

CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES: GREEK NAMES AS A MARKER OF HELLENIZING IDENTITY

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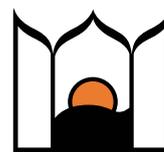
Even as Babylonia came under foreign rule, cuneiform documentation continued to record traditional activities. In the transition to the Hellenistic period, it is assumed that Greek practices became more prevalent, although documentary evidence for them remains limited. Cuneiform legal texts documented a narrower range of transactions. In Uruk, these were primarily real estate transactions and prebend sales, which continued to be framed in traditional Babylonian formulaic language. However, in those texts, some actors display personal attributes and/or form networks suggesting they are promoting Hellenizing identities. The attributes include the adoption of Greek names, the use of polyonymous Akkadian-Greek names, and of Hellenistic motifs in the iconography of their seals. These practices appear in the records of three groups of individuals, including members of the elite Ah'ūtu family; the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family, which held a share in the *atū* (porter) prebend; and of the *ēpiš dulli ša fīdi* (clay workers) class. The evidence suggests active construction of a Hellenizing identity is most apparent among members of the *ēpiš dulli ša fīdi*, who belonged to the lowest stratum of the groups considered, while the social networks of members of the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family often attest to individuals who bridge communities grounded in Babylonian culture and to those who adopt features of Hellenizing identities.

INTRODUCTION

Within the broad rubric of the “late Mesopotamian archives,” the present study focuses on the legal records of Hellenistic Uruk, a corpus of nearly 700 tablets that deal primarily with the sales of real estate and of shares in prebendary income, and in smaller numbers, slave sales.¹

¹ The workshop out of which this paper grew took place as the world was shutting down in March 2020 in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic. A lucky few of the participants gathered in Helsinki, but the authors of this contribution were unable to join them because of the uncertainties surrounding international travel. We acknowledge the efforts of the organizers to “zoom” us to the workshop via the now ubiquitous remote platform of the same name.

Invitations to present in sessions dedicated to Houses and Households and to Network Approaches to Near Eastern Archaeology and History in the 2018 and 2019 ASOR meetings, respectively, afforded Pearce the opportunity to share early research into the network of Greek-named individuals evident in the activities of the Ah'ūtu and Arad-Rēš families. Those presentations served as the germ of the present study, which is greatly expanded and enriched with the addition of Corò's work on the clay workers of the temples of Uruk.



In this investigation, we take as our starting place the linguistic components of the onomasticon and the iconography of seals (accessed through the metonymy of captioned seal impressions) and suggest that they can contribute to the identification of actors who assume outward manifestations of the Hellenistic cultural environment, and, via these markers, contextualize themselves in their networks of actors,² and construct (aspects of) a Hellenizing identity. We understand this to be a complex process in which individuals may adopt attributes associated with the cultural milieu of the ruling Hellenistic powers.³ The motivations to assume distinctive features of a culture are complex, and may differ from individual to individual, or even over time for a single individual. Our aim is to identify individuals and social locations which present evidence of Babylonians' embrace of Hellenistic culture; they may be earnest efforts to integrate into Hellenistic society or may be mechanisms that facilitate their interactions at certain times and places.

In no small measure, our investigation depends on the felicitous preservation of Greek names in cuneiform texts and the recognition that the onomasticon in the texts from Hellenistic Uruk preserves Greek names, which, while fundamentally indexical, may carry symbolic meaning associated with their bearers' social, cultural or religious identity, reflecting new circumstances in their social and cultural environment.⁴ Moreover, in the Hellenistic Uruk corpus,⁵ a good number of the Greek names label individuals who also bear an Akkadian name, referred to either as a double-name or, more formally, as polyonymy.⁶ Tom Boiy (2005: 47–60) presented all instances of Akkadian~Greek polyonymy known to him in “Akkadian-Greek Double Names in Hellenistic Babylonia,”⁷ a work that served as a touchstone for discussions of ethnicity, identity, acculturation, and assimilation in first millennium BCE Mesopotamia.

These polyonymous individuals reflect the notion that identity/ies exist in a context of oppositions and relativities, and by implication, that individuals and the group/s to which they belong need not have *only one* identity; they may construct their identity according to the circumstances in which and the individuals with whom they interact. The Akkadian~Greek polyonymous individuals and families maintain their connections to social and economic institutions in which members of the urban Babylonian elite participated at the same time that

2 As L. Pearce and L.T. Doty (2000: 331–342) demonstrated, there are individuals whose activities spanned both the business and scribal/scholarly realm. Relevant literature includes Escobar & Pearce 2018; Ossendrijver 2011a; 2011b; Robson 2019. Future studies may consider the connection of individuals bearing Greek names to the scribal and scholarly networks.

3 These attributes could include dress, alimentation, entertainment, features with which the documentation is not concerned.

4 Beaulieu (2011: 247) discusses the indexicality of names in the context of Yahwistic names in the cuneiform sources.

5 To the best of our knowledge, attestations of the phenomenon of Akkadian~Greek polyonymy in archival documents is limited, with two exceptions (CT 49 138, from Babylon, and Van der Spek 1992, text 1, from Nippur) to texts from Uruk. The polyonymy evident in astronomical diaries and one literary text (Boiy 2005: 52–53 provides text references) attests to the implementation of the practice in Babylon in the contexts of non-administrative genres.

6 In this essay, polyonymous names are described either as Akkadian~Greek or Greek~Akkadian. This seeming inconsistency is tolerated as it is used to represent the most frequent attestation of the first element in a polyonymous name. The case of Diophantos~Anu-balassu-iqbi/Anu-uballiṭ~Kephālōn//Ah'ūtu is illustrative of the motivation for this pattern. Prior to Corò's publication of BM 114408 (Corò 2012: 157–158 = STUBM 96), no attestations of Diophantos' Akkadian name were known, and thus he is referred to in publications prior to Corò 2012 by the Greek name alone. His father's double name, Anu-uballiṭ~Kephālōn, is given in Akkadian~Greek order in all instances except one, BRM 2 55. In JANEH 2 1–36, only the Greek form of the patronymic is given.

7 Since Boiy's publication, the following additional instances of Akkadian~Greek polyonymy have been identified: Apollōnios~Anu-uballiṭ/Kidin-Anu (STUBM 96); Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi (STUBM 96, JANEH 2 1–36), all discussed below.

they do so in networks of actors that include polyonymous individuals as well as those with (apparently) monolingual Greek names. The iconography of their seal motives (when available) contributes additional support for this pattern.

In the last decade, a number of scholars have promoted the adoption of Social Network Analysis (SNA) as a heuristic for the study of persons and communities whose names appear in cuneiform texts (Wagner et al. 2013; Waerzeggers 2014: for the Neo-Babylonian period; Scarpa 2016; Maiocchi 2016: for the Ebla texts; Anderson 2018; Bamman, Anderson & Smith 2013: for the Old Assyrian period). The most recent, and to date, most comprehensive SNA-based contribution to the study of first millennium Mesopotamian society is Bastian Still's *The Social World of the Babylonian Priest* (2019). He articulates patterns of interactions among individuals in three major areas of the social and economic life of the Neo-Babylonian priests of Borsippa—marriage practices, land holdings, and silver lending—and avows that they reflect “a conscious, collective attitude towards the social environment and a deliberate attempt to keep the ‘us’ apart from ‘them’” (Still 2019: 188).

Still grounds his discussion in the closely related concepts of symbolic and social boundaries. Social boundaries, defined as “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and non-material) and social opportunities” (Lamont & Molnár 2002: 168), emerge out of symbolic boundaries, “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” (Lamont & Molnár 2002: 168). Specifically, Still (2019: 189) investigates the “symbolic and material resources on which priests drew to create and maintain their social in-group [...] the attributes and criteria, the so-called ‘cultural stuff,’ that defined their collective social identity and their closest circles.”

Against that background, we explore the ‘cultural stuff’ evident in the legal texts from Hellenistic Uruk that suggest some individuals capitalized on their “unequal access to and distribution of resources and social opportunities” to construct Hellenizing identities. We take that cultural stuff, which includes Greek names preserved in the onomasticon and iconographic evidence preserved in seal impressions associated with the recorded legal transactions, as diagnostics for identifying individuals and the social networks to which they belong for patterns of Hellenistic identity construction in this seemingly close-knit community.⁸

In light of the foundational role of the linguistic composition of the Uruk onomasticon in our study, a brief description of how we define Greek names in the Uruk cuneiform corpus is in order, in spite of the fact that Greek names rendered in cuneiform transcription are easily identified (Monerie 2014; 2015a).⁹ In this study, we consider a name to be Greek if any single

8 Our preliminary work, presented here, is descriptive. In the next stage of our research, we will compute the statistics of the social network we observe, which should nuance our current report.

9 Monerie (2014) provides the most recent compilation as well as definitive explanation of rules cuneiform scribes used to adapt Greek phonology and orthography when transcribing personal names into cuneiform. See also his treatment of the pitfalls of attempting to render Greek with the signs of the cuneiform syllabary (Monerie 2015a). For a recent synthesis see now also Corò forthcoming.

element in a person's full name formula is demonstrably Greek,¹⁰ as these selected examples, in which the Greek names are presented in *italic* font, illustrate:¹¹

1. Single Greek name as element in name formula:

- *Dioklēs*/Anu-bullissu/Rihat-Ištar
- Anu-balāssu-iqbi/*Antiochos*/Ina-qibīt-Anu/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu
- Lâbâši/Anu-bēlšunu/*Nikarchos*//Ah'ūtu
- Kidin-Anu/Anu-bēlšunu/Anu-ahhē-iddin/*Nikarchos*//Ah'ūtu

2. Multiple Greek names in name formula:

- *Nikanōr*/*Andronikos*
- *Diophanēs*/*Stratōn*/Ina-qibīt-Anu
- *Antiochos*/*Timokratēs*/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu
- *Sōsandros*/*Diodōros*/*Stratōn*

3. Double names (polyonymy):

- *Demokratēs*/*Kephalōn*~Anu-uballit/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu
- *Diophantos*~Anu-balāssu-iqbi/*Kephalōn*~Anu-uballit/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu
- *Apollōnios*~Rihat-Ištar/*Charmōn*
- ¹*Kratō*~²*Šamê-ramāt*/*Artemidōros*

Even with our liberal definition of what constitutes a Greek name, the onomasticon preserves only ~125 Greek-named individuals in the Uruk corpus, in which we estimate the presence of 4–6,000 persons. Several features of the set of Greek names may be observed, although their significance is not yet determined:

1. A single Greek name may appear in any position in a three-tier name formula (see Table 1 §1). Most frequently, the Greek name appears at the beginning or end of the name chain, that is, as the personal or (great-)grandfather's name. The practice may reflect either: (a) a pattern of Greek-named individuals bestowing offspring with Akkadian names, with Akkadian names continuing into subsequent generations, or (b) the adoption of Greek names after generations of Akkadian names. These practices are evident both in families with and without clan affiliation.

2. Multiple Greek elements (Table 1 §§2, 3) appear in successive generations (son and father); no examples are known of a grandfather and grandson with Greek names, and a father with an Akkadian name. Only two instances of three-tier Greek elements are known. This naming pattern occurs in families with and without clan affiliations.

3. Among the polyonymous persons (Table 1 §4),¹² there are few instances of polyonymy in two successive generations of a family.

10 Names in first millennium Babylonian cuneiform texts are typically given in the form Personal Name son of Father's name (descendant of Clan Name, when such is preserved and/or socially applicable), represented in publications in the format PN/FN//CN. In the Hellenistic Uruk corpus, grandfathers' names are frequently recorded, i.e., PN/FN/GN//CN. We adopt the term "clan name" instead of the more commonly used "Family Name," to avoid any confusion resulting from the abbreviation FN, typically designating "Father's name." We do not invoke the anthropological context of the term "clan."

11 For the inventory of Greek names and the texts in which they appear, see Table 1.

12 Akkadian~Akkadian double names occur nearly as frequently as Akkadian~Greek; see Boiy 2005, esp. tables on pp. 50–51. These have yet to be considered as markers of identity construction.

It is important to note the impact a single new textual source can have on the study of the onomasticon. Prior to Paola Corò's publication of BM 114408 (Corò 2012 = STUBM 96), only the Greek name of Diophantos/Kephalōn~Anu-uballit/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu was known. BM 114408 preserves the Akkadian element of his double name Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi; no Akkadian name is yet known for his brother, Demokratēs. Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi's double-name establishes the existence of multi-generational polyonymy and leads us to believe that more cases of polyonymy may occur in evidence we do not yet have. We are thus reminded that our assessment of identity construction based on the evaluation of personal names remains dependent on the available evidence. With this basic understanding of the appearance and patterns of Greek names in the cuneiform corpus, we can turn to investigate networks of interactions among Greek-named individuals in the Hellenistic Uruk legal corpus.

THREE CASE STUDIES

In three case studies, we explore onomastic and sigillographic evidence for the construction of a Greek identity among members of three groups of people:

1. The Ah'ūtu family
2. The Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family
3. Workers designated "clay workers" (*ēpiš dulli fīdi*)

Each of these groups occupied a different rung on the ladder of social standing in Hellenistic Uruk's urban population. In spite of their connections to the temple cult and economy, beneficiaries of the prebendary system did not constitute a socially monolithic or economically homogeneous population, and not all individuals with professional designations connecting them to the temples were considered to have been among the "elite," as is the case with the clay workers, discussed below. Thus, our exploration of the construction or manifestation of a Hellenizing identity draws on evidence for individuals with varying degrees of access to the power structures of the social and economic life of Hellenistic Uruk. One of the aims of the study is to assess the degree of correlation between the social standing of these groups and the scope of Hellenizing identity construction. The patterns will demonstrate that Hellenizing identity can occur among members of diverse communities of Babylonian actors with varying degrees of access to the Hellenistic administrative hierarchy and representations of the king.

