê, the witnesses of the field
   (= witnesses of the buyer).
   x D PNs SU.NIGIN x DUMU.DUMU A-ga-dêKI
   AB+ĂŚ.AB+ĂŚ GÂN

(11) Manishtushu, king of the totality, bought the field
    PN/GN (in GN).
    GÂN FN (in GN) Ma-ni-iš-tu-su UGULA KÂŠ
    I.SÂM

The distribution of the component parts in A, B, C, and D is as follows:

A: 1–6 (A1)      B: 1
1–4d, 6 (A2)    2
1–4b, 4d, 6 (A3) 3
7               4a
8               4b
9               4d
10              7
11              8

20. In A and C, this part begins with the total of the fields listed in
    A1, A2, A3, and in C1, C3, C5, respectively.
21. In C, this section shows the following subdivisions:

(8a) Commodities (received by) 3 PNs, the
     surveyors.
     Commodities 3 D PNs
     (LÎU.SÂ.GÎD, DUB.SAR,
     and SAG.DUa)

(8b) Total of Commodities,
     the gift for the surveyors.
     SU.NIGIN Commodities
     NÎG.BA LÎU.GÂN.GÎD.DA

(8c) Total of the scribes (i.e.,
     the surveyors)
     Total of the witnesses.
     SU.NIGIN 3 DUB.SAR

(8d) 10 PNs, total of the
     sons of the witnesses.
     SU.NIGIN 27
     AB+ĂŚ.AB+ĂŚ

(8e) 12 PNs,
     total of the overseers
     and foremen.
     SU.NIGIN 12 NU.BANDA
     û UGULA

(8f) Grand-total of the
     citizens of GN, the
     witnesses of the field.
     GÂN

22. In C, this section is formulated as follows: 600 GURUŠ in Ga-za-luKI NÎNDÂ I.KÚ 600 GURUŠ šu 1 UD 1200 GURUŠ šu 2 UD
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C: 1-4b, 4d, 6 (C1, 1-4b, 4d, 6 (C2), 1-4b, 4d, 6 (C3))
D: 1
1-4b, 4d, 6 (C1, 1-4b, 4d, 6 (C2), 1-4b, 4d, 6 (C3))
7
8
9
10
11

D: ... 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 115, 117, 121, and
136.

31. No. 125 reads u1-nig-sam-ku-me instead of 16-S~m-ki.

203

transactions were followed by a summary of the pur-

vidual transactions, following basically the same pattern.

silver."

steward of Abaish-takal; the citizens of (the district of) Marda."

1200 men for two days ate bread in the settlement of B1T-bani, the

Lj

in mat-ga-ni Be-li-ba-ni.

(7)

(6) PNs, the witnesses of the field of the seller(s).

(5) Description of the property.

D PN IM.MIR
GÁN.NÍNDÁ
D PN IM.MAR.TU
GÁN.NÍNDÁ
D PN IM.KUR
GÁN.NÍNDÁ
D PN IM.U,f
GÁN.NÍNDÁ

(6) PNs, the witnesses of the field of the seller(s).

x D PNs AB+AS,AB+AS (a-na) GÁN 5u PN

(7) Commodities (received by) PN, the scribe of the field.

Commodities D PN DUB.SAR GÁN

Nos. 42 Eshnuna Stone Fragment, 43 Eshnuna Clay Tablet, and 44 Eshnuna Clay Fragments

Each of these three texts contains a sequence of indi-

idual transactions, following basically the same pattern.

Due to the fragmentary state of the texts, it is difficult to
describe their entire structure. It appears that in no. 42 the
transactions were followed by a summary of the pur-

chased fields, and then, by a list of witnesses, each of
whom received commodities. In no. 43 the transactions
were followed by a summary of the prices and the
commodities given for the fields. That section probably
continued with a total of the purchased fields and the
name of the buyer. This list of witnesses was either very
short, and followed immediately after the transactions, or
was not included at all in the inscription.

(1) x iku of land;
x (IKU) GÁN

(2) its price is x shekels of silver (and) x gur/gsg of barley;
ŠÁM-su x GÁN KUG.BABBAR x(GUR) ŠE
GUR.(SAG.GÁL)

(3) its additional payment is Commodities;
iš-ki-nu-su Commodities

(4) the seller(s) received (it).
PN/PNs im-ḫur / dam-ḫur / im-ḫu-ra / im-ḫu-ru

6.3. Structure and Typology of Sale Documents

Nos. 100–136 Fara Sale Documents

The Fara sale documents are characterized by a highly
standardized and regular structure, which shows only
small variations from one text to another. Only three
texts (nos. 128, 129, and 134) diverge from that pattern.
With the exception of no. 107, the Fara sale documents
pertain to single purchases of real property (houses or
fields). No. 107 is atypical in that it records two purchases
of houses belonging to two different sellers by the same
buyer. The structure of the Fara sale documents nos. 100–
127, 130–133, and 135–136 is as follows:

(1) The amount x is the price of the house/field.
x ma-na urudu / x gin kug(-luḫ-ḫa) šam ē/gān

(2) Its (i.e., of the real estate) size is y.
x sar ē-bi / x (iku) gān-bi

(3) Additional payments.

(a) The amount z is the . . .
x ma-na urudu MUNSUB.AN.TAR

(b) The amount z is the additional payment.
x ma-na urudu / x gin kug(-luḫ-ḫa)

(c) The amount z is the gift.
x ma-na urudu, x NI-ga/x(ban) še nigs-ba

(4) Commodities (received by) PN/PNs, the seller(s).
Commodities PN/PNs lū-šām-kū

25. No. 44 does not list the additional payment.

26. No. 125 reads: 4(iku) gān-TUS.SAR.HAR 10 urudu-EN.DA 4
gin kug šām-kam. No. 136 reads: i(bir) gān 9 gin kug šām-bi.

27. Omitted in nos. 100, 101, 104, 107, and 108.

28. Attested only in nos. 115 and 117.

ē-ḫū after nīg-dirig.

30. Omitted in nos. 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 115, 117, 121, and
136.


in maš-ga-ni Be-li-ba-ni IGI.DUB 4-ḫa-ḫa-ḫa-gal NINDA 1 KŪ
LÜ Mar-da[A1, "600 men in Kazalu ate bread; 600 men for one day,
1200 men for two days ate bread in the settlement of Bēlt-bānī, the
steward of Abaish-takal; the citizens of (the district of) Marda."


24. In Obv. vii, two of the witnesses received commodities.
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(5) Commodities (received by) PNs (= primary witnesses).
   Commodities PNs

(6) PNs, the (secondary) witnesses.
   D PNs lū-ki-inim

(7) In house-sales:
   Commodities (received by) PN, the master-surveyor.
   Commodities PN um-mi-a lū-ē-ēs-gar
   In field-sales:
   Commodities (received by) PN, the surveyor (lit.: scribe of the field).
   Commodities PN dub-sar-gán

(8) In house-sales:
   Commodities (received by) PN, the herald.
   Commodities PN um-mi-a lū-ē-ēs-gar
   In field-sales:
   Commodities (received by) PN, the . . .
   Commodities PN ENGAR.US

(9) PN, (is) the buyer.
   PN lū-ē/gān-sām

(10) “Office” of PN.
    bala PN

(11) Location of the sold property.
    Varies

The divergent sale documents nos. 128, 129, and 134 use a different formulation each:

No. 128

(1) The amount x (is) the price of the field.
   5(gur) 2(bán) še-ḤAR NI-ga šām gān

(2) Its size is y.
   l(esē) gān-bi

32. Written Commodities, PN, Commodities, PN₂, etc. Omitted in nos. 100, 101, 103, 105, 109, 110, 111, 113, 115, 125, and 127b.
33. In no. 122 the witnesses are subdivided into two groups: 18 D PNs lū-ki-inim and 5 D PNs lū-ki-inim. No. 125 has lū-ki-inim-ma-me in place of lū-ki-inim. No. 114 omits lū-ki-inim; the witnesses are subdivided into two groups: 4 D PNs and 4 D PNs.
34. Omitted in nos. 101 and 113.
37. Omitted in nos. 115, 116, 117, 118, 123, 127, and 127b. No. 119 omits ENGAR.US. No. 122 adds lū-ki-inim after ENGAR.US. No. 125 reads engar-bi instead of ENGAR.US. No. 133 lists instead a sāg-du and a [GU.SUR].NUN, while no. 136 has a GU.SUR.NUN.
38. No. 125 reads lū-gān-sām-mē in place of lū-ē/gān-sām. No. 113a adds ½ sar è e rig(DU.TUKU) PN an-na-sum. No. 113b adds ½ sar PN ad-da-ni ama-ni i-na-ba è rig(DU.TUKU) inim-ba šu nu-bala.
39. Omitted in nos. 100, 101, and 107. No. 111 reads bala PN PN₂ en₂-si-bi. No. 125 has en₂-si-bi PN.
40. Omitted in nos. 100, 101, 104, 106, 107, 111, and 125 (gives the name of the field in section (1)).

(3) (To) PN (= the seller) it (i.e., the price) was given. PN an-na-sum

(4) PN (is) the witness.
   PN lū-ki-inim

(5) PN (is) the buyer.
   PN lū-sām-ag
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Nos. 137–153 Pre-Sargonic Sale Documents from Lagash, 21 Lupad Statue, 22 Lummatur Tablet I, and 23 Lummatur Tablet II

The Pre-Sargonic sale documents from Lagash follow basically three patterns, classified below as Structures 1, 2, and 3. One Lagash text (no. 149) uses a different formulation, which, however, can be linked to Structure 2. With the exception of no. 143, which records two house-sales involving two different sellers and the same buyer, all of the Lagash sale documents pertain to single transactions. The form of the individual transactions recorded in the Lummatur Tablets I and II, both of which also originated at Lagash, is closely related to Structure I. As far as one can judge from its single preserved transaction, the Lupad Statue has the same pattern, too.

Structure 1

Nos. 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 147, 148, and 150.

(1) The object x from the seller the buyer bought.
   Object PN(-šē) PN₂(-e) e-šē-šām

(2) Its price, the amount y, the seller received.
   nig-šām-bi Amount PN(-e) šu-ba-ti

(3) Its gift, the amount z, he received.
   nig-ba-bi Amount šu-ba-ti

(4) Commodities PNs (= primary witnesses) received.
   Commodities x PNs šu-ba-ti

(5) PNs are the (secondary) witnesses, x D PNs lū-ki-inim-ma-bi-me

(6) Commodities PN, the herald, received.
   Commodities PN nigir šu-ba-ti

(7) (PN, the herald) drove this nail into the wall.
   (PN nigir) kab-bi ē-gār₈-ra bi/bi-dū

41. Nos. 137, 138, and 142 place the buyer before the seller. In no. 139, there are three sellers, described as lugal [ē], "owners of the [house]."
44. No. 142 has no primary witnesses. No. 144 reads: [x]+1 PNs dumu gān(=kam)-me, "sons of the field," Commodities lū 1-šē [nig-ba-šē šu-ba-ti]. In nos. 137, 141, and 147 the primary witnesses are described as lū-ki-inim-ma-bi-me.
46. Nos. 138, 142, 144, and 150 do not contain this part. In no. 137 the herald is listed among the witnesses. No. 141 reads nigir-uru, "town-herald," in place of nigir.
47. In nos. 137, 138, and 150 this clause is omitted. In nos. 139 and 142 the subject of the clause is identified as PN nigir. No. 144 probably lists the seller in the place of the herald.

(8) He (i.e., the herald?) spread the oil on the side.
   i-bi zāg-gi bi/bi-ag

(9) If someone (else) holds it (i.e., the object of sale) in possession, this nail will be driven through his mouth.
   lū am₈-ma-dū-da kag-bi ka-ka-na e-gāz

(10) Various clauses.

(11) Date.

The pattern of the transactions recorded in the Lummatur Tablets I and II, which is closely related to Structure I, is as follows:

(1) x iku of land, (measured?) with purchase rope(?),
   x(iku) gān ēšām-ma-ta from the sellers,
   x PNs
   the owners of the field,
   lušāl(-sē)
   the buyer bought.
   PN(-e) e-ne-ē-sē-šām

(2) For 1 iku of land (the price is) x gsg of barley / x pounds of wool; its (i.e., of the field) barley (equivalent) is x gsg / its wool (equivalent) is x pounds.
   iku 1-a ū x gur-sag-gāl / sig x ma-na-ta še-bi x gur-sag-gāl / sig-bi x ma-na
   The price of the field they received.
   nig-šām gān-kam šu-ba-ti

(3) Commodities the (main) seller as the gift received.
   Commodities PN nig-ba-šē šu-ba-ti

(4) The sellers₂, the owners of the field (and) PNs, the "sons of the field" (= the secondary sellers), per 1 person Commodities as the gift received.
   x PNs lugal gān-mē x PNs dumu gān-mē lū 1-šē Commodities nig-ba-šē šu-ba-ti

(5) The (main) seller drove this nail into the wall.
   PN kab-bi ē-gār₈-ra bi-dū

(6) He (i.e., the main seller) spread the oil on the side.
   i-bi zāg-gi bi-ag

Structure 2

Nos. 143, 146, 151, 152, and 153.

(1) The object x from the seller the buyer bought.
   Object PN(-šē) PN₂(-e) e-šē-šām

49. Attested only in nos. 140 and 148.
50. No. 138: PN dub-[sar] im-bi šeš-[sar], "PN, the scribe, wrote this tablet." No. 144: ud PN dumu-ni Buyer-ra gān FN e-na-šām-a ki₈GISur₈, (ERN)-ra bi-ba-ba, "when PN, his (i.e., of the buyer) son, bought the field FN for the buyer, its border was divided." No. 150: ud an-dū inin an-gāl ud ka-ka-na nig-NE.RU ba-gā-gā G1Sag ka-ka-na ešē-gāz, "if he (i.e., the seller) detains (the sold woman) or raises claims (to her), then he puts deceit in his mouth, (and) thus a wooden nail should be driven through his mouth.
51. Omitted in nos. 138, 139, 140, 141, and 147.
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(2) Its price, the amount y, the buyer to the seller weighed out.
\[ \text{nig-šám-bi Amount PN}_2(-ra) \text{ PN}(-e) \text{ e-na-lal}^{53} \]

(3) The gift, Commodities.
\[ \text{nig-ba Commodities}^{54} \]

(4) PNs are the (secondary) witnesses.
\[ x \text{ D PNs lú-ki-inim-ma-bi-me}^{55} \]

(5) PN, the town-herald, drove this nail into the wall. PN nigir-uru kag-bi é-gar₈-ra bi-dù^{56}

(6) He (i.e., the herald) spread the oil on the side.
\[ i₁-bi \text{ zag-[g]} \text{ bl-[a]g}^{57} \]

(7) Date.\[ ^{58} \]

Text no. 149 is formulated as a payment of price, and, as such, shows some affinity with Structure 2:

(1) Amount x, the price of the object y, the buyer to the seller gave.
\[ \text{Amount nig-šám PN gala-kam PN}_2 \text{ dam PN}_4 \]
\[ \text{en₉-si Laga₉k₁-ke₄ PN}_3 \text{ ab-ba-ni é-gal-ta e-na-sum} \]

(2) Date
6

Structure 3
No. 145

(1) The object x.
\[ i₁(bür) \text{ gán FN} \]

(2) Its price, the amount y, the sellers, the [owners] of the field, [received].
\[ \text{nig-šám-bi Amount 4 PNs [jugal] gán₁-[me šu-ba-ti]} \]

(3) Commodities, as the gift, the sellers received.
\[ \text{Commodities nig-ba-šé 1+[3] PNs šu-ba-ti} \]

(4) [The buyer gave? (it)].
\[ \text{[PN e-ne-sum?]} \]

(5) [PNs are the witnesses].
\[ x \text{ D PNs lú-ki-inim-ma-bi-me} \]

(6) \[ i₁ \text{He (i.e., the herald?) drove the nail into the wall.} \]
\[ \text{[kag]-bi [é-gar₈-ra [b]i]-dù} \]

(7) \[ i₁ \text{He (i.e., the herald) spread the oil on the side}. \]
\[ \text{[i₁-bi zag-g] [bi-ag]} \]

No. 156a Pre-Sargonic Sale Document of Unknown Provenience

Apart from the Lagash texts discussed above, the only other sale document that can be dated confidently to Pre-

Sargonic times is no 156a. This text, which is written in Akkadian, contains two transactions recording the purchase of two separate fields from the same seller by different buyers. Both transactions show the identical pattern:

\[ x \text{iku of land;} \quad x \text{(IKU) GÂN} \]
\[ \text{(from) the buyer(s) PN/PNs} \]
\[ \text{the amount x (as its price) x GIN / MA.NA KUG} \]
\[ \text{the seller PN} \]
\[ \text{received. KÚ} \]

Following the two transactions, no. 156a lists two secondary sellers, described as LÚ.ŠES.EN "brother-lords (of the field)," and twenty witnesses, not identified by any term.

Nos. 157–246 Sargonic Sale Documents

Regarding their form, Sargonic sale documents are much more irregular and diversified than their Fara and Pre-Sargonic counterparts. The fact that the individual documents differ greatly among themselves in respect to the clauses employed and their sequence in a text, makes it very difficult to establish standard patterns that would be fully representative of particular groups of texts. For this reason, Sargonic sale documents can be organized only according to the type of their "operative section," that is, the main part of the document listing the object of sale, the price, the names of the parties to the transaction, and the verb. The criterion which we adopted in differentiating among the types of operative section was the verb or verbs occurring in it. Though in most cases we are able to distinguish only three basic parts of the document: (a) operative section, (b) various clauses, and (c) list of witnesses, an attempt was made to establish, whenever possible, more subdivisions.

Operative Section of Type A

The operative section of Type A, which is characterized by the use of the verb šu . . . si, "to fill (someone's) hands," has two variants, classified here as Sub-types A₁ and A₂. The first sub-type is attested exclusively in the texts from Adab, whereas the second is employed in the documents of various provenience. As far as one can tell, the operative section of Type A appears only in the sale documents written in Sumerian.

Sub-type A₁

Nos. 157, 158, 159, 161, and 162.

(1) (With) the amount x, the price of the sold person, the hands of the sellers (by) the buyer were filled.
\[ x \text{gin kug-babbar nig-šám D PN x PNs PN šu-ne-ne-a ab-si} \]

(2) They (i.e., the sellers) made (the sold person) cross over the stick.
\[ \text{giš-a ib-ta-bala-ēš} \]

(3) PNs are the witnesses.
\[ x \text{ D PNs lú-ki-inim-ma-bi-me} \]
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Sub-type A2

Nos. 214, 215, 216, and 217.

(1) (With) the amount x, the price of the sold person, the hands of the seller(s) were filled (with this silver).

(2) He (i.e., the seller(s)) made (the sold person) cross over the pestle.

(3) The buyer is the man who bought the slave.

(4) Various clauses.

(5) PNs are the witnesses.

Operative Section of Type B

The operative section of this type is attested in the sale documents of various origin and written in Sumerian or Akkadian. It is formulated as a payment of price. The verbs used in it are sum, nadānum, “to give,” lašqālum, “to weigh out,” and āg, “to measure out.”

(1) The amount x, the price of the object y, the buyer to the seller gave / weighed out / measured out.

Amount nig-šām39 Object-kam-šē PN(-e) PNx(-ra) sum / nadānum / laš / saqālum / āg88

(2) Various clauses.89

Operative Section of Type C

The operative section of Type C occurs in the sale documents of various origin, written in Akkadian or Sumerian. It is formulated as a receipt of price. The verbs used in it are mahārām and šū... ti, both meaning “to receive.”


(1) The amount x (as) the price of the object y, the seller from the buyer received.

Amount a-na (NIG.ISĀM/ nig-šām-bē) Object(-kan) PN iš-dē PNx mahārām / šū... ti71

(2) Various clauses.72
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(3) PNs are the witnesses.

Operative Section of Type D

The operative section of Type D is attested in five documents from Isin. It is closely related to Type A, as it also uses the verb šu . . . si, “to fill (someone’s) hands.” In contrast to Type A, however, where the name of the buyer is included in the clause of šu . . . si, in Type D the buyer is placed in a separate clause, stating the payment of the price. The latter clause uses the verb lāl, “to weigh out.”

Nos. 184, 185, 186, 187, and 188.

(1) (With) the amount x, the price of the sold person, the hands of the sellers were filled.

x gin kug-babbar nig-SAM+A/ŠAM+ÂM PN-kam/sê x PN sêne-ne ab-si
The buyer weighed (it) out.
PN lune-lal

(2) They (i.e., the sellers) made (the sold person) cross over the pestle.

giš-gan-na ab-ta-bala

(3) x PN lu-ki-inim-ma-bi-me

(4) The buyer is the man who gave the price.

PN lune-nig-SAM+A/ŠAM+ÂM-ag-am

(5) The (main) seller is the person who received the price.

PN lune-nig-SAM+A/ŠAM+ÂM-kü-am

(6) By the name of the king, by the name of Nammah, this transaction was completed; [he will not contest?].

mu lugal-se mu Nammah-[sê] in[im-bi a]-til [is-ka-gu-gi]-[a]-da

(7) PNs are the witnesses.

x D PNs lune-ki-inim-ma-bi-me

Operative Section of Type E

Like Type D, the operative section of Type E is composed of two parts. Its first part records the payment of the price by the buyer (sum, naddûnum, “to give,” lal, “to weigh out,” or āg, “to measure out”), the second part states the receipt of the price by the seller (šu . . . ti, maḫûrum, “to receive”). Type E has two sub-types (E₁ and E₂). The first of them occurs in the Sumerian documents from Lagash; the second sub-type is found in the texts of various provenience, written in Sumerian or Akkadian.

Sub-type E₁

Nos. 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, and 203.

(1) The amount x, the price of the sold person, the buyer weighed out.

x gin kug-babbar nig-sâm D PN-kam PN₂ i-ši-lal
The seller received (it).
PN₃ šu-ba-tî

(2) He (i.e., the seller) made (the sold person) cross over the stick.

giš-a ib-ta-bala

(3) PNs are the witnesses.

x D PNs lune-ki-inim-ma-bi-me

Sub-type E₂


(1) The object x; (as) its price, the amount y, the seller received.

Object nig-sâm-bi(âšê) Amount PN(-e) šu . . . ti / maḫûrum
The buyer gave (it) / weighed (it) out / measured (it) out.
PN₂(-e) sum / naddûnum / lal / āg

(2) Various clauses.

(3) PNs are the witnesses.

x D PNs lune-ki-inim-ma-bi-me

Operative Section of Type F

The operative section of Type F is styled as a sale of the object of sale by the seller to the buyer. It is attested in
two Akkadian texts, stemming from Eshnuna and Nuzi, respectively.

Nos. 239 and 241.

(1) The object x, for the price, the amount y, the seller to the buyer gave (i.e., sold).

Object a-na ŠAM Amount PN a-na PN₂ i-ti-in

(2) Various clauses.91

(3) PNs are the witnesses, x D PNs AB+عين(AB+عين)

Operative Section of Type G

The operative section of Type G is styled as a purchase of the object of sale from the seller by the buyer. It is found in the texts of various origin, written in Akkadian or Sumerian.

Nos. 201, 226, 237, 238, and 240.

(1) The object x, (for) its price, the amount y, from the seller the buyer took/bought.

Object ŠAM⁹⁵ Amount ʾis-de PN PN₂ ʾahāzum / laqāṭum / šām

(2) Various clauses.95

(3) PNs are the witnesses.96

Operative Section of Type H

The operative section of Type H is composed of two parts, recording the purchase of the object of sale from the seller by the buyer and the payment of the price by the buyer, respectively. The only sale document that uses it is no. 225; its origin is unknown.

(1) The object x from the seller the buyer bought.

I ANŠ.E.BAR.AN-nita PN-šē PN₃-e ʾi-šē-šām

The amount y (as its price) he (i.e., the buyer) weighed out.

11 gin kug ʾi-na-lal

(2) PNs are the witnesses.

4? D PNs lu-ki-inim-ma-me

Operative Section of Type I

Under this type we have included a group of five Akkadian documents which deal with the transfer of real property (houses, field) and show a similar structure (nos. 242, 243, 244, 245, and 246). All five of them appear to have originated at Eshnuna. In nos. 242, 243, and 244, the key verb is šadāдум, “to measure,” and in no. 245, nadānum, “to give.” No. 246 does not contain a verb, but the mention of šiddatum, “measuring,” in the body of the text links it closely with the other documents. The structure of these texts can be summarized as follows:

(1) Dimensions of the four sides of the property, according to the four cardinal points.97

(2) Total area and the identification of the property.98

(3) The statement that the seller measured it off (šadāдум) / gave (nadānum) to the buyer.99

(4) Witnesses.

It is not clear whether the šadāдум texts are to be analyzed as outright sale documents or as the records of the preliminary procedure of measuring and evaluating the property that preceded the actual sale transaction. The use of the terminology distinctly different from that of the regular sale documents seems to support the latter view (compare Gelb, FM pp. 188ff.). Still another possibility is suggested by the fact that in nos. 243, 244, and 245 the seller is in all probability the same person in each case (called Da-ba-lum in nos. 244 and 245, and I-da-bi-li / Da-bi-lum in no. 243). If this is correct, then the occurrence of the same person in three different documents would mean that they came from his archive. This, in turn, would indicate that the šadāдум text was prepared for the seller, and that it functioned as a counterpart of the regular sale document. Whereas the sale document was intended to protect the rights of the buyer, by recording such information as the fact that the buyer paid the full price and that the seller was satisfied with it, it is possible that the šadāдум text, stating the size of the sold property and the fact that the seller measured it off to the buyer, protected the rights of the seller against any future claims that the property proved smaller than it had been described by him.

91. No. 239: PN SABRA ʾE, “PN, (was) the majordomo”; UD.BA PN SAL.SILA.SŪ.DU₂ i-nu-mi PN₁ EN₁-SI₁ ki II-nun⁹¹, “on that day PN (was) the female cupbearer; on that day PN₂ (was) the governor of Eshnuna”; PN NAR [I]-gu-un, “PN, the singer (i.e., the buyer), . . .? PN DUB.SAR [J].=ir-ir DUB, “PN, the scribe, wrote (this) tablet,” ʾGIS.KAG a-na (KI) NA TIL.A Na-ra-am, ʾEN.ZU [m]a-[a]-qrw [WI] z=₂₂-ai, “the peg was driven in by the ‘life of Naram-Sin’; mu-ba-ak-ki-um [KUG.BAB] BA I MA.NAʾ=[a]-sa-gal, “the transgressor will weigh out 1 mina of silver.” No. 241: PN EN₁.SI₁ DUB.ʾE LUKU, “PN, the governor, decided (this case); [PN] MASKIM, “PN (was) the bailiff.”

92. No. 239: 8 D PNs AB+عين Si Maš-gām⁹¹, “witnesses of the field of Mashkan.”

93. There is no price in no. 201. No 226: nig-šām. Nos. 237 and 240; ŠAM-su-nu. No. 238: ŠAM.


95. No. 201: D PN dumu PN₁ [S]ē Seller-keḳ [A]-gla-deK¹-ta [m]u-laḫu-šē-gi a-iš-ta-ba-šē-šē, “PN, son of PN, nephew of the seller, brought them (i.e., the sold persons) from Akkad and made them cross over the stick.” No. 237: a-na NIG.KI.GAR ʾE Commodities Commodities a-na ʾEZAG Buyer ʾi-it-in, “as the additional payment for the house the commodities (the buyer gave), as the . . . the commodities the buyer gave.”

96. No. 201: 10 D PNs. There are no witnesses in nos. 226 and 238. No. 237: 18 D PNs 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR PN [D]U₂ MU PN₁ [19 A]-lAM+عين(AB+عين) in ʾEZAG Buyer NINDA K[U], “18 PNs, 1 mina of silver (for) PN; [19 witnesses in the house of the buyer a[e] bread.” No. 240: “I” D PNs SU.NIGINI 11 AB+عين(AB+عين) Commodities [PN DUB.SAR], “11 PNs; the total of 11 witnesses; the commodities (for) [PN, the scribe].”

97. Nos. 224 and 243 do not record the dimensions.

98. No. 242 does not give the area.


No. 246 omits the name of the buyer and the verb.
Nos. 247–370 Ur III Sale Documents

While the Ur III sale documents use fewer types of the operative section than their Sargonic counterparts, they display a much greater diversity as regards the choice and sequence of other component parts. For this reason, it is not possible to present a single pattern which could serve as a model for all the extant texts and would at the same time comprise all the attested clauses. In view of these difficulties, only a general outline of the structure of the Ur III sale document can be drawn:

(1) Operative Section
(2) Completion-of-price clauses
   (a) The construction kug-bi šu ... si
   (b) The construction kug-bi-ta ... è
   (c) The construction kug-bi-ta ... til
   (d) The construction nig-štam ... til
(3) Completion-of-transaction clause
   (a) The construction inim-bi... til
   (b) The construction inim-bi ...
dug
(4) gis-gana ... bala clause
(5) Delivery clause
(6) No-contest clause
   (a) The verb gi4
   (b) The verb inim ... gar
   (c) The verb inim ... kûr
   (d) The verb inim ... gar
(7) Eviction clause
   (a) The verb diu
   (b) The verb inim ... gar
   (c) The verb inim ... gi-(n)
   (d) The construction arugimâni rašûnum
   (e) Seller’s confirmation of his title to the sold object
(8) Delinquency clause
(9) Oath
(10) Guarantor
(11) Weigher of silver
(12) Authorizing official
(13) Scribe
(14) Witnesses
(15) Location of sale transaction
(16) Date formula
(17) Seal impressions

In the following discussion, we shall limit ourselves to describing the Ur III operative sections. Five types of such sections can be distinguished, classified here as Types a, b, c, d, and e. Cf. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* pp. 8–29.

Operative Section of Type a

This is by far the most common type of operative section in the Ur III period. It occurs in 100 out of the total of 127 texts. There are attested two variants of this operative section, Sub-type a₁ and Sub-type a₂. Sub-type a₁ is employed in the documents from Eshnuna, Lagash, Nippur, Susa, Umma, and Ur, as well as in the texts of unknown provenience, while Sub-type a₂ is found in the texts from Adab and Umma. Nos. 309 and 342 are self-sale documents. Two of the texts using this operative section are written in Akkadian (nos. 254 and 343). The overwhelming majority of the documents use the verb šâm; no. 254 uses sa’amum, while no. 343 has aḥāzum (doubtful). The Ur III Type a corresponds to the Sargonic operative section of Type G.

Sub-type a₁


The object x, Object of Sale
for its price, Term for Price
the amount y, Amount(-è)
from the seller PN(-è/ra/a) / ki PN-ta
the buyer PN_x(-e)
bought / took in possession. šâm / sa’āmunm / aḥāzum

Sub-type a₂


The object x, Object of Sale
the property of the seller, Property PN(-kam)
for the amount y Amount(-è)
the buyer PN_y(-e)
bought. šâm

Operative Section of Type b

The operative section of Type b is attested in four texts from Nippur (nos. 345, 346, 347, and 348), in one text from Umma (no. 344), and in one self-sale document of unknown origin, which is written in Akkadian (no. 370). The corresponding Sargonic operative section is Type F.

Nos. 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, and 370.

The object x, Object of Sale
for its price, Term for Price
the amount y Amount(-è)
the seller PN(-è)
to buyer PN_y(-ra)
gave (i.e., sold). sum / nadānum

Operative Section of Type c

Four sale documents from Nippur (nos. 349, 350, 351, and 353), one from Lagash (no. 354), and one from Ur (no. 352) use the operative section of Type c. The corresponding type of the Sargonic operative section is Type B.

Nos. 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, and 354.

The object x, Object of Sale
its price, Term for Price
the amount y, Amount
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

Operative Section of Type d

The operative section of Type d occurs in three documents of Lagash origin (nos. 356, 357, and 358), in one text from Umma (no. 355), and in one text of unknown origin (no. 359). Type d corresponds to the Sargonic operative section of Type C.

Nos. 355, 356, 357, 358, and 359.

The amount $x$, as the price of the object $y$, from the buyer the seller received.

Amount: PN(-ra)

Term for Price: PN$_2$(-e)

Object of Sale(-se):

ki PN-ta PN

PN$_2$(-e)
sam

su . . . ti

Operative section of Type e

The operative section of this type is employed in ten documents. Two of them come from Nippur (nos. 364 and 369), two from Ur (nos. 360 and 365), one from Lagash (no. 367), and one from Susa (no. 366); the provenience of the remaining four texts (nos. 361, 362, 363, and 368) is unknown. The corresponding operative section in Sargonic sale documents is Type H.


The object $x$, from the seller to the buyer bought.

Object of Sale:

PN(-še/ra) / ki PN

PN$_2$(-e)

šàm

The amount $y$, as its price, to the seller weighed out.

Amount:

PN$_2$(-e)

PN(-ra)

lal
CHAPTER 7
TERMS AND CLAUSES

7.1. Introductory Remarks

This chapter presents the terms and clauses occurring in the kudurrus and sale documents. The order of the discussion follows that in which these component parts generally appear in the texts, i.e., beginning with the description of the object of sale and ending with the date formula and sealings. The references to the texts are given in chronological order, with the references to the kudurrus preceding those to the sale documents.


7.2. Objects of Sale and Their Description

As noted earlier, ancient kudurrus record exclusively multiple purchases of fields. In contrast, sale documents deal with 1) fields, 2) orchards, 3) canals(?), 4) houses, 5) humans, 6) animals, and 7) commodities. The temporal distribution of the types of objects sold in sale documents is as follows:

Fara period: fields and houses
Pre-Sargonic period: fields, orchards, houses, and humans
Sargonic period: fields, orchards, canals(?), houses, humans, animals, and commodities
Ur III period: orchards, houses, humans, and animals

7.2.1. Fields

In addition to the ancient kudurrus (nos. 1-52), fields are purchased in the following sale documents:

Fara: nos. 114-136
Pre-Sargonic: nos. 114-145 and 156a
Sargonic: nos. 169-180, 182a, 207, 210-212, 229-230, 239, and 246

The most common description of a sold field contains its size, the term gān “field,” and the name of the field. In some instances, the text gives the field’s location, usually the town or Flur in which the field was situated:

gān Kug-gāl[KI “field (located in) Kug-gāl” (no. 14 xvii)
gān E+PAB.KAS[KI “field (located on) the E+PAB.KAS canal in LAL?” (no. 20 iii)
gān sug Lagaš[KI “field (located in) the marshes of Lagash” (no. 24 rev. iii)
GĀN Ē? HA? GUD? X? in Ur-sās[KI “field (called) ... (located in) Ur-sās” (no. 26 i)
GĀN [ ... ]X?KI [X].ME.RUKI “field r. .1 (located? in) [X].ME.RU” (no. 31 i)
GĀN Ur-ma in Lugal-kalam-ma “field (of) Ur-ma (located in) Lugal-kalam-ma” (no. 37 rev. iii)
GĀN in É-dur-Me-me “field (located in) É-dur-Me-me” (no. 37 U. E. iv)
GĀN in Ú-sá-la-tim “field (located in) Ú-sá-la-tim” (no. 38 i)
GĀN šu ba-la-ag Da-da-ri-im “field (located on (lit.: of) the canal of Da-da-ri-im” (no. 38 i)
GĀN (in?) Tu-la(t)-tim “field (located?) in(?) Tu-la(t)-tim” (no. 38 i)
GĀN in X.EDIN[KI “field (located in) X.EDIN” (no. 38 i)
GĀN in As-na-ak[KI “field (located) in Ashnak” (no. 38 i)
GĀN in É-dur-sabra “field (located in) É-dur-sabra” (no. 39 i)
Gān [É-du]r[KI “field (located in) [É-du]r[KI” (no. 39 ii)
GĀN Ba-az[KI “field (of) Baz” (no. 40 A x, xvi)
SUG-A[Nin-ḫur-sag “field (located in) the Nin-ḫur-sag marshes” (no. 40 C xii)
GĀN Ba-ra-az-EDINKI in Kiš[KI “field (of) Ba-ra-az-EDINKI in Kiš” (no. 40 D vi, xiv)
GĀN šu kir-ba-ti Ar-da-na-an[KI “field (located in) of the Ar-da-na-an Flur, on the At-līi canal” (no. 42 iii)

It should also be noted that the majority of the Fara sale documents state the name of the field/ Flur or household in which the sold estate was located. This information is contained at the end of the text. The following locations are attested:
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

1) No. 35, once:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Card</th>
<th>Akkadian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>IM.MIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>IM.MIR R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>IM.MIR L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>IM.MIR C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"[its side: north—PN (i.e., the owner of the neighboring field)]"

"south—PN (and) PN;

"west—PN 4;

"east—PN 5.

2) No. 40, passim—the order of the cardinal points varies:

GÁN,NINDÁ IM.MIR PN
GÁN,NINDÁ IM.MAR.TU PN 2
GÁN,NINDÁ IM.KUR PN 4
GÁN,NINDÁ(IM.U 5 PN 3

"field's side(?): north—PN (i.e., the owner of the neighboring field)"

"west—PN 3;

"east—PN 1;

"south—PN 4.

3) No. 41, passim—the order of the cardinal points varies:

D PN IM.MIR GÁN,NINDÁ
D PN 2 IM.MAR.TU GÁN,NINDÁ
D PN 3 IM.KUR GÁN,NINDÁ
D PN 4 IM.U 5 GÁN,NINDÁ

"PN (i.e., the owner of the neighboring field)—field's side(? to the north)"

"PN 2—west"

"PN 3—east"

"PN 4—south"

A different method of describing fields is employed in three of the so-called iṣṣad texts (nos. 244, 245, and 246), dating to the Sargonic period, which give the length of the four sides of the property, oriented according to the four points of the compass.

In some instances, the description of a field contains the name of the adjacent property or the name of its owner, or the name of the canal on which the field is located:

..."PN 5—field located on the Dub-sar canal" (no. 176)

..."PN 6—field located on the Dub-sar canal" (no. 176)
gän 'X]-da pa₄-Da-da “‘X]-da field, (located) on the Da-da canal” (no. 182a DD)
gän Ma-ša₄-pa₄-Da-da, “field (located) in Ma-ša₄, on the Da-da canal” (no. 182a EE)
gän Āb-za-an-na an-gāl “field located in Āb-za-an-na” (no. 207)
GÄN GIÉ na-ra-tim “field (located) opposite the canals” (no. 230)

A different type of description is found in kudurrus nos. 30a ii and 37 rev. iii, iv, where the purchased fields are classified as ES.GÔD S.LÂ “(measured? with) the standard measuring-robe.” Perhaps related to this description is the phrase gän 6 šām-ma-ta “field (measured?) with the purchase(?)-robe,” which is attested in nos. 22, 23, and App. to nos. 22–23. The latter expression was translated by Krecher, RLA 5 p. 497, as “Areal, für das ein Kaufpreis gezahlt werden könnte” = “verkäufliches Areal.”

7.2.2. Orchards

The following sale documents deal with the purchase of orchards:

Pre-Sargonic: no. 146
Sargonic: nos. 181, 182, and 182a
Ur III: nos. 264–270 and 360

The description of an orchard usually contains the size and the term for orchard. The term used is either the standard GISkirî₄ (passim) or ki GISkirî₄, the latter found in three of the Ur III sale documents from Nippur (nos. 264, 265, and 269). In four Ur III texts (nos. 266, 267, 268, and 360), the orchard is described not in terms of its size but the number of date palms growing in it. In two instances (nos. 267 and 269), the orchard is qualified as gis-gub-ba “planted with trees (i.e., date palms),” and once (no. 264), as gis-immar “(planted with) date palms.”

The following documents specify the orchard’s location:

GISkirî₄ gû pa₄₅-kur₄ al-gâl “orchard located on the bank of the Kur₄ canal” (no. 181)
GISkirî₄ gû pa₄₅-kur₄ “orchard (located) on the bank of the Kur₄ canal” (no. 181, three times)
GISkirî₄ pa₄₅-kur₄ GADA+GAR PN lu-₄₅-ke₄ ab-u₅ “orchard (located) on the Kur₄ canal, bordering on the... of PN, the currier” (no. 182)
GISkirî₄ gû tul GISkirî₄ Ur-ê-nu-na ab-u₅ GISkirî₄ È-mu₅ ab-u₅ “orchard (located) on the bank of a well, bordering on the orchard of Ur-ê-nu-na (and) the orchard of È-mu₅” (no. 182a B)
GISkirî Da-da IS ab-u₅ “orchard bordering on the orchard of Da-da, the equuity” (no. 182a L)
GISkirî Du-du Ur-tur X-a-gud al-gâl “orchard of Du-du of (the household of) Ur-tur, (located in...” (no. 182a M)
GISkirî gû pa₄₅-kur₄ GISkirî₄ Me-zu-an-da “orchard (located) on the bank of the Kur₄ canal, the orchard of Me-zu-an-da” (no. 182a N)

In one instance, the object of sale consisted of an empty lot located in an orchard: KI.UD áa gu₅-LU-₄x₅₅ (= rinx)-ra GISkirî₄ “empty lot (located in the... of an orchard” (no. 270). An empty lot (KI.UD) was sold, together with an orchard, also in no. 269 (see above).

7.2.3. Canals(?)

A single (and uncertain) instance of the sale of a canal is recorded in the Sargonic document no. 183. The text gives only the name of the canal: nig-sâm pa₄₅-A-[b](-kam)] “price of the A-b[a(-kam)] canal.”

7.2.4. Houses

Houses are sold in the following sale documents:

Fara: nos. 100–113c
Pre-Sargonic: nos. 137–143
Ur III: nos. 247–263, 331, and 355

The description of a house usually contains the size and term for house. The most commonly used term is è “house, house lot” (passim). The other attested terms are:

è-du₅-a “built-up house lot” (nos. 247a, 250, and 257)
e-tit₅ “built-up house lot” (nos. 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, and 110, all occurring only in the phrase nig-dirig è-du₅ “additional payment for the built-up house lot”)
et-tu₅ “built-up house lot” (no. 165)
et-tu₅-a á KI.UD “built-up house lot and empty lot” (nos. 248, 263, and 331)
e-KI.UD “empty house lot” (nos. 165 and 256)
è-kî “empty(?) house lot” (no. 252)
è-kî “empty ground” (no. 258)
è-kî “empty ground” (no. 258)

The location of the sold house is noted in the following instances:
Early Land Tenure Systems in the Near East

e uru-bar abulla,(KÁ.GAL)-tur-ra-ka an-gál "house located outside of the small city-gate" (no. 204)
é-dù-a É-DUNK[1]:ka "built-up house lot (located in É-DUN)" (no. 250)
é-dù-a é-šu-si-ga "built-up house lot (located at?) the é-šu-si-ga (a type of building—meaning uncertain)" (no. 257)

Several of the sale documents from Fara give the name of the place (most probably a city quarter) where the sold house was situated. The following locations are attested:

KI-KA.U (nos. 103, 105, and 108)
Dag-dEn-lil (no. 109)
Ki-lam-mah (read probably Ganba-mah) (no. 110)
É-me-DILMUN-la (no. 113)
GISma-ka (nos. 113a and 113b)
URU+UDki (no. 113c = 112)

7.2.5. Humans

The documents dealing with the sale of humans (men, women, and children) are as follows:

Pre-Sargonic: nos. 149-156
Sargonic: nos. 157-163, 184-203, 208, 213-221, 231-234, and 240-241

In the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic sale documents, sold persons most often are identified simply by their personal names, usually preceded by a Personenkeil. Occasionally, they are described by specific terms, such as sag-nita "male 'head'" or "slave," geme "female 'head'" or "slave woman," and igi-nu-duš "blind(?)." In contrast, in the Ur III texts sold persons are usually described by the terms sag-nita "male 'head'" or "slave" and sag-SAL "female 'head'" or "slave woman," in most instances combined with the phrase PN mu-ni-im "his/her name being PN."

