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Xerxes and Babylonia

The Cuneiform Evidence

edited by
CAROLINE WAERZEGGERS and MAARJA SEIRE

PEETERS

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THE CUNEIFORM EVIDENCE

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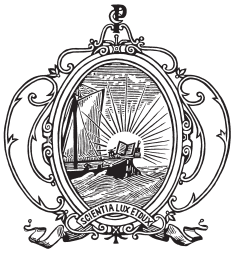

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ADRT 1	A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, Vol. I: Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.* (ADRT 1), Vienna 1988.
ADRT 2	A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, Vol. II: Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.* (ADRT 2), Vienna 1989.
ADRT 5	H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, Vol. V: Lunar and Planetary Texts* (ADRT 5), Vienna 2001.
ADRT 6	H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, Vol. VI: Goal-Year Texts* (ADRT 6), Vienna 2006.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHES	*Archive for History of Exact Sciences*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
Amherst	A. Ungnad, "Neubabylonische Privaturkunden aus der Sammlung Amherst", *AfO* 19 (1959–1960), 74–82.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnOr 8	P.A. Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen* (AnOr 8), Rome 1933.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ARTA	*Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology*
ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte
AUWE 5	E. Gehlken, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, Teil I: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* (AUWE 5), Mainz 1990.
AUWE 11	E. Gehlken, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv*, *Teil II: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* (AUWE 11), Mainz 1996.
BaAr	Babylonische Archive
BagM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBSt	L.W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*, London 1912.
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: Series A. Cuneiform Texts
BE 8	A.T. Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods, Chiefly from Nippur* (BE 8), Philadelphia 1908.
BE 9	A.T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.)* (BE 9), Philadelphia 1898.
BE 10	A.T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)* (BE 10), Philadelphia 1904.

BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies
BIN 1	C. E. Keiser, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. I: Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (BIN 1), New Haven 1919.
BIN 2	J.B. Nies and C.E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities* (BIN 2), New Haven and London 1920.
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BOR	*The Babylonian & Oriental Record: A Monthly Magazine of the Antiquities of the East*
BOR 4	T.G. Pinches, "A Babylonian Tablet Dated in the Reign of Aspasinē", *BOR* 4 (1889–1890), 131–135.
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1–4
BWL	W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford 1960.
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
Camb.	J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (529–521 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 8–9), Leipzig 1890.
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CleO	Classica et Orientalia
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CTMMA 4	I. Spar and M. Jursa, *The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts from the Fourth to the First Millennium B.C.* (CTMMA 4), New York and Winona Lake 2014.
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
Cyr.	J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 7), Leipzig 1890.
Dar.	J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 10–12), Leipzig 1892–1897.
DMOA	Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui
FAOS	Freiburger altorientalische Studien
FuB	*Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*
GCCI	Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions
GCCI 1	R.P. Dougherty, *Archives from Erech 1: Time of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus* (GCCI 1), New Haven and London 1923.
GCCI 2	R.P. Dougherty, *Archives from Erech 2: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (GCCI 2), New Haven and London 1933.
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
GMTR 1	M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*: *Typology, Contents and Archives* (GMTR 1), Münster 2005.
HANE/M	History of the Ancient Near East Monographs
ICDOG	Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
Iraq 43	G.J.P. McEwan, "Arsacid temple records", *Iraq* 43 (1981), 131–143.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LBAT	A.J. Sachs, T.G. Pinches and J.N. Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts,* Providence 1955.
LKU	A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*, Berlin 1931.
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MR	C. Waerzeggers, *Marduk-rēmanni: Local Networks and Imperial Politics in Achaemenid Babylonia* (OLA 233), Leuven 2014.
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
Nbk.	J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon (604–561 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 5–6), Leipzig 1889.
Nbn.	J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555–538 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 1–4), Leipzig 1889.
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OECT 10	G.J.P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (OECT 10), Oxford 1984.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIP 114	S.W. Cole, *Nippur IV: The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur* (OIP 114), Chicago 1996.
OIP 122	D.B. Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Oriental Institute Collection* (OIP 122), Chicago 2003.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania
PBS 2/1	A.T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur: Dated in the Reign of Darius II* (PBS 2/1), Philadelphia 1912.
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PD56	R.A. Parker and W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.–A.D. 75* (Brown University Studies 19), Providence 1956.
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RAI	Rencontre assyriologique internationale
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RIAA	L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles: Textes sumériens, babyloniens et assyriens*, Brussels 1925.
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RMA	R.C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum, Vol. 1–2*, London 1900.
ROMCT	Royal Ontario Museum, Cuneiform Texts
ROMCT 2	G.J.P. McEwan, *The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum* (ROMCT 2), Toronto 1982.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAA 8	H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (SAA 8), Helsinki 1992.
SAA 10	S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (SAA 10), Helsinki 1993.

SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBLANEM	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near Eastern Monographs
SCIAMVS	Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences
SCT	C.H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets: 110 Cuneiform Texts Selected from the College Collection* (Smith College Studies in History 38), Northampton 1952.
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SpTU 4	E. von Weiher, *Uruk*: *Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, Teil IV* (AUWE 12), Mainz 1993.
SpTU 5	E. von Weiher, *Uruk*: *Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, Teil V* (AUWE 13), Mainz 1998.
StIr	*Studia Iranica*
SWU	H. Freydank, *Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk*, Berlin 1971.
TAPS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TBER	J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente: Études assyriologiques* (Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Cahier 6), Paris 1981.
TCL	Textes cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales
TCL 9	G. Contenau, *Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie: Contrats de Kerkouk, contrats kassites, contrats et lettres d'Assyrie, lettres néo-babyloniennes* (TCL 9), Paris 1926.
TCL 12	G. Contenau, *Contrats néo-babyloniens, I: De Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide* (TCL 12), Paris 1927.
TCL 13	G. Contenau, *Contrats néo-babyloniens, II: Achéménides et Séleucides* (TCL 13), Paris 1929.
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
TuM 2/3	O. Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte autographiert und mit Inventarverzeichnis und Namenlisten versehen* (TuM 2/3), Leipzig 1933.
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UCP 9/1–2	H.F. Lutz, *Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech, Part 1 and 2* (UCP 9/1–2), Berkeley 1927.
UET 4	H.H. Figulla, *Business Documents of the New-Babylonian Period* (Ur Excavation Texts 4), London 1949.
UVB 12–13	H. Lenzen, *Zwölfter/Dreizehnter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, Berlin 1956.
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1–16; N.F.: Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
VS 3–6	A. Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, *Vols. 3–6*, Leipzig 1907–1908.
VS 20	L. Jakob-Rost and H. Freydank, *Spätbabylonische Rechtsurkunden und Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk, Vol. 20* (N.F. 4), Berlin 1978.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

WZKM 86	A.A. Ambros and M. Köhbach (eds.), *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (*WZKM* 86), Vienna 1996.
WZKM 97	M. Köhbach, S. Procházka, G.J. Selz and R. Lohlker (eds.), *Festschrift für Hermann Hunger zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (*WZKM* 97), Vienna 2007.
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
YOS 3	A.T. Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech* (YOS 3), New Haven and London 1919.
YOS 6	R.P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.)* (YOS 6), New Haven and London 1920.
YOS 7	A. Tremayne, *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses* (YOS 7), New Haven and London 1925.
YOS 17	D.B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar* (YOS 17), New Haven and London 1980.
YOS 19	P.-A. Beaulieu, *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus* (YOS 19), New Haven and London 2000.
YOS 21	E. Frahm and M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Letters and Contracts from the Eanna Archive* (YOS 21), New Haven and London 2011.
YOSR	Yale Oriental Series, Researches
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZA 3	N.J. Strassmaier, "Arsaciden-Inschriften", *ZA* 3 (1988), 129–158.
ZAR	*Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte*

Non-bibliographic abbreviations

Art	Artaxerxes
Cyr	Cyrus
Dar	Darius
Nbn	Nabonidus
Nbp	Nabopolassar
Še	Šamaš-erība
Xer	Xerxes

Museum collections

AB	*siglum* of tablets in the Bodleian Library (Oxford)
AH	Abu Habba Collection (British Museum, London)
AO	Antiquités orientales (Louvre Museum, Paris)
BM	British Museum (London)
Bu	E.A. Wallis Budge Collection (British Museum, London)
CBS	Collection of the Babylonian Section (University Museum, Philadelphia)
EAH	E.A. Hoffman Collection (Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven)
Erm.	*siglum* of the tablets in The State Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg)
D	Dailem Collection (British Museum, London)
FLP	Free Library of Philadelphia
HSM	Harvard Semitic Museum
MM	Museu Biblíc of the Monastery of Montserrat

NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection (Yale University, New Haven)
NCBT	Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets (Yale University, New Haven)
Ni	Nippur (Archaeological Museum of Istanbul)
PTS	Princeton Theological Seminary
Rm	Rassam Collection (British Museum, London)
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
W	Uruk-Warka (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft)

Other

*	collated reading
c.	circa
DN	divine name
dupl.	duplicate
EAE	Enūma Anu Enlil
l	litre
n/a	not attested
pl	plate
PN	personal name
SE	Seleucid Era
unpubl.	unpublished

INTRODUCTION: DEBATING XERXES' RULE IN BABYLONIA

Caroline WAERZEGGERS
(Leiden University)*

In the course of its two hundred years of existence, the Persian Empire (c. 550–330 BCE) met many forms of resistance from its subject populations.[1] The present collection of essays focuses on a particular moment of violent contestation in the empire and examines mostly, but not exclusively, its textual evidence: the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes in his second regnal year (484 BCE), as seen in cuneiform sources. Which considerations inform the particular focus of this volume?

In certain respects, the revolts of 484 BCE were unremarkable. The Babylonians had revolted against Persian rule before, once in 522 BCE and again shortly later in 521 BCE. These earlier revolts had been part of an empire-wide wave of dissent after the deaths of Cambyses and Bardia, a multi-front challenge that was overcome only with great effort and that led to extensive acts of commemoration widely displayed and received.[2] The revolts of 484 BCE were more limited in scale and more hushed in reception. While also in this case the local rebels (Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni) acted upon dissent elsewhere in the empire,[3] resistance did not spread as widely as it did in the 520s nor was it commemorated as intensively. As far as we know, Xerxes did not explicitly advertise his Babylonian victory in texts or monuments, local chroniclers did not record the events of that year, later generations of Babylonians did not reflect on the revolts in writing, and Greek historians seem to have lacked specific knowledge of what happened in Babylonia in 484 BCE.[4]

* This Introduction was written within the framework of ERC CoG *Persia and Babylonia* (682241). I am grateful to Uzume Z. Wijnsma for suggestions and critical remarks.

[1] Recent discussions of resistance in the Persian Empire, and of its footprint in archaeological, literary and documentary sources, include Berquist 2008, Ruzicka 2012, Khatchadourian 2012, Kaper 2015, Nielsen 2015, Dusinberre 2016, Lee 2016a, and Waters 2016.

[2] For the Babylonian revolts of 522 and 521 BCE, see Lorenz 2008, Beaulieu 2014, Bloch 2015, Waerzeggers 2016; for the wider crisis that affected the empire at that time, see Briant 2002, 107–138 and Kuhrt 2007, 135–177; for the commemoration of these events at Bisitun and the spread and reception of its message, see Root 2013; Waters 2014, 59–76; Rollinger 2014a, 196–200; Na'aman 2015; Mitchell 2017.

[3] A revolt had taken place in Egypt slightly earlier in 486–485 BCE (Pestman 1984).

[4] The Daiva inscription, with its reference to a rebellion in an unspecified country at the time of Xerxes' accession, is not usually read historiographically anymore (e.g. Rollinger 2014a, 201). Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic cuneiform literature may contain memories of the revolts under

However, the Babylonian revolts of 484 BCE stand out for a number of reasons. First, they were more than a passing interruption of Persian rule: Babylonian society and political institutions changed significantly in their aftermath, which raises questions about the processes through which the Persian state restored its grip on this key region. Second, because the revolts happened at the end of a long stretch of exceptionally well documented local history, they offer a rare occasion for contextualizing an instance of armed resistance within its local community. Too often, such events are afforded only passing reference in documentary evidence or historiographical accounts, with no opportunity to study how power became contested, why, and by whom. Third, in recent decades a discussion has crystallized around the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes that reflects a wider debate in Persian–Achaemenid scholarship between specialists of different disciplinary backgrounds. This renders the topic useful as a prism through which to explore changing scholarly perceptions of the history of the Persian Empire.

How did the debate about Xerxes' Babylonian policy develop? The orthodoxy, most clearly expressed by Cameron (1941) and de Liagre Böhl (1962), held that Xerxes punished Babylon severely after the uprisings of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni, by taking away the statue of Marduk from its sanctuary, by preventing further celebration of the Akitu (or new year) festival, by destroying the city, by eliminating the element 'King of Babylon' from his official titulature, and by splitting the satrapy of Babylon-and-across-the-River into two smaller units.[5] Other renderings, for instance by Hansjörg Schmid (1981, 132–135; 1995, 78–87), added details of Babylon's supposed destruction, such as the diversion of the Euphrates and the demolition of its ziggurat. Furthermore, the Daiva inscription was used as evidence of Xerxes' supposed policy of intolerance,[6] and the dwindling amounts of Babylonian clay tablets in his reign were presented as proof of decline after his violent suppression of the revolts.[7]

In 1987, Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White argued that Böhl's account "was based on a careless reading of Herodotus combined with incomplete Babylonian evidence and an implicit wish to make very disparate types of material harmonize with a presumed "knowledge" of Xerxes' actions, policies,

Xerxes or their aftermath: the Kedor-Laomer texts, for instance, have been explained as a literary reaction to repression in the later Persian period (Foster 2005, 369). A memory of a Babylonian uprising against Xerxes is preserved in Ctesias (Tuplin 1997, 397; Lenfant 2004, 124; Kuhrt 2014, 167) and echoes may be contained in Herodotus' account of Xerxes' sacrileges in Babylon (1.183; Tolini 2011, 447 'echo déformé') and in the Zopyros episode (Rollinger 1998, 347–348; but see Rollinger 2003, 257). Otherwise, Greek accounts are either oblivious of the revolts or they preserve garbled recollections at best; see Kuhrt 2010 and 2014.

[5] Böhl 1962, 111 and 113.

[6] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980, 1–47.

[7] Joannès 1989a, 126; van Driel 1992, 40; Dandamaev 1993, 42.

and character."[8] The supporters of the earlier orthodoxy had misinterpreted several clues: the passage in Herodotus about Xerxes' removal of a statue from the temple of Babylon concerns the statue of a man rather than of Marduk; by Xerxes' time the Akitu festival had long been suspended so that Xerxes could not have been responsible for any change of program; the shortening of his titulature happened gradually, not abruptly; and the element 'King of Babylon' continued to be used occasionally even into the reign of Artaxerxes I.[9]

These insights led to a reconsideration of Xerxes' actions in the 1980s and 1990s, against the backdrop of post-colonialism. In these decades, 'New Achaemenid' historians questioned the cultural stereotypes that informed popular renderings of the Persian Empire as the epitome of Oriental despotism, identifying ancient Greek accounts as the mainspring of such prejudices.[10] They argued that ancient Persia should be evaluated on its own terms by using sources internal to it and weighing external ones with great care. Among the aims of New Achaemenid historians was to 'dehellenise and decolonialise Persian history' (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987, 131) and in this context Xerxes' reign took on special relevance. The orthodoxy had evaluated Xerxes particularly negatively in the light of classical texts (and their Orientalist readings), holding him responsible for setting the empire on a downward slope towards decline by reversing the enlightened tolerance that had characterized his predecessors' attitudes towards indigenous cults.[11] New-school historians used ideas about Xerxes' punishment of Babylon to illustrate how shallow and mistaken such negative portrayals had been. In this way, Böhl's account of Xerxes' Babylonian policy came to serve as a sample case where traditional scholarship was put to the test, with implications for the study of the Persian Empire more generally. In the words of John Lee "the much-discussed Babylonian revolts […] are a crux in any assessment of Xerxes" (2016b, 1343).

By the mid-1990s, Xerxes as the destroyer of Babylonian temples had been 'laid to rest.'[12] The image had been deconstructed as a 'chimaera without substance',[13] conjured up by the uncritical acceptance and misreading of classical sources and by the attempt to force Babylonian evidence into these notions. A number of studies re-evaluated the archaeological record and concluded that the sites of Babylonia's major cities do not show evidence of

[8] The quote is from Kuhrt 2014, 166 where she reflects on the 1987 article with Sherwin-White.

[9] See Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987.

[10] This collective designation has appeared recently in publications looking back on the achievements of a group of scholars associated with the Achaemenid History Workshops of the 1980s and early 1990s (e.g. Harrisson 2010). See McCaskie 2012 and Imanpour 2015 for discussions of the intellectual origins of this school.

[11] Kuhrt 1988, 66–68; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; Wiesehöfer 2002, 37.

[12] Kuhrt 1997, 302.

[13] Kuhrt 1988, 68.

destruction under Xerxes, as previously claimed by Schmid and others.[14] Other studies decried the uncertainty, or even misuse, of Babylonian sources in earlier scholarship. Newly published texts revealed that the element 'King of Babylon' had not been removed abruptly from Xerxes' royal titulature: it remained in use, albeit irregularly, in the post-revolt era and even into the reign of Xerxes' successor Artaxerxes I.[15] The continued use of the title, it was argued, did not fit a scenario of instant retribution but rather pointed to gradual cultural change as the empire stabilized into 'an ever more integrated political unit' where the need to emphasise its discrete entities was no longer felt.[16] Similarly, the dearth of clay tablets from Xerxes' reign was seen as caused no longer by oppression but by the interplay of a number of incidental factors, such as the spread of Aramaic, possible changes in the use of writing technologies and record-keeping, and accidents of preservation and publication.[17]

With Babylonian evidence for Xerxes' alleged destructions being revised, some ancient historians questioned whether the revolts had taken place under Xerxes at all. Amélie Kuhrt (1997) and Robert Rollinger (1998, 366–367) both argued that the revolts of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni could have happened in the late reign of Darius and that Böhl's dating to 484 and 482 (1962, 111–112) was based only on the pervasive image of Xerxes as destroyer of sanctuaries. Pierre Briant (1992) contemplated a date later in the reign of Xerxes. While these suggestions were quickly dismissed by Oelsner for contradicting sound cuneiform evidence (Oelsner 1999/2000, 377), these speculations further increased suspicion that testimony from cuneiform texts had been bent in order to comply with pre-existing notions about Xerxes' alleged reprisals against Babylonia.

In the mid-00s the discussion about Xerxes' Babylonian policy took a new turn. Significant progress in Neo-Babylonian studies since the 1980s allowed better access to the massive text corpus from the long sixth century BCE. Michael Jursa's 2005 guidebook of the Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative documents exemplifies the potential for corpus-wide research presenting itself at the time. In 2004 two independent studies simultaneously argued that traces of repressive measures could be observed in cuneiform records dating to the time of the revolts against Xerxes. Karlheinz Kessler (2004) showed that Babylon-bred families, who had dominated city politics at Uruk for generations, were ousted and replaced by a new local faction under Xerxes, a shift that led to new dynamics in Uruk's social and cultural fabric. In the same year, Caroline Waerzeggers (2003/2004) argued that the widespread abandonment of

[14] Rollinger 1993, 214–226; Rollinger 1998; Wiesehöfer 2002, 39–40; Wiesehöfer 2007.
[15] Stolper 1985, 9; Joannès 1989b; Rollinger 1998 and 1999.
[16] Kuhrt 2002, 490.
[17] Stolper 1985, 9; MacGinnis 1994; Joannès 1995.

archives in 484 BCE should be seen as a by-product of targeted reprisals against supporters of the rebellions in northern and central Babylonian cities.

Since then the discussion develops in two directions. Assyriologists discover more evidence in cuneiform materials that qualifies the year 484 BCE as a turning point in late Babylonian history;[18] ancient historians and archaeologists continue to stress that there is no evidence for destruction of Babylonian cities and temples in the wake of the revolts.[19] While these two positions are not mutually exclusive, a certain tension exists between them. The latter position is defended with tenacity, as can be seen in the number of publications appearing on the subject, often restating opinions multiple times in co-written articles.[20] The intensity of this discussion is due to the fact that it touches upon some of the central tenets of the New Achaemenid History school as outlined above. In this literature there is a tendency to eulogize Xerxes' response to the revolts: he is presented as the 'architect of a stable empire' (Kuhrt 2014, 169), praised for 'successfully' managing the Babylonian crisis with purely administrative measures, in a rational way, as a 'radical reformer of bureaucracy'.[21] Not coincidentally, such qualifications invert the Orientalist image of Xerxes as an 'unstable, unrestrained, hubristic, and revengeful tyrant' (Müller 2016, 178).

Xerxes and Babylonia: the cuneiform evidence

In light of these tensions, most assyriological research on the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes since 2004 has moved away from the specific question of violent retribution, towards other areas of interest that are better suited for a text-based approach.[22] The first area deals with the sequence and nature of

[18] The literature is reviewed below in the next section.

[19] Kuhrt 2010; Kuhrt 2014; Rollinger 2008, 493–497; Rollinger 2014b, 166; Rollinger 2014c, 162–171; Heinsch and Kuntner 2011; Heinsch, Kuntner and Rollinger 2011; Kuntner and Heinsch 2013; Kuntner, Heinsch and Allinger-Csollisch 2011; Allinger-Csollich 2011; Henkelman, Kuhrt, Rollinger, Wiesehöfer 2011.

[20] See the references in the previous footnote. E.g. at the end of their co-authored 2011 article Wouter Henkelman, Amélie Kuhrt, Robert Rollinger, and Josef Wiesehöfer discredit with a shared authoritative voice any future engagement as a return to the prejudiced default: "We have not the slightest doubt that the picture of Xerxes as the destroyer of Babylonian temples, with its supposed repercussions for the cult, for the theologically global position of Babylon, and for the city itself will continue to resurface time and again. The suggestive power of the tradition and the historical image it transmits will ensure so much."

[21] Rollinger 2014b, 166 ("Xerxes' I. erfolgreiche Reaktion auf die Erhebungen"); Rollinger 2014c, 166 ("Das Bild, das sich hier von Xerxes und seinen Maßnahmen darbietet, ist weniger das eines Tempelzerstörers, als vielmehr das eines radikalen Verwaltungsreformers"); Rollinger 2008, 496.

[22] George (2005/2006 and 2010) took up the subject of the alleged destruction of the ziggurrat of Babylon by Xerxes and Waerzeggers 2010 (p. 9) considered possible destructions in Borsippa;

events in the year 484 BCE itself. Joachim Oelsner (2007) and Heather Baker (2008) adduced more evidence for a sudden break in the cuneiform text corpus at that time; both also pointed towards possible traces of disturbance in one of the houses (N12; Baker 2008, 104–105) where an archive was abandoned after the uprisings, an interpretation later dismissed for being too uncertain by Heinsch, Kuntner and Rollinger (2011). Michael Jursa (2011) studied the archival and administrative procedures followed by administrators of the Ebabbar temple when closing off their institution's archive after the revolts. A newly published tablet from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated to Šamaš-erība 'King of Babylon and of the lands', supplied a welcome addition to the slim corpus of texts written during the rebellion, extending the duration of Šamaš-erība's revolt with twelve days, well into the eighth month of Xerxes' second regnal year (Spar and Jursa 2014 no. 140).

A second area of interest relates to the nature of Babylonian dissatisfaction with Persian rule. Letters from Borsippa, dated shortly before 484 BCE, reveal a worried, even panicked, atmosphere in the city when priestly families found that the income of their temple offices had been withdrawn by state officials without explanation (Jursa 2013). This unwelcome interference by the imperial authorities may well have ignited anti-Persian sentiments among the priests of Borsippa, who rallied behind the rebels in large numbers (Waerzeggers 2010). It remains to be seen whether the events in Borsippa were part of a larger, nation-wide policy.[23] But certainly there were longer and wider transformations that affected Babylonia's relationship to the Persian state. Jursa has argued that mounting tax pressures and the over-exploitation of Babylonian resources, especially since the reign of Darius I, were among the factors that contributed to dissatisfaction with Persian rule and the outbreak of overt revolt in 484 BCE (Jursa 2007, 90–91 and 2009, 266; Jursa 2015, 96, 103).

A third area of interest concerns the long-term impact of Persian counter-insurgency on Babylonian society, economy, and culture. The on-going exploration of the cuneiform evidence from the later fifth and fourth centuries BCE reveals deep-rooted, structural changes in the post-revolt era. These changes affected different population groups in different ways, so describing these developments as either negative or positive is misleading. The elite shift in Uruk implies a combination of both experiences: the dismissal of old, Babylon-based families allowed new groups to assert themselves in the city and to design and implement their own cultural program (Kessler 2004; Berlejung 2009). The

responses were formulated by Allinger-Csollich 2011; Henkelman, Kuhrt, Rollinger and Wiesehöfer 2011; Henkelman 2010; Rollinger 2014a, 202.

[23] In Sippar, Inbāya's difficulty to secure a stable contract for the performance of her prebends could be indicative of uncertainties surrounding the prebendary system there (Waerzeggers 2014). The occasional shortages of staples in Sippar's temple economy also point to irregularities (Jursa, this volume).

Eanna temple was dismantled in due course and replaced with a new place of worship, based on a local theology entirely different from the Babylon-oriented ideas that had prevailed previously. While this shift inaugurated the ascent of one group, it meant the dramatic end of another (Baker 2014). Such micro-historical studies reveal the real-life impact of Xerxes' counterinsurgency measures. There is also evidence of broader, structural change. Hackl and Pirngruber (2015) explain price volatility on the agricultural market in the fifth and fourth centuries as a result of changes in the institutional framework of agriculture after 484 BCE: the introduction of more direct forms of state control of temple lands, the confiscation of private land in favour of state officials and protégés, and the redirection of agricultural management away from temples and into the hands of entrepreneurs (Jursa 2014). The state's reliance on large-scale agricultural entrepreneurs in the post-484 BCE era "entailed an impoverishment of a larger section of the rural population and a comparative instability of prices for basic goods" (Pirngruber 2017, 66). Other discontinuities are observed in the area of temple management. In Babylonia's principal temple, the Esangila of Babylon, the centuries-old prebend system was abolished after the revolts and replaced with a ration-based system of remuneration — a measure that undermined the autonomy and internal hierarchy of the existing priesthoods (Hackl 2013, 392). Priests formed tight-knit communities based on their prebendary titles; any change in the prebend system would have had effects on the social and economic organization of entire communities (Still 2016). At the same time, rationed astronomers at Esangila booked great advances in science under the new system and continued the long-running project of the Astronomical Diaries (Beaulieu 2006; Ossendrijver, this volume). Qualifying the impact of Xerxes' Babylonian policy requires a contextualized approach in order to prevent levelling out the variety of experiences and outcomes.

This volume

The goal of this volume is to contribute to the debate about Xerxes' reign in Babylonia by further exploring the evidence from contemporary cuneiform sources. In doing so, it answers the familiar call to emancipate our appreciation of the Persian Empire from Greek narratives by studying it from within. The contributions address topics relating to each of the three areas outlined above: the pre-history of the revolts, the revolts themselves, and their short- and long-term impact on Babylonian culture, economy, and society. **Reinhard Pirngruber**, in a critique of current scholarship, seeks to understand Babylonia's malaise with Persian rule from long-term structural developments rather than from Xerxes' particular personality or individual agency. Contrary to the popular narrative about the seamless integration of Babylonia in Cyrus'

emergent empire, Pirngruber argues that the take-over of 539 BCE had immediate and wide-felt repercussions for Babylonia's population. These repercussions are visible in rapidly increasing prices: by the middle of Darius I's reign prices had soared to unprecedented heights and the pressure on people's lives had become palpable. According to Pirngruber, a combination of mutually enforcing factors caused this effect; some of these were directly tied to Persian imperial governance while others were longer in the making. The dislocation of the imperial centre to Iran and its lavish suppliance (from newly built infrastructure to court celebrations) drained state resources from Babylonia's economy, particularly in the reign of Darius I but also already during the reigns of his predecessors. At the same time, a process of increasing bureaucratization since the Neo-Babylonian empire had already started to yield diminishing returns when Cyrus came to power.

Like Pirngruber, **Małgorzata Sandowicz** questions the validity of the traditional narrative of continuity from Nabonidus to the first Persian emperors. Her evidence is taken not from price data but from prosopography, particularly the role of the governor of Babylonia (aka 'satrap') and his personnel in the administration of justice. Based on a study of legal texts dated to the reigns of the first Persian kings (some hitherto unpublished), she argues that while it is correct that the new rulers did not change Babylonia's court system, they did introduce new people — often of non-Babylonian descent — into this system. In this way, Sandowicz demonstrates that the installation of Persian rule brought about perceptible administrative changes already under Cyrus, and that the more radical transformations under Xerxes and his successors should be evaluated against the backdrop of these longer-term developments.

Michael Jursa turns our attention from the long-term to the short-term: which circumstantial factors interacted with structural ones (i.e. economic distress) to trigger the revolts in 484 BCE? Continuing his earlier reflections on this topic (2013), Jursa finds indications in the evidence from the city of Sippar that the state was losing control of the Babylonian temples in the years leading up to the revolts. Positions or activities that had previously been reserved for royal protégés were now being appropriated by members of Babylonia's native priestly families. Such negligence, Jursa argues, was likely a factor in the outbreak of the rebellions shortly after Darius I's death. The prosopography of the position of the *qīpu*, not just in Sippar but also in several other cities, is particularly indicative of the state's inability to maintain its established prerogatives in Babylonian temple administration in the years before the revolts. In the second part of his contribution, Jursa revisits an earlier paper (Jursa 2004) and re-examines the structure of the Ebabbar archive as a testimony of the circumstances surrounding its storage in Xer 2. In contrast to his earlier conclusions, he sees little evidence of an active management taking charge of Ebabbar's archival production in the wake of the revolts. Based on a comparison with the

structure of the Eanna archive, which was stored following an institutional reorganisation in Dar 2, he suggests that the majority of the Ebabbar archive as known to us, had been stored long before the outbreak of the revolts (in c. Dar 20). In Xer 2, a relatively small sample of ephemeral texts were added to this discarded material. Remarkably, a large percentage of these abandoned texts pertain to the sacrificial economy, which invites speculation about the fate of Ebabbar's cult after the revolts.

Karlheinz Kessler invites us to take a closer look at the storage of three tablet assemblages in Uruk as a reflection of counterinsurgency measures in the south of Babylonia: the Eanna archive, the archive of the Egibi family, and the Gimil-Nanāya B archive. Based on available archaeological evidence about the find contexts of the Eanna archive, Kessler speculates that the final abandonment of the Eanna cult complex as well as the disturbances of the Eanna archives may well be due to interventions by the Persian administration under Xerxes, even though there is no evidence for any archival text production at Eanna after Dar 29, the date of the last-recorded transaction known so far. The Egibi and Gimil-Nanāya B archives illustrate the divergent fates that befell Uruk's community around the time of the revolts. The Egibi family was part of the Babylon-based elite which fell victim to the social changes after the revolts. An archive associated with several members of this family, occupying high priestly positions in the Eanna temple, was found near the temple precinct in an area that was to become deserted in the later Achaemenid period. Kessler finds traces of the family's orientation towards Babylon until the very last documented generation, only a few years before the revolts broke out. Spanning until Dar 33, the archive does not survive into the post-revolt era. Kessler suggests that the residents of the entire area west of Eanna left their homes never to return. The Gimil-Nanāya family, by contrast, was able to maintain its archive across the time of unrest. This family lived in a different section of town and also belonged to a different stratum of Uruk's priesthood compared to the Egibis.

Caroline Waerzeggers reflects on the effects of Xerxes' intervention in Babylonia on the shape and structure of the overall text corpus of the long sixth century BCE. Processes of archive production had taken place in a decentralized and organic fashion until 484 BCE but they became politicized and homogenized during the corpus' final moments of formation. By reading the corpus 'backwards', as a residue of the social networks that had formed in Babylonia in the decades prior to the revolts, Waerzeggers shows that the structural features of the corpus can be used to study the social fault lines of (anti-imperial) political action as it unfolded.

Mathieu Ossendrijver takes us into the post-revolt era with a study of the fate of Babylonian scholarship under Xerxes. At first sight, the dearth of scholarly texts dated to his reign could be taken as a sign that Babylon's scholars

suffered the same disruption as other elites in the aftermath of the revolts, but Ossendrijver warns us that the reality was more complex. First of all, evidence from Uruk and Babylon dated in the late Persian and Hellenistic period shows that the astral sciences were continued much in the same way and at the same level as before. The long-running project of the Astronomical Diaries at Babylon's Esangila temple is a good case in point: while no Diaries are known that date to Xerxes' reign, there is ample evidence from his successors that the project continued with the same practices of observation and record-keeping that had been in place long before the advent of the Persian Empire. Second, Ossendrijver shows that Babylon's astronomers were able to create or maintain a beneficial relationship with the imperial authorities in the time after the revolts. This can be seen from the fact that their system of intercalation was adopted for use throughout the empire, probably from Xerxes' tenth regnal year onwards. Moreover, they continued to perform their divinatory practices in the service or at least in reference to the Persian king. This leads to the conclusion that the astronomers did not only survive the time of the uprisings but also found a new modus operandi with the imperial government that led to new opportunities, professionally and socially.

But not all members of Babylon's temple community shared in this fate. Based on a study of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive **Johannes Hackl** shows that the chief temple of Babylon underwent a thorough restructuring of its top-level as well as of its intermediate management positions. Based on circumstantial evidence, he proposes to date this process of re-organization to the reign of Xerxes' successor at the latest. The most fundamental change at Esangila compared to the pre-revolt period relates, in Hackl's opinion, to the organization of the priesthood. The operation of a ration system with an egalitarian standard of remuneration (based on age, rank and profession) is completely at odds with the principles of the prebend system that had supported the priesthood of northern Babylonian temples in the sixth century and earlier. Hackl finds no evidence whatsoever that the prebend system was still in place in Esangila and Ezida (in Borsippa) in the post-Xerxes period. The fact that the familiar system did survive in Uruk, where a new faction had been allowed to establish a new theology focused on Anu and the Rēš temple, is evidence for the targeted nature of Persia's responses to the revolts.

Paul-Alain Beaulieu studies the developments at Uruk more closely. He adduces new evidence, partly from unpublished texts, which dates the transformation of Uruk's civic religion more closely to the reign of Xerxes than previously possible. By c. 440 BCE, the city's favour had shifted away from Ištar and the pantheon that had been associated with her and the Eanna temple for centuries. Anu now enjoyed the highest favour, not only in the people's hearts (as can be seen in their enthusiastic embrace of Anu-names) but also in the city's institutionalized religion. However, while Anu's ascent can be dated to

the post-revolt era, Beaulieu shows that this deity's popularity had been steadily on the rise already since the reign of Nabonidus, particularly among families with deep local roots such as Ekur-zakir and Hunzû. This leads to the conclusion that Anu's rising popularity may have originated in a counter-movement against the centralizing claims of the Babylonian Empire, which had enforced the cults of its imperial heartland, centred on Marduk and Nabû, in Uruk. After the revolts, such local responses received the support of the Persian authorities who recognized the benefit of promoting local identities over those that could potentially unite larger territories, such as the former Babylonian Empire.

From these studies, the revolts of 484 BCE emerge as a critical moment in the history of Persian Babylonia when local and imperial interests clashed with effects that were both immediate and long-term, widespread and localized. Babylonian culture indeed persisted 'in a vital continuity' (Heinsch, Kuntner and Rollinger 2011, 472) but such optimistic qualifications require the necessary modifications in order to do justice to the variety of experiences and outcomes.

Timeline of the revolts

The sequence of events in 484 BCE can be reconstructed from archival texts written during the revolts.[24] These are accidental testimonies at best, with no or little reference to what was happening on the political stage, but they are useful for establishing a chronology of the rebellions. Babylonian notarial practice required scribes to append to each legal contract the name of the town where the transaction took place, as well as the day, month and year of the reigning king. In this way, we learn on what day and in which city Bēl-šimânni and Šamaš-erība were recognized as highest legal authority in the land. However, because the cuneiform date only refers to the year of a king's reign and not to an absolute point in time, we need to use other data to determine when a reign took place. Because Bēl-šimânni and Šamaš-erība are not included in the known king lists, it took Assyriologists a long time to fix their reigns in absolute terms. The first step in this direction was made by Ungnad (1907, 466–467), who understood that the lifespans of the people mentioned in the contracts provided a rough time indication, suggesting the late reign of Darius I or the early reign of Xerxes. San Nicolò (1934, 336) subsequently fixed the date for the revolt of Bēl-šimânni in the second year of Xerxes, based on information contained in one of the texts dated in his reign. Šamaš-erība's revolt remained unfixed much longer. External evidence was brought to bear on the question: Cameron (1941, 323–324) suggested Xer 4 because of Xerxes' dropping of the element 'King of Babylon' from his royal titulature as (putative)

[24] See Waerzeggers 2003/2004.

symbolic punishment for disobedience. Briant (1992, 13) later suggested that Xer 6 would be a better fit because a Babylonian uprising in that year would explain Persian mismanagement of the Greek front. Waerzeggers (2003/2004) placed Šamaš-erība's revolt in 484 BCE, the same year as Bēl-šimânni's, based partly on internal evidence from previously unpublished cuneiform tablets and partly on the archival context of the contracts dated to Šamaš-erība. This proposal was scrutinized by Oelsner (2007) and has since been accepted in the literature.

With both rebels dated to the same year, the following outline of events presents itself (see Waerzeggers 2003/2004). After the death of Darius I, Xerxes seems to have gained acceptance in Babylonia immediately, despite the unrest that was going on in Egypt at the time. Trouble began in the fourth month of his second year, the summer of 484 BCE, when citizens of Sippar declared Šamaš-erība, a man of uncertain origin, 'King of Babylon' in a first act of open rebellion since Nebuchadnezzar IV's failed attempt to end Persian rule in 521 BCE. The earliest text that recognizes Šamaš-erība as king was written on the 4th day of month V. Ten days later (14/15-V), evidence for a second rebel, Bēl-šimânni, emerges in Borsippa and Dilbat, cities to the south of Sippar. With Šamaš-erība still recognized in Sippar, Babylonia was now caught up in a double-headed revolt: both rebels fought against Persian imperial rule and perhaps also against each other. Šamaš-erība emerged victorious from this conflict and went on to face Xerxes as sole contender. By the second half of the sixth month, he enjoyed support in Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa, Kiš, and presumably also in Dilbat where Bēl-šimânni had previously been active. There is no evidence that the south ever participated directly in the rebellion, but this can be due to poor documentation; Uruk's inhabitants certainly felt the effects of Persia's counter-insurgency (Oelsner 2007, 296; Kessler 2004; and see Kessler and Beaulieu, both in this volume). The last tablet written during Šamaš-erība's rebellion dates to day 11 of the eighth month (Spar and Jursa 2014 no. 140). After this text, the cuneiform documentation from Babylonia suddenly falls silent. The first Xerxes-dated tablet after the revolts dates to day 18 of the tenth month (N18: 29, written in Babylon; see Oelsner 2007, 295). The lack of written sources from the time of the counter-insurgency contributes to the persistent uncertainties about the timing and nature of Xerxes' response.

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TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR INTERPRETING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN BABYLONIA DURING THE LONG 6th CENTURY BCE[1]

Reinhard PIRNGRUBER
(University of Vienna)

In a recent contribution, the present author discussed the significant developments in the social fabric of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Babylonia, contrasting the 'long 6th century' — the period between Nabopolassar's establishment of the Chaldean dynasty in 626[2] and the putting down of the revolts against Xerxes in 484 — with the Late Achaemenid period, that is, the decades between 484 and the Macedonian conquest of Babylonia in 331.[3] In order to integrate the results in the wider discourse on the exercise of state power in the pre-industrial world, a framework suggested by economist Douglass North (North et al. 2009) was employed that puts the focus on the composition of those wielding power on a local level and their strategies of regulating inclusion into and exclusion from their ranks ('limited access'), as well as the way these politically dominant elites create economic privileges for themselves ('rent creation').

As a complement to the above-mentioned analysis, we shall in the following pages attempt to cast light on socio-economic and political developments and changes in Babylonia in the decades leading up to the year 484. Again, we shall adopt an approach focussing on impersonal forces — social structures and the dynamics of state governance — which also has the methodological advantage of shifting the focus of attention away from the person of Xerxes, whose response to the revolts can hardly be characterized as atypical. After all, punitive measures taken by kings against insubordinate populations rank among the most banal occurrences in ancient (Near Eastern) history and beyond. Suffice it here to briefly refer to two well-known examples from the empires immediately preceding and following the Achaemenid Empire. In 587 the Judeans

[1] This article was written within the framework of the research network *"Imperium" and "Officium" — Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom*, funded by the FWF — Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Vienna). All dates are BCE.

[2] We follow here the argumentation of Jursa 2007a. The most recent discussion of the genesis of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (with a focus on chronology) is found in Fuchs 2014.

[3] Pirngruber, forthcoming. Also Jursa 2014a is relevant here, discussing the changes in the institutional framework after 484 and the concomitant developments in factor markets for land, labour and capital. For the year 484 as crucial turning point in the history of Achaemenid rule over Babylonia, see Waerzeggers 2003/2004, Kessler 2004 and Baker 2008.

under king Zedekiah revolted in vain against their Neo-Babylonian overlords, with devastating consequences. In Jerusalem, the royal palace, the temple and even residential quarters were burnt to the ground, and a large share of the population, and in particular the king and his retinue, was deported to Babylon.[4] Even more gruesome was the fate of the inhabitants of the city of Tyre in 332, having barred Alexander the Great from entering their city after his victory over the Persian forces at Issus: when the city fell after a prolonged siege, women and children were sold into slavery whereas all men of military age were put to death by crucifixion.[5] In the light of these and similar examples also dating to the Achaemenid period — one can think of the deportation of the Milesians after the city was captured by Persian forces in Darius' response to the Ionian revolt[6] — it should be clear that more insight is to be gained from an approach that attempts to locate the events of 484 in their wider political and socio-economic framework rather than from vilifying (or, on the contrary, overly apologetic) narratives centred on the person of the Great King that separate the revolts as well as their run-up and aftermath from their overarching context.[7] This modest contribution is intended as a first step towards such an analysis. Our starting point is the rich price data from Babylonia in the last six centuries or so of the first millennium.

A short price history of Babylonia in the Achaemenid period

While acknowledging the biased nature of documents such as the famous Cyrus Cylinder and the Verse Account of Nabonidus, glorifying Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia as liberation from the oppressive reign of the last king of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty,[8] recent scholarship emphasizes the rather seamless integration of Babylonia and its local organisations into the wider

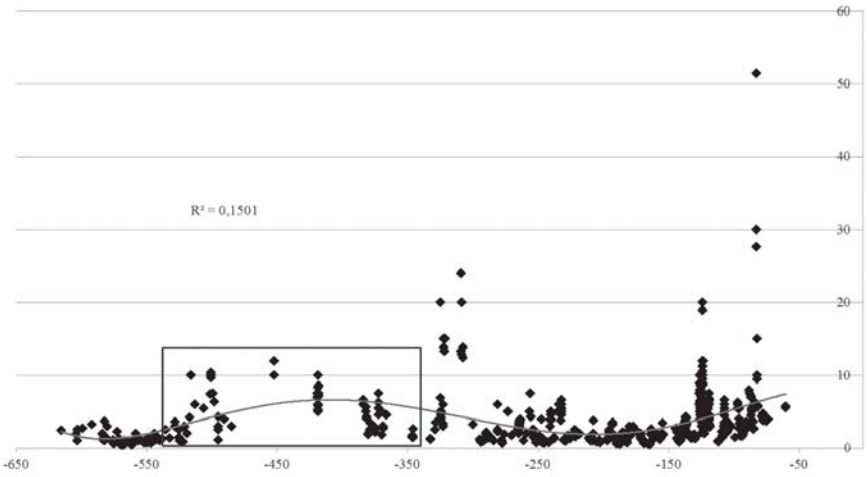
[4] See the detailed account in Lipschits 2005, especially 68–97 for a summary of the events and 210–223 for the archaeological evidence.

[5] For modern accounts of the siege and references see, e.g. Bosworth 1988, 65–67 and Heckel 2008, 67–69.

[6] Herodotus, *Histories* 6.20; but see the critical analysis of Cawkwell 2005, 78–79.

[7] In the light of the examples listed above, the depiction of Xerxes as merely a 'radikaler Verwaltungsreformer' by Rollinger 2014, 166 clearly underestimates the amount of violence with which rebellious populations were confronted in antiquity and afterwards. Also, contrast the postulated 'gedeihliche Weiterentwicklung' (Rollinger 2014, 159) of Babylonia under the later Achaemenids with the findings of Jursa 2014a or Pirngruber 2017, 47–70.

[8] An edition of these and related documents is provided by Schaudig 2001. For a recent discussion see, e.g. van der Spek 2014; note also the important comments of Kuhrt 1990, 124 on common elements in the narratives of the conquests of Babylonia by Sargon II, Cyrus and Alexander the Great. The actual conquest is discussed in Tolini 2005.



Graph 1: Barley prices from 1st millennium Babylonia

Achaemenid imperial apparatus.[9] One point that received particular attention in such discussion is the evident continuity both in institutions such as the prebendary system in Borsippa (Waerzeggers 2010a) and in the highest ranks of local administration (Jursa 2007b for an overview).

While fully endorsing the notion that the year 484 constitutes indeed the major break in the relations between the Babylonians and their Persian overlords (see literature quoted under footnote 3), it is likewise notable that from the perspective of price data this year is unexceptional. It is true that the 30 years or so immediately after the suppression of the revolts are not covered by any price data at all. It is hence impossible to gauge the direct impact of the suppression of the revolts of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni, or to tackle the question whether these events were comparable to the havoc wrought upon Babylonia by the constant warfare between the *diadochi* in the aftermath of Alexander the Great's death.[10] However, when prices re-appear in the later 5th century, they are at about the same level as in the decades preceding the revolts, in spite of the fundamentally changed institutional framework alluded to above in the introduction.

Indeed, a comparison of the mean barley price displays hardly any variation at all between the two (unequal) halves of Achaemenid rule over Babylonia,

[9] Exemplarily Briant 2002, 70–76; also Jursa 2007b.

[10] Pirngruber 2017, 107–122; for a detailed political history of Babylonia during the last quarter of the 4th century see, e.g. Boiy 2004, 117–137.

539–484 and 484–331, amounting to 4.39 and 4.59 shekels/*kurru* respectively.[11] Moreover, as prices tended to decline in the last years before the uprisings, a straightforward interpretation of the events of 484 as a kind of hunger revolt is untenable, especially in the light of the fact that wages caught up fairly quickly during these years (see Figure 25 in Jursa 2010, 679). Thus, applying conventional historical dividing lines, the entire Achaemenid period emerges as an era of fairly high barley prices in Babylonia compared to mean prices obtained for the 'long 6th century' (2.56 shekels/*kurru*) and the Seleucid period (2.09 shekels/*kurru*). Especially the contrast to the decades immediately preceding the Achaemenid conquest is striking: between the second half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II and the end of the reign of Nabonidus, the mean barley price amounts to merely 1.04 shekels/*kurru*. In addition to a higher overall level, barley prices also were more volatile during the Achaemenid period, at least on an absolute level.[12] On a side note, prices of other commodities, including dates, sesame, sheep and slaves, generally follow the pattern established by the barley prices, albeit often in a less pronounced manner. The main reason for this phenomenon is that the price of barley was more sensitive to external influences because of the very low elasticity of its demand: contrary to commodities of secondary importance, e.g. wool, the demand for barley did not decline with rising prices (or at least declines to a much lower degree) as it was the country's preferred staple food.

Figure 1: Mean barley prices from 1st millennium Babylonia

Period	Mean price	Standard deviation
Achaemenid (539–331)	4.51	2.90
539–484	4.39	3.15
484–331	4.59	2.77
'Long 6th century' (620–480)	2.56	2.53
573–539	1.04	0.45
Seleucid (300–140)	2.09	1.35

Hence, as regards the movement of prices, the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus the Great in 539 is indicative of a greater break with the preceding decades than has been assumed in recent scholarship. Prices after that point in time no longer oscillated around the benchmark of one shekel per *kurru* of barley as was the case since the 570s, with repeated low prices of 0.4 shekels/*kurru* late

[11] Both Graph 1 and Figure 1 are based on the price data contained in Jursa 2010, 443–451 and the data from the Astronomical Diaries discussed, e.g. in Pirngruber 2017.

[12] The coefficient of variation — that is, the standard deviation divided by the mean price — is roughly equal (c. 0.65) for the Achaemenid and Seleucid periods, but lower for the decades of the apogee of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, 573–539 (0.43).

in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II but fluctuated first between 2 and 3 shekels/*kurru* during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, rose to unprecedented heights of c. 10 shekels/*kurru* in the reign of Darius I before stabilizing at a price level between 3 and 4 shekels/*kurru* late in that king's reign. This ties in well with the data from the Late Achaemenid period, when the mean barley price amounted to 3.37 shekels/*kurru* in the years between 400 and 330 according to the evidence from the Astronomical Diaries, with even higher prices prevailing in the 5th century as far as the scanty evidence allows us to see.[13]

The rich Babylonian price data from the long 6th century and its trend-line have been explained convincingly by M. Jursa in terms of an on-going commercialisation of the Babylonian economy.[14] According to his interpretation, Babylonia experienced a phase of intensive economic growth especially from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II onwards, which was triggered by an interplay of several factors including demographic growth, increasing urbanization and division of labour, agricultural intensification, and government spending on both prestigious building projects (e.g. the North Palace in the city of Babylon) and the country's agrarian infrastructure, especially the all-important canals, with the *nār šarri* ('royal canal') connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris being the most prominent example. An important consequence of these developments was a significant expansion of the market as a mode of economic integration and a concomitant monetization of the economy. The inflationary peak prices — and not only of barley but for a broad variety of different goods — during the reign of Darius I, i.e. roughly the last quarter of the 6th century, should then be ascribed to the characteristics of Persian taxation which altered to a significant extent the relationship between silver money in circulation and the quantity of commodities and the amount of labour power available: "goods and labour, much more than cash resources, were requisitioned in various ways and employed in western Iran, especially in and around Susa" (Jursa 2015a, 96; for a description of the Achaemenid taxation system see Jursa 2009 and 2011).

There is thus a clear connection between the Babylonian peak prices around 510 and the extensive building works undertaken in Susa under Darius I who expanded the city into one of the Empire's capitals. This is corroborated by archival data, which is clearly bearing witness to the important contributions of Babylonian households, both private and institutional, to the construction of Darius' palace in Susa and other projects.[15] Again, it would be misleading to focus exclusively on the person of Darius I, who according to Herodotus (3.89)

[13] For the Late Achaemenid barley prices recorded in the Astronomical Diaries see Pirngruber 2017, 95–106. The price data of the 5th century is discussed in Hackl and Pirngruber 2015.

[14] See especially Jursa 2010, 783–800; also 745–753 and 780–783.

[15] Tolini 2011, 275–334 provides a discussion of the pertinent documents, especially 275–286 on the palace. See also Waerzeggers 2010b.

was a *kapēlos*, a petty trader, at heart, who would willingly sacrifice institutional stability for short-term gain.[16] For the time being, suffice it here to refer back to the price rise that started already with Cyrus' takeover (see Table 49 in Jursa 2010, 443–447). As a recent study by G. Tolini has brought to light, there is clear evidence in the Babylonian documentation that already before Darius I the stream of commodities and labour once directed into the capital city of Babylon was increasingly diverted towards other regions, mainly western Iran. The regions benefiting most from the new lay of the land were amongst other the Gulf region and, not surprisingly, the Fars, homeland of the Achaemenid dynasty. Larger scale building works with significant contributions of Babylonian households were carried out in Humadešu, Matnanu and Taokè in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses.[17] The text TCL 13 85 from the Eanna archive provides a fitting illustration of the significant quantities of commodities the temple had to deliver to Humadešu in order to maintain its workforce there: in a single year, the 37 workmen whom the temple had to muster were provided with a grand total of 222 *kurru* of barley, corresponding to almost 40 hectolitres of barley, which translates to 24.8 metric tons, 222 *kurru* of dates (about 32 metric tons), 444 shekels of silver as well as several additional foodstuffs (sesame oil, cress) and various other items (shoes and clothing).[18] It seems thus clear that already under the Persian rulers preceding Darius I, the same mechanisms that led to unprecedented inflation during his reign were at work: as in the Neo-Babylonian period, Babylonian temple and private households were charged with mustering workforces and provide them with commodities, but government spending now shifted slowly but inexorably from Babylonia to the East.

To conclude this brief price history of the region, it should also be pointed out that of course not all price rises can mechanically be attributed to political interventions. A case in point seems to be the series of high barley prices early in the reign of Cambyses which have been attributed to a sequence of harvest failures by K. Kleber (2012). The bulk of the letter corpus (YOS 3 33, 79 and 81) records prices of 2.5 shekels of silver (and sometimes more) for the second

[16] See the analysis of Kurke 1999, 80–89.

[17] Tolini 2011, 73–95. On Babylonian workers in Matnanu see also Henkelman and Kleber 2007. The lands to the east of the Tigris also became the focus of military building activity, the most prominent outpost being Lahīru (Tolini 2011, 97–105). As Tolini emphasizes at several points in his excellent study, the (also geographical) integration of Babylonia with Iran was a main concern of early Achaemenid rulers.

[18] A partial translation of TCL 13 85 is provided by Tolini 2011, 82–83. For the conversion rates of litres to kilos see Jursa 2010, 48–53, especially footnotes 202 and 209. To get a better idea of the magnitude of the above numbers, according to the hypothetical balance sheet calculated by Jursa 2010, 572–575, the Ebabbar temple in Sippar, a comparatively small household with respect to the Eanna, disposed of a yearly gross income of c. 6.000 *kurru* of barley, half of which was destined for sacrifices to the gods and rations for temple personnel 'of the inner city' (*ša qabalti āli*), craftsmen and the like (see Bongenaar 1997, 296–422 and 425, Table 9).

year of Cambyses, which is more than twice the level that prevailed under Nabonidus a decade earlier.[19] While Kleber's overall argument and her chronological reconstruction of the epistolographic dossier concerning the activities of Innin-aḫḫē-iddin, an overseer-of-serfs (*rab širki*) of the Eanna active in the early Achaemenid period, are convincing, a consideration of the overall political and economic circumstances at the time when these letters were written provides us with some interesting additional details. Especially the sojourn of the itinerant Persian court at the palace of Abanu in southern Babylonia during Cambyses' second year (528/7) may have contributed more than previously acknowledged to the scarcity of goods. The Babylonian temples' duty to provision the palace in this period must have been an additional burden in an already strained supply situation.[20] Comparative evidence from Hellenistic Babylonia helps to elucidate the often considerable impact of increased demand on the supply situation of various foodstuffs.[21]

Towards collapse in Babylonia in the second half of the 6th century BC

It hardly comes as a surprise that the relegation of Babylonia from imperial capital of the Neo-Babylonian Empire to (privileged) tributary province of the Achaemenid Empire[22] played a key role in the development of commodity prices, which display a steady increase from immediately after the conquest and a distinct peak during the reign of Darius I. However, as pointed out

[19] The reign of Cyrus yields hardly any price data, see Jursa 2010, 446, Table 49. The fact that the highest barley prices of Cambyses' reign date to his first year and hence precede the peak of the famine in his second and third years may suggest a harvest failure in his first year, with the supply situation hardly improving in the second and third years due to the phenomenon of autocorrelation and the 'aggravating factor' (Kleber 2012, 223 n. 13) of Cambyses' presence. The very dramatic tone of some of these letters, especially MM 504 (first published in Stolper 2003) in which officials subordinate to Innin-aḫḫē-iddin complain that from the troops under their supervision "40 workers had been taken away and 50 had died because of the lack of foodstuff" (see Kleber 2012, 228–229) needs not to be taken at face value, compare the similar dramatizing expressions in, e.g. TCL 9 12: 20–21 ("See, we will die if we don't receive 2 talents of silver"), and BIN 1 92: 13–14, 17 ("We are, as you can see, dying here; we will not guarantee for the work … We are, as you can see, perishing here."). I thank Y. Levavi (Tel Aviv) for providing these references.