The Ah'ūtu Family

The Ah'ūtu family was one of the prominent urban elite Akkadian families "possessing wealth, property, office, education, or some combination thereof" (Nielsen 2011: 269), whose members traced their origins back to an eponymous ancestor. Within the Hellenistic Uruk documentation, the clans assumed a semblance of a group identity associated with activities in which a substantial proportion of their members participated. For example, members of the Sîn-lēqi-unninni clan, who claim descent from the editor of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, are renowned for their contributions to cuneiform scholarship.¹³ Ah'ūtu family records show a great number

13 For Sîn-lēqi-unninni as the Gilgamesh editor, see George 2003, esp. pp. 28–30, of the section "Sîn-lēqi-unninni and the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic." For a summary of the activities of the scribal families, see Robson 2007: 11; Beaulieu 2000.

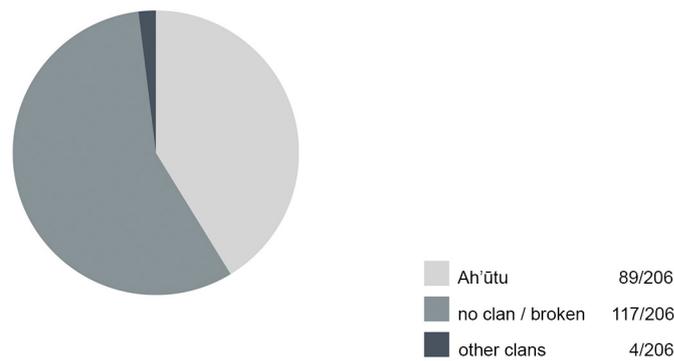


Figure 1 Distribution of Greek Names by Clans.

of individuals to have been prominent actors with exceptional proximity to the Seleucid administration (Clancier 2007: 26; Krul 2018a: 27; Stevens 2019: 324–326), most notably reflected in the crown's award of a Greek name to one (Anu-uballit~Nikarchos),¹⁴ and the visible and personal commemoration of the restoration of the Anu cult by another (Anu-uballit~Kephālōn). Although the network of professional identifications within and across clans is yet to be fully mapped, some trends are evident. In spite of the fact that clan affiliation is not preserved, nor can it be reconstructed for over 50% of the cases of persons with Greek names, in those cases where clan affiliation is preserved, Ah'utu is most frequently attested (see Figure 1).

Moreover, the Ah'utu family displays a disproportionately large share of the Greek personal names attested in the corpus (as defined above). Within the Ah'utu family, the line of Anu-balāssu (see Figure 2), with its well-documented sociopolitical connections to Seleucid power structures, offers a good starting place for the exploration of Hellenizing identity construction.

Although there were no perceptible differences between the participation of the Nikarchos and Kephālōn families in Uruk's business life (Doty 1988: 111), evidence suggests different Ah'utu family lines diverge in the extent to which they engaged in Hellenizing identity construction. The differences underscore that the proximity of an individual to the crown or its representatives need not translate directly into a higher degree of constructing a Hellenizing identity. In this endeavor, the family of Anu-uballit~Kephālōn is far more vigorous than that evident in the lineage of Anu-uballit~Nikarchos, who received his Greek second name by proclamation of the king himself. Here, we will focus on evidence from onomastics and seal iconography of members of the Anu-balāssu-iqbi branch of the Ah'utu family, and of the Anu-uballit~Kephālōn line in particular.

The Anu-balāssu-iqbi family

Anu-uballit~Kephālōn was the son of a certain Anu-balāssu-iqbi, many of whose descendants bear Greek names, particularly in the latest generations, as evident in the family tree in Figure 2. The family's program of identity-construction begins in generation 3, in which two of the four known members of this generation, Anu-uballit~Kephālōn and his brother, Timokratēs, bear Greek names. By generation 4, all of the documented males bear Greek (or polyonymous Akkadian~Greek) names; to our knowledge, Anu-uballit~Kephālōn's one known daughter,

14 Recorded in YOS 1 52. Transliteration and translations are published as Q004181 in the Seleucid Building Inscriptions project: <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/selbi/corpus/>>, accessed 6 Apr. 2023

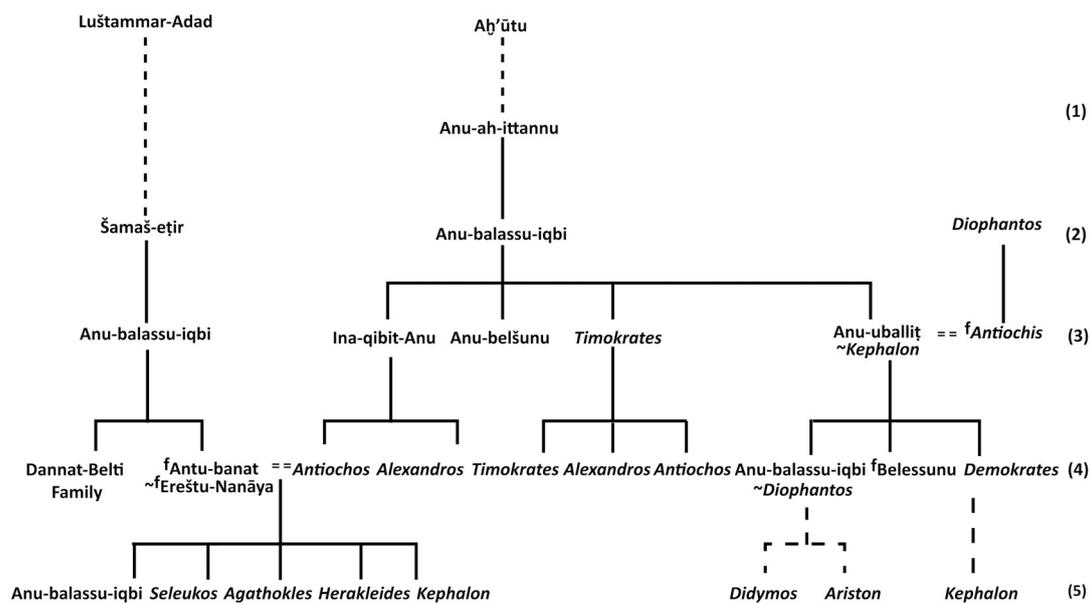


Figure 2 The Anu-balāssu-iqbi Family Tree.

ḫBēlessunu, does not have a Greek name. In generation 5, the one Akkadian name attested reflects maternal line papponymy (Langin-Hooper & Pearce 2014), that is, this Anu-balāssu-iqbi bears the name of his maternal grandfather. We begin our exploration of the Anu-balāssu-iqbi family's identity construction with Anu-uballit~Kephālōn.

The Remarkable Self-Confidence of Anu-uballit~Kephālōn

Anu-uballit~Kephālōn/Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-ah-ittannu//Ah'ūtu bore the titles *paqdu ša bīt ilāni*, temple deputy of Uruk, and *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk*, head of the city administration of Uruk.¹⁵ His legacy lies in his role in the revitalization of the Anu cult through the supervision of a second rebuilding phase of the Rēš temple, completed in 109 SE (202 BCE).¹⁶ His activity fits into a long-standing tradition of governors undertaking building projects and composing building inscriptions for kings who could or would not personally oversee the work. While the socio-political implications of the renovations of the Rēš temple are not fully understood (Krul 2018a: 37),¹⁷ their role as a context in which construction of Hellenizing identities occurs is clear.

15 BiMes 24 54 (92 SE) provides evidence of Kephālōn's position as *rab ša rēš āli* of Uruk. Wallenfels 2015: 70 n. 62 lists the documentation in which Anu-uballit~Kephālōn appears with this title and translates it as "city's chief administrator." Others understand the title to identify a position that functions primarily in the cultic sphere. For discussion of the status and responsibilities of the *rab ša rēš āli*, see Doty 1988: 98, with the bibliography in notes 16–17; Joannēs 1988; Corò 2012: 153ff.; Clancier & Monerie 2014: 236–237. Kephālōn also occurs once with the title of *šatammu* of the temples in AO 6948: see Clancier & Monerie 2014: 236–237.

16 Three different versions of the building inscription record his work. Krul 2018a: 36 with notes 134–136 provides bibliography of published and forthcoming editions.

17 See Krul 2018a: 38–42 for a summary discussion of Seleucid religious patronage in Babylonia.

The most remarkable expression of Anu-uballit~Kephalōn's double-name appears in the cella of Ištar in the Irigal district, where both his Akkadian and Greek names are rendered in Aramaic letters on the glazed brick inscription installed behind the postament on which the divine statue stood. Julia Krul describes Anu-uballit~Kephalōn as a member "of the provincial elite who adopted a double [...] identity to express their loyalty to the crown and mark their distinction from the local community" (Krul 2018a: 43).¹⁸ She regards this inscription and its prominent placement as:

a remarkable act of self-confidence to decorate not just the Ištar sanctuary, but the very cult niche of the goddess with nothing but his own name—no mention of the king or even the briefest dedication to Ištar herself. Moreover, it was the first time that an inscription was made in such a sacred location, inaccessible to all but the highest members of the priesthood. Like Anu-uballit~Nikarchos before him, who wrote his building inscription on a clay cylinder in the traditional style of first-millennium kings of Babylonia, Kephalōn seems to have considered himself not merely as a representative, but even as a surrogate for the Greek overlords on a local scale. [all emphasis added]

Unfortunately, the degree of Anu-uballit~Kephalōn's activity in the economic life of Uruk does not parallel his prominent role in the cult. In neither of the two transactions in which he is attested is he a principal actor: (1) in VS 15 12 / Babyloniaca 8 27, he is the owner of a slave whose property is adjacent to the house being sold, and (2) in BiMes 24 31, his name appears as the patronymic of Diophantos, the buyer of a property. While these texts do not support further exploration of Anu-uballit~Kephalōn's personal construction of a Hellenizing identity, the records of the activity and network of his sons, including the aforementioned Diophantos, do.

Constructing Hellenizing identities: the descendants of Anu-uballit~Kephalōn

Three children of Kephalōn are attested: two sons, Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi (BiMes 24 31; BRM 2 55; Corò 2012; JANEH 2 1–36) and Demokratēs (JANEH 2 1–36), and one daughter, ʿBēlessunu.¹⁹ Although both sons bear Greek names, the activities of Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi are more informative for our investigation.

It is impossible to determine whether Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi (or any other polyonymous individual) received both names at birth, but his names demonstrate both maternal line as well as traditional papponymy: the Greek name of his maternal grandfather and the Akkadian name of his paternal grandfather. With the publication of BM 114408, which provided Diophantos' Akkadian second name, he joined not only the club of polyonymous persons, but the even more limited group of such persons whose father was also polyonymous (see below). The serendipitous recovery of his double name alerts us to the possibility, even the likelihood, that other individuals known only by unilingual names were, in fact, polyonymous.

¹⁸ Downey (1988: 28) summarizes the history of the rebuilding of the Irigal.

¹⁹ NCTU 23 (VAT 16490), a badly broken prebend sale, is the only documentation of ʿBēlessunu's activity. Doty (1988: 103) restores DUMU.MÍ šá^{md}60-DIN-ī between her clearly preserved name and the partially broken [m^{qē}]-ep-lu-nu. Although there is no evidence for her use of a Greek double name, that possibility may be proposed in view of the Babylonian and Greek backgrounds of her parents (Anu-uballit~Kephalōn and ʿAntiochis/Diophantos), and the fact that one of her brothers, Anu-balāssu-iqbi, also bore a Greek name (Diophantos). Three instances of polyonymous women are preserved in the Uruk record: the names of two women each contains two Akkadian elements: ʿLinakušu~ʿKua (OECT 9 51) and ʿAntu-banāt~ʿEreštu-Nanāya (NCTU 2, 16); one bears an Akkadian~Greek name: ʿŠamê-ramāt~ʿKratō (YOS 20 62), discussed below. On Greek-named women in Uruk see Corò 2021a.

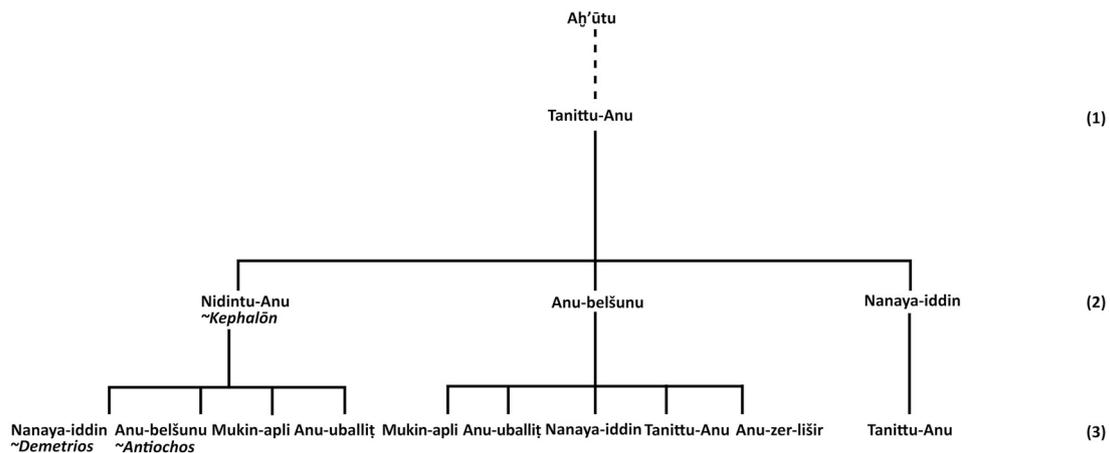


Figure 3 Tanittu-Anu Family Tree.

