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Matthew W. Stolper gazing at the colossal bull head (OIM A24065, Persepolis, Achaemenid) in the Robert and Deborah Aliber Persian Gallery of the Oriental Institute Museum

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EXTRACTION & CONTROL

STUDIES IN HONOR OF MATTHEW W. STOLPER

edited by

Michael Kozuh

Wouter F. M. Henkelman

Charles E. Jones

and

Christopher Woods

Funded by the Generosity of the Yelda Family

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Leslie Schramer and *Thomas G. Urban*

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List of Abbreviations

A.D.	anno domini
B.C.	before Christ
ca.	*circa*, approximately
cat. no.	catalog no.
cf.	*confer*, compare
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
coll.	collation
DN	diety name
ed(s).	editor(s)
et al.	*et alii*, and others
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
etc.	*et cetera*, and so forth
fasc.	fascicle
fig(s).	figure(s)
f(f).	and following
FN	family name
GN	geographical name
ha	hectare(s)
ibid.	*ibidem*, in the same place
i.e.	*id est*, that is
km	kilometer(s)
lit.	literally
lo.ed.	lower edge
m	meter(s)
n(n).	note(s)
n.p.	no publisher
NN	personal name
no(s).	number(s)
NS	not sealed
obv.	obverse
p(p).	page(s)
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl.	plural
pl(s).	plate(s)
PN	personal name
rev.	reverse
RN	royal name
sg.	singular
trans.	translation
u.ed.	upper edge
var.	variation
vol(s).	volume(s)

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Matthew W. Stolper

Christopher Woods, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Charles E. Jones, and Michael Kozuh

Matthew Wolfgang Stolper was born March 1, 1944, to Wolfgang Friedrich Stolper and Martha Stolper (née Vögeli) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His father, of Jewish descent but raised Protestant, emigrated to the United States from Germany following the Nazi rise to power in 1933. In the United States he pursued graduate study in economics at Harvard, under the mentorship of the famed economist Joseph Schumpeter, whom he previously encountered while an undergraduate at the University of Bonn. Matt's mother emigrated from Switzerland in 1938; she married Wolfgang that same year. Wolfgang Stolper's appointment to the faculty of Swarthmore College in 1941 brought the couple to Pennsylvania.

After spending a year in Switzerland, the family moved to Ann Arbor in 1949, when Matt's father assumed the position of Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan. A committed Protestant, his father had an active interest in Biblical and related Near Eastern history. This was Matt's first contact with the field to which he would devote his professional career. Matt won a scholarship to attend high school at Cranbrook, a prestigious Michigan preparatory school in Bloomfield Hills. There, he received strong training in the humanities, especially in Latin, history, and writing. Matt particularly enjoyed courses on ancient and medieval history at Cranbrook, which resonated with the church history of his Presbyterian upbringing and gave shape to his historical orientation.

Matt graduated in 1961 and matriculated that year at Harvard, where he would major in Architectural Sciences, graduating in 1965. His Junior and Senior years were the most intellectually formative. It was at this time that he took courses with the architectural historian Eduard F. Sekler, who sparked his interests and inspired him to pursue further early architecture and ancient history, including courses on Paleolithic archaeology with Hallam L. Movius, and, most notably, Mesopotamian history with Thorkild Jacobsen, who had left Chicago for Harvard in 1962.

Upon graduating from Harvard, Matt returned to the Midwest with a plan — vague at first — of pursuing additional coursework in Mesopotamian history (he characteristically claims to have "blundered his way into Assyriology by a series of mistakes"). He was recruited to the Michigan graduate program in ancient Near Eastern studies by Louis Orlin, but developed his closest intellectual and personal bonds with his professor of Akkadian and Elamite, George Cameron. His participation in the University of Pennsylvania's excavations at Teppe Hasanlu in 1968 marked a watershed in his graduate student career — a transformative experience in terms of his understanding of the field and professional development. In the wake of the Hasanlu excavation, Matt spent the next academic year, 1969–70, at Penn to round out his Assyriological training, taking courses with Robert Dyson, Jacob Klein, and Erle Leichty. It was during this time that he settled on the Murašû archive as his dissertation topic, pursuing a suggestion by Leichty.

In 1971 Matt was admitted to the newly founded Michigan Society of Fellows. The early 1970s also saw his involvement in the new excavations of Tall-i Malyan, organized by William Sumner. And it was during this time that he began making regular trips to Chicago through the agency of the Committee on Institutional Cooperation, primarily to study Elamite texts with Erica Reiner — it was an arrangement, as Matt recalls, which allowed one "to sit at the feet of Oriental Institute faculty without being under their thumbs." Matt received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1974. Widely regarded by this time as Cameron's successor — a rare scholar equally capable with Akkadian and Elamite sources — Matt was appointed to University of Michigan faculty in 1975 as Assistant Professor.

Following a research leave working on the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary in 1978–79, and an early promotion to Associate Professor with tenure at Michigan that same academic year, Matt left Michigan in 1980 to accept an appointment at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago as Associate Professor of Assyriology. Matt's hire was part of a rebuilding effort of the Oriental Institute's Assyriology program, following the departures of Simo Parpola and Hermann Hunger. Walter Farber had joined the Oriental Institute faculty the previous year, assuming the position held by Parpola and at one time by Ignace J. Gelb which was oriented toward teaching all dialects of Akkadian. Matt's position, replacing Hunger, differed in that it came with greater responsibilities to the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. 1980 also saw the addition to the faculty of Martha Roth as Assistant Professor of Assyriology. Their senior Assyriological colleagues on the faculty at the time were Robert Biggs, John A. Brinkman (then Director of the Oriental Institute), Miguel Civil, Gene Gragg, Richard Hallock, and Erica Reiner. Matt was promoted to full professor in 1987, and awarded the John A. Wilson Professorship of Oriental Studies in 2000.

In his obituary for George Cameron, Matt praised him as a "historian who thought that his data governed him, not he them, and as an editor who required fastidious verification of sources" (Stolper 1980, p. 183). Cameron's influence must have been effective, for, if anything, Matt's own contributions, particularly those to the thorny field of Elamite studies, are hallmarks of evidential objectivity and scholarly precision. Small disciplines in the humanities are often characterized by the relatively high impact of outlying opinions. Elamology is hardly an exception to this rule, with the result that the defenseless Elamites are not infrequently seen as exceptional, their culture as obscure or bordering on the bizarre, and their language as nearly impenetrable. One could say that Matt's work on Elam and Elamite from his first publications (on Malyan [ancient Anšan]) in 1976 onward has always had as an implicit background the wish to "normalize" this subject. This is visible from the smallest of his contributions to the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (some of these entries are real masterpieces) to the monograph on Elam's history and archaeology that he co-authored with Elizabeth Carter (1984). Even more than Cameron's masterful 1936 *History of Early Iran*, the book is highly precise

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in its presentation of historical evidence and its implications within a wide historical frame. It therefore retains a solid reputation, despite new developments in Elam's chronology.

As for the language, Matt's survey of Elamite is based on a patient and meticulous reading of all previous literature, where sometimes maddening differences exist on the interpretation of the most basic elements (Stolper 2004). Elamite grammars tend to (over)stress the view of one particular linguistic school (or the particular interpretation thereof) and impose that on a language that is imperfectly understood. Matt's contribution, though intended as a brief sketch for a compendium on corpus languages, by contrast impresses as the most balanced and usable tool for acquiring and teaching the language. Similarly characteristic is his 1984 edition of the late Middle Elamite texts from Malyan, which pairs his well-known epigraphic accuracy with a commentary that is as meticulous as it is justly conservative — it offers exactly what any *editio princeps* should: highly reliable tools for further reflection.

Perhaps one of Stolper's earliest papers, on the word *šarnuppu* in a Neo-Assyrian letter (1978), may serve as an example of his historical perspective. In a mere nine pages, he identifies an Elamite loan in Akkadian, proposes a reconstructed form and its interpretation, and in doing so adds some remarks about a hitherto mysterious verbal suffix. At the same time, he relates the term to cognate forms found in the later Persepolis Fortification Archive and deduces from the contents of the letter a general outline of the Neo-Elamite centralized household economy and its relevance for the ensuing Persian period. Finally, he makes some thought-provoking remarks on the nature of the historical evidence, which, by way of exception, explicitly states what is the normal run of things. Such contributions are the fruits of a mind that can appreciate the tiniest stone without overlooking the structure of the building.

The wider horizons that serve as a background to articles such as the one on the Šimaški state (1982) invite once again comparison with the intellectual perspective developed by Cameron, who pioneered in putting the Elamite state in a long-term context, including the Median and Achaemenid periods. Cameron himself was, in turn, much influenced by pre-War German scholars, such as Georg Hüsing, who had introduced anthropological and ethnological approaches to the Elamite culture. Thus, even in a field as tiny and vulnerable as Elamology, there are lines of continuity that ensure the persistence of a broader, more meaningful understanding of Elam and the Elamites. It is indeed thought-provoking that Matt, with his family background, has become the embodiment of this.

Matt also approached Neo-Babylonian studies with an originality and rigor that brought new life to the field. In the late 1970s and early 1980s only a handful of scholars regularly worked on Neo-Babylonian material. Matt's seminal *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, published in 1985, both demarked the limits and illuminated the possibilities of Neo-Babylonian archival studies; indeed, it set the current explosion in Neo-Babylonian scholarship in motion. His text exegeses and frame-worthy tablet renditions stand as significant contributions in themselves. As in his Elamology, though, Matt weaves his philology into a nuanced and deeply-rooted understanding of history, socio-political organization, and complex economic relationships. Although always taking pains to stress the limits of what archival texts can elucidate, Matt continually finds ways to challenge old opinions and open up new vistas.

In his "Registration and Taxation of Slave Sales," for example, Matt reconstructs a crucial Babylonian clause, broken in all textual exemplars, that mentions a royal tax office and the procedure of registering slave sales therein; he then connects that to another text that uses an Iranian loanword for the same institution. This, in turn, leads him to clarify the language used to express the procedure of registration in another set of later texts. He then uses the results of his investigation to carefully weigh the complex interrelationship between political and cultural changes, to stress that "varied language may refer to identical institutions with perfect clarity," and, finally, to highlight the innovation of the tax itself in its historical context. The article stands as a model of rigorous philology balanced by nuanced historiography.

While the primary focus of Matt's research during his early tenure at the Oriental Institute focused on Neo-Babylonian and Middle Elamite studies, he maintained an abiding interest in Achaemenid studies, in multi-lingual royal inscriptions, and in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. He was an active and engaged participant in the community of scholars emerging around the Achaemenid Studies Workshops organized by Pierre Briant, Amélie Kuhrt, and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, which were to transform Achaemenid studies at the end of the 20th century. His pioneering experiments with Gene Gragg on the development of the idea of a digital publication of the multi-lingual inscriptions of Achaemenid rulers championed the principle that such texts must not be considered in isolation. With Charles Jones, Matt began an informal weekly seminar on the Persepolis Fortification Archive, working to come to grips with the enormous body of unpublished scholarship undertaken by Hallock, Raymond Bowman, Helene Kantor, and others who had worked with it. In parallel, Margaret Cool Root and her student Mark Garrison began the task of inventorying, cataloguing, drawing, and publishing the seal impressions. Jones and Stolper began to read through Hallock's preliminary editions of unpublished texts, and to identify and read new texts from the archive in preparation for a continuation of the publication of the archive, and in anticipation of the eventual return of the archive in fulfillment of the loan agreement with the government of Iran. Garrison's frequent visits during these years, as well as those of colleagues such as Pierre Briant, David Lewis, and Wouter Henkelman, brought welcome perspective and context to the often tedious epigraphic tasks; their excited and enthusiastic engagement with the archive as a whole helped to sustain what often seemed an endless endeavor.

In 2004 things changed. A legal action made a claim on archaeological materials excavated in Iran and on loan to institutions in the United States, explicitly including the Persepolis Fortification Archive. Matt quickly understood that among the possible consequences of a settlement of the lawsuit were two scenarios: 1. That the archive would be granted to the plaintiffs and sold to satisfy the judgment, and 2. If the archive was not granted to the plaintiffs, that the government of Iran would recall the loan. Neither scenario allowed for the continuation of research on the Archive in Chicago in the way it had been conducted since the middle of the 20th century. It became essential to shift the focus of work to the conservation and digitization of the archive as a whole. With the support of the Oriental Institute and the administration of the University of Chicago, Matt worked tirelessly to raise the necessary funding, to assemble the team of scholars, to promote the importance of the Persepolis Fortification Archive to academic

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and popular audiences, and most significantly, to concisely, passionately, and convincingly place the Persepolis Archives in their Achaemenid, ancient Near Eastern, and modern geo-political contexts.

Matt retired from teaching at the University of Chicago at the end of 2013. As this volume in his honor comes to completion in March 2014, he remains fully engaged as the Director of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project. We take this as a guarantee that he will keep all of us amused with intriguing stories about obscure movies, books, and historical figures. At the same time we hope he, Gwenda, and the incomparable Baxter will have more time now for their many interests, for traveling, and of course for spending time at their second house in Vermont. As for this introduction, we know of no better way to close it than with Matt's own word: Vootie!

Bibliography of Publications of Matthew W. Stolper

Compiled by Charles E. Jones,
The Pennsylvania State University, The University of Chicago

In addition to his authorship of the monographs, articles, and reviews listed in this bibliography,[1] Matt has influenced and contributed to the scholarship of the field by his service as Associate Editor (1980–1995) and member of the Editorial Board (1995-present) of the Assyrian Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute, as Associate Editor of the Journal of Cuneiform Studies, as a member of the Steering Committee of achemenet.com[2] and the Editorial Board of ARTA,[3] and as the Principal Investigator and Impresario of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.[4] The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project serves data through three primary portals: Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (OCHRE),[5] InscriptiFact,[6] The Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI),[7] and by way of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project blog.[8]

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[1] All the publications of the Oriental Institute included in this bibliography were originally print-based and are now also available online from the Oriental Institute Publications Office as part of its Electronic Publications Initiative: https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/. Henceforth, only born-digital publications will include references to their locations online.

[2] http://www.achemenet.com.

[3] http://www.achemenet.com/bookmark.do?link=arta.

[4] http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/pfa/.

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1

Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablet Seal 0002 and the Keeping of Horses

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This article serves as our first exploration of ways to discuss the Aramaic tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive. We have isolated a single seal that appears on the Aramaic tablets but, as far as we are aware, not elsewhere in the archive (PFATS 0002). We have found a strong thematic connection between the texts on the tablets sealed with this seal, including the type and amount of material being disbursed and the personnel involved. In addition, the tablets exhibit marked similarity in their shapes, and two of the texts were written in the same hand.[1]

Approximately 700 tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive were written in Aramaic.[2] Raymond A. Bowman at his death left a typescript with draft editions of tablets 1–492.[3] We are currently in the process of analyzing the texts (Azzoni) and seal impressions (Dusinberre) for online and paper publication.[4] Exact description and classification of the Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablets (PFAT) by shape remains to be done. The great majority are roughly triangular, subtriangular, or pyramidal, formed around knotted strings that emerged from the corners of the flattened short edge of the triangle. With respect to shape, the PFAT corpus resembles the "memorandum" type Elamite tablets with texts of Categories A–S, and the uninscribed tablets, but not the Elamite tablets with texts of Categories V and W, which reflect other phases in the administrative process.[5] As will become clear, however, the substance of the Aramaic texts does not follow the categories described for the Elamite tablets.

The right-to-left orientation of the Aramaic texts on the tablets differs from the orientation of cuneiform texts, as the respective writing directions of the scripts would lead one to expect.[6] On most of the Aramaic tablets, the script runs from the flat edge to the rounded tip; on some it runs parallel to the flat edge; on very few it runs from tip to flat edge. In order to avoid the problems raised by the use of the terms "left" and "right" in connecting this and the Elamite corpus, we have therefore identified the surfaces of the tablet as shown in figure 1.1, regardless of the orientation of the text.

Because the PFAT corpus seems not to follow the same format as the Elamite corpus, we are searching for meaningful approaches to subsidiary grouping of Aramaic tablets within the categories first laid out by Richard T. Hallock. The differences between the Elamite and Aramaic corpora of the Fortification Archive are perhaps most immediately evident in the length of the texts on the tablets: the Aramaic texts are significantly more terse than the Elamite ones. Some of them, indeed, just name a year with no further information offered.[7] Other tablets laconically record a single word (e.g., "seed").[8] The differences are highlighted by the small percentages of seals represented by their impressions

* It is an honor and a privilege for us to contribute this article to Matthew W. Stolper's Festschrift. It also feels to us like a singularly appropriate venue for our first collaborative publication on the Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablets. This is not only true because we are both working on this corpus thanks solely to Matt's invitation, but this joint work grows out of the collaborative endeavor Matt is overseeing. It is a pleasure for us to offer our first publication together to this Festschrift that honors the career of one of our time's most learned, forward-thinking colleagues.

[1] PFAT 0047 and PFAT 0050.

[2] See Charles E. Jones and Matthew W. Stolper, "How Many Persepolis Fortification Tablets Are There?," in *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*, Persika 12, edited by Pierre Briant, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, and Matthew W. Stolper (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2008), pp. 27–50; Annalisa Azzoni, "The Bowman Manuscript and the Aramaic Tablets," ibid., pp. 253–74.

[3] Raymond A. Bowman, *Persepolis Aramaic Tablets* (unpublished manuscript, n.d.).

[4] The Aramaic texts on the tablets were written in ink, incised, or both (Azzoni, "The Bowman Manuscript"). The group of tablets studied initially by Bowman comprises the corpus analyzed by us and described here as PFAT. See also Azzoni, "The Bowman Manuscript," and Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, "Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablets: Preliminary Observations," in *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*, Persika 12, edited by Pierre Briant, Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Matthew W. Stolper (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2008), pp. 239–52.

[5] This follows the text-based categories defined in Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 92 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1969), pp. 13–69.

[6] This description is drawn from Dusinberre, "Seal Impressions."

[7] E.g., PFAT 0007.

[8] E.g., PFAT 0385.

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on the PFAT corpus that also appear impressed on the PFT corpus.[9] It is our guess that the functions of the Aramaic tablets within the Persepolis Fortification Archive were rather different than those of the Elamite tablets, but the corpora are clearly linked to each other as well, in various intricate ways.

PFATS 0002 and the Keeping of Equids

This paper begins with one seal, PFATS 0002, which to our knowledge appears only on the PFAT corpus, and traces it and its connections across the archive (fig. 1.2). All tablets presently known to bear impressions of this seal are included in the discussion.[10] The Aramaic texts on these tablets are listed in table 1.1 below. Also included are drawings of this seal and the five other seals with which it is found collocated (figs. 1.4–20); none of these seals is known from other parts of the archive, except for PFS 2150. A synopsis of the impressions of PFATS 0002 and the seals collocated with it is given in table 1.2. We wish to be clear that the remarks and interpretations offered here are preliminary, and our ongoing work on texts and seals will certainly add to the initial assessment presented here.

PFATS 0002 was used by a person or people responsible for disbursing feed to horses and donkeys. The repeated occurrence of two animals together is intriguing and may suggest they were yoked. Were they draft animals that pulled heavy carts or even drew ploughs behind them? Were they swift drawers of chariots? Or were they mounts? The Aramaic texts inform us that these animals were being fed a high-energy diet: the sort of thing one would never risk on a horse that had to remain docile, placid, and predictable, but just the sort of feed that would be given to the fiery and fleet.

Table 1.1. Texts on tablets sealed with PFATS 0002

Tablet No.	*Translation*
PFAT 0013	"[Two illegible lines] in year 20 for the months of Nisan, Iyyar, and Siwan"
PFAT 0025	"Sealed document. 4 donkeys in the month of Elul, 4 (rations of?) bread. *Smrdwk* in year 22"
PFAT 0028	"In year 22 he took for (the month of?) Adar(?)"
PFAT 0033	"In year 22 he took rations of grain for *Mtrn'*(?) [...] 2 *grîwa*"
PFAT 0047	"In year 23, in the month of Elul, *Zbwš* took grain for 2 horses"
PFAT 0050	"In year 23, in the month of Kislev, *Zbwš* took rations for 2 horses"
PFAT 0058	"In year 23 for the month of Adar 1 he took rations for 2 horses, 15 *g*(*rîwa*) of grain"
PFAT 0075	"In year 23, for the month... *Štyš* took... for donkey(s?)... 2"
PFAT 0081	"In year 23, for 2 horses, rations..."
PFAT 0102	"In year 24, rations for *Wnyš*, for the year. For harvested crops, concerning the year 24."
PFAT 0220	"Rations (of grain?) in the presence / before W..."
PFAT 0495	"(In year) 26 *Gbh* grain..."

[9] The twenty-three seals known from the Elamite corpus and also found on the Aramaic tablets that have been identified to this date are: PFS 0017, PFS 0034, PFS 0048, PFS 0070s, PFS 0075, PFS 0078, PFS 0095, PFS 0124*, PFS 0142, PFS 0192s, PFS 0213, PFS 0247, PFS 0319, PFS 0518, PFS 0578s, PFS 0581s, PFS 0971, PFS 1090, PFS 1098, PFS 1312s, PFS 1595, PFS 1624s, PFS 2150. At this point, over 430 new seals have been identified by Dusinberre on the PFAT corpus, otherwise unknown from the PFT corpus published by Richard T. Hallock or the sample of uninscribed tablets studied by Mark B. Garrison (the PFUT corpus; see Mark B. Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets from the Fortification Archive: A Preliminary Analysis," in *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*, Persika 12, edited by Pierre Briant, Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Matthew W. Stolper (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2008), pp. 149–238). The study of the seals presented here is only possible because of Mark Garrison and Margaret Root's pioneering work on Achaemenid seal impressions. They have produced a steady flow of publications on the roughly 1,156 legibly distinct seals, the PFS corpus, that ratify the 2,087 Elamite tablets first published by Hallock (*Fortification Tablets*) since the appearance in 1988 of Root's first major article on the corpus and Garrison's Ph.D. dissertation (Margaret Cool Root, "Evidence from Persepolis for the Dating of Persian and Archaic Greek Coinage," *Numismatic Chronicle* 148 [1988]: 1–12; Mark B. Garrison, "Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets" [Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988]). Those opening statements have been followed by a stream of important articles touching on a wide range of subjects related to the Persepolis Fortification seals, Achaemenid art and society, and glyptic studies, culminating in their first monograph on the PFS corpus (Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1–2087*, Achaemenid History 9 [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996, rev. ed. 1998]) and the first part of a three-volume catalog (Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1: *Images of Heroic Encounter*, Oriental Institute Publications 117 [Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001]), which also contains a full bibliography.

[10] The images presented here are taken by Dusinberre and will soon be available online through InscriptiFact of the University of Southern California (www.inscriptifact.com) and the Online Cultural Heritage Resource Environment (OCHRE) run by the University of Chicago (ochre.lib.uchicago.edu).

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Table 1.2. Impressions of PFATS 0002 and the seals collocated with it

Tablet No.	*Obverse*	*Upper Edge*	*Reverse*	*Bottom Edge*	*Flat Edge*	*Round Edge*	*Box No.*
PFAT 0013	NS	PFS 2150	**PFATS 0002**	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	2155
PFAT 0025	NS	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	NS	NS	2153
PFAT 0028	NS	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	NS	NS	2153
PFAT 0033	**PFATS 0002**	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	1095
PFAT 0047	**PFATS 0002**	NS	PFATS 0111	NS	PFATS 0111	NS	1080
PFAT 0050	PFATS 0011	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	PFATS 0011	NS	2137
PFAT 0058	PFATS 0119	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	NS	NS	0376
PFAT 0075	NS	Destroyed	**PFATS 0002**	NS	NS	NS	0650
PFAT 0081	**PFATS 0002**	NS	PFATS 0011	NS	NS	NS	2154
PFAT 0102	NS	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	PFATS 0142	NS	0686?
PFAT 0220	NS	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	Destroyed	NS	0941?
PFAT 0495	NS	NS	**PFATS 0002**	NS	(illegible seal)	NS	(unknown)

Disbursements of Grain

The twelve tablets listed in tables 1.1–2 above clearly record disbursements of feed, usually specifically grain, to equids — usually horses, twice donkeys. The animals always occur in multiples of two. The time frame covers six years (502–496 B.C.), and the rations are disbursed throughout the year, commonly between March (Adar) and September (Elul), but at least once in November/December (Kislev) as well.[11] When the nature of the rations disbursed is mentioned, it is grain rather than hay, usually provided in the form of simple grain but at least once as bread.[12] Modern English expressions such as "feeling his oats" or "full of beans" should serve us as reminders of a past when the feed given to horses had a profound influence on the energy levels and docility one might expect from these equine companions and servants.

Based on the nature of the feed, therefore, as well as the numbers and types of animals to which it was rationed, and the varied names and handwritings that appear on the tablets, we think the function of PFATS 0002 may be stated with some confidence. It was that of an office responsible for disbursing grain supplements to high-quality and mettlesome steeds.

The inclusion of donkeys here should not be surprising, not only because of the clear modern comparisons that show the potentially prized nature of these animals but also from their inclusion on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis.[13] On these reliefs, chariot horses are legion among the gifts brought to the king, but no simple draft equids yoked to plough or cart. Thus the fact that a donkey is brought by the Indian delegation as a gift to the king underscores the nature of donkeys as valued animals.[14]

[11] The Aramaic tablets use the Akkadian (Babylonian) calendar, which is to be expected in imperial or official Aramaic documents from the Achaemenid period. See Wouter F. M. Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts*, Achaemenid History 14 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008), p. 75.

[12] Bread appears as a feed for equids in the Elamite tablets of the PFA, as well as here; see Marcel Gabrielli, *Le cheval dans l'empire achéménide* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2006), p. 43. Medieval "horsebread" might be made using beans or peas as well as coarse-ground grain. Thus answers.yahoo.com quotes the Gervase Markham Country Contentments of 1615 as providing a recipe: "Take two bushels of good clean beans and one bushel of wheat, and grind them together. Then, through a fine [sieve], bolt out the quantity of two pecks of pure meal, and bake it in two or three loaves by itself. The rest sift through a meal sieve and knead it with water and good store of barme [yeast]. And so, bake it in bread loaves and with the coarser bread feed your horse in his rest."

[13] This is clear from the delegation of Indians on the East staircase, which includes a long-eared donkey among its gifts. For the nature of the offerings as gifts rather than tribute, see Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Baji," in *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, edited by Maria Brosius and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 11 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1988), pp. 23–34.

[14] In this regard, the Persian evidence suggests a different attitude toward donkeys than that of Greeks. For the value placed on horses in Greek visual and textual evidence, and the lesser worth of donkeys, see M. Griffith, "Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination," *Classical Philology* 101/3 (2006): 185–246; and idem, "Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination. Part Two," *Classical Philology* 101/4 (2006): 307–58. For the wild donkeys on the Neo-Elamite heirloom seal PFS 0051, see Mark B. Garrison, "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 1–29, esp. pp. 3–7; idem, "The Seal of 'Kuraš the Anzanite, Son of Sespes' (Teispes), PFS 93*: Susa – Anšan – Persepolis," in *Elam and Persia*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon and Mark B. Garrison (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 375–405. For the significance of horses in Athenian self-image, see J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p. 132.

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As one author has put it, "Horses' historical agency lies in the substance of their existence, the physical power they produced, and the role of that power in shaping material and social arrangements."[15] Although the PFAT corpus does not as yet provide additional information about the power of equids at Persepolis or the role they played in shaping social arrangements, it does give us real insight into the keeping of horses and donkeys and some of the ways they may have been used. The information included on the Aramaic tablets is, as usual, much more briefly stated than that on the Elamite tablets of the Fortification Archive, but the tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 contribute to our understanding of equids, their uses, their feed schedules, and their care. The people to whom the grain is disbursed regularly fed a pair of horses or donkeys. It is possible that they were feeding their own mount and backup steed, or the riding steeds of someone else.[16] The pair of animals, may, however, have been a team that worked together to pull a vehicle behind them.