[20] See now Tolini 2011, 151–175; also Kleber 2008, 85–94.

[21] Pirngruber 2017, especially 205–208 and 210–211. In those latter instance the increase in demand did not manifest itself as supply duties towards the royal court but in a more decentralized manner — often triggered by army soldiers present in the city due to convocation or also in the context of military operations (not necessarily in Babylon).

[22] On Babylonia's peculiar status see, e.g. Jursa 2010, 61: "It would be misleading however to consider Babylonia as part of the imperial 'periphery' at the end of our period: it had to make substantial resources of goods and labour available to the Great Kings, but it also remained a central part of their realm."

explicitly by M. Jursa (2010, 745), prices started to rise already before the Persian conquest, during the 540s. We are thus well advised to search for additional factors that prevented the stabilization of the commodity prices at the low levels prevailing during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II and early in the reign of Nabonidus, when the standard of living soared to unprecedented heights (Jursa 2010, 806–816).

A fruitful approach to assess the question of socio-economic and political developments in Babylonia throughout the long 6th century is provided by J. Tainter's application of the economists' law of diminishing returns to the socio-political structures overarching society.[23] According to his theory, the main reason for state collapse — Tainter's primary scientific concern — is that ever larger investments in crucial areas of governance yield ever lower returns. In principle, his approach lends itself also to analysing developments on a provincial level, but unfortunately, the dearth of sources following the 'end of archives' in 484 precludes in-depth analysis of the question whether Babylonia truly experienced a collapse of state institutions early in the reign of Xerxes.[24] The Late Achaemenid documentation points in any case to a significantly altered pattern in the organization of local power, the most noticeable development being the abolishment of the offices of *šatammu* and *qīpu* (Hackl, this volume).

However, the abundant documentation from the long 6th century should allow us to highlight some of the institutional malaises prevailing in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenid Empires, which in the longer run led to increasing pressures on the subjected population and consequently constituted an important factor in the repeated attempts at secession from the Empire already under Darius I and then again under his son and successor Xerxes. Among the pillars of a given society that are generally affected by diminishing returns, Tainter (1988, 93) lists agriculture and resource production as well as overall economic productivity, but also social and political control and bureaucratic specialization. It is on this final aspect that I shall focus in the following paragraphs. The main reasons for decreasing returns in the sphere of administration and control are, according to Tainter (1988, 115–117), the increasing size and specialization of the bureaucracy, to which the cumulative nature of organizational measures contributes. In order to cover the rising expenses, an

[23] Tainter 1988. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Economics, "as the amount of any given variable input increases, beyond some point each additional unit of the variable input results in smaller and smaller increases in output"; also Tainter 1988, 92–94. The case studies to which he applied this theory comprise cultures as diverse as the western Roman and the Maya Empires.

[24] With collapse, Tainter refers to any situation when "established complexity rapidly, noticeably, and significantly declines" (Tainter 1988, 31). On state collapse in a Mesopotamian context and with a focus on the 2nd millennium and Alexander's conquest see Yoffee 2005, 131–160; his definition of collapse, viz., a "drastic restructuring of social institutions" (Yoffee 2005, 138) is quite similar to Tainter's.

increase in taxation and other state demands is a likely consequence. Additionally, ever higher costs of legitimizing activities on part of the ruler as well as the need to maintain internal stability and to fend off external threats have to be accounted for. I shall now consider how these building blocks of Tainter's theory apply to Babylonia in the long 6th century.

From its inception, the Neo-Babylonian Empire was characterized by a costly 'double administrative structure' (Jursa 2014b, 131), whereby a royal official, usually bearing the title of *qīpu*, acted alongside the highest representative of the local community, in larger cities (e.g. Babylon and Uruk) the *šatammu* and in smaller cities such as Sippar the *šangû*.[25] This general structure and the precise hierarchies between these officials were of course subject to local and chronological variations. It is especially in the Eanna temple of Uruk that the trend towards an increasing bureaucratization is well discernible; the developments there seem to be *grosso modo* applicable also to other temples such as the Sipparean Ebabbar.[26] Already in the later reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, a more numerous presence of royal courtiers (*ša rēš šarri*) in the temple administration can be noted. These people had no social ties to the local elites but were outsiders, often dispatched by the crown to the respective temples from the capital city of Babylon. In some cases, we are dealing with people of (North-) West Semitic extraction. Also in the case of the alphabet scribes (*sepīru*) active in the temples, who are again increasingly attested since the later years of Nebuchadnezzar II, the crown showed no hesitation in inserting Arameans into the conservative temple sphere, dedicated to cultivating the time-honoured Babylonian culture.[27] This trend of burdening the temples with additional personnel owing its loyalty to the king still increases during the reign of Nabonidus and continues in the period of Persian rule which witnessed an even more pronounced influx of lower-level administrators of foreign extraction, in particular Egyptians after the country was conquered by Cambyses (Hackl and Jursa 2015, 165–172).

Under Nabonidus, a further proliferation of high ranking offices staffed with courtiers and persons from the sphere of the crown is in evidence (Kleber 2008, 46). Already in his first regnal year, the newly created position of *ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti* (maybe best rendered as 'royal commissioner') became the highest office in the Eanna, while the *ša rēš šarri ša ina muhhi quppi ša šarri* ('royal

[25] And note that it was already in place during the period of Assyrian rule over Babylonia, at least since the reign of Esarhaddon as is clear from letters such as SAA 10 349 (especially line 28).

[26] A detailed overview of the administration of the Eanna under due consideration of the developments over time (such as the temporary abolition of the office of the *šatammu* under Nabonidus) is given by Kleber 2008, 5–30. On the role of courtiers in the Ebabbar see Bongenaar 1997, especially 99–112.

[27] Jursa 2015b provides a more detailed study of royal officials based on the onomastic evidence. On the *sepīru*s see Jursa 2012.

official in charge of the cashbox of the king') was put in charge of the king's revenues in the temple. In the light of these changes, it is likely not by chance that also the office of *zazakku* ('royal secretary' Jursa 2007b, 80–81), an even higher-ranking royal official in charge of the temple affairs and finances throughout Babylonia is best attested under Nabonidus.[28] Curiously, and against the tendency of offices to persist under later kings, the *zazakku* disappears after the reign of Nabonidus (see the careful remarks of Joannès 1994), but in general, the Achaemenids retained the new bureaucratic landscape created by Nabonidus. It is thus especially with regard to the aspect of a growing bureaucracy that Tainter's approach is illuminating because it is able to account for the fundamental administrative continuity characterizing the transition from the Neo-Babylonian to the Achaemenid Empire. In the latter period, the available documentation attests to further increases in administrative specialization, such as the promotion of the royal *sepīru*-scribe and his integration on a permanent basis into the highest echelon of the temple's administration (Jursa 2012, 393; Bongenaar 1997, 46) and the appointment of a deputy (*šanû*) to the *qīpu* in the reign of Darius I.[29]

Modern scholarship agrees that many of these newly created administrative posts served the purpose of tightening the state's grip on the temples and their economic assets, to enhance the efficiency of taxation, and similar purposes, but without additional value for the temples themselves.[30] Hence, the expanding bureaucratic apparatus must have grown increasingly costly to maintain — of which it is reasonable to assume that the temple bore the brunt — while at the same time it diverted the temples' resources towards the sphere of the crown.

In addition to this expansion of the local bureaucracy, we also see the crown establishing various devices in an attempt to increase the country's production and its own share therein by different means. One institution to that purpose may have been the rent farm, also in all likelihood introduced late in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II.[31] Rent farm contracts were demonstrably concluded

[28] On the *zazakku* see Dandamaev 1994.

[29] Bongenaar 1997, 41 surmises that this official may have replaced the *rab širki*, in which case his introduction still constitutes an intensification of the bureaucracy in the sense that it would be tantamount to a strengthening of the royal element in the local administration.

[30] According to Jursa 2012, 393 (see also Kleber 2008, 30), the institutionalization of the *sepīru* "[sei] mit dem Wunsch der königlichen Verwaltung zu begründen, über eine bessere Kontrolle des Mediums der Notation der Güterflüsse innerhalb der Tempelverwaltungen zu einem präziseren Überblick über diese Güterflüsse selbst zu gelangen (und diese gegebenenfalls effizienter besteuern zu können)." Kleber 2008, 17 states that the reforms of Nabonidus effectively brought the temples under firm control of royal officials; she also speaks of a "sehr weitreichende und detaillierte Kontrolle der wirtschaftlichen Vorgänge im Tempel durch die königliche Verwaltung" during the reign of Cyrus (Kleber 2008, 58).

[31] Jursa 1995, 85–116 discusses the rent farm in Sippar; Janković 2013, 145–264 gives an up-to-date overview of the institution in Uruk. Both also provide a brief *forschungsgeschichtlichen* overview of the term in Assyriology.

under royal supervision and sometimes even upon royal instigation (Jursa 1995, 86). They essentially entailed the renting out of large tracts of temple lands — and sometimes even entire types of cultivation, e.g. in the case of Ana-amat-Bēl-atkal, who was in charge of the entire date horticulture of the Ebabbar early in the reign of Nabonidus (Jursa 1995, 87–95) — as well as the means of cultivating the land to individual entrepreneurs against a lump sum payment. It was then left to the rent farmer to oversee the cultivation and exact fees and harvest shares from the actual cultivators to have his (substantial) investment yield a profit. The advantage for the temple treasury was at least twofold: first, it produced a predictable annual income while passing the risk of financial loss in case of harvest failures on to the contractors. Secondly, the fact that rent farmers usually invested additional funds of their own meant an enlargement of the area under cultivation and agricultural intensification — hence, increased productivity. We can assume with M. Jursa that the crown played a pivotal role in promoting this system which was, according to him, "expanded with royal backing, sometimes perhaps to the benefit of royal protégés, certainly to the (direct or indirect) benefit of the king's coffers — through taxation, and generally through the exploitation of the temples' resources, the crown had a direct interest in an increased efficiency of temple agriculture" (Jursa 2010, 195). The reference to royal protégés — the background of Šumu-ukīn is an illuminating example[32] — is particularly relevant, as it calls to mind the concept of 'rent creation' brought forward by North et al. 2009, briefly alluded to in the introduction of this paper: the rent farm system created an opportunity for a diversion of the temple's revenue stream to the detriment of potential local beneficiaries and towards royal minions, while strengthening the crown's control over temple land and its produce by placing loyal servants in key positions.[33]

Also other means of creating rent for the king and his immediate entourage were employed, the most straightforward being the introduction of new taxes. In the Achaemenid period, to which the majority of the pertinent source material dates, this involved primarily the mobilization of manpower and deliveries of foodstuffs, rather than silver (cash) payments (see, e.g. Jursa 2011). A transport obligation introduced in the Achaemenid period is the *kanšu*. First attested in the reign of Cambyses is the flour tax (*qēmu*), and under Darius I the obligation to transport foodstuffs designated as *upiyātu* (a Persian loanword) to

[32] See Hackl, Janković and Jursa 2011, especially 188–190 for his ties to the crown. Janković 2013, 158–185 gives a detailed overview of his career.

[33] In the end, the institution does not seem to have been particularly lucrative for the rent farmers themselves, as both Šumu-ukīn and his nephew and successor as rent farmer Kalbāya struggled to meet their obligations vis-à-vis the Eanna. This may also explain why in the Achaemenid period, often temple dependants (*širku*s) were active as rent farmers: the institution may have come to be perceived as an "onerous duty conceived as 'liturgy'" rather than "a 'freely' undertaken entrepreneurial activity" (Jursa 2010, 292 n. 1751), imposed by the actual beneficiaries, the temples.

the royal court becomes prominent.[34] What can be witnessed further in particular during the reign of Darius I is not only a standardization in the terminology of taxation, but also a likely not coincidental peak in the attestations of taxes and obligations, which will have played an instrumental role in feeding the discontent of the taxed subjects — the Babylonian local elites — in the run-up to the revolts under Darius' son and successor Xerxes (Jursa 2009, 265–266). The background to the rise in taxation under Darius can thus be related to the aspect of Tainter's framework that has not yet received attention, namely royal legitimizing activities. It comes hardly as a surprise that it was the usurper Darius who set out for the most ambitious building project since Nebuchadnezzar's II rebuilding of the city of Babylon. Also, the aforementioned *upiyātu* was likely destined to cover expenses of court festivities of some sort.[35] The pernicious impact on Babylonian prices of the enormous enterprise that accompanied the additional demands of the royal administration has been discussed in the preceding section.

Conclusion

The aim of the preceding pages has been to show that beginning in the reign of Nabonidus (but with roots reaching back into the later years of Nebuchadnezzar II) and increasingly in the Achaemenid period with a distinct peak under Darius I, Babylonia suffered growing socio-economic pressures. In that process, the dislocation of the imperial core that was once centred on the city of Babylon to lands east of the Zagros, in particular the Susiana and the Persis, and the relegation of Babylonia to a provincial status (albeit a privileged one) played a key role. The impact of the Achaemenid conquest has been downplayed in recent years, yet the consistent increase in commodity prices already discernible in the sources dating to the reign of Cyrus points to rather immediate repercussions. The second aspect discussed concerns the relationship between local powers and the crown. Theories on state collapse focussing on inflated bureaucracies and rising tax pressures to pay for this apparatus as well as for the king's investment in his own prestige shed light on hitherto neglected aspects of the strains put on Babylonia's local communities under Persian rule. Taking these approaches together, it becomes increasingly clear that any explanation of the revolts should abandon traditional narratives focussing on the person of the king. It is important to realize that the particular socio-economic configurations at the time of the 'critical juncture' in 484 have a long run-up, with roots extending well into the Neo-Babylonian period.

[34] On all these taxes see van Driel 2002, 263–264 and 268–271, also Jursa 2009. Waerzeggers 2010b and Tolini 2011, 307–334 deal with the transport of foodstuffs to Elam mainly in the context of Darius' building activities in Susa.

[35] See Waerzeggers 2010b, 806–807 and Tolini 2011, 314–318 for *upiyātu*.

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BEFORE XERXES: THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR OF BABYLONIA IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNDER THE FIRST ACHAEMENIDS

Małgorzata SANDOWICZ
(University of Warsaw)[1]

It is widely accepted that the Persians began their rule of Babylonia masterfully, changing very little with regard to the monarch's role, temple policy and, more characteristically, the country's administration. The only major administrative change implemented shortly after the regime change was possibly the abolishment of the office of the country governor (*šakin māti*) and the consequent introduction of the office of the governor of Babylonia (*pāḫāt Bābili*).[2] Some departures from this policy occurred under Darius I, but the watershed came with the revolts against Xerxes in the second year of his rule, to which the king responded by deposing the urban elites of northern Babylonia. Cuneiform evidence from the period immediately following these events is extremely scarce. Sources that re-appear some thirty years later reveal a changed picture. Members of the old Babylonian aristocracy no longer dominate the bureaucracy, while the Persian presence is much more distinct on various levels of administration: the number of Iranian officials is higher and the involvement of Persian nobles and their entourage in the administrative system more prominent.[3] Moreover, Iranian offices become markedly more common.[4] These changes could be seen as part of a drastic re-arrangement of the Babylonian political and administrative scene that took place in the aftermath of the revolts.[5] But was the overturning of the bureaucratic structure actually so sudden? Was the Late Achaemenid system indeed created with a flick of an angry royal hand?

[1] This article is an extension of a part of the paper read at the Leiden meeting. The Trustees of the British Museum are acknowledged for permission to publish texts from the collection under their care. My research in the Museum was made possible by a grant from the Polish National Science Centre (DEC-2012/07/B/HS3/01126). I am grateful to Stefan Zawadzki for reading and commenting on the paper and to Jeanette Fincke for her photographic assistance.

[2] San Nicolò 1941, 61–62. For a different interpretation of the function of the *šakin māti* (i.e. his possible identification with the *šakin tâmti*, governor of the Sealand), see Kleber 2008, 311–326.

[3] Zadok 1977, 89–107.

[4] Cf. Eilers 1940; and see Hackl, this volume.

[5] On the revolts and their consequences, see Waerzeggers 2003/2004 and Kessler 2004.

This paper will demonstrate that this was not the case. It will show that the first signs of a process that led to the reconfiguration of the administrative structure in the later period (484–331 BCE) can be found already in Early Achaemenid (539–485 BCE) sources. In order to trace these signs, a case sample of documents revealing judicial activities at the top of the system will be scrutinized, with special focus on the governor of Babylonia and his personnel.[6] This material seems to fit the purpose particularly well, as it was produced to an extent by institutions and people from outside of the temple milieu, which — even for reasons of cultic purity only — was less open to reforms.

Before examining the Early Achaemenid material, a look at the position of the governor in the justice system of the Later Achaemenid period seems in order. Dispute documents from Xerxes' rule onwards are rare, yet they permit to establish that the governor's involvement in the administration of justice was two-tiered.[7] Firstly, he could be approached directly by litigants, as follows from a clause in which parties guarantee that "PN will not bring charges before the king, the satrap or a judge" (PBS 2/1 21: 7–8, Dar II 0).[8] This path was accessible not only in principle. TBER no. 6 ([Dar II 8+x]) recounts that a man accused of theft in Dilbat escaped to Babylon in order to seek justice from the governor (who then transferred him to the assembly of Esangila).[9] Donbaz and Stolper 1997 no. 105 (Dar II 0) records a claim brought before a Persian prince, a satrap, and at least three other men bearing Iranian names; the case was later referred to a local Nippurean body. Secondly, substantial evidence attests to governors acting through their officials: judges (*dayyānu*), law officers (*dātabara*), court interrogators (*mitiprasu*) and Aramaic scribes (*sepīru*).[10]

Early Achaemenid sources show this two-level system of justice administration at an early stage of development and in greater detail. The material not only permits to establish the place of the governor in the system, but it also,

[6] Early Achaemenid texts from Babylonia use the term *pī/āḫātu* (^{lú}nam) and *bēl pī/āḫāti* (^{lú}en.nam) 'governor' rather than *aḫšadrapanu* 'satrap' (cf. Stolper 1989, 291); this distinction will be followed in translation.

[7] On the judicial duties of Persian satraps in general, see Klinkott 2005, 141–148.

[8] *la šu-mu-du šá* PN *a-na* lugal ^{lú}*áḫ-šá-ad-ra-pa-nu u* ^{lú}di.ku$_5$.

[9] Stolper 1992b, 123–125, Joannès 2000a, 209–211.

[10] See *dayyānu* (*ša*) *ina pāni Gūbaru* (PBS 2/1 105: 13, Stolper 1985 no. 32: 4"), *dayyānu ša bābi ša Gūbaru* (BE 10 84: 11 and lower edge, BE 10 128: 14 and upper edge, PBS 2/1 133: 20 and lower edge, PBS 2/1 224: 9'); *dātabara ša ina p*[*āni Gūbaru*] (Stolper 1992a, 75: rev. 7'), *dātabara ša Artareme* (BE 9 82 and its duplicate Donbaz and Stolper 1997 no. 54: left edge, BE 9 83: 18 and right edge, BE 9 84 and its duplicate TuM 2/3 202: 11 and lower edge, BM 85207: [51], PBS 2/1 185: 15, Stolper 1985 no. 55, left edge); *mitiprasu ša ina pāni Gūbaru* (BE 10 97: 17 and lower edge); *sepīru ša ina pāni Gūbaru* (BE 10 101: 25, Stolper 1992a, 75: rev. 6', Stolper 1985 no. 111: rev.), *sepīru ša bābi ša Gūbaru* (BE 10 128: upper edge), *sepīru ša Gūbaru* (BE 10 128: 18, PBS 2/1 70: 15 and lower edge, PBS 2/1 72: 12 and lower edge, PBS 2/1 133: 23 and upper edge). For *dātabara* 'law officer', see Dandamaev 1992, 41–42, Jursa and Stolper 2007, 263, Tavernier 2007, 418–419 (list of attestations). For *mitiprasu* 'interrogator', see McEwan 1982, 49 and Tavernier 2007, 435.

more interestingly, discloses a process of gradual infiltration of his men into traditional judicial bodies. The respective evidence is particularly rich with reference to the governor Gūbaru and his subordinates.

1. The governor as judge

Gūbaru (Old Persian 'Gaubaruva', Greek 'Gobryas') was appointed as governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River in the former part of Cyrus' rule. His administrative activity — supervision over the work assignments and rations of temple oblates, the backlogs of temple herdsmen, and other temple affairs — has been extensively studied.[11] His judicial capacities, on the other hand, have received less attention.

Numerous penalty clauses announce administrative offences to fall under *ḫīṭu ša Gūbari* 'the penalty of Gūbaru',[12] suggestively parallel to the former and contemporary *ḫīṭu ša šarri* 'the penalty of the king'. According to Kristin Kleber, these *ḫīṭu*-clauses put potential offenders under the jurisdiction of the governor or the king.[13] Whether immediate or appellate, such jurisdiction implies the existence of a system within which cases could be heard by the king or his representatives. The evidence on the Persian king's role in the execution of justice is only circumstantial,[14] but Gūbaru's capacity in this field can be demonstrated beyond doubt.

1.1 Collecting evidence before questioning by Gūbaru

Indirect evidence of Gūbaru's involvement in court proceedings may be drawn from BM 61522 (Jursa 1996, 198–200), written in Akkad in the seventh year of Cyrus. The text records the call of the assembly of the Eulmaš temple

[11] See especially San Nicolò 1941, 54–64, Dandamaev 1992, 72–79, Stolper 1989, 290–291, Stolper 2003. For a list of Gūbaru's attestations, see Tavernier 2007, 57, and add Scheil 1914 (Millard and Jursa 1997/1998), Stolper 2003, 272–276 (MM 504), UCP 9/2 38 and its duplicate 39 (see n. 64 below for collations), Zadok 2002 no. D.2 (p. 883), BM 26643 (a deposition quoting an utterance, in which the name of Gūbaru appears in a broken context) and BM 66816 (a rental of a boat of (?) Gūbaru to the Ebabbar temple).

[12] The overwhelming majority of known clauses comes from Uruk: AnOr 8 45 and 46, BIN 2 114, GCCI 2 103 and 120, Stigers 1976 no. 43, TCL 13 142, 150, 152 and 168, YOS 7 56, 92, 127, 160, 168, 172, 177 and 178. For Sippar, see BM 67874 and MacGinnis 1998 no. 3 (cf. Sandowicz 2012, O.84 for emendation). The penalty of the next governor, Uštanu, is mentioned in Waerzeggers 2014 no. 22 and BM 54069.

[13] Kleber 2008, 68–71. A comprehensive study of this institution has been announced by F.R. Magdalene, B. Wells and C. Wunsch.

[14] In BE 10 118, king Darius II is addressed by a group of Judeans with a claim pertaining to land and houses. The text published in MacGinnis 2008 mentions a message conveyed to the authorities of the Ebabbar temple, saying that Darius I has reached a decision (*ṭēmu*) in a case concerning silver.

of Akkad for a formal hearing (*maš'altu*) of a group of craftsmen; the offence under scrutiny was probably the mishandling or theft of sacred jewellery. With the transcript of the hearing in hand, the representatives of the assembly were to go to Gūbaru, who was expected to issue a verdict based on the evidence provided.[15] The course of proceedings is striking, as under Cyrus similar cases are known still to have been heard locally.[16] However, this case may hardly be treated as a sign of the growing centralisation of the court system, since the evidence is isolated and details of the offence are unknown. The nature or the gravity of the theft could have influenced the decision to bring the case before the governor.

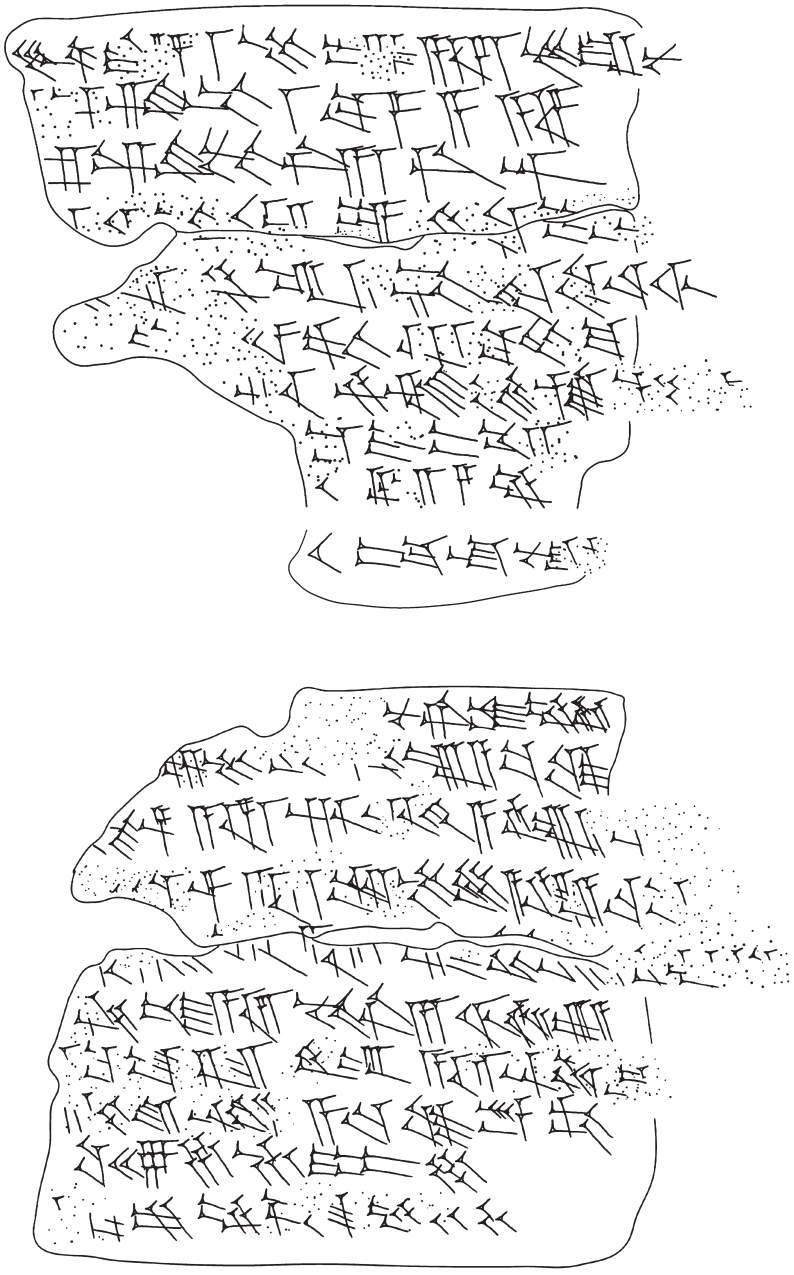
1.2 Dispatch of culprits to Gūbaru

Evidence of Gūbaru's judicial duties emerges further from several documents calling upon individuals from provincial centres to appear before him. AnOr 8 45 and AnOr 8 46, both written in the fourth year of Cyrus, summon men from Uruk to go to Babylon to Gūbaru along with temple officials. It has been suggested that these documents constituted summonses to audiences linked to audits carried out by the central administration.[17] Since the reason for appearing before the governor is not given explicitly in either text, this possibility cannot be excluded. An alternative is to treat these documents together with summonses naming litigation before judges — or the *sartennu* and judges — as the purpose of going to Babylon.[18] Admittedly, neither AnOr 8 45 nor AnOr 8 46 mentions the expected court procedure, but a hitherto unpublished text from Akkad offers a parallel that allows to consider such a possibility. Text 1 is a guarantee, not a summons, but both formularies often worked to a similar effect.

Text 1. BM 65339 + BM 68761
(82-9-18, 5324 + 82-9-18, 8760)
5.6 × 4.6 cm

1. *pu-ut* ˹gìr^{II}˺ *šá* ^{I}mu-˹^{d}nà˺ a-*šú šá* ^{I}*mu-ra-nu*
2. [a] ˹^{I}*e*˺-*gi-bi* ^{I}ba-*šá-a* a-*šú šá*
3. [^{I}s]ag.gil-numun-dù a ^{I}dù-dingir
4. [*ina* šu^{II}] ˹^{I}ki-lugal-igi^{II}-*ia* ^{lú}*qí-i-pi*˺
5. [*u* ^{I}]˹mu-^{d}nà ^{lú}˺sanga ˹a.ga.dè^{ki}˺ *na-ši*
6. [*ina qí*]-*i*[*t* ^{i}]^{ti}gu$_4$ ˹*ib*˺-*ba-kám-ma*
7. [*ana* ^{I}*gu-ba*]-˹*ri*˺ ^{lú}nam ˹tin.tir˺^{ki} ˹*e-bir* íd˺

[15] As suggested by Jursa 1996, 210.
[16] Cf. YOS 7 7, the 'Monstreprozeß' of Gimillu in Uruk (San Nicolò 1933).
[17] Kleber 2008, 62.
[18] Discussed in Sandowicz, forthcoming.



Text 1. BM 65339 + BM 68761

8. [*i-nam-din ki-i l*]*a* ˹*i*˺*-tab-ka*
9. [*la it-tan-na ḫ*]*i-ṭu ša* lugal

l.e.

10. [*i-šad-da-ad*] *u tab-ba-la-nu* ˹*šu-ú*˺

rev.

11. [^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{Id}*a*]-*nu-ni-tu*$_4$-lugal-ùru
12. [a-*šú šá* ^{Id}n]à-mu-˹ùru a ^{lú}˺sanga *a-kad*^{ki}
13. [^{Id}u.gur-*ina*-sù]ḫ-sur a-*šú šá* ^{I}*ri-mut-*<^{d}me.me> a ^{lú}sanga ˹*a-kad*˺[^{ki}]
14. [^{Id}]˹amar.utu˺-sur ˹a˺-*šú* ˹*šá*˺ ^{Id}˹nà˺-mu-ùru a ^{lú}˹sanga˺ *a-kad*˹^{ki}˺
15. [^{I}]˹*ri-mut*-^{d}en a-*šú šá* ^{Id}nà-šeš.me-mu a ^{lú}sanga *a-kad*˺[^{ki}]
16. [^{I}*n*]*i-din-tu*$_4$ a-*šú šá* ^{I}numun-dù a ^{I}*ši-gu-ú-a*
17. ˹^{I}*ba-la-ṭu*˺ ^{lú}umbisag a-*šú* ˹*šá*˺ ^{Id}˹amar.utu-ba$^{?}$˺-[*šá*$^{?}$]
18. ˹a˺ ^{I}tin-*su*-^{d}˹amar.utu˺ *a-kad*^{ki} ^{iti}gu$_4$
19. u$_4$.28.kám mu.7.kám
20. ˹^{I}*ku*˺-*raš* lugal ˹e^{ki}˺ lugal ˹kur˺.kur

Ll. 1–5 Literally: ‘guarantees for the foot of Iddin-Nabû’.
L. 10 The last sign is only partly visible. The traces do not support the reconstruction ‘nu’.

Iqīšāya, son of [S]angila-zēru-ibni, descendant of Ibni-ili, guarantees [to] Itti-šarru-īnīya, the (royal) resident, [and] Iddin-Nabû, the high priest of Akkad, that Iddin-Nabû, son of Murānu, [descendant] of Egibi, will not run away.

[In the en]d of *ayyaru* he will bring (him) and [give (him) to Gūbar]u, the governor of Babylon and Across the River. [Should he n]ot bring [and give (him), he will bear the pe]nalty of the king and he will be (considered) thief. [Witnesses: A]nunītu-šarru-uṣur, [son of N]abû-šumu-uṣur, descendant of Šangû-Akkad,

[Nergal-ina-tē]šê-ēṭir, son of Rēmūt-<Gula>, descendant of Šangû-Akkad,
Marduk-ēṭir, son of Nabû-šumu-uṣur, descendant of Šangû-Akkad,
Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Akkad,
[N]idintu, son of Zēru-ibni, descendant of Šigûa.

Scribe: Balāṭu, son of Marduk-iq[īša$^{?}$], descendant of Uballiṭsu-Marduk. Akkad, 28th of *ayyaru*, the seventh year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the Lands.

Guarantees of this kind are common in the Neo-Babylonian material. They were used, among other purposes, to secure the return of people released temporarily from prisons or of rented slaves and oblates. In the case of Text 1, however, the deadline of delivery is remarkably close: Iddin-Nabû was to be handed to Gūbaru within two days. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the guarantor was responsible merely for bringing Iddin-Nabû before the governor. A good parallel to this contract is provided by YOS 7 137, which records the entrusting of a group of five enchained prisoners to two oblates, who were to

deliver them in Babylon to Nabūgu, the son of Gūbaru. Should they have failed to bring the prisoners to Babylon, the oblates were to bear a penalty of the king.

The guarantor Iqīšāya, son of (E)sangila-zēru-ibni of the Ibni-ili family, is listed among members of the Akkad temple elite in Stigers 1976 no. 6 (line 13) written three years earlier. The identity of Iddin-Nabû — the man who was to be handed in to Gūbaru — is unknown, but it might be speculated upon based on the link of Text 1 to BM 61522 (Jursa 1996, 198–200). There is a chronological and prosopographical overlap between these two documents: they were possibly written in the same year and all witnesses of Text 1 appear in BM 61522.[19] As mentioned above, BM 61522 records a request by a temple assembly that the royal resident and the administrator of the Eulmaš temple hold a hearing of temple craftsmen who dealt with divine jewellery; a record of this hearing was later to be taken to Gūbaru. Iddin-Nabû could have been one of those craftsmen who were suspected of mishandling paraphernalia in the course of the preliminary investigation and who were sent to the governor in Babylon for trial. One more tablet that in all likelihood belongs to this dossier is BM 62534 (Cyr [x]), drafted in the course of an inquiry into the embezzlement of gold belonging to the Eulmaš temple.

The final clause of Text 1 mentions a twofold punishment that would apply in case Iddin-Nabû were not to be brought before Gūbaru: the penalty of the king and the penalty of being (considered) a thief. The phrasing of the clause leaves it unclear who exactly fell under these penalties: the suspect or his guarantor. The latter possibility seems more likely on grammatical grounds: there is no clear change of the subject between the first part of the operative section and the penalty clauses. Also, comparison with similar guarantee contracts makes this interpretation more plausible.[20] Particularly instructive is BM 65784, which records the entrusting of a group of men to a certain Ardia, who was to bring them to the high priest of Akkad. Should he fail to do so, he (sg.) would bear the penalty of the king and be considered a thief. By this parallel, it seems probable that if Iqīšāya would fail to deliver Iddin-Nabû to the governor, he himself would face theft charges.

[19] Jursa suggests year 8 (2+2[+4]), but his copy allows the reconstruction [3]+2+2, parallel to the (admittedly atypical) writing in Text 1. The witnesses are: Anunītu-šarru-uṣur, an *aḫu rabû* (BM 61522 [Jursa 1996, 198–200]: 10, cf. Jursa 1996, 204); Nergal-ina-tēšê-ēṭir, a temple enterer (BM 61522: 11, cf. BM 62561 [Jursa 1997, 101–103]: 23, Stigers 1976 no. 6: 6, CT 57 10: 12); Rēmūt-Bēl, an overseer of the temple brewers (BM 61522: 18, cf. Jursa 1996, 204); Marduk-ēṭir, a temple enterer (BM 61522: 12); Nidintu (=Nidinti-Bēl), a brewer (BM 61522: 21).

[20] Cf. PBS 2/1 23, UCP 9/2 2, YOS 7 137.

1.3 Gūbaru hearing cases

The texts discussed so far provide only circumstantial evidence of Gūbaru's judicial functions. One of his successors in the governor's post is known as a member of a judicial body: Zadok 2002 no. D.4 (pp. 885–886), written after the twenty-eighth year of Darius I in an unknown locality, deals with a testimony to be made before "Baga-pānu, the governor of Babylon, Balāṭu the *mašennu*, [and] his colleagues, the judges of the king."[21] Text 2 published below provides conclusive proof that also Gūbaru sat as judge.

Text 2. BM 47479
(D 81-11-3, 184)
6.5 × 5.1 cm

1. Iši-it-ra-šá-ri-di-it lúba-a[ḫ-tar-a-a]
2. *a-na* Irgu-bar-ri nam tin.tirki *ù e*-[*bir* íd *iq-bi*]
3. *um-ma* Irmu-še-zib-dr nà dumu-*šú ša* Idnà-numun-sum.na
4. *ul-tu* mu.5.kam I*kam-bu-zi-ía* lugal tin.tirki [*u* kur.kur]
5. *a-na mi-riš-tu*$_4$ *i-ri-iš-an-*[*ni*]-*ma a-di i-na*-[*an-na*]
6. anšekunga *la ú-ter-ri* Irgu-bar-ri nam tin.t[irki]
7. *ù e-bir* íd Irmu-še-zib-dnà d[umu]-*šú* [*šá*] Idnà-numun-s[um.na]
8. *i-šá-al-ma e-li ra-ma*-[*ni-šú ú-k*]*i-i*[*n*]
9. *um-ma* anšekunga *ul-tu* m[u.5.ká]m
10. I*kam-bu-zi-ia* lugal tin.tirki lugal kur.kur *a*-[*na*]
11. *mi-riš-tu*$_4$ *ul-tu pa-ni* I*ši-it*-[*ra-šá-ri-di-it*]
12. *a*?*-bu*?*-uk*?*-ma a-di i*-[*na-an-na*]
13. [*la ú*]-*ter*?*-ra*?-[*šú* x x x x x]

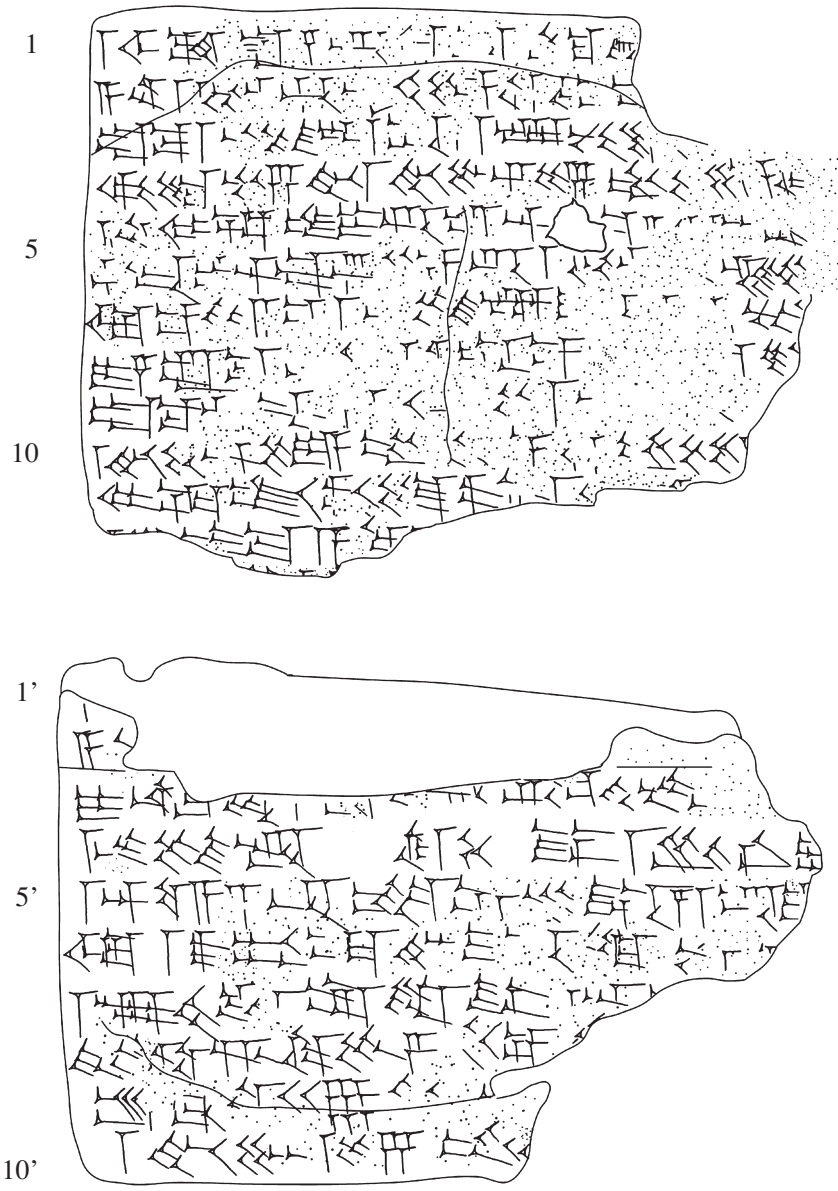
(several lines missing)

Rev.

1'. I [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
2'. *a*-*n*[*a*? x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
3'. *i-na ma-ḫar* I*ta*?*-ar*?*-ga-am-mu* x[x x]
4'. Irmu-še-zib-den di.ku$_5$ dumu Išeš-dù-*i*
5'. Idutu-*a-a* en *ṭè-e-mu* dumu-*šú šá* Iden-ba?-[*šá*]
6'. *ù* I*áš-tak*!*-ka-a'* x x x x x [x x]
7'. Idnà-tin-*iṭ* dub.sar dumu Idrx [x x x]
8'. *bir-ta rad-di-bu šá* kur*e-b*[*ir* íd?]
9'. itirkin u$_4$.29.kam mu.[6–8.kam]
10'. I*kam-bu-zi-ía* lugal tin.[tirki lugal kur.kur]

L. 1 The name Šitrašaridit is Median (Čiθtra-čar-dāta 'Given by the one who makes brilliant'; see Tavernier 2007, 157 who quotes its Aramaic form Štršrdt). Consequently, it is tempting to read the gentilic at the end of the line as lú.*ma-d*[*a-a-a*]. However, the

[21] Lines 30–31: I*ba-ga-pi-an-nu* lúnam tin.tirki I*ba-la-ṭu* lúigi.dub [*ù*] lú*ki-na*-[*a*]*t-ta-šú* lú*da-a-a-nu*.meš *šá* lugal.



Text 2. BM 47479

traces do not conform with this reading, unless the second sign was written on an erasure.

Ll. 2, 6, 4', 5' A characteristic of this scribe's style is skipping the determinative lú before professional titles (nam, ll. 2, 6; di.ku$_5$, l. 4'; en *ṭè-e-mu*, l. 5'). Such orthography is customary down to the Middle Babylonian period but unusual for Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative texts, with very few exceptions (e.g. dub.sar). It becomes again more common in Late Babylonian, especially from the reign of Darius I on. For similar orthography, see, e.g. Moore 1939 no. 89: 41 (en *ṭè-e-mu* is not preceded by lú, in contrast to other titles), BM 54205 (Eilers 1940, 107–15): 14–17 (neither di.ku$_5$ is preceded by lú, in contrast to other titles), VS 4 87 and its duplicate VS 4 88: 11 (di.ku$_5$ is the only professional title not preceded by lú).

L. 4 Year '6' cannot be excluded.

L. 7' The patronymic of the scribe may also begin with An- (e.g. Andaḫar).

L. 8' The reconstruction ^{kur}*e-l*[*a-mu*] cannot be excluded, but E[bir Nāri] is preferred in view of the mention of *mirištu* 'merchandise', often found in the context of Across-the-River.

L. 9' The defendant is charged with keeping the mule since the fifth year; the lawsuit must have taken place in the following year at the earliest.

Šitrašaridit the Bac[trian said] as follows to Gūbaru, the governor of Babylon and Ac[ross-the-River]: "After Mušēzib-Nabû, the son of Nabû-zēru-iddin, had asked me (for help) in (transporting) merchandise in the 'fifth' year of Cambyses, king of Babylon [and Lands], until n[ow], he has not returned the mule."

Gūbaru, the governor of Bab[ylon] and Across-the-River questioned Mušēzib-Nabû, the s[on] of Nabû-zēru-id[din]. He confessed as follows: "After 'I had taken[?]' from Šitra[šaridit] the mule for (transporting) merchandise [in the fifth ye]ar of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the Lands, […] until n[ow, I have not re]turned [it…].

[…]

T[o? …]

Before: 'Targammu[?]' […],

Mušēzib-Bēl the judge, descendant of Aḫu-bāni,

Šamšāya the *bēl ṭēmi,* son of Bēl-iqīš[a[?]],

and Aštakka' … […].

Scribe: Nabû-uballiṭ, descendant of […].

Birta Raddibu of A[cross-the-River], twenty-ninth of *ulūlu*, [sixth-eighth] year of Cambyses, king of Bab[ylon, king of the Lands].

The latest hitherto known attestation of Gūbaru as governor was in the fifth year of Cambyses (TCL 13 168, Camb 27-VI-5). Text 2 thus extends his period

of office by at least one year. The tablet was drafted in an otherwise unknown locality Birta Raddibu (or: Raddipu). The reading of this toponym is tentative. It is neither introduced nor followed by a determinative (e.g. uru or ki) and the apposition 'of A[cross-the-River]' suggests that it must have been a minor site, whose location had to be specified. *Birta* is an Aramaic equivalent of Babylonian *birtu* 'citadel, fort, land protected by fortified outposts around the city';[22] in both languages this word appears as an element of toponyms.[23] Birta Raddibu cannot be identified with any town attested in Akkadian or Aramaic sources. Its link to Ar-Ruḍâb in the vicinity of Resafa, where several centuries later a Sasanian garrison was located,[24] is possible, but not provable. The museum context does not provide any information on the place of the tablet's discovery. The 1881-11-03 collection to which Text 2 belongs is not coherent with regard to its provenance; most of its tablets come from Dilbat and Babylon.

The formulary of Text 2 is characteristic of a transcript of a trial: a formal address by a plaintiff is followed by the questioning of the defendant by the judge and the defendant's confession. The broken lines that follow expectedly contained the sentence. The trial was held in the presence of four men, including one judge. The name of the first man — hence the most important one — is partly damaged, just like his function, provided it was given at all. His filiation seems to have been skipped, which could indicate that he was a man of high standing, whose identity was obvious. The second person in the list, the judge Mušēzib-Bēl of the Aḫu-bāni family is, to my knowledge, unattested elsewhere in the published contemporary court documents. Judges Rēmūt-bēl-ilāni (active under Neriglissar in Babylon), and Nabû-rā'im-šarri (attested in Nabonidus' second year in Tapsuḫu) were members of the same clan and since judicial functions were often passed in families, Mušēzib-Bēl's link to one of them appears plausible.[25] The fourth man present at the trial was Aštakka', whose name is non-Babylonian. It is, however, the third person in the list, Šamšāya, who is the most intriguing member of the panel.

Šamšāya's function *bēl ṭēmi* ('bearer of the report, chancellor') is extremely rare in Neo- and Late Babylonian material. Holders of this title are found in only three cuneiform texts from the Persian period; two of them were drafted in circles close to Persian governors. The earliest known *bēl ṭēmi* appears on a list of silver allotments issued to over eighty men engaged in the preparation of a visit of Cambyses in southern Babylonia in the second year of his reign

[22] CAD B, 261–263.

[23] For Aramaic, see Lemaire and Lozahmeur 1987, for Neo-Babylonian, see Zadok 1985, 76–77.

[24] Cf. Musil 1927, 313.

[25] For Rēmūt-bēl-ilāni, see Wunsch 2000, 586, for Nabû-rā'im-šarri, see TBER no. 58 and its duplicate 59: 27.

(Moore 1939 no. 89).[26] The official's name is damaged, but he is described as "a Median, *bēl ṭēmi*, who discussed the issue of sheep with Gūbaru."[27] He received a large sum of silver (0.5 mina), exceeding by far the allotments of other men. The second attestation of this title comes from Stolper 1989 no. 1 (BM 74554), a receipt for barley issued at the order of the governor of Babylon and Across-the-River, and Libluṭ and Gadalâma, two men described as *sepīru bēl ṭēmi* ('Aramaic scribe [and] chancellor'). The third attestation comes from a fragmentary tablet BM 67669 drafted during the reign of Darius I, where *bēl ṭēmi* appears next to members of the board of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar.

Bēl ṭēmi is possibly a Neo-Assyrian term that entered Aramaic and consequently Persian chancellery parlance.[28] It is found in the Arsames correspondence from Egypt, where similarly to Stolper 1989 no. 1 (BM 74554), concurrent use of the titles *bēl ṭēmi* and *sepīru* (*bʿl ṭʿm sprʾ* 'chancellor [and] scribe') is attested.[29] In Egyptian and Bactrian Aramaic letter subscripts, *bʿl ṭʿm* is paralleled by a title *ydʿ ṭʿmʾ znh* '(PN) knows this order', which in Bactrian letters is, again, borne by scribes (*sprʾ*).[30] Similar correspondence may also be traced in Persepolis tablets.[31] In Egypt, *bʿl ṭʿm* was a member of the satrap's entourage, in charge of official correspondence.[32] A notable attestation of *bēl ṭēmi* comes from Ezra 4: 8–9, 23, which quotes a letter sent to king Artaxerxes by Rehum *bʿl ṭʿm* and Shimshai *sprʾ* together with "their colleagues the judges [*knwthwn dynʾ*], legates [*ʾprstkyʾ*], officials [*ṭrplyʾ*],[33] Persians, men of Erech, Babylonians, men of Susa, that is Elamites."[34] The Septuagint's rendering of the names of the two first officials as Raoumos and Samsaios suggests the original reading of the second one as Shamshai (rather than Shimshai).

The patronymic of Šamšāya, son of Bēl-iqīša, is Babylonian, but his own name is less straightforward. It is uncommon in Babylonian sources. It may be interpreted as a *Kosename* 'My sun'[35] or a hypocorism of a longer name comprising the theophoric element Šamaš. Alternatively, it may be a West Semitic

[26] For the context of the text, see Tolini 2009.

[27] $^{\text{r}}$x'[x x]$^{\text{r}}$x' $^{\text{lú}}$*ma-da-a-a* en *ṭè-e-mu šá a-na muḫ-ḫi* udu.níta *a-na* $^{\text{l}}$*gu-ba-ru iq-bu-ú* (lines 41–42).

[28] Stolper 1989, 301, Schwiderski 2000, 191.

[29] Porten 1968, 56, Porten et al. 1996, 121 n. 74. Schwiderski's proposition (2000, 190–193 and 358–359) to distinguish between a title (*sprʾ*) and an ad hoc function (*bʿl ṭʿm*) is problematic in view of the occurence of *bēl ṭēmi* as name apposition, parallel to the title 'judge', in BM 47479. Also his argument that *bēl ṭēmi* is never preceded by the determinative lú (2000, 192–193) is no longer standing: such writing ($^{\text{lú}}$en *ṭè-mu*) is found in BM 67669.

[30] Tuplin 2013, 128–130.

[31] Tavernier 2008, 73.

[32] Porten 1968, 55. For a possible correspondence between the *bʿl ṭʿm* and the Demotic *senti*, see Vittmann 2009, 102.

[33] Or: 'men from (Syrian) Tripoli' (Koehler, Baumgartner and Stamm 2000, 1886b).

[34] The translation follows Blenkinsopp 1988, 109.

[35] Stamm 1939, 242.

appellative of a similar meaning. The only eminent bearers of this name were the royal resident of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar, attested in the twenty-sixth year of Darius I,[36] and the son of Tattenai, the governor of Accross-the-River in the latter part of Darius I's rule.[37] No connection between these namesakes and the *bēl ṭēmi* of Text 2 can be established.

It is much more inviting to identify Šamšāya with Shimshai the *spr'*, the colleague of Rehum *b'l ṭ'm* of Ezra 4. Their names bear striking resemblance. Their titles admittedly vary (Šamšāya is called *bēl ṭēmi*, while Shimshai a *spr'*), but both Stolper 1989 no. 1 (BM 74554) and the Aramaic material show that the two titles were occasionally combined. Also, a shift of titles between two protagonists of Ezra 4: 8–9, 23 in the course of the editorial process could be assumed. Both Šamšāya and Shimshai belonged to the elite of local Persian administration: Šamšāya stood close to the governor of Babylon and Across-the-River, while Shimshai, along with his colleague Rehum, addressed the king directly and implemented his orders. Both of them are listed next to judges. Furthermore, Ezra 4 contains many elements that reveal its editor's acquaintance with the Persian-Babylonian administration and legal parlance.[38]

An obvious difficulty that this identification involves is a gap of over sixty years between Text 2 and the events set by Ezra-Nehemiah in the times of Artaxerxes (I). The authenticity of this so-called Artaxerxes correspondence in Ezra is a matter of dispute. According to extreme opinions, it was either a product of a Hellenistic author,[39] or a compilation put together by an editor who had original sources from the Persian period at his disposal.[40] If we accept the latter possibility, we may also allow that the editor of Ezra-Nehemiah has placed Rehum and Shimshai in the times of Artaxerxes I for reasons of narrative or ideological consistency, or simply by mistake. A possibility may thus be considered that Šamšāya *bēl ṭēmi*, a high official in the satrapy of

[36] Bongenaar 1997, 50.

[37] Jursa and Stolper 2007, 249.

[38] Especially line 9 is strongly influenced by Persian-Babylonian legal phraseology. The word *knt* 'colleague, companion' is commonly regarded as a borrowing from Akkadian (Porten et al. 1996, 159 n. 15, Koehler, Baumgartner and Stamm 2000, 1900a). Its only biblical occurrences are found in Ezra 4, 5 and 6; all of them refer to the companions of the opponents of the Jewish returnees (Rehum and Shimshai, Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai). Not only the word, but also the practice of combining it with professional titles might be traced to Akkadian (for references, see CAD K, 382). See especially the constructions parallel to *knwthwn dyny'* '(Shimshai and Rehum and) their colleagues the judges': PN *u kinattēšu dayyānē* (*ša šarri*) 'PN and his colleagues the (royal) judges' (BM 30957: 8–9, BM 62918: 2, *Dar*. 410: 5, MacGinnis 2008, 88–89: 1–2, Zadok 2002 no. D.4: 31, cf. Jursa, Paszkowiak and Waerzeggers 2003/2004 no. 1: 14). Similar practice of combining the Aramaic equivalent of the word *kinattu* with professional titles is found in Elephantine papyri (Porten et al. 1996, 159).

[39] E.g. Schwiderski 2000, 381–382, Wright 2005, 39–43.

[40] E.g. Grabbe 2006, 562–563, Williamson 2008, 52.

Across-the-River under Cambyses, served as a model for Shimshai/Shamshai of Ezra-Nehemiah.