Of Anu-uballit~Kephalon's two sons, only Diophantos participates in multiple transactions, interacting with other Greek-named individuals in BRM 2 55, BiMes 24 31, STUBM 96, and JANEH 2 1–36. We consider each in turn.

(1) BRM 2 55 (date broken) documents Diophantos' purchase of temple enterer and butcher prebends from Nanāya-iddin~Dēmētrios/Nidintu-Anu~Kephalon/Tanittu-Anu//Ah'utu (generation 3 of the Tanittu-Anu family, see Figure 3), and records a small inventory of individuals with Greek names.

These data provide evidence for another onomastic pattern attested in creating Hellenizing identities. Nanāya-iddin~Dēmētrios, one of four known children of Nidintu-Anu~Kephalon (guarantor in VS 15 36), along with his brother Anu-bēlšunu~Antiochos (lesor in VS 15 31) and the aforementioned Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-uballit~Kephalon, are the only individuals whose name formula records two generations of Akkadian~Greek polyonymy.

The name formula of the guarantor, Diophanēs, contributes another aspect of this question. His father bears the Greek name, Stratōn, yet his grandfather bears the Akkadian name Kidin-Anu. Another Diophanēs/Stratōn also has an Akkadian-named grandfather (YOS 20 69; VS 15 14): Ina-qibīt-Anu. There is no evidence to equate Ina-qibīt-Anu as an Akkadian double name for Kidin-Anu, which would collapse the two instances of Diophanēs/Stratōn as the same individual. The fortuitous recording of Ina-qibīt-Anu, the grandfather's name, enables us to locate this "Greek" in the Babylonian context of temple prebendaries. While this guarantor is neither a blood relation to the seller, nor a descendant of one of the traditional clans, his name formula ends with the gentilic, "Urukian"; the use and significance of this gentilic in the Uruk text corpus remains to be fully explored.

(2) In BiMes 24 31 (date broken), Diophantos purchased two-fifths of a share in a dilapidated house adjacent to property he and his father, Anu-uballit~Kephalon/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'utu, owned. The sellers were Anu-ahhē-iddin and Anu-uballit/Tanittu-Anu/Uppulu//Ah'utu. None of the other persons mentioned in the text bear Greek names. Thus, the onomastic evidence is not sufficient to support the reconstruction of an extensive network of individuals in which to contextualize Anu-uballit~Kephalon/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'utu's construction of Hellenizing identities. However, details of the purchase and the name of the seller attest to a practice of

developing real estate portfolios that reinforced the family social and economic standing. This practice as a feature of identity construction is further explored in the consideration of the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family, discussed below.

(3) STUBM 96 (139 SE) records that Diophantos, identified there as *rab ša rēš ali ša Uruk*, delegated his deputy to assign property to Haninnā/Rihat-Bēlet-šēri/Anu-zēr-iddin. It is suggestive that Diophantos' polyonymous deputy, Anu-uballit~Apollōnios/Kidin-Anu, used an Akkadian~Greek name in connection with implementing administrative activity. However, there is insufficient documentation of officials at his level to draw conclusions about how widespread the use of polyonymy was in that social rank.

In view of the limitations of the onomastic data, the iconographic evidence from the seals of principals and witnesses provides additional support for assessing administrators' construction of Hellenizing identity and the networks in which they operated. The jumping-off point for this approach is the seal of Anu-uballit~Apollōnios, agent of Diophantos, *rab ša rēš āli*, which appears in STUBM 96 on the right edge, the typical locus for the seals of principals in legal transactions of the late Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods (Jursa 2005: 5, n. 22; Wallenfels 1994: 4). The iconographic composition and the institutional use of his seal combined with the linguistic make-up of his name further locates him socially as a member of the Hellenizing population. Anu-uballit~Apollōnios' seal is a large, anepigraphic royal portrait seal depicting the head of Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE), the same ruler who appears on Diophantos' seal on the Mackenzie Museum tablet. Ronald Wallenfels (2015: 76) has demonstrated that royal portrait seals belonged to members of the elite class of society, and were one element in the construction of a personal Hellenizing identity.

(4) JANEH 2 1–36. In this text (the Mackenzie Museum tablet), Diophantos and Demokratēs, two of Anu-uballit~Kephālōn's sons, sell property in the Lugalira district to Mīn-Nanāya/Idat-Nanāya/Mattanā. In this private transaction, both brothers sealed with royal portrait seals. Diophantos would likely have used a royal portrait seal when, ten years earlier, he authorized allocation of undeveloped land, recorded in STUBM 96 (see above), where the royal portrait seal of his agent, Apollōnios, is preserved. Wallenfels (2015: 75) asserted that Diophantos employed this visual marker, iconography associated with royal portrait seals, to perpetuate his station as a member of a "once-powerful perhaps quite wealthy, local, Hellenizing family."

JANEH 2 1–36 also presents onomastic evidence for interactions among individuals with Greek names. The name of one witness, Sōsandros/Diodōros/Stratōn,²⁰ is one of only two instances in the Uruk corpus in which Greek elements appear in all three tiers of the name formula.²¹ Sōsandros bears the gentilic Urukāya (Urukean); however, the implications of this designation for understanding Sōsandros' standing at this time remain unclear. Sōsandros/Diodōros/Stratōn's interactions with a certain Idat-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš will be explored in connection with the investigation of the identity construction of the prebendary Arad-Rēš family, to which we now turn.

20 In JANEH 2 1–36, his seal, a rectangular gem, made the first impression on the top edge. Wallenfels (2015: 83) describes the iconography as "Nude Heracles standing three-quarters right with weight on forward leg, holding lowered club behind in right hand and lion skin in outstretched left hand." Sōsandros/Diodōros/Stratōn, Urukean, also serves as a witness to a prebend sale, BRM 2 40 (150 SE). On that tablet, he utilized a seal (published as AUWE 19 1052) carved into an elliptical gem, the motif of which can now be identified as a right ear (Wallenfels 2015: 82 n. 80).

21 The other person with a three-tier Greek name is Syros/Kephālōn/Syros, attested in Babyloniaca 15 7 (161 SE), where he is the supervisor of a certain Dēmētrios/Archias, the buyer of a plot of land. Dēmētrios/Archias also appears in STUBM 108.

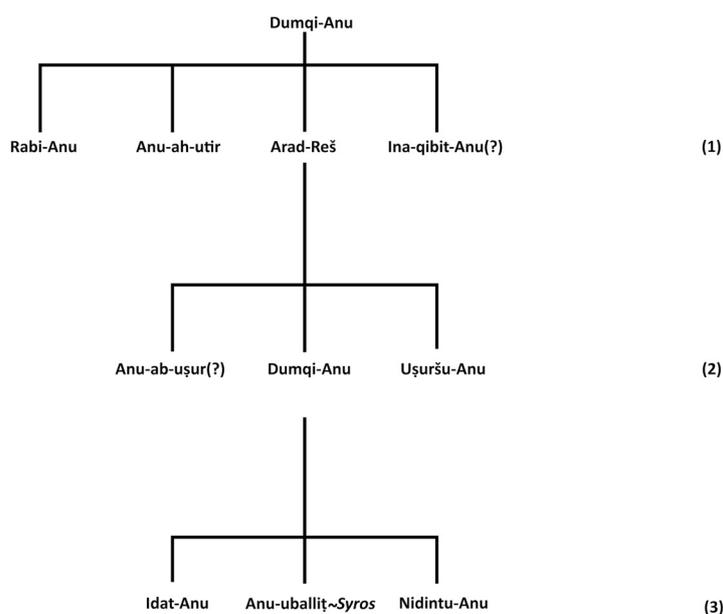


Figure 4 Dumqi-Anu Family Tree.

The Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš Family

The second case-study focuses on members of the Arad-Rēš family (Figure 4), whose name (meaning “Servant of the Rēš [temple of Anu, the prime cult center in Hellenistic Uruk]”) explicitly connects Arad-Rēš (and, by extension, his descendants) to the temple. The name of this most senior known member of the family offers no indication of that person’s or family’s rank in the temple hierarchy.²² However, the professional designation *atû* (porter), borne by Dumqi-Anu’s sons as well as his brother Anu-ab-ušur, locates the family’s professional status in the lower ranks of the urban elite.²³ Thus, evidence for construction of a Hellenizing identity among members of this family extends the scope of the process to another rank in the hierarchy of the prebend holders.

L.T. Doty (1977: 270–302) termed Dumqi-Anu and his son Idat-Anu “real estate dealers” in view of their numerous transactions concentrated in the Ištar Gate district, a location surely associated with their professional designation as *atû*. The family’s pattern of real estate acquisition and holdings²⁴ evokes aspects of landholding practices attested in kin groups in the Neo-Babylonian period, which Bastian Still has construed as an aspect of identity construction among individuals of comparable levels of social standing.²⁵ However, the family’s transactions

22 Still (2019: 13) provides a schematic representation of the hierarchy of prebendary personnel in the Neo-Babylonian temple.

23 McEwan (1981: 75) recognized the lower status of the *atû* on the basis of BRM 2 34, the only preserved sale contract of a porter’s allotment, which specifies performance of duties. This arrangement differentiates the porter’s allotment from the normal prebendary relationship.

24 Figures 7–11 in AUWE 17 (adapted from figures 10–14 in Doty 1977) sketch the development of the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family real estate holdings.

25 See both John Nielsen (2011: 46–62) and Bastian Still (2019: 65–69; 78–85) for discussion of patterns of kinship associated with holdings of *hanšû* lands in and around Babylon and Borsippa in the Neo-Babylonian period.

include non-family individuals whose standing transcended the lower levels of the *kiništu*, the prebendary organization of the temple.²⁶

The single Greek name preserved in the Dumqī-Anu/Arad-Rēš family records limits the potential of onomastic evidence to understand the extent of its Hellenizing identity construction. Rather, exploration of interactions between them and members of the Ah'ūtu clan, the prominent “Hellenizers” at Uruk, is productive, as these four documents demonstrate:

(1) BRM 2 37 // BiMes 24 23 (133 SE) is the only text in which Anu-ab-ušur/Arad-Rēš/Dumqī-Anu appears. It records his sale of property to Antiochus/Timokratēs/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu, a cousin of Diophantos and Demokratēs, discussed above. That property remains in the Kephālōn family until the end of the documentation, even as Dumqī-Anu and his son Idat-Anu acquired surrounding plots. The resulting physical proximity of these families facilitates inter-familial interactions, contributing to or reflecting the adoption of a new or evolving cultural identity.

(2) BRM 2 48 // AoF 5 5 (160 SE) records Dumqī-Anu/Arad-Rēš/Dumqī-Anu's purchase from Anu-mār-ittannu/Kidin-Anu/Tanittu-Anu//Hunzû of *bīt ritti* property in the Irigal district. Dumqī-Anu thus acquires a Greek neighbor, Nikolaos/Apollonidēs, who also holds a *bīt ritti*.

These two texts show that, in two different districts of Uruk, properties of the Dumqī-Anu/Arad-Rēš adjoin properties held by Greek-named persons. This is the only attestation of this Nikolaos in the corpus, so knowledge of Greek-Akkadian polyonymy for Nikolaos or his father is lacking, and the absence of a grandfather's or clan name precludes discussion of his social and cultural standing.

(3) YOS 20 78 records a division of real estate shares among three cousins of the Šumāti family.²⁷ There, Apollōnios/Apollōnios is a neighbor to Rihat-Anu, one of the individuals receiving a share of the property division. Like Nikolaos/Apollonidēs, mentioned above, Apollōnios is attested only here in the Uruk corpus, and thus, his name establishes only that Šumāti family property adjoins that of a Greek-named neighbor. Although members of the Dumqī-Anu/Arad-Rēš family do not participate in this transaction as principals, one individual, Idat-Anu/Dumqī-Anu/Arad-Rēš, serves as a witness. This locates him in the social circle of individuals with close connections to the principals and whose participation in the process of witnessing complete and validate a legal transaction in Hellenistic Uruk. Although Idat-Anu's name and filiation is not preserved in the damaged witness list of YOS 20 78, his name captions the third seal impression on the left edge of the tablet. This seal can be securely associated with this Idat-Anu, as the seal, AUWE 19 598, is impressed on four additional tablets, three of which fully preserve his tripartite name formula in the witness list.²⁸

26 Bongenaar (1997: 150–151) proposed this translation over previous translations (e.g., “priestly class (college),” “the temple personnel who prepared the offerings,” and “the entire household personnel of a temple” (additional translations are listed in his note 169), as it covers all cases of individuals who owned temple enterer's prebends (e.g., prebendary fishermen and porters as well as the priests), but not the scribes, who were not *ērib bīti*.

27 For a full investigation of the evolution of the Šumāti family real estate holdings, see Baker 2015, and especially pages 393–395 for a discussion of YOS 20 78.