Most of the tablets associated with PFATS 0002 do not specify the amount of grain given or the number of days the ration was disbursed, nor do they give an indication how long the ration of grain was supposed to last. This terseness may serve as another indication that the Aramaic tablets did not function as full archival records but rather were used in tandem with Elamite (or other?) documentation. Those tablets that do indicate amounts and duration of grain rations, however, are valuable. The quantities of grain issued by the holder of PFATS 0002 demonstrate that these animals, like those described on the Elamite tablets, must have eaten a combination of grass or hay and grain.[17] This is normal for modern horses that eat grain supplements as well as horses whose feed is recorded in the Elamite corpus of the PFA.[18] Indeed, Wouter Henkelman has demonstrated that the Elamite tablets clearly specify those rations of grain that are fed to animals otherwise supported by forage or otherwise turned out to pasture.[19]

The quantities of grain mentioned in the tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 are so small that they must have served as supplements rather than the basis of nutrition — this is clear, for instance, on PFAT 0058. Indeed, the amount of grain described on PFAT 0058 translates to a very small daily ration, perhaps a quarter-cup. The amount described thus may represent only a small portion of an animal's overall intake, or it may indicate a particular high-calorie, high-nutrient grain, such as flax seed, that is given as a daily supplement in small quantities. Marcel Gabrielli has pointed out that some horses would have been fattened for consumption; the small quantities of grain listed here are not sufficient to put real weight on a horse but only to maintain the daily energy levels of a horse that is being worked.[20] Such supplements are important for animals that are working particularly hard, as they provide necessary energy and vitality. Certain high-fat grains, such as flax, also promote shiny coats, full manes and tails, glossy eyes, and healthy feet; they have an impact on both the performance and the appearance of the steed.[21] Only small quantities of such rich feed can be offered horses. The animals are surprisingly delicate creatures, and if overfed or fed wrongly they quickly succumb to stomach or foot disorders (e.g., colic or laminitis) — for a horse, such diseases can be fatal.[22] The amounts suggested by the tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 therefore are what one would expect to find of a high-fat grain like flax, offered as a feed supplement to a horse or donkey engaged in regular demanding work.[23]

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[15] Ann Norton Greene, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. xi.

[16] Christopher Tuplin has recently reiterated that the term "horseman" in the Fortification Archive need not mean an equestrian but rather may well refer to a groom or other person responsible for tending horses. See Christopher Tuplin, "All the King's Horses: In Search of Achaemenid Cavalry," in *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, edited by Garrett G. Fagan and Matthew Trundle, History of Warfare 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 101–82.

[17] Gabrielli, *Le cheval*, p. 61.

[18] Modern horses eat between 1.5 and 3 percent of their body weight daily, of which 75 percent or more needs to be forage — this equals roughly 9,000 pounds of hay per year for a 1,000-lb. horse. For the proteins and fats in grain fed to horses, see, e.g., the Committee on Nutrient Requirements of Horses, Board on Agriculture and Natural Resources, and Division on Earth and Life Studies, *Nutrient Requirements of Horses*, 6th revised ed. (Washington: National Academies Press, 2007), pp. 44–68.

[19] Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King': The Table of Darius, that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and that of His Satrap, Karkiš," in *Der Achämenidenhof*, edited by Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger, Classica et Orientalia 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 667–775, esp. pp. 740–41. Gabrielli demonstrates that the primary grain listed by name in the Elamite tablets is barley, and that in almost all cases the amount of grain given is small (*Le cheval*, p. 132, tables 6–7); the exception seems to be for horses raised as meat (ibid., p. 48, table 9; and see below n. 20). See also Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Ancient World* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), p. 122. Our study of the Aramaic tablets is still in its initial phases, so we cannot yet provide meaningful comprehensive comparison with the amounts listed in the Elamite tablets. For a case study of the foraging patterns and nutritional intake of a herd of wild horses living in the Camargue in modern France, see P. B. Duncan, *Horses and Grasses: The Nutritional Ecology of Equids and Their Impact on the Camargue* (New York: Springer, 1992), esp. pp. 75–97.

[20] Gabrielli, *Le cheval*, p. 48, table 9. The consumption of equids remains normal in many parts of the world. Azzoni's family recipe book, for instance, includes a delicious donkey stew to be eaten primarily in the winter months.

[21] Thus Dusinberre's horse, a 5-year-old Oldenburg training in dressage, eats hay and grass for her primary source of nutrition but also consumes a daily supplement consisting of soaked beet pulp (which provides extra bulk and moisture), barley (for energy), flax seed (for healthy coat and feet), and rice bran (because it tastes good).

[22] For the importance of having a good balance between grain and forage in reducing disease, see D. C. Archer and C. J. Proudman, "Epidemiological Clues to Preventing Colic," *Veterinary Journal* 172 (2005): 29–39 (colic), and James B. Rowe, Michael J. Lees, and David W. Pethick, "Prevention of Acidosis and Laminitis Associated with Grain Feeding in Horses," *Journal of Nutrition* 124 (1994): 2742S–44S (laminitis).

[23] For the nutritional needs of donkeys, see Committee on Nutrient Requirements of Horses, *Nutrient Requirements of Horses*, pp. 268–72.

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It is important to reiterate here that high-protein, high-fat feed supplements make horses frisky.[24] They are given to animals engaged in serious athletic pursuits — running, jumping, dressage, cavalry, etc. If a horse is being worked hard, feed supplements will not make it unbiddable or rampageous but will simply give it the extra energy it needs for its job; however, one would not give such supplements to an animal that must remain quiet and docile without much to do. The amount of dietary supplement fed to an equid is a delicate balance of the demands its work places upon it and the need for obedience. Thus small grain quantities of the sort listed on the tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 most likely indicate the athletic and the splendid, the sort of creatures that might have been drawing swift chariots or, possibly, carrying elite members of the armed forces (fig. 1.3).

Wider Connections

The tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 show variation in handwriting, the personal names of recipients, and other seals impressed on the surfaces of the tablet — including several instances when PFATS 0002 is the only seal to have been impressed. This variation seems to be a hallmark of the seal. Thus PFATS 0002 was apparently an office seal, not one that was associated with a particular person but rather one that could be used by multiple officials associated with a particular function. In this regard, perhaps, it parallels PFS 0048, a seal impressed not only on the Elamite tablets of the Fortification Archive but also on the uninscribed and the Aramaic corpora, that was used by an office responsible for disbursing grain.[25] PFATS 0002 can appear by itself, without counter-ratification, but it often does appear with other seals. The significance of this pattern is not clear to us. The surfaces on which the seal appears are also not consistent, although it is always impressed either on the obverse or reverse and seldom on any other surface of the tablet (see table 1.2). If there is another seal impressed on a tablet in addition to PFATS 0002, it is usually but not always either on the obverse or reverse; it may appear on the flat edge or (once) on the upper edge as well or instead.

Connections hinted at by the collocation of PFATS 0002 with other seals remain at this point largely unclear. The seal PFATS 0011, for instance, appears twice on these tablets in connection with PFATS 0002, both times in year 23 of Darius's reign and in association with rations for two horses (PFAT 0050, PFAT 0081). On other Aramaic tablets, as we will discuss in the future, PFATS 0011 is associated with significant rations apparently apportioned to military units in year 23. At this point, the significance of PFATS 0002 lies for us in its association with pairs of horses or donkeys, rather than its use together with specific other seals. The names of the individuals given on those tablets sealed by PFATS 0002, however, are very interesting and offer real insight into the function and role of the Aramaic tablets in the Fortification Archive as a whole (table 1.3).

Recipients of Grain

Table 1.3. Tablets and personal names associated with PFATS 0002

Tablet No.	*Personal Name (?)*	*Seals*
PFAT 0013	—	PFATS 0002, PFS 2150
PFAT 0025	*Smrdwk*	PFATS 0002
PFAT 0028	—	PFATS 0002
PFAT 0033	*Mtrn'*(?)	PFATS 0002
PFAT 0047	*Zbwš*	PFATS 0002, PFATS 0111
PFAT 0050	*Zbwš*	PFATS 0002, PFATS 0011
PFAT 0058	—	PFATS 0002, PFATS 0119
PFAT 0075	*Štyš*	PFATS 0002
PFAT 0081	—	PFATS 0002, PFATS 0011
PFAT 0102	*Wnyš*	PFATS 0002, PFATS 0142
PFAT 0220	—	PFATS 0002
PFAT 0495	*Gbh*	PFATS 0002

[24] For balancing diet and energy requirements, see Committee on Nutrient Requirements of Horses, *Nutrient Requirements of Horses*, esp. pp. 3–33, 211–12, and 216–17.

[25] Mark Garrison, pers. comm., 2006.

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A certain *Zbwš* is named on two tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 as the person receiving grain (PFAT 0047 and PFAT 0050). PFAT 0047 is written in the same hand as PFAT 0050 and sealed by PFATS 0002 and PFATS 0111. PFATS 0011 is impressed on PFAT 0050 and PFAT 0081. On the three tablets thus linked — PFAT 0047 and PFAT 0050 linked by the handwriting and the naming of *Zbwš*, and PFAT 0050 and PFAT 0081 linked by the presence of PFATS 0011 along with PFATS 0002 — the document records grain given for two horses in the year 23, twice in the fall (September and November) and once in an unknown month. It seems likely that *Zbwš* was the recipient of grain recorded on all three tablets, and that both PFATS 0011 and PFATS 0111 were used by him or his representative.

Azzoni has linked this man to a figure known also from the Elamite texts of the archive: *Zbwš*, or Zabuš, should be connected with Zamu or Zamuš.[26] He is known from Fort. 1636 and PF 1247 as well as the Aramaic tablets, a spear/lance-bearer with high status who performed special missions:[27]

Fort. 1636 (box 0382; no seal)

> (01) 50 qts. of flour, (01-03) allocation from Pirradauka, (03) (for a man) Zamuš by name, (04) his two companions (04-05) (and) their 6 servants. (06-07) He (Z.) carried a sealed authorisation by Parnakka. (08-10) 3 (men and 6 servants) received (it) during 4 (days) as rations. (11-13) Ninth month, year 24 (Nov–Dec, 497 B.C.).

PF 1247 (box 0931; seals PFS 0018, PFS 1189)

> (01) 120 (qts.) of flour, (01-02) allocation from Mirayauda, (03) (for a man) Zamuš by name (03-04) and his 1 companion, (04-05) lance-bearers, (05-07) assigned (and) accounted for by Irdumartiya. (07) (As) the king ordered, (08-09) they received (it) as rations. (10-12) Each daily received 1.5 qt., (12-13) during 40 days. (13-15) Fifth and sixth months, year 22 (Jul–Sep, 500 B.C.).

PF 1247 describes Zamuš as a high-status lance-bearer traveling with a companion to fulfill some special function as commanded by the king.[28] His high status is reiterated in Fort. 1636, which mentions an entourage of six servants. *Zbwš* is also mentioned by name on PFAT 0024, a tablet which is sealed by PFS 2150 — which appears also on PFAT 0013, one of the other tablets bearing an impression of PFATS 0002, but there without a personal name indicated. PFAT 0024 reads, "In year 22, *Zbwš* took rations for 2 horses for the months of Ab (and) Elul." If the man receiving grain for two horses on the Aramaic tablets is indeed the same as the lance-bearer of the same name who appears on the Elamite tablets, as we suggest, it shows two things. The first is that this person has elite status, as indicated by his title and his profile on the Elamite tablets, a notion corroborated by his high-fed horses as shown in the Aramaic texts. The second is that different languages are used to record his receipts in different areas: Elamite for his actions, Aramaic for his steeds.

Henkelman suggests that the lance-bearer Zamuš strikes him as more likely to be mounted than drawn in a wheeled vehicle.[29] Christopher Tuplin's recent work on the role of horses in the Achaemenid army demonstrates that spear-wielding individuals might be shown in visual representations both on horseback and in horse-drawn chariots, but notes that the former are much more common.[30] Indeed, it seems very likely that a cavalryman or other person engaged in essential business would wish to have a backup mount — or a pack animal — as well as one to ride, while patrolling or fighting or otherwise carrying out his duties. The persistent and consistent appearance of couples of animals on the tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 is very striking, however, and may in fact indicate a more formal arrangement such as a feisty pair yoked together to draw a swift vehicle. For now, all we can say with certainty is that there is insufficient evidence to determine just how the pairs of horses being grained by *Zbwš* and the other individuals named on this group of tablets were used.

Štyš is Old Persian **Šyatiš*-, perhaps Šiyatiš. In addition to the tablets sealed by PFATS 0002, this man is also known from PFAT 0010, where he takes rations for four donkeys, and possibly PFAT 0074, which deals with donkeys' rations in year 23.[31] He is also mentioned on the Elamite tablets (as Šiyatizza/Šiyatiš): the name appears on Fort. 706:5, where

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[26] Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 173. An Akkadian version of the name (*Za-bu-šu*) appears in a Neo-Babylonian business document; see Albert Tobias Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods: Chiefly from Nippur*, The Babylonian Expedition of the University, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 8.1 (Philadelphia: Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1908), p. 67.

[27] Wouter Henkelman, pers. comm., 2010; we are grateful to Henkelman for providing the following translations.

[28] See further Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "Exit der Posaunenbläser: On Lance-guards and Lance-bearers in the Persepolis Fortification Archive," *ARTA* 2002.007 (www.achemenet.com/ressources/enligne/arta/pdf/2002.007.pdf): 23–25.

[29] Henkelman, pers. comm., 2010.

[30] Tuplin, "All the King's Horses," pp. 110, 114–15.

[31] On PFAT 0010, he is attested as *Štš*, without the *y*.

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it is associated with horses. Here, the horses are explicitly described as *rabbanna* "harnessed."[32] This description is no doubt of horses yoked together and may provide additional evidence for the connection between teams of equids and PFATS 0002.

Mtrn', if that is the correct reading of this name, is probably a rendering of Elamite Miturna (Old Persian **Vidarna*-), who turns up numerous times on the Elamite tablets.[33] At least two Miturnas are represented in the Elamite tablets of the Fortification Archive. One is Miturna (Hydarnes), satrap of Media, who issues *halmi* and is a person to whom others travel, as well as himself once appearing as a high-profile traveler heading for Media.[34] A second Miturna is an allocator of grain at Tikraš and Tenukku/a, both in the Persepolis region.[35] The man who accepts grain from the office represented by PFATS 0002 could be either of these individuals (or a third), although the second is perhaps more likely.

Wnyš is perhaps the Unušša/*(*H*)*uniša*- attested in one Elamite tablet (PF 1521, on disbursements of large quantities of flour for workers); he provides further evidence for links between the different linguistic parts of the archive.[36] *Smrdwk* is possibly a Babylonian name and may indeed contain the theophoric element Marduk.[37] *Gbh* is so far otherwise unattested and unidentified. Thus the people to whom the grain was being disbursed by the office represented by PFATS 0002 were of varied cultural backgrounds, including Babylonian, Persian, Elamite (or Persian-Elamite), as well as those of uncertain origin, people who may have been very high up indeed in the social hierarchy of the Achaemenid empire.

The seals with which PFATS 0002 appears include one that appears on multiple parts of the archive: PFS 2150 is impressed on four tablets written in Aramaic and on two Elamite tablets.[38] The seal is linked to disbursements of grain and other rations. On PFAT 0024, as mentioned above, the name of *Zbwš* appears. The other tablets mention other names. On the Elamite tablets, the seal is used by someone who receives large quantities of grain for workers; on PF-NN 2167, the seal seems to be associated with a man named Šadakuš. A Šadakuš is named on PF-NN 2103 in connection with horses (perhaps also PF-NN 0047). The other of the Elamite tablets on which PFS 2150 is impressed, PF-NN 0293, includes an Aramaic epigraph which reiterates the key elements of the content, as well as the date, of the Elamite text. Thus PFS 2150 links the Aramaic tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 with the Elamite tablets and their occasional Aramaic additions.

The other seals — PFATS 0011, PFATS 0111, PFATS 0119, and PFATS 0142 — have at this point been found only on the Aramaic tablets of the Fortification Archive. We find this interesting: the seals used on these concise tablets recording disbursements of grain to pairs of horses and donkeys are concentrated on the Aramaic tablets, but they highlight the connections across the different components of the archive. The personal names that appear in association with PFATS 0002 underscore this. People from a variety of ethnic backgrounds received grain for their animals from this office. It is possible that some of them were of elite social status. And most of them apparently also interacted with the scribes and offices represented in the Elamite part of the Fortification Archive. This is noteworthy: even when the *seals* included here were used only on tablets written in Aramaic, the *seal users* mentioned here are also represented by name and other seals on the Elamite tablets. Thus the links between names, handwriting, and seals demonstrate that the Aramaic tablets are closely interconnected with each other and with other parts of the archive. These connections begin to elucidate the real significance of the Aramaic part of the Fortification Archive.

The PFAT selection that was sealed by PFATS 0002 offers new nuances to our understanding of the archive as a whole. This set of terse tablets does not offer the richness of information provided by the Elamite tablets. The subset sealed by PFATS 0002 nonetheless demonstrates that certain offices or functions were overseen by people whose records were kept exclusively in Aramaic. It is possible that the scribes writing in Aramaic were themselves not native Aramaic speakers — this is demonstrated in some cases by the rendering of personal names (see n. 33), or in other

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[32] Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), p. 319; Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 758.

[33] Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 21–22, 65; Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 733. Miturna/Mitarna appears on PF 0939:2, PF 0940:1f., PF 1135:1f., PF 1150:2, PF 1151:2, PF 1363:15, PF 1483:5f., PF 1545:2, PF 2009:22 (?), PF 2055:8f. and 13, PF 2070:21f., Fort. 1683:2, Fort. 3544:4, DB 25:13 and 15, DB 68:91. Although the Aramaic version of **Vidarna*- is *wdrn* (Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 22, 65), it is possible that this may be an Aramaic rendering of the Elamite version of the name. Alternatively, Old Persian **Miθrāna*- (Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 250) is also possible although this seems less likely as the name is not attested otherwise in the PFA.

[34] See PF 1363, PF 1483, PF 1545, PF 2055, PFa 18, NN 0826, NN 1937, NN 2041, NN 2195, NN 2349. We are grateful to Henkelman for the non-PF references. Miturna is discussed in Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, English translation by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), pp. 351, 392, 440, 445, 737, and 903, as well as Root, "Evidence from Persepolis."

[35] PF 0939, 0940, 1125, 1150, 1151, NN 1528, Fort. 1638. Again, we are grateful to Henkelman for his input. He points out four more texts with a Miturna, too: Fort. 3544 mentions a Miturna who is a servant of the satrap Karkiš, while PF 2009, 2070, and NN 1865 mention someone who deals with sheep/goats and may have been a butcher. Henkelman suggests (pers. comm. 2010) the *Mtrn'* here is probably one of the more important Miturnas, either the dispenser of grain, or, perhaps, the satrap of Media. For Karkiš, see Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King.'"

[36] Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 209; Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 426 and 770.

[37] The name Marduka (Aramaic *Mrdk* and *Mrdwk*) is also attested in the Elamite corpus (Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 725).

[38] Aramaic: PFAT 0013, 0024, 0034, 0157; Elamite: PF-NN 0293, 2167.

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cases by mistaken orthography that betrays a foreign ear to the language (for instance, mistakenly writing ה instead of ח in words such as חמר).[39]

PFATS 0002 highlights the complex weave of the Fortification Archive. The office connected to it kept its records in Aramaic. But the connections across the linguistic components of the archive demonstrated by the people who received grain from the office shows that the same people could receive goods from multiple offices or individuals represented by both languages in the Fortification Archive. Thus the case of *Zbwš* indicates that the same individual could at times have had some of his activities reflected in Elamite, while other aspects of his life might be recorded in Aramaic. Mark Garrison has suggested that the Aramaic tablets and the uninscribed tablets of the archive may be linked to commodity distribution along the Royal Road.[40] Dusinberre has agreed that the usage patterns of seals on the Aramaic tablets may support this suggestion.[41] Those tablets sealed by PFATS 0002 give us a first inkling of the connections between the multiple parts of the archive. Those tablets that record interactions in Aramaic demonstrate the sophistication of the Achaemenid Persian bureaucracy. They help us see the Fortification Archive at Persepolis as a residuum of the extraordinarily complex, interlinked administrative system that documented all that the Persepolis-based imperial bureaucracy controlled.

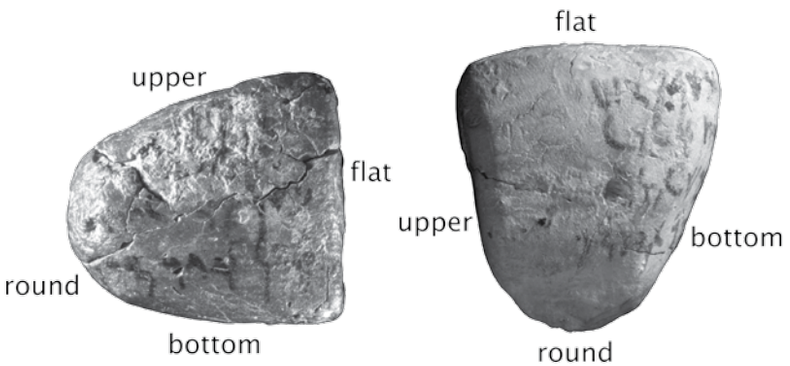


Figure 1.1. Obverses of PFATS 0013 and PFATS 0047, with surfaces labeled

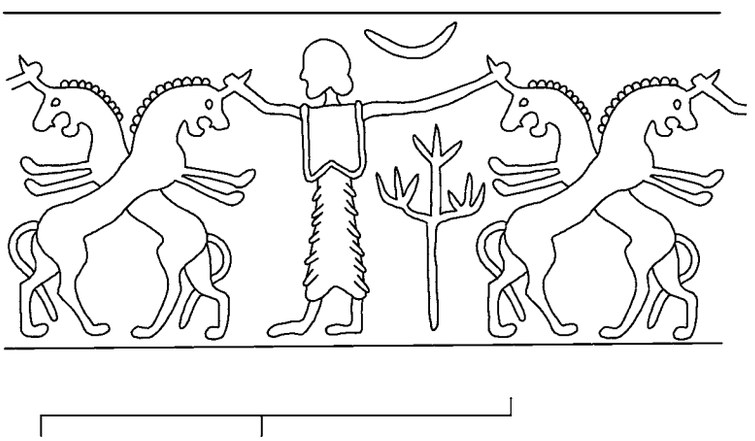


Figure 1.2. Collated drawing of the impressions of PFATS 0002

[39] See, e.g., PFAT 0124.

[40] Garrison, "Uninscribed Tablets."

[41] Dusinberre, "Seal Impressions."

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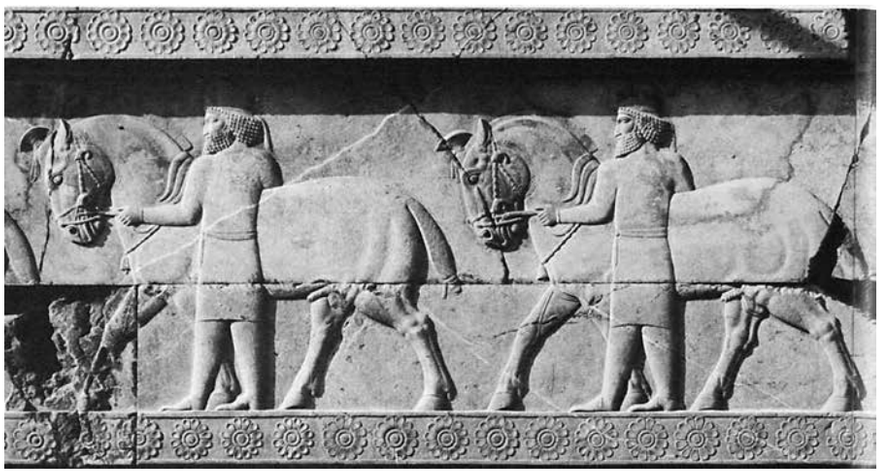


Figure 1.3. The king's horses, from Persepolis (Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 1: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions.* Oriental Institute Publications 68 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953], pl. 52, detail)

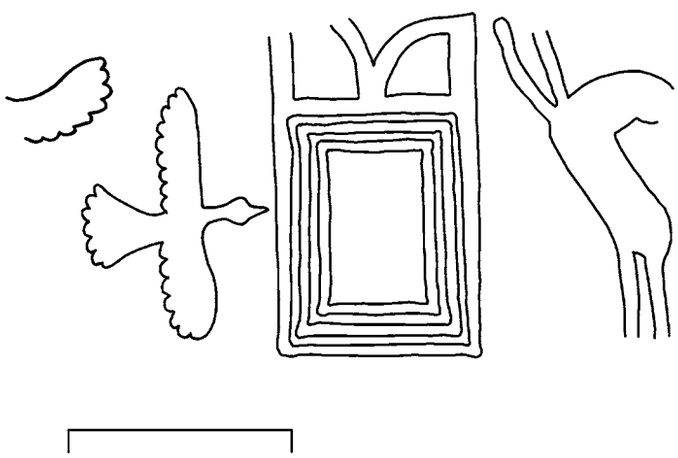


Figure 1.4. Collated drawing of the impression left by PFATS 0011

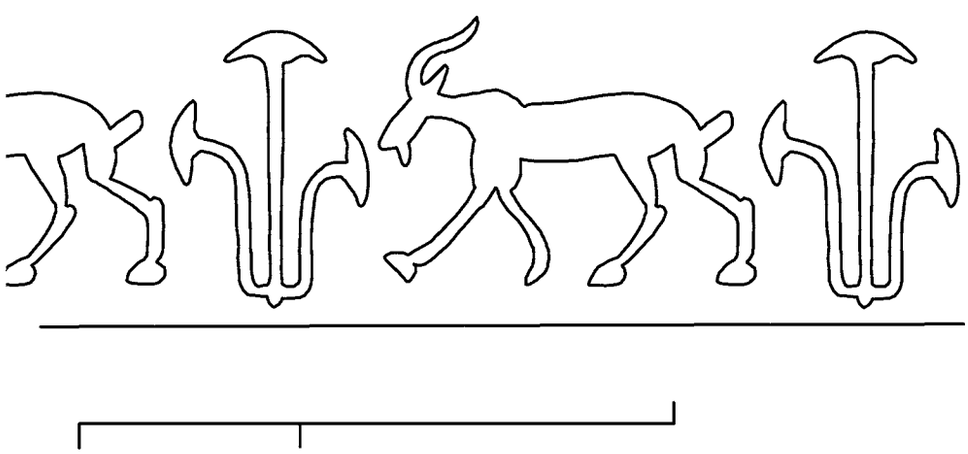


Figure 1.5. Collated drawing of the impression left by PFS 2150

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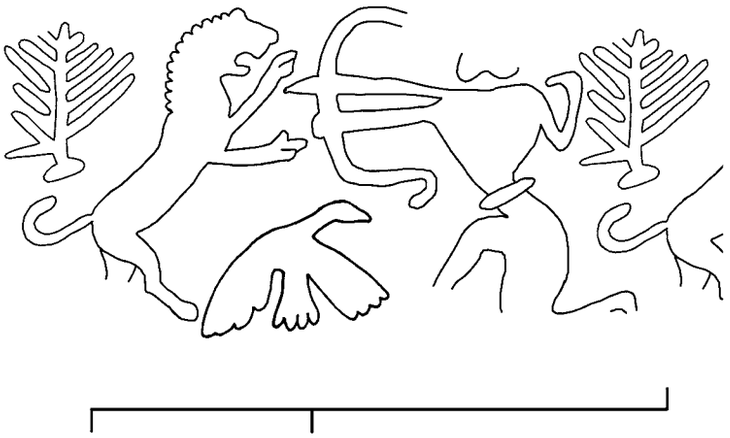


