Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Redemption in the Old Babylonian Period: texts, archives, practice

Moore, S.A.

Citation
Moore, S. A. (2020, May 26). *Redemption in the Old Babylonian Period: texts, archives, practice*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/92260

Version:	Publisher's Version
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/92260

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/92260 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Moore, S.A.
Title: Redemption in the Old Babylonian Period: texts, archives, practice
Issue Date: 2020-05-26

1 Redeeming the priesthood: redemption among the priestly circles of Old Babylonian Nippur

This chapter is a study of redemption based on the archives of a number of priestly families operating in OB Nippur during the reign of Samsu-iluna. With Nippur as the foremost cultic centre in Babylonia at this time, the priestly families there were the maintainers of a conservative and long-standing veneration of the gods but in the years of Samsu-iluna they were forced to continue their work amid turbulent times. The sources are concentrated in the second and third decade of the reign of Samsu-iluna. It is within the broader frame of the functioning priesthood, also while bearing in mind the upheavals in Samsu-iluna's reign, that I wish to trace the operation of redemption. I seek to show that the practice of redemption was an important tool used by the priests to maintain themselves, their colleagues, and families in the service of the cult by the circulation and transfer of prebends within trusted networks. The archives in question also give insight into the institution of the paternal estate (é ad-da-ni[114]), and scribal markers of redemption, in particular how the practice of redemption was supported by its own distinctive form of chain of transmission.

1.2 Priesthood, prebend and crisis at OB Nippur

Three pieces of historical background inform these archival studies and contribute to the particular light in which redemption is found to operate. These are: (1) the social context of the main parties, (2) the nature of the assets redeemed, and (3) the larger background of crisis in Nippur during Samsu-iluna's reign. As regards (1), the main parties redeeming come mainly from Nippur's priestly families. The significance of this goes beyond a simple recognition that redemption is here traced within a socially elite group; it explains how the parties who sold and held each other's property, at times subject to an underlying right of redemption, did so in the context of shared activities and common involvement in the maintenance of cultic activities, sometimes in the same temple complex. As regards (2), the prebend was the most prominent asset class subject to redemption in our chosen archives.[115] But a prebend was much more than an asset; van Driel defined it as "a right to income deriving from the fulfilling of a function in the cult of the gods."[116] The first element, its income-producing nature, goes some way to explaining the possibilities of the prebend in the redemption cycle. It helps to explain, for example, why holding prebends ultimately owned by another could still be lucrative in the interim. However, it is the latter element of van Driel's definition, the prebend as fulfillment of a function in the cult, that is equally important for the current study. First of all, this guides my terminology. The designation of "priest(ess)" is maintained throughout this chapter.[117] For all its potential drawbacks, the term signals that the actors were practically involved in the

[114] Generally stereotyped with the suffix in Nippur at this time (cf. the frequent *bīt abišu* where written elsewhere syllabically).
[115] On the transmission of prebends in an archival setting see the study of Charpin 1986 (Ur), and passim in Suurmeijer 2014 (Sippar).
[116] Van Driel 2002, 34; this definition accords with that of other scholars, for references see Waerzeggers 2010, 301, f.n.1026.
[117] See Charpin 1986, 251-252.

maintenance of the cult at Nippur.[118] Beyond the prebend titles and roster splits,[119] it can be difficult to discern how the tasks underlying the titles in this period were parsed out or delegated to appropriate substitutes.[120] Nevertheless, the distinction between the prebend and the tasks that came with it should be maintained.[121] However true it is that certain OB prebend titles were more suggestive of status than function,[122] they still designated tasks for which the named office holder was ultimately responsible.[123] The basic needs of the gods, to be fed, clothed and worshipped, remained. It must always be kept in mind that the person acquiring the prebend was not simply gaining an income-producing asset but receiving a designated share in the maintenance of the veneration of the gods. As regards (3), the crisis in Nippur during Samsu-iluna's reign deserves to be considered given the broad coincidence of wider social and economic turmoil with the sale and redemption of prebends on the ground. As will be seen, although it is difficult to quantify the precise effects of this crisis for redemption practice, it may give implicit support to the traditional view, occasionally glimpsed in practice documents, but explicit in other periods and places, whereby a background crisis affects the terms and reality of redemption. Although the duration of the crisis is not sharply defined,[124] the political reality of the crisis is discernible from Si 8,[125] and an intense crisis period extends at least until Si 11.[126] This crisis has been described by Charpin as "une triple crise," having economic, institutional and military repurcussions.[127] In Uruk, in the eighth month of Si 8, the rebel king Rīm-Anum declared himself king, a reign that appears to have lasted a little less than two years, while in Larsa and its environs, in the period intervening between 20/XII/Si 7 and the beginning of Si 10, Larsa texts are found dated to a certain Rīm-Sîn (II). The appearance of Rīm-Sîn II dated texts not only in Larsa and its environs but also in Nippur speaks for a wider rebellion in the ancient territory of Sumer.[128] Contemporary evidence for a Kassite revolt, reflected in the commemoration of the year name of Si 9, shows that Samsu-iluna was facing challenges on several fronts in this crisis period.[129] Samsu-iluna's recovery of control in the south was short lived when by the end of Si 11 written documentation from Ur, Uruk and Larsa ceases, even if the precise reasons for the loss of these cities remains uncertain.[130] The precise nature and extent of economic difficulties in the years

[118] For a similar approach in describing the Neo-Babylonian sources, see Waerzeggers 2011, 60.
[119] On the bala-gub-ba "turn-on-duty," see Charpin 1986, 262-269.
[120] There are some clearer examples of disjunction between the OB material and that of later periods, for example the multiplication of offices in the Neo-Babylonian period, and the absence of women from service in the cult in the Neo-Babylonian period (this latter restriction did not restrict women from *owning* a prebend (Waerzeggers 2010, 301)).
[121] Crucial as background to understanding the workings of the priests and prebends in this period in central and southern Babylonia is Charpin's study of the priests in Ur in the time of Hammurabi (Charpin 1986).
[122] Van Driel 2002, 40-45.
[123] See Charpin 1986 262-269 and the discussion of UET 5 875 (esp. 262-264).
[124] See 1.13.2 below.
[125] Charpin 2004, 336.
[126] Charpin 2004, 336-340, with f.n. 1752.
[127] Charpin 2004, 336.
[128] Charpin 2004, 339.
[129] Charpin 2004, 339-340.
[130] Charpin 2004, 342.

immediately following Si 11 are the subject of ongoing discussion.[131] In this discussion, as regards Nippur, clusters of sales of land in the archival record have been diagnostic of an ongoing economic crisis.[132] Even so, another peak in terms of crisis can be proposed for the years Si 28-30,[133] at the end of which records in Nippur come to an abrupt end. The view that this 'end of archives' phenomenon coincided with the complete abandonment of Nippur has rightly been revised in light of the important evidence chiefly from the archives from Dūr-Abī-ešuḫ showing that, even after the disruption that occurred up to Si 30, "Nippur remained a city worth defending and with a functioning cult, through the reigns of Abi-ešuh and Ammiditana and into the reign of Ammiṣaduqa."[134] That reality subsequent to Si 30 does not impinge upon our study of the archives from Nippur, and particularly the background to the practice of redemption. Rather the peaks of crisis in Si 8-11, and Si 28-30, together with an awareness that economic difficulty could persist in the interim period forms important background for what follows. This is particularly the case when discussing the matter of clustered redemption in 1.13.

1.3 A network of archives

The text corpus stemming from OB Nippur comes with variable amounts of precise archaeological data.[135] The corpus reflects two main phases of excavation, those tablets dug up at the end of the 19th century,[136] and those excavated since 1948 when the "Joint Expedition to Nippur" began.[137] The tablets deriving from the first phase lack precise archaeological context.[138] A number of the dossiers discussed in this chapter include texts stemming from this earlier phase and a number of the dossiers are therefore reconstructed. We lack archaeological information for the dossier of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim, Nuska-nīšu (and Lu-Ešumeša), Bēltani, and Ilī-sukkal. With the text-group belonging to Attâ son of Narām-Sîn, the term "archive" is justified given that the relevant texts were found *in situ*.

Beyond the designation of these archives as individual private archives or 'family archives,'[139] internal study of the dossiers makes it possible to draw a wider social circle around the individual persons or families concerned. Already Hunter (1930, 2) sought to do this for Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur, and noted how witnessing practice could extend down successive generations of neighbours in Nippur,[140] and Stone posited

[131] See recently Goddeeris 2016:1, 200. Cf. Stone 1977, 280-281.
[132] Stone 1977, 280.
[133] On archival evidence for the *mīšarum* of Si 28 see Charpin 2000, 198-201. Cf. Vedeler 2006, 138.
[134] George 2009, 138.
[135] Charpin 2014, 51.
[136] On the first major excavation, conducted by the University of Pennsylvania in 1889, see Gibson 1993, 5.
[137] Gibson 1993, 6.
[138] Charpin 2014, 51.
[139] The designation 'family archive' is common where the text group mainly attests particular families and must have been maintained in private households even though archival practice and partitive inheritance means we are only seeing a partial picture of the family's activities (Goddeeris 2016:1, 346).
[140] Hunter 1930, 2.

similar bonds of kinship or social connections within the witnesses of a text group.[141] Yet there are also signs that these dossiers or archives are more widely networked.[142] For example, in this chapter the files of Attâ son of Narām-Sîn and Ninurta-rā'im-zērim son of Ninurta-mansum are considered. The social connections between these two individuals is hard to establish yet we gain a glimpse of the strength and possibility of the networks within the priestly community when Attâ appears as one of the most distinguished witnesses to the unusual Nippur marriage text dated in Si 13 recording that Ama-sukkal, daughter of Ninurta-mansum, married Enlil-issu, a *nešakkum* priest of Enlil.[143] Attâ witnessed in his priestly capacity together with three other cultic officials of Ninlil – two *pašīšum*-priests and a brewer. Also present was the bride's brother, Ninurta-rā'im-zērim. This marriage text provides another point of departure to consider Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's social network. For example, we do not know if he knew Enlil-issu his brother-in-law before BE 6/2 40 was written, but Enlil-issu was certainly there at an important moment in Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's career, recorded in BE 6/2 66. In that text, Ninurta-rā'im-zērim redeemed prebends in the temple of Enki and Damgalnuna directly from the temple. Heading the witness list were two priests of Enlil, one of whom was Enlil-issu, his brother-in-law. Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's career also overlapped with other significant priestly families. Most notably he transacted with Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur and close members of his family. The first of these transactions hardly shows him to be an equal of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur.[144] He was simply one more seller of prebends to Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur in the latter's prolific expansion of his prebendary portfolio in the years following Si 11.[145] In Si 28 we find Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur's son and widow selling property (back) to Ninurta-rā'im-zērim in a redemptive transaction.

The networked nature of the archives is further suggested by the use of common scribes and seal-cutters.[146] For example the frequently appearing seal-cutter Awīlija son of Ur-Bau, whose career spanned at least forty years, provides a connection between a number of the dossiers considered here, for he appears as seal-cutter in all the texts of Ilī-sukkal (a file in which it is hard to draw social connections to cultic officials), in six texts from the archive of Attâ, in two from the file of Nuska-nīšu (and Lu-Ešumeša), and two from the Ninurta-rā'im-zērim dossier.[147] The scribe Utta'ulu-

[141] Stone 1987, 16 f.n. 14.
[142] The question of *why* these archives are networked, and whether it is possible that the title deeds for the priestly families were not simply scattered across individual family archives deserves further study.
[143] The text has been long discussed in Assyriology. For studies up to 1964 see the summary by Hallo 1964, 96, who presented his own treatment (1964, 95-105). The most important discussions since are those of Landsberger (1968, 90ff) and Westbrook (1988, esp. 43-44, 83-84). This text is one of three texts documenting the marital arrangement between Enlil-issu and Ama-sukkal (Westbrook 1988, 43-44). Westbrook notes the unusual features contained in this text BE 6/2 40: (1) Ama-sukkal the bride is party to the contract and not her father, (2) she pays 19 shekels to the groom to be returned if he divorces her; (3) it appears that the bride takes the groom for marriage (Westbrook 1988, 43).
[144] OECT 8 7 (no. 50 in Stone & Owen 1991) (Si 13).
[145] For this activity see Stone & Owen 1991, 19-33.
[146] Seire 2016, 54-57.
[147] Seire 2016, 36-37.

ḫeti provides another link, writing texts both for the Ninlil-zigu family and for Attâ son of Narām-Sîn.[148]

To all this data should be added the obvious presence of a common 'cultic' social bond. Without denying the presence of social hierarchy, prominent and less prominent families,[149] and the hierarchy of temple complexes and offices, the common cultic social bond uniting many of the protagonists across the dossiers suggests that the social networks were more closely aligned than a witnessing circle can directly confirm.[150] This was still a shared social world.

1.4 Attâ, son of Narām-Sîn

1.4.1 The archive of Attâ

It was Goetze who first drew scholarly attention to the Attâ archive.[151] The Attâ texts were discovered during the second season of excavations at Nippur (1949-50) conducted by the "Joint Expedition to Nippur." They were discovered in "House O", a location considered by Stone to be the home and workplace of Attâ, heaped in a corner of the living room (locus 75), at level E-2 underneath an inverted stone jar.[152]

Stone provided important corrections to Goetze's earlier work[153] which led to her own count of twenty-four texts in the Attâ archive, booked as SAOC 44 68-91.[154] Stone provided a table of these texts in chronological order,[155] albeit the texts SAOC 44 85-91 do not bear a legible date. The case of SAOC 44 68 suggests an Isin era Rīm-Sîn date. The remainder of the securely dated texts show a span from Si 3 (SAOC 44 69) to Si 24 (SAOC 44 84). Seventeen of the texts have Attâ as a purchaser of prebends, although in two of these texts, SAOC 44 69 (-/VI/Si 3) and SAOC 44 70 (-/XI/Si 3), Attâ purchases together with his brother Imgur-Ninurta.[156] From the Attâ group, five texts are purchase documents but Attâ was not the buyer.[157] As Stone knew, there are diplomatic grounds to explain the inclusion of these texts in Attâ's archive.[158]

[148] Seire 2016, 39. Even within dossiers, the scribes and seal-cutters can lend coherence within reconstructed dossiers. For example, within the dossier of Nuska-nīšu, three redemption texts closely dated in months 10 and 11 of Si 28, the scribe Ninurta-gāmil wrote all three texts.
[149] On the prominent Ninlil-zigu family see most recently Goddeeris 2016:1, 346-349. On that of Imgū'a see Prang 1976.
[150] This is also suggested by the possibility of ownership of prebends by individuals across a number of different temple complexes e.g. Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur and Attâ son of Narām-Sîn being notable examples.
[151] Goetze 1964.
[152] Stone 1987, 91, with Goetze 1964, 102.
[153] Stone 1987, 291–94.
[154] The generally poor condition of the Attâ texts may be partly due, as Stone later suggested, to the inadvertent exposure of this area by a late 19th century excavation, leaving the texts open to weathering for over fifty years prior to the Joint Expedition (Stone 1987, 92 with f.n. 26).
[155] Stone 1987, 92.
[156] Assuming Imgutum=Imgur-Ninurta in SAOC 44 70 (Stone 1987, 92 (Table 18) and 93).
[157] SAOC 44 72, 73, 83, 87, 86. SAOC 44 86 is an exchange.
[158] Stone 1987, 93.

Although the archive is therefore relatively well-defined, there are some remaining textual uncertainties. As noted by Stone, the name of the buyer of the prebends in SAOC 44 68 is illegible.[159] The damage to SAOC 44 82 makes its classification as a prebend purchase uncertain. The reference to ḫa-la ba *im-gur*-^{d}nin-urta in obv. l. 7' indicates an inheritance portion is being transferred and, if so, it would be logical to propose Attâ as the recipient.[160] Apart from the five texts in which Attâ is not the purchaser, two texts, SAOC 44 76 and 77, are broken in the critical places necessary to establish the identity of the buyer. SAOC 44 76 may have Attâ as the purchaser of the prebends. This involves a restoration of obv. l. 5': *a-at*$^{?}$- ˹*ta-a*˺ dumu [*na*-]*ra*-[*am*-^{d}en-zu]. It is impossible to be certain that SAOC 44 77 involves the purchase of a prebend. Only the reverse of the tablet now bears readable text.

1.4.2 (Re-)characterising Attâ

When Goetze first drew scholarly attention to the file of Attâ[161] he did not attempt to place Attâ in the wider context of Nippur at that time. It was Stone who provided, in broad strokes, a portrait of Attâ that sought to locate him in the turbulent social and economic context of Nippur during Samsu-iluna's reign. Stone found in Attâ a person very much in the image of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur, an acquisitive climber and first generation property owner. However, the parallels between these men, their careers and background, may not be as strong as Stone suggests. Stone's reasons for comparing the two include the following:

a. "Both archives provide evidence for the multiple purchase of temple offices during the reign of Samsu-iluna."[162]
b. "Neither conforms to the pattern of transacting and witnessing within a single family that is usual at Nippur."[163]
c. "[T]he two archives share two seal-cutters and five other witnesses, indicating at least a degree of contact."[164]

From these reasons, it is unclear whether Stone compares the two based on actual historical contact between them and their supposedly shared circle, or because of a structural similarity in the 'shape' of their archives. Each of the three reasons cited by Stone has problems. First, although Attâ's texts do comprise multiple acquisitions of temple offices, clustered and repeated acquisition of temple offices in this period is hardly a distinctive feature of this dossier alone. It is true that the quantity and breadth of Attâ's prebendary portfolio is notable but this need not presuppose the activity of a first generation property owner. The bigger historical changes could also afford new opportunities to those with an already established capital base. Secondly, Stone did not provide evidence for what she described as "the pattern of transacting and witnessing within a single family that is usual at Nippur."[165] The point is not self-evident from her Table 20,[166] to which she refers. There we only have Attâ's witnessing circle presented. Thirdly, it is unremarkable that the two archives share

[159] Stone 1987, 92-93.
[160] Stone 1987, 93.
[161] Goetze 1964.
[162] Stone 1987, 94.
[163] Stone 1987, 94.
[164] Stone 1987, 94–95.
[165] Stone 1987, 94.
[166] Stone 1987, 96.

two seal-cutters. It is indeed the case that seal cutters (and scribes) provide a vital social link between a number of families and networks in Nippur at this time. Many families can be 'linked' by little other than the seal-cutters named on their transaction tablets. However, this may tell us more about the importance of the seal-cutters (and scribes) as social actors in the network, than about the similarity of career and social background of the transacting parties.[167]

1.4.3 Attâ's prebendary portfolio: consolidation at the Šamaš temple, expansion elsewhere

One of the most striking features of Attâ's priestly career is the access he enjoyed, and consolidated, in a range of different priestly networks.[168] From Si 3 to Si 28, he held offices in the temple of Šamaš, the prestigious Ekur temple, the temple of Nuska, the temple of Inanna, and the temple of Lugal-aba.[169] Based upon his known archive, his activities were not uniformly spread across this period. We first meet him acting together with his brother Imgur-Ninurta (=Imgutum) in two prebend purchases in Si 3. He acquired a $7^1/_2$ day doorkeeper prebend (nam-ì-du$_8$) from Ipqatum son of Ur-dukuga[170] for $5\ ^2/_3$ shekels and, in the temple of Šamaš, from Ubār-Šamaš, 10 day prebends as temple overseer (ugula-é), doorkeeper (nam-ì-du$_8$), and elder (bur-šu-ma).[171] Another striking feature in the Attâ archive is the concentration of texts in the years Si 10-14.[172] This cluster of activity led Stone to conclude that Attâ was in this period "taking advantage of the panic selling and lowered prices associated with the economic crisis."[173] I now take a closer look at this period of Attâ's activity.

Early in the 8th month of Samsu-iluna 10, Attâ acquired from Nuska-nīšu son of Lipit-Ištar[174] a five-day prebend for priestly duties as *paššīšum*-priest (nam-gudu$_4$) and brewer (nam-lú-bappir) to be carried out in respect of the Nuska temple. So began a flurry of activity that saw Attâ, in the space of sixteen months, until the end of Samsu-iluna 11, acquire at least five new prebends. However, this is the only prebend acquired in the Nuska temple. On the 11th day of the 4th month of Si 11, Attâ purchased a cluster of prebends that comprised the inheritance portion of Ilī-ma-lulīm, son of Ibni-Ea. Ibni-Ea's name was still used to designate the "turn-on-duty" (bala-gub-ba) being sold at this point. It may speak of Ibni-Ea's recent death, suggested also by the appearance of Ibni-Ea's wife as joint seller.[175] While it is likely that Ilī-ma-

[167] On this subject, see Seire 2016 esp. 36-39.
[168] For comments on Attâ's prebendary status see van Driel 1990, 573.
[169] On the appearance of ABkumaḫ with Lugal-aba see notes to SAOC 44 79 below.
[170] SAOC 44 69.
[171] SAOC 44 70. The case allows us to establish the first line of the tablet and tells us that Ubār-Šamaš disposed of prebends as overseer (ugula-é) doorkeeper (nam-ì-du$_8$) and elder (bur-šu-ma), amounting to 10 days per year (the case bears mu-a).
[172] Goetze 1964, 102; Stone 1987, 93 and 97-98.
[173] Stone 1987, 98.
[174] The person cannot be identified with certainty as appearing elsewhere.
[175] The *ad hoc* nature of the seals, prepared by the bur-gul (*purkullum*), is neatly illustrated by this seal. Indeed, here, we see that the seal bears the name of the two sellers – Ilī-ma-lulīm and his mother, a seal which I take it was prepared for the specific purpose of this transaction. Goetze suggested that the specific-purpose seals were required especially in cases of multiple sellers (Goetze 1964, 107, f.n.5). However, this is not uniformly the case. On sealing in Nippur see now Goddeeris 2012, and Goddeeris 2016, 2:330-333.

lulīm already exercised these priestly duties under the umbrella of his father's title to the prebend, the passing into his hands of the inheritance portion may have been recent.