28 BRM 2 45, in which Idat-Anu is party to the exchange of houses in the Ištar-Gate District. The other party to the exchange was Nidintu-Anu/Rihat-Anu/Mattattu-Ištar, a clay worker of the temple of the gods of Uruk, the professional group discussed in case study three, below. This co-occurrence provides a point of contact for constructing a network of interactions between the Dumqī-Anu family and the clay workers; VDI 1955/4 8, in which he is the buyer of shares in a prebend; BRM 2 49, in which he was one of three brothers who guarantee the sale made by his father. In the fourth transaction, BRM 2 46 // YOS 20 75, an Idat-Anu is also a witness to a prebend sale; the seal impression corresponds to the one attested on the three previous tablets.

Investigation of the motives found on seal impressions of other witnesses to YOS 20 78 reveals further association of Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family members with individuals who engaged in material construction of a Hellenizing identity; evidence for the Babylonians named Ṭāb-Anu and Anu-ab-ušur is relevant to this discussion.

In YOS 20 78, the names Ṭāb-Anu and Anu-ab-ušur caption seal impressions published as AUWE 19 18 (second impression on the left edge) and AUWE 19 19 (second impression on the bottom edge), respectively. Anu-ab-ušur's name, but not his patronym, is preserved in the heavily damaged witness list as well. His seal is carved with the image of a male head, a circle to the left of the head, a seven-pointed star above it and a vertical crescent at its right. AUWE 19 19 and AUWE 19 18, discussed just below, belong to a small group of private seals that display Hellenistic features comparable to those found on Seleucid coins: “the heavy eyebrow ridge, downturned tip of the long nose, and strong rounded tip of the chin with portraits of Demetrius I on coins from Antioch on the Orontes [...] in neither seal is a diadem indicated.”²⁹ The adoption of such a motif on his seal reflects Anu-ab-ušur's agency in constructing a Hellenizing identity, in a manner wholly comparable to that seen in the cases of Demokratēs and Diophantos, above.

Wallenfels notes the similarity between the iconography of Anu-ab-ušur's seal (AUWE 19 19) and that of Ṭāb-Anu (AUWE 19 18). This Ṭāb-Anu can be disambiguated from other holders of that name through reconstruction of his full name formula along with the iconographic evidence associated with persons named Ṭāb-Anu. Several seals belonging to individuals named Ṭāb-Anu are known:

- (i) STUBM 92: Ṭāb-Anu/Anu-erība/Nanāya-iddin//Kurī's seal (SSIII no. 732c) presents the image of a “human-headed winged lion to right facing vase (?), crescent above.”
- (ii) STUBM 96: the seal of Ṭāb-Anu/Anu-ikšur/Kidin-Anu//Luštammar-Adad (SSIII no. 736c) comprises “two figures [Gemini] to right, six-pointed star on right, crescent on left.”
- (iii) YOS 20 77 // NCTU 2+: Ṭāb-Anu/Illut-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//Sîn-lēqi-unninni impresses a seal depicting a pair of sphinxes (AUWE 19 283).
- (iv) BRM 2 43 (//?) YOS 20 74: the image on the seal AUWE 19 258 (a beardless sphinx facing a center column, with a six-pointed star to the right of the column) is associated with Ṭāb-Anu/Illut-Anu/Anu-zēr-iddin//Kurī.

None of the above seals presents motives comparable to the Hellenistic styling of Ṭāb-Anu's seal on YOS 20 78, reducing the likelihood that they belonged to and/or were used by the same person. However, Wallenfels compares the image of a “beardless male head facing right” on the third seal on the top edge of BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29 (published as AUWE 19 21: E)³⁰ to the iconography on the YOS 20 78 impression (AUWE 19 18). In those instances where the use of multiple seals by a single individual can be documented, the iconography of each seal utilized by an individual offers a similar repertoire of motives, reflecting the seal owner's personal aesthetic preferences (Wallenfels 1996: 120). Overall, the small number of instances of an individual using a seal with a Hellenistic head or bust, a motif specific to the category of royal portrait seals, increases the likelihood that two similar seal impressions captioned with the same name belonged to the same person—even when that name cannot be associated with a complete onomastic formula typically present in a witness list. Thus, the name Ṭāb-Anu

29 Wallenfels (1994: 12) assigns three additional seals to this category: AUWE 19 4 (9 SE), 6 (91 SE), and 7 (119 SE).

30 Wallenfels AUWE 19 21: E (p. 14) notes the similarity of this seal to AUWE 19 18.

attested on YOS 20 78 is to be associated with Ṭāb-Anu/Ina-qībīt-Anu/Anu-šum-lišir// descendant of Kurī, whose full name instance appears in line 10 of the preserved text of the witness list in BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29.³¹ With Ṭāb-Anu's identity confirmed on the basis of the Hellenizing iconography, the presence in BiMes 24 27 // 29 of several Greek names identifies other "Hellenizers" in Ṭāb-Anu's network:

- (i) Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu/³Phanaia: The Greek~Akkadian polyonymy of the guarantor and neighbor, as well as the Greek name of his mother, returns us to the corpus of onomastic evidence for Hellenizing identities. His poorly preserved seal, AUWE 19 1100: N, which Wallenfels (1994: 138, 141) categorizes under the rubric "Nondescript Seals and Fragmentary," offers no iconographic evidence. The activities of Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu/³Phanaia and his ego-network is treated fully in the third case study (see "Clay Workers," below).
- (ii) Antiochos/Demokratēs, a neighbor of Ṭāb-Anu. Neighbors typically do not witness and seal transactions, and this case is no different. While the Greek name and patronymic provide evidence of this neighbor's Hellenistic/Hellenizing identity, the lack of a double name or the existence of the name of a relative from an earlier generation makes it impossible to determine the existence of agnatic connections to a Babylonian family.
- (iii) The (unnamed) sons of Theomelēs: No iconographic evidence is available for these neighbor(s).
- (iv) Artemidōros/[...] is the one witness in BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29 with a Greek name. His seal impression, which, on the basis of the caption, should have appeared in the first position of the top edge, is not preserved.

The language of the names of Ṭāb-Anu's fellow witnesses locates him in a social circle of individuals with Greek names, at least one of whom bears a Greek patronymic. Thus, he serves as a weak link (Granovetter 1973) connecting Idat-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš to individuals whose identities are Hellenistic or Hellenizing. Were Ṭāb-Anu absent from Idat-Anu's transactions, the interconnectedness of those social circles would be greatly diminished (see Figure 5).

(4) BRM 2 49 (166 SE), the latest of the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family texts, records the participation of multiple family members in the sale of property to a member of the Luštammār-Adad clan. Among the Arad-Rēš family participants was Ušuršu-Anu, a neighbor to property his brother (if the proposed identification is correct) Dumqi-Anu held.³² This text provides

31 The twelve years between the transactions recorded on BiMes 24 27 // 29 (148 SE) and YOS 20 78 (160 SE) is a plausible span of time for Ṭāb-Anu to have been active and have witnessed both documents.

32 Ušuršu-Anu, a third individual bearing the patronymic Arad-Rēš, is likely to be a third brother of Dumqi-Anu and Anu-ab-ušur. The Ušuršu-Anu in question is attested as a neighbor to property held by his brother and nephew (see AUWE 17 Abb. 10 and 11), but none of the attestations of his name preserve the grandfather's name that would confirm his sibling status. Patterns evident in other real estate transactions within the corpus support this conclusion.

In real estate sales, parcels are described not only in terms of the lengths and geographic orientation of their sides, but also by reference to adjoining properties labeled with the name(s) of their owners, frequently family members (most commonly, fathers and sons, uncles and nephews). These patterns facilitate reconstruction of patterns of familial real estate activity (see Doty 1977: 270–301; Baker 2015, especially the diagram on p. 383).

The identification of Ušuršu-Anu as a brother of Dumqi-Anu and Anu-ab-ušur may be questioned on the grounds that they bear different, inherited, professional designations: the latter two bear the title *atū*, whereas Ušuršu-Anu bears the professional title *gaṭṭā'a*, reed-cutter, in all but one of the texts in which he appears (in BRM 2 49, the space for the title following Ušuršu-Anu's name is damaged). Although the specific duties of this temple profession are not well defined (McEwan 1981: 61, 115), it belongs to the lower level of temple professionals (as did the *atū*). To the extent that comparable social rank and the likelihood that neighbors may be family members, Ušuršu-Anu may be identified as the third son of Arad-Rēš, and brother of Anu-ab-ušur and Dumqi-Anu. A full investigation of the distribution and divergence of professional designations across members and branches of a family could identify patterns that enrich our understanding of the role of familial relationships in the social hierarchy of temple-based professions.

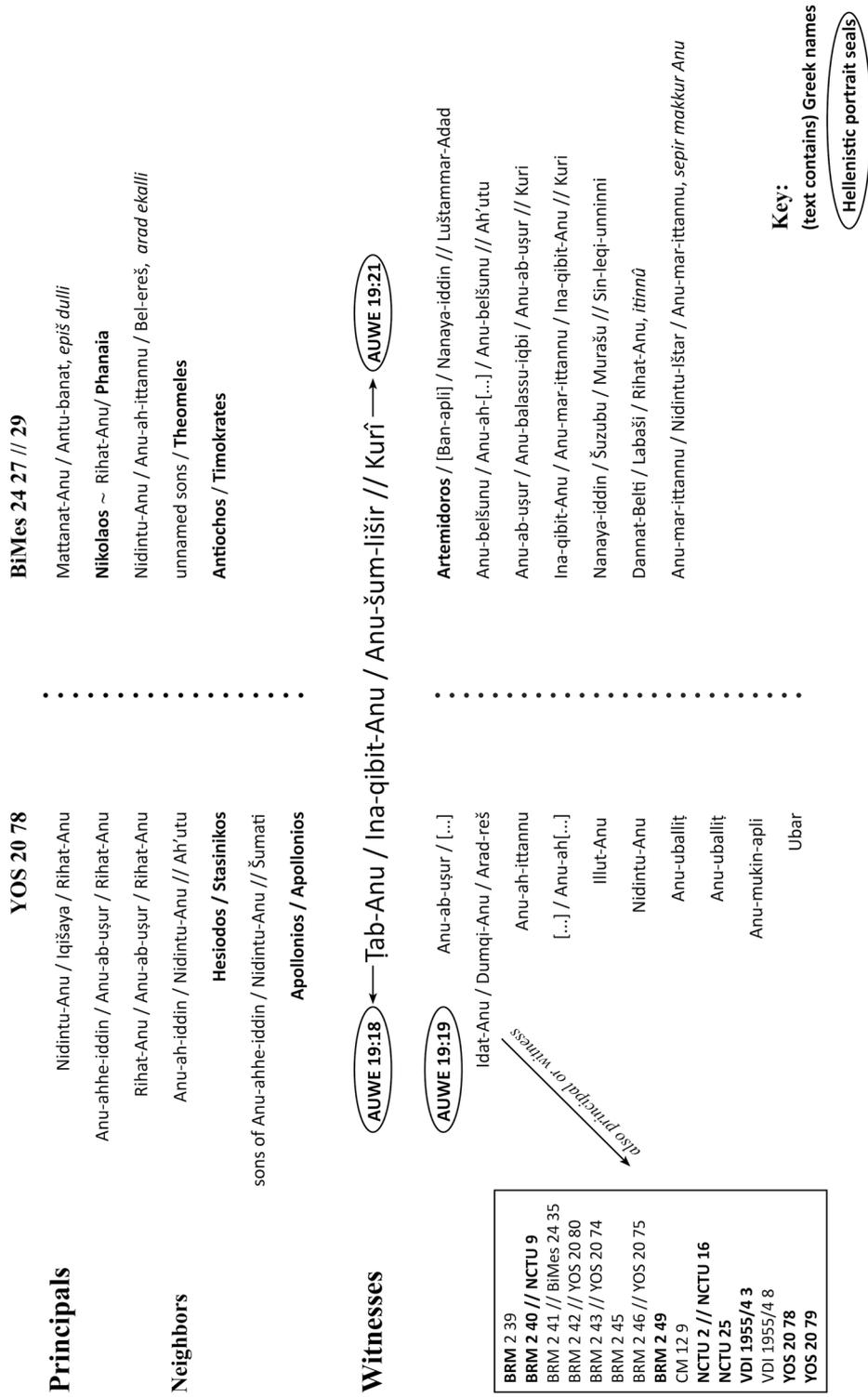


Figure 5 Bridging Communities of Hellenizing Actors: Ṭāb-Anu/Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-šum-išir//Kurī.

direct onomastic evidence for the Arad-Rēš family's construction of Hellenizing identity. One of the guarantors, a son of Dumqi-Anu, bears the polyonymous name Anu-uballit~Syros, as noted above. This single instance in the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family of Akkadian~Greek polyonymy name occurs in the same generation (5) of the Ah'ūtu family-tree in which all attested names, except one, are either Greek or Akkadian~Greek.³³ Greek names in the Ah'ūtu family onomasticon proliferate in NCTU 25: the four brothers Seleukos, Agathoklēs, Herakleidēs and Kephālōn, and those of their uncle, Alexandros, and father, Antiochos. While the increasing presence of Greek names in different, contemporaneous families is, by itself, not sufficient to prove the construction of Hellenizing identity the evidence for Idat-Anu's activities and social networks suggests a nascent pattern.

Iconographic evidence for the family's construction of a Hellenizing identity is noted in the seal his polyonymous brother Anu-uballit~Syros utilized (AUWE 19: 177). It depicts a full-frontal female (only lower half preserved) in a full-length garment. Another seal on that tablet, AUWE 19: 28 (top edge 3) bears the motif of a male head which Wallenfels (1994: 12) also assigns to a group of seals with Greek archetypes. That seal is captioned with the name Anu-ab-ušur, whose identity cannot be confirmed, as the witness list is damaged, and a second witness named Anu-ab-ušur appears in the seal captions. The other seal associated with that name is AUWE 19: 155, which depicts Athena, spear in her left hand and shield in her right. Thus, both individuals named Anu-ab-ušur utilized seals with Hellenistic motives.³⁴

Thus, we suggest that members of the Dumqi-Anu family, who occupied the lower-most levels of the urban, prebendary elite, engaged in Hellenizing identity construction through association with individuals who actively display external markers of such an identity, even as they acquire neighbors with Greek names in their real estate activities.