However, the method of describing sold persons by giving their names only is used sporadically also in Ur III times. The following terms are attested:

sag-nita (PN mu-ni-im) "'male head,' (his name is PN)" (no. 156, passim in the Ur III sale documents)
sag-SAL (PN mu-ni-im) "'female head,' (her name is PN)" (no. 150, passim in the Ur III sale documents)
gemé "slave woman" (nos. 163, 194, and 240)
DUMU.SAL "daughter, girl" (no. 240)
igi-nu-duš "blind(?)") (nos. 152, 153, and 156)

In addition, the following qualifications are attested, which follow after either the above terms or the name of the sold person:

SAL "female" (no. 295)
nita "male" (no. 295)
guruš-amš "grown man" (no. 155)

[ARÁ]D Lu-lu-bi-im "Lulubean slave" (no. 231)
túl-ta-pād-da-amš "foundling" (no. 150)
amu-tu-amš "house-born slave" (no. 192)
gemé Seller(-kam) "slave woman of the seller" (nos. 332, 333, 335, and 338)
arad Seller(-kam) "slave of the seller" (nos. 334, 336, and 339)
dumu-sag-ri[gš] (PA.SAL.KA[B.DU]) Seller dam [PN-kam] "young oblate of the seller, wife [of PN]" (no. 337)
gala "cantor" (nos. 149, 151, and 154)
nu-kiriš É-4Nisaba[1]:kam "gardener of É-4Nisaba" (no. 208)
su₂-NE-a "..." (no. 301)
SIG7 "..." (no. 336)
1½ kūš-ni-ta (envelope: 1 kiuš-ni-ta) "1½ (envelope: 1) cubit tall" (no. 281, describing a boy)
dumu-SAL gaba-na b[ī-tab]-bi "daughter is pressed to her breast" (no. 275, following 1 sag-SAL-am PN m[u]-ni-š[f] "one female 'head,' her name is PN")
dumu gaba-na-a ab-tab "child is pressed to her breast" (no. 285, following 1 sag-SAL PU mu-ni-im "one female 'head,' her name is PN")

7.2.6. Animals

Animals are sold in the following sale documents:

Sargonic: nos. 222, 223, 225, and 235
Ur III: nos. 316-323, 348(?), and 368

The types of animals dealt with in the above texts are equids and bovids. The terms and qualifications attested for each group are as follows:

Equids

anshe "donkey" (no. 223)
emé(ANŠE.SAL) "she-ass, jenny" (nos. 323 and 368)
emé(ANŠE.SAL)-máš "mature she-ass" (no. 318)
amar-ga anše "suckling ass" (no. 323)
ANŠE.BAR.AN(= kungâ)-nita "male mule" (no. 225)
[ANŠE].BAR.AN I "one-year-old [mulle]" (no. 235)
ANŠE.LIBIR(= dusù) "dusù-equid" (no. 222)
ANŠE.LIBIR-nita 3 "three-year-old male dusù-equid" (no. 222)
ANŠE.NITA.LIBIR "male dusù-equid" (no. 320)

Bovids

[g]ud mu 2 [x] IM DA GİR SI ZU KI [H]AR?-a ḤAR?-a "two-year-old bull,..." (no. 322)
gud-gis "yoke-ox" (nos. 319, 321, and 348?)
gud-niga(SE) "barley-fed bull" (no. 317)
GİR mu 2 "two-year-old heifer" (no. 316)

7.2.7. Commodities

Only three sale documents, all of which come from the Sargonic period, deal with the sale of commodities. The commodities are:
7.3. Terms for Price

7.3.1. Introductory Remarks

Throughout the Fara–Ur III periods the standard Sumerian term for “price” is šām or nig-šām. The form šām is the older one; it is used mainly in the Fara sale documents, but it occasionally occurs also in the later periods, especially in the texts written in Akkadian. Apart from the regular spelling with the sign ŠĀM (= NINDA+ŠE), the word is also written with the signs ŠĀM+ÂM (frequent—e.g., in no. 184) and ŠĀM+Â (rare—in nos. 178, 179, 185, 186, 187, 188, 269, and 272). The terms šām and nig-šām were recently discussed by Krecher, ZA 63 pp. 151f., idem, RLA 5 pp. 495ff., and by Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 153ff., 161f.

During the same periods, the corresponding Akkadian term for “price” is usually written logographically as ŠĀM or NIG.ŠĀM, or with syllabic indicators which show that the Akkadian word was a plural tantum šīmû or šīmû. See the spelling a-na ŠĀM-me (no. 234), which stands for ana šīmû “for the price”, for other examples, see Gelb, MAD 3 p. 259. The unique syllabic spelling šīm-sū /šīm-šū/, which is found in the Ur III sale document no. 368, indicates that, at least in the Ur III period, a singular form šīmûm was also used.

In the Pre-Sargonic and later texts, the word šām / nig-šām is commonly followed by a pronominal possessive suffix, which refers to the object of sale. In the documents dealing with the sale of objects belonging to the class of things, such as real property (fields, orchards, and houses), animals, and commodities, the suffix used is -bi “its.” In contrast, the texts involving the sale of single humans employ the suffix -ani (written -(m)a-ni, -a-ni, or -ni) “his/her.” This distinction is not observed in several Ur III sale documents, where the expected suffix -ani is replaced by -bi, even though the object of sale is a single person in each case (nos. 274, 276, 286, 297, 302, 304, and 366). Interestingly enough, however, in the same texts the corresponding possessive suffix in the phrase PN mu-ni-im “his/her name is PN,” which describes the sold person, is without exception -ani and not -bi. The use of -ani, in place of expected -bi, in no. 360, which deals with an orchard, is evidently a mistake.

In the documents involving the sale of two or more humans, the respective suffix is the plural possessive pronoun -anene “theirs” (written -ne-ne or -(k)a-ne-ne—attested only in nos. 279 and 295) or the singular pronoun -bi “its” (attested only in nos. 285 and 312), where -bi has a collective force, referring to the persons in question as a group: “its (of the group),” i.e., “theirs.” In one instance (no. 367), -ani is used for a plural object of sale.

The pronominal suffixes used in the Akkadian texts are written -sû or -su “his/her/its” in singular, both referring to the class of things and the class of persons, and -su-nu “their” in plural. A unique usage of the suffix -su-nu is attested in the Sargonic sale document no. 237, where -su-nu refers not to the object of sale but to the sellers: Object of Sale ŠĀM-su-nu Amount “OS, their (of the sellers) price (is) A.”

In the Ur III texts written in Sumerian, šām / nig-šām can be combined with the verbal adjective til-la, Akk. gamrum, “complete, completed,” as in, e.g., nig-šām-tîl-la “completed price” (no. 354).

Another expression for “price,” attested only in sale documents from the Ur III period, is kug or kug-babbar, “silver.” Naturally, this usage is documented only in transactions in which the price was paid in silver. Some of the Ur III sale documents use a special construction which combines kug or kug-babbar with šām or nig-šām. See, e.g., [kug-babbar šām-ma-ni “silver of his price” (no. 291) and kug-babbar nig-šām-bi “silver of its price” (no. 258). The following is a complete list of the occurrences of the terms for “price” in the kudurrus and sale documents.

7.3.2. šām

1) Without a Pronominal Suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object of Sale</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount šām Object of Sale “A, the price of OS”</td>
<td>nos. 20 and 100–134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount ŠĀM Object of Sale</td>
<td>no. 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object of Sale ŠĀM “OS, (its) price”</td>
<td>no. 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount Object of Seller ŠĀM GÂN KÛ “A for OS; the seller consumed the price of the field”</td>
<td>no. 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object of Sale šām Amount “OS, (its) price (is) A”</td>
<td>nos. 166 and 247a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object of Sale ŠĀM Amount</td>
<td>no. 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object of Sale ŠĀM GÂN Amount</td>
<td>no. 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount šām Object of Sale-kam “A is the price of OS”</td>
<td>nos. 182a (twice)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount šām Object of Sale-amq;</td>
<td>no. 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount šām (of Object of Sale) ba-gar “A, the price (of OS), was set”</td>
<td>no. 192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount a-na ŠĀM Object of Sale “A, as the price of OS”</td>
<td>nos. 228, 229, 231, 232, and 233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object of Sale a-na ŠĀM Amount “OS for the price, A”</td>
<td>nos. 239(!) and 241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount a-na ŠĀM-me Object of Sale</td>
<td>no. 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount šām-tîl-la Object of Sale “A, the complete price of OS”</td>
<td>no. 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount šām-tîl-a Object of Sale-še “A, as the complete price of OS”</td>
<td>no. 357</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) With -bi

| Object of Sale šām-bi Amount “OS, its price (is) A” | nos. 32, 166, and 366 |
| Object of Sale Amount šām-bi “OS, A (is) its price” | no. 136 |
| ŠĀM-BI (envelope: si-im-su) (Object of Sale) | Amount “its price (of OS) (is) A” | no. 368 |
| Object of Sale šām-bi Amount-še “OS, for its price, A” | no. 263 |
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Object of Sale Amount šām-til-la-bi-šē “OS, for A, its complete price”: no. 312
Object of Sale kug šām-bi Amount “OS, the silver of her price (is) A”: no. 286
Object of Sale kug-babbar šām-bi Amount “OS, the silver of its price (is) A”: no. 317
Object of Sale šām-bi kug Amount “OS, her price (is) the silver, A”: no. 289

3) With -(m)ā-ni
Object of Sale šām-ma-ni Amount “OS, her price (is) A”: no. 311
šām-ma-ni (of Object of Sale) Amount “their(!) price (of OS) (is) A”: no. 367
Object of Sale Amount ŠĀM+ÂM-til-la-ni-šē “OS, for A, his complete price”: nos. 287 and 352
ŠĀM+ÂM-til-la-ni-šē (of Object of Sale) Amount “as its(!) (of OS) full price, A”: no. 360
Amount ŠĀM+ÂM-til-la-ni-šē (of Object of Sale) “A, as his (of OS) full price”: no. 365.
Object of Sale [kulg-babbar šām-ma-ni Amount “OS, the silver of her price (is) A”: no. 291
Object of Sale KUG.BABBAR ŠĀM.MA.NI Amount: no. 370

4) With -sū or -su
Object of Sale ŠĀM-sū Amount “OS, its price (is) A”: nos. 36 and 37
Object of Sale ŠĀM-su Amount: nos. 42, 43, and 44
Object of Sale [ŠĀM]-me-su: no. 43 iii 17
Amount ŠĀM-su (of Object of Sale) “A, its price (of OS)”: no. 362

5) With -su-nu
Object of Sale ŠĀM-su-nu Amount “OS, their (of the sellers) price (is) A”: no. 237
Object of Sale ŠĀM-su-nu Amount “OS, their (of the sold persons) price (is) A”: no. 240

7.3.3. nig-šām

1) Without a pronominal suffix
Amount nig-šām Object of Sale “A, the price of OS”: nos. App. to no. 32, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 208, 210, 217, 219, 221, and 226
Amount NIG.ŠĀM Object of Sale: no. 40
Amount nig-šām Object of Sale-kam: nos. 22, 23, 138, 141, 144, 149, 164, 169 (twice), 171, 172, 183, 189 (twice), 191, 215, and 216
(Amount) nig-šām Object of Sale-kam: no. 190
Amount nig-ŠĀM+ÂM Object of Sale-kam: no. 184
Amount nig-ŠĀM+ÂM Object of Sale-kam: nos. 186, 187, and 188
Amount nig-šām Object of Sale-šē “A, as the price of OS”: nos. 154 and 220
Amount nig-ŠĀM+ÂM Object of Sale-šē: nos. 355 and 359
Amount nig-ŠĀM+A Object of Sale-šē: no. 185

(Amount) nig-šām Object of Sale-šē: nos. 168 and 180
Object of Sale nig-šām Amount “OS, (its) price (is) A”: nos. 30, 282, and 314
Object of Sale [(NIG)].ŠĀM Amount: no. 227
Object of Sale nig-šām Amount-šē “OS, for the price, A”: nos. 347 and 356
Object of Sale nig-ŠĀM(wr. ĀG)+ÂM-e Amount, “OS, (its) price (is) A”: no. 301
Amount a-na NIG.ŠĀM Object of Sale “A, as the price of OS”: nos. 49, 230, 235, and 236
Amount nig-ŠĀM+ÂM-til-la Object of Sale “A, the complete price of OS”: no. 342
Amount nig-šām-til-la Object of Sale-kam?: no. 354
Amount nig-ŠĀM+ÂM-til-la Object of Sale-ka: no. 358
Amount nig-šām PN “A, the price of (i.e., due to) PN (i.e., the seller)”: Appendix to no. 32
NIG.ŠĀM PN “the purchased (fields) of PN (i.e., the buyer)”: no. 37
KUG.BABBAR NIG.ŠĀM 3 GĀN “the silver, the price of 3 fields”: no. 41
NĪG.ŠĀM IN 'GĀR? MU? MU? “the price . . . “: no. 48
Object of Sale ŠĀM.GAR (for NIG.ŠĀM?) Amount “OS, (its) price? (is) A”: no. 254
[NIG].ŠĀM: no. 30b

2) With -bi
Object of Sale nig-šām-bi Amount “OS, its price (is) A”: nos. 165, 167, 170, 173, 175, 177, 204, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 218, 297, 304, 320, and 322
Object of Sale nig-ŠĀM+ÂM-bi Amount: nos. 250, 252, 267, 276, 316, and 319
Object of Sale nig-šām-pi Amount: nos. 178, 179, and 269
Object of Sale nig-šām-pi Amount-šē “OS, for its price, A”: nos. 248, 253, 257, 262, 265(?), 285(?), and 325
Object of Sale nig-ŠĀM+ÂM-bi Amount-šē “OS, for its price, A”: nos. 266 and 321
Object of Sale Amount nig-šām-bi-šē “OS, for its price, A”: no. 222
Object of Sale nig-ŠĀM+ÂM-til-la-bi Amount-šē “OS, for its full price, A”: no. 259
Object of Sale nig-šām (of Object of Sale) Amount “its price (of OS), A”: nos. 21, 139, 140, 142, 143, and 145
nig-šām-bi (of Object of Sale) Amount nig-šām Object of Sale-kam “its price, A, the price of OS”: nos. 138 and 141

3) With -(m)ā-ni
Object of Sale nig-šām-ni Amount “OS, her price (is) A”: nos. 194(?), 290, and 308
Object of Sale nig-šām-ni Amount: nos. 273, 283, 298, 307, 310, 349, 350, and 351
Object of Sale nig-šām-a-ni Amount: no. 305
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Object of Sale nig-SÁM+A-ma-ni Amount: nos. 271 and 306
Object of Sale nig-SÁM+A-ma-ni Amount: no. 272
Object of Sale nig-Sám-ga / nig-Sám-ak-ani Amount “OS, her A of the price (is x)” no. 300
Object of Sale nig-Sám-ma-ni Amount “OS, for his/her price, A” nos. 275, 278, 292, and 345
Object of Sale nig-SÁM+Â-ma(ni)-BA Amount “OS, for A, her complete price” no. 294

4) With -ne-ne
Object of Sale nig-Sám-ne-ne Amount “OS, for their price, A” no. 295
Object of Sale nig-Sám-ma-ne-ne Amount “OS, their A of the price (is x)” no. 279

5) With -su
Object of Sale NÍG.SÁM-su Amount “OS, his price (is) A” nos. 40 and 41

7.3.4. sī-mum
si-im-su (tablet: SÁM.BI) (Object of Sale) A “its price (of OS) (is) A” no. 368

7.3.5. kug / kug-babbar
Object of Sale kug-bi Amount “OS, its silver (is) A” nos. 247, 249, 255, 261, 268, and 274
Object of Sale kug-babbar-bi Amount “OS, her silver (is) A” no. 302
Object of Sale kug Amount “OS, for the silver, A” nos. 270 and 296

7.4. Statement of Rate

Ancient kudurrus and sale documents occasionally note the rates of commodities included in prices and additional payments. The statement of rate can take the following forms:

1) Introduced by ud(-ba) “on (that) day, then”
   a) With the copula -âm “to be”
      ud-ba 3(bân) še (1) ma-na (urudu) “on that day, 30 quarts of barley were measured out” no. 150
      ud-ba 2(bân) še (1) ma-na (urudu) “on that day, 20 quarts of barley were the equivalent of (1) mina of copper” no. 129
      ud-ba (1 gur) še (1) gur “on that day, 1 bushel of barley was the equivalent of 1 shekel of silver” no. 140
      ud-ba (1 gur) še (1) gur “on that day, for 1 shekel of silver 20 quarts of barley were measured out” no. 189
      ud-ba še (1) gur “one that day, for 1 shekel of silver 30 quarts of barley were measured out” no. 222
      ud zû-lum 1 kug še (1) gur “on that day, for 1 shekel of silver 200 quarts of dates were measured out” no. 224
   b) With the verb ág “to measure out”
      ud še (1) gur “on that day, 1 shekel of silver 30 quarts of barley were measured out” no. 150
      ud-ba (1 gur) še (1) gur “on that day, 1 bushel of barley was measured out” no. 189
      ud-ba še (1) gur “one that day, for 1 shekel of silver 30 quarts of barley were measured out” no. 222
      ud-ba še (1) gur “on that day, for 1 shekel of silver 1 bushel of barley was measured out” no. 189
      ud-ba še (1) gur “one that day, for 1 shekel of silver 30 quarts of barley were measured out” no. 222
      ud-ba še (1) gur “on that day, for 1 shekel of silver 200 quarts of dates were measured out” no. 224
   c) With the verb dê “to pour out”
      ud-ba še (1) gur “on that day, for 1 shekel of silver 6 quarts of oil were poured out” no. 189

2) Not introduced by ud(-ba)
   a) Amount x Commodity A (nig-)šám Amount y Commodity B “the amount x of the commodity A (is) the price/equivalent of the amount y of the commodity B” nos. 37 R. E., 40 [passim], 44 [passim], 181, and 232 [two examples]
   b) Amount x Commodity A Amount y Commodity B “the amount x of the commodity A (corresponds to) the amount y of the commodity B” nos. 137, 142, 143, 164, 168, 172, 174, 177, 183, 189 [four examples], 191 [four examples], 341, and 359

For a complete list of rates, see chapter 10.

7.5. Terms for Additional Payments

7.5.1. Introductory Remarks

One of the characteristic features of the pre-Ur III kudurrus and sale documents is the so-called “additional
payments” (henceforth abbreviated as AP or APs), i.e., payments in excess of the purchase price, which can be given to the sellers, secondary sellers, primary witnesses, and officials. It should be noted that not a single example of APs is found in sale documents from the Ur III period. [But see now the occurrence of nig-ba in an Ur III sale document from Umma, which was published by Stein- keller, *Sale Documents* pp. 275–78 no. 88.] APs are attested almost exclusively in the texts dealing with the sale of immovables, i.e., fields, houses, and orchards. The only exceptions here are nos. 150 (Pre-Sargonic) and 240 (Sargonic), both involving the sale of persons. In the first document, the recipient of APs is the seller’s daughter, in the second, an unknown individual, most probably the scribe who wrote the tablet. The commodities given as APs are usually designated by specific terms, such as nig-ba “gift,” etc., but they can also be listed without any description. The terms used for APs in the Fara-Sargonic texts are NIG.KI.GAR, NIG.DUR.GAR, iškinātu, iš-gān, nig-dirig, nig-ba, MUNSUB(.AN).TAR, and I.ZAG. In the following discussion, we will study each of these terms, and will attempt to establish the function of APs in the sale transaction.

For the relationships between the value of APs and that of prices, see chapter 9.

7.5.2. NIG.KI.GAR, NIG.DUR.GAR, iškinātu, and iš-gān

These four terms will be discussed together, since they are apparently etymologically related and denote the same type of AP.

The AP NIG.KI.GAR is listed in five kudurrus (nos. 16, 36, 40, 41, and 49) and in one Sargonic sale document dealing with the sale of a house (no. 237). All of these texts are written in Akkadian. In each case where the names of the parties to the transaction are preserved, the recipients of NIG.KI.GAR are the sellers. In no. 16, NIG.KI.GAR is the only AP listed, and it is paid in silver (NIG.KI.GAR x GIN KUG.BABBAR). Due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, the ratio of the NIG.KI.GAR to the price cannot be established. In the transactions recorded in no. 36, NIG.KI.GAR most often consists of silver and oil (NIG.KI.GAR x GIN KUG.BABBAR, x SILA). It can also include barley and TÚG.ASU cloths. It is the only AP listed in this text, and is constant at 10 percent of the price. In no. 40, NIG.KI.GAR is given together with NIG.BA. It consists of silver (x GIN KUG.BABBAR, NIG.KI.GAR GÁN—A₁, A₂, A₃), wool (C₁, D), barley (B), wool, silver, copper, and bronze objects, mules, and slaves (C₁, C₂), and constitutes 15 percent of the price in A₁, A₂, and A₃, and 10 percent in all other transactions. NIG.KI.GAR is the only AP given in no. 41. It is fairly constant at around 10 percent of the price. In the transactions listed on the obverse, NIG.KI.GAR includes silver and TÚG.SU.ZA.GA cloths (NIG.KI.GAR x GIN KUG.BABBAR, x TÚG.SU.ZA.GA), while in the transactions found on the reverse, it consists of silver, barley, BAPPIR, and oil. The commodities included in the NIG.KI.GAR listed in no. 49 are preserved only partially: [. . . SIG]? 1 MA.NA K[UG? BABBAR?] NIG.KI.GAR GÁ[N]. In the sale document no. 237, NIG.KI.GAR is given to the sellers together with another AP, designated as I.ZAG: a-na NIG.KI.GAR É S(GUR) SE GUR, 6 SILA 1, 10 MA.NA SIG, 1 TÚG. A.SU, 1 ḫa-la-um TÚG; 2(P) SE, 1 SILA İ, 1 MA.NA SIG, 1 GIS.DU.DA URUDU a-na I.ZAG Buyer i-ti-in “Buyer gave 5 bushels of barley, 6 quarts of oil, 10 pounds of wool, 1 TÚG.A.SU cloth, (and) 1 ḫala’um cloth as the NIG.KI.GAR of the house: 120 quarters of barley, 1 quart of oil, 1 pound of wool, (and) 1 copper GIS.DU.DA, as the I.ZAG.”

The only example of NIG.DUR.GAR (or NIG.TUS.GAR) comes from the kudurru no. 37. It is given to the sellers together with NIG.BA, and it consists of barley, wool, and oil (NIG.DUR.GAR x GUR.SAG.GAL SE, x MANA SIG, x SILA İ). The NIG.DUR.GAR is constant at 10 percent of the price. In the transaction recorded on rev. i–ii, the receivers of the NIG.DUR.GAR are persons other than the primary sellers (most probably secondary sellers): NIG.DUR.GAR Com. DUMU.DUMU PN NIG. DUR[RGAR] K[U] “the NIG.DUR.GAR (is) Com.; the descendents of PN received (lit.: ate) the NIG.DUR.GAR.”

Two kudurrus (nos. 42 and 43) and one Sargonic sale document (no. 227) mention the AP called iškinātu. The iškinātu is the only AP occurring in these texts, and it is given to the sellers. In nos. 42 and 43, iškinātu consists of barley, wool, and BA.AN containers (iš-ki-nu-su x GÍN KUG.BABBAR, x GUR.SAG.GAL SE, x SIG.GAN, x BA.AN); in one instance (no. 43 i), it also includes a ḫass其间 “axe.” The iškinātu received by the sellers in no. 227 has a similar content: I(GUR) SE GUR, 2 [MA.NA SIG], 5 BA.[AN], 1 G(IN) KUG.BABBAR [PN] a-ki-il-d[a] iš-ki-n[e] “PN and PN₂ (i.e., the sellers—two women) are the receivers (lit.: consumers) of the additional payment (which consists of) 1 bushel of barley, 2 [pounds of wool], 5 BA.AN containers, (and) 1 shkel of silver.”

The term iškinātu is also attested in the Sargonic administrative text MAD 5, 3:1–3, which lists among the expenditures an amount of barley paid as iškinātu: 3(GUR) 2(P) 3(BÁN) SE GUR A-ga-dek3 a-na isgi-ni GÁN be-lu GÁN im-hur-ru “the owners of the field received 3 bushels and 150 quarters of barley, by the bushel of Akkadē, as the additional payment of the field.”

The AP iš-gān is given to the sellers in twelve Sargonic sale transactions (nos. 165, 166, 169, 171, 172, 182a F, 182a J, 182a X, 182a Y, 182a Z, 182a CC, and 207). It is the only AP listed in these texts, with the exception of nos. 169, 182a F, and 182a J, where iš-gān is given together with nig-ba. The content of iš-gān is as follows:

1 A.SU[TÚG], 1 Í.BA.DÁDU[TÚG], 1(gur) (P) [P] (bān) še gur, i-igi-[3] gāl sí[l]a, 1 ma-na sig, SĪ-gān-bi (no. 165)
2(p) (bān) še gur, iš-gān še-kam; 2(p) (bān) še gur, iš-gān sig-kam (nos. 169 and 182a F)
1 bar-si[TÚG], 1(gur) še gur, 1 sílā i-sāḫ šu-ba-tī, iš-gān-pi (no. 171)
4(p) (bān) še gur, iš-gān še-kam; 3 ṭūm[b] i-udu, iš-gān sig-kam (no. 182a J)
10(gur) še iš-gán (no. 182a X)
[x še iš-gán] (no. 182a Y)
2(pi) še iš-gán (no. 182a Z)
2(pi) še iš-gán; 2(pi) še iš-gán; 2(pi) še iš-gán
(no. 182a CC)
1 gin lal igi-6 kug, is-gán gan-ga-kam (no. 207)

The term iš-gán is also mentioned in the following passages: PN iš-gán nu-ag PN, i-ag “PN (i.e., the buyer?) did not give (lit.: make) the iš-gán; PN gave it)” (no. 14 xiv 6–10); iš-gán i-kü “(the seller) received the iš-gán” (no. 212). And finally, note the occurrences of iš-gán in connection with commodities in nos. 14 and 15, discussed in note to no. 14 i 9, where the meaning of iš-gán is unclear.

The following interpretations of the terms NĪG.KI.GAR, NĪG.DĪR.GAR, iškini, and iš-gán are found in previous literature:

1) V. Scheil, MDP 2 p. 7, interpreted NĪG.KI.GAR as “additionnellement au prix du champ.”

2) F. Hrozný, WZKM 21 (1907) p. 16, agreed with Scheil’s interpretation of NĪG.KI.GAR, and suggested a connection with the NB atru.

3) F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 6 (1907) p. 154, translated NĪG.KI.GAR as “tout ce qui a été bâti” or “(supplément au prix pour) les constructions de toute sorte,” on account of the expression nig-dirig ē-dū in RTC 13 (our no. 104).

4) H. de Genouillac, TSA p. XXXVf., agreed with the opinion of Thureau-Dangin cited above, and noted that “(. . .) les mots nig-dirig(g)-ē-dū, ‘prix supplémentaire pour la maison bâtie,’ (RTC 13) correspondent assez bien au complexe sumérien nig-ki-gar dont les deux derniers éléments ki-gar sont expliqués par l’assyrden šikkītu ša bitti, ‘construction, [se dit] d’une maison.’”

5) According to L. Matouš, AOr 22 (1954) p. 435, the term iškini “durch seine Ableitung von der Wurzel škn ‘legen’ entspricht (…) dem (…) Ideogram ni-ki-gar im Sinne von ‘was auf die Erde gelegt ist.’ Man kann also in dem Ausdruck iškini das altakkadische, in Nordbabylonien gebrauchte Äquivalent des ni-ki-gar = Zugabe (zum Kaufpreis) sehen.” At the same time, Matouš read the term NĪG.DĪR.GAR as NĪG.KI.GAR, and interpreted it as a phonetic spelling of NĪG.KI.GAR. Matouš rejected the interpretation of NĪG.KI.GAR as the payment for the buildings erected on the sold property, on the grounds that in the Manishtusu Obelisk (no. 40) NĪG.KI.GAR stands in a set relation to the price and also, that in the kudurrus from the Diyala area (nos. 43 and 44) iškini can be as low as one shekel of silver.

6) Gelb, MAD 3 p. 268, translated iškini as “amount of money paid in addition to the price of a field or house,” and analyzed NĪG.KI.GAR and NĪG.DĪR.GAR (transliterated NĪG.KU.GAR) as its logographic spellings. According to Gelb, iškini evidently corresponds to the Fara nig-dirig and to SL.BI of the OB sale documents.

7) Edzard, ZA 56 (1964) p. 276, was the first scholar to study the term iš-gán. According to him: “iš-gán, Lehwort von akkadisch iškīnā, einer der Ausdrücke für ‘Zugabe’ in Kaufverträgen; (…) lautliche Entwicklung wohl *iškīn + a > iškana, geschrieben iš-gāna (regressive Vokalungleichung).” Edzard translated iš-gāna as “Zugabe” also in SRU p. 44, where he equated it with NĪG.KI.GAR.

8) The terms in question were discussed most recently by Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) pp. 154–58; Acta Antiqua 22 (1974) pp. 31f., who believed that iš-gān is a loanword from the Akkadian iškīnā, also expressed by the pseudo-Sumerograms NĪG.KI.GAR and NĪG.TUS.GAR (our NĪG.DĪR.GAR). Krecher interpreted iškini as “Äquivalent für Objekte bzw. Zustände, die durch šakānu (‘anlegen’ bzw. ‘eine Sache (Akk.) gleichsam) mit einer Ausstattung (Akk.) versehen’) beschafft bzw. herbeigeführt sind,” that is, “Entgelt für vorhandene Anlagen” (ZA 63 p. 156). Krecher deduced the same meaning from the etymologies of NĪG.KI.GAR and NĪG.TUS.GAR: since the elements ki-gar and tuš-gar mean “Gründung” and “Wohnsitz,” respectively, both NĪG.KI.GAR and NĪG.TUS.GAR denote “Äquivalent für die Anlage eines Wohnhauses” (Acta Antiqua 22 p. 31). According to Krecher, iškini and related terms represent the compensation for a house both in the sales of houses and in the sales of fields.

As the above interpretations show, there is a general consensus that the terms NĪG.KI.GAR, NĪG.DĪR.GAR, iškini, and iš-gāna are all etymologically related, and that they denote the same type of payment. This payment was analyzed by some scholars as the noncommital “additional payment,” and by others, as the compensation for the buildings or other structures erected on the sold property. The latter interpretation, most fully expounded by Krecher, is primarily based on the etymologies of iškini, NĪG.KI.GAR, and NĪG.DĪR.GAR. In our opinion, the proposed etymologies are far from conclusive. Thus the term iškini, an i-pris formation from šakānum, can equally well be analyzed as “things which were established/placed down” (result of an action created by šakānum), parallel to šīpīka “produce, storage bin” (lit.: “grain accumulations”) (result of an action created by šapākum “to pile up”). Similarly, NĪG.KI.GAR, which is a derivative of the verb ki . . . gar “to found (a house, temple, city, etc.)” (see Gudea Cyl. A iii 2, ix 11; ZA 50 [1952] p. 70 l. 80; JCS 21 [1967] p. 31 v 6, 23), “to place (an object) on the ground” (see W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk, YNER 3 p. 81), “to establish (as a regular offering)” (see BE 1, 12 iii 3’–9’), can be simply translated “things (nig) which were founded (ki-gar),” that is, “foundation, establishment,” or the like. For NĪG.KI.GAR, see now also Pettinato, MEE 4 p. 211 line 125: NĪG.KI.GAR = maš-ga-mu “threshing floor, settlement”; for NĪG.DĪR.GAR, see ibid., p. 209 line 117b, p. 367 line 0276: NĪG.DĪR.GAR = si-i-a-nim, where the meaning of the Semitic gloss is, unfortunately, unclear. Finally, the word NĪG.DĪR.GAR, which derives from dūr . . . gar, “to sit, to dwell, to make someone sit” (see Falkenstein, Götterliefer p. 191), is to be translated “things (nig) which were set up (dūr-gar)” (cf. also the chair called GISdür-gar [see, e.g., BIN 8, 20 i 8].
corresponding to the Akkadian durgarûm [wr. du-ur-ga-
ru-û] in CT 18, 3 rev. iii 1; cf. CAD D p. 191]. Krecher’s
proposal that NÎG.KU.GAR is to be read NÎG.TÛS.GAR
(or NÎG.DûR.GAR) is confirmed by the examination of the
photographs of no. 37, which show that the sign in
question is square, and that the horizontal wedge in the
middle of the sign does not cross it completely. In con-
trast, the sign KU in the same text is tall and narrow with
the horizontal wedge crossing it completely in the middle
(see, e.g., the personal names I-ku-La-im [‘7] and I-KU-
GU-II [iii’ 4]). For the formal distinction between DûR
and KU in the early periods, see Biggs, JCS 20 (1966) p. 77
n. 37.

Beside the insufficient etymological grounds, Krecher’s interpretation of NÎG.KI.GAR and the related terms ap-
pears unacceptable also for the following reasons:

1) NÎG.KI.GAR, NÎG.DûR.GAR, iškinû, and iš-gân
stand in the same relationship to the object of sale as
(nig-)ślâm. This is demonstrated by the existence of such constructions as NÎG.KI.GAR GÁN/Æ, parallel to
(nig-)ślâm gàm/ë “(commodities given as) the price of
the field/house.” Accordingly, NÎG.KI.GAR GÁN/Æ must mean “(commodities given as) the
‘foundation’ of the field/house,” and not “(commodi-
ties given for) the ‘foundation’ of the field/house.”

2) In no. 165, the object of sale is described as 1 sar ʻx
ša-na [x] gīn é-KI.UD, ½ ša-na é ál-du-ðù “1 (and)
ʻx sar (and) [x] gīn of an empty house lot, (and) ½
sar of a built-up house lot.” The text then states the
price and iš-gân paid for this property: nîg-ślâm-bi,
Com., PN [šu-ba-ti]; [Com.], PN₂ šeš-ni šu-ba-ti;
Com., iš-gân-bi, “its price, Com., PN received;
[Com.], PN₂, his brother, received; Com., (it is) its
‘additional payment.’” This example clearly shows
that both the price and the iš-gân refer to the whole
property, and not to any particular parts of it.

3) As already pointed out by Matouš, the payments
designated as NÎG.KI.GAR, NÎG.DûR.GAR, and iškinû stand in a set relationship to the price. Such a
situation would be impossible if the “additional pay-
ment” represented a compensation for the buildings
erected on the sold property, since the value of
buildings would necessarily have differed from one
case to another.

4) Another argument against Krecher’s interpretation
is provided by one of the transactions recorded in no.
37 (rev. i–ii). Following the price and the names of
the sellers, the text lists the NÎG.DûR.GAR and its
recipients: NÎG.DûR.GAR Amount DUMU.DUMU
Ur-ma NÎG.DûR.R.GAR K[Ú] “the descendants of
Ur-ma received (lit.: consumed) the NÎG.DûR.GAR.”
This example demonstrates that the price and the
NÎG.DûR.GAR were payments that were distributed
among the sellers depending on their relationship to
the real estate, rather than payments for the two
different parts of this real estate.

In light of the above, we assume that NÎG.KI.GAR
and related terms designate the payments made in excess of

7.5.3. nîg-dirîg

The AP nîg-dirîg is found exclusively in the Fara sale
documents. It is regularly given to the sellers, together
with MUNSÛB(ÁN).TAR, nîg-ba, and the commodities
which are not designated by any term. It is lacking only in
four texts (nos. 101, 128, 129, and 134). With two excep-
tions, nîg-dirîg consists of the same commodity as the
price (copper or silver); in no. 121, nîg-dirîg is paid in
silver, whereas the price consists of copper; and in no.
125, it consists of barley, in contrast to the price, which
is paid in copper and silver. It is significant that in most
instances (14) nîg-dirîg is larger than the price (nos. 103,
105, 106, 108, 109, 113, 115, 118, 119, 121, 122, 124, 125,
and 127b). It is lower than the price in ten cases (nos. 100–
107 [first transaction], 107 [second transaction], 116, 117,
120, 127a, 130, 132, and 136), and equal with the price, in
eight (nos. 104, 112 = 113c, 113a, 113b, 114, 123, 127,
and 133); the ratio cannot be established in five texts (nos.
102, 110, 111, 126, and 131). In six of the house-sales
which list nîg-dirîg (nos. 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, and 110),
nîg-dirîg is followed by the description é-dû “built-up
house lot”; this description is missing in the other house-
sales (nos. 100, 102, 105, 107 [first transaction], 107
[second transaction], 111, 112 = 113c, 113, 113a, and
113b).

The term was discussed by the following scholars:

1) Thureau-Dangin, RA 6 (1907) p. 154; “Au lieu de
nîg-dirîg (= atrû ‘supplément’ dans les contrats
néo-babyloniens), l’Obélisque de Manîstu [our no.
40], la Pierre de Sippar [our no. 41] et le fragment B.
M. 22506 [our no. 36] ont nîg-ki-gar. Il est à noter
que RTC no. 13 spécifie que le nîg-dirîg, ici parti-
culièrement élevé, représente la valeur d’une maison
construite sur le terrain vendu. Ceci pourrait donner
la clé de nîg-ki-gar. En effet, cette expression signifie
mot à mot ‘tout ce qui a été bâti.’ On est donc amené
to traduire, en paraphrasant: ‘(Supplément au prix
pour) les constructions de toute sorte.’”

2) De Genouillac, TSA pp. XXXVI: “(…) le prix
supplémentaire, nîg-dirîg ou nîg-ki-gar: ces deux
expressions, probablement de sens identique, désig-
neraient selon la remarque de M. Thureau-Dangin le prix des constructions, distingué dans l’acte de vente de celui du terrain; l’une et l’autre en effet ne sont employées que pour des surfaces de terre, et les mots nig-dirig, ’prix supplémentaire pour la maison bâtie,’ (RTC 13) correspondent assez bien au complexe sumérien nig-ki-gar dont les deux éléments ki-gar sont expliqués par l’assyrien šiktitu ša biti, ’construction, [se dit] d’une maison.’

3) Deimel, Fara 3 p. 11*: (…) une Zuschlagsumme (nig-dirig(g)), die sich bei Häusern vielleicht auf das mitgekaufte Mobiliar, bei Feldern auf mitgekaufte Gebäudikeitien und Feldgeräte bezieht.”


5) M. Lambert, Sumer 9 (1953) p. 208: (…) le second prix est appelé nig-dirig ’chose de supplément,’ c’est-à-dire, s’il s’agit d’un champ, suppléments pour les constructions, canaux ou emblavures qui s’y trouvent, et, s’il s’agit d’une maison, suppléments pour le jardin ou le mobilier.”


7) Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) p. 157, assumed that nig-dirig must have a similar meaning as the terms NIG.KI.GAR, NIG.DÜR.GAR, iškinu, and iš-gan, which he translated “Anlagen” or “Ausstattung,” and, since nig-SI.A (our nig-dirig) does not have this meaning, he proposed that SI.A was the “Fara-Orthographie für spateres si(-g), se(-g) ’setzen,’ ’anbringen’ (= mulū, naddu, uḫḫuṣu4, ṣakānu) und dieses Wort deckte das gleiche Bedeutungsfeld wie altakkadisches škn in iškinu.” Compare also Acta Antiqua 22 (1974) p. 32. Krecher, ZA 63 pp. 155f., agreed with Thureau-Dangin (see above) that, in the examples of nig-dirig ē-du, nig-dirig denotes the payment for the buildings erected on the house lot, but he extended this interpretation also to the house-sales in which nig-dirig is not followed by the description ē-du. According to him, nig-dirig, like the expressions NIG.KI.GAR, NIG.DÜR.GAR, iškinu, and iš-gan, signifies “(…) die Erstattung des Wertes der ’Ausstattung’ des Grundstücks (…), die u.a. beim Feld vielleicht Geräte und (zu erwartende?) Ernte, beim Hausgrundstück das Gebäude samt Einrichtung einschließen könnte.” In his later discussion of nig-dirig (Acta Antiqua 22 p. 31), Krecher proposed a slightly different interpretation, concluding, with some reservations, that nig-dirig, as well as NIG.KI.GAR and related terms, denote the payment for the buildings not only in the house-sales, but also in the transactions involving the sale of fields.

As we can see from the above interpretations of nig-dirig, the prevailing opinion is that the element SI.A of this term is to be read dirig, and that it corresponds to the Akkadian root WTR. The only scholar dissenting from this opinion is Krecher, who analyzes SI.A as a Fara spelling of the verbs si(-g) and se(-g). As far as we know, there is no evidence supporting this suggestion. Note that the Fara texts consistently express the verb si(-g) with the sign SI, as demonstrated by such personal names as Lugal-é-si (e.g., Fara 3, 33 viii 1) and Lú-barag-si (TS Ś 881 obv. x 5'), which correspond to the later personal names of the Lugal-zag-ge-si type (cf. Limet, Anthropomnie pp. 291f); note also the personal name(?) Ki-si-ga, occurring in TS Ś 369 iii 7. Furthermore, the Fara texts maintain a clear distinction between dirig and si(-g); this is best exemplified by the text TS Ś 881, where both verbs appear side by side: nig-dirig (obv. viii 2') and X NE na si-ga (obv. x 4'). The reading of SI.A as dirig also seems certain in TS Ś 292 (= NTS Ś 292) rev. i 1-2, where SI.A is likewise contrasted with si: gu-an-šē 8 lu-ši, kur₆ dirig guš Ag. The interpretation of nig-SI.A as nig-dirig finds additional support in the existence of an OB additional payment called SI (abbreviated spelling of DIRIG) and the NB atru (see below). For all these reasons, we retain the traditional reading nig-dirig and translate this term “excess, addition,” as describing the commodities given in excess of the equivalent (šam) of the object of sale.

The next and more difficult problem to be considered now is the function of nig-dirig. The examination of the Fara sale documents shows that the amount given as the “price” (šam) represents the actual value of the sold property. This is particularly clear in the field-sales in which the price is paid in copper. In these texts the value of one iku of land usually is two pounds of copper. In contrast to the fairly constant relationship between the amount of the price and the size of the property, the amount of nig-dirig varies widely from one text to another. This indicates that nig-dirig constitutes an “addition” to the actual equivalent of the property. The question thus arises: an addition for what? As we have seen, the most commonly accepted interpretation of nig-dirig, first proposed by Thureau-Dangin and most recently entertained by Krecher, has it that nig-dirig is a payment for the buildings or other structures erected on the sold land. It must be stressed here that this theory is based solely on the examples of the phrase nig-dirig ē-du, which occurs in some of the Fara house-sales (but note that nig-dirig occurs more often without ē-du). This phrase was translated by Thureau-Dangin and his followers as the “additional payment for the house,” who distinguished ē-du from the term ē “house (lot),” which describes the sold property elsewhere in the text. The main argument against this interpretation is that the term ē-du does not occur in the sales of fields, as one would expect if nig-dirig represented the payment for a house. Furthermore, the phrase nig-dirig ē-du closely parallels such expressions as NIG.KI.GAR GAN, iš-gan, and, especially, NIG.KI.GAR É, in which the whole object of sale, and not a part of it or an addition to it, is meant. Accordingly, we assume that ē-du is simply a more specific description of the sold property: “built-up house lot.” If we accept, as generally agreed, that there is a functional identity between nig-dirig and the Sargonic NIG.KI.GAR, NIG.DÜR.GAR, iškinu, and iš-gan, the arguments given earlier against interpreting these payments as a compensation for the buildings erected on the sold property would apply also to nig-dirig. We conclude, therefore, that nig-dirig is not a
payment for some material “additions” to the land in question, but a payment in addition to the total value of the sold property, which most probably was intended to compensate the relatives of the seller(s).