Attâ here purchased a 5-day-per-year prebend in the Šamaš temple comprising priestly duties of *pašīšum*-priest, temple overseer, brewer, doorkeeper, courtyard-sweeper, and elder. He acquired this for six shekels of silver. There are real hazards in seeking to deduce the market value of prebends based on a comparison of these texts. However, this text (SAOC 44 74) and SAOC 44 75 provide us with as near a relative comparator as we might hope to find. Five of the six offices sold in SAOC 44 75 match those in SAOC 44 74. Both texts relate to service in the same temple (é ^{d}utu). They are separated by a relatively small time period of between five and six months. The only difference in offices is that the office of courtyard-sweeper appears in SAOC 44 75 but not in SAOC 44 74, although it may plausibly be restored in the break of l. 1 of the obverse of SAOC 44 74. It is uncertain how the difference in price between the two transactions, six and eight[176] shekels, can be explained. If an additional office was transferred in the later text it may explain the additional purchase price, or the market value may have changed in the interim, or there may be an underlying reason that is lost to us. In my view, nothing secure can be concluded from the price difference.

If Si 11 saw Attâ consolidate and build upon his prebendary stake at the prestigious temple of Šamaš, the following year saw him expand his portfolio, taking on new prebends in the Inanna temple[177] and the temple of Lugal-aba.[178] These are closely dated, in months five and six of Si 12. The second acquisition is his first recorded acquisition of a prebend in the Lugal-aba temple although it is possible that he already held an office there. If Attâ son of Narām-Sîn really is the second witness in SAOC 44 73 (14/III/Si 11),[179] he witnesses the purchase of 20-day prebends by parties with whom he is not otherwise connected.[180] In that case he may witness as an existing holder of Lugal-aba prebend(s) and would have had a foothold in the small community of priests serving the temple of Lugal-aba early in Samsu-iluna's reign. There is plausibility to Stone's explanation that the noticeable concentration of acquisitions of temple offices in the period Si 11-14 was a result of the background crisis and low prices. It forms part of the cumulative evidence that the transfer of temple offices could have been triggered by difficult economic conditions, even if it difficult to trace the process of original sale of prebends and a subsequent redemption.

It is to the matter of redemption from Attâ's archive that I now wish to turn, bearing in mind the archival context described above. Although the redemption texts of Attâ's archive[181] do not allow us to develop this general picture of hardship and sale described by Stone, they do inform us about the practice of redemption. A close comparison of the three texts relating to the Lugal-aba prebends stemming from Attâ's archive raises the possibility that they are connected and may even reflect

[176] I restore l. 13 of the case as: 8 g[ín kù-babbar].
[177] SAOC 44 78.
[178] SAOC 44 79.
[179] Rev. 5. The patronymic is broken and the traces on Stone's copy (Plate 80) do not match.
[180] Although note the presence as third witness of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim son of Ninurta-mansum.
[181] SAOC 44 84; SAOC 44 80.

different transactions dealing with the same property, ultimately redeemed by Attâ (SAOC 44 84).[182] What follows is an investigation of this possibility. Attâ redeemed Lugal-aba prebends in Si 24.[183] The circumstances that led Attâ to divest the Lugal-aba prebends in the first place are lost to us.[184] If it is correct to see SAOC 44 79, 83 and 84 as relating to the same property, then we witness beginning in Si 23 a chain of transfers that would see the prebends returned to the estate of Attâ, having passed through the hands of at least two other interim owners. If they relate to the same set of prebends, Attâ recovered these prebends in Si 24 upon the exercise of a right of redemption that had clearly not been removed by any of the intervening transactions. If SAOC 44 79, 83 and 84 concern the same prebends, it lets us trace a redemption from the entry of the property into Attâ's estate, to its later exchange between two third parties, to its final redemptive purchase by Attâ. The three texts are presented as belonging to a sub-dossier of Attâ's archive, although as will become clear, there are unresolved textual details that make any reconstruction of the texts as a 'redemption cycle' tentative.

1.4.4 Reconstructing a redemption cycle

The texts in question are: (1) SAOC 44 79 (2) SAOC 44 83 (3) SAOC 44 84. The following reasons can be given for taking these together.

1. There are good diplomatic reasons to consider that all three texts came directly into Attâ's possession and formed part of his discovered archive. On archaeological grounds, "House O" appears to have been Attâ's home and place of work.[185] As already mentioned, the Attâ archive was found together, heaped in a corner of the living room (locus 75), at level E-2 underneath an inverted stone jar. The texts found can therefore properly be considered part of Attâ's archive rather than a dispersed collection from which we can only hypothesise that they were probably kept by Attâ.

2. In the known OB Nippur corpus, each of these three texts, and only these texts, involve Lugal-aba prebends containing also a reference to the ABkumaḫ.[186]

3. The property transferred in texts (2) and (3) have matching descriptions. Aside from the scribe and seal-cutter, text (2) and (3) have two witnesses in common.

4. The roster share of the prebends in all three transactions is 22 $^{1}/_{2}$ days per year. This allocation, although entirely credible as a roster split, happens to be very rare in the corpus.

5. The extant details of the texts point to a relatively stable price of c.5 [+ [$^{1}/_{3}$]?] shekels.

[182] On taking SAOC 44 no. 84, the redemption text, at face value, see van Driel 1990, 573. He notes the problem in connecting the parties of no. 80 and no. 84.
[183] SAOC 44 84.
[184] That he still had enough liquidity to acquire prebends in Samsu-iluna 14 might push us towards a likely window of between that year and Samsu-iluna 22.
[185] Stone 1987, 91.
[186] Richter 2004, 137–39.

6. The redemption of the assets (é-ad-da-na…in-du$_8$) in text (3) presupposes their initial entry into Attâ's estate, whether by inheritance or outright purchase.[187] This also assumes that a property purchased outright could then be designated part of the purchaser's *bīt abim*, in so far as it then forms part of the 'estate' of the purchaser that can be passed on by inheritance and, given the present context, redeemed. It would not be unexpected for Attâ to retain in his archive the initial purchase text in addition to his redemption. It is conceivable that this is text (1).

The same roster share, the same prebends, in the same temple(s), in three texts of the same archive, makes it plausible that we are dealing with a redemption cycle of the same property, the records of which were kept in Attâ's archive.[188] Despite the reasons above, it needs to be acknowledged that the relationship between text (1) and texts (2)-(3) is less secure than that between (2) and (3). It is possible that text (1) documents a standalone acquisition of prebends in the Lugal-aba that Attâ never relinquished; and that texts (2)-(3) document a different set of prebends, albeit strikingly similar, in the same temple for which we only have the "penultimate transfer" (text (2)) and the redemption (text (3)) but no tablet evidencing Attâ's original ownership of those prebends or original sale.

1.4.4.1 Lugal-aba prebends enter Attâ's estate

In the middle of Si 12, Attâ purchased a group of prebends from a female priest, Aluttaḫi, and her husband Damiq-ilīšu. Aluttaḫi had held at least the office of *pašīšum*-priest, overseer, and doorkeeper[189] for $22\frac{1}{2}$ days in each year. The price of the prebends amounted to $5\frac{1}{3}$ shekels.

The text of SAOC 44 79 (tablet and case), based on Stone's copy (SAOC 44, plate 85), and collation from photographs,[190] reads as follows[191]:

SAOC 44 79
Museum no.:UM 55-21-167
Excavation no.: 2N-T0780
Date: -/VI/ Si 12

Tablet

Obv.	1	nam-gudu$_4$ nam-ugula-é nam-ì-[du$_8$ nam-kisal-luḫ]
	2	*ù* AB-kù-maḫ-a é-^{d}l[ugal-ab-a]
	3	mu-a u$_4$-22 ½-ˈkam*ˌ
	4	bala-gub-ba *a-lu-ut-*ˈ*ta*ˌ-[*ḫi*]
	5	dumu-munus *a-píl-ì-lí-*[*šu*]
	6	[*ù*] *da-mi-*ˈ*iq*ˌ*-ì-lí-šu* d[am-a-ni]
	7	[ki] *a-lu-ut-ta-ḫi* dumu-munus *a-p*[*íl-ì-lí-šu*]

[187] See van Driel 1990, 573.
[188] We do not have the text showing the property leaving Attâ's possession for the first time. That text would have gone to the first 'purchaser' from Attâ and Attâ's possession (or recovery) of the original title document (text (1)) together with the redemption text (text (3)) *and* the penultimate buyer's purchase text (text (2)) would be enough to establish Attâ's title.
[189] For the restoration in l. 1, cf. l. 17.
[190] CDLI number: P257346.
[191] See also Stone 1987, 291.

	8	*ù da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu* dam-a-[ni]-ta
	9	^{p}*a-at-ta-a* dumu *na-ra-am-*$^{r d}$en-zu$^{*\urcorner}$
	10	in-ši-in-[sa$_{10}$]
	11	šám-til-la-[bi-šè]
	12	5 1/3 gín [kù-babbar]
	13	in-ne-e[n-lá]
	14	u$_4$-kúr-šè *a-lu-ut-t*[*a-ḫi*]
	15	[*da-mi*]-*iq-ì-lí-šu* dam-a-[ni]
Rev.	16	[*ù* ibila]-ne-ne a-na-me-a-bi
	17	[nam-gudu$_4$ nam-ugula]-é nam-ì-du$_8$ <nam->kisal-luḫ
	18	[*ù* AB-kù-maḫ]-a é-^{d}lugal-ab-a-kam
	19	[inim nu(-um)-gá]-gá-dè
	20	[mu lugal]-bi in-pàd-dè-eš
	21	[igi ^{d}x(x)-*e-r*]*i-ba-am* nu-èš dumu […]
	22	[igi] *nu-ra-tum* gudu$_4$ ^{d}nin-líl-lá
	23	dumu lú-^{d}nin-urta
	24	igi ^{d}nin-urta-ma-an-sum dumu *ta-ri*-[*bu-um*]
	25	[igi] *a-wi-li-ia* b[ur-gul]
	26	[igi ^{d}en-líl]-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* d[ub-sar]
	27	iti kin-[^{d}]inanna ˹u$_4$-21˺-[kam]
	28	mu *sa-am-su-i*-[*lu-na* lugal(-e)]
	29	kur gú-si-a [an-ga-àm]
	30	[…]
Case		
Obv.	1’	˹*ù*˺ [AB-kù-maḫ-a ^{d}]lug[al-ab-a]
	2’	mu-a u$_4$-22 ˹½˺-[kam]
	3’	bala-gub-ba *a-lu-ut*-[*ta-ḫi*]
	4’	dumu-munus *a-píl-ì*-[*lí-šu*]
	5’	*ù da-*˹*mi*˺*-iq-ì-lí*-[*šu* dam-a-ni]
	6’	ki *a-lu-u*[*t-ta*]-*ḫ*[*i*]
	7’	[*ù da-mi-i*]*q-ì-lí-šu* da[m-a-ni-ta]
	8’	[^{p}*a-at-ta*]-*a* dumu *na-ra-*˹*am**˺-^{d}en*-zu$^{*\urcorner}$
	9’	[in-ši]-in-˹sa$_{10}$$^{*\urcorner}$
	10’	[šám-til-la]-bi-š[è]
	11’	[5 1/3 gí]n kù-bab[bar]
	12’	[in-ne]-en-lá
	13’	[u$_4$-kúr-šè *a-lu*]-*ut-ta-ḫi**
Rev.	1’	[...] x x
	2’	[bala-gub-ba-b]i-šè
	3’	[inim nu(-um)-g]á-gá-dè
	4’	[mu lugal-bi] in-pàd-dè-eš
	5’	[igi ^{d}x (x)-*e-ri*]-*ba-am** nu-èš
	6’	[dumu x (x)]-ma-an-sum
	7’	[igi *nu-ra-tum*] ˹gudu$_4$$^{*\urcorner}$ ^{d}nin-líl-lá
	8’	[dumu lú-^{d}]nin-urta
	9’	[igi ^{d}nin-urta-ma-an-su]m dumu *t*[*a-ri*]-*bu-um*
	10’	[igi *a-wi-li-ia*] bur-gul
	11’	[igi ^{d}en-líl-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*] dub-s[ar]
	12’	[iti kin-^{d}]inanna u$_4$-10[+11-kam]
	13’	[mu *sa-am*]-*su-i-lu*-[*na* lugal(-e)]

14’ [kur gú-s]i-a an-[ga]-àm*

Seal: *a-l*[*u-ut*]-*ta*-[*ḫi*] / dumu-munus *a-pil-ì*-[*lí-šu*] / *ù* dam-a!?-ni

Translation (tablet):
(1) Office of *pašīšum*-priest, office of overseer of the temple, office of do[orkeeper, office of courtyard sweeper] (2) *both* in the ABkumaḫ (and) the temple of L[ugal-aba,] (3) 22 ½ days per year, (4-6) the turn-on-duty of Alutta[ḫi], daughter of Apil-ilī[šu] [and] Damiq-ilīšu [her] hu[sband]; (7-8) [from] Aluttaḫi daughter of Ap[il-ilīšu] and Damiq-ilīšu h[er] husband, (9-10) Attâ son of Narām-Sî[n] boug[ht]. (11-13) [As its] full price, he [weig]hed out 5 1/3 shekels [of silver]. (14-20) In future, Alutt[aḫi], [Dam]iq-ilīšu [her] husband, [and] (their) heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall not make claim (concerning) [the office of *pašīšum*-priest, office of overseer] of the temple, office of doorkeeper, office of courtyard sweeper [which is *both in* the ABkumaḫ] (and) the Lugal-aba temple, they swore by [the king]. (21) [Before [d…-erī]bam the *nešakkum*-priest son of […], (22-23) [before] Nūratum *pašīšum*-priest of Ninlil son of Lu-Ninurta, (24) before Ninurta-mansum son of Tarī[bum], (25) [before] Awīlija the sea[l cutter], (26) [before Enlil]-muballiṭ the s[cribe], (27-30) month 6, day 21, Samsu-iluna 12.

Notes:
T1: The restoration nam-kisal-luḫ is supported by rev. ll.17-18 which recapitulates the offices.
T2: For the ABkumaḫ, see Richter 2004, 137–39. The three texts discussed here are our only evidence for the term ABkumaḫ collocated with the temple of Lugal-aba. SAOC 44 79 l. 2 (*ù* AB-kù-maḫ-a é-^{d}l[ugal-ab-a]) is the basis of Richter’s suggestion that ABkumaḫ could designate a prebendary office but I find more convincing the suggestion that it designates a place, perhaps even a part or annex of the Lugal-aba temple (?). This is more in keeping with its appearance in SAOC 44 83 and SAOC 44 84 (e.g. SAOC 44 83, rev. 17: é [^{d}lugal-ab]-a-ka *ù* ^{d}AB-kù-maḫ). On the use of the divine determinative in SAOC 44 83 see Richter’s comments (2004, 138–39).
T3: The roster share of $22^{1}/_{2}$ days is rare in this corpus. Another example is OECT 8 17/ W 1926/377, a text belonging to the file of Lu-Inanna. The period corresponds to three quarters of a month. It is also half of another attested split of 45-days (cf. YOS 14 328 with Stol 2004, 703).
T8: Apil-ilīšu is mistakenly written here instead of the expected Damiq-ilīšu (cf. ll.5-6 and the seal).
T9: On the photograph, *am* is visible as are the obligue wedges of EN and traces of ZU.
T13: Nippur scribes generally write the verbal formula in-na-an-lá but this variant writing, in-ne-[en-lá], is also found e.g. BE 6/2 12, SAOC 44 73, SAOC 44 90.

1.4.4.2 The penultimate transfer of Attâ's prebends?

The text SAOC 44 83 (copy, Stone 1987 plate 88) records the purchase of Lugal-aba prebends, for which the roster split matches that in SAOC 44 79 and 84 and, though it relies upon restoration, the offices also appear to match. There are complexities to the text for it is not clear whether the selling party(/ies) can be identified with the joint holders of the turn-on-duty, including Ḫunabatum (the prebends derive from a previous gift (níg-ba) to her), because of damage to the crucial section of the obverse. Based on Stone's copy and collation from the photographs,[192] the text reads as follows:

SAOC 44 83
Museum no.: OIM A30086
Excavation no.: 2N-T0766
Date: 16/?/Samsu-iluna 23?[193]

Tablet

Obv.	1	nam-gudu$_4$ nam-ugula-é nam-[ì-du$_8$ nam-kisal-luḫ]
	2	é ^{d}lugal-ab-a *ù* [^{d}AB-kù-maḫ]
	3	mu-a u$_4$-22 ½-[kam]
	4	bala-gub-ba *ḫu-na-ba-tu*[*m* (x)] x a
	5	dumu-munus *e-te-el-p*[*i*$_4$-^{d}n]uska
	6	*ù an-nu-um-pi*$_4$-*iš*$_8$-*tár* d[am]-a-ni
	7	šà dub níg-ba *ḫu-na-ba-tu*[*m* (x)]x a x
	8	[...]
	9	[(x)] K[A]-$^{r d}$nin-urta dumu [...]
	10	[^{p}]^{d}en-zu-*m*[*a-gir*$^{?}$ …]
	11	dumu$^{?}$ AN$^{?}$ x x x [(x)]
	12	šá[m]-til-l[a-bi-šè]
	13	5 [(+x) gín kù-babbar]
	14	i[n$^{?}$-na-(an-)lá]
	15	u[$_4$-kúr-šè KA-^{d}nin-urta *ù* ibila-a-ni a-na-me-a-bi]
Rev.	16	nam-gudu$_4$ [nam-u]gula-é nam-ì-du$_8$ nam-kis[al-luḫ]
	17	é [^{d}lugal-ab]-a-ka *ù* ^{d}AB-kù-maḫ
	18	m[u-a] u$_4$-22 ½-kam
	19	inim [nu-u]m-gá-gá-a
	20	mu lugal-bi i[n]-pàd
	21	igi ^{d}en-líl-*i-tu-ra-am* nu-èš
	22	igi ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil* dumu ur-du$_6$-kù-ga
	23	igi ^{d}en-líl-*mu-da-mi-iq* dumu *ri-im-iš*$_8$-*tár*
	24	igi *na-bi*-^{d}en-líl [dumu *i-d*]*in*-^{d}n[in]-urta
	25	igi *a-wi-li-i*[*a*] bur-[gul dumu ur-^{d}b]a-ú
	26	[igi] u$_4$-ta-u$_{18}$-[lu]-^{r}ḫé-ti$^{}$ dub-sar
	27	[iti x]x[x] u$_4$-16-kam
	28	[mu ....]x lugal-e
	29	x[...]

[192] CDLI number: P283573.
[193] The date is tentative. It was suggested in Stone 1987, 92 but this cannot be established from the copy of the tablet or the fragmentary case (plate 88).

30 x[....]x
31 […]

Case
Obv. 1’ é-[^{d}lugal-ab-a *ù* ^{d}AB-kù-maḫ]
2’ mu-a [u_4-22 ½-kam]
3’ garza-bi-šè inim nu-[um-gá-gá-a]
4’ mu lugal-bi in-[pàd]
5’ igi ^{d}en-líl-*i-tu-ra*-[*am* nu-èš]
6’ [dumu *ì*]*l-šu-ib-ni-šu* [(...)]
7’ igi ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil* [dumu ur-du_6-kù-ga]
8’ igi ^{d}en-[líl-*mu-da*]-*mi-iq* [dumu *ri-im-iš*$_8$-*tár*]

Seal: KA-^{d}nin-urta / dumu *a-wi-ia-tum*

Translation (tablet):
(1) Office of *pašīšum*-priest, office of overseer of the temple, office of [doorkeeper, office of courtyard sweeper], (2) (in the) temple of Lugal-aba and [the ABkumaḫ], (3) 22 ½ days per year, (4-6) the turn-on-duty of Ḫunabatu[m …], daughter of Etel-p[ī-N]uska and Annum-pī-Ištar her husband, (7-8) part of the (property listed in the) tablet of the gift of Ḫunabatu[m …]. (9) […]-Ninurta *so*[*n* of …], (10) Sîn-mā[gir$^{?}$…] (11) … (12) [as its] full pr[ice] (13) 5 [(+ x) shekels of silver] (14) he weighed out. (15-20) [In futu]re [KA-Ninurta and his heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall not make claim (concerning) the office of *pašīšum*-priest, [the office of ov]erseer of the temple, the office of doorkeeper, the office of court[yard sweeper], 22 ½ days pe[r ye]ar, he swore by the king. (21) Before Enlil-itūram the *nešakkum*-priest, (22) before Ninurta-gāmil son of Ur-dukuga, (23) before Enlil-mudammiq son of Rīm-Ištar, (24) before Nabi-Enlil [son of Id]din-N[in]urta, (25) before Awīlij[a] the seal-[cutter, son of Ur-Bau],(26) [before] Utta’u[lu]-ḫeti the scribe. (27-31) [Month…] day 16, [the year …] the king …[…]…

Notes:
7: The line confirms that the prebends being transferred are from the tablet of the “gift” (šà dub níg-ba) of Ḫunabatum. On the níg-ba see ARN 29 rev. 6, 12 with discussion in Stol 1998, 92 and, as a gift to a daughter from her father, see Kraus 1951, 147.
7b-11: The fragmentary nature of these lines poses a problem. Given the surrounding context it is conceivable that it documents an intermediary transmission of Ḫunabatum’s property to the person from whom Sîn-māgir acquired it.
11: This line is a crux. Goetze reported in passing that it contained a redemption clause (Goetze 1964, 108 f.n. 24), namely: garza (PA-AN) é-ad-da-ni. Stone expressly ruled this out for this line, stating that “2N-T 766 does not have the redemption clause cited [by Goetze]” (Stone 1987, 292). The traces of the first sign of the line on Stone’s copy fit dumu and thus favour a patronym for the party (or parties) in the preceding line. However, the traces of the following signs support Goetze’s reading, and a reading PA$^{!}$.AN é ad-d[a-ni] is feasible based on Stone’s copy. The line is so badly damaged that the photographs (P283573) don’t allow for any advance to be made. If Goetze is correct, it poses a problem for the interpretation of this text as straightforwardly documenting the penultimate transfer of property that was redeemed in SAOC 44 84. On the other hand, its presence in Attâ’s archive, if redeemed in this text by someone else, and thus belonging to the estate of another party, needs then to be explained. Any reading of this as the penultimate transfer of the property redeemed in SAOC 44 84 must remain provisional.
31: The photos suggest the tablet held a line of text additional to that on Stone’s copy.