Clay Workers

The third case focuses on those members of a group who share the title of *ēpiš dulli ṭīdi ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk*, 'workers in clay of the temples of Uruk,' for whom the use of Greek names is attested. Individuals with this title occur in the corpus only from the beginning of the second century BCE, and the attribution of the title is to be associated with a Greek legal practice.³⁵ Thus, the origins of the status of clay worker in a Greek legal practice provides the social context for their Hellenizing identity. The network of individuals co-occurring with clay workers includes actors with Greek names, suggesting a wider pattern of Hellenizing identity construction may be detected.

33 The only Babylonian name in generation 5 of the Kephālōn family is Anu-balāssu-iqbi; he is likely named for his maternal grandfather, father of his mother 'Antu-banāt~'Ereštu-Nanāya/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Luštammār-Adad. His father, Antiochos, bore a Greek name. In view of the fact that the other individual whose name reflects maternal line papponymy is Diophantos~Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Anu-uballit~Kephālōn/Anu-balāssu-iqbi//Ah'ūtu, it is possible that Anu-balāssu-iqbi/Antiochos had a Greek second name, as yet unknown to us.

34 Wallenfels (1996: 116) notes that the variety of motives on the metal bezel rings in Hellenistic Babylonia demonstrate the impact of the cultural backgrounds of Achaemenid, Greco-Persian, Classical and Archaic Greece, as well as the Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, and older Mesopotamian traditions. The intaglio gems more commonly depict motives drawing directly on Western representations, notably male and female heads and busts.

35 Monerie (2015b: 421) connected the appearance of dedications of slaves "for the clay and gypsum work of the temples of Uruk" to the legal practice of contemporary Greek sacred manumissions: in this context, he suggests as a possibility that sacred manumissions were adopted in Uruk in connection to the creation of Hellenic civic institutions in the city.

McEwan (1981: 52–53) originally proposed that the label *ēpiš dulli* referred to a profession of low status, comparable to the *arad ekalli*, both of which were involved in construction work. In his recent study, Monerie (2015b: 423) deemed the clay workers to be a distinct group of individuals within the temple community, which “seems to fit in with what we know of the position of freedman in Hellenistic societies.” Contrary to their status in the Neo-Babylonian period, clay workers were not oblates, and share the following characteristics: (1) all lack family names, indicating they do not belong to any of the traditional families of Uruk’s upper class; (2) none belong to or enjoy the perquisites of the priestly class, evident from their absence as principals in prebend-related contracts.³⁶

It is clear that the standing of the clay workers was closer to the lower stratum of the temple community, that is, to the craftsmen and workers who served in the temples, than to the priestly community (Monerie 2015b: 423–424). However, unlike the porters (*atū*), who participated in the ration system in connection with their professional duties, the clay workers’ association with the temple is evident primarily from their participation in the tenured land system. Holding tenured temple land implied an obligation (or perhaps better, the opportunity) to implement building activities on the plot, in addition to performing services for the temple the details of which remain unfortunately unspecified (Corò 2012: 150–153; Monerie 2018: 305–306).³⁷

Individuals identified as clay workers appear in a group of approximately 30 documents that record their participation in two types of activities: (1) the consecration of privately-owned slaves in the Bīt Rēš for the “work of the clay of the temple,” and (2) in business activities where urban property in the city of Uruk is at stake.³⁸ The inventory of texts mentioning clay workers is provided in Table 2, which is arranged according to the role members of this group play in the contracts.³⁹ As the table shows, when clay workers appear as principals in the documents, they act primarily as sellers. In a limited number of cases, they occupy the role of guarantors or buyers; in only three cases does a clay worker serve as a witness, and then always as the last witness in the list, reflective of the profession’s low social rank.⁴⁰

Monerie (2015b: 424) has suggested that clay workers connected mainly with individuals of like status, other low-status professionals or individuals, lacking professional title, who also made no claim of descent from any of prominent kin groups of the city. Table 3 summarizes the interaction of clay workers with other individuals in the corpus. It is organized in three sections: the first section includes those texts where clay workers act as sellers. This consists of eleven documents (plus duplicates), to which we have added a single instance where the seller is the wife of a clay

36 In only one instance (YOS 20 70) does a clay worker occur in a prebend-related contract, in the role of witness; his final position in the list suggests that he is of low social rank. The absence of members of this group as principals in texts dealing with prebends points to their status outside of the prebendary system.

37 This is suggested by clauses recorded in two contracts of allocation of tenured land (STUBM 96; STUBM 97), that stipulate that in exchange for the assignation of the plot in perpetuity, the clay worker promises to undertake responsibility to build a house on the plot and settle in it, in addition to performing “whatever service may be required by the temple with regard to this house, in so far as it forms a part of the *karē* of the houses (which are the) property of Anu”: *mim-ma šá ta é dingir.[meš] it-ṭa-ri-du a-na muh-hi é mu.meš ina ka-re-e é.meš nig.ga*⁴⁶⁰ *i-pal-làh* (STUBM 97: obv.17–rev. 2).

38 Exceptions are represented by BiMes 24 27 // 29 and TCL 13 246, where the relevant properties are classified neither as temple property nor as tenured land. In the first case, the contract refers to a previous action concerning the transaction stipulated under the king’s authorization (the text is discussed further below); in the second, the property probably belonged to the clay worker’s wife, as the transaction is conducted with her advice (*ina milki*).

39 For a full inventory of the names of the clay workers see Monerie 2015b: Appendix 2.

40 For a discussion of the social mobility of individuals in connection with their role and relative position in Uruk witness lists, see the case of the parchment scribes in Corò 2021b.

worker (BIN 2 136). The make-up of the small community of individuals interacting as buyers with the clay workers, is illuminating. They are all individuals outside the traditional agnatic families of the city of Uruk, including professionals of various kinds (a master builder, a parchment maker, temple shepherds, individuals without a family name and in two instances, also individuals with Greek names). In addition, as is clear from Table 3, other clay workers frequently occur in these same texts either as neighbors to the properties that are the object of the contract, or in other roles.

For example, the transactions in BiMes 24 27 // 29, VS 15 22 and 27 feature a clay worker in the role of the seller and one of his fellows as guarantor; in YOS 20 88, the seller of the property is a clay worker, while four different individuals, all identified as clay workers, are owners of the properties adjoining the one which is the object of the sale. The configuration in which the principal and some neighbors (or their fathers) to the property under contract are clay workers is evident in YOS 15 9⁴¹ and BRM 2 41 // BiMes 24 35 (as sellers and one neighbor), in VS 15 27 (seller, guarantor and father of the neighbors), FLP 619⁴² (donor and three neighbors), and in BRM 2 45 (exchanger and neighbor).

Similarly, in contracts where clay workers appear only as neighbors (Table 3 §3), the actors typically belong to the small community of individuals not of the upper echelons of the city. Exceptions to this trend occur in a very limited number of cases: in VS 15 27, where the buyer is a member of the Luštammar-Adad family; in STUBM 97 and STUBM 103, where clay workers co-occur with members of the ancestral families of Uruk as parties to the contracts; and in CM 12 9, which documents a clay worker as a neighbor to a property originally owned by a member of the Kurī family (Table 3 §2).

These exceptions aside, the interactions of clay workers in the contracts outlined above suggest the existence of *propinquity*, that is, a tendency for actors to develop a greater number of ties with others in geographic proximity. Considered from another angle, this pattern of geographic proximity among members of the *ēpiš dulli* may reflect a pattern of social interaction “predominantly among individuals with similar lifestyles and socioeconomic characteristics,” that is, “homophily” (Still 2019, esp. 179–182). Alternatively, or additionally, the physically proximate neighbor relationships may have been a consequence of the administrative disposition of lands made available to the clay workers. The clay workers’ homophily stands in contrast to the relative infrequency of interaction between clay workers and members of the upper class, which, to the best of our knowledge, is (so far) limited to the examples examined above.⁴³

For the most part, these *ēpiš dulli* bear either typical Akkadian names, or names that are West-Semitic in whole or in part (Monerie 2015b: 424, with fn. 67, and Appendix 2). Because of the rarity of Greek-named individuals in the Uruk corpus overall, the appearance of an *ēpiš dulli* with a Greek name invites the investigation of the shaping of a Hellenizing identity. The rare

41 For a recent edition of this text see Wallenfels 2018.

42 The tablet is still unpublished; the relevant data are quoted here from Monerie 2015b: 441 and checked against the photograph of the tablet provided in CDLI (P459587).

43 STUBM 103 is the only document known to record a clay worker as buyer. The contract is formulated as a conditional sale, specifying in the transfer of ownership’s clause that the sale is “tenured” (*ana bīt rittūtu*). This may provide further indication that the interaction between clay workers and members of the traditional families only occurred under particular circumstances.

Greek~Akkadian name of the clay worker, Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu, stands out,⁴⁴ and invites consideration of the activities in which he appears for evidence of Hellenizing identity construction.

The case of ^fPhanaia and Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu, her son

Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu is the son of a Greek-named woman, ^fPhanaia, whose mother, ^šŠibqat-Šušinak bears an Akkadian name with an Elamite theophoric element. The evidence for Nikolaos and his mother enables the investigation, at a granular level, of the interplay of onomastic, material, and social factors in identity construction. ^fPhanaia, never attested with the title of clay worker, appears in YOS 20 62, the earliest Hellenistic Uruk document referencing this status and a component of Monerie's "Urukean sacred manumissions dossier" (Monerie 2015b: Appendices 1, 2). The text records that she was dedicated, along with two other sons, Hatam-Anu and Mīn-Nanāya, as slaves consecrated "for the clay and gypsum work of the temples of Uruk" (*ana ēpeš dulli řīdi u gašši řa bitāti ilāni řa Uruk*). Although this text is written in Akkadian, the legal practice that effects her consecration to the clay and gypsum work, and her dedication to the Babylonian gods Anu and Antu, "for the life of the king" and for her own well-being, is distinctively Greek (Monerie 2015b).

The onomastic evidence for individuals co-occurring with ^fPhanaia in YOS 20 62 reinforces the Hellenistic setting of such a transaction. The polyonymous Akkadian~Greek donor, ^šŠamē-ramāt~^fKratō, was herself the daughter of the Greek-named Artemidōros, and the wife of Tatedidos/Ipponikos, whose name and patronym are both Greek. Notably, of the four known cases of polyonymy among women in the Uruk corpus,⁴⁵ only ^šŠamē-ramāt~^fKratō bears a non-Semitic name. While it seems reasonable to suppose that the Akkadian element of ^šŠamē-ramāt~^fKratō's name reflected the cultural origins of her mother, any observations about the social standing of her maternal lineage must remain conjectural, especially as this is the only attestation of ^šŠamē-ramāt~^fKratō in the corpus. We may suggest that her participation in a practice at home in Hellenistic legal practice conditioned the use of her Akkadian~Greek double name.

The second witness in YOS 20 62 is a certain Ina-qibīt-Anu/Nikarchos (for whom the third element of the onomastic formula is lost). It is impossible to determine how ^fPhanaia received her Greek name, although Monerie (2014: 158) suggests she received it from her mistress at the time of her acquisition. However, her matronym points to her (or her family's) likely Elymaean origin. Regardless of who bestowed her name, the density of Greek names in the transaction underscores the fact that ^fPhanaia's dedication (if not other activities for which we lack documentation) occurred in a social circle populated with a number of individuals promoting Hellenizing identities.

Although ^fPhanaia and Nikolaos both bear Greek names, their activities and the composition of their respective cohorts demonstrate distinctive paths to Hellenizing behaviors. Nikolaos is absent from the document recording ^fPhanaia's consecration, probably reflecting that he had not been born at the time the contract was concluded. However, he may well have inherited his title and status of clay worker from his mother, who entered that status when she was dedicated

44 According to Monerie (2015b: 424) the use of personal names of West Semitic origins is a mark of distinctiveness of many of the members of this group. Naming practices among the clay workers (especially Bēlet-řēri) are also studied by Krul (2018b: 63–71).

45 ^fAntu-banāt~^fEreřtu-Nanāya/Anu-balāssu-iqbi/řamař-ēřir//Luřtammar-Adad, NCTU 2 // NCTU 16; ^šŠamē-ramāt~^fKratō, YOS 20 62; ^fLinakuřu~^fKua/Anu-uballit/Kidin-Anu//Luřtammar-Adad, OECT 9 51; and the recently identified ^fTaddin-Nanāya~Hanā/Rihat-Iřtar/Bagan-Anu, STUBM 95.

for clay and gypsum work in YOS 20 62 (Monerie 2015b: 423 with fn. 60). Nikolaos' career can be reconstructed on the basis of three contracts, all of them effected twenty years or more after the dedication of his family members.⁴⁶ He is usually identified with his polyonymous Greek~Akkadian name (Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu), followed (exceptionally) by his matronym (ʿPhanaia/ʿŠibqat-Šušinak); there is one case of explicit mention of the title of clay worker.