Figure 1.6. Collated drawing of the impression left by PFATS 0111

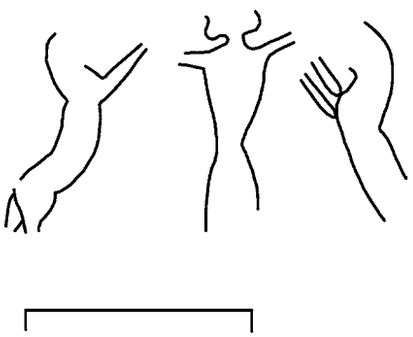


Figure 1.7. Collated drawing of the impression left by PFATS 0119

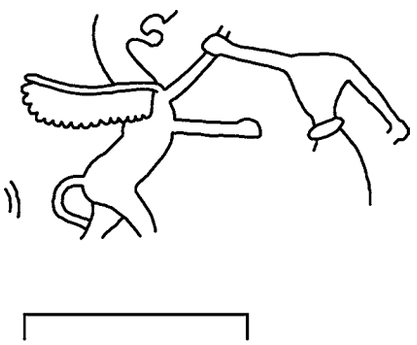


Figure 1.8. Collated drawing of the impression left by PFATS 0142

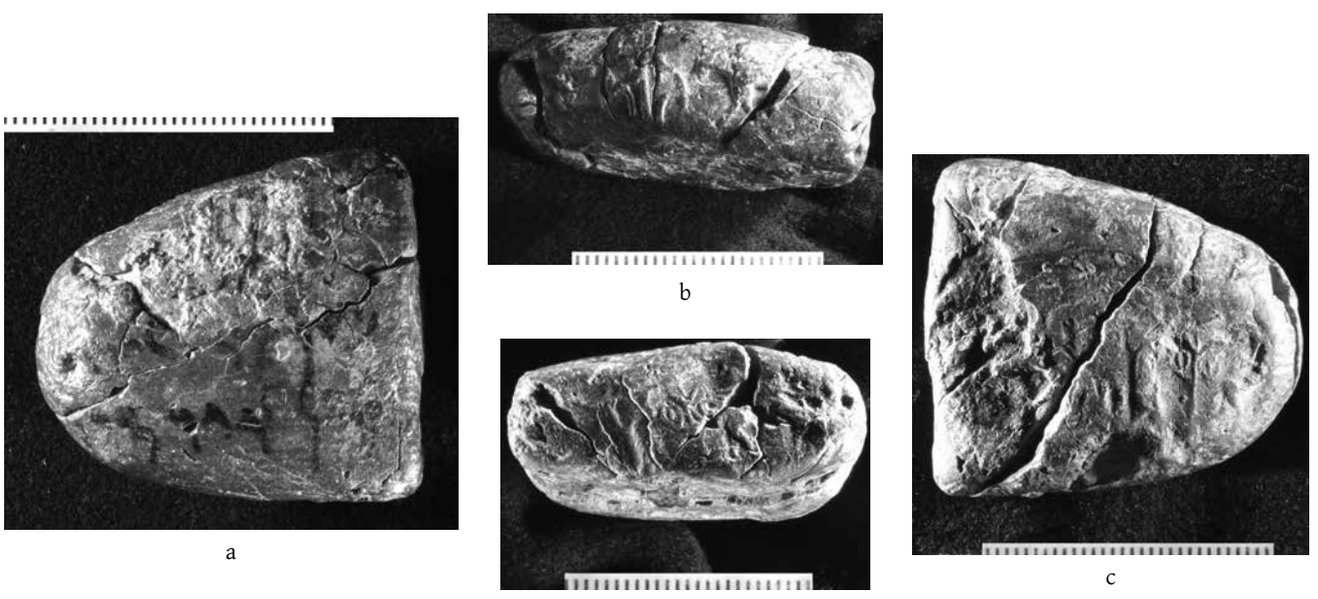
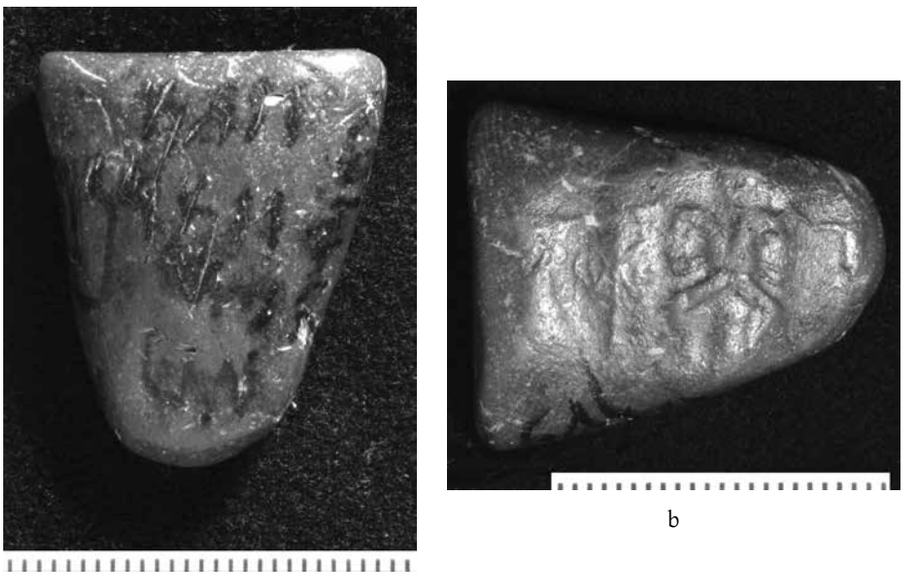


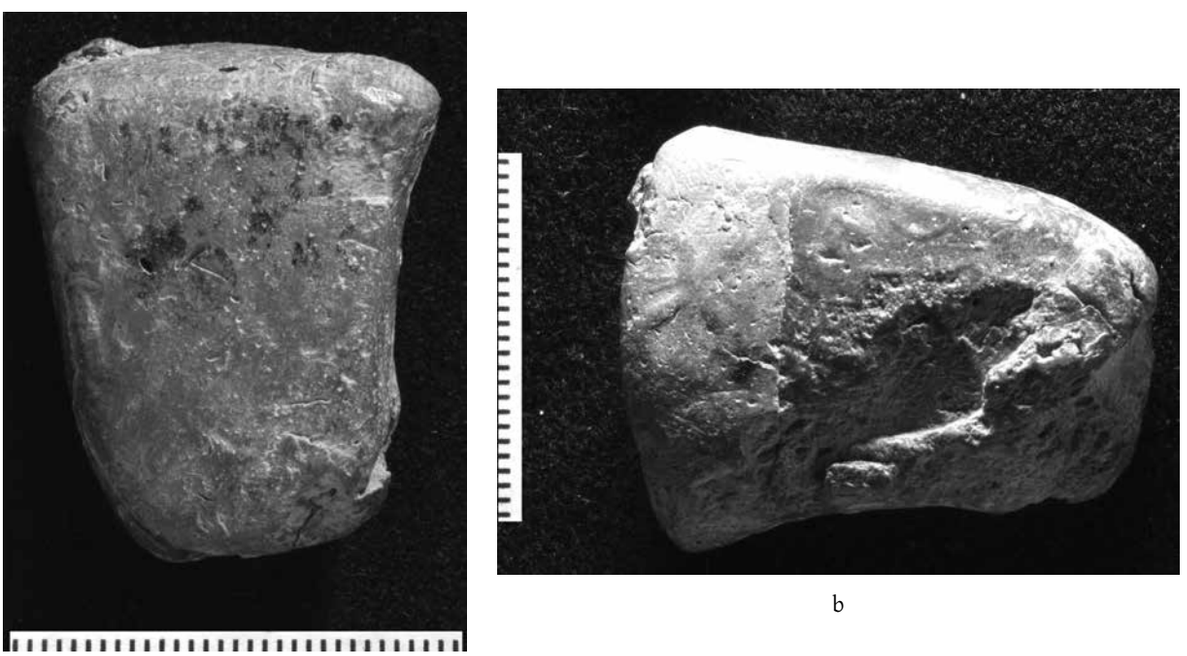
Figure 1.9. PFAT 013: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) upper edge with PFS 2150, (*c*) reverse with PFATS 0002, (*d*) flat edge with PFATS 0002

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a b

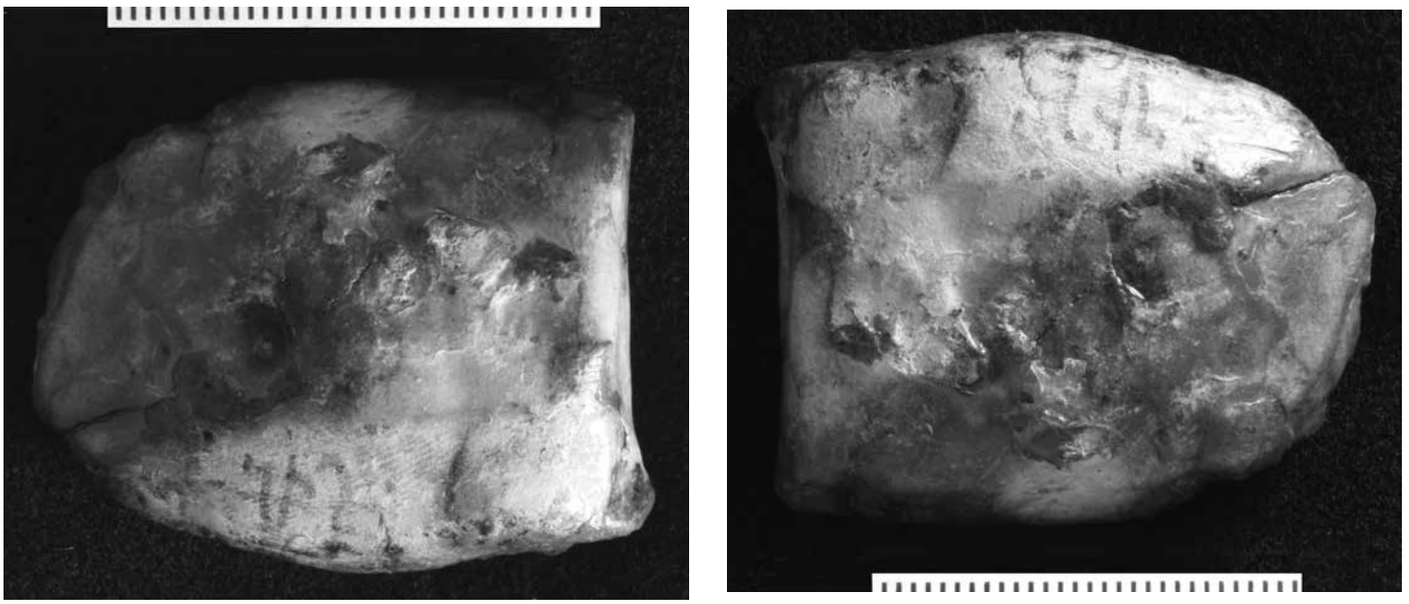
Figure 1.10. PFAT 025: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse with PFATS 0002



a b

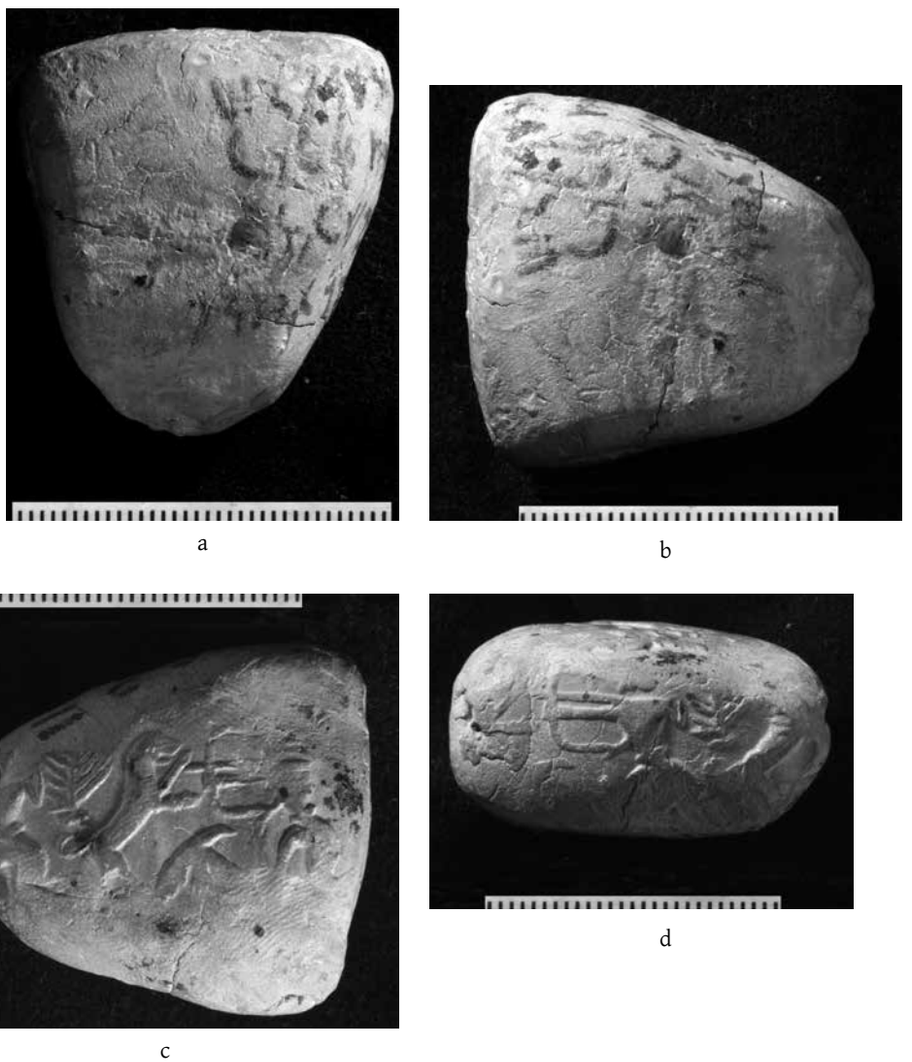
Figure 1.11. PFAT 028: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse with PFATS 0002

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a b

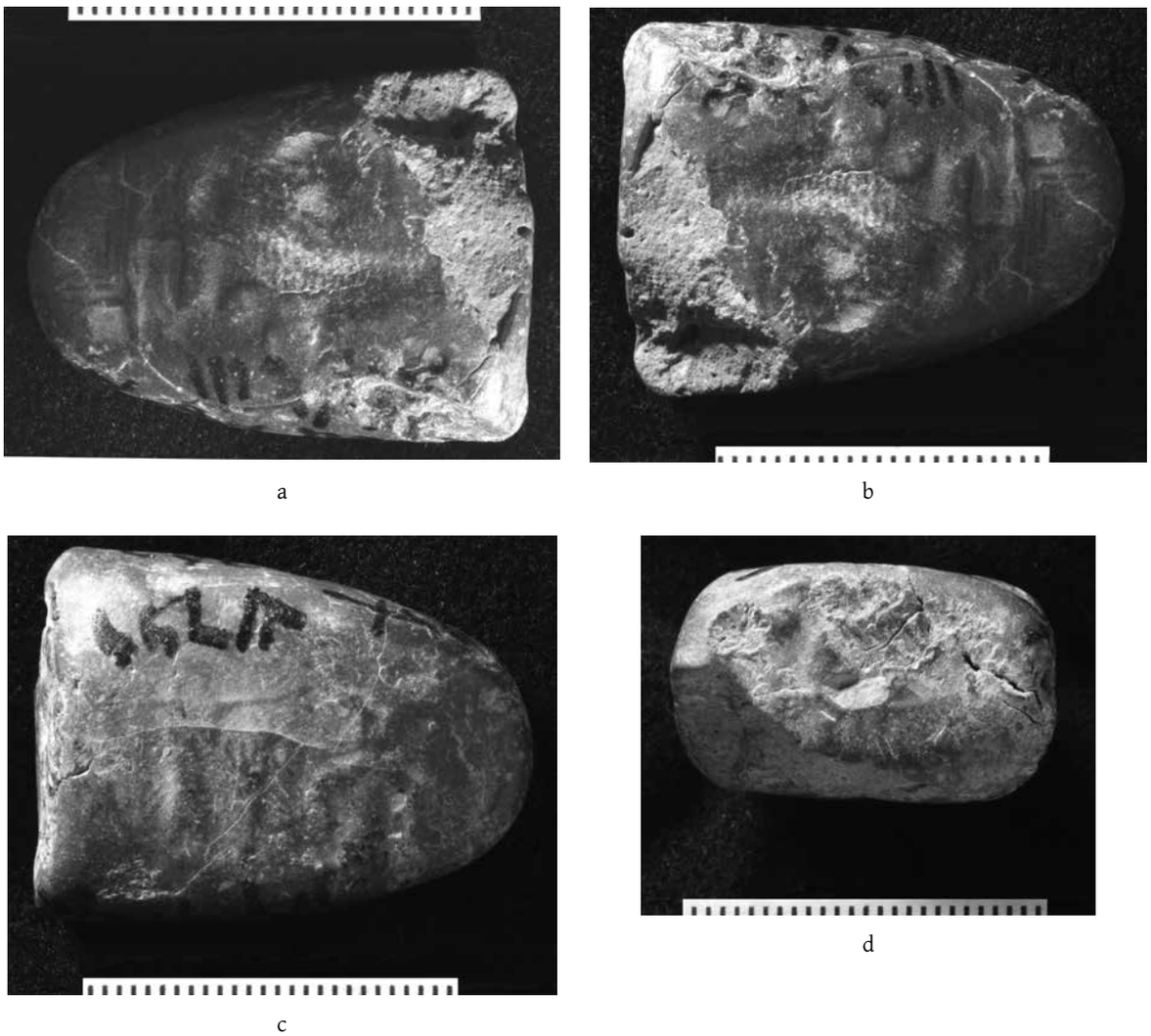
Figure 1.12. PFAT 0033: (a) obverse, (b) obverse with PFATS 0002



a b c d

Figure 1.13. PFAT 047: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) obverse with PFATS 0002, (*c*) reverse with PFATS 0111, (*d*) flat edge with PFATS 0111

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a b c d

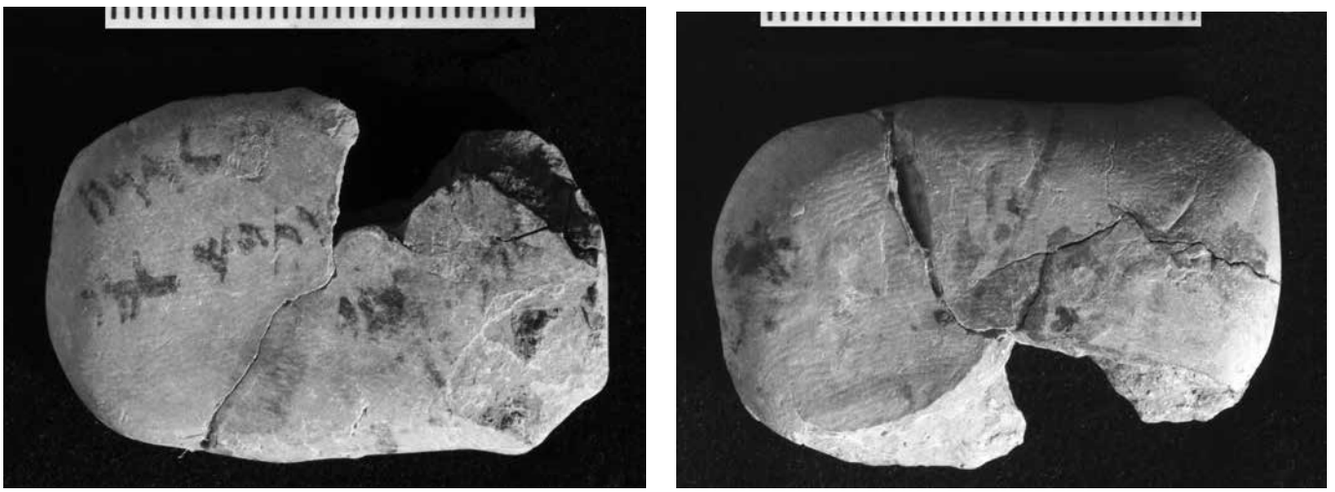
Figure 1.14. PFAT 050: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) obverse with PFATS 0011, (*c*) reverse with PFATS 0002, (*d*) flat edge with PFATS 0011



a b c

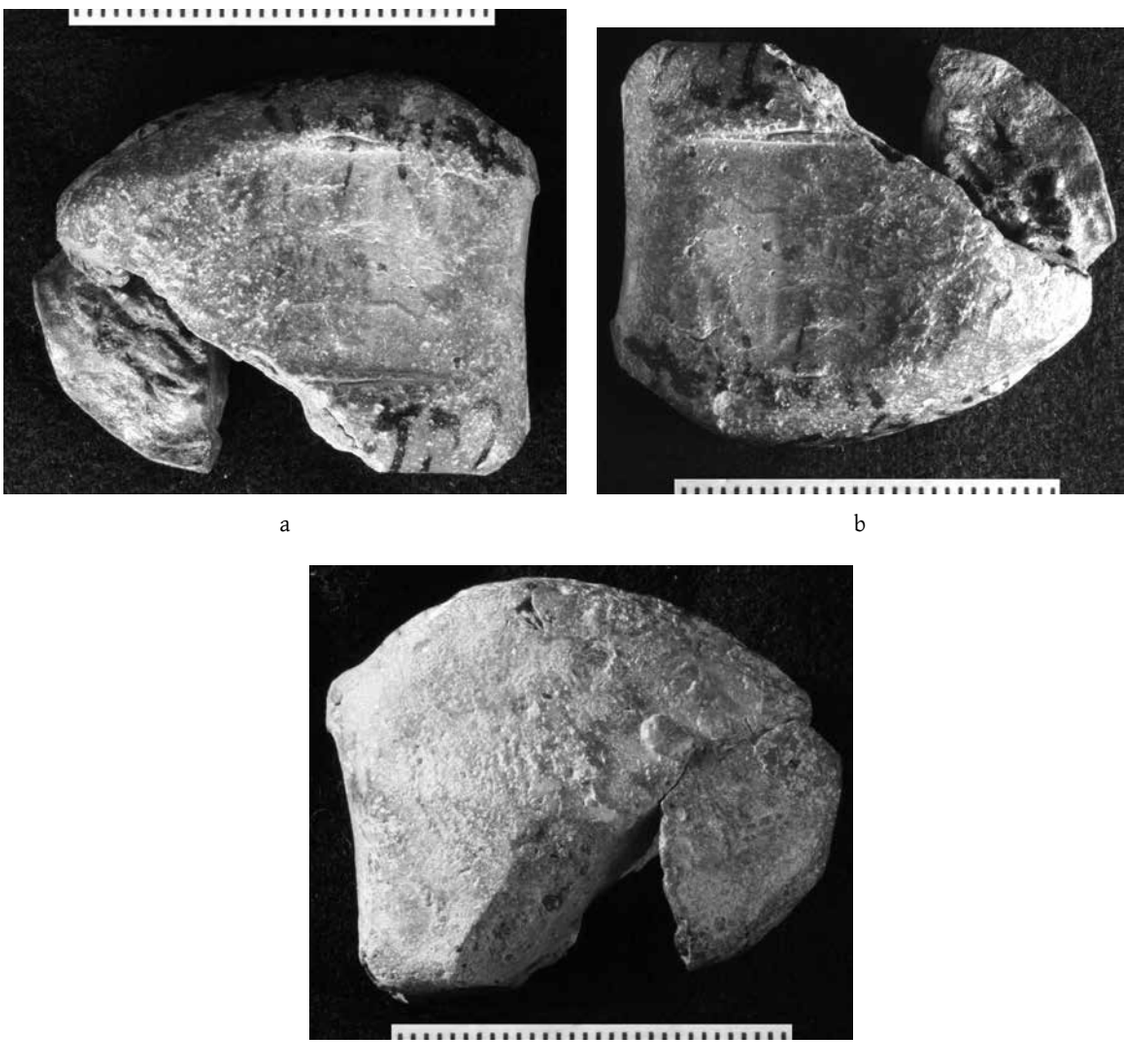
Figure 1.15. PFAT 058: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) obverse with PFATS 0119, (*c*) reverse with PFATS 0002

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a b

Figure 1.16. PFAT 075: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse with PFATS 0002



a b

c

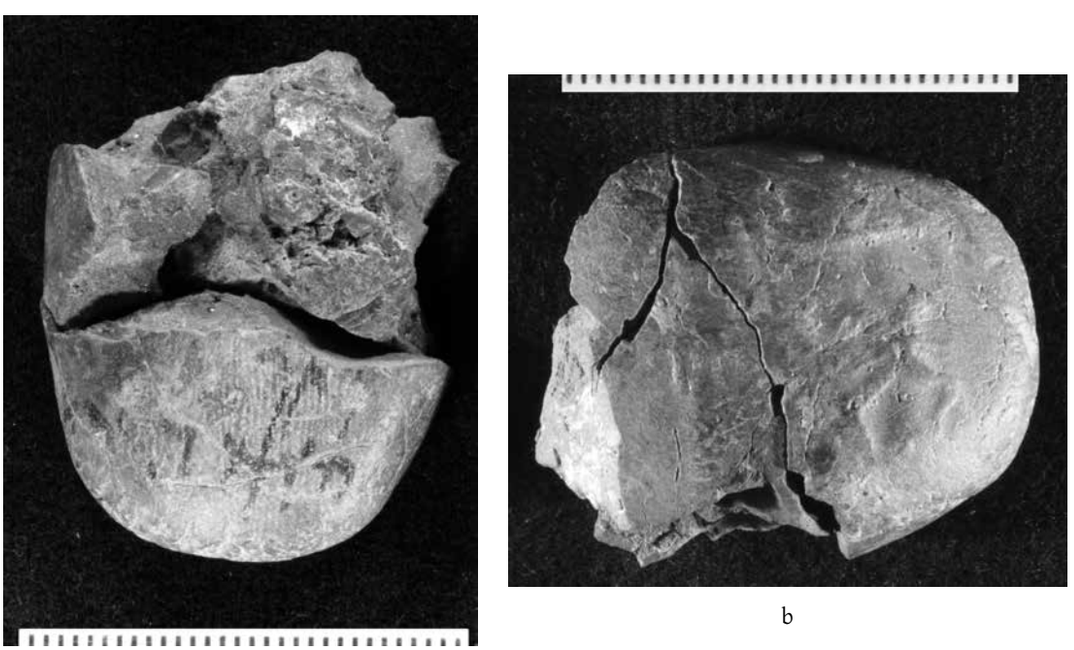
Figure 1.17. PFAT 081: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) obverse with PFATS 0002, (*c*) reverse with PFATS 0011

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a b c

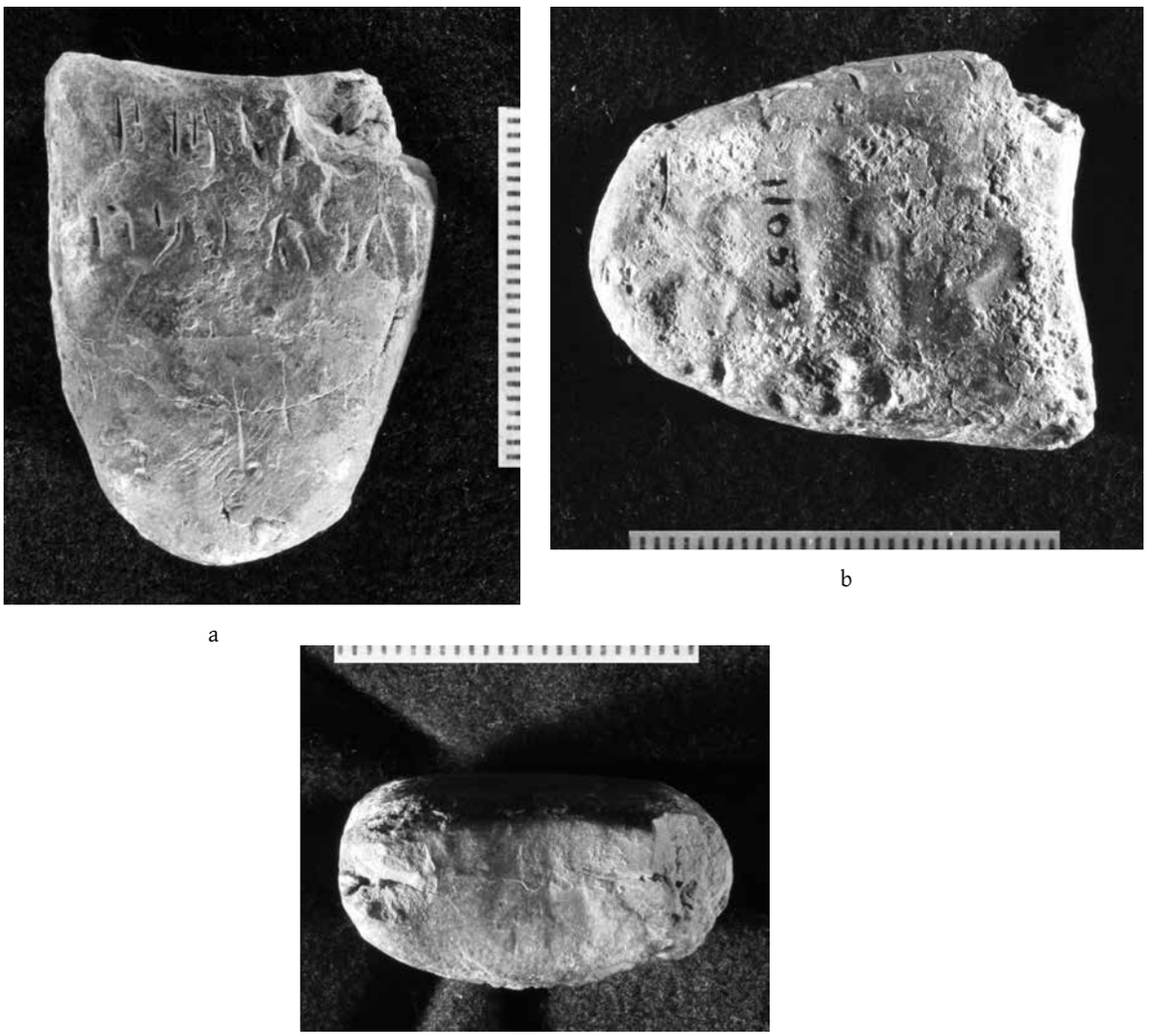
Figure 1.18. PFAT 102: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse with PFATS 0002, (*c*) flat edge with PFATS 0142



a b

Figure 1.19. PFAT 220: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse with PFATS 0002

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a b c

Figure 1.20. PFAT 495: (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse with PFATS 0002, (*c*) flat edge with illegible seal

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2

An Episode in the Reign of the Babylonian Pretender Nebuchadnezzar IV

Paul-Alain Beaulieu, University of Toronto

The study of the first Persian empire requires the mastery of a number of ancient and modern languages, and ideally that of several academic disciplines. Matthew has dedicated his entire scholarly career to that demanding subject, devoting most of his time to Elamite texts, Old Persian inscriptions, and late Babylonian business and administrative archives. I am pleased to offer him as a token of esteem this brief inquiry involving two corpora of sources that have attracted his attention over the years: the archive of the Eanna temple in the Babylonian city of Uruk, and the Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great.