In this connection, we should mention two APs known from the later periods, which may be related to nig-dirig, as regards both their names and function. The first of them, called SI, is attested in the OB sale documents from northern Babylonia (cf. Wicke, *WO* 8 [1976] pp. 263–67), in a sale document from Uruk (*RA* 14 [1917] p. 153f.), and in an OB text from Khana (*Syria* 5 [1924] p. 272). This AP is named in a standard clause, which is placed immediately after the statement that the buyer paid the price: *u x GIN KUG. BABBAR SI.BI iškun* “(Buyer paid x shekels of silver as its full price) and placed x shekels of silver as its additional payment.” The sale documents which record this clause deal indiscriminately with immovables and movables, with SI always constituting only a small fraction of the price. The sign SI in this context is undoubtedly an abbreviated writing of DIRIG; this is demonstrated by the fact that the OB clause ḫe-dirig ḫe-ba-lal “be it more or less” (e.g., *TCL* 10, 36:12), corresponding to the Akkadian *litir limiti* (e.g., Waterman, *Bus. Doc.* 26:2, 40:3, 69:6), is alternatively spelled ḫe-sī ḫe-ba-lal (e.g., Jean, *Tell Sîfr* 47:1) or ḫe-sī ba-lal (e.g., Jean, *Tell Sîfr* 60a:1; *BIN* 7, 63:1). Against Wicke’s reservation to accept the value DIRIG for SI in the texts from northern Babylonia (*WO* 8 p. 265), see the text Birot, *Tablettes* 70, almost certainly coming from northern Babylonia (cf. Birot, *Tablettes* p. 108), which is a roster of conscripted men, each entry stating: 1) name of the conscripted man; 2) name of his replacement (DAH), usually his brother; and 3) name of his supernumerary (SI), usually his father. As noted already by B. Landsberger (in Lautner, *Personenniete* p. 225), SI in this context stands for DIRIG (Akk. attarum).

The other AP, called *artru*, is regularly listed in the Neo-Babylonian sales of real property (cf. E. Sonnenschein, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 3 [1925] pp. 205–07; M. San Nicolò, *Or. n.s.* 16 [1947] pp. 273–302). This payment constitutes only a small fraction of the price, and it is given to the seller together with a garment (*hubaru or TÚG.HI.A*), which is usually intended for the seller’s wife. It is important for our interpretation of nig-dirig that *artru*, exactly like the OB SI, is given in excess of the total value of the sold property. This point is made clear by the texts themselves, which state that the buyer named the price, bought the property in question for that price, and paid the full price, plus the *artru* and a garment; see, e.g., *VAŠ* S, 96:13–17: Buyer KI.LAM *tam-bi-e-ma* 2 MA.NA 8 GIN KUG.BABBAR BABBAR-ū ta-ši-im ši-mi-šū gam-rū-tū 3 1/2 GIN KUG.BABBAR a-ta-ar ū TÚG.HI.A ta-ad-di-in-šū “Buyer named the price, bought (the property for) 128 shekels of white silver, (and) paid its full price and 4½ shekels of silver (in lieu of) the additional payment and a garment.”

7.5.4. nig-ba

An AP called nig-ba is regularly given to the sellers in the Fara sale documents, in addition to nig-dirig and the commodities which are not described by any term. It does not occur in thirteen instances (nos. 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 115, 117, 121, 128, 129, 134, and 136); in three texts this section is not preserved (nos. 118, 120, and 135). The nig-ba consists of barley (nos. 105, 109, 110, 111, 112 = 113c, 113, 113a, 113b, 126, 127a, 130, 131, and 132) or an amount of the same metal (urudu or kug-luh-ba) in which the price is paid (nos. 116, 119, 122, 127, and 129). In a few instances, nig-ba consists both of barley and metal (nos. 103, 106, 114, 123, 124, and 133f). In no. 125, which is rather atypical regarding its formulary, and which is probably slightly younger than the other Fara sale documents, nig-ba is the only AP given to the sellers, and it consists of wool, three different garments, oil, and bread (4 ma-na sig, 1 TÚG.A.SU, 1 TÚG. IB.DU, 2 šilā 1, 1 nig-sag-kēš, 2 ninda). The same text describes the commodities given to a dub-sar gān likewise as nig-ba: ŠAM.+2 kug, 1 šilā 1, nig-ba-ni “2/3 shekel of silver (and) 1 quart of oil, (is) his gift.”

In the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents from Lagash, nig-ba is the only term used for APs. In nos. 22, 23, and 144, it refers to the commodities given to the principal seller, as well as to the commodities given to the other sellers (lugal-gān-me) and secondary sellers (dumu-gān-me). In one of the transactions recorded in no. 23 (rev. ix–obv. x), the commodities described as nig-ba are presented to still another group of people, not designated by any term. The commodities which are given in these texts as nig-ba include wool, oil, fish, soup, various types of onions, various types of breads, and sheep (see pls. 100, 134, and 135).

In the other Pre-Sargonic sale documents from Lagash, the term nig-ba is used only in reference to the commodities received by the sellers (nos. 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, and 146). These include silver, barley, wheat, wool, oil, soup, beer, various types of bread, and various garments (see pls. 134 and 135).

In the kudurrus no. 32, which comes from Adab and dates to the Pre-Sargonic period, the term nig-ba is applied in the first of the two transactions to the commodities received by the sellers and secondary sellers (13 SU.A.TÚG, 70 ma-na sig, nig-ba damu PN), and in the other transaction, to the commodities received by the sellers only (3 SU.A.TÚG, 10 ma-na sig, nig-ba dam PN2, damu PN3). It is the only term for APs used in this text.

The term nig-ba appears in Sargonic times considerably less often than in the earlier periods. Only four Sargonic kudurrus use it as a description of APs. In no. 37, nig-ba is given to the sellers in addition to NĪ.G.DŪR.GAR; it consists of a single cloth (NIĜ.BA 1 TÚG.SU.A). The Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40) applies this term to the commodities received, in addition to NĪ.G.KI.GAR, by the sellers, as well as to the commodities given to the officials who surveyed the sold field (only in C7). The commodities given as nig-ba in this document include various types of silver, bronze, and copper objects, various types of garments, and teams of equids (see pl. 107). The other two kudurrus which mention nig-ba are no. 45 ([. . .] [x]+2 TÚG.BAL, 30 URUDU MA.NA, NIĜ.BA) and no. 46 ([. . .], [x]+1 SIG 1 MA.NA, 1 têt. ŠE GUR, 1 LIR 1 X, NIĜ.BA AŠĀ).
The AP nig-ba is also attested in the Sargonic sale transactions nos. 169, 182, 182a F, and 182a J. In nos. 169 and 182a F, nig-ba is presented to the sellers in addition to iš-gān še-kam and iš-gān sig-kam: [I(pi) 2(bān) Še, ni]g-ba-pi (no. 169); I(pi) 2(bān) (Še), nig-ba (no. 182a F). In no. 182a J, nig-ba, given to the seller together with iš-gān še-kam and iš-gān sig-kam, is composed of two cloths and a measure of sheep-oil (1 A.SU.TŪG, 1 NI. TŪG, 1 umbin? i-udu-du₇₆!, nig-{b}a). In no. 182, nig-ba is the only AP presented to the sellers in this text, and it consists of a single cloth (1 A.SU.TŪG, nig-ba).

To summarize these data, in most instances the term nig-ba describes an AP given to the sellers; less frequently, it denotes an AP given to the secondary sellers or the officials. It may be used as the only term for APs (Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents from Lagash, and nos. 32, 46, 47, and 182), or it may appear in addition to another AP, such as nig-dirig (Fara sale documents), NIG.KI.GAR (no. 40), NIG.DŪR.GAR (no. 37), or iš-gān (no. 169). The commodities which are given as nig-ba usually include various foodstuffs, wool, and garments. Particularly characteristic is the inclusion in nig-ba of various types of garments. Note here especially nos. 37 and 182, in which nig-ba consists of a single TŪG.ASU cloth. With the exception of the Fara sale documents, silver, copper, and barley, i.e., the standard media in which price is paid, are included in nig-ba only occasionally.

The traditional translation of nig-ba, Akk. qīṣum, in the context of sale documents and other legal documents is “gift”; see, e.g., Falkenstein, NSGU 3 p. 148; Edzard, SRU p. 233. This interpretation has recently been questioned by Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) pp. 158ff.; idem, Acta Orientalia 22 (1974) p. 32, who proposed instead the meaning “allotment” (“Zuweisung”), pointing out that the original meaning of the verb ba is “to divide” (“abteilen”), Akk. zudum, našārum, and interpreting the original meaning of qīṣum likewise as “to divide.” Another argument supplied by Krecher is that the meaning “to give as a gift” is expressed in Sumerian not by ba but by sag... rig$. The interpretation of nig-ba as “allotment” led Krecher to the assumption that nig-ba was the only part of the purchase-payments which was actually distributed among the sellers. According to Krecher, the other two parts, (nig-)šām, i.e., the payment for the land, and NIG. KI.GAR / NIG.DŪR.GAR / iškinū / iš-gān, i.e., the payment for the buildings, were added in bulk to the family property and remained there undivided, until they were distributed through inheritance.

Although Krecher unquestionably right that the original and basic meaning of nig-ba is “allotment,” the derived sense “gift,” “present,” or the like is well documented from the earliest periods on. Because of this, we see no reason why the traditional interpretation of nig-ba as “gift” in the context of sale transactions should not be retained. The function of nig-ba in these documents, we believe, is to be considered in a broader perspective of the symbolic significance that underlies the act of gift-making. The presentation of a gift creates a bond between the donor and the receiver, and imposes on the receiver an obligation to reciprocate, which may materialize in a return gift, in the granting of favor or status, or simply in a favorable and friendly attitude towards the donor. The same principles appear to have been operating in the case of nig-ba; we may speculate that nig-ba was intended to make the sellers and their relatives favorably inclined towards the buyer, to establish a community between both parties to the transaction, and thus to create a propitious climate in which the property in question could be alienated.

7.5.5. MUNSUB(.AN).TAR

The only attestations of this AP come from the Fara sale documents nos. 115 and 117, both pertaining to the sale of fields. The MUNSUB(.AN).TAR is given in these two texts to the sellers, in addition to the nig-dirig and the commodities which are not labeled by any term; it is listed after the price and before the nig-dirig. There is no nig-ba mentioned in either text. The MUNSUB(.AN).TAR consists in both instances of copper, as do the price and nig-dirig.

Deimel, Fara 3 p. 11*, noting the absence of nig-ba in both texts, suggested that the meaning of MUNSUB(.AN).TAR may be similar to that of nig-ba. This view was rejected by Matouš, AOr 22 (1954) pp. 435ff., on the grounds that, first, MUNSUB(.AN).TAR is listed after the price and before nig-dirig, whereas nig-ba always occurs after nig-dirig and, second, that MUNSUB(.AN).TAR consists of metal, in contrast to nig-ba, which is usually paid in barley. Matouš then suggested the meaning “abgeschnittenes Getreide oder Futter für Vieh, das dann in übertragenem Sinne bestimmte Zugabe zum Kaufpreis bedeutet würde,” basing it on the misinterpreted occurrences of MUNSUB in Fara 2, 81 and Gudea Cyl. B xvi 5.

The meaning of MUNSUB(.AN).TAR was subsequently studied by Edzard, SRU p. 24, who proposed that the element (AN.)TAR is a verbal form (“er hat abgetrennt”), and speculated that this term may denote a “price-reduction” (“Kaufpreisminderung”). Most recently, MUNSUB(.AN).TAR was discussed by Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) p. 154, who was inclined to agree with the “price-reduction” interpretation of Edzard.

The meaning of MUNSUB(.AN).TAR is unclear. If the meaning of MUNSUB in this context is “hair,” Akk. sārtum (see AHWB p. 1191; Pettinato, MEE4 p. 307 l. 970: MUNSUB = sa-ri-a-duº), and the form (AN.)TAR, as suggested by Edzard, is a verbal form, then the whole compound could be translated “the hair was cut off.” Assuming the correctness of this interpretation, MUNSUB(.AN).TAR could denote an AP given in connection with some ritual action accompanying the sale transaction. As a possible parallel, we may cite here the AP called I.ZAG (see section 7.5.6), which is almost certainly connected with the practice of spreading or pouring the oil during the sale transaction. The “cutting off the hair” could perhaps be compared with the ritual of “cutting off the hem” (sissikatem batāqum) of the OB and MB legal documents, which symbolized the act of quittance (for this symbolic action, see most recently J. J. Finkelstein, WO 8 [1976] pp. 236–40). We may also recall here the practice of sending a lock
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of hair and a hem of garment from the person who transmitted a prophetic message, mentioned in the OB texts from Mari (see H. B. Huffmon, The Biblical Archaeologist 31/4 [Dec. 1968] pp. 121–24). As suggested by Huffmon, op. cit. p. 121, "( . . ) hair and hem must have been some kind of a guarantee from the person, a symbolic subjectio n to royal authority"; "( . . ) hair and hem might have been used to represent the person in some ritual that examined, in a more proper way, his or her reliability."

7.5.6. I.ZAG

An AP called I.ZAG is attested only in one sale document (no. 237). It is given to the sellers together with NIG.KI.GAR: a-na NIG.KI.GAR E 5(GUR) SE GUR, 6 SILA I, 10 MA.NA SIG, 1 TUG.A.SU, 1 ha-la-unTUG; 2(PI) SE, 1 SILA I, 1 MA.NA SIG, 1 GIS.DU.DAURUDU a-na I.ZAG Buyer it-ti-in “Buyer gave 5 bushels of barley, 6 quarts of oil, 10 pounds of wool, 1 TUG.A.SU cloth, (and) 1 halatu’um cloth as the NIG.KI.GAR of the house; 120 quarts of barley, 1 quart of oil, 1 pound of wool, (and) 1 copper GIS.DU.DA as the I.ZAG.”

As proposed already by Sollberger, JCS 10 (1956) p. 15, the term I.ZAG seems to be connected with the i . . . ag ritual, known from nos. 14 and 15 and the Pre-Sargonic kuduruss and sale documents from Lagash (see section 7.12.5.2). This ritual involved the spreading or pouring of oil at the conclusion of sale transaction, and was performed either by the herald or the seller. Accordingly, I.ZAG appears to signify the payments given to the sellers in connection with the above ritual, most probably, as their reward for performing this ritual.

7.5.7. Additional Payments without Description

In addition to the APs designated by the terms that were discussed above, kuduruss and sale documents also list commodities which are not labeled by any term. Such commodities are regularly attested in the Fara sale documents; they are given to the sellers, secondary sellers, and officials, among whom we find um-mi(-a) lu-é-é-gar, nigir-sila, gal-nigir, dub-sar(-gān), ENGAR.US, I.ZAG, and I.ZAG only in

7.5.8. Concluding Remarks

In summary of the preceding discussion, the following facts stand out clear. APs are a regular component of the pre-Ur III sales of houses, fields, and orchards; with the exception of a few isolated instances, they are not attested in the sales of persons. The commodities given as APs are usually designated by specific terms, but can also be listed without any description. Among the terms for APs, nig-dirig, is-gān and MUNSUB(AN).TAR are found exclusively in the texts written in Sumerian, whereas NIG.KI.GAR, NIG.DUR.GAR, and iškinā are attested only in Akkadian texts. The term nig-ba is used both in Sumerian and Akkadian texts. As far as the temporal distribution of these terms is concerned, nig-dirig and MUNSUB(AN).TAR appear only in the Fara period, is-gān, in the Fara and Sargonic periods, nig-ba and NIG.KI.GAR, throughout the Fara-Sargonic periods, NIG.DUR.GAR, only in the Pre-Sargonic period, and iškinā and I.ZAG only in the Sargonic period. With the exception of nig-ba, none of these terms continues to be used beyond the end of the Sargonic period. According to the evidence provided by the texts, the recipients of APs can be sellers, secondary sellers, witnesses, and officials.

7.6. Sellers

7.6.1. Introductory Remarks

This section is primarily concerned with the terms for sellers. As already noted under 1.8, in the periods earlier than Ur III, two types of sellers can be distinguished: 1) primary sellers, who receive both the price and gifts (= additional payments), and 2) secondary sellers, who receive gifts only. Primary and secondary sellers are (usually) related to each other in a larger kinship grouping.

Throughout the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods, both the kuduruss and sale documents differentiate between the two types of sellers fairly consistently. Secondary sellers become rare in the Sargonic period and disappear completely in Ur III times.

The terms used to identify primary sellers are the same as those for sellers in general. In contrast, secondary sellers are described by several special terms. It must be noted, though, that in most cases secondary sellers do not bear any designation.

There are also instances where secondary sellers are listed together with witnesses and described as lú-ki-inim(-me) “witnesses.” In those cases, secondary sellers may also be designated as “Primary Witnesses” (see section 7.9.4).
For the number and social status of sellers, see section 1.8.

7.6.2. Primary Sellers

The only texts which consistently employ special terms for sellers are the Fara sale documents. The usage of such designations in the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic texts is much less frequent, while the sale documents of Ur III date do not know them at all.

The standard Sumerian term for "seller" is lű-šām-kū or lű-nīg-sām-kū "man who received (lit.: 'ate') the price." The form lű-šām-kū is primarily used in the Fara sale documents. The other spelling, lű-nīg-sām-kū, which is first attested in the Fara text no. 125, replaces lű-šām-kū in the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods. In the Fara texts (with the exception on no. 125), the form lű-šām-kū stands both for singular and plural subjects. In the later documents, the plural is expressed by the suffix -me. The forms of lű(-nīg)-sām-kū attested in our corpus are as follows:

lű-nīg-sām-kū: App. to no. 32
lű-nīg-sām-kū-me: no. 125
lű-nīg-[sām]+A-kū-ā-me: no. 179
lű-nīg-sām+kā-ā-me: no. 188
lű-nīg-sām+kū-ā-ki-il-ku: no. 175
lű-nīg-sām+kū-ā-ki-il-d[a] is-ki-n[e]: App. to no. 32

In the Sargonic texts written in Akkadian, the sellers are described by the use of the active participles of maḫārum "to receive" and akalīum, also meaning "to receive" (lit.: "to eat, to consume"):

ma-hi-ru KUG.BABBAR "recipients of the silver (i.e., the price)": no. 41
ma-ḫi-ir-da KUG.BABBAR "recipients (fem. dual) of the silver": no. 227
KŪ KUG.BABBAR "recipients of the silver": no. 40
a-ki-il-[a][i]-ki-n[e] "recipients (fem. dual) of the additional payment": no. 227

In addition, the Pre-Sargonic texts dealing with the sale of fields designate the seller as lugal-gān-(kam) "lord (= owner) of the field" (nos. 22 and 23), or, in plural, as lugal-gān-me (nos. 22, 23, and 145). In one of the Pre-Sargonic sales of houses from Lagash (no. 139), the respective term is lugal [e] "lord of the [house]." The Akkadian equivalent of lugal-gān-(kam) is be-šū GĀN "lord of the field," which appears in no. 40. The seller is designated as lugal "owner" also in the Ur III sale documents nos. 276 and 277.

Another form for "owner of the field" is probably LŪ GĀN, attested in nos. 25 i11 10 and 34 i1 9.

Finally, we should mention here the obscure [x]-fx1 sag-gā-me "they are the [ . . . ] of the 'head,'" which describes the sellers in the Sargonic sale document no. 219, involving the sale of a person.

7.6.3. Secondary Sellers

The ancient kudurrus and sale documents use several terms for secondary sellers (henceforth abbreviated as SSs). In most instances, however, SSs are not designated by any specific terms. The terms attested are:

šē-gān "brothers' of the field": no. 15 xii, Fara
LŪ.ŠEŠ.EN "brother-lords (of the field)": no. 156a, Pre-Sargonic
dumu-gān-me "sons of the field": nos. 22, 23, and 144, Pre-Sargonic
ŠEŠ be-šū GĀN "brother-lords of the field": no. 40

In the following two sections, we shall discuss all the occurrences of SSs in the kudurrus and sale documents, including those in which SSs do not bear any description.

7.6.3.1. Fara Period

SSs are listed in eight Fara house sales (nos. 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 112 [= 113c], 113a, and 113b) and in seventeen texts dealing with the sale of fields (nos. 114, 116, 117, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 127a, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, and 135). No description is applied to SSs in any of these texts. The gifts presented to SSs do not have any label; they consist of commodities, usually the quantities of ninda "bread," gug "cake," tu, "soup," and NIGIN+HA.A (meaning unknown). They occasionally also include še "barley" (nos. 106, 113a, 113b, 114, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127a, 130, 131, and 132), sig "wool" (nos. 121, 122, and 127), TUG.ME.A.GĀL cloth (nos. 117 and 118), and i "oil" (no. 112). In three cases (nos. 123 [first SS], 129, and 134), gifts consist exclusively of barley.

One of the transactions recorded in the Baltimore Stone (no. 15 xii 7-15) lists three persons, among them the seller's son, who are described as šē-gān ki-ba i-durun-durun "brothers of the field who sat at this place (i.e., the place where the transaction took place)." Even though these individuals do not receive any gifts, they can assuredly be interpreted as SSs. In the Chicago and Baltimore Stones (nos. 14 and 15), SSs could also be sought among the persons designated as lū-ki-inim-ma "witnesses," depending on whether the gifts listed in these two kudurrus were meant for the sellers or the lū-ki-inim-ma (see the discussion of the operative sections of nos. 14 and 15 in section 6.2). Assuming that the latter was the case, the lū-ki-inim-ma would have to be interpreted as SSs (or Primary Witnesses).

7.6.3.2. Pre-Sargonic Period

The Pre-Sargonic document no. 156a, which deals with the sale of two fields and is written in Akkadian, contains
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a list of twenty-two personal names, each preceded by a personal wedge. The first two persons are described as LÜ.SES.EN “brother-lords’ (of the field),” whereas the following twenty individuals lack any designation. In spite of the fact that the two LÜ.SES.EN do not receive gifts, they can be identified as SSs, and the remaining persons, as witnesses.

Two Pre-Sargonic kudurrus (nos. 22 and 23) and one sale document from Lagash (no. 144) list several SSs, who are identified as dumu-gán-me “sons of the field” and receive additional payments, labeled as níg-ba “gift.” In one of the transactions recorded in no. 23 (rev. ix–obv. xi), the dumu-gán-me are followed by another group of people, who likewise receive additional payments, but are not described by any term. The additional payments (níg-ba) given to the SSs in these documents include ninda-se “barley-bread,” ninda-kalag (a type of bread), ku₄-dar-ra “dried fish,” tu₄ “soup,” udu “sheep,” še-sa “roasted barley,” and ga-rasAR “leek.” SSs appear, without any designation, in nine other sale documents from Lagash (nos. 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 147, 148, and 150). In nos. 137 and 141, the SSs are included in the same group as the witnesses, both of whom receive additional payments and are called lú-ki-inim-ma-bi-me “witnesses.” In two instances, SSs are relatives of the seller: in no. 140, six out of the nine SSs are the seller’s children, and in no. 150, the only SS listed there is the seller’s daughter. The number of SSs appearing in the above texts and the commodities they receive are as follows:

no. 137: two SSs, receiving 2(gur) še gur-2-UL, 2 ma-na sig, 20 ninda-KU-KU-na, 3 ninda-silà, ½ dug kas, and 2 ma-na šjig, 20 ninda, 3(silà) tu₄, ½ dug kas, respectively
no. 138: one SS, receiving [. . . ], 1 TÔG nig-lâm-gld-da
no. 139: three SSs, each receiving 5 ninda, 1 silà tu₄
no. 140: nine SSs, receiving varying quantities of še, ninda, ninda-silà, and sig
no. 141: six SSs, receiving varying quantities of sig, bar-si, ninda, tu₄, and ku₄-dar-ra; the first SS also receives one níg-sag-lal-SAL
no. 143: two SSs, each receiving 10 ninda, 1 silà tu₄, 1 silà i(-sáb)
no. 147: [x] + three SSs, receiving varying quantities of ninda
no. 148: seventeen + [x] SSs, receiving varying quantities of ninda and tu₄
no. 150: one SS, receiving 3 SUR, 2 ninda-silà

The first of the two transactions recorded in the Adab kudurru no. 32, which also dates to the Pre-Sargonic period, contains a list of nine persons, called lú-ki-inim-ma “witnesses,” four of whom receive one SU.A.TÜG cloth each, and the remaining five, one pound of wool each. They are followed by twenty-two (?) individuals, not receiving gifts, who are likewise designated as lú-ki-inim-ma. The gifts given to the first group of lú-ki-inim-ma, plus the gifts received by the primary sellers, are labeled in the total as níg-ba dumu PN “gift of the ‘sons’ of PN.” The two groups of persons can be interpreted as the SSs (or Primary Witnesses) and witnesses, respectively.

7.6.3. Sargonic Period

There are only few occurrences of SSs in the Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents. The transactions A₁ and D of the Manishtushu Obelisk (no. 40) list several SSs, who are called ŠES be-lu GÂN “brother-lords of the field.” These persons do not receive any gifts. SSs are also attested, without any designation, in the following texts:

no. 41 obv. vii 6’–11’: two SSs (listed at the beginning of the list of witnesses), each receiving 1 MA.NA SĪG
no. 164: one SS, receiving 1 gin kug
no. 165: one SS (brother of the seller), receiving [. . . ]
no. 177: one SS, receiving 2 gin kug
no. 227: one SS, receiving 1 BA.A[N], 1 MA.N[A] SĪG

7.7. Buyers

This section discusses the terms for buyers, attested in ancient kudurrus and sale documents. The questions pertaining to the number and social status of buyers are discussed in section 1.8.

As in the case of the terms for sellers (7.6), the only group of texts which consistently use special designations for buyers are the Fara sale documents. Buyers are occasionally identified by the use of such terms also in the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic texts, but not in the Ur III material.

The terms employed are 1) lú-šám-ag or lú-nig-šám-ag “man who ‘made’ the price” and 2) lú-Object of Sale-šám(-a) “man who bought the Object of Sale.” Both terms are attested throughout the Fara-Sargonic periods. With the exception of the Fara text no. 127, which uses lú-šam-kù for two buyers, the plurality of the subject is regularly expressed by the suffix -me. The following forms of these two terms are attested:

1) lú(-nig)-šám-ag “man who ‘made’ the price”
   lú-šam-ag: nos. 128, 134, 171, 174, and 176
   lú-šam-ag-ām “(PN) is the man who ‘made’ the price”: nos. 175 and 177
   lú-nig-šám-ag: App. to no. 32 and no. 207
   lú-nig-SÁM+A-āg-ām: nos. 178, 179, 186, 187, and 188
   lú-[nig-ŠÁM+ĀM-āg-ām]: no. 184

2) lú-Object of Sale-šám(-a) “man who bought the Object of Sale”
   lú-šá-m “man who bought the house”: nos. 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 (= 113c), 113, 113a, and 113b
   lú-gán-šám “man who bought the field”: nos. 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 127a, 127b, 130, 131, 132, 133, and 136
   lú-gán-šám-me “men who bought the field”: no. 125
   sag-šám-a “(the one) who bought the ‘head’”: no. 214
7.8. Terms for Buying and Selling

7.8.1. Introductory Remarks

In this section, we list all the verbal forms found in the kudurrus and sale documents which express either 1) the payment/receipt of the price and/or the additional payment(s) or 2) the purchase/sale of the object of sale. The verbs are cited together with the phrases in which they occur. The following abbreviations are used:

A = Amount
AP = Additional Payment
B = Buyer
OS = Object of Sale
P = Price
S = Seller
Ss = Sellers

For the use of verbs in the operative sections, see section 6.2.

7.8.2. Verbs Expressing the Payment/Receipt of the Price and/or the Additional Payment(s)

7.8.2.1. lal, šaqālim “to weigh out”

OS A S(s) an-na-lal: nos. 14 and 15
OS A S an-s̱-e-lal: no. 14 iiii 16
A (B to S) e-s̱-e-lal: no. 146
nig-šam-ma-ni A S-ra B e-na-lal: nos. 152 and 153
B i-na-lal (P): nos. 178 and 179
kug-pi B an-s̱-i-lal: no. 182a H
B i-ne-lal (P to Ss): nos. 184, 185, and 188
A nig-šam OS B i-Si-lal: nos. 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, and 203
A nig-šam OS-kam B e-na-lal: no. 208
A nig-šam OS B i-na-lal: nos. 349, 350, 352, and 353
A nig-šam ma-ni A S B i-na-lal: nos. 360
A nig-šam ma-ni A S B i-ne-lal: no. 361
A (B) i-na-lal: no. 226
A nig-šam OS Ss i-ne-lal: no. 362
A nig-šam OS S B i-na-lal: no. 204
A B nig-šam OS S s-i-ne-lal: no. 204
OS [nig-šam]-bi A B Ss an-ne-lal: no. 206
OS nig-s̱am-pi A S-ra B in-na-lal: no. 210
A nig-sham OS S B e-na-lal: no. 210
B ib-s̱-i-lal (P): no. 218
B in-lal (P): no. 219
B i-lal (P): no. 222
A (B) i-na-lal: no. 225
B1, 2 1.LAL (P): no. 234
OS nig-s̱am-šam-ma-ni A S B in-na-lal: nos. 349, 350, 352, and 353
OS nig-s̱am-ma-ni B S i-[n]a-[lal]: no. 351
S̱AM+A/AM OS-kam-šam ma-ni A B S-ra in-na-lal: no. 205
A nig-šam ma-ni A B e-na-lal: no. 361
A (B) i-na-lal: no. 210
OS nig-S̱AM+A/AM ma-ni A (B to S) ba-ši-lal: no. 364
A S̱AM+A/AM-ti-lal-šam ni-s̱e (B to Ss) in-ne-lal: no. 365

7.8.2.2. sum, ťadānum “to give”

OS A S(s) an-na-sum: nos. 14 and 15
A (P) an-na-sum: no. 128
(P) an-na-sum: no. 129
B nig-šam OS-kam B e-na-sum: no. 149
OS nig-Fi-lal (P): no. 173
OS nig-šam OS S e-na-sum: no. 180
A nig-šam OS-Kam B e-ne-sum: nos. 182a E
OS nig-šam-pi A B i-na-su[m]: no. 182a U
OS nig-šam OS B e-ne-sum: no. 189
OS nig-šam-b[i] A B Ss i-ne-sum: no. 204
A nig-šam OS-kam B S-ra an-na-sum: no. 208
A nig-šam OS-kam S B in-na-sum: no. 210
A B nig-šam OS S e-na-sum: no. 220
A I.LAL OS B a-na S i-ti-in: no. 228
B i-ti-in (P): no. 230
[AP i-ti-in?]: no. 232

7.8.2.3. šu . . . si “to fill hands (with price/silver)”

A nig-šam OS Ss B Šu-ne-ne-a ab-si: nos. 157, 158, 159, 161, and 162
A nig-šam OS Ss B Šu-ne-ne-ab-si: nos. 184, 185, 186, 187, and 188
(A) S Šu-na ab-si: no. 212
A šam OS S Šu-na bi-si: no. 214
A [(nig-)šam] OS-kam Ss kug-bi Šu-ne-ne-ab-si: no. 215
A nig-šam OS-kam Ss B kug-bi Šu-ne-ne-ab-si: no. 216
A [(nig-)šam] OS S Šu-na ab-si: no. 217

7.8.2.4. ba “to give, to allot”

nig-šam-bi A nig-ba-bi A S e-na-ba: no. 143

7.8.2.5. ág “to measure out (barley)”

še-pi-ta B ifi-na-i-fag?: no. 182
še-pi B an-na-ág: no. 182a D
A B S-ra an-na-ág nig-šam OS-kam: no. 205
A nig-šam OS-kam S B in-na-ág: no. 210

7.8.2.6. gar “to place”

4 PNs (= Buyers?) šam-ni i-gar: no. 192

7.8.2.7. šu . . . ti, mahārum “to receive”

A nig-šam OS-kam (S) Šu-ba-ti: nos. 22 and 23
AP (S) nig-ba-bi Šu-ba-ti: nos. 22 and 23
Ss lú-šê AP Šu-ba-ti: nos. 22 and 23
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OS SÂM A NÎG.KI.GAR A Ss ŠU.BA.TI: no. 36
A ŠE.NI.KI.DNI S? ŠU.BA.TI: no. 37 R. E.
A S ţi-la-ni šu-ba-ti: no. 137
nîg-šãm-bi A (S) šu-ba-ti nîg-ba-bi A Ss šu-ba-ti-êš: no. 139
nîg-šãm-bi A nîg-ba-bi A S šu-ba-ti: no. 140
nîg-šãm-bi A nîg-šãm ŠOS-kam A S nîg-ba-še šu-ba-ti: no. 141
nîg-šãm-bi A nîg-ba-bi A S-e šu-ba-ti: no. 142
A nîg-šãm ŠOS-kam (S) šu-ba-ti A [nîg-ba-še] ŠS Šu-ba-ti: no. 144
A nîg-šãm-ma-ni S šu-ba-ti: no. 150
A nîg-šãm ŠOS-kam S šu-ba-ti: no. 164
OS nîg-šãm-bi A S [šu]-ba-ti: no. 165
A S šu-ba-ti nîg-šãm ŠOS-[šãm]-[šu]-ba-ti: no. 168
A nîg-šãm ŠOS-kam S šu-ba-ti: nos. 171 and 172
OS nîg-šãm-bi A S [šu]-ba-[ti]: no. 173
A nîg-šãm ŠOS-sê S šu-ba-ti-[t]: no. 174
A nîg-šãm-bi A S šu-ba-ti: no. 175
OS nîg-šãm-pi A Ss šu-ba-ti: no. 176
OS nîg-šãm-bi A S šu-ba-ti: no. 177
OS NÎG-ŠA-M+A-bi A S šu-ba-ti: nos. 178 and 179
OS NÎG-ŠA-M+A-bi A S šu-ba-ti-[êš]: no. 179
OS nîg-šãm-pi A S šu-ba-ti: nos. 181 and 182a passim
A nîg-šãm OS[Š-kam] S Šu1-ba-ti: no. 183
A Ss [šu]-ba-ti: no. 190
A S šu-ba-ti: no. 191
S [šu]-ba-ti (P): no. 195
S šu-ba-ti (P): no. 196
S [šu]-ba-[ti] (P): no. 197
S šu-ba-[ti] (P): no. 198
S kug-bi šu-ba-[ti]: no. 199
S šu-ba-[ti] (P): no. 200
S šu-ba-ti (P): nos. 202, 203, and 207
S (from) B (P) šu-b[a]-t[i]: no. 209
S [šu]-ba-[t[i]: no. 218
OS A nîg-šãm-bi-še S šu-ba-ti: no. 222
A (P) ŠOS-kam ŠS šu-ba-ti: no. 223
A [(nîg-)ŠA-M] +ÂM OS-še ki B-ta S šu-ba-ti: no. 355
A nîg-šãm OS-še ki B-ta S šu-ba-ti: no. 356
A šam-tiš OS-še ki B-ta S šu-ba-ti: no. 357
A nîg-šãm-bi-še OS-še ki B-ta S šu-ba-ti: no. 358
A nîg-ŠA-M +ÂM OS-še ki B-ta S šu-ba-ti: no. 359
OS NÎG-ŠÁM-SU A NÎG.KI.GAR A Ss ma-šu-[ru]
[KUG.B]ABBAR: no. 41 obv. i
KUG.BABBAR NÎG.SÂM OS S im-[hu-r]: no. 41 obv. iii
OS NÎG.SÂM-SU A NÎG.KI.GAR A Ss ma-šu-[ru]: no. 41 obv. vi
OS NÎG.SÂM-SU A NÎG.KI.GAR A S im-[hu-r]: no. 41 obv. vi, rev. iv, vi
[OS NÎG.SÂM-SU A NÎG.KI.GAR] A Ss im-[hu-r]: no. 41 rev. iii

7.8.2.8. kû, akûlu “to consume, to receive”
OS A S an-kû: no. 15 passim
OS SÂM A S KÃ.GAR: no. 16
A OS S SÂM GÂN Kû: no. 34
A S Kû: no. 156a

7.8.2.9. tûm “to carry away, to bring”
OS A Ss an-na-tûm: no. 14 viii
OS A Ss an-ne-tûm?: no. 14 xvi
A nîg-šãm OS-še S ba-tûm: no. 154
OS A nîg-šãm-ma-(-n)î-še A S1 ba-tûm A S2 ba-tûm A S3 ba-tûm: no. 155
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A S ba-tum šâm-\(x\)-am\(\circ\): no. 177
OS nig-sâm-pi A S ba-ši-tûm: no. 182a N
OS nig-sâm-pi A B i-na-tûm: no. 182a I
OS A B i-na-tûm: no. 182 J
A S\(\?\) ba-tûm A S\(\?\) ba-tûm A S\(\?\) ba-tûm: no. 189
A nig-sâm OS S ba-tûm: no. 193
A S\(\?\) ba-tûm A S\(\?\) ba-tûm A S\(\?\) ba-tûm: no. 194
OS nig-sâm[\(m\)]-pi A S\? ba-tûm: no. 210

7.8.2.10. laḫâ “to carry away”
A (=5 sheep) S\? ba-laḫâ: no. 190

7.8.2.11. ē “to remove, to take away”
OS A AP Ss 6-ta ib-b: no. 14 passim

7.8.3.1. šâm, ša’āmum “to buy”
OS B e-še-šâm: no. 21
OS Ss lugal gân-še B e-ne-še-šâm: nos. 22 and 23
[OS S lugal gân-še B e-še-šâm]: no. 23 obv. iii
OS B I SÂM: no. 40
OS B e [S-še] e-še-šâm: no. 137
OB B S-šê-še-šâm: no. 138
OS S-sê] lugal [é-še] B e-ne-še-šâm: no. 139
OS S-še B e-še-šâm: nos. 140, 143, 144, and 150
OS [S-še] B e-še-šâm: no. 141
OS S S-še-še-šâm: no. 142
OS B S e-še-šâm: no. 146
B e S-še OS e-še-šâm: no. 151
OS S-še B e-še-šâm: nos. 152 and 153
OS S e-še-šâm: no. 182a B
OS nig-sâm OS-kam B an-šâm: no. 190
OS B e S-še i-ne-ši-šâm: no. 201
OS S-še B i-ši-šâm: no. 213
OS S-še B e-še-šâm: no. 225
A nig-sâm OS S-še B e-še-šâm: no. 226
OS kug-bi A S S B [i]-ni-ši-šâm: no. 247
OS f\(sâm\) A k S f\{[\(\tau\)]\} B in-ša; no. 247a
OS nig-sâm-bi A S-še B S S i-ne-ši-šâm: no. 248
OS kug-bi A B S S\(\~\)-šê i-ši-šâm (wr. GAZ): no. 249
OS [nig]\(S\)-šâm + AM-bi A Ss-ra B [i]-ne-ši-Šâm + A: no. 250
OS A-še Ss B in-ne-ši-šâm: no. 251
OS nig-Sâm + AM-bi A B S S\(\~\)-šê\(\?\) in-ne-ši-Šâm + A[\(\circ\): no. 252
OS nig-sâm-bi A[\(\~\)-še] B S S in-fne\(\~\)-šâm: no. 253
OS kug-bi A S-še B e in-ši-šâm: no. 255
OS A-še S-še B e in-ši-šâm: no. 256
OS nig-sâm-bi A-še S\{[\(\~\)]\} B [i]-ni-šâm**: no. 257
OS kug-babbar nig-sâm-bi A ki S B in-ši-šâm: no. 258
OS nig-Sâm + AM-tl-la-bi A-še B S in-ši-šâm: no. 259
OS A-še S-še B in-ši-šâm-ás*: no. 260
OS kug-bi A B S S\(\~\)-a i-šâm: no. 261
OS [nig-sâm-bi] A-še S-ra in-ne-ši-šâm: no. 262
OS šâm-bi A S B S ra in-ši-šâm: no. 263
OS A-še S-še B e in-ši-šâm: no. 264
OS nig-Sâm-bi A B S ra in-ši-šâm: no. 265
OS nig-Sâm + AM-bi A S S-ra B in-ši-šâm: no. 266
OS kug-bi A ki S-ta B in-ši-šâm: no. 268
OS nig-Sâm + AM-bi A S S ra in-ši-šâm: no. 270
OS kug A-fšêl S S-l in-ši-Šâm + A: no. 270
OS nig-Sâm + AM [M-ma-n] A S B [i]-ni-šâm*: no. 271
OS nig-Sâm + AM-ma-ni A S B S ra in-ši-Šâm + A: no. 272
OS nig-sâm[m-ma-ni] A S B in-[i]-šâm: no. 273
OS kug-bi A S ka B e-i-šâm: no. 274
OS nig-sâm [m-ma-ni] A-še B S-ra [i]-ni-šâm: no. 275
OS nig-Sâm + AM-bi A S S lugal-a-ni-ir B e in-ši-šâm: no. 276
OS A-še S lugal-a-ni-šê B in-ši-šâm: no. 277
OS nig-sâm-ma-ni A-še B S ra in-ši-šâm: no. 278
OS nig-sâm ma-ne-ne A-âm S B in-ši-šâm: no. 279
OS A-še B S S-ra [i]-ni-ši-šâm: no. 280
OS A-še B S S ra an-ši-šâm: no. 281
OS nig-sâm A B S in-ši-šâm: no. 282
OS nig-sâm ma-ni A ki S-ta B in-ši-šâm: no. 283
OS A-še B S e-ša in-ši-šâm: no. 284
OS nig-lš-šâm-bi A S B in-ši-šâm: no. 285
OS kug šâm-bi A ki S-ta B in-ši-šâm: no. 286
OS A-Šâm + AM-t[i]-la-ni-[i]-šê [S B in-ši-šâm]: no. 287
OS kug-babbar nig-sâm-ma-ga-ni A ki S-ta B in-ši-šâm: no. 288
OS šâm-bi kug A ki S t a ū S B S in-ši-šâm: no. 289
OS nig-sâm-ma ni A-[t-še] S-ra [a] B in-ši-šâm: no. 290
OS nig-sâm-ma-ni A-še B S S-ra in-ši-šâm: no. 292
OS nig-Sâm + AM-ma-ni A fšêl [S B in-ši-šâm]: no. 293
OS A nig-Sâm + AM-til-a-ni-še B S ra in-ši-šâm: no. 294
OS nig-sâm ma-ne-ne A-še S-S ra B in-ši-šâm: no. 295
OS kug A-še S-še B e in-ši-šâm: no. 296
OS nig-sâm-bi A k [i] S-ta B in-ši-šâm: no. 297
OS nig-sâm-ma-ni A B S-ra in-ši-šâm: no. 298
OS A-še S-še B e in-ši-šâm: no. 299
OS nig-sâm-ma-ga-ni A ki S-ta B e in-ši-šâm: no. 300
OS nig-Sâm (wr. ÁG) + AM-e A B S S in-ši-šâm (wr. ÁG): no. 301
OS kug-babbar-bi A ki S-ta B e in-ši-šâm: no. 302
OS kug-nig-sâm (wr. ÁG)-ma-ni A S S b in-ne-ši-sâ: no. 303
OS nig-sâm-bi A S S ra B in-ši-šâm: no. 304
OS nig-sâm-a-ni A B S ra in-ši-šâm: no. 305
OS nig-Sâm + AM ma-ni A S ma-ni-ir B e in-ši-šâm: no. 306
OS nig-sâm ma-ni A S S ra B in-ši-šâm: no. 307
OS nig-sâm ni A S [r] B in-ši-[šâm]: no. 308
OS [nig-šám-gem]-[še] B [i]-ni-šâm: no. 309
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[OS [nig-šam]-ma-ni A S([-ra)] B-e\(^\text{3}\) [in-ši-šam]: no. 310
OS Säm-ma-ni A S [-ra] B-rel [in-ši-šim]: no. 311
OS nig-šam A S-ra B in-ši-sam: no. 312
OS nig-šam A S-ra B in-ši-sam: no. 313

The earliest land tenure systems in the Near East involve the use of various signs and symbols to denote transactions. In the kudurrus and sale documents from the Fara period, the list of witnesses is a standard component of both the kudurrus and sale documents. In the kudurrus, which record multiple transactions, the list of witnesses in the operative section and final clauses. In the sale documents, which deal with single transactions, the list of witnesses is regularly placed at the end of the document. Note, however, that no. 40 does not follow this rule, as it has a list of witnesses following each of the four transactions (nos. 23, 35, and 38)—apparently depending on whether the individual transactions that are recorded on whether the individual transactions that are recorded. In nos. 28, 33, and 48, the relation-ship of the list of witnesses to the rest of the document is uncertain, due to the fragmentary state of their preservation. Throughout the Fara-Sargonic periods, the names of witnesses are regularly preceded by the cipher “11” (a semi-circle), which functions as the so-called Personenkeil, for which see Krecher, ZA 63 pp. 161–65. In one Sargonic sale document (no. 217), the Personenkeil has the form of a vertical wedge, while in another (no. 224), a combination of igi “before” and the Personenkeil is used, both features
being very rare before Ur III times. In the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic texts, the Personenkeil is wanting in only eleven instances (nos. 14, 15, 28, 38, 125, 129, 177, 216, 223, 243, and 244).