1.4.4.3 Attâ's redemption of Lugal-aba prebends

In Si 24, Attâ redeemed his prebends attached to the Lugal-aba. Assuming that SAOC 44 83 documents the penultimate transfer of these prebends, Attâ had never lost residual title to these assets despite the fact that the penultimate transfer (SAOC 44 83) made no explicit mention of his underlying right. It is intriguing to note the stated price for each known transfer of these prebends. If text 1 documents Attâ's original acquisition of the prebends back in Si 12, he did so for $5^1/_3$ shekels [+?]. When they changed hands, possibly in Si 23, we can tell from the first sign of line 13 of SAOC 44 83 that they were sold for a price of 5 [+?] (shekels). When Attâ redeemed the prebends, the price recorded is $5^1/_3$ shekels +15 barleycorns of silver.[194] On account of a broken section in both SAOC 44 79 and SAOC 44 83, we do not know whether this reflects an increment or whether it also applied to the previous transfer. Again, the relative stability of the figures, though notable, can hardly be given as evidence that this redemption was broadly at par or not.

The text in question, based on Stone's copy (Stone 1987, plate 88), with no photos available, reads as follows:

SAOC 44 84
Museum no.: IM 57972
Excavation no.: 2N-T0374
Date: 16/III/Si 24

Tablet

Obv.	1	nam-gudu$_4$ nam-ugula-é nam-[ì-du$_8$]
	2	*ù* nam-˹kisal-luḫ˺ˀ-ˀ é-^{d}lugal-[ab-a]
	3	[*ù*] AB-kù-maḫ-a mu-a u[$_4$-22 ½-kam]
	4	kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki dumu [*r*]*i-iš*-x-[…]
	5	[bala-gub-ba ^{d}]en-zu-*ma-gir* <dumu> ^{d}en-líl-[*na-ṣi-ir*]
	6	[ki ^{d}en]-zu-*ma-gir* <dumu> ^{d}en-líl-*n*[*a-ṣi-ir*(-ta)]
	7	[^{p}]*a-at-ta-a* dumu *na-ra*-[*am*-^{d}e]n-[zu(-ke$_4$)]
	8	garza e$_2$ ad-da-ni ì-du$_8$
	9	šám-til-la-bi-[šè]
	10	5 1/3 gín 15 še kù-babbar [in-n]a-a[n-lá]
	11	u$_4$-kúr-ˀšèˀ ^{d}en-zu-*ma-gir* dumu ^{d}en-lí[l-*n*]*a*-[*ṣi-ir*]
	12	*ù* ib[i]la-a-[ni] a-na-me-a-[b]i
	13	garza-bi-šè u$_4$-22 ½-kam
	14	[inim nu-u]m-gá-gá-a mu lug[al-bi in-pàd]
Rev.	1’	[igi] *el-le*-[*tum*] g[udu$_4$-^{d}nin-líl-lá]
	2’	[igi] *ìl-šu-ib-ni-šu* gudu$_4$ ^{d}nin-urta
	3’	igi *ip-qú*-^{d}da-mu dumu *na-ra-am*-^{d}en-zu
	4’	igi ^{d}en-líl-[*mu*]-*da-mi-iq* dumu *ri-im-iš*$_8$-*t*[*ár*]
	5’	igi ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil* dumu ur-du$_6$-kù-g[a]
	6’	[igi] ^{d}nuska-*ni-šu* dumu ad-da-du$_{10}$-ga
	7’	[igi] *e-te-ia-tum* [dumu] ^{d}da-mu-x-[x(-x)]
	8’	[i]gi ^{d}*nè-e*[*ri*$_{11}$-*gal*]-ma-an-sum bur-gul
	9’	iti sig$_4$-a u$_4$-16-kam

[194] SAOC 44 84, obv. l.10.

10’ mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e
11’ bàd kiš^{ki}-a gú buranun-na
12’ mu-un-dù-a

Seal: ^{d}en-zu-*ma-gir* / dumu ^{d}en-líl-*na-ṣi*-[*ir*]

Translation:
(1) The office of *pašīšum*-priest, the office of overseer of the temple, the office of [doorkeeper], (2) and the office of courtyard sweeper of the temple of [Lugal-aba] (3) [and] ABkumaḫ, [22 ½ days] per year, (4) bought for silver, from the son of Rīš-… … (5) [the turn-on-duty of] Sîn-māgir <son of> Enlil-[nāṣir], (6) [from S]în-māgir <son of> Enlil-n[āṣir], (7) Attâ, son of Narā[m-S]î[n] redeemed the office of his father’s estate, (9-10) [as] its full price, [he we]igh[ed out] 5 1/3 shekels and 15 barley corns of silver. (11-14) In future, Sîn-māgir son of Enli[l-n]ā[ṣir], and [his] heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall [not] make [claim] concerning this office of 22 ½ days, [he swore] by the kin[g]. (Rev. 1’) [Before] Elle[tum], *pašīš*[*um*-priest of Ninlil], (2’) [before] Ilšu-ibnišu *pašīšum*-priest of Ninurta, (3’) before Ipqu-Damu son of Narām-Sîn, (4’) before Enlil-mu[dammiq] son of Rīm-Išta[r], (5’) before Ninurta-gāmil son of Urdukug[a], (6’) [before] Nuska-nīšu son of Addaduga, (7’) [before] Etejatum [son of] Damu-…, (8’) [be]fore Ne[rgal]-mansum the seal-cutter, (9’-12’) month 3, day 16, Si 24.

Notes:
2: I read nam-kisal-luḫ against Richter’s nam-<bur->šu-ma (Kraus 1951, 147).
3: The restored roster split is secured by l. 13. The traces copied before AB, taken here as the DIB of Ù could also reflect the divine determinative which can precede ABkumaḫ (see note above to line 2 of the inner tablet of SAOC 44 79).
4: I read ki dumu [*r*]*i-iš*-x-[…]. The copy shows a small gap between /dumu/ and /*ri*/, that is damaged but I propose to restore no sign in the gap.
5-6: Emending these lines by the addition of <dumu> is supported by l. 11 and the seal.

1.4.4.4 Summary

The redemption text of SAOC 44 84 does contain important internal markers of redemption that are paralleled in other redemption texts in the Nippur dossiers. Most obviously, SAOC 44 84 signals the recovery of the prebends as part of the “paternal estate” employing the redemption clause: garza e_2 ad-da-ni ì-du_8 (l. 8). As will become clear not only from the Nippur dossiers, but in those from Sippar, Babylon and elsewhere, this redemption clause is the most salient feature of redemption texts. However much the redemption texts are formally a variant of sale texts, the retention of a redemption clause obviously remained important. The significance of this clause and the social reality of the paternal estate in the redemption texts from Nippur is further discussed in [1.11] below.

The redemption text of SAOC 44 84 introduces another marker of redemption that will be paralleled in the Nippur dossiers. It documents in the body of the redemption text a short summary of a previous transfer of the assets. In fact, it documents the sale immediately preceding the redemption transaction. Lines 4-8 read: “bought for silver, from Rīš-… … [the turn-on-duty of] Sîn-māgir [son of] Enlil-[nāṣir], [from S]în-māgir [son of] Enlil-n[āṣir], Attâ, son of Narā[m-S]î[n] redeemed the office of his father’s estate.” The documenting of such a penultimate transfer will be addressed

below (1.11) but, to anticipate, its meaning ought to lie in the realm of chains of transmission. It was important for evidencing of the redeemer's title to the redeemed property and marked out the previous transfers as purchases distinctive from the outright acquiring of paternal property. That would then support a traditional interpretation, *pace* Stone, of what these redemption texts were achieving. It was precisely because these assets had been sold outside the estate of the original owner, even between non-familial interim buyers, that the redemption of the assets had to be properly signaled in the documentation.

1.4.4.5 SAOC 44 80: Additional redemption in Attâ's archive

As an addendum to the discussion of redemption based on Attâ's archive, the existence of a fragmentary redemption text in Attâ's archive should be noted. The transliteration, based on Stone's copy (Stone 1987, plate 86), collated from photographs,[195] and a translation, is set out below.

Tablet

1' [...]x-é-a [...]
2' [...]-lá dumu *na-bi-*[...]
3' [...]-*ib-ni-šu* dumu *na-b*[*i*?-...]
4' i[gi x x-*e*]-*ri-ba-am* dumu ^{p}M[I-...]
5' i[gi] x [...]
6' igi x an nu um? ma x šu x[...]
7' it[i ... u_4]-6-[kam]
8' [mu *sa-am-su-i-lu*]-*na* lugal[(-e)]

Case

1' x[...]
2' é-^{d}utu mu-[a ...]
3' bala-gub-ba ^{d}e[n-líl-NI-...]
4' dumu ^{d}da-mu-ú-[...]
5' ki ^{d}en-líl-NI-[... dumu ^{d}da-mu-ú-...]
6' ^{p}*a-at-ta-a* [dumu *na-ra-am-*^{d}en-zu(-ke$_4$)]
7' garza é-ad-[da-ni in-du$_8$]
8' šám-til-l[a-bi-šè]
9' 5 gín kù-bab[bar in-na-an-lá]
10' u_4-kúr-šè ^{d}[en-líl-NI-...]
11' ^{p}*sà-ni-i*[*q*?-...]

Seal: ^{d}en-líl-[NI-...] / x *ì-lí-i*-[...] / [...]-*ia*-[...]

Translation (case):
(1') [named prebendary offices] (2') (in the) temple of Šamaš, [per] year [x days], (3'-4') the turn-on-duty of E[nlil-NI-...] son of Damu-[...], from Enlil-NI-[... son of Damu-...], (6') Attâ [son of Narām-Sîn] [redeemed] the prebendary office of [his] paternal estate, [as its] full price [he weighed out] five shekels of silver. In future [Enlil-NI-...] [and] Sani[q?...] [and his/their heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) shall be, shall not make claim (concerning) the office of ...].

[195] CDLI no.: P283574.

This text, though fragmentary, is evidence of a redemption by Attâ of temple offices in the Šamaš temple. We know of his involvement in this temple complex not least from his activity in Si 11 when he consolidated and built upon his prebendary position there (see 1.4.3). Unless we suppose that he had sold the prebend(s) before the period Si 11-14, it seems plausible that his sale, and the subsequent redemption, took place considerably later. The text, together with SAOC 44 84, shows that on more than one occasion Attâ had to take steps to recover property that had left his paternal estate. Based on the extant clauses on the case, it also appears that this redemption did not record a penultimate transfer. That would usually follow the statement of who holds the "turn-on-duty" at present. Without the fully preserved case or tablet, however, we cannot know whether this was simply because the person from whom he redeemed was also the person who was selling here, i.e. there may have been no interim buyer.

1.5 Ninurta-rā'im-zērim son of Ninurta-mansum

The small dossier of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim has not received standalone treatment in the literature,[196] but contains two redemption texts.[197] Each of these texts deserves attention in its own right, and contributes to our understanding of redemption in the Nippur archives. However, before turning to an analysis of those texts, I provide an overview of the dossier, and a reconstruction of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's activities.

The dossier lacks archaeological context and must be reconstructed. Here there are some uncertainties. It is unclear whether to assign PBS 8 66 to this dossier.[198] This text documents a transfer of prebends held in the temple of Enki and Damgalnuna but, other than the correspondence in the named offices and temple, it is unclear how the prebends in PBS 8 66 might relate to the prebends redeemed by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim in BE 6/2 66 (date not preserved) directly from the temple of Enki and Damgalnuna.[199] We also have a very fragmentary record of a text that evidences either a redemption, exchange or inheritance division in OIMA 1 45, transliterated and discussed in 1.11.3.3. If it is an exchange or inheritance division, and Ninurta-rā'im-zērim is one of the parties (he is the named existing holder of the turn-on-duty of the prebends (obv. 5')), then it is conceivable that he retained a copy. If, however, it is a redemption text then he would simply be selling the assets and the text would not have ended up in his archive. These uncertainties leave the following core of texts to be assigned to the file.

Text	Date	Description
BE 6/2 66	Not preserved	Redemption of prebends by Ninurta- rā'im-zērim (possible relation to prebends transferred in PBS 8 66 (5/XII/Si 24)
BE 6/2 64 (=Ni 325)	20/II/Si 28	Redemption of vacant plot (é-kislah) by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim
BE 6/2 61	15/XII/Si 28	Transaction (uncertain) concerning 12 iku field with Ninurta-rā'im-zērim as counterparty[200]
BE 6/2 68	26/VIII/Ilīma-AN	Purchase of a 6 iku field by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim
OIMA 1 51 (=UM 29-15-441)	Not preserved	Lease of field for the cultivation of sesame

Drawing on this core of texts, and the other attestations of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim, we

[196] His dossier is not studied in Stone 1987, although a list of texts in which he is attested is given on pp. 270-271 (add to this list the attestations in BE 6/2 60 and BE 6/2 61).
[197] BE 6/2 64 and BE 6/2 66.
[198] The list excludes the promissory notes concerning bran which have Ninurta-rā'im-zērim as the counterparty BE 6/2 60 (II/Si 28) and BE 6/2 61 (16/VIII/Si 28) as it is uncertain whether they belong in his archive.
[199] See note to l. 13 of BE 6/2 66 below.
[200] The ta affix on l. 6 of the obverse after Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's name is probably a mistake so that he leases or buys (the šè at the end of l. 7 could conclude a tenancy/cultivation clause as much as a full price clause in a sale text (šám-til-la-bi-šè). Comparison with BE 6/2 68 suggests that BE 6/2 61 may also have been a sale.

can begin to build a picture of his prebendary portfolio and activity. The extant dates in the 'core' dossier show a concentration of activity in the years Si 24 to just after Si 30.[201] However, to establish some of his social connections and provide important background to the redemption text BE 6/2 64, we need to go back to Si 13 and consider OECT 8 7 (2/XII/Si 13).[202] This text documents the sale of one month per year's worth of the prebendary offices of doorkeeper and courtyard sweeper in the temple of Ninlil Egula. Ninurta-rā'im-zērim as the existing holder of the offices, sells these to Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur, in whose archive I assume the tablet remained.[203] From the perspective of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur's archive, this sale comprised merely one in a number of acquisitions of temple offices by him in this period following Si 11. It could be, therefore, that we should see behind this sale a sign of Ninurta-ra'im-zērim's difficulties. The year is Si 13, a time close to the most intense period of crisis affecting the city. Even if that is so, there is a social connection between these two parties that is at play, and not simple economic need. This social connection resurfaces in the later redemption in Si 24 of (different) property by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim from the widow and son of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur (BE 6/2 64). It is intriguing that, in that later redemption text, we find a description of the sale prior to the redemption. We learn that the vacant plot came into the possession of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur's family via the sons of a certain Ea-iddinam.[204] This means that the family of Ea-iddinam were interim holders of the property which, on my understanding, had been originally sold by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim and subsequently redeemed by him in BE 6/2 64. Yet it is likely that these sons of Ea-iddinam were also no strangers to Ninurta-rā'im-zērim. We find one of them present for Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's redemption of prebends from the temple of Enki and Damgalnuna in BE 6/2 66.[205] It is difficult to be more definitive about the links between these persons, but it illustrates that the sale of prebends by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim and his redemption of other property coincided with existing and overlapping social networks. In what follows, the two texts from his dossier in which he redeems property are treated. Each adds to the understanding of redemptive practice in OB Nippur at this time.

1.5.1 BE 6/2 66: Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's redemption from the temple of Enki and Damgalnuna

BE 6/2 66
Date: not preserved
Bibliography: BE 6/2 pp.13-15 (transliteration, translation, comments); HG 4 No. 979 (translation); UAZP (Schorr 1913) no. 104A (transliteration, translation).

The text of BE 6/2 66, based on its copy, is transliterated and translated as follows:

Tablet
Obv. 1 […] x
2 nam-gu[du_4] n[am-ugul]a-é nam-lú-[bá]ppir

[201] On the dating of Ilīma-AN to the time immediately after Si 30 see Charpin 2004, 361 with f.n. 1885.
[202] The case of this tablet appears to be text no.48 in Stone & Owen 1991.
[203] For an edition of the text, see Stone & Owen 1991, 86-87 (plates 37-39).
[204] BE 6/2 64, obv. ll. 4-6.
[205] BE 6/2 66, 22'.

3 nam-ì-du$_8$ nam-kisal-luḫ *ù* nam-bur-šu-ma
4 é ^{d}en-ki ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na mu-a u$_4$-15-kam
5 bala-gub-ba ^{d}en-ki-maš-zu dumu *dam-qí-ì-lí-šu*
6 kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ^{d}en-ki ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na in-sa$_{10}$-a
7 ki ^{d}en-ki ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na-ta
8 ^{pd}nin-urta-*ra-ḫi-im-zé-ri*
9 dumu ^{d}nin-urta-ma-an-sum-ke$_4$
10 garza é ad-da-na in-du$_8$
Rev. 11 šám-til-la-bi-šè
12 18 gín kù-babbar in-na-an-lá
13 u$_4$-kúr-šè nam-gudu$_4$ u$_4$-27-kam
14 mu inim gál-la kišib in-na-an-taka$_4$
15 igi *ku-bu-tum* lú-báppir ^{d}en-líl-lá
16 igi ^{d}en-líl-*is-sú* nu-èš dumu lugal-á-zi-da
17 igi ^{d}en-zu-*iš-me-a-ni* dumu *é-a-na-ṣir*
18 igi *lu-uš-ta-mar* dumu *ta-ri-bu-um*
19 igi *iz-kur*-^{d}utu dumu *e-la-lí-im*
20 igi ^{d}inanna-ma-an-sum dumu dingir-*šu-ib-ni-šu*
21 igi *a-lí*-dingir dumu *ri-iš-é-a*
22 igi é-šu-me-ša$_4$-*lu-mur* gudu$_4$ dumu *é-a-i-din-nam*
23 igi x[...]
[…]
Seal: ^{d}en-ki / ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na

Translation:
(1-3) […] Office of *pašīšum*-priest, office of the overseer of the temple, office of brewer, (2) office of doorkeeper, office of courtyard sweeper and office of elder, (4) 15-days-per-year (in) the temple of Enki (and) Damgalnuna, (5) the turn-on-duty of Enki-maš-zu son of Damqi-ilīšu, (6) purchased (property), which Enki (and) Damgalnuna had bought, (7) from Enki (and) Damgalnuna, (8-10) Ninurta-rā'im-zērim son of Ninurta-mansum redeemed the office(s) of his father's estate. (11-12) As its full price he weighed out 18 shekels of silver. (13) In future, (as regards) the office of *pašīšum*-priest of 27 days, (14) concerning a(ny) complaint, he sealed the document. (15) Before Kubbutum, brewer of Enlil, (16) before Enlil-issu *nešakkum*-priest, son of Lugal-azida, (17) before Sîn-išme'anni son of Ea-nāṣir, (18) before Luštamar son of Tarībum, (19) before Izkur-Šamaš son of Elalim, (20) before Inanna-mansum son of Ilšu-ibnišu, (21) before Ali-ilum son of Rīš-Ea, (22) before Ešumeša-lūmur *pašīšum*-priest son of Ea-iddinam, (23) before […] (remainder lost).

Notes:
13: It would be puzzling if this line was taken to record the extension of the office of *pašīšum*-priest to 27 days per year, uplifted from the 15 days worth that is redeemed. The answer appears to lie in a connection with PBS 13 66 (5/VIII/Si 24). The damage to the tablet PBS 13 66 means that the identity of the person acquiring the prebends is lost and so we cannot know if it was, e.g., the Enki-maš-zu who held the bala-gub-ba in BE 6/2 66 when Ninurta-rā'im-zērim redeemed. Also PBS 13 66 needs collating to confirm the roster split. The copy permits a roster split of 13 or perhaps 12 days per year. Returning to the roster split in BE 6/2 66, line 4' has a clear: mu-a u$_4$-15-kam. The quitclaim in ll. 13'-14' refers to a *pašīšum*-office, which may stand pars pro toto for the whole set of prebends being redeemed, comprising a 27 day allocation (nam-gudu$_4$ u$_4$-27-kam). If the prebend split in PBS 13 66 should be read as 12 days, this would neatly explain the total split of 27 days held by Ninurta-

rā'im-zērim after redeeming 15 days' worth in BE 6/2 66. In that case the quitclaim of BE 6/2 66 reflects the total split in the Enki and Damgalnuna complex held by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim, reunited by the end of the redemption transaction. This theory is now confirmed and clarified by the fact that PBS 13 66 joins BE 6/2 66 (pers. comm. A. Goddeeris; see Goddeeris [in press]).

No date is preserved on the text, and we do not have the text showing these prebends leaving Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's estate. Based on what we do know, it is conceivable that the original divestment of those prebends by Ninurta-rā'im-zērim took place around the first cluster of activity, at a date around Si 13, when he already showed a need to obtain some capital in exchange for prebends.[206]

In terms of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's sphere of service, this text is not the only text by which we can establish a connection with the temple of Enki-Damgalnuna, even if he also held office(s) elsewhere.[207] The link with Enki and Damgalnuna can be inferred from the fragmentary text OIMA 1 45 = CBS 2230, documenting the transfer of a large field and a group of prebends in the Enki-Damgalnuna complex ([…e]n-ki ^{d}dam-^{r}gal-nun$^{?}$[-na] (OIMA 1 45 1:1')) for which Ninurta-rā'im-zērim held the bala-gub-ba (l. 5').[208]

In this text, BE 6/2 66, we find Ninurta-rā'im-zērim redeeming prebends directly from two 'gods'(=temple) as transacting counterparties. The *šalmum-balṭum* Šamaš loans, *usātum* loans, and the phenomenon of 'divine witnessing' in other OB settings make it unsurprising for the temple to transact in the name of their patron god(s),[209] but this is our only example in the setting of redemption. The text shares all the expected formal features of other redemption texts. We can see the clause of penultimate transfer recording that the bala-gub-ba, held in the name Enki-maš-zu, had been previously purchased (kù-ta-sa$_{10}$) by Enki and Damgulnuna, who bought it (in-sa$_{10}$-a) from Enki-maš-zu. Enki-maš-zu is named as the holder of the bala-gub-ba also at the time of the redemption (l. 5) but it is hard to be certain whether this was a reference to him as the last named holder of the prebends, or whether it reflects that he had earlier "sold" the prebends back into the hands of the temple while continuing to discharge his roster duties as the holder of the bala-gub-ba. In either case, this intervention by the temple is exceptional. The underlying reason for this intervention is unclear but two possibilities may be mentioned. Enki-maš-zu may have needed to sell the prebends (to obtain capital?) at such time that Ninurta-rā'im-zērim was not yet in a position to redeem and the temple acquiring the prebends was an interim solution. Alternatively, it may be that Enki-maš-zu had been appointed to the roster by the temple authorities pending clarification of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's entitlement to the prebends as part of his paternal estate. Issues of succession or vacancy in a temple office could, in later times, lead to a higher authority's intervention.[210] The

[206] OECT 8 7 ((2/XII/Si 13) when he sold prebends to Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur.
[207] As evidenced by OECT 8 7 showing that he had held the prebendary offices of doorkeeper and courtyard in the temple of Ninlil Egula.
[208] On the interpretation of this text, and the appearance of kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ (obv. l. 11', rev. l. 2') see 1.11.3.3.
[209] On the phenomenon of gods as creditors see most recently Charpin 2015, 149-172, with references to the earlier literature.
[210] From the first millennium, see e.g. McEwan 1981, 18ff discussing CT 49 144 (upon the death of an astrologer, funds and office were transferred until the deceased's son was ready to

exceptional situation is also here reflected in the sealing. As the temple was in this case taking on the rather unusual role of 'selling' the prebends to Ninurta-rā'im-zērim, it conformed to normal sealing practice that a bur-gul seal was made listing Enki and Damgalnuna.