The Persian empire experienced its first major political crisis after the death of Cambyses. Babylonian documents acknowledge as his successor a certain Barziya (Bardiya) in the spring and summer of 522, but the identity of this personage remains uncertain. According to the version of events presented by Darius in the Bisitun inscription, Cambyses killed his own brother Bardiya. Then an imposter named Gaumata claimed to be Bardiya and seized the throne. Soon thereafter Cambyses probably died a natural death and Darius entered the scene to remove the usurper and reinstate the legitimate ruling house. Many scholars now suspect that the account may have been falsified by Darius to conceal the fact that he murdered the real Bardiya in order to usurp the throne, but much uncertainty remains and other scenarios that have been proposed seem equally plausible.[1] Other sources, mainly Greek, contradict each other on several points and appear to reproduce various threads of oral tradition, with all the inconsistencies associated with oral memory. According to the Bisitun inscription, Bardiya was killed by Darius on September 29, 522.

No less complicated is the sequence of events after Darius I eliminated his rival. A wave of rebellions immediately broke out, affecting nearly every region of the empire east of the Euphrates from the fall of 522 until December 521, when Darius seems to have finally regained the upper hand. During that period, two insurrectionists rose in Babylonia. The history of the rebellions is known mostly from the account left by Darius in the Bisitun inscription. This information can be supplemented by cuneiform documents, which allow us to trace the gradual recognition of the two Babylonian pretenders and their eventual demise. Indeed, cuneiform documents have been exploited mainly for their date formulas, which are most important to reconstruct the chronology of events. In the present study I examine the uprising of the second pretender, known to historians as Nebuchadnezzar IV.

If we rely on the Bisitun inscription, it seems clear that the two Babylonian insurrectionists were not only usurpers, but also imposters. They both took the throne name of Nebuchadnezzar and both claimed to be sons of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon deposed by Cyrus in the fall of 539. However, the actual name of Nebuchadnezzar III, the first usurper, was Nidintu-Bēl, son of Kīn-zēri.[2] He occupied the function of *zazakku*, an important high official in the time of the Babylonian empire who probably supervised the affairs of temples for the royal administration. According to Babylonian dated documents, Nebuchadnezzar III started the computation of his reign with his accession year, claiming only the title "King of Babylon." This suggests that his rebellion aimed solely at resurrecting the defunct Babylonian kingdom, perhaps with its former imperial reach, but without necessarily laying claim to Persian territories.

[1] There is a vast literature on the subject, but the essential facts and various possibilities are discussed in Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire,* English translation by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), pp. 97–114; and Muhammad A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1989), pp. 83–113.

[2] In the Old Persian version, Nidintu-Bēl (Naditabaira) is son of Ainaira, which might be a corrupt form of Kīn-zēri; edition by Rüdiger Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 1: The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts 1 (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991), p. 54. A comparative edition of all versions of the Bisitun inscription can be found in Chul-Hyun Bae, "Comparative Studies of King Darius's Bisitun Inscription" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2001).

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The second pretender, Nebuchadnezzar IV, was an Urartean by the name of Arakha, son of Ḫaldita. His foreign origin may explain why, contrary to his predecessor, he appears mostly with the full title "King of Babylon and (king) of the lands," which is the title claimed by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius I in Babylonian documents. This suggests that he may have contemplated seizing power over the entire empire in addition to restoring the native monarchy of Babylonia, perhaps even making Babylon the capital of a world empire that would include all the Persian conquests. Nevertheless, he also claimed to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, and started the computation of his reign from his first full year rather than his accession year, as if the reign of Nebuchadnezzar III had never been interrupted. The Babylonian version of the Bisitun inscription reports his rebellion as follows:[3]

> King Darius says: When I was back in Persia and Media the Babylonians rebelled against me. A certain man by the name of Arakhu, an Urartean, son of Ḫaldita, rose in (the city) named Ur, in Babylon(ia). There he lied to the people saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus." Then the people of Babylon(ia) rebelled against me. They went over to that Arakhu. He took possession of Babylon. He became king of Babylon. Then I sent troops to Babylon. A subject of mine by the name of Vindafarnah, a Persian, was in command of them. I sent (him) an order (saying): "Go and defeat the rebel troops of Babylonia who do not obey me." Then Vindafarnah went to Babylon with troops. Ahura Mazda supported me. Under the protection of Ahura Mazda, Vindafarnah defeated the rebel troops of Babylon(ia) and took them prisoner, (namely) all the rebel troops that were among them. On the 22nd day of the month Araḫsamnu they fought the battle. At that time that Arakhu who had lied (saying): "I am Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus," was taken prisoner, and the noblemen who were with him were taken prisoner with him. Then I decreed: "As for Arakhu and the noblemen who were with him, impale them." Then he impaled that Arakhu and the noblemen who were with him in Babylon. The total dead and surviving of the army of Arakhu was 2,497.
>
> King Darius says: This is what I accomplished in Babylon.

The Old Persian version of the inscription differs slightly from the Babylonian one. It states that Arakha was an Armenian, although the origin of the name Arakha seems uncertain while the name of his father, Ḫaldita, is definitely Urartean; the label "Armenian" should probably be understood here as an indication of geographic origin. Instead of Ur it mentions Dubāla as the place where Arakha rose against Darius.[4] And finally, it omits the count of dead and survivors from the army of Arakha. On the date and general course of the rebellion, however, the two versions agree perfectly. Here follows the Old Persian version:[5]

> King Darius says: While I was in Persia and in Media, the Babylonians rebelled against me for the second time. A certain man named Arakha, an Armenian, son of Haldita, arose in Babylon(ia), from a place named Dubāla; he lied to the people, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus." Then the Babylonians revolted against me and went over to that Arakha. He seized Babylon. He became king in Babylon.
>
> King Darius says: Then I sent an army to Babylon. I appointed as their leader a servant of mine named Vindafarnah, a Persian. I spoke to them as follows: "Go, smite that Babylonian army which does not acknowledge me." Then Vindafarnah marched with the army to Babylon. Ahuramazda helped me. By the grace of Ahuramazda, Vindafarnah vanquished the Babylonians and led (them) in fetters. On the 22nd of the month Markasanaš he captured that Arakha who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, together with the men who were his main followers. Then I promulgated a decree that Arakha and the men who were his main followers be impaled in Babylon.
>
> King Darius says: This is what I accomplished in Babylon.

Who was this Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, whom the two Babylonian pretenders tried to impersonate? Was he just a fiction created by Nidintu-Bēl and carried on by Arakha? Was there really a son of Nabonidus called

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[3] Editions by Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 2: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, Texts 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1978), pp. 37–39 and 60; and by Florence Malbran-Labat, *La version akkadienne de l'inscription trilingue de Darius à Behistun* (Rome: Gruppo editoriale internazionale, 1994), pp. 102–03 and 118.

[4] The Elamite version of the Bisitun inscription places Dubāla in Babylonia; see Bae, "Comparative Studies," p. 184. Matthew W. Stolper, "Bēlšunu the Satrap," in *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, edited by Francesca Rochberg-Halton, American Oriental Series 67 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987), p. 396 n. 35, quotes a text from Sippar, CT 55 435: 9, which mentions a governor of ^{uru}*du-ba-al*; the text is also mentioned by Ran Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*, Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1985), p. 120. The town cannot be located with certainty, but Stefan Zawadski, "Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers in the Light of the Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27 (1994): 137, has argued for a northern location in Babylonia given the fact that Dubāla is mentioned in a text from Sippar, and that Arakha was recognized initially in northern Babylonia.

[5] See Schmitt, *Bisitun Inscriptions*, pp. 67–68.

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Nebuchadnezzar, or one who may have adopted this name after his father's demise to pose as potential claimant to the throne? Babylonian sources tell us of only one son of Nabonidus, Bēl-šarru-uṣur, the biblical Belshazzar, who is mentioned by name or appears with the title of crown prince in many documents dated to the reign of his father. However, in his building inscription commemorating the restoration of the ziggurat of Ur, Nabonidus refers to Belshazzar as "my eldest son, my offspring" (*māru rēštû ṣīt libbīya*).[6] Given the formulaic nature of this terminology, the epithet *māru rēštû* need not automatically imply that Nabonidus had other sons, but it certainly allows us to entertain that possibility. At any rate, we can presume that Nidintu-Bēl and Arakha based their impersonations on a name that resonated deeply among native Babylonians, and no name could carry more prestige than Nebuchadnezzar. Perhaps less evident in this respect is the claim to be son of Nabonidus in view of the controversial nature of the last Babylonian king, but we can assume that much of the negative propaganda against him originated in a restricted milieu influenced by Persian authorities, and that elements of the Babylonian population who remained loyal to native rule began to reassert themselves, bringing the memory of their last king to the forefront. In the years prior to the rebellion, rumors may have been circulating that a son of Nabonidus named Nebuchadnezzar stood ready to come back and reclaim the throne. Babylonian nationalism was probably very much alive, and the apparent calm with which Persian rule was greeted initially — at least as reflected in our limited and skewed sources — may conceal a more unstable political situation.

There is at present a general consensus on the chronology of the two rebellions and the attribution of dated cuneiform documents to one or the other pretender.[7] Only the publication of new texts will allow us to refine our understanding of these events. Although a large number of private cuneiform archives cover the period under consideration, most of our information comes from the two large institutional archives of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar and the Eanna temple at Uruk. I concentrate on the latter, first with a discussion of the following unpublished tablet from the Yale Babylonian Collection (fig. 2.1):[8]

NCBT 642

Obverse

1 ^{I}ŠU A ^{Id}*innin-na*-MU-DÙ ^{lú}*šá* UGU ^{giš}BÁN
2 *šá* ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki} *a-na* ^{I}*im-bi-iá*
3 ^{lú}TIL.LA.GÍD.DA ^{Id}UTU-DU-IBILA ^{lú}ŠÀ.TAM
4 *u* ^{Id}30-LUGAL-URÌ LÚ SAG LUGAL
5 ^{lú}EN SIG$_5$ É.AN.NA *it-te-me*
6 *ki-i a-di a-na-ku ù* ^{lú}ERÍN.$^{⌜}$MEŠ-*iá*$^{⌝}$
7 [*i*]*t-ti* ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki}

Lower edge

8 [*a*]*l-la-ku-ma* EN.NUN-*tì*
9 [*šá*] ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki} *a-na-aṣ-ṣ*[*a-ru*]

Reverse

10 *ù ki-i* ^{I}ŠU *it-ti* ^{lú}TIL.LA.$^{⌜}$GÍD$^{⌝}$.DA.$^{⌜}$MEŠ$^{⌝}$
11 *a-na* TIN.TIR^{ki} *la it-tal-ku ḫi-ṭu*
12 *šá* LUGAL *i-šad-dad* ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{Id}UTU-DU-IBILA
13 DUMU-*šú šá* ^{Id}DI.KUD-PAP.ME-MU DUMU ^{I}*ši-*$^{⌜}$*gu-ú-a*$^{⌝}$
14 $^{Id⌜}$x$^{⌝}$-TIN-*iṭ* A ^{I}*la-ba-ši* A ^{I}LÚ-^{d}IDIM
15 ^{Id}[60]-DU-A A ^{Id}60-ŠEŠ-MU
16 14! UD-[*m*]*u* GEŠTIN *šá* ^{d}INNIN UNUG^{ki}

Upper edge

17 $^{⌜}$5 UD$^{⌝}$ *šá* ^{d}UTU *na-din*
18 *ul-tu* UD 2-KAM

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[6] The epithet also appears in the inscription of Nabonidus that records the text of four stelae erected in Sippar, Sippar-Anunītu, Larsa, and Akkad; see Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 256 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), pp. 350–53, inscription 2.2, II 25; and pp. 445–66, inscription 2.14, passim.

[7] See Zawadski, "Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers," and the summary of the evidence by Michael Streck, "Nebukadnezzar III. und IV.," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9 (1999): 206. The episode of the two Babylonian pretenders is discussed in Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 114–17, and Dandamaev, *Achaemenid Empire*, pp. 114–31.

[8] I wish to thank Benjamin R. Foster and Ulla Kasten, who allowed and facilitated the study and publication of these documents. I am especially grateful to Eckart Frahm for rechecking some of my transliterations with the originals, which helped improve readings of a couple of passages in YBC 4160.

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Left edge

19 [o o o o o] ^{Id}UTU-NUMUN-BA-*šá*

20 [o o o o o] A ^{Id}*innin-na*!-MU-⌜ÙRI⌝

> Gimillu, son of Innin-šumu-ibni, the general agricultural manager of the Lady-of-Uruk, swore to Imbiya, the (royal) resident (in the Eanna temple), to Šamaš-mukīn-apli, the administrator (of Eanna), and to Sîn-šarru-uṣur, the royal servant commissioner of Eanna, as follows: "I will accompany the Lady-of-Uruk with my troops and keep the watch over the Lady-of-Uruk." If Gimillu fails to go to Babylon with the trustees (of Eanna) he will bear the punishment of the king. Witnesses: Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madanu-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Šigû'a; ⌜x⌝-uballiṭ, son of Lābâši, descendant of Amēl-Ea; [Anu]-mukīn-apli, son of Anu-aḫu-iddin. 14 days of wine (offerings) for Ištar-of-Uruk (and) 5 days for Šamaš have been allotted. From the 2nd day [o o o o o], Šamaš-zēru-iqīša [o o o o o], son of Innin-šumu-uṣur.

The text bears no date. However, the tenure of Gimillu, son of Innin-šumu-ibni, as "general agricultural manager" (*ša muḫḫi sūti*) of the Eanna temple was very short, only about two years extending from the last year of Cambyses to the second year of Darius (522–520).[9] The other high officials of the Eanna temple appearing in the document also belong to that period.[10] NCBT 642 is in essence a legal transaction, and it should therefore contain a full date formula. The fact that the text is undated suggests it is only a draft. But thanks to this document, we know that at some point between 522 and 520 B.C. the authorities of the temple sent the image of the goddess Ištar-of-Uruk to Babylon and entrusted Gimillu with its safekeeping during the voyage. The chronology of the event can be narrowed down with the help of the following unpublished text from the Yale Babylonian Collection, YBC 4160, which contains precise information on the date and circumstances of the travel of Ištar. The document contains a list of transactions listed in indeterminate order. Three sections are directly relevant to our discussion:[11]

YBC 4160

Obverse

2 1 UDU *ka-lum er-bi a-na* SÁ.DU$_{11}$ *ina* IGI ^{I}*gu-za-nu*

3 3 GU$_4$ 3-*i ina* ŠÀ 2 KÙ.MEŠ TA É *ú-ru-ú*

4 1 GU$_4$ NINDÁ KÙ *šá* ^{I}É.AN.NA-DÙ A ^{I}*ki-na-a* IGI-*er*

5 1 GU$_4$ NINDÁ KÙ *šá* ^{Id}NÀ-DU-A A ^{I}ŠEŠ-*li-šìr*

6 PAP 5 GU$_4$.MEŠ *ina* ŠÀ-*bi* 1 *a-na* SÁ.DU$_{11}$ ^{d}UTU

7 UDU.⌜SILA$_4$⌝-*me šá a-na* ŠÀ.GI.GURU$_6$ *šá* U$_4$ 13-KAM *šá* ITI APIN

8 *šá* DINGIR.MEŠ *ul-tu* TIN.TIR^{ki} *iḫ-ḫi-su par-su*

2 1 lamb, income, for the regular offerings, at the disposal of Guzanu;

3 3 bulls, 3-years old, including 2 unblemished bulls from the stables;

4 1 unblemished calf, of Eanna-ibni, son of Kīnaya, received;

5 1 unblemished calf, of Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Aḫu-līšir;

6 Total: 5 cattle, including 1 for the regular offerings of Šamaš,

7–8 (plus) a lamb which was selected for the voluntary offering (performed) on the 13th day of the month Araḫsamnu, when the gods came back from Babylon.

Reverse

31 ⌜89⌝ GUR 4 (PI) 1 BÁN 4 ½ SILÀ ZÚ.LUM.MA

32 *ina* ^{giš}BÁN *šá* ^{I}ŠU A ^{Id}*innin-na*-MU-DÙ

33 *šá* MU 1-KAM *ina* ŠU.MIN ^{Id}UTU-SU A ^{Id}NÀ-ŠEŠ-MU

34 *a-na* NÍG.GA IGI-*er*

35 ITI APIN U$_4$ 17-KAM

[9] The evidence is discussed by Hans-Martin Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 20 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1979), p. 104; by Denise Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559–520)*, Ausgrabungen des Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 8 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1968), pp. 102–04; and by Michael Jursa, "Auftragsmord, Veruntreuung und Falschaussagen: Neues von Gimillu," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 94 (2004): 125–30.

[10] The tenure periods of the three high officials listed in lines 2–5 are discussed by Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, pp. 140–45. The Šamaš-mukīn-apli who appears as *šatammu* on line 3 belonged to the Egibi family, according to other documents; he should not be confused with the other Šamaš-mukīn-apli, descendant of Šigû'a, who appears in the list of witnesses.

[11] The text is fairly long; I am quoting only the relevant passages without providing a hand copy of the tablet.

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89 *kurru*s, 4 *pānu*s, 1 *sūtu*, (and) 4 ½ *qû*s of dates, from the agricultural enterprise of Gimillu, son of Innin-šumu-ibni, for the first year, received as (temple) assets from Šamaš-erība, son of Nabû-aḫu-iddin. Month Araḫsamnu, 17th day.

Reverse

40 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $^{\text{Id}}$UTU-NUMUN-DÙ $^{\text{lú}}$MA.LAḪ$_4$
41 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $^{\text{I}}$*ni-din-ti* DUMU-*šú*
42 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $^{\text{I}}$*ni-din-ti* A $^{\text{I}}$*ba-ni-ia*
43 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $^{\text{I}}$*i-pu-ú-a* A $^{\text{I}}$DÙ-$^{\text{d}}$INNIN
44 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $^{\text{Id}}$NÀ-MU
45 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $^{\text{I}}$*na-pu-uš-ti*
46 PAP 18 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-di* 6-*ta* $^{\text{giš}}$MÁ.MEŠ *šá* U$_4$ 26-KAM
47 *šá* ITI DU$_6$ *it-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-na* TIN.TIR$^{\text{ki}}$ *il-li-ku*

40 3 shekels of silver (for) Šamaš-zēru-ibni, the boatman;
41 3 shekels of silver (for) Nidintu, his son;
42 3 shekels of silver (for) Nidintu, son of Bāniya;
43 3 shekels of silver (for) Ipūʾa, son of Ibni-Ištar;
44 3 shekels of silver (for) Nabû-iddin;
45 3 shekels of silver (for) Napuštu;
46 Total: 18 shekels of silver, the rental price of 6 boats which, on the 26th day
47 of the month Tašrītu, went with the gods to Babylon.

The place of this text in the accounting of the Eanna temple is probably that of a transitional document between tablets recording individual transactions and larger, systematic accounts such as balance sheets and records of assets and liabilities, which were often registered on writing boards. Such transitional documents are usually undated, but by chance lines 32–33 mention "the agricultural enterprise of Gimillu, son of Innin-šumu-ibni, for the first year." Given the short tenure of Gimillu, the "first year" in question can only be the first regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar IV and Darius I, which both fell in the same year, 521–520 B.C. Since the range of all transactions recorded in YBC 4160 extends between Tašrītu 23 and Araḫsamnu 17,[12] the text must be assigned to the very last days of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV, who was defeated on Araḫsamnu 22 according to the Bisitun inscription.

Two transactions recorded in YBC 4160 are obviously related to the oath taken by Gimillu in NCBT 642 that he will accompany the goddess Ištar to Babylon: lines 40–47 record the rental of six boats that "went with the gods to Babylon" on the 26th day of Tašrītu, and lines 2–8 record the allocation of sacrificial animals "when the gods came back from Babylon" three weeks later, on the 13th day of Araḫsamnu. The travel of the gods mentioned in the two transactions certainly includes that of the goddess Ištar, but apparently she did not depart for Babylon alone. Indeed, the end of NCBT 642 lists provisions for offerings to be made during the trip to both Ištar-of-Uruk and Šamaš, and YBC 4160, line 6, mentions the allocation of a sacrificial bull for Šamaš when the gods returned from Babylon; the god Šamaš in these two texts is no doubt the patron god of the neighboring town of Larsa. Other gods of Uruk and nearby localities may also have accompanied the two gods on their trip, but there is no direct evidence for this. We also learn from YBC 4160, lines 40–47, that the divine procession journeyed to Babylon on rivers and canals, and that the Eanna temple rented at least six boats from private contractors to move the images and their appurtenances to the capital. We can in fact add to this dossier a transaction published some years ago which records a lease of a boat to Eanna on the 16th day of Tašrītu in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar IV. The purpose of the lease is not specified, but there is little doubt that it is related to the voyage of the gods to Babylon:

YOS 17 302

Obverse

1 $^{\text{giš}}$MÁ *šá* $^{\text{Id}}$*a-nu*-IBILA-MU A-*šú šá* $^{\text{I}}$ÌR-*ia*
2 A $^{\text{I}}$*ku-ri-i ul-tu* UD 20-KAM *šá* ITI DU$_6$
3 *a-di* UD 20-KAM *šá* ITI APIN *a-na* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

[12] The earliest date mentioned in YBC 4160 is UD 23-KAM *šá* ITI DU$_6$ on line 12 (not quoted above), and the latest one is the 17th day of Araḫsamnu on line 35, quoted above in transliteration.

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4 *a-di i-di-šú a-na* NÍG.GA É.AN.NA *id-din*
5 4 UD-*mu*^{meš} *e-lat a-dan-ni-šú ma-aṣ-ṣar-ti*
6 *ina ka-a-ri i-nam-ṣar*

Reverse

7 ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{Id}UTU-DU-IBILA A-*šú šá*
8 ^{Id}DI.KUD-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A ^{I}*ši-gu-ú-a*
9 ^{Id}EN-MU A-*šú šá* ^{Id}30-KAM A ^{I}DÙ-DINGIR.MEŠ
10 ^{I}*mu-še-zib-*^{d}EN A-*šú šá* ^{I}*ba-laṭ-su* A ^{I}LÚ-^{d}IDIM
11 ^{Id}NÀ-TIN-*iṭ* A-*šú šá* ^{I}*ina*-É.SAG.ÍL-NUMUN A ^{I}LÚ-^{d}IDIM
12 ^{lú}UMBISAG ^{I}*pir-ʾu* A-*šú šá* ^{I}É.AN.NA-MU-DÙ
13 UNUG^{ki} ITI DU$_6$ UD 16-KAM MU 1-KAM
14 ^{Id}NÀ-NÍG.DU-ÙRI LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

> Anu-aplu-iddin, son of Ardiya, descendant of Kurî, rented his boat to the Eanna treasury from the 20th day of the month Tašrītu until the 20th day of the month Araḫsamnu for the sum of 12 shekels of silver. He will keep the watch (over the boat and its load) in the harbor for a period of four days in addition to the term of his (contract). Witnesses: Šamaš-mukīn-apli, son of Madanu-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Šigûʾa; Bēl-iddin, son of Sîn-ēreš, descendant of Eppeš-ilī; Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Balāssu, descendant of Amēl-Ea; Nabû-uballiṭ, son of Ina-Esagil-zēri, descendant of Amēl-Ea. The scribe is Pirʾu, son of Eanna-šumu-ibni. Uruk: month of Tašrītu, 16th day, 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Although the short royal title "king of Babylon" suggests an attribution to Nebuchadnezzar II, the presence of Šamas-mukīn-apli and other witnesses who were active mostly during the reigns of Cambyses and Darius ensures a dating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV.[13] Therefore, the transaction informs us that preparations were already under way by the middle of the month of Tašrītu to send the gods of Uruk and Larsa to Babylon, although they departed only on the 26th of that month, according to YBC 4160.