Although the Personenkeil, now shaped as a vertical wedge, is found in a considerable number of the Ur III sale documents, the more common method of marking witnesses in these texts is by the use of the construction igi . . . (-še) "before." Some of the Ur III sale documents combine these two ways of identifying witnesses by construing the first name (or the first few names) appearing in the list with igi . . . (-še) (or igi or -še), while marking the following names with a Personenkeil. There are also instances where the first name is construed with igi . . . -še or -še alone, with the following names being unmarked. A unique way of identifying witnesses is found in no. 255, where the name of each witness is preceded by a Personenkeil and followed by -še. In twelve of the Ur III sale documents (nos. 252, 259, 261, 262, 271, 277, 279, 282, 284, 333, 341, and 367), the names of witnesses lack any markings.

The following is a list of the ways used to mark the names of witnesses in the Ur III sale documents:

3) igi PN: nos. 247a, 254, 258(?), 267, 268, 283, 287, 289, 297, 301, 304, 343, 352, 362, 363, 366(?), 368, and 370
4) IPN-še: no. 255
5) first witness igi PN-še, following IPN: nos. 300, 316, and 327
6) first two witnesses igi PN-še, following IPN: no. 348
7) first witness igi PN-še, following PN: no. 278
8) first witness igi PN, following IPN: no. 338
9) first four witnesses igi PN, following IPN: no. 334
10) first witness igi PN, following PN: no. 272
11) first witness PN-še, following IPN: no. 266

In the overwhelming majority of the kudurrus and sale documents, the list of witnesses is followed by a term identifying the preceding persons as "witnesses." While this description is wanting in quite a number of the Ur III sale documents (nos. 247, 247a, 254, 256, 267, 270, 281, 286, 291, 293, 294, 296, 297, 299, 301, 302, 303, 308, 309, 312, 327, 347, 358, 359, 360, 368, and 370), the only earlier texts that do not have it are nos. 114, 156a, and 224.

7.9.2. Terms for Witnesses

Three terms for "wit ness" are attested in the kudurrus and sale documents: 1) lú-ki-inim-ma; 2) lú-înim-ma; 3) AB+ĀŠ, sibum.

In the texts dating to the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic periods, the terms lú-îkim-ma and AB+ĀŠ, apart from being used to identify witnesses, are occasionally applied also to secondary sellers and other participants of the transaction. See the following examples:

1) lú-ki-inim describing a secondary seller (no. 129)
2) lú-îkim-ma describing secondary sellers (no. 32)
3) lú-îkim-ma-bi-me describing secondary sellers (nos. 137 and 141)
4) lú-ki-inim describing an ENGAR.ÚŠ official (no. 122)
5) lú-îkim-ma-bi describing a negir "herald" (no. 137)
6) AB+ĀŠ, AB+ĀŠ describing LÚ.GÁN.GÍD.DA "surveyors" (no. 40)
7) AB+ĀŠ describing a secondary seller (no. 237)

Apparently, while the narrow usage of lú-îkim-ma and AB+ĀŠ was limited to the witnesses proper, in a broader sense they could denote any participant of the transaction other than the buyer and the seller.

7.9.2.1. lú-îkim-ma

The term lú-îkim-ma is the standard word for "witness" from the Fara down to the Sargonic period in the texts written in Sumerian. It continues to be occasionally used as late as Ur III times, even though the usual term for "witness" in that period is lú-îkim-ma (see under 7.9.2.2.).

Although the meaning "witness" of lú-îkim-ma is assured by the context of its occurrences, the analysis of this term is somewhat unclear. The two most likely choices are either to analyze it as a double genitive: lú ki inim-ak "person of the place of the legal case / transaction," or to assume, with Krecher, ZA 63 pp. 160f., that it represents an abbreviation of *lú ki inim-ma-ka gub-ba / tuš-ša, "person who stood / sat at the place of the legal case / transaction."

The earliest attested form of this term is lú-îkim-inim. This spelling is found only in the Fara sale documents (nos. 100-113c, 115-124, and 126-136), where it is used both for the singular and the plural: "(this/ these is/are) the witness(es)."

The term lú-îkim-inim makes its appearance in the Fara sale document no. 125, which, in view of its various textual peculiarities, may be actually younger than the other Fara sale documents, and in kudurrus nos. 14 and 15, whose date also seems to be slightly later than that of the Fara texts. While no. 125 adds the copula -me to mark the plural: "(these) are the witnesses," or to assume, with Krecher, ZA 63 pp. 160f., that it represents an abbreviation of *lú ki inim-ma-ka gub-ba / tuš-ša, "person who stood / sat at the place of the legal case / transaction."

In the Pre-Sargonic kudurrus, and sale documents from Lagash (nos. 23, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, and 155), one finds for the first time the spelling lú-îkim-inim-ma-bi, "(this) is the witness of this legal case / transaction," and the plural is regularly
expressed by -me. The same spelling, with -pi occasionally replacing -bi, is the standard description of witnesses in the Sargonic texts (passim). It is also found in Ur III texts nos. 287, 292 (adds -es), 344, and 355 (adds -es).

The term lú-ki-inim-ma usually appears without any qualifications. The only exception is no. 32, in which the witnesses are described as lú-ki-inim-ma PN, “witnesses of (the family of) PN,” i.e., witnesses of the sellers.

The following are the forms of lú-ki-inim-ma found in the texts belonging to the present corpus:

2) lú-ki-inim-ma: nos. 14, 15, 32, and 33
3) lú-ki-inim-ma-me: nos. App. to no. 32, 125, 169, 192, 225, 274, and 318
4) lú-ki-inim-ma-bi: nos. 182 and 193 (5 persons)
6) lú-ki-inim-ma-me: nos. 210 and 213
7) lú-ki-inim-ma-bi-me-ès: nos. 292 and 355

7.9.2.2. lú-inim-ma

The term lú-inim-ma, “person of the legal case / transaction,” is the standard word for “witness” in Ur III times. Its origin, however, can be traced back to the Sargonic period, as in Sargonic sale documents nos. 170, 172, and 175. With the exception of the Ur III text no. 361, which is written in Akkadian, the use of lú-inim-ma is limited to the Sumerian documents.

In view of the fact that lú-inim-ma appears later than lú-ki-inim-ma, and that it replaces the latter completely by OB times, one may speculate that lú-inim-ma is a simplified form of lú-ki-inim-ma, introduced by the Sargonic scribes for reasons of economy (cf. Krecher, ZA 63 p. 160).

The only example of lú-inim-ma being qualified by another description comes from no. 172, which has lú-inim-ma inim til-a-kam “(this) is the witness of the completed transaction.”

The term lú-inim-ma is attested in the following forms:

1) lú-inim-ma-bi: no. 175
2) lú-inim-ma inim til-a-kam: no. 172
4) lú-inim-ma-bi-me-ès: nos. 251, 256, 282, and 295

7.9.2.3. AB+ÁŠ, šibum

The logogram AB+ÁŠ, which belongs to the variety of cuneiform that was dubbed by Gelb as the “Kish Tradition” (see Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 1/1 p. 13), stands for the Akkadian šibum “elder, witness.” A detailed discussion of AB+ÁŠ and šibum has recently been offered by Gelb, JNES 43 (1984) pp. 263–76.

The earliest occurrences of AB+ÁŠ come from Akkadian kudurrus nos. 28 and 35, both of which date to the Pre-Sargonic period. This term is the standard description of witnesses in the Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents written in Akkadian. Although AB+ÁŠ is occasionally used in Akkadian texts as late as Ur III times (e.g., TIM 3, 150:15), it is found in none of the Ur III sale documents belonging to this corpus. However, one of the texts (no. 343) contains a unique example of šibum written in Akkadian.

In nos. 227 and 235, where the witnesses were exclusively women, there is used the logogram SAL.AB+ÁŠ, standing for šibum “female witness.” The plural is expressed by either the reduplication of the logogram (nos. 28, 40, 41, 45, 48, 235, 236, 237, 240, and 241) or the addition of -bu-ut (for šibut) to the unreduplicated form (nos. 233, 242, and 244). In several cases, however, the unreduplicated form is used for the plural (nos. 35, 38, 228, 230, 234, 239, 243, and 246). In one instance (no. 41 obv. v), AB+ÁŠ,AB+ÁŠ describes a single witness.

While in most instances the term AB+ÁŠ (and its variants) is placed immediately after the list of witnesses, in agreement with the practice found in the Sumerian texts using the terms lú-ki-inim-ma and lú-inim-ma, some texts insert between the names of witnesses and AB+ÁŠ the phrase SUN.IGIN NUMBER, which tallies the preceding persons (nos. 35, 38, 229, 230, 233, 234, 237, 240, 242, and 343). Also, in contrast to the terms lú-ki-inim-ma and lú-inim-ma, which usually appear without any qualifications, AB+ÁŠ tends to be combined with various descriptions. Thus we find: 1) “(witnesses) of the buyer” (nos. 38, 227?, and 233); 2) “(witnesses) of the seller” (no. 243); 3) “(witnesses) of the field of (GN/PN)” (nos. 40, 41, 43, and 239); 4) “(witnesses) of the compensation (kutrustedum)” (nos. 228, 236, and 343); 5) “(witnesses) of the measuring (šiddatum) of the field” (no. 246); 6) “(witnesses) who inspected the measuring (of the house)” (no. 244); 7) “(witnesses) that the seller measured out the house to the buyer” (no. 242); 8) “(witnesses) who ate bread (and drank beer) in the house of the buyer” (nos. 35 and 237); 9) “(witnesses) of (PN)” (nos. 48 and 229).

A completely unique pattern of the list of witnesses is found in no. 230: “in the house of PN, daughter of PN, in Akkadé, 10 PN’s, the total of 10 witnesses (to the fact) that the buyer weighed out the silver in Akkadé.”

The following list contains the extant examples of AB+ÁŠ, cited with the full contexts of their occurrences:

1) [x]+2 PN’s AB+ÁŠ,AB+ÁŠ: no. 28
2) [20 PN’s] SUN.IGIN 20 AB+ÁŠ in Š! Buyer NINDA KÚ(KA+GAR) KAŠ I.NA[G][K][A+A]: no. 35
3) 9+[16] PN’s SUN.IGIN 25 AB+ÁŠ Buyer: no. 38
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4) 49 D PNs SU.NIGIN 49 DUMU.DUMU A-ga-dēKI AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN: no. 40 A, B, C, D
5) 5 D PNs SU.NIGIN 5 GURUŠ AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN: no. 40 A
6) 30 D PNs SU.NIGIN 30 GURUŠ AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN Gil, tabKI: no. 40 B
7) 3 PNs (LÜ.ĔS.ĠĪD, DUB.SAR, and SAG.DU₁) receiving additional payments + 27 D PNs = SU.NIGIN 3 DUB.SAR SU.NIGIN 27 AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS; 10 D PNs SU.NIGIN 10 DUMU.DUMU AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS; 12 D PNs SU.NIGIN 12 NU.BANDA u UGULA; SU.NIGIN.SU.NIGIN 52 GURUŠ Mār-daKI AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN: no. 40 C
8) 6 D PNs AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN: no. 40
9) 1 D PN AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN: no. 40
10) 3 PNs AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS SU.URUKI.ULIKI: no. 40
11) [x]+20 PNs AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GAN: no. 40
12) [x]+20 PNs AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS AB+ĂS xKI: no. 40
13) [x]+2 PN SAL.AB+ĂS Buyer: no. 227
14) 4 D PNs SAL.AB+ĂS Buyer: no. 227
15) 6 D PNs SU.NIGIN 6 AB+ĂS in KI²K: no. 229
16) 10 D PNs SU.NIGIN 10 AB+ĂS Buyer in A-ga-dēKI KUG.BABBAR iš₁ku-iš: no. 230
18) 6 D PNs SU.NIGIN 6 AB+ĂS-bu-ut Buyer: no. 233
19) 7 D PNs SU.NIGIN 7 AB+ĂS: no. 234
20) [x]+3 D PN SAL.AB+ĂS.SAL.AB+ĂS: no. 235
21) 4 D PNs AB+ĂS.GA-abra-im: no. 236
22) 18 D PNs + 1 PN (receiving additional payments) [19] AB+ĂS in Buyer NINDA K(U): no. 237
23) 8 D PNs AB+ĂS GÂN: no. 239
24) 11 D PNs SU.NIGIN 11 AB+ĂS.BA+B: no. 240
25) 7 D PNs AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS: no. 241
26) 8 D PNs SU.NIGIN 8 AB+ĂS-bu-ut: no. 242
27) 6 D PNs AB+ĂS Seller: no. 243
28) 6 PN Śu₂:abu AB+ĂS-bu-ut si-da-t[im] i-mu-ru: no. 244
29) 4 D PNs AB+ĂS Si-da-ti GÂN: no. 246
30) 10 PNs (each preceded by IG) SU.NIGIN 10 GURUŠ si-bu-tum giš鲁-sa-im: no. 243

7.9.3. Distinctions among Witnesses

In the overwhelming majority of the texts, witnesses are listed as a single homogeneous group, within which no internal distinctions are detectable. In a few texts, however, witnesses are divided into two separate units. This is the pattern in Fara sale documents nos. 114 and 122, Sargonic kudurrus no. 40, and Ur III sale documents nos. 327 and 332.

Given the fact that in nos. 114 and 122 the members of the second unit are in each case the sons of the buyer, they undoubtedly represented the witnesses of the buyer. Accordingly, the members of the first unit can be identified as the witnesses of the seller.

The same explanation applies to nos. 40 and 327. In no. 40, transactions A, B, and C contain in each case two lists of witnesses, described as AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN (GN), "witnesses of the field (of GN)," and DUMU.DUMU A-ga-dēKI AB+ĂS.AB+ĂS GÂN, "citizens of Akkad, witnesses of the field," respectively. Since the members of the second list are the same individuals in each of the three transactions, and further, since they are associated with Akkad (i.e., the royal capital), they clearly represented the witnesses of the buyer (i.e., the king Manishtushu). The first group must therefore represent the witnesses of the sellers; this interpretation finds confirmation in the fact that, in transaction A, the first group of witnesses included four relatives of the sellers. In no. 327, the witnesses are divided into ušur-da-gi₂₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋₄₋点儿背后发生的事情。
applied to secondary sellers as well. Furthermore, we have examples of witnesses receiving additional payments. A clear case in point is found in the Pre-Sargonic text no. 140, which contains, in addition to the secondary sellers (who receive additional payments and do not have a Personenkeil before their names), a list of twenty-three witnesses (lü-ki-inim-ma-bi-me), who are given additional payments (in the amount of four breads per person) and whose names are marked with a Personenkeil.

Although this interpretation is not as immediately obvious as in no. 140, it can be demonstrated that witnesses receive additional payments also in nos. 137 and 141, likewise dating to the Pre-Sargonic period. Each of the latter texts contains a list of persons, labeled as lü-ki-inim-ma-bi-me, all of whom receive additional payments and lack a Personenkeil before their names. Given that there is no other list of witnesses in either text, it necessarily follows that the list comprises both the secondary sellers and the witnesses. This interpretation is supported by the fact that, by comparing the types and quantities of commodities included in the additional payments, it is possible in each case to divide the list into two units, comprising secondary sellers and witnesses, respectively. Thus, in no. 137, the first two persons, receiving barley, wool, beer, soup, and several types of bread, can be identified as the secondary sellers, while the following twenty-three persons, receiving, in considerably smaller quantities, only soup and one type of bread, can be identified as the witnesses. Similarly, in no. 141, the first six persons, who receive several types of garments as well as wool, bread, soup, and fish, appear to have been the secondary sellers; the following nineteen individuals, each of whom receives two breads and one quart of soup (with the exception of one person, who has ten breads and five quarts of soup), may be interpreted as the witnesses.

A unique situation is found in the Sargonic text no. 192. This text contains a single list of witnesses, labeled lü-ki-inim-ma-me, who receive ten breads each (10 sinda-ta) and whose names are marked with a Personenkeil.

Other instances of witnesses (lü-ki-inim-ma) who receive additional payments are possibly attested in Fara kudurrus nos. 14 and 15. This, however, is not entirely certain, since these texts can alternatively mean that the additional payments in question were actually given to the witnesses (see the discussion of the operative sections of nos. 14 and 15 in section 6.2).

The above facts obviously raise the following question: since, at least as far as the Fara and Pre-Sargonic periods are concerned, witnesses could receive additional payments, while secondary sellers could be described by the terms lü-ki-inim-ma and AB+ÁS, both meaning "witness," was there any qualitative difference between the two? If, as the facts seem to indicate, secondary sellers and witnesses were virtually indistinguishable from the legal point of view, it would perhaps be more appropriate to include both in one broad category of "witnesses," differentiating them specifically between "primary witnesses" (i.e., secondary sellers) and "secondary witnesses" (i.e., witnesses).

7.10. Guarantors

The only occurrence of a guarantor in sale documents before the Ur III period comes from the Sargonic text no. 233: D PN D PN₂ u-gi-ip "PN (and) PN₂ guaranteed (uqip, D-stem from qipum; instead of the expected dual uqippû)." This passage may also be interpreted as "PN guaranteed (to) PN₂ (i.e., the buyer)" in accordance with Steinkeller, RA 74 (1980) p. 179. [For the verb, see now JCS 35 (1983) p. 168 no. 1:9-10: [PN šu GUD [u]-gi-ip-su, "[PN, man in charge of oxen, guaranteed for him (i.e., the seller).""] In contrast, the Ur III sale documents mention guarantors fairly frequently. There are attested four different terms for "guarantor" in those texts: 1) gâb-gi, 2) lü-gi-na-ab-tūm, 3) lü-inim-gi-na, and 4) muqippum. In addition, in some texts the guarantor is identified not by one of the above terms, but by the verb gi-(n), Akk. kuûnum, kunnum "to be firm," "to make firm, to guarantee."

1) gâb-gi (lit.: "may I guarantee for it": a frozen cohortative of the verb gi-(n))

PN gâb-gi-bi-im "PN is the guarantor": nos. 306, 308, and 319
PN gâb-gi-bi: no. 271
PN ga-ab-gi-bi: no. 303
PN gâb-gi-in sag-ka-m "PN is the guarantor of the "head": no. 292

2) lü-gi-na-ab-tūm

PN lü-gi-[na]-ab-tūm-bi-im "PN is the guarantor": no. 304
PN lü-gi-na-ab-tum: no. 339
PN lü-ki-[na]-ab-tūm-bi-im: no. 315
PN lü-ki-na-ab-tum-bi-im: no. 296
PN lü-ki-na-ab-dam-bi-im: no. 300
PN lü-ki-na-ab-dam-a-si-TUM-ma?,-bi-im "PN is the guarantor of . . .": no. 299
PN nam-[]-lû-gi-(na)-ab-tum-bi-še mu lugal-bi in-pâd "PN swore by the name of the king for the guarantorship": no. 294.

3) lü-inim-gi-na

PN lü-inim-[gi-na] "PN is the guarantor": no. 288
PN lü-inim-gi-[na]: no. 329
[PN] lû-inim-gi-na: no. 332 (among witnesses)

4) muqippum

PN û PN₂ DUMU.NI mu-gi-bu "PN and PN₂, her son, (are) the guarantors": no. 370

5) gi-(n)

PN ib-gi-ni /i-b-gin-e/ "PN guarantees": no. 298
PN ib-gi-ne: no. 352

For a detailed discussion of these terms and the legal importance of guarantors in the Ur III period, see Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 80–92.
7.11. Other Participants of the Transaction

Under this category, we have included the persons acting as neutral parties to the sale transaction, whose duties entailed the surveying and registration of sold real estate, the official authorization of transactions, the weighting of purchase price, the publicity of sales, and the preparation of sale documents.

7.11.1. Fara Period

The Fara sale documents were attended basically by four types of officials, um-mi-a lú-é-és-gar “master house surveyor” and nigir-sila “street herald” (or gal-nigir “chief herald”), who appear in the house sales, and dub-sar(-gān) “(field) scribe” and ENGAR.USR “. . .” (in no. 125 called engar), who are attested in the transactions involving the sale of fields. In two of the field sales (nos. 133 and 136), we also find a sag-du₃ “field recorder” and GU.SUR.NUN “field assessor.” The officials are not attested in six instances (nos. 101, 113, 127b, 128, 129, and 134); they are not preserved in two texts (nos. 120 and 121). All of these officials are given payments, with the exception of no. 125, listing a dub-sar and an engar, of whom only the former receives a gift.

In the house sales, the um-mi-a lú-é-és-gar is followed by nigir-sila (nos. 102? , 103, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, and 112 = 113c) or preceded by gal-nigir (nos. 100 and 108). In two instances (nos. 104 and 107), um-mi-a lú-é-és-gar appears alone. In the transactions in which the “master house surveyor” is listed together with the “street herald,” the former official receives more gifts than the latter. The payments given to the “master house surveyor” include one pound of copper (disregarding whether the price is paid in copper or silver) and quantities of ninda, gûg, tu₇, and NIGIN+HA.A, whereas the “street herald” usually receives quantities of barley, ninda, gûg, tu₇, and NIGIN+HA.A. In contrast, the “master house surveyor” is given fewer gifts than the “chief herald”; he receives \( \frac{1}{2} \) pound of copper, plus quantities of ninda, gûg, tu₇, and NIGIN+HA.A, whereas the “chief herald” gets one pound of copper.

In the texts involving the sale of fields, the official dub-sar(-gān) is followed by ENGAR.USR (engar in no. 125) in eleven instances (nos. 114, 119, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127a, 130, 131, 132, and 135?), by sag-du₃ and GU.SUR.NUN, in one (no. 133), and by GU.SUR.NUN alone, also in one (no. 136). The dub-sar(-gān) appears alone in six documents (nos. 115, 116, 117, 118, 123, and 127), whereas in one case (no. 124), the only official mentioned is ENGAR.USR. As a rule, dub-sar(-gān) receives more payments than ENGAR.USR and the two other officials (with the possible exception of no. 136, where the dub-sar(-gān) is given the same amount as the GU.SUR.NUN). His payments usually include between 1 and \( \frac{1}{2} \) pounds of copper, alternating with between \( \frac{1}{2} \) and \( \frac{1}{2} \) shekels of silver, plus quantities of ninda, gûg, tu₇, and NIGIN+HA.A. In some instances, dub-sar(-gān) receives also barley, wool, and oil. The official ENGAR.USR receives quantities of barley, ninda, gûg, tu₇, and NIGIN+HA.A, with the exception of no. 124, the only text in which he appears alone, where he is given two shekels of silver. In no. 125, which differs considerably from the other Fara texts, both officials (called dub-sar and engar) are recorded, but only the former receives a gift: ŚÂM+2 (i.e., 2/3 shekel) kug, i sîla i, nig-ba-ni. The sag-du₃ and GU.SUR.NUN who follow dub-sar-gān in no. 133 each receive the same amounts of wool, ninda, gûg, tu₇, and NIGIN+HA.A. In no. 136, the GU.SUR.NUN receives one shekel of silver; the same amount of silver is most probably received by the two scribes (dub-sar) listed in this document.

Since the “master house surveyor” and the “street herald” (or the “chief herald”) are attested only in house sales, and the “(field) scribe” and ENGAR.USR, only in field sales, it is reasonable to assume that these officials performed complementary functions, depending on the type of real estate (houses or fields). This point seems to be assured in the case of the “master house surveyor” and the “(field) scribe,” both of whom were clearly responsible for the surveying, and probably also for the registration, of real estate. The same is less certain in the case of the other two officials, for only the function of the “street herald” (or the “chief herald”) is known. The nigir served as a town crier and thus was an instrument of publicity. We can assume, therefore, that, in the context of sales, the “street herald,” and similarly the “chief herald,” was responsible for the publicity of concluded transactions, more specifically, those transactions which involved estates located within the city limits, i.e., houses. The meaning and function of ENGAR.USR is not known, but, if his duties paralleled those of nigir-sila and gal-nigir, it would follow, then, that he was responsible for the publicity of field sales. It is significant that in no. 125, whose formulary diverges somewhat from that of the other Fara sale documents, this official is called engar. This may indicate that the function of ENGAR.USR was similar to that of engar, who in the early periods appears to have been a high administrative official in charge of agricultural activities (agronomos or the like). The engar was probably also involved in the surveying and registration of fields; this is suggested by the Pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash, where the same person, named Lugal-kur, is earlier documented as an engar (FAS 14, 173 iv 13–14—Lugalanda 4; DP 132 v 5–6—Lugalanda 5), and later, as a lú-ēš-gid “surveyor” (DP 133 viii 8–9—Urukagina 1). The ENGAR.USR, however, cannot be identical with the engar, since these two officials appear side by side in the Pre-Sargonic text DP 590.

The officials sag-du₃ and GU.SUR.NUN who replace the ENGAR.USR in nos. 133 and 136, are well documented as “field recorder” and “field assessor” respectively (for GU.SUR.NUN, see commentary to no. 20 iii 9). In the context of field sales, however, they may have been specifically responsible, like the ENGAR.USR, for the publicity of transactions.

In the Chicago and Baltimore Stones (nos. 14 and 15), dated to the Fara period, most of the transactions contain a list of persons, usually the same four men, who are
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described as engar zag/ki durun-durun "farmers' who sat on a side / at (this) place." These persons do not receive any payments. The fact that the same individuals appear in this position in different transactions suggests that they are to be interpreted as the counterparts of the ENGAR. US. This assumption may find support in the example of ENGAR.US being replaced by engar in one of the Fara sale documents (no. 125). The identification of the engar officials of the Chicago and Baltimore Stones with the ENGAR.US official, who appears exclusively in transactions involving the sale of fields, is further indicated by the fact that all of the transactions recorded in these two kudurrus are field sales.

The persons designated as sag-du₅, GU.SUR.NUN, and engar appear also in the Enăgēl Tablet (no. 21), likewise dated to the Fara period. However, the interpretation of these persons as the officials who attended the respective transactions is not certain on account of the difficulties involved in the interpretation of this document.

7.11.2. Pre-Sargonic Period

In five Pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash dealing with the sale of houses (nos. 137, 139, 140, 141, and 142), and in one slave sale (no. 151), there is listed a nigir "herald," in two instances called nigir-uru "town herald." This official performs the kag . . . dū and i . . . ag rites, symbolizing the transfer of property and assuring the publicity of transaction, and receives gifts (with the exception of nos. 142 and 151). The payments given to the "herald" are different in each case: 1 dug kas (no. 137); 5 sīlā tu₅ (no. 139); 2(UL) še gur-2-UL, 1 dug kas, 30 ninda-KU-KU-na, 3 ninda-sīlā (no. 140); 1(gur) še gur-2-UL, 1 dug kas-gi₆, 10 ku₅-dar-ra (no. 141). Quite characteristically, the "herald" does not appear in the Lagash field sales (note that in these transactions the rites in question were performed by the seller!). Two of the latter texts (nos. 23 and 144) name in his place "scribes" (dub-sar), further described as lū-gān-gid-da-me "field surveyors," who do not receive payments. No. 147, in which the object of sale is not preserved, lists a dub-sar with a gift: 1 [. . .], 1 dug-KIL.KIL kas, 10 ninda.

This particular distribution of officials seems to suggest that, in the Pre-Sargonic Lagash, the sales of houses and the sales of fields were attended and officially authorized by two different officials, nigir and dub-sar lū-gān-gid-da, respectively. If so, we would find here continuation of the practice first documented in the Fara period (see section 7.11.1).

Scribes are also mentioned in two other Pre-Sargonic sale documents, who wrote the tablets in question: PN um-mi-a dub mu₅sar "PN, the master scribe, wrote (this) tablet" (App. to no. 32); PN dub-[sar] im-bi fe₅-sar "PN, the scri[be], wrote this tablet" (no. 138).

In App. to no. 32, we find the earliest reference to the weigher of silver in a sale transaction. This person was responsible, usually on account of his professional familiarity with the scales, for the exact weight of the purchased silver (see, in detail, Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 92-97). In this particular instance, the weigher of silver also acted as a measurer of the purchased barley: PN ugula-ē lū-kug-lal-a lū-še-ēg "PN, the majordomo, (was) the weigher of silver (and) the measurer of barley."

7.11.3. Sargonic Period

Texts of Sargonic date do not yield any clear-cut evidence for the attendance of sale transactions by different officials, depending on the object of sale. Several of the Sargonic kudurrus and sale documents mention field-surveyors. In the transaction C₃ of the Manishhtushu Obelisk (no. 40), three officials are listed, LŪ.ĒS.GID "surveyor," DUB.SAR "scribe," and SAG.DU₅ "field registrar," who in the total are identified as "scribes" (DUB.SAR). These officials receive payments, one TŪ.GU.SE.GA and one URUDU.HA.ZIJD.KĀ.BAR in each case, which are labeled as NĪ.G.BA.LU.GĀN.GĪ.DA "gift of the surveyors of the field." In no. 41, three transactions list a DUB.SAR GĀN "field scribe," who is given payments, consisting of either one pound of wool and one TŪ.G.U.ZA.GA cloth (obv. ii 1'-4', iv 21'-25') or one bushel of barley and one TŪ.G.U.ZA.GA cloth (obv. vii 18'-22').

Finally, four of the transactions recorded in no. 182a name the persons who surveyed the sold fields, without, however, stating their official titles: D PN dumu PN₅ i-gid "PN, son of PN₅, measured (the field)" (C); (še-pi PN dam-gār an-na-āg) gān-pi i-gid "PN, the merchant, measured out this barley, i.e., the price, and) surveyed this field" (D, in this transaction PN is either the buyer or a third party); D PN PN₅ gān-pi i-gid "PN (of) PN₅ measured this field" (F = no. 169); D PN PN₅ D PN₂ PN₇ lū gi₄šiKur₅ gid-da-me "PN (of) PN₅ (and) PN₇ (of) PN₅ are the men who measured the orchard" (L).

A "scribe" (DUB.SAR), who most probably prepared the sale document, receives a gift in no. 227: 1 BA.AN, 1 ŠÁ.GA.DÜTŌG. If our reconstruction is correct, another example of a scribe with a gift is found in no. 240: I TŪ.G.TUM-gunits [PN DUB.SAR]? Note also no. 237, where the receiver of a gift, who, though not described by any term, may conceivably be a scribe: 1 MA.NA.TUR KUG.BABBAR PN [DU]MU PN₂. The scribe who wrote the tablet in question, but did not receive any payment, is listed in two other Sargonic sale documents: PN dub-sar-pi "PN is the scribe" (no. 224); PN [D]UB.SAR [ša-ti]ir DUB "PN, the scribe, wrote the tablet" (no. 239).

The only occurrence of the weigher of silver in the Sargonic period is attested in no. 215: PN dam-gār lū-giš-rin-dab₂-ba-ām "PN, the merchant, was the man who held the scales." See also 182a D, cited above, which may involve a similar case of the merchant who measured out the purchase barley.

Finally, we have among the Sargonic material two possible instances of the official authorization of sale transactions. Thus the transaction recorded in no. 215 appears to have been authorized by the wife of a temple administrator: dam sanga-ke₂ mu-gi₄ nig-na-me nu-da-
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7.12.2. Completion-of-Price Clauses

The documents belonging to the present corpus use four different clauses to express the completion of the price by the buyer.

7.12.2.1. (nīg-)sām . . . til Clause

Attested in two Sargonic and one Ur III sale documents.

nīg-[sām? al-til] “the [price? was completed]”: no. 164
sām al-til “the price was completed”: no. 182
nīg-sām-bi in-til “he (i.e., the buyer) completed the price”: no. 356

For til, Akk. gamārum “to complete, to be completed,” see Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 p. 166.

7.12.2.2. kug(-bi)-ta . . . til Clause

Attested in four Ur III sale documents.

kug-ta i-til “he (i.e., the buyer) completed (the price) with (this) silver”: nos. 247 and 299
kug(-bi)-ta i-til “he (i.e., the buyer) completed (the price) with this silver”: no. 255
kug-ta in-til: no. 256

7.12.2.3. kug-bi-ta . . . è Clause

The only example of this clause comes from the Ur III sale document no. 294: kug-bi-ta i(-ta)-ni-è “he (i.e., the buyer) issued this silver,” lit.: “he went (out) of this silver.” For kug-ta . . . è “to issue silver,” see Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 p. 105 under è(-d) 5.

7.12.2.4. kug-bi šu . . . si Clause

Attested in eight Ur III sale documents.

kug-bi šu-ne-ne(-a) ab-si “this silver filled their (i.e., of the sellers) hands”: nos. 248, 252, 253, 262, and 328
kug-bi šu-na [ab-si] “this silver [filled] his (i.e., of the seller) hands”: no. 310
kug-bi šu-na-a ab-si: no. 327
kug-bi šu-na ba-a-si: no. 330

For šu(-a) . . . si “to fill (someone’s) hands,” see Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 pp. 155f. Note that the same clause is used in certain Sargonic sale documents as the main verb of the operative sections of types A and D (see section 6.3).

7.12.3. Completion-of-Transaction Clauses

There are extant three separate clauses which record the fact that the transaction has been completed, i.e., that the buyer has paid the price in full and has taken possession of the sold property.

7.12.3.1. inim-bi . . . til Clause

Attested in nine Sargonic and three Ur III sale documents.
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inim-bi igi-ne-n[e]-[t[a] a[l-til] “this transaction [was completed] before them (i.e., the witnesses)”; no. 170

inim-pi al-ti] “this transaction was completed”; nos. 171 and 190

mu lugal-sē mu Nam-maḫ-[sē] in[i-mi b[a]]-a[l-til] “by the name of the king, by the name of Nam-maḫ, [this transaction] was completed”: no. 188

inim-bi al-til: nos. 191 and 224

inim-ma-ni i-til: “he (i.e., the buyer) completed his transaction”: no. 191

ig[i]-ne-ne inim-pi al-til: no. 192

inim-bi i-til “he (i.e., the buyer) completed this transaction”: nos. 203, 318, 344, and 365

mu lugal inim-bi a[l-til] “by the name of the king, this transaction was [completed]”: no. 211

See also the examples of inim-bi ... til in conjunction with the nu-gī4-gi4 clause, cited under 7.12.6.1.2.

7.12.3.2. inim-bi ē-ta ... ē Clause

This clause, which is found only in the Fara kudurrus nos. 14 and 15, reads: inim-bi ē-ta ab-ē “this transaction ‘left the house’” or “this transaction ‘was taken out from the house.’” The idiomatic sense of this statement appears to be that the sellers departed from the buyer’s house having been satisfied with the price, i.e., that the transaction has been completed. For the house of the buyer as the usual location of sale transactions, see section 7.12.5.7. Alternatively, the clause could simply be translated: “this transaction ‘has departed’”; this interpretation is suggested by the usage of ē-ta ... ē in Sargonic economic texts (e.g., BIN 8, 124, 206, and 271), where this expression means “to take out, to issue,” without referring to any specific house.

A possible parallel to this clause is found in the OB deeds of division of property from Susa. One of the clauses used in the latter texts reads: zizū mesū ḏuppūrū, “they divided, they are ‘cleared,’ they removed themselves” (see Y. Muffs, Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine [Leiden, 1969] pp. 117–20). The verb ḏuppūrū denotes here the act of quittance (lit.: the act of departure) after the receipt of inheritance shares, and thus may convey a similar idea as ē-ta ... ē in Sargonic economic texts.

7.12.3.3. inim-bi ... dug4 Clause

This clause is uniquely attested in the Ur III sale document no. 359. It reads: ē-duɾu4-niĝin-gar-ki-ḏug ō4Dur-ul-ka inim-bi ba-ab-ḏug, “this transaction was negotiated in the hamlet Nigin-gar-ki-ḏug, (located) on the bank of the Dur-ul.” The sense “to negotiate” or “to come to an agreement” of inim ... dug4 is suggested by the context. In this meaning, inim ... dug4 probably corresponds to the Akkadian dabābu; compare KA-ḏug4 = MIN (= da-ba-bu) in Nabûni IV–IVA 98 (MSL 16 p. 80), and KA-ḏug4 = da-ba-[bu] in Igtuḫ I 197.

7.12.4. Transfer-of-Object-of-Sale Clause

This clause is attested only in the Ur III sale documents from Adab and Nippur. It states that the object of sale was purchased (šām) or transferred (sum) in the presence of witnesses or authorizing official(s).

igi-bi-sē ē ba-šām “before them (i.e., the witnesses) the house was purchased”: no. 331

igi-bi-sē sag ba-šām “before them (i.e., the witnesses) the ‘head’ was purchased”: nos. 335 and 338

igi PN di-kud lugal-sē “i-n[a]-an−sum” “before PN, the royal judge, he (i.e., the seller) transferred it (i.e., the orchard)” no. 264

igi PN muḫaldim ē-duḫ û PN2 IS-šē În-[a]-an−sum “before PN, the cook of the storehouse, and PN2, the equerry, he (i.e., the seller) transferred him (i.e., the sold man)” no. 277

in-na-an-sum-ma “(before the witnesses) he (i.e., the seller) transferred them (i.e., the sold persons)” no. 312

igi-bi-sē anṭe ba-šum “[before them (i.e., the witnesses) the as[jes]] were transferred”: no. 323

igi PN nu-banda-nil [u] PN2 en-ga-a-ni “in-na-[a]-rans-eš ‘before PN, his overseer, [and] PN2, his farmer, they (i.e., the sellers) transferred it (the object of sale is not preserved)” no. 325

igi-bi sag ba-šum “before them (i.e., the witnesses) the ‘head’ was transferred” no. 334

[igi PN ad-da eni-si ka-sē PN2 eṣir e[n]-si sag ba-šum “[before] PN, father of the governor, PN2, the retainer of the governor, transferred the ‘head’”]: no. 332

7.12.5. Symbolic Actions Accompanying
the Sale Transaction

This category comprises the clauses recording various ritual actions that formed part of the sale transaction. Six such ritual actions can be distinguished: 1) kag ... dū “driving of the nail into a wall”; 2) i ... ag “spreading of oil”; 3) a ... di “pouring of water”; 4) a ... si “putting (of oil and flour?) into the water”; 5) giš-gan(-na) ... bala “crossing over the pestle”; 6) zag ... šu4 “branding.”

7.12.5.1. kag ... dū Clause

The kag ... dū clause occurs in twelve Pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash (nos. 21?, 22, 23, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, and 151) and in one Sargonic document from Eshnuna (no. 239). Of those, nos. 21, 22, and 23 are stone kudurrus, nos. 139, 140, 141, 145, 147, and 148 are clay cones, and nos. 142, 144, 151, and 239 are clay tablets. Regarding their content, nos. 22, 23, 144, 145, and 239 deal with the sale of fields, nos. 139, 140, 141, and 142, with the sale of houses, and no. 151, with the sale of a person. In nos. 147 and 148 the object of sale is not preserved, but it almost certainly was real estate in each case.

In the Lagash texts, the clause reads: (PN-e) kag-bi ē-ga-ra/bi-dū “(PN) drove this nail into the wall.” In all of the extant examples, this statement is followed by the i ... ag clause (see section 7.12.5.2), with which it forms one syntactic unit: “(PN) drove this nail into the wall (and) spread its (i.e., of the transaction) oil on the side.”
In no. 239, the form of the clause is as follows: GIS.
KAG Fal-na (erasure) TI.LA Na-ra-am-ZE [mja-
ży(wr. ḪI)]-za-at “the nail was driven in (by the seller?) by
the life of Naram-Sin.”

In nos. 22 and 23, both of which deal with the sale of
fields, the actor of the kag . . . dū rite is the seller. In
contrast, in nos. 139, 140, 141, and 142, concerning the
sale of houses, and in the slave-sale no. 151, this rite
was performed by a nipig “herald” (nos. 139, 140, and 142), or
a nigin-uru “town-herald” (nos. 141 and 151). In nos. 144,
145, 147, and 148, the actor is not preserved.

The “nail” (Sum. kag, Akk. sikkatum) referred to in the
clause can be identified with the clay cones on which nos.
139, 140, 141, 145, 147, and 148 are recorded. Another
example of such a cone is the Ur III house sale no. 263,
whose text, however, makes no mention of the kag . . . dū
rite.

These objects, whose shape is vaguely reminiscent of
that of the votive nails, are inscribed in a characteristic
manner, from the small end to the large end, contrary to
the orientation found on the latter documents. Each of
these cones has a hole along its axis, which originally
accommodated a wooden peg, running through the cone
and protruding at both ends. The cone was fastened to
the peg with strings or leather thongs, the impressions of
which can still be seen on the extant specimens. It appears
that, after the cone had been attached to the peg, the
protruding pointed end of the peg was driven into the
wall, until the cone rested upon the wall’s face. Cf.
Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 238–41.

The point as to which “wall” these cones were hammered
in is not entirely clear. Assuming that the clause means
the wall of the sold property, in the sales of houses this
would be the wall of the house in question, while in the
case of transactions involving the sales of fields one thinks
of the low mud-walls (Sum. im-dū-a, Akk. pitiqtum) that are
known to have surrounded fields. However, this
interpretation does not work for the slave-sales, which, as
demonstrated by no. 151, were also accompanied by the
kag . . . dū rite. As an alternative solution, one could
speculate that all such cones, irrespectively of the nature
of the object of sale, were exposed on the wall of a house,
which was either the house of the buyer or some public
building, such as a temple or city-gate, especially
designated for this purpose. For a possible representation of
such a cone in situ, see no. 12 under Iconography and
Text.

In spite of this uncertainty, the meaning of the kag . . .
dū rite is clear: it symbolized and, at the same time, made
public the transfer of the sold property to the buyer. As
far as one can tell from the extant data, this rite was
performed either by the seller or the herald, the first
acting in the sales of fields, the latter acting in the sale of
houses and persons.

The fact that the kag . . . dū clause is included in nos.
142, 144, and 151, all three of which are written on clay
tables, suggests that in Pre-Sargonic Lagash each sale
transaction was recorded on two types of documents: a
clay cone, which was displayed publicly (either on the
buyer’s house or in a public place), and a clay tablet,
which was kept by the buyer in his archive. On the other
hand, the presence of this clause in the transactions
recorded in the stone kudurrus nos. 22 and 23 dem-

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strates that the latter documents are collections of indi-
vidual transactions, which were copied from either cones
or clay tablets.