The high position of the adjudicator and the officials who assisted him stands in contrast with the low-profile subject matter of the dispute (one mule). This discrepancy reminds vividly of BE 10 118, where the Persian king is addressed with a claim regarding a plot of land and houses. Text 2 cannot be put in proper context, since the identity of the litigants is impossible to determine. The name of the defendant is Neo-Babylonian; its commonness makes the identification of its bearer difficult, especially since his patronymic is very popular as well. The plaintiff was an Iranian from Bactria. Perhaps his descent granted him easier access to the governor, but it cannot be excluded that circumstances of time and place decided that the case was heard by such a court. The composition of the adjudicating body is unusual from the perspective of Babylonian dispute documents, but, imaginably, it could be representative of trial proceedings elsewhere in Transeuphratene. It is much more remarkable that the transcript of the trial was written in cuneiform — even if, as may be assumed, an Aramaic copy was concurrently made.

2. The governor's close associates in judicial capacities

The scope of Gūbaru's personal involvement in the court activities is impossible to assess, but he certainly did not concentrate all the duties in his hands: part of them were delegated to his close associates.

Text 3. BM 16996
(91-7-9, 112)
6.1 × 4.2 cm

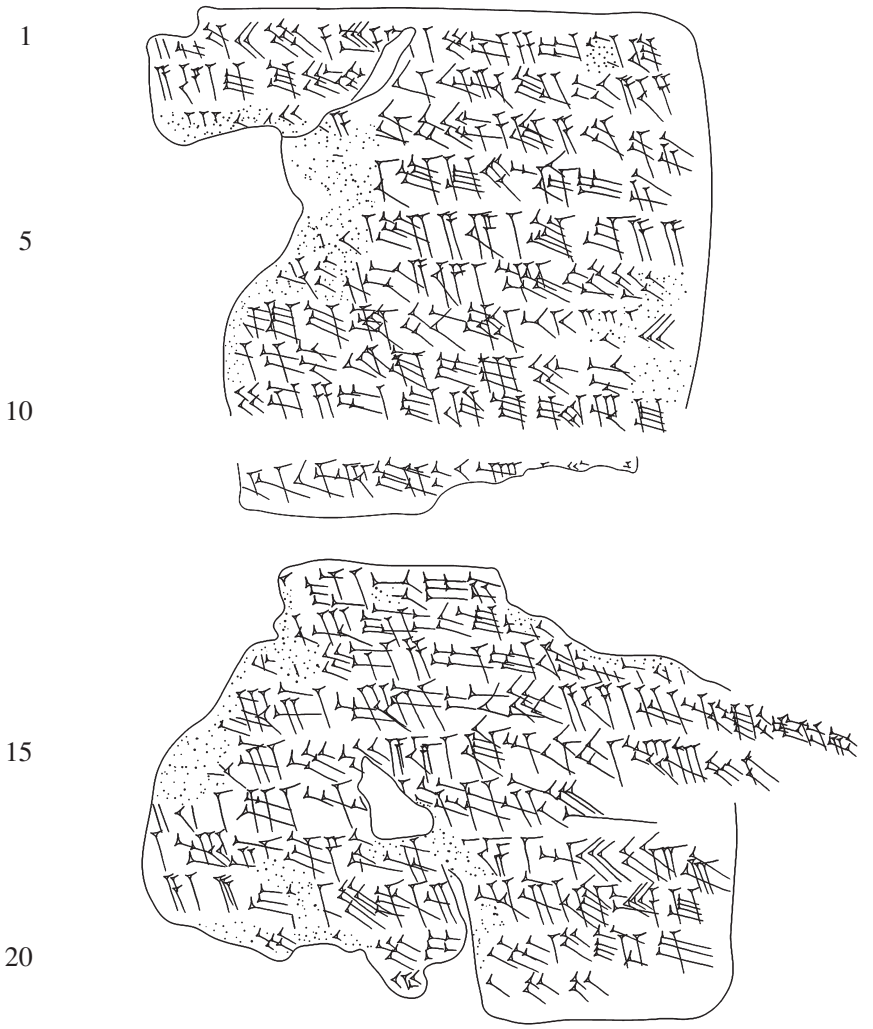
1. ˹*a-di*˺ u$_4$.20.kám *šá* ^{iti}˹du$_6$˺ ^{I}*šar-za-ab-*˹*ad*˺*-di*
2. ˹a˺*-šú šá* ^{I}*áš-šu-bu-*˹*u*˺ *u* ^{I}*ar-ra-bi* a-*šú šá*
3. [^{I}]˹^{d}nà-lugal-ùru˺ *a-*˹*na*˺ tin.tir^{ki} *a-na pa-ni*
4. [^{I}*pa-ár-na-ku i*]*l-la-ku-u' di-i-ni*
5. [x x *šá* ^{I}*za*]*b*$^{?}$*-*˹*di*˺*-ia* a-*šú šá* ^{I}*šu*$^{!}$*-ma-a-a*
6. [*a-na* ^{I}*a*]*r-*˹*ra*˺*-bi* a-*šú šá* ^{Id}nà-lugal-ùru
7. [*ik-nu-u*]*k*$^{?}$*-ku-ma id-din-nu it-ti* ˹*a-ḫa-meš*˺
8. [*ina* ig]i ^{I}*pa-ár-na-ku i-dab-bu-ub-*[*bu*]
9. [*ki-i* ^{I}*š*]*ar-za-ab-ad-di la it-tal-ku*

Lo. E.

10. [x x *ina* i]gi ^{I}*ar-ra-*˹*bi ú-maš*$^{?}$*-šar*$^{?}$*-ru*$^{?}$˺

Rev.

11. [x x ^{I}*a*]*r-ra-*˹*bi*˺ *i-ni-*[*iṭ-ṭir*]
12. [*ù ki-i* ^{I}*a*]*r-ra-bi la* ˹*it*˺*-*[*tal-ku*]
13. [x x *ina*] ˹igi ^{I}˺*šar-za-ab-ad-di* ˹*ú-maš*$^{?}$*-šar*$^{?}$˺



Text 3. BM 16996

14. [^{lú}]^{r}*mu-kin*$^{\text{}}$-*ni* ^{Id}en.líl-*tab-nu*-ùru a-*šú šá* ^{I}ur-^{d}nin.tin.ug$_5$.ga
15. [^{Id}e]n.líl-mu-^{r}mu$^{\text{}}$ a-*šú šá* ^{I}ki-^{d}utu-tin ^{Id}en.líl-mu-dù
16. ^{r}a-*šú šá*$^{\text{}}$ ^{I}ur$^{(over\ erasure)}$-^{d}^{r}nin$^{\text{}}$.<tin>.ug$_5$.ga <<lú>>
17. ^{Id}en.líl-ba-*šá* ^{r}lú$^{(over\ erasure)}$umbisag a$^{\text{}}$-*šú šá* ^{Id}30-kar-*ir*
18. a ^{I}a.^{r}ba-^{d}$^{\text{}}$ninnu-da.^{r}ri$^{\text{}}$ en.líl.ki ^{iti}du$_6$
19. [u$_4$.x].^{r}kám << kám/mu >> mu$^{\text{}}$.5[+x].kám ^{I}*kur-ra-áš*
20. [lugal tin.tir]^{rki}$^{\text{}}$ *u* kur.kur

L.1–2 Šar-zabaddi ('Šahr has given') is West Semitic (cf. Zadok 1979, 4). The theophoric element Š/Ta(h)r often appears without the divine determinative, e.g. ^{I}*tir-za-ba-du* 'Śahr has given' (Zadok 1998, 1.1.1), ^{I}*šar-ra-ḫi* 'Šahr is well-disposed' (BE 8 108: 11), ^{I}*šá-ra-*$^{\text{}}$*-ilu* 'Šahr is the god' (ROMCT 2 40: 7). Aššubū' is perhaps close to ^{I}*A-šab-ba* (OIP 114 126: rev. 25).

L. 5 The object of the litigation cannot be confidently restored. The phrase *ina pāni … muššuru* is usually used to describe pledge release, but it might also denote the final transfer of an acquired property. Cf. *Nbk*. 246: $^{(1)}$a.šà (…) *šá* PN *šá it-ti* PN2 (…) $^{(7)}$*im-ḫur ina* MN [PN] $^{(8)}$kù.babbar *i-na-áš-šá-am-ma a-na* PN2 $^{(9)}$*i-nam-din-ma* PN2 a.šà.meš *ina* igi PN *ú-maš-šar* "(Concerning) the field (…) that PN bought from PN2 (…): in month *abu* [PN] will bring the silver and he will give it to PN2. PN2 will (then) release the fields to PN."

L. 14 For Kalbi-Nintinugga, see the appendix to this contribution.

L. 15 Enlil-šumu-iddin/Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu from BE 8 54: 7 (a receipt for barley written in Nippur in Nbn 16) might be identical with the second witness.

L. 15–16 Enlil-šumu-ibni/Kalbi-Nintinugga is presumably identical with a temple musician who appears in the apprentice contract BE 8 98: 2. Jursa *apud* Hackl 2007–2010, 92 suggests the reading ^{I}ur-^{d}nin.š[i.kù], but the analogy to the present text allows the reconstruction ^{I}ur-^{d}nin.^{r}tin$^{\text{}}$.[ug$_5$.ga].

L. 17 The scribe belonged to a family that claimed its descent from a renowned scholar. According to a Seleucid list of *ummānu*s, Aba-Ninnu-dari was the chief scholar under Esarhaddon, whom the Arameans called Aḫḫ$^{\text{}}$aqari (Ahiqar); cf. Parpola 1983, 449. Several other members of the family are attested in Neo-Babylonian documents from Nippur, i.a. Aqar-apli/Nādin/Aba-Ninnu-dari, always listed as the first witness (PBS 2/1 175: 11 and 202: 12, TuM 2/3 189: 18 and Stolper 2001 no. 7: 12); Ninurta-šumu-iddin/Šubši-zēri/Aba-Ninnu-dari (BE 8 58: 38); Ninurta-aḫu-[…]/Ninurta-aḫu-šubši/Aba-Ninnu-dari (BE 8 88: 2); […]/Aba-Ninnu-dari (BE 8 81: 7).

By the twentieth of *tašrītu* Šar-zabaddi, son of Aššubū', and Arrabi, son of ^{r}Nabû-šarru-uṣur$^{\text{}}$, will go to Babylon before [Parnaka]. They will litigate with each other [befor]e Parnaka the case [of$^{?}$ … that Zab]dia$^{?}$, son of Šumāya, gave [under se]al$^{?}$ [to A]rrabi, son of Nabû-šarru-uṣur.

[Should Š]ar-zabaddi not go, he will rele[ase$^{?}$ … t]o Arrabi and [A]rrabi's […] will be [(considered) paid$^{?}$ (…)].

[Should A]rrabi not g[o], he will release [… t]o Šar-zabaddi.
Witnesses: Enlil-tabni-uṣur, son of Kalbi-Nintinugga,
Enlil-šumu-iddin, son of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu,
Enlil-šumu-ibni, son of Kalbi-Nintinugga.
Scribe: Enlil-iqīša, son of Sîn-ēṭir, descendant of Aba-Ninnu-dari.
Nippur, [xth]day of *tašrītu*, the 5+[x]th year of Cyrus, [king of Babylon] and the Lands.

BM 16996 calls upon two parties to go to Babylon to Parnaka and argue their case before him. The adjudicating authority is assumingly Pharnakes, a paternal uncle of the future king Darius I. Under this king, Parnaka became the head of the Persepolis administration.[41] Even before the *coup d'etat* of Darius, Parnaka held important functions, both in Persia and in Babylonia.[42] There is a gap of over thirty years between Babylonian and Persian evidence,[43] so he must have been a young man while holding office in Babylon.

Evidence of Parnaka's judicial authority comes further from an unpublished Hermitage text, Erm. 15539 (Cyr 6), concerning the receipt by the Uruk assembly of his message pertaining to the investigation into theft of temple gold.[44] While this text shows Parnaka's interest in temple property, Text 3 deals, it seems, with a private property case, the parties being, as suggested by their names, an Aramean and a Babylonian. It thus confirms the readiness of top officials of the governor's administration to deal with disputes of little gravity, unrestricted to people of a particular status.

Another collaborator of Gūbaru engaged in the administration of justice was his son Nabūgu.[45] YOS 7 137 records the dispatch to him of five shackled men who, while sitting in prison, became hearsay witnesses to an utterance criticizing the king.[46] This document confirms Nabūgu's judicial authority, yet it has to be treated as exceptional, as it deals with the charge of lèse-majesté, a case that would fall within the jurisdiction of high authority anyway.

[41] For Parnaka, see Briant 2002, 353, 425, 810–811 and Stolper 2003, 275–276; for a list of his attestations, see Tavernier 2007, 178–179. Note, however, the reservations of Briant (2002, 810–811) and Stolper (2003, 275–276) regarding the identification of Parnaka of Persepolis with his Babylonian namesake.

[42] Note especially YOS 7 128 (Camb 2), where he is mentioned next to Gobryas. This protocol recounts that a man strangled another one saying "in this way Gūbaru and Parnaka break the people's back" (cf. Joannès *apud* Briant 2002, 810–811 and 1040), referring assumingly to the economic oppression that the Babylonians suffered under Persian rule (Briant 2002, 811).

[43] He is attested in Persepolis in 506–497 BCE (Briant 2002, 425).

[44] Dandamaev 1992, 108.

[45] Or Napūgu (Tavernier 2007, 256). See Dandamaev 1992, 103–104.

[46] Cf. Joannès 2000b, 205.

3. The governor appointing judges?

Summonses to argue cases before Gūbaru, Parnaka, and Nabūgu correspond to documents from the Chaldean period that call individuals to come to Babylon to a courthouse or to the *sukkallu, sartennu* and/or judges.[47] Did the appearance of new top functionaries in the system result from — or bring about — the overturning of the old structures? The answer to this question is negative. The high judicial officials *sartennu* and *sukkallu* are attested as late as the twenty-fourth year of Darius I.[48] They are found in documents from most major cities, which means that any alleged reform of the system of justice administration under the first Achaemenids neither brought about the abolishment of their offices, nor restricted their jurisdiction.[49]

Not unexpectedly, also judges continue to appear in Babylonian sources from this period. They are recruited from the same social group to which judges of Nabonidus and earlier kings belonged. Throughout the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, their ethnicity appears to be consistently Babylonian.[50] Judges bearing Iranian names are first found under Darius I.[51] Even then, however, they were not numerous; it is true even in the case of a small group of documents from Susa, in which judges appear as witnesses.[52] This stands in contrast to Egypt, where under Darius almost exclusively Persian judges operated.[53]

However, even though the characteristic title 'judges of the king' continues to be used,[54] a possibility may be considered that judges were no longer appointed by the monarch, but rather by a local governor. There exists no explicit cuneiform evidence pertaining to the investiture of judges in this period, but one document gives food for thought. BIN 2 134, drafted in the fourth year of Cyrus, records a case brought before a country governor (*šakin māti*), then referred to a city governor (*šākin ṭēmi*) and judges of the country governor. Throughout the Chaldean period, the king was the only person who had the authority to assign judges; they were titled 'judges of the king' or

[47] Sandowicz, forthcoming.

[48] *Sartennu* and *sukkallu* appear in *Cyr*. 312 (Babylon, Cyr 8); note also the *sepīru* of a *sukallu* in HSM 1895-1-12, mentioned by Zadok and Zadok 2004, 649 n. 10 (Borsippa, Dar I 24). Both officials are mentioned in *Cyr*. 128 (Borsippa, Cyr 3) and the *sartennu* alone in VS 6 99 (Sippar, Cyr 6), AnOr 8 74 (Uruk, Camb 4), VS 4 87 and its duplicate VS 4 88 (Babylon, Dar I 1) and *Dar*. 53 (Babylon, Dar I 2).

[49] See Olmstead 1935 and Frei 1995 (republished in English as Frei 2001) for a proposed law reform under Darius I.

[50] Fried's claim that "[a]fter the Achaemenid occupation of Babylon, local judges were replaced by Persians" (2004, 33, cf. p. 47) is absolutely unsubstantiated.

[51] To my knowledge, the first judge of Iranian name is Bagā'in (BE 8 107: 19, drafted in Babylon in the sixth year of Darius I).

[52] Abraham 1997, 79–80 (BM 33936), *Dar*. 417, *Dar*. 435, TCL 13 193, Zawadzki 2000 no. 11.

[53] Porten et al. 1996, 136 n. 19. The only non-Persian name is Babylonian.

[54] Holtz 2010.

'judges of [royal name]'. The unusual appearance of the judges of the *šakin māti* at the very beginning of Persian rule may suggest that from the very outset part of the king's juridical duties were delegated to local officials and consequently to their Persian successors.[55]

4. Envoys of the governor

While the early take-over of power at the top of the judiciary may not come as a surprise, the presence of Gūbaru's subordinates of lesser rank in various legal bodies shortly after the regime change is noteworthy. It shows that also lower-level administration was affected by changes early on.

*Sepīru*s ('Aramaic scribes') were part of the royal administration already under the Chaldean rulers, but with the coming of the Persians their role grew in importance.[56] In the sixth year of Cambyses, a *sepīru* joined the College of Scribes of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar and thus formally became a member of the temple's top management.[57] Similarly, in the Eanna temple of Uruk the *sepīru* gained in importance under this king.[58] The infiltration of *sepīru*s may be traced also in the case of judicial bodies. In Uruk, this process can be pinpointed already at the end of Cyrus' reign, when the *sepīru* appears in a panel known from five Eanna texts.

Text	Year	Panel members
OIP 122 38	Cyr 9	Bā'u-ēreš *dayyānu* Ilē''i-Marduk *ṭupšarru* Bā'u-ēreš *sepīru*
YOS 7 137	Camb 3	Rēmūtu *dayyānu* Bā'u-ēreš *dayyānu*
YOS 7 151	Camb 3	Rēmūtu *dayyānu* Ilē''i-Marduk *ṭupšarru* Bā'u-ēreš *sepīru*
YOS 7 159	Camb 3	Rēmūtu *dayyānu* Ilē''i-Marduk *ṭupšarru* (PN, *sepīru*)
YOS 7 161	Camb 3	Rēmūtu *dayyānu* Bā'u-ēreš *dayyānu*

[55] Such practice would have a parallel in Achaemenid Egypt, where high priests, previously appointed by the pharaoh, were nominated by satraps after the Persian conquest (Vittmann 2009, 91).

[56] I follow the conventional translation of the appellative for the sake of convenience and in consideration of the fact that the primary duty of the *sepīru* was the handling of Aramaic documents; 'secretary', 'chancellor' or 'clerk' render his function perhaps more precisely. For *sepīru*s in the Neo-Babylonian period, see especially Pearce 1999 and Jursa 2012.

[57] Bongenaar 1997, 59–60.

[58] Kleber 2008, 30.

The panel comprised two judges, one cuneiform scribe (*ṭupšarru*) and one *sepīru*, who appear in various configurations. The *ṭupšarru* Ilē''i-Marduk was not a local scribe of the Eanna temple, but an outsider.[59] He is almost certainly identical with the scribe of a judicial panel from Bīt-šar-Bābili, attested in several documents from the latter part of Nabonidus' reign.[60]

According to OIP 122 38, functionaries of this panel were linked to the governor Gūbaru. The passage that specifies the nature of this link is broken, but it may be reconstructed based on its parallel with AnOr 8 61 (Cyr 8):

OIP 122 38[61] (Cyr 9)
^{Id}*ba-ú*-uru$_4$-*eš* ^{r}^{lú}di.ku$_5$$^{'}$ *šá** $^{'}$lugal*$^{'}$ $^{(47)I}$da-^{d}amar.utu dub.sar a ^{Ir}dù-*eš*$^{'}$-[dingir] $^{(48)}$*u* ^{Id}*ba-ú*-ùru-*eš* [^{lú}]^{r}*se*$^{'}$-*pi-ri* ^{l}[^{ú}*.a.kin.(meš)] $^{(49)}$*šá* ^{I}*gu-ba-ri* ^{lú}nam t[in.ti]r^{ki} *ù e*-[*bir* íd]
"the royal judge Bā'u-ereš, the cuneiform scribe Ile''i-Marduk of the Eppēš-[ilī] family and Bā'u-ereš the *sepīru*, the [envoy(s)] of Gūbaru, the governor of B[aby]lon and Ac[ross-the-River]"

AnOr 8 61 (Cyr 8)
$^{(11)Id}$30-*na-din*-numun ^{lú}umbisag *u* ^{Id}mu-^{d}en $^{(12)lú}$*se-pir* ^{lú}a.kin.meš *šá* ^{I}*gu-ba-ru* $^{(13)}$ ^{lú}nam tin.tir^{ki} *u e-bir* íd
"the cuneiform scribe Sîn-nādin-zēri and the *sepīru* Iddin-Nabû, the envoys of Gūbaru, the governor of Babylon and Across-the-River"

The phrasing of OIP 122 38 makes it uncertain to whom exactly the appellative 'envoy(s)' refers: the *sepīru* alone, the *ṭupšarru* and the *sepīru*, or all three functionaries. A comparison with AnOr 8 61 speaks against the first possibility. Either the cuneiform scribe and the *sepīru*, or all three officials were Gūbaru's men.

The Uruk panel heard testimonies (YOS 7 137 and 159) and issued verdicts (OIP 122 38, YOS 7 161) and regulations regarding the purchase of fish for offerings (YOS 7 151). All the hitherto known cases heard by its members concern temple property. In the texts recording the activities of the panel, the *sepīru* is always listed last, so his role must have been inferior to that of the judges and the *ṭupšarru*. His lower status is perceivable also in YOS 7 159, where he acts as a messenger for other members of the panel.[62]

[59] Kleber 2008, 73.

[60] Holtz 2008, Sandowicz and Tarasewicz 2014, 82.

[61] Collated from a photo in OIP 122, plate 21.

[62] $^{(1)}$PN (…) *šá ina ma-ḫar* ^{I}*re-mut* ^{lú}di.ku$_5$ lugal $^{(3)}$*ù* ^{I}da-^{d}amar.utu ^{lú}umbisag *iq-bu-ú um-ma* $^{(4-6)}$(…) $^{(7)lú}$di.ku$_5$.me ^{lú}*se-pi-ri a-na muḫ-ḫi* PN2 *iš-pu-ru-ma* $^{(8)}$*la in-na-mir iḫ-liq* "(As for) PN, who before Rēmūtu, a royal judge, and Ilē''i-Marduk, a *ṭupšarru*, said as follows: (testimony regarding PN2). The judges sent *sepīru* for PN2, but he (PN2) was not found; he had run away." The term 'judges' in line 7 seems to refer to both Rēmūtu the judge and Ilē''i-Marduk the cuneiform scribe.

Judicial bodies of this kind are admittedly uncommon in sources from the Achaemenid period. A similar panel including a *sepīru* is attested in BE 8 107 written in Babylon in the sixth year of Darius I. This promissory note for silver resulting from litigation was witnessed by seven judges (Nabû-nādin-aḫi, Bēlšunu, Bagā'in, Nādin, Sîn-udammiq, Aplāya, Nabû-napištī-uṣur), a *sepīru* (Iddin-Nabû) and two cuneiform scribes (Nabû-kāṣir, descendant of Nabunnāya, and Ea-iddin, descendant of Arrabtu). Characteristically, the only members of this body whose ancestry is given are the *ṭupšarrū*. Filiation is usually skipped in the case of known, public figures. Clearly the identity of the judges and the *sepīru* was well known and did not need to be specified any further.

Such a change in the composition of hierarchical judicial bodies could hardly have resulted from the decisions of their members; it must have been prompted by the Achaemenid administration. Indeed, the presence of *sepīru*s and other envoys of governors and people from their entourage may be detected elsewhere in Early and Late Achaemenid sources from Babylonia:

Envoys

Amurru-šēzib	*mār šipri* (^{lú}a.kin) of Gūbaru	(Uruk, Camb 2)[63]	Moore 1939 no. 89: 44
Dadāparna, the Choresmian	*mār šipri* (^{lú}kin.gi$_4$.a) of Gūbaru	Bīt-Zabzab, Cyr 5	UCP 9/2 38 and its duplicate 39: 7–8[64]
Ḫašdāya// Nūr-Šamaš	[*mār šip*]*ri*? ([^{lú}a.ki]n)[65] of Gūbaru	(Sippar), Camb 1	*Camb*. 96: 3
anonymous	*mār šipri* of the governor (^{lú}dumu *šip-ri šá* ^{lú}nam)	–, Dar I 2	*Dar*. 58: 4
anonymous	*mār šipri* of the governor (^{lú}kin.gi$_4$.a *šá* ^{lú}nam)	(Borsippa?, Xer?)	VS 6 303: 5–6

[63] For date and origin, see Tolini 2011, 107–108.

[64] Lines 7–8: ^{I*}*da**-*da-a-pa-ar-na* $^{\lceil lú}$*ḫur-zi**-*ma-a-a*$^{\rceil}$ ^{lú}kin.gi$_4$.a [*šá* ^{I}]$^{\lceil}$*gu**$^{\rceil}$-*bar-ri** *ip-qí-du*. Collated from photos posted at http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248263 and http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248261, both accessed June 13, 2017.

[65] The reconstruction [^{lú}*se-pi-r*]*u* is also possible.

Sepīrus

Gadalâma/Banna-Ea	*sepīru bēl ṭēmi* of Huta[…]', son of Pagakanna, the governor	Babylon, Dar I 36	Stolper 1989 no. 1: 4
Libluṭ, brother of Adad-ibni	*sepīru bēl ṭēmi* of Huta[…]', son of Pagakanna, the governor	Babylon, Dar I 36	Stolper 1989 no. 1: 3
Libluṭ	*sepīru* (listed among Uštanu's assistants)	–, (c. Xer 0–2)[66]	Ungnad 1959/1960, Amherst 258: 6
Marduka	*sepīru* of Uštanu	–, (c. Xer 0–2)[67]	Ungnad 1959/1960, Amherst 258: 9, 14
Nabû-zēru-i[bni$^{?}$]	[*sepī*]*ru*[68] of Gūbaru	Sippar, Cyr [x]	BM 66816: 22

Those *mārē šipri* did not act as simple messengers, people transferring orders or letters from the governor to various addressees. The fact that they constituted part of the legal bodies indicates that they were actual decision-makers. Among them were a Persian (Dadāparna) and West Semites (Amurru-šēzib, Gadalâma); West Semitic background may further be assumed for most *sepīru*s, even the bearers of Babylonian names. Based on this small sample, a careful hypothesis may be formulated: while developing a new administrative network, the Persians relied on their own people (Iranians) and on Arameans rather than on the members of local Babylonian families. Such policy would not be surprising. Arameans, not being embedded in old Babylonian traditions (or at least not to the same extent as prebendaries and other social groups claiming ancient Babylonian descent), could have been the group on which the new Persian overlords based their power in general.

Conclusions

For centuries, the king stood at the head of the Babylonian judiciary. After the Persian conquest, this role was taken on by new rulers, but from the outset a number of royal judicial duties were entrusted to the new monarch's local representatives. In accord with the coherent Persian policy towards conquered countries, at first no structural reforms and no major personal changes were introduced in Babylonia's administrative system. This line of conduct is well observable in the court system: dispute documents produced under the first

[66] For date, see Tolini 2011, 335–348.
[67] See note above.
[68] [^{lú}*se-pi-r*]*i šá* ^{I}*gu-bar-r*[*i*]. An alternative reconstruction is [^{lú}dumu *šip-r*]*i*.

Persian rulers show a continuity of Babylonian judicial institutions and document formularies. However, this persistence of the traditional justice apparatus stands in contrast with the process of penetration of new people into the system. These individuals did not yet replace members of the local Babylonian elite as high court officials or judges, but merely assisted them, or took over only part of their duties.

Not all aspects of the discussed cases are known and the sample of relevant documents is still too small to assess the scale and the exact nature of these changes, but they are certainly discernible in sources from the middle of Cyrus' reign onward. This process could have been prompted by decisions taken around Cyrus' fourth year, but it could as well have started immediately or shortly after the regime change, with its first stage not reflected in the extant sources. In either case, the ground began to be prepared for more radical changes carried out by Xerxes and his followers.

Appendix: Nintinugga in Nippur onomasticon

Two witnesses of Text 3 claimed their descent from an ancestor called ^{I}ur-^{d}nin.tin.ug$_5$.ga. The uncommon theophoric element of this name is known from yet another proper name from Nippur ^{fd}nin.tin.ug$_5$.ga-*i-lat* (TuM 2/3 225: 6). It is perhaps to be emended also in Wunsch 2003 no. 19 (rev. 20' and 22'). The name is damaged and restored by the editor as ^{I}*ur*-^{d}*bēlet* (nin)-*dēri*$^{!}$(bàd)^{rki}', but the emendation to ^{d}nin.<tin>.ug$_5$.ʳga' seems plausible based on the analogy with the name from Text 3 and the presumed provenance of Wunsch 2003 no. 19. Its place of issuance is damaged, but the onomasticon of the individuals present at the transaction suggests Nippur: four witnesses have Gula-names and the fifth one comes from the Šangû-Enamtila family.[69]

Ur-Nintinugga appears in Cassite onomasticon,[70] but it must have sounded familiar to Neo-Babylonian scribes chiefly due to *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, in which a *mašmaššu* of Marduk by this name appears.[71] In the Sumerian-Babylonian *Ancestors' Name List*, Ur-Nintinugga is rendered as Amēl-Gula.[72]

The deity Nintinugga is well attested in the third and early second millennium BCE.[73] Her major cult centre was Isin, but her links to Nippur were

[69] The Enamtila temple was probably part of the Nippurean Ekur (George 1993, 130).

[70] Cf. *BBSt* no. 3, *passim* and Clay 1912, 143.

[71] *Ludlul* III 39 (BWL 50–51). For the place of *Ludlul* in the second stage of the Neo-Babylonian scribal education, see Gesche 2001, 173 and 183.

[72] Lambert 1957, 12, line 9.

[73] Edzard 1998–2001, Böck 2014, 10–11. Add the appearance of Nintinugga in Nabonidus' dream in the *Istanbul Stela* (Schaudig 2001, 3.3^{a} [Babylon-Stele], VII 11'–21').

always strong. In the votive inscription known as *Dog for Nintinugga*, written by a scribe from Nippur, she is called 'the stewardess of Enlil'.[74] In the *Letter from Inanaka to the goddess Nintinugga* she is addressed as 'the reliable stewardess of the Ekur'.[75] A temple enterer of Nintinugga appears as witness in Durand 1982 no. 276, plate 89: 6–7, written in Nippur in the third year of Cyrus.

In the first millennium BCE, Nintinugga merged with other goddesses of medicine: Gula and Bā'u. Her identification with Gula is noticeable in Nippur: as follows from the *Nippur Compendium*, Gula was worshipped as Nintinugga in the local temple Eurusagga.[76] However, while this identification is certain, its impact on the spelling of Nintinugga's name is less so. Some of the family names written in Sumerian were also read in this language,[77] but was it also the case with personal names? In Wunsch 2003 no. 19 only one name is spelled with ^{d}nin.<tin>.ug$_5$.ga, while in eight ones the simple ^{d}*Gu-la* appears. TuM 2/3 225 is a simple memorandum, a formulary usually kept as short as possible. It is reasonable to assume that if the scribes of these texts had an alternative, they would have chosen the syllabic spelling ^{d}*Gu-la* or ^{d}me.me. This assumption strengthens the hypothesis that Nintinugga was the actual reading rather than an esoteric spelling of Gula's name.

The interpretation of the element ur in ^{I}ur-^{d}nin.tin.ug$_5$.ga is not free of difficulties either. In the *Ancestors' Name List* the word ur is translated as *amēl-*, but since some of the entries in this list are clearly artificially constructed,[78] it is not to be taken as a reading, but rather as a rough rendering of the name. Moreover, *amēlu* in Neo-Babylonian names is consistently written with lú. The reading ur(.gi$_7$) = *kalbu* in onomastics is, on the other hand, certain,[79] and both elements were used interchangeably.[80] Thus, considering the lack of evidence for the Sumerian reading of ur in private names, the reading Kalbi-Nintinugga seems preferable.[81]

[74] http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.5.7.2# last modified June 1, 2003, accessed June 13, 2017.

[75] http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.3.3.10# last modified July 1, 2005, accessed June 13, 2017.

[76] IV 2 ^{d}nin.tin.ug$_5$.ga ^{d}*gu-la*. See George 1992, 156, 455, cf. Beaulieu 1995, 91.

[77] See ^{I}aš.gan.du$_7$ in Tallqvist 1902, 16 (^{I}*aš*/*áš-kan*/*ga-an-du*/*da*/*dù*, Aramaic *ašgnd'*). Also the filiation *apil* ^{I}ab.sum.mu *šumerî* 'descendant of Absummu, the Sumerian' attested in Nippur (Joannès 1992, 88 n. 14 and 89 n. 20) shows that scribes were aware and proud of the Sumerian origins of their ancestors.

[78] Lambert 1957, 7.

[79] Lambert 1981. Note that Neo-Babylonian Kalbāya is spelled both syllabically and ^{I}ur-*a* (Tallqvist 1902, 86).

[80] Cf. YOS 6 175: ^{I}ur-^{d}*ba-ú* (line 3) and ^{I}*kal-ba-*^{d}*ba-ú* (line 7).

[81] One cannot escape the impression that Nippurean scribes were particularly sophisticated when rendering names in general. See, e.g. the private name Enlil-uballiṭ spelled ^{Id}ninnu-ba.ti.la (BE 8 67: 11 and Donbaz and Stolper 1997 no. 108: 21).

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XERXES: THE CASE OF SIPPAR AND THE EBABBAR TEMPLE

Michael JURSA
(University of Vienna)[1]

This paper is based on the Sipparean textual record for the last regnal years of Darius I and the first two regnal years of Xerxes. It takes as its point of departure the fact that economic difficulties and the heavy burden placed by the Achaemenid government on the Babylonian elites contributed to triggering the revolts against Xerxes in 484 BCE (but they hardly were their structural cause). Given the absence of specific evidence from Sippar for crisis phenomena, the paper will point to a certain loosening of royal control over temple institutions before the revolts. Regarding the aftermath of the rebellion, the structure of the Ebabbar archive in its final phase will be discussed. On this basis it is possible, at least in part, to develop an hypothesis for the circumstances under which the Ebabbar archive came to an end, as well as for the intentions of those who brought this deposition of the archive about. In this respect, the deposition of the Eanna archive in the second year of Darius I will serve as comparandum.[2]

1. CRISIS OR BUSINESS AS USUAL IN EBABBAR AND ITS ADMINISTRATION BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLIONS?

Epistolographic evidence from Borsippa shows that prebend- and cult-related payments to priests were in doubt, or were actually in the course of being suspended, in the final months preceding the rebellion against Xerxes (Jursa 2013). This fact undoubtedly contributed to the discontent of the Borsippean elites who then supported the rebellions. Sippar data do not offer any such exceptional insight into the motivations of the actors of the events of 484 BCE, and the available documentation does not suggest that the very financial base of the cult was threatened, as apparently was the case in Borsippa. The letter order Stigers 1976 no. 51 and the receipt BM 79542 show that, at least up to half-way through Xerxes' first year, payments related to the cult were not reduced with

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[2] For the deposition of the Eanna archive see Kessler in this volume.

respect to earlier years.[3] Nevertheless, more than occasional shortages of foodstuffs may lie behind the substitutions of one commodity by another that occur in lists and receipts for disbursements made by Ebabbar from the final years of the archive,[4] and there is also some evidence for difficulties in extracting rents (MacGinnis 1995 no. 80).

In any case, the Ebabbar temple and its priesthood were certainly subject to the same general forces that arguably were pushing Babylonian elites elsewhere towards rebellion. The soaring prices from the second decade of Darius I's reign affected them just as every other agent in the Babylonian economy.[5] The increasing taxation-related demands made by the Persian administration since the reign of Darius I[6] weighed on them just as they did on their colleagues in Babylon or Borsippa, and they were just as likely to be forced into indebtedness or even lose their priestly office on this account:[7] tensions in the temple community that were owed to economic difficulties are a given.

The prosopography of the highest echelons of the temple administration could be taken to suggest a certain degree of unrest: between Dar 29 and the rebellions, three different men held the office of High Priest of Sippar (*šangû Sippar*), and the office reverted to a local family after having been held by the powerful and well-connected Ša-nāšišu clan for a long period (Waerzeggers 2014, 132). Upheavals in the socio-economic fabric of the temple community can be traced through the evidence for the prebendary gardeners (*rab banê*). Numerous of their allotments changed hands in the Achaemenid period, suggesting a change in fortune to the worse for many families of long standing. Among the profiteers of this change, a certain Ubār of the Isinnāya family stands out (Waerzeggers 2014, 167). This man is known as a priest and has been also identified as tax collector or tax farmer (Waerzeggers 2010b, 790), but his career deserves closer attention for what it can teach about the interweaving of 'community politics' within the temple and the relations of the temple community with the Persian administration.

[3] Stigers 1976 no. 51 suggests that 545 litres of barley were paid daily to the brewers for the preparation of the regular food offerings, which is in line with similar data from earlier years (Jursa 1999, 24). According to BM 79542, the daily payment for the bakers amounted to 450 liters of barley per day, which is close to the upper end of the attested range of such payments (Jursa 1999, 57–59).

[4] E.g. MacGinnis 1995 no. 75 (Dar 23-VIII-33: dates instead of barley given to the bakers), BM 79539 (Xer 30-XII-1: brewers receive dates, rather than the obligatory barley). Many of the cases in which silver is issued instead of staples may also belong here (e.g. *Nbk*. 270, <Dar> 34).

[5] For the prices in this period see Jursa 2010a, *passim* and see Pirngruber, this volume.

[6] See, e.g. Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009, Jursa 2010b, Waezeggers 2010a, 345–352, and Jursa 2011. The taxes included, i.a. various corvée duties, as well as a fee that was levied on priestly initiation (Waerzeggers and Jursa 2008) and duties such as (paying for) grinding flour (e.g. BM 63158, Xer 2).

[7] For tax-related priestly indebtedness in this period in general and in Sippar in particular, see Waerzeggers 2010a, 352 and 2014, 104.

Ubār was a prebendary gardener and a prebendary brewer,[8] and on several occasions between Dar 10+ and Dar 35 we find him doing business, often prebend-related, with his priestly peers.[9] His generation of his branch of the family was well-established in priestly circles in Sippar — several brothers of Ubār are also known as priests, but the preceding generation cannot be identified with certainty.[10] The evidence for Ubār's engagement with taxes and the royal sphere in general is as follows: he receives an *ilku* payment from another priest in Dar 19 (SCT 95); in Dar 20, he is responsible for a work gang financed by Sipparean priests for service in Elam. He is in that country again in Dar 31, certainly on official business (Waerzeggers 2014 no. 159).[11] From one remarkable text we can deduce that he was chosen to present what must have been an exceptional sheep to king Darius in Dar 29 — this implies another visit to Susa.[12]

Ubār is not entirely atypical for his time and place. Contrary to the general trend in the Late Babylonian period, according to which priestly families are distinguished by a rentier mentality and are rarely involved in volatile activities related to trade, taxes and the royal administration (Jursa 2010a, 282–286), the end of the sixth and the early fifth century, and especially the reign of Darius I, did see the rise of a number of exceptions to this rule: priests deeply engaged in business, including tax and income farming and local and supra-local administration beyond the cult. The family of the Sipparean priest, Marduk-rēmanni, is a case in point (Waerzeggers 2014), but we find similar phenomena also in Uruk, where what little information is available for the Eanna temple in the late reign of Darius I suggests that the bishop (*šatammu*) of Eanna also had taken over the business of rent-farming[13] — the very task that had been so contentious as to cause major administrative reform in the second year of Darius I in this temple (Frahm and Jursa 2011, 27–28). Rent, and generally income farming in the realm of the temple administrations, had essentially been a domain or 'privilege' of royal protégées under the Neo-Babylonian kings, but men who had their roots in the temple administrations increasingly managed to make inroads in this area under Persian rule, which would suggest a slackening of

[8] Prebendary gardener in Jursa 1995, 67 and 79; prebendary brewer in Jursa 1999, 264–265.

[9] See, e.g. the indices in Jursa 1999 and Waerzeggers 2014.

[10] Bongenaar 1997, 227 (including a possible reference to Ubār's father as a prebendary brewer); Waerzeggers 2014, 460, Jursa 1999, 159 (BM 42363) and HSM 1891-11-68 for his brother and fellow brewer Šamaš-erība; a third brother, Nabû-nāṣir, is known to have bought a house plot in Sippar (BM 74679, Dar 29) and have done prebend-related business (BM 79116, Jursa 1999, 250–251). Nabû-nāṣir's son Šamaš-ēṭer is also active as a priest (Waerzeggers 2014 no. 156 and 399 [Index]). Finally, there is a fourth brother, Bēl-iddin, about whom little is known but the fact that also he moved in priestly circles (Jursa 1999, 277).

[11] Three months after the drafting of this text, he was still travelling as we find him in Opis in BM 74636 (Dar 2-IV-31).

[12] In BM 61594 he receives 15 shekels of silver for the purpose of acquiring this animal.

[13] According to PTS 2180, published in Kessler 2004.

royal control over temple affairs.[14] The clearest evidence for a royal disengagement with temple management, however, comes from several temple administrations in which during the late reign of Darius I the office of royal resident (*qīpu*), which up to this point had been universally in the hand of non-priestly outsiders with a base in the royal administration, were in fact recruited from among priestly families (Jursa 2015, 602–603; see also Hackl, this volume). This priestly appropriation of one of the two most important temple offices, an office that was crucial for the balance between royal and local interests,[15] is known, among other cities, for Esangila of Babylon and Ezida of Borsippa, two of the most important temples in Babylonia. For Sippar, such a development cannot be demonstrated, owing to the relative lack of evidence in general for the royal resident in the final years of the archive — which is by itself an indication for a decline of the office's importance.[16] Significantly, there is also next to no evidence for courtiers (*ša rēši*) in the Ebabbar temple in the final years of the archive, from Dar 25 onwards. This is another indication for what would seem to have been a lapse of royal vigilance in the realm of temple administrations. Taken jointly with what is known about the difficult economic macroconditions, as suggested by the price data and with the occasional evidence for shortages of staples in the temple administration, this royal 'negligence' is likely to have been a factor in the outbreak of the rebellions against Xerxes in 484 BCE.

2. The end of the Ebabbar archive and the consequences of the rebellions and the Persian reprisals

As is well known, there is no Ebabbar text that post-dates the outbreak and crushing of the rebellions in Xerxes' second year: the archive comes to a definitive end at this point.[17] An hypothesis about the reasons and immediate circumstances of its deposition, and the fate of the Ebabbar temple thereafter, can only be based on an analysis of the structure of the documentation from the final phase of the archive, with a view towards perceiving through it the motivations of those who deposited (or simply left) these texts in the temple.

The distribution of texts per year, as well as the distribution of the files that are represented in the last phase of the archive, show beyond doubt that the archive Rassam found was not the 'live' archive of a working temple. Rather,

[14] Jursa 1995, 85–116 for Sipparean rent farming, see Janković 2013 for Uruk.

[15] E.g. Bongenaar 1997, 34–35, Kleber 2008, 26–27.

[16] For *qīpu*s in Sippar in this period, see Bongenaar 1997, 50. One might be tempted to identify the possible *qīpu* Ubār cited by Bongenaar with the priest and tax farmer Ubār discussed earlier, but there is contrasting evidence (Waerzeggers 2014, 348).

[17] See, e.g. Bongenaar 1997, 3–4 and Jursa 2004, 193.

it is the result of selection: a dead or at least inactive archive.[18] Text numbers decrease in the final years of the archive, suggesting that active files were removed or have never been part of the lot known today as 'Ebabbar archive'.

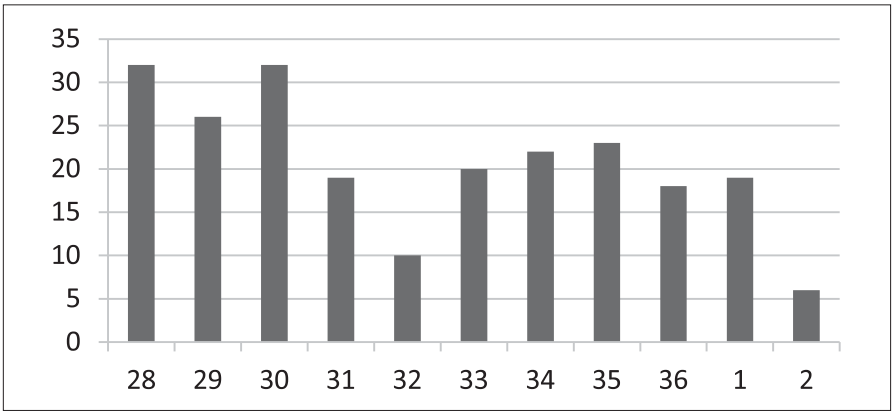

Figure 1: The temporal distribution of Ebabbar tablets from Dar 28 to Xer 2.

The distribution of files represented in the documentation is as follows:

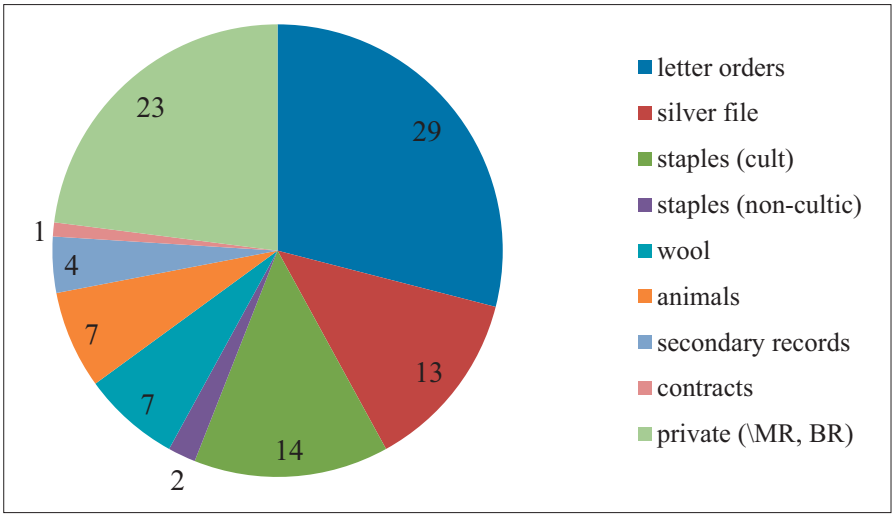

Figure 2: Text types in the Ebabbar archive, Dar 28 to Xer 2 (the numbers indicate the share in per cent of the text group in question). Note: in the segment 'private', the records from the Bēl-rēmanni and Marduk-rēmanni archives (Jursa 1999 and Waerzeggers 2014, respectively) have not been included.

[18] See on this topic also Waerzeggers, this volume.

The bulk of the administrative material included in the archive is highly ephemeral. There are very few legal records, if one excludes the private documents, and even fewer settlements of accounts or summary lists referring to book-keeping procedures beyond the primary documentation of certain transactions. The great majority of the records deal with expenditure for cultic purposes. These were effected either from the central storehouses or in a decentralized manner, through letter orders directed to rent farmers and the like. Many files, well-attested in earlier phases of the archive, are missing: conspicuously so, the documentation for the temple's non-prebendary craftsmen and most of the agricultural accounts. These dossiers break off in the course of the first half of the third decade of Darius I's reign.

In an appendix to an earlier study, I argued based on a somewhat smaller text corpus, that clearly important files were missing in the preserved documentation and that the archive had been carefully sifted for the purpose of removing key records. This could be taken as suggesting a "clean-up of the archives under a new administration which definitely intended to continue its work" (Jursa 2004, 193). The purpose of the present paper is to investigate this further by drawing on the possible parallel case of the Eanna archive in the second year of Darius I. There, the political upheavals of the period and temple-internal difficulties relating to the rent farmer Gimillu and his activities led to administrative reform on multiple levels, almost certainly with royal consent and/or at royal instigation. Several officials were deposed and others were appointed from within the temple. These changes were accompanied by a general settlement of accounts, which involved placing old files into storage and moving the working archive elsewhere. None of these measures, however, led to the complete interruption of the temple's economic and cultic activities.[19] If this were to be a model for what happened in Ebabbar in 484 BCE, then one would assume that the structure of the archives should be the same or at least similar in their respective final years. This, however, is not the case. The following graph compares the chronological distribution of the Ebabbar and Eanna archives in their final years. The Eanna archive does not show the petering out of tablet numbers that we have seen in Sippar; instead, we see an increase of material in the very last two years of the period under investigation.

[19] The discussion is summarized in Frahm and Jursa 2011, 19.

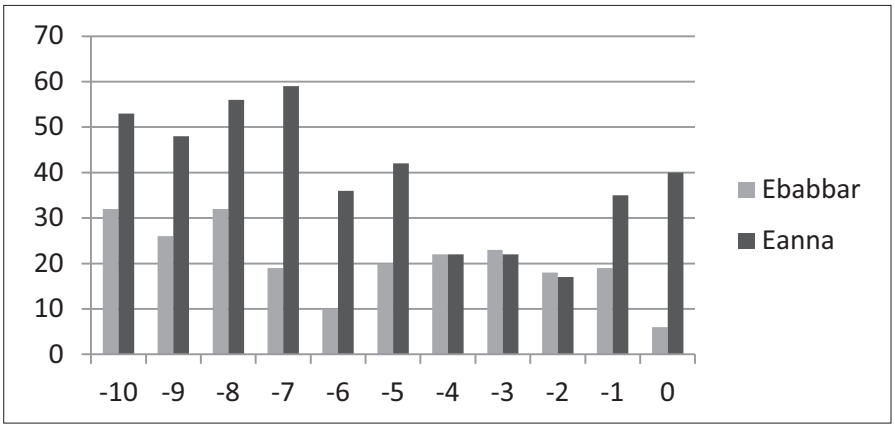

Figure 3: The chronological distribution of Ebabbar and Eanna texts in their final phase (last year = year 0).

The Eanna pattern can be explained quite readily referring to the accumulation of material related to the settlement of the Gimillu affair (e.g. Frahm and Jursa 2011, 24–25; Janković 2013, 235–245): the orderly and systematic process of closing open files and accounts, apparently aiming at a clean slate for the new administration, produced a recognizable 'paper trail' that was discarded subsequent to the closure of the process. Nothing like this is present in the Sippar files.

The typological distribution of the Uruk texts is as follows:

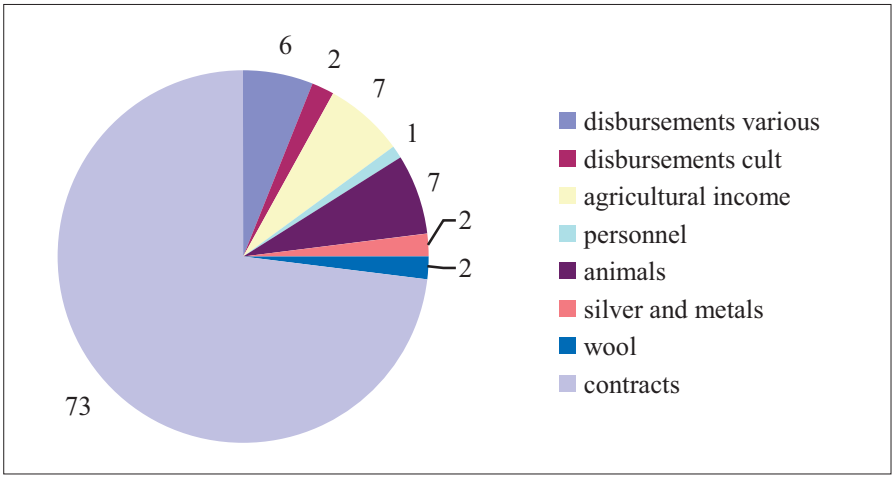

Figure 4: Files in the final years of the Eanna archive (with their share given in percentage points, Camb 3–Dar 2).

The most striking difference here, in comparison to the Sippar material, is the high percentage of legal texts, i.e. contracts, over the administrative material. From roughly the reign of Nabonidus onwards, the Eanna texts consistently include more contracts than the Ebabbar files, but the trend increases significantly in the final years of the two archives. This emphasizes the ephemeral nature of the Sippar material. But there are differences also when only the administrative files are taken into consideration. The range of topics in the Eanna archive is wider, even though in absolute numbers there are less administrative texts in this sample than there are from the Ebabbar archive. In addition to this, we do not observe the same preponderance of material dealing with the cult that is so obvious for Ebabbar.

3. Conclusion

What is known to have happened in Eanna in Dar 2 does not give us a satisfactory model for reconstructing the events in Sippar in Xer 2. The Ebabbar temple did probably not experience a similarly systematic process of accounting and reorganization as did the Eanna temple a few decades earlier. There is no explicit evidence for a settlement of accounts, and there is also no numerical build-up of tablets right at the end, similar to what we see in Uruk, which could be taken as a reflex of more intensive administrative activities in this phase. Even more significantly, the evidence is not consistent with the hypothesis that we have the main Ebabbar temple archive minus a few files that were considered crucial in the second year of Xerxes. If this were the case, one would expect a more variegated typology of material to be preserved, including evidence for non-prebendary craftsmen and ration lists, similar to what is the case in Eanna.

One might advance the hypothesis that the bulk of the Ebabbar archive was discarded around Dar 20 and that some ephemeral material continued to be added unsystematically to this lot until the second year of Xerxes. If this were the case, nothing could be deduced from the structure of the extant data regarding the fate of Ebabbar after Xer 2.[20] However, this hypothesis leaves one particularity unaccounted for: the preponderance among the 'late' administrative material of ephemeral documentation related to the cult and the preparation of the food offerings. This bias within the available texts is too pronounced to be considered to be of no account: it is certainly absent among the 'late' Eanna files. As this Sipparean documentation for cult-related activities was found in the context of a discarded lot of tablets, this might be taken to suggest that there was less interest in the cult than in other aspects of the Ebabbar's activities after

[20] See Waerzeggers, this volume, for a similar conclusion.

Xer 2: does this imply that the offering cycles were suspended, at least temporarily? In absence of additional explicit information this cannot be proven, but as a minimum, it does seem certain that the administrative 'fate' of the sector of the Ebabbar administration which dealt with the cult differed from that of other 'departments' within the temple: the pertinent documentation was set apart from the rest of the archive.

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URUK: THE FATE OF THE EANNA ARCHIVE, THE GIMIL-NANĀYA B ARCHIVE, AND THEIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Karlheinz KESSLER
(University of Würzburg)

It is clear that the scanty remains of clay tablets from Uruk (Warka) do not provide answers to all questions concerning Xerxes' reign in Babylonia. A solution, if possible, can only be achieved by a comparison with other Babylonian cities. However, Uruk is the only city in Mesopotamia that, thanks to the ongoing archaeological exploration of over one hundred years, helps to understand the fate of some urban areas affected by the change after the second regnal year of Xerxes.

Uruk was, with Ur and Eridu, the most southern town of Babylonia. The scholarship has dealt with many of the approximately 8,000 cuneiform texts and fragments from Uruk, but large numbers of these sources still remain unpublished. Those available to us are mostly connected to the Eanna temple and its various cults. Some private archives have also been preserved, predominantly from families connected to Eanna. In this contribution, I will examine the archaeological evidence for both types of clay tablets in the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes.