The bulk of the Eanna archive, which is now evaluated at more than 8,000 texts, extends from 626 to 520 B.C., from the accession of Nabopolassar until year 2 of Darius, with trickles of documents dated to the preceding and following decades. In the entire archive there is only one other set of documents that record the travel of Ištar-of-Uruk to Babylon, or, for that matter, to any other place.[14] The texts in question are all dated or datable to year 17 of Nabonidus and they give us considerable details on the measures ordered by the king months in advance of the Persian invasion in the fall of 539.[15] These measures involved the transfer of the main city gods of Babylonia to the capital in order to forestall their capture. Spoliation of divine images had been a staple of Near Eastern warfare since the second millennium, largely motivated by theological beliefs that saw in the departure of cult statues, even under duress, a sign of divine anger. Preventing cult images from falling into enemy hands ensured continued proof of divine support. Documents from Uruk dated to year 17 of Nabonidus indicate that the statue of Ištar-of-Uruk had already arrived in Babylon by the middle of the month of Dûzu (month IV), three months before Persian forces entered the capital on Tašrītu 16 (month VII). Cultic personnel traveled to Babylon with the goddess to take care of her rituals, and the authorities of the Eanna temple made provisions to send all the necessary offerings to prevent interruptions of her daily cult. Evidence that such shipments were sent from Uruk by water during that time comes in part from six boat-rental contracts dated to the months Dûzu, Abu, and Ulūlu (months IV–VI) of that year.

The circumstances of the travel of Ištar in the fall of 521 seem eerily similar to those of 539. In both cases a king of Babylon faced an imminent attack by Persian forces and asked the authorities of Uruk and Larsa to send their gods to the capital. The fact that the oath taken by Gimillu in NCBT 642 entailed royal punishment in case of failure shows

[13] The attribution of this text to the time of the Babylonian pretenders has already been argued in detail by Muhammad Dandamaev, review of David B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar*, Yale Oriental Series 17 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78/4 (1983): 351. Šamaš-mukīn-apli, descendant of Šigûʾa, occupied the function of overseer of the brewers of the Eanna temple in the time of Cambyses and Darius; the data are discussed in Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, p. 151; Šamaš-mukīn-apli appears also at the beginning of the list of witnesses in NCBT 642, lines 12–13.

[14] We can rule out the possibility that such travels occurred on a regular basis as part of the ritual life of the gods of Uruk. The Eanna ritual LKU 51, which dates to this period and is well preserved, mentions no travel outside Uruk for the goddess Ištar or any other deity residing in the city; the latest edition is in Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Cuneiform Monographs 23 (Leiden: Brill-Styx, 2003), pp. 373–77.

[15] The circumstances of the travel of Ištar-of-Uruk to Babylon in year 17 of Nabonidus are reconstructed in Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "An Episode in the Fall of Babylon to the Persians," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993): 241–61.

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that orders to move the statues to Babylon originated from Arakha himself or his officials. The organization of the trip of 521 bears remarkable similarities to that of 539. In both cases the temple rented boats from private contractors to ship the divine images. Indeed, there is a surge of such contracts in the Eanna archive only in those two years, provided that we include the mention of the six rented boats in YBC 4160 as evidence that six separate contracts once existed in the archive. The images certainly did not travel alone but were accompanied by their cultic personnel, with the boats carrying their paraphernalia and offerings. NCBT 642 even mentions the allotment of fourteen days of wine offerings for Ištar-of-Uruk and five days for Šamaš, presumably as part of the shipment going with Gimillu. The role of high officials in both episodes must be noted. In 539 a number of officials of Eanna elected residence in the capital temporarily to take care of the cult of their goddess in exile. Similarly, we learn from NCBT 642 that Gimillu went to Babylon with the "trustees" (*qīpānu*) of the temple, presumably for the same purpose. Indeed, the expression *maṣṣartu naṣāru* "to keep the watch," which occurs in the text, means not only to safeguard but also to provide the gods with their needs, including offerings.

The involvement of Gimillu deserves to be noted. After a long and troubled career, Gimillu managed to be promoted in the last year of Cambyses from *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* of the Eanna temple to the enviable post of "general agricultural manager" (*ša muḫḫi sūti*) of the same institution.[16] The source of his influence seems obscure, but given the repeated and largely futile attempts of the temple to convict him of various misdemeanors we must assume that he was protected by higher authorities, probably the royal and provincial administration. We do not know why the temple entrusted him with the carrying of the statue of Ištar to Babylon, but the reasons may have been just practical. His position probably gave him authority over guards — Gimillu indeed mentions his troops in the oath he takes in NCBT 642 — and these would have been essential in view of the troubled political landscape. His appointment may also have been motivated simply by his availability. The assessment of the rent for date orchards normally took place in the months of Abu and Ulūlu, sometimes also in the month of Ulūlu intercalary.[17] We have a number of rent assessments from Uruk dated to Abu, Ulūlu, and also Tašrītu in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar IV.[18] The last one is dated Tašrītu 13 (BIN 1 99), barely three days before the authorities of Eanna started making provisions for the departure of the gods (YOS 17 302), and just thirteen days before the boats carrying the divine images left Uruk, with Gimillu on board. Thus Gimillu may have been the most readily available official for the task, his duty as head of the rent assessment commission now being completed.

There is no information on the stay of Ištar and the other gods in Babylon. Presumably Gimillu and the trustees of Eanna remained in the capital until the goddess could return to Uruk, but our documentation becomes quite sparse at this point. The last text officially dated to Nebuchadnezzar IV from Uruk is the boat lease YOS 17 302 (Tašrītu 16), and his last text from Babylon, *Nbk.* 17, is dated the same day. The next, and in fact the last text from his reign altogether, *Nbk.* 18, is a document from Sippar dated Tašrītu 27. The Bisitun inscription tells us that the Persians defeated and captured the pretender less than a month later, on Araḫsamnu 22. The repression that followed was ruthless, as Darius claims to have impaled Arakha and his followers in Babylon. Herodotus preserves some garbled memory of the event (*Histories* 3.159.1):[19]

> Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed their walls and reft away all their gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in.

Meanwhile, we know from YBC 4160 that the gods of Uruk returned home on Araḫsamnu 13, which suggests that Arakha had effectively lost control of Babylonia by then. According to YBC 4160, lines 2–8, the gods received offerings upon their return to Uruk. These included one lamb (*kalūmu*) presented as a *šagigurû*, a "voluntary offering," stressing the exceptional character of the event. This is to my knowledge the only attestation of the word *šagigurû* in the Eanna archive. In view of the large number of Eanna texts recording offerings of various types, the uniqueness of the attestation definitely highlights the exceptional nature of the offering and of the events that prompted it. Everything

[16] The position of *ša muḫḫi rēḫāni* is discussed by Michael G. Kozuh, "The Sacrificial Economy: On the Management of Sacrificial Sheep and Goats at the Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid Eanna Temple of Uruk (c. 626–520 B.C.)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006), pp. 108–26; for Gimillu's tenure in that position, see Jursa, "Neues von Gimillu," pp. 119–25.

[17] The evidence is laid out in Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, table E.

[18] Several of them were published in Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar*; a few more unpublished ones are preserved in the Yale Babylonian Collection.

[19] A. D. Godley, translator, *Herodotus, in Four Volumes*, Loeb Classical Library 118, revised edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), vol. 2, pp. 192–95. Herodotus conflates the two rebellions into one and adds a number of literary ingredients to his account, which must be considered largely fictional. However, his count of 3,000 impaled victims seems quite close to the 2,497 dead and surviving followers of Arakha in the Babylonian version of the Bisitun inscription.

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apparently returned to normal. However, three high officials who had been in post through the period of troubles were removed shortly after Darius resumed his rule: Imbiya, the royal resident (*qīpu*) in Eanna; Šamaš-mukīn-apli, the administrator (*šatammu*) of Eanna; and Sîn-šarru-uṣur, the royal servant commissioner (*bēl piqitti*) of Eanna.[20] Significantly, according to NCBT 642, these are the three officials who put Gimillu in charge of removing Ištar-of-Uruk to Babylon and made him take an oath entailing royal punishment. They may have been perceived later as local collaborators in the insurrection. In the middle of the following year Gimillu also lost his position as general agricultural manager to a certain Bēl-gimillanni,[21] but this probably came as the result of his long-standing conflict with the temple rather than as punishment for his involvement in the events of the reign of Arakha. At Sippar we can also detect a split between pro-Arakha and pro-Darius factions, resolving itself in the quick dismissal of the former after Darius regained control.[22]

The chronology of events can be summarized as follows:

- May 17, 521 (= Ayaru 5): earliest document dated to Nebuchadnezzar IV, from Sippar (BM 63282).[23] Until the end of August, Nebuchadnezzar IV and Darius I are recognized concurrently at Sippar.
- August 27, 521 (= Abu 18): last document dated to Darius before Nebuchadnezzar IV assumes control of all Babylonia (*Dar* 18; from Sippar). Darius sends Vindafarnah (Greek Intaphernes) to Babylonia to suppress the rebellion. (Bisitun inscription)
- October 19, 521 (= Tašrītu 13): last assessment of rent for date groves at Uruk under the authority of Gimillu.[24] (BIN 1 99)
- October 22, 521 (= Tašrītu 16): earliest evidence for boat rentals at Uruk (YOS 17 302); preparations are underway to send the gods to Babylon.
- November 2, 521 (= Tašrītu 26): the gods of Uruk and Larsa leave with six boats for Babylon, accompanied by Gimillu, his soldiers, and the trustees of the Eanna temple. (NCBT 642; YBC 4160: 40–47)
- November 3, 521 (= Tašrītu 27): last document dated to Nebuchadnezzar IV (*Nbk.* 18; from Sippar); Arakha's grip over Babylonia appears to be slipping.
- November 18, 521 (= Araḫsamnu 13): the gods come back from Babylon to Uruk (YBC 4160: 2–8); Arakha is no longer in control.
- November 27, 521 (= Araḫsamnu 22): Persian troops defeat Arakha near Babylon; he is impaled in Babylon with his followers. (Bisitun inscription)
- December 6, 521 (= Kislīmu 1): earliest document dated by the reign of Darius I after Arakha's defeat, from Borsippa. (VS 6 118)

Conclusions

Despite the foreign origin of Arakha and his claim to the kingship of the lands, the internal dynamics of his insurrection seem thoroughly Babylonian. The main hint in that direction is the fact that Arakha elected to publicize his reign as a continuation of Nidintu-Bēl's, computing his regnal years as if the latter's rule had not been interrupted, adopting Nebuchadnezzar as his throne name, and also claiming to be son of Nabonidus. His success prompted Darius to send an army to regain control of the region. The Bisitun inscription fully acknowledges that the people of Babylonia followed Arakha. By ordering a gathering of cult statues in his capital in the face of an imminent foreign attack, Arakha followed

[20] The tenure periods of the successive incumbents of these three official posts are detailed in Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, pp. 140–45.

[21] Discussion in Coquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 103.

[22] This has been argued by Zawadski, "Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers," p. 137b; he notes that the *šangû* of Sippar, Bēl-uballiṭ, in post since year 7 of Cyrus, was dismissed almost immediately after suppression of the revolt, while the *qīpu*, Šarru-lū-dāri, remained in charge until year 7 of Darius. For the terms of office of these two individuals, see A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 80 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997), pp. 30–31 and 49.

[23] Published by Stefan Zawadski, "BM 63282: The Earliest Babylonian Text Dated to the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1995/56.

[24] Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 120, suggests emending the date to the previous month (Ulūlu) to fit the text in the usual chronology of rent assessments (Abu, Ulūlu, and intercalary Ulūlu). A collation by Eckart Frahm, however, has confirmed that the month is indeed Tašrītu, and Cocquerillat's argument holds less value now that we know a number of similar texts, published and unpublished, dated to Tašrītu of that year.

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a long-established Babylonian custom, implementing measures identical to those of Nabonidus — whose son he after all claimed to be — amidst events that almost appeared like a replication of those of 539. Arakha planned the transfer of the cult statues in the last weeks of his reign, probably because his situation looked by then increasingly hopeless. His uprising must be understood completely within the traditional framework of the civilization of Babylon, showing once more that, within the Persian empire as in all large polities, all politics is indeed local. With its numerous nations, traditions, languages, and scripts, the Persian empire was a highly complex state, and no less complex is the enterprise of studying it. We must all wish Matthew many more productive and exciting years unraveling the mysteries hidden in its epigraphic remains.

Addendum

The 2008 book by Jürgen Lorenz, *Nebukadnezzar III/IV: Die politischen Wirren nach dem Tod Kambyses im Spiegel der Keilschrifttexte* (Dresden: ISLET), came after submission of this article and could not be taken into consideration. The same applies to E. Frahm and M. Jursa, N*eo-Babylonian Letters and Contracts from the Eanna Archive*, Yale Oriental Series 21 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 23–24, who present possible additional evidence for the participation of Uruk in the rebellions.

Abbreviations

BIN 1	Clarence Elwood Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
LKU	Adam Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1931
Nbk.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon*. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889
NCBT	Newell Collections of Babylonian Tablets, Yale University Library
VS 6	Friedrich Delitzsch, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Muséen zu Berlin* 6. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library
YOS 17	David B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar.* Yale Oriental Series 17. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979

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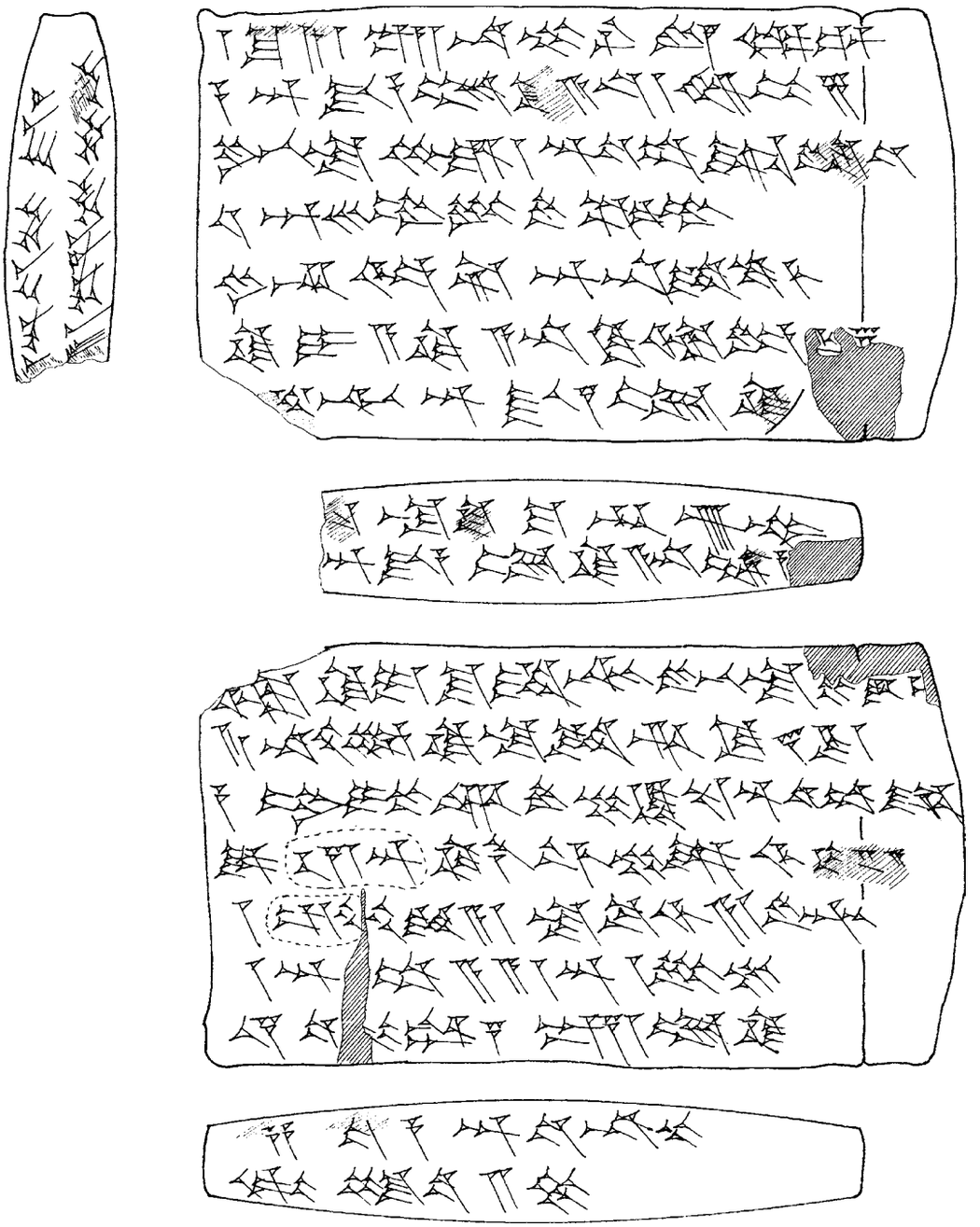


Figure 2.1. NCBT 642 hand copy

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3

Achaemenid Estate(s) Near Pasargadae?

*Rémy Boucharlat, CNRS – University of Lyon**

The bits of Achaemenid archaeology I offer here to Matt are an opportunity to pay tribute to the prominent contributor to Achaemenid studies who has taken care of a treasure, the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, sheltered in the Oriental Institute of Chicago. Achaemenid studies and Matt have been indissolubly linked since his first studies of Mesopotamian texts. While working in these different fields, he always kept in mind that the Persepolis Fortifications Tablets remained a potential mine of information. After the pioneering study by George Cameron on the Treasury tablets[1] and Richard Hallock's seminal study on the Fortification tablets,[2] much remained to be done. The Oriental Institute has always attached primary importance to these tablets, being aware of the difficult task. The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project is an excellent illustration of the policy of gathering historians, epigraphers, linguists, and art historians to face the immense diversity of this archive.

It happens that recent archaeological research near Pasargadae, ordered by urgency, provides us with a representation of a small region that was developed during the Achaemenid period. These pages give an overview of the archaeological results, and ask the question: How and to what extent can the archaeological remains be interpreted in the light of the pieces of information scattered in the Persepolis tablets?

I must say a few words on the circumstances that transformed a danger to Iranian cultural heritage into an interesting opportunity to explore a very small region in the heart of the Achaemenid empire. The Tang-i Bulaghi (*tang* means narrow valley or gorge in Persian) opens 2 kilometers south of the tomb of Cyrus, located in Pasargadae, and extends over some 17 kilometers. After 6 kilometers, the gorge widens into a valley and ends in a 9 × 3 kilometer plain. In 1992, the Iranian Ministry of Energy launched the construction of a rather modest dam at the point where the gorge widens to a plain. This valley is the floodplain of the Pulvar River, which flows past Pasargadae and onto the Persepolis plain some 40 kilometers downstream. The so-called Sivand Dam Project incubated for several years. When it was reactivated in 2004, the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research realized the dam would flood the valley, saving only the upper part of the gorge. In a region so close to Pasagardae, it was necessary to carry out archaeological survey and investigate the archaeological potential of the valley by means of soundings and limited excavations.[3] The late Dr. Massoud Azarnoush, the director of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research at that time, organized the project; within a few months he put together six joint archaeological missions with several Iranian and foreign archaeologists. The teams worked for either two or three seasons between 2004 and 2007. They benefited from the friendly and efficient help of the Parse-Pasargadae Research Foundation.

The excavations brought to light several sites from the fifth and fourth millennia B.C., one site with flimsy remains of the Kaftari period (second millennium B.C.), and several sites belonging to the Achaemenid, Sasanian, and Islamic periods (fig. 3.1). Interestingly, the valley showed no sign of occupation in the millennium preceding the Achaemenid period, while several sites show distinct Achaemenid occupation.

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* This paper is a revised version of the lecture I gave at the Oriental Institute of Chicago on February 27, 2009, on the occasion of the celebration of Matthew Stolper's sixty-fifth birthday. I am grateful to Gil Stein, the director of the Oriental Institute, for his invitation and for permission to make use of the lecture. The adaptation of my lecture derives from the publication of five well-illustrated papers now available on the online journal *Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology* (*ARTA*; http://achemenet.com, documents 2009.1–6). They give the preliminary results of the international salvage project in the Bulaghi valley concerning the Achaemenid period.

[1] George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 65 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

[2] Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 92 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969)

[3] Unlike rumors announcing a threat to the monuments of Pasargadae, or even a flood of the tomb of Cyrus, the maximum water from the artificial lake would be more than 10 meters below the level of the plain.

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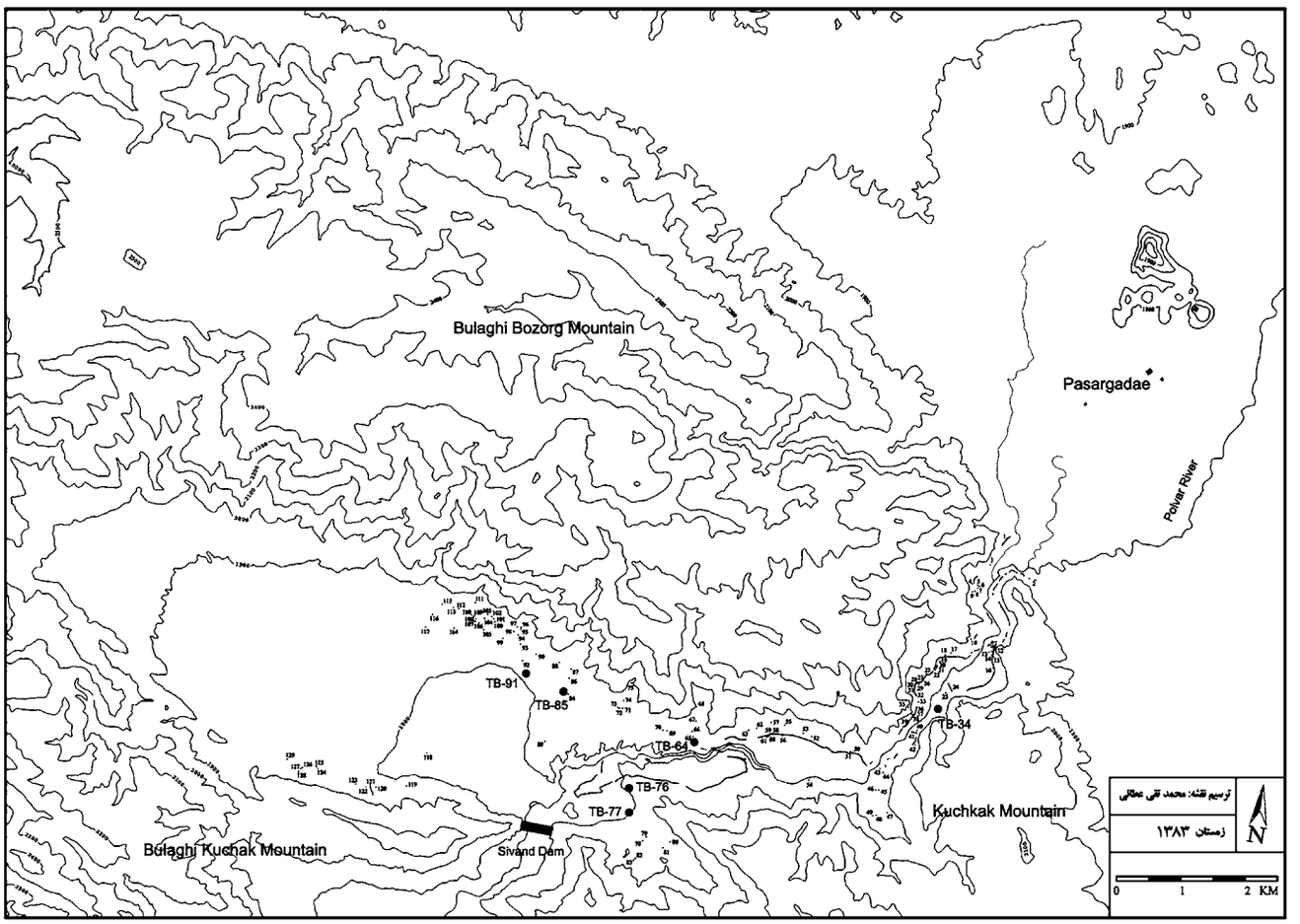


Figure 3.1. Map of the Tang-i Bulaghi, a valley opening 2 kilometers southwest of Cyrus' tomb. The black dots indicate the Achaemenid sites excavated by the Sivand Dam International Salvage Project

The following pages focus on these archaeological remains, which probably materialize some aspects of the Achaemenid administrative and economic system in the center of the empire, the estates mainly related to food production. These estates are often recognized by epigraphers in the tablets under the word *partetaš*. This word, along with *irmatam* and sometimes *ulhi*, belongs to a difficult-to-define category of places for producing, redistributing, or collecting goods and other agricultural products.[4] There is no clear evidence of functional difference or hierarchy of the three types of land, nor of their respective size, though there are a few occurrences of delivery of goods to a *partetaš*, which then had to be redistributed to an *irmatam*.[5] One of these words, *partetaš*, is commonly related to the puzzling *paradeisos*, one of the most celebrated Achaemenid achievements, according to the Western authors.[6]

[4] There are some cautious attempts for defining these words. See Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Achaemenid History 10 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996), pp. 456–69; Christopher Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, Historia Einzelschriften 99 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1996), pp. 93–96; Wouter F. M. Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortifications Texts*, Achaemenid Studies 14 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008), pp. 427–35; Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 510–14 and 806–07.

[5] Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 709 s.v. *irmatam*. I certainly do not intend to discuss the Elamite terms or their meaning, therefore I retain here the term "estate."

[6] Besides the diversity of *paradeisoi* as they appear in the sources, the great variability of the size of these lands called *paradeisos* is to be noted. Some are apparently a kind of garden or orchard, others are huge parks, for example, the paradise in Ecbatana (Quintus Curtius 7.2.29), the paradise of Kelainai, which held 13,000 soldiers (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.9), or that of Sogdiana, able to hold an entire army (Quintus Curtius 8.1.11–12); Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 310–11; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, pp. 97–100.

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Partetaš/Paradeisos *in Pasargadae*

In Pasargadae itself, there is a well-known garden, a geometric feature defined by stone channels within a series of columned halls, as recognized by David Stronach.[7] Beyond that, the whole flat area of the site was very likely a huge park, according to recent fieldwork, especially the evidence from geomagnetic surveys. This park included the palaces and extended much beyond them, eventually crossing the river. Before reaching the bridge, the riverbed is surprisingly wide. A geomagnetic survey has demonstrated it was excavated in the form of a large, trapezoidal pool, and this shape maintained with stone-built embankments and sluice devices upstream and downstream, beyond the bridge.[8] It is now clear that the whole central part of the site, land and stream, were designed.[9]

As is now coming to light, the park of Pasargadae may well correspond to Arrian's description of the *paradeisos* around the tomb of Cyrus (*Anabasis* 6.29.4–7). Strabo (15.3.7) equally writes, "Alexander then went to Pasargadae; and this too was an ancient royal residence. Here he saw also, in a park [*paradeisos*], the tomb of Cyrus; it was a small tower and was concealed within the dense growth of trees." For long, scholars considered a *paradeisos* to be a garden or park, a pleasing or resting place. The discovery of the central garden of Pasargadae did not challenge this view. Now, the extension of the garden to a very large park leaves open the possibility of a *paradeisos* that conforms to other classical descriptions of the Achaemenid institutions, that is, expanses that include utilitarian trees or orchards, arable land, exotic plants, and maybe animals for hunting.