1.5.2 Redemption and "penultimate transfer": evidence from the Ninurta-rā'im-zērim dossier

In 1.11.3 we examine more closely the clause recording the penultimate transfer contained in the redemption texts. However, the other redemption text in the dossier of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim aids our understanding of this preceding transaction or "penultimate transfer." In the case of the second redemption transaction in which Ninurta-rā'im-zērim redeems, we possess not only the redemption text (BE 6/2 64)[211] but, it appears, the actual text of penultimate transfer (BE 6/2 38).[212] I will discuss the texts on this basis but I have more reservations than Finkelstein (1965, 241-242) that the same piece of property has to be involved here.

Transliterations and translations of the texts appear below, based on their copy.

BE 6/2 38
Date: 6/IV/Si 12
Bibliography: HG 4 no. 947 (translation); UAZP no. 90 (transliteration, translation); Stone & Owen 1991, 76-77 (transliteration, translation, with collations); Finkelstein 1965, 241-242 (comments).

Transliteration:

Obv.	1	1 1/3 sar é-dù-a
	2	da é ^{d}en-líl-gal-zu
	3	dumu *da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu*
	4	é lugal-ḫé-gál
	5	*ù* ^{d}nin-[urt]a-*e-mu-qá-a-a*
	6	dumu-me *é-a-i-din-n*[*am*]
	7	ki lugal-ḫé-gál
	8	*ù* ^{d}nin-urta-*e-mu*-[*qá-a-a*]
	9	^{p}*ma-an-nu-um-me-šu*-[*li-ṣur*]
	10	dumu *a-wi-li-i*[*a*-ke$_4$]
	11	in-ši-in-s[a$_{10}$]
	12	šám-ti[l-la-bi-šè]
	13	3 [gín kù-babbar]

take up the office), and 21ff discussing BRM 1 88 (dealing with the vacancy of a deceased *āšipu*'s sustenance field upon his death without heir).

[211] BE 6/2 64; Stone adoption p.89; BE 6/2,12; HG 4 no. 980; UAZP no. 104; cf. Finkelstein 1965, 241-242; Kraus, ARN, 63.

212 BE 6/2:038; Stone et al. 1991, 76 (also HG 4 no. 947; UAZP no. 90; cf. Finkelstein, AS 16,241). There is also a witness in common, Lu-Enlila, written with patronym in l.21 of BE 6/2 64: lú-^{d}en-líl-lá agrig dumu é-lú-ti. Against the identification of BE 6/2 38 as relating to the same property are two pieces of evidence. First, the property in BE 6/2 38 is described as é-dù-a rather than é-kislaḫ and the neighbor in BE 6/2 38 is Enlil-galzu rather than Ninurta-rā'im-zērim.

Lo.E. 14 in-na-a[n-lá]
Rev. 15 u_4-kúr-š[è lugal-ḫé-gál]
16 *ù* ^{d}[nin-urta-*e-mu-qá-a-a*]
17 1 1/3 sar é-[dù-a-šè]
18 inim nu-um-gá-gá-[a]
19 mu lugal-bi in-p[àd-dè-eš]
20 igi lú-^{d}en-líl-lá ag[rig]
21 igi *ib-ni-é-a* dumu *i*[*m-...*]
22 igi *a-wi-li-ia* bur-[gul]
23 igi *a-ta-a* dub-sar
24 iti šu-numun-a u_4-6-kam
25 mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal
26 kur gú si-a an-ga-àm
27 mu-da-bala-eš

Seal: lugal-ḫé-gál / *ù* ^{d}nin-urta-*e-mu*-[*qá-a-a*]

Translation:
(1) A 1 1/3 sar built-up house, (2-3) beside the house of Enlil-galzu son of Damiq-ilīšu, (4-6) the house of Lugal-ḫegal and Ninurta-emuqaja, the sons of Ea-iddin[am], (7-8) from Lugal-ḫegal and Ninurta-emu[qaja], (9-11) Mannum-mešu-[liṣṣur] son of Awīl[ija], [bou]ght, (12-14) [as its fu]ll price, he weigh[ed out] 3 [shekels of silver]. (15-19) In future, [Lugal-ḫegal and Ninurta-emuqaja] shall not make claim [concerning] the 1 1/3 *sar* [built-up] house, [(t)]he[(y)] swore by the king. (20) Before Lu-Enlila the steward, (21) before Ibni-Ea son of … (22) before Awīlija the seal-[cutter], (23) before Atâ the scribe. Month 4, day 6, Si 12.

Notes:
5, 8, seal: Stone & Owen 1991, 77 gives for this line: *ù* ^{d}nin-urta-*e-mu-qá-a*. This emends the PN as copied by Poebel which has a clear double /a/ at the end. As there is no indication that this emendation is the result of collation, and indeed their transliteration of l. 8 does not reflect the break in Poebel's copy, I follow Poebel's copy, and restore the PN accordingly in l. 8 and on the seal. The orthography with double /a/ is not odd (cf. DCS 1 97, tablet l. 9, case l. 2 (Maškan-šāpir(?), Samsu-iluna).
19: The plural verb, expected here given the two sellers, is not restored in Stone & Owen.

BE 6/2 64
Date: 20/II/Si 28
Bibliography: Stone & Owen 1991, 89-90 (transliteration and translation); BE 6/2 p.12 (transliteration), pp. 13-14 (comments); HG 4 no. 980 (translation); UAZP no. 104 (transliteration, translation); Finkelstein 1965, 241-242; ARN p. 63 (catalogue notes (Kraus)).

Obv. 1 1 1/3 sar é kislaḫ
2 da é ^{d}nin-urta-*ra-ḫi-im-ze-ri-im*
3 dumu ^{d}nin-urta-ma-an-sum
4 kù-ta-sa_{10} ki dumu-me *é-a-i-din-nam*-ta
5 ^{p}*ma-an-nu-um-me-šu-li-ṣur* dumu *a-wi-li-ia*-ke_4
6 kù-šè in-sa_{10}-a
7 ki ^{d}nin-urta-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* dumu *a-wi-li-ia*

8 ^{p}*i-din-iš$_8$-tár* dumu *ma-an-nu-um-me-šu-li-ṣur*
9 *ù na-ru-ub-tum* ama-ni-ta
10 ^{pd}nin-urta-*ra-ḫi-im-ze-ri-im*
11 dumu ^{d}nin-urta-ma-an-sum-ke$_4$
12 é ad-da-na in-du$_8$
Rev. 13 šám-til-la-bi-šè
14 6 ½ gín kù-babbar in-ne-en-lá
15 u$_4$-kúr-šè ^{d}nin-urta-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*
16 ^{p}*i-din-iš$_8$-tár* ^{p}*na-ru-ub-tum* ama-ni
17 *ù* ibila-ne-ne a-na-me-a-bi
18 1 1/3 sar é kislaḫ-bi-šè inim nu-gá-gá-a
19 mu lugal-bi in-pàd-dè-eš
20 igi *a-píl-ì-lí-šu* ugula é dingir-maḫ
21 igi lú-^{d}en-líl-lá agrig dumu é-lú-ti
22 igi ^{d}en-zu-*ma-gir* dumu ir$_{11}$-^{d}šeš-ki
23 igi ^{d}en-zu-*a-ḫu-um* dumu dumu-*er-ṣe-tim*
24 igi *i-di-šum* bur-gul
25 igi ^{d}en-líl-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* dub-sar
U.E. 26 iti gu$_4$-si-su u$_4$-20-kam
27 mu ús-sa *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e
28 *ia-di-ḫa-bu ù mu-ti-ḫu-ur-ša-na*
29 šíta ḫuš-a-na giš-ḫaš bí-in-ak-a

Seal: ^{d}nin-urta-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* / dumu *a-wi-li-ia* / *i-din-iš$_8$-tár* / dumu *ma-an-nu-um-me-šu-li-*[*ṣur*] / [*ù na-ru-ub-tum* ama-ni]

Translation:
(1) 1 1/3 sar vacant plot, (2) beside the house of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim son of Ninurta-mansum, (4-6) sold for silver, from the sons of Ea-iddinam, Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur son of Awīlija bought for silver, (7-9) from Ninurta-muballiṭ son of Awīlija, Iddin-Ištar son of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur and Narubtum his mother, (10-12) Ninurta-rā'im-zērim son of Ninurta-mansum redeemed his father's estate. (13-14) As its full price he weighed out 6 ½ shekels of silver. (15-19) In future Ninurta-muballiṭ, Iddin-Ištar, Narubtum his mother and their heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall not claim concerning the 1 1/3 sar vacant plot, they swore by the king. (20) Before Apil-ilīšu overseer of the temple Dingirmaḫ, (21) before Lu-Enlila the steward, son of Eluti, (22) before Sîn-māgir son of Ir-Nanna, (23) before Sîn-aḫum son of Mār-erṣetim, (24) before Idišum the seal-cutter, (25) before Enlil-muballiṭ the scribe. (26-29) Month 2, day 20, Si 28.

Notes:
Seal: Lines 1-2 of the legend rely on Stone & Owen; for ll. 3-4 see ARN p.63 (Kraus).

The earlier text, BE 6/2 38, was drafted as a standard sale. It matches the order and drafting structure of other contemporary sale contracts from the Nippur archives.[213] This is what we would expect given the terminology of the clause of penultimate transfer in the later redemption text, excerpted below :

[213] Cf. OECT 8 5, OECT 8 9, OECT 8 1, TIM 4 54, OECT 8 10.

kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki dumu-me *é-a-i-din-nam*-ta
^{m}*ma-an-nu-um-me-šu-li-ṣur* dumu *a-wi-li-ia*-ke$_4$
kù-šè in-sa$_{10}$-a

"purchased (property), which, from the sons of Ea-iddinam, Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur son of Awīliya bought for silver." (BE 6/2 64:4-6)

It is a text such as BE 6/2 38, which appears to describe the sale transaction immediately preceding the redemption, that leads us to describe the kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ clause in the redemption text as one of *penultimate* transfer. In principle, there could be multiple interim holders of redeemable assets. However, the redemption texts do not record every preceding transaction. In other words, they do not document a full chain of transmission. When drafting the redemption text, it is only considered necessary to go back one step in the chain of transmission.

Based on this sub-dossier, and the fact that "[i]n [BE 6/2 64] the same plot [as sold in BE 6/2 38] is "redeemed" from the more recent purchaser by a person who owns the neighbouring plot" Finkelstein commented: "[w]hat this case implies, therefore is that redemption privilege was not restricted to the time of first resale and perhaps not even to times when the plot in question came on the 'market.'"[214] Finkelstein's comments were made in light of the reference to a right to redeem upon resale in the laws of Ešnunna[215] that seemed not to apply here. The dossiers to be studied in this chapter show that this feature of redemption at Nippur at this time is not an isolated example. Conditions and custom were such that a final redemptive purchase could be made from interim buyers (1.11.3). In my view, an important part of these conditions, that seemed to show redemption as a flexible tool in Nippur, was the strength of the social networks. As already noted above, neither the sons of Ea-iddinam nor the family of Mannum-mešu-liṣṣur, as previous holders of Ninurta-rā'im-zērim's patrimonial property, were strangers to the redeemer.

[214] Finkelstein 1965, 242.
[215] LE MS A iii:25-27, MS B iii:10-11 (*šumma awīlum īnišma bīssu ana kaspim ittadin ūm šajjāmānum inaddinu bēl bītim ipaṭṭar*).

1.6 Redemption in the service of Nuska: Nuska-nīšu and Lu-Ešumeša

From what we can tell, the circle of priests serving the temple of Nuska was a small, tightknit group.[216] While it was not dominated exclusively by a single blood-family, the texts that have come down to us attest to transfers of Nuska prebends generally within a relatively close and connected circle.[217] How the cult of Nuska was maintained in the turbulent years of Samsu-iluna's reign, and within the same close circle of priests, is glimpsed in part through the dossier of Nuska-nīšu and the activity of his relative, Lu-Ešumeša. A reconstruction of this dossier has recently been made by Goddeeris.[218] In the discussion that follows in 1.6.2 I will draw on this wider overview of the dossier but focus on the two redemption texts that would have ended up in Nuska-nīšu's archive. These are PBS 8/2 138[219] (18/X/Si 28)[220] (with case, OIMA 1 30)[221] and TMH 10 53. TMH 10 53 (19/X/Si 28), has recently been published and will not be re-presented here[222] save for a translation for convenience. A third text, close in time to these redemptions, is OIMA 1 32 (-/XI/si 28). The text of OIMA 1 32 indicates it was a straightforward purchase but it is notable that both the redemption text of PBS 8/2 138 and OIMA 1 32 presented below have antecedents documenting the prior sale of the assets later redeemed or purchased and this will be relevant for our understanding of redemption practice.

1.6.1 Redemption texts and the text of OIMA 1 32

PBS 8/2 138 (tablet) + OIMA 1 30 (case)
Museum no.: CBS 7023
Bibliography: PBS 8/2, copy (plate 85), transliteration and translation (pp. 162-163); (copy); Stone 1976 (OIMA 1), catalogue description of no. 30 (p.4) with microfiche images.[223]
Date: 18/X/Si 28

Obv. 1 nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba é ^{d}nuska
2 mu-a iti-2-kam
3 kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki *ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am*
4 ^{p}*ri-im-iš$_8$-tár* dumu-me *mu-na-wi-ru*
5 *ù na-wi-ir-tum* ama-ne-ne
6 ^{p}lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$ dumu ^{d}utu-^{d}en-líl-lá
7 in-sa$_{10}$-a
8 ki lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$-ta

[216] Goddeeris 2016, 1:374.
[217] An exception being Attâ son of Narām-Sîn.
[218] Goddeeris 2016, 1:372-373.
[219] Chiera included this text among the select transliterations and translations provided in PBS 8/2 (pp. 162-163).
[220] Correct Goddeeris 2016 1:373 which dates the text to month nine.
[221] It has not been possible to view the microfiche image of this text. I rely on a provisional transliteration made by G. van Driel (courtesy Leiden Institute of Area Studies).
[222] Goddeeris 2016 no. 53 (now available in ARCHIBAB T23429 (A. Goddeeris)).
[223] No photos of the tablet are available on CDLI.

	9	^{pd}nuska-*ni-šu* dumu dingir-*šu-ib-bi-šu*-ke$_4$
	10	in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$
Rev.	11	šám-til-la-bi-šè
	12	4 ½ gín kù-babbar
	13	in-na-an-lá-*m*[*a*]
	14	gárza(PA.LUGAL) é ad-da-ni in-du$_8$
	15	u$_4$-kúr-šè ^{p}lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$-ke$_4$
	16	*ù* ibila-a-ni a-na-me-a-bi
	17	nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba é ^{d}nuska mu-a iti-2-kam-ma-šè
	18	inim nu-um-gá-gá-a
	19	mu lugal-bi in-pàd
	20	igi *li-pí-it-iš*$_8$*-tár* nu-èš ^{d}en-líl-lá
	21	igi *ì-lí-a-e-ni-iš* dumu *ap-lum*
	22	igi *a-wi-li-ia* bur-gul
	23	igi ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil* dub-sar
	24	iti ab-è u$_4$-18-kam
	25	mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal
	26	á-ág-gá ^{d}en-líl-lá-ka
Case		
Obv.	1	˹nam˺- lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba é [^{d}nuska]
	2	mu-a iti-2-[kam]
	3	kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki *ì-lí-e-ri*-[*ba-am ù* ^{p}*ri-im-iš*$_8$*-tár*]
	4	dumu-me *mu-na-wi-r*[*u*(-*um*)]
	5	*ù na-wi-ir-tum* ama-ne-[ne]
	6	^{p}lú-é-[šu]-me-ša$_4$ dumu ˹^{d}utu-^{d}˺[en-líl-lá]
	7	in-sa$_{10}$[-a]
	8	ki lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$-˹ta˺
	9	^{pd}nuska-*ni-šu* dumu ^{d}en-zu$^{!}$[…]
	10	in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$
	11	šám-til-la-bi-šè
	12	4 ½ gín kù-babbar
	13	in-na-an-lá-˹*ma*˺
	14	gárza(PA.LUGAL) é ad-da-ni
	15	in-[du$_8$]
Rev.	16	u$_4$-kúr-šè ^{p}lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$
	17	*ù* ibila-a-ni a-na-˹me˺-[a-bi]
	18	nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba é ^{d}nuska
	19	inim nu-um-gá-gá-a
	20	mu lugal-bi in-pàd
	21	igi *li-pí-it-iš*$_8$*-tár* nu-èš ^{d}en-[líl-lá]
	22	igi *ì-lí-a-e-ni-iš* dumu *ap*-[*lum*]
	23	igi *a-wi-li-ia* ˹bur-gul˺
	24	igi ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil* dub-sar
	25	iti ab-è u$_4$-18-kam
	26	mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e
	27	á-ág-gá ^{d}en-líl-lá-ka
Seal		lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$ / dumu ^{d}[ut]u-^{d}en-líl-˹lá˺

Translation (tablet):
(1-7) Two months per year of the lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba office of the temple of Nuska, purchased (property) which Lu-Ešumeša son of Utu-Enlila bought from Ilī-erībam, Rīm-Ištar, sons of Munawwirum and Nawirtum their mother: (8-14) Nuska-nīšu son of Ilšu-ibbišu bought from Lu-Ešumeša; as its full price he weighed out to him 4 ½ shekels of silver and redeemed the prebend of his paternal estate. (15-19) In future Lu-Ešumeša and his heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall not make a claim concerning the two-month per year office of the lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba of the temple of Nuska. He swore by the king. (20-26) Before Lipit-Ištar *nešakkum*-priest of Enlil, before Ilī-ajj-ēniš son of Aplum, before Awīlija the seal-cutter, before Ninurta-gāmil the scribe, month 10, day 18, Si 28.

The other redemption text belonging to this dossier is **TMH 10 53**, the translation of which is given below, based on the tablet and with slight modifications from that given in the first edition[224]:

(1-4) A 2 iku fallow field, in the new irrigation district, beside (the property of) Ilšu-ibbišu, his (Lu-Ešumeša's) brother, a field of Lu-Ešumeša son of Enlil-muballiṭ: (5-11) from Lu-Ešumeša, son of Enlil-muballiṭ, Nuska-nīšu son of Ilšu-ibbišu bought (the field), as its full price he weighed out 2 shekels of silver and (so) redeemed the field of his paternal estate. (12-16) In future Lu-Ešumeša and his heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall not make claim concerning the 2 iku fallow field, he swore by the king. (17-20) Before Lipit-Ištar the *nešakkum*-priest, before Ilī-ajj-ēniš, son of Aplum, before Awīlija the seal-cutter, before Ninurta-gāmil the scribe. (21-23) Month 10, day 19, Si 28.

Sealed by Lu-Ešumeša, son of Utu-Enlila

A third text deserves to be considered alongside these two redemption texts in the context of this dossier, given the overlap of parties, witnesses and also its closeness in time, dated in the month subsequent to the two redemption texts.

OIMA 1 32 (tablet)[225]
Museum no.: UM 29-16-214
Bibliography: Stone 1976 (OIMA 1), catalogue description of no. 32 (p.4) with microfiche images; CDLI images (P256788).
Date: -/XI/Si 28

Obv. 1 nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba é ^{d}nuska
2 mu-a iti-2-kam
3 bala-gub-ba *šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši*
4 ki-bi-gar-ra
5 ^{p}lú-é-˹šu˺-me-ša$_4$-ra
6 in-na-an-sum-ma-a
7 ki ˹lú˺-é-šu-me-ša$_4$-ta
8 ^{pd}nuska-*ni-šu* dumu dingir-*šu-ib*-[*bi-šu*(-ke$_4$)]
9 ˹in˺-ši-in-˹sa$_{10}$˺

[224] Also correct the translation of the scribe's name in Goddeeris 2016 (1:136). It is Ninurta-gāmil not Enlil-gāmil.
[225] Case variants or additions are noted in the critical notes to the tablet.

	10	[šá]m-til-la-bi-š[è]
	11	[…] 6 [(+x)] gín$^{?}$ [kù-babbar]
Rev.	1’	in-[…]
	2’	u_4-kúr-šè […]
	3’	*ù* ibila[-a-ni a-na-me-a-bi]
	4’	nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba ˹é˺ [^{d}nuska]
	5’	mu-a iti-[2-kam]
	6’	inim nu-gá-gá-[a]
	7’	mu lugal-bi in-˹pàd˺
	8’	igi kù-^{d}nin-IGI$^{?}$-[…]
	9’	igi *ì-lí-a-e-ni-iš* dumu *ap-lum*
	10’	igi ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil* dub-sar
	11’	iti zíz-a mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e
	12’	á-ág-gá ^{d}en-líl-lá-ka
Seal		lú-é-[šu-me-ša$_4$] / dumu ^{d}utu-[…]

Translation:
(1-11) Two months per year of the lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba office of the temple of Nuska, turn-on-duty of Šumum-libši, which he (Šumum-libši) gave (in) exchange to Lu-Ešumeša: Nuska-nīšu son of Ilšu-ib[bišu] bought from Lu-Ešumeša. [As] its full price, [he weighed out to him] 6 (+?) shekels [of silver] … (rev. 1’-7’) … In future [Lu-Ešumeša and his] heir(s), [whoever they may be,] shall not make a claim concerning the two-month per year office of the lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba of the temple [of Nuska]. He swore by the king. (rev. 8’-12’) Before Ku-…, before Ilī-ajj-ēniš son of Aplum, before Ninurta-gāmil the scribe, month 11, Si 28.