7.12.5.2. i . . . ag Clause

This clause is attested in two Fara kudurrus (nos. 14
and 15) and in several Pre-Sargonic kudurrus and sale
documents from Lagash (nos. 22, 23, 139, 140, 141,
142, 144, 145, 147, and 151). With the exception of no.
151, which records the sale of a person, all of these texts
deal with the transfer of immovables (fields and houses).

The clause reads: i-bi zag (ab-)ag “the oil was spread
(by him/them) on the side” (nos. 14 and 15); i-bi zag-gi
bi/bi-ag “he spread the oil on the side” (nos. 22, 23, 139,
140, 141, 144, 145, 147, 148, and 151). In nos. 14 and
15, the clause appears following the inim-bi ê-ta . . . ê
clause (see section 7.12.3.2); the only exception here is the
transaction recorded in no. 14 xiii 10–xvi 1, where the two
clauses occur separately from each other. In the Pre-
Sargonic texts from Lagash, the i . . . ag clause regularly
follows after the kag . . . dū clause, with which it forms
one syntactic unit: “he drove this nail into the wall (and
spread its (i.e., of the transaction) oil on the side.”

In the Lagash texts, the person performing the i . . . ag
rite can be identified, by analogy with the kag . . . dū
clause (see under 7.12.5.1), as either the seller or the
herald, the first acting in the sales of fields, the latter
acting in the sales of houses and persons. By extending
this analogy to nos. 14 and 15, both of which record the
sales of fields, we can assume that in the latter texts this
rite was performed by the sellers too.

Although the Lagash examples could be taken as evi-
dence that the kag . . . dū and the i . . . ag clauses were
parts of the same rite, the fact that in nos. 14 and 15 the
i . . . ag clause occurs by itself makes it clear that they
must be interpreted as two independent ritual actions.

The construction i Object-e . . . ag “to apply oil to an
object,” which is translated in lexical texts by arādum “to
stretch, to spread something over an object” (see i ag-
a = a-ra-mu in Erimhus V 122 [MSL 17 p. 72]), is also
attested in economic texts, where it serves as a technical
term for treating various materials and objects with oil.
See, e.g., i tūğ-gi . . . ag “to apply oil to the cloth (in
fulling)” (for the examples, see Waetzoldt, UNT p. 170):
1½ šilā UD.KA.BAR ab-ag “1½ quart (of oil) was applied
to the bronze (objects)” (OIP 14, 118:4); i-sah kuš-e ag-dē
“the lard to be applied to the hides” (OIP 14, 126:1–2).

Although it is certain that, in the context of the present
clause, the “applying of oil” denotes a ritual action,
solemnizing the transfer of the sold property to the buyer,
the question as to what this rite actually entailed is
somewhat unclear. The answer to this question hinges on
the meaning of zag, which can be interpreted either as an
adverb, “here, on the side” (with Edzard, SRU p. 70) or as
“border (of the sold property).” Of the two interpretations,
the first one appears to be more likely, since, as proved by
no. 151, this rite could be performed at the sales of people
as well.
The same rite is probably also mentioned in the Pre-Sargonic kudurru no. 35 I, where three groups of persons, (probably the sellers) are said to have spread the oil: [x]+5 PNs īš-du-du D PN D PN₂ DUMU PN₃ [il] īš-du-du [D PN]₁ [D PN]₂ [il] īš-du-du [il] 7.12.5.3. a . . . dé Clause

The basic meanings of a . . . dé are “to pour water, to sprinkle with water, to irrigate” (see Falkenstein, NSKU 3 p. 89; AHWB p. 1181), also “to perform a libation” (see Falkenstein, NSKU 1 p. 111 n. 5). In the present clause, the “pouring of water” can be understood either literally, namely, that the water was actually poured or libated, or figuratively, meaning that the transaction was irrevocably completed. In favor of the literal interpretation is the fact that in the above-cited text MVNS 3, 77, it is specifically said that the water was poured “into his hands.” Further, the use of water as part of the symbolic actions accompanying various legal transactions is well documented in the ancient Near East. The washing of hands with water as a gesture of quittance, recorded in the Ugaritic text MRS 6, 55:11–14, and the Neo-Assyrian oath by “water and oil” (see K.-H. Deller, Biblica 46 [1965] pp. 349–52; Veenhof, BiOr 23 [1966] pp. 312f.; CAD A/1 p. 132 adu Ac) are two such examples.

Accordingly, if the present clause does in fact refer to the physical act of pouring water, we would be dealing here with either a form of libation, solemnizing the transfer of the sold property and reminiscent of the oil-ceremony, or a gesture of quittance, signifying that the parties involved have no outstanding claims.

7.12.5.4. a . . . si Clause

Only two examples of this clause are extant, both coming from the Sargonic slave-sales. The clause reads: i sag zid? sag-bi a ba-SUM (no. 184); i sag-gá zid? sag-gá-[b]i a ba-SUM (no. 187). Its interpretation presents serious difficulties. Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) p. 233, translated it “das beste Fett und beste Mehle dabei sind dazu gegeben,” on the assumption that, firstly, sag is used here as an adjective, meaning “first-quality,” and secondly, that the element a represents an assimilated prospective prefix -a (–ba-SUM > a-ba-sum). This explanation, however, is highly questionable. Given the fact that in Sumerian the noun and its attributive cannot form a genitival construct, the possibility that sag could be an adjective here is unlikely. Furthermore, since the use of the prospective is limited to dependent clauses, the absence of the main clause in either text speaks strongly against interpreting a as a prospective prefix. As an alternative solution, one might consider the translation “the oil of the ‘head’ and the flour (?) of the ‘head’ were placed in the water.” This interpretation would assume that sag denotes here the sold person, and that SUM stands for si “to place,” corresponding to the Akkadian šakānum (see Sollberger, TCS 1 p. 166).

If this interpretation is correct, we would find here yet another type of a symbolic action, which involved the placing of oil and flour (?) in water, perhaps as part of the oath-taking (cf. the Neo-Assyrian oath by “water and oil,” cited under 7.12.5.3).

7.12.5.5. giš-gan(-na) . . . bala Clause

The giš-gan(-na) clause is attested in nineteen Sargonic and nine Ur III sale documents. With the exception of the Ur III text no. 368, which concerns the sale of a she-ass, they all deal with the sale of persons. The usual form of the clause is giš-gan(-na) ib-ta-bala “he (i.e., the seller) made him/her (i.e., the sold person) cross over the pestle (for the buyer).” In most of the Sargonic examples, the word giš-gan “pestle” is replaced by giš “wooden stick.” The attestations of the clause are as follows:

giš-a ib-ta-bala(-ēti) “he/they made him/her cross over the stick”: nos. 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 195, 196, 200, 201, and 202

Yet another reference to this rite may be found in the Sargonic house-sale no. 237, which apart from the NIG.KI.GAR, another payment called I.ZAG (see section 7.5.6). Since the term I.ZAG “oil of the ‘side’” cannot but be connected with the rite in question, we can speculate that this payment represented a remuneration or gift that the buyer gave to the seller for the performance of the oil-ceremony.

The symbolic use of oil in connection with various legal transactions, such as sales, marriages, manumissions, etc., and in oath taking, is amply documented both in ancient Mesopotamia and in the ancient Near East in general. For a discussion of oil-symbolism in ancient Near Eastern law, see E. Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtssak in Alten Testament und im Alten Orient, ZAW Beihf 87 (1963); K. R. Veenhof, BiOr 23 (1966) pp. 308–13; S. Greengus, JCS 20 (1966) pp. 72 and nn. 115–17; A. Drafkorn-Klim, JAOS 94 (1974) p. 182 n. 22. Compare also section 7.12.5.3 and the “oath by oil” (NAM.KUD I IR) in no. 36 ii, discussed in section 7.12.6.3.
PN mu PN₂-šē gis-a i-na-ta-bala “PN, in place of PN₂ (i.e., the seller?), made her cross over the stick for him (i.e., the buyer)”: no. 191

gis-a ab-ta-bala “she made him cross over the stick”: no. 191

PN gis-a ib-[ta-bala] “PN (i.e., the guarantor?) made him [cross] over the stick”: no. 199

gis-a ab-[ta]-ba-[e]-ēś “he made them cross over the stick”: no. 213

gis-a 1-ta-bala-e-ēś “he made them cross over the stick”: no. 213

gis-gan-na ab-ta-bala “she made him cross over the pestle”: nos. 184 and 187

gis-gan-na ib-ta-bala-e “they made him cross over the pestle”: no. 215

[s]ag? gis-gan na bada-a[m₃] “the ‘head’ (i.e., the sold woman?) crossed over the pestle”: no. 217

[gis-gan]-na ib-ta-bala “he made her cross over the pestle”: no. 283

sag-bi gis-gan-na [ib]-[ta]-[ba]la “he made this ‘head’ (i.e., the sold woman) cross over the pestle”: no. 286

gis-gan ib-ta-ab-la “they made her cross over the pestle”: no. 289

gis-gan(wr. TAG) in-bala “he made her cross over the pestle (or: mortar)”: no. 291

The rite of “crossing over the pestle/stick” can be interpreted as a symbolic action signifying the transfer of the sold person (and possibly also of the sold animal) from the authority of the seller to that of the buyer. Typologically, this symbolic action belongs to the so-called “rites of passage,” i.e., rites which in traditional societies accompany the passage of a person from one situation to another state; such rites are common at births, initiations, betrothals, marriages, and funerals. For a detailed discussion of this clause, see Edzard, ZA 60 (1969) pp. 8–53; Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 34–42.

7.12.5.6. zag . . . šuš Clause

This clause is uniquely attested in the Sargonic sale document no. 217, which records the sale of a woman. The clause reads: PN zag in-šuš “PN (i.e., the seller) branded (the sold woman with the branding-mark of the buyer).” For zag . . . šuš “to brand,” see zag-šuš = ši-im-tum “branding-mark,” Nabnitu IV-1va 354 (MSL 16 p. 91); [Z]ag-šuš = ši-mat [bu-lim] “branding-mark of cattle,” Antagal F 281 (MSL 17 p. 220); udu-zag-šuš = MIN (= UD) [si-im-tu] “branded sheep,” Hh. XIII 181 (MSL 8/1 p. 26). While the practice of branding farm animals is well documented in third millennium texts, references to the branding of humans are comparatively rare. The only such references come from Sargonic sources, where persons are occasionally classified as zag-šuš “branded” (e.g., ITT 2, 4543:2; HSS 10, 197:5; MYNS 3, 64 iv 7), and zag-šuš “not branded” (e.g., ITT 1, 1231; Gordon, Smith College 2 i 11, 16, 20, ii 4).

Although the act of branding is charged with symbolic significance, it cannot, however, be considered a symbolic action in the proper sense of the term. Nevertheless, it seems certain that, when performed during a sale transaction, its importance was largely symbolic. This interpretation finds support in the fact that, as demonstrated by no. 217, such branding was done by the seller, which parallels the situation found in the gis-gan(-na) . . . bala rite.

7.12.5.7. The Ceremonial Feast Concluding the Transaction

The kudurrus nos. 35 and 40, dating to the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods respectively, and the Sargonic house-sale no. 237 offer evidence that the sales of real property were concluded with a ceremonial feast which was held by the buyer for the participants of the transaction. This feast is recorded in a special clause, whose extant examples read as follows:

SU.NIG[N 20 AB+ÅŚ in É PN DUMU PN[N] PATE.[SI] NINDA KU (KA+GAR) KAŠ Ī.NA[G][K][A+A] “total of twenty witnesses; they ate bread/food (and) drank beer in the house of PN[N], son of PN[N], the governor (i.e., the buyer)”: no. 35

SU.NIG[N 5 GURUS AB+ÅŚ.AB+ÅŚ GAN 190 GURUS DUMU DUMU BAD-EN.ZU^KI NINDA Ī.KU “total of 5 men, the witnesses of the field; 190 men, citizens of Dūr-Sin, ate bread/food”: no. 40 Side A

SU.NIG[N 30 GURUS AB+ÅŚ.AB+ÅŚ GAN Girš-tašlab^KI 94 GURUS DUMU DUMU Girš-tašlab^KI NINDA Ī.KU “total of 30 men, the witnesses of the field of Girtab; 94 men, citizens of Girtab, ate bread/food”: no. 40 Side B

SU.NIG[N SU.NIG[N 52 GURUS Mār-da^KI AB+ÅŚ.AB+ÅŚ GAN 600 GURUS in Ga-za-la^KI NINDA Ī.KU 600 GURUS šu 1 UD 1200 GURUS šu 2 UD in maš-ga-ni Be-li-ba-ni AGRI G AB+ÅŚ.AB+ÅŚ-da-gal NINDA Ī.KU LÛ Mûr-da^KI “grand-total of 52 men of Marda, the witnesses of the field; 600 men ate bread/food in Kazalu; 600 men for one day, 1200 men for two days (i.e., 600 men for two days), ate bread/food in the settlement of Bēli-bāni, the steward of Abaiš-takal; the citizens of Marda”: no. 40 Side C

SU.NIG[N SU.NIG[N 80 DUMU DUMU KI^KI in Ga-za-la^KI NINDA Ī.KU “80 citizens of Kish ate bread/food in Kazalu”: no. 40 Side D

[19] A]+ÅŚ.AB+ÅŚ in É PN NINDA K[U] “[19] witnesses; they ate bread/food in the house of PN (i.e., the buyer)”: no. 237

In nos. 35 and 237, the clause is placed immediately after the list of witnesses. In contrast, in no. 40, which
divides witnesses into two groups: witnesses of the sellers and those of the buyer (with the exception of the transaction recorded on Side D, which has only witnesses of the buyer), it is inserted between the two lists. If one were to assume that the subject of the clause is, in each case, the persons immediately preceding it, the resulting conclusion would be that in nos. 35 and 237 the persons participating in the feast were the witnesses, while in no. 40 they were the unnamed citizens of Dūr-Sin, Girtab, Marda, and Kish. It is possible, however, that this clause functions as a semi-independent unit, whose subject is all of the persons listed before it. This would mean that, in nos. 35 and 237, the participants of the feast were the sellers, secondary sellers, and the witnesses; in the case of no. 40, they would include the sellers, secondary sellers, and witnesses of the sellers. The latter interpretation may find support in the fact that in the Mari sale documents M.A.R.I. 1 p. 80, and ARMT 8, 13, which use a similar clause, the subject of the clause appears to be all of the parties to the transaction (see below).

In no. 237, and probably also in no. 35, the feast was held in the buyer's house. In the case of no. 40, it appears that all four transactions recorded refer to one and the same feast, which took place in Kazalu, in the settlement (or on the threshing floor) of Bēl-bānī, the steward of Abais-takal. The fact that Abais-takal is known to have been one of Manishtushu's brothers (he is identified as a son of Sargon in C xiii 22-23 of the same text), provides the evidence linking Bēl-bānī to Manishtushu, i.e., the buyer. Accordingly, we can assume that Bēl-bānī, who seems to have owned a landed property in or near Kazalu, acted as Manishtushu's host for the occasion of the four sale transactions; in other words, the feast was held in the temporary quarters of Manishtushu. These facts combined point to the buyer's house as the usual location of this type of a ceremony.

As demonstrated by the Mari texts, M.A.R.I. 1 p. 80 (field-sale, šakkannaku period), and ARMT 8, 13 (house-sale, Old Babylonian), which contain a clause that is strikingly reminiscent of the examples discussed earlier, the custom of holding such ceremonial feasts was also known in the outlying regions of Mesopotamia. This clause, which is recorded after the list of witnesses, reads as follows:

6 PNs ĖŠ.GI₂ šu zi-ga-tim₂(DIN) tim-ḫa-zu NINDA ti-ku-lu KĀŠ ti-ša-da-u ʾa ʾa šu-ta-ta in Ė PN a-lu-zi-nim "6 PNs, the measure who drove the pegs in; they ate bread/food, drank beer, and anointed one another with oil in the house of PN, the jester (possibly a relative of the buyer)" (M.A.R.I. 1 p. 80 lines 14-26)

[x]+10 PNs ka-ra-am i-ku-lu ka-sa-am iš-tu-ú ša-sa-am-na-am ip-ta-šu "[x]+10 PNs; they ate 'bread' (or: from the platter), drank 'beer' (or: from the goblet), and anointed one another with oil" (ARMT 8, 13 rev. 1'-14')

The only significant difference between the Mesopotamian and the Mari examples is that in the latter the parties to the transaction, in addition to having eaten and drank, also anointed one another with oil. Although none of the extant kudurrus and sale documents makes mention of that particular use of oil (but note that oil was used in the ritual actions discussed under 7.12.5.2 and 7.12.5.4), there are reasons to believe that this custom, too, was practiced as part of the Mesopotamian sale transaction. This is indicated by an early Old Babylonian field-sale from Khafajah (JCS 9 [1955] p. 107 no. 59:10), which records, after the giš-gan(-na) . . . bala clause and before the list of witnesses, the following statement: ša-am-na qa-qa-šu-nu pa-ši-ši "their (i.e., of the seller and the buyer, and possibly also of the witnesses) heads were(l) anointed with oil."

### 7.12.6. No-Contest Clause

The clause of no-contest records the sworn promise of either the seller alone or both the seller and the buyer that he/they will not contest the completed transaction in the future. The clause is usually composed of two parts: 1) the no-contest statement and 2) the oath. Six no-contest clauses can be distinguished, depending on the verb of the no-contest statement.

#### 7.12.6.1. nu-gi₄-gl₄ Clause

This is by far the most common no-contest clause in the texts belonging to this corpus. Its time-range is the Sargonic and Ur III periods. The verb gi₄, Akk. tuārum, whose usual meaning is “to return,” in this clause has the specialized sense of “to return (with claims), to go back (on an agreement).” In the legal context, textual texts translate gi₄ by enūm, “to change, to revoke,” see Ai. IV iv 49, VI i 53 (MSL 1 pp. 67, 78). The clause can be used in either one-sided (referring only to the seller) or reciprocal sense (referring both to the seller and the buyer). When used in the first sense, the no-contest statement contains only the verb. See, e.g., nu-gi₄-gi₄-da “(he swore by the name of the king) that he will not contest” (no. 356). The reciprocity is expressed either by lú lú(-ra), Akk. awilum awilam “one against the other,” before the verb, or by the inclusion in the oath of the adverbial expression tēṣ-bi/ba, Akk. mitḫāris, istēnis “together,” “jointly.” See, e.g., lú lú-ra nu-gi₄-gi₄-da “(they swore by the name of the king) not to contest one against the other” (no. 298); [núl-]gi₄-gi₄-dē ṭēṣ1-bi mu lugal ib-da-pád “they swore together by the name of the king [not] to contest (one against the other)” (no. 325). For a detailed discussion of this clause and the oath in general, see Falkenstein, NSGU 1 pp. 63-72, 79ff.; Edzard, AS 20 pp. 63-98; Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 44-50, 71-80. The following listing contains all the examples of the nu-gi₄-gi₄ clause grouped according to whether the clause is employed in one-sided or reciprocal sense.

#### 7.12.6.1.1. One-Sided

é-a nu-ub-gi₄-gi₄-dē mu lugal-bi [in-pád(-dé-ēš)] "[they (i.e., the sellers) swore] by the name of the king that they will not raise claims to the house": no. 251
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nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da-rgi?! mu lugal-bi in-pād “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king that he will not contest”: no. 256

[nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king [not to contest]”: no. 257

ē-a nu-ū-[gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] Seller [m[u]] [lugal-bi in-pād] “[the seller swore] by the name of the king [not to raise claims] to the house”: no. 259

nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da mu lugal-bi [in-pād] “[he (i.e., the seller) swore] by the name of the king [not to contest]”: no. 264

nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da mu lugal-bi in-pād “[he (i.e., the seller swore) by the name of the king not to contest]”: no. 290

nu-ū-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād “[he (i.e., the seller) swore] by the name of the king that he will not contest”: no. 294

nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād “[he (i.e., the seller) swore] by the name of the king [not to contest]”: no. 305

nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da mu lugal-bi in-pād “[he (i.e., the seller) swore] by the name of the king [not to contest]”: no. 317

nu-ū-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] Seller-e mu lugal-bi in-pād “the seller swore by the name of the king that he will not contest”: no. 326

[nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king [not to contest]”: no. 346

nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da mu lugal-bi in-pād “the oath was sworn that he (i.e., the seller) will not contest”: no. 352

nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-mu lugal-bi in-pād “the oath was sworn by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 355

nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da no-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-sē] mu lugal-bi in-pād “not to contest, on account of no contesting the oath by the name of the king was sworn”: no. 354

nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da mu lugal-bi in-pād “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king not to contest”: no. 356

ud-kūr lu-lu nu-un-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da Seller-ke₄₄ mu lugal-bi in-pād “the seller swore by the name of the king that they (sic) will not contest one against the other in the future”: no. 360

MU LUGAL IN.PĀD NU.UB.GI₄₄.GI₄₄.DA “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king that he will not contest”: no. 370

7.12.6.1.2. Reciprocal

mu Nin-Isin₄₄(IN)-na-šē PN dumu PN₄₄ PN₂₄ dumu PN₄₄ lu-lu nu-ba-gi₄₄-gi₄₄ inim-bi in-til “by the name of Nin-Isin, PN son of PNₓ, (and) PN₂₄, son of PN₄₄, completed this transaction that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 170

mu Nin-Isin₄₄(IN)-na-šē mu lugal-šē inim-pi i-til lu-lu nu-ba-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-du “by the name of Nin-Isin, by the name of the king, they completed this transaction that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 192

[lu-lu] la-ba-da-[gi₄₄-gi₄₄] [inim]-([-]ma₄₄) an-gal “it is in the agreement that they will not contest, one against the other”: no. 209

mu lugal-lu lu nu-ba-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da-a inim-bi al-tiil “by the name of the king, this transaction was completed that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 213

[lu-lu]-tu₄₄ [la-ba-an-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu Nin-urta mu lugal-bi in-pād(-dé-ēš) “[they swore by] the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king] that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 248

[lu-lu la-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] [mu] Nin-urta mu lugal-bi in-pād-ēš “they [swore by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king] that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 250

lū-lu la-ba-an-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da mu Nin-urta [m[u]] lugal-bi al-[p]ād “the oath was sworn by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 252

[lu-lu la-ba-an-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] [mu] Nin-urta [m[u]] lugal-bi in-pād(-dé-ēš) “[they swore by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king) that they will not contest one against the other]”: no. 255

lū-lu la-ba-an-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da-a mu Nin-urta mu lugal-bi al-pād “the oath was sworn by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 262
tē-să-na-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] [m[u]] Nin-urta [m[u]] lugal-bi [in-pād(-dé-ēš)] “they [swore by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king] that they will not contest one against the other]”: no. 266

[lu-lu] [nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād(-dé-ēš) “[they swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other]”: no. 275

ud-kūr nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] tē-să-bi mu lugal-bi in-pād “they [swore together by the name of the king] that they will not contest (one against the other) in the future]”: no. 287

lū-lu nu-gi₄₄(-gi₄₄-)dam lugal-bi in-pād “they [swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other]”: no. 288

mu lugal-bi in-pād lū lū-nu-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da “they [swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other]”: no. 291

[lu-lu] [n[u]²-[u]₄₄-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] lugal-bi in-pād(-dé-ēš) “[they swore] by the name of the king [not to contest one against the other]”: no. 292

lū-lu [nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād “they [swore by the name of the king] that they will not contest one against the other]”: no. 295

lū-lu [nu-ub-gi₄₄-gi₄₄-da] mu lugal-bi in-pād “they [swore by the name of the king] that they will not contest one against the other]”: no. 298
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16. (1u) nu-ki-ki-de mu lugal-bi in-pad “they swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other”: no. 303

17. (1u) nu-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi in-pad “they swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other”: no. 306

18. (1u) nu-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi i-pad-eš “they swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other”: no. 307

19. [lú lu ba-gi4-gi4-da-a] [mu lugal-bi] in-p[a-d-d]e-[e][s] “they swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other”: no. 310

20. [nu]-gi4-gi4-da tēš-bi mu lugal ib-da-pad “they swore together by the name of the king (not) to contest one against the other”: no. 325

21. lú lú lu ba-an-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi al-pad “the oath was sworn by the name of the king that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 327

22. lú lú lu ba-an-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi al-[p]ad “the oath was [sworn] by the name of Ninurta (and) by the name of the king that they will not [contest] one against the other”: no. 328

23. lú lú lu ba-an-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi i-pad-de-[e][s] “they swore by the name of the king that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 330

24. lú lú lu ba-an-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi i-pad-d[e]-eš “they swore together by the name of the king not to contest one against the other”: no. 363

25. lú lú lu ba-an-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi in-pad-d[e]-eš “they swore by the name of the king that they will not contest one against the other”: no. 365

26. lú lú lu ba-an-gi4-gi4-da mu lugal-bi in-pad-d[e]-eš “they swore by the name of the king (not) to contest one against the other”: no. 366

7.12.6.2. nu-bala Clause

The only certain occurrence of this clause comes from the Ur III sale document no. 297. The clause reads: [nu]-

bala-e-dè Seller [m]u lugal-bi in-pad “the seller swore by the name of the king [not] to change/violate (the terms of the agreement).” When used in legal documents, the verb bala corresponds to the Akkadian nakurrum “to change, to violate”; see lú lu-ra nu-bala-e-dè = Lú a-mi-lam la-a na-ka-ri Ai. VI i 60–61 (MSL 1 p. 78); bala = na-ka-rum sā a-ma-territ Nabnitu XXI 217 (MSL 16 p. 198). Compare also bala = nabalkutum, with the same meanings (AHWB pp. 694f.). The same clause is commonly used in the OB sale documents from southern Babylonia, especially those from Kutalla (see San Nicolò, Schlussklauseln pp. 52f.; Matouš, AO 18/4 [1950] p. 43).

Another example of the nu-bala clause is possibly found in the Ur III sale document no. 357: nu-GIBIL-da mu lugal-bi i-pad “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king not to... “where GIBIL should perhaps be read bil and interpreted as a phonetic spelling for bala. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that the verb is in fact to be read gibil and equated with the Akkadian edēšum “to be new, to renew.” The latter interpretation would yield the translation “he swore by the name of the king not to ‘renew’ (this transaction).” It should be stressed, however, that neither gibil nor edēšum is documented in this meaning in other legal documents.

An early variant of the nu-bala clause is found in the Fara sale documents nos. 113a and 113b, which concern the sale of two adjoining(?) houses by the same sellers to the same buyer. Following the statement that the buyer had donated a section of each of the two houses to his parents, the clause stipulates (only in no. 113b) that the sellers shall not violate the status of those quarters: ½ sar e e rigGU(DU.TUKU) PN an-na-sum “½ sar of (that) house, a donated house, was presented to PN (by the buyer)” (no. 113a); ½ sar e PN ad-da-ni i-na-ba e rigGU(DU.TUKU) inim-ba šu nu-bala “½ sar of (that) house he (i.e., the buyer) presented to PN, his father, (and) to his mother; this is a donated house; (with respect to) this transaction, they (i.e., the sellers) shall not violate (its status)” (no. 113b). For the meaning “to violate, to transgress” of šu . . . bala, see H. Behrens and H. Steible, FAOS 6 p. 318.

7.12.6.3. inim nu-kúr Clause

This clause is attested only in the Ur III sale document no. 281. It reads: ud-ta ud-gur-ra inim nu-si-gur-da mu lugal-bi in-pad-dè-es “they (i.e., the sellers) swore by the name of the king that from this day on, in the future, they will not change the agreement” (note the phonetic spelling gur for kúr). If our reconstruction is correct, another example of this clause is found in the Ur III sale document no. 304: inim [nu-si-kúr-da?] mu [lugal-bi in]-pad “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king that he will not change the agreement.” For inim ... kúr “to change an agreement,” corresponding to the Akkadian awatam nukkurum, see Falkenstein, NSGU 3 p. 123.

A possible precursor of the inim nu-kúr clause may be the clause found in the Pre-Sargonic kudurru no. 36 i 4–11: NAM.KUD I 1R LÚ.NA.ME i-na-kir ap-lu GĪR dLugal-Gešasal,(REC-65.A) HÍ.ÚS “the oath by oil not to change/violate; (if somebody does change it), then the heirs(?) (of the sellers?) with the dagger of Lugal-asal will kill him,” or “(the preceding persons) swore by oil that nobody should change/violate (the conditions of the transaction); (if somebody does change them), then etc.” For a detailed discussion of this clause, see note to no. 36 ii 1–20.

7.12.6.4. inim nu-gá-gá Clause

The only example of this clause is preserved in the Ur III sale document no. 278. In this particular instance, the provisions of the clause apply not to the seller or the buyer, as it is the case in the other no-contest clauses, but to the seller’s brothers, who promise under oath not to raise claims to the sold property. The clause reads: PN ú PNš šeš-a-ni-me inim nu-gá-gá-da mu lugal-bi in-pad-dé-es “PN and PNš, his (i.e., of the seller) brothers, swore by the name of the king not to raise claims.” For inim ... gar /gá-gá “to raise claims, to sue at law,” corresponding to the Akkadian ragûrum, paqûrum, see Falkenstein, NSGU 3 p. 124.
7.12.6.5. dū and inim . . . gāl Clause

This clause is singularly attested in the Pre-Sargonic sale document no. 150. It reads: ud an-dū inim an-gāl ud-da ka-ka-na nīg-NE.RU ba-gā-gā GISkag ka-ka-na eṣe-gaz "if he (i.e., the seller) detains (the sold woman) or raises claims (to her), then he puts deceit in his mouth, (and thus) a wooden nail should be driven through his mouth." For a discussion of this clause, see Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* pp. 58–60.

7.12.6.6. mubbalkitum Clause

This clause is attested in the Sargonic sale document no. 239, which is written in Akkadian. The clause provides that whoever of the parties to the transaction violates/changes the agreement, he will pay one pound of silver as a penalty: *mu-ba-ak-ki-tum [KUG.BAB]BAR 1 MA.NA Í-rí-sa-gal* "the transgressor will weigh out one pound of [silver]." For *nabalkitum, "to cross over, to transgress, to violate (an agreement)," see AHWB* pp. 694f. Closely related clauses are used in the OB sale documents from Susa and in the fictitious adoption texts from Nuzi. See the following examples: *sā ib-ba-[la-ka-tu] 1 MA.NA KUG.[BABBAR] Í.LA.[L.E] "the one who transgresses (the agreement) will weigh out one pound of silver" (MPD 18, 216:28–30); sā ib-ba-la-ak-ka-tu ri-it-ta-šu û li-sā-an-šu i-na-ak-ki-sū 10 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR Í.L.A.L.E "the one who transgresses (the agreement), they will cut off his hand and tongue (or) he will weigh out ten pounds of silver" (MPD 18, 203:47–50); ma-an-nu-un-me-e i-na be-ri-šu-šu ša KUG.BABBAR 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR 1 MA.NA KUG.GL ú-ma-al-la "whoever among them transgresses (the agreement), he will pay one pound of silver (and) one pound of gold" (JEN 14, 604:28–30); šum-ma 1PN KUG.BABBAR 5 MA.NA KUG.GL a-na 1PN, ú-ma-al-la "if PN (i.e., the adopter) transgresses (the agreement), he will weigh out to PN2 (i.e., the adopter) five pounds of silver (and) five pounds of gold" (JEN 1, 16:14–17).

7.12.7. Eviction Clauses

The eviction clause stipulates that, if the seller was not the rightful owner of the sold property and, as a result of it, the buyer was evicted from this property, the seller will meet a corporal punishment or will have to pay a compensation. Four separate eviction clauses can be distinguished, depending on the verb employed in the protasis of the clause.

7.12.7.1. dū Clause

This clause is attested in the sale documents dating to the Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods. The extant examples are as follows:

lú [am₃]-ma-d[u-da] kag-bi ka-ka-n[a]! e-g[a]z "if somebody else holds it (i.e., the house) in possession, this nail (i.e., the clay nail on which the transaction is recorded) will be driven through (his mouth)"

7.12.7.2. inim . . . gar Clause

The only example of this clause comes from the Ur III sale document no. 267. The clause reads: *tukumbi lú inim ba-a-an-gar 6 GISgšimmar sum-mu-dam mu lugal-bi 1-pād "he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king to give (an orchard with) six date-palms" (see CAD K pp. 514f.). Accordingly, we can assume that the protasis of the clause is concerned with a situation in which the sold property is owned by somebody else other than the seller. The apodosis then spells out the form of punishment that the seller is to meet. This punishment can entail either facial mutilation (nos. 140 and 148), or the payment of a simple compensation (nos. 177 and 269) or the double amount of the price (nos. 172 and 175). For a detailed discussion of this clause, see Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* pp. 52–58.

7.12.7.3. inim . . . gi-in Clause

This clause is preserved in the Ur III sale document no. 270. The clause reads: *tukumbi inim nu-fa₂-gi-in GISgšimmar-mu inim-ba ga-ra-ab-sum bi-dug₄ "he (i.e., the seller) declared: 'If it is not confirmed (i.e., the sold property to the buyer), I will give you (i.e., the buyer) my own date-palms (in place of the property in question) in
this transaction.’’ Assuming that the verb inim . . . gi-in has the same meaning as gi-in “to verify, adjudge, to confirm (something to someone)” (see Falkenstein, NSGU 3 pp. 114f.), the protasis of the clause appears to refer to a situation in which the sold property is claimed by a third party and the seller fails to defend the buyer’s title to this property, i.e., to confirm this property to the buyer.

7.12.7.4. ar(rjugimānē rasājum) Clause

The only example of this clause comes from the Ur III text no. 370, which records the self-sale of a woman. For obvious reasons, the party guaranteeing against the eviction in this text is not the seller herself but the guarantors. The clause reads: PN ā PN, DUMU.NI me-gi-bu PN ni-iš LUGAL it-ma šu-ma GEMĒ a-ru-gi-ma-ni ir-da-ši-i a-na-ku-ū lu GEMĒ “PN and PN, her son, are the guarantors; PN swore by the name of the king: ‘If the slave woman (i.e., the woman selling herself into slavery) has claims, I will become a slave woman (in her place).’” For the term arrugimānum “claim,” see [i]nim-gal = a-ru-gi-ma-nu[ru-um] Kagal D Section 11:7 (MSL 13 p. 249 misprinted as a-ru-ru-gi-ma-n[ru-um]).

7.12.8. Seller’s Guaranty for the Title

The Ur III sale document no. 302 contains a unique clause, in which the seller declares under oath that he is the rightful owner of the sold property: mu lugal gemē-ga ḫi-a bi-in-dug (= bi-in-dug) “he declared: ‘By the name of the woman.’” The legal significance of this clause appears to be that, by making such a declaration, the seller assumes the responsibility to defend the buyer’s title in the case of a claim raised by a third party, or, if he fails to defend the title and the eviction is carried out, to give a compensation to the buyer.

7.12.9. Delinquency Clause

The only example of this clause is found in the Ur III sale document no. 303. The clause reads: tukumbi gā-la in-dag ne-me arād(wr. NITA) ḫa-me “if she (i.e., the sold woman) refuses to work, they (i.e., the sellers) will become slaves (in her place).” For the verb gā-la . . . dag, in the later periods spelled also gā-la . . . dag or gāl-la . . . dag, “to desert from work, to retreat,” which corresponds to the Akkadian naparkām and egūm, see R. Castellino, Two Sülgi Hymns (BC) (Rome, 1972) p. 119. We assume that ne-me arād(wr. NITA) ḫa-me stands for /nemeš arad hemes/, where /nemeš/, usually spelled ne-meš, is 3rd person plural demonstrative pronoun “these,” corresponding to the Akkadian annūtum.

7.12.10. Oath without Any Clause

Several of the Ur III sale documents record an oath not accompanied by any clause or statement. It appears that all these examples are to be interpreted as abbreviations of the no-contest clause.

mu lugal-bi in-pād “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king (not to contest): nos. 258, 286, 322, 331, 340, and 348
mu lugal-bi al-pa “the oath was sworn by the name of the king (that the seller will not contest)” no. 260
mu lugal-bi i-p[ād(-dē-ē)] “they (i.e., the sellers) swore by the name of the king (not to contest)” no. 265
mu lugal in-pād “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the name of the king (not to contest)” nos. 270, 289, and 341
[igi-ne-]PN Seller [mu lugal-bi i]n-pād “[before them (i.e., the witnesses) the seller swore by the name of the king) (not to contest)” no. 283
IGI-bi-șe mu lugal-bi in-na-an-pād “before them (i.e., the witnesses) he (i.e., the seller) swore for him (i.e., the buyer) by the name of the king (not to contest)” no. 312
mu lugal-bi ba-pād “the oath was sworn by the name of the king (that the seller will not contest)” nos. 323 and 334
mu lugal ba-pād “the oath was sworn by the name of the king (that the seller will not contest)” nos. 335 and 338
zi lugal i-p[ād] “he (i.e., the seller) swore by the life of the king (not to contest)” no. 342
tēš-bi mu lugal ib-da-pād “they (i.e., the sellers and the buyer) swore together by the name of the king (not to contest one against the other)” no. 347
ṣu-ut ma-[ha-ar-šu-nu ni-iš LUGAL-im ii-ma-ū] “these are (the witnesses) in whose presence he (i.e., the seller) swore by the life of the king (not to contest)” no. 362
MU LUGAL PĀD a-na ba ki tu me (unclear): no. 343
Compare also the occurrences of NAM.KUD in no. 12 Side D.

7.12.11. Miscellaneous Clauses

In this category we include two clauses which cannot be satisfactorily explained at the present time.

ud Šu-ni-al-dugud-dē dumu-ni Lum-ma-tur-ra gān Gi-lugal-la-ka e-na-sām-a ki,[gi]sERIN-ra-bi ba-ba “when Šu-ni-al-dugud, his (i.e., of Lum-ma-tur) son, bought the field Gi-lugal-la for Lum-ma-tur, its . . . was distributed” (no. 144, Pre-Sargonic, Lagash).

The enigmatic term ki,[gi]sERIN-ra also appears in the place-name e-ki-ERIN-ra (a canal?), for which see Bauer, AWL p. 103. Assuming that the verbal form ba-ba is to be translated “he divided” or “it was divided,” the ki,[gi]sERIN-ra could denote a type of payment or offering that was distributed in connection with the sale transaction. [See now Steinkeller, N.A.B.U. 1990/1 p. 9f., who proposes the reading ki,[gi]sur-x-ra-bi ba-ba “its border was divided.”]

KUG.KUG è TUR.TUR è-ām (no. 220, Sargonic).

We are unable to offer any plausible interpretation of this clause. The expression KUG.KUG è is also attested in
two Ur III texts, where, unfortunately, its meaning is equally obscure: 59 gin [kug-babbar] KUG.KUG = PN ba-a-DU ki PN₂-ta PN₃ Ṣ PN₄ šu-ba-ti “59 shekels [of silver], the . . . PN . . . ; PN₃ and PN₄ received (the silver?) from PN₁,” (ITT 4, 7116:1–8); 2 gin kug-babbar PN KUG.KUG = BIR? IM ki PN₂-ta PN₃ šu-ba-ti “2 shekels of silver, . . . . . , PN₃ received from PN₂” (YOS 4, 13:1–6).

7.13. Place of the Transaction

The location of the sale transaction is noted in the kudurrus and sale documents very rarely. The only kudurrus which offers such information is no. 40: 600 GURUŠ in Ga-za-laKI NINDA I.KU 600 GURUŠ šu 1 UD 1200 GURUŠ šu 2 UD in maš-ga-ni Be-li-ba-ni AGRIG A-ba-qäš-da-gal NINDA I.KU LI Már-daKI “600 men ate bread/food in Kazulu; 600 men for one day, 1200 men for two days ate bread/food in the settlement of Bēl-bānī, the steward of Abais-takal; the citizens of Marda” (Side C); 80 DUMU.DUMU KišKI in Ga-za-laKI NINDA I.KU “80 citizens of Kish ate bread/food in Kazulu” (Side D).

In addition, the record of the sale’s location is also given in three Sargonic and two Ur III sale documents:

in Kiš[KI] “in Kish” (following the list of witnesses):
  no. 229
in E-ti PN DUMU.SAL PN₁ in A-ga-dē[KI] 10 PN₃ ŠU.NIGIŅ ‘10 th AB+ĀŠ Buyet in A-ga-dē[KI] KUG. BABBAR isši-ku-hu “in the house of PN, daughter of PNₓ, in Akkadē, 10 PN₃, total of 10 witnesses (to the fact) that the buyer weighed out the silver in Akkadē”: no. 230
ša [Du₄-sa-bar]-ra “in [Du₄-sa-bar]-ra”: no. 304
É-du₄ nin-gar-ki-dūg gu₁³ Dur-ūl-ka inin-bi ba-ab-du₄ “this transaction was negotiated in the hamlet Nigin-gar-ki-dūg, on the bank of the Dur-ul”: no. 359

7.14. Date Notations

The earliest example of a date notation in sale documents can be considered the formula bala PN “the office-term(?) of PN,” which is attested in the Fara sale documents (nos. 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 = 113c, 113, 113a, 113b, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 127a, 127b, 130, 131, 132, 133, and 136). The Fara sale document no. 125 uses a different dating formula, which reads: en₄-si-bi PN “PN (was) the governor (at that time).” The same formula may be found in no. 111, which adds, following bala PN, PN₄ en₄-si-bi.

Among the Pre-Sargonic sources, only the texts from Lagash are dated. In these documents, the date consists of either a number, corresponding to the consecutive year of the governor’s term (nos. 144, 149, 153, 154, 155, and 156), or a more elaborate formula, which names the governor and/or another high official who served at that time (the so-called ud-ba date). The examples of the latter are:

En-[ē]n-tar-zi sanga 17 “(at that time) En-[ē]n-tar-zi (was) the temple-administrator (of Ningirshu); his (i.e., of En-ēn-tar-zi) seventeenth (year)”: no. 137
Du-du sanga “(at that time) Du-du (was) the chief temple-administrator (of Ningirshu)”: no. 142
[u]d-ba [Ur]-KA-gi-na lugal LagasKI La-la nigir Gir-su[KI] [it] Ezen-[x] “at that time [Ur]-KA-gi-na (was) the king of Lagash (and) La-la (was) the herald of Girshu; month of Ezen-[x]”: no. 148
ud-ba En-te-me-na en₅-si LagasKI-kam En-ēn-tar-zi sanga 4Nin-gir-su-ka-kam 19 “at that time En-te-me-na was the governor of Lagash (and) En-ēn-tar-zi (was) the temple-administrator of Ningirshu; (his) (i.e., of En-te-me-na) nineteenth (year)”: no. 150

Only two of the Sargonic sale documents contain a date formula. One of them (no. 214), which comes from Umma, uses the so-called mu iti date: 3 mu iti 3. The other text (no. 239), which is of Eshnuna origin, contains a formula of the ud-ba type: UD.BA PN SAL.SILĀ.SU.DU₄ i-nu-mi PN₃ EN₃-SI-KI IS-nun[KI] “at that time PN (was) the female cupbearer; at that time (or: while) PN₄ (was) the governor of Eshnuna.”

The date formula is a regular component of the Ur III sale documents. It is wanting in eight instances only (nos. 261, 263, 270, 274a, 312, 327, 343, and 368). In agreement with the practice found in administrative and legal documents from that period, the date consists of either 1) the year only (mu x, passim), or 2) the year and the month (mu x, iti y, passim), or 3) the year, the month, and the day (mu x, iti y, ud z, passim). Of special interest are the Umma sale documents nos. 247 and 274, which employ the identical ud-ba date: ud-ba Ur₄-li₄-si₄(-na) en₅-si UmmaKI “on that day Ur-Lisi (was) the governor of Umma”; this form of dating is exceedingly rare in the Ur III period.