THE EANNA ARCHIVE

The flow of texts from the Eanna archive decreases suddenly in the second year of Darius I, with only a few texts still written until his 29th year, or possibly even later. Our main source, the Eanna temple archive, was deliberately sorted out. To pin down the substantial Eanna archive in more detail, however, is a laborious task. Thousands of texts, among them the most complete tablets, derive from clandestine excavations and were sold and dispersed all over the world before the German excavations had even started. Unfortunately, the observations made during the regular excavation campaigns give no hints as to the origin of the illegal texts. At first sight, these illicitly excavated texts and the ones unearthed by the German excavators seem to belong to the same bulk of tablets, but it is possible that they were unearthed at slightly different find-spots.

The Eanna archive was studied in detail by G. van Driel (1998) and was recently investigated in YOS 21 for the time of Darius I by E. Frahm and M. Jursa (2011). E. Gehlken (1990 and 1996) can be taken as a forerunner, since he looked closer into the matter of where the tablets were found in regular excavations, with the intention of drawing up a map of the locations. On this basis he began his publication of texts, but it was inevitable that he had to give up in the end: "Da sich das Problem, exakte Aussagen über Anzahl und Verbleib der Tontafeln zu bekommen, leider auf Schritt and Tritt stellt, mußte der ursprüngliche Plan, einen Katalog aller zum Eanna-Archiv gehörenden Urkunden mit Angabe des Ortes der Veröffentlichung zu erstellen, aufgegeben werden" (Gehlken 1990, 6–7).

This negative result of Gehlken's undertaking, which was also stressed by van Driel in his review article (van Driel 1998, 61), is simply due to the insufficient, or to put it more frankly, inadequate dealings with Late Babylonian cuneiform tablets during the German excavations. Epigraphists had to work as archaeologists on this particular site, without being able to master the flood of tablets surfacing. As a result, find-spots were incompletely registered. This situation lasted up to the seventies of the last century. The optimistic view of van Driel, that "this archaeological information will hopefully be forthcoming" (van Driel 1998, 62), is in my eyes a hope in vain.

The excavation reports do not make any distinction between the individual tablet groups. This would normally have been the task of an experienced expert of clay tablets during the excavations. It does appear from the field reports, however, that the texts derive from two slightly different sites or two concentrations of textual finds. First, tablets were found in the so-called building K, which corresponds to 400 square meters (Qa/b XIV 4/5), and which was labelled a 'Wirtschaftsarchiv' by the excavator H. Lenzen (1956, 17). Second, according to UVB 1 we can trace a concentration of textual finds in room 133 (former room 11a) and room M (former room 12) within the area of the so-called 'Zingelmauer'. The texts found in 1928–1929 and those of the post-war campaigns were numbered as AUWE 12 and 13. Hundreds of clay tablets were unearthed here, deliberately smashed and discovered as such 'in situ'. Additionally, Lenzen reports the presence of water basins and canals in order to maintain the humidity required to preserve clay tablets. This is also the case in room 11b SW and in the so-called 'Gartenhof' (*atrium*). O. Pedersén (1998, 208) prepared a map of these find-spots. Most of these texts seem to belong to the period of Nebuchadnezzar II and earlier. This is at least true for the bulk of the tablets that were finally entrusted to Gehlken for publication (Gehlken 1990 and 1996).

Still mysterious is A. Falkenstein's remark on the fragments of literary texts published in LKU (Falkenstein 1931, 1): "Die hier vorgelegten 133 Keilschrifttexte aus Warka, die in der Grabung des Jahres 1928/29 zusammen mit

schätzungsweise 6000 Tontafelbruckstücken wirtschaftlichen Inhalts gefunden worden sind, stellen eine Auswahl aus den ca. 250 darunter festgestellten Texten literarischen Inhalts dar." Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence for the actual find-spot of these fragments and it is still an open question whether they were found during clandestine 'excavations' or whether they were just lying on the floors together with the other economic texts. One can conceive a private temple library belonging to a priest comparable to the famous Sippar library, which contained a number of sign lists. In my opinion, for the moment it is better to include these texts under the general label 'Eanna archive', as was done by Pedersén (1998, 206).

Robbers made quite a number of pits which concentrate around the same areas. The details from the excavation reports are not very useful, as the information provided does not help to locate the pits on the archaeological maps. It is unclear how to interpret the report that altogether 38 tablets, registered as W 18230, originate from Qb XIV 4 'im Schutt eines Raubloches', or the registration of 100 tablets under W 18213 assigned to Qa XIV 4, the so-called second 'Raubloch' (see the Grabungsinventar in Gehlken 1990, 151). Depending on the capability of the supervising person, one occasionally finds more detailed notes such as, for example, that 73 tablets, with the excavation number W 18239, were found in the same area of 400 square metres, that is, Qa XIV 5, in a 'Raubloch im Zungenmauerwerk' (Gehlken 1990, 152). And the description continues in that manner. All possibilities to attribute the single textual finds to coherent groups, as well as to establish connections between finds, seem to be obliterated by these insufficient entries.

The date of Darius I year 2 has given rise to manifold theories concerning the fate of the Eanna archive. Among the scholars who developed these theories were, for example, van Driel (1998, 70–71) and especially M. Jursa, who suggested "that in all likelihood it [the date] is to be connected with a rearrangement of the archive undertaken in the aftermath of the investigations in the affairs of the corrupt temple slave Gimillu" (Jursa 2005, 138). This implies that the rearrangement would be a continuation of the archive from the year Dar 2 onwards and that the earlier tablets form a dead archive. Does it make sense, however, that this supposedly dead archive had been partly smashed and its debris left on the spot for at least another 25 years? If this was the case, what would have happened with the water installations, which were assumingly used for writing clay tablets after Dar 2?

At present, only about three dozen texts dating to the period after Dar 2 have been retrieved. Concerning these tablets, Jursa suggested that all of them were deposited together with the earlier tablets (Jursa 2005, 138–139). It is also possible that a rather coincidental amount of later texts remains, known by pure chance since they were integrated in the mass of texts dating before Dar 2. It may also be due to the fact that the tablets were taken in great haste from

different shelves on which they had been stored, probably in a very systematic order. It is evident that the tablets from the regular excavations and those unearthed earlier during illegal diggings belong together. Without going into details, one can follow this up for single text groups in the lists provided by van Driel (1998, 74–79) and by Frahm and Jursa (2011, 24–29). It is only necessary to refer to examples for the time after Dar 2 and to add some further comments.

1) At least four long lists of bakers exist concerning *maššartu* dating to Dar 29 (PTS 2180; PTS 2101, see Kessler 2004, 253–258; YOS 21 201; YBC 4021, see Kleber 2008, 50–52). These are comparable to similar lists of certain goods delivered during Cambyses' reign; cf. YOS 7, 56 and YOS 7, 197. Based on this evidence, there is no decrease in the number of bakers in the reign of Darius I.

2) Some letter orders belonging to the Tattannu dossier and the Ḫabaṣīru dossier also date to the period after Dar 2 (Frahm and Jursa 2011, 25). Some of the tablets from the Tattannu archive (Dar 11–12) stem from regular excavations. Unfortunately, the owner bears a very common name. Nevertheless, it seems conceivable that Tattannu was not only a private entrepreneur, as Frahm and Jursa (2011, 28) see him. It may well be that he was the *mašennu* (i.e. a high official) mentioned in text W 20000,52,8 (= 128,8) from the Egibi house. Ḫabaṣīru, son of Balāṭu, who is mentioned in a number of other documents (Dar 9–22), bears the official title *rab kāri* ('harbour master'). However, this does not mean that he had the same social status as Marduk-nāṣir-apli from the Egibi family from Babylon (see Abraham 2004). He is never attested with a family name in Uruk and it is even possible that he was a *ša rēši* or a *širku*, which would connect him to the spheres of the king and/or the temple.

3) A letter order with two seals, written by Sūqāya and Libluṭ to Nanāya-uṣalli (PTS 2704, Dar 16). The senders are documented also in the private archive of the Egibi house: W 20000,36 (Dar 19) is a letter order sent by both of them to Lâbâši to handle wool in exchange for *makkasu*-dates with Murašû, son of Arad-Bēl of the Egibi house. Sūqāya and Libluṭ were both probably *ṭupšar Eanna* ('scribe of Eanna'). This can be demonstrated on the basis of the seals in combination with tablets of Libluṭ (for the argumentation, see the author's forthcoming edition of the Egibi archive in AUWE 28).

4) Some economic texts with expenditures, for example VS 20 17 with grain deliveries belonging to the *qīpu* ('royal resident'), are dated to Dar 22. In this case the tablet comes from regular excavations.

5) Some texts dealing with wool or textiles, e.g. PTS 2359, are dated to Dar 25.

6) In Jursa's listing described as 'fodder' for animals, only AUWE 11 169 with the date Dar 7 is mentioned (Frahm and Jursa 2011, 26). It is significant, as van Driel correctly noted, that this is a closed part of the archive ('dead fowl

file'; van Driel 1998, 62). There are at least seventeen small tablets (Gehlken 1990, 51), one still unpublished (W 18131n), with a date in Dar 11.

One has to emphasize the following points. It is indisputable that the Eanna temple continued functioning until the end of the reign of Darius I. The complete Eanna archive, as it has become known to us, was disposed of, or thrown away, not before the year Dar 29, and perhaps even after Xerxes 2. It seems evident that some later texts were intentionally mixed with tablets dating to the period before Dar 2. The year Dar 2 may be explained by the turmoil in the Gimillu affair, but there might exist other solutions as well. I am not really convinced that this event was so fateful as to explain the disposal of all earlier tablets within this one year. The early reign of Darius I could have been a good time for a rearrangement of the temple administration, which to some extent was always controlled by the king. The Eanna archive had been partly registered on wooden boards, and this practice may have continued after Dar 2. It would not be a surprise if the later *šatammu* Šullumu was involved, but there are indications of a more direct influence of the state on the management of the Uruk cult already much earlier. One cannot escape the impression that such administrative shifts could not be managed without the interference of the Persian royal administration. The Eanna archive was not an internal matter of the temple alone. It may also be that the change, which reveals itself in the year Dar 2, had to do with some political reconsideration and with Darius I's shifts in attitude compared to his predecessors.

Whereas it is safe to conclude that the Eanna archive and temple continued to function in the usual way after Dar 2, one can only speculate about what happened with the Eanna cults after Dar 29. Only E. Gehlken (1990, 92) and M. Dandamaev (1992, 171) pay particular attention to an isolated text from the Eanna archive with a date referring to a year 33, but unfortunately lacking the king's name. This text comes from the regular excavations (AUWE 5 108). If this document really would be dated to Dar 33 and not to Nebuchadnezzar II 33 — Gehlken leaves this question unanswered, but Dandamaev argues for Darius I — the consequences would be essential for the matter of the end of the Eanna archive. The archive would still have been active until the last years of Darius I. Furthermore, this would be a strong argument for the assumption that it was Xerxes who closed the cultic business of the Eanna and was responsible for the disturbance.

A remarkable feature of this text is a monumental seal impressed on the backside. This already indicates that the scribe of this text had to be a very high official of the administration. Only those officials were entitled to have such seals. In addition to this, the number of talents for salt is uncommonly high. In any case, this is not a document describing a normal delivery of products within the Eanna temple, but a distribution of 15 talents of salt for a group of persons called ^{lú}ÉRIN.ME *ša ḫal-pu*. In general, the Aramaic designation *ḫalpu* is

translated as 'substitute'. One can surely place these persons outside of Uruk, probably working there for a longer period of time, for instance as soldiers stationed in a place far off or as builders in connection with building projects.

Gehlken's reading Nabû-kiširru-iddin for the reverse line 2 seems far-fetched (1990, 92). The name should certainly be read Nabû- or Bēl-kēšir, and the verbal form *i-din* at the end of the line undoubtedly speaks for a kind of letter order within the administration. Against the dating to Dar 33 speaks the fact that we have a few dated sealed administrative orders of the Nebuchadnezzar II period (GCCI 1 73; NCBT 1111). The seal corresponds to Ehrenberg 1999 nos. 100–101. AUWE 5 108 was found among a group of tablets in square Qa XIV 5, in a spot unclearly described as 'im Verfallschutt' (Gehlken 1990, 151). Judging from the published tablets and assuming that no later texts are among the yet unpublished material, all these tablets belong to the period from before Nabonidus. So, it is advisable not to attach too much importance to the date of Dar 33 and to exclude AUWE 5 108 from the discussion about the exact end of the Eanna archive.

To rely only on philological arguments, as is normally done, would be a mere play of thoughts. How do the archaeological facts fit into this assumed scenario? Do they support those ideas? And can one trust the observations of H. Lenzen? The available reports, sometimes lacking detail, are a real obstacle. Nevertheless, it seems probable that most of the tablets from before Dar 2 were left where they were originally placed and that no one took care of them any longer. This part of the Eanna was simply waiting for the shelves to collapse and when this finally happened, the debris of the surrounding walls partially covered the tablets.

Lenzen writes in his report UVB 12–13 (Lenzen 1956, 18) about building K, of which only a third was preserved: "Die ganzen Tontafeln lagen … in Fundlage, aber nicht in einer bestimmten Ordnung, sondern gehäuft in der Westecke und an der Steinwand zwischen ersten und zweiten Raum" (these are now rooms 132 and 133). Based on building technique, he dated it to the early Achaemenid period, from Cyrus until the early reign of Darius I. Lenzen was not aware of the fact that the Eanna archive did not end in Dar 2, and argued for the end of the Eanna built by the earliest Achaemenid kings, but he stressed that all destructions came "bei der Plünderung und Zerstörung des Gebäudes". Much more important is the observation made during the 11th campaign of 1938–1939 with regard to an Achaemenid room (room 123) nearby: "Als diese Tafeln bei der Beschreibung erwähnt wurden, wurde nicht gesagt, daß sich ein Teil der Tontafeln in der Bodenscherbe eines größeren Gefäßes befand" (Lenzen 1956, 18, quoting Lenzen and Nöldeke 1940, 15). One can assume that this was the original method how tablets were normally handled before being stored in the archives.

That only a third of building K was preserved may not be unimportant for understanding the fate of the tablets originally housed there. The same can also be said about the small room 123, which points to the fact that the archive was partly located in a sequence of very badly destroyed rooms. Some of them might even be remains of another Persian building. How this influenced the loss of clay tablets from the Achaemenid period, either in quantity or with regard to certain dossiers, seems to be a matter of pure speculation. It may be that the extent of the archive was much larger than the accidental remnants revealed. Over the centuries, both the condition of the soil and the destructive impact of the water may have been responsible for a considerable loss of clay tablets in this area, especially for tablets not covered by collapsed walls providing some protection against the soil and water.

That the enormous amount of tablets within this building was originally kept in a systematic way, essential for an effective administration maintained over generations, seems indisputable, as there are clear indications of certain tablets being grouped together. Can it be assumed that the majority of the tablets from the time of Darius I onwards were therefore not preserved anymore? The final disturbances might have led to an irreversible disappearance of certain types of tablets.

The situation of the tablets found near the 'Zingelwall', where some original rooms were apparently used to store the slightly older material up to Nebuchadnezzar II, was similar. In the open space of the so-called 'Gartenhof', one part of the collection of tablets was found smashed in a corner of a wall, the other part was found around a water basin. This water basin and its surrounding installations — described by Kose (2008) as having a lot of smaller walls and supposed canals, similar to building K — were not used anymore and faced the same fate as the archive. All this leads to the idea that an inspection of tablets was implemented hastily at the end, without taking real care of the tablet material itself. Without regular repairs of the walls a collapse would have been imminent within a few years. Lenzen referred to the whole area, with water running between small walls of c. 60 cm high, as a kind of installation for regulating humidity. What could have been the reason to leave a dead archive in such disorder and to transport an undisturbed Eanna archive to another, intact part of the temple?

A. Kose, a specialist in Seleucid and Parthian architecture of the Eanna precinct, doubted the conclusions of Lenzen. In a short article (Kose 2008) he compared the installations in building K with rooms A and D of building P in Middle Assyrian Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad, where residues of barley were found. In room A, the normal brick floor was overlaid with a kind of wooden floor. In the adjoining room D, three small canals served as drains for the water. He comes to the conclusion that building K functioned also as storehouse and its many parallel canals were not intended to keep its contents moist, but on the

contrary to serve as drainage. Since he recognised that also clay tablets were found there, he concluded "Vermutlich wurden hier neben den Tontafeln ursprünglich vor allem Nahrungsmittel gelagert, ich denke dabei hauptsächlich an Getreide wie in Gebäude P" (Kose 2008, 201).

To compare the installations within building K with Roman *horrea*, which one automatically conceives to adjoin it, seems doubtful, however. The purpose for such storehouses, at least in classical antiquity, was to circulate fresh air around the pillars, which would not be possible by horizontal small walls. The idea that wooden planks rested on top of the small and not very durable walls consisting of unbaked clay bricks is problematic in itself. How could this function for more than a few years? And this is also the case for the rooms directly within the 'Zingelwall', i.e. room 157. How was it possible to repair these narrow supporting walls? In this area, there are no traces of wood, nor any residues of grain. This lack cannot just be explained by the former excavation methods. A few meters away the excavators registered very meticulously some 'Heuhalme' in a small room, which they interpreted as a donkey stable from the time of Nabonidus (Lenzen 1956, 15). There must be some interrelation between the clay tablets from rooms 132–133, which some philologists conceived to belong to a more or less entirely dead archive ending mostly with Dar 2, and the function of the rest of the building as kind of storehouse. But business dealings with barley or other cereals in building K would be expected at least for the whole period of Darius I. Why should this end with Dar 2? Kose did not consider this matter.

And what about room M of the former 'Kläranlage'? A water canal, leading through the 'Zingelwall', divides this room, which then could also be described as a storeroom for goods. In exactly this large part of the Eanna archive, however, tablets were found in the rubble above this room, mostly deliberately destroyed (Jordan 1930, 20). If Kose's conclusions are correct and building K would be primarily a large storeroom for goods, then this would be an area, preserved on at least three sides (the expected fourth side in direction of the main temple is not preserved), with archive rooms and buildings used for economic purposes at the same time.

The original size of building K with its Eanna tablets and the surrounding tablets within the reach of the Eanna precinct speak in favour of Lenzen's assumptions that we are indeed dealing with installations associated with the writing of clay tablets and their storage. The numerous symmetric and very long 'canals' in building K would fit an archive building. Kose noticed that the 40–50 cm space between the various small walls with a height of c. 65–90 cm is indeed too small for busy transactions with goods going in and out, but for an archive to store tablets on wooden shelves, with limited access for the person in charge, it would be quite fitting and comparable to modern 'Ablagearchive' (Kose 2008, 200).

The assumption of the availability of water, and the fact that according to Lenzen traces of water were observed between the small walls, cannot be simply dismissed. Lenzen's argument, that without water the preservation of unburned clay tablets could not be ensured over the generations, is still valid. To avoid the natural moisture of the soil, which is destructive for clay tablets, or any sudden inundations of the surface, by means of such 'canals' with a considerable height seems rather strange. For instance, the 5 m to 7 m long 'canals' in room 157 do not seem to have transported the water straight out of the room. The water was directed horizontally to the 'Zingelwall' and finally by a vertical wall outside the building. I cannot think of any other reason for the existence of this huge building K, especially when all three sides of the surrounding 'Zingelwall' seem to have something to do with the writing and archiving of tablets. It cannot be that an archive was piled up and left there by accident. There is no reason to assume that tablets were later transferred to another location within the temple.

But let me propose an undoubtedly rather uncommon hypothesis concerning the fate of the Eanna archive. Is it possible that all the Eanna tablets dating from the second year of Darius I onwards, running at least to year Dar 29 or even later, came accidently into the hands of a completely different institution? Could this have happened by the order of Xerxes after he had suppressed all resistance against him in his second year? One could then suggest a scenario as follows. The final abandonment of the huge Eanna complex and all the disturbances of the archives and their buildings may well be due to the Persian administration under Xerxes. All the more important tablets after Dar 2 and of course also a few earlier ones from Cyrus and Cambyses could have been taken away. The rest was left, and in part intentionally destroyed. This does not only apply to some of the economic tablets, but also to the literary texts of the temple itself belonging to a high-ranking person responsible for this collection, which also seem to have been smashed. Was this done on behalf of the administration of the king?

One should consider the possibility that some information on these tablets would have been significant for Xerxes, perhaps in order to identify those responsible for the revolts or those in league with the insurgents. The economic value of the Eanna tablets could also have been important, as the royal administration would have been interested to know whether financial resources of the Eanna were being withheld from the empire. These and other considerations could be the reason for the royal administration to act in this way. One could imagine that there were many questions the Achaemenid administration was eager to answer before closing the temple precinct completely. One may suspect a similar procedure with the archives that Hammurabi or his administration found at Mari.

In my opinion, the archaeological results would not speak against the idea of an obvious destruction of the Eanna archive. As a result, the abandoning of

the tablets dating earlier, to Dar 2, and the removal of an unknown number of tablets was finally done under Xerxes.

The archive of the Egibi family

Let me leave the Eanna archive and move on to the so-called private texts. Nearly all of them belong to families whose livelihoods were more or less dependent on the Eanna. The last dated clay tablets from Uruk date from Dar 34–35. The loan of barley YOS 21 204 (Dar 24), Stigers 1976 no. 55 (Dar 34), and eventually FLP 1436 (Dar 35, unpublished) may belong to one archive. Jursa defined them as 'private archive' (Frahm and Jursa 2011, 29–30), but that does not exclude the Eanna archive as storage place.

More information on the last years of Darius I comes from the still unpublished archive of the Egibi family. One has to emphasise that this is the only major private archive from Uruk, which nearly covers the whole reign of Darius I (Jursa 2005, 147). It was found in a private building west of the Eanna together with some texts lying scattered around in the private house, which demonstrate that relatives of the owner were living nearby or in the same building. The main sources refer to Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti and some earlier texts are from his father Arad-Marduk, both *ērib bīti*s ('temple enterers') and prebendary bakers of the temple, well-known from some of the earlier Eanna documents.

The archive mainly comprises private loan texts, but also some texts listing private consumption or recording expenditures of the temple. Many texts deal with business transactions among relatives, but also with people within the range of the Eanna temple, often with families of similar status. There are not many Eanna texts among the whole lot, but in contrast to Jursa's statement (2005, 147) some documents found in the private house are clearly connected to Eanna business. See for example W 20000,164, a text which refers to a prebendary service similar to certain SWU texts; W 20000,80, where one finds the accounts of different bakers; W 20000,50, a text which deals with sheep offered at certain days in different months.

The smaller part of the archive, about 22 texts, including some without dates, refers to the years Dar 30–33, nearly 3 years after Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti's death. Those last archive holders are Šellibi, son of Arad-Bēl of the Egibi family, and his son Bibānu, who worked together with a certain Bēl-ittannu, son of Bēl-ēreš, with the family name ^{lú}*mandidi*. The Šellibi/Bibānu group consists of altogether different types of documents: mainly accounts, *imittu* texts and house rents, but only a few loans. The latest documents are nos. 89 and 90 (W 20000,89–90) which date to the 9th and the 13th of Nisan Dar 33 and belong to Bēl-ittannu.

Šellibi is undoubtedly a distant relative of the first two archive holders. He is probably identical with a baker mentioned in the year Dar 29 within the Eanna baker lists (see above). But his name and the name of his son are never mentioned in the numerous tablets of the predecessor Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, although many names of other relatives are listed in the archive. Some of them must have been active for some years in the capital Babylon. Nevertheless, Šellibi was also by law the successor of Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti. With W 20000,19 and W 20000,82 one possesses two business transactions of his forerunner, still much too important not to integrate them into his own archive. Also the letter W 20000,21 (Dar 32) belongs to the archive of Šellibi of the Egibi family. According to this letter our Šellibi receives *maššartu* by order of another Šellibi. The latter Šellibi must have had a higher office within the administration of the Eanna, possibly that of *bēl piqitti Eanna*, as he is the sender of the sealed letter order for the distribution of grain. His letter to Balāṭu, whom he addresses as his *aḫu* ('brother') and who is probably identical with the *ša muḫḫi quppi* ('official in charge of the cash box') in GCCI 2 130 (Dar 22) and possibly also with the *ša muḫḫi Eanna* ('official in charge of Eanna') in YOS 21 16 (Dar 19), refers to the gods Marduk and Ṣarpanitum. For Uruk the reference to these two deities is rather uncommon and points to Šellibi's background. Could this tendency towards Babylon be one of the reasons which led to a kind of split between the interests of families oriented towards Babylon and those clinging more to the local traditions of Uruk?

The Gimil-Nanāya B archive

The investigation of the change in royal politics and cult at Uruk between the long reign of Darius I and the 13 years of Xerxes is simply hampered by the lack of sources. Only one small private archive is available, the so-called Gimil-Nanāya B archive (Jursa 2005, 147–148), which includes at least five tablets dated up to the year Dar 24. Surprisingly, two clay tablets are found with dates referring to the years Xerxes 6 and 9, but also mentioning the third year of Xerxes.

The archive was found in Uruk in square U 18, but the excavators and the epigraphist, who published the texts as SpTU 5 286–287, 291–292, 299–301, 312 (von Weiher 1998) and SpTU 4 22 (von Weiher 1993), registered the texts among others as 'Sammelfund' W 23293. Von Weiher combined these texts with the later archive of Ubāru, son of Anu-aḫḫē-iqīša, starting in year 37 of Artaxerxes I. It is better, however, to keep the two archives separate.

It is quite remarkable that the Gimil-Nanāya B archive was found in a completely different context than other private texts at Uruk, which were based mostly within various private houses west of the 'Zingelwall' of the Eanna

temple. The Gimil-Nanāya B archive leads us to a completely different area in the sphere of the *rab banê*s and the gardens of the *rab banê*s near the east gate of the city. Also the content of the texts is quite different. We are dealing here with some property texts and marriage contracts, in contrast to the private texts usually available from Uruk, which record loans and related matters but very seldom family affairs. But apart from this, one has to bear in mind that these are not the original documents but copies. It seems that the archive contains the most important family documents of Erība(ya), son of Kināya, of the Gimil-Nanāya family.

It comes as a surprise that one text shows a closer connection between Erība of the Gimil-Nanāya family and the archive of the Egibi house discussed before. In W 20000,50 our Šellibi, son of Arad-Bēl of the Egibi family, is mentioned as creditor, handling 15 šekels of silver of *nuḫḫutu* quality and 2 *kurru* and 2 *pānu* and 3 *sūtu* of dates to Erība, son of Kināya of the Gimil-Nanāya family. In this case the date is lost, as is also the list of witnesses and some other information. The silver amount seems to have been due by the month of Addaru. The most unusual feature is the security by which Erība has to guarantee the repayment of the mixed loan, namely, one sheep of the temple of Aššur, explicitly mentioned as his prebend (*isiqšu*). This is the only case where one meets both a high-ranking official who undoubtedly belonged to the hierarchy of the Eanna temple and was expelled some years later from the city by Xerxes, and a member of a family that survived this far-reaching event. It may be that our Erība, as owner of *rab banê* gardens with a small prebendary income not from Eanna, belonged to the stratum of inhabitants of Uruk who had better chances of surviving the events of Xerxes year 2 than Šellibi, to whom he was clearly inferior in rank.

From the reign of Xerxes, apart from the two texts mentioned, we have no documents at all. The documentation in Uruk starts again with the reign of Artaxerxes I. By then, the onomasticon had changed considerably, having turned to names with the theophoric elements Anu or Šamaš, although there were still a lot of traditional family names around, which were known from the reign of Darius I. I have dealt with this phenomenon in two of my previous articles (Kessler 2003; Kessler 2004), but there I mainly concentrated on the prosopography of Uruk. Without repeating my arguments, the shift in the nomenclature within the city of Uruk seems to have happened quickly. Just by referring to the only two available documents from the reign of Xerxes, one has to consider the possibility that the families belonged to a different religious stratum. In the year Xerxes 6 one already detects predominantly names composed with Anu and with Šamaš of Larsa. This could be explained by the fact that the cultic centre of the city had been transferred to Anu early in the reign of Xerxes. This issue and the questions about the establishment of a new cult place of Anu will be dealt with by Beaulieu's paper in this volume.

Conclusions

Many questions remain in need of an answer. First, the archaeological evidence must be reconsidered. What was the fate of the houses west of the Eanna? What was the later situation of the whole area? What became of the inhabitants? To close the cults of the Eanna temple, or to withdraw the protective hand of the king from the Eanna, was one thing, but what was the effect for Uruk on the whole? Seen from the royal point of view, how could Xerxes maintain his power over the city of Uruk and at the same time continue exploiting the resources of the temples for his advantage and his court? Was this even the aim of Xerxes at all?

The archaeological maps show a rather clear result. The whole area west of the Eanna, where most private archives were found, was completely deserted at the time of Xerxes' ascent to power. All the houses, which up to the time of Darius I were predominantly inhabited by families dependent on the Eanna temple, mainly prebendaries and other functionaries, seem to have been abandoned. The Egibi house, whose archive's end is dated to Dar 33, might have been left by its inhabitants, along with other houses nearby. But their family documents and important business documents, which we lack completely, seem to have been removed along with the withdrawal of their owners. This would explain the scarcity of late tablet finds in the whole area. The archaeological finds do not give the slightest hint to the erection of any new building at this spot until more than two centuries later, in the Seleucid period, when a wall was built across the area, running directly over the Egibi house in Nd XVI 5. To explain this emptiness with the erosion of debris alone is not very convincing.

The archaeological evidence clearly speaks for a complete and sudden abandon of major areas of the city, which were never inhabited again. This can best be explained by disturbances in Uruk after the revolts against Xerxes and by an exodus of a whole segment of the population. The cultic administrative measures by Xerxes in Uruk did not lead to an end of the worship of the gods involved, but in reality, it led to a factual end of the whole Eanna precinct. The consequences would have been a major blow to the city, at least for one or two generations. If the diverse cults of the Eanna were cut off, then there would not have been any income for many families. This would have had a significant impact not only on the more prominent families, originally coming from the Babylon area, but also on the numerous ranks of temple servants attached to the different cults, with their duty of keeping up the transport of goods, supporting the staff of officials, or simply working for the temple. Most of the *širku* slaves were under royal control and could easily be withdrawn. In this respect, the archaeological and the textual evidence for private texts seem to go together.

Xerxes' motives for closing the Eanna seem to follow his neglect of the national gods of the Babylonians, Marduk and Nabû, and his actions may speak of a deliberate attempt to severe the close ties that existed between the various Babylonian cities based on their common worship of these gods. It could also be that the importance of Uruk for the royal administration and the palace economy had already begun to decrease in the time of Darius I, since no major royal investments were made in the temple and some business activities were taken over by some leading officials of the Eanna, all of them bound to Babylon and Borsippa (see Frame and Jursa 2011, 29 n. 135). But more important seems Xerxes' political and economic revenge on Marduk and Nabû and their claims of supremacy over all Babylonian gods, which was completely erased for centuries except for a short moment in history when Alexander the Great and the priests of the Esangila tried to revive this idea.

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THE NETWORK OF RESISTANCE: ARCHIVES AND POLITICAL ACTION IN BABYLONIA BEFORE 484 BCE

Caroline WAERZEGGERS
(Leiden University)[1]

The Neo-Babylonian text corpus is a copious and varied source of documentary evidence on many aspects of Babylonia's history under Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian rule. What is often not realized, however, is that two-thirds of this rich corpus was created in a single year (484 BCE)[2] by a single intervention, and that as a result of this intervention processes of archive production, that had taken place in a decentralized and organic fashion until 484 BCE, became politicized and homogenized during the corpus' final moments of formation.

The political nature of this intervention was discussed in my article on the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes (2003/2004). I argued that in the autumn of 484 BCE, in the immediate aftermath of the revolts of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni, individuals and temples in cities throughout central and northern Babylonia abandoned or otherwise deposited their archives. The scale and concerted nature of these acts of storage led to the production of two-thirds of the corpus that we today associate with the long sixth century. As these acts of disposal happened in the very specific context of counter-insurgency, it may be surmised on the basis of synchronicity that the 'end of archives' was a phenomenon tied to state intervention in the wake of the uprisings. While concurrence implies a connection, it is, however, a second quality that bears out the politicized nature of this phenomenon.

Certain individuals were able to carry their tablet collections across 484 BCE. These people were local clients of Persia's governing elite in Babylonia; individuals who had been co-opted or recruited into the empire through direct ties of mutual dependence, for instance as caretakers or managers of estates

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[2] To be clear, with 'created' I do not mean 'written' or 'composed', but deposited in such a way that the tablets could be found and retrieved in modern times, in the 19th and 20th centuries.

owned by absentee Persian landlords, or as entrepreneurs providing services to such estates. The patron-client hierarchies tying these Babylonian individuals to the imperial state were short-stretched and anchored in the countryside; these men connected the highest levels of state to Babylonia's rural populations. The Yaḫudu archival complex, which mostly came to light after 2004, fits this general typology: the archival control of deported communities in Babylonia's rural south-east was maintained across the crucial year of 484 BCE.[3] An entirely different profile emerges from a social analysis of the persons who deposited their archives in the aftermath of the revolts. These men and women were city-dwellers, anchored in different types of patron-client networks. Their orientations were not centred primarily around Persian elites but around urban institutions with deep roots in Babylonian political tradition: the temples and the city governorships. These institutions had been established long before the advent of the Persian Empire and were run by limited numbers of families tightly connected through marriage, residence, education, employment and status.

These contrasting profiles suggest that in the context of counter-insurgency, the fates of archives in 484 BCE Babylonia were decided along lines of political allegiance. Individuals affiliated to temples and city governorships, i.e. the urban elites of mostly northern and central Babylonian cities, abandoned their tablet collections (or parts thereof), whereas those closely associated with the Persian state and its systems of land tenure maintained and continued their archival production. Based on these contrasting profiles and behaviours, I argued in 2003/2004 that the latter group should be considered a pro-state faction in Babylonian society at the time of the revolts against Xerxes, while the former group should be seen as a pro-insurgency faction that eventually fell 'victim' to the Persian state's counter-insurgency. The simultaneous disappearance, in Babylonia's south, of elite families with roots in the city of Babylon, suggests that Xerxes' punitive measures tracked down social networks that reached beyond the area of unrest.[4]

Scholars contest the nature of this group's 'victimhood'. Historians of the Persian Empire stress the efficiency and measuredness of Xerxes' policy.[5] Archaeologists emphasize the lack of evidence for violent destruction in the

[3] Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 4.

[4] See Kessler 2004; Baker 2014, 192–193; and Beaulieu, this volume, for the replacement of Babylon-based elites with local ones in Uruk, at the time of the revolts in the north. Note that it is possible that Uruk's participation in the revolts has gone unrecorded so far. The Egibi archive from Uruk could fit in such a scenario; see 1.5 below and Kessler, this volume.

[5] See among others Rollinger 2008; Henkelman et al. 2011; Kuhrt 2014 ("Xerxes is emerging, more and more, as one of the most important architects of a stable and successful Persian empire", 169).

wake of the revolts.[6] Assyriologists are sensitive to the short-term effects on the lives of the individuals and families involved as well as to the longer-term signs of change in Babylonia's society and religion following the revolts.[7] Despite these disagreements, there is a common ground in this debate. First, the closure of archives in 484 BCE is accepted as a consequence of targeted actions against those who participated or supported the insurgency of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni. Second, these actions are thought to have had repercussions in the lives of these people beyond the management of their archives. In the broadest sense, these repercussions may be described as a removal from privileges enjoyed previously. The elite shift in Uruk offers one well-documented scenario that we may use to fill out the blanks, but individual fates were doubtlessly diverse and ultimately remain beyond our grasp.

The aim of this paper is to reflect, not on the nature of Xerxes' reprisals, but on the effects of this intervention on the shape and structure of the corpus of the long sixth century BCE. As a product of a particular event, the Neo-Babylonian text corpus needs to be historicized: whose records does it contain and why? Thinking about these issues leads us, on the one hand, to a recognition of structural restrictions inherent in the corpus because it was shaped through a process of homogenization. On the other hand, we also learn to look out for hints of diversity that are present, even if marginalized. Historicizing the corpus, therefore, does not only entail thinking about restrictions, but also about reorientations and possibilities. I will argue that we can read the corpus 'backwards' as a residue of the social networks that had formed in Babylonia in the decades prior to the revolts and that enabled (anti-imperial) political action in 484 BCE. In this way, we can use the limitations of the corpus to our advantage.

My approach in this paper is indebted to the 'archival turn' in the humanities and in history in particular.[8] Since the early 1990s, historians have increasingly turned their attention to archives as objects to be interrogated and studied in their own right, rather than as repositories of data where answers to historical questions can be discovered in a straightforward manner. This shift is driven by the insight that the archive is not simply a place where knowledge is preserved but also the place where knowledge is produced and shaped by power

[6] Heinsch, Kuntner and Rollinger 2011 stress the lively continuation of Babylonian culture (p. 472: "Vielmehr ist von einem lebendigen Fortbestehen der babylonischen Kultur auszugehen (…)"); see also Heinsch and Kuntner 2011; Kuntner and Heinsch 2013.

[7] The social implications of re-organizing the Babylonian cults are discussed by Jursa 2013 and Baker 2014; see also Kessler 2004, Berlejung 2009. Abolishment of the prebend system in northern Babylonia: Hackl 2013 and Hackl, this volume. Changes in officialdom: Hackl and Jursa 2015. See also the Introduction to the present volume.

[8] See among others Burton 2005; Burns 2010. For a general introduction into the history, nature, and objectives of the archival turn see King 2016 and de Vivo 2013, 460–462.

relations current at the time.[9] Ann Laura Stoler, among many others, urged historians to study colonial archives as tools of domination, reflective of the operations of the state itself.[10] While this focus on state authority is less suitable for studying the Babylonian archives of the long sixth century, which mostly derive from private and temple contexts, it is no less essential for us to direct our attention from the 'archive-as-source' to the 'archive-as-subject'. Because the Babylonian corpus was shaped (to a large extent) by a single event, historicizing it as an artefact of that particular event is a necessary step in our thought process concerning the corpus. Moreover, as this intervention was initiated by the state during an operation of counter-insurgency, we might, even if only in an indirect way, be able to read refractions of state power in the shape of the corpus.

Another reorientation that I want to propose in this contribution is a shift away from the aftermath of the revolts to their prelude. Discussions about the events in Babylonia in 484 BCE have focused mostly on Xerxes' punishment of Babylonia and its intensity. Was his response measured or was it violent? Did it have punctual or long-lasting effects on Babylonian society? This debate is conditioned by earlier discussions that have taken place in ancient history since the 1980s.[11] While it is important to ask questions about the exact nature of the punishment(s) suffered by his Babylonian opponents, Xerxes' reactions remain hard to judge in view of the decline of written sources at the very moment when his response takes effect and in view of the inconclusiveness of the archaeological evidence. New pathways into the events of 484 BCE present themselves when we look at the genesis and prehistory of the revolts rather than at their aftermath. There are several aspects of this prelude that require our attention, for instance, the question of why the Babylonians revolted, what they hoped to achieve by re-establishing an independent monarchy in Babylon, and how they had experienced Persian rule since 539 BCE.[12] Another aspect that has been ignored so far is the question of how Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni mobilized support among the Babylonian citizens. Which channels were available to them as a basis for collective action? How did people in different cities organize themselves in opposition to the state? In this paper, I am concerned with this latter set of questions, relating to the social anatomy of the revolts.

[9] Steedman 2002, 2.
[10] Stoler 2002 and 2009; Dirks 2002.
[11] See the introduction to this volume.
[12] See the contributions of Pirngruber and Sandowicz in this volume.

1. The shape of the corpus

The end-of-archives in 484 BCE can be imagined in two contrasting ways. On the one hand, we can describe it as an end point, when archives that had been long in the making were abandoned or stored by their owners. On the other hand, we can picture it as a moment of generation and production, when much of the corpus of the long sixth century came into being. The events of 484 BCE, while no doubt disruptive for the people involved, thus had the effect of preserving archives for posterity. The end-of-archives is, in that sense, also the beginning of *our* (present-day) corpus. In this section, I will examine how the events of 484 BCE shaped the corpus that has come down to us, on various levels: its size, its structure, its content, and its social orientation.

1.1. *Size*. First, in terms of size, the intervention of 484 BCE led to the deposit of as much as two-thirds of the tablets that we today associate with the long sixth century. This figure, which will be explained below, is no more than an educated guess because neither the then-existing part of the corpus nor the part generated through new deposits in 484 BCE can be measured exactly. In part, this is due to the corpus' incomplete state of publication and recovery, but there are other problems involved that preclude exact assessments. A major difficulty is establishing the date of an archive's disposal from its contents. The moment of storage does not necessarily approximate, let alone coincide with, the date of the last dated record contained in the archive deposited. If owners removed the most valuable items from their tablet collections before depositing them in 484 BCE, as is generally assumed, many recent documents will be missing. There is, therefore, a very real possibility of disjunction between the break-off point of the archive and the date of its storage. Another problem relates to the identification of 'archives' in Neo-Babylonian tablet collections, which mostly lack archaeological provenance. Following accepted practice in the field, 'archives' will be defined here as collections of tablets that were produced during activities, intellectual, legal, or administrative, by an institution, person, or family and that were, with reasonable certainty, deposited together. In view of the lack of archaeological context, the former criterion, which builds on prosopography, dominates in most cases. Even the excavated tablets from Babylon are difficult to sort into clear-cut archives.[13]

The figure of two-thirds that I presented above is arrived at by splitting the surviving Neo-Babylonian archives in groups.[14] The first group consists of

[13] Pedersén 2005; Baker 2008.

[14] This study uses 136 archives of the Neo-Babylonian text corpus: archives deposited prior to 484 BCE, in 484 BCE, and spanning 484 BCE. Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic archives are not considered here; Hackl discusses several of these in his contribution to this volume. Most archives are described in Jursa's guidebook (2005a). Added to these are the small archives from

archives that had already been closed off by the time of the revolts. The cut-off point is arbitrarily fixed at Dar 14 for an archive's last dated record. This date is sufficiently removed from 484 BCE to eliminate most effects of the disjunction described earlier. Archives in this group are labelled 'A' in the table below. Into the second group I have selected archives that were stored, with reasonable certainty, in 484 BCE. This includes archives that stretch into the time of unrest itself, but also archives that terminate up to a few years earlier, between Dar 35–Xer 2.[15] In the table below, these archives are labelled 'B'. A third, in-between, category (labelled 'A–B') consists of uncertain contenders for the end-of-archives scenario. Archives that terminate in the period between Dar 15 and Dar 34 may have been deposited in 484 BCE after extensive removal of the most recent materials, in which case they belong to the end-of-archives phenomenon, but it is also possible that they had already been stored at that moment.[16] In any case, the classification of the corpus that I suggest here is merely a heuristic tool; the labels A, B and A–B may be contested in specific cases, but they do reveal a general trend.[17]

Together, groups A, B, and A–B count c. 51.000 tablets; a substantial majority (67%) of these were deposited in or shortly before 484 BCE. This effect is largely caused by the Ebabbar archive, which dominates group B with its c. 30.000 tablets. But also in group A there are archives that are disproportionately large, notably the Eanna archive (c. 8.000 tablets) and the early Ebabbar archive (c. 5.000). In order to minimize distortions caused by such exceptional finds, we may opt to proceed with a minor corpus that excludes uncommonly large archives. In this minor corpus, the A–B group (with c. 1.630 tablets) gains more weight: c. 1.930 tablets remain in group A and c. 4.320 tablets remain in B. These figures suggest that of the minor corpus only 25% had been formed by

Nippur identified by Zadok (1986), the Ir'anni archive from Babylon (Jursa 1999, 5 and Wunsch 2005, 366), the well-stratified tablet finds from Babylon (Pedersén 2005; Baker 2008), the small archive excavated at Babylon in a house west to the temple of Ištar of Akkad (Baker 2008, 105), and the Yaḫudu archive and associated texts (Pearce and Wunsch 2014). Note that stray finds and incoherent text groups from the Babylon excavations are not included in this study (Pedersén 2005; for the archival coherence of this material, see Baker 2008). Several hundred unassigned tablets from Borsippa and the Sippar temple library have also been left out. The total number of tablets in the Neo-Babylonian text corpus is therefore larger than what I work with in this paper. All data can be found in the table appended to this paper.

[15] To the list in Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 156–157 can be added the following archives. From Babylon: Ea-eppēš-ilī A from Homera Mitte (Jursa 2005a, 62–63; Baker 2008, 106–107); N9c from house XVII in the Merkes district (Pedersén 2005, 194, 196–198; Oelsner 2007, 292; Baker 2008, 106); N12 from the same district in Babylon (Pedersén 2005, 208–217; Baker 2008, 105). From Borsippa: the Aḫiya'ūtu archive, Ibnāya B-C-D archive, the Mār-bīti temple file, the tablets of Nabû-aplu-iddin of the Ea-ilūtu-bāni family (Waerzeggers 2010, 367, 526–527; Waerzeggers 2005, 363 and 357). From Sippar: the Maštuk archive (Jursa 2005a, 130–131) and probably the archive of Bēl-aplu-iddin from the same archival cluster (Jursa 2005a, 130), but by ending in Dar 34 the latter does not formally fall within this category.

[16] See also 1.5 (below) on the A–B archives.

[17] The table in the appendix provides one more category, C, consisting of archives that extend across 484 BCE, belonging to the pro-Persian faction discussed in the introduction of this paper.

the start of Dar 15. The extent to which the events of 484 BCE impacted the minor corpus depends on the status of the uncertain A–B archives. In one extreme scenario, if all of them should have to be attributed to the end-of-archives phenomenon, 75% of the minor corpus would have been generated in 484 BCE. In the other extreme scenario, if all of them had already been deposited by Dar 35, then 45% of the minor corpus was generated in 484 BCE. In reality, a figure somewhere in-between these extremes will probably be correct (see also 1.5 below).

This means that c. two-thirds of the corpus of the long sixth century, as known today, was produced by a single intervention at the very end of its history of formation. Of the minor corpus (discounting the large and potentially distorting archives from Sippar and Uruk), perhaps as much as 75% but certainly not less than 45% resulted from this event in 484 BCE.

1.2. *Multi-archive clusters*. The majority of archives deposited in 484 BCE were stored collectively, in close proximity to each other or in clusters. Earlier storage practices had yielded more atomized, better-delineated archival units without extensive interconnections. How should we interpret this contrast?

Let us start by examining the nature and extent of clustering more closely. Multi-archive assemblages are in evidence in the major cities affected by the end-of-archives phenomenon, especially in Sippar and Borsippa where the effect is most striking. Almost all archives that were deposited in these two cities in 484 BCE were stored collectively, in multiple clusters of varying size. The largest cluster, comprising several tens of thousands of records, comes from Sippar. It is made up of the (late) Ebabbar archive and a mix of private materials, including the archive of Marduk-rēmanni with its seven smaller satellite archives. All these tablets seem to stem from only two rooms in the Ebabbar temple complex.[18] While a rough classification of these texts in archival groupings can be produced, at a finer level it is hard to assign tablets to particular owners because the protagonists entertained such close relationships with each other. For instance, Marduk-rēmanni, as a College Scribe of Ebabbar, was deeply involved in the temple's record production; he may have kept his private texts in the temple archive, or *vice versa*, certain temple records may have ended up in his personal archive. He also shared multiple professional and social networks with the protagonists of the satellite archives. As I argued elsewhere, these individuals were all part of an extensive patronage network gathered around the powerful family of city governors, Ša-nāšišu, in the reign of Darius I.[19]

[18] On Rassam's excavations at Sippar in 1881–1882, see Walker and Collon 1980; De Meyer and Gasche 1980; Reade 1986; Pedersén 1998, 193–194; Bongenaar 2000; Jursa 2011. On the archive of Marduk-rēmanni and its satellite archives, see Waerzeggers 2014.

[19] Waerzeggers 2014, 14, 22, 137.

There are several other instances of collective storage associated with 484 BCE, including at least two more from Sippar. The Maštuk group is a cluster of three archives deposited in 484 BCE.[20] Discovered separately from the late Ebabbar cluster, it represents a distinct storage unit. As in the former case, strong social ties connect the protagonists of the Maštuk group's sub-archives: the Maštuk and Ṣāḫ̮it-ginê families were members of an émigré community from Babylon living in Sippar, and the Ṣāḫ̮it-ginês and Bēl-aplu-iddin operated interlinked business enterprises.[21] Again, we are dealing not just with a physical assemblage of archives, randomly deposited in close proximity to each other, but with a social unit. A third instance of clustering from Sippar involves the two small archives of ^{f}Aqūba and Šamaš-iddin, deposited in 484 BCE and constituting a separate find; the protagonists do not seem to share a specific social network, but they do share their modest social origins and business interests.[22]

With at least fourteen archives closed off in 484 BCE, Borsippa was as deeply affected by the end-of-archives phenomenon as Sippar. Here too, the majority of archives were deposited collectively, in clusters.[23] The largest cluster contains over one thousand tablets, of which 91% can be assigned to particular archives (based on prosopography) while the remainder is unclassified.[24] Again, we observe multiple social connections between the principals of these records. The majority are priests of the Ezida temple and their families; one file derives directly from the temple administration itself.[25] There is a preponderance of brewers' archives in this cluster. Worthy of note is the admixture of older archives: while five of its archives were deposited in 484 BCE, several others had (long) been out-dated by that year. This could indicate that an old depot was being re-used, or that residues of older archives had survived among the records of later people. A similar observation applies to the satellite archives of Marduk-rēmanni, some of which had also been idle for several decades by 484 BCE (see 2.6 below).

[20] The combined Maštuk and Balīḫ̮u archives reach up to Dar 35; the Ṣāḫ̮it-ginê B archive stretches to Xer 1; and the archive of Bēl-aplu-iddin ends in Dar 34. In total, over 70 tablets are involved. See Waerzeggers 2014, 22–23, 148; Jursa 2005a, 129–132. The Arkât-ili archive from Elammu may also belong to this cluster (7 or 8 tablets; dated in mid-Nabonidus; cf. Jursa 2005a, 149–150).

[21] Waerzeggers 2014.

[22] A fourth possible cluster from Sippar is composed of the archive of Bel-rēmanni, with its medicinal component, and the cache of Ile'i-Marduk tablets, which entertains an unknown relationship to the former two groups. Jursa 1999, 3; Jursa 2011, 200.

[23] The exception is the small archive of ^{f}Inṣabtu, which seems to have had a unique dispersal history; Waerzeggers 2000.

[24] This is the so-called Rē'i-alpi group; Waerzeggers 2005.

[25] Records in the *iškaru* file keep track of the daily production of flour for the sacrificial meals of Nabû and his divine household; Waerzeggers 2010, 214–223.

The second cluster from Borsippa is with c. 680 texts somewhat smaller but structurally very comparable.[26] Here too, we find strong professional associations between the principals in these texts, this time centred on the ranks of Ezida's bakers and butchers. It also contains an admixture of older collections that had been idle for a while by 484 BCE. As in the previous instance, a dossier straight from the temple's administration found its way into this cluster (the so-called 'DAR' group), alongside the varied materials from private archives of priests. The third and smallest cluster from Borsippa consists of four archives, all deposited in 484 BCE and all heavily interconnected through Ezida's association of brewers.[27]

The extent of clustering in evidence at Sippar and Borsippa is unparalleled in other cities, where fewer archives were deposited in 484 BCE, or where fewer such archives were retrieved in modern times. In Babylon, the Šangû-Ninurta archive with its admixture of records from a seemingly unrelated minor archive may constitute an instance of clustering associated with the year 484 BCE.[28] Other Babylon archives associated with 484 BCE survive in reasonably well-stratified contexts and seem to represent single finds. The Egibi archive was reportedly found in sealed jars; the N12 and N9c archives were each dug up in a house; the Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive is associated with a particular trench; the Nappāḫu archive's museum distribution pattern is unique enough to suggest a distinct provenance.[29] In Dilbat, the Dābibī archive contains contracts from the Eimbianu temple archive; this can be another instance of clustering. Dābibī's protagonist was a College Scribe at this temple — a similar set-up as with the late Ebabbar and Marduk-rēmanni cluster at Sippar. In Kiš, the only archive (known) that was stored in 484 BCE seems to represent an individual deposit.

How do these findings compare with earlier storage practices? Archives deposited prior to Dar 15 (group A) seldomly survive in clusters. The so-called 'small archives' from Nippur, including the archive of Nergal-iddin, may represent the only known instance: this mixed group of records was probably found in close proximity to each other and exhibits strong internal links, for instance, through the activity of scribes.[30] But with only c. 60 tablets this cluster is very modest in size compared to those generated in 484 BCE.[31] On the whole, clustering does not happen with the same frequency and intensity in

[26] The Bēliya'u group; Waerzeggers 2005, 358–360.

[27] This is the so-called Mannu-gērûšu cluster; Waerzeggers 2005.

[28] Wunsch 2005, 366; Jursa 1999, 5.

[29] On the Egibi jars, see Wunsch 2000, 1. On N9c (house XVII) and N12, see Pedersén 2005, 194, 208–211. On Ea-eppēš-ilī A, see Baker 2008, 106–107 (N23). On the Nappāḫu archive, see Baker 2004.

[30] See the chart in Zadok 1986, 286. Jursa (2005a, 115) proposes to unite several of the archives that Zadok delineated in this cluster. The archive of the sons of Līšir may have a different provenance profile than the rest of this cluster.

[31] Zadok 1986, 283–285.

group A as it does in B. Archives in group A generally constitute identifiable, atomized entities linked to a particular origin, documented in excavation or museum stratigraphy. In Nippur, for instance, except for the cluster just described, A archives constitute distinct text groups with reasonably clear physical and social boundaries: an 8th century BCE letter archive was found in a pit next to a girl's coffin (128 tablets),[32] a 7th century archive was excavated in the courtyard of a house (Ninurta-uballiṭ, 28 tablets),[33] the archive of Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš (38 tablets) and the Carian dossier (8 tablets) have distinct distribution patterns in present-day museums which suggest separate origins.[34] Similar observations pertain to A archives from other sites. In Dilbat, for instance, all A archives have distinct distribution patterns.

What conclusions can be drawn from this overview? The picture is not black and white: some clustering occurs among earlier archives (A) and some archives deposited in 484 BCE (B) were stored individually. Nevertheless, a tendency for clustering is apparent in the latter group, and for individual storage in the former. Because both bodies of clay tablets derive to a large extent from uncontrolled or poorly recorded diggings, we can rule out the possibility that clustering resulted from modern excavation practices. It seems more satisfactory to explain the structural contrast as a result of ancient storage. The patterns that we observe in group A are suggestive of decentralized, uncoordinated acts of storage — acts that were informed by individual circumstances and decisions. In 484 BCE, by contrast, collective storage strategies were at play: not only did many people decide to store their archives at the same time, they also stored them in close proximity, especially in Borsippa and Sippar. The high social cohesion between records deposited in this way indicates that the tablet owners were linked through pre-existing social networks. In other words, the multi-archive clusters are no random collections of texts, deposited by strangers in some accidental fashion. They pertain to collectivities that shared professional affiliations to temple priesthoods and administrations; in the case of the Marduk-rēmanni cluster, ties of patronage to the Ša-nāšišu family, who supplied several Governors of Babylon in the reign of Darius I, also played a role.