Notes:
General: The comparison with PBS 8/2 138 and TMH 10 53 might at first suggest that this closely dated text also documented a redemption, a possibility that seems to be left open by the break after the statement of full price on both tablet and case. However, the designation by Goddeeris as a simple purchase of two months-per-year of the nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba office in the temple of Nuska by Nuska-nīšu is correct.[226] While the IN-sign, the onset of the verb in question, could fit a verb of redemption or payment (in-du$_8$ or in-na-an-lá) the latter is preferred (see note on rev. 1’ below). On both tablet and case, only one verb follows the statement of price and precedes the opening of the quitclaim (u_4-kur-šè). By analogy with other redemption texts including the two in this dossier, in-na-an-lá would not be omitted and there is no space to restore é ad-da-ni before the verb on the case (rev. 11’) which would be expected before in-du$_8$.
4-6: These lines document that this office was previously given in exchange by Šumum-libši to the present seller Lu-Ešumeša. In this corpus, such a linking description of the penultimate transfer occurs mainly in redemptions and occasionally in inheritance inventories or exchange texts. Though this is not itself an exchange it is analogous to its use in exchange contexts. In fact, it bears close resemblance to an inheritance division.
Rev. 1’: On the case (see photos CDLI no. P256788), in addition to IN, the trace before the break should be the opening horizontal of NA.
Rev. 9’: Ilī-ajj-ēniš son of Aplum appears also as a witness in the two redemption texts dated within weeks of this one (TMH 10 53a (l. 18), 53b (l. 19); PBS 8/2 138 (l. 21), OIMA 1 30 (case) (l. 22)).
Rev. 12’: The case (rev. 9’-10’) adds: *ia-˹di˺-ḫa-bu-um ù mu*-[*ti-ḫu-ur-ša*(*-na*) šu-ni] bí-in-[du$_{11}$-ga].

[226] Goddeeris 2016, 1:373.

1.6.2 Commentary and synthesis

In Lu-Ešumeša, son of Utu-Enlila,[227] we meet a person who entered the crisis of Si 11 to Si 13 with enough means and opportunity to maintain his wider family network within the income-producing service of Nuska, and with enough subsistence property to weather some of the privations of those years. He used this strategic position to aid the circulation and transfer of prebends within his close circle. This circulation of assets, of swaps, exchanges and provisional transfers was helped in part by the possibilities of redemption.

Late in Si 11,[228] Šumum-libši, son of Ur-dukuga, transferred two sizeable Nuska prebends and a field[229] to Lu-Ešumeša. The prebends comprised two months of the nam-šabra prebend, and the nam-lú-nì-dab$_5$-ba prebend. In return, Šumum-libši received a 3 iku field, adjacent to his own property. Whether Šumum-libši was recovering a parcel of family property, or consolidating his family holding with the addition of an adjoining plot, Lu-Ešumeša was a trusted counterparty. Šumum-libši is described as a brother of Lu-Ešumeša, a matter to which we shall return for there were other family interests at play in the background. The property and assets being exchanged were not equivalent, and, at least ostensibly, the difference was made up by the balancing transfer of two shekels from Lu-Ešumeša.

Just five months later,[230] Lu-Ešumeša expanded his share of the nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba office when he acquired a further two months' worth of the roster for this office. In doing so, he had, in half a year, acquired four months per year of a senior position in the Nuska cult. The sellers in the second transaction were two brothers, Ilī-erībam and Rīm-Ištar, and they sold together with their mother, perhaps upon the death of the father of the household, Munawwirum. This was in the middle of the crisis in Si 12, and it would be easy, on the basis of these two transactions, to find in Lu-Ešumeša an opportunist expanding his portfolio amid difficult times.

However, later transactions allow us to view these two initial transactions in their broadest frame and illustrate Lu-Ešumeša's strategic position as a linchpin for his immediate circle. It appears that he used this position to hold these prebends for a relative. We know that the prebends transferred in both these transactions would later come into the hands of Nuska-nīšu, a relative of Lu-Ešumeša, by means of three transactions, one of which was explicitly a redemption. It would be a further sixteen years, in Si 28, before Nuska-nīšu was in a position to redeem, but Lu-Ešumeša's acquisition of the property in Si 12 brought it back within the close family circle. In the interim, Lu-Ešumeša took other steps to support and help Nuska-nīšu. In the following year (Si 13), in exchange for three prebends, including an eldership prebend (nam-bur-šu-ma) of five days per year in the Nuska temple, Lu-Ešumeša gave Nuska-

[227] On the possible background to the different patronym (Enlil-muballiṭ) in TMH 10 53, see Goddeeris 2016, 1:372 fn. 61, 373-374.
[228] 6/XI/Si 11.
[229] If the bala-gub-ba in l.5 of the obverse (case) of BE 6/2 37 is backward looking, and the preceding offices *and* the field in ll.2-4 comprise Šumum-libši's bala-gub-ba, it would indicate the connection here between prebendal offices and land.
[230] 5/IV/Si 12 (PBS VIII/2 135(=CBS 15219).

nīšu a specified share of the offices of temple overseer and doorkeeper.[231] The offices were granted in apparent equivalence.[232]

Late in Si 28, in month ten, the time came that must have been anticipated by Nuska-nīšu and Lu-Ešumeša. Nuska-nīšu had garnered enough capital to redeem and purchase, in a flurry of three closely-dated transactions, a two month nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba prebend in the Nuska temple, previously transferred in exchange from Šumum-libši (PBS 8/2 138), a two iku field in the "new irrigation district" (TMH 10 53), and, in the following month, to purchase a further two month share of the nam-lú-níg-dab$_5$-ba prebend in the Nuska temple (OIMA 1 32).

This group of texts cluster in Si 28 but in two of these three we possess the texts evidencing the earlier transactions (Table 1), much earlier in Si 11[233] and Si 12.[234] This puts into sharper focus the activity of Si 28 and would fit with the thesis that OIMA 1 32, though it is a purchase not containing a redemption clause, should be considered alongside PBS 8/2 138 and TMH 10 53, both of which were redemptions. The redemptions were carried out on consecutive days in month 10, and weeks later, in month 11, the purchase (OIMA 1 32) was completed. It is worth noting that the certain redemption of PBS 8/2 138 relates to exactly the same prebend and roster split in the temple of Nuska as the purchase of OIMA 1 32. Even if OIMA 1 32 was not itself a redemption, it was part of a closely-dated attempt by Nuska-nīšu to consolidate his share of this office in the Nuska temple, at least part of which he held as part of his paternal estate.

The transaction history of this file is such that we possess not only two redemption texts, but in two of these three transactions we have the tablet recording the penultimate transfer itself. This can be presented as follows:

Penultimate transfer	Text: PBS 8/2 135 Date: 5/IV/Si 12	No previous transfer (?)	Text: BE 6/2 37 (+ duplicate PBS 8/2 131) Date: 6/XI/Si 11
Final transaction	Text: PBS 8/2 138 Date: 18/X/Si 28 (Redemption)	Text: TMH 10 53 Date: 19/X/Si 28 (Redemption)	Text: OIMA I 32 Date: -/XI/Si 28 (Purchase)

Table 1: Nuska-nīšu's acquisitions in Si 28 and their antecedents

A number of observations emerge from this transaction pattern. First, the redemptions and the purchase cluster together within a two month period late in Samsu-iluna's 28th year. The tablets evidencing the redemptions were written on consecutive days. Given the significant elapse of time since the penultimate transfer, and the even earlier

[231] TMH 10 66. The exact number of days of each prebend transferred by Lu-ešumeša is not preserved on the tablet.
[232] Sum.: garza garza-gin$_7$-nam (l.10).
[233] BE 6/2 37 (+ duplicate PBS 8/2 131) (6/XI/Si 11) is the antecedent to OIMA 1 32.
[234] PBS 8/2 135 (5/IV/Si 12) is the antecedent to PBS 8/2 138.

divestment of assets from Nuska-nīšu's family estate,[235] this clustered redemption is hardly a coincidence. It speaks for an intentional recovery of assets made possible at a certain moment in time. It may simply be that Nuska-nīšu had obtained enough capital at this point to redeem in relatively quick succession the family property subject to a right of redemption. However, it can be compared to the clustering of redemption in the small dossier of Ilī-sukkal, who redeems land in three transactions in close succession in Samsu-iluna 11.[236] This may suggest that factors beyond an individual's capital position were at work to encourage redemption of multiple assets 'in one go'. One more remote possibility is that it was made possible by the coming into force of a recently issued edict with application to prebendal property previously sold or transferred. Indeed we know that a *mīšarum* edict was issued in Si 28. This possibility is discussed further in 1.13.

In addition to the clustered nature of the texts in Si 28, the dossier of Nuska-nīšu adds to the evidence of penultimate transfer already seen from the Ninurta-rā'im-zērim dossier. The redemption text of PBS 8/2 138 (tablet) (+ case OIMA 1 30) contains a pre-history of the property being redeemed. It records the details of the transfer preceding the present redemption. Lines 3-7 of PBS 8/2 138 read:

3 kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki *ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am*
4 ^{p}*ri-im-iš$_{8}$-tár* dumu-me *mu-na-wi-ru*
5 *ù na-wi-ir-tum* ama-ne-ne
6 ^{p}lú-é-šu-me-ša$_{4}$ dumu ^{d}utu-^{d}en-líl-lá
7 in-sa$_{10}$-a

"Purchased (property), which Lu-Ešumeša son of Utu-Enlila purchased from Ilī-erībam, Rīm-Ištar, sons of Munawwirum, and Nawirtum their mother."

A similar clause appears in the text of OIMA 1 32:4-6, though not apparently a redemption. Lines 3-6 of OIMA 1 32 read as follows:

3 bala-gub-ba *šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši*
4 ki-bi-gar-ra
5 ^{p}lú-é-šu-me-ša$_{4}$-ra
6 in-na-an-sum-ma-a

"Turn-on-duty of Šumum-libši, which he (Šumum-libši) gave (in) exchange to Lu-Ešumeša."

Here the previous transfer was not a sale but an exchange, hence ki-bi-gar-ra is the appropriate description in line 4, and sum "give" the appropriate verbal form in line 6. But this subordinate clause comprising lines 4-6 is analagous to the clause in PBS 8/2 138 and elsewhere beginning with ku-ta-sa$_{10}$. It looks to be the same kind of linking description appearing in redemption texts and describing the penultimate transfer of

[235] ARN 126 is a good candidate for the original divestment of at least a portion of the lú-níg-dab$_{5}$-ba office by the father of Nuska-nīšu, Ilšu-ibbišu, although the tablet is broken where the office is designated, and the date is lost.
[236] ARN 92 (28/VIII/Si 11), ARN 95 (1/IX/Si 11), ARN 97 (Si 11). Given the dates of ARN 92 and 95 it is reasonable to suppose that the redemption transaction of ARN 97 also happened late in that year.

that property – whether it be by exchange in this case, or more commonly by sale. Its use here can be explained in one of two ways. Either it is a reflex of the fact that there was an exchange in the transaction history, a kind of transaction which could trigger the writing of a penultimate transfer clause in Nippur at this time,[237] or OIMA 1 32 was a redemption in substance, containing a clause of penultimate transfer but exceptionally not a redemption clause. I adopt here the former view while recognizing that it cannot be ruled out that it was in substance a redemption.

We should also note from Nuska-nīšu's dossier that one of the redemption texts, TMH 10 53, does not have a penultimate transfer clause. In this text, Nuska-nīšu son of Ilšu-ibbišu redeems 2 iku of fallow field from Lu-Ešumeša, adjacent to the field of Ilšu-ibbišu, for the modest amount of 2 shekels of silver. Prior to the purchase and redemption formulae, there is only a conventional description of the property and its existing owner (ll. 1-4): "2 iku of fallow field in the new irrigation district, adjacent to (the field) of Ilšu-ibbišu his (i.e. Lu-Ešumeša's) brother, a field of Lu-Ešumeša son of Enlil-muballiṭ."

How can the absence of a description of penultimate transfer be explained? Scribal preference or idiosyncrasy cannot account for this. The three texts of Si 28 in this dossier share the same scribe Ninurta-gāmil,[238] and given the close dating of the three texts it would be a surprising omission.[239] The simplest explanation is that in TMH 10 53 there was no penultimate transfer to document. The property in TMH 10 53 is described as belonging to Lu-Ešumeša and there may have been no other interim holders of the property. The absence of any need to do so may also reflect a close family relationship shared with Lu-Ešumeša. He is described in TMH 10 53 as the brother of the neighbor Ilšu-ibbišu, the same name as the redeemer's father. It may be then that Lu-Ešumeša was the uncle of Nuska-nīšu. In that case, the property had not been transferred far within the family circle, perhaps it was not even documented, hence the absence of an antecedent text to TMH 10 53,[240] and so no clause of penultimate transfer was necessary.[241]

1.7 The file of Bēltani, *nadītum* of Ninurta, daughter of Warad-Sîn

The file of Bēltani, a *nadītum* of Ninurta and daughter of Warad-Sîn, though small, comprising only three transactions, includes a redemption.[242] The texts are as follows:

[237] PBS 8/2 182:8-9 with TMH 10 65:7-8; TMH 10 68:7-9.
[238] Also the same bur-gul, Awīlija.
[239] The consistency of Ninurta-gāmil's writing of these texts can be seen e.g. in his predeliction for enclitic *ma* immediately following in-na-an-lá and co-ordinating the subsequent verb of redemption (PBS 8/2 138:13 (case: OIMA 1 30:13), TMH 10 53a:10 (tablet) (not on case TMH 10 53b).
[240] Given the dispersed and reconstructed nature of the dossier, this is not, of course, evidence.
[241] The lack of prosopographical information for Ilī-sukkal makes it impossible to tell the relationship he had to the person from whom he redeemed in ARN 92, 95, 97.
[242] The texts are: BE 6/2 31 (1/VII/Si 11), ARN 117 (date lost; case = OIMA 1 46), and ARN 100. Other than the link with Luštamar's family, and the other named *nadītum* women, it is difficult to establish strong connections between the parties in Bēltani's circle. Sîn-imguranni and Enlil-abī, who bought Bēltani's field later subject to redemption, and then sold it on to Luštamar's family later, do not to my knowledge appear elsewhere in the Nippur records.

Text	Date	Description
BE 6/2 31	1/VII/Si 11	Purchase of field by Bēltani from Niši-inišu *nadītum* of Ninurta; field adjoining that of Luštamar the carpenter
ARN 117 (T); OIMA 1 46 (C)	Not preserved	Redemption of a field by Bēltani from Luštamar's wife, and son, Nanna-mansum
ARN 100	26/I/Si 16	Adoption by Bēltani[243] (and a second *nadītum* of Ninurta) of Ninurta-mušallim daughter of Nanna-mansum

Despite the size of the file, the circle of persons connected to Bēltani and the transaction history supports the idea that redemption, at least at the end of the redemption cycle, involved trusted or connected parties, even if they were not relatives.

On the 1st day of the 7th month Si 11, Bēltani purchased a field from Niši-inišu, daughter of Nūr-Kabta, for 6 shekels of silver [+?] (BE 6/2 31). That piece of purchased property adjoined the property of Luštamar, a carpenter,[244] and we can suppose a strong connection between Bēltani and Luštamar's family. Separately, Luštamar's family acquired a (different) adjacent piece of land that was subsequently redeemed by Bēltani. This redemption text is ARN 117 (case: OIMA 1 46). A transliteration and translation of the tablet reads as follows:

ARN 117 (=Ni 346) (case: OIMA 1 46)
Date: not preserved
Bibliography: ARN (copy, plate 50, notes p.7).

Obv. 1' sag-bi ˹2˺ kam íd x x […]
2' ús-a-du *lu-uš-ta-mar* [(…)]
3' dumu ^{d}nin-urta-*ga-mil*
4' *ù* ^{d}nin-šubur-igi-du dumu x x […]
5' kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki ^{d}en-zu-*im-gur-r*[*a-an-ni*]
6' *ù* ^{d}en-líl-*a-bi* šeš-a-n[i]
7' a-šà ^{d}šeš-ki-ma-an-sum
8' dumu *lu-uš-ta-mar*
9' ki ^{d}šeš-ki-ma-an-sum
10' *ù ša-at-iš$_{8}$-tár* ama-a-ni-ta
11' ^{p}*be-el-ta-ni* lukur ^{d}nin-urta x […]
12' dumu ìr-^{d}en-zu-ke$_{4}$
13' a-šà é ad-da-na in-du$_{8}$
Rev. 14' šám-til-la-bi-[šè]
15' 2 gín kù-babbar in-na-an-[lá]
16' u$_{4}$-kúr-šè ˹lu-luˀ-ra
Only traces of c. 11 lines preserved on left edge of reverse
Seal: ^{d}šeš-ki-ma-an-sum / [dum]u *lu-uš-ta-mar*

[244] BE 6/2 31, l. 3.

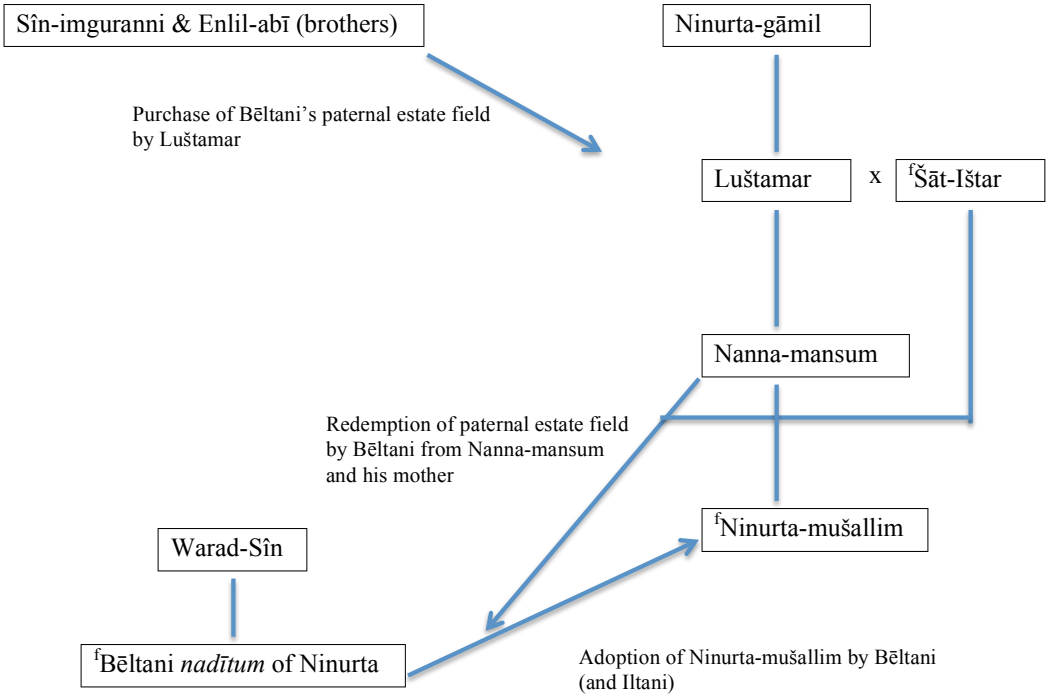
Translation:
[...] (1'-4') its second side the watercourse …, beside (the property of) Luštama[r] … son of Ninurta-gāmil and Nin-šubur-igidu son of …, (5'-8') purchased (property) (which Nanna-mansum bought) from Sîn-imguranni and Enlil-abī his brother, the field of Nanna-mansum son of Luštamar: (9'-17') from Nanna-mansum and Šāt-Ištar his mother, Bēltani *nadītum* of Ninurta, child of Warad-Sîn, redeemed the field of her paternal estate, [as] its full price she weighed out 2 [+?] shekels of silver, in future one [shall not raise a claim against] the other (18'-28') […].

Notes:
15': although the beginning of this line is damaged leaving space for another wedge, the amount of two shekels is clear on the case (OIMA 1 46, l. 3').

This text supports the idea that Luštamar and his family were connected to Bēltani. Here, we learn that the field, which throughout this time bordered on Luštamar's property, was purchased by Luštamar's family. It was bought from Sîn-imguranni and Enlil-abī by Nanna-mansum, Luštamar's son. It may be that Luštamar was already dead by this point. Bēltani later redeemed the field from this same Nanna-mansum, and his mother Šāt-Ištar (Luštamar's wife). Nanna-mansum is the person named in l. 7' as the existing owner at the time of the redemption for two shekels.[245] Five years after her purchase of the field from Niši-nišu, early in Si 16 (26/I/Si 16), Bēltani "adopted" (together with Iltani, another *nadītum* of Ninurta) two women, one of whom was Ninurta-mušallim, daughter of Nanna-mansum. I consider this Ninurta-mušallim was the granddaughter of Luštamar the carpenter. Her father is the very same Nanna-mansum, son of Luštamar. The precise nature of the connections between Bēltani and the family of Luštamar cannot be pinned down with certainty but as Fig. 4 illustrates, the links existed and emerged in the neighbouring property holdings, in an adoption and in the redemption of property by Bēltani. It further supports the idea, short of concrete prosopography proving family connections, that established trusted networks undergirded the practice of redemption at Nippur.

[245] Based on the case (OIMA 1 46, l. 3').