7.15. Sealed Sale Documents

The only example of a sealed sale document before the Ur III period is no. 141, which dates to the Pre-Sargonic period and comes from Lagash. This document, which is written on a clay nail (kag, Akk. sikkatum), bears the impression of an uninscribed seal.

Even though less than half of the extant Ur III sale documents (63 out of 127) are presently sealed, it appears that the original number of the sealed examples might have been much higher. This is suggested by the fact that very few of the Ur III sale documents came down to us with their envelopes preserved, on which sealings are more likely to be found than on the tablets.

The distribution of the ownership of the seals impressed on the Ur III sale documents is as follows:

1) texts sealed by the seller or sellers only: nos. 250 (three seals), 251(?), 256, 258, 269, 270, 276, 277, 280, 281 (two seals), 282, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 293(?) 296, 297, 299, 301, 302, 305, 306, 310, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320(?) 322, 324(?) 331, 335, 336, 338, 340, 343, 356, 359, 360, and 364
2) texts sealed both by the seller and the guarantor: nos. 298, 300, 304, and 308
3) text sealed both by the seller and the authorizing official (nu-banda Adabki): no. 334
4) text sealed both by the seller and the sold person: no. 307
5) text sealed both by the seller and his brother, who is not mentioned in the body of the text: no. 347
6) texts sealed by the authorizing official only: nos. 264 (di-kud lugal “royal judge”), 283 (ha-za-núm “mayor”), 332 (egir en2-si “governor’s ‘retainer’”), and 365 (di-kud “judge”; in the seal’s inscription, the same person is called ga-eš-a-ab-ba-ka “seafaring merchant”)
7) text sealed by the guarantor only: no. 329
8) text sealed by the sold person only: no. 285
9) texts sealed by the buyer only: nos. 309 and 369(?) (both self-sales)
10) text sealed by the scribe only: no. 247a
11) text sealed with a seal of (the household of) the god Ninurta: no. 263
12) texts sealed with the seals whose inscriptions are illegible: nos. 267, 325, 330, and 368

As can be seen from the above listing, it is primarily the seller who seals the sale document. The seals of sellers are impressed on at least 45 tablets (49 with uncertain cases). In twelve instances, the seal of the seller is accompanied or replaced by either that of the guarantor or the authorizing official or the scribe. Two(?) texts, both of which are self-sale documents, bear an impression of the buyer’s seal. Of special interest are the two examples of the sold person sealing the tablet.

The actual act of sealing the sale document is recorded in three texts: mu [PN-šè] kisib P[N2 (ad-da-na)] ib-[ra], “in place of the seal of PN (i.e., the man who sells himself into slavery), the seal of P[N2, (his father)], was [rolled]” (no. 342—the seal must have been impressed on the envelope, which is now wanting); mu PN-šè kisib PN2 dumu-na ib-ra “in place of (the seal of) PN (i.e., the principal seller), the seal of PN2 (i.e., the other seller), his son, was rolled” (no. 356—the envelope is sealed with PN’s seal); kisib PN di-kud ib-ra “the seal of PN, the judge, was rolled” (no. 365—the tablet bears an impression of PN’s seal).

For the sealing of the Ur III sale documents, see also Steinkeller, Sale Documents pp. 112–16.
# CHAPTER 8

## CHARTS OF PRICES, RATES, AND ADDITIONAL PAYMENTS

### 8.1. Introductory Remarks

What follows below is the complete listing of the prices and additional payments attested in the kudurrus and sale documents, which is presented in the form of synoptic charts. The charts are organized according to the nature of the object of sale, starting with fields, and continuing with houses, orchards, humans, animals, and commodities.

In the charts dealing with real estate (fields, houses, and orchards), the following information is given: the description of the real estate, its size (in iku or sar), its total price, the price per one iku or sar as calculated from the context plus the rate given in the text, and the additional payment(s). The charts listing the prices of humans, animals, and commodities contain only the description of the object of sale and its price.

As it has been the practice throughout the commentary, the references to kudurrus always precede those to sale documents in the charts.

Note the following abbreviations: gur-sag-gál = gsg; kug-babbar = k.b.

### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hoffman Tablet</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii 1</td>
<td>gán</td>
<td>270</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>Total: 990 iku (i)</td>
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<td>ii 2</td>
<td>(gán)</td>
<td>270</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii 1</td>
<td>(gán)</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii 2</td>
<td>(gán)</td>
<td>270</td>
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<td>2 Walters Tablet</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gán</td>
<td>180</td>
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<td>3 Philadelphia Tablet</td>
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<td>Total: 180 iku (i)</td>
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<td>ii 1</td>
<td>(gán)</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>Subtotal: 90 iku (ii 3)</td>
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<td>ii 2</td>
<td>(gán)</td>
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<td>iii 2</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>iii 6</td>
<td>gán</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>4 Louvre Tablet</td>
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<td>Total: 1890 iku (i)</td>
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<td>ii 2</td>
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<td>810</td>
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<td>5 Yale Tablet I</td>
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<td>Total: 450 iku (i)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii 2</td>
<td>(gán)</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>6 Yale Tablet II</td>
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<td>180</td>
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<td>7 Leiden Tablet</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>54</td>
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<td>8 Sheep(?) Figurine</td>
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<td>Total: 1224 iku (i)</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<td>ii 3</td>
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<td>iii 1</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>iii 2</td>
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<td>36</td>
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### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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## 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
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<td>xvii 1</td>
<td>ġan ġan Kug-gal &amp; K</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20 gin kug</td>
<td>1.66 gin kug</td>
<td>2 NI-ga še š-gān</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>xvii 12</td>
<td>gān gān Ur-6Gu-nu-ra ENGUR! da im-ru</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20 gin kug</td>
<td>1.66 gin kug</td>
<td>2 NI-ga še š-gān</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>xviii 3</td>
<td>gān gān DUN Ursa-gur? ra?</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15 gin kug</td>
<td>1.66 gin kug</td>
<td>(NI-ga) 2(UU)</td>
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<td>xviii 12</td>
<td>gān E-gud X-ka</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25 gin kug</td>
<td>1.66 gin kug</td>
<td>5 šīla</td>
<td>—</td>
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</table>

### 15. Baltimore Stone

| i | gān gān E-gud | 18 | 30 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2 NI-ga še š-gān | — |
| ii | gān gān DUN | 12 | 20 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2 NI-ga še š-gān | — |
| ii 28 | gān gān DUN | 12 | 20 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2 NI-ga še š-gān | — |
| ii 26 | gān gān DUN | 6 | 10 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2 NI-ga še š-gān | — |
| iv 26 | gān gān E-gud | 15 | 25 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2 NI-ga še š-gān | — |
| v 25 | gān gān E-GAM, GAM-maḫ-zu-ru | 7 | [..] | — | — |
| vi 31 | gān gān D[UN] | 30 | [50] gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | — | — |
| vii 29 | gān gān E-đur-BAHAR:A.DU, GIN | 6(? | 10 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | — | — |
| viii 3 | gān SAG.A | 6 | 10 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2(NI-ga) 2(UU) | — |
| ix 7 | gān | 6 | 10 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2(NI-ga) 2(UU) | — |
| x 2 | gān E-đur-BAHAR:ZA. NUN.DU | 9 | 15 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2(NI-ga) 2(UU) | — |
| xi 1 | gān | 3 | 5 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2(NI-ga) 2(UU) | — |
| xi 12 | gān E-gud | [15] | 28 gin kug | 1.86 gin kug | 5 ma-na šīla | — |
| xi 19 | gān gān šu-[..] | 15 | 25 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | 2[NI-ga še š-gān] | — |
| xii 16 | gān gān E-đur-BAHAR:ZA.NUN | 2.5 | 4 gin kug | 1.6 gin kug | 5 ma-na šīla | — |
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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</table>
| xiii 16 | gán gán DUN | 7 | 12 gin kug | 1.71 gin kug | (Nú-ga) 2(UL) NI-ga iš-gán 3 ma-na sig 3 sīlā iš-
|        | | | | | (1) [n]da-bappir [x NIN]da-bantu
| xiv 12 | gán gán Da-da | 10 | 28 gin kug | 1.86 gin kug | 3 NI-ga iš-gán 6 ma-na sig 3 umbirī? i-udu 30 ninda-bappir 4 ninda-bantu
|        | gán U+É-tum kug-gál | 5 | | | |
| L. E. 10 | gán É-dūr-BAḪĀR! | 6 | 10 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | | |
| L. E. 21 | gán gán DUN | 6 | 10 gin kug | 1.66 gin kug | | |

16 Kish Stone Fragments I

a) i [..] [x] [..] — NĪG.KI.GAR: [x]+1 GĪN K.B. —
ii l' [..] [x] [..] — NĪG.KI.GAR: 8 GĪN K.B. —
ii 6' GĀN 35 GĪN K.B. 2.5(?) GĪN K.B. [..]

ii GĀN [..] 12 34+[x] GĪN K.B. 3(?) GĪN K.B. [..]

B ii [..] [x] 60+[x] GĪN K.B. — NĪG.KI.GAR: 3 GĪN K.B. —
C i GĀN 13 20 GĪN K.B. 1.54 GĪN K.B. [..]

ii GĀN [x]+2 7 GĪN K.B. —
B i GĀN 8 [x]+4 GĪN K.B. — [..]
iii GĀN 1+4[x] [..] — [..]

g) ii [GĀN] 13+[x] 20 GĪN K.B. — [..]

h) [..] [x] [x]+60 GĪN K.B. — [..]
i) [..] [x] [..] — NĪG.KI.GAR: 20+[x GĪN K.B.] —

17 Kish Stone Fragment II

i [..] [x] [x]+47 MA.NA URUDU — [..]

18 Figure aux Plumes

Rev. i 1 gán NLSUM 72 — — — —
2 SAR.LAK-175 180 — — — —
3 ME.NAM? X? 90 — — — —
4.XA 54 — — — —
5 NLDU H 54 — — — —
6 BE.SUG (18?) — — — —

19 Lagash Stela

Obv. gán DIN.SILĀ 1,296,018 — — — —
[PN?]

Rev. i 1 gán ŠA.GIBIL 720(?) — — — —
2 AN.GAN 360(?) — — — —
3 ŠA nigir-gal 540(?) — — — —
4 GĪR.ŠA 360(?) — — — —
5 A [?] 720(?) — — — —
ii 1 [..] 360(?) — — — —
2 A-[x] [..] 180(?) — — — —
3 [..] 216(?) — — — —
4 [..] 360(?) — — — —
5 [..] 360(?) — — — —

20 Enhēgal Tablet

i gán 'DU? 414 720 ma-na urudu 1.74 ma-na urudu + 2. šē l. viz — —
i-ii gán ganun-dū 126 *180 ma-na urudu 1.43 ma-na urudu + 2. šē — —
8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<th>Text</th>
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<td>iii</td>
<td>gān E+PAB. KASKI LAL? KI</td>
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<td>20 BAL+U</td>
<td>11 šāh-ążi</td>
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<td>iii-iv</td>
<td>gān</td>
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<td>gān Bar-sag?-sag Gü-KALAM?</td>
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<td>gān Bad-gis-gis4</td>
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21 Lupad Statue

i 18 | zag E-ti [x] | 15. gsg še | — | — | — |
20 | zag E-NI [x] | 9 ma-na sig | — | — | — |
22 | da lu[gal] | 21 | 6(?i) ma-na nig- | — | — | — |
26 | zab [... | 6 | urudu-babbar | — | — | — |
28 | zab [...] | 6 | — | — | — |
30 | zab [...]-gal [...] | 6 | — | — | — |
32 | LAL.E zag Amar-tür | 54 | — | — | — |
34 | Us-gal zag Ur-pa | 22 | — | — | — |

22 Lummatur Tablet I

Other Sellers, each: 5 ninda-se 1 ninda-kalag 3 šāl tu, 3 ku, dar-ru 3 sa ga-rašSAR 1 šāl še-sa
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<th>Text</th>
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<td>gān [ēst] šām-m[a-ta]</td>
<td>f9,2,25,1</td>
<td>2,5,1 gsg še</td>
<td>Rate: 1 iku = 2, gsg še</td>
<td>nig-ba of First Seller: 20 ku₇,₇ dar-ra 5 sila tu₇ 1 sa ga-r₇,barang 1 sa ga-ra₇,barang nig-ba of 7 Other Sellers, each: 5 ninda-še 1 ninda-kalag 3 sila tu₇ 3 ku₇,₇ dar-ra 1 ga-ra₇,barang 1 sila še-sa</td>
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<td>f9,2,25,1 18,2, gsg še</td>
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| Rev. iv| gān [gān . . .] gān gān sag-[du₇-ka]       | f8\,2\,25\,1 | 2\,1                     | Rate: 1 iku = 2\, gsg še | nig-ba of First Seller: [x sig-bar-udu-bar] [1] šašu[1] [1] ŠU.KESDA [x ninda-še] [x ninda-kalag] [x ku₇,₇ dar-ra] [x šilā šaš;
|                          |             |                          |                     |               |

#### 23 Lummatur Tablet II

| Obv. i | [gān éš šām-ma-ta] | [x] | [x gur-2-ul še ma-na sig] | Rate: 1 iku = 2\, gur-2-ul še; 1 iku = 3 ma-na sig-SASÉ | nig-ba of First Seller: [x sig-bar-udu] [1 šašu[1] [1] ŠU.KESDA [x ninda-še] [x ninda-kalag] [x ku₇,₇ dar-ra] [x šilā šaš;
| Rev. i |                          |     |                           |                     |               |
### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<td>[gān ēš šām-ma-ta]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>Rate: 1 iku = 2. gur-2-ul še; 1 iku = 3 ma-na sig-ŠA.ŠE</td>
<td>nig-ba of First Seller: 43 sig-[šar-udu]</td>
<td>[ + the same Com. as in Obv. i-Rev. i]</td>
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<td>Obv. iii</td>
<td>[gān ēš šām-ma-ta]</td>
<td>[22.33] 67 ma-na sig</td>
<td>Rate: 1 iku = 3 ma-na sig-ŠA.ŠE</td>
<td>nig-ba of First Seller: 33 sig-bar-udu</td>
<td>[ + the same Com. as in Obv. i-Rev. i]</td>
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<td>[gān ēš šām-ma-ta]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
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<td>nig-ba of First Seller: [x sig-bar-udu]</td>
<td>[1 šakan]</td>
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<td>[x]</td>
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<td>nig-ba of First Seller:</td>
<td>[ + the same Com. as in Obv. i-Rev. i]</td>
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<td>Obv. v-Rev. v</td>
<td>[gān ēš šām-ma-ta]</td>
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<td>nig-ba of First Seller:</td>
<td>[ + the same Com. as in Obv. i-Rev. i]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. v-Rev. vi</td>
<td>[gān ēš šām-ma-ta]</td>
<td>[14.5 or 14.33] 29. gur-2-ul še 43 ma-na sig</td>
<td>Rate: 1 iku = 2. gur-2-ul še; 1 iku = 3 ma-na sig-ŠA.ŠE</td>
<td>nig-ba of First Seller:</td>
<td>[ + the same Com. as in Obv. i-Rev. i]</td>
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### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rev. vi-Obv. vii</td>
<td>[gān ē šām-ma-ta] 36 + [x] [x gur-2-ul še x ma-na sig]</td>
<td>36 + [x]</td>
<td>Rate: 1 iku = 2. gur-2-ul še; 1 iku = 3 ma-na sig-ŠA-ŠE</td>
<td>nig-ba of First Seller:</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obv. ix</td>
<td>[gān ē šām-ma-ta] [14.5 or 14.33] 29. gur-2-ul še 43 ma-na sig</td>
<td>14.5 or 14.33</td>
<td>Rate: 1 iku = 2. gur-2-ul še; 1 iku = 3 ma-na sig-ŠA-ŠE</td>
<td>nig-ba of First Seller:</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 24 Stela of Victory

| Obv. | 1' [gān Ú-_NBGL-4]KUÇ [x] | — | — | — | — |
| Rev. ii' | 2' gān Na-na-ga-ra [360]+ 360 | — | — | — | — |
| 3' gān Ú- NBGL-4 | 360 | — | — | — | — |
| iiii iv' 5' gān Gān-gi-lā 90 | — | — | — | — | — |

### 25 Nippur Statue

| i 4 [GĀN] | 6 10 [MA.NA] 1.66 MA.NA | — | — | — | — |
| i 7 [GĀN] | 12 20 [MA.NA] 1.66 MA.NA | — | — | — | — |
| i 10 [GĀN] | 6 10 [MA.NA] 1.66 MA.NA | — | — | — | — |
| ii 10 GĀN | 3 5 [MA.NA] 1.66 MA.NA | — | — | — | — |
| iii 3 GĀN | 5 9 [MA.NA] URUDU 1.8 MA.NA | — | — | — | — |
| iii 7 GĀN | 18 40 [MA.NA] URUDU 2.2 MA.NA | — | — | — | — |

### 26 Enna-Il Statue

| i 4' GĀN X X X GĀN | 108 | — | — | — | — |
| 9' GĀN GĀN SĀM | 36 | — | — | — | — |

### 27 10 NT I

| ii' [ ] [x] 40 gin kug | — | — | — | — |
| Rev. i' i' [ ] [x] 40 gin kug | — | — | — | — |
### ANCIENT KUDURRUS

#### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>PBS XV 20</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i 3 gan-maḥ</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10 gin kug</td>
<td>0.48 gin kug</td>
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<td>30a</td>
<td>Nippur Disk</td>
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<td></td>
<td>36 gan</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>180 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>25 gan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>125 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.5(?)[n] gan</td>
<td>6.5 (?)(?)</td>
<td>32.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>5(?)(?) gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>7.5 gan</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>37.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>2 gan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
<td>5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>2.5(?)[]&lt; gan</td>
<td>2.5 (?)(?)</td>
<td>12.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>5(?)(?) gin k.b.</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Adab Stone Fragment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i 3 GAN [. . ]X'X'KI</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[x] MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i 6 GAN</td>
<td>(18?) 3</td>
<td>46 MANA</td>
<td>2.19 MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i 9 GAN</td>
<td>18(?)+6</td>
<td>'62? MANA</td>
<td>2.58(? MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii 6 GAN</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32 MANA</td>
<td>3.2 MANA URIUDU</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ii 10 GAN</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>[x] MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii 5 GAN HIL MA.KI?</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45 MANA</td>
<td>5 MANA URIUDU</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>iii 10 GAN</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50 MANA</td>
<td>2.08 MANA URIUDU</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv 1 GAN 'X' GAL. AURUM</td>
<td>[x]+9</td>
<td>[x]+4 MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv 6 GAN</td>
<td>[67]+9</td>
<td>'40+ MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>2.66(? MANA URIUDU</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>Adab Clay Fragment I</td>
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<td>i-v gan É-kas</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>80.66 gin k.b.</td>
<td>0.66 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>i-vii gan É-{kas}?</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
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<td>BIN II 2</td>
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<td>ii GAN</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6.43 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>ii-iii GAN</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>[x]+5 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>iii GAN</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6.66 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>iv 5 GAN</td>
<td>[GAN]</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>4 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>12.5 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>Rev. i GAN ZAG</td>
<td>0.47</td>
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<td>CT V 3</td>
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<td>i GAN</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>320 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>3.33 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KIGAR: 5 TUG.</td>
<td>NIG.</td>
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8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iii 1</td>
<td>GÂN [18] [60 GIN K.B.] (3.33) GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>26 SILÂ 1</td>
<td>A.SU 26 SILÂ</td>
<td>K.I.GAR (TUG. A.SU + SÈ) to Price: 1:10(7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii 12</td>
<td>GÂN 18 (180) GIN K.B. 3.33 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>26 SILÂ 1</td>
<td>NÎG.K.I.GAR [6 GIN K.B. 6 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. K.I.GAR (K.B. only) to Price: 1:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>[GÂN] [45] [150 GIN K.B.] (3.33) GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>26 SILÂ 1</td>
<td>NÎG.K.I.GAR [15 GIN K.B. 15 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. K.I.GAR (K.B. only) to Price: 1:10</td>
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<tr>
<td>v 3</td>
<td>[GÂN] [12] [40 GIN K.B.] (3.33) GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>1.86</td>
<td>26 SILÂ 1</td>
<td>NÎG.K.I.GAR [12.1 GIN K.B. 4 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. K.I.GAR (K.B. only) to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>v 13</td>
<td>GÂN 24 80 GIN K.B. 3.33 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>1.86</td>
<td>26 SILÂ 1</td>
<td>NÎG.K.I.GAR [4 GIN K.B. 8 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. K.I.GAR (K.B. only) to Price: 1:10</td>
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<table>
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<th>Text</th>
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<tr>
<td>i'</td>
<td>[ . . . ] [x] [ . . ] [ . . ] [ . . ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>NÎG.DUR.GAR [1. GSG SÈ 2 MA.NA SIG 2 SILÂ 1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>i'-ii'</td>
<td>GÂN [6] [15. GSG SÈ] (2.5) GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15 SÈ</td>
<td>NÎG.DUR.GAR [1. GSG SÈ 2 MA.NA SIG 2 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. DUR.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii'-iii'</td>
<td>GÂN 6 15. GSG SÈ 2.5 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15 SÈ</td>
<td>NÎG.DUR.GAR [1. GSG SÈ 2 MA.NA SIG 2 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. DUR.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii'</td>
<td>GÂN 6 15. GSG SÈ 2.5 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15 SÈ</td>
<td>NÎG.BA: 1 TÎG.SU.A NÎG.DUR.GAR [1. GSG SÈ 2 MA.NA SIG 2 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. DUR.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<tr>
<td>iv' 1</td>
<td>GÂN in E=dur-y Me-me 48 90. GSG SÈ 1.88 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15 SÈ</td>
<td>NÎG.DUR.GAR [8 GSG SÈ 16 MA.NA SIG 16 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. DUR.GAR to Price: 1:5.6</td>
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<td>15 SÈ</td>
<td>NÎG.DUR.GAR [1. GSG SÈ 2 MA.NA SIG 2 SILÂ 1]</td>
<td>Ratio of NÎG. DUR.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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38 Dar-a-a Tablet

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<thead>
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<td>GÂN in U-ša-la-tim 180</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>GÂN in ba-la-ag Da-da-ri-im 18</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>GÁN in X.EDINKI</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
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<td>GÁN in Aš-na-ukKI</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 39 YBC 2409

| i’ | 1’ | ‘gáN’ É-du-tu5-| [x]+38.5 (?) | — | — | — |
|    | 2’ | sabra         | —            | — | — | — |
|    | 3’ | ‘gáN’ [É-du]tu5-| [x]+52.5 (?) | — | — | — |
|    | 4’ | [gáN] DUG?      | [x]         | — | — | — |

#### 40 Manishtushu Obelisk

|     |            |      | GIN K.B.       |              | KÍ.GAR to                                      |
|     |            |      | SE = 1463.33   |              | Price: 1:6.66                                |
|     |            |      | B = 1. GSG     |              |                                               |
| A2  | (GÁN Ba-azKI) | 821  | 2736.2.4 GSG   | 3.33 GIN K.B. | NIG.KI.GAR GÁN: 410.5 GIN K.B. | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:6.66 |
|     |            |      | GIN K.B.       |              | KÍ.GAR to                                      |
|     |            |      | SE = 2736.66   |              | Price: 1:6.66                                |
|     |            |      | B = 1. GSG     |              |                                               |
| A3  | (GÁN Ba-azKI) | 73   | 243.1.2 GSG    | 3.33 GIN K.B. | NIG.KI.GAR GÁN: 36.5 GIN K.B. | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:6.66 |
|     |            |      | GIN K.B.       |              | KÍ.GAR to                                      |
|     |            |      | SE = 243.33    |              | Price: 1:6.66                                |
|     |            |      | B = 1. GSG     |              |                                               |
|     |            |      | GIN K.B.       |              | KÍ.GAR to                                      |
|     |            |      | SE = 3720      |              | Price: 1:10                                    |
|     |            |      | B = 1. GSG     |              |                                               |
|     |            |      | GIN K.B.       |              | KÍ.GAR to                                      |
|     |            |      | SE = 1860 MANA SIG |            | Price: 1:10                                    |
|     |            |      | B = 1. GSG     |              |                                               |

For more information and context, refer to [oi.uchicago.edu](http://oi.uchicago.edu).
### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

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<td><strong>C₂</strong> (SUG-Š Nin-ḫur-sag)</td>
<td>3834</td>
<td>3.33 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1 URUDU ḤA.ZI UD.KA.BAR</td>
<td>Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>Rates: 1 GIN K.B. = 20 TŪG.SU.SE.GA</td>
<td>NĪG.KI.GAR GĀN: 408 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K.B. = 1 GIN K.B. = 2400 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>ŠE; 1 GIN K.B. = 60 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>= 4 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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<td>3834</td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>K.B. = 1 GIN K.B. = 2400 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ŠE; 1 GIN K.B. = 60 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>= 4 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3834</td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1 URUDU ḤA.ZI UD.KA.BAR</td>
<td>Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>Rates: 1 GIN K.B. = 20 TŪG.SU.SE.GA</td>
<td>NĪG.KI.GAR GĀN: 408 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>K.B. = 1 GIN K.B. = 2400 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>ŠE; 1 GIN K.B. = 60 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>= 4 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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<td>3834</td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>K.B. = 1 GIN K.B. = 2400 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ŠE; 1 GIN K.B. = 60 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>= 4 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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<td>3834</td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1 URUDU ḤA.ZI UD.KA.BAR</td>
<td>Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>Rates: 1 GIN K.B. = 20 TŪG.SU.SE.GA</td>
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<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>K.B. = 1 GIN K.B. = 2400 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ŠE; 1 GIN K.B. = 60 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>= 4 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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<td>3834</td>
<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1 URUDU ḤA.ZI UD.KA.BAR</td>
<td>Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>12780 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>Rates: 1 GIN K.B. = 20 TŪG.SU.SE.GA</td>
<td>NĪG.KI.GAR GĀN: 408 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>K.B. = 1 GIN K.B. = 2400 MA.NA SĪG</td>
<td>KI.GAR to Price: 1:10</td>
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<td>ŠE; 1 GIN K.B. = 60 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>= 4 MA.NA SĪG</td>
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</table>

### 41. Sippur Stone

| i | GĀN | 90 | 120 GIN K.B. | 1.33 GIN K.B. | NĪG.KI.GAR: 12 GIN K.B. = 4 TŪG.SU.ZA.GA | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR (K.B. only) to Price: 1:10 |
| ii | GĀN ṣu Sa-ba-ra? | 40 | 26.66 GIN K.B. | 0.66 GIN K.B. | NĪG.KI.GAR: 2.25 GIN K.B. = 0.66 GIN K.B. | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:11.85 |
| v | GĀN NINDA etc. | 30 | 20 GIN K.B. | 0.66 GIN K.B. | NĪG.KI.GAR: 1.25 GIN K.B. = 0.66 GIN K.B. | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR (K.B. only) to Price: 1:16 |
| vi | [GĀN] | [x] | 20.25 GIN K.B. | — | NĪG.KI.GAR: 2 GIN K.B. = 0.66 GIN K.B. | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:10.11(?) |
| vii | GĀN | 96 | 64 GIN K.B. | 0.66 GIN K.B. | NĪG.KI.GAR: 6[37 GIN K.B.] = 0.66 GIN K.B. | Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR to Price: 1:10.11(?) |
### ANCIENT KUDURRUS

#### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rev.iii'1'</td>
<td>[GÁN]</td>
<td>[x] 122.5 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR (without TUG.A.SU) to Price: 1:9.8</td>
<td>Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii'1'</td>
<td>GÁN</td>
<td>10.66</td>
<td>21.33 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>2 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR to Price: 1:10.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv'</td>
<td>GÁN</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52(?) GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>2(?) GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR to Price: 1:11.55(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi'</td>
<td>GÁN GÁN.NINDÁ etc.</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>7.5 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>2.05 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR to Price: 1:11.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii'</td>
<td>GÁN</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>4.33 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>3.25 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR to Price: 1:8.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix'</td>
<td>GÁN</td>
<td>'1181</td>
<td>236 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>2 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR (without TUG.SU.ZA.GA) to Price: 1:9.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>L. E.</td>
<td>[GÁN] GÁN.NINDÁ etc. [257]</td>
<td>[50?] GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>[27] GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>NIG.KI.GAR: KI.GAR to Price: [1:11.11?]</td>
<td>Ratio of NIG. KI.GAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 42 Eshnuna Stone Fragment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>GÁN</td>
<td>[x] 1877 GÍN K.B. 40. ŠE</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>iš-ki-nu-su: 1.2. ŠE to Price: 1:34.28(?)</td>
<td>Ratio of iš-ki-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii'</td>
<td>GÁN tu kir-ha-ti Ar-da-na-an in E+PAB At-lí GÁN</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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#### 43 Eshnuna Clay Tablet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iii–iv</td>
<td>GAN 4u DINGIR-GĀR</td>
<td>8 '16.3 GSG ŠE</td>
<td>2 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN 4 BA.AN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv–v</td>
<td>[GAN]</td>
<td>18 12 GIN K.B. 24. GSG ŠE</td>
<td>2 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>[GAN]</td>
<td>12 8 GIN K.B. 16. GSG ŠE</td>
<td>2 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v–vi</td>
<td>GAN</td>
<td>24 12 GIN K.B. 36. GSG ŠE</td>
<td>2 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi–vii</td>
<td>GAN</td>
<td>12 5 GIN K.B. 14.1.2 [GSG ŠE] '214[x...]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>GAN</td>
<td>6 4 GIN K.B. 8. GSG ŠE</td>
<td>2 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii–ix</td>
<td>[GAN]</td>
<td>[24] [16 GIN K.B.] [32. GSG ŠE]</td>
<td>[2] GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
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<tr>
<td>ix–x</td>
<td>[GAN]</td>
<td>[24] [16 GIN K.B.] [32. GSG ŠE]</td>
<td>[2] GIN K.B.</td>
<td>'2.2.4 GSG ŠE 4 SIG.GAN</td>
<td>(K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 44 Eshnuna Clay Fragments

| b)     | GAN                                      | 12 '8.714 ŠE = [8.33] GIN K.B. | 0.69(?) GIN K.B. | — | — |
| d)     | ii' GAN                                  | 6.2 18. GSG SE | 2.9 GIN K.B. | — | — |
| e)     | ii' GAN                                  | 30 10 GIN K.B. 15. ŠE = '15.9 | 0.83 GIN K.B. | — | — |
| f)     | i' GAN                                   | 12 13 GIN K.B. '17.7 GSG ŠE | 2.5(?) GIN K.B. | — | — |
| g)     | GAN                                      | [x'] 2 GIN K.B. | — | — | — |

**Ratio of (K.B. + ŠE) to Price: 1:12**
### 8.2. Kudurrus: Fields—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h) i'</td>
<td>GÂN [x]</td>
<td>[x]+1. GSG ŠE</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii' 1'</td>
<td>[. . .]</td>
<td>[60] MA.NA S{g} = 10 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii' 7'</td>
<td>GÂN 10</td>
<td>2 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>k) i'</td>
<td>GÂN 16[1]</td>
<td>23 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii'</td>
<td>GÂN 18</td>
<td>10. ŠE = 10 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii'</td>
<td>GÂN 18</td>
<td>26. GSG ŠE</td>
<td>—</td>
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### 8.3. Sale Documents

#### 8.3.1. Fields

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<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>114 Fara III 32</td>
<td>gân 3</td>
<td>6 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 6 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 18 ma-na urudu 1 Ni-ga še</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>115 Fara III 33</td>
<td>gân 2</td>
<td>4 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 18 ma-na urudu MUNSUB.AN.TAR: 2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>116 Fara III 34</td>
<td>gân 3</td>
<td>12 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>4 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 10 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 8 ma-na urudu</td>
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<tr>
<td>117 Fara III 36</td>
<td>gân 6</td>
<td>12 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 47 ma-na urudu MUNSUB.TAR: 7 ma-na urudu</td>
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<tr>
<td>118 Fara III 37</td>
<td>gân 2</td>
<td>6 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>3 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 20 ma-na urudu nig-ba: [. . .]</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>120 PBS XIII 24</td>
<td>gân 37</td>
<td>60 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>1.62 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 39 ma-na urudu nig-ba: [. . .]</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>121 ZA LXIII pp. 209–10 no. 4a</td>
<td>gân 5</td>
<td>10 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 30.66 gin kug</td>
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## EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

### 8.3.1. Fields—continued

<table>
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<th>Size in iku</th>
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<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Lambert in <em>Unger AV</em> pp. 37–38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 4 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 52 ma-na urudu .2 še</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Lambert in <em>Unger AV</em> pp. 41–42</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 60 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 92 ma-na urudu .2 še</td>
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<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td><em>AO</em> XXXIX p. 14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10 ma-na urudu-EN,DA 4 gin kug</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 6. še nig-ba: 1 TUG,IB,DÜ 2 šlàš 1 nig-sag-kêš 2 ninda nig-ba of dub-sar: 0.66 gin kug 1 šlàš</td>
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<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td><em>AO</em> XXXIX p. 15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>[x] ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 4 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 2 NI-ga še</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td><em>Or</em>. n.s. XLIV p. 436 no. 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 6 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 18 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>127a</td>
<td><em>MVNS</em> X 84</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 16 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 2 NI-ga še</td>
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<tr>
<td>127b</td>
<td><em>MVNS</em> X 86</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 2 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 6 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td><em>Fara</em> III 38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5 NI-ga.2. še-IJAR 11 gin kug</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td><em>Fara</em> III 40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8 gin kug</td>
<td>Rate: 1 ma-na urudu = .2 še</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td><em>RTC</em> 14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>2.5 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 10 gin kug nig-ba: 4 NI-ga še</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td><em>RTC</em> 15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>[x] gin [kug-Ij]-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Edzard, <em>SRU</em> p. 31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>1 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 1.5 gin kug nig-ba: .2 še</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>A 33676</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>0.43 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 10 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa nig-ba: 25 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa [x NI-ga še]</td>
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<td>134</td>
<td><em>Fara</em> III 39</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>20 NI-ga še 10 TUG,ASU [x šijša ššš]</td>
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### 8.3.1. Fields—continued

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<td>Gift of GU.SUR.NUN:</td>
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<td>nig-bar: Com.</td>
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<td>3.1.4 gsg še</td>
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<td>GĀN</td>
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<td>30 GIN KUG</td>
<td>2 GIN KUG</td>
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<td>13.5</td>
<td>27 GIN KUG</td>
<td>2 GIN KUG</td>
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<td><strong>166</strong> BIN VIII 17</td>
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<td>gān [. . .]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 udu-bar-gāl</td>
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<td>iš-gān še-kam: 2.4 še</td>
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<td>iš-gān ši-g-šā-gₜₕ</td>
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<td>[paₜ-da]-na-keₜₕ</td>
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<td>iš-gān ši-g-šā-gₜₕ</td>
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<td>[a][b]-uₜ</td>
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<td>iš-gān ši-g-šā-gₜₕ</td>
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<td>18+ [x7]</td>
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<td>1 še</td>
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<td>1 šilā i-tₜₕ</td>
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<td>nig-bar: [. . .]</td>
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<td><strong>172</strong> BIN VIII 172</td>
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<td>gān</td>
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<td>iš-gān: .2 ši-lum</td>
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<td><strong>173</strong> BIN VIII 178</td>
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<td>[gān] ES-SA[L?]</td>
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<td>4 gin kug</td>
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<td>... an-[gāl]</td>
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<td>1 še</td>
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<td><strong>174</strong> BIN VIII 179</td>
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<td>15. ši-lum = 30 gin kug</td>
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<td>4 gin kug</td>
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<td>Rate: 1 gin kug</td>
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<td>= 2 še</td>
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<td>.2 ši-dₜₕ</td>
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<td>0.5 šilā i</td>
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<td>gān paₜ-dub-sar-ka</td>
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### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

8.3.1. Fields—continued

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<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in iku</th>
<th>Price of One iku + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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<td>177</td>
<td>MAD IV 153 gân È-ad?</td>
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<td>3 gin kug = 3. še</td>
<td>Gift of 1 Sec. Seller: 2 gin kug</td>
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<td>178</td>
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<td>1.66 gin kug</td>
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<td>MAD IV 169 gân da Ki-sa-nu-dar-ra-ni gân da Ki-ta-nu-dar-ra-ni</td>
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<td>10 gin kug</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>MVNS III 25 gân</td>
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<td>7. še 3*x? gin kug</td>
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<td>182a</td>
<td>Lambert Tablet</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>gân È-gud pa₃-dub-sar gân ab-us</td>
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<td>20 gin kug [20] gin kug 6 udu-nita 1 tûg ki-si-ga = 10 gin kug 3 ma-na urudu Total: 64(?!) gin kug</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>gân pa₃-ib-ka al-gâl ki Ur-DUN sa₃-du₃-ke₄ ab-us</td>
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<td>40. še</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>4.15</td>
<td>1 gin kug 1. še</td>
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<td>16.2. še 16. še 4.1.1. še Total: 3 gin kug 16. še</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>7.5</td>
<td>3 gin kug</td>
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<td>20+ [x]</td>
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<td>59(?!) še</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>gân DU₂-DU₂-an-ni</td>
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<td>40. še</td>
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### 8.3.1. Fields—continued

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<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
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<td>P</td>
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<td>Q</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>gan paš-č³innin gan E-erîn a-gal</td>
<td>3 [x]</td>
<td>gin kug</td>
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<td>T</td>
<td>gan E-X</td>
<td>6[?]</td>
<td>2(?)</td>
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<td>U</td>
<td>gan gu DIMP+SU</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>gan gu DIMP+SU</td>
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<td>EE</td>
<td>gan Ma-seg₁</td>
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<td>gan gan A-[m]ud?-kam</td>
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<td>10 gin kug</td>
<td>5 gin kug</td>
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</table>

207  PBS IX 8

| gan gan Áb-za-an-na | 2 | 6.66 gin kug | 3.33 | 1:8.32 |

210  PBS IX 7

| gan | 6 | 18 gin kug | 3 gin kug | — | — |
| gan | 6 | 18[?] gin kug | 3[?] gin kug | — | — |

211  PBS IX 51+52

| gan Á-[ti-ka]n? gan Bar-[...] | 6 | 40 gin kug | 3.33 | — | — |

230  MAD V 65

| GÁN IGI na-ra-tim | — | 2 GIN K.B. | — | — |

### 8.3.2. Houses

<table>
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<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in sar</th>
<th>Price of One sar + Rate</th>
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<td>100  Fara III 30</td>
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<td>13 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 2 ma-na urudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101  Fara III 31</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>13[?] ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 4 ma-na urudu</td>
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<tr>
<td>102  TSŠ 66</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3. 8e</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>103  TMH V 71</td>
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<td>15 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nig-dirig: 30 ma-na urudu nig-ba: 25 ma-na urudu</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: The text includes various paragraphs discussing the sale of different objects, their descriptions, sizes, and prices. The tables detail the specifics of each sale, including rates and additional payments. For instance, Table 1 lists various items with their sizes and prices, with additional notes on ratios and ratios of is-gin to price. Table 2 continues the list with further items and their details. The text concludes with a section on houses, mentioning different elements like 'e', 'x', and varying sizes for the sale. The document appears to be a record of ancient transactions, possibly from Mesopotamia, given the references to ancient Mesopotamian terms and measures.
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 8.3.2. Houses—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object of Sale + Description</th>
<th>Size in sar</th>
<th>Price of One sar + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
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<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
<td><strong>Size</strong></td>
<td><strong>Price</strong></td>
<td><strong>Payments</strong></td>
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<td><strong>RTC 13</strong></td>
<td>31.5 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 31.5 ma-na urudu</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>RA XXXII p. 126</strong></td>
<td>10 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>8.62 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nīg-ba: 1 NI-ga še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lambert in Unger AV pp. 33–34</strong></td>
<td>17.5 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>14 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nīg-ba: 20 ma-na urudu</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>De Marcellis</strong></td>
<td>8 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 5.5 ma-na urudu</td>
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<td><strong>IM 14182</strong></td>
<td>13 ma-na urudu</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 41 ma-na urudu</td>
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<td><strong>TMH V 75</strong></td>
<td>1-{[x] gin kug-lub]-ḫa</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 10 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TMH V 78</strong></td>
<td>[x] 5 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 6 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
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<td><strong>PBS IX 3</strong></td>
<td>[x] gin kug-[luḫ]-ḫa</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 2 gin kug</td>
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<td><strong>L'Oeil nos. 221–22 p. 78 (= no. 113c)</strong></td>
<td>1.5 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nīg-ba: 1 NI-ga še</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ligabue (= SEL III p. 11)</strong></td>
<td>1.33 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nīg-dirig: 1.5 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
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<td><strong>MVNS X 82</strong></td>
<td>2 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
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<td><strong>MVNS X 83</strong></td>
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<td><strong>BIN VIII 352</strong></td>
<td>36, gur-2-ul še = 18 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
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<td><strong>De Genouillac, FT Pl. XLIII</strong></td>
<td>8.5 gin kug</td>
<td>nīg-ba: Com.</td>
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<td><strong>Dok. I 317</strong></td>
<td>5 gin kug-luḫ-ḫa</td>
<td>nīg-ba: Com.</td>
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### 8.3.2. Houses—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in sar</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One sar + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>DP 31</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>15. gsg še</td>
<td>22.5 gsg še</td>
<td>Rate: 1 gin kug = 1 še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nig-ba: Com.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Hallo in Gelb AV p. 236</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>10 gin kug-lūḫ-ḥa</td>
<td>16.66 gin kug- lūḫ-ḥa = 11. gur-2-ul še</td>
<td>Rate: 1 gin kug-lūḫ-ḥa = .1 še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nig-ba: Com.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>RTC 18</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>[10 gin kug?]</td>
<td>[14.08 gin kug?]</td>
<td>nig-ba: Com.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 164  | BIN VIII 38                              | 1           | 15. še | 16 gin kug | — |
|      |                                          |             | 1 gin kug | = 1. še | |

| 165  | NBC 6844                                  | 1.33        | 119.1.2 še | — | |
|      | é-KLI UD                                  |             | 6 gin kug | — | |
|      | é al-dū-du                                | 0.33        | — | — | |
|      |                                          |             | išt-gān: 1 A.SU.TŪG | 1 FB.BA.DŪTÔG | 1.1.2 še |
|      |                                          |             | 1.33 s[ilâ] i-tāh | 1 ma-na šig | |

| 166  | BIN VIII 17                               | [1].33      | [x]+5. še | — | |
|      | [é]                                       | 3           | 1 gin kug | — | |
|      | [é] bar-dul5                              |             | 1 gin kug | — | |
|      | r61                                       |             | [x g] in [kug] | 1. še | |

| 167  | NBC 6900                                  | 1           | 2 gin kug | 2 gin kug | — |
|      | [é] PB[N4] ab-uš                          |             | — | — | |
|      | é PN-ka[m]                                |             | — | — | |

| 168  | NBC 10198                                 | 1           | 10 gin kug | 10 gin kug | — |
|      | [é] PN-kagi                               |             | = nig-fām | uri[U]RDUD-kam | |

| 181  | MVNS III 13                               | 1           | 10 gin kug | 10 gin kug | — |
|      | é PN-kagi                                 |             | = nig-fām | uri[U]RDUD-kam | |

| 204  | PBS IX 9                                  | 1           | 10 NI-g[a] še | 10 NI-ga še | — |
|      | é uru-bar abulla₅                         |             | 5 g[a] še | — | |
|      | é                                          |             | 5 g[a] še | — | |

| 205  | TMH V 128                                 | 1           | 15 NI-ga še | — | |

| 206  | IM 58820                                  | 1.8         | 21 gin kug | 11.66 gin kug | — |