1.3. *Archive typology*. When looking at the shape, structure and composition of the archives deposited in 484 BCE, as compared to those discarded at earlier occasions, we notice that certain types of archives were involved more than others. It seems possible, therefore, that these archival shapes reflect conditions that surrounded their disposal in 484 BCE. Several typologies yield meaningful patterns.

[32] Cole 1996, 1.
[33] Pedersén 1998, 198–201; Jursa 2005a, 115.
[34] Jursa 2005a, 112–113.

1.3.1. Dead or semi-discarded?

A common typology used in Neo-Babylonian studies distinguishes between dead and living archives.[35] This refers to the usage of the archive at the time of its disposal:[36] a dead archive was no longer relevant to its owner at storage, while a living archive still possessed actuality. The former type of archive is thought to have come about through practices of archival management: inactive files that had been accumulating in a running archive were removed in order to maintain its functionality.[37] Discoveries of living archives, by contrast, are usually thought of as resulting from unforeseen events that impacted on the archive holder's life: nobody would voluntarily leave behind documents of value. One problem with this classification is that the separation between dead and living archives is made on the basis of two different kinds of variables that can lead to opposite results. It is important to discuss this problem at some length here, because the notion of 'dead archive' has been cited repeatedly in discussions about the end-of-archives as an important indication for the nature of the Persian response to the revolts.

In Neo-Babylonian studies, the distinction between dead and living archives is usually based on the absence or presence of tablets that have current and/or lasting value to their final owners.[38] Dead archives lack recent property deeds of real estate, as well as active business files such as tablets documenting outstanding credits or accountancy texts. They rather consist of outdated texts with little or no relevance to ongoing affairs or property claims. Based on these internal criteria, archives deposited in 484 BCE have often been classified as dead archives. Recent title deeds are indeed mostly absent and a drop in the number of preserved texts can usually be observed in the very last years before storage, in particular running accounts and ongoing administration.[39] A number of conclusions are drawn from these features. One is that the active or living parts of these archives must have been moved elsewhere and that, consequently, the owners had time to organize their tablet collections in the aftermath of the revolts. This, in turn, suggests that a measured or administrative response by the Persian authorities is a more likely scenario than one involving instant

[35] Another typology refers to the nature of the archive-producing entity and distinguishes between private and official (or between family, temple, and palace) archives, distinctions that are often blurred (e.g. Veenhof 1986, 10, van Driel 2000, Brosius 2003, 11). For an extensive discussion of Neo-Babylonian archival typology in institutional archives, see Jursa 2004.

[36] These terms are used inconsistently in the various subfields of Assyriology, see Brosius 2003 for an overview.

[37] Van Driel 1992, 40–42; Veenhof 1986.

[38] Van Driel 1987, 168 and 1989, 203–204; Jursa 2005a, 58; more recently adopted by Lauinger for the study of tablets from Alalaḫ (2011).

[39] Ea-ilūtu-bāni: van Driel 1992, 42; von Dassow 1994, 110. The Ebabbar archive as a dead archive: Bongenaar 2000, 74; Jursa 2004, 164–170, 193; Jursa, this volume.

punishment.[40] While I was among those who formulated this conclusion, I now think that the appreciation of these matters needs some more nuance. Let it be clear, however, that in no way do I intend to resuscitate the old paradigm of Xerxes' destruction of Babylonian temples.[41]

First, the idea that owners needed time to sort out their archives in 484 BCE is based on the assumption that they kept their tablet collections in a disorganized state. Such an assumption is difficult to substantiate because we know very little about practices of archive-keeping. Would owners have maintained no order in their tablet collections? Given the size of some of the archives involved, this seems unlikely. It is worthwhile to recall Heather Baker's reservations in this regard:

> "[…], it cannot be excluded that archival practices involved a continuing process of tablet sorting for the sake of storage. If valuable documents such as title deeds were kept physically separate from those of short-term interest, then the archive-holder need only have grabbed the former and fled if necessary. Therefore the act of sorting need not have been precipitated by events but may rather have been routine." (Baker 2008, 109 n. 13)

Archives were indeed subject to regular care and clearing. This is suggested by traces of multiple life cycles found in some better studied archives.[42] Moreover, the example of the Egibi archive from Uruk, found *in situ* in an undisturbed context,[43] shows that idle collections of tablets could be stored in such a way that they were still accessible to their owners. The Ingallēa archive, which was found in two pots — one focused on business activities and the other on the documentation of ownership rights — actually attests to such a set-up.[44] In how far this reflects standard archival practice is difficult to say. What is clear, however, is that we do not, and can not, know how much time archive keepers would have needed to separate their active files from their inactive files in the aftermath of the revolts, as duly pointed out by Heather Baker (above). It is therefore difficult to infer the nature of the Persian response from the 'deadness' of these archives.

Second, the typology of dead and living archives is poorly defined and conceptualized. In current definitions, the presence or absence of property deeds is considered a key criterion for classification of private archives. However, archaeological evidence sometimes cross-cuts the classifications that are

[40] Jursa 2004, 193; Waerzeggers 2003/2004. Note that Jursa, this volume, also comes to a more nuanced appreciation of the storage actvities and selection processes that were involved in creating the Ebabbar archive as deposited in 484 BCE.

[41] E.g. Heinsch, Kuntner, and Rollinger 2011, 472.

[42] Joannès 1989, 119–126; Waerzeggers 2014, 18–19. See also Jursa, this volume, for the complex history of the Ebabbar archive in its final years of existence.

[43] Castel 1995, 127.

[44] Pedersén 2005, 203–205.

obtained through this internal feature. In 1995, Corinne Castel proposed a typology of first millennium BCE private archives based on their find context. Archives found *in situ* in undisturbed contexts are considered 'vivantes' because they were accessible to residents; those discarded, buried or re-used as fill are 'mortes'. At least one archive in her latter category would, on internal grounds, have been labelled 'living' by Neo-Babylonian Assyriologists. The Šigûa archive, excavated in the Merkes district of Babylon in a house where it had been re-used mostly as floor fill, contains a large number of title deeds, including from the final generation.[45] The archaeological context makes it clear that the archive had been discarded despite it still possessing value as proof of property. The Egibi archive from Uruk constitutes a similar case: based on internal criteria, the classification 'dead' would apply to this archive, but its archaeological context suggests that it was 'alive' (Castel 1995, 127).

Third, the assertion that the tablets deposited in 484 BCE no longer had any value for their last owners is incorrect. It is true that recent property deeds of real estate were mostly not left behind,[46] but many of the discarded tablets would still have had currency. In 1992, G. van Driel used the word 'semi-discarded' to describe the mixed status of the Ea-ilūtu-bāni archive, one of the many private archives deposited in Borsippa in 484 BCE.[47] It seems to me that this description has a major advantage because it invites a more nuanced evaluation of the issue of pertinence and does not enforce a binary typology between dead and living. Among the tablets left behind in 484 BCE we find a significant number of so-called *ēpišānūtu* contracts dated to the revolts or only a few months or years earlier. In total, six archives from three different cities contain such material.[48] *Ēpišānūtu* contracts are at the core of record-keeping in priestly archives. Cultic continuity was a matter of deep concern closely monitored by temple authorities and *ēpišānūtu* contracts were designed to allocate responsibility in the case of ritual failure. The fact that such contracts became obsolete in the wake of the revolts — not just in one archive, but in a string of archives across several Babylonian cities — could indicate that either the sacrificial cult, the prebendary system regulating it, or the agreements of cooperation and exchange between priests had fallen in disarray.[49] Another element that is

[45] Castel 1995, 127; Pedersén 2005, 198–199.

[46] But there are exceptions; for instance, the Dābibī archive from Dilbat contains several recent property deeds (Jursa 2005a, 99) and the Rē'i-alpi archive from Borsippa contains one (BM 26501, Waerzeggers 2010 no. 205).

[47] Van Driel 1992, 42.

[48] Sippar, Bēl-rēmanni archive: VS 5 109 (Jursa 1999, 264–265). Marduk-rēmanni archive: Waerzeggers 2010 nos. 173, 178, 179, 180 and perhaps 181. Ša-nāšišu A archive: BM 74570. Dilbat, Dābibī archive: VS 5 110 and VS 6 331, the latter written during the revolt of Bēl-šimânni. Borsippa, Bēliya'u archive: BM 29234. Lā-kuppuru archive: VS 6 182.

[49] Such ruptures may already have started before the outbreak of the revolts, as can be seen in the panicked correspondence of Borsippean families about non-payment of their prebendary

difficult to reconcile with the idea of 'dead' archive, is the fact that among the discards of 484 BCE we find remains of running accounts of active administrations. One of these attests to the work of a bureau overseeing the tasks of cultic bakers of Ezida, another contains the private accounting of a brewer of Ezida.[50] The N12 Egibi archive from Babylon's Merkes district displays a concentration, rather than the expected drop, of tablets in its very last years.[51] Another striking feature shared by archives deposited in 484 BCE is that they often count rent contracts among their very last tablets, stipulating work and rent obligations of third parties,[52] business agreements,[53] or even very recent slave sale contracts.[54] These texts were not outdated by the end of the revolts, unless these families had lost their houses, gardens and flocks, or could no longer rely on the services of their tenants, gardeners, herdsmen and business partners.

To sum up, the binary typology of dead vs. living archives seems too restricted to capture the complex and mixed features of archives deposited in 484 BCE. While these archives are devoid of recent property deeds and, in most cases, of active administrations, they do display elements of actuality that we would not expect if they had lost all value to their present owners. With regard to the amount of time that owners would have needed to sort out their archives, we should keep in mind that record-keeping practices are too poorly understood to give a reliable sense of the state these archives were in before the outbreak of the revolts.

dues shortly before the rebellions (Jursa 2013). Not only in private archives, but also in the Ebabbar archive a larger quantity of cult-related files is in evidence in the archive's final years (Jursa, this volume).

[50] The former is the so-called *iškaru* file (n. 25 above); the latter is found in the Ilšu-abūšu A archive (Hackl in Jursa 2010, 637). See also van Driel 1992, 40 on the actuality of the latter file.

[51] According to the catalogue compiled by Pedersén 2005, seventeen of the archive's 163 tablets date from Xer 1, three date from Xer 0 and one dates from Xer 2. N12 was identified by Baker 2008 and Oelsner 2007, 292 as part of the end-of-archives phenomenon.

[52] Bēliya'u archive from Borsippa: BM 29020 (cultivation contract, dated in Xer 2), VS 5 117 (contract for building reparations with a duration of four years, dated in Xer 0). Mannu-gērûšu from Borsippa: Ungnad 1959/1960 no. 24 (cultivation contract, dated in Xer 0). Egibi archive: *ZA* 3, 157 (house rent contract, dated during the revolt of Šamaš-erība), BM 33980 Bertin 2851 (house rent contract, dated in Xer 1). Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive from Babylon: BE 8 119 (laundry contract, dated in Xer 1). Marduk-rēmanni: Waerzeggers 2014 no. 176 (house rent contract, dated in Xer 1) and no. 182 (house rent contract, dated during the revolt of Šamaš-erība). Gurney 1982 no. 3 is a boat rental contract written in Babylon in Xer 2, but apparently found in Kiš; it is unassigned as far as I am aware. Unassigned from Borsippa: BM 26653 and BRM 1 85 (both are house rent contracts and date to Xer 2 shortly before the revolts), BM 26615 (a lease contract of a flock of sheep, dated in Xer 1). Unassigned from Sippar's Maštuk group: FLP 1482 (lease of a heifer, dated in Xer 1; Stolper 1990, 588).

[53] Bēliya'u archive from Borsippa: BM 29005 and duplicate BM 96201 (Borsippa, Xer 1).

[54] BM 28877 (Xer 1; slave bought by archive holder, Borsippa); NBC 6156 (Xer 1; idem, Sippar); Stigers 1976 no. 58 (Dar 29; idem; Sippar). VS 5 116 (Še 0; Borsippa, unassigned slave sale contract).

1.3.2. Densities and lengths

The typology of Neo-Babylonian archives has received little attention beyond the basic distinctions between dead and living archives, and between private, temple, and state archives. When looking at the corpus in the aggregate, several additional sets of properties yield meaningful patterns that suggest structural differences between archives deposited in 484 BCE (group B) and those deposited at earlier occasions (group A). One of these relates to the density and length of private archives.

The majority of private archives that were deposited before 484 BCE (group A) have low tablet densities. They usually do not contain more than one tablet for every active year; half contain even less than 0.5.[55] The distribution of tablets within these archives can be shallow overall (when the entire length of the archive is poorly populated) or it can be imbalanced (when the archive is unpopulated for long stretches of time but more concentrated in a specific period). The Dullupu archive from Babylon is a good example of a long archive of the latter type. It covers a period of 101 years but it is empty during much of this time; most tablets pertain to the last generation of the family with only a few older tablets. The Esagilāya archive, also from Babylon, is similar. The Ḫuṣābu archive from Borsippa is overall shallow: it covers three generations at a rate of only 0.1 tablets per year on average. The Ea-qarrād-ilī archive from Dilbat is short but still only sparsely populated (0.4 tablets for each of its 35 years). Only a minority of private archives deposited before 484 BCE display higher densities.[56] On the whole, we can conclude that under normal circumstances private people tended to store thin collections of tablets.

Private archives deposited in 484 BCE tend to be more densely populated, with rates of 3.0 and more tablets per year being no exception.[57] Another feature of this group, correlated with high density, is the long coverage that some of these archives achieve over multiple generations. Among the deposits of 484 BCE, we find several archives that contain uninterrupted documentation across

[55] Of private archives deposited prior to 484 BCE, 42 have a density ratio of one tablet per year or less, 27 have a ratio of half a tablet per year or less. Only six private archives have larger densities. Note that very small archives with only a handful of tablets, such as those from Nippur, have been left out of consideration here.

[56] Six out of 51, to know: Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu from Larsa (3.33), Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš from Nippur (2.0), Arkât-ili (4.0), Sîn-uballiṭ from Ur (8.6), Bēl-aplu-uṣur from Uruk (3.24), Bēl-eṭēri from Sippar (2).

[57] Of 30 archives in group B, 14 have densities of 1.0 and up; nine are considerably more populated: a much higher percentage of the total find compared to the A group (previous note): N9c (3.1), N12 (5.4), Egibi with Nūr-Sîn (13.9), Nappāḫu (3.3), Bēliya'u (5.5), Ilšu-abūšu A (8.3), Rē'i-alpi (2.9), Marduk-rēmanni (2.9), Bēl-rēmanni (3.2 with the medicinal archive included, or 2.2 if only the archival material is counted).

three, four, five, and even six generations.[58] Such well-stocked multi-generation archives are absent in group A.[59]

The differences in density and length between groups A and B are tendencies; these features are not mutually exclusive: some exceptions can be found on either side. However, in general, we do notice that private archives deposited in 484 BCE tended to be bulkier in size and more historical in depth than the collections that were stored at earlier occasions.

1.3.3. Uniform vs. varied

In terms of content, archives in the A group are often homogenous and punctual: they tend to consist of a particular type of text or to relate to a specific kind or period of activity. Many of the tablet groups found in the palace of Babylon, for instance, are focused on day-to-day personnel management in a particular period. The malt file from Borsippa is also topical in nature. As for private archives, we can point to the Šigûa archive (N10) with its many property deeds. Even more homogenous are the Sîn-uballiṭ archive from Ur, the Nippur letter archive, and Bēl-aplu-uṣur's baker archive from Uruk. Many more examples can be cited, including modest ones such as the Šumāya archive from Babylon and the Akkad-ēreš archive from Cutha, each containing about a dozen tablets focused on trade.[60]

In comparison, the archives in group B are more varied in content. Most of them hold a mix of text types, both ephemeral and longer-lasting, notarial and administrative, recent and historical,[61] reflective of the full range of activities that the owners engaged in.[62] The inventory of texts represented in the Nappāḫu archive from Babylon is exemplary: family documents about dowries and adoptions; property documents about purchases (land, houses, prebends, slaves) and inheritance divisions; business documents consisting of promissory notes, receipts, leases, and work contracts; texts relating to litigations; inventories and internal administrative texts.[63] This list of text types can be applied wholesale

[58] E.g. Nappāḫu: three generations; Ṣāḫit-ginê A: three; Ea-eppēš-ilī A of Babylon: three; Aḫiya'ūtu: three; Šangû-Ninurta: three; Atkuppu: four; Rē'i-alpi: five: Egibi: five; Maštuk: five; Ea-ilūtu-bāni: six.

[59] The Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive from Larsa, with three generations covered, is an exception; however, most tablets of this archive relate to one generation only.

[60] Of 65 archives (private and institutional), 24 have uniform or topical contents.

[61] Of 33 archives, only three have homogenous contents: the Ilšu-abūšu A archive, the *iškaru* file and the Mār-bīti file.

[62] See Jursa 1999, 31 who explicitly argues in favour of the representativeness of the contents of Bēl-rēmanni's archive.

[63] Baker 2004, 9–10.

to nearly all private archives abandoned in 484 BCE, sometimes in addition to letters, school texts, and other genres.[64]

I suggest that these differences in uniformity are related to differences in storage practice. Compared to earlier deposits, the tablet collections stored in 484 BCE had not been subject to thorough selection. Their contents closely reflect the mother archive (*Stammarchiv*), from which only the most valuable documentation had been retrieved. This is also in keeping with my observations in 1.3.1, where I suggested that far from being closed-off 'dead' entities, the archives deposited in 484 BCE were 'semi-discarded' and still possessed some actuality.

1.4. *Social background*. The men and women who abandoned their archives in 484 BCE belonged to a specific layer of society.[65] As members of the traditional Babylonian elite, their families had dominated the religious life and civic administration of Babylonian cities for many generations. In view of the scale of their deposits in 484 BCE (see 1.1), this group disproportionately left its mark on the corpus of the long sixth century. In part, this is a natural outcome of their dominant role in society: as property owners, priests, investors, lessors, etc. they participated in transactions that made the recourse to cuneiform writing and archival documentation necessary or desirable. But the conditions of 484 BCE significantly contributed to their homogenizing effect on the corpus. This can be appreciated if we compare the social background of archives deposited in 484 BCE (group B) with that of archives stored earlier (group A).

Seventy per cent of archives deposited in 484 BCE have a temple background, either originating in the administration of temples or in the milieu of the priesthood. The other archives stored that year belong to people who were connected through patronage to the temples or to the city governorships, particularly that of Babylon. Apart from sharing resource portfolios and patronage networks, these people enjoyed the same levels of literacy and adhered to the same cultural and social norms (as seen, for instance, in their use of family names). They also shared the same geographical space and city-based environment in the metropolitan area around Babylon.

Group A yields a more varied picture. Here too, many archives belong to temples or priests, but their proportion (c. 40%) is significantly smaller than in group B. In A, we also encounter people with different resource portfolios, e.g. rural colonists, traders, and craftsmen. The social and linguistic backgrounds in A are also more varied. While several archive-keepers were city dwellers

[64] For letters from Neo-Babylonian private archives, many originating in deposits from 484 BCE, see Hackl, Jursa and Schmidl 2014. Two examples of private archives that include school texts (besides other varied content) are Bēl-rēmanni (Jursa 1999, 12–31) and the Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive from Babylon (Pedersén 2005, 287–288).

[65] Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 160.

who spoke Babylonian and bore family names, others lived in villages, spoke Aramaic or other languages, and did not advance genealogical affiliations. In terms of institutional affiliation, we also find more variation in group A, which includes palace archives besides temple administrations.

In short, while priests and temples dominate the Neo-Babylonian text corpus as a whole, alternative 'voices' can be heard particularly in archives whose storage was not triggered at the time of the counter-insurgency of 484 BCE. An awareness of this diversity might help to correct certain strains in our perception of Babylonian society. Much research capital is being invested in the study of the groups affected by the events of 484 BCE. This interest is a consequence of the historical importance of this group, but it is also conditioned by the shape of the corpus, as it is this group's documentation that is the most extensive in size (see 1.1), the most varied in content (1.3.3), the longest-living in temporal scope, and the best in coverage of the Neo-Babylonian text corpus (1.3.2).

1.5. *The A–B archives*. Having identified a number of tendencies, in form and content, in archives deposited in 484 BCE, I now turn to the middle group of archives (A–B). The end points of these archives are close to the time of the revolts but not close enough to attribute their disposal to these events on the basis of synchronicity alone. However, based on their formal characteristics, several of these archives may be considered more likely contenders of the end-of-archives phenomenon than others. The Ea-eppēš-ilī B and Sîn-ilī archives from Babylon display the clustered storage practice, the high density, the long coverage, the tight social enmeshing (through marriage), and the temple connection that we have identified as recurring features of archives deposited during Xerxes' counter-insurgency measures.[66] The Ilia archives from Borsippa are similarly deep in historical length (five generations), with a high annual average of tablets (2.26), mixed 'semi-discarded' contents, and clustered storage conditions shared with the large Rē'i-alpi cluster. With two exceptions, the A–B archives from Sippar are satellites of the Marduk-rēmanni archive, and therefore part of the huge cluster made up of late Ebabbar materials. They probably survive as out-dated files within the deposits of 484 BCE. Running ahead of the discussion in 2.3 and 2.4 below, the two exceptions, Ea-eppēš-ilī A and B, exhibit links to archives from the B group, respectively in Babylon and Sippar, and therefore fit the networked nature of archives deposited in 484 BCE. A last contender is from Uruk, a city which was affected by the aftermath of the revolts without directly participating in the revolts, as far as we know.[67]

[66] See Baker 2011 for the connections and shared find-spot of these archives. The connections to the Nappāḫu archive (a deposit of 484 BCE) also fit the scenario of the 'network of resistance' presented in part 2 of this paper. See Baker 2004, 13 for these connections.

[67] See n. 4 above.

The Egibi archive excavated there ends in Dar 33 but it displays the high density measure and mixed contents that we often find in deposits made in Xer 2. Moreover, as a Babylon family in Uruk, its keepers were probably among those who negatively experienced the elite shift in this city following the revolts.

2. The network of resistance

How were Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni able to mount their rebellion and recruit support in Babylonia's northern and central cities? This question has remained unresolved, even unasked, so far. The lack of engagement with this matter can in part be explained from the fact that we know so little about the rebel leaders. Who were Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni? Governors? Army officers? Religious leaders? We know that they bore Babylonian names and we know that they aspired the Babylonian throne, but beyond that we are ignorant of their origins, motivations, or aims. Equally unclear is their relationship to each other. They coordinated the timing of their insurgence and in that sense, they may be considered comrades. But, almost certainly, they also competed against each other. They started out in their own territories, Šamaš-erība in Sippar and Bēl-šimânni to the south of Babylon, but after a few weeks the latter gave up and Šamaš-erība extended his influence southwards until the Persians regained control of the situation not long afterwards.[68]

While the rebel leaders remain elusive, we are better informed about the supporters of their movement. Among their supporters figured the men and women who, in the aftermath of the revolts, fell 'victim' ([69]) to Persian reprisals and abandoned their archives (group B). As I will show in this section, we can use their archives to investigate the processes that united these individuals into a political faction. Before setting out, it bears repeating that I am not concerned with the motivations or ideologies that inspired the insurgency, but with the conduits, pathways, and channels that made the insurgency possible.

2.1. *Connections*. While each of the 33 archives deposited in 484 BCE pertains to a single family, individual, or institution, there is considerable overlap in the prosopographies of these archives. This indicates that the people who were punished for their anti-imperial sympathies in 484 BCE, were previously acquainted and had had the opportunity to share ideas and aspirations with each other. Contact between these individuals is documented in multiple ways. First, there is evidence of interpersonal contact. These personal

[68] A timeline of the revolts is provided in the Introduction to this volume.

[69] See my comments in the introduction to this chapter on the restricted meaning of this word in the present context.

networks can be traced at the local level within cities (2.2–2.3) and at the regional level across cities (2.4). The intersection of highly-connected local networks with more sparsely populated interregional networks provided opportunities for local groups to reach out to each other across distances. Second, there is evidence of what may be called person-place-person relationships: these are connections that are implied by the fact that individuals regularly visited the same place (2.5). Such relationships are only significant if the persons appear in places that are not part of their daily movement routines. Third, at a more general level, the people represented in group B shared similar worldviews, cultural identities, resource portfolios, etc., which would have made it easy to mobilize them for the same course. The social cohesion of this group was discussed earlier in this paper (1.4), and will not be brought up again in this section. It is, however, important to keep this aspect in mind, as it provides a baseline on which sympathies could have been built during the insurgency. Fourth, I will use the archives in group A as a control group in order to evaluate the significance of the interconnections that are attested between archives deposited in 484 BCE (2.6).

2.2. *Clusters as evidence of deep local networks*. In 1.2, I have shown that many archives deposited in 484 BCE were stored collectively. These clusters exhibit strong interpersonal connections. In some cases, the owners of such archives had been in almost daily contact with each other, e.g. as colleagues working in the same priestly collegium, as cousins, in-laws, neighbours, etc. The prosopographical overlaps are such that it is often difficult to delineate one archival group from the other, a sign of intensely interwoven networks. If we look at how these networks are structured, we discern two types. In Borsippa, the clustered archives of brewers, bakers and butchers indicate that employment in priestly colleges provided a strong common ground. In Sippar, we find a similar pattern. Bēl-rēmanni, Marduk-rēmanni, and the owners of several of the latter's satellite archives, were prebendaries of the Ebabbar temple. There is also a second type of network at play in Sippar, one stretching to a different, though closely related, institution — the governor (*šākin ṭēmi*) of the province of Babylon. Marduk-rēmanni and the owners of several of his satellite archives were clients of the powerful Ša-nāšišu family (Waerzeggers 2014). This family controlled the top offices in the civic and religious administration of the Sippar-Babylon area in Darius the Great's reign. As we will see below, the Ša-nāšišu family's patronage network extended not only among Šamaš-erība's supporters in Sippar but also among those in Babylon; in this way, it could well have served as a conduit for marshalling dissent across cities.

2.3. *Inner-city contacts across archival boundaries*. Extending from the deep networks attested within archive clusters, we may consider the evidence for

interpersonal contact between clusters, or between archives that were stored independently but at the same site in 484 BCE. In Babylon, most archives deposited after the revolts were stored individually (1.2), but the owners were nevertheless closely connected. The protagonist of the Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive wrote two tablets for Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, head of the Egibi family, on a journey to Humadēšu in Iran.[70] As travel companions in a distant city, they must have known each other well. There is further evidence for contact between these two archives.[71] The excavated Egibi archive from Babylon (N12) is unpublished so far, except for Pedersén's brief notes and catalogue; based on this information, Heather Baker detected multiple contact points with the well-known archive produced by Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin's branch of the Egibi family.[72] She showed that the two branches were probably related and that direct and indirect contacts between them are attested from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II into the Persian period, indicating a long and stable history of acquaintance. Contacts between the Nappāḫu and Egibi archives have also been attested.[73]

In Borsippa, the three main clusters overlap substantially in prosopography. The Mannu-gērûšu cluster has close ties with the Rē'i-alpi group,[74] the Rē'i-alpi group is tied through marriage and property investments with the Bēliya'u group,[75] and there are countless instances of scribes, witnesses, and protagonists criss-crossing all of these clusters. The evidence from the Bēliya'u archive may serve as an example of these intricate patterns. It shares a creditor and a debtor with the Rē'i-alpi archive,[76] and a lessor of prebendary income with Ibnāya B.[77] Three baker colleagues of Šaddinnu//Bēliya'u appear in three other archives,[78] and the relatives of at least two men from whom Šaddinnu bought houses, are known from the Rē'i-alpi archive.[79] Other archives from Borsippa

[70] *Camb*. 388 and Hecker 1966 no. 47; see Tolini 2011, 223–224.

[71] Jursa 2010, 253–254.

[72] Pedersén 2005, 208–217; Baker 2008, 111–112.

[73] Baker 2004, 12.

[74] Waerzeggers 2005, 351. E.g. Nabû-ana-mēreḫti//Aḫiya'ūtu (Rē'i-alpi cluster) and Nabû-aḫu-ittannu/Kalbā/Mannu-gērûšu (the protagonist of the Mannu-gērûšu archive) regularly appear in each other's tablets as witnesses.

[75] The Ilia A and Bēliya'u families were connected through marriage (BM 26483, Dar 14); they also owned property in the same villages around Borsippa.

[76] Bēl-iddin/Tabnēa/Ibnāya: BM 96150 (Dar 21); BM 26650 and duplicate BM 27857 (Dar 13); BM 82742 (date lost); VS 4 141 (Dar 15). Mušēzib-Bēl/Sîn-aplu-iddin/Iddinā: BM 17665 (Dar 16); BM 29487 (Dar 12); BM 96168 (Dar 9); BM 29484 and duplicate BM 29448 (Dar 12).

[77] Waerzeggers 2010 nos. 94 and 122.

[78] Lâbâši/Rēmūtu/Kidin-Sîn: see Waerzeggers 2010, 239 for attestations in the Bēliya'u archive, with BM 82724 (Rē'i-alpi) and BM 85562 Dar 22 (Iddin-Papsukkal B). Gimillu/Tabnēa/Kidin-Sîn: e.g. BM 28925 (Dar 12) and BM 82754 (Dar 1); the latter from the Rē'i-alpi archive. Nabû-bēl-šumāti/ Marduk-nāṣir/Šēpê-ilia: e.g. BM 29400 (Dar 5) and VS 4 174 (Dar 28; Atkuppu archive).

[79] Murašû/Libluṭ/Imbu-īnia: VS 6 150 (Dar 27); BM 29019 (Dar 6?). Mušēzib-Marduk/Taqīš-[x]/Sāmu: BM 96143 (Dar 20); BM 26572 (Dar 10); BM 26652 (Nbn 16); YOS 6 157 (Nbn 9); BE 8 35 (Ner 1).

exhibit the same level of interconnectedness. The platform enabling these links is the Ezida temple, where all these families held prebendary offices.

In Sippar, we find a similarly tight web of relationships between clusters. Archives in the Maštuk cluster pertain to people who were closely linked to Marduk-rēmanni and his patrons of the Ša-nāšišu family. The Maštuks belonged to the same community of Babylon immigrants living in Sippar as Marduk-rēmanni and the Ša-nāšišus. The Ṣāḫ̭it-ginê B archive belongs to cousins of Marduk-rēmanni, and Bēl-aplu-iddin was a trader who carried out his business activities in close proximity to Marduk-rēmanni on the quay of Sippar. The archive of Bēl-rēmanni exhibits multiple connections to both the Marduk-rēmanni and Maštuk clusters. As in Borsippa, the ties between these latter archives are based on their owners' common associations with the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, where they or their in-laws held priestly charges. In addition to Ebabbar, the powerful Ša-nāšišu family tied several of these groups together.[80]

2.4. *Inter-city contacts*. In the years leading up to the revolts, the people who would eventually rally behind Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni were already integrated in a regional network that enabled interaction and communication across cities. It would be worthwhile to map and quantify the emergence of this network over time as this would allow us to seek answers to several pertinent questions, e.g. how did this network come into being and did activity within the network intensify towards the outbreak of the revolts? A quantitative approach is unfortunately impossible at present because the prosopographical data necessary for such a task are unavailable. But we may approach the topic more impressionistically for the time being, by reviewing the evidence that is so far available for this inter-city network and by identifying the occasions that brought these people into contact with each other.

2.4.1. Sippar-Babylon contacts

Despite the fact that only one Egibi tablet was written in Sippar,[81] there is plenty of evidence that the Egibis of Babylon were in regular contact with Marduk-rēmanni and members of his social circle in Sippar.[82] The history of these contacts can be traced back to the earlier sixth century BCE when Marduk-rēmanni's ancestors first moved to Sippar from Babylon together with other families, like the Ša-nāšišus. The community of immigrants that formed in Sippar as a result of these relocations was tight-knit and its members

[80] For the interconnections between the archive of Marduk-rēmanni and the other archives from Sippar, see Waerzeggers 2014. For the central role of the Ša-nāšišu family, see Waerzeggers 2016.

[81] Jursa 2010, 122 n. 687.

[82] This section summarizes the findings presented in Waerzeggers 2014, 24, 99–101.

maintained regular contact with relatives and acquaintances who had remained in Babylon. Such contacts were kept alive from one generation to the next. Marduk-rēmanni was still closely connected to the Egibis several generations after his ancestor moved to Sippar. Although we have no evidence that Marduk-rēmanni ever met Marduk-nāṣir-apli (his contemporary at the head of the Egibi family) in person, this seems likely. Not only did Marduk-rēmanni occasionally meet Marduk-nāṣir-apli's father-in-law, several of Marduk-rēmanni's relatives can also be linked to this man, including his father, sister and uncle; moreover, Marduk-rēmanni selected as future daughter-in-law a girl who lived in a neighbourhood frequented by the Egibis. In addition, Marduk-rēmanni and the Egibis shared a close connection to the Ša-nāšišu brothers, who governed the province of Babylon during much of the reign of Darius I. Marduk-rēmanni's career at the Ebabbar temple of Sippar had propelled thanks to the protection of this family, and Marduk-nāṣir-apli too depended on the Ša-nāšišus for lucrative tax-farming contracts.[83] In brief, the contacts between Marduk-rēmanni and the Egibis were built partly on common historical roots, partly on the re-activation of these roots through new connections, and partly on common ties to the Ša-nāšišu family.

There are other ways to map Sippar-Babylon contacts besides through personal networks.[84] The fact that the career paths of the Ša-nāšišu brothers and of Marduk-rēmanni and his son Bēl-bullissu evolved in the same direction is certainly important. They moved from posts with local responsibilities in Sippar (*šangû*, College Scribe) to posts with provincial (*šākin ṭēmi* of Babylon) and 'national' responsibilities (*šatammu* of Esangila, retinue of *qīpu* of Esangila; Waerzeggers 2014). This movement implies not only a greater command of resources, but also a greater potential to mobilize people in a wide area.

2.4.2. Dilbat-Babylon-Borsippa-Sippar contacts

In the years before the revolts, Nabû-ittannu of the Dābibī family, who was to deposit his archive in the city of Dilbat in 484 BCE, was in contact with various other individuals who would rally behind Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni, including the Egibis and Nappāḫus of Babylon and Marduk-rēmanni from Sippar.[85] Moreover, as a College Scribe of Eimbianu, he must have been involved

[83] Abraham 2004, 135.

[84] In addition to the links between Marduk-rēmanni and the Egibis, we can also point to the connection between the Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive from Babylon and the like-named Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive from Sippar: CT 55 117 places the protagonists of both archives in Bīt-šar-Bābili at the end of Nabonidus' reign (Jursa 2005a, 64 n. 398). Note, however, that the Sippar Ea-eppēš-ilī A archive belongs to the A–B group of archives that cannot be firmly tied to the end-of-archives phenomenon (see 1.5 above).

[85] All evidence, which is presented in the next paragraph, was generously provided by Bastian Still.

in setting up the kind of collaboration between the temples of Dilbat, Babylon, and Borsippa that is mentioned in a newly published letter sent during the revolt of Šamaš-erība.[86] The network built up around this man thus straddles the entire area that attempted to break free of Persian rule.

Contacts with the Egibis of Babylon can be established through several middlemen. (1) Sūqāya/Bēl-zēri/Burāqu witnessed two tablets of the Egibi archive in Babylon and one tablet of Nabû-ittannu in Dilbat; he also acted as guarantor for a debt due to the Eimbianu temple which was administered by Nabû-ittannu. These contacts took place in the latter part of Darius' reign.[87] (2) Zēria/Bēl-zēri/Egibi similarly acted as a witness both for the Egibis and Nabû-ittannu,[88] as did (3) Bēl-rēmanni/Tāqiš-Gula/Ṭābiḫ-kāri, (4) Zēria/Iqīšāya/Šigûa, and (5) Bulṭā/Ibnā/Saggillāya.[89] Nabû-ittannu can also be linked to the Nappāḫu family of Babylon, through (6) Iddin-Nabû/Pir'u/Nannûtu.[90] (7) Bēl-iddin/Bēl-nipšaru/Šarru-arazu supplies a triple connection between the Egibis, Marduk-rēmanni and Nabû-ittannu, that is, between Babylon, Sippar and Dilbat.[91] (8) Bēl-ibni/Rēmūtu/Bābūtu connects Nabû-ittannu with the Nappāḫus of Babylon and with the Ilia family of Borsippa.[92] This latter contact was recorded in Susa, where Bēl-ibni may have been present to attend one of the regularly held court ceremonials.

2.4.3. Inclusions and exclusions

In network theory, the absence of ties is as important as the presence of ties, as it is the combination of both that determines the flow of information within the network. The dominant actors in the network that emerges from the data presented above are the Egibis of Babylon and Marduk-rēmanni and his son Bēl-bullissu of Sippar. Although this network can only be a very rough approximation of the complex interactions that must have accompanied the insurrection, these individuals can be identified as being ideally positioned to facilitate coordinated action. For instance, a man like Bēl-rēmanni, who was recruited in

[86] Spar and Jursa 2014 no. 140.

[87] Egibi tablets: *Dar*. 342 (Abraham 2004 no. 111; Dar 12), *Dar*. 491 (Wunsch 2000 no. 186; Dar 19); Dilbat tablets: VS 5 108 (Dar 35) and BM 77411 (Dar 26).

[88] Egibi: *Dar*. 382 (Wunsch 2000 no. 231; Dar 14). Dābibī: VS 5 108 (Dar 35).

[89] For Bēl-rēmanni, see Egibi: *Dar*. 171 (Wunsch 2000 no. 157; after Dar 5); Dābibī: VS 6 171 (Dar [x]). For Zēria, see Egibi: *Dar*. 509 (Abraham 2004 no. 129; Dar 20); Dābibī: VS 5 74 and duplicate VS 5 75 (Dar 11). For Bulṭā, see Egibi: *Dar*. 449 (Dar 17); Dābibī: BM 77411 (Dar 26).

[90] Dābibī: VS 5 76 (Dar 13) and VS 5 105 (Dar 32). Nappāḫu: Baker 2004 nos. 51, 113, 116, 118, 171, 187, 221 (Cyr 8?–Dar 5).

[91] Egibi: *Cyr*. 264 (Wunsch 2000 no. 71; Cyr 7). Marduk-rēmanni: Waerzeggers 2014 no. 86. Dābibī: VS 5 74 and duplicate VS 5 75 (Dar 11).

[92] Ilia C archive: VS 6 155 (Dar 29); Dilbat: VS 5 104 (Dar 31) and VS 5 105 (Dar 32); Nappāḫu: Baker 2004 nos. 174 (Dar 29) and 229 (Dar 23).

the anti-imperial movement of Šamaš-erība, had little occasion to meet like-minded people outside his hometown of Sippar, but through his connection with Marduk-rēmanni, he was only one step removed from the Egibis and other individuals in Babylon and the metropolitan area. This means that he was well-placed to receive information about collective actions from Marduk-rēmanni but less so to spread it; Bēl-rēmanni was unlikely to have played a fundamental role in the unfolding of the revolts. The Nappāḫus of Babylon are located at a similar position in the margins of the network.[93]

2.5. *Person-place-person relationships*. Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni recruited support in the major cities of Babylon's metropolitan area based on pre-existing networks. These networks do not only materialize in interpersonal contacts, but also in the shared movements of people. One city in particular stands out for having drawn many of the key supporters together. Surprisingly perhaps, this city was not Babylon or one of its sister-cities in Mesopotamia's heartland; it was the Empire's capital in Elam, Susa.

Darius I began using the old Elamite capital of Susa as a venue for regular court ceremonials not long after he came to power. These events were attended by delegations from all over lower Mesopotamia.[94] Many of the persons, who would later support the revolts of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni, had been at Darius' court as part of such delegations. Of the archive-owners, who (or whose sons) eventually deposited their archives in 484 BCE, the following are attested in Susa: Marduk-šumu-ibni and Iddin-Bēl of Borsippa's Ilia archives,[95] Marduk-nāṣir-apli of the Egibi family, Marduk-rēmanni and several members of his family from Sippar, and Rēmūt-Bēl of the Ilšu-abūšu A archive from Borsippa. Many other dignitaries visited Susa in the course of Darius' reign, including the governors (*šākin ṭēmi*) of Babylonian cities, the heads of temples (i.e. *šangû*, *šatammu, qīpu*, *šāpiru*, *bēl piqitti*, College Scribes), members of the priesthoods (e.g. temple enterers, bakers, etc.), tax collectors and tax farmers, and judges.[96] The regularity of these gatherings created a stable and predictable context in which highly placed officials from all over Babylonia could meet, get to know each other, and exchange ideas. Several of these people were also in touch with each other back home in Babylonia, but the court ceremonials at Susa provided a more concentrated occasion for interaction on a larger scale.

2.6. The levels of connectivity that are seen in archives of the B group are lacking in the A group. In fact, based on my knowledge of their contents, which

[93] On the Nappāḫu family's limited spheres of movement, see Baker 2014, 185.
[94] Waerzeggers 2010a and 2014, 102; Tolini 2011.
[95] Ilia A and Ilia D. Note that these archives belong to the A-B group. Its likely membership to the end-of-archives dynamic was discussed in 1.5 above.
[96] Waerzeggers 2010a, 797–798.

is far from exhaustive, there is no evidence of contact between the various archive-keepers within this group. However, we do find some prosopographical overlap between A group and B group archives. This happens mostly in the old admixtures that are found in the clusters from Sippar and Borsippa. In those cases, the older files probably survive as part of later deposits. For instance, the Banê-ša-ilia archive is closely connected to the Atkuppu archive, deposited in 484 BCE; it may be a sub-archive of the latter. Similarly, the Ḫuṣābu archive, dated between 590 and 536 BCE, may be a sub-file of the Ea-ilūtu-bāni archive, which stretches into 485 BCE and was in all likelihood closed off in 484 BCE. The small dossier of the sons of Nabû-zēru-iqīša probably survives within the Ilia A archive. Outside of these clustered formations, we find little evidence of contact between A and B group archives. The connection between the Dullupu and Nappāḫu archives from Babylon constitutes a rare exception.[97]

3. Conclusion

The revolts of 484 BCE had a major impact on the surviving text corpus of the long sixth century. Its size, composition and structure were determined by the large-scale, often collective acts of archival storage that happened in the course of counter-insurgency. In this paper, I have argued that the archives abandoned in 484 BCE can be used to reconstruct the emergence of a network of resistance that served as a conduit for coordinated action under the leadership of Šamaš-erība and Bēl-šimânni. Reading the testimony of the archives 'backwards', it becomes clear that in the decades prior to the revolts, those individuals who would eventually support the rebels were increasingly being drawn together in a cross-regional network. The members of this network of resistance shared social capital, cultural backgrounds, economic behaviour, patronage networks, and very likely aspirations and frustrations; they also had the opportunity to connect with each other, exchange ideas, and commit to concerted action. The regular gatherings at the palace of Susa initiated by Darius I could well have played a role in bringing people from all over Babylonia together and in supplying them with a reliable and predictable meeting schedule.

[97] Baker 2004, 12.

Appendix: Table of archives used in this study

column 1: internal numbering
column 2: customary name of the archive
column 3: period covered by the archive (dates are approximate)
column 4: number of tablets currently attributed to the archive
column 5: average number of tablets per year
column 6: homogenous or varied contents ('-' signifies a lack of insight into the contents of the archive in question)
column 7: social background
column 8: attested generations of archive-keeping family (only in private archives)
column 9: additional remarks, including key publication

A group (archives ending before Dar 15)

Babylon

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
1	[N1] South palace, vaulted building	595–571 (24 yr)	303	12.6	h	palace		Pedersén 2005, 111–127
2	[N2] Ištar gate	597–593 (4 yr)	25	6.25	h	palace		Pedersén 2005, 128–129; perhaps part of N1 (Baker 2008, 103)
3	[N3] South palace, gate	602–592 (10 yr)[98]	41	1.8	h	palace		Pedersén 2005, 130–132; the find-spots of individual tablets are uncertain (Baker 2008, 102)
4	[N5] Ninmaḫ temple	601–561 (40 yr)	128[99]	3.2	h	temple		Pedersén 2005, 135–143; three distinct groups found in three rooms, each displaying high internal coherence

[98] This date range relates to the finds made south of the gate only.
[99] This figure excludes the miscellaneous finds that were made in the Emah temple (Pedersén 2005, 137).

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
5	[N10] Šigûa	c. 663–580 (83 yr)	36	0.4	h[100]	private, temple brewers	mostly 2	Pedersén 2005, 198–202
6	[N11] Ingallēa	690–628 (62 yr)	49	0.8	h	private, temple barbers	probably 2	Pedersén 2005, 203–208; found in two jars, each with its own focus
7	Dullupu	641–540 (101 yr)	40	0.4	v	private, artisans	mostly 1	Jursa 2005a, 62
8	Esagilāya	620–518 (102 yr)	70	0.6	v	private, priestly	2	Sandowicz 2009
9	Šumāya	661–651 (10 yr)	11	1.0	h	private, trade	1	Jursa 2005a, 72

Borsippa

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
10	Ḫuṣābu	590–536 (54 yr)	8	0.15	v	private, temple brewers	3	Jursa 2005a, 79
11	Banê-ša-ilia	676–588 (88 yr)	11	0.12	v	private, not temple related	1	Jursa 2005a, 80
12	Gallābu	570–507 (63 yr)	59	0.94	v	private, not temple related	4	Jursa 2005a, 82
13	Ibnāya A	573–532 (41 yr)	42	1	v	private, temple butchers	4	Waerzeggers 2010, 525–527
14	sons of Nabû-zēru-iqīša	549–524 (25 yr)	6	0.24	v	private, priestly?	1	Waerzeggers 2005, 358
15	Kudurrānu A	630–517 (123 yr)	35	0.3	v	private, temple brewers	5	Jursa 2005a, 90
16	Kudurrānu B	629–588 (41 yr)	6	0.15	v	private, trade	2	Jursa 2005a, 360
17	malt file	551–c. 535 (c. 15)	10+	c. 1	h	institutional		Waerzeggers 2005, 363

[100] The archive contains a library section, and in that sense, it is 'varied'. However, its archival section is quite homogenous in being focused on acquisitions of landed estates and prebends.

Cutha

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
18	Akkad-ēreš[101]	555–522 (33 yr)	c. 12	c. 0.35	h	private, trade	2	Jursa 2005a, 149

Dilbat

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
19	Ea-qarrād-ilī	580–545 (35 yr)	15	0.4	v	private, agricultural entrepreneur	1	Jursa 2005a, 99
20	Egibi of Dilbat	701–c. 626 (c. 75 yr)	17	0.2	h	private, priestly	mostly 1	Jursa 2005a, 100
21	Šangû Dilbat	655–651 (4 yr)	4	1	-	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 101
22	Upāqu	680–666 (14 yr)	5	0.35	-	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 101

Elammu

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
23	Arkât-ili	549–548 (2 yr)	8	4	h	private, artisan	1	Jursa 2005a, 149; may be part of Sippar's Maštuk cluster

Isin

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
24	Silim-Bēl/Arrabi	508–503 (5 yr)	4	0.8	h	private, rent farmer	1	Jursa 2005a, 102

[101] According to Jursa (2005a, 149) this archive may come from Borsippa but it mentions Cutha often.

Kiš

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
25	Gaḫal	635–531 (104 yr)	40	0.4	v	private, priestly as well as entrepreneurial	3	Jursa 2005a, 105
26	Paḫḫāru	594–556 (38 yr)	30	0.79	v	private, trade	mostly 1	Jursa 2005a, 107

Larsa

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
27	Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu	588–528 (60 yr)	c. 200	3.33	v	private, priestly as well as entrepreneurial	3	Jursa 2005a, 108–109

Nippur

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
28	Governor's archive	c. second half of 8th century	128	?	h	institutional?	?	Cole 1996
29	Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš	550–529 (21 yr)	38 or 42[102]	c. 2	h	private, entrepreneur	1	Jursa 2005b
30	Carian archive	527–521 (6 yr)	8	1.3	h	state or private?, colonists on state land	1	Jursa 2005a, 113
31	Nergal-iddin	577–525 (52 yr)	14	0.27	v	private, entrepreneurial	3	Jursa 2005a, 114 and Zadok 1986, 286

[102] Jursa 2005b, 197; Jursa 2005a, 112.

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
32	Ninurta-uballiṭ	702–626 (76 yr)	28	0.34	v	private	2	Jursa 2005a, 115
33	Ninurta-ušallim, son of Nabû-usippi	635–618 (17 yr)	5	0.3	v	private	1	Zadok 1986, 283
34	Libluṭ, son of Ninurta-ibni	602–597 (5 yr)	4	0.8	v	private	1	Zadok 1986, 283
35	daughter of Sîn-zēru-līšir	c. 579	2	?	-	private	1	Zadok 1986, 283
36	unnamed	606–602 (4 yr)	3	0.75	-	private	1	Zadok 1986, 283
37	sons of Šamaš-šumu-līšir	575–555 (20 yr)	11	0.55	v	private, priestly	1	this archive is listed as two separate ones by Zadok 1986, 283–284; Jursa 2005a, 115 considers it as a single archive
38	son of Usātu	569–550 (19 yr)	3	0.16	-	private	1	Zadok 1986, 284
39	Zēru-ukīn son of Pir'u, and his son Lâbâši	567–525 (42 yr)	8	0.2	h	private or state?, military commander	2	this archive is listed as two separate ones by Zadok 1986, 284–285; Jursa 2005a, 115 considers it as a single archive
40	sons of Līšir	534–post 522 (min. 12 yr)	6	< 0.5	h	state or private?	1	this archive is listed as two separate ones by Zadok 1986, 284–285; Jursa 2005a, 115 considers it as a single archive; this is probably not part of the same cluster as the other small archives from Nippur
41	Aplāya son of Ninurta-uballiṭ	c. 529	3	-	-	private?	1	Zadok 1986, 284
42	Ninurta-mutēr-gimilli	541–534 (17 yr)	5	0.3	v	private	1	Zadok 1986, 284; Jursa 2005a, 116

Sippar

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
43	early Ebabbar	c. 640–580 (c. 60 yr)	c. 5,000	c. 80	v	temple		Da Riva 2002
44	Adad-šamê	574–532 (42 yr)	18	0.4	v	private, trade	2	satellite of Marduk-rēmanni archive (Waerzeggers 2014, 19–22); in the second generation, Bēl-ušallim worked as a scribe for the temple
45	Bēl-eṭēri	611–603 (8 yr)	16	2	h	private, trade	1	part of early Ebabbar archive (Jursa 2005a, 122); archive-keeper worked as scribe for the temple
46	Rē'i-sisê	546–519 (27 yr)	9	0.3	v	private	1	satellite of Marduk-rēmanni archive (Waerzeggers 2014, 19–22); Jursa 2005a, 124–125
47	Mušēzib	536–520 (16 yr)	4	0.25	v	private, female owner, priestly	1	widow of a *rab banê* priest of Ebabbar; Jursa 2005a, 131

Ur

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
48	Damqia	7th century	3	-	h	private	2	property deeds; Jursa 2005a, 133
49	Sîn-uballiṭ	624–617 (7 yr)	60	8.6	h	private, military supplier	1	Jursa 2005a, 135–136
50	early Neo-Babylonian archive from Ur	658–648 (10 yr)	3	0.3	h	private, priestly	2	property deeds; Jursa 2005a, 137

Uruk

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
51	Eanna	c. Nbp to Dar 2 (with some later texts)	c. 8,000	> 60	v	temple		Jursa 2005a, 138; note that the break in Dar 2 is not absolute, but until Dar 29 fewer texts are preserved
52	Basia	588–549 (39 yr)	40	1	h	private, rent farmer of temple	1	Jursa 2005a, 141 considers this part of the Eanna archive
53	Damiqu	567–546 (21 yr)	10	0.5	v	private, temple clerk	1	Jursa 2005a, 142 considers this part of the Eanna archive
54	Gimil-Nanāya	597–583 (14 yr)	3	0.2	v	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 142–143; archive of a cattle breeder with business contacts to the Eanna temple
55	Kurī A	610–585 (25 yr)	8	0.32	v	private, entrepreneurial	2	Jursa 2005a, 143; no obvious connection to Eanna
56	Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ	578–553 (25 yr)	3	0.12	h	private, temple scribe, slave trade	1	Jursa 2005a, 144
57	Nūr-Sîn	610–586 (24 yr)	24	1	v	private, priestly	2	Jursa 2005a, 144; *šatammu* of Eanna
58	Rīm-Anu	602–560 (42 yr)	15	0.35	v	private, entrepreneurial	2	Jursa 2005a, 145; animal husbandry with connection to Eanna
59	Sîn-leqe-unninnī A	570–544 (26 yr)	26	1	v	private, priestly and trade	2	Jursa 2005a, 145–146; probably part of Eanna archive
60	Mušēzib-Marduk of the Sîn-nāṣir family	678–633 (45 yr)	32	0.7	h	private	1	Frame 2013; property deeds
61	Bēl-aplu-uṣur	554–529 (25 yr)	81	3.2	v	private, priestly	1	Kessler 1991
62	Kurī C	646–601 (45 yr)	7	0.2	v	private, priestly	1	Kessler 1991
63	Šamšēa	700–593 (107 yr)	32	0.3	v	private, priestly	3	Kessler 1991

Varia

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
64	Nanāya temple	8th c.	30	-	-	temple		Jursa 2005a, 150
65	Neirab	565–c. 515 (c. 50 yr)	27	0.5	v	private?, colonists on state land	2	Tolini 2015

B group (archives ending between Dar 35 and Xer 2)

Babylon

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
66	Ea-eppēš-ilī A [partly N23]	574–485 (89 yr)	71	0.8	v	private, priestly and entrepreneurial	3	Jursa 2005a, 62; Pedersén 2005, 287–288; Baker 2008, 106–107
67	[N9c] house XVII in Merkes	493–485 (8 yr)	25	3.1	v	private	1	Pedersén 2005, 194
68	[N12] Egibi	514–484 (30 yr) (Dar 8[103] – Xer 2)	163	5.4	v	private	1	Pedersén 2005, 208–217
69	Egibi and Nūr-Sîn	606–484 (122 yr)	c. 1700	c. 14	v	private, entrepreneurial	5	a.o. Wunsch 2000
70	Nappāḫu	573–485 (88 yr)	291	3.3	v	private, priestly	3	Baker 2004
71	Šangû-Ninurta	c. 575[104]–485 (c. 90 yr)	90	c. 1	v	private, priestly	3	Wunsch 2005; Jursa 2005a, 71–72

[103] One tablet is dated much earlier, in Camb 5; with this tablet included, the total time span of the archive is 41 years, and the average number of tablets per year is 4.0.

[104] The regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar II, when the archive starts, has not yet been mentioned in the literature.