Hence the "Persian paradise," Old Persian *paridaida*, **paridaiza*, once mentioned in an inscription of Aratxerxes II, does not only mean "a pleasant retreat," as R. G. Kent translated it, but probably has a much wider, although difficult-to-define meaning:[10] it could be both utilitarian (a place producing crops and for storing food and cattle) and exotic. The word is polymorphic and polysemous, and leaves open the possibility of many different places and landscapes as candidates for *partetaš*. The equivalence with *paradeisos* may be complete (*pace* Tuplin)[11] or only partial. As an example, Arrian (*Indica* 40.3–4) mentions specifically the paradise of Pasargadae, as well as others of all sorts in central Iran: "Then the next zone northward [on the Iranian plateau], has a temperate climate; the country is grassy and has lush meadows and many vines and all other fruits except the olive; it is rich with all sorts of gardens [*paradeisoi*], has pure rivers running through, and also lakes, and is good both for all sorts of birds which frequent rivers and lakes, and for horses, and also pastures the other domestic animals, and is well wooded, and has plenty of game."

Achaemenid Estate(s) in Tang-i Bulaghi

When entering the gorge south of Pasargadae, the most striking feature is the remains of several rock-cut passageways, particularly impressive on the right bank, some 15 meters above the riverbed (fig. 3.2). One of these rock-cut passages, stretching over 250 meters along a steep slope, has been often mentioned by travelers and archaeologists. It has usually been interpreted as a section of the so-called Royal Road, which linked Pasargadae and Persepolis during Achaemenid times.[12] As a matter of fact, this section is not unique, and in the several narrownesses of the gorge we found other, albeit less impressive, traces of such works.

For the hypothesis that these traces are the remains of a road, there are three inconvenient observations:

- The passages are 2 meters wide at a maximum, generally 0.8–1.2 meters on the right side of the Pulvar River (fig. 3.3).

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[7] David Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), fig. 48; idem, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy," in *Archaeologica Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, edited by Leon De Meyer and E. Haerinck (Gent: Peeters Presse, 1989), fig. 2.

[8] The magnetic response from the geomagnetic survey was so high that it is possible that the embankments and sluices might have been built with ashlar masonry.

[9] See some preliminary observations in Rémy Boucharlat, "The 'Paradise' of Cyrus at Pasargadae, the Core of the Royal Ostentation," in *Bau- und Gartenkultur zwischen "Orient" und "Okzident": Fragen zur Herkunft, Identität und Legitimation*, edited by Joachim Ganzert and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, Beiträge zur Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte 3 (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2009), pp. 51–57; idem, "Gardens and Parks at Pasargadae: Two 'Paradises'?," in *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich – Herodotus and the Persian Empire* (Akten des 3. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen," Innsbruck, 24.–28. November 2008), edited by Robert Rollinger, Brigitte Truschnegg, and Reinhold Bichler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), pp. 564–66, and fig. 4.

[10] Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, American Oriental Series 33 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), p. 155. Since then this meaning has been considered too narrow a definition. See now various interpretations, from Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 15, to Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are*, pp. 427–28.

[11] Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, pp. 93–96.

[12] Stronach, *Pasargadae*, pp. 166–67.

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- The same kind of rock-cut sections occur on the left bank; they are less well known but one of them, at the entrance of the gorge, was already mentioned by Ernst Herzfeld in the early twentieth century.[13] This passage is narrower, less than 1 meter, sometimes a half meter wide. Some segments can be seen all along the river down to the broader plain.
- The main passage on the right bank was left unfinished and was certainly never in use. This fact calls into question the function we suggest for the whole structure.

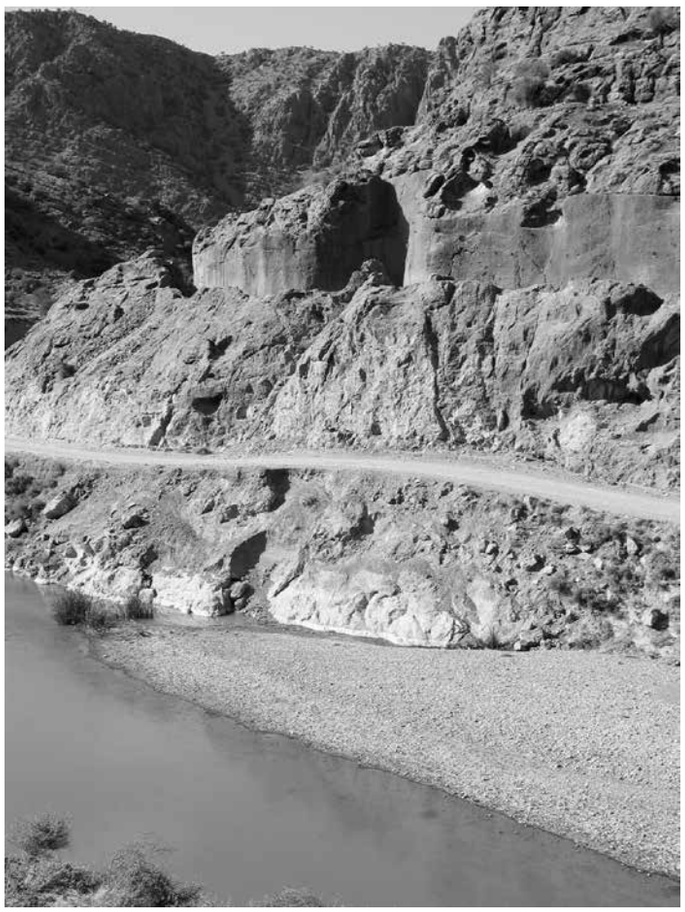


Figure 3.2. The most impressive section of the rock-cut canal ("road"), on the right bank of the Tang-i Bulaghi. The passage follows the steep slope for over 250 meters, about 15 meters above the Pulvar riverbed

Between the rock-cut sections a kind of long "wall," sometimes two almost parallel walls, runs in many sections on both sides of the valley. These walls are made of two rows of natural stones with a filling of small pebbles and earth (fig. 3.4). They are about 2.5 meters wide and sometimes preserved up to 1 meter. The wall of the left bank reaches the end of the valley near the modern dam. The layout of these "walls" is sometimes straight, sometimes sinuous. In the latter cases, they actually follow the contour lines of the valley, and may rest upon strong foundations of pebbles for crossing a depressed area.

Summing up, these stone "walls" tended to keep an almost horizontal line (ca. 1–2‰ [1–2 per thousand] slope), as a channel does.[14] In my opinion, these walls are closely related to the rock-cut sections, and they are the base of channels that have disappeared. But what function did they serve? Obviously, they represent a huge investment for conducting water along the gorge and the small valley. Concerning the date of both the walls and the possible channel, we assume they were constructed prior to the Christian era; given the rock-cutting techniques, they very likely date to the Achaemenid period.[15] Indeed, such works required large-scale investments in manpower and capital — really, only those of an imperial power. We know of the achievements of the Achaemenid kings elsewhere for the palaces, roads, dams, and weirs. They probably intended to irrigate both sides of the Bulaghi plain, as its lower, flat parts where the plain widens are suitable for agriculture.

At least three Achaemenid-period sites have been identified and partially excavated in the wider valley, and a pavilion was evinced in the gorge itself. To these sites,

[13] Ernst Herzfeld, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae 1928," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1 (1929): 243 (plan I) mentions a "Kanal" on the left side and "Antike Strasse" for the wider, rock-cut section on the right side of the river. In his first mention of these rock-cut works, he probably referred to the more impressive right-side remains.

[14] This interpretation is not fully accepted by all our colleagues. They generally rule out the hypothesis of a Royal Road for the rock-cut sections; they accept that the narrow, rock-cut sections on the left bank correspond to canals, but some of them suggest the wider rock sections on the right bank are sections of roads and the built "walls" are actual walls (Kazuya Yamauchi and Shin-ichi Nishiyama, "Archaeological Survey in the Bolaghi Valley and Its Vicinity," in *The Iran-Japan Archaeological Project for the Sivand Dam Salvage Area*, edited by Akira Tsuneki and Mohsen Zeidi, Shark [Tsukuba, Japan], 3 [Tehran: Iranian Center for Archaeological Research; Tsukuba: Department of Archaeology, 2008], pp. 177ff.). Mohammad T. Atai, "Tang-i Bolaqi: A Hunting Ground (?) from the Achaemenid Period," *Bastanshenasi: Semiannual "Archaeological" Journal (Joint Publication by Jahad-e Daneshgahi and National Museum of Iran), Tehran* 2/3 (Spring and Summer) (2006): 57–67, has suggested these walls running on both sides of the valley enclosed the gorge and the wider part of the valley, but not the plain, making it a closed hunting place. The hypothesis of a hunting area near Pasargadae is very likely, though there is no compelling reason to close it for hunting local game, especially in the narrow valley between high cliffs. Concerning the plain itself, it would be better devoted to agriculture.

[15] The stone-cutting techniques are similar to many examples in the Persepolis area. For the "walls," we noted several cases of cairn burial tombs built onto the wall. One of these structures was excavated by David Stronach, who found inside the cist a glazed pilgrim flask dated of the first century B.C.; see Stronach, *Pasargadae*, p. 167 and fig. 115:8.

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Figure 3.3. Detail of the canal, about 1.5 meters wide. In the curve it has been cut down to a depth of 10 meters

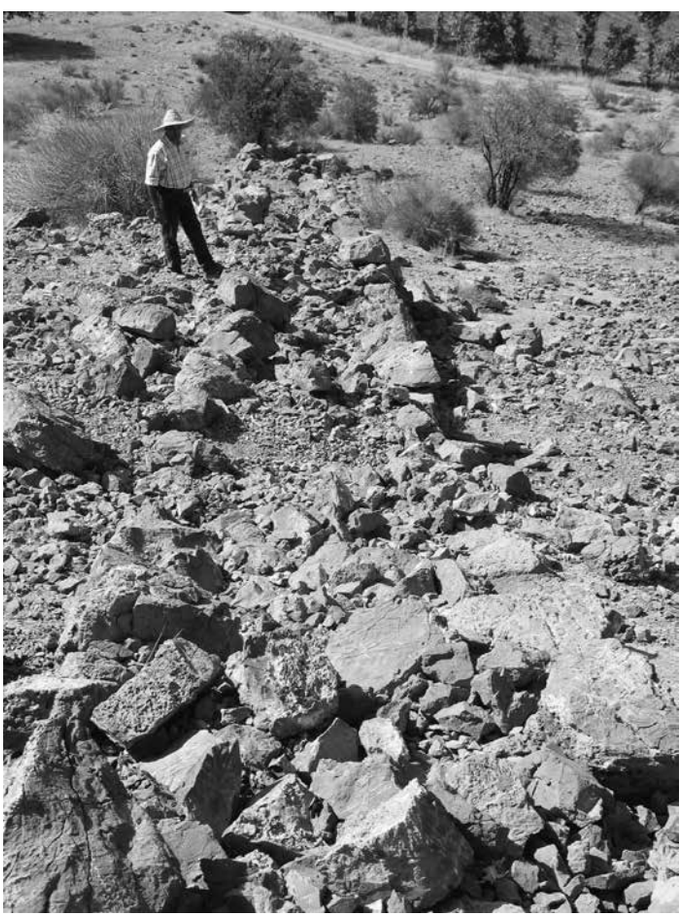


Figure 3.4. A stone-built section of the canal. The 2.5-meter wide "wall" made of two rows of boulders with a filling of pebbles likely represents the substructure of the canal itself

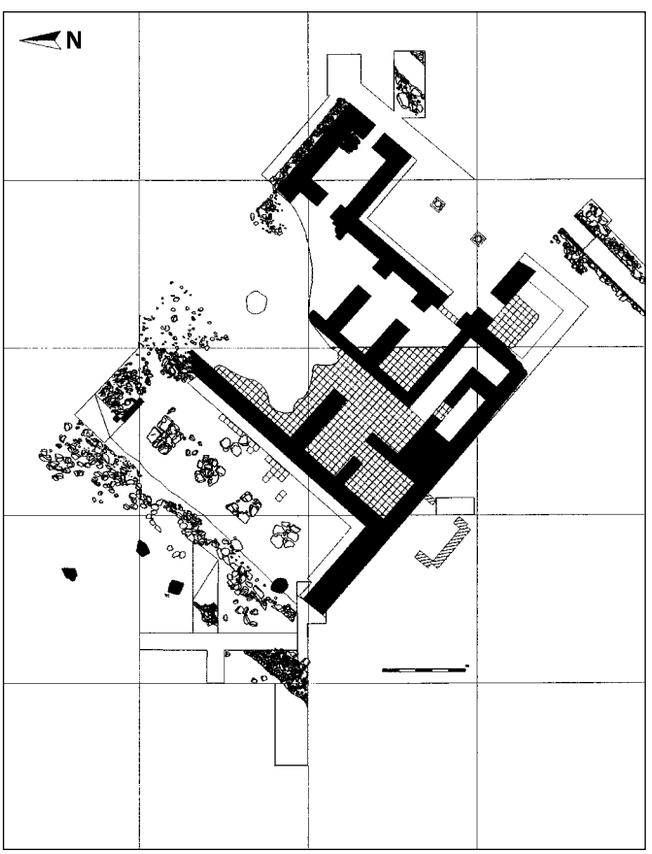


Figure 3.5. Plan of the Achaemenid pavilion (site TB 34) in the gorge of Tang-i Bulaghi (after Atai and Boucharlat, "An Achaemenid Pavilion," fig. 5; courtesy of Sivand Dam Archaeological Project Joint Iran-France Team, Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, Parse-Pasargadae Research Foundation, Lyon University – CNRS)

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Figure 3.6. The eastern portico of the Achaemenid pavilion with two-stepped plinths (Atai and Boucharlat, "An Achaemenid Pavilion," fig. 10)

some places should be added: pieces of Achaemenid architecture have been found there at some spots before excavation. These ruins and their surroundings may correspond in some way to one or several estates.

Coming from Pasargadae, 6 kilometers from the tomb of Cyrus, a columned pavilion (TB-34) stands on a natural terrace at the foot of a 100-meter cliff overlooking the Pulvar River.[16] Its size (24.6 × 19.0 m) is very close to that of the two pavilions in Pasargadae, but here the central part consists of a series of rooms (fig. 3.5), and maybe a courtyard, while in Pasargadae the pavilions yield a unique central room. In the Tang-i Bulaghi pavilion, two opposite porticoes — instead of four, as at Pasaragdae — with stone column bases have survived. Two square plinths are still in situ on the east portico (fig. 3.6). Their size suggests the wooden columns were at least 6 meters high.

With porticoes and corner towers and a foundation on a 2-meter-thick layer of gravel and pebbles, the pavilion is built according to the best standards of Achaemenid architecture. Because of the multi-roomed plan, we think the pavilion had a more practical function than the ones at Pasargadae; it probably functioned as a small residence or a hunting lodge. The material recovered in the pavilion and around it was rather poor and mainly utilitarian. In the heap of refuse left by the bulldozer that destroyed it, the pottery sherds belonged to dozens of storage jars.

Concerning the date, the absence of any traces of chisel-tooth marks on the stone — chiseling being a technique that appeared during the reign of Darius — puts the construction in the early Achaemenid period, to be compared to the date of the Pasargadae monuments. On the other hand, a unique, bell-shaped column base, found on the spot but not in situ, points to the reign of Darius or later. It is made of a fine, dark gray limestone that was probably imported from outside the valley. On the basis of the stone-dressing technique and the shape of the column bases, a date at the turn of the sixth to fifth century seems to be acceptable.

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[16] Mohammad T. Atai and Rémy Boucharlat, "An Achaemenid Pavilion and Other Remains in Tang-i Bulaghi, Tang-i Bulaghi Reports 4: TB 85-34," *ARTA* (2009): no. 005.

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Given the location of the pavilion in the middle of the barren, narrow part of the valley, halfway between Pasargadae and the richer part of the Bulaghi plain, it is tempting to see the monument as a resting place or a hunting pavilion for the imperial elite. Was it a "pleasant retreat" on a terrace organized as a garden and fed by the water channel still preserved nearby? Located within an impressive natural environment, it certainly evokes the kind of Persian *paradeisos* described by classical authors. Given its location in a narrowing of the gorge, it controlled an entrance between Pasargadae and the valley, thus the pavilion may also have been a checkpoint to monitor the circulation of goods and people; it is also along the shortest road between Pasargadae and Persepolis. Finally, the pavilion may have also acted as redistribution center, judging from the huge number of storage jar sherds found on site.

According to the excavation results, the pavilion did not remain in use for long after the Achaemenid period. The squatter occupation no longer used the pavilion as it was, as shown by the upper archaeological level, which ignored the porticoes and the column bases. The material in this level is very similar to the Achaemenid materials. Therefore the secondary occupation should be dated to the early Seleucid period.

The other buildings of the Achaemenid period in the valley are quite different. Most of them show much simpler architecture that used only on-site raw materials. However, a series of pieces of monumental architecture have been recently found in two spots, but not in situ: fragments of square column bases and a torus at TB-85, the latter showing traces of tooth marks from a chisel, and a complete torus at TB-91, 1 kilometer farther west (see fig. 3.1). Since the whole area has been bulldozed and leveled in the past few years for preparing large, irrigated fields, it is quite possible the stone pieces of a unique building have been dispersed and the original location is impossible to determine. If nothing else, these fragments indicate the existence of more elite construction, maybe of the size of the pavilion, though probably of a later date within the Achaemenid period.

On the left bank, downstream, the joint Iranian-Italian team uncovered a small village 1.3 kilometers from the modern dam, at the foot of the mountain located in the outlet of a small valley. There was a secondary canal deriving from the main one in the direction of this village. Within the village, which extended over 1 hectare, soundings revealed three architectural levels; the latest one is certainly post-Achaemenid and the earliest is Achaemenid. Around the village other excavations have evinced Chalcolithic levels and an early second-millennium grave, but nothing from the millennium preceding the Achaemenid period, thereby confirming that the latter marks the development of the valley. The village consists of a cluster of small houses with walls made of undressed stones and slabs. The excavated houses yielded the expected equipment in such a place: pottery, storage jars, grinding stones, loom weights, and a few metal objects, including a three-flanged bronze arrowhead. An iron-tanged arrowhead is probably to be dated to the post-Achaemenid period. By chance, fragments of jars have preserved incomplete inscriptions that confirm the two periods of occupation: one is in Aramaic and is to be dated on paleographic grounds from the fourth or third century B.C.; the other could be in Greek characters.[17] Interestingly, this village does not show much change from one period to the next.[18] Such continuity through the Macedonian conquest is an important observation for the history of post-Achaemenid Fars.

Two-hundred meters south of the village, another structure may correspond to a collective building. Some limited soundings have evinced two long, thick, double-faced stone walls at right angles. The upper part of the walls was probably made of pisé. Inside, the recovered pottery sherds mainly belong to storage jars, to be compared to the pottery from Persepolis, according to the excavators. They suggest that this building could be related to (Elamite) *halmarriš*, (Old Persian) *didā*, a fortified or protected building for storing agricultural production from the village.[19] Therefore, together, these two sites might illustrate rural settlements in the heart of the Achaemenid empire that carried over into the Seleucid period.

One the right bank of the valley, roughly facing the above-mentioned village, there are two other buildings at a distance of 1.5 kilometers from one another. Both of them probably had collective functions, but they are not directly connected to any village. The first building belongs to a site (TB-64) that lies near the opening of the broader valley, at the outlet of small valley, near the last preserved section of the rock-cut channel.[20] The main occupation of the site is a village dated to the Sasanian period, but there is an isolated building of the Achaemenid period in a deeper level, evinced by a massive wall defining a 40 × 30-meter rectangle. The inner layout was partly excavated but includes a possible main long room to the west or perhaps an open space, and several rooms in which there is a row of four small, square units in the middle. The building does not seem suitable for habitation; the numerous sherds from storage jars point to a place for collecting agricultural production.

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[17] Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Remains at TB 76 and TB 77," *ARTA* (2009): no. 004, figs. 8–9.

[18] Ibid., pp. 31–33.

[19] Ibid., pp. 31–33.

[20] Ali Asadi and Barbara Kaim, "Achaemenid Building at Site 64 in Tang-i Bulaghi," *ARTA* (2009): no. 003.

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One of the finds there is an incomplete twin-spouted jar — an uncommon object related to Achaemenid culture and one that bespeaks elite occupation at the site. The most surprising aspect of this vessel is its molded decoration. Such iconography is really unexpected on a jar of common pottery. The representation is actually similar to those of several Achaemenid seals: a hunting scene with a hunter facing a lion; and a dog identifiable by its collar is pursuing the lion. Moreover, the association of a Persian rider with a Scythian one, who is represented on the other side of the jar, is quite new.[21]

The second building (TB-73), 1.5 kilometers downstream, is built on the colluvial slope that stretches along the foot of the mountain. It is a large, square enclosure without any other construction in its vicinity.[22] The walls are built up with different techniques, usually two lines of undressed limestone slabs with an inner filling of earth and smaller stones. One of the walls is reinforced by a series of buttresses, but these are too small to serve any defensive function. The inner space of the building is divided into two parts by a single wall. The absence of additional inner walls may be the result of the ruined state of the building, which is only preserved at the level of foundations; it is probable that the outer walls were founded deeper than the possible inner walls. Alternatively, the lack of rooms may indicate the area was a large courtyard. Here, storage jars were not so abundant, the pottery being mixed common and coarse pottery. The very few discovered objects do not give any indication about the function of the building. Might this be a building similar to TB-64, or, conversely, an empty, open space? If the latter, might this enclosure or courtyard have been simply used for gathering cattle?

These last two sites give an idea of the type of buildings one might expect to find reading the Persepolis Fortification Texts (notwithstanding whether one was a *partetaš* or not): namely, places collecting and maybe redistributing various kinds of food production, crops, fruits, beverages, and cattle.

One or Several Estates?

The discoveries in the valley of Bulaghi, close to Pasargadae and not too distant from Persepolis, presented a good opportunity for archaeologists dealing with the Achaemenid period to bring to light some remains of socioeconomic activities close to the important imperial location of Pasargadae within the region administrated from a royal residence at Persepolis. The small area of Tang-i Bulaghi witnesses different rural activities, mainly concerning the agricultural production, yet the architecture and finds suggest that such production was not limited to the local consumption within the valley. Does the pavilion illustrate the (temporary?) residence of an imperial elite for resting or hunting? Is it a checkpoint? Is it the residence of the owner of an estate that encompassed (part of?) the valley? Alternatively, it might have had several functions of these kinds.

The question can be asked otherwise: might the village with the possible well-protected building (*didā*?) nearby on the left bank and the two buildings on the right bank be a unique agricultural estate? Or might each of them represent a farm? The answer cannot be given by the archaeological data, but may come to light through further study of the tablets. Until now, the *partetaš* has been studied for its various possible definitions, but not for its size. There is no indication of the extent of a *partetaš* or any estate in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. From the great amount of goods to be delivered to or to be taken from it, some *partetaš* would seem to be very large.[23] However, the quantities cannot help to determine the size of a *partetaš* since they are delivered to it, as a central place for redistribution to a smaller(?) estate or farm, as the *irmatam* seems to be in PFT 153–55.

* * *

From the Persepolis tablets we know much about the economic and administrative activities in the heart of the empire, but up to now, the archaeological remains were rather poor beyond the settlements in the two royal residences of Pasargadae and Persepolis. The archaeological remains in Tang-i Bulaghi help to illustrate the written information. However, these remains certainly do not bring answers to the question of the differences among *partetaš*, *irmatam*, and *ulhi*, such as their administrative status, size, and respective function. The variety of the remains so far found is noteworthy, and the distance between the buildings and houses gives an idea of the scale. Beside these ordinary and utilitarian constructions, the carefully built columned pavilion is also an interesting piece of the puzzle, whether it represents an isolated

[21] Ibid., figs. 11–12.

[22] Barbara Helwing and Mojgan Seyedin, "The Achaemenid Period Occupation at Tang-i Bulaghi Site 73," *ARTA* (2009): no. 006.

[23] See PFT 33a providing seedlings(?) for planting thousands of trees in three *partetaš* near Persepolis (Richard T. Hallock, "Selected Fortification Texts," *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 8 [1978]: 135–36). The series PFT 144–58 records different quantities of grain delivered to different *partetaš*. They usually vary between 20 and 60 BAR of grain, but at times go up to dozens or hundreds of BAR of grain, one reaching thousands of BAR of three species of grains.

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small residence within a *paradise* (the terrace), a "pleasant retreat," according to one of its numerous meanings, or the residence of the authority controlling part of the valley or the whole of it during the Achaemenid period. The evidence of another columned construction somewhere in the valley would evince a location for the administrator of the estate.

Finally, two other considerations may be added. The recent discoveries suggest that estate(s) of different kinds could have been in function in the same area of Pasargadae. In this case, we know of a *paradeisos* that is mentioned by Arrian and Strabo around the tomb of Cyrus in Pasargadae, a *partetaš* at the same site, related to the *lan* ceremony as evidenced by the tablet NN2259. Are they the same place?[24] The second assumed *partetaš* taken in the general meaning of estate is the series of structures in the Tang-i Bulaghi. It could be one kind of what we expect for such production units: one (or two) elite building, farmheads, a small village, and protected storage buildings. Moreover, the remains discovered in the valley clearly demonstrate a new impetus toward monumental building and agricultural activities precisely in the Achaemenid period. This development occurred after centuries of non-sedentary occupation. Some of the buildings remain in activity after the Achaemenid period, as evidenced by the village TB-76 and very likely the "farm" in TB-64. However, soon after the Macedonian conquest, the pavilion was abandoned and reused by squatters. The functioning of the economy might have turned into small estates or farms. Later, all the settlements of the valley were abandoned until the Sasanian period. Therefore the development and land use of Tang-i Bulaghi was restricted to the Achaemenid period bearing direct or indirect witness of the dynamism of the royal administration.

Abbreviations

PFT	Persepolis Fortification Tablet
TB	Tang-i Bulaghi site

[24] Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are*, pp. 121, 427–35.

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4

Les tablettes de bois du Grand roi (Note sur les communications officielles dans un royaume itinérant)

*Pierre Briant, Collège de France**

1. Parmi toutes les coutumes de la cour achéménide qui ont attiré l'attention curieuse et étonnée des Grecs, figurent les déplacements périodiques au cours de l'année. Il est tout à fait inutile de citer à nouveau par le menu une documentation gréco-romaine, qui a été souvent rassemblée et commentée, ni, une nouvelle fois, de tenter une synthèse avec les renseignements tirés d'autres corpus, telles en particulier les tablettes de Persépolis (plus particulièrement encore les tablettes des séries J et Q). Le point a été fait à plusieurs reprises dans les années récentes, y compris par l'auteur de ces lignes.[1] Si l'on veut replacer le dossier dans une réflexion plus vaste sur les sources, l'on dira qu'à l'instar de bien d'autres dossiers achéménides, celui-ci est nourri de plus en plus par des documentations provenant, en différentes langues et écritures, des pays achéménides eux-mêmes (documents araméens d'Idumée et de Bactriane, documents babyloniens, et plus encore les archives de Persépolis). Pour autant, à condition d'être recontextualisées, les sources classiques continuent parfois d'apporter des renseignements originaux (même s'ils sont le plus souvent frustrants).