---

*Text and Location in sar*
8.3.2. Houses—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in sar</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One sar + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>210 PBS IX 7</td>
<td>1.5x³</td>
<td>18.66 gin kug</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218 CTL 77</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>5.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>8.33 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227 Or. n.s. L I p. 355-56</td>
<td>0.33 + 1 GIN</td>
<td>21 GIN</td>
<td>60 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228 FM 4</td>
<td>1 GIŠ.IS.DE</td>
<td>11 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1 GIŠ.IS.DE = ca. 11 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237 JCS X p. 26</td>
<td>[x SA]R</td>
<td>42.66 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238 MAD V 82</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4. GSG SE</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247 MVNS III 213</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 gin k.b.</td>
<td>1 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247a A 22108</td>
<td>[é-dú-a]</td>
<td>193.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248 ZA LIII p. 82 no. 21</td>
<td>[é-dú-a] ü KLUD</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>25 gin k.b.</td>
<td>5.14 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249 UET III 31</td>
<td>1.5(?)</td>
<td>[x gin k.b.]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 NSATN 782</td>
<td>6 gin k.b.</td>
<td>6 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251 UET III 27</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>4(?) gin k.b.</td>
<td>1.5(?) gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252 NSATN 911</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36 gin (k.b.)</td>
<td>6 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253 NSATN 966</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12(?) gin [k.b.]</td>
<td>4(?) gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254 Yondorf Coll. B</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>5 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1.36 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</table>
### 8.3.2. Houses—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in sar</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One sar + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>255</strong> YOS IV 4</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>2.8 gin k.b.</td>
<td>2.41 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>256</strong> YOS XVI 100</td>
<td>é-KI.UD</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>2.66 gin k.b.</td>
<td>2.29 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>257</strong> NRVN I 223+251</td>
<td>é-dú-a é-tu-ši-ga</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40 gin k.b.</td>
<td>20 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>258</strong> TA 1930, 249</td>
<td>ki-gál</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>40.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>1.73 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>259</strong> <strong>ITT V 6837+NSGU III pl. 8 no. 100</strong></td>
<td>[ë?]</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>5.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>4.13 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>260</strong> NRSATN 19</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>261</strong> TIM V 8</td>
<td>[ë?]</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>9 gin k.b.</td>
<td>7.76 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>262</strong> Oppenheim, Eames Coll. Pl. XIV Noor II</td>
<td>é-dú-a fūard KI.UD</td>
<td>[x]+1.72</td>
<td>18.16 gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>331</strong> MVNS III 268</td>
<td>é-dú-a šu KI.UD</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>4.33 gin k.b.</td>
<td>3.05 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>355</strong> AUAM 73.1042</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.3.3. Orchards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object of Sale + Description and Location</th>
<th>Size in sar</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One sar + Rate</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>146</strong> Cross, NFT p. 220</td>
<td>gán [S]AR</td>
<td>2000(?)</td>
<td>180+[1207] gin kug</td>
<td>0.15(?)(?) gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>181</strong> <strong>MVNS III 13</strong></td>
<td>gšškirišš gú</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>10 gin kug</td>
<td>0.14 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāš-kuršš al-gál</td>
<td>7.2. še</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gšškirišš gú</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20 gin kug</td>
<td>0.87 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāš-kuršš</td>
<td>6. še</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gšškirišš gú pāš-kuršš</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>20 gin kug</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gšškirišš gú pāš-kuršš</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 ANŠE.SAL</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>182</strong> <strong>MVNS III 53</strong></td>
<td>gšškirišš kuršš</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>30. še</td>
<td>.3 še = 0.1 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GADA+GAR PN</td>
<td>lú-šu-kéšš ab-šu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>182a</strong> Lambert Tablet</td>
<td>gšškirišš gú šušš</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>27(?)(?) gin kug</td>
<td>0.1(?)(?) gin kug</td>
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### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 8.3.3. Orchards—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price of One</th>
<th>Additional Payments</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>55. šē</td>
<td>.11 šē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>18. šē</td>
<td>.08 gin kug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20.25</td>
<td>2. šē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>10. šē</td>
<td>.02 gin kug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>12. šē</td>
<td>.3 šē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>7.  šē</td>
<td>.2 šē</td>
<td>is-gān: 10. šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>7.  šē</td>
<td>.2 šē</td>
<td>is-gān: [x šē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>7.  šē</td>
<td>.2 šē</td>
<td>is-gān: .2 šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>4.  šē</td>
<td>.4 šē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>7.  šē</td>
<td>.2(?) šē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>6 gin kug</td>
<td>.06 gin kug</td>
<td>is-gān: .2 šē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
<td>PBS IX</td>
<td>18.66 gin kug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>264</td>
<td>BE III</td>
<td>40 38.5 gin k.b.</td>
<td>.09 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>265</td>
<td>NRVN I</td>
<td>100 4. gin k.b.</td>
<td>.04 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>266</td>
<td>NSATN</td>
<td>35 10 gin k.b.</td>
<td>1 Palm = 0.28 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>267</td>
<td>MVNS III</td>
<td>3 1 gin k.b.</td>
<td>1 Palm = 0.33 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>268</td>
<td>NSATN</td>
<td>35 10 gin k.b.</td>
<td>1 Palm = 0.28 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>269</td>
<td>NSATN</td>
<td>40 80 gin k.b.</td>
<td>0.16 (or 0.13) gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>270</td>
<td>BM 15464</td>
<td>8 0.66 gin k.b.</td>
<td>.08 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>360</td>
<td>UET III</td>
<td>18 4 gin k.b.</td>
<td>1 Palm = 0.22 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 8.3.4. Persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Or. IX p. 173</td>
<td>PN gala “cantor” (Boy)</td>
<td>10 gin kug-tuḫ-ḫa 1 ḫu ḫa 2-mu-a 1 [... ] 1 sīlā 1-nūn 1 ṣuḫur ḫu-Kū 1 sā-duq kas 10 SUR 5 ninda-sīlā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RTC 16</strong></td>
<td>1 sag-SAL tūl-ta-pād-da-am₆ “foundling” (Woman/Girl)</td>
<td>10 gin kug-tuḫ-ḫa 2. še Gift of 1 Sec. Seller: 3 SUR 2 ninda-sīlā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RTC 17</strong></td>
<td>PN gala “cantor” (Boy)</td>
<td>20 gin kug 1. gsg še 1 ḫu ḫa kas 20 SUR 20 ninda-sīlā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VAS XIV 141</strong></td>
<td>1 ịgi-nu-duq “blind” (Man)</td>
<td>15 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VAS XIV 144</strong></td>
<td>1 ịgi-nu-duq “blind” (Man)</td>
<td>15 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIN VIII 363</strong></td>
<td>PN gala “cantor” (Boy)</td>
<td>30. gsg še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dok. I 17</strong></td>
<td>PN gala gurul-am₆ “grown cantor” (Man)</td>
<td>18 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dok. I 293</strong></td>
<td>1 ịgi-nu-duq “blind” (Man)</td>
<td>14 gin kug 1 sag-nita (Man) 1 ịgi-nu-duq “blind” (Man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIN VIII 177</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A 713</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Woman)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ist. Mus. Adab 397</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Girl?)</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ist. Mus. Adab 398</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Woman?)</td>
<td>[x] ṣuḫur gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ist. Mus. Adab 399</strong></td>
<td>D PN</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D PN</strong></td>
<td>1 gemē “slave woman”</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAD IV 77</strong></td>
<td>PN (Girl?)</td>
<td>9 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAD IV 78</strong></td>
<td>PN (Man?)</td>
<td>6 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAD IV 81</strong></td>
<td>PN (Boy)</td>
<td>6 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAD IV 150</strong></td>
<td>PN (Boy)</td>
<td>8 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAD IV 158</strong></td>
<td>[PN] (Child)</td>
<td>[x] gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIN VIII 39</strong></td>
<td>dumu PN (Child)</td>
<td>2.4. še 1 ṣuḫur = 0.5 gin kug 20 gin nīg-kug 6 gin kug 5. še 40 sin ša-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIN VIII 66</strong></td>
<td>PN dumu PN₆ (Woman)</td>
<td>[x].2. še 5 udu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIN VIII 175</strong></td>
<td>PN (Child)</td>
<td>10.93 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Böhl Coll. 929</strong></td>
<td>PN ama-tu-am₆ “house-born slave” (Woman)</td>
<td>10. še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAD IV 80</strong></td>
<td>PN (Man?)</td>
<td>5 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NBC 10294</strong></td>
<td>1 gemē “slave woman”</td>
<td>22 gin kug 36. še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITT I 1040</strong></td>
<td>[D PN ã D PN₆] dumu PN₆ (me)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITT I 1041</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITT II 4518</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITT II 4578</strong></td>
<td>PN dumu PN₆ (Man)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITT II 4588</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>6.333 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RC 79</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RTC 80</strong></td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### 8.3.4. Persons — continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>RTC 81</td>
<td>D PN dumu PN, (Man)</td>
<td>120¹ gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>TMH V 47</td>
<td>PN nu-kiri, &quot;gardener&quot;</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>PBS IX 4</td>
<td>D PN (Woman?) D PN (Woman?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Dok. II 68</td>
<td>D PN (Man)</td>
<td>4 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>TIM IX 99</td>
<td>D PN (Boy)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>IM 43431</td>
<td>PN (Man?)</td>
<td>557.16 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>NBC 10221</td>
<td>PN (Woman)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>IM 43451</td>
<td>PN (Woman?)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>IM 43741</td>
<td>PN (Man?)</td>
<td>10 + [x] gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>MLC 1251</td>
<td>D PN (Man) [D PN]</td>
<td>15 gin k.b. 5 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>HSS X 99</td>
<td>[ARA]D Lu-lu-bi-im &quot;Lulubean slave&quot;</td>
<td>[x]. ŠE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>MVNS III 80</td>
<td>D PN (Boy) [D PN]</td>
<td>3.2. ŠE = 6 GIN K.B. 4.4. ŠE = [8 GIN K.B.?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>MVNS III 102</td>
<td>1 PN (Child)</td>
<td>10.33 GIN K.B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>IM 43612</td>
<td>PN (Woman)</td>
<td>6.5 GIN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>CTL 78</td>
<td>1 GEME &quot;slave woman&quot; 1 DUMU.SAL (Girl)</td>
<td>27 GIN K.B. 10 GIN K.B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>HSS X 211</td>
<td>PN (Woman)</td>
<td>5 GIN K.B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>NSA TN 607</td>
<td>1 sag-[X]</td>
<td>[x].3 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>AUAM 73.1110</td>
<td>1 sag-nita (Man)</td>
<td>2.66 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>NSA TN 123</td>
<td>1 sag-[X]</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
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<td>274</td>
<td>AUAM 73.3097</td>
<td>1 sag-nita sag-ba PN mu-ni (Man)</td>
<td>3 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>NBC 11300</td>
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<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>RA VIII pp. 185–186 no. 4</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman)</td>
<td>6.66 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>BE III/1 15+ NSA TN 367</td>
<td>1 sag-nita [PN] mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>11 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>278</td>
<td>NSA TN 255</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>279</td>
<td>NBC 7174</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL-an PN m[u]-ni-[i][m] dumu-SAL gab-na-a b[i]-tab-bi (Woman and Female Infant)</td>
<td>8.2.3 ŠE</td>
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<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>RA X p. 66 no. 105</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>3.1.4 ŠE</td>
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<td>281</td>
<td>UET III 26</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-½ kut-ni-ta (env.: 1 kut-ni-ta) (Boy)</td>
<td>2 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>282</td>
<td>NBC 5652</td>
<td>1 sag-nita-am PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>7.33 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td>TIM V 12</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman)</td>
<td>1.5 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>UET III 30</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni gené Seller-kam (Woman)</td>
<td>8.5 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>NSA TN 761</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man) 1 sag-SAL PN, mu-ni-im dumu gaba-na-a ab-tab (Woman and Infant)</td>
<td>16 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>AUAM 73.3096</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>2.5 gin kug</td>
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<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>UET III 29</td>
<td>1 sag-nita [PN] mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>5 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>NRVN I 216</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman)</td>
<td>4.33 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>MDP XXVIII 410</td>
<td>[1] sag-SAL [PN] mu-ni-[i][m] (Woman)</td>
<td>7 gin kug</td>
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<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>NRVN I 215</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-[i]-im (Woman)</td>
<td>12+[x?] gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>ZA XXV p. 206 no. 1</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman)</td>
<td>4 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>NSA TN 713</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL [PN] mu-ni-[i][m] (Woman)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
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## 8.3.4. Persons—continued

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>293</strong> TMH n.F. I/II 51</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>4 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>294</strong> ITT III 6370</td>
<td>1 dumu-SAL PN P N mu-ni-im (Girl)</td>
<td>4.25 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>295</strong> BIN V 346</td>
<td>PN SAL (Woman) PN dumu-ni (Boy)</td>
<td>20 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>296</strong> MAOG IV p. 191 MD 3</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman) 1 sag-nita dumu-ni PN mu-ni-im (Boy)</td>
<td>12 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>297</strong> TIM IX 103</td>
<td>1 sag-nita [P]N mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>7 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>298</strong> N S A T N 498</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni (Woman)</td>
<td>2 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>299</strong> Forde, NCT 63</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni (Woman)</td>
<td>6 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>300</strong> N S A T N 610</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Girl)</td>
<td>[x]+4.5 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>301</strong> N S A T N 265</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL su-NE-a PN mu-ne-im (Woman)</td>
<td>3.5 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>302</strong> Ist. Mus. N. 5446</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni (Woman)</td>
<td>2 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>303</strong> YBC 9827</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ne ba-sa(for sa) (Woman)</td>
<td>5 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>304</strong> N R V N I 214</td>
<td>1 sag-[nita] PN mu-ni-im (Girl)</td>
<td>3 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>305</strong> AOr VII pl. III no. 1</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman)</td>
<td>5. se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>306</strong> N S A T N 903</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Girl)</td>
<td>4 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>307</strong> PBS VIII/2 157+ N S A T N 5</td>
<td>1 sag-[nita] PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>308</strong> N R V N I 213</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>309</strong> U E T III 39</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>309a</strong> Limet, TD SU 16</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
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<table>
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<th>Text</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>310</strong> N R V N I 212</td>
<td>1 sag-[nita] PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>311</strong> PBS IX 41</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL (Woman)</td>
<td>9.16 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>312</strong> N S A T N 850</td>
<td>PN P N P N dumu PN [me (Men)]</td>
<td>41 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>313</strong> N S A T N 884</td>
<td>[1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man) 1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Woman)]</td>
<td>[. . ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>314</strong> AUAM 73.2128</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL (Woman)</td>
<td>5.5 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>315</strong> U E T III 47</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>17 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>333</strong> AUAM 73.3098</td>
<td>[P]N geme Seller (Woman)</td>
<td>4 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>334</strong> U E T III 14</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im arad[wr. NITA] Seller-kam (Man)</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>335</strong> U E T III 15</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im geme Seller-kam (Woman)</td>
<td>6.1.4 se</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>337</strong> U E T III 44</td>
<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im [dumu-sag-[rx] (PA.SAL.KA[B.DU]) Seller dam [PNx-kam] (Boy?)</td>
<td>8 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>338</strong> U E T III 18</td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im geme Seller-kam (Woman)</td>
<td>8 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>339</strong> Szlechter, TJA I p. LXVIII JES 134</td>
<td>PN arad Seller (Man)</td>
<td>4 x gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>341</strong> Y O S XV 101</td>
<td>PN (Man?)</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>342</strong> ITT II 3512</td>
<td>PN dumu PN (Man)</td>
<td>4.25 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>343</strong> N R V N I 226</td>
<td>1 SAG.SAL PN MU.NI (Woman)</td>
<td>0.66 GIN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>344</strong> Y O S IV 2</td>
<td>PN (Boy?)</td>
<td>9 gin kug-UD.UD</td>
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8.3.4. Persons—continued

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<td>345</td>
<td>IM 61558</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[1 sag-X]</td>
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<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>ZA LIII p. 79 no. 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sag-SAL P[N] mu-ni-im</td>
<td>4 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Woman)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347</td>
<td>NSATN 937</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im</td>
<td>5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>(Man?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>IM 61706</td>
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<td>1 sag[nita?] P[N] mu-[ni-im]</td>
<td>6 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(Man?)</td>
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<td>350</td>
<td>A 31164</td>
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<td>[1 sag-X]</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>1 sag-SAL P[N] (Woman)</td>
<td>3 gin (k.b.)</td>
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<td>352</td>
<td>UET III 26</td>
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<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im</td>
<td>3 gin k.b.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Man)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>ITT II 2766</td>
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<td>PN (Man)</td>
<td>14.5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>356</td>
<td>ITT II 3470</td>
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<td>PN dam &amp; dumu (Man, Woman, and Children)</td>
<td>8 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>357</td>
<td>Pinches, BTBC 53</td>
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<td>PN (Woman)</td>
<td>6.66 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>De Genouillac, FT II pl. L AO 13019</td>
<td>1 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>MAOG IV pp. 188–189 MD 2</td>
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<td>PN (Man)</td>
<td>15. še = 15 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>361</td>
<td>Oppenheim, Eames Coll. pl. II TT 4</td>
<td>0.5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>(1) sag-SAL PN mu-ni (Woman)</td>
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<td>362</td>
<td>Oppenheim, Eames Coll. pl. XI TT 1</td>
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<td>1 SAG.NITA PN MUNI.IM (Man)</td>
<td>87? 33 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>1 LP4BAR.GAL.LA (Man)</td>
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<td>363</td>
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<td>3.33 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>1 sag-SAL PN mu-ni-im (Girl)</td>
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<td>364</td>
<td>TMH n.F. 1/II 50</td>
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<td>1 sag-nita-km PN mu-ni (Man)</td>
<td>5.5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>365</td>
<td>UET III 41</td>
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<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>55 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>366</td>
<td>MDP XVIII 199</td>
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<td>1 sag-nita PN mu-ni-im (Man)</td>
<td>2 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>367</td>
<td>TLB III 170</td>
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<td>[PN] P[PN] dumu PN,–me (Two Boys?)</td>
<td>15 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>369</td>
<td>TMH n.F. 1/II 53</td>
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<td>[PN] PN, dumu-ni-me (Man, Woman, and three Children)</td>
<td>43 gin k.b.</td>
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8.3.5. Animals

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<td>222</td>
<td>MYNS III 100</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 ANŠE LIBIR “dusú-equid”</td>
<td>13.66 gin k.b.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 ANŠE LIBIR-nita 3 “three- year-old male dusú-equid”</td>
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<td>223</td>
<td>YBC 12312</td>
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<td></td>
<td>anše “donkey”</td>
<td>5 gin kug</td>
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<td>225</td>
<td>MAD IV 51</td>
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<td>1 ANŠE.BAR.AN·nita “male mule”</td>
<td>11 gin kug</td>
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<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Or. n.s. LI p. 363</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(1 ANŠE).BAR.AN 1 “one-year- old mule”</td>
<td>25 GIN K.B.</td>
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<td>10. ŠE</td>
<td>1 GÛ SIG.UDU</td>
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<td>361</td>
<td>NSATN 741</td>
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<td>1 GIR mu-2 “two-year-old heifer”</td>
<td>6 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>317</td>
<td>NRVN I 218</td>
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<td>1 gud-niga “barley-fed bull”</td>
<td>10.5 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>318</td>
<td>Chiera, CBTC Ex 695</td>
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<td>1 emē(ANŠE.SAL)-māh “mature she-ass”</td>
<td>7.1. še</td>
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<td>319</td>
<td>JMEOS XV pp. 41–42 no. 2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 gud-giit “yoke-ox”</td>
<td>8.33 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>2 dusú-nita(wr. ANŠE.NITA. LIBIR) “male dusú-equid”</td>
<td>8.5 gin kug-UD.UD</td>
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<td>[1 g]ud-giit “yoke-ox”</td>
<td>[x] gin k.b.</td>
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<td>NRVN I 219</td>
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<td>323</td>
<td>NRVN I 221</td>
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<td>2 emē(ANŠE.SAL) “she-ass”</td>
<td>13 gin k.b.</td>
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<td>l amar-ga anšē “suckling ass”</td>
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<td>ZA LIII p. 80 no. 20</td>
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<td>[1 gud-giit?] “yoke-ox”?</td>
<td>[x gin k.b.]</td>
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<td>ZA LIII p. 79 no. 18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sag-SAL PN MU.NI.IM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Woman)</td>
<td>2.33 GIN K.B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oi.uchicago.edu
8.3.6. Commodities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Object of Sale + Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price per Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td><em>MAD IV 15</em></td>
<td>10 gin kug</td>
<td>1. zú-lum = 1 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Serota Coll. A 10</td>
<td>2.2 gsg še</td>
<td>1 gin kug-GI = 1 gsg še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 gin kug-GI “gold”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rates: 1 gin k.b. = 1 gsg še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 gin kug-GI = 6 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td><em>MAD IV 4</em></td>
<td>15 GIN K.B.</td>
<td>1 GIN KUG.GI = 7.5 GIN K.B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 9

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ADDITIONAL PAYMENTS AND BETWEEN PRICES AND ADDITIONAL PAYMENTS

In several of the kudurrus and in some of the clay sale documents (Fara) the value of the commodities included in the additional payment stands in a definite relationship to the value of the price. Furthermore, in many instances proportional relationships among the amounts of the commodities in the additional payment can be discerned. In the following pages, all the attestations of these relationships, with the exception of a few uncertain cases, are discussed.

No. 14 Chicago Stone and No. 15 Baltimore Stone

The prices of fields in these two inscriptions are paid in silver, at the constant rate of 1.66 shekels of silver per one iku of land. In five of the transactions recorded on no. 14, the prices diverge slightly from that rate: 1.71 shekels per iku in ii 6; 2 shekels per iku in iii 10; 1.64 shekels per iku in vi 12; 2.08 shekels per iku in viii 2; and 1.69 per iku in xvi 2.

The commodities included in the additional payment are oil (or sheep oil), wool, an item called (še) is-gán (see note to no. 14 i 9), beer-bread, and table(?)-bread.

The comparison of the amounts of the commodities given as the additional payment with those of the price (illustrated in fig. 13, p. 285) displays the existence of fairly constant proportional relationships between them. The ideal set of relationships is: 10 shekels of silver of the price to the additional payment composed of two quarts of oil (or 1 umbin? of sheep oil), two pounds of wool, 1 NI-ga (= gur) of (še) is-gán, and ten units of beer-bread. The table(?)-bread, which is sometimes included in the additional payment, shows no numerical relationship to the other commodities.

The fact that two quarts of oil regularly interchange with one umbin? of sheep oil in the additional payment suggests that umbin? was a container of the capacity of two quarts. See note to no. 14 i 7.

There occur numerous deviations from the above set of proportions in both inscriptions. It is clear that the amounts of the commodities were calculated in relation to the price: if the price consists of one or more units of ten, then the proportions of the commodities are generally exact; however, if the price is not a multiple of ten, then the amounts of the commodities are only approximate. See, e.g., no. 14 xii–xiii, where the 65 shekels of silver of the price correspond to the additional payment composed of 7 umbin? of sheep oil, 13 pounds of wool, and 6.2.0 of (še) is-gán.

The value of the additional payment in relation to the price can be estimated only approximately. Assuming that the rates of oil, wool, and barley are standard in both inscriptions, we can calculate the values shown in figure 14, p. 286.

This leaves us with 10 beer-breads, the value of which is not known, but probably not exceeding 0.3 shekel of silver. Accordingly, we can estimate that the value of the additional payment amounted to ca. 2 shekels of silver, that is, ca. 20 percent of the price composed of 10 shekels of silver.

No. 16 Kish Stone Fragments I

Both the prices and the additional payment (NÍG.KI.GAR) appearing in no. 16 are paid in silver. Only two transactions are preserved sufficiently to determine the relationship of the additional payment to the price. In the first transaction (16b A), the NÍG.KI.GAR represents 1/15 of the price (1 GIN KUG.BABBAR to 15 GIN KUG. BABBAR), while in the other (16b B), ca. 1/20 of the price (3 GIN KUG.BABBAR to 60+[x] GIN KUG. BABBAR).

No. 22 Lummatur Tablet I and
No. 23 Lummatur Tablet II

In these two kudurrus, prices are paid in barley (no. 22) and in barley and wool (no. 23). The commodities included in the gifts (nig-ba), which were presented to the first (or primary) seller and other sellers, are: a type of wool called sig-bar-udu, oil, ŠU.KESDA (meaning unknown), barley-bread, kalag-bread, ku₆-dar-ra (dried fish), soup, roasted barley, leeks, turnips, and sheep.

As far as the fragmentary state of both inscriptions allows us to ascertain, the commodities given to the first seller appear to stand in set proportions. This is demonstrated by the transactions no. 22 Obv. i–Rev. i and no. 22 Rev. i–Rev. ii, where the relationships between five of
the commodities are as follows: one unit of sig-bar-udu to eight units of barley-bread to two units of kalag-bread to eight units of kuₐ-dar-ra to two quarts of soup. The remaining six commodities are always given in the amount of one unit (šu.KEŠDA and sheep) or one quart (roasted barley) or one šakan container (oil) or one bundle (leeks and turnips).

The gift presented to other sellers is always given in the same amounts. The proportions are: five units of barley-bread to one unit of kalag-bread to three units of kuₐ-dar-ra to three quarts of soup to one quart of roasted barley to one bundle of leeks (illustrated in fig. 15, p. 286).

It appears that the value of the commodities included in the additional payment has no relationship to the value of the price (and thus to the size of the sold field) in these kudurrus; this is suggested by no. 22 Obv. i–Rev. i and no. 22 Rev. i–Rev. ii, where the amounts of the commodities differ, even though the prices and the sizes of the fields remain unchanged.

No. 36  CT V 3

In this document, prices are paid exclusively in silver, at the rate of 3/5 shekels of silver per 1 iku of land. The commodities included in the additional payment (šIG.KI.GAR) are silver, barley, (pig) oil, and TÚG.A.SU cloths.

In two of the transactions recorded in this kudurru (iii 1–11 and iv), the additional payment consists of silver and oil, which stand in the proportions of one shekel of silver to one quart of oil. In two other transactions (v 3–12 and v 13–22), the additional payment includes barley, silver, and oil, in the proportions: ½ shekel of barley to ½ shekel of silver to one quart of oil. In the remaining transaction (i), the commodities of the additional payment are pig oil, barley, and TÚG.A.SU cloth. No clear correspondences between the amounts of these commodities can be detected.

With the exception of the transaction recorded in i, the proportional relationship between the price and the additional payment is: 10 shekels of silver of the price to the additional payment composed of 1 shekel of silver (or ½ gur of barley plus ½ shekel of silver) and one quart of oil (see fig. 16, p. 286).

The ratio of the additional payment to the price in this document can be analyzed in two different ways. One can either assume that the values of both silver (or barley plus silver) and oil were included in the additional payment, or that only silver (or barley plus silver) was counted. In the first case, the additional payment would amount to 1/50 shekel of silver, i.e., 1 shekel of silver plus ½ shekel of silver, the equivalent of one quart of oil (at the rate of ½ shekel of silver per 1 quart of oil). Accordingly, the additional payment would represent ca. 9 percent of the price. Following the other alternative, the value of the additional payment would be exactly 1 shekel of silver, i.e., 10 percent of the price. The rule of simplicity suggests that the second interpretation is the correct one.

The value of the additional payment given in the transaction recorded in i is difficult to calculate, since the rate of TÚG.A.SU cloth is not specified in the text. However, if one assumes that the additional payment, as in other transactions, represents 10 percent of the price, then the value of the additional payment could be put at 32 shekels of silver (the price is 320 shekels in this transaction). By analogy with other transactions, one could then take it that the pig oil was not counted in the additional payment, thereby arriving at the equation: 15½ shekels of silver (= the equivalent of 15.2.0 gur of barley) plus 5 TÚG.A.SU cloth = 32 shekels of silver. Based on this equation, one would be able to establish that 5 TÚG.A.SU cloth cost 16 ½ shekels of silver, i.e., that the value of 1 TÚG.A.SU cloth was ca. 5½ shekels of silver.

No. 37  CT XXXII 7f.

In this inscription, the prices of fields are paid in barley, while the commodities included in the additional payment (šIG.DUR.GAR) are barley, wool, and oil.

The reconstruction of the prices and the amounts of the commodities included in the additional payment assumes that, throughout this document, the price of 1 iku of land is 2.5 GSG of barley (as recorded in Obv. ii–iii and iii), and that the proportions between the commodities of the additional payment are constant at 1 GSG of barley to two pounds of wool to two quarts of oil (as it is recorded in Obv. iv’, Rev. i–ii, and ii–iii). By combining these two sets of data, we can establish that the price, consisting of 15 GSG of barley, corresponds to the additional payment composed of 1 GSG of barley, two pounds of wool, and two quarts of oil (see fig. 17, p. 286).

The numerical relationships reconstructed above do not fit in Obv. iv’, where the price of 1 iku of land is 1.88 GSG of barley. One may observe, however, that the relationship between the size of the field and the amounts of the commodities of the additional payment is as expected in this transaction (48 iku of land to the additional payment composed of 8 GSG of barley, sixteen pounds of wool, and sixteen quarts of oil), and that it is only the amount of the price that does not fit the picture. All the relationships would be correct in this transaction if the price were not 90 but 120 GSG of barley. Therefore, one might suggest that the figure of 90 GSG is a scribal error.

The ratio of the additional payment to the price can be calculated in two different ways, depending on whether one includes only barley or barley plus wool and oil in the value of the additional payment. In the first case, the value of the additional payment would represent 1/3 (6.66 percent) of the price. In the second case, the value of the additional payment would amount to 1/50 (or 10 percent) of the price. The latter calculation is based on the rates of wool and oil given in the R. E. of the inscription, which are 0.25 shekel of silver per one pound of wool and 0.25 shekel of silver per one quart of oil (šIG.GI₉ 1 GÜ ŠĀM 15 KUG.BABBAR GÈN, [Ⅰ . . . 1 (PJ)] ŠĀM 14+[1 KUG. BABBAR] G[IN]). Assuming that šIG has the same value as šIG.GI₉ “black wool,” and that 1 shekel of silver corresponds to 1 GSG of barley, the value of the additional payment composed of 1 GSG of barley, two pounds of wool, and two quarts of oil would be 1.5 GSG of barley, i.e., 10 percent of the price consisting of 15
GSG of barley. The fact that the usual ratio of the additional payment to the price is 1:10 shows that the second calculation is the correct one.

No. 40 Manishtushu Obelisk

In the Manishtushu Obelisk the prices of fields are paid exclusively in barley. The commodities included in the additional payment (NIG.KI.GAR) are paid in:

1) silver (A₁, A₂, A₃)
2) barley (B)
3) wool (C₃ and D)
4) wool, teams of mules, and various metal objects (C₄)
5) oil, teams of mules, various metal objects, and human beings (C₂)

In the three instances where the additional payment consists of silver, its ratio to the price is 1:6.66 (i.e., 15 percent of the price). In all other transactions, the additional payment represents 1/10 (or 10 percent) of the price. The reason for this difference may be sought in the fact that silver was generally considered less desirable than barley, as evidenced in the Mesopotamian loan practices, according to which the interest on silver was lower than that on barley (20 percent against 33 percent).

No. 41 Sippar Stone

In this document the prices of fields are paid in silver. The additional payment (NIG.KI.GAR) includes silver, barley, beer-bread (BAPPIR), oil, and TUG.SU.ZA.GA cloths.

The determination of the size of the fields listed in the text and the price per iku of the fields is dependent on two assumptions. The first is that the price per iku of a field should be related to its seeding rate. That is, more productive land (with a lower seeding rate) should be more expensive (per iku) than less productive land (with a higher seeding rate). The second is that the amount of seed indicating the area of the field is determined by a standard seeding rate which is thirty quarts per iku. The second assumption is a necessary corollary of the first: otherwise, if the area of field were determined by dividing the amount of seed given by the seeding rate assigned to each field, calculation shows that the price per iku would be constant at ca. 1½ shekels of silver per iku. This would be contrary to our first assumption that the seeding rate affects the price per iku of land. Therefore, the amount of seed must be calculated at a standard rate and the figure of thirty quarts per iku was chosen on the basis of later sources. The area of field is thus determined by the relationship:

\[
\text{number of iku} = \frac{\text{amount of seed in quarts}}{\text{standard rate of seeding} (30 \text{ quarts per iku})}
\]

Since the price is given, it is a simple matter to calculate the price per iku using the formula:

\[
\text{price per iku} = \frac{\text{price}}{\text{number of iku}}
\]

These calculations yield the results given in figure 18, p. 286.

If we assume that the standard price per iku is based on the price of a field seeded at the standard rate of 30 quarts per iku, then the rate of seeding is related to the price per iku in the following manner:

\[
\text{standard rate of seeding} (30 \text{ quarts}) = \frac{\text{price per iku} \times (1\frac{1}{2} \text{ shekel per iku})}{\text{seeding rate of field}}
\]

In other words, a field that requires twice as much seed costs half as much.

An exception to the formula is found in the case of a small plot of exceptionally productive land. In Rev. vii we find 4(BAN) of land with a seeding rate of fifteen quarts. The amount of land is 1½ iku and the price is 4½ shekels of silver, which indicates a price per iku of 3¾ shekels, while the relationship of the seeding rates indicates that the price should be 2½ shekels per iku. This distortion of the linear increase in price with increasing productivity is not surprising. The labor saved in working a small field with a high yield would compensate for a premium in price over the expected rate.

While the price of the land per iku varies according to its productivity, the additional payment is fairly constant at around 10 percent of the total price of the field. Disregarding one value of 7.5 percent (Obv. v), the values for the additional payment range from 9.37 percent to 10.67 percent with several at exactly 10 percent. The variations stem from the fact that small amounts are generally disregarded in the additional payment if they cannot be expressed as exact fractions and reflect the difficulties of trying to arrive at 10 percent of a number using a sexagesimal system.

As already mentioned, the price of the fields is given in silver only. On the obverse, the additional payment is also given in silver only, and the two figures establish the value of the additional payment as ca. 10 percent of the price. On the reverse, the additional payment consists of silver, barley, beer-bread, and oil. If we assume that the additional payment still constitutes 10 percent of the price, it is immediately apparent that the value of the additional payment is divided as equally as possible between silver and barley plus beer-bread and oil, since the amount of silver is ca. 5 percent of the price. This fact taken together with the relationship between the other commodities allows us to postulate the values of the commodities. The easiest assumption is that 1 gur of barley (300 quarts) = 1 shekel of silver, and if this is so, then the value of barley in the additional payment is always ½ of the amount of...
silver, and the value of beer-bread plus oil must be \( \frac{2}{5} \) of the value of silver. Thus silver is \( \frac{2}{5} \) of the additional payment, barley is \( \frac{1}{6} \), and beer-bread plus oil is \( \frac{1}{5} \) \( (\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{10} = 1) \). Since the number of beer-breads is always the same as the number of the quarts of oil (both expressed in counted units, not measures), no further division of the value of these two commodities is possible, especially because of the wide range of values attested for oil during this period. Although it is obvious from the calculations that five beer-breads + five quarts of oil = 2 shekels of silver, there is no further evidence to show what portion of the value each makes up.

On both obverse and reverse, TÚ.G.ŠU.ZA.GA cloths are sometimes listed along with the additional payment, but their value cannot be included in the additional payment without severely distorting the calculations of the value of the additional payment. In the first place, the proportions of the other commodities which make up the additional payment and the relation of the additional payment (not counting the cloths) to the price are the same whether the cloths are included or not. Secondly, the amounts of the other commodities have a relationship to the price of the field, while the number of cloths (if any) does not. For these two reasons, it is obvious that the value of the cloths was not included in the additional payment.

No. 43 Eshnuna Clay Tablet and
No. 44 Eshnuna Clay Fragments

Due to the close relationship between inscriptions nos. 43 and 44, they are considered together. In both kudurrus, the prices are paid in silver and barley, while the commodities given in the additional payment (iškinītu) include silver, barley, wool (SIG.GAN), and BA.AN-containers.

Examination of the prices and tariffs found in nos. 43 and 44 leads to contradictory conclusions. In no. 43, all prices except one (iii–iv) are given as a combination of silver in shekels and barley in GSG. In all instances except three, the amount of GSG is twice that of shekels, that is, one-third of the price is given in shekels (of silver) and two-thirds in GSG (of barley). If we assume, as in the Manishtushu Obelisk, that 1 shekel of silver equals 1 GSG of barley, then the totals of silver and barley yield a price of 2 shekels of silver per 1 iku of land. Further strengthening the assumption that 1 shekel of silver equals 1 GSG of barley is the fact that in those instances where the proportions of silver and barley given as the price are different from the normal one-third : two-thirds (iii–iv, v–vi), the totals of silver and barley still yield a price of 2 shekels of silver per 1 iku if 1 GSG of barley is figured at a rate of 1 shekel of silver. In addition, the totals of the additional payment, also given in silver and barley, add up to a rate of one-sixth shekel of silver per 1 iku if it is assumed that 1 shekel of silver = 1 GSG of barley. The figures for the additional payment show clearly that the GSG contains 240 quarts, since the normal one-third : two-thirds proportions of silver to barley is found in all cases except one (iii–iv). Thus one-third of a shekel (1 MA.NA.TUR) of silver is half of two-thirds of GSG (0.2.4 = 160 quarts [viii]) totaling 1 shekel of silver as the additional payment for 6 iku of land and so forth.

In no. 44, the prices and proportions are much more difficult to assess because of the fragmentary nature of the texts. Nevertheless, no. 44k shows a price similar to those of no. 43 in that the price of 18 iku of land is given as 10 shekels of silver plus 26 GSG of barley, totaling 36 shekels of silver (if 1 shekel of silver = 1 GSG of barley) or 2 shekels of silver per 1 iku. However, the 10 shekels of silver of the price are said to be the equivalent of 10 gur of barley which were given in place of silver. This statement indicates a rate of 1 shekel of silver to 1 gur of barley, leading to the paradox that both 1 GSG and 1 gur equal 1 shekel of silver. Since the gur and GSG contain different amounts (300 quarts for 1 gur, 240 quarts for 1 GSG), we should not expect them to have the same value in the same text. The first explanation which comes to mind is that gur is written as an abbreviation for GSG. However, this supposition is contradicted by several facts. First, in no. 44b we find a quantity of grain written as ṣṣṭa.1.4 ȘE GUR. Although the equivalent and the rest of the price are lost, it must be taken into consideration that 0.1.4 (= 100 quarts) is one-third of a normal gur (= 300 quarts), while 0.1.2 is one-third of a GSG (= 240 quarts). Since the only fractions used in these two texts are \( \frac{1}{3} \) and \( \frac{2}{3} \), it is reasonable to assume that the writing ṣṣṭa.1.4 ȘE GUR stands for \( \frac{8}{3} \) gur and not \( \frac{8}{12} \) GSG. Second, in several instances (43 iii–iv, 44d, and 44h) the price is given in barley alone instead of silver (or some equivalent) and barley. Therefore, it does not seem likely that the price in no. 44k would have been broken down into gur and GSG when it could have been given in GSG. We must conclude that gur is not an abbreviation for GSG and that the gur in these texts had 300 quarts while the GSG had 240. The reason for both 1 GSG and 1 gur being equal to 1 shekel of silver must be left to speculation.

The term iškinītu is found in each preserved transaction in no. 43 but is not in no. 44. The iškinītu is regularly one-twelfth of the price (i.e., \( \frac{1}{12} \) shekel of silver per 1 iku of land, assuming that 1 shekel of silver = 1 GSG of barley), not including the value of the SIG.GAN and BA.AN also given in each transaction in no. 43. In that text, the number of SIG.GAN and the number of BA.AN (both are counted in units, not measures) are always equal to the amount of silver given in the additional payment.

The latter two items appear as SIG.GAN and BA.AN ȘE in nos. 42 and 44, where they are given singly (one of each) to various individuals, who probably were witnesses or officials.

The SIG.GAN is unknown elsewhere, but the evidence here suggests that it is a fixed quantity of wool and not a special kind of wool. The BA.AN is well attested in third millennium Mesopotamia as a vessel or container. See section 11.7.
ANCIENT KUDURRUS

In no. 43, the totals in column xi give 40 MA.NA SIG and 20 SILA I (sic, not 2 [BAN]). Since oil is not mentioned elsewhere in the preserved portions of the inscription, we can assume that the forty pounds is the total of the SIG.GAN in the text, and that the twenty quarts of oil is the total of the BA.AN.

The striking thing about the totals of forty pounds of wool and twenty quarts of oil is the reappearance of the 2:1 relationship between barley and silver in the price and in the additional payment sections. In order to preserve the validity of this relationship, it must be assumed that one pound of wool has the same value as one quart of oil. The text gives 6\(\frac{1}{3}\) shekels of silver as the equivalent of 40 pounds of wool and therefore 1 shekel of silver equals 6 pounds of wool. If our other assumptions are correct, 1 shekel of silver should also equal 6 quarts of oil. The actual size of the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN depends on the total number of these, which is not preserved. The total preserved in the inscription is 35 SIG.GAN and 35 BA.AN. In addition, there are five transactions where the numbers are not preserved or cannot be reconstructed. It is also possible that the end of column x contained a brief summary of the witnesses and the number of SIG.BAN and BA.AN each received (as in no. 42). The repeated use of the fractions \(\frac{1}{3}\) and \(\frac{2}{3}\) in the inscription suggests that the total of SIG.GAN and BA.AN should be reconstructed as 60 of each. Then the numbers 40 and 20 would indicate that the SIG.GAN was \(\frac{5}{6}\) pound and the BA.AN was \(\frac{1}{2}\) quart. Regardless of the totals, the 2:1 relationship between the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN holds true because the number of SIG.GAN is always equal to the number of BA.AN. Reconstructing the totals as 60 allows the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN to have values of simple fraction in keeping with the general tendency of the text. A reconstruction of the totals as 40 SIG.GAN and BA.AN is barely possible (thirty-five preserved or reconstructed plus one each in the five broken sections), in which case the SIG.GAN would be 1 pound and BA.AN \(\frac{1}{2}\) of a quart. The first reconstruction seems more plausible.

The value of wool is preserved in the text and is 6 pounds for 1 shekel of silver. If the SIG.GAN is \(\frac{5}{6}\) pound, its value is \(\frac{5}{6}\) shekel of silver. If we follow the assumption that 1 pound of wool is the equivalent of one quart of oil, then the value of the BA.AN at \(\frac{1}{2}\) quart is \(\frac{7}{6}\) shekel of silver and the value of 1 SIG.GAN plus 1 BA.AN is \(\frac{7}{6}\) shekel of silver.

Based on these reconstructions and calculations, the SIG.GAN plus the BA.AN has a value of \(\frac{5}{6}\) of the value of the silver plus barley of the additional payment and \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the price.

The question remains as to whether the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN are to be considered as part of the additional payment or to be considered separately. Without the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN the value of the additional payment is \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the price. If the value of the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN is added, the additional payment becomes \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the price. The rule of simplicity suggests that the first figure is correct. In addition, the first transaction in no. 43 includes a hasinnum “axe” before the SIG.GAN and the BA.AN. If the latter are to be included in the additional payment, then the axe must also be included and this would throw the calculation off. It seems then that the additional payment consists of silver and barley only, as does the price, and that the SIG.GAN and BA.AN (and the axe) are additional gifts presented to the primary sellers, perhaps for distribution to others.