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
72	Kittia//Ir'anni	510–487 (23 yr)	at least 7	0.3	-	private	-	Wunsch 2005; seems to cluster with the Šangû-Ninurta archive

Borsippa

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
73	Ea-ilūtu-bāni	683–485 (199 yr)	325	1.6	v	private, priestly	6	Joannès 1989; temple goldsmiths and temple enterers
74	Aḫiya'ūtu	541–484 (57 yr)	16	0.2	v	private, priestly	3	Waerzeggers 2010, 367; temple brewers
75	Ardūtu	500–485 (15 yr)	7	0.5	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 79; temple brewers
76	Atkuppu	607–485 (122 yr)	110	0.9	v	private, priestly	4	Jursa 2005a, 80; temple reed workers
77	Bēliya'u	552–484 (68 yr)	375	5.5	v	private, priestly	2	Waerzeggers 2010, 475–481; temple baker
78	Ibnāya B–C–D	533–487 (46 yr)	26	0.6	v	private, priestly	2	Waerzeggers 2010, 525–527; temple butchers
79	Ilšu-abūšu A	487–484 (3 yr)	25	8.3	h	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 88–89; temple brewers
80	*iškaru*	499–484 (15 yr)	56	3.7	h	temple		Waerzeggers 2010, 214–223
81	Mār-bīti temple	487–486 (2 yr)	11	5.5	h	temple		Waerzeggers 2005, 363
82	Lā-kuppuru	506–484 (22 yr)	30	1.4	v	private, priestly	2	Waerzeggers 2010, 457–458; temple brewers
83	Mannu-gērûšu	502–484 (18 yr)	30	1.7	v	private, priestly	1	Waerzeggers 2010, 460–461; temple brewers
84	Inṣabtu	512–485 (37 yr)	16	0.5	v	private, female owner	1	Waerzeggers 2000
85	Rē'i-alpi	622–484 (138 yr)	400	2.9	v	private, priestly	5	Waerzeggers 2010, 553–566; temple oxherds

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
86	Nabû-aplu-iddin, family Ea-ilūtu-bāni	499–486 (13 yr)	5	0.4	v	private, priestly	1	Waerzeggers 2005, 357

Dilbat

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
87	Dābibī	554–484 (70 yr)	30	0.4	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 98–99; temple scribe and gardener (*rab banê*)

Kiš

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
88	Bēl-ana-mēreḫti and Nergal-aḫu-iddin	497–484 (13 yr)	7	0.5	v	private, entrepreneur in temple economy	1	Jursa 2005a, 104

Sippar

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
89	late Ebabbar	c. 570–484 (c. 86 yr)	c. 30,000	c. 350	v	temple		Jursa 2005a, 118–120; Jursa 2010
90	Marduk-rēmanni (Ṣāḫit-ginê A)	548–484 (64 yr)	187	2.9	v	private, priestly and entrepreneurial	3	Waerzeggers 2014
91	Ṣāḫit-ginê B	512–485 (27 yr)	21	0.78	v	private, trade	1	Waerzeggers 2014
92	Ša-nāšišu A	532–487 (45 yr)	6	0.1	v	private, priestly and entrepreneurial	2	Jursa 2005a, 126; Waerzeggers 2014 (satellite of the Marduk-rēmanni archive); temple brewers

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
93	Bēl-rēmanni (Šangû-Šamaš A)	570–485 (85 yr)	184[105]	2.2	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 1999
94	Šangû-Šamaš B	604–486 (118 yr)	33	0.28	v	private, priestly	4	Jursa 2005a, 128–129; temple enterers, brewers, *rab banê*
95	Aqūba	495–487 (8 yr)	16	2	v	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 129–130
96	Šamaš-iddin son of Rēmūtu	529–487 (42 yr)	8	0.2	v	private	2	Jursa 2005a, 129–130
97	Bēl-aplu-iddin	498–488[106] (10 yr)	6	0.6	v	private, trade	1	Jursa 2005a, 130
98	Maštuk	618–487 (131 yr)	47	0.36	v	private, priestly and entrepreneurial	5	Jursa 2005a, 130–131

A–B group (archives ending in the period between Dar 15 and Dar 34)

Babylon

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
99	[N8] Emašdari	dates mentioned: Dar 15, Nbn 8, Kand 16	44	-	v	temple		Pedersén 2005, 188–192
100	Ea-eppēš-ilī B	548–490 (58 yr)	18	0.3	v	private, priestly	4	Jursa 2005a, 64–65; Baker 2011; clustered with Sîn-ilī archive

[105] This figure does not include the medicinal tablets that were probably part of the archive (Jursa 1999).

[106] This archive ends in Dar 34, one year before the cut-off point for archives of the B group; I count it with this group because it is clustered with the Maštuk and Ṣāḫit-ginê B archives (Waerzeggers 2014, 148).

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
101	[N14] Sîn-ilī	599–504 (95 yr)	c. 550	5.8	v	private, entrepreneurial	3	Pedersén 2005, 228–247; clustered with Ea-eppēš-ilī B; note that the N14 tablet dated to Xerxes (Pedersén 2005, 230) was found in a dump and appears to be extraneous to the main archive (Baker 2008, 106)
102	[N9b] house XVIII in Merkes; archive of Nabû-ittannu	519–497 (22 yrs)	12	0.5	v	private	-	Pedersén 2005, 192–194
103	Gaḫal	520–499 (21 yr)	15	0.7	h	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 67–68
104	Rabâ-ša-Ninurta	552–496 (56 yr)	16	0.3	v	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 69
105	Šumu-iddin son of Aplāya	c. 525–501 (c. 24 yr)	19	c. 0.8	-	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 72
106	tablets found in a house to the west of the temple of Ištar of Akkad	489–488 (2 yr)	4	2	-	private	-	Baker 2008, 105

Borsippa

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
107	DAR	497–494 (3 yr)	180	60	h	temple		Zadok 2005
108	Iddin-Papsukkal A	540–492 (48 yr)	21	0.44	v	private	2	Jursa 2005a, 84–85
109	Iddin-Papsukkal B	507–491 (16 yr)	8	0.5	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 85; temple enterer
110	Ilia A	587–489 (119 yr)	269	2.26	v	private, priestly	5	Waerzeggers 2010, 372–434; temple brewers
111	Ilia C	493–490 (3/4 yr)	4	1	v	private, priestly	1	Waerzeggers 2005, 355–356
112	Ilia D	c. 575–500 (c. 75 yr)	56	c. 0.7	v	private, priestly	4	Waerzeggers 2010, 434–435; temple brewers

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
113	Balāṭu, slave of Rēmūt-Bēl	515–491 (24 yr)	19	0.8	h	private, priestly	1	Waerzeggers 2010, 437–438
114	Ilšu-abūšu B	539–502 (37 yr)	16	0.4	v	private, priestly	1	Waerzeggers 2010, 441–442
115	Bā'iru	509–499 (10 yr)	8	0.8	v	private, entrepreneurial	1	Waerzeggers 2005, 357

Kissik

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
116	Ningal temple	c. 503–500 (3 yr)	c. 3	-	-	temple		Jursa 2005a, 102

Kiš

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
117	Eppēš-ilī	521–490 (31 yr)	7	0.2	v	private, entrepreneurial	1	Jursa 2005a, 104
118	Rē'i-alpi	508–506 [4]	4	1.25	v	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 107

Nippur

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
119	Ekur temple (early archive)	568–490 (78 yr)	40	0.5	v	temple		Jursa 2005a, 110–111

Sippar

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
120	Ea-eppēš-ilī A	539–488 (51 yr)	18	0.35	v	private, priestly	3	Jursa 2005a, 122–123; temple brewers

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
121	Balīḫu	510–488 (22 yr)	19	0.86	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 121; temple brewers; satellite of Marduk-rēmanni archive
122	Ea-eppēš-ilī B	509–490 (19 yr)	5	0.26	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 123; temple brewers
123	Iššar-tarībi	522–499 (23 yr)	25	1	v	private, trade	1	Jursa 2005a, 124; satellite of Marduk-rēmanni archive
124	Rē'i-sisê	546–519 (27 yr)	9	0.3	v	private	1	Jursa 2005a, 124–125; satellite of Marduk-rēmanni archive
125	Ša-nāšišu B	508–492 (16 yr)	5	0.3	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 126–127; temple brewers; satellite of Marduk-rēmanni archive
126	Šangû-Ištar-Bābili	541–504 (37 yr)	9	0.24	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 132–133

Ur

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
127	Imbia	514–498 (16 yr)	4	0.25	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 137 notes that this archive possibly contains eight additional administrative texts from a temple archive

Uruk

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
128	Atû	593–500 (93 yr)	18	0.2	v	private, priestly	3	Jursa 2005a, 140–141
129	Egibi of Uruk	550–489 (61 yr)	205	3.36	v	private, priestly	2	Jursa 2005, 147; Kessler, this volume

C group (archives reaching across 484 BCE)

Babylon

	archive	timespan	size	average	h/v	background	generations	remarks
130	[N6] Kasr (Babylon)	596–400 (196 yr)	1022	5.2	v	private and/or state?	-[107]	Jursa 2005a, 61
131	Tattannu (Borsippa)	506–386 (120 yr)	69	0.6	v	private and/or state?	4	Jursa 2005a, 94–97
132	Šangû-Ištar-Bābili (Cutha)	retroacts from Dar 16 (506 BCE) onwards; the main archive dates between 459–435 (24 yr)	25	-	v	private	2	Jursa 2005a, 98
133	Gallābu (Ur)	576–332 (244 yr)	51	0.23	v	private, priestly	7	Jursa 2005a, 133–134
134	Sîn-ilī (Ur)	517–482 (35 yr)	11	0.3	v	private	2	Jursa 2005a, 135
135	Gimil-Nanāya B (Uruk)	510–477 (33 yr)	7	0.2	v	private, priestly	1	Jursa 2005a, 142; Beaulieu, this volume
136	Yaḫudu cluster	572–477 (95 yr)	c. 260?	c. 2.7	v	private and/or state?	-[108]	Pearce and Wunsch 2014

[107] Several family units are represented in this composite archive.
[108] Several family units are represented in this composite archive.

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BABYLONIAN SCHOLARSHIP AND THE CALENDAR DURING THE REIGN OF XERXES

Mathieu OSSENDRIJVER
(Humboldt University of Berlin / Excellence Cluster TOPOI)[1]

The Persian era (539–330 BCE) was a period of remarkable achievements in Babylonian science, as witnessed by large numbers of scholarly tablets excavated in Babylon, Uruk, and elsewhere. However, the Early Persian era (c. 539–400 BCE) is badly represented in these texts, and the reign of Xerxes (485/4–465/4 BCE) comes across as a particularly fruitless period, since not one scholarly tablet has been found that was definitely written in that time.[2] By contrast, a trickle of tablets date to earlier rulers and to his successor Artaxerxes I (464/3–424/3 BCE).[3] It is tempting to correlate this lack of scholarly tablets from the reign of Xerxes with the well-known end of the Babylonian archives in year 2 of his reign. This disruption of the cuneiform documentation most plausibly reflects punitive measures taken in the aftermath of two revolts against his rule (Waerzeggers 2003/2004).[4] In Babylon and elsewhere, elites which had thus far dominated the temples, the economy and some realms of intellectual life disappeared from the record, their places being taken by previously inconspicuous families that were not affected by the suppression. At first sight, the textual evidence might suggest that the Babylonian scholars shared in the demise of the suppressed elites. However, the reality turns out to be more complex. In this contribution, the fate of Babylonian scholarship under Xerxes is assessed by compiling information from various scholarly and non-scholarly

[1] I want to thank C.B.F. Walker for making available the latest version of his catalogue of Mesopotamian intercalations and a transliteration of BM 33809, and for offering numerous valuable comments I also want to thank J. Steele. The Trustees of the British Museum are acknowledged for their permission to study several tablets.

[2] The following publications were consulted for references to Babylonian scholarly tablets from the reign of Xerxes: Hunger 1968; Sachs and Hunger 1988; Clancier 2009; Frahm 2011; Pedersén 2005; ADRT 1 (Sachs and Hunger 1988), ADRT 5 (Hunger 2001), ADRT 6 (Hunger 2006).

[3] Artaxerxes I: ADRT 1 -463, diary for year 1; IM 76846 (Hunger 2015), astronomical reports for years 2–4; ADRT 1 -453, diary for year 11; ADRT 1 -440, diary for year 24 Artaxerxes I/II/III: BM 47447, astrological commentary (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 285–290; see below); BM 47494, astrological geography (Hunger 2004); BM 47529+47685, astrological commentary (Wee 2016); BM 47938, excerpt from Šumma ālu T. 72 (CT 39 26–27, quoted by Wee 2016, 161 n. 242); BM 47463, astrological commentary (Livingstone 1986, 259). For further tablets that were probably written by the same scribe, see Jiménez 2016.

[4] These findings were confirmed by a subsequent investigation of the tablets excavated in Babylon by R. Koldewey (Baker 2008).

sources. The aim is to identify areas of continuity, disruption and development in Babylonian scholarship that can be dated or traced back to his reign. Possible implications for the position of the Babylonian scholars and their interactions with the Achaemenid authorities are explored.

Collections and libraries with scholarly tablets from the reign of Xerxes

The investigation is hampered by the fact that a significant fraction of the extant Late Babylonian scholarly tablets are unprovenanced and cannot be dated to any precision. For those contained in the important Babylon-Sippar collection of the British Museum, provenance and date can sometimes be inferred from their content and colophons. None of these colophons is known to mention a date from the time of Xerxes. Moreover, since many of the tablets are copies of originals composed in earlier times, their content does not provide any significant clues about the date of writing. While some may have been written in the time of Xerxes, there is no way of knowing this. In principle, historiographical texts can be dated, but none of the extant Babylonian chronicles date to Xerxes, nor do they report any events from his reign.[5] Consequently, astronomical tablets — a sizeable portion of the Babylon-Sippar collection — play a disproportionate role in the present investigation, because their content can often be dated. Although equally unprovenanced, there is a consensus that they were largely written in Babylon by scholars connected to its main temple, Esangila. Further scholarly tablets were excavated in Babylon by Robert Koldewey, but none mentions a date from the reign of Xerxes either. Some were found in more or less coherent private or institutional archives consisting mainly of economic documentation.[6] Since most of these archives terminate near Xerxes year 2, the intermixed scholarly tablets were most likely written before that year. Hence the events of year 2 did affect some loci of scholarship, but the possible repercussions for the astronomers and other scholars who were connected to Esangila cannot be gauged from these archives.

[5] For the Babylonian chronicles see Grayson 1975; Glassner 2004.

[6] According to Pedersén 2005, the following archives excavated by Koldewey contain documents from the reign of Xerxes along with scholarly tablets: N9, private archives of Nabû-ittannu and others, containing about 100 documents dating mainly up to Xerxes year 1 and some 13 scholarly tablets; N14, archives of Ṭābiya and others, excavated in the Ninurta temple, containing 328 documents dating between Nebukadnezzar II year 6 and Xerxes year 3, and 32 scholarly and school tablets, to which are added 190 further tablets from the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin) acquired at the antiquities market (Pedersén 2005, 228); N18, remains of archives, containing 22 documents dating between Nabonidus year 11 and Alexander year 1, including 1 contract from year Xerxes 2, along with 9 scholarly and school tablets. Baker 2008, 106, has argued that the tablet from Xerxes year 3 does not belong to the archive of Ṭābiya, as it was found in a dump.

In Uruk, the only library known to overlap with the reign of Xerxes is that of Eanna, temple of Ištar. None of the scholarly tablets from that library preserves a date. Beyond that, a few reports on astronomical phenomena dating before and shortly after Xerxes were found in later libraries (Ossendrijver, in press). Even though the suppression of the Babylonian elites in Xerxes year 2 did not affect Uruk as strongly as Babylon and Sippar (Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 157), its scholarly community had to cope with the permanent loss of the main temple Eanna in these years (Kessler and Beaulieu, both in this volume). Since the Eanna archives end near Darius I year 28 (493 BCE), this need not be related to measures taken by Xerxes. In any case, the scholarly literature that has survived from later private and temple libraries gives an overall impression of continuity, as is true for Babylon.[7] Very little is known about scholars in other Babylonian cities around that time. It is usually difficult to determine the provenance or date of non-astronomical scholarly tablets in the Babylon-Sippar collection. If not from Babylon, they might originate from Sippar, Borsippa, or elsewhere. Those from Sippar were probably written before Xerxes year 2, when many archives ended there, too (Frahm 2011, 287).

Babylonian scholarship before and after Xerxes

The new varieties of astral science that emerged in the course of the first millennium BCE provide a useful chronological framework for assessing the development of scholarship under Xerxes. Astronomical diaries and related reports[8] are not extant for his reign, but when they resume, their format and content are essentially unchanged, suggesting a continuity of observational and reporting practices. The predictive Goal-Year methods associated with the diaries probably emerged near 600 BCE and continued to be used after Xerxes.[9] It is significant that a scholarly program as complex and labour intensive as the astronomical observations was, apparently, continued or resumed in identical form. It suggests that the scholars involved were not removed, or at least not all of them. Other innovations of the astral sciences are securely dated to later times. Near the end of the fifth century BCE the zodiac was invented and shortly thereafter mathematical astronomy emerged, along with new types of

[7] Note that the library of the scholar Anu-ikṣur (c. 385–445 BCE) includes two deeds of sale from Xerxes years 6 and 9 (SpTU 5 299 and 300), suggesting that this library also included scholarly tablets from that time.

[8] Eclipse reports probably began in the time of Nabonassar (c. 747 BCE), see ADRT 1 12; Steele 2000a. The earliest known diary, ADRT 1 -651, dates to Šamaš-šumu-ukīn year 16 (652/1 BCE), and their numbers remain small until Artaxerxes II year 20 (385/4 BCE).

[9] For these methods see Steele 2011; for evidence that they emerged near 600 BCE see Huber and Steele 2007.

astrology. The textual evidence suggests that most, if not all of these innovations were initiated and pursued primarily in Babylon, the main centre of Babylonian astral science.[10] Subsequently, the new textual genres also appear in Uruk and some in Nippur, with little evidence for any further dispersion.

It is more difficult to date developments in other realms of science. One area of innovation is the commentary literature, exemplified by new compositions from the Achaemenid and Seleucid eras, but none can be dated specifically to Xerxes.[11] In terms of scholarship, the reign of Xerxes might therefore, at first sight, be characterized as one of inconspicuous continuity, because major developments occurred either before or after it. The texts to be discussed in the following sections confirm the continuity of the astral sciences, primarily in Babylon and Uruk, but they also contain evidence for innovations that can be dated to his reign, albeit with different degrees of certainty.

Xerxes and the onset of the 19-year intercalation cycle

The calendar is one area of Babylonian scholarship in which a significant change occurred during the reign of Xerxes. Recall that the Babylonian month began with the first appearance of the lunar crescent. As a consequence, the duration of the month varied irregularly between 29 and 30 days, the long-term average being 29.53 days. Hence twelve months, which define the lunar year, amount to about 354.4 days, some 10.9 days less than the solar year. If no measures would have been taken to adjust the calendar, the lunar year would have drifted through the seasons. In Babylonia this was prevented by occasionally inserting an intercalary month — a practice that can be traced back to the Old-Babylonian era and probably long before that.

By the 7th century BCE, only a second Ulūlu (VIb) or a second Addaru (XIIb) were used as intercalary months. In Babylonian documents, the former is usually called ITU.KIN.2.(KAM), 'second Ulūlu', or KIN.DIRI, 'extra Ulūlu', less often ITU.KIN *arkû*, 'second Ulūlu'; the latter ITU.ŠE.DIRI, ITU.DIRI.ŠE.KIN.KUD, 'extra Addaru', less often ITU.ŠE *arkû*, 'second Addaru'. Some Neo-Babylonian documents suggest that the 'extra Addaru' could precede the regular Addaru,[12] but this is not attested for the Persian and Seleucid periods. Even if an intercalary month is not explicitly mentioned, its existence can occasionally be inferred. Firstly, in administrative documents, the month preceding an intercalary month is sometimes labelled 'first', i.e. ITU.KIN *maḫrû*,

[10] On the question of whether astronomical diaries were produced in Uruk, see Steele 2016; Steele, in press; Ossendrijver, in press.

[11] Frahm 2011, 332–338; see below.

[12] See the references quoted in Kleber 2008, 267 n. 752.

'first Ulūlu', or ITU.ŠE *maḫrû*, 'first Addaru'. Secondly, information about the number of months that passed between two Babylonian dates may reveal the presence or absence of an intercalary month. Thirdly, texts mentioning a datable astronomical phenomenon and a Babylonian calendar date can provide clues about the presence or absence of an intercalary month before that date.

By collecting these data, a sequence of historical intercalations can be reconstructed. To this day, the most comprehensive compilation remains Parker and Dubberstein (1956), henceforth referred to as PD56. As is well known, the pattern of intercalations remained irregular until the sixth century BCE. Near the time of Xerxes, a 19-year cycle was introduced, with an extra month inserted in 7 out of 19 years, resulting in a total of 235 months. Due to a scarcity of documents, PD56 could not reconstruct a complete sequence of historical intercalations for the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I, and some of the evidence was ambiguous. However, on average seven intercalary months were inserted every 19 years, irrespective of whether the 19-year cycle was known or not, because only then could the lunar year remain in sync with the seasons as accurately as it did throughout the Persian period (see below). PD56 therefore added several unattested intercalary months, e.g. in Xerxes year 7. Since then, Porten (1990) has compiled new evidence for the use of the Babylonian calendar in Achaemenid Egypt and Walker (1997) has presented additional Babylonian evidence for the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I, resulting in several corrections to PD56. Britton (2007) reinvestigated the onset of the 19-year cycle, but he did not incorporate all of these corrections.[13] In the meantime, additional tablets from the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I have been edited or mentioned in publications.[14] Furthermore, C.B.F. Walker has compiled a list of attestations of intercalary months, including evidence from unpublished tablets.[15]

A new investigation of the history of the 19-year cycle therefore seems warranted.[16] Table 1 shows the attested or inferred intercalations between year 27 of Darius I and year 23 of Artaxerxes II, a period covering six intervals of 19 years.[17] For reasons that are explained further below, the 19-year cycles are numbered here starting from Xerxes year 10. In its final form, shown in the last column, the cycle included one instance of VIb in year 12 and six instances of

[13] Britton (2007) does not mention the source of his corrections to PD56. For the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes they are a subset of the ones listed by Walker (1997).

[14] Donbaz and Stolper 1997; Jursa 1999; Wunsch 2000; Pedersén 2005; Waerzeggers 2010; Pearce and Wunsch 2014; Hunger 2015. As far as known, no additional attestations of intercalary months from the reign of Xerxes are mentioned in these publications.

[15] A version of this list was kindly provided to me by C.B.F. Walker (January 2017).

[16] In the final proofing stage of this paper I was made aware of Sacha Stern's recent analysis of the Babylonian calendar in chapter 2 of Stern 2012. I have incorporated his findings as far as possible at this stage.

[17] For the continuation of this table see Britton 2007, 121–123.

XIIb distributed according to a fixed pattern. All intercalations in Table 1 that are not marked with an asterisk are relatively securely attested in at least three documents and are not discussed here.[18]

Table 1. Attested and inferred intercalations between Darius I year 27 and Artaxerxes II year 23. The second row contains the Julian equivalent of the first year in each column. Compiled from PD56, Walker 1997, Britton 2007, and C.B.F. Walker's unpublished list of intercalations (2017). The underlined ones are uncertain because attested only once or for other reasons. The asterisks point to comments (see below).

	cycle 1	cycle 2	cycle 3	cycle 4	cycle 5	final
495/4 BCE	**476/5 BCE**	**457/6 BCE**	**438/7 BCE**	**419/8 BCE**	**400/399 BCE**	**pattern**
Dar I 27 XIIb	Xer 10 XIIb*	Art I 8 XIIb*	Art I 27 XIIb*	Dar II 5 XIIb	Art II 5 XIIb*	1 XIIb
28	11	9	28	6	6	2
29	12 XIIb*	10 XIIb	29 XIIb	7 XIIb*	7 XIIb*	3 XIIb
30 VIb*	13	11	30	8	8	4
31	14	12	31	9	9	5
32 XIIb	15 XIIb*	13 XIIb	32 XIIb	10 XIIb	10 XIIb*	6 XIIb
33	16	14	33	11	11	7
34	17	15	34	12	12	8
35 XIIb	18 VIb*	16 XIIb*	35 XIIb	13 XIIb*	13 XIIb*	9 XIIb
36	19	17	36	14	14	10
Xer 1	20	18	37	15	15	11
2 VIb*	21 VIb*	19 XIIb*	38 XIIb*	16 VIb*	16 VIb*	12 VIb
3	Art I 1	20	39	17	17	13
4 XIIb*	2 XIIb*	21 XIIb*	40 XIIb	18 XIIb*	18 XIIb*	14 XIIb
5	3	22	41	19	19	15
6	4	23	Dar II 1	Art II 1	20 XIIb*	16
7	5 XIIb*	24 XIIb*	2 XIIb	2 XIIb*	21 *	17 XIIb
8 VIb*	6	25	3	3	22	18
9	7	26	4	4	23	19

[18] For the intercalations in Table 1 without an asterisk C.B.F. Walker's list offers the following attestations, excluding uncertain ones: Dar I 27 XIIb, Babylonia: BM 79528 (MacGinnis 1995 no. 51), BM 94722 (unpubl.), BM 114761 (unpubl.), Persepolis: PF 864 (Hallock 1969, 248); Dar I 32 XIIb, Babylonia: VS 4 179, BM 72734 (unpubl.), BM 74330 (unpubl.), BM 36910+ (Aaboe et al. 1991, Text A), BM 26471 (unpubl.), Persepolis: Cameron 1948 no. 2; Dar I 35 XIIb, Babylonia: BM 46710 (unpubl.), BM 74609 (unpubl.), L 1634 (Joannès 1989, 236–237); Art I 10 XIIb, Babylonia: BM 92692 (CT 12 8–9), BM 92693 (CT 12 1), BM 36910+, BM 37044 (Aaboe et al. 1991, Text B); Art I 13 XIIb, Babylonia: BM 36910+, ADRT 5 56, George 1979 no. 49; Art I 29 XIIb, Babylonia: BM 36910+, ADRT 5 56, YBC 11629 (unpubl.); Art I 32 XIIb, Babylonia: CBS 5394 (BE 9 32), BM 36910+; Art I 35 XIIb, Babylonia: Ni 537 (unpubl.), BM 36910+; Art I 40 XIIb, Babylonia: CBS 5322 (BE 9 73), BM 36910+, FLP 1484 (Stigers 1976 no. 47); Dar II 2 XIIb, Babylonia: CBS 5319 (BE 10 63), ADRT 5 58; Dar II 5 XIIb, Babylonia: CBS 5372 (BE 10 104), ADRT 5 58, BM 36910+, ADRT 1 -418, CBS 12849 (PBS 2/1 113), CBS 5201 (PBS 2/1 114), CBS 5508 (PBS 2/1 129); Dar II 10 XIIb, Babylonia: FuB 14 no. 4, VS 4 196, BM 36910+, ADRT 5 58.

Darius I year 30, VIb. This intercalation was unknown to PD56. To the single attestation from Persepolis reported in Walker (1997, 23), which was not taken into account by Britton (2007), three from Babylonia can be added.[19] PD56 had tentatively reconstructed a XIIb in year 29, which can be ruled out.

Xerxes year 2, VIb. Two secure attestations from Persepolis[20] and a tentative one from Babylonia were mentioned in PD56. The latter has since then been refuted (see the remarks on Xerxes year 8). Secure Babylonian evidence for a VIb in Xerxes year 2 is therefore still lacking. Waerzeggers (2003/2004) has proposed that this intercalation may have been skipped in (parts of) Babylonia, perhaps a consequence of the unstable political situation. If true, then from year 2 month VII onwards, the calendar in Babylon was one month ahead of the calendar in Persepolis. Later on, this anomaly must have been eliminated by inserting an extra intercalary month that was not adopted in Persepolis. If so, then this presumably happened before Xerxes year 3 month VIII, because the Babylonian astronomical text BM 32234, to be discussed further below, mentions a lunar eclipse during that month, which should otherwise have been reported for month IX. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine that the anomaly could persist for many months. However, there is currently no independent evidence that the calendars in Babylon and Persepolis were temporarily out of sync or that an anomalous intercalary month was adopted in Babylonia in these years. While such evidence might have been overlooked, it seems more plausible, for the moment, that Xerxes year 2 contained a VIb both in Persepolis and in Babylonia.

Xerxes year 4, XIIb. This intercalation, mentioned in PD56, Walker (1997), and Britton (2007), is not attested with complete certainty. The sole textual evidence is the Babylonian tablet VS 6 265, which mentions a XIIb. The royal name and year number are broken, and the attribution to Xerxes year 4 was inferred through elimination.[21] This intercalation agrees with the final pattern (Table 1), whereas this pattern was not followed in Xerxes years 7 and 8.

Xerxes year 8, VIb. This intercalation was unknown to Parker and Dubberstein, who tentatively reconstructed a XIIb in year 7 (PD56, 31; thus also Britton 2007). The sole evidence for it is the Babylonian document VS 5 118, which mentions Xerxes, a damaged year number resembling an 8, and month

[19] Persepolis: Pers. 1963:19 (Cameron 1965, 181). Babylonia (quoted in C.B.F. Walker's list): BM 46604 (unpubl.), BM 26613 (unpubl.), BM 64552 (MacGinnis 1995 no. 60). See also Stern 2012, 108.

[20] Walker 1997, 23 lists three attestations of VIb from Persepolis, because one of the two tablets also includes a reference to the month preceding VIb as the 'first VI'.

[21] PD56, 4 n. 10.

VIb. While PD56 followed Cameron (1941) in reading this as year 2 of Xerxes, A. Kuhrt has subsequently suggested that the correct reading is 8 after all.[22] Hence the XIIb in Xerxes year 7 is provisionally discarded in favour of a VIb in year 8 (Walker 1997).

Xerxes year 10 (cycle 1, year 1), XIIb. Reconstructed by PD56 on the basis of the Babylonian astronomical text BM 36910+36998+37036,[23] which preserves part of a list of lunar eclipse possibilities between Darius I year 13 (509/8 BCE) and Artaxerxes II year 30 (375/4 BCE). They are dated by regnal year and month, and intercalary years are explicitly marked with the sign DIRI (XIIb) or 2.KAM (VIb). Each column covers one saros period of 18 years comprising 38 eclipse possibilities, which are separated by either 5 or 6 months according to a known pattern. The columns for Xerxes are partly damaged, but the preserved month names and the eclipse pattern are sufficient to conclude that the text reported one intercalary month between year 10 month X and year 11 month III, in all likelihood a XIIb in year 10, which is the solution adopted by PD65, Aaboe et al. (1991), Walker (1997), and Britton (2007). However, the reliability of BM 36910+36998+37036 is questionable, because it was written after Artaxerxes II year 30, perhaps much later. Although it correctly reports at least one anomalous intercalation, the XIIb in Artaxerxes I year 38, the compiler of this text might not have possessed a complete list of intercalations for earlier periods. It is therefore conceivable that some intercalations during the reign of Xerxes were extrapolated backwards, especially if they agree with the final pattern, which is true for the present one.

Xerxes year 12 (cycle 1, year 3), XIIb. Attested in a single document from Persepolis, as mentioned in PD56, Walker (1997), Britton (2007), and Stern (2012).

Xerxes year 15 (cycle 1, year 6), XIIb. Attested in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036, as mentioned in PD56, Walker (1997), and Britton (2007). As mentioned above, this attestation is of questionable reliability.

Xerxes year 18 (cycle 1, year 9), VIb or XIIb? A XIIb is attested in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036, as mentioned in PD56, Walker (1997), and Britton (2007). Again, the reliability of this attestation is questionable, because it might be an extrapolation from a later period. Indeed, another

[22] Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987, 72–73; see also the discussion in Jursa and Stolper 2002, 249 n. 14. A new collation might resolve this matter.

[23] This text, also mentioned as LBAT *1422, *1423 and *1424, was published as Aaboe et al. 1991, Text A.

Babylonian astronomical tablet, Text S (see below), suggests a VIb instead of a XIIb.[24] It is unclear how to reconcile the conflicting evidence, but since Text S may include observational data and it is probably older, a VIb is provisionally assumed to be more probable.

Xerxes year 21 (cycle 1, year 12), VIb. As reported by PD56 and Walker (1997), this intercalation is securely attested in the Babylonian astronomical text BM 32234, to be discussed further below. The eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 is broken between Xerxes year 21 month III and Artaxerxes I year 4 month VI. By reconstructing the intermediate eclipse possibilities, using the known distribution of 5 and 6-month intervals, the presence of two intercalations somewhere in between these dates can be deduced. Similarly, Text S (see below) is broken between Xerxes year 20 month IX and Artaxerxes I year 1 month II. Similar considerations yield that one intercalation occurred somewhere in between these dates. Both findings are compatible with a VIb in year 21. If one were to reject the VIb in Xerxes year 21, then the astronomical diary ADRT 1 -463, which includes data for Artaxerxes I year 1 month I, implies that the intercalation that replaces it must have occurred before that month, i.e. during Xerxes year 21 or before it.

Artaxerxes I year 2 (cycle 1, year 14), XIIb. As mentioned in PD56 and Walker (1997), this intercalation is attested in a Babylonian compilation of Venus observations covering at least Artaxerxes I year 2 until Artaxerxes II year 12 (463/2–393/2 BCE), which was subsequently published as ADRT 5 56.[25] A second attestation occurs in SpTU 5 268, a tablet from Uruk with astronomical observations for Artaxerxes I years 2–4 (Hunger 2015). Note that this tablet also mentions a XIIb in Artaxerxes I years 3 and 4. As pointed out by H. Hunger this must be a mistake, because it contradicts the astronomical data reported in the text and there can only have been one intercalation in these years.

Artaxerxes I year 5 (cycle 1, year 17), XIIb. As reported in PD56 and Walker (1997), this intercalation is attested in a tablet from Persepolis, in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 and in the Venus text ADRT 5 56. However, an Aramaic document from Elephantine with Egyptian and Babylonian double dates suggests that it was skipped there and not compensated by another intercalation at least until month VIII of year 6, because the document refers to that

[24] This follows from the fact that Text S lists eclipse possibilities in months V and IX that should be separated by 5 months. Collation of obv. 35 on the relevant fragment (BM 47912) has confirmed the reading GAN (month IX).

[25] Quoted in PD56 as BM 45674 (LBAT 1387) (+) BM 32299 (LBAT *1388) (+) BM 42083 (LBAT 1486).

month as month IX.[26] Since later documents from Elephantine employ correct Babylonian months, an anomalous intercalation that was not adopted in Babylon must have been inserted some time after that month.

Artaxerxes I year 8 (cycle 2, year 1), XIIb. This intercalation is not yet attested in texts. PD56 reconstructed it by extrapolating the later cycle pattern. The eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 is broken between Artaxerxes I year 8 month X and Artaxerxes I year 10 month VIII. By reconstructing the intermediate eclipse possibilities, using the known distribution of 5 and 6 month intervals, it follows that one intercalation must be inserted in between these dates, in agreement with the assumption of a XIIb in year 8.

Artaxerxes I year 16 (cycle 2, year 9), XIIb. This intercalation is attested in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036, as reported in PD56. An Aramaic document from Elephantine with an Egyptian date and a corresponding Babylonian date in month VII confirms that this year did not contain a month VIb.[27]

Artaxerxes I year 19 (cycle 2, year 12), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in an unpublished Babylonian document. An Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine with an Egyptian date and a corresponding Babylonian date in month IX confirms that this year did not contain a VIb.[28]

Artaxerxes I year 21 (cycle 2, year 14), XIIb. As remarked by PD56, this intercalation is attested in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 and in the Venus tablet ADRT 5 56. The latter attestation is the more reliable one, since it occurs within a contemporary report.

Artaxerxes I year 24 (cycle 2, year 17), XIIb. As reported by PD56 this intercalation is attested in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 and in the astronomical diary ADRT 1 -440. The latter attestation is the more reliable one, since it occurs within a contemporary report.

Artaxerxes I year 27 (cycle 3, year 1), XIIb. This intercalation is not yet attested.

[26] The papyrus in question exists in two duplicates, Cowley 1923 nos. 8 and 9. For a discussion see Stern 2000, 167–168 (C8–9).

[27] For this papyrus, Cowley 1923 no. 15, see C15 in Porten 1990, 21–22, and Stern 2000, Table 1.

[28] The unpublished Babylonian tablet from the Free Library of Philadelphia was first mentioned in Sachs 1952, 114 n. 20, and has been tentatively identified as FLP 0645 (CDLI P459604) by C.B.F. Walker. For the Aramaic papyrus see Cowley 1923 no. 13, Horn and Wood 1954, 19–20, and C13 in Porten 1990, 23, and Stern 2000.

Artaxerxes I year 38 (cycle 3, year 12), XIIb. As reported in PD56 and Walker (1997), this intercalation is attested in the aforementioned astronomical text ADRT 5 56. A second attestation occurs in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036. While the reliability of this text is questionable for earlier periods, the present intercalation is unlikely to have been extrapolated backwards, because it deviates from the final pattern.

An unusual source of information about intercalations is ADRT 5 58, a Babylonian tablet with astronomical reports covering Darius II year 2 until Artaxerxes I year 5. On the edge of the tablet there is a damaged list of intercalations, of which the following ones are preserved: Darius II year 10 XIIb, 13 XIIb, 16 VIb, 18 XIIb, Artaxerxes I year 2 XIIb, and 5 XIIb. The list must have begun with Darius II year 2 XIIb, 5 XIIb, and 7 XIIb, because they are also mentioned in the reports.

Darius II year 7 (cycle 4, year 3), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in an unpublished Babylonian document, the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 and the astronomical text ADRT 5 58. An Aramaic document from Elephantine with Egyptian and Babylonian double dates implies that it was omitted there and not compensated at least until month VI of year 8 of the Babylonian calendar, because the document refers to that month as month VII.[29] Since later documents with double dates between Darius II year 9 month IX and Artaxerxes II year 3 employ the correct Babylonian month names, an anomalous intercalation that was not adopted in Babylon must have been inserted in Elephantine between year 8 month VI and year 9 month IX.

Darius II year 13 (cycle 4, year 9), XIIb. This intercalation is attested only in the astronomical text ADRT 5 58.

Darius II year 16 (cycle 4, year 12), VIb. Two Babylonian attestations are listed in PD56: the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036 and an administrative document (UET 4 93). A third attestation occurs in the astronomical text ADRT 5 58. Another Babylonian astronomical text has been quoted as evidence for a XIIb, but the interpretation of the relevant passages is very uncertain.[30] Hence the VIb is more plausible.

[29] For the papyrus in question see Kraeling 1953 no. 8, and Stern 2000, 167–168 (K8).

[30] ADRT 5 9 (BM 34684, 34787 = LBAT 1426, 1427), quoted in C.B.F. Walker's list. The tablet reports lunar eclipse possibilities, presumably separated by 6 months, in months II and VIII of year 16 (?) of Artaxerxes I (?), which would imply that there was no VIb. However, the dates of the eclipses are uncertain, since the royal name and the year number are broken. See also Stern 2012, 112 footnote a.

Darius II year 18 (cycle 4, year 14), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in the astronomical text ADRT 5 58.

Artaxerxes II year 2 (cycle 4, year 17), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in the astronomical text ADRT 5 58.

Artaxerxes II year 5 (cycle 5, year 1), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in the astronomical text ADRT 5 58 and in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036.

Artaxerxes II year 7 (cycle 5, year 3), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in two astronomical texts, ADRT 5 3 and 58.

Artaxerxes II year 10 (cycle 5, year 6), XIIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested only in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036. The reliability of this text is questionable for earlier periods, but see the discussion of Artaxerxes I year 38.

Artaxerxes II year 13 (cycle 5, year 9), XIIb. This intercalation was reconstructed by PD56 without any textual evidence. It is now attested in the astronomical diary ADRT 1 -391, which dates to year 13 of a king Artaxerxes, most likely no. II.

Artaxerxes II year 16 (cycle 5, year 12), VIb. As reported in PD56, this intercalation is attested in the eclipse text BM 36910+36998+37036. Two more attestations occur in a Babylonian economic document and an astrological report from Borsippa.[31]

Artaxerxes II year 18 (cycle 5, year 14), XIIb. This intercalation was reconstructed by PD56 and is now attested in the astronomical report ADRT 5 60.

Artaxerxes II year 20 (cycle 5, year 16), XIIb. Two Babylonian astronomical texts contain evidence of a XIIb in year 20: ADRT 5 60,[32] a compilation of Jupiter observations, and ADRT 1 -384, a diary.[33] Two other Babylonian astronomical texts imply a XIIb in year 21, while excluding a XIIb in year 20: the

[31] BM 50731 (Stolper 1999) and BM 53282 (Hunger 1999), as reported in C.B.F. Walker's list. Both of these attestations were not yet listed in Stern 2012.

[32] BM 34750+34832+35117(+)35328 = LBAT 1394(+)1395+1399+1400, a compilation of Jupiter observations. Mentioned in PD56 as LBAT 1394.

[33] Lower edge: "[Diary] from month VII until the end of month XIIb of year 20 of Ar[ses …]". The section for month XIIb should have occupied the end of the reverse, but the tablet is not preserved beyond month XII.

Saros Canon and the so-called Text L.[34] Since only one of the intercalary months can be correct, one pair of texts must be plainly wrong. According to the final 19-year pattern the intercalation should have happened in year 21. As far as known, a XIIb in year 20 would be the only intercalation since Xerxes year 10 to occur in an anomalous year. For this reason, it was discarded by Aaboe et al. (1991) and Britton (2007, 122). However, the principle of *lectio difficilior* should lead to the opposite conclusion, that there was an anomalous intercalation in year 20. The nature of the texts supports this conclusion. ADRT 1 -384 and ADRT 5 60 are observational reports written not long after the phenomena, while the other texts are computed (Text L) or guided by theoretical considerations and written long after the reign of Artaxerxes II (Saros Canon).[35] Hence the XIIb in year 21 may have arisen because the final pattern of the 19-year cycle was extrapolated backwards.[36] In summary, the anomalous intercalation in year 20 is probably historical, while the one in year 21 is not.[37]

In this connection it should be noted that the unpublished Babylonian tablet BM 33809[38] lists successive years, all separated by 19 years, that are supposed to have contained a VIb, starting from year 2 of Nabû-nādin-zēri (732/1 BCE) and ending with year 94 of the Seleucid Era (218/7 BCE).[39] The list was obviously produced in the Seleucid Era, probably near SE 94, by extrapolating the final 19-year pattern to earlier times. Since some of the years, e.g. Nabopolassar year 9, Nebukadnezzar year 27, and Artaxerxes I years 19 and 38, are definitely known to have contained a XIIb and not a VIb, the list is not a report of historical intercalations and must be ignored here.

History of the 19-year cycle

With the additional evidence compiled in Table 1, the history of the 19-year cycle can be traced more accurately than was previously possible. The transition from irregular to fully regular, cyclical intercalations proceeded through several stages. In the decades before Xerxes year 10, the intercalations form

[34] Saros Canon: BM 34597 = LBAT 1428 (Aaboe et al. 1991, Text C), rev. I: 37–38 (see the comments on pages 14–16); Text L: BM 36651+36719+37032+37053 (+) 37162 (Aaboe et al. 1991, Text E), rev. IIa: 32, 34; IIb: 31, 33 (see the comments on page 37).

[35] The Saros Canon was compiled after the adoption of the Seleucid Era, i.e. at least 90 years after Artaxerxes II year 20, probably near its final year, SE 40 (272/1 BCE).

[36] Unfortunately, the preserved portions of the Saros Canon and Text L do not cover the time before Darius II. If they would, this might have proven that the underlying calendar was computed backwards using the final 19-year pattern.

[37] The same conclusion was reached by Stern 2012, 112 (footnote c).

[38] A transliteration of BM 33809 was kindly provided to me by C.B.F. Walker. The tablet was previously mentioned by Boiy (2000) and will be published by W. Monroe.

[39] The entries for Xerxes years 2 and 21 are broken but can be restored at the bottom of the obverse and the top of the reverse, respectively.

partly repeating patterns, but it is difficult to say whether they result from the use of a cycle. Since this issue is beyond the scope of the present investigation, it will not be pursued any further here.[40] For the reign of Xerxes only preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the scarce textual evidence, some of which is of questionable reliability. Cycle 1, which begins in Xerxes year 10, is the earliest identifiable interval of 19 years in which the final sequence of intercalary years (1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 14, 17) may have been fully implemented, including the single instance of VIb in year 12 (Table 1; see also Stern 2012, 107). The preceding intercalation, in Xerxes year 8, probably deviated from that pattern. Hence the 19-year cycle probably did not begin in Xerxes year 2, as suggested by some,[41] but year 10 of his reign. In cycle 1, year 9 (Xerxes year 18) may have contained a VIb instead of a XIIb. In cycles 2 and 3, year 12 contained a XIIb instead of a VIb. The other intercalations probably agreed with the later pattern.[42] From Darius II year 16 (cycle 4) onwards there was always a VIb in year 12 of the cycle. Nevertheless, the final pattern was violated once more — as far as known for the last time — by an anomalous intercalation in Artaxerxes II year 20 (cycle 5). This unique deviation still calls for an explanation.[43] In summary, the 19-year cycle may have been effective from Xerxes year 10 (cycle 1) onwards, but there were three subsequent anomalies, in cycles 2, 3 and 5, before it became fully permanent in cycle 6 (Artaxerxes II year 24).[44]

In order to assess the extent to which the introduction of the 19-year cycle reflects developments of Babylonian science, it is worthwhile to briefly explore its astronomical significance. Several suggestions have been made as to an astronomical criterion that the scholars may have intended to satisfy by introducing the cycle. According to Neugebauer (1946) it was construed in such a way that the Sun was always located in Libra on day 1 of month VII. This idea was refuted by Sachs (1952), who proposed that, instead, the heliacal rising of Sirius was meant to occur around day 15 of month IV. Whatever criterion was used, the intercalations had the effect that day 1 of month I occurred near the vernal equinox. During the centuries before Xerxes, when the 19-year cycle was not yet in place, the deviations could exceed 1 month and they exhibited

[40] For Babylonian intercalation practices in the centuries before Xerxes see Sachs 1952; PD56, 1–3; van der Waerden 1965, 32, 111–113; Neugebauer 1975, 354–357; Donbaz and Koch 1995, 67; Britton 2007, 119–124. Van der Waerden, Britton, and Donbaz and Koch suggest that an 8-year cycle was used, but this has been contested (Neugebauer 1975, 355). See also Stern 2012, 103–104.

[41] E.g. Britton 1993 and 2007; Donbaz and Koch 1995, 67.

[42] The same conclusion can be drawn from Britton 2007, 123 (Fig. 7).

[43] Divinatory considerations might explain the anomalous XIIb. By moving the XIIb from year 21 to year 20, the eclipse possibilities in year 21 are shifted by 1 month, which affects their interpretation as omens. However, there is no evidence to support this scenario.

[44] This result was also implied by PD56, but no longer by Britton (2007), who rejected the VIb in Darius II year 16 in favour of a XIIb.

a slow, systematic drift (Britton 2007). After the introduction of the cycle the drift stopped virtually completely[45] and day 1 of month I always occurred about 15 days after the vernal equinox, with a variation of at most some 15 days in either direction.[46] Consequently, the Babylonian date of the vernal equinox fell on day 15 of month XII, or XIIb in an intercalary year, with deviations of about 15 days in either direction. As pointed out by Britton (2007), day 15 of month XII is the ideal date of the vernal equinox as stipulated in some schematic calendars from the scholarly literature.[47] It may nevertheless be a stretch to interpret this agreement as the result of a conscious decision to abandon a supposedly Assyrian convention for the vernal equinox in favour of a native Babylonian one, as proposed by Britton. Whatever the underlying considerations of the Babylonian scholars may have been, the introduction of the cycle does, in any case, reflect increasingly accurate and verifiable knowledge of period relations connecting the lunar and solar year.

When exactly the 19-year cycle was discovered and formally incorporated in the civil calendar is less clear. It has been suggested that intercalations were previously governed by an earlier version of the 19-year cycle that merely prescribed the insertion of 7 extra months within this period (PD56, 1).[48] Due to the irregularity of the intercalations it is probably impossible to decide between that hypothesis and the alternatives, e.g. that intercalation was governed by an empirical criterion or by a shorter cycle. A tablet from Uruk with a partly preserved list of computed solstices for the period between 626 and 531 BCE has also been cited as possible evidence that the 19-year cycle was known by the sixth century BCE.[49] That interpretation must be discarded, because the tablet belongs to a library that is dated to about 445–385 BCE[50] and the table was most likely computed backwards from that time. In summary, there is currently no reliable evidence that any version of the 19-year cycle was known in Babylonia before the reign of Xerxes. Neither have any ancient documents come to light that could inform us about the formal introduction of the cycle. All that can be said is that this was presumably decided between Xerxes year 8, after the last intercalation that precedes cycle 1, and Artaxerxes I year 8, when cycle 2 began.

[45] The astronomical reason for this is that 235 synodic months are an extremely good approximation of 19 solar years (Neugebauer 1975, 355).

[46] Around the time of Xerxes, the vernal equinox fell on 26 March in the Julian calendar.

[47] In particular, the schematic calendars contained in EAE Tablet 14 and in the Old Babylonian tablet BM 17175 (Britton 2007). By contrast, the schematic calendar of MUL.APIN places the vernal equinox on day 15 of month I. However, the latter convention is not necessarily of Assyrian origin, as claimed by Britton.

[48] On this 'loose 19-year cycle' see also Stern 2012, 106.

[49] SpTU 4 169, quoted as W 22801 in Britton 2007, 127. The dates of the solstices are expressed in a calendar based on the 19-year cycle.

[50] The library of Anu-ikṣur of the Šangû-Ninurta clan (Clancier 2009; Ossendrijver, in press).

The introduction of the 19-year cycle also has implications for the relationship between the Babylonian scholars and the Achaemenid authorities. In this connection it is important to note that the Babylonian calendar had already spread to other parts of the Persian Empire before the onset of the 19-year cycle.[51] When exactly this happened cannot be answered with certainty yet. The earliest known secure evidence for use of the Babylonian calendar outside of Babylonia dates to Darius I, which must be viewed as a *terminus ante quem*. Babylonian dates from his reign are mentioned in the Behistun inscription,[52] the Persepolis Fortification Texts (Hallock 1969), and the Persepolis Treasury Texts (Cameron 1948). Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, which date between Xerxes and Artaxerxes I, and other inscriptions from Egypt complement the evidence from the Persian heartland. As shown by Porten (1990, 31), Babylonian and Egyptian double dating is attested in Egypt from Xerxes year 15, perhaps 13, until Artaxerxes II year 3, while documents and inscriptions written before Xerxes year 4 have Egyptian dates only. Hence there is currently no evidence that the Babylonian calendar was used in Egypt before the reign of Xerxes.[53] All of these texts employ some translated version of the Babylonian calendar in which the Babylonian month names were replaced by equivalents in the local language, i.e. Old Persian, Elamite (Behistun, Persepolis) or Aramaic (Elephantine).[54]

As far as known, the intercalations in these calendars agree, by and large, with those in Babylonia, both before and after the onset of the 19-year cycle. Out of 21 Babylonian and Egyptian double dates attested in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine only two employ a wrong Babylonian month, as discussed above in connection with Xerxes year 10 and Artaxerxes I year 5. The responsible scribes thus only rarely erred in applying Babylonian intercalations, but the two examples indicate that it could take many months before the error was corrected (Stern 2000, 168).

Before the Persian conquest of Babylon (539 BCE), intercalary months were officially proclaimed by the Babylonian king; subsequently that task was apparently fulfilled by high officials in Babylon.[55] However, this information now had to be communicated across a vast empire — a practical inconvenience which the authorities may have wished to overcome. It seems possible that the Babylonian scholars, recognizing an opportunity to serve their king, devised the 19-year cycle as a more convenient intercalation procedure, if they were

[51] See, for instance, Bickerman 1968, 24–25.

[52] For a translation of the Behistun inscription see Borger and Hinz 1982–1985, 419–450.

[53] See also Depuydt 1995a, 1995b.

[54] For the Old Persian and Elamite month names, see Cameron 1948, 44; Hallock 1969, 74; for the Aramaic month names, which are loans from the Babylonian ones, see Horn and Wood 1954, 5–6.

[55] See PD56, 1–2; Kleber 2008, 267–268 n. 753; Beaulieu 1993.

not simply instructed to do so.[56] Since the new procedure could be implemented anywhere without further communication with Babylon, once the cycle was explained to local officials, it could indeed have solved the communication problem.

As an innovation of the calendar, a central instrument of administration, the introduction of the 19-year cycle affected scribal, accounting, and cultic practices throughout the Empire. Irrespective of why this reform was carried out, it can only have happened with the support of the highest authorities (Walker 1997, 22–24). Moreover, it must have involved prolonged and coordinated interactions with the Babylonian scholars, who had apparently succeeded in maintaining, perhaps even intensifying, a beneficial relationship with high Achaemenid officials, presumably from about Xerxes year 10 onwards. Paradoxically, the introduction of the cycle brought to an end their role in determining intercalations (Stern 2012, 99). On the other hand, evidence presented in the next sections suggests that their interactions with the Achaemenid rulers continued in other areas of astral science. Moreover, the introduction of the 19-year cycle did leave a role for scholars in determining the beginning of the month, which was defined by the appearance of the first crescent. For Babylonia this was done in Babylon, from where the first day of the month was communicated to other cities. Elsewhere in the Persian Empire, especially in remote locations such as Elephantine, the beginning of the month cannot have been communicated monthly from Babylon, because it would take too long for the message to arrive (Stern 2000, 165–166). Indeed, the Aramaic documents from Elephantine with Egyptian and Babylonian double dates prove that the Babylonian month began 1–2 days earlier in that city than in Babylon, which implies that it was determined locally. However, the underlying method remains unclear (Stern 2000, 163–164).

Astronomical texts with data pertaining to the reign of Xerxes

Even though no astronomical tablets have been uncovered that were written during the reign of Xerxes, two tablets from a later date may contain astronomical data pertaining to his reign: BM 32234 and Text S.

[56] A similar point was made by Olmstead 1948, 199–200, 328–330, who suggested that Darius I was behind the reform of the calendar. For administrative reforms introduced by Darius I and Xerxes see Briant 2002, 484–486, 543, 549.

BM 32234 — a compilation of reports on lunar eclipse possibilities

BM 32234 (Walker 1997)[57] is a small fragment of a so-called Saros Text, a tabular compilation of lunar eclipse reports arranged in saros cycles of 223 months, each comprising 38 eclipse possibilities. The preserved reports date between year 17 of Nabopolassar (609/8 BCE) and year 18 of Artaxerxes II (447/6 BCE); hence the tablet was written after the latter year, possibly much later. The following three reports from the reign of Xerxes are partly preserved (rev. II'–III'):

a. Xerxes year 3, month VIII, day 13
Month VIII, (day) 13, it began on the south side. I did not watch the maximal phase. It set eclipsed. During the eclipse, Venus was present, the remaining planets were not present. 10 UŠ before sunrise.

b. Xerxes year 21, month III, day 14
[Month III, (day) 14, …] at 18 (UŠ), […] 40 *nindanu* (= [x]; 40 UŠ) max[imal phase, then it cleared.] The 'garment of the sky' was present. It was eclipsed in the region of the Four Rear Stars of Pabilsag.[58] (There was a) month VIb. Month V, (day) 14, Xerxes: his son killed him.

c. Xerxes year 21, month VIII, day 14
Month VIII, (day) 14, 13 (UŠ) after sunset, (the Moon) came out of a cloud, one fourth of the disk on the […] and west side was covered. 8 (UŠ) [onset? and] clearing … […]

Before discussing these reports, note that there is nothing really remarkable about them, in the sense that they are similar to other eclipse reports.[59] Time and duration of the eclipse are expressed in UŠ (time degrees), where 1 UŠ (= 60 *nindanu*) corresponds to 4 modern minutes. Astronomical observations apparently continued in Babylon during the reign of Xerxes as they had been conducted since the Neo-Babylonian era, even in year 3, shortly after the uprisings. Since the descriptions roughly agree with modern computations there is no reason to doubt that all three are reports of actual eclipses, most likely written in Babylon. Report a) concerns the eclipse of 19 November 483 BCE; report c) that of 29 November 465 BCE.