Chacun sait bien aujourd'hui que la fonction unique de Persépolis n'est pas d'être une "ritual city," et que, lors des absences du roi et de la cour, l'administration centrale y est présente et active.[2] Il ne fait aucun doute que le roi, de son côté, avait autour de lui une administration et des scribes, qui lui permettaient à la fois d'échanger avec les gouvernements provinciaux qu'il traversait, et de rester en contact avec les grands centres de Persépolis et de Suse (pour n'en citer que deux). Mais, sur cette administration du "royaume itinérant," nous n'avons pas de preuve documentaire précise et contextuelle. Les seuls témoignages sont indirects: par exemple cette tablette de Suse, proche des tablettes de la série J de Persépolis, qui rend compte de la fourniture de produits pour la table du Roi.[3] Et pourtant, le pouvoir étant là où est le roi, au cours des déplacements de la cour, le roi était inévitablement amené à échanger une correspondance active avec les chefs de l'administration de Persépolis (Parnakka sous Darius I^{er}) mais aussi avec d'autres centres administratifs. Autrement dit, à côté de bien d'autres salles dédiées à des fonctions politiques et quotidiennes (audience, coucher, salle de bains, repas, etc.), "le palais démontable" qu'était la tente royale comprenait très certainement une "salle d'archives," comparable à celle d'Alexandre se déplaçant dans les pays du Moyen-Orient: selon Plutarque, la tente d'Eumène, chef du Secrétariat (*arkhigrammateus*), contenait toutes les archives (*grammata*), si bien qu'après qu'elle ait détruite par un incendie, "le roi fit écrire partout aux satrapes et aux généraux d'envoyer des copies (*antigrapha*) des documents consumés, qui furent toutes rassemblées, suivant ses ordres, par Eumène" (*Eumène* 2.6–7). De ces lettres envoyées et reçues de la chancellerie d'Alexandre au cours des conquêtes, nous avons quelques témoignages matériels sous forme d'inscriptions gravées sur la pierre. Ce n'est pas le cas des correspondances échangées par le Grand roi lors

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* Développement d'une note publiée dans une revue maintenant morte, *DATA*, Avril 1992, N°1: "Les tablettes de bois du Grand roi et les lettres d'Atossa." J'ai écarté de mon propos le second thème, qui n'est pas lié intimement au premier. J'ai également introduit le texte d'Élien dans *Histoire de l'empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Fayard, 1996), p. 201 = *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, English translation by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), p. 188.

[1] Voir bibliographie dans Pierre Briant, "Suse et l'Élam dans l'empire achéménide," dans *Le palais de Darius à Suse: une résidence royale sur la route de Persépolis à Babylone*, édité par Jean Perrot (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 2010), pp. 22–48; et idem, "From the Indus to the Mediterranean Sea: The Administrative Organization and Logistics of the Great Roads of the Achaemenid Empire," dans *Highways, Byways, and Road System in the Pre-modern World*, édité par Susan E. Alcock, John P. Bodel, et Richard J. A. Talbert (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 184–201.

[2] Ce point a déjà évoqué par David M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia: Lectures Delivered at the University of Cincinnati, Autumn 1976, in Memory of Donald W. Bradeen*, Cincinnati Classical Studies, new series, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 8–10.

[3] Voir en dernier lieu Briant, "Suse," pp. 33–34, et Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King': The Table of Darius, That of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and That of His Satrap, Karkiš," dans *Der Achämenidenhof*, édité par Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger, Classica et Orientalia 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 667–775.

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des déplacements de la cour, quand bien même l'usage des lettres (ou *letter-orders*) est particulièrement bien attesté à Persépolis et à Babylone.

2. Parmi tous les auteurs anciens qui ont transmis des jugements et des anecdotes sur le "luxe" de la cour perse, y compris lors de ses déplacements périodiques, Élien de Préneste est bien représenté, soit dans son *Histoire variée* (*Poikilê Historia*), soit dans ses *Caractéristiques des animaux*.[4] Sophiste d'origine romaine, natif de Préneste, Élien a écrit son *Histoire variée* dans le cours du premiers tiers du III^e^ siècle de notre ère. Compilation érudite d'anecdotes puisées ici et là, dépourvu de toute préface d'auteur, l'ouvrage n'a pas de réelle unité. Particulièrement intéressé à caractériser rois et tyrans, il a inclus plusieurs anecdotes relatives aux rois perses, sous une forme toujours péjorative à travers la morale qu'elles transmettent (contre le luxe et l'effémination). Elles peuvent néanmoins être pour nous intéressantes, car l'on y trouve des informations absentes ailleurs, sans pour autant que nous puissions déterminer les sources (diverses) avec une quelconque certitude.[5]

Tel est le cas d'une petite histoire, qui se rapporte génériquement au Grand roi en déplacement (*ho Perséôn basileus hodoiporôn*). Apparemment tronquée par un probable abréviateur, l'anecdote elle-même est très courte (les premiers mots). Le texte porte que, "lors de ses déplacements, le roi des Perses, pour ne pas s'ennuyer, avait avec lui une tablette en bois de peuplier (*philurion*) et un petit couteau (*makhairion*) pour la racler." Puis vient le commentaire moral: "Certes, cela permettait aux mains royales de travailler; mais le prince n'avait absolument aucun livre (*biblion*) et ne prenait pas la peine de mener une réflexion (*dianoia*), en sorte qu'ils n'occupaient jamais leur esprit ni de lectures graves et sérieuses, ni d'idées nobles et dignes d'attention" (14.12). Très classique, la leçon oppose Grecs et barbares, et, au-delà de l'antithèse ethnique, elle oppose le travail des mains (sans intérêt) à la réflexion de l'esprit (seul idéal convenable). C'est une morale dont Élien est coutumier: témoins les Lacédémoniens, qui ne portaient aucun intérêt à l'art des Muses, se contentant des exercices du gymnase et des arts militaires (12.60), ou encore les Thraces incapables de lire et d'écrire, ou les Thraces d'Asie qui "considéraient qu'il était même très honteux de pratiquer l'écriture," à la différence des "barbares d'Asie" (8.6), etc.

On retrouve une opposition culturelle du même genre dans un texte biographique bien connu. Dans la Vie qu'il écrivit à la louange d'Eumène de Cardia, Plutarque opposait son héros, de naissance humble, mais bien éduqué et plein d'intelligence et de courage, aux compagnons illustres d'Alexandre, qui, eux se flattaient d'être originaires de grandes familles aristocratiques macédoniennes. Après la mort du roi, il eut à combattre particulièrement Néoptolème, qui portait le titre de "grand écuyer" (*arkhiaspistès*). Celui-ci était fier de symboliser son statut par "la lance et l'écu" (*aspis kai logkè*). Il se moquait d'Eumène, qui, lui, "suivait le roi avec un stylet et une tablette" (*grapheion kai pinakidion*) (*Eumène* 1.6).

3. L'usage de tablettes de bois enduites de cire est bien connu à travers la documentation babylonienne. En 1948, San Nicolò faisait paraître un article resté fameux, dans lequel il s'interrogeait pour savoir si les Babyloniens avaient utilisé des tablettes de bois enduites de cire comme supports d'écriture.[6] Il mettait en évidence que les administrateurs des temples babyloniens utilisaient un objet référé sous le terme *li'u* — "un terme connu en vieil-akkadien, qui remonte en fait à l'époque sumérienne." Le sens de ce mot — ajoutait-il — ne fait aucun doute: il signifie "tablette, plaque, planche" (*Tafel*, *Platte*, *Brett*), d'où dérive le sens (secondaire) de tablette en tant que support d'écriture. Le déterminatif *iṣu* ("bois") montre sans ambiguïté qu'il s'agit alors d'une tablette de bois. L'auteur citait à ce propos un nombre significatif de textes néo-babyloniens et achéménides, où le terme renvoie à des listes et à des inventaires, — d'eux d'entre eux désignant explicitement la "cire" utilisée pour enduire la tablette. La preuve était faite de l'existence de tablettes de bois enduites de cire (*tabulae ceratae*), utilisées pour inscrire non pas des textes littéraires, mais des textes en rapport direct avec l'administration de l'état et des temples. San Nicolò notait enfin qu'en raison des conditions climatiques, aucune tablette n'avait été retrouvée dans des fouilles.

Depuis lors, si la situation archéologique est restée la même (du moins en Babylonie[7]), la multiplication et l'approfondissement des recherches sur les tablettes d'époque néo-babylonienne et achéménide ont permis de préciser

[4] Voir Pierre Briant, "L'eau du Grand roi," dans *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East*, édité par Lucio Milano, History of the Ancient Near East, Studies 6 (Padua: Sargon, 1994), pp. 45–65, où les textes sont rassemblés et commentés; sur les rois perses chez Elien, voir aussi les notes (un peu sommaires) de Luisa Prandi, *Memorie storiche dei Greci in Claudio Eliano,* Centro Richerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica – Monografie 25 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2005), pp. 121–26.

[5] Sur Élien et la Perse, on verra surtout maintenant Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "Elien de Préneste," dans *Les Perses vus par les Grecs: lire les sources classiques sur l'empire achéménide*, édité par Dominique Lenfant (Paris: Armand Colin, 2011), pp. 159–84.

[6] Mariano San Nicolò, "Haben die Babylonier Wachstafeln als Schriftträger gekannt?" *Orientalia* 17 (1948): 59–70.

[7] Pour l'âge du bronze, on dispose maintenant de la tablette retrouvée dans un vaisseau naufragé trouvé à Ulu Burun, voir Dorit Symington, "Late Bronze Age Writing-boards and Their Uses: Textual Evidence from Anatolia and Syria," *Anatolian Studies* 41 (1991): 111–23 et de Robert Payton, "The Ulu Burun Writing-board Set," *Anatolian Studies* 41 (1991): 99–106; pour l'Égypte, voir en dernier

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les premières conclusions de M. San Nicolò.[8] Le point a été fait récemment par J. MacGinnis, qui a rassemblé la documentation pertinente, et qui a suggéré, en conclusion, "qu'au total nous sommes probablement portés à sous-estimer l'usage des tablettes de bois, étant donné les nombreux domaines où nous savons qu'elles étaient utilisées, et la rareté des informations précises."[9]

4. Nous n'en avons aucune attestation reconnue dans les tablettes de Persépolis, où en revanche sont cités "des scribes sur parchemin." Mais, sans pouvoir le prouver indiscutablement, il est très tentant de postuler que l'usage de tablettes de bois avait également cours dans l'administration persépolitaine.[10] L'hypothèse pouvait déjà être proposée à partir d'un texte d'Hérodote (7.239), qui rapportait la célèbre ruse de Démarate alors en résidence à Suse. Pour faire parvenir secrètement un message de Suse à Sparte, il utilisa une double tablette de bois (*diptyque*) recouverte de cire. De manière à cacher le message, il enleva la cire, puis il grava le texte directement dans le bois, avant que de couler à nouveau de la cire par-dessus. De ce point de vue, malgré toutes ses insuffisances, le texte d'Élien mérite d'être versé au dossier. Élien, bien entendu, n'avait pas pour objectif de transmettre une information qui, dans les temps futurs, pourrait être utilisée par les historiens de l'empire achéménide! Il est donc assez peu probable que sa source mettait directement le Grand roi dans la position d'un simple *grammateus*: la mise en scène lui permettait simplement d'évoquer pour ses lecteurs un personnage bien connu (y compris par Élien lui-même) pour son luxe et son ignorance "barbares," et de le placer en position d'infériorité culturelle. L'opposition est d'autant plus suggestive qu'elle est fondée sur une double signification de l'écrit: les livres (*biblia*),[11] sources et symboles de réflexion et d'intelligence, et le travail de scribe, jugé ici purement mécanique; voire une opposition entre deux civilisations, celle de la réflexion personnelle (Grèce) et celle des inventaires royaux ("Orient").

5. L'utilisation du bois comme support d'écriture à l'époque achéménide est maintenant bien attestée par des objets trouvés dans l'ancienne Bactriane. Outre des lettres officielles en araméen sur cuir, on y trouve en effet "un groupe de dix-huit documents écrits sur des petits bâtonnets de bois, produits à partir de branches d'arbres, et servant évidemment comme tailles [*tallies*]." Tous ces documents portent des reconnaissances de dettes, et ils sont tous datés de l'an 3 de Darius III (333/2 av. J.C.).[12]

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Je crois donc que l'expression "le roi des Perses en voyage" renvoie aux pratiques administratives de la cour en déplacement et à l'un des supports d'écriture utilisés pour communiquer des ordres royaux, ou simplement, pour prendre le texte de la communication orale, qui pouvait ensuite éventuellement être transcrit sur un autre matériau (parchemin). Le vocabulaire technique utilisé est conforme à des terminologies utilisées dans les textes gréco-romains. À ma connaissance, le terme *philyrion* (tablette en bois de peuplier) est unique, mais il rend compte d'une réalité: à savoir que le bois utilisé pour fabriquer les tablettes était généralement un bois très ordinaire. Cette tablette était-elle ou non recouverte de cire? Le vocabulaire ne permet pas de trancher. L'utilisation d'un "petit couteau" n'est pas décisive en elle-même. Il peut s'agir d'un équivalent à *stilus* (stylet), utilisé pour écrire sur la cire. Certains de ces stylets avaient une "extrémité arrondie ou conique, souvent aplatie sous forme de palette ou de racloir, afin que l'on pût étaler la cire, lorsqu'on voulait effacer l'écriture":[13] il semble bien que ce soit le cas ici, car le verbe utilisé (ξέω) renvoie clairement à l'action de "racler, gratter." Le "petit couteau" pouvait avoir une autre fonction, car, lorsque le scribe "appuyait un

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lieu José M. Galán, "An Apprentice's Board from Dra Abu El-Naga," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 93 (2007): 95–116.

[8] Voir CAD s.v. *le'u*.

[9] John MacGinnis, "The Use of Writing-boards in the Neo-Babylonian Temple Administration at Sippar," *Iraq* 64 (2002): 217–36, voir p. 227: "Given the many areas where we know that writing boards were used and the paucity of precise information, on the whole it seems that we are probably to underestimate their use"; voir aussi Matthew W. Stolper, "'No-one Has Exact Information Except for You': Communication between Babylon and Uruk in the First Achaemenid Reigns," dans *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, édité par Wouter F. M. Henkelman et Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 13 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), pp. 265–87.

[10] Voir Wouter F. M. Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts*, Achaemenid History 14 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008): p. 143 (en renvoyant à ma note de *DATA* 1992).

[11] À la différence d'autres passages (Théopompe, *FGrH* 115, F263; Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 204–05 = Briant, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 192), le terme *biblion/biblia* renvoie bien ici à des "livres," et non pas simplement à un matériau.

[12] Voir Saul Shaked, *Le satrape de Bactres et son gouverneur*, Documents araméens du IV^{e} siècle avant notre ère provenant de Bactriane (Persika 4) (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2004), pp. 18–21, et maintenant Joseph Naveh et Saul Shaked (edd.), *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.): From the Khalili Collections* (London: Khalili Family Trust, 2012), pp. 231–57.

[13] Voir Charles V. Daremberg et Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. 4.2 (Paris: Hachette, 1907), pp. 1510b–11a, s.v. *stilus*.

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peu fortement, il pouvait arriver que le bois égratigné conservât, après qu'on avait égalisé la cire pour de nouvelles rédactions, la trace des anciennes; on n'était sûr d'avoir bien effacé que si l'on avait gratté jusqu'au bois, *ad lignum*."[14] De manière à authentifier l'expéditeur et le signataire, il était d'usage que la tablette fût scellée à l'aide d'un cachet à la cire porté sur une ficelle qui entourait la tablette — d'une manière très comparable aux scellements retrouvés par exemple à Daskyleion.[15]

Abréviations

CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
FGrH	Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923–1959

[14] Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. 5 (Paris: Hachette, 1919), pp. 1a–5b s.v. *Tabella*.

[15] Voir Deniz Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*, Achaemenid History 12.1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002), pp. 24–26.

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5

Royal Women in Elamite Art

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One of the most noticeable features of Elamite iconography is the persistent appearance of women in the art of the late third through early first millennia B.C. The frequency of such representations may be informed by particularly Elamite traditions, which granted equal importance to both patrilineal and matrilineal descent as indicators of a legitimate rule, a principle expressed in texts and images.[1] The origins of this principle are hard to fathom, but may be explained partly by the need to unify the disparate territories of the Iranian region. Geography must have encouraged the use of elite intermarriage as a tool in forming alliances among polities across the Zagros highlands and the lowland states of Khūzestān and Mesopotamia. Such unions are attested from the late third millennium B.C. and the time of the formation of the Šimaškian state,[2] but likely have a longer history.

In Elam during the second millennium B.C., women played a role in legitimizing royal dynasties. This is illustrated in the titles of the Sukkalmah and Middle Elamite kings that used the term "sister's son of Šilhaha" as part of their title. Twelve rulers use this appellation but five of them lived more than seven centuries later than Šilhaha, in the last centuries of the second millennium, indicating that the term became an enduring honorific and legitimizing title. The term "sister's son" (Elamite *ruhu-šak*, Sumerian DUMU NIN$_9$, Akkadian *mār ahātišu*) is generally taken to denote the legitimate ruler.[3] The term *šak* has been interpreted by Vallat ("Succession royale," p. 9) as paternal son or daughter, *ruhu* as maternal son. The compounds *ruhu-šak* and *ruhu-pak* are then "legitimate son" and "legitimate daughter." Vallat suggests that true royal legitimacy in Elam was to be found only through brother-sister marriage. Glassner interprets *ruhu-šak* as "uterine nephew," but also takes the term as an indicator of legitimacy.[4] Whether and when "sister-son" is either to be taken literally as indicating brother-sister incest or to be interpreted as a dynastic metaphor (e.g., in the case of a foreign bride or adoptive sister) is difficult to discern.[5] For our purposes, the key element is the importance of the female line in establishing legitimacy. This also appears from the apparent possibility to inherit the throne directly or indirectly through the mother's side.[6]

The literary letter, probably "authored" by Šutruk-Nahhunte I (ca. 1185–1155 B.C.) and possibly based on a historical source, aims to demonstrate the king's right to rule Babylonia through his double royal lineage, as a descendant of kings and queens.[7] Near the end of the text, after meticulously tracing his ancestry and listing the Kassite royal daughters married by his Elamite predecessors, Šutruk-Nahhunte poses the rhetorical question:

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[1] François Vallat, "Succession royale en Élam au II^{ème} millénaire," in *Cinquante-deux reflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien, offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer*, edited by Hermann Gasche, Mesopotamian History and Environment, Occasional Publications 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), pp. 1–14; Florence Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse: briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'empire néo-élamite* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995); Marie-Joseph Steve, Hermann Gasche, and François Vallat, "Suse" (sections A–F), *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, edited by Jacques Briend, Michel Quesnel, and Henri Cazelles (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 2002/2003), vol. 13, fasc. 73–74, cols. 444–45, 544–52.

[2] Matthew W. Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalmahs," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 72 (1982): 42–67. It is a pleasure to contribute this article in honor of Matthew W. Stolper, whose aforementioned study started me thinking about the royal women of Elam.

[3] Vallat, "Succession royale"; Malbran-Labat, *Insciptions royales*, p. 175; Steve, Gasche, and Vallat, "Suse," cols. 444–45.

[4] Jean-Jacques Glassner, "*Ruḫušak – mār aḫatim*: la transmission du pouvoir en Élam," *Journal Asiatique* 282/2 (1994): 219–36.

[5] For a review of the literature, see Daniel T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 163–66.

[6] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, pp. 171–79.

[7] Text: Jan van Dijk, "Die dynastischen Heiraten zwischen Kassiten und Elamern: Eine verhängnisvolle Politik," *Orientalia* 55 (1986): 159–70; on the letter and on the identification of its "author," see Jeremy Goldberg, "The Berlin Letter, Middle Elamite Chronology and Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I's Genealogy," *Iranica Antiqua* 39 (2004): 33–42; and François Vallat, "La chronologie méso-élamite et la lettre de Berlin," *Akkadica* 127 (2006): 123–35. Here is not the place to discuss which Kassite kings are mentioned in the text (see Goldberg, "Berlin Letter," and Vallat, "Chronologie"), but to note that the letter need not be taken literally and that the Kassite kings Kurigalzu I and Burnaburiaš II make the most sense in view of the larger historical picture of the Amarna age. The monuments of Untaš-Napiriša and Napir-asu that are discussed below document the elevated position of Napir-asu.

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> Why I, who am a king, son of a king, seed of a king, scion of a king, who am king(?) for the lands, the land of Babylonia and for the land of El[am], descendant of the eldest daughter of mighty King Kurigalzu, (why) do I not sit on the throne of the land of Babylonia?

In the following discussion I examine the images of Elamite royal women and discuss how these representations appear to reflect their social position in the society.

Seals and Sealings

A cylinder seal that features two women and the divinized Šimaškian king Ebarat/Yabrat I (fig. 5.1:a) is an important document, unfortunately without provenance. The seal shows a large, bearded figure seated on a low throne wearing a full flounced dress with one shoulder bare. He holds stylized "streams" or "flowers"[8] in his hand that reach almost to the upraised hand of a woman squatting on a cushion in front of him. A second squatting woman is seated behind the central male figure, nearly touching him with her upraised hand.[9] The "streams" or "flowers" may illustrate the source and subsequent transmission of the power to rule. They occur frequently on glyptic of the Sukkalmah period and, slightly later, on the rock relief at Kūrāngūn. The position of the king between two women is similar to that found almost a millennium later on the stela of Untaš-Napiriša.[10]

The seal inscription as read by Steinkeller states ^{d}[E$^{?}$-ba$^{?}$-r]a-at lugal ⌜x⌝-[...] | dam ki$^{!}$-⌜ág⌝-[gá-ni] "Ebarat, the king [Female Name] [is his] be[loved] wife." It follows the pattern of Ur III-period presentation seals which contain the ruler's titles followed by the seal owner's name and "office."[11] Piotr Steinkeller suggests that this is perhaps the seal of one of the royal princesses of Ur who married Ebarat I, the king of Šimaški, given the evidence of diplomatic contacts between this king and Ur. The seal is inscribed in Sumerian and has the layout of a typical Ur III royal "presentation scene," with the divinized king facing a worshiper and the emblem of crescent moon and star placed in front and above him and the "worshiper."[12] Yet the deified king and women are atypical for Mesopotamian seals because they are dressed distinctively as Šimaškians.[13] The seal thus presents a synthesis of Iranian iconography and Mesopotamian format, which is not surprising given the active contacts among the lands of the Iranian Zagros, Susiana, and the Ur III state.[14]

The kings of Ur controlled Susa from Šulgi year 44 to Ibbi-Suen year 4–8 or later, a period of twenty-six years. During that time, the Šimaškian king Ebarat/Yabrat I was "a close and dependent ally of the House of Ur until the reign of Ibbi-Suen, when Ebarat/Yabrat subsequently became a major threat to Babylonia and took over the rulership of Susa for three or four years."[15] Part of the larger diplomatic interaction among the states of Iran and the court of the Ur III kings were visits, gifts, and marriages.[16] The kings of Ur entertained at their royal court, no doubt hoping to impress their powerful, not always friendly, neighbors to the east who made visits for roughly the same purposes. An

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[8] Marie-Joseph Steve, "Des sceaux-cylindres de Šimaški?" *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 83 (1989): 18, identifies them with wild tulips based on analogies with similar blooms incised on the sides of small steatite bottles. These "flowers" could also be stylized streams given the analogy with slightly later, more clearly rendered versions of the feature (e.g., the seal Pala-iššan; see below).

[9] There may be something above the hand of this figure, although it is not very clear in the photo.

[10] Pierre Amiet, *L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens: 3500–1700 avant J.-C.* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986), p. 60; see below.

[11] Piotr Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and Its Rulers," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 97 (2007): 215–32.

[12] Irene J. Winter, "The King and the Cup: Iconography of the Royal Presentation Scene of Ur III Seals," in *Insight through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, edited by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, Paulo Matthiae, and Maurits van Loon, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 21 (Malibu: Undena, 1986), pp. 253–68; idem, "Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend: Seals Belonging to Officials in the Administrative Bureaucracy of the Ur III State," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1987), pp. 69–93.

[13] Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, pp. 157–60; Edith Porada, "More Seals of the Time of the Sukkalmaḫ," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 84/2 (1990): 171–78; Agnes Benoit, "Les 'princesses' de Bactriane," *Revue du Louvre* 54/4 (2004): 35–43; Daniel T. Potts, "Puzur-Inšušinak and the Oxus Civilization (BMAC): Reflections on Šimaški and the Geo-political Landscape of Iran and Central Asia in the Ur III Period," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 98 (2008): 165–94. The exact location of Awan and the Šimaški lands are still a subject of debate. Contemporary texts indicate that the Šimaški lands were a loosely allied group of states stretching from the borders of Anšan in Fārs to the northwestern Zagros (Steinkeller, "New Light"; Stolper, "Dynasty of the Šimaški"). Zabšalli and Anšan are among the most active territories in this group. Anšan is identified with Tall-e Malyān in western Fārs and was apparently subordinate to the Šimaškian king Ebarat/Ebarti/Yabrat. Zabšalli's location is uncertain. Marḫaši was a southeastern Iranian state and is now identified as the area around the Hālīl River in the province of Kermān (Daniel T. Potts, "Exit Aratta: Southeastern Iran and the Land of Marhashi," *Nāme-ye Irān Bāstān* 4/1 (2004): 41–51; Steinkeller "New Light"). Recent excavations at Gonur Depe in Turkmenistān suggest that the origin of this distinctive dress is to be found in Central Asia (Potts, "Puzur-Inšušinak").

[14] Steinkeller, "New Light."

[15] Katrien de Graef, *Les archives d'Igibuni: les documents Ur III du Chantier B à Suse*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 54 (Gand: Université de Gand, 2005).

[16] Daniel T. Potts, "Total Prestation in Marhashi–Ur Relations," *Iranica Antiqua* 37 (2002): 343–57; Tonia M. Sharlach, "Diplomacy and the Rituals of Politics at the Ur III Court," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 57 (2005): 17–29; Steinkeller, "New Light."

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ideal diplomatic outcome from the point of view of the Ur III state is reflected in the name of the eighteenth year of Šulgi's reign: "Year: Liwwir-miṭṭašu, the king's daughter, was elevated to the ladyship of Marhaši."[17] It is possible that the Mesopotamian rulers were aware of Elamite customs, which made inheritance through the female line achievable, and thus hoped to take advantage of local practices when they sent their daughters on risky adventures to the east.

One way Iranian leaders, like Ebarat, had to gain an upper hand over his fellow Iranian rulers would have been to capitalize on the wealth and esteem that the daughter of a divine king of Ur would bring to the local scene. The prestige of a wife from the royal court of Ur, the daughter of a divinity, might well have been greatest at Susa, where Ur was in control for twenty-six years. This supposition is supported by Me-kūbi's position in Susa slightly later. She was the daughter of Bilalama of Ešnunna and was sent to Susa to marry Tan-Ruhuratir, king of Šimaški. She built a temple to Ištar at Susa,[18] and a scribe, dependent on her, left behind a seal impression that identifies Me-kūbi as the "great" queen (fig. 5.1:b–c).[19] The precise extent of the interactions with Ur and its immediate successors, and the effect they had on later Elamite states, remains unknown.

The seal of Ebarat II, illustrated here as figure 5.1:d, shows the king in the same pose as the earlier kings of Ur. Dated only slightly later is the inscribed seal of ʾIllituram, servant of Pala-iššan, Sukkalmah of Elam (fig. 5.1:e) and an early member of the Sukkalmah dynasty at around 1900 B.C.[20] It features flowing streams connecting a seated figure (perhaps a divinized king) and a squatting woman wearing the distinctive wide skirt. Visible in the woman's hand is a small cup with which she catches some of the flowing water. A number of related seals are known from the antiquities market.[21] Other seals that feature the squatting goddess or queen are a sub-group of the "style populaire élamite" or Börker-Klähn's gouged style.[22] Seals in this sub-group are usually made of soft, dark stone or bituminous compound.[23] The seals have either no, very simple, or pseudo-inscriptions (fig. 5.1:f).[24] The design is based on the Ur III presentation scene where a worshiper approaches a king, who holds a cup. On Elamite seals, an animal (coiled serpent, caprid, or bull), trees, or an elaborate pot stand are added to the central worship scene.[25] Some show the divine couple holding cups (figs. 5.2:c–d). On such seals, women dressed in wide skirts squat behind the men; both are seated under a kind of flowering bower, possibly a grapevine.[26] Examples of this type are known from Susa (fig. 5.2:c) and from an impression from Anšan (fig. 5.2:b).[27] Also from Anšan is a stamp seal (fig. 5.2:a) that depicts the squatting lady under a bower. She holds a cup and is faced by a worshiper whose hands are raised in prayer.