As the son of a manumitted slave (Monerie 2015b), his origins cannot be traced back to any of the traditional agnatic lines of the city, but his status as an *ēpiš dulli* situated him in a distinct social category within the temple community (Monerie 2015b: 423). As a result, he, along with all clay workers, participated in the tenured land system, as seen in STUBM 97, the earliest document in which he is attested, and the sole instance in which his status is explicitly stated. STUBM 97 and STUBM 96 are the only extant examples of a rare type of contract in dialogue form (*Zwiegesprächsurkunde*) recording the petitioner's request for the allocation as tenured properties of large plots of unbuilt urban land belonging to the temple (*makkūr Anu*). In view of the scarcity of relevant documentation, it is not clear whether this type of allocation was reserved exclusively for members of the clay workers status.⁴⁷

In STUBM 97, Nikoloas~Rihat-Anu/ʿPhanaia/ʿŠibqāya,⁴⁸ addresses Anu-zēr-iddin/Anu-uballit/Anu-zēr-iddin//Ekur-zākir in order to obtain a parcel of unbuilt land, designated property of Anu (*makkūr Anu*), as tenured property. The Babylonian Anu-zēr-iddin acts as the deputy for Anu-mukīn-apli/Lābāši//Kurī, the *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk*, who apparently authorized the allocation via a parchment letter, a procedure that evokes the mechanisms enacted by the royal administration.⁴⁹ In Hellenistic Uruk, allocations such as STUBM 96 and 97 differ from other sales in requiring the official intervention of the *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk*, placing the transaction as well as the involved individuals in a sphere of activity close to the administrative (and perhaps royal) circles.

Nikolaos makes his appeal to the official authorities to receive the allocation of an institutional tract of land (*makkūr Anu*) using his Greek name as he interacts with an individual of higher social standing, the deputy of the *rab ša rēš āli* and his representative, Anu-zēr-iddin, both of whom belong to the traditional families of Uruk, the former a member of the Kurī family (who apparently succeeded Diophantos//Ah'ūtu in this position), the latter (a son of Anu-uballit/Anu-zēr-iddin//Ekur-zākir) a member of the Ekur-zākir clan. The use of the Greek name Nikolaos beside his Akkadian one may have afforded Rihat-Anu entrée to, or the appearance of belonging to the social circles in which tenured land was a common asset. Indeed, the use of Greek names in the

46 STUBM 97 (144 SE), BiMes 24 27 / BiMes 24 29 (148 SE), and STUBM 104 (160 SE). The title "clay worker" is absent from BiMes 24 27 / 29; in STUBM 104, where Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu is a witness, the matronym presumably appeared in the break following the damaged filiation statement A-[...].

47 Monerie (2015b: 427, fn. 82) tentatively suggests this is not the case, quoting NCTU 8 as evidence for individuals other than the clay workers engaging in transactions involving tenured land and undertaking the same responsibilities as the clay workers (*i.e.*, building a house on the plot and performing the services required by the temple). It is noteworthy that the individual in question bears the Greek name Aristeus. On *makkūr Anu* see now Corò 2022.

48 The grandmother's name is a hypocoristic of the full name ʿŠibqat-Šušinak.

49 On the use of parchment letters by the royal administration in Hellenistic Babylonia, see Sciandra 2012. On the connections between the Seleucid royal administration and the *rab ša rēš āli*, see Clancier & Monerie 2014, esp. 221–222. Although in STUBM 97 we are dealing with a more "local" procedure, involving the temple authorities and not the king or his high officials, the reference to parchment (instead of clay) to authorize the transaction is reflective of the adoption at the local level of mechanisms that are typical of the secular administration. The fact that the *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk* did not use clay as the medium for an official authorization to conclude a transaction recorded on clay and involving temple properties may indicate that he did not use the Babylonian language when acting *ex officio* (Corò 2012: 154).

context of allocations of tenured land is not new, judging from the other document of this type, STUBM 96, where both the *rab ša rēš āli* and his deputy bear a double Greek and Akkadian name (see Corò 2012: 157–159; 2018: 266), and, as demonstrated in the discussion above, promoted their own Hellenizing identity through a set of visual markers.

The activities in BiMes 24 27 // 29, the sale in the Adad temple district of a property that is not qualified as *makkūr Anu*, further elucidate the social circles in which Nikolaos is involved. In this text, the seller is the clay worker Mattanatu-Anu/^fAntu-banât; the buyer is the *arad ekalli* Nidinti-Anu/Anu-ah-ittannu/Bēl-ēreš. Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu acts as guarantor for the seller. Two individuals with Greek names are attested as neighbors—Antiochos/Demokratēs and the “(unnamed) sons” of a certain Theomelēs. In addition, one witness (Artemidōros/Ni-.../Nanāya-iddin//Luštammār-Adad) sports a Greek personal name in a name formula that traces his family back to one of the urban elite clans.

The text itself is exceptional, with a special clause (in bold below) appended to the transaction:

(the seller of the house and undeveloped plot, received from Nidintu-Anu, i.e. the buyer), *1 mina and 10 shekels silver (i.e., the price of the property), along with 1 mina (extra) silver that is given for the securing of the pledge of the built house on the 18th of Šabaṭu 148 (i.e. the day before the contract was drawn), **under the seal of the king, concerning that house and undeveloped plot.***⁵⁰

The atypical clause recording the particular conditions of the property being sold states that the house and undeveloped plot that is the object of the transaction was apparently pledged, and the day before the contract was concluded, the buyer paid an additional mina to the seller in order to secure its pledge. According to the contract’s formulation, the transaction concerning the pledge was concluded “under the seal of the king.” We have no further reference to this practice elsewhere in the corpus. Thus, while the reason for the prospective buyer having to secure the pledge under the aegis of the royal bureau remains unknown,⁵¹ Nikolaos, the transaction’s guarantor, takes responsibility for a property whose particular status brought him into contact with the king’s bureau.

His use of his double Greek~Akkadian name flags Nikolaos as a bridge between the different social circles represented by the individuals involved in this transaction: on the one hand, the principals (i.e. the seller and buyer, one a fellow clay worker, the other another low ranked professional) who, like Nikolaos, were not members of the upper class of the city, and on the other, neighbors, with partially or whole Greek name formulae, who represented the social circle with which he interacted in his role as petitioner.

The latest attestation of Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu occurs in the fragmentary STUBM 104 (dated 160 SE); unfortunately, his filiation and title are missing. The contract offers no further evidence of the clay worker’s involvement with individuals sporting a Hellenizing identity, as the principals are a parchment maker and another individual whose professional title is broken. In the contract, Nikolaos belongs to the wider social circle of the protagonists, appearing in final position in a long list of witnesses who all exhibit traditional three-tier Akkadian names.⁵² This

50 BiMes 24 27 // 29, obv. 11-15: (...) kù.babbar a₄ 1 ma.na 10 gín kù.babbar šám é u ki-šub-ba-a mu.meš til. meš it-ti 1 ma.na kù.babbar šá na-da-na a-na šu¹(SU)-bu-ṭa šá maš-ka-nu-tu šá ép-šú ina ⁱⁱⁱziz u₄ 18-kám mu 148-kám **ina un-qa šá lugal** a-na muḥ-ḥi é u ki-šub-ba-a mu.meš ¹mat-tan-na-tu₄-^d60 ¹⁶na-din-na-an é u ki-šub-ba-<a> mu.meš (...).

51 According to Joannès (2012: 248–249) this practice reflects the fact that the temple maintained supervision of the administration of the temple’s business.

52 The family names of the witnesses of this transaction are all lost in a lacuna of the text; however, it is clear from the extant traces of some of them that they were originally recorded. For an edition of the text, see Corò 2018: 280–281 and Plate CIV.

is the only instance of Nikolaos serving as a witness in the corpus, and this exception may be related to the fact that the transaction is a conditional sale *ana bīt rittūtu* of an unbuilt plot of urban land. Nikolaos had already been involved in this kind of transaction, negotiating some years earlier, in STUBM 96, for the allocation of a large property regulated by the same rules.

Conceivably, a consequence of Nikolaos' direct receipt, via direct allocation by royal authorities, of a substantial plot of tenured land was a promotion of Nikolaos to a status that elevated him over other clay workers to the social circle of the members of the traditional families of Uruk; having achieved that standing, he could serve as witness to the transaction in STUBM 104. The use of his polyonymous name here may thus have worked as cultural capital, a benefit from his interaction with circles of royal powers.

Use of Greek names among the clay workers is limited to Nikolaos and his mother. In spite of their biological relationship, their social networks are distinct, as they never co-occur in transactions (Figure 6). Nonetheless, these two networks display a high proportion of Greek names in a subset of the corpus. ¹Phanaia's Greek identity may have begun to be shaped with her dedication (and possible bestowal of her Greek name) by ¹Šamê-ramât-¹Kratō. Perhaps, as a consequence of her proximity to social circles in which members demonstrated a Greek identity, she laid the groundwork for her son's construction and ongoing use of a Hellenizing identity.

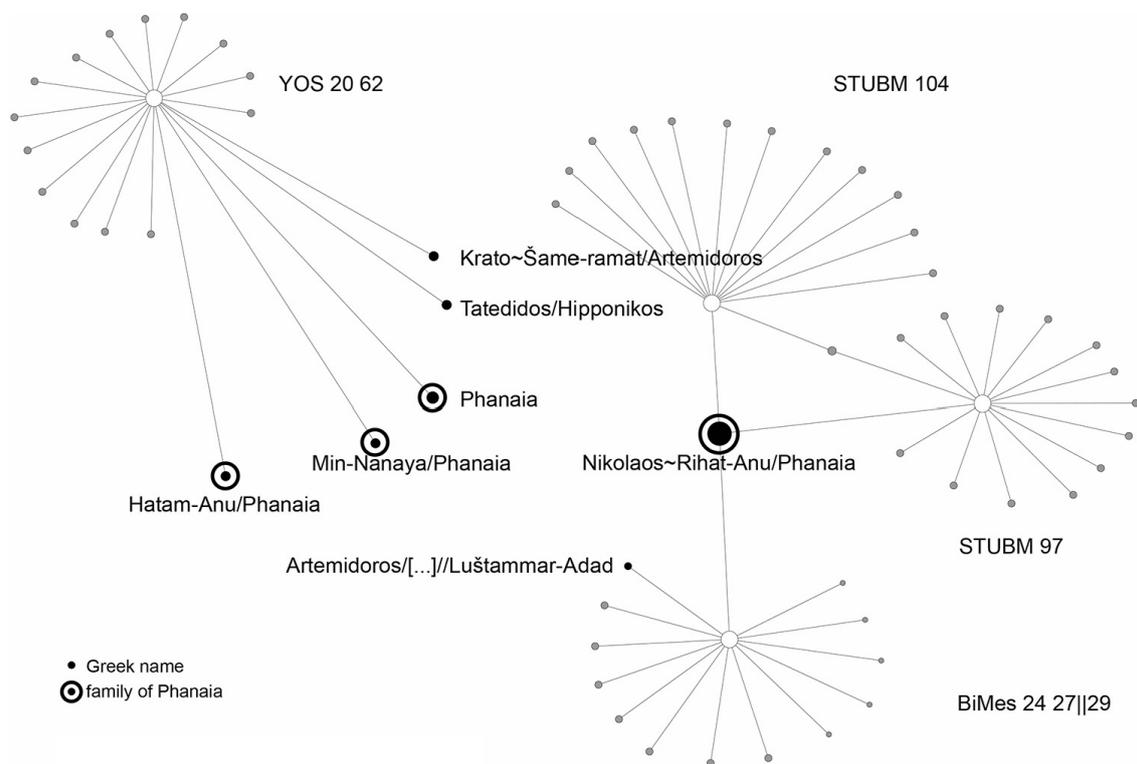


Figure 6 Distinct Networks of Nikolaos and ¹Phanaia.

SUMMARY AND CLOSING THOUGHTS ON DETECTING HELLENIZING IDENTITY IN URUK

In each of the preceding scenarios, we explored markers of identity construction in Hellenistic Uruk. In this corpus, the primary criterion for recognizing an individual who engaged in Hellenizing identity construction is onomastic; we define a Greek name as one in which a Greek component occupies any position in the name formula. We observed, anecdotally, network patterns associated with different units in various strata of the urban Babylonian community at Uruk, namely the lineage of the Ah'ūtu, the family of Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš, and individuals who held the status *ēpiš dulli ša tīdi*.

The Ah'ūtu clan presents the greatest number of Greek names in clans where such evidence is preserved. However, the fact that roughly half of the Greek names in the corpus are not associated with a clan name (primarily because of textual damage) reminds us of limitations in the evidence. Nonetheless, the Ah'ūtu clan line of Anu-balāssu-iqbi preserves many Greek and polyonymous Akkadian~Greek names. Polyonymy in the Uruk corpus is more widespread than previously recognized, and recently identified examples led us to suggest that many Greek-named members of the latest documented generation of the Anu-balāssu-iqbi line in fact bore polyonymous names.