Figure 4: Connections in the Bēltani dossier



1.8 Redemption by Lamassum, *nadītum* of Ninurta and the adoption of Šāt-Šamaš

Since the publication of BE 6/2 45, a redemption text in which a certain Lamassum, *nadītum* of Ninurta and daughter of Enlil-mansum, redeems a field, it has been logical to assign this text to Lamassum's dossier. However, the recent publication of TMH 10 and Goddeeris' fresh study of these texts have added important elements to the picture.[246] First, TMH 10 52 (Si 13) records the original sale of the field that is ultimately redeemed in BE 6/2 45. This is precious given that it records property (later subject to redemption) leaving the estate of Lamassum.[247] Secondly, the text of TMH 10 8 (1/II/Si 15) shows that the redemption text of BE 6/2 45 did not stay in Lamassum's archive for long. One year after the redemption, we find Lamassum has adopted Šāt-Šamaš, wife of Ilī-erībam. In this adoption transaction, she gives two houses and two fields to her adopted daughter. One of these fields can be identified as the one redeemed one year earlier by Lamassum in BE 6/2 45. It is described in the adoption text TMH 10 8:7-8 (cf. BE 6/2 45:1-3) as follows:

5 iku a-šà ^{d}nin-unug *ù* an-za-gàr / ús-a-du ^{d}en-líl-*na-da*
"5 iku in the (irrigation) district of Ninunug and the tower, beside (the property of) Enlil-nādā"

The journey of this property, and the title deeds handed over at this adoption, must then take into account the text of ARN 101.[248] There, seven years after the adoption of Šāt-Šamaš, in Si 22, we find Šamaš-liwwir, the brother of Lamassum claiming the paternal estate from Ṭāb-ṣillašu (*ana bīt abišu itti*(ki) *Ṭ-ṣ. irgum*, ll. 9-11). This property, though not itemised, must have included the property earlier redeemed. The claim is made against Ṭāb-ṣillašu, the son of Šāt-Šamaš, the woman adopted by Lamassum. In return, it appears that Šamaš-liwwir must reimburse Ṭāb-ṣillašu for the sustenance payments that the latter has had to pay for Lamassum since the adoption.[249] This understanding of ARN 101 is further clarified by the recently published TMH 10 105. TMH 10 105 is a large text recording in the first person expenses incurred by Ṭāb-ṣillašu (or Ilī-erībam) for the sustenance of Lamassum. After referencing the earlier adoption, it gives a summary of the expenses incurred for Lamassum's sustenance. Returning to the reason behind the adoption, and the weakness of Lamassum's position, Goddeeris summarises the history as follows: "[TMH 10 105] indirectly informs us about the reasons of the adoption. Apparently, Lamassum's brothers were not able to provide for their sister during the economic crisis. When the tide has turned in Nippur, the financial situation of the family looks more prosperous, and they are able to redeem their family properties by paying back all the expenses made by the family of the adopted daughter."[250] In substance, when taking ARN 101 together with TMH 10 105, it is possible to consider the recovery of property by the brothers of Lamassum as redemptive. This can be argued particularly given the status of the claimed property in ARN 101 as patrimonial property (ARN

[246] Goddeeris 2016, 1: 367-368.
[247] Together with her then co-seller, Suḫḫuntum daughter of Namram-šarur.
[248] See Kraus 1951, 85.
[249] On the meaning of ll. 11-12 see AHw 1529a s.v. *zinnātu*(*m*) "Versorgung, Ausstattung." Cf. CAD Z s.v. *zanānu* B, p.44b.
[250] Goddeeris 2016, 1:368.

101:9-10), the repayment or compensation of expenses incurred by providing for Lamassum and documented in TMH 10 105 form the condition of such redemptive action even if it did not require separate documentation outside of the legal decision (ARN 101) and fulfilment of the conditions stipulated there for meeting the expenses itemised in TMH 10 105.

Following the payment of these expenses, Goddeeris supposes that the title deeds including that of the redemption, BE 6/2 45, would then have returned to the estate of Lamassum's family, probably ending up in the archive of Inbi-ilišu the nephew of Lamassum and son of Šamaš-liwwir.[251] In light of this reconstruction, discussed by Goddeeris, and the circuitous route that the title deed of BE 6/2 45 took, I present that redemption text itself in transliteration and translation before discussing the light it can shed on redemption practice.

BE 6/2 45
Date: -/XII/Si 14
Bibliography: BE 6/2 45 (copy, plate 27; transliteration and translation pp. 11-12); HG no. 978 (translation); Goddeeris 2016 1:368 (referenced in discussion of dossier).

Obv.	1	5 ˹iku˺ a-šà número-še
	2	šà a-šà ^{d}nin-unug
	3	ús-a-du ^{d}en-líl-*na-da*
	4	kù-ta-sa$_{10}$-a ki *la-ma-súm* ˹lukur˺ [^{d}]nin-urta
	5	dumu ^{d}en-líl-ma-an-sum
	6	*ù su-ḫu-un-tum* lukur ^{d}nin-urta
	7	dumu *nam-ra-am-ša-ru-ur*
	8	a-šà *be-el-ta-ni* lukur ^{d}nin-urta
	9	dumu ^{d}˹en˺-líl-gal-zu
	10	ki *be-el-ta-ni* lukur ^{d}nin-urta-ta
	11	^{p}*la-ma-súm* lukur ^{d}nin-urta dumu ^{d}en-líl-ma-an-sum (case adds: ke$_4$)
	12	a-šà é-ad-da-ni in-du$_8$
	13	7 gín kù-babbar in-na-an-lá
Rev.	14	u$_4$-kúr-šè ^{p}*be-el-ta-ni*
	15	*ù* ibila-ni a-na-me-a-bi
	16	5 iku a-šà ^{d}nin-unug-šè
	17	inim nu-um-gá-gá-a
	18	mu lugal-bi in-pàd
	19	igi ^{d}en-zu-*i-qí-ša-am*
	20	dumu *nu-úr*-^{d}kab-ta
	21	igi *ì-lí-na-ap*$^{?}$*-li*$^{?}$*-sa-am*
	22	dumu *da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu*
	23	igi *la-ma-súm* lukur ^{d}nin-urta dumu *íp-qú-a-a*
	24	igi *ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am* bur-gul
	25	igi *i-din-iš*$_8$*-tár* dub-sar
	26	iti še-kin-kud mu *ša-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal
U.E.	27	lugal im-gi$_4$ gú-bar-ra
	28	lú ki-uri-ke$_4$ íb-ta-bal-bal- / e-eš-a

[251] Goddeeris 2016, 1:367, with Fig. 3 giving the genealogy of Šāt-Šamaš.

Seal *be-el-ta-ni* / lukur ^{d}nin-urta / dumu ^{d}en-líl-gal-zu

Translation:
(1-3) 5 iku field in stubble in the Ninunug (irrigation) district, beside (the property of) Enlil-nādā (4-7) which was purchased (by Bēltani) from Lamassum *nadītum* of Ninurta, daughter (text: dumu) of Enlil-mansum and Suḫḫuntum *nadītum* of Ninurta, daughter (text: dumu) of Namram-šarur, (8-9) field of Bēltani *nadītum* of Ninurta, daughter (text: dumu) of Enlil-galzu: (10-13) from Bēltani *nadītum* of Ninurta, Lamassum *nadītum* of Ninurta, child (text: dumu) of Enlil-mansum, redeemed the field of her father's estate, she weighed out to her 7 shekels of silver. (14-18) In future, Bēltani or her heir(s), whoever (t)he(y) may be, shall not claim concerning the 5 iku Ninunug field. She swore by the king. (19-28) Before Sîn-iqīšam son of Nūr-Kabta, before Ilī-*naplisam* son of Damiq-ilīšu, before Lamassum nadītum of Ninurta, daughter of Ipquja before Ilī-erībam the seal cutter, before Iddin-Ištar the scribe, month 12, Si 14.

Notes:
23: On the value *íp* (TUM) in this context cf. CUSAS 36 203:2 (^{p}*íp-qá-tum*), note also AUCT 4 91:4, 10.

The original sale of this property is documented in TMH 10 52 (20/XI/Si 13) and matches the description of the previous transfer recounted in BE 6/2 45:4-7. In the original sale, Lamassum daughter of Enlil-mansum sold jointly with Suḫḫuntum *nadītum* of Ninurta, daughter of Namram-šarur, who ought to be a close relative.[252] Bēltani holds the property only for a short time, until the end of the following year, Si 14, when Lamassum (on her own) redeems the field. As already mentioned, this is then passed on by Lamassum quickly, as part of the adoption in the 2nd month of Si 15. In addition to the history of this dossier recently reconstructed by Goddeeris and summarised above, we can note the presence of a previous transfer clause (ll. 4-7). Given it has only passed into Bēltani's hands in the meantime, there is no question of other interim transfers. The clause itself is poorly executed, and does not make explicit that the previous purchase was made by Bēltani. This fact can, however, be gleaned from lines 8-9, where she is named as the existing holder of the property. The presence of the clause joins the significant evidence that redemption, with few exceptions in the archives of OB Nippur, involved a scribal convention in which importance was attached to the immediate history of the property, namely the previous transfer.

A second observation can be made from this case of redemption. It is clear that a number of the parties involved are *nadītum* women serving the cult of Ninurta. This is true of the two sellers of this field, the interim buyer, and the subsequent redeemer. Given the likelihood that the two sellers were themselves related, there may be extended family interests that overlap with the cultic affiliation to Ninurta. Nevertheless, the identity of these women as part of this *nadītum* community appears to have provided a layer of trust and social connection in which a transfer of family property to and later from another *nadītum* could be safely and effectively achieved.

[252] On this Suḫḫuntum see Kraus 1951, 125-126. Goddeeris notes that a Lamassatum is qualified as the sister of Namram-šarur in TMH 10 48 (RS 45).

1.9 Damu-iddinam, redemption and the wider Ninlil-zigu family

Damu-iddinam belonged to a large interlocking family network, that of the Ninlil-zigu family.[253] The fortunes of the Ninlil-zigu family, spanning six generations, can be traced through the activities of three major branches of the family, named after three of the sons of Ninlil-zigu: Abba-kala, Imšiši, and Lu-dingira.[254] The family network was deeply embedded in the temple circles of Nippur. Damu-iddinam belonged to the Abba-kala branch of the family. His file, though small, shows important contact between other branches of the family and, most of all, provides evidence of the importance of kinship in safeguarding the right and use of redemption.

When we first meet Damu-iddinam, the "brewer", in our sources, he is buying a temple office from Ubajatum son of Bēlanum in Si 11.[255] By the middle of the next year, already before the death of their father, Enlil-dingir, Damu-iddinam and his brothers are managing the inheritance shares.[256] Damu-iddinam received his quarter-share of the 'Palace Field' from another brother, Enlil-nīšu. This portion of the field adjoins that of his other brother Ina-Ekur-rabi. Close in time, also in the 7th month of Si 12, Damu-iddinam purchased land in a different field from this brother, Ina-Ekur-rabi.[257] Just four months after that, still in Si 12, Damu-iddinam bought another field, this time from Utta'ulu-meša, son of Mugu-ipad, a seller apparently outside the family circle this time.[258] It is hard to discern the circumstances of this year-long flurry of acquisitions by Damu-iddinam but, although partially broken, a fourth text in the Damu-iddinam file, whose date is unfortunately lost, shows Damu-iddinam apparently redeeming a piece of land in an irrigation district. Although only the obverse bears legible text, the extant text shows a transaction that shines a light across two branches of the wider Ninlil-zigu family. Based on collation from the photograph it reads as follows:

OIMA 1 48
Date: not preserved
Bibliography: OIMA 1 (catalogue entry and description, p. 5, with microfiche image); Goddeeris 2016 1:352 (description); photos, CDLI: P262054.

Obv. 1' [x] iku a-šà x x
2' ˹a˺-šà a-gàr-a
3' [ús-]a-du *ri-im-iš$_8$-tár*
4' dumu *im-gur*-^{d}en$^{?}$-zu$^{?}$

[253] Prior to 2016, previous study of the family archives included Kraus 1951, 149–56, Stone 1987, 41–53, and van Driel 2002, 565–70. In light of newly published texts from the Hilprecht Sammlung collection in Jena, Goddeeris has made important advances in our understanding of the Ninlil-zigu family and the activities of the different branches (Goddeeris 2016, 1:346–54).
[254] For the most up-to-date family tree, see Goddeeris 2016, 1:348.
[255] OIMA 1 19 (XII/Si 11).
[256] TMH 10 25 (3/VII/Si 12). Goddeeris believes this must be taking place while Enlil-dingir is still alive because the division of the inheritance doesn't take place until the following year (BE 6/2 43) (Goddeeris 2016, 1:98).
[257] OIMA 1 22.
[258] OIMA 1 23 (XI/Si 12).

5’ [kù]-ta-sa$_{10}$ ^{d}nin-líl-z[i-gu$_{10}$]
6’ dumu ^{d}da-mu-a-zu$^{!}$ x [x]
7’ *sí-ia-tum* dumu *a-wi-*[*il-*…]
8’ in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$[-a]
9’ a-šà *ni-in-nu-tum* ˹*ù nu-úr-*^{d}utu˺
10’ dumu-me *a-ḫi-ša-gi*$_4$*-iš*
11’ ki *ni-in-nu-tum* x x x
12’ ^{pd}da-mu-*i-din-nam* dumu ^{d}en-[líl-dingir]
13’ in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$ x […]

Translation:
$^{(1'-4')}$ [x] iku of field … field in the *irrigation district*, beside (the property of) Rīm-Ištar son of Imgur-Sîn, $^{(5'-8')}$ purchased property which Sîjatum son of Awīl-… bought from Ninlil-zigu son of Damu-azu, $^{(9'-10')}$ a field of Ninnutum and Nūr-Šamaš sons of Aḫī-šagiš: $^{(11'-13')}$ from Ninnutum … Damu-iddinam son of En[lil-dingir] bought …

The reasons for treating the text as a redemption transaction will become clear in the analysis of scribal markers in [1.11.3], but our interest here is the journey that the property took across two branches of the family. If the patronym of Ninlil-zigu is correctly deciphered (ll. 5’-6’), the transaction history recorded in OIMA 1 48 shows that the property, a field, was sold by Ninlil-zigu son of Damu-azu, a great-grandson of the elder Ninlil-zigu. In keeping with scribal descriptions of previous transfer, Sijatum son of Awīl-… appears as an earlier buyer from Ninlil-zigu. This Sijatum belonged to a different branch of the wider family, the Imšiši branch. The property was then transferred by sale across family branches but still within the wider family network. Line 9’ records that the property, since its entrance into the Imšiši branch, had passed into the hands of the sons of Aḫī-šagiš, Ninnutum and Nūr-Šamaš.[259] It is from these brothers that Damu-iddinam redeems the field and, in doing so, brings it back within the Abba-kala branch of the family. The elapse of time between the first transaction recorded in OIMA 1 48 and the redemption itself cannot be ascertained, but it shows that the ‘right’ to redeem was somehow kept within the same branch of the family while the property itself moved to a different branch. Supported by the large-scale reconstruction of the Ninlil-zigu family, the fragmentary text of OIMA 1 48, assuming it is correctly identified as a redemption text, would therefore show the versatility of the right of redemption. The passing of the property through different hands within a large family network, and the passing of the ‘right’ to redeem down several generations, shows the possibility and benefit of holding it within a trusted, in this case, family network.

1.10 The dossier of Ipqu-Ištar son of Namram-šarur

The small dossier of Ipqu-Ištar son of Namram-šarur, described by Kraus 1949, 125-126, comprises ARN 84, 85, 93, 94, and 99. One of these texts, ARN 93B evidences a redemption transaction, and it is possible that another fragmentary text, ARN 94B relates to the property that was redeemed. The texts in this small dossier have some peculiarities already noted by Kraus. He observed that these documents are not

[259] Uncertainty about the full patronym of Sijatum means it is hard to pinpoint his connection to Aḫī-šagiš, one of the four sons of Nanna-zigu.

original documents but copies (1949, 125). All of the texts apart from ARN 99 contain the contents of more than one underlying contract. Kraus distinguished these from the scholastic *Sammelurkunden*[260] based on the smaller size of these texts, bearing only two or three contracts, and the omission of certain completion clauses, abridging of some provisions and occasionally omitting the witness lists (Kraus 1949, 125). Instead they belonged to Ipqu-Ištar's private archive who made copies of his contracts. The sub-labels of the relevant texts reflect the underlying contract being summarised in the text (ARN 84A, 84B, 84C etc.). The contents of the dossier can be summarised as follows[261]:

Text	Description	Date
ARN 93A (rev.)	Text broken, only final two witnesses and date preserved	-/VIII/Si 11
ARN 93B (obv.)	Redemptive purchase by Ipqu-Ištar from Ilum-damiq of a field following an earlier exchange	-/-/-
ARN 94A (rev. 1'-2')	Broken	-/-/Si 11
ARN 94B (rev. 3'-obv.)	Exchange of a 2 iku field in the giš-gi-.[…] (probably giš-gi-[maḫ] (irrigation district)) against a neighbouring [house?] of 1/3 sar + 6? (shekels) surface area	-/VIII/Si 11
ARN 84A (obv.1-8)	Purchase of a field of 1 4/5 iku field of Iddin-Ištar[262]	-/-/Si 7
ARN 84B (obv. 9-rev. 5)	Exchange of a field of 1 ½ iku against a 1 4/5 iku field of Ipquša son of Šerum-bāni (no completion clause)	-/II/Si 11
ARN 84C (rev. 6-13) = ARN 85B (rev.)[263]	Purchase of a 9 iku field (a-šà bàn-da) for 8 shekels of silver.	2/XI/Si 13
ARN 99	Badly broken; appears to record two loans each ½ shekel of silver, apparently owed to Ipqu-Ištar[264]	-/X/Si 13

The text of ARN 93, based on the copy, is presented as follows:

ARN 93
Museum no.: Ni 9252
Provenance: Nippur
Date: ARN 93A = -/VIII/Si 11
Bibliography: ARN (catalogue description, p.99; copy (plate 39)); Kraus 1949 (JCS 3), 125-126.

[260] Described by Kraus 1949, 125 as "Kontrakt-sammeltafeln".
[261] There is a discrepancy between the identification in Kraus 1949 of obverse and reverse of
[262] Further described in line 4: ku-ta-sa$_{10}$-šè ˹*na*$^{?}$˺-[…].
[263] Already Kraus 1949, 126.
[264] Lines 7-8: ˹ugu˺ x x x / $^{\text{p}}$*ip-qu-iš*$_8$-˹*tár*˺.

Obv. 1 ˹2+?˺ iku a-šà número-še […]
2 šà a-šà giš-gi-m[aḫ]
3 ús-a-du *a-pil*-^{d}ka[b-ta …]
4 a-šà ki-ba-gar-ra mu na[m …]
5 a-šà dingir-*da-mi-iq* dumu x[…]
6 ki dingir-*da-mi-i*[*q* …]
7 ^{p}*ip-qu-iš$_{8}$-tár* dumu *nam-ra*-[*am-ša-ru-ur*]
8 a-šà é ad-da-na
9 šám-til-la-[bi-šè]
10 5 gín kù-babbar [(…)]
11 [i]n-˹na$^{?}$˺-˹an˺-d[u$_{8}$$^{?}$]
Remainder of obverse lost
Beginning of reverse lost
Rev. 1’ […x …]
2’ igi *i-di-šum* bur-gul x[…]
3’ igi *da-mi-iq-ì-lí-š*[*u* dub-sar]
4’ iti giš-apin-du$_{8}$-a u[d$^{!}$ …]
5’ mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* [lugal-e]
6’ dug$_{4}$-ga an ^{d}en-líl […]
7’ bàd šeš-unug^{ki} ù unug[^{ki}-ga]
8’ ugnim ki-uri a-rá […]
9’ ^{giš}tukul-ta in-sìg[-ga]

Translation:
$^{(1-5)}$ 2 iku grass field […] in the gišgimaḫ irrigation district, beside (the property of) Apil-Ka[bta …], a field (given in) exchange (for) an off[ice of …?], a field of Ilum-damiq son of .[…], $^{(6-11)}$ from Ilum-dami[q …], Ipqu-Ištar son of Namr[am-šarur] *redeemed* (?) the field of his father’s estate, [as its] full price [he weighed out] 5 shekels of silver … $^{(rev.\ 1’-9’)}$ … before Idišum the seal cutter .[…], before Damiq-iliš[u the scribe], month 8, Si 11.

Notes:
General: the tablet is unsealed, and according to Kraus bears the contents of two contracts (ARN p.99 with Kraus 1949, 125). In Kraus’ labelling, ARN 93A corresponds to the text on the reverse, the contents of which are broken apart from the names of the seal-cutter and scribe and the date. ARN 93B corresponds to the text of the obverse, namely the documenting of the redemption. The catalogue description in ARN does not estimate how many lines of text were likely lost at the lower part of the obverse and beginning of the reverse. It seems possible that, unlike the text of 84, 85 and 94, ARN 93 is a true contract not a copy and that it only documents the redemption. The seal cutter and the scribe as the first extant witnesses on the reverse may have been preceded by a full witness list accounting for the missing lines of the reverse. However, Kraus made his analysis based on examining this text and the other pieces belonging to this dossier first-hand and the same would be needed to test the idea that ARN 93 was not a copy and documented only one transaction.
1: On the surface area, cf. Kraus 1949, 126 and ARN p.99 where Kraus notes a reading of 4 or 6 (iku) is possible.
2: For this irrigation district see MSL XI p.98 and now TMH 10 13a, i:6, iii:9, v:25; TMH 10 40:1; TMH 10 45:1 (also referring to a número-še field in this district); TMH 10 50a:3 (=50b:3). On the possibility that this field is the same described in ARN 84B see discussion below.
4: On the understanding that a prebendary office (na[m…]) had been exchanged see Kraus 1949, 126.

11: The restoration of the verbal form du_8 is tentative. A verb of purchase is ruled out by the copy. The first visible traces of the line best belong to [i]n rather than [é ad-da]-ni. While the final traces of the copy would fit du_8 rather than lá, there are at least three signs preceding but a form in-na-an-du_8 would be exceptional and awkward.