[57] The fragment, listed as LBAT *1419, was subsequently edited by Hunger (ADRT 5 4) and discussed by J. Steele in ADRT 5, 390–399, and by Huber and De Meis 2004, 96–97.

[58] This group of stars is not among the commonly used so-called Normal Stars (ADRT 1, 17–19). They must be part of the constellation Sagittarius, but a definite identification has not been established. According to Roughton, Steele and Walker 2004: ν^1, ν^2, ξ^1 and ξ^2 Sgr; Jones 2004: σ, τ, ξ and φ Sgr.

[59] For Babylonian eclipse reports see ADRT 5; Steele 2000b; Huber and De Meis 2004. Modern computations of the circumstances of the present eclipses are provided by Huber and De Meis 2004, 96–97.

The more elaborate report b) concerns the lunar eclipse of year 21, month III, day 14 (5 June 465 BCE) and is of special interest because it mentions the subsequent murder of Xerxes by his own son on day 14 of month V.[60] The mere fact of its inclusion in the report suggests that the Babylonian scholars considered this event to have been announced by the eclipse, presumably in agreement with the omen tradition. Tablets 16–22 of the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (EAE) and related texts provide considerable support for such an interpretation of this eclipse. For instance, EAE Tablet 20 includes the following omen:[61]

> DIŠ *ina* ITI.SIG$_4$ U$_4$.14.KAM AN.MI GAR LUGAL *ga-me-ru ša$_2$* MU TUK UŠ$_2$-*ma* DUMU-*šu$_2$ ša$_2$ ana* NAM.LUGAL ‹NU› *zak-ru* AŠ.TE DIB-*ma* MI$_2$.KUR$_2$ GAL$_2$: UŠ$_2$.MEŠ GAL$_2$.MEŠ
> "If an eclipse occurs in month III, day 14: a powerful king who won renown will die and his son, who was ‹not› named for the kingship, will seize the throne and there will be hostilities, variant: pestilence."

The four extant Neo-Assyrian astrological reports in which the present omen is quoted unanimously state that day 14 refers to Elam.[62] If the Babylonian scholars applied the same reasoning, they could interpret this as a reference to their Persian king. Further omens featuring an eclipse on day 14 of month III as a sign for the death of the king and the seizure of the throne by his son can be found elsewhere in EAE and in the hemerological series *Iqqur īpuš*.[63] Seven omens from EAE Tablet 16 predict other kinds of adverse consequences from an eclipse on that date.[64] Yet another indication that a lunar eclipse in month III signified a crisis between the king and his son is contained in the so-called Eclipse Hemerology, preserved in one Late Babylonian copy from Nippur (Livingstone 2013, 195–198, obv. 11–13):

> "If in month III, ditto (i.e. on day 12, 13, or 14 there is an eclipse of the Moon) he should curse his heir and he should not talk with his son. He should ritually pour out offering flour for Sîn. There should be a dazed silence and he should not speak in command. He should pray to Ninurta. You should release a bird. He will have greatness and grow old."

[60] For a discussion of the events surrounding the death of Xerxes see Briant 2002, 562–567.

[61] 82-5-22, 77 (EAE Tablet 20 Text g), obv. 10 (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 224). The omen is also quoted in the reports SAA 8 4 (RMA 271), 300 (Rm 193), 316 (RMA 268), 336 (RMA 270).

[62] SAA 8 4, obv. 10; 300, rev. 15; 316, obv. 6–7; 336, rev. 11.

[63] EAE Tablet 17 Text D, ii 37 (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 129 n. 16); EAE 17 Text g, i 5'–6' (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 136); EAE 20 III A, B (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 189–192); EAE 21 III, 1 (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 236); *Iqqur īpuš* §74, 7–9 (Labat 1965, 150–151).

[64] EAE Tablet 16 E, 1–7 (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 89–90).

It is interesting to note that the 'cursing of the heir' is prescribed only for eclipses in month III.[65] As far as known, omens explicitly stating that the king will be killed by his own son are not extant for eclipses on day 14 of month III, but they are available for eclipses on days 15 and 20 in month VI.[66] Since the divinatory corpus is only partly preserved there might be other omens in EAE or elsewhere in which that prediction is attached to an eclipse on day 14 of month III. If not, some substitution, as they are attested in commentaries, might have enabled the scholars to arrive at such an interpretation. Explicit evidence of a renewed Babylonian scholarly interest in the ominous significance of lunar eclipses during the Achaemenid era is provided by BM 47447, a learned commentary on EAE Tablets 16–20.[67] The commentary was written by Iprāya[68] of the Ēṭiru clan, most likely in Babylon or Borsippa, in year 19 of a king Artaxerxes, which, depending on his identity (I, II or III), corresponds to 445/4, 385/4 or 339/8 BCE. It does, accidentally, include an omen for an eclipse on day 14 of month III (rev. 15), but with a different apodosis than the one from EAE Tablet 20 quoted above.

In summary, the series EAE and related divinatory texts offered the Babylonian scholars ample opportunities for construing the lunar eclipse mentioned in report b) as a sign for the killing of Xerxes by his own son. It should be noted that they need not have come to that conclusion before his death. While they had almost certainly predicted the eclipse using their saros-based methods (Steele 2000a and 2000b), its interpretation as a sign for the death of Xerxes was more plausibly revealed a posteriori in an attempt to rationalise this event in the framework of their divinatory tradition. Had they not only predicted the eclipse, but also established that interpretation while Xerxes was still alive, they could have initiated the substitute king ritual in order to divert the omen away from him. There is evidence that this Mesopotamian ritual was occasionally performed after 539 BCE, e.g. shortly before Alexander the Great's death in 323 BCE,[69] presumably on the occasion of a predicted lunar eclipse. No ancient source suggests that Xerxes was ever subjected to it, but it may be noted that elements of the ritual have been identified in a famous passage from Herodotus (7.12–18) in which Xerxes orders his uncle Artabanus to take his seat upon the royal throne (Huber 2005, 357–362).

[65] An instruction not to 'speak with his heir' occurs in the omen for lunar eclipses in month XII (rev. 10–15).

[66] EAE Tablet 21 VI, 2 (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 241); EAE 22 I VI, 4 (Rochberg-Halton 1988, 258): "The son of the king will kill his father and take the throne".

[67] For an edition see Rochberg-Halton 1988, 284–290. The commentary, labelled 'lemmata and oral explanations', is of the 'cola' type (Frahm 2011, 52, 144, 307).

[68] Formerly read Šemāya or Sebāya (see Jiménez 2016, 218, n. 53 and reference therein).

[69] See van der Spek 2003, Huber 2005.

Report b) also mentions that the year contained an intercalary month VIb, which suggests that this was interpreted as an accompanying sign. As proposed by Britton (2007), this might explain why month VIb was omitted in the following two 19-year cycles (2–3), before being reinstated as a permanent feature in cycle 4 (Table 1). Clearly, if the king's life was under threat in a year with a VIb, that sign could be removed by replacing the VIb with a XIIb. However, the extant divinatory and hemerological tablets do not appear to contain any evidence that a year with a VIb was considered ominous. The 'garment of the sky' mentioned in report b) is also known from other eclipse reports, astronomical diaries, always in connection with the Moon.[70] Whatever the underlying phenomenon — perhaps clouds — not much is known about its ominous significance.[71]

Text S — a computed table including reports of solar eclipse possibilities

Further astronomical activities during the reign of Xerxes may be implied by the so-called Text S.[72] This unusual table contains both computed and, at first sight, observational data pertaining to 38 solar eclipse possibilities from Xerxes year 11 month VIII to Artaxerxes I year 8 month IV, comprising one saros cycle. As it turns out, it is difficult to identify which elements of the text, if any, date back to that period. Text S is partly preserved in two duplicates, most likely originating from Babylon and obviously written after the final date of the table (approx. July 457 BCE). Column V contains the zodiacal position of the Moon and the Sun at conjunction, which suggests a date of writing after about 400 BCE, the estimated date of invention of the zodiac (Britton 2010), at least six decades after the reign of Xerxes. The orthography, terminology, layout and the nature of the algorithms point to a date before 330 BCE.[73] Hence columns I–V were probably computed backwards from a date between 400 and 330 BCE, using algorithms known from or related to mathematical astronomy.[74] For the present purpose, column VI is the most interesting part of

[70] CAD N I, 200, translates *nalbaš šamê* (TUG_2 AN or AN.MA), lit. 'garment of the sky', in astronomical contexts as 'clouds'; see also Huber and De Meis 2004, 15 ('overcast'). Attestations in eclipse reports: ADRT 5 37 (Artaxerxes I year 24, month XI; year 41, month VI), ADRT 5 13 (Artaxerxes II year 7, month XIIb); in diaries: ADRT 2 (Sachs and Hunger 1989), -247, -238.

[71] The only known omen mentioning this phenomenon is EAE 1 §58 (Verderame 2002, 7, 12, 17, 31–32, 206–207). A divinatory connection between eclipses and garments is also suggested in the Eclipse Hemerology, which includes an instruction for the diviner to "hang a garment of crimson wool (TUG_2 SIG_2.ḪE$_2$.ME.DA) on the gate on the day of the eclipse" in case of a lunar eclipse in month I (Livingstone 2013, 195–198).

[72] For an edition and discussion of this text, named Text S by J.P. Britton, see Aaboe and Sachs 1969, 11–22 (Texts B–D); Britton 1989, 29–46; Aaboe et al. 1991, 69–71 (Text G). See also Steele 2000a, 442–443.

[73] See Aaboe and Sachs 1969, 20.

[74] For the algorithms see Aaboe et al. 1991, 69–71; Britton 1989.

Text S. It contains 38 solar eclipse reports, 22 of which pertain to the reign of Xerxes:[75]

obv.3(Year 11) month VIII, […] of the night; 5 months (since the preceding eclipse possibility).
5(Year 12) month II, which passes by; 1½ fingers.
7(Year 12) month VIII, (day) 28, it occurs at 40 (UŠ) after sunrise; I did not watch.
9(Year 13) month I, (day) 29, it occurs at sunrise; I did not watch; at 30 (UŠ) of the night.
11(Year 13) month VII, total, it passes by.
13(Year 14) month I, (day) 29, it occurs at 1,10 (UŠ) to sunset; I did not watch.
15(Year 14) month VII, total, it passes by.

18(Year 14) month I (error for XII), total, it passes by.
20(Year 15) month VI, 1½ [fingers], it passes by; 5 months (since the preceding eclipse possibility).
22(Year 15) month XII, which passes by, 1½ fingers […]
24(Year 16) month V, […]
26(Year 16) month XI, […]
28(Year 17) month V, […]
30(Year 17) month XI, […]
32(Year 18) month V, […]

35(Year 18) month IX, […; 5 months (since the preceding eclipse possibility).]
37(Year 19) month III, which passes by, […]
39(Year 19) month IX, total, it passes by, […]
41(Year 20) month III, […]
43(Year 20) [month IX, …]
rev. 1(Year 21) [month III, …]
3(Year 21) [month VIII, …]

The column continues with 16 eclipse possibilities from Artaxerxes I years 1–8. These are the earliest known reports of Babylonian solar eclipse possibilities phrased in the manner of the astronomical diaries and related texts. All 38 eclipse possibilities are separated by 5 or 6 months. As was commonly done in such tables, only the 5-month intervals were explicitly marked.[76] They are

[75] Translation based on Aaboe and Sachs 1969, 11–22; Britton 1989, 30–31.

[76] As pointed out by Aaboe and Sachs (1969), 21 n. 17, the other data in obv. 18 (not shown here) imply that month I (of Xerxes year 15) is an error for month XII (of Xerxes year 14). Since

distributed according to a pattern similar to the one underlying the so-called Solar Saros, a table of regnal years and months of solar eclipse possibilities from Artaxerxes III year 10 month XI (348 BCE) to SE 53 (259/8 BCE).[77] Each report includes a phrase indicating whether the eclipse was expected to 'pass by' or, more rarely, 'happen', depending on the outcome of a computation.[78] Some reports include predictions of the magnitude and time of the eclipse, expressed in fingers and UŠ (time degrees), respectively.[79] As appears to be typical for such reports, observational remarks are included only when the eclipse was expected to occur.[80] Later examples contained in diaries and related texts frequently include the remark 'when I watched I did not see it' (*ki* PAP NU IGI), which implies an actual observation. By contrast, the four remarks about such eclipses preserved in Text S (Xerxes year 12 month VIII, 13 I, 14 I, Artaxerxes I year 7 month IV) only mention 'I did not watch' (NU URU_3/PAP), i.e. no one had watched out for the expected eclipse. Hence Text S does not preserve a single actual observation.[81] It cannot be completely excluded that actual observations were reported in the missing parts of column VI, but it seems more likely that there were none in Text S.

Before discussing the possible implications of this finding, note that unlike lunar eclipse possibilities, only few of the solar eclipse possibilities materialize as observable eclipses in Babylon. According to modern computations, seven partial and no total solar eclipses were visible in Babylon during the reign of Xerxes.[82] Most must have gone unnoticed except to a trained astronomer who was watching out for them. All three partial eclipses that were visible between years 11 and 21 — in year 15 month XII (20 March 470 BCE), year 20 month III (2 July 466 BCE), and year 20 month IX (26 December 466 BCE) — appear as predicted eclipse possibilities in Text S. However, the eclipse of year 15 month XII was expected to pass by according to Text S; the reports about the other two eclipses are broken away. Conversely, the solar eclipse possibilities that were expected to happen according to Text S were, in fact, all invisible in Babylon.

Xerxes years 13 and 14 were not intercalary (Table 1), the remark '5 months' in line obv. 20 should have been written in obv. 18.

[77] Aaboe et al. 1991, 25–31 (Text D); see also Britton 1989, 26–29; Steele 2000a, 443.

[78] The 'passing by' of a lunar eclipse was presumably inferred from computations of the Moon's distance from the ecliptic or the time of the eclipse. Several eclipses in Text S are said to be 'total' and nevertheless 'pass by', probably because the Moon was predicted to be below the horizon (Steele 2000a, 449–451).

[79] For the predictions that are contained in Babylonian eclipse reports and the methods by which they were obtained see Steele 2000a, 431–432, 449–450.

[80] See Huber and De Meis 2004, 7.

[81] This was also pointed out by Britton 1989, 32.

[82] See Steele 2000a, Table 4 (in boldface those visible in Babylon) or Huber and De Meis 2004, 210.

The absence of actual observations from Text S raises the question of what this text might tell us about Babylonian astronomy in the time of Xerxes. Can column VI, perhaps, be taken to imply that Babylonian astronomers were using a saros-based method for predicting solar eclipse possibilities during his reign? For lunar eclipse possibilities that method was in place no later than the 6th century BCE,[83] but the adaptation to solar eclipse possibilities is of a later date. Apart from Text S, the earliest known example of a predicted solar eclipse possibility is that of day 28, month VII, Artaxerxes I year 40 (23 October 425 BCE), which is said to 'pass by' according to an observational excerpt from Nippur (ADRT 5 57). The next example is the solar eclipse possibility in month III, Artaxerxes II year 23 (3 July 382 BCE), which is reported in the astronomical diary ADRT 1 -381B, using the phrase 'when I watched I did not see it'.[84] If column VI of Text S was compiled from similar reports from the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I, this would imply that a saros-based method for predicting solar eclipse possibilities existed already by Xerxes year 11 (475/4 BCE). However, one would expect at least some of the entries to include the phrase 'when I watched I did not see it', or some other description of the actual event. Apparently, the author of Text S did not have access to such reports, either because they were lost or they never existed in the first place. Since observations might have been interrupted for some reason, both options allow for the admittedly speculative possibility that a saros-based predictive scheme for solar eclipse possibilities was known, perhaps even invented, during the reign of Xerxes. It is tempting to identify the initial date of Text S, Xerxes year 11 month VIII, with the beginning of saros-based predictions of solar eclipse possibilities, even if the observations were subsequently lost and the data in column VI were reconstructed only later, probably between 400 BCE and 330 BCE, along with the other columns.

Note that exactly 6 saros intervals of 38 eclipse possibilities (108 years) fit between the end of Text S and the beginning of the aforementioned Solar Saros, implying that both saros schemes are somehow connected.[85] However, the distribution of the 5-month intervals is different in both texts (Steele 2000a, 443). This may be taken to indicate that the eclipse predictions in Text S were not extrapolated backwards from the scheme attested in the Solar Saros, but made at an earlier stage, perhaps during the reign of Xerxes. For the moment this is only a hypothetical possibility that requires further confirmation.

[83] See Steele 2000a, 432–433.
[84] See Britton 1989, 26; Steele 2000a, 442–443; Huber and De Meis 2004, 154.
[85] Text S covers saros cycle 1 and the Solar Saros cycles 8–12 of Steele 2000a, Table 4.

Other tablets

The Babylonian tablet BM 34576 (ADRT 5 34), also known as the Saros Tablet, is a list of regnal years tabulated at intervals of 18 years between Nebukadnezzar II year 18 (567/6 BCE) and SE 213 (99/8 BCE).[86] Among the listed regnal years is Xerxes year 9. The tablet was obviously written after the final date. The purpose of the text is unclear, but it is most probably connected to lunar eclipses, because the years coincide with the initial years of the columns of the lunar Saros Texts (see ADRT 5, Appendix).

Conclusions

Even though only few textual sources inform us directly about Babylonian science during the reign of Xerxes, a number of conclusions can be drawn from the available material, some necessarily tentative. The dominant impression conveyed by tablets from Babylon and Uruk written before his reign and those written after it is one of continuity across all realms of science. At Babylon, traditional forms of scholarship such as divination and more recently established practices, in particular the production of astronomical reports and associated predictive techniques, continued to be pursued, or were fully resumed at some stage. The astronomers who wrote these reports, most likely priests associated with Esangila, stand out as a community that was, apparently, able to continue its modus operandi and relations with the Achaemenid authorities. Their eclipse reports and other texts also suggest a continued interest in celestial divination, perhaps reflecting a desire to provide Xerxes and other Persian rulers with astrological advice. Other scholars at Babylon may have been affected by the suppression of the elites near Xerxes year 2, because some of the archives that ended by that time include a scholarly component. It seems reasonable to assume that the scholars of Sippar and Borsippa were also affected. In Uruk, the loss of Eanna near the end of the reign of Darius I must constitute a significant disruption, but there is no evidence that the scholars of Uruk were suppressed during the reign of Xerxes. Two innovations of the astral sciences can, with different degrees of certainty, be dated to his reign. First, from Xerxes year 10 onwards, intercalations were probably governed by the 19-year cycle, which must have been formally introduced between Xerxes year 8 and Artaxerxes I year 8. Second, Text S suggests that saros-based predictions of solar eclipse possibilities might have begun in Xerxes year 11. It is

[86] For a discussion of the Saros Tablet see ADRT 5, Appendix (by J. Steele), 394. See also Steele 2000a, Table 2.

interesting to note that both innovations fall within a narrow range of years, but the significance of that finding remains unclear.

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THE ESANGILA TEMPLE DURING THE LATE ACHAEMENID PERIOD AND THE IMPACT OF XERXES' REPRISALS ON THE NORTHERN BABYLONIAN TEMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

Johannes HACKL
(Leipzig University)[1]

To Joachim Oelsner,
on his eighty-fifth birthday

Institutional archives rank among the most important sources for the social, economic and political history of Babylonia in the first millennium BCE. In the period after the Assyrian domination, almost all known institutional archives from Babylonia are temple archives; the only exception is the mostly unpublished 'Palace Archive' of Nebuchadnezzar.[2] The administration of Ebabbar (Sippar) and Eanna (Uruk) yielded the largest temple archives of that time. They provide us with a plethora of information that is indispensable for the reconstruction of the Babylonian temple households, but also of the political landscape in which these economic entities are embedded. After the watershed formed by the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes in 484 BCE, the number of tablets falls back sharply. This abrupt decline in archival (and other) sources — what Assyriology has come to call the 'end of archives' phenomenon[3] — applies to private archives, but even more so to institutional archives of this period. Thus, only a very small number of tablets with an institutional origin have come down to us from the fifth century BCE. Most of them belong to the

[1] Research for the present paper was conducted in the context of a project entitled *Official Epistolography in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC* (S 10803–G18) as part of a National Research Network "*Imperium*" *and* "*Officium*" *— Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom* funded by the Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Austria) and directed by M. Jursa at the University of Vienna. A more detailed treatment of the subject of this paper can be found in my dissertation (Hackl 2013, I 272–285, 290–315 and 380–393) on which the following sections are based. Unpublished texts from the British Museum are cited with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Editions of the Esangila texts discussed in this paper will be presented elsewhere (see preliminary Hackl 2013, II 5–52 and 133–218). I am indebted to C.B.F. Walker and Y. Levavi for factual information, discussions and suggestions; to J. Monerie for bringing BM 105195 to my attention; to E.E. Payne who took upon herself the task of improving my English. Responsibility for errors is mine.

[2] Pedersén 2005a, 111–127 (archive N1) and 128–129 (archive N2) and Jursa 2010a, 68–69 (see also Pedersén 2005b).

[3] Waerzeggers 2003/2004.

Zababa temple archive from Kiš/Ḫursagkalamma (reign of Artaxerxes I, c. 30 texts).[4] In addition, there are a few institutional texts from the reign of Darius II that can be attributed to the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive (see below). The bulk of the Esangila material, however, dates from the fourth century BCE, as does the brewers' archive from Borsippa which originated in the administration of Ezida. From later centuries, most of the pertinent material comes from the so-called 'Hellenistic Rēš temple archives' (Uruk), although the overwhelming majority of the tablets belonging here are in fact private documents.[5] The Late Hellenistic institutional material from Northern Babylonia cannot be divided into coherent groups. The archive of the astrologers of the Mušēzib family[6] and that of Raḫimesu[7] are, despite their close ties to the administration of Esangila, private in origin.

In this paper, I will survey the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive, the largest institutional archive from Late Achaemenid Babylonia, and address the question of whether the effects of the political events in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE are visible in the sources. In addition, I will draw on the smaller Zababa temple and brewers' archives from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE to provide a broader perspective. Owing to the nature of the sources, the administration and remuneration of the temple personnel of Esangila stand at the centre of the following discussion. Other aspects of the temple household, e.g. the realm of temple agriculture, cannot be studied in great detail with the data available. Before discussing the temple administration and remuneration system, a general outline of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive will be given.

The temple archive

The name of the archive, Esangila, was dubbed by P.-A. Beaulieu after he had identified a group of texts originating in the administration of Babylon's principal temple when cataloguing Late Babylonian texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection.[8] It is important to note that these texts (as well as others assigned to the archive so far[9]) represent only a single phase of the known part

[4] On the archive see Jursa 2005, 103 and Hackl 2013, I 541–543 and II 104–107 and 218–225 with text editions.

[5] Jursa 2005, 140. Institutional texts from Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Larsa are still mostly unpublished (see preliminarily Hackl 2017, 70–75); a small dossier found in the Ebabbar complex has been studied by Joannès 2001.

[6] Hackl 2013, I 461–472 and II 90–96 with text editions and the pertinent bibliography.

[7] See van der Spek 1998 for a full edition of the archive. See also Jursa 2005, 75–76; Hackl 2013, I 472–475; and Hackl 2016 for additional texts.

[8] Beaulieu 1994, 6.

[9] See Jursa 2005, 73–75 and Hackl 2013, I 272–273.

of the archive.[10] For the sake of clarity, it thus seems necessary to label the archive more precisely by adding the periods from which this particular group of texts dates, hence Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive.[11] From earlier and later periods, the Esangila material at our disposal cannot be divided into coherent groups. What little we know about the organisation and personnel of Esangila in the sixth century BCE is largely based on indirect information gleaned from contemporary institutional (Ebabbar, Eanna) and private archives. The same holds true for the period after the end of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive, although there is a small number of texts preserved[12] that seems to belong to the latest phase of the temple archive proper.[13] The most important information, however, can be culled from three private archives, the protagonists of which maintained close (business) relations with Esangila: the Abu-ul-īde archive,[14] the archive of the astrologers of the Mušēzib family and the Raḫimesu archive. While the earliest text of the Abu-ul-īde archive post-dates the end of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive by only four years, the latter are markedly later dating from the late second and early first centuries BCE. In addition, the dossiers of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nabû-šumu-līšir (SE 36–42), and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (SE 59–85), should be mentioned here, as both individuals were engaged in the same type of business as the holders of the Abu-ul-īde archive.[15]

With currently c. 285 texts, the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive is one of the largest archives from Late Period Babylonia. The archival attribution of these texts strongly suggests that they were stored within the temple precinct as part of the administrative archive, before they were removed from the active files (see below). Their exact find-spot, however, remains unknown, as all of them were unearthed by clandestine diggers and

[10] This is corroborated by the lack of prosopographical links, the variation in text types and especially the 'museum-archaeological' argument (see below).

[11] See also Jursa 2005, 73. This is the group of texts that Clancier 2009, 198 refers to as "archives administratives de l'Esagil 1, IV^{ème}–III^{ème} siècles". For a more exact life span of the archive see below.

[12] E.g. BM 34210 (SE 220), a letter addressed to the assembly of the jewellers of the Esangila, and CT 49 149 (SE 185), a fragmentary protocol of deliberation of the temple assembly of the Esangila similar to those attributed to the archive of the astrologers of the Mušēzib family (*BOR* 4, 132, CT 49 144 and 186+).

[13] Clancier 2009, 189 uses the label "archives administratives de l'Esagil 2, II^{ème}–I^{er} siècles" for this group of texts. The private character of at least some of these texts (e.g. the letters of the astrologers: CT 49 142 and 191, *Iraq* 43, 139 [AB 247]), however, leaves it thoroughly unclear whether the entire group can be attributed to the administrative archive of Esangila. See also note 17.

[14] See Jursa 2006 with a full edition of the archive. See also Jursa 2005, 73 and Hackl 2013, I 445–456 and II 81–87 with additional texts.

[15] A description of these dossiers, including a discussion of the possibility that they belong to the same archive, can be found in Hackl 2013, I 456–459.

acquired on the antiquities market. As a consequence, the reconstruction of the archive rests on circumstantial evidence, primarily on prosopography, and 'museum-archaeological' observations. The texts in the holdings of the British Museum are used as a point of departure because they constitute the bulk of the Esangila material and illustrate through which antiquities dealers they made their way into the various collections.

Table 1: Collections of the British Museum containing Esangila material

Collection	BM number(s)	Number of texts
Bu 1888-5-12	78172–78814	14
Bu 1889-4-26	78941–79458	35
1889-9-30	79459	1
Bu 1891-5-9	80149–82541	5
1892-5-16	16465–16884	34
1892-7-9	16885–17286	44
1893-10-14	82549–82598	3
1894-1-15	17289–17596c	2
1896-4-9	21896–22411	2
1898-7-11	27736–27993	1
1898-10-13	28668–28794	1
1899-4-17	85981–86258	2
1900-10-13	87221–87382	33
1901-10-12	95479–95809	4
1913-4-16	105169–108484	1
1958-4-12	132267–132295	2
1985-12-14	140648	1

The numbers given in Table 1 above show that the vast majority of texts can be found in five collections which were acquired in 1888–1889, 1892 and 1900, respectively. The first Esangila texts to be registered in the British Museum (Bu 1888-5-12 and 1889-4-26) were purchased by E.A. Wallis Budge during his travels to various Iraqi sites in 1887–1891 prior to his appointment as Assistant Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. The other collections containing larger amounts of Esangila texts came to the British Museum from the dealers Selim Homsy & Co (1892-5-16 and 1892-7-9) and Djemi & Thomas Adbulkarim (1900-10-13). Two of the remaining collections were also acquired by or from the said individuals: Bu 1891-5-9 by Budge and 1894-1-15 from Selim Homsy & Co. The remaining Esangila texts in the British Museum are strays in other collections which come from other dealers (1889-9-30, 1893-10-14, 1896-4-9, 1898-10-13, 1899-4-17,

1901-10-12 and 1913-4-16), donations (1958-4-12) or dispersed collections sold on the antiquities market (1985-12-14).

The registration numbers of the British Museum's collections above show that the Esangila material was dispersed through the antiquities market during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The bulk of the material was acquired by western museums, most notably the British Museum, but also by private collectors. In some instances, the collections of the latter (or at least parts thereof) ended up in the possession of museums as well, as is demonstrated by the British Museum's 1958-4-12 (ex Estate of E.W.B. Chappelow) and 1985-12-14 (ex Amherst via Charles Ede Ltd.) collections. In addition to circumstantial evidence, the 'museum-archaeological' argument, i.e. registration numbers of the collections listed above (especially Bu 1888-5-12, 1889-4-26, 1892-5-16, 1892-7-9 and 1900-10-13), is the most important aid in assigning texts to the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive. Issues related to this kind of archival reconstruction can be illustrated on the basis of the following texts. The operative section of BM 82549, a wet-nursing contract, provides no evidence for a possible connection to the temple archive.[16] However, the mention of temple personnel in the witness list, including serfs (*širku*) of Marduk, and the registration number (1893-10-14) suggest that this record belongs to a 'satellite' dossier, if not the temple archive proper.[17] It is thus plausible to assume that we are dealing with a private legal transaction among members of the temple household. BM 87250 may have a similar background: its connection to the temple archive is based on BM 87228, a lease contract from the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive, in which two witnesses mentioned in BM 87250 are parties to the contract. Also worth noting is BM 65435 in the AH 1882-9-18 collection. At first glance, the fact that it bears the same seal impression as the Esangila text BM 17123 (1892-7-9, 239)[18] argues for an attribution to the archive. However, circumstantial evidence[19] and the fact that the BM 65435 comes from Hormuzd Rassam's excavations[20] (unlike the rest of the archive) may indicate that it, too, belongs to a 'satellite' dossier.[21] In numerous other cases, however, in which pertinent circumstantial evidence of the kind described above is lacking, we remain in the dark with regard

[16] The parties to the contract are otherwise unknown and do not help in this respect.

[17] There is no evident way of telling whether texts like BM 82549 belonged to deposited private (family) archives or whether they are copies drafted for purposes of safe-keeping, accounting or taxation — unless, of course, one subscribes to the notion that archival copies have no seals.

[18] See Altavilla and Walker 2016, 54 no. 264 (I owe this observation to C.B.F. Walker).

[19] Most notably the type of transaction.

[20] See in general Walker and Collon 1980 and Reade 1986, xiii–xxxvi.

[21] Note that BM 65435 mentions the overseer of the serfs (*šaknu ša širkē*) in the operative section of the document.

to the attribution to the temple archive, even though the sources are in fact readily accessible.

The archival reconstruction based on the Esangila material from the British Museum offers a good impression of the overall composition of the archive, or rather, the archival fragment (prosopography, principal text types and their extrinsic aspects etc.) and thus allows for an identification of Esangila texts in other museums and collections. Currently, c. 80 texts from the collections listed in Table 2 below can be added to the archive.

Table 2: Additional collections containing Esangila material

Collection	Number of texts
IV^{e} Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études	4
Ashmolean Museum[22]	2
Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery	5
Chicago Oriental Institute	11
Columbia University Library	5
De Liagre Böhl collection	2
Harvard Semitic Museum	17
Louvre	26
Metropolitan Museum of Art	3
Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels	2
Vorderasiatisches Museum	6
Yale Babylonian Collection[23]	18
Documented but current location unknown	1

An analysis of the make-up of the archive shows that it consists almost entirely of ephemeral records of temporary value, such as ration lists, administrative notes and so forth (see Figure 1 below), i.e. text types generated by the primary or secondary documentation of the temple household. With the exception of the sale contract BM 87232[24] and the donations BM 17040 and RIAA 289, title deeds are completely absent and even common ephemeral records, such as debt notes and receipts, are not well represented in the archive. This observation allows us to draw the conclusion that the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive is a dead archive. Given the overall poor

[22] These texts were formerly housed in the Bodleian Library.

[23] Including tablets from the E.A. Hoffman Collection (EAH), Nies Babylonian Collection (NBC) and Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets (NCBT), all of which are currently housed in the Yale Babylonian Collection (New Haven).

[24] The absence of sealings and finger-nail marks suggests that this record is in fact an archival copy.

preservation of the tablets, it also seems reasonable to assume that they were not simply removed from the active archive, but discarded and possibly put to secondary use as fill or the like. If this is correct it may explain why these tablets were not found together with those of the latest phase of the Esangila archive (including the astronomical and literary material)[25] and the three private archives mentioned above which belong in the same context.[26]

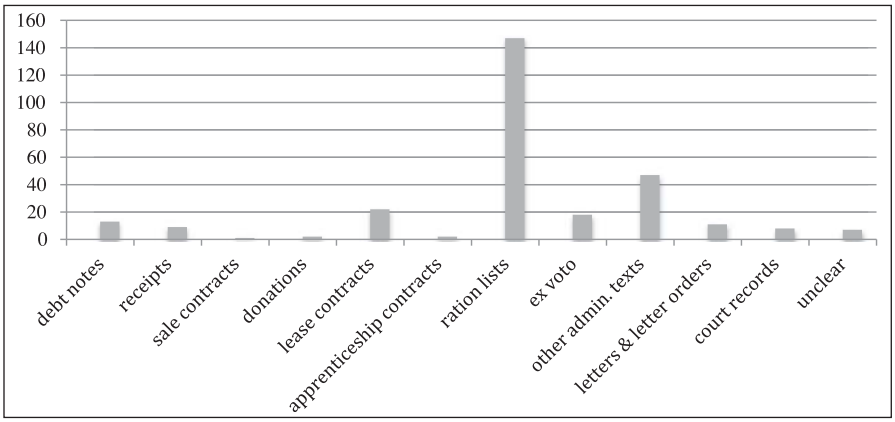

Figure 1: Distribution of text types in the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive[27]

The exact chronological range of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive is difficult to establish, as there are numerous texts without secure archival attribution. Moreover, many of the texts that can be securely assigned to the archive, date to the reign of an Artaxerxes, and more often than not there is no indication which of the three kings of that name is meant. These shortcomings notwithstanding, it is clear that the bulk of the Esangila material dates to the period from the second half of Artaxerxes' II reign to the end of the reign of Alexander IV. The core of the archive formed by these texts is supplemented by a few temporal outliers dating to the second half of the reign of Darius II and the first decades of the Seleucid period, respectively; the earliest text is BM 16582 (Dar II 11), the latest BM 105195 (SE 32). The fact that the Abu-ul-īde archive is only slightly later (SE 35–59) and represented in the

[25] The learned texts attributed to the Esangila library of the Late Period are surveyed in Clancier 2009, 190–195 and 200–213.

[26] This is suggested by the British Museum's registration numbers, which show that the tablets of the latter group were sold on the antiquities' market much earlier. The clear-cut chronological range of the two groups dismisses the possibility that part of the material was intentionally held back by the dealers.

[27] *Ex voto*s are terse and stereotyped receipts which record votive offerings to Bēl (and Bēltia) in the form of silver, animals or luxury goods (Hackl 2013, I 259–262 and 410–413).

British Museum's collections also containing the material from the latest phase of the Esangila archive may suggest that the tablets of the earlier phase were removed from the active archive at that time (i.e. at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus I Soter).

The temple administration

The archive, with its strong focus on terse ration lists and other ephemeral administrative texts, is not very informative on the members of the temple administration and the organisation of the temple household as a whole. However, several letters and legal records in which temple officials and representatives of other temple professions are sender or party to the contract allow for a comparison with the abundant information on the administration of the Babylonian temples in the preceding period.

Most of the pertinent information about the preceding period comes from the archives of Eanna and Ebabbar.[28] Regional differences and temporal changes notwithstanding, the members of the highest echelons within the temple administration in the sixth century BCE included local representatives recruited from the ranks of prominent priestly families and royal officials who came from outside the temple household. Below this level, there were hierarchically organised strata of other members of the temple household. They consisted on the one hand of prebendaries and priests who constituted the temple assembly (*kiništu* or the variant *kinaltu*), and on the other of ordinary craftsmen, unfree serfs and other professions who were required for the upkeep of the temples and the offering system. In addition, royal courtiers (*ša rēš šarri*) were present supervising the temples' activities on behalf of the crown.[29] Depending on the actual size of the temple household, the highest level within the temple administration was either staffed with a 'high priest' (*šangû*) or a 'bishop' (*šatammu*) and a royal resident (*qīpu*). The former structure is typical for the administration of smaller sanctuaries, e.g. Ebabbar in Sippar and Eulmaš in Akkad, where the 'high priest' also seems to have exercised some form of judicial and administrative power over the city itself.[30] The latter is attested for various larger sanctuaries including Eanna in Uruk, Ezida in Borsippa and Emeslam in Cutha. Here, the civil administration is in the hands of a city governor (*šākin ṭēmi*). As a rule, the bishop and royal resident were assisted by temple scribes or

[28] Comprehensive treatments are Bongenaar 1997, chapter 2 (Ebabbar) and Kleber 2008, chapter 2 (Eanna).

[29] On the courtiers see most recently Jursa 2010a, 87–88 and 2011 with the pertinent bibliography.

[30] Jursa 1996, 202 n. 11.

'clerks' (*ṭupšarrū bīti*) and high-ranking royal officials (e.g. the *ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti ajakki* of Eanna).

Despite the fact that we are missing the Esangila archive fragment of the sixth century BCE, it is clear from indirect evidence that Esangila had the same administrative structure as other large sanctuaries at that time. The chronological range of these references stretches from the last years of Nebuchadnezzar II's reign to the beginning of the reign of Xerxes (but note that those for the royal resident are concentrated in the reign of Darius I).[31] The lack of evidence from earlier decades is probably simply a matter of coincidence and does not necessarily imply that the administrative structure of Esangila differed in the early years of Nebuchadnezzar II from what we see later in his reign.

Before turning to the high-ranking temple officials as documented in the Late Achaemenid period, some remarks on the holders of the office of the royal resident are in order. As stated above, these officials came from outside the temple household and had no kinship ties to the well-established priestly families of the Babylonian cities. However, towards the end of the reign of Darius I this prerequisite, intended to strengthen their loyalty towards the crown, seems to have been gradually discarded. This is suggested by a number of royal residents belonging to Babylonian, Borsippean and Dilbatean priestly families documented at that time.[32] We will return to this matter below.

After the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes in 484 BCE, almost all references for high-ranking officials, or, to use a more neutral term, functionaries in the administration of Northern Babylonian temples come from the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive. They appear in legal and court records, letters and various administrative texts and, judging from these texts, performed the same official duties as their predecessors in the sixth century BCE.[33] In all instances in which these functionaries act on behalf of the temple, they are referred to as *ṭupšarrū u bēl piqnēti ša Esangila* (without giving their names)[34]

[31] Bishops of Esangila are, e.g. mentioned in GCCI 1 220 and 235 (both Nbk 38), CT 55 351 (Nbn 2, Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin), TCL 12 120 (Nbn 17, Zēria, also mentioned without title in the letter YOS 3 196, see Kleber 2008, 268), *Cyr*. 263 (Cyr 7) and Baker 2004 no. 71 (date lost, assigned to the period between the end of the reign of Dar I and Xer 1 on prosopographic grounds). Royal residents of Esangila are mentioned in Abraham 2004 no. 85 (Dar I 5), Waerzeggers 2010 no. 214 (Dar I 25), VS 6 155 (Dar I 29) and BM 68777(+)63570 (no date, edited in MacGinnis 1993 and 2006, on the dating see MacGinnis 2006, 132). Other high officials of Esangila attested in contemporary sources are the commissioner of the treasurer (*bēl piqitti ša muḫḫi quppi*, Baker 2004 no. 71, on the dating see above) and the royal commissioner of Esangila (*ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Esangila*, TCL 13 193, Dar I 16).

[32] See Waerzeggers 2010, 42 n. 220 and 253 n. 892; Jursa 2015, 604–605 with additional references and Jursa, this volume.

[33] Hackl 2013, I 295–298 argues this in greater detail.

[34] Legal records which were actually drafted by the temple scribes themselves exempt this rule, e.g. BM 87245. The names follow the list of witnesses (usually without filiation but compare VS 5 119) and sometimes have the title *ṭupšarrū Esangila* added.

or simply as the assembly (*kiništu*).[35] The members of the second group, the *bēl piqnēti*s, appear to be representatives of the different professional groups within the temple household who, together with the temple scribes (*ṭupšarrū*), constitute the highest level of Esangila's administration in the Late Achaemenid period. This is well illustrated by BM 87285, a letter from the *bēl piqnēti*s of the smiths' house (*bīt nappāḫē*, on which see below) to the *ṭupšarrū u bēl piqnēti ša Esangila*: the letter writers are representatives of one particular professional group, whereas the *bēl piqnēti*s of Esangila represent the entirety of the temple's professional groups with board members drawn from the individual groups.

Royal officials, the second main constituent of the temple administration in the sixth century BCE, are mentioned very rarely in the sources from the later period. They, too, are nearly exclusively attested in the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive.[36] In all instances, they act in the capacity of witnesses, obviously to oversee the activities of the *ṭupšarrū u bēl piqnēti ša Esangila* when concluding legal transactions.[37] This begs the question of how to account for the near-absence of royal officials in the Late Achaemenid period and the fact that they never actively perform official duties. One plausible explanation is the shift in terminology (Akkadian > Iranian) occurring after the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes (e.g. *ša rēši* > *ustarbaru* and *ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti* > *dātabarra*)[38] which may mask their actual numbers. However, a sifting of the available sources dismisses this idea: the titles of Persian officials are likewise rarely mentioned in the documentation from Northern Babylonia in the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive; they are not attested before the Hellenistic period. If one takes into account that not only royal officials in general but also royal residents and bishops are conspicuously (almost) absent throughout the entire Late Achaemenid period, one may arrive at a different interpretation. Given the events of political unrest in 484 BCE, it seems reasonable to assume that the (near-)absence of high-ranking temple officials reflects a process of restructuring that aimed to degrade the (Northern) Babylonian temples and deprive them of their power. Regarding the bishops, this comes as no surprise. As members of the Babylonian urban elites and chief administrators of the temples that had been the main supporters of the rebel pretenders, they were certainly held accountable for the role they played during

[35] This is always the case with court records, e.g. BM 87242 and Jursa 1997 no. 52. On the supposition that here *kiništu* is a collective term for the high-ranking temple functionaries, see the discussion in Hackl 2013, I 298–299.

[36] The only exceptions are two texts from private archives: the apprenticeship contract Hackl 2011 no. 8 (Xer 4) and BM 42387 ([Xer –]), presumably a settlement of a dispute.

[37] E.g. in the apprenticeship contract BM 87245 (i.a. witnessed by three *bēl piqitti*s) and the sale contract BM 87232 (i.a. witnessed by two *bēl piqitti*s).

[38] Jursa 2011, 167–168 with further examples.

the uprisings. A similar picture emerges for the royal residents. While originally appointed to protect the interests of the crown, they may well have found themselves with increasingly divided loyalties towards the king on account of their close ties to the local 'aristocracy' by the end of the sixth century BCE (see above and Jursa, this volume). The only two attestations of a bishop of Esangila in Late Achaemenid times fit this interpretation well, as they date from the very end of this period and thus hint at an extended vacancy of this office.[39] Moreover, they suggest that the administration of Esangila underwent a further restructuring during the reign of Darius III (or Artaxerxes IV) which saw the reintroduction of the office of the bishop, i.e. the highest temple official throughout the entire Hellenistic period.[40]

Given the life span of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive with its strong focus on the fourth century BCE, one might argue that the chronological range of these sources does not allow us to establish a causal link between the events in 484 BCE and the restructuring of Esangila's administration presented above. However, there are other arguments to support this assumption. Private archives which bridge the watershed formed by the Babylonian revolts against Xerxes,[41] and other slightly later archives likewise do not contain any references to high-ranking temple officials known from the preceding period. A second argument that can be marshalled in favour of a restructuring at that time is furnished by OECT 10 231, a lease contract from the Zababa temple archive from Kiš/Ḫursagkalamma. This text, which is considerably earlier (Art I […]), mentions the same temple functionaries as documented in the later texts from the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive (i.e. the *ṭupšarrū u bēl piqnēti* of Edubba)[42], and hence corroborates that the Northern Babylonian temple administrations underwent restructuring in the reign of Artaxerxes I, at the latest. At the moment, however, it cannot be determined with absolute certainty whether these changes occurred shortly after the revolts had been scotched, or only after Artaxerxes' I rise to power.

Below the level of the highest-ranking temple functionaries, there is evidence for further administrative changes. In the sixth century BCE, the members of the priestly class were organised in clans based on actual or perceived kinship bonds and common descent. Among these groups, only the 'purveying

[39] BM 87249 (presumably Art IV 1; see the discussion in Hackl and Oelsner in press), a rental of a boat; BM 82556 (Dar III 1), a letter written by the assembly of the scribes to the bishop of Esangila.

[40] See in general van der Spek 2000. An updated prosopography of the bishops can be found in Hackl 2013, I 309–310. On the question of who may have been responsible for cultic matters during this long period of *sede vacante*, see the remarks in Hackl 2013, I 295.

[41] Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 156–157 gives a list of the pertinent archives; for updates see also Waerzeggers, this volume.

[42] A collation of the original establishes clearly that line three reads [^{lú}umbisag^{meš} *u* en^{meš} ^{lú}*piq*]-ʳ*né*ʾ-*e-ti šá* é*.dub*.bu^{sic}.

trades', such as brewers, bakers and butchers, had overseers (*šāpiru*) who, among other things, represented them to the highest level of the temple administration. Judging from a group of letters from the Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, the organisation of this stratum, too, underwent a major restructuring during the fifth century BCE. Several professional groups are now represented by their own professional assemblies (*kiništu*, see Table 3 below).[43]

Table 3: Assemblies of different professional groups within the household of Esangila (non-epistolary texts have an asterisk added)

Assembly of	Text(s)
Lamentation priests (*kalû*)	BM 86056 (c. Dar II or Art II)
Exorcists (*āšipu*)	BM 95597 (c. Art II 33) BM 16687 (c. Dar III 1)
Carpenters (*naggāru*)	EPHE 447 (c. Art II 39)
Scribes (*ṭupšarru*)	BM 82556 (Dar III 1)
Astrologers (*ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*)	BM 87301 (Phi 6) CT 49 192 (c. SE 151–197)
Weavers (*išparu*)	CT 49 190* (SE 20+)
Butchers (*ṭābiḫu*)	BM 105195* (SE 32)
Jewellers (*kabšarru*)	BM 34210 (SE 220)

Too little is known about these professional assemblies to offer a comprehensive description. Only BM 82556, a letter written by the assembly of the scribes in the first year of Darius III, gives us a glimpse of the make-up of such an assembly. The number of board members, while not mentioned in the letter, can be deduced from the seals impressed and captioned on the reverse; we thus arrive at fourteen members, which of course, does not account for the possibility that some of the scribes did not feel obliged to impress their seals. The activities of such assemblies are also documented by BM 105195, an administrative note regarding the purchase of offering sheep. In essence, it records a settlement of accounts between the assembly of the butchers and the temple assembly of the Esangila — a scenario which is reminiscent of the overseers' (*šāpiru*) activities in the sixth century BCE.

There are good reasons to assume that the restructuring of lower organisational structures aimed to delegate managerial tasks to the various professional assemblies that did not require the specialised expertise of high-ranking temple functionaries. It is also possible that creating these assemblies brought the professional groups a higher degree of autonomy which is also borne out by the

[43] Note that the *bēl minde* of the Late Period is engaged in the same range of activities (see the discussion in Hackl 2013, I 497–500).

fact that at least some of them had their own 'guild houses' (a term used *faute de mieux*): the *bīt nappāḫē*, the 'guild house' of the smiths[44], the *bīt nārē*, the 'guild house' of the singers[45], the *bīt sirāšê*, the 'guild house' of the brewers[46], and the *bīt išparē*, the 'guild house' of the weavers[47]. While both arguments have their merits, it is likely that these changes, too, were initially prompted by the events after the revolts against Xerxes. An analysis of the make-up of the temple personnel and the remuneration system of Esangila (and other Northern Babylonian temples), presented below, strongly suggests a collapse of the priestly 'clan system', apparently because the members of this class were deprived of their property (and ousted from the cities?) at that time (see the following section). The subsequent disruptions and the abrupt lack of temple personnel must have required the integration of outsiders, which in turn shaped new organisational structures.

The remuneration of temple personnel

The evidence for the remuneration system of the Babylonian temples in the sixth century BCE is very rich. Through this documentation the underlying economic mechanisms and the interaction between the social agents involved can be reconstructed in great detail. Prebendaries, i.e. members of the priestly class who held different types of income rights (*isqu*), received prebendary income (*pappasu*) in return for performing specific cultic services and duties at specific times (*manzaltu*). In the case of the particularly well-documented 'purveying trades' (see above), this income consisted of the remainder of regular allotments of working materials (*maššartu*, but also payments under the heading *sattukku* or *ginû*) which were to be used for the preparation of the regular food offerings (*sattukku* or *ginû*).[48] The members of the temple household outside the prebendary sphere, i.e. non-prebendary craftsmen, unfree serfs and other temple dependants, were issued food rations (*kurummatu*) instead, which are better understood as salaries paid in kind at that time.[49] This duality of the remuneration system is one of the fundamental structural characteristics of Babylonian temple households in the sixth century BCE (Eanna, Ebabbar, Ezida). The fact that the same holds true for the Bīt Rēš temple in Hellenistic

[44] BM 87285 (c. Art II 34?).

[45] TBER 89 (AO 26770, date lost, but to be dated to the fourth century BCE on the basis of circumstantial evidence).

[46] CT 44 76 (Art III 1).

[47] BRM 1 99 (c. SE 218).

[48] A synthesis of the Babylonian prebendary system can be found in van Driel 2002, 33–151. Additional evidence from the archives of the Borsippean priesthood is presented in Waerzeggers 2010, 77–102.

[49] Jursa 2010b, 297.

Uruk,[50] where it is, i.a. reflected in numerous contracts recording transactions of both *isqu* and *kurummatu* income rights,[51] can be seen as establishing a link of continuity with earlier periods. It has thus been assumed that this system was also in place in the Late Achaemenid period, even though the principal text types (prebend sales, service contracts, lists of *maššartu* deliveries etc.)[52] and the traditional terminology[53] are missing in this period.[54] This lack of information was explained by administrative changes and shifts in terminology (or rather, a conflation in terminology[55]) which are considered likely candidates to mask the system as it is known from the preceding period. Studies based on the ration lists of the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive aimed to confirm this assumption by identifying differing service periods (*manzaltu*) behind the large variation of quantities recorded in these lists.[56]

A different approach in the analysis of the quantities allows for a re-assessment of the ration lists' contribution in this respect. The principal points can be summarised as follows. When amounts are listed against groups of recipients, they are not to be divided by the number of recipients (i.e. to arrive at the arithmetic mean), but by a combination of certain standards for rations; as a rule, the latter can be deduced from what is given out to single recipients. This is demonstrated by the ration lists of the reed workers in Table 4 below.[57]

[50] On the prebendary system in Hellenistic Uruk see Corò 2005 and Pirngruber and Waerzeggers 2011, 112–121.

[51] Oelsner 1995, 110.

[52] A survey of the principal text types can be found in Waerzeggers 2010, 173–180.

[53] Van Driel 2002, 92–93.

[54] Jursa 2008, 417.

[55] In the Late Period, all payments (in kind or silver) to temple personnel are subsumed under the heading *kurummatu*, literally 'rations'.

[56] Jursa 2008, 416–419 and Hackl and Pirngruber 2014, 115–117.

[57] Prosopographical connections make it clear that BM 95530 (c. Art III 20), Boiy 2002 no. 3 (c. Alx III 0), CTMMA 4 164 (c. Phi III), BM 16894 (c. Alx III 8) and BM 17283 (date unclear) also belong with these ration lists. With the exception of Boiy 2002 no. 3 (the column containing the quantities is lost), they record monthly payments of barley, dates and wool to the wives (BM 95530) and sons (CTMMA 4 164, BM 16894 and BM 17283) of the reed workers.

Table 4: Monthly barley rations (in litres) issued to reed workers (*atkuppu*)

Text	Date	Recipient(s)	Ration	Standards
BM 87230	c. Art III 8	1 (× 2) 1 + 1 brother (× 2)	54 l 120 l	54 l 60 l + 60 l
EAH 241	c. Art III 12	1 1 1 + 2 sons 1 + 4 sons 1 + 1 brother	60 l 180 l 270 l 240 l 120 l	60 l 180 l 180 l + 2 × 45 l 60 l + 4 × 45 l 60 l + 60 l
BM 78998	c. Art III 16	1 1 1 + 2 sons 1 + 3 sons 1 + 4 sons 1 + 1 brother 1 + 2 brothers	45 l 60 l 270 l 315 l 255 l 120 l 180 l	45 l 60 l 180 l + 2 × 45 l 180 l + 3 × 45 l 75 l + 4 × 45 l 60 l + 60 l 60 l + 2 × 60 l
CT 44 80	c. Art III 17	1 1 (× 2) 1 + 1 son 1 + 3 sons (× 2) 1 + 4 sons 1 + 1 brother 1 + 2 brothers	45 l 60 l 105 l 315 l 255 l 120 l 180 l	45 l 60 l 60 l + 45 l 180 l + 3 × 45 l 75 l + 4 × 45 l 60 l + 60 l 60 l + 2 × 60 l

Secondly, the size of monthly rations does not change over time. Exceptions to this rule are rare; they are obviously caused when individuals move between age groups (e.g. the reed worker Tanitti-Bēl/Bēlšunu in Table 5 below). But it should be noted that unlike in the sixth century BCE,[58] age is but one distinction to which significant differences in the size of rations are owed. The data presented in Table 6 clearly show that profession and rank likewise have a strong bearing on the amounts issued to the individual members of the temple household.[59]

[58] Jursa 2008, 408 and 2010b, 670.

[59] This is best illustrated by BM 78957, a ration list regarding monthly payments of barley to millers (ranging between 54 l and 240 l). Among the recipients, only the miller designated as *ummânu* 'craftsman, expert' receives 240 l.