Ah'ūtu family activity also provides evidence of Hellenizing identity construction in the material culture of seals, specifically Diophantos' and Demokratēs' Greek royal portrait seals. Diophantos/Anu-uballit~Kephālōn's use of the royal portrait seal when conducting personal business suggests adoption of a Hellenizing identity that extended beyond the implementation of administrative duties associated with his positions as *rab ša rēš āli*. An additional five seal impressions emulate features of contemporary Seleucid coins (AUWE 19: 4, 6, 7, 18, 19), although none of the captions associated with them identify individuals with Greek names. However, Tāb-Anu's seal (AUWE 19: 18), contributes to identifying his place in a network of individuals with Greek names. Additionally, the motif on Šamê-ramāt's seal (AUWE 19: 23) supports the argument for considering seal motives as a marker of Hellenistic identity construction.⁵³

Members of the Arad-Rēš family maintained strong familial association with land holdings in a city quarter associated with their *atū*, 'gatekeepers,' prebendary perquisites. The familial patterns of identity construction resemble those still detected among *hanšū*-land-holding members of Neo-Babylonian Borsippa's priestly families. Although the locus of Arad-Rēš family activity delimits a symbolic boundary marking their social standing, they do not seem to have adopted external markers of Hellenistic identity construction. Only in the last generation of this family's documentation does a polyonymous individual appear: Anu-uballit~Syros, who appears, along with his brother, Idat-Anu, as clearers of claims against a property their father, Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš/Dumqi-Anu, sold to Anu-ah-ittannu/Anu-šum-lišir/Anu-ah-ittannu//Luštammar-Adad (BRM 2 49 // AoF 5 10).

However, Idat-Anu's role as a witness in YOS 20 78 locates him in a network of individuals who demonstrate Hellenistic identity construction, including Tāb-Anu, identified

53 Although "detached profile human heads" served as filler on the fields of Mesopotamian seals going back to the Isin/Larsa and Old Babylonian periods, they became the sole or central element in the West (Wallenfels 1994: 11). Their appearance as such in Mesopotamia appears to coincide with Greek influence on the medium, beginning in the Achaemenid period and continuing into the Hellenistic period.

above as having sealed with a royal portrait seal, and Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu/^fPhanaia. Thus, for the Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš family, the barely perceptible construction of Hellenizing identity depends on one son's interaction with Ṭāb-Anu, who serves as a bridge between the communities of the *atû* and the *ēpiš dulli ša ṭīdi*. Future research will explore the extent of the interconnections between these two lower strata of the temple professions.

Our study of the *ēpiš dulli ša ṭīdi*, the lowest of the social ranks we explored, shows this to be the locus of the most apparent network of interactions with Greek-named individuals. Although members of the *ēpiš dulli* did not claim descent from the traditional families of the city and are relative newcomers in the community, appearing only late in the sources, they engaged in transactions in which they benefitted from the evolving imprint of Hellenistic economic and legal practices.

Clay workers, who operated in circles characterized by homophily, benefitted from a kind of land allocation apparently not available to members of other groups, and which required authorization by Greek royal and administrative powers. It is clear from the widespread use of Akkadian and West Semitic names among the *ēpiš dulli* that outward adoption of a Hellenizing identity was not a prerequisite to obtaining this kind of property holding. Yet, the procedures that effected the allocation, including the issuance of authorizations on parchment documents, assured the *ēpiš dullis'* proximity to the circles of royal power. Conceivably, Nikolaos~Rihat-Anu opted to use his Greek name or his Akkadian~Greek name as an outward marker of having crossed a social boundary and having gained access to the circles in which tenured land was a common asset.

The patterns laid out in this study are based on observation of patterns in the texts; we have yet to generate formal social network models and to assess the statistics associated with them. Recent work, notably Still's *The Social World of the Babylonian Priest*, demonstrates the potential of the method for analysis of late Babylonian archives. But not all datasets are of comparable size, and Caroline Waerzeggers' 2014 study of contact between Judeans and Babylonians in the Babylonian Exile demonstrates the potential of prudent application of social network concepts to identify the locus of important cultural interactions in smaller corpora. Here, the identification of Ṭāb-Anu as a bridge between two clusters of individuals with different degrees of outward Hellenistic-identity marking serves a similar function. We expect that future investigation of the corpus with formal analytic tools will reinforce the conclusions observed here and identify additional instances of Hellenistic identity marking.

ABBREVIATIONS

AoF 5	SARKISIJAN, Gagik 1977. Bruchstücke von seleukidischen Wirtschaftstexten aus Uruk in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> 5: 81–90.
AO	tablet siglum in the Louvre.
AUWE 17	KOSE, Arno 1998. <i>Uruk: Architektur IV. Von der Seleukiden- bis zur Sasanidenzeit</i> . (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka: Endberichte 17) Mainz am Rhein: Philipp Von Zabern.
AUWE 19	WALLENFELS 1994.
Babyloniaca 8	BOISSIER, Alfred 1924. <i>Contrat de l'époque de Séleucus IV (Philopatôr)</i> (Babyloniaca 8): 27–35. Paris: Geuthner.
Babyloniaca 15	RUTTEN, Marguerite 1935. <i>Contrats de l'époque séleucide conservés au Musée du Louvre</i> . (Babyloniaca 15) Paris: Geuthner.
BagM	VAN DIJK, Jan & Werner R. MAYER 1980. <i>Texte aus dem Reš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka</i> . (Baghdader Mitteilungen Beiheft 2) Berlin: Gebrüder Mann.

- BiMes 24 WEISBERG, David B. 1991. *The Late Babylonian Texts of the Oriental Institute Collection*. (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 24) Malibu: Undena.
- BIN 2 NIES, James B. & Clarence E. KAISER 1920. *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities* (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 2) New Haven: YUP.
- BM tablet siglum in the British Museum.
- BRM 2 CLAY, Albert T. 1913. *Legal Documents from Erech Dated in the Seleucid Era (312–65 BC)*. (Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 2) New Haven: YUP.
- CM 12 WALLENFELS, Ronald 1997. *Seleucid Archival Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum*. (Cuneiform Monographs 12) Groningen: Styx.
- CT 49 KENNEDY, Douglas A. 1968. *Late Babylonian Economic Texts*. (Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 49) London: British Museum.
- FLP tablet siglum in the Free Library of Philadelphia.
- JANEH 2 WALLENFELS 2015.
- NCTU SARKISIJAN, Gagik 1974. New Cuneiform Texts from Uruk of the Seleucid Period in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (NCTU). *Forschungen und Berichte* 16: 15–76.
- OECT 9 McEWAN, Gilbert J.P. 1982. *Texts from Hellenistic Babylonia in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 9) Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Oppert 5 OPPERT, Jules & Joachim MENANT 1877. *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie e de la Chaldée*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- SpTU5 VON WEIHER, Egbert 1998. *Uruk: spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U18 Teil 5*. (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka 13) Mainz am Rhein: Philippe Von Zabern.
- SSIII MITCHELL, Terence C. & Ann SEARIGHT 2008.
- STUBM CORÒ, Paola 2018. *Seleucid Tablets from Uruk in the British Museum: Text Editions and Commentary*. (Antichistica 16. Studi orientali 6) Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- TCL 13 CONTENAU, George 1929. *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens, II: Achéménides et Séleucides*. (Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre 13) Paris: Geuthner.
- VAT tablet siglum in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.
- VDI 1955/4 SARKISIJAN, Gagik 1955. Castnye klinopisnye kontrakty selevkidskogo vremeni iz sobranija gosu darstven nogo Ermitazha. *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1955/4: 136–162.
- VS 15 SCHROEDER, Otto 1916. *Kontrakte des Seleukidenzeit aus Warka*. (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler des Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 15) Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- YOS 1 CLAY, Albert 1915. *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 1) New Haven: YUP.
- YOS 15 GÖTZE, Albrecht 2009 (ed. Benjamin Foster). *Cuneiform Texts from Various Collections*. (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 15) New Haven: YUP.
- YOS 20 DOTY, L. Timothy 2012 (ed. Ronald Wallenfels). *Cuneiform Documents from Hellenistic Uruk*. (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 20) New Haven: YUP.

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APPENDIX 1: TABLES

Table 1 What makes a name Greek?

Greek names in texts from the Uruk corpus, sorted by number and position of Greek elements; Greek names appear in italics.

1. Single Greek element in name formula:
(a) as first element

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
NCTU 25	<i>Agathoklēs</i>	–	–	–	–
NCTU 25	<i>Alexander</i>	Ina-qibīt-Anu	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
OECT 9 58	<i>Alexander</i>	Anu-ah-ittannu	–	–	–
YOS 20 70	<i>Antigenēs</i>	Anu-bēlšunu	–	–	–
YOS 20 72	<i>Antiochos</i>	Ina-qibīt-Anu	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 31	<i>Antiochos</i> ~ Anu-bēlšunu	Nidintu-Anu	Tanittu-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 43	<i>Antipatros</i>	Nidintu-Anu	[...]	[...]	[...]
VS 15 44	<i>Apollōnios</i>	Nanāya-iddin	Ina-qibīt-Anu	–	–
STUBM 96	<i>Apollōnios</i> ~ Anu-uballiṭ	Kidin-Anu	–	–	–
NCTU 8	<i>Aristeus</i>	Aiata-Nanāya	Mak-Madānu	–	–
BiMes 24 47	<i>Aristokratēs</i>	Nanāya-iddin	–	–	–
BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29	<i>Artemidōros</i>	Ni-...	Nanāya-iddin	–	Luštammār- Adad
VDI 1955/4 3	<i>Athēnion</i>	Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-zēr-iddin	Rihat-Anu	–
VDI 1955/4 3	<i>Athēnodōros</i>	Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-zēr-iddin	Rihat-Anu	–
VDI 1955/4 3	<i>Athēnophilos</i>	Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-zēr-iddin	Rihat-Anu	–
BRM 2 55	<i>Dēmētrios</i> ~ Nanāya-iddin	Nidintu-Anu	Tanittu-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
YOS 20 79	<i>Dēmokratēs</i>	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
STUBM 106	<i>Dioklēs</i>	Anu-bullissu	Rihat-Ištar	–	–
YOS 20 87	<i>Hagnotheos</i>	–	–	–	–
NCTU 25	<i>Herakleidēs</i>	–	–	–	–
BagM 15 274–275 (Arsacid)	<i>Herakleidēs</i> ~ Anu-bēlšunu		–	–	–
YOS 20 87	<i>Hippo</i> -...	–	–	–	–
NCTU25	<i>Kephalōn</i>	–	–	–	–
OECT 9 56	<i>Kephalōn</i>	[...]	–	–	–
SpTU 5 313 ⁵⁴	<i>Kephalōn</i>	Anu-uballiṭ	–	–	–
VDI 1955/4 3	<i>Kephalōn</i>	Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-zēr-iddin	Rihat-Anu	–

54 The patronymic is broken in all instances of this name in SpTU 5 313. Monerie (2014: 147) identifies this individual as the same as *Kephalōn*~Anu-uballiṭ; Clancier reconstructs the patronym as Anu-uballiṭ rather than Anu-balāssu-iqbi <<http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P348895>>, accessed 9 Apr. 2023.

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
BiMes 24 6 // VS 15 7; BiMes 24 31; BiMes 24 33; BiMes 24 54; OECT 9 42	<i>Kephalōn~</i> <i>Anu-uballit</i>	Anu-balāssu- iqbi	–	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 36	<i>Kephalōn~</i> <i>Nidintu-Anu</i>	Anu-bēlšunu	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 44 (Arsacid)	<i>Nikanōr</i>	–	–	–	–
STUBM 103	<i>Nikanōr</i>	Nidintu-Anu	–	–	–
YOS 20 46	<i>Nikarchos</i>	Anu-ah-ittannu	[...]	[...]	[...]
YOS 1 52; YOS 20 46	<i>Nikarchos~</i> <i>Anu-uballit</i>	Anu-ikšur	–	–	Ah'ūtu
YOS 20 99	<i>Nikolaos</i>	–	–	–	–
YOS 20 62; STUBM 97; BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29	<i>ῥPhanaia</i>	ῥŠibqat-Šušinak (= ῥŠibqaya)	–	–	–
VS 15 17; VS 15 25	<i>Philippos~</i> <i>Anu-bullissu</i>	Anu-ab-ušur	Nanāya-iddin	–	–
STUBM 74 // STUBM 75	<i>Philos</i>	–	–	–	–
NCTU 25	<i>Seleucus</i>	–	–	–	–
BRM 2 49 // AoF 05 10	<i>Syros~</i> <i>Anu-uballit</i>	Dumqi-Anu	Arad-Rēš	Dumqi-Anu	–
BiMes 24 54	<i>Timokratēs</i>	–	–	–	–
OECT 9 42	<i>Timokratēs</i>	Anu-balāssu- iqbi	–	–	(Ah'ūtu?)