I have presented ARN 93 in full, even though for Kraus this text originally documented two underlying transactions, only one of which was the redemption text. It is possible that ARN 93 only documents the redemption transaction, but this proposal cannot at present be tested (see general note to the text above). Following Kraus, it means that the date of VIII/Si 11 only corresponds to the first text. I think this at least gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the redemption transaction, assuming the last summarised transaction is the latest (cf. ARN 84: ARN 84A=Si 7, ARN 84B=II/Si 11, ARN 84C=2/XI/Si 13). The last dated text summarised in the wider dossier is XI/Si 13, and it may be that this is the point at which Ipqu-Ištar consolidated a number of documents in his archive by copying them out, at least in summary. Given the description of the field in ARN 84B, it is possible as Kraus thought that this field is the same as that redeemed in ARN 93B. If so, the base title deed from which Ipqu-Ištar had copied ARN 84B would have been the contract evidencing the exchange also referred to in the redemption text of ARN 93B:4. Presumably then it was also handed over at the point of redemption as a title deed evidencing redemption. This can be compared to TS 45 (Kutalla, see 2.10) where the title deeds for an exchange preceding a redemption appear to have been handed over at the point of redemption. Finally, we can note that if the redemption took place as it appears in Si 11, then it can be added to the series of redemptive transactions in this year from Ilī-sukkal's dossier (see 1.13 below).

1.11 Scribal habits and the markers of redemption

1.11.1 Overview

The presentation of dossiers in which redemption texts feature can easily give the impression that the phenomenon was more widespread than it really was. However, even in the closely dated archives stemming from the middle of Samsu-iluna's reign, the redemption texts are still not ubiquitous. Despite the fact that scribes were not frequently called upon to document a redemption transaction, a study of the scribal habits in the Nippur archives shows that when they did come to write these texts, they did so with remarkable consistency. This consistency allows us to clearly identify two scribal markers of redemption texts.

The first, common to all the texts, is the redemption formula itself.[265] The second, appearing in all but four of the redemption texts[266] but also in another genre of Nippur text, is what I describe as the "penultimate transfer clause". Although these markers can be seen together as distinctive of redemption texts, it is worth recognizing that the redemption texts were innovations of an existing form of text well-known to the

[265] The activity of redemption is rendered by the Sumerian verb du_8. Despite the equation of búr with *paṭārum* (cf. lexica cited in CAD P, 287 s.v. *paṭāru*), búr in the contemporary Nippur archives refers to the payment of a balancing or compensatory sum where property, usually exchanged, is not equivalent in value (e.g. PBS 8/2 182:10-12).
[266] TMH 10 53 from the Nuska-nīšu dossier (see 1.6) and each of the three redemption texts in the Ilī-sukkal dossier (see 1.13).

scribes. Before addressing the second of these scribal markers in more detail, I wish to discuss the matter of the existing forms that were being adapted, for this sheds light not only on how the redemption transaction was perceived but also on the nature of the relationship between redemption of property and chains of transmission.

1.11.2 Redemption texts and the form of sale texts in Nippur

It is clear that when the Nippur scribes attested in our archives came to write a redemption text, they were consciously adapting the model of sale contracts. In Table 2 below, a representative example of a sale of prebends is set alongside a redemption of prebends. Both stem from the Attâ archive. In the redemption text (right-hand column), the clause of penultimate transfer and the redemption formula are underlined. Aside from these 'markers' of redemption, the two texts show remarkable uniformity, and in terms of clause order and content, the redemption text has not removed or reduced any of the operative clauses expected for a sale of prebends in Nippur in this period.

Prebend sale text (SAOC 44 75 (T))		**Prebend redemption text (SAOC 44 84)**	
1	nam-gudu$_4$ nam-ugula-é nam-lú-lunga	1	nam-gudu$_4$ nam-ugula-é nam-[ì-du$_8$]
2	nam-ì-du$_8$ nam-kisal-luḫ nam-bur-<šu>-ma	2	*ù* nam-kisal-luḫ é-^{d}lugal-[ab-a]
3	é-^{d}utu mu-àm u$_4$-5-kam	3	*ù* AB-kù-maḫ-a mu-a u[$_4$-22 ½ -kam]
4	bala-gub-ba *ì-lí-i-din-nam* dumu [*i-b*]*i*-^{d}en-líl	4	<u>kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki dumu [*r*]*i-iš*-x-[…]</u>
5	ki *ì-lí-i-din-nam* dumu *i-bi*-^{d}en-líl-ta	5	[bala-gub-ba ^{d}]en-zu-*ma-gir* <dumu> ^{d}en-líl-[*na-ṣi-ir*]
6	^{p}*a-at-ta-a* dumu *na-ra-am*-^{d}en-zu-ke$_4$	6	[ki ^{d}en]-zu-*ma-gir* <dumu> ^{d}en-líl-*n*[*a-ṣi-ir*(-ta)]
7	in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$	7	[^{p}]*a-at-ta-a* dumu *na-ra*-[*am*-^{d}e]n-[zu-(ke$_4$)]
8	šám-til-la-bi-šè	8	<u>garza é ad-da-ni ì-du$_8$</u>
9	6 gín kù-babbar	9	šám-til-la-bi-[šè]
10	in-na-an-lá	10	5 1/3 gín 15 še kù-babbar [in-n]a-a[n-lá]
11	u$_4$-kúr-šè *ì-lí-i-din-nam* dumu *i*-[*b*]*i*-^{d}en-líl	11	u$_4$-kúr-šè ^{d}en-zu-*ma-gir* dumu ^{d}en-lí[l-*n*]*a*-[*ṣi-ir*]
12	*ù* ibila-a-ni a-[na]-me-a-bi	12	*ù* ibila-a-ni a-[na]-me-a-bi
13	é-^{d}utu mu-àm u$_4$-5-kam	13	garza-bi-šè u$_4$-22 ½-kam
14	inim nu-[um]-g[á-gá-a]	14	[inim nu-u]m-gá-gá-a mu lug[al-(a-)bi in-pàd]
15	m[u lugal-(a-)bi i]n-p[àd]		
Witnesses and date		Witnesses and date	

Table 2: Comparison of redemption and sale texts

This clear adaptation of the sale texts was likely motivated by more than scribal convenience. The redemption transaction sought to secure the same thing as a conventional purchase: outright and permanent title to the property. It was then natural that it should be documented this way. But, despite the formal closeness between sale and redemption, the redemption transactions still retained their distinctive status. Something different to conventional sale was taking place. The

scribal markers of redemption signaled that this property was being redeemed as part of a person's paternal estate and so the redeemer had a residual right to purchase that set them apart, and the property had had an unusual background for it had been transferred out of a family estate, only later to return to it. The meaning and significance of the 'paternal estate' (é ad-da-ni) in Nippur at this time is discussed in 1.12. Before that, I turn to the other scribal marker, the 'penultimate transfer clause.'

1.11.3 The penultimate transfer clause

The texts in the OB Nippur corpus bearing this clause can be excerpted as follows:

No.	Clause	Text	Text type
1	(4) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki dumu-me *é-a-í-din-nam*-ta (5) $^{\text{P}}$*ma-an-nu-um-me-šu-li-ṣur* dumu *a-wi-li-ia*-ke$_4$ (6) kù-šè in-sa$_{10}$-a	BE 6/2 64	redemption
2	(6) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ $^{\text{d}}$en-ki $^{\text{d}}$dam-gal-nun-na in-sa$_{10}$-a	BE 6/2 66	redemption
3	10,17, 22 (+case 5-6): dub didli kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ egir ha-la-ba-na[267]	PBS 8/2 129	referencing sale tablets subsequent to an inheritance division
4	(3) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki *i-lí-e-ri-ba-am* (4) $^{\text{P}}$*ri-im*-ištar dumu-me *mu-na-we-ru* (5) *ù na-we-er-tum* ama-ne-ne (6) $^{\text{P}}$lú-é-šu-me-ša$_4$ dumu $^{\text{d}}$utu-$^{\text{d}}$en-líl-lá (7) in-sa$_{10}$-a	PBS 8/2 138	redemption
5	(8) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ $^{\text{P}}$*l*[*a-ma-s*]*à-ni* lukur $^{\text{d}}$nin-urta (9) dumu-munus $^{\text{d}}$nin-urta-*mu-ša-lim*-ke$_4$ (10) mu garza-garza-bi sá nu-ub-du$_{11}$-ga-aš (11) 1 1/3 ma-na 5 1/2 gín kù-babbar (12) in-na-an-búr	PBS 8/2 182	Exchange (l. 5: ki-bi gar-ra-b[i-šè])
6	(4) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki dumu [*r*]*i-iš*-x[	SAOC 44 84	redemption
7	(12) 5 iku a-šà $^{\text{d}}$nin-líl-lá kù-ta-sa$_{10}$-a dumu *nu-úr*-ku-bi	TMH 10 14	inheritance division
8	(5') [kù]-ta-sa$_{10}$ $^{\text{d}}$nin-líl-z[i-gu$_{10}$] (6') dumu $^{\text{d}}$da-mu-a-zu$^{\text{!}}$ x [x] (7') *sí-ia-tum* dumu *a-wi*-[*il*-…] (8') in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$[(-a)]	OIMA 1 48	redemption (?)
9	(7) kù-ta sa$_{10}$ $^{\text{P}}$*l*[*a-ma*]-*sà-ni* lukur $^{\text{d}}$nin-urta dumu-munus $^{\text{d}}$nin-urta-*mu-ša-lim*-ke4 (8) mu garza-garza-bi sá nu-ub-du$_{11}$-ga-aš (9) 1 1/3 mana 5 ½ gín kù-babbar (10) in-na-an-búr	TMH 10 65 (cf. PBS 8/2 182)	exchange (of temple offices)
10	(7') kù-ta sa$_{10}$ ki *im-gu-ú-a* dumu *ta-a-a-ú* (8') $^{\text{P}}$*im-gu-ú-a* dumu KA-$^{\text{d}}$da-mu (9') in-°°sa$_{10}$	TMH 10 68	exchange (field)
11	(4) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$-a ki *la-ma-súm* ˹lukur˺ [$^{\text{d}}$]nin-urta (5) dumu $^{\text{d}}$en-líl-ma-an-sum (6) *ù su-ḫu-un-tum* lukur $^{\text{d}}$nin-urta (7) dumu *na-am-ra-am-ša-ru-ur*	BE 6/2 45	redemption (field)
12	(4) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$-šè ˹na$^{?}$˺-[…]	ARN 84[268]	Purchase (field)[269]
13	(6') kù-ta-s[a$_{10}$]	ARN 94[270]	Exchange of field against [house?]

[267] This form appears in line 10 and 17, with the terminative marker in line 22, and on the case (5-6): $^{(5)}$ *ù* inim dub didli kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ $^{(6)}$ egir ha-la-ba-ne-ne.

[268] From the dossier of Ipqu-Ištar son of Namram-šarur (see 1.10 above).

[269] Although ARN 84A (obv. 1-8) documents a purchase, it is not certain that the field (same dimensions) purchased is unrelated to the exchange in ARN 84B.

[270] Also from the dossier of Ipqu-Ištar son of Namram-šarur (see 1.10 above) where it corresponds to Kraus' ARN 94B.

14	(4) kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki-ka-kù-ga-n[i] (5) ^{p}lú-ur-sag-gal-la š[eš-a-ni] (6) ù kúr-šeš-ma-an-sum dumu ^{d}š[eš-ki-gú-gal-ta] (7) ^{p}kúr-šeš-ma-an-sum in-š[i-in-sa$_{10}$-a]	ARN 176 (with ARN 27)	Purchase (field) between brothers in inheritance context (Kraus 1949, 127-128)

Table 3: The 'penultimate transfer clause' in the Nippur archives

Language, meaning and function of the clause

The term ku-ta-sa$_{10}$, well known from Ur III administrative contexts, appears in Nippur at this time with a well-defined usage. It equates to Akk. *šīmātum* "purchase" or "purchased property." For this equation cf. the lexica cited by CAD s.v. *šīmātu*. The nominalizing suffix on the finite verbal form (in-sa$_{10}$-a) in nos. 1, 2, 4, may suggest that the term ku-ta-sa$_{10}$ be taken as introducing a subordinate clause: "purchased property which X bought from Y." The clause clearly documents the prior purchase of property, and documents one step back in the process. It can be compared with the terminology of šám-kù in Kutalla studied by Charpin 1980, 180-181 and the interpretation of the phrase there is crucial for our understanding of the terminology here.

There are two facets to its meaning and function that can be elaborated upon. Firstly, the purpose of the previous or penultimate transfer clause in this context belongs in the realm of chains of transmission: the documenting of proof of title. This gains some indirect support from other contexts in which the phrase ku-ta-sa$_{10}$ is used. Outside of the redemption texts, with the exception of no. 12, it only appears in either exchange contracts (nos. 5, 9, 10), or texts concerning inheritance (nos. 3, 7). [271] It may be that the importance of penultimate transfer for (re-)establishing the redeeming party's title to the property rested not only on the writing of the penultimate transfer clause in the redemption document but the handing over of the penultimate transfer document to the redeeming party as supporting evidence of title. This would be unremarkable procedure in other contexts, and does not differ from the practice in sales, but may be reflected concretely in the texts that have come down to us. From Attâ's archive, we have already discussed the coherence of the texts documenting the transfer of Lugal-aba prebends and the possibility that Attâ's archive retained both the penultimate transfer document and the redemption document (see 1.4.4.3). The dossier of Nuska-nīšu is interesting. For the three acquisitions made in Si 28, two of these (one a redemption and one a purchase of a previously exchanged property)[272] contain versions of a penultimate transfer clause describing a transaction for which we also have the original deed, dating back to Si 11 and 12 (see 1.6).[273] If the Nuska-nīšu text groups are not due to accidental finds, and belonged in Nuska-nīšu's archive in antiquity, then it is natural that the keeping of the penultimate transfer tablet accompanied the shorthand record of the penultimate transfer in the actual redemption text, and for OIMA 1 32, the purchase of a previously exchanged property. However, both this example and the fact that the penultimate transfer clause is also associated with exchanges means that it was not exclusive to redemption settings. For the text of BE 6/2 45, a redemption text that presumably ended up in the archive of a family member of Lamassum, we also possess the sale text showing the property leaving the

[271] OIMA 1 45 may also belong in this category (discussion below).
[272] PBS 8/2 138; OIMA 1 32.
[273] BE 6/2 37 (+ duplicate PBS 8/2 131); PBS 8/2 135.

estate (TMH 10 52). Although there was not a series of prior transactions, this earlier text constitutes the previous transfer and also fits with an understanding of the transmission of title deeds that would be expected upon redemption.

As well as the obvious context of chains of transmission, the discussion of the comparable terminology in Kutalla in Charpin 1980 is significant. Charpin argued that the local tradition's distinction between é and šám-kù as designations of property being transmitted, marked a difference between heritable and acquired property (1980, 180-181). In other words the distinction showed a consciousness in the local tradition of the time to distinguish property that had been purchased versus that which belonged residually to a person's patrimony. It seems plausible that such a distinction lies behind the usage and meaning of the ku-ta-sa$_{10}$ clauses in the Nippur archives studied here. It would signal that the previous transaction had been a straightforward acquisition distinct from the transaction being documented as a redemption. The final redeemer held a different kind of right and title to the property because he was recovering his patrimonial property. If this is correct, it could also apply similarly to its use in exchange and inheritance contexts such that if property that was transmitted by way of purchase or exchange did not belong to the patrimony of the one in possession then the terminology of ku-ta-sa$_{10}$ could signal this.[274]

1.11.3.3 Expanding the corpus of redemption texts

The text of OIMA 1 48, which has already been discussed, provides an example of how the scribal pattern of writing penultimate transfer clauses can be diagnostic of text sub-type and expand the corpus of redemption texts (see Table 3).

Given that versions of the clause can be used in exchange or inheritance contexts, the mere fact that the clause is found here does not guarantee it is a redemption. However, the presence later in the text of a finite verb of purchase (in-ši-in-sa$_{10}$, l. 13') shows we are dealing neither with an exchange nor with an inheritance division or inventory. It may be objected that a verb of sale (as opposed merely to a verb of payment (in-na-an-lá) argues against a classification of this text as a redemption. However, this is in reality no obstacle. The verb of sale could co-occur with a verb of redemption (in-du$_8$) as shown by PBS 8/2 138:9-14.

A more ambiguous example can be found in OIMA 1 45 (=CBS 2230), the fragment of a tablet which, in light of the discussion above, may be a redemption text or an exchange, or it may be related to an inheritance division.[275] Photographs of the fragment are available on CDLI (P259281). Based on the photographs, the following provisional transliteration can be given, together with a translation of the better preserved obverse:

Obv. 1' [...e]n-ki ^{d}dam-˹gal˺-˹nun˺-[na]
2' [...] AN x x x [...]
3' x nam-ì-du$_8$ nam-kisal-˹luḫ˺

[274] This may also apply to the dossier of ARN 27 and ARN 176 discussed by Kraus 1949, 127-128. Kraus already saw that it concerned an inheritance division between brothers.
[275] On the possibility of it being a redemption, see already Stone 1987, 271 in listing the Ninurta-rā'im-zērim attestations: "[Ninurta-rā'im-zērim] sells temple office and field property for redemption. OIMA 1 45:obv. 5."

4’ […] lú x x x mu$^{?}$ x x
5’ [bala]-gub-ba $^{\lceil d \rceil}$nin-urta-*ra-ḫi-im-z*[*e-ri-im*]
6’ dumu ^{d}nin-urta-ma-an-[sum]
7’ 2[+$^{?}$] iku a-šà número-še šà a-šà […]
8’ ús-a-du dumu-me ^{d}*ìr-ra*-x[…]
9’ x iku a-šà número-še šà a-šà […]
10’ ús-a-du ^{d}en-zu-*a$^{?}$-ša$^{?}$-r*[*e$^{?}$*...]
11’ kù-ta-sa$_{10}$ ki KA-^{d}x[…]
12’ […] x ki-ia […]

Rev. 1’ ús-a-du […]
2’ kù-ta-s[a$_{10}$ …]
3’ garza x […]
4’ lú-lú-$^{\lceil}$ra$^{\rceil}$ x […]
5’ garza x x x […]
6’ 3 ma$^{?}$-na$^{?}$ […]
7’ x IB x x […]
8’ […l]ú-lú-ra nu-[…]
9’ […]x bi in […]
10’ […] ru [x] x x x […]
11’ […] im$^{?}$ x x x […]
12’ […] x x x […]
Traces in following three lines before break

Translation (obverse only):
$^{(1'-6')}$ […E]nki (and) Damgalnu[na] … office of doorkeeper, office of courtyard sweeper, …. [per] year … turn-on-duty of Ninurta-rā’im-z[ērim] son of Ninurta-man[sum], $^{(7'-8')}$ (and) a 2[+] iku grass field in the field of … beside (the property of) the sons of Erra-[…] $^{(9'-12')}$ (and) an … iku grass field in the field of […] beside (the property of) Sîn-ašar[ēd], purchased (property) from KA-..[…]

Notes:
Rev. 9’: the oath would be expected (mu lugal-bi in-pàd) but the traces of the sign before bi are more like ib or perhaps ma, hardly la (mu lugal-la-bi in-[pàd]).

The text lists property including prebendary offices (including at least the office of doorkeeper and courtyard sweeper in the temple of Damgalnuna) as well as fields. I am however, inclined to see here an inheritance division or inventory, akin to that recently published as TMH 10 14, where there is a similar ordering of prebendary office and fields, albeit there it is well preserved and the status of the text as an inheritance division is clear. In that document, some of the fields are designated with ku-ta-sa$_{10}$(-a) and a name, though it is not clear in every case whether the named person is the previous buyer or seller.[276]

1.12 Redemption at Nippur and the paternal estate (é ad-da-ni)

A key question to be asked in light of the archival studies in this chapter is whether the paternal estate (*bīt abim* / é ad-da-ni), the object of the redemption clause, equates

[276] E.g. TMH 10 14, obv. i:13: ku-ta-sa$_{10}$-a dumu *nu-úr*-ku-bi, rendered by Goddeeris as “bought by the son of Nūr-Kubi” (Goddeeris 2016, 1:75).

in this context to the heritable estate that passed along conventional blood or family[277] lines, or whether it could mark a wider social group. [278] The evidence of the Nippur dossiers provokes this question. This is because it has been suggested in the literature that the expected pattern of redemption by family members of previously owned family property does not hold for Nippur in this historical moment. In Stone's discussion of the economic crisis during Samsu-iluna's reign,[279] she observes about the redemption texts from Si 11-30 that "[t]heoretically these texts explain that the present buyer is repurchasing property which had previously been sold by his family, but an examination of the personal names shows no obvious genealogical relationship between the seller in the original transaction and the redeemer in the later transaction….it seems possible that the redemption text was used in the transfer of property to someone who was outside the circle of legitimate buyers."[280] This last comment suggests a use for the redemption texts in Nippur that is directly opposed to an understanding of é ad-da-ni in the conventional sense of paternal estate passed along blood/family lines.

If this is a pertinent question provoked by the redemption texts in individual archives and dossiers, the evidence from Attâ's archive cannot be decisive on its own.[281] This is because there is residual uncertainty about whether the texts relating to the Lugal-aba prebends, SAOC 44 79, 83, 84, the last of which is a redemption text, relate to precisely the same assets and reflect a true 'cycle' of redemption. However, if they do comprise a chain of transmission relating to the same assets, then the traditional interpretation that the redeemer was recovering assets to which he had a prior claim or of which he had original ownership still stands. On that view, the acquisition documented in SAOC 44 79 was the moment when the assets entered Attâ's estate. SAOC 44 84 would then document the ultimate return to the estate with SAOC 44 83 reflecting an interim stage in the transmission of the property. If it is correct to restore the name Sîn-mā[gir] in l. 10 of SAOC 44 83, then he could be a link between the transactions of that text and that documented in SOAC 44 84, the redemption. The texts taken together would then constitute a chain of transmission evidencing Attâ's title to these Lugal-aba prebends. On this interpretation, there is no reason to suppose that the redemption clause and in particular the designation "paternal estate" denoted anything other than the redeemer's heritable property.