Table 5: Ration lists recording monthly barley rations issued to the same group of reed workers (x = not listed)

Name	BM 87230 (c. Art III 8)	EAH 241 (c. Art III 12)	BM 78998 (c. Art III 16)	CT 44 80 (c. Art III 17)
Bēl-aplu-iddin/ Nabû-uṣuršu	x	x	60 l	60 l
Bēl-bullissu/ Aḫūšunu	[…]	270 l (+ 2 sons)	315 l (+ 3 sons)	315 l (+ 3 sons)
Bēl-ittannu/ Libluṭ	x	x	180 l (+ 2 brothers)	180 l (+ 2 brothers)
Bēl-uṣuršu/ Bēl-bullissu	x	[…]	45 l	45 l
Ea-ibni/ Bēl-ana-bītišu	120 l (+ 1 brother)	120 l (+ 1 brother)	120 l (+ 1 brother)	120 l (+ 1 brother)
Ina-dulli-Bēl-lilbir/Aḫūšunu	x	180 l	270 l (+ 2 sons)	315 l (+ 3 sons)
Marduk-šumu-iddin/ Ea-tabtanâ-uṣur	120 l (+ 1 brother)	60 l	[…]	60 l
Tanitti-Bēl/ Bēlšunu	[…]	240 l (+ 4 sons)	255 l (+ 4 sons)	255 l (+ 4 sons)

Table 6: Monthly barley rations issued to different professional groups

Profession	untrained/ adolescent	fully trained/ adult	expert
Astrologer (*ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*)	n/a	180 l	n/a
Exorcist (*āšipu*)[60]	90 l	90 l	270 l
Lamentation priest (*kalû*)[61]	n/a	90 l	n/a
Baker (*nuḫatimmu*)	90 l	90 l	90 l
Diviner (*bārû*)	60 l	90 l	n/a
Miller (*ararru*)	60 l	90 l	240 l[62]
Gardener (*rab banê*)	60 l	60 l	90 l
Reed worker (*atkuppu*)	45 l	60 l	180 l

[60] In addition to ration lists, monthly barley rations issued to exorcists are also mentioned in two letter orders: 60 l in BM 95597 and 90 l in BM 16687.

[61] The size of the monthly rations can be deduced from the letter order BM 86056, the writers of which request 270 l of barley to be issued to a lamentation priest as rations for three months.

[62] See note 59.

Thirdly, the number of standards for rations is very small: 45 l, 60 l, 90 l or 180 l for men, 45 l for women. Again, exceptions are rare. They include 54 l, 75 l, 240 l and 270 l for men and 75 l for women. The distribution of the standards recorded in the ration lists for male temple staff is illustrated by Figure 2 below.

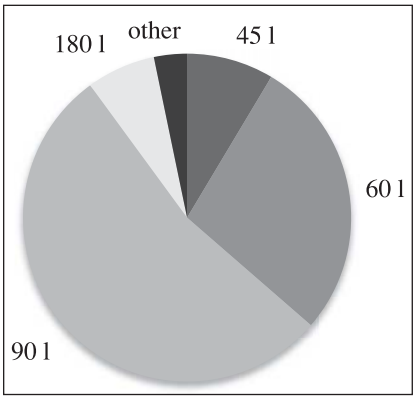

Figure 2: Distribution of standards for rations

The very fact that we are dealing with standards for rations which do not change over time, dismisses the idea of differing service periods being reflected in the Esangila ration lists. Rather, they suggest that we have here a ration system similar to that used for the remuneration of non-prebendary personnel of Ebabbar and Eanna in the sixth century BCE.[63] The difference in the most common standards — 90 l in Esangila, but, e.g. 180 l in Ebabbar — can be explained from temporary fluctuations,[64] and even more importantly, from the fact that in the Late Period women are integrated in the system and receive rations of their own. The absence of processed goods in the ration lists,[65] such as flour, beer and oil, and the issued quantities (which clearly exceeded consumption needs of individuals) indicate that here, too, the temple personnel received salaries paid in kind.[66] Silver wages, on the other hand, were very unusual. This is by and large in line with what we see in the Ebabbar and Eanna

[63] See also Beaulieu 2006, 8–9.

[64] Fluctuations of this kind are also documented in the Eanna archive, see the table in Jursa 2008, 404.

[65] The only exception being wool in the form of garments, e.g. recorded in the ration lists CT 44 84 and CT 49 27. The same is true for the remuneration system of Ebabbar and Eanna in the sixth century BCE (Jursa 2008, 390) and Ezida in the fourth century BCE (Hackl 2013, I 502–506 Table 100).

[66] On institutional salaries paid in kind in the sixth century BCE, see Jursa 2008, 410–415.

archives where silver is predominantly used for exchanging goods with the outside world or for hiring free labour.[67]

What are the implications of these findings with regard to the organisation of the temple household in the Late Achaemenid period? Firstly, it has to be noted that typical prebendary professions, such as the 'purveying trades', are also integrated in the ration system. If one subscribes to the possibility that, despite their professions, they do not belong to the circle of the clergy, this is what is expected. However, this explanation is ruled out by two ration lists that have not been taken into account thus far. BM 16585 and BM 16804 are different from the other lists in that they record monthly date rations, ranging between 1080 l and 2880 l. Since these large amounts are issued to single recipients, it becomes clear that these payments are not intended as salaries paid in kind.[68] Rather, they must be the working material given to members of individual professional groups who were jointly responsible for the upkeep of the cult. This dual flow of commodities — barley for salaries paid in kind and dates for working materials — is not restricted to the remuneration system of Esangila. As can be seen in the brewers' archive from Borsippa (late fourth century BCE), also the brewers of Ezida received barley as rations but large amounts of dates to fulfil their cultic services.[69]

Thus, if one accepts the premise that the individuals mentioned in the ration lists (with their slightly differentiated wages) were also directly involved in the cult, this evidence points to a fundamental structural change within the remuneration system of temple households. In the sixth century BCE, the three main groups of temple dependants (prebendaries, non-prebendary personnel and unfree serfs) were remunerated through a dual system (i.e. differentiating prebendary income from fixed allowances), whereas in the Late Achaemenid period, the entire temple personnel received fixed allowances. The possibility that we are merely dealing with terminological shifts[70] can be excluded, as standard rations cannot be reconciled with the mechanisms behind the concept of prebends. Moreover, it is improbable that the highly differentiated flows of commodities, typical of the *modus operandi* of the prebendary system, were suddenly discontinued in favour of the existing remuneration system, intended to provide other social groups with standard rations.

A different explanation can be offered when reviewing the evidence pertaining to prebends and prebendary activities in general. Professions typically

[67] Jursa 2008, 412.

[68] Two possible exceptions are recorded in the atypical ration list BM 27767 and the letter order VS 3 192, on which see the discussion in Hackl 2013, I 391 n. 1111; both texts belong to the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive.

[69] Jursa 2008, 420. A detailed discussion can be found in Hackl 2013, I 501–517.

[70] See note 55.

involved in cultic matters,[71] allotments of working material, and regular offerings and ceremonies that are frequently mentioned in the textual record of the Late Period clearly attest to the continuation of the cult in Esangila. However, there is no clear evidence for an existing prebendary system according to the model of the sixth century BCE.[72] This is also true for private archives of that time, which, unlike those from the sixth century BCE, do not contain information on the prebendary sphere.[73] On the basis of these observations, we can rule out as highly unlikely the assumption that the institutional sources present us with a fundamentally skewed picture. Rather, the absence of pertinent information on prebends and the radical changes in the remuneration system described above strongly suggest that the prebendary system as such had been abolished in Northern Babylonian temples during the Late Achaemenid period. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why representatives of typical prebendary professions and other temple dependants, who in the sixth century BCE did not belong to the exclusive circle of prebendaries, were remunerated in the same way. If this is correct, we are dealing with a fairly homogeneous social group whose members are no longer stratified into a 'caste-like' structure.[74] The reasons for this restructuring may be manifold (e.g. class struggles). However, regarding the magnitude of these changes, the events after the Babylonian revolts in 484 BCE are again a likely candidate to account for a collapse of the prebendary system. In addition to real estate, prebends constituted an important source of income for the Babylonian urban elites, i.e. the main supporters of the rebel pretenders. It is therefore not surprising that Xerxes' reprisals were also geared towards a disruption of the prebendary system. The fact that it continued to exist in Southern Babylonia (Uruk, Larsa, Ur),[75] a region known to have abstained from participating in the revolts,[76] can be marshalled in support of this assumption.

[71] Canonical texts from Hellenistic Babylon are the most important source on these matters, see Linssen 2004.

[72] The term *kalûtu* mentioned in the ration lists BM 78948, BM 78989, BM 132271 and CT 44 84 does not contradict this general statement, as it primarily refers to the lamentation priest's profession in general, and only secondarily to the corresponding prebend. The same is true for the term *mubannûtu* ('profession of the table setter') mentioned in CT 49 150, a list of income and expenditures belonging to the Raḫimesu archive. However, on the basis of other evidence in (the context of) this archive (most notably the lease contract CT 49 160), one could argue that the situation had changed in the Late Hellenistic period (see Hackl 2013, I 391–392 n. 1113).

[73] In the sixth century BCE, roughly 50 per cent of the holders of private archives exhibit an active involvement in the prebendary economy (Jursa 2010b, 157).

[74] This is of course not the case for the temple dependents on the lowest social rungs, i.e. unfree serfs (*širku*) and semi-free workers (*šušānu*). On the latter see Dandamaev 1984, 637–638, Boiy 2004, 273–274, Weszeli 2003–2005, 474–475 and 2010, 414–418.

[75] Surveys of the available sources from the Late Achaemenid period can be found in Jursa 2005, 133–134 and 137, Oelsner 2006, 79–87 (both Ur) and Hackl 2017, 59 (Uruk, Larsa).

[76] Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 157–160.

Conclusions

The evidence presented above makes it clear that the organisation of the Esangila temple household underwent significant changes in the Late Achaemenid period. Owing to the nature of the sources, the temple's administration and remuneration system stood at the centre of the discussion. In the realm of the temple administration, the most important changes can be summarised as follows. The offices of the royal resident (*qīpu*) and bishop (*šatammu*) vanished soon after 484 BCE either completely or for an extended period of time,[77] which prompted restructuring of the highest level of the temple administration. The newly appointed board of temple administrators consisted of temple scribes (*ṭupšarrū ša Esangila*) and representatives of the different professional groups within the temple household (*bēl piqnēti ša Esangila*). The latter also had their own professional assemblies (*kiništu*) and 'guild houses' which may well indicate a higher degree of autonomy. Royal commissioners and courtiers are very rarely mentioned. In the realm of the remuneration of temple personnel it can be shown that in the Late Achaemenid period all members of the temple household are remunerated in the same way, i.e. through a system based on standard rations. The prebendary system, on the other hand, is no longer operative. This is not to say that the typical prebendary professions of the sixth BCE century which are of paramount importance for the upkeep of the cult have disappeared. However, the shift from prebendary income to fixed allowances within the remuneration system of Esangila undoubtedly reflects a dissolution of social and legal boundaries between prebendaries and non-prebendaries. This in turn must be a response to social upheavals and/or royal intervention. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the members of the priestly class would consent to the abolishment of the prebendary system which provided them with an important source of income, prestige and autonomy.

I have argued above that these changes are a consequence of Xerxes' suppression of the Babylonian revolts in 484 BCE, even though the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila archive post-dates these events by several decades. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that we are dealing with far-reaching shifts, since similar changes are also visible in other (slightly earlier) institutional archives from Northern Babylonia: (1) According to the Zababa temple archive from Kiš/Ḫursagkalamma, the restructured board of temple administrators is active in Edubba in the reign of Artaxerxes I, at the latest; (2) The remuneration of typical prebendary professions through a system based on standard rations is also attested in the Early Hellenistic brewers' archive from Borsippa. Moreover, the onomasticon preserved in the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Esangila, Zababa temple and brewers'

[77] The office of the bishop was reintroduced in the reign of Darius III.

archives demonstrates that the traditional urban elites were removed from all major temples of Northern Babylonia and replaced by individuals of different social strata.[78] This falls in line with what we see in Uruk, where the local Northern Babylonian families were also deprived of their economic means (and ousted from the city?) at that time.[79] However, here the division of families along the lines of origin, kinship bonds, descent and most importantly allegiance to the Persian king, allowed the Urukean families, whose names can be traced back into the sixth century BCE, to maintain close ties to the temple economy.[80] Despite the degradation of the cults of Eanna, this guaranteed a continuation of the prebendary system into the Late Hellenistic period.[81]

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[78] See already Kessler 2004, 251–253. The Northern Babylonian onomasticon of this period is characterized by a decline in the diversity of proper names and, more importantly, by an almost complete lack of family names. For Ebabbar (Sippar) and Emeslam (Cutha) pertinent information is not available, as the temples' archives from this period are missing.

[79] Kessler 2004, 250–251; Beaulieu, this volume.

[80] On urban elites in Uruk in the Hellenistic period see Monerie 2012 and Beaulieu, this volume.

[81] See note 50.

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URUK BEFORE AND AFTER XERXES: THE ONOMASTIC AND INSTITUTIONAL RISE OF THE GOD ANU

Paul-Alain BEAULIEU
(University of Toronto)[1]

Research conducted over the past three decades has enhanced our understanding of the political and cultural context of the Babylonian revolts against Achaemenid rule in the early part of the reign of Xerxes. C. Waerzeggers has convincingly argued that the two rebel leaders Bēl-šimânni and Šamaš-erība rose simultaneously in northern Babylonia and were defeated a few months later, all events happening in the second year of Xerxes.[2] Their defeat coincides with the end of entire segments of Babylonian documentation, especially at Babylon, Borsippa and Sippar, the main insurrectionist centres. Cuneiform sources dating after the second year of Xerxes and for the balance of Achaemenid rule are significantly fewer in number and they attest that something had changed in Babylonia, although we cannot always tell the degree to which these transformations resulted from the imposition of new rules by Achaemenid authorities after the suppression of the revolts. Uruk is a case in point, because the extent of the changes which took place after the crushing of the Babylonian revolts seems, as far as we know, unparalleled in other centres. Uruk also provides rich evidence for assessing these transformations in the framework of a historical *longue durée*. Indeed, Uruk and Babylon are the only two sites which have produced a significant corpus of cuneiform sources spanning the long era from Sargonid Assyria in the 8th and 7th centuries until the late Seleucid period in the 2nd century.

One fact has stood at the core of discussions on the changes which occurred at Uruk during the Achaemenid era: the rise of the god Anu to the top of the local pantheon and the reorganization of the civic religion of Uruk around the near hegemonic cult of that god. The rise of Anu can be appraised mainly from two sets of data: onomastic, namely, the shift to patterns of name giving which favoured the god Anu as main theophoric element in personal names,

[1] I wish to thank Caroline Waerzeggers for the invitation to participate in the Symposium and publish my contribution in the proceedings. I must also thank Elizabeth Payne of the Yale Babylonian Collection who sent me detailed photographs of the tablet YBC 11632, and Matthew Stolper who authorized me to publish and discuss this important text previously assigned to him.

[2] The main study is Waerzeggers 2003/2004, to which one may add the summary on the Livius website: http://www.livius.org/saa-san/samas-eriba/samas-eriba.html. Last modified July 30, 2015, accessed June 6, 2017.

and institutional, that is to say, the replacement of the goddesses Ištar and Nanāya by the god Anu as notional owner of the main temples of Uruk and their estates.

Onomastic change

The extent of this onomastic revolution became evident a century ago with the publication of the first archival and scholarly texts from Uruk dating to the Hellenistic period. The near exclusive predominance of names formed with the god Anu in texts from that era contrasted markedly with the earlier and far more abundant sources from Uruk dating to the 7th and 6th centuries. These earlier sources show a predominance of names honouring the local goddesses Ištar, Innin and Nanāya, as well as the dynastic gods of the Babylonian empire, Marduk (often under the name Bēl) and Nabû, and to a lesser degree Nergal. For a long time, the chronology and historical background of these changes remained obscure because of the break in our source material between the reign of Darius I and the onset of the Seleucid era two centuries later. In the past three decades, however, the discovery and publication of new texts from Uruk dating to the late Achaemenid period has filled the gap to some degree, and we can now begin to chronicle the ascent of the god Anu with greater precision.

In 1990 M. Stolper published an important group of such texts, made up of twenty-two tablets belonging with one exception to American museums and collections and all acquired from the antiquities market in the first half of the 20th century (Stolper 1990). Most of the texts date from the reigns of rulers named Artaxerxes and Darius. A few have date formulas that are lost. Eight tablets are dated to a king named Artaxerxes, and in all cases but one the high year numbers exclude Artaxerxes III (358–338), who reigned only 21 years. However, the assignment of the documents to either Artaxerxes I (464–424) or Artaxerxes II (404–359) remains uncertain in all cases except one.[3] The ten tablets dated to a king named Darius can almost certainly be assigned to Darius II rather than Darius I because of the absence of the title *šar Bābili* 'king of Babylon', although this is not an absolute argument since that title is also omitted on some Darius I tablets.[4] All in all, however, the Darius tablets display the same general features as other late Achaemenid tablets from Uruk in respect

[3] The one exception is Stolper 1990 no. 3, dated to year 41 of Artaxerxes, who must be Artaxerxes I since the document shows prosopographic interconnections with nos. 1 and 2 dated to the 3rd and 6th years of Darius II respectively (Stolper 1990, 562).

[4] Assignment of these texts to Darius III is excluded in most cases because of the high year number. In the three cases where the year number is five or less (nos. 1, 6 and 21), prosopographic interconnections with other texts dated to Darius II ensure a dating to the latter (Stolper 1990, 561).

to shape, palaeography and contents. Therefore, the optimal chronological limits of the entire group must fall between 433 and 366, with only one text possibly exceeding this time frame (Stolper 1990 no. 17).[5] All the texts display patterns of name giving with clear predominance of the god Anu, therefore much closer to the onomasticon of the Seleucid period at Uruk than to the onomasticon of the Eanna archive in the 6th century. This led M. Stolper to conclude that "the ascendancy of Anu in personal names, and therefore in the religious life of Uruk, must have developed by the late fifth century, during the interval c. 485–420 B.C." (Stolper 1990, 562).

These conclusions are supported by additional texts published in SpTU 5 (von Weiher 1998). Two archives are included in this volume. The archive of Ubāru, son of Anu-aḫḫē-iqīša, comprises at least seven tablets, and possibly more, dated between year 37 of Artaxerxes I and year 8 of Darius II, that is to say, between 428 and 416 (Jursa 2005, 149). The participants in the transactions of the Ubāru archive also bear names with overwhelming predominance of Anu as theophoric element. This provides confirmation that the onomastic shift had taken place by the last quarter of the 5th century. The other group of texts in SpTU 5 is known as the Gimil-Nanāya B archive, which also includes some items published earlier in SpTU 4 (von Weiher 1993). The Gimil-Nanāya B archive extends from year 12 of Darius I to year 9 of Xerxes (510 to 477), one of the rare archives which includes documents dating before and after the rebellions of Bēl-šimânni and Šamaš-erība and their suppression in 484 (Jursa 2005, 147–148). Two texts in that archive, SpTU 5 299 and 300, date from the 6th and 9th year of Xerxes respectively, only a few years after the Babylonian revolts. They record affidavits of witnesses for a transaction in real estate and a sale of slave. In both cases a certain Erība, son of Kīnāya, is the buyer. None of the parties in the transactions have a name in Anu. However, text no. 299 includes seven witnesses with two-tiered filiations as well as the scribe; three witnesses have a theophoric name with Anu, and so does the father of another witness. Text no. 300 also includes seven witnesses, three of whom have Anu names plus one whose father has an Anu name. The only other god who enjoys a significant onomastic presence in these two texts is Šamaš, and this is also true of other texts from Uruk dated to the late Achaemenid era. The god Šamaš in these cases is Šamaš of Larsa and his presence in the Uruk onomasticon must be explained by the close administrative and cultic connections between Uruk and Larsa which are very well documented in the Eanna archive in the 6th century (Beaulieu 1991). Indeed, one text published by M. Stolper suggests that

[5] This text is dated to the reign of Artaxerxes but the year number is almost entirely lost, the traces allowing us to read perhaps 7 or 8. Stolper (1990, 582) suggests 8 with a question mark, and if we adopt this reading the text would date to the year 456 (Artaxerxes I), 396 (Artaxerxes II) or 350 (Artaxerxes III).

Larsa still belonged to the hinterland of Uruk in the latter part of the 5th century.[6] To conclude, SpTU 5 299 and 300 suggest that patterns of name giving had already changed noticeably at Uruk not very long after the rebellions of the second year of Xerxes, indicating a trend towards a more dominant place for the god Anu.

Institutional change

The shift to Anu in personal names reflects not only a change in religious sensibility or preference for a god, but also a restructuring of the civic religion of Uruk and its institutions. This revisionary process led eventually to the creation of new temples, the Rēš and the Irigal (or Ešgal), well documented in sources from the Seleucid era. To which degree these institutional developments had already taken place in the 5th century cannot easily be determined. However, some clues can be found in a group of six texts found in a clay jar and possibly discarded from a larger family archive (Kessler 1984; Jursa 2005, 146 n. 1140). One of the texts and its duplicate deal with the rent of a date orchard owed to 'the property of the god Anu' (NÍG.GA ^{d}*a-nu* = *makkūr Anu*). Here is the conflated edition of the two texts:

W 19276 + 19134

obverse

1. 22 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG A.ŠÀ
2. NÍG.GA ^{d}*a-nu šá* ŠU.MIN ^{Id}60-TIN-*su*-E DUMU *šá* ^{I}EN-NUMUN
3. A ^{I}É.SAG.GIL-*a-a ina muḫ-ḫi*
4. ^{I}SILIM-TIN.TIR^{ki} A ^{I}MU-^{d}NÀ
5. *ina* ITI DU$_6$ ZÚ.LUM.MA a_4 22 GUR
6. *ina* ^{giš}*ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{d}*a-nu ina ḫa-ṣa-ri*
7. *ina-an-din*

reverse

8. ^{lú}*mu-kin*$_7$ ^{Id}60-GI DUMU *šá* ^{Id}[o o o]
9. ^{Id}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU DUMU *šá* ^{I}*ka-ṣir* A L[Ú o o]
10. ^{Id}60-DU-A DUMU *šá* ^{Id}60-*mu*-SIG$_5$ A ^{Ir}x x$^{\prime}$
11. ^{Id}UTU-SUR DUMU *šá* ^{I}TIN A ^{I}*lu-uš-tam-m*[*ar*-^{d}I]M
12. ^{Id}60-EN-*šú-nu* ^{lú}UMBISAG DUMU *šá* ^{I}NÍG.BA-^{d}60 A $^{\prime I}$x$^{\prime}$-^{d}60
13. UNUG^{ki} ITI KIN UD 13-KAM MU 33-KAM
14. ^{I}*ár-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL ʼKUR.KURʼ

[6] The parties and witnesses in text no. 20 bear in their majority names in Anu and Nanāya. The transaction, however, was drafted at Larsa, and repayment of the barley must be effected by the measure of the god Šamaš in Larsa. The scribe, Šamaš-nādin-zēri, son of Bunene-ibni, also appears as witness in text no. 12, the other transaction drafted at Larsa (Stolper 1990).

> Twenty-two *kurru*s of dates, the estimated rent of an orchard, property of the god Anu, through the agency of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Saggilāyû, are owed by Šulum-Bābili, son of Iddin-Nabû. He will repay those dates, namely twenty-two *kurru*s, in the month of Tašrītu, in the enclosure, by the measuring standard of the god Anu. Witnesses: Anu-ušallim, son of [o o o]; Šamaš-aḫu-iddin, son of Kāṣir, descendant of the [o o o]; Anu-mukīn-apli, son of Anu-mudammiq, descendant of x x; Šamaš-ēṭir, son of Balāṭu, descendant of Luštamm[ar-Ad]ad; the scribe is Anu-bēlšunu, son of Qīšti-Anu, descendant of x-Anu. Uruk, month of Ulūlu, 13th day, 33rd year of Artaxerxes, king of the lands.

The designation *makkūr Anu* is common in the Seleucid period, signifying that the god Anu had then become the notional owner of the temples of Uruk and their estates. During that period *makkūr Anu* had completely replaced the earlier designations *makkūr Ištar ša Uruk u Nanāya* 'property of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanāya' and its variants found in records from the Eanna archive in the 7th and 6th century.[7] The six texts found in the clay jar date between years 24 and 35 of Artaxerxes. However, as pointed out by Kessler (1984), it is impossible to assign them with certainty to either Artaxerxes I (465–424) or Artaxerxes II (404–359). In one text (W 19164a) Artaxerxes bears the title 'King of Persia, of Media, of Babylon and of the lands', an innovation of Xerxes which is rarely seen after his reign. This should plead in favour of Artaxerxes I rather than II since he is closer in time to Xerxes, in which case the archive would range between 441 and 430 rather than 381 and 370, and the text that mentions 'the property of the god Anu' (*makkūr Anu*) would date, not to the year 372, but to the year 432, bringing us only fifty years after the suppression of the Babylonian rebellions by Xerxes. However, this earlier dating cannot be established as certain.

YBC 11632, a previously unpublished text in the Yale Babylonian Collection, contains similar data and terminology.

YBC 11632

obverse

1. [3 M]E DIŠ+ŠU GUR ŠE.ʼBARʼ ŠE.BAL *šá* ŠE.BAR
2. [NÍG.G]A ^{d}*a-nu šá* ŠU.MIN ^{Id}60-DU-A DUMU *šá* ^{Id}UTU-MU
3. [A ^{I}]*ḫu-un-zu-u* ^{Id}UTU-KÁD DUMU *šá* ^{I}NUMUN-*ia*
4. [A ^{I}] ʼ*é*ʼ-*kur-za-kir ù* ^{I}*ni-din-tu*$_4$-^{d}60 DUMU *šá*

[7] McEwan 1981, 121–122 discusses the use of *makkūr* DN in Hellenistic Uruk. The term *makkūr Anu* occurs in administrative and economic context and was the general term for temple property, while *makkūr Anu u Antu* 'property of the gods Anu and Antu' is preferred in colophons of scholarly tablets (Hunger 1968, nos. 87–88). McEwan also notes the occurrence of an isolated *makkūr Bēlti ša Uruk* 'property of the Lady-of-Uruk (i.e. Ištar)' in TCL 13 234: 7, dated to the sixth year of Antigonos Monophtalmos (written ^{I}*ar*-[*ti-gu*]-*ú-nu* on line 35), but he argues this designation should be considered residual. The same text does mention the *makkūr Anu*, however (e.g. line 4 and 7).

5. [r d60']-*ik-ṣur* A [I]*é-kur-za-kir ina muḫ-ḫi*
6. [r dEN']-*it-tan-nu* DUMU *šá* [Id]NÀ-*ḫi-im-mi-i*'
7. [lúr'ÌR'] *šá* [I]*tat-tan-nu* 'DUMU' *šá* [I]*nap-sa-a-nu*
8. *ina* 'ITI'GU$_4$ ŠE.BAR a_4 3 ME DIŠ+ŠU GUR NÍG.'GA' [d]*a-nu*
9. *ina* [giš]*ma-ši-ḫu šá* [d]*a-nu ina* 'UNUG[ki]'
10. *ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD LUGAL *ina-an-'din'*

reverse

11. [[lú]*mu-kin-nu* o o o o o o]
12. [o o o o o o o o o o o o]
13. [I]ÌR-[d][30 o o o o o o o o]
14. [I]KAR?-[dr]x' [o o o o o o o]
15. [Id]60-EN-'*šú-nu*' [o o o o o o]
16. [I]NÍG.BA-[d]60 [o o o o o o o]
17. [r *ni-din*']-[*tu*$_4$ o o o] '[d]x' [o o o]
18. [I][o o o o] '[d]*na-na-a* x x x x MEŠ'
19. [o o o o o o I]'*nap-sa-a-nu*'
20. [o o o o o o I]*tat-tan-nu* DUMU *šá* [I]*nap-sa-a-nu*
21. [[I]o o [lú]UMBISAG DUMU *šá* I]'ÌR-*ia*'A [I]MU.MEŠ
22. [UNUG[ki] ITI] 'AB' UD 5-KAM
23. [MU x-KAM [I]*ar-taḫ-šá*]-'*si*'-*iš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

left edge

Seal Impression (faint: standing male figure with a cap in front of altar/symbol)
NA$_4$ KIŠIB [I]ÌR-[d]30

upper edge

Seal Impression (standing male figure in front of scorpion birdman)
Disconnected signs with a clear [d+]EN

[Three hund]red and sixty *kurru*s of barley, the replacement for barley [which is the propert]y of the god Anu, through the agency of Anu-mukīn-apli, son of Šamaš-iddin, [descendant of] Ḫunzû, Šamaš-kāṣir, son of Zērīya, [descendant of] Ekur-zakir, and Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-ikṣur, descendant of Ekur-zakir, are owed by Bēl-ittannu, son of Nabû-ḫimmî, a slave of Tattannu, son of Napsānu. He will repay that barley, namely 360 *kurru*s, the property of the god Anu, in the month Ayyāru in Uruk at the Royal Canal by the measuring standard of the god Anu. [Witnesses o o o o o o] Arad-[Sîn o o o o o] Mušēzib?-[o o o o o] Anu-bēlšunu [o o o o o o] Qīšti-Anu [o o o o o o] Nidin[tu o o o o o o] Nanāya [o o o o o] Napsānu [o o o o] Tattannu, son of Napsānu, [and the scribe is x, son of] Ardiya, descendant of Šumāti. [Uruk, month of] Ṭebētu, 5[th] day, [x[th] year of Artaxer]xes (I), king of the lands.

YBC 11632 belongs to the so-called Tattannu archive from Borsippa,[8] although the transaction was probably drafted at Uruk given its particulars.[9] It

[8] As pointed out by Jursa and Stolper 2007, 249–250, the archive should rather be known as the Napsānu archive since it was generated by a household named 'the house of Napsānu' (*bīt Napsānu*), which was in fact an estate located in the town of Harru-ša-Arad-Ea near Borsippa.

[9] The Tattannu (i.e. Napsānu) archive is given a general description by Jursa 2005, 94–97, with references to previous literature. The archive will be reconstructed and published in its entirety by Andrew Dix. I wish to express my thanks to him and to Matthew Stolper for permission to include YBC 11632 in my contribution to this volume. My gratitude also extends to Prof.

records a promissory note on a large quantity of barley (360 *kurru*s) described as 'the property of the god Anu' (line 2 and 8: *makkūr Anu*) and owed by one Bēl-ittannu, a slave of Tattannu, son of Napsānu. The barley must be repaid at a fixed date in Uruk according to 'the measuring standard of the god Anu' (line 9: *mašīḫu ša Anu*). The date is severely damaged; only the month (Ṭebētu) and the day (5th day) remain, the year is broken, and only two signs forming the end of the royal name are fully preserved, followed by the title *šar mātāti*. These last two signs are *si-iš*. This allows us to restore almost certainly [*Artaḫšas*]*siš* as a writing for Artaxerxes.[10] The Tattannu archive, about half of which is still unpublished, extends from the middle of the reign of Darius I until at least the early years of Artaxerxes II. Tattannu, son of Napsānu (= Nabû-šarru-uṣur), one of the participants by proxy in the transaction, is attested from years 7 to 32 of Artaxerxes I, therefore between 458 and 433 (Jursa and Stolper 2007, 249; Oelsner 2007). This means that YBC 11632 falls almost certainly within those years, providing a *terminus ante quem* in the year 433 for the institutional shift to the god Anu as notional owner of the temple resources of Uruk. The people acting on behalf of the temple (the barley is described as *ša qāti* PN_1 PN_2 *u* PN_3) bear theophoric names with Anu and Šamaš. Therefore, the onomastic evidence from the text agrees with other late Achaemenid texts from Uruk.

The importance of YBC 11632 does not stem exclusively from the earliest mention it provides of the property and other institutions of the god Anu. It also bears witness to the range of activities of the descendants and servants of Tattannu, furnishing the first, and probably only evidence of their business interests in the agricultural economy of Uruk. Even more important is the fact that the three representatives of the god Anu in this transaction come from the Ḫunzû and Ekur-zakir families. These two influential families belonged to the small, tightly knit elite of Seleucid Uruk. They staffed the upper echelons of the temple, including the office of high priest. Both families had ancient roots in Uruk and are attested already in the Neo-Babylonian documentation of the 6th century, with some of their members belonging to the higher echelons of the temple staff (Kümmel 1979, 130–131). They survived the crisis of the early years of Xerxes, contrary to families of prebendaries of northern Babylonian origin such as the Egibi and Šigûa families who disappeared from Uruk at that time and lost their leading position in the cultic affairs of the Eanna temple and the administration of its estates. Therefore, YBC 11632 provides us with a vivid reflection of the new conditions prevailing in Achaemenid

Benjamin Foster as well as to Ulla Kasten and Elizabeth Payne for allowing me to publish the text and facilitating its study.

[10] Examples of the name Artaxerxes being rendered in cuneiform as *Artaḫšasiš* (*ˡar-taḫ-šá-siš*) rather than the usual *Artaḫšassu* or *Artakšassu* are listed in Stolper 1985, 286.

Babylonia in the fifth century. At the macro-economic level, we see a prominent business family extend its activities over a significant geographic range, and at the local level we see that business firm interact with families that weathered the troubled circumstances of the Babylonian rebellions and their aftermath. These families may even have assisted in shaping the new political configuration.

The cult of Anu until the early sixth century

Next, we must consider the status of Anu at Uruk before the reign of Xerxes. Anu had very ancient roots at Uruk and formed with Inanna/Ištar the leading group of patron deities of the city, with the addition of Nanāya in the Old Babylonian period. Inanna/Ištar, however, always enjoyed higher status, and it seems in fact that Anu's position gradually declined throughout the second and early first millennia. In the 7th and 6th centuries the temple of Anu formed a sanctuary of secondary importance that was probably housed in a building separate from the Eanna temple complex. It is mentioned in the Eanna archive always in connection with the temple of Enlil (Beaulieu 2003, 330). All references to the two temples occur in a group of texts recording deliveries of barley to the bakers and brewers of the Eanna temple to fulfil their cultic duties in these smaller sanctuaries, which were designated collectively as *ekurrātu*.[11] We know that Anu and Enlil had a long cultic association at Uruk in the first millennium since they occur together in the *kudurru* of Ibni-Ištar, dating to the 9th century. Ibni-Ištar was a priest and prebendary in Eanna and the *kudurru* records the granting of various privileges to him, including the offerings of bread and beer before Anu and Enlil (Paulus 2014, 667: I 24). Outside these few references, the god Anu appears in 7th and 6th century texts from Uruk mostly in personal names and in the salutation formulas of letters. As we will now see, the onomastic and epistolary material indicates that the position of Anu in the religious feelings of Urukeans did not remain static throughout the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods but reflects an increasing devotion to the god at that time.[12]

[11] The texts were published in Freydank 1971 and the list of the smaller temples (*ekurrātu*) can be found on pages 147–148.

[12] The following survey is based on a perusal of indices of personal names in the most important publications of Neo-Babylonian texts from Uruk. It does not intend to be exhaustive. Also, it does not consider the unpublished material. However, the number of texts included is large enough to be considered representative statistically. When a complete prosopography of Neo-Babylonian Uruk becomes available we will be able to refine to a considerable degree the provisional conclusions offered here.

First, the near complete absence of Anu in personal names in the 7th and early 6th century seems remarkable. The 32 texts from the archive of Nabû-ušallim, found in a private house southwest of the Eanna temple precinct in 1960, are a case in point (Hunger 1970). The archive extends from 700 to 593, but texts are concentrated mostly in the early years of Nabopolassar and between 610 and 593. The texts are all legal transactions and contain numerous personal names. Only one Anu name is attested, that of the governor of Uruk, Anu-aḫu-iddin. Remarkably, the texts contain few names in Ištar, Innin and Nanāya, but names with Nabû, Marduk and Bēl are numerous, with Nabû names easily forming the most important single group. A similar picture emerges from a survey of the earlier strata of the Eanna archive that are coeval with the reigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. GCCI 2 includes 78 texts from the reign of Nabopolassar, none of which contain a name formed with Anu (Dougherty 1933). The Yale Babylonian Collection still holds more than two hundred unpublished texts dated to the reign of Nabopolassar, most of them from Uruk. According to Laurie Pearce, who is in charge of their publication, of the 936 personal names she has compiled in her database, Anu-aḫu-iddin is the only Anu name attested so far.[13] Anu names remain very scarce during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. YOS 17 includes 369 texts mostly from Uruk dating from the first half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (years 0 to 23) and a number from the reigns of the insurgent rulers Nebuchadnezzar III and IV (Weisberg 1980). The name index to YOS 17 lists one full column of Anu names, but most of these names occur in texts from the reign of the Babylonian pretender Nebuchadnezzar IV, and only two of them can be assigned to the first half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II: Anu-aḫu-iddin, father of one Marduk-šumu-uṣur,[14] and one Anu-useppi, a member of the Šangû-parakki family. GCCI 1 includes 262 texts dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, the majority from the second half of his reign, and only one Anu name occurs in them (Dougherty 1923). A similar picture emerges from the 240 administrative texts published in AUWE 5 and 11 (Gehlken 1990 and 1996). Most of them

[13] I wish to thank Laurie Pearce for sharing information from her database with me. In one text, NCBT 343, Anu-aḫu-iddin is specifically listed as governor of Uruk and descendant of Ḫunzû. In two other texts, NBC 4514 and YBC 4090, he appears without title, filiation or ancestry, but in a position of authority which suggests that he is the same high official as the governor of Uruk. In NCBT 854, however, Anu-aḫu-iddin son of Bēl-ēreš is probably another individual. The dates of Anu-aḫu-iddin's tenure as *šākin ṭēmi* of Uruk are compiled in Kleber 2008, 38.

[14] It is uncertain whether this Anu-aḫu-iddin is the same as the governor of Uruk during the reign of Nabopolassar. The text, YOS 17 29, records that somebody had assumed guarantee for his son Marduk-šumu-uṣur, a fugitive. A recently published letter from the Eanna archive (YOS 21 1) alludes to the same event and shows royal concern for the matter (the letter was probably sent by Nebuchadnezzar II to the authorities of Eanna; see Frahm and Jursa 2011, 16).

date to the reigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, some later. Very few Anu names (five at most) occur in these texts, all of them except one in texts which have broken dates.

The cult of Anu during the long sixth century

Texts from the reign of Nabonidus show some increase in the presence of Anu. The indices of YOS 6 include at least 19 (and possibly 21) different individuals with Anu names,[15] and those of YOS 19 at least 11 Anu names with a possibility of a couple more.[16] As we move into the early Achaemenid period, Anu names become even more common in spite of the noticeable decrease in the number of texts. The indices to YOS 7 (texts from the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses) include no fewer than 37 discrete individuals with Anu names and possibly several others who cannot be ascertained (for lack of paternal or ancestral identification).[17] Texts from Yale dated to the reign of Barziya, Darius I, and the Babylonian pretender Nebuchadnezzar IV, recently published in YOS 21, confirm the general picture of a growing fashion for Anu. Among this relatively small group of administrative and legal transactions, 24 in total (nos. 196–219), we find 22 discrete individuals bearing Anu names, with a possibility of a couple more.[18] The god Anu is also invoked in the salutation formulas of twelve letters from the Eanna archive, and prosopographical analysis shows that most of the letters belong to early Achaemenid period, between 539 and 520.[19] These constitute fairly strong indications that Anu had become the object of renewed attention at that time, although it seems difficult to ascribe this trend solely to the change of political regime. Indeed, the spread of Anu names is already noticeable under Nabonidus, and of course all the individuals attested with Anu names between 539 and 520 were born and named under Nabonidus or before. To be sure, one should entertain the possibility that some people changed their name after the fall of Babylon, but thus far there is no evidence for a wave of name changes to Anu at that time.

[15] The texts were published by Dougherty 1920; the survey of indices yields names beginning with Anu, and one name where Anu is the middle component (Itti-Anu-balāṭu).

[16] The texts were published by Beaulieu 2000; the survey of indices yields only names beginning with Anu.

[17] The texts were published in Tremayne 1925; the survey of indices yields names beginning with Anu, as well as the name Itti-Anu-balāṭu.

[18] The texts are published by Frahm and Jursa 2011; the survey of indices yields names beginning with Anu, as well as the names Arad-Anu, Erība-Anu, Mārat-Anu-aqar and Nidintu-Anu.

[19] The texts are listed and briefly discussed by Beaulieu 2003, 330 n. 30. Frahm and Jursa 2011, 9 n. 49 have noted that these letters all date probably (some certainly) to the early Achaemenid period, adding weight to the theory of a renewed focus on Anu in that period.

Only a restricted number of texts from the Eanna archive date after the second year of Darius I. The latest ones are YOS 21 202 and PTS 2180 (Kessler 2004, 253–255), both from his 29th year. They record deliveries of barley (PTS 2180) and dates (YOS 21 202) to the bakers for the offerings in the Eanna temple. These few texts are supplemented by the archive of the Uruk branch of the Egibi family to be published in AUWE 28, and the much smaller archive of the Atû ('Doorkeeper') family preserved in the British Museum (Jursa 2005, 140–141). The onomastic and prosopographical data from the Uruk Egibi archive has been summarized in Kessler 2004. The bulk of the archive dates from the reign of Darius I, extending until his 33rd year, which brings us only three years before the accession of Xerxes. As demonstrated by Kessler, among the eight families that are attested in the archive, a clear division can be drawn between families of northern Babylonian origin and those claiming local roots at Uruk. The former included the descendants of Egibi, Bēl-aplu-uṣur, and Šigûa, and their onomasticon shows uniform adherence to the ruling gods of the Babylonian monarchy: Bēl, Marduk, Nabû and Nergal. Remarkably absent from their repertory are typical Uruk deities such as Ištar, Innin, Nanāya, and also Anu. The families from Uruk include the descendants of Ekur-zakir, Gimil-Nanāya, Ḫunzû, Kidin-Marduk and Šangû-Ninurta. These families not only show a predominance of Uruk deities in their names, but in the case of three families (Ekur-zakir, Gimil-Nanāya, Šangû-Ninurta) Anu is clearly the preferred deity, in one other case (Kidin-Marduk) we see Uruk and Larsa (Šamaš) deities but with Anu not being necessarily predominant, while one family (Ḫunzû) shows a preference for northern Babylonian deities but still includes two individuals with names honouring Anu and Nanāya. Therefore, these texts provide us with fairly clear evidence that the rise of Anu in the onomasticon continued throughout the reign of Darius I and also that the change was not uniform but promoted mainly by families of Urukean origin. In spite of the increased devotion to Anu, however, the gods Bēl, Marduk, Nabû and Nergal continued to occupy a dominant place together with Ištar, Innin and Nanāya in the onomasticon of Uruk until the end of the reign of Darius I. As argued by Kessler, the major transformation occurred during the reign of Xerxes. Babylon had been the heart of the rebellion and the repression which followed entailed the removal from Uruk of families of northern Babylonian origin who staffed important offices in the Eanna temple, such as the baker's and brewer's prebends, and who made up a substantial part of its priestly collegium (*ērib bīti*). These families disappeared from Uruk forever, leaving in charge a small compact of old Uruk families who sponsored the reorganization of the civic religion of Uruk in the 5th century and propelled their god Anu to the top of the pantheon. YBC 11632 from the Tattannu archive now provides additional evidence for this local religious revolution.

The pantheon of Uruk

In order to clarify further the historical and religious transformation which took place at Uruk, we must now consider in more detail the pantheon of the city both in the cult and in the onomasticon. Mesopotamian pantheons, by which we understand hierarchies of gods reflected in a particular type of source, have been the subject of renewed study in the past generation. Several studies have noted that pantheons differed widely in typology, scope and function, affecting their value as sources for the study of religious devotion and preferences.[20] The pantheons found in god lists result from systematic theological orderings which reflect the speculations of scribes and clerics. Royal inscriptions and state treaties contain enumerations of gods, but their function is clearly to propagate an official view of the systematized pantheon, one promoted by the monarchy and political elites. Offerings lists provide us with more reliable evidence of actual religious practice, especially when they represent the civic cult. This is often the case for offering lists originating in temple archives. Finally, theophoric personal names constitute a relatively reliable indicator of religious inclination among specific groups, although one must still be cautious in handling such data since name preferences can be dictated by fashion in a number of individual cases and have little to do with actual worship. Ideally, onomastic data must be corroborated by other evidence.

The documentation from Uruk lends itself admirably to the study of the local pantheon both diachronically and synchronically. The Neo-Babylonian documentation from the Eanna archive contains a large number of texts dealing with the cult, including lists of offerings. The thousands of records from the archive also provide us with a wealth of personal names numbering in the thousands. Thus, we are able to compare the official hierarchy of gods in the civic cult with expressions of personal worship reflected in the onomasticon. The results are outlined in Table 1.

Column I enumerates the gods in the same hierarchical sequence as they appear in the theologically ordered offering lists ('Group A' in Beaulieu 2003, 73). Column II lists the main gods appearing in personal names.[21] Two facts emerge from a comparison of both columns. First, the majority of gods who appear in the offering lists also enjoyed widespread popularity in personal names. The main exceptions are the deities Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Uṣur-amāssu and Bēlet-Eanna, who never appear in the onomasticon, and Urkâyītu, who appears only a few times. Their names consisted mostly of deified epithets of Ištar (e.g.

[20] The proceedings of the XXIe RAI in Rome in 1976, published in *Orientalia* 45 (1976) 1–226 as "Études sur le Panthéon systématique et les Panthéons locaux", contain a number of interesting communications in this respect. A more recent survey is Sallaberger 2003–2005.

[21] The sample of personal names considered here is derived from a survey of indices in the same publications of texts discussed above for the growth of Anu names.

Table 1: The Neo-Babylonian Pantheon of Uruk

Hierarchy of gods in offering lists (Group A)	Main deities in personal names
The Symbol of Bēl, and Ištar-(of-Uruk)	Bēl, Marduk, Nabû
The Symbol of Nabû, and Nanāya	Ištar, Innin, Nanāya
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	Nergal, Šamaš
Temple of Marduk	
Uṣur-amāssu and Urkâyītu	
Gula	
^{d}IGI.DU	
Bēlet-Eanna and ^{d}IGI.DU of Udannu	
The Divine Chariot	
The *bīt-ḫilṣi*	
Temple of Nergal (^{d}U.GUR)	
Temple of Ninurta	
Nusku	
Šamaš and Aya of Larsa	

^{d}Urkâyītu ‘the Urukean goddess’, ^{d}Bēlet-Eanna ‘the Divine Lady-of-Eanna’), and they were present in the temple as objects of cultic devotion essentially as aspects of Ištar-of-Uruk (‘Götterspaltung’). The widespread occurrence in personal names of the theophoric elements Ištar and Innin amply sufficed to express devotions to the great goddess of Uruk. The deity Innin forms an interesting converse case, as she is widely attested in the onomasticon but did not receive a distinct cult in the temple. The other fact which deserves notice is that the gods of the Babylonian monarchy occupy a prominent role in both columns. Marduk was present in the Eanna temple as the ‘symbol of Bēl’, worshipped in conjunction with Ištar-of-Uruk, and in his own sanctuary known as the ‘temple of Marduk’, listed just after the three main goddesses of Uruk in the local hierarchy. Nabû occupies the second position in the list with Nanāya, and Nergal, the third god in importance for the monarchy, also enjoyed a solid presence under various forms (^{d}IGI.DU and ^{d}U.GUR). As for the god Šamaš, his presence in the offering lists and the personal names must be explained by the close institutional relations between Uruk and Larsa. Gula, Ninurta and Nusku appear sometimes in personal names but did not enjoy much popularity, not noticeably more than many other gods who appear in the onomasticon but are absent from the offering lists of group A.

We may now turn to the source material from the Seleucid era at Uruk. We do not have comparable offering lists from that period, but we find a consistent hierarchy of the main gods worshiped in the Rēš and Irigal temples in sales of

prebends which name the deities before whom service must be performed.[22] Most of the documentation dates to the third century. The reconstructed list has long been known (Schroeder 1916) and is reproduced here in Table 2, column 1. In the second column are listed the gods who commonly appear in personal names.

Table 2: The Seleucid Pantheon of Uruk

Hierarchy of gods in lists of prebends	Main deities in personal names
Anu	Anu (overwhelming majority of names)
Antu	Ištar, Nanāya, Šamaš
Enlil	
Ea	
Sîn	
Šamaš	
Adad	
Marduk	
Papsukkal	
Amasagnudi	
Ištar	
Bēlet-ṣēri	
Nanāya	
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	
Šarraḫītu	

A comparison of the two columns shows that the correspondence between the official cultic hierarchy and theophoric personal names is less evident than it was three centuries earlier. The cultic pantheon underwent an important revisionary process while the onomasticon dropped many previously popular divine names and promoted Anu to the top. In fact, Anu becomes so predominant in Uruk personal names during the Seleucid period that one is almost justified in speaking of a monolatric religion. The other striking fact is that Ištar, Nanāya and Šamaš, who occupy a distant second rank in the onomasticon, do not necessarily enjoy the highest rank in the hierarchy reconstructed from lists of prebends. Many other gods that occur in these lists hardly if ever make an appearance in personal names. Such discrepancies can easily be explained by the academic nature of this cultic pantheon, which did not originate from a long history of religious accretions but was very likely manufactured by local clerics

[22] The pantheon of these prebendary lists and its significance are discussed in Beaulieu 1992, while the prebendary system is studied by Corò 2005.

at some indeterminate point after the suppression of the Babylonian revolts by Xerxes and the departure of Babylonian families from Uruk. We do not know when these theological reforms came to fruition. We see mostly the end result of this process. The main purpose of the reforming clerics was to bring the god Anu, a deity previously of secondary cultic importance at Uruk, to the summit of the civic pantheon. In order to justify this, they had at their disposal a number of traditional scholarly texts, and more important, god lists which put Anu at the top of the overall hierarchy of Mesopotamian gods. The main god list which inspired them was probably An = Anum, which was still copied at Uruk during the Hellenistic period. Indeed, the hierarchy of the great gods in the list reproduces almost exactly their relative order in An = Anum and also in the related list An = Anu ša amēli (Beaulieu 1992, 57–60). Therefore, the cultic pantheon of that period displays the characteristics of a scholarly pantheon, familiar to a restricted scribal elite but bearing a distant relation to the religious devotion of the population. Only the names of the four main deities of Uruk (Anu, Ištar and Nanāya) and Larsa (Šamaš) appear with any frequency in the onomasticon and the overall number of personal names we have is more restricted than in the Neo-Babylonian period. Most individuals appearing in the cuneiform texts from Seleucid Uruk formed a small, endogamous compact of families who controlled the life of the temple and claimed descent from a few common ancestors.

How can one explain such renewed interest in Anu? The answer must necessarily be conjectural, because no ancient literary or historical narrative reflects on this process. A possible answer is Persian influence, which might have encouraged a syncretism between Anu and the god Ahura Mazda. However, as we have seen, the rise of Anu in personal names is already perceptible under Nabonidus. A more compelling explanation is local pride and identity. Uruk had been forced to acknowledge the theological dominance of Babylon during the time of the Babylonian empire and probably even before. The main expression of this dominance was the introduction in the Eanna temple of the symbols of the gods Bēl and Nabû. They occur in offering lists alongside the cultic images of Ištar and Nanāya, in effect placing each of the two gods in a shared position at the summit of the local pantheon (Table 1). These symbols are first attested during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, who may have introduced them in the temple when he returned the legitimate cultic image of the goddess Ištar, the Lady-of-Uruk, to the Eanna temple.[23] This, however, is an argument *a silentio* and the symbols may already have been present in the temple prior to his reign. A tradition represented in several sources attributed the removal of the legitimate image of Ištar either to Erība-Marduk or to Nabû-šumu-iškun, two Chaldean rulers of the middle of the 8th century. A number of texts from

[23] The historical background of these changes is discussed in Beaulieu 2003, 129–138.

the Eanna archive dated to the 7th century give the name Bēltiya to the cultic image of the goddess Ištar. Bēltiya was basically a deified epithet of the goddess Zarpanītu, the consort of Marduk, a goddess often syncretized with Ištar-of-Babylon, and this could indicate that the Chaldean rulers of the 8th century introduced a form of Ištar-of-Babylon in the Eanna temple, possibly as an effort to bring the religion of Uruk in line with the capital, in sum, an attempt at religious centralization. It is perhaps at that time that families of prebendaries from Babylon and other northern cities began to migrate to Uruk. After Nebuchadnezzar II returned the legitimate image of Ištar to the Eanna temple, the designation Bēltiya disappears from our documentation, although the pairing of Ištar-of-Uruk with the god Bēl, and of Nanāya with the god Nabû, continued, together with the dominance of Babylon families among the Eanna priesthood. The reign of Xerxes marks the end of that dominance and a return to the hegemony of local gods, but under a new guise.

Conclusion

Anu was an old city god of Uruk, but he was also the ancestral head of the common Mesopotamian pantheon. Therefore, I am inclined to think that his rising popularity in the onomasticon of Uruk families in the 6th century helped to reassert symbolically the pivotal nature of Uruk as religious centre and thus to counter the centralizing claims of Babylon. The syncretism between Anu and Nabû, which is well documented in theological texts from the first millennium, may also have provided additional stimulus for the rise of Anu (Beaulieu 2014, 29). Nabû had become the most important Babylonian god by the 6th century, and the one most commonly attested in Uruk personal names at that time. Nabû often took precedence over Marduk in various formulas, a reflection of the precedence that Anu enjoyed over Enlil, who was still equated with Marduk in that period. Also, there are some clues suggesting that the clerics of Uruk viewed their reorganized civic cult and especially its main temple, the Rēš, as a counterpart of Babylon and the Esangila temple. They collected texts describing the Esangila,[24] and the rituals of the god Anu at Uruk may have been directly influenced by those of Marduk at Babylon.[25] Even the name of the new

[24] One well-known example is the Esangila tablet, which gives the measurements of the Esangila temple; the main manuscript is from Hellenistic Uruk (edition in George 1992, 109–119). Another example was published in SpTU 5 220, a text which describes the proportions of various parts of a temple which appears to be the Esangila since the goddess Bēltīya (= Zarpanītu) is mentioned as well as the KÁ-^{d}LAMMA-RA.BI, a well-known component of the Esangila. George 1995 argues that the temple complex described here might well be Esangila in Babylon.

[25] In this respect the edition of the rituals of Uruk and Babylon dated to the Hellenistic period published by M.J.H. Linssen is quite informative. It seems hardly coincidental that both Uruk and Babylon had *akītu* festivals twice a year in Nisannu and Tašrītu, and that their most important

temple of Anu, É.SAG, looks like a truncated form of É.SAG.ÍL. Although the name É.SAG was read Rēš or Bīt Rēš, the resemblance between É.SAG and É.SAG.ÍL certainly did not escape the notice of scribes. After the suppression of the Babylonian revolts by Xerxes, Achaemenid authorities probably began to view the god Anu favourably as a symbolic counterweight to the religious hegemony of Babylon. They may have tacitly encouraged the elite families of Uruk in the creation of a renewed civic religion that was independent from Babylon and could even pose as competitor. In this manner, and as all imperial powers tend to do, they nurtured smaller, local constituencies in order to discourage the persistence of larger territorial units such as the former Babylonian empire, units that were more likely to tear apart the fabric of the vast Persian realm.

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ceremonies (e.g. procession, clothing ceremony, New Year celebration) took place on the exact same days for Marduk at Babylon and Anu at Uruk (Linssen 2004, 88–91). The fact that the New Year ritual of Nisannu at Uruk assumes the presence and participation of the king can only be a borrowing from the Babylon ritual (edition of the ritual in Linssen 2004, 201–208).

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