Nos. 100–136 Fara Sale Documents

In the Fara sale documents, the prices of houses and fields are paid either in copper or silver. The commodities which appear in the additional payments include more than twelve different items, among them metals, food-stuffs, and cloths. See plates 123–128 (not included there are the commodities of nos. 113a, 113b, 113c [= no. 112], 127a, and 127b). Among these commodities, only barley-bread (ninda-se) and cakes (gûg), both measured in units, and soup (tu-?) and NIG\(\text{IN}_{+}\)HA.A (a type of liquid), both measured in kûr, stand in definite numerical relationships. In most instances, the number of barley-breads corresponds to the number of cakes, while the amount of soup corresponds to the amount of NIG\(\text{IN}_{+}\)HA.A. The amounts of the first pair of the commodities are always higher than those of the latter, but, beyond that, no clear proportions can be established between them.

Figure 13. The Relationship between the Price and Additional Payment in Kudurrus nos. 14 and 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price in Shekels (of Silver)</th>
<th>Oil in Quarts (or sheep oil in umbin?)</th>
<th>Wool in pounds</th>
<th>(Se) is-gân in Nî-ga (= gûr)</th>
<th>Beer-Bread in Units</th>
<th>Table(?)-Bread in Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>varies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

Figure 14. The Values of the Additional Payment in Kudurrus nos. 14 and 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value (in shekels of silver)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 quarts of oil</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pounds of wool</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 NI-ga (= 1 gur) (še-gān)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15. The Proportions between Commodities in Kudurrus nos. 22 and 23.

| Seller | sig- 
bar-udu | in Units | SU. KEŠDA | Barley- 
Bread | kalag-
Bread | ku₄-
dar-ra | Soup | Roasted | Barley | Leeks | Turnips | Sheep |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>8 in</td>
<td>2 in</td>
<td>8 in</td>
<td>2 in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>1 in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>sakan</td>
<td>Units</td>
<td>Units</td>
<td>Units</td>
<td>Units</td>
<td>Units</td>
<td>Quarts Quarts Bundles Bundles Units</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16. The Relationship between the Price and Additional Payment in Kudurru no. 36.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price in Shekels of Silver</th>
<th>Additional Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17. The Relationship between the Price and Additional Payment in Kudurru no. 37.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field in IKU</th>
<th>Price in GSG of Barley</th>
<th>Additional Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 18. The Price of the Field in Relation to Its Seeding Rate in Kudurru no. 41.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price per iku in Shekels of Silver</th>
<th>Seeding Rate per iku in Quarts of Barley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2⅔</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1⅔</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⅓</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 10

RATES OF COMMODITIES

The rates of commodities stated in prices and additional payments as attested in the kudurrus and clay sale documents are illustrated in figures 19–27. The following equations and abbreviations should be noted with reference to the figures below:

1 GUR = 300 šīla
1 GSG = gur-sag-gal = 240 šīla (Sargonic)
= 144 šīla (Pre-Sargonic Lagash)
1 gur-2-ul = 72 šīla (Pre-Sargonic Lagash)
1 MNT = ma-na-tur = ½ gin = 60 šē
K.B. = kug-babbar

Figure 19. Rates of Barley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Barley</th>
<th>Its Silver/Copper Equivalent</th>
<th>Price of 1 gur of Barley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37 CT XXXII 7l.</td>
<td>[1.0.0 GSG]</td>
<td>[1 GİN K.B.]</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Manishtushu Obelisk</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>1.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Eshnuna Clay Fragments</td>
<td>b)</td>
<td>[8? GİN 1 MNT K.B.]</td>
<td>1 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e)</td>
<td>15.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>15[1 GİN K.B.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) i</td>
<td>[23 GİN K.B.]*</td>
<td>23 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) ii</td>
<td>10.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>10 GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) iii</td>
<td>12.0.0 GUR</td>
<td>10+[2] GİN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 Fara III 31</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) ma-na (urudu)</td>
<td>10 ma-na urudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119 TSŞ Pls. XXXIII–XXXIV</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) ma-na (urudu)</td>
<td>10 ma-na urudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129 Fara III 40</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) ma-na (urudu)</td>
<td>15 ma-na urudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137 BIN VIII 352</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 gin kug-luḫ-ḥa</td>
<td>0.5 gin kug-luḫ-ḥa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(for 1 gur-2-ul)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Figure 19. Rates of Barley**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Barley</th>
<th>Its Silver/Copper Equivalent</th>
<th>Price of 1 gur of Barley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>140 DP 31</td>
<td>1.0.0 (gur-2-ul)</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>1 gin kug (for 1 gur-2-ul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142 Gelb AV p. 236</td>
<td>1(^6)1.2 gur-2-ul</td>
<td>10 gin kug-luh-ḥa</td>
<td>1.5 gin kug-luh-ḥa (for 1 gur-2-ul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.1.2 gur-2-ul</td>
<td>1 gin kug-luh-ḥa</td>
<td>1.5 gin kug-luh-ḥa (for 1 gur-2-ul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143 RTC 18</td>
<td>20.0.0 gur-2-ul</td>
<td>[10? gin kug]</td>
<td>0.5? gin kug (for 1 gur-2-ul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164 BIN VIII 38</td>
<td>1.0.0 gur</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175 MAD IV 151</td>
<td>0.2.0 gur</td>
<td>(1 gin) kug</td>
<td>2.5 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180 MVNS III 25</td>
<td>0.2.0 gur</td>
<td>(1 gin) kug</td>
<td>2.5 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183 NBC 10204</td>
<td>8.1.2 gur</td>
<td>8½ gin kug</td>
<td>ca. 1 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189 BIN VIII 39</td>
<td>1.0.0 gur</td>
<td>(1 gin kug)</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191 BIN VIII 175</td>
<td>6.0.0 gur</td>
<td>2 gin kug</td>
<td>½ gin kug (mu ḫé-gål-la “good year”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.2.0 gur</td>
<td>½ gin kug</td>
<td>1½ gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222 MVNS III 100</td>
<td>0.0.3 gur</td>
<td>1 gin k.b.</td>
<td>10 gin k.b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226 Serota Coll. A 10</td>
<td>0.0.1 gur</td>
<td>1 gin (kug)</td>
<td>30 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232 MVNS III 80</td>
<td>3.2.0 gur</td>
<td>6 GĪN K.B.</td>
<td>1.76+ GĪN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359 MAOG IV pp. 188–89 MD 2</td>
<td>15.0.0 gur</td>
<td>15 gin kug</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 20. Rates of Dates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Its Silver Equivalent</th>
<th>Price of 1 gur of Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>174 BIN VIII 179</td>
<td>15.0.0 gur</td>
<td>30 gin kug</td>
<td>2 gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191 BIN VIII 175</td>
<td>(1.0.0 gur)</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>1 gin kug (mu nu-gål-la “bad year”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224 MAD IV 15</td>
<td>0.3.2 gur</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>1.5 gin kug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Figure 21. Rates of Oil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Oil</th>
<th>Its Silver Equivalent</th>
<th>Price of 1 silà/umbin? of Oil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 Manishtushu Obelisk</td>
<td>10 SILÀ</td>
<td>1 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{10} ) GÍN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182a Lambert Tablet I</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{6} ) gin kug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189 BIN VIII 39</td>
<td>(1 gin kug)</td>
<td>(1 gin kug)</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{6} ) gin kug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 22. Rates of Copper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Copper</th>
<th>Its Silver Equivalent</th>
<th>Price of 1 ma-na of Copper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>182a Lambert Tablet A</td>
<td>3 ma-na</td>
<td>2 gin kug</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{3} ) gin kug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 23. Rates of Wool

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Wool</th>
<th>Its Silver Equivalent</th>
<th>Price of 1 ma-na of Wool</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37 CT XXXII 7f.</td>
<td>1 GÚ SÍG.GÍ₆</td>
<td>15 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>0.25 GÍN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Manishtushu Obelisk</td>
<td>4 MA.NA SÍG</td>
<td>1 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>0.25 GÍN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 MA.NA SÍG</td>
<td>1 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>0.25 GÍN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 MA.NA SÍG</td>
<td>1 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>0.25 GÍN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 MA.NA SÍG</td>
<td>1 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>0.25 GÍN K.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189 BIN VIII 39</td>
<td>4 [m]a-na sig</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>0.25 gin kug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 24. Rates of Cloths

1 TÚGšu-ni-ra (a type of cloth) = 1 gin kug (168 NBC 10198)
2 SU.A.TÚG (a type of cloth) = 2 gin kug (172 BIN VIII 172)
1 bar-dul₃ (a type of elaborate cloth) = 2. še (177 MAD IV 153)
1 bar-dul₃ = 2 gin kug (182a Lambert Tablet CC)
(1) tÚg ki-si-ga bala “funerary(?) cloth” = 10 gin kug (182a Lambert Tablet A)
### EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

#### Figure 25. Rates of Metal Objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Rate (Gin K.B.)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 URUDUHA.ZI UD.KA.BAR “axe”</td>
<td>5 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₁, C₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ḫa-ziURUDU</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>(189 BIN VIII 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 URUDU na-ap-la-aq-tum UD.KA.BAR “battle-axe”</td>
<td>5 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₁, C₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 URUDU ba-da-ru-um UD.KA.BAR (a type of weapon)</td>
<td>5 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₁, C₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) uriURUDU (a container)</td>
<td>10 gin kug</td>
<td>(181 MVNS III 13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Figure 26. Rates of Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Rate (Gin K.B.)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 u₈ “ewe”</td>
<td>0.5 gin kug</td>
<td>(189 BIN VIII 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 udu-nita “ram”</td>
<td>0.25 (gin) kug</td>
<td>(191 BIN VIII 175)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 udu-nita</td>
<td>[10?] + 2 gin kug</td>
<td>(182a Lambert Tablet A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 šāḥ-ū “grass-fed pig”</td>
<td>1 gin kug</td>
<td>(189 BIN VIII 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ANŠE.BAR.AN “mule”</td>
<td>20 GÍN KUG.BABBAR</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₁, C₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ÁB “cow”</td>
<td>1 GISGIGIR “chariot”</td>
<td>(49 BM 90909)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Figure 27. Rates of Human Beings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Rate (Gin K.B.)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SAG.NITA “male head (= slave)”</td>
<td>20 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 SAG.SAL “female head (= slave-woman)”</td>
<td>20 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 DUMU.SAL “girl”</td>
<td>13 GÍN K.B.</td>
<td>(40 Manishtushu Obelisk C₂)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 11
COMMODITIES

11.1. Introductory Remarks

This chapter contains listings of all the commodities that are included in prices and additional payments. The examples are culled both from the kudurrus and sale documents (with the exclusion of the earliest kudurrus, nos. 1–12). The commodities are organized into the following typological categories: 1) grains and grain products, 2) fruits and vegetables, 3) liquids, 4) wool and cloths (garments), 5) metals, 6) metal, stone, and wooden objects, 7) animals, 8) human beings, and 9) miscellaneous. Within each category, the commodities are listed in alphabetic order of Sumerian/Akkadian. Whenever possible, English translations are given, and, if the word is Sumerian, also its Akkadian equivalent. Unless the item appears passim, all of the occurrences are listed. The order of references is chronological, with the references to kudurrus always preceding those to sale documents. If the commodity is attested only in price, the occurrence is marked as "Price"; if the commodity is attested both in price and additional payment, the occurrence is marked as "Price and AP." The occurrences of the commodity in additional payment alone are left unmarked. Where deemed necessary, short notes discussing the meaning of the commodity and offering lexical references are appended.

11.2. Grains and Grain Products

BAPPIR(SIM+GAR), Akk. bappirum “beer bread,” in units (of loaves).
See CAD B pp. 95ff; AHWB pp. 103f.
Sargonic no. 41
Compare ninda-bappir below.

Fara (passim) in nos. 100–136

Fara (passim) in nos. 100–136
Pre-Sargonic no. 19
Pre-Sargonic (passim in nos. 137–156)

ninda 1(ul) (a type of bread), in units (of loaves).
Pre-Sargonic no. 140: 10 ninda
The interpretation of this bread as “bread (in the amount of) 1 ul” is of course impossible because of the enormous size (thirty-six quarts) involved. Compare ninda 2(ul) below.

ninda 2(ul) (a type of bread), in units (of loaves).
Pre-Sargonic no. 140: 10 ninda
This bread cannot be interpreted as the “bread (in the amount of) 2 ul” because of the enormous size (seventy-two quarts) involved. Compare ninda 1(ul) above.

Fara nos. 14 and 15
This type of bread, written ninda-bānšur₅(ASARI), is frequently mentioned in the Sargonic beer-and-bread texts from Umma; for examples, see Foster, Umma in the Sargonic Period (Hamden, Conn., 1982) pp. 14f., 111. For the reading bānšur₅ of ASARI/ASAL, see Steinkeller, RA 74 (1980) p. 6 n. 7.

ninda-bappir(BI+GAR) Akk. bappirum “beer bread,” in units of loaves.
See CAD B pp. 95ff.; AHWB pp. 103f.
Fara nos. 14 and 15
Compare BAPPIR above.

ninda-i “bread (mixed with) oil,” in units (of loaves).
Pre-Sargonic no. 23

ninda-kalag (a type of bread), in units (of loaves).
Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144
The meaning of the qualification kalag is not clear; the same description probably also occurs in ninda-gu-KALAG, zid-KALAG(= sig₁₅), and kas-KALAG. See Bauer, AWL p. 172.
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ninda-KU.KU-na (a type of bread), in units (of loaves).

Pre-Sargonic no. 137, 140, and 145
Civil, OA 21 (1982) p. 10 n. 9, suggests the reading ninda-dururu(TUS.TUS)-na “ovent-baked” bread.”
See also note to no. 14 vi 11.

ninda-sag (a type of bread), in units (of loaves).

Fara 30b
Pre-Sargonic nos. 22 and 23

Probably to be connected with SAG.NINDA (to be read ninda-sag?), attested in the Sargonic texts ITT 5, 9263 i 1, 2, 4, 5; RTC 123:2, 126 i 1’ and passim; MAH 16670 (unpubl.).

ninda-silà (a type of bread), in units (of loaves).

Pre-Sargonic (passim in nos. 137–156)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 149 and 151 (both Price)

This commodity is possibly to be read ninda-saI, and to be connected with ninda-sala “thin bread,” cited by B. A. Levine and W. W. Hallo, HUCA 38 (1967) p. 57. For the interchange of sal with sal, see Gelb, AJSL 55 (1938) p. 71.

ninda-še “barley bread,” in measures of dry capacity or in units (of loaves). See Hoffner, Alimenta p. 203. Fara nos. 106, 110, 114, and 130 (in silà)
Fara no. 109 (in silà and in units)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144 (in units)

SUR (bread in size of one-half of a standard loaf), in units. See F. Hrozný, Getreide p. 116; Deimel, Or. 9–13 p. 173; idem, AnOr 2 p. 38; Civil, OA 21 (1982) pp. 9f.
Pre-Sargonic nos. 141 and 150
Pre-Sargonic nos. 149 and 151 (both Price)

še, Akk. še’um “barley,” in measures of dry capacity.
Fara no. 20
Fara (passim in nos. 100–36)
Fara nos. 101 and 134 (both Price)
Fara no. 129: 2(pl) še šam kaš (wr. še kaš šam) “barley as the price of beer(?).” Attested also in TSS 881 vii 8, 14.
Pre-Sargonic (passim in nos. 137–156)
Pre-Sargonic no. 19b (measured in dug)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 21, 22, 23, 137, 140, 144, 145, 150, and 151 (all Price)
Pre-Sargonic no. 29 (Price?)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 36 and 46
Pre-Sargonic no. 37 (Price and AP)
Sargonics nos. 38, 41, 227, and 237
Sargonics nos. 44, 164, 165, 166, 170, 171, 173, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 182, 189, 190, 192, 194, 204, 205, 210, 226, 231, 232, 235, and 238 (all Price)
Sargonics no. 45 (Price?)
Sargonics nos. 40, 42, 43, 165, 166, 169, 171, and 182a (all Price and AP)
Ur III nos. 275, 279, 280, 305, 318, 335, 359, and 368 (all Price)

še-ba “barley allotment(?),” in measures of dry capacity.
Sargonics no. 176: 2(pl) še-ba (Price)

The meaning of še-ba in this context is uncertain.

Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) p. 218, proposed the trans-

lation “Gerste, zugeteilt,” i.e., “‘Gerste’ als ‘Zuweisung’ neben dem Gerste-Anteil des Kaufpreises im engeren Sinne.” Compare also zid-ba below.

še-ḤAR (meaning uncertain), in measures of dry capacity.
Fara no. 128 (Price)

Compare A. Deimel, SL 367.199, who interprets še-ḤAR as “geröstete Gerste,” and further note še-ḤAR-ra gu-ša-lu for sheep and cattle (TCL 2, 5538:1–2; PDT 1, 374:2; SET 134:4). Compare also CAD M/2 pp. 20f. under mundu (= Sum. NIG. ḤAR.RA) “groats.”

šE.NI.KID.NI (meaning unknown), in measures of dry capacity.
Pre-Sargonic no. 37: 24 šE.NI.KID.NI GUR
Is it a mistake for šE I.GIŠ.I “sesame seeds”?

še-sa, Akk. laputum “roasted barley,” in measures of dry capacity. See CAD I. pp. 96f.; AHWB p. 526 (under lāḥtu(m)).
Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144

Fara no. 129: 1(pl) i(iban) zid ninda kū “flour for bread-eating”
Pre-Sargonic no. 138 (Price)

zid-ba “flour allotment(?),” in measures of dry capacity.

Sargonic no. 175: 2(ban) zid-ba (Price)
The meaning of zid-ba in this context is uncertain.


Fara no. 20 (Price)
Pre-Sargonic no. 142

11.3. Fruits and Vegetables

Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144

Pre-Sargonic nos. 22 and 144

The form lușAR is an abbreviated writing for lu-ūbșAR. For the latter spelling, see CAD L p. 96 (under the lexical section of laputu). The spelling lușAR also occurs in the Sargonic texts ITT 2/2, 4381:2; PBS 9, 56 i 3’, vi 3’, 75 iv 1’, 87 iii 5’, etc. Compare also the spelling lu-ūbșAR of lexical sources (CAD L p. 96).

sum-fūšAR (meaning unknown), in units.
Pre-Sargonic no. 23

This commodity is either a vegetable or, assuming that gu stands here for qūm “string,” onions (sum) measured in strings.
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11.4. Liquids

Though the following commodities are listed as “liquids,” the exact nature of their consistencies is not known, for the same measures (silà, etc.) are used both for liquids and solids.

i, Akk. šamum “animal oil/fat,” in measures of liquid capacity. See AHWB pp. 1157f.; CAD K pp. 202-06. Pre-Sargonic no. 19b (in dug)

i-sag, Akk. šamnum “first-quality oil,” in measures of liquid capacity. See AHWB pp. 972, 1157. Pre-Sargonic no. 23 rev. ix 33 (in silà)

1-ir, Akk. ėrēštum “smell, scent, fragrance,” see CAD E pp. 280f.; AHWB p. 242. In the Pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash, this commodity is written i-ir-a; see Deimel, Or. 21 (1926) p. 11.

i-nun, Akk. ėtimētom “ghee, butter,” in measures of liquid capacity. See CAD H pp. 189f.; AHWB p. 346. Fara nos. 104 and 130 (in silà) Pre-Sargonic no. 19a (in dug) Pre-Sargonic no. 145 (in silà) Pre-Sargonic no. 149 (Price; in silà) Sargonic no. 50 (in GIN!)
i-sāḥ, “pig oil/fat,” in measures of liquid/dry capacity. Pre-Sargonic nos. 36, 140, 142, and 143 (in silà) Sargonic no. 38 (in DUG) Sargonic nos. 165 and 171 (in silà) Sargonic nos. 168 and 182a Q (Price; in silà) Sargonic no. 189 (Price?; in silà)

In no. 143, i-sāḥ alternates with i “animal oil/ fat.”

i-udu, “sheep oil/ fat,” in umbin? (most probably a container of the capacity of 2 silà, see note to no. 14 i 7). Fara nos. 14 and 15 Sargonic no. 182a 1, J (Price and AP) Alternates with i “animal oil/ fat,” (in silà) in nos. 14 and 15.

kas, Akk. šikārum “beer,” in measures of liquid capacity. See AHWB pp. 1232f. Pre-Sargonic nos. 137, 139, 140, 143, 145, 146, and 148 (in dug) Pre-Sargonic no. 147: 1 dug-NIGIN.NIGIN kas “1 jar (of the capacity of 1) NIGIN.NIGIN of beer” Pre-Sargonic no. 149 (Price; in sā-dug) Pre-Sargonic no. 151 (Price; in dug) Compare also še sām kaš (under še above).

kas-gi, “dark beer,” in measures of liquid capacity. See Deimel, Or. 22 (1928) pp. 63ff. Pre-Sargonic no. 141 (in dug)

NIGIN+HA.A (a type of liquid), in measures of liquid capacity.
Fara (passim in nos. 100–136; in kūr) Since NIGIN+HA.A is measured in kūr, it must denote some kind of liquid. Compare also under tu, “soup” below.

tu7, Akk. ummarum “soup,” in measures of liquid capacity. See AHWB p. 1414. Fara (passim in nos. 100–136; in kūr) Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144 (in silà) Pre-Sargonic (passim in nos. 137–56; in silà) This commodity is written in the Fara texts with the sign H1+AS, and in the Pre-Sargonic texts, with the sign H1+BAD (= KAM). Since it is measured in either kūr or silà, we can assume that it represents a liquid of some sort. Most likely, H1+AS and H1+BAD have here the reading tu7, which corresponds to the Akkadian ummarum “soup.” See MSL 3 p. 221 G7, ii 1: [tu-ū] [H1+BAD] = [um-m]a-rum (based on Proto-Ea 371: tu-ū H1+BAD).


zū-lum, Akk. suluppum “dates,” in measures of dry capacity. See AHWB p. 1057; CAD S pp. 373–77. Pre-Sargonic no. 19a Sargonic nos. 172 Sargonic nos. 168, 174, and 191 (all Price)

ga, Akk. šizbum “milk,” in measures of liquid capacity. See AHWB pp. 1253f. Pre-Sargonic no. 19b (in dug)

gará, Akk. lišdum (lūdum) “cream,” in units. See AHWB p. 552; CAD L p. 215. Pre-Sargonic no. 19b

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11.5. Wool and Cloths (Garments)

TÖG\textsuperscript{BAL} (a type of cloth), in units.

Sargonic no. 45
This type of cloth is also attested in the Sargonic texts \textit{FM} 35:11; \textit{ITT} 1, 1080:6; 6, 6674:2. Note also TÖG\textsuperscript{BAL} NAR.E\textsuperscript{E} (\textit{BIN} 8, 286:14) and TÖG BAL SIG\textsubscript{5} (\textit{ITT} 2/2 p. 35 no. 4629).

bar-dul\textsubscript{3}, Akk. \textit{kusîtum} (a type of elaborate cloth), in units. See \textit{CAD} K pp. 585ff.; \textit{AHWB} p. 514; \textit{MAD} 3 p. 152.

Pre-Sargonic no. 140
Sargonic no. 176 (Price)
Compare bar-dul\textsubscript{3} gid-da below.

bar-dul\textsubscript{5} gid-da, “long bar-dul\textsubscript{3} cloth,” in units.

Pre-Sargonic nos. 141 and 143
Sargonic no. 166
Sargonic no. 182a CC (Price)
Compare bar-dul\textsubscript{3} above.


Pre-Sargonic no. 141
Note that in the Sargonic text \textit{FM} 7:8, this piece of apparel is written TÖG\textsubscript{BAR.SIG} (with the qualification GAL). Compare bar-sig\textsuperscript{TÖG} below.

bar-sig\textsuperscript{TÖG} (a type of cloth), in units.

Sargonic no. 171
According to Edzard, \textit{SRU} p. 85, bar-sig\textsuperscript{TÖG} is a variant spelling of bar-si.

gada, Akk. \textit{kitûm} “linen (cloth),” in units. See \textit{CAD} K pp. 473ff.; \textit{AHWB} p. 495.

Pre-Sargonic no. 19a

\textit{ba-la-um}\textsuperscript{TÖG} (\textit{halûm}) (a type of cloth), in units. See \textit{CAD} K pp. 53ff.; \textit{AHWB} p. 314; \textit{MAD} 3 p. 127.

Sargonic no. 237

TÖG\textit{f.B.DÜ, Í.B.BA.DÜ}\textsuperscript{TÖG}, “belt,” in units.

Fara nos. 114 and 125 (TÖG\textit{f.B.DÜ})
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32 (Í.B.DÜ\textsuperscript{TÖG})
Sargonic no. 165 (Í.B.BA.DÜ\textsuperscript{TÖG})
This word is probably to be interpreted as ib(-ba)-du /ib-a-du/ “loin-band,” lit. “loin-binding (cloth),” a construction which may be parallel to ŠÀ.GA.DÜ /šag-a-du/ “waist-band, girdle.” See Steinkeller, \textit{Or.} n.s. 51 (1982) p. 362.

TÖG\textit{ME.GÂL, TÖG\textit{ME.A.GÂL}} (a type of cloth), in units.

Fara nos. 108, 109, 117, 119, 122, 123, 126, 127, 130, and 131 (all TÖG\textit{ME.GÂL})
Fara nos. 102, 110, and 113 (all TÖG\textit{ME.A.GÂL})
Probably to be read TÖG\textit{me-ğâl(-a)} or TÖG\textit{gâl-me(-a)}.

NI.TÖG (a type of cloth), in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32
Sargonic no. 182a J
Occurs also in \textit{TMH} 5, 46 ii 5; \textit{BIN} 8, 30:2; \textit{Fara} 2, 64 viii 11; \textit{MAD} 1, 169:4, 187:21 (in the last two examples, written TÖG.NI).

nig-bar-3\textsuperscript{TÖG} (a type of cloth), in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

nig-lal-gaba\textsuperscript{TÖG} “chestband,” in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32
Found also in \textit{BIN} 8, 30:4; \textit{MAD} 1, 169 i 8. Compare also TÖG\textsuperscript{nig-lal-gaba-a} in \textit{MSL} 10 p. 147 1. 93.


Fara no. 127 (nig-sag-lal)
Pre-Sargonic no. 21 (Price; nig-lal-sag)
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32 (nig-lal-sag\textsuperscript{TÖG})
Pre-Sargonic nos. 141, 142, and 143 (nig-sag-lal-SAL)
Pre-Sargonic no. 140 (nig-sag(-lal)-SAL)

Note that Waetzoldt, \textit{UNT} p. 118, reads this word tÖG\textit{ni-sag-LÁxmÍ. However, this reading is unlikely since the term appears to be composed of nig-lal “band” plus sag “head,” parallel to nig-lal-gaba “chestband,” cited above. SAL is here a qualification of the headband, probably meaning “fine,” and not necessarily meaning “female,” as suggested by Edzard, \textit{SRU} p. 70.

TÖG\textit{nig-lám, nig-lám}\textsuperscript{TÖG}, nig-lám, Akk. \textit{lam(a)jusšûm} (a type of cloth), in units or in (ma-na). See \textit{CAD} L pp. 58f.; \textit{AHWB} p. 532.

Fara no. 13 (Price?; in (ma-na); nig-lám\textsuperscript{TÖG})
Fara no. 110 (TÖG\textit{nig-lám})
Pre-Sargonic no. 19a (nig-lám)
Pre-Sargonic no. 145 (nig-lám)
Compare TÖG\textit{nig-lám gid-da} below.

TÖG\textit{nig-lám gid-da} “long nig-lám cloth,” in units.

Pre-Sargonic no. 138 (Price and AP)
Compare nig-lám above.

nig-sag-kêš “headband,” in units

Fara no. 125
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32


Fara no. 13 (Price?)
Fara nos. 14 and 15

Fara (\textit{passim} in nos. 100–136): x ma-na sig túg “x pounds of wool (as an equivalent of) cloth.” Compare also x ma-na urudu túg under urudu below.

Pre-Sargonic nos. 32, 33, 37, 46, 137, 139, 140, 141, 143, and 145
Pre-Sargonic no. 138 (Price)
Pre-Sargonic no. 21 (Price and AP)
Sargonic nos. 40, 41, 497, 165, 227, and 237
Sargonic no. 44 (Price)
Sargonic no. 189 (Price?)


Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144

sig-bar-udu-bar “fleece of a sheep (growing) a (new) fleece(?)”

Pre-Sargonic no. 22
Probably an abbreviation for sig-bar udu-bar-mú. For udu-bar-mú “sheep growing a (new) fleece,”
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SIG.GAN (a fixed quantity of wool), in units. See chapter 9 under nos. 43 and 44.
Sargonic nos. 43 and 44
SIG.GLg “black wool,” in Gū.
Pre-Sargonic no. 37
sig-SÅ.SÈ (a type of wool), in ma-na.
Pre-Sargonic no. 23 (Price)
Possibly the same term as sig-så-sig “Schussfaden,” discussed by Waetzoldt, UNT p. 126.
SIG.UDU “sheep wool,” in Gū.
Sargonic no. 235 (Price)
ŠÅ.GA.DU[TÜG], Akk. sakattûm “girdle,” in units. See AHWB p. 1139; MAD 3 p. 265.
Sargonic no. 227
Written ŠÅ.GA.DU in ARM 8, 11:4 and passim (OB). This cloth apparently appears as TÜG-SA.
GA.TUM in Hittite texts, and as sa-ga-tû and TÜG-sa-ga-te in Assyrian texts (see A. Goetze in Sommer Festschrift pp. 54f.). For the formation, see under TÜG.B.DU above.
TÜGsu-ni-ra (a type of cloth), in units.
Sargonic no. 168 (Price)
For šu-nir “emblem” in connection with garments, see Waetzoldt, UNT p. 30 and n. 243.
TÜG, Akk. subâtum “cloth,” in units.
Fara no. 30b
TÜG.A.AL (a type of cloth), in units.
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32
TÜG.A.SU (= aktum), A.SU.TÜG, SU.A.TÜG, TÜG.
SU.A, Akk. sapšum (a type of cloth), in units. See CAD § p. 97; AHWB p. 1082.
Fara nos. 103, 121, and 125 (TÜG.A.SU)
Fara no. 134 (Price; TÜG.A.SU)
Pre-Sargonic no. 21 (Price; TÜG.A.SU)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 32 and 33 (SU.A.TÜG)
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32 (A.SU.TÜG)
Pre-Sargonic no. 36 (TÜG.A.SU)
Sargonic nos. 165, 182, and 182a J (A.SU.TÜG)
Sargonic no. 237 (TÜG.A.SU)
Sargonic no. 172 (Price; SU.A.TÜG)
According to Sollberger, JCS 10 (1956) p. 14 n. 14, aktum may have been an Akkadian loanword, which was later lost by Akkadian and came to be considered a Sumerian word.
TÜG.DÛL.GARÅ.SÂR+DIŞ (a type of cloth), in units.
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32
túg ki-sí-ga bala “funerary (?) cloth”
Sargonic no. 182a A (Price)
TÜG.SU.DU7.A.BAL (a type of cloth), in units.
Sargonic no. 40
The name of this cloth is probably TÜGšu-du₇-a, and bal is an additional qualification, as suggested by the occurrence of TÜGšu-du₇-a è-ba-an in RTC 19 iii 8 (Pre-Sargonic).
TÜG.SU.SÈ.GA, TÜG.SU.ZA.GA (a type of cloth), in units.
Sargonic no. 40 (TÜG.SU.SÈ.GA)
Sargonic no. 41 (TÜG.SU.ZA.GA)
TÜG.TUM.GUNU (a type of cloth), in units.
Sargonic no. 240
This cloth is also attested in the Sargonic texts ITT 1, 1091:7; MVNS 3, 74:5; BIN 8, 290:4 (with the qualification ú), 7 (gada); BE 1, 11:7 (é-dam-mu), 8 (bi-ê-lu-bi-na), 9 (é-dam-mu) LIBIR).
See also Gelb, Friedrich Festschrift p. 191.

11.6. Metals

kug, Akk. kaspum “silver,” in gin and ma-na.
Fara nos. 14 and 15 (both Price)
Fara (passim in nos. 100–136; Price and AP)
Pre-Sargonic no. 141
Pre-Sargonic nos. 27, 30, 47, 137, 138, 143, 146, 151, 152, 153, and 155 (all Price)
Pre-Sargonic no. 29 (Price?)
Sargonic nos. 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182a, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 193, 194, 204, 206, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 223, 224, and 225 (all Price)
Sargonic no. 207 (Price and AP)
Ur III nos. 257, 261, 268, 270, 286, 289, 296, and 312 (all Price)

kug-babbar, Akk. kaspum “silver,” in gin and ma-na.
Fara no. 16 (Price and AP)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 30a, 32, and 34 (all Price)
Pre-Sargonic no. 36 (Price and AP)
Sargonic no. 45 (Price?)
Sargonic nos. 41, 43, 227, and 237 (Price and AP)
Ur III (passim in nos. 247–370; all Price)

kug-luh-ḥa, Akk. kaspum mesûm “washed, purified silver,” in gin and ma-na. See CAD M/2 p. 30 (under the lexical section of mesû); AHWB p. 647 (under mesû). Fara (passim in nos. 100–136; Price and AP)
Pre-Sargonic nos. 141, 142, 149, 150, and 155 (all Price)
Pre-Sargonic no. 139 (Price and AP)

kug-UD.UD “white (purified) silver,” in gin and ma-na.
Ur III nos. 274a, 320, and 344 (all Price)
Since kug-UD.UD occurs only in the Ur III period, the complimentary distribution favors the identification with kug-luh-ḥa of earlier periods and its translation as “purified or white silver” (Akk. kaspum mesûm / sarsum or kaspum pešûm). Compare also KUG.BABBAR el-lum “pure silver,” found in MAD 1, 303:1. Alternatively, kug-UD.UD could be analyzed as an archaic spelling kug-bar₆-bar₆ (for kug-babbar).

nig-urudu-babbar (meaning unknown), in ma-na.
Pre-Sargonic no. 21 (Price)
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Fara (passim in nos. 100–136; Price and AP)
Fara nos. 20 and 25 (both Price)
Fara no. 17 (Price)
Fara (passim in nos. 100–136): x ma-na urudu tūg “x pounds of copper (as an equivalent of) cloth,” parallel to x ma-na sig tūg (under sig).
Fara no. 125 (Price; written urudu<sup>ru</sup>iz-da)
Pre-Sargonic no. 31 (Price)
Sargonic nos. 45 and 50
Sargonic no. 182a A (Price)


Sargonic no. 38

Compare also the writing KA+UD.BAR with [X]? in section 11.7 below.

11.7. Metal, Stone, and Wooden Objects


Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

BA.AN, BA.AN SE (a container), in units.

Sargonic nos. 43 and 227 (BA.AN)

Sargonic no. 44 (BA.AN SE)

Compare also the following occurrences: ba-an kaš (*TSS* 515 i 8, and similarly 604 i 1); 2 ba-an 5 šilâ (Pinches, *BTBC* 89 ii 18; Reisner, *TUT* 254:1); 1 *URUDU* ba-an 5 šilâ (*UET* 3, 739:6); 3 GISpa-an (Hussey, *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* 11/2 (1915) p. 125 no. 2:35). Oppenheim, *Eames Coll.* p. 10 n. 28, links the Sumerian spelling with the Akkadian GISba-an-nu-um. More plausible is the connection with the Akkadian GIS*ba-an-nu-um*. More plausible is the connection with the Akkadian pânum, translated as “ein Korb” in *AHWB* p. 822.

*URUDU* ba-da-rum (patarrum) UD.KA.BAR (a type of weapon, in bronze), in units. See *AHWB* p. 848; *MAD* 3 p. 220.

Sargonic no. 40


Sargonic no. 237

esir (LAK-173) kug “silver sandals,” in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32


GIS-gi₄-lum kug (a piece of jewelry, made of silver), in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

Gelb, *MAD* 3 p. 117, suggested that GIS-gi₄ is to be read gil₄, or kil₄, and reconstructed the word as gilum. However, this reading cannot be proved at present. Other possible reading would be gigillum or gikillum; cf. the fruit gikillu (gigillu), listed in *CAD* G p. 71.

gid-da kug “silver(-headed) spear?,” in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

Perhaps the same as GIS-gid-da, Akk. *arikutum* “spear.”

See *CAD* A/2 p. 267; *AHWB* p. 68.

GISGIGIR, Akk. *narkabtum* “chariot,” in units.

See *CAD* N/1 pp. 353–59; *AHWB* p. 747.

Sargonic no. 49

GISGigir gam-ma (a type of chariot), in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

GISGIGIR, NFG.SU (a type of chariot), in units.

Sargonic no. 40

For the type of chariot or wagon called nig-šu, equated with *narkabtum* “chariot” in lexical texts, see Civil, *JAOS* 88 (1968) p. 13 and n. 56.

gir kug, Akk. *patrum* “silver dagger,” in units. See *AHWB* p. 848.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

Possibly a piece of furniture (“chair?”).

ki-li-lum (kilillum) KUG.BABBAR “silver wreath, head-band,” in units.

See *CAD* K p. 358; *AHWB* p. 476; *MAD* 3 p. 146.

Sargonic no. 40.

MAŠ.DA.LŪ kug (meaning unknown), in units.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

Urudu *maṣ-sa-tum* (maṣṣatum) (a type of weapon), in units. See *CAD* M/1 p. 389; *AHWB* p. 629.

Sargonic no. 40


Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

Urudu *na-ap-la-aq-tum* (naplaqtum) UD.KA.BAR (a type of weapon), in units. See *CAD* N/1 p. 305; *AHWB* p. 739.

Sargonic no. 40

Nād GIS⋆taskarin, Akk. *erīm* “bed,” in units. See *CAD* E pp. 315–18; *AHWB* p. 246.

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32

PI (= geštug) “earring,” in units or in gin. An abbreviation of nig-geštug.

Fara no. 127: 1 gin PI

Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32: 1 é-ba PI kug “1 pair of silver earrings”

Sargonic no. 38: 1 GĪN PI KUG.GI

PI is also attested in the Sargonic text *PBS* 9, 45:2 (1 gin PI kug). For nig-geštug, see Limet, *Métal* p. 223.
11.8. Animals

Sargonic no. 38 (Price)
Sargonic no. 49 (AP?)
Ur III no. 325 (Price)
Pre-Sargonic App. to no. 32
ANSE.BAR.AN (= kunga) “mule,” in teams (ERIN).
Sargonic no. 40
ANSE.SAL (= emê), Akk. aânu “she-ass,” in units.
See CAD A/2 pp. 481ff.; AHWB p. 86.
Sargonic no. 181
BAL+U “male goat,” in units.
Fara no. 20 (Price)
For the meaning, see note to no. 20 iii 2.
gud, Akk. alpum “bull, ox,” in units. See CAD A/1 pp. 364–72; AHWB p. 38.
Fara no. 13 (Price?)
Sargonic no. 38 (Price)
ku₆-dar-ra “dried fish,” lit.: “a fish split (for drying),” in units.
Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, 141, and 144
The meaning of dar is here “to split, to halve” (Akk. ībûn, leûmann). Compare Enûma eliš IV 137: ihpušima kîma nûn mašî ana 2-ša “he split her into two (parts) like a fish (split for) drying.”
ku₆-KU (a type of fish), in units of ĥubur-containers.
Pre-Sargonic no. 149: 1 ĥubur ku₆-KU (transliteration only; Price)
mâš, Akk. puḫûnum “goat,” in units. See AHWB p. 875.
Fara no. 127a
mâš-bar-du₆ (a type of goat), in units.
Sargonic no. 166 (Price)
The term mâš-bar-du₆-a is also attested in the Sargonic text ITT 2/2 p. 39 no. 4697.
SAL.AS.GAR (= SALâs-gâr), Akk. unîquum “female kid,” in units. See AHWB pp. 1420f.
Sargonic no. 166 (Price; AS.SAL.GAR)
The spelling AS.SAL.GAR is also attested in the Sargonic text TMH 5, 163 i 4.
šâh-ŠE (= šâh-nîgâ) “barley-fed pig,” in units.
Fara no. 20 (Price)
For šâh, Akk. šalûm “pig, hog,” see AHWB p. 1133.
šâh-û “grass-fed pig,” in units.
Sargonic no. 189 (Price)
Sargonic no. 189 (Price?)
u₉-bar-gâl-la “unshorn ewe,” lit.: “ewe with (its) fleece on,” in units.
Ur III no. 362 (Price)
For bar-gâl-la “with fleece,” and the related expressions bar-su-ga “without fleece” and bar-mû “growing (new) fleece,” see Waetzoldt, UNT p. 39.
Compare udu-bar-gâl “unshorn sheep” and udu-nita-bar-gâl-la “unshorn ram” below.

Pre-Sargonic no. 19b
Pre-Sargonic no. 23
Sargonic nos. 38 and 190 (Price)
Sargonic no. 166 (Price)
Compare u₉-bar-gâl-la “unshorn ewe” and udu-nita-bar-gâl-la “unshorn ram.”
udu-nita “ram,” in units.
Sargonic nos. 182a A and 191 (both Price)
Sargonic no. 173 (Price)
Compare u₉-bar-gâl-la “unshorn ewe” and udu-bar-gâl “unshorn sheep.”

11.9. Human Beings

SAG.NITA “male head (= slave),” in units.
Sargonic no. 40
SAG.SAL “female head (= slave woman),” in units.
Sargonic no. 40
DUMU.SAL, Akk. šihhîrum “girl,” in units.
Sargonic no. 40
11.10. **Miscellaneous**

gân še-mû-a “barley-producing field,” in iku.
  Pre-Sargonic no. 149: 1(iku) gân še-mû-a (Price)

iš-gân (še) (meaning uncertain), in measures of dry capacity (NI-ga).
  Fara nos. 14 and 15
  For this commodity, see note to no. 14 i 9.

ŠU.KEŠDA (meaning unknown), in units.
  Pre-Sargonic nos. 22, 23, and 144

In addition, nos. 19a and 19b (both Pre-Sargonic, Lagash) list a number of commodities, the meanings of which are uncertain. The interpretation of these items is particularly difficult in no. 19b, where some of the entries may in fact be personal names. See the following listing:

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<th>Pre-Sargonic no. 19b</th>
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<td>AN.SÁR.+AŠ, in units.</td>
<td>GIŠ.LAL.LU, in units.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠEŠ, in units.</td>
<td>NUN.IR.LAL.A, in units.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eš MÁ?, in units.</td>
<td>SUM.[T]I.KI, in units.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAM.ERIN?, in units.</td>
<td>X, in šakan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GI.GIŠ.INNIN, in units.</td>
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<td>SUM.[T]I.KI, in units.</td>
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<td>X, in šakan.</td>
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<td>Pre-Sargonic no. 19b</td>
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# CHAPTER 12

## LIST OF AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN WORDS DISCUSSED

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The text also includes various E-Medinic signs and phrases, indicating the presence of Mesopotamian or Semitic terminologies.
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EARLIEST LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE NEAR EAST

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lu-nig-Sgm-kfu
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lu-Sm-ag
lu-Sam-ku
lu-Sa-ag
LO.SES.EN
lugal
4lugal-Gi\'asil
4lugal-Gi\'asal,(REC-65.A)
4LUGAL-bar-ga-ad
lugal [é]
lugal gán(-kam)
LUL
lus, (LUL)
MA.GID
ma-ta
MÁ?
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máš-bar-dua
TÜGMEME. (A). GÁL
ME.KA
mu₄-súb
MUNSUB
MUNSUB,(AN).TAR
mu₆-munsub
munsub₄(PA.USAN)
4MUŠ
4MUŠ.DIN. DÚ.BU
4MUŠ. DIN. TIR. BALAG
nam-kud
NAM.KUD
Nanna₄(ŠEŠ)₅na
ne-me
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