(b) as patronym (Greek name in 2nd position)

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
NCTU 2 // NCTU 16; NCTU 13; YOS 20 76	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	<i>Antiochos</i>	Ina-qibit-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 30	Nidintu-Anu	<i>Antiochos~</i> Anu- bēlšunu	Nidintu-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
Oppert 5; RIAA ² 297	Anu-ah-ittannu	<i>Antipatros</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BIN 2 136	Idat-Anu	<i>Aristōn</i>	Anu-[...]	[...]	[...]
NCTU 23	ῥBēlessunu	<i>Kephalōn</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BRM 2 31	[...]	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 25; BRM 2 38	Anu-ab-utir	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 53 // YOS 20 43	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 45; VS 15 46	Anu-ikšur	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
BiMes 24 45; BRM 2 33; YOS 20 62	Ina-qibīt-Anu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 53 // YOS 20 43; YOS 20 42	Nidintu-Anu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	–	–
BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29	unnamed sons	<i>Theomelēs</i>	–	–	–
YOS 20 72	unnamed sons	<i>Timokratēs</i>	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 23 // BRM 2 37; BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29	<i>Antiochos</i>	<i>Timokratēs</i>	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
STUBM 74 // STUBM 75	Šibqat-Ištar	<i>Zenophilos</i>	–	–	–

(c) as grandfather's name (in 3rd position)

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
VDI 1955/4 3	Anu-ab-ušur	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 34	Anu-ah-iddin	Nidintu-Anu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
STUBM 102; YOS 20 52	Anu-ah-ittannu	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
BRM 2 38	Anu-ahhē-iddin	Anu-ab-utir	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 25; BiMes 24 49	Anu-bēlšunu	Anu-ahhē-iddin	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
BRM 2 38	Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-ab-utir	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 47; YOS 20 65; YOS 20 66	Anu-zēr-iddin	Nidintu-Anu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 13; BRM 2 31; BRM 2 33; CM 12 06 // VS 15 32; VS 15 48	Lābāši	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
NCTU 8; BRM 2 33	Mannu-iqapu	Nidintu-Anu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu
YOS 20 69	Tanittu-Anu	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	–	Ah'ūtu

(d) as greatgrandfather's name (in 4th position)

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
BiMes 24 25; YOS 20 79	Kidin-Anu	Anu-bēlšunu	Anu-ahhē-iddin	<i>Nikarchos</i>	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 25; STUBM 102	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	Anu-ah-ittannu	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	Ah'ūtu
STUBM 102	Anu-bēlšunu	Anu-ah-ittannu	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	Ah'ūtu
Iraq 59 38; STUBM 102	Lābāši	Anu-ah-ittannu	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	Ah'ūtu
BRM 2 44	Anu-bēlšunu	Tanittu-Anu	Anu-bēlšunu	<i>Nikarchos</i>	Ah'ūtu

2. Two Greek Elements (personal name and patronymic)

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
STUBM 99	<i>Alexander</i>	<i>Timokratēs</i>	–		Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 6 // VS 15 7; YOS 20 54	^f <i>Antiochis</i>	<i>Diophantos</i>	–	–	–
BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29;	<i>Antiochos</i>	<i>Demokrates</i>	–	–	–
BRM 2 37 // BiMes 24 23	<i>Antiochos</i>	<i>Timokratēs</i>	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
TCL 13 246	<i>Antipatros</i>	<i>Diodōros</i>	–	–	–
OECT 9 26	<i>Apollonidēs</i>	[...]-ton	–	–	–
YOS 20 78	<i>Apollōnios</i>	<i>Apollonios</i>	–	–	–
STUBM 58 // STUBM 59; YOS 20 96	<i>Apollōnios</i> ~ Rihat-Ištar	<i>Charmōn</i>	–	–	–
BiMes 24 44	<i>Aristoklēs</i>	<i>Andronikos</i>	[...]	[...]	[...]
VS 15 50	<i>Aristōn</i>	<i>Antōn</i>	–	–	–
BiMes 24 43; BRM 2 53	<i>Aristōn</i>	<i>Diophantos</i>	[...]	[...]	[...]
YOS 20 43; YOS 20 46	<i>Artēmidōros</i>	<i>Attinas</i>	–	–	–
BRM 2 52	<i>Athēnadēs</i>	<i>Alexippos</i>	–	–	–
Babyloniaca 15 7; STUBM 108	<i>Dēmētrios</i>	<i>Archias</i>	–	–	–
JANEH 2 1–36	<i>Dēmokratēs</i>	<i>Kephalōn</i> [~Anu-uballit]	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 44	<i>Didymos</i>	<i>Diophantos</i>	[...]	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 13	<i>Dionysia</i>	<i>Herakleides</i>	–	–	–
VS 15 14; YOS 20 69	<i>Diophanēs</i>	<i>Stratōn</i>	Ina-qibīt-Anu	–	–
BRM 2 55	<i>Diophanēs</i>	<i>Stratōn</i>	Kidin-Anu	–	–
BiMes 24 31; BRM 2 55; JANEH 2 1–36; Corò 2012 157–159	<i>Diophantos</i> ~ Anu-balāssu-iqbi	<i>Kephalōn</i> ~ Anu-uballit	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
OECT 9 26	<i>Eurydamos</i>	<i>Hekataios</i>	–	–	–
BaMB 2 113	<i>Heroteos</i>	<i>Zōilos</i>	–	–	–
YOS 20 78	<i>Hesiodos</i>	<i>Stasinikos</i>	–	–	–
Oppert 5	<i>Isidōros</i>	<i>Ephaistion</i>	–	–	–
VS 15 30	<i>Isidōros</i>	<i>Isitheos</i>	–	–	–
STUBM 99	<i>Kephalōn</i>	<i>Antiochos</i>	Nidintu-Anu	-	Ah'ūtu
RIAA ² 297	<i>Kephalōn</i>	<i>Dēmokratēs</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
YOS 20 62	^k <i>Kratō</i> ~ Šamē-ramāt	<i>Artēmidōros</i>	–	–	–
OECT 9 26	<i>Kyrillos</i>	[...]-ton	–	–	–
OECT 9 26	<i>Latikiros</i>	<i>Latikiros</i>	–	–	–
OECT 9 26	<i>Menandros</i>	[...]-ton	–	–	–
OECT 9 26	<i>Mēnodōros</i>	[...]-dōros	–	–	–

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
VS 15 13	<i>Nikanōr</i>	<i>Andronikos</i>	–	–	–
BRM 2 53	<i>Nikanōr</i>	<i>Dēmokratēs</i>	–	–	–
VS 15 47	<i>Nikanōr</i>	<i>Stratōn</i>	–	–	–
BRM 2 48 // AoF 5 5	<i>Nikolaos</i>	<i>Apollonidēs</i>	–	–	–
BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29; STUBM 97; STUBM 104	<i>Nikolaos~ Rihat Anu</i>	<i>Phanaia</i>	–	–	–
YOS 20 70	<i>Poseidonios</i>	<i>Myrtoles</i>	–	–	–
STUBM 102	<i>Seleucus</i>	<i>Diogenēs</i>	–	–	–
BIN 2 136	<i>Stratōn~Haninnā</i>	<i>Diogenēs</i>	–	–	–
YOS 20 62	<i>Tatedidos</i>	<i>Hipponikos</i>	–	–	–
STUBM 99	<i>Timokratēs</i>	<i>Timokratēs</i>	–	–	Ah'ūtu
TCL 13 240	<i>Zo-...-tos</i>	<i>Nikanōr</i>	–	–	–

3. Tripartite Greek Names

BRM 2 40 // NCTU 9; JANEH 2 1-36	<i>Sōsandros</i>	<i>Diodōros</i>	<i>Stratōn</i>	–	–
Babyloniaca 15 7; STUBM 108	<i>Syros</i>	<i>Kephalōn</i>	<i>Syros</i>	–	–

4. Polyonymous names⁵⁵

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
STUBM 96	<i>Apollōnios~ Anu-uballiṭ</i>	Kidin-Anu	–	–	–
STUBM 58 // STUBM 59*; YOS 20 96	<i>Apollōnios~ Rihat-Ištar</i>	<i>Charmōn</i>	–	–	–
BRM 2 55	<i>Dēmētrios~ Nanāya-iddin</i>	Nidintu-Anu	Tanittu-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
JANEH 2 1-36*	<i>Dēmokratēs</i>	<i>Kephalōn~ Anu-uballiṭ</i>	Anu-balāssu- iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 31*; BRM 2 55*; JANEH 2 1-36*; Corò 2012 157-159	<i>Diophantos~ Anu-balāssu- iqbi</i>	<i>Kephalōn~ Anu-uballiṭ</i>	Anu-balāssu- iqbi	–	Ah'ūtu
YOS 20 62	<i>Kratō~Šamê- ramāt</i>	<i>Artēmidōros</i>	–	–	–
BagM 15 274-275 (Arsacid)	<i>Herakleides~ Anu-bēlšunu</i>	–	–	–	–

55 Texts in which only one element (Akkadian or Greek) of the polyonymous name is preserved are marked with *.

Text	PN	FN	GFather	GGFather	Ancestor
BiMes 24 6 // VS 15 7; BiMes 24 31*; BiMes 24 33*; BiMes 24 54; OECT 9 42*	<i>Kephalōn</i> ~ Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-balāssu-iqbi	–	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 36	<i>Kephalōn</i> ~ Nidintu-Anu	Anu-bēlšunu	Tanittu-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
VS 15 30; VS 15 31	Nidintu-Anu	<i>Antiochos</i> ~Anu- bēlšunu	Nidintu-Anu	–	Ah'ūtu
YOS 1 52; YOS 20 46*	<i>Nikarchos</i> ~ Anu-uballiṭ	Anu-ikšur	–	–	Ah'ūtu
BiMes 24 27 // BiMes 24 29; STUBM 97; STUBM 104	<i>Nikolaos</i> ~ Rihat-Anu	^f <i>Phanaia</i>	–	–	–
VS 15 17*; VS 15 25	<i>Philippos</i> ~ Anu-bullissu	Anu-ab-ušur	Nanāya-iddin	–	–
BIN 2 136	<i>Stratōn</i> ~Haninna	<i>Diogenēs</i>	–	–	–
BRM 2 49	<i>Syros</i> ~Anu-uballiṭ	Dumqi-Anu	Arad-Rēš	Dumqi-Anu	–

Table 2 Roles and status of clay workers

Role/Status	Text
Principals:	
seller	BiMes 24 27 // 29 BRM 2 41 // BiMes 24 35 NCTU 10 STUBM 95; STUBM 99; STUBM 100 // 101 TCL 13 246 VDI 1955/4 5 VS 15 22; VS 15 27 YOS 15 9; YOS 20 88
donor	FLP 619
exchanger	BRM 2 45
husband of seller	BIN 2 136
buyer	STUBM 103
assignee	STUBM 96; STUBM 97
neighbor	BRM 2 43 // YOS 20 74 CM 12 09 NCTU 13 ; NCTU 20 VS 15 12 // Babyloniaca 8 YOS 20 77; YOS 20 88 (x4)
father of neighbor	VS 15 27
guarantor	BiMes 24 27 // 29 VS 15 22 (x2) VS 15 27
witness	NCTU 13 STUBM 104 YOS 20 70
dedicated slave	BiMes 24 43; BiMes 24 44; BiMes 24 49 BRM 2 53 VS 15 34 YOS 20 62

Legenda: Bold indicates that a text is mentioned more than once, as more than one clay worker appears in them; (x#) indicates that more than one individual in the same role occur in the text. Data for this tablet have been read from the picture posted on CDLI: <<https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/search?simple-value%5B%5D=P459587&simple-field%5B%5D=keyword>>, accessed 6 Apr. 2023.

Table 3 Interaction of clay workers with other professionals or members of the clan families, identified with roles (members of the clan families are only noted when acting as buyers or sellers/givers).

Key to roles:

A	assignee	G	guarantor
B	buyer	I	issuer of authorization
D	donor	N	neighbor
E	exchanger	S	seller

§ 1: clay worker as seller/donor		
BiMes 24 27 // 29	S: clay worker	B: <i>arad ekalli</i>
BIN 2 136	S: wife of clay worker	B: Haninnā~Stratōn/Diogenēs (no clan) N: <i>nagāru</i>
BRM 2 41 // BiMes 24 35	S: clay worker	B: <i>ša ultu kiništu ša Rēš</i> G: clay worker N: clay worker N: <i>gaṭṭā'a</i>
FLP 619	D: clay worker	N: clay worker (x3)
NCTU 10	S: clay worker	(too frgm)
STUBM 100 // 101	S: clay worker	B: <i>magallāya</i>
STUBM 95	S: clay worker	B: his daughter, no clan
STUBM 99	S: clay worker	B: <i>sēpiru</i>
TCL 13 246	S: clay worker	B: Antipatros/Diodōros (no clan)
VDI 1955/4 5	S: clay worker	B: no clan
VS 15 22	S: clay worker	B: <i>rē'ū ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk</i> N: <i>rē'ū ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk</i>
VS 15 27	S: clay worker	B: from the Luštammār-Adad clan N: clay worker
YOS 15 9	S: clay worker	B: <i>atū ša bāb iltāni</i> ⁵⁶ N: clay worker
YOS 20 88	S: from the clay workers	B: no clan N: clay worker (x3)
§ 2: members of the clan families as sellers/givers		
CM 12 9	S: from the Kurī clan	B: <i>ša ultu kiništu ša Rēš</i> N: clay worker N: <i>gaṭṭā'a</i>
STUBM 103	S: from the Kurī clan	B: clay worker N: <i>arad ekalli</i>
STUBM 97	G: from the Ekur-zākir clan	A: clay worker I: <i>rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk</i>
VS 15 34	S: from the Ah'ūtu clan	N: clay worker (x2)
§ 3: clay worker as neighbors		
BRM 2 43 // YOS 20 74	S: no clan	B: woman, no clan N: clay worker N: <i>gaṭṭā'a</i>
BRM 2 45	E: <i>ša ultu kiništu ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk</i>	E: clay worker N: from the clay workers N: <i>bā'iru</i>
NCTU 13	S: lost	B: from the Kurī clan N: <i>sēpiru</i> N: clay worker

56 See Wallenfels 2018: 140–141, with bibliography.

NCTU 20	S: lost	B: lost N: clay worker
STUBM 104	S: unknown profession	B: <i>magallāya</i> W: (clay worker)
STUBM 96	G: <i>itinnu</i> (no clan)	A clay worker I: <i>rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk</i>
VS 15 12 // Babyloniaca 8	S: <i>ašlāku</i>	B: no clan N: <i>bā'iru</i> N: <i>nagāru</i> N: clay worker
YOS 20 70	unclear	unclear
YOS 20 77	S: ? of the temple of Uruk	B: from the <i>uqu</i> of the house of ? N: <i>malāku</i> N: clay worker N: <i>kiništu</i>