Positive evidence can be brought against Stone's claim that there was "no obvious genealogical relationship between the seller in the original transaction and the redeemer in the later transaction."[282] The identification of OIMA 1 48 as a redemption text documenting the redemption of property by Damu-iddinam indicated that property had been originally sold by his first cousin to a relative in a different branch of the wider family, only to be brought back into the original owning branch of the family by Damu-iddinam. This strongly suggests that it was Damu-iddinam's genealogy and place within the Abba-kala branch of the Ninlil-zigu family that made

[277] That is, encompassing adoption.
[278] On the *bīt abi* as a kinship grouping among priestly families in the Neo-Babylonian period see Still 2019, 227.
[279] Stone 1977.
[280] Stone 1977, 281.
[281] SAOC 44 84 contains a redemption clause. In the other redemption text in Attâ's archive, SAOC 44 80, the redemption clause can be securely restored on the case l. 7'.
[282] Stone 1977, 281.

him a legitimate redeemer. The redemption by Lamassum in BE 6/2 45, having herself sold the property one year earlier (TMH 10 52), also fits with a conventional picture that the redeemer was bringing back into the family estate heritable property that had left it for a time. The wider context for the Lamassum redemption supports this understanding of the paternal estate along conventional blood/family lines. The redemption text of BE 6/2 45 was one of a number of title deeds that left the family estate upon the adoption of Šāt-Šamaš only to be later claimed by Lamassum's brother, who claimed concerning the paternal estate (ARN 101:9-10). It is true that not every dossier allows us to see, as in the case of Lamassum, the point when the property leaves the family circle by way of sale. It is also true that in a number of dossiers, some of the previous or penultimate transfers did not take place among family members of the ultimate redeemer. However, this does not speak against the reality of the paternal estate and the ultimate redemption as bringing back within the original family circle heritable property. Rather, it opens up an important perspective on how redemption could work so effectively at this time in Nippur. The interim holders of prebends, when not related by blood to the ultimate redeemer, must still have qualified as suitable and trusted holders of the property on other grounds. This entails a degree of social affinity. It explains how a series of non-familial interim holders of the prebends could still form a trusted network. Therefore, reasserting the face value nature of the paternal estate in this context does not preclude that the whole process of redemption was dependent upon a trusted social network in which property could make its way back to the ultimate redeemer (and thus family circle) via several interim holders.

1.13 Clustered redemption

In a few cases from the Nippur archives it is striking that a series of redemption transactions belonging to the same dossier take place within a short span of time. This is all the more striking, and apparently meaningful, when we see in a file such as that of Nuska-nīšu's that the property had been outside his possession for a lengthy period: that property should be redeemed within a few months seems deliberate. It is not entirely clear how to explain this feature of "clustered" redemption. It would be tempting to see it in isolated terms. The original owner had, at a certain point in time, acquired enough capital to redeem a number of his assets at once. However, the phenomenon of "clustered redemption" is not isolated. The most striking cases of multiple, closely-dated redemption transactions that can be assigned to a single dossier come from that of Nuska-nīšu and a certain Ilī-sukkal.[283] The dossier of Ilī-sukkal has not been discussed yet and so I first give a transliteration and translation of the only three texts that can be securely assigned to this dossier. Each of them is a redemption text.

[283] The name Ilī-sukkal also occurs in ARN 101, l. 25, as second witness, without patronym and with the title of doorkeeper (ì-du$_8$) (the context suggests service of Enlil or Ninurta).

1.13.1 The Ilī-sukkal dossier

1.13.1.1 The text of ARN 92

ARN 92= Ni 9251
Date: 28/VIII/Si 11
Bibliography: ARN (copy, plate 39; notes p.42).

Transliteration:

Obv. 1 [x sar] ^{giš}kiri$_6$ giš-gub-ba
2 [šà a-šà] e-sír-dúb-ba
3 [zag] ^{P}*ì-lí*-sukkal dumu *e-ne-ia-tum*
4 […] *u-bar-rum* dumu ^{d}*ì-lí*-apin
5 [ki *u-ba*]*r-rum* dumu ^{d}*ì-lí*-apin-ta
6 [*ì-l*]*í*-sukkal dumu *e-ne-ia-tum*-ke$_4$
7 [^{giš}kiri$_6$] é-ad-da-na in-du$_8$
8 [x] gín kù-babbar
9 [in-n]a-an-lá
10 [*u-ba*]*r-rum* dumu *e-ne-ia-tum* (sic!)
11 [*ù* ibila-a-ni] a-na-me-a-[bi]
Rev. 12 [x] $^{[giš]}$kiri$_6$ a-šà e-sír-dúb-ba
13 [inim nu-]um-gá-gá-a
14 [mu lugal-b]i in-pàd
15 [igi *ì-lí-e*]-*ri-ba-am* dumu *ì-lí-an-dùl-lí*
16 [igi *ì-lí-i*]*p-pa-al-sà-am* simug
17 [igi *a-wi-*]*li-ia* bur-gul
18 [igi *da-mi*]-*iq-ì-lí-šu* dub-sar
19 [iti apin]-du$_8$-a u$_4$-28-kam
20 [mu *sa-am-*]*su-i-lu-n*[*a*] lugal
21 [dug$_4$-ga-an] ^{d}en-líl-bi-ta
22 [bàd šeš-u]nug^{ki} unug^{ki}-ga
23 [mu-u]n-gul-la […]

Seal: *u-bar-rum* / dumu *ì-lí*-apin

Translation:
(1-2) […sar] planted orchard …, [in the] Esir duba irrigation district, (3) [beside] (the property of) Ilī-sukkal son of Enejatum, (4) [orchard of] Ubārum son of Ilī-ēreš, (5) from Ubārum son of Ilī-ēreš, (6-7) Ilī-sukkal son of Enejatum redeemed [the orchard] of his father's estate, (8-9) he weighed out … shekels of silver. (10-14) Ubārum son of Ilī-ēreš [and his heir], whoever he may be, shall not make claim [concerning] the orchard of the Esir duba irrigation district, he swore b[y the king]; (15) before Ilī-erībam son of Ilī-andullī, (16) before Ilī-ippalsam the smith, (17) [before Awī]lija the [seal] cutter, (18) before Damiq-ilīšu the scribe. (19-23) Month 8, day 28, Samsu-iluna 11.

Notes:

2: On the Esir duba, see also TMH 10 no. 13a.
3: For another instance of this name (but not this person), see TMH 10 no. 46 (ll. 4,5, 10 with seal, son of Imgū'a)(RS 37). Also TMH 10 119 col. iii 4' (without patronym).
10: The patronym of the redeemer has been written in error.

1.13.1.2 The text of ARN 95

ARN 95 = Ni 1383
Date: 1/IX/Si 11
Bibliography: ARN (copy, plate 40; notes p.14).

Transliteration:

Obv. 1 15 sar giš$kiri_6$ giš-gub-ba
2 šà a-šà e-sír-dúb-ba
3 zag giš$kiri_6$ *tú-ga-tum* šidim
4 giš$kiri_6$ *šu-ì-lí-šu* dumu dšul-apin
5 ki *šu-ì-lí-šu* dumu dšul-apin-ta
6 p*ì-lí*-sukkal dumu *e-ne-ia-tum*-ke_4
7 giš$kiri_6$ é-ad-d[a-na in-du_8]
8 $7^1/_3$ gín [kù-babbar]
9 in-[n]a-[an-lá]
10 u_4-kúr-[šè *šu-ì-lí-šu* dumu dšul-apin]
11 *ù* i[bila-ni a-na-me-a-bi]
Rev. 12 15 sar giš$kiri_6$ e-sír-[dúb-ba]
13 inim nu-um-gá-gá-a
14 [mu lugal-b]i in-pàd
15 igi *ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am* dumu *ì-lí-an*-[*dùl-lí*]
16 igi *a-wi-il-ì-lí* dumu *la-qi*$_4$-*p*[*u-um*?]
17 igi *a-wi-li-ia* bur-gul
18 igi *ì-lí-ip-pa-al-sà-am* simug
19 igi *da-mi-iq-ì-lí*-[*šu*] dub-sar
20 iti [gan-ga]n-è u_4-1-kam
21 mu *s*[*a-am*]-*su*$^{!}$-*i-lu-na* lugal
22 dug_4-ga-an den-líl-bi-ta
23 bàd šeš-unug^{ki} unug^{ki}-ga
24 […] mu-un-gul-la

Seal: *šu-ì-lí-šu* / dumu dšul-apin

Translation:
(1-3) A 15 sar planted orchard … in the Esir duba irrigation district, beside the orchard of Tugatum the builder, (4) the orchard of Šu-ilīšu son of Šul-apin, (5) from Šu-ilīšu son of Šul-apin, (6-7) Ilī-sukkal son of E[nejatum] [redeemed] the orchard [of his] father's estate, he [weighed out] 7 1/3 [shekels of silver]. In f[uture, Šu-ilīšu son of Šul-apin] or [his] he[ir], [whoever he may be], shall not claim concerning the 15 sar orchard of the Esir duba irrigation district, he swore. (15) Before Ilī-erībam son of Ilī-an[dullī], (16) before Awīl-ilī son of Lā-qī*p*[*um*], (17) before Awīlija the [seal] cutter, (18) before Ilī-ippalsam the smith, (19) before Damiq-ilī[šu] the scribe, (20-24) month 9, day 1, Si 11.

1.13.1.3 The text of ARN 97

ARN 97 = Ni 1375
Date: -/-/Si 11
Bibliography: ARN (copy, plate 41; notes, p.13)

Transliteration:

Obv. 1 10 sar ^{giš}[kiri$_6$ …]
2 šà a-šà e-sí[r-dúb-ba]
3 zag ^{giš}kiri$_6$ dumu-me […]
4 ^{giš}kiri$_6$ *u-bar-rum* dumu [^{d}šul-apin]
5 ki *u-bar-rum* dumu ^{d}šu[l-apin]
6 ^{p}*ì-lí*-sukkal dumu *e-ne-i*[*a-tum*]
7 ^{giš}kiri$_6$ é-ad-da-na
8 in-du$_8$
9 5 gín kù-babbar
10 in-na-an-lá
11 u$_4$-kúr-šè *u-bar-rum* dumu ^{d}šul-apin
12 *ù* ibila-a-ni a-na-me-a-bi
Rev. 13 10 sar ^{giš}kiri$_6$ e-sír-dúb-ba
14 inim nu-um-gá-gá-a
15 mu lugal-bi in-pàd
16 igi *ta-ri-bu-um* dumu lú-^{d}nin-urta
17 igi ^{d}en-zu-*i-qí-sà-am* dumu *é-a-ta-a-a-ar*
18 igi *ì-lí-e-*˹*ri*˺-[*ba*]-*am* dumu ˹*ì-lí-an*˺-*dùl-lí*
19 igi *ì-lí-i*[*p-pa-al-sà-am* simug]
20 igi *a-wi*-[*li-ia* bur-gul]
21 igi *da-m*[*i-iq-ì-lí-šu* dub-sar]
22 iti x[…]
23 mu *s*[*à-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal]
24 bàd š[eš-unug^{ki} unug^{ki}-ga]
25 mu-[un-gul-la]

Seal: *u-bar-rum* / dumu ^{d}šul-apin

Translation:
(1-3) A 10 sar [(planted) orchard], in the Esir duba irrigation district, beside the orchard of the sons of […], (4) orchard of Ubārum son of [Šul-apin], (5-8) from Ubārum son of Šu[l-apin], Ilī-sukkal son of Enej[atum], redeemed the orchard of his father's estate. (9-10) He weighed out 5 shekels of silver. (11-15) In future, Ubārum son of [Šul-apin] and his heir, whoever he may be, shall not contest the 10 sar orchard of the Esir duba (irrigation district), he swore by the king; (16) before Tarībum son of Lu-Nin[urta], (17) before Sîn-iqīšam son of Ea-tajjār, (18) before Ilī-e[rīb]am son of Ilī-andullī, (19) before Ilī-i[ppalsam the smith], (19) before Awī[lija the seal cutter], (20) before Dami[q-ilīšu the scribe], (21-24) Month …, [day…], Si 11.

1.13.1.4 Commentary on the Ilī-sukkal dossier

The following observations can be made on this small dossier. ARN 92 (28/VIII/Si 11) and ARN 95 (1/IX/Si 11) were written within days of each other. ARN 97 is dated to Si 11 but the month is not preserved. There is more that gives coherence to the dossier. Aside from the fact that Ilī-sukkal is protagonist and redeems in each transaction, the texts share the same seal cutter (Awīlija) and scribe (Damiq-ilīšu), possibly also the same smith as witness, Ilī-ippalsam. He witnesses in ARN 92 and ARN 95, but can plausibly be restored in l. 19 of ARN 97. Further, Ilī-erībam is another witness in common to all three texts (ARN 92:15, ARN 95:15, ARN 97:17). In each case, the property redeemed concerns an orchard area in the same irrigation district of Esir duba (šà a-šà e-sír dúb-ba).[284] It is hardly surprising given that the scribe is the same and the texts are closely dated, but the texts show hardly any variation from one another in terms of formulary. The same redemption clause appears in each case. There is no "penultimate transfer" clause, only an expected statement of the seller's "ownership" at the time of redemption. The absence of a penultimate transfer clause could simply reflect the absence of any interim holders of the property. No full price clause appears in any of the three texts.

1.13.2 Crisis and clustered redemption

Part of the challenge of understanding redemption in these Nippur archives is to understand the role played by the background crisis occurring in the reign of Samsu-iluna. The duration of the crisis is itself not sharply defined. Charpin considers the focus of the crisis period to be Si 8-11, the beginning of which can be signaled by the issuance of an edict in Si 8.[285] Close to this is Stone who considers that the "crisis period, therefore, is limited to the four year period 1741 to 1738 B.C. [Si 9-12]." Within this period, Stone speaks of Si 11-12 as a peak[286] and that, at "Nippur, it was characterized by a concentration of property sales associated with a drop in land values and cessation of loan and rental documents."[287] Regardless of the date of the precise "peak" of the crisis, it does not preclude ongoing effects which, for Stone, continued to be felt in the years Si 13-30.[288] Recently Goddeeris, in discussing TMH 10 105, a document recording barley rates incurred by an individual in the nine years following Si 15, has considered that the high barley rates for Si 15 and the following years "show that the economic crisis is far from over in Nippur."[289]

How does redemption fit into this picture? Stone comments: "A new feature in the sale documents from this period [c. Si 13-30] is the high frequency of 'redemption texts.' Over 90% of all dated redemptions date to the crisis period and after. Theoretically these texts explain that the present buyer is repurchasing property which

[284] Listed in the Nippur forerunner to Ḫḫ XX-XXII (l. 37 a-šà ^{kuš}e-sír dúb-ba) (MSL 11 98).
[285] Charpin 2004, 336-337, with f.n. 1752.
[286] Stone 1977, 280-281.
[287] Stone 1977, 280.
[288] Stone 1977, 280-281.
[289] Goddeeris 2016:1 200.

had previously been sold by his family, but an examination of the personal names shows no obvious genealogical relationship between the seller in the original transaction and the redeemer in the later transaction. The exact significance of these texts is not immediately clear, but … it seems possible that the redemption text was used in the transfer of property to someone who was outside the circle of legitimate buyers."[290]

In considering this assessment, a few factors need to be borne in mind. Firstly there is the observation about the persons from whom property is redeemed. Reconstructing the dossiers in which redemption takes place shows that, although the interim buyers may bear no obvious geneaological link with the ultimate redeemer, it did not alter the reality of the final transaction in which the property was brought back within the original family circle. So, the redemption text itself was used by the original owner (or a relative of the owner) to bring the property back within the immediate family circle. Within the social circle of the priests in Nippur, one can suppose a degree of trust among these interim holders of the property, even if they are not blood relations of the ultimate redeemer.[291] The next issue is whether the crisis should be a catalyst for the sale of property or for its redemption, or both. It is normal to see micro- or macro-crisis as a trigger for sale of a property. Reasoning from that, the role of the crisis in the redemption cycle would be felt at the point when the owner first sells part of their heritable estate. Aside from the general patterns of sale presented by Stone, we don't have a good handle on when the property that is ultimately redeemed first left the family circle. A more intriguing question is whether and how the crisis period could be a catalyst for redemption itself. This brings us back to the feature of clustered redemption. Could there have been a wider reason why Nuska-nīšu and Ilī-sukkal redeemed several pieces of property in different transactions in remarkably quick succession? One possibility is that they did so directly as a result of a *mīšarum* edict, perhaps triggered by the ongoing crisis, that facilitated such a return of property. The major obstacle is that the redemption texts in these archives nowhere reference an overarching edict pursuant to which the redemption has taken place, as happens often (but not always) in connection with the (Type IIb) edicts issued in Larsa under Rīm-Sîn.[292] Without this, we fall back on synchronisms between the clustered redemptions and known *mīšarum* edicts in Samsu-iluna's reign. Nuska-nīšu's redemptions take place late in Si 28, a year in which we know that an edict was issued by Samsu-iluna. From the dated redemption texts in these archives, we can add BE 6/2 64 (Table 4 below).[293]

Text	Date	Dossier
PBS 8/2 138	18/X/Si 28	Nuska-nīšu
TMH 10 53	19/X/Si 28	Nuska-nīšu
BE 6/2 64	20/II/Si 28	Ninurta-rā'im-zērim

Table 4: redemption texts dated to Si 28

[290] 1977, 281.
[291] See 1.12.
[292] See esp. the survey of texts in 4.4.
[293] This is excluding OIMA 1 32, a purchase, also from the dossier of Nuska-nīšu and dated to Si 28.

Ilī-sukkal's redemptions take place in Si 11, the two texts bearing a precise date are within days of each other at the end of the eighth month (ARN 92: 28/VIII) and beginning of the ninth month (ARN 95: 1/IX). We do not, however, have secure evidence for a *mīšarum* edict in Si 11. In terms of other redemptions from the Nippur archives dated to this year, the redemptive purchase by Ipqu-Ištar from Ilum-damiq of a field following an earlier exchange (ARN 93B) may plausibly date to this time.[294] Indeed if ARN 93 comprises one text (and not the copy of two transactions as Kraus supposed), then the redemption can be securely dated to VIII/Si 11.

In sum, therefore, the phenomenon of redemption takes place against the wider background of crisis that Nippur was experiencing in the years following Si 8 and, if Stone is correct, that continued to be felt until Si 30, even if its most intense period was situated before Si 12.[295] However, the precise role played by the crisis in the practice of redemption cannot be pinned down with certainty. It appears to have triggered the original disposal of properties but we cannot be certain whether subsequent redemptions were facilitated, at least in some years, by the issuance of an overarching edict. The archival evidence from Si 28 is suggestive but hardly more than that. The phenomenon of clustered redemption drawn attention to here appears meaningful but needs further evidence before it can be satisfactorily explained.

1.14 Conclusion

The archives of priestly families working in OB Nippur in the second and third decades of Samsu-iluna's reign show redemption employed by apparent necessity, but to good effect, at a time that coincided with wider social and economic turmoil in Nippur during Samsu-iluna's reign. While the precise nature and extent of economic difficulties in the years immediately following Si 11 are the subject of ongoing discussion,[296] it was plausible that a number of the prebend sales later subject to redemption were diagnostic of an ongoing economic crisis,[297] and another peak in terms of crisis could be proposed for the years Si 28-30.[298] For other periods, the sale of prebends is often seen as itself indicative of crisis. Its apparent frequency in these archives appear to reflect the same phenomenon. It was difficult to be precise about what this crisis actually meant beyond the fact that economic pressure could force a sale. The absence of overt and individual debt in the background suggested that economic hardship triggered the sale of the prebends on the understanding – never documented it seems – that the property remained subject to redemption. Whether the wider crisis also facilitated redemption, e.g. by royal edict, was briefly considered in light of the phenomenon of 'clustered redemption'. That this could happen in a known *mīšarum* year left the possibility open that this was made possible by a royal measure. However, the redemption texts are not explicit about an overarching royal measure

[294] While its precise provenance remains uncertain, YOS 12 353, a redemption of prebendary property (l. 1) needs also to be taken into account, dated as it is to 10/X/Si 11.
[295] Stone makes the general comment that "the frequent appearance of [redemption texts] is part of the evidence suggesting that "traditional rules of property transfer were being bent and circumvented during this period of economic upheaval." (1977, 281)).
[296] See recently Goddeeris 2016:1, 200. Cf. Stone 1977, 280-281.
[297] Stone 1977, 280.
[298] On archival evidence for the *mīšarum* of Si 28 see Charpin 2000, 198-201. Cf. Vedeler 2006, 138.

and so it remains very uncertain whether some of the redemption transactions documented were the result of a royal edict mandating the return of property as a concession to the wider crisis. The preservation of the paternal estate remained the object of redemption in this time but took place within, and relied upon, the shared social world of the Nippur priesthood. The strong social network allowed the transfer of assets by sale between numerous intervening buyers while never removing the original family's right to redeem. The closeness of the social circles facilitated this exchange, but there was evidence that the blood family still undergirded the right to redeem. These archives brought another aspect of redemption practice into sharper focus: scribal conventions. When priests were redeeming prebends, although the transaction was not a conventional one, the scribes showed remarkable consistency. Alongside the expected redemption clause, the previous (penultimate) transfer of the prebend was commonly recorded in short-form in the redemption text. This was comparable to the situation seen in the dossiers and texts to be discussed in chapter 2, but was written in Nippur at this time with particular consistency. In normal circumstances, it is sufficient to adequately describe the property being transferred and name the seller and existing owner to make this link.[299] In conventional archival settings, more detailed linking descriptions, or even separate documents, could be deemed necessary where a document had gone missing from the chains of transmission. The clause of penultimate transfer in the Nippur dossiers, and the comparable conventions in e.g. Sippar and Babylon, amount to detailed linking descriptions. One could therefore explain it on the basis that a key document was missing from the chain of transmission – perhaps documenting the original sale out of the family estate, or as seems to me more likely, it reflected the fact this property had been sold outside the heritable line and was now being recovered. This was a re-establishment of the title of the redeemer (and original owning family), something reflected in the fact that a redemption formula was also felt necessary in addition to normal clauses of sale and purchase. As such, the detailed description of a previous transfer, or penultimate transfer, reflected the unusual background to redemption in which property passed outside the family circle by means of sale but was subsequently re-purchased by a member of the same family by means of redemptive purchase. This evidence about scribal markers of redemption contributed not only to an understanding of the practice but to an extension of the corpus, where elements of the penultimate transfer clause could be diagnostic for a redemption in an otherwise fragmentary text.

[299] Suurmeijer 2014, 291.