The cups balanced on fingertips are similar to those on Ur III seals associated with kingly office.[28] It seems possible that the Susa and Anšan seals emulate Mesopotamian models and portray the queen/divinity in her official role. In her study of a number of similar seals, Edith Porada pointed out that the "importance of female figures in this group differentiates them from the Mesopotamian repertory of Ur III and Old Babylonian cylinders in which women are rare and unimportant."[29] Porada also draws attention to a comparable scene engraved on a chalcedony pebble, now in the British Museum, showing King Šilhak-Inšušinak I (ca. 1150–1120 B.C.), giving a "jasper" stone from the country of Puralsiš to his daughter, Bar-Uli (fig. 5.11:a).[30]

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[17] Stolper, "Dynasty of the Šimaški"; Steinkeller, "New Light."

[18] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, pp. 25–26.

[19] The seal impression is on a flat piece of fired clay (Pierre Amiet, *Glyptique susienne: des origines à l'époque des Perses Achéménides: cachets, sceaux-cylindres et empreintes antiques découverts à Suse de 1913 à 1967*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 43 [Paris: Geuthner, 1972], vol. 1, p. 210), possibly used to verify other sealings of a more perishable nature.

[20] Katrien de Graef, *De la dynastie Simaški au Sukkalmaḫat: les documents fin PE IIb-début PE III du Chantier B à Suse*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 55 (Gand: Université de Gand, 2006), p. 68; idem "Annus Simaškensis: l'usage des noms d'année pendant la periode Simaškéenne (ca. 1930–1880 av. nortre ère) à Suse," *Iranica Antiqua* 43 (2008): 67–87.

[21] See, e.g., Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, figs. 290–91; Joan Aruz, "Seals of the Old Elamite Period," in *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, edited by Prudence O. Harper, Joan Aruz, and Françoise Tallon (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 106–20.

[22] Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, pp. 239–57; Aruz, "Seals of the Old Elamite Period"; Jutta Börker-Klähn, "Untersuchungen zur altelamischen Archäologie" (Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1970), pp. 188–68.

[23] Jacques Connan and Odile Deschesne, *Le bitume à Suse: collection du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996), pp. 293–318.

[24] Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, fig. 114:3.

[25] Börker-Klähn, "Untersuchungen," nos. 53–87.

[26] Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, figs. 113:2, 114:6.

[27] I thank Holly Pittman and the late William Sumner for permission to illustrate the seals from Malyān. Pittman is preparing a full publication of Kaftari-period Malyān seals and sealings. The seals published by Sumner came from the Kaftari trash layer. Radiocarbon dates suggest that they should date to the early part of the Sukkalmah period, ca. 2000–1700 B.C. (William M. Sumner, "Excavations at Tall-i Malyān, 1971–72," *Iran* 12 [1974]: 155–80). The seals and sealing found in operation GHI are from better-stratified deposits, but remain unpublished. The earlier levels in the excavation predate the Kaftari trash deposit (William M. Sumner, "Malijān, Tall-e," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 7 [1988]: 306–20) and are closely dependent on Ur III-style seals.

[28] Winter, "The King and the Cup," p. 260.

[29] Porada, "More Seals."

[30] Edmond Sollberger, "A New Inscription of Šilhak-Inšušinak," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 19 (1965): 31–32; Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, p. 174.

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The Rock Reliefs at Kūrāngūn, Īzeh, and Naqš-e Rustam

Rock reliefs, found in the Zagros valleys southeast of Susiana at Kūrāngūn, in the Īzeh (formerly Mālamīr) plain, and at Naqš-e Rustam (fig. 5.3:a) are "living" monuments. Consequently, these rock reliefs, which were reused, recut, and are still visible, are difficult to date with precision. It is significant that women are part of all these public sculptures. The earliest of the reliefs, at Kūrāngūn, is usually dated to the time of the Sukkalmah, around the seventeenth century B.C., on the basis of parallels with seals from Susa (fig. 5.4).[31] The central scene at Kūrāngūn shows the divine couple, identified by their horned crowns (figs. 5.4:b–c). The god sits on a human-headed, coiled serpent throne and holds in his left hand a two-headed or open-mouthed snake that issues forth from the side of his seat. The goddess squats on a stool behind and just below him, her crinoline flounced skirt similar to the seals just discussed. It is possible she holds a cup in one hand, although this section is not well enough preserved to be certain.[32]

On the Kūrāngūn relief, the water curves over the god, the goddess, and the altar(?) in front of them. The divinities, facing left, are flanked by two groups of worshipers. Each group comprises a couple standing behind a man with outstretched hands in a position of prayer. He appears to catch the streams flowing in front of and behind a ring and staff held in the god's right hand. The streams visualize the contact between god and man, unite the deities to the worshipers and, in turn, link the human groups to each other. The pivotal position of the divine couple and the joining of both male and female worshipers to them by means of the streams may well depict the heavenly sponsorship of an earthly union.[33] Added to the scene at a later date, perhaps in the late Middle Elamite or Neo-Elamite period, were a group of pig-tailed worshipers on the left side of the central panel[34] and a group of unidentifiable figures to the right. The four figures can be compared to the scene discussed below, behind the worship figure in Kūl-e Farah II (Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, p. 10).

The Kūrāngūn reliefs are carved on a mountainside overlooking a valley formed by the Fahliyān River, about 90 kilometers northwest of Anšan (fig. 5.4:a). The location of the relief, where the road from Anšan to Susa intersected with the road from Liyan, as well as the subject matter, a divine pair worshiped by two human groups, each consisting of a male and female, suggest human unions sanctioned by the divine authority of the best-known couple of the Elamite pantheon: Napiriša, the "Great God" of the Elamite kingdom of Anšan, and Kiririša, the "Great Goddess" of Liyan (Būšehr).[35]

On the southeastern edge of the Īzeh plain (fig. 5.3:a), some 200 kilometers northwest of Kūrāngūn, on the road linking Esfahān to eastern Khūzestān, two very poorly preserved rock reliefs deserve mention here, one at Šāh Sawār and the other at Hong-e Nowrūzī. Dating them is difficult, but the Šāh-Sawār relief (fig. 5.5:b) shows a procession toward an enthroned deity that can be compared to presentation scenes on seals from the first half of the second millennium.[36] It is also difficult to decide with certainty whether the figures represent male and female worshipers, but it seems a likely possibility. These reliefs, like the main relief at Kūrāngūn, are compared to cylinder-seal impressions both because they share the "presentation" or worship-scene motif as a primary subject and because their rectangular proportions suggest that they were fashioned as rollings on the rock.[37] A third fragmentary relief, found out of context near Qalʿeh-ye Tol, 25 kilometers south of Īzeh (fig. 5.5:a), shows the a man with a long skirt followed by two attendants in kilts, hands clasped in the prayer position.[38] The central male figure reaches his hand toward a woman who wears a

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[31] Ursula Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs von Kūrāngūn und Naqš-e Rustam*, Iranische Denkmäler 12, Iranische Felsreliefs 2H (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1986), p. 11, pl. 17a–e. Jutta Börker-Klähn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*, 2 vols., Baghdader Forschungen 4 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1982), no. 128, gives an overview of the dating and suggests that the main scene be dated to the Middle Elamite period and the side scenes to the Neo-Elamite time range. Most recently, Pierre Amiet, "An Introduction to the History of Art in Iran," in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 8–9, accepts Seidl's dating of the central scene based on the close parallels with a seal impression whose inscription names Tan-Uli, an Elamite ruler of the early seventeenth century.

[32] Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, p. 10.

[33] Elizabeth Carter, Review of *Die elamischen Felsreliefs von Kūrāngūn und Naqš-e Rustam*, by Ursula Seidl, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 79 (1989): 145–48. Less likely, but possible, is that the relief shows an earthly celebration of a divine alliance. Either way, the inclusion of males and females is significant.

[34] The procession of kilted pig-tailed figures to the left of the main scene at Kūrāngūn is considered a later addition and is dated to the Neo-Elamite or very Late Middle Elamite period on the basis of stylistic parallels between the kilted figures with those seen in Kūl-e Farah IV and V (for a discussion of the date, see Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, pp. 12–13; for an illustration of the figures, see Eric de Waele, "Travaux archéologiques à Šekāf-e Salmān et Kūl-e Farah près d'Izeh (Mālamir)," *Iranica Antiqua* 16 (1981), fig. 8.

[35] Françoise Grillot, "Kiririša," in *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*, edited by Françoise Vallat, Hermann Gasche, and Léon De Meyer (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986), pp. 175–80. Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, considers the coiled serpent throne and water streams to be attributes of Napiriša, whereas Miroschedji thinks that they belong to Inšušinak on the basis of the inscription of the stele of Untaš-Napiriša (Pierre de Miroschedji, "Le dieu élamite au serpent et au eaux jaillissantes," *Iranica Antiqua* 16 [1981]: 1–25). See below.

[36] Börker-Klähn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen*, nos. 116–17.

[37] Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, p. 23.

[38] Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran: Narrative of an Archaeological Journey* (London: Macmillan, 1940), pp. 124–26.

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long skirt and who also reaches out to clasp(?) his hand. She is only slightly smaller than the male figure facing her. I identify her as a female by her cape, which can be compared to that worn by Bar-Uli on the inscribed pebble of Šilhak-Inšušinak I (see fig. 5.11:a).[39] Behind her are two attendants; all three appear to carry sheep(?) and perhaps present them to the male party facing them.[40]

In addition to the early second-millennium rock reliefs, those reliefs carved during the late Middle Elamite and Neo-Elamite periods at Kūl-e Farah and especially at Šekaft-e [Šekaft Salmān, also in the Īzeh valley, are relevant to this study (fig. 5.6). At Šekaft-e Salmān, larger-than-life-size panels were carved on either side of a cave sanctuary at the back of a gorge cut by a spring. According to the main inscription of Šekaft-e Salmān III, they are part of a family sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Mašti.[41] The associated inscriptions all mention Hanni, the ruler of Ayapir and his family, as well as his vizier, Šutruru and his family. The study of these inscriptions suggests a date between the late eighth and early sixth centuries and most likely into the seventh century.[42]

The date of the reliefs at Šekaft-e Salmān rests on analogies with a relief reconstructed from fragmentary molded, glazed bricks found on the Susa Acropole (fig. 5.10:b). The bricks, reassembled by Pierre Amiet, represent the royal ancestors of Šilhak-Inšušinak and, presumably, of Nahhunte-Utu, his "sister-wife."[43] The figures on the brick reliefs wear a distinctive Elamite dress, which Amiet compares to the rock reliefs at Šekaft-e Salmān.[44] As Neilson Debevoise observed that the reliefs had been overcut, it seems possible that carvings of the late Middle Elamite period were adapted in Neo Elamite times.[45]

Šekaft-e Salmān I is a trapezoidal panel that shows five figures, three large and two small (fig. 5.6:c). They process toward the left, to the opening of the cave. The first figure is very damaged, but may be a child. The second is a man, who hold his hands clenched with his index finger sticking up in a gesture of prayer. Behind him is a second man wearing a short kilt, hands clasped across the chest. A second small person follows suit, and at the far right a female figure brings up the rear. She wears a long dress and large headdress or wig and holds her right hand up, fist clenched with the index finger raised like her male companion. Her left hand is placed across her chest. Poorly preserved captions (EKI 76d–e) indicate the relief belongs to Hanni of Ayapir.

The second relief (Šekaft-e Salmān II; fig. 5.6:b) shows Hanni and his sister-wife; between them is a much smaller figure, possibly their child. They all turn their heads toward the cave opening and process with clasped hands. Šekaft-e Salmān IV and III are on the other side of the gorge (fig. 5.6:d). Panel IV is very damaged; the depicted figure's beard and robe are not unlike the molded-brick relief from Susa.[46] Šekaft-e Salmān III preserves a long text and a figure, presumably also representing Hanni. In the text, after his titles, Hanni states that he will establish images (*zalmu*, a loan from Akkadian *ṣalmu*) of himself, of Huhun his sister-wife (Elamite *rutu šutu*), and of his children at Tarriša, presumably to be identified with Šekaft-e Salmān (EKI 76).[47] To the right of the inscription stands the king dressed in a kilt similar to those worn by the male figures on the opposite side of the ravine.

The Kūl-e Farah reliefs, across the Īzeh valley (fig 5.3:b), are largely devoted to processions, sacrifices, and rituals. Kūl-e Farah II shows the king standing with hands raised in prayer; a jumble of sacrificed animals appears in front of him, and behind him is a small family procession scene, analogous to the reliefs in Šekaft-e Salmān.[48]

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[39] Other examples for this style of dress include a limestone statuette of a woman from Susa (Agnès Spycket, "Kassite and Middle Elamite Sculpture," in *Later Mesopotamia and Iran: Tribes and Empires, 1600–539 B.C.* [proceedings of a seminar in honor of Vladimir J. Lukonin], edited by John Curtis [London: British Museum, 1995], p. 79, pl. 11) and an incised plaque from Susa (see here fig. 5.9:b). The dress style suggests a Middle Elamite date for the Qalʿeh-ye Tol relief.

[40] Walther Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam: Re-Creation of a Vanished Civilization*, translated by Jennifer Barnes (New York: New York University Press, 1972), pp. 130–31, interprets the scenes as a "family portrait." Jutta Börker-Klähn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen*, p. 233 no. 272, sees the relief as representing a handshake and thus a contract between two rulers, a scene analogous to the one shown on the throne base of Shalmaneser III. The piece is very eroded and difficult to interpret, but a royal marriage might also be a possible interpretation. Seals from the Šimaški and early Sukkalmah periods show worshipers carrying sheep (Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, nos. 1678, 1682). The gold figurine from Susa dated to the late Sukkalmah period also offers a parallel; see Holly Pittman, "Reconsidering the 'trouvaille de la statuette d'or,'" in *Yeki Bud, Yeki Nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*, edited by Naomi F. Miller and Kamyar Abdi (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2003), pp. 176–91.

[41] De Waele, "Travaux archéologiques," and idem, "Remarques sur les inscriptions élamites de Šekāf-e Salmān et Kūl-e Farah près d'Īzeh, I: Leur corrélation avec les bas-reliefs," *Le Muséon* 89 (1976): 441–50; Peter Calmeyer, "Mālamīr. A. Lage und Forschungsgeschichte; C. Archäologisch," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7 (1988): 275–76, 281–87; Matthew W. Stolper, "Mālamīr. B. Philologisch," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7 (1988): 276–81.

[42] Stolper, "Mālamīr," p. 279.

[43] Pierre Amiet, "Disjecta Membra Aelamica: le décor architectural en brique émaillés à Suse," *Arts Asiatiques* 32 (1976): 13–28.

[44] Amiet, "Disjecta Membra," and idem, "An Introduction to the History of Art in Iran."

[45] Neilson C. Debevoise, "The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1/1 (1942): 76–105.

[46] See Amiet, "Disjecta Membra."

[47] Stolper, "Mālamīr."

[48] Louis Vanden Berghe, "Les reliefs élamites de Mālāmir," *Iranica Antiqua* 3 (1963), pl. 13.

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A final rock relief, on a cliff face at Naqš-e Rustam, 25 kilometers east of Anšan and 150 kilometers southeast of Kūrāngūn, features gods on coiled-serpent thrones similar to those at Kūrāngūn (fig. 5.3:a). A later Sasanian relief has obliterated most of the worshipers (fig. 5.7:a–b). Based on the proportions of the divinities, Seidl dates this section of the relief to a later period than the Kūrāngūn reliefs, but before the fifteenth–fourteenth centuries.[49] She reconstructs the scene, based primarily on preserved feet, as consisting of three persons moving to the right, toward the enthroned divinities (fig. 5.7:a).[50] Preservation of these divinities is also quite fragmentary but the thrones and lower portions of the bodies are visible. On the far right, on an additional panel, a standing male figure is carved (fig. 5.7:d); he wears a typical Elamite headdress, pointed in the front and rounded in the back. His headdress, broad shoulders, narrow waist, and bandolier straps point to a date sometime in the twelfth century, but dates closer to the middle of the second millennium are also possible. Left of the main scene but also on the rock face at the far left of the Elamite scene, one and possibly more figures were placed. Best visible is a queen with a turreted crown (fig. 5.7:c). Her distinctive headdress is often compared to that of a queen on decorated glazed tile from Nineveh, dated to the time of Assurnasirpal II, and the crown worn by the queen in the banquet scene from Assurbanipal's palace (ca. 645–640 B.C.).[51] The crown closely resembles the city models carried in tribute processions at Khorsabad.[52] Thus it could represent a specific locality that the queen brought into the union with the king.

In summary, these public monuments, along the key routes leading through the Zagros valleys toward the area of Esfahān and the Iranian plateau, all show members of the elite families in public procession and adoration. At Kūrāngūn and Naqš-e Rustam the divinities are depicted along with humans, but at Šekaft-e Salmān we only have images of the royal family.[53] The monuments seek to establish the legitimacy of the ruling family and preserve their memory. The text of Hanni hints at the importance of making images of the family.[54] The Middle Elamite kings, who ruled in Susa, considered furnishing sanctuaries with family images as part of their royal duties, both in construction and funerary contexts.[55] The processions shown at Šekaft-e Salmān are structurally similar to the lists of family members (parents, wives, siblings, and future legitimate descendents) found in royal inscriptions characterized by the word *takkime* "life." They document dedications of temples or votive objects by kings seeking divine grace for their life, those of their family, and, by extension, the continued legitimacy and prosperity of the dynasty.[56]

Sculptures and a Stela from Susa and Kabnak

Turning now to pieces from the Middle Elamite period, we have a variety of representations of women from Susa, Kabnak (Haft Tappeh), and Al Untaš-Napiriša (Čoḡā Zanbīl). These images include funerary clay heads, the monumental statue of Napir-asu, the stela of her husband Untaš-Napiriša, and a partially preserved panel of molded and glazed bricks, mentioned above in relation to the rock reliefs at Īzeh. From the Neo-Elamite period, despite the general paucity of finds, two of the most prominent pieces depict women.

For the early Middle Elamite period, funerary heads of both men and women are known from Susa and Kabnak. Given the area excavated by Ghirshman at Susa[57] and the relatively small number of heads discovered, it appears that their use was restricted to an elite group of the city's residents. Ghirshman discovered some of the unbaked, painted clay heads in communal tombs dating from the end of the Sukkalmah through the end of the early Middle Elamite period in the Ville Royale (fig. 5.8:a).[58] Clearly, images of both sexes were considered worthy of inclusion in the family tombs of the period.[59]

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[49] Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, p. 18.

[50] Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, fig. 2:b and pl. 12:a–b.

[51] Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*; Julian Reade, "Was Sennacherib a Feminist?" in *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique: compte rendu de la 23e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, edited by Jean-Marie Durand (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987), pp. 139–40, fig. 1.

[52] André Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961), fig. 44.

[53] It is thought that a temple once stood at the mouth of the cave. Of interest here also is a text of Šilhak-Inšušinak from Susa, which seems to suggest that for Kiririša, the "great wife," "no image of her in clay could be executed" (Françoise Grillot and François Vallat, "Dédicace de Šilhak-Inšušinak à Kiririša," *Iranica Antiqua* 19 [1984]: 21–29).

[54] Stolper, "Mālamīr."

[55] Grillot, "Kiririša"; see below.

[56] Vallat, "Succession royale"; Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, pp. 203–04.

[57] Roman Ghirshman, "Suse, campagne de fouilles 1962/3. Rapport préliminarie," *Arts Asiatiques* 10 (1964): 3–20; idem, "Suse au temps des Sukkalmah. Campagne de fouilles 1963–1964," *Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1965): 3–21; idem and Marie-Joseph Steve, "Suse, campagne de l'hiver 1964–1965. Rapport préliminaire," *Arts Asiatiques* 13 (1966): 3–32.

[58] Elizabeth Carter, "Funerary Landscapes in Elam in the Last Half of the Second Millennium B.C.," in *Elam and Persia*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon and Mark B. Garrison (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 45–58.

[59] Pierre Amiet, *Élam* (Auvers-sur-Oise: Archée, 1966), pp. 347–53, 362–64; Agnès Spycket, "Funerary Heads," in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 135–36.

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At Kabnak, Negahban discovered two polychromed heads of women in a workshop not far from the funerary complex of King Tepti-ahar (fig. 5.8:b).[60] The two women are recognizable by their elaborate headdresses or hairdos, which also appear on nude female figurines. The stela of Tepti-ahar found in the courtyard of an adjacent funerary complex sheds some light on the possible functions of such images. The temple building is linked to underground vaulted baked-brick tombs.[61] The text records ritual sacrifices both regularly and during special festivals, before the chariot of the god Inšušinak, the *saparru* wagon of Tepti-ahar, and for the funerary cult (*kispum).* The end of the stela is restored by Erica Reiner on the basis of a brick inscription of Tepti-ahar from Susa, which refers to similar activities.[62] In Reiner's translation the brick reads:

> Tepti-ahar, king of Susa [made?] a statue of himself and his servant girls to whom he is gracious, and interceding female figures who would intercede for him and for his servant girls to whom he is gracious; he built a house of baked bricks and gave it to his lord Inšušinak. May Inšušinak show him favor as long as he lives! When night falls, four women of the guardians of the house … they must not act in concert to peel off the gold; their garments should be fastened with strings; they should come in and sleep at the feet of the *lamassu*- and the *kāribu*- figures; they should … they should guard. The *ḫašša*, the *kiparu*, the chief priest, the guards of the house and the priest should seal the house before them. When dawn breaks, they should check again the king, the *lamassu*- and the *kāribu*-figures, and then they (the women) may come out and go.

Reiner understands "servant girls" as references to Tepti-ahar's female ancestors and suggests that both the stela and brick inscription describe rituals honoring the dead ancestors performed regularly in front of statues of those ancestors and protective deities.[63]

Napir-asu (ca. 1340), is shown on the stela of her husband, Untaš-Napiriša (fig. 5.9:a). Since the stela inscription refers to the *siyan-kuk*, the temple at Al Untaš-Napiriša, it was probably originally installed there and later brought to Susa by Šutruk-Nahhunte.[64] The transport of the white sandstone monument — its reconstructed height is 2.62 meters — must have been a difficult task.[65] The top register of the stela shows the god handing the ring and staff of kingship to Untaš-Napiriša. The god sits on a coiled-serpent throne and holds, in one hand, the head of a fire-spitting serpent and, in the other, the ring and staff of kingship. The king, identified by an inscription on his arm, faces the divinity — Napiriša or possibly Inšušinak.[66] In the second register, Untaš-Napiriša is pictured between two women. Napir-asu, whose name is written on her forearm, stands behind her husband, Untaš-Napiriša. Both face right, toward the second woman, who faces them. The name on the arm of the second woman is damaged and difficult to read.[67] The king's arms are bent at the elbow, suggesting that they were originally extended in a position of prayer (fg. 5.9:b). It is perhaps not unreasonable to identify the second female with the queen mother.[68]

The position of the king, framed by two women on the stela and in the seal of Ebarat's wife (see above, fig. 5.1:a) underscores the significance for the Elamites of the correct family ties that were inclusive of female ancestry. It may well be that both the Kassite rulers and kings of the Ur III dynasty used this Elamite custom to their advantage when they were able to place their daughters into royal families.

The lower registers of the stela contain symmetrical pairs of composite creatures. The upper row depicts mermen or -women(?) and the lower, sheep-men. The fish-men hold vases from which streams spring that surround them in a complex, watery web. The sheep-men stand on either side of a "sacred tree." Some elements of the scene are similar to the Kūrāngūn relief: the god on the coiled-serpent throne and the frame of streams (Kūrāngūn) or snakes (stela).[69] The inclusion of the family group in the second register can also be compared to Kūrāngūn, where two men frame a

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[60] Ezat O. Negahban, *Excavations at Haft Tepe, Iran* (Philadelphia: University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1991), pp. 37–38, pl. 24; Carter, "Funerary Landscapes."

[61] Negahban, *Excavations at Haft Tepe*; Carter, "Funerary Landscapes."

[62] Erica Reiner, "Inscription from an Elamite Tomb," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24 (1973): 87–102.

[63] The discovery of an undisturbed royal tomb at the back of the palace in Qatna, dated to ca. 1340 B.C., offers the most direct evidence to date discovered in the ancient Near East of the *kispum* ritual. It is worth noting that basalt statues of the royal male ancestors were found flanking the underground entrance to the tomb. See Peter Pfälzner, "The Royal Palace at Qatna: Power and Prestige in the Late Bronze Age," in *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, edited by Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008) pp. 220–21.

[64] Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, p. 220.

[65] Agnes Benoit, "Stele of Untash-Napirisha," in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 127–30, cat. no. 80.

[66] Miroschedji, "Le dieu élamite."

[67] François Vallat, "L'inscription de la stèle d'Untash-Napirisha," *Iranica Antiqua* 16 (1981): 27–33.

[68] We might speculate that this woman is honored because she was a "sister-wife" of Hubanumena, a daughter of Kurigalzu I. Alternatively, she may be a maternal ancestor of Napir-asu.

[69] Benoit, "Stele of Untash-Napirisha," suggests that they are the Elamite version of the *apsu*. A bronze table, possibly part of a fountain, held up by five genii holding vessels against their chests, has a flattened end that perhaps stuck into a wall. The water must have run through it by an interior canalization and come out of the vases. The long edges have serpents laid flat on them and are similar to those on the stele of Untaš-Napiriša. Because of this, Amiet (*Élam*, p. 383, fig. 291) dates the piece to the Middle Elamite period.

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woman on either side of a divine couple. A final comparison comes on an incised tile from Susa, dated to the last half of the second millennium (fig. 5.9:b).[70] It shows an unidentified couple, a larger man and smaller woman, both with arms extended in prayer. The man is dressed in a long skirt, his hair pushed forward, his arms bent at the elbows, his forearms extended. The woman behind him wears a cape that covers her elbows; her arms are held in front of her. The prayer gesture is similar to that of Untaš-Napiriša (stela) and is also known from earlier seals and sealings from Susa and Anšan.[71]

Napir-asu's statue, generally regarded as the masterpiece of Elamite art, eloquently evokes her power at the Middle Elamite court. Consisting of a copper-alloy core and a nearly pure copper skin, it originally weighed more than 1,750 kilos (3,700 pounds). There are some indications that the statue may additionally have been plated with gold or silver.[72] Its complex manufacture, monumentality, fine decoration, and inscription in Elamite emphatically proclaim the queen's title and underscore her power. The inscription written on her skirt opens with "I, Napir-asu, wife of Untaš-Napiriša ...." After a series of curses, it continues: "This is Napir-asu's offering ...." Napir-asu is the first woman since Me-kūbi in the early second millennium to leave an inscription at Susa.[73] This extraordinary statue and Napir-asu's presence on the royal stela, where another women appears in an honored position, indicates that she was a powerful queen, possibly the royal daughter of Burniburiaš II, mentioned in the Berlin letter (see above). If Napir-asu was the daughter of Burnaburiaš II, then either the wife of Pahir-iššan or of Humban-numena, both Kassite royal women, might well be the revered female ancestor of the dynasty shown on Untaš-Napiriša's stela.

Similar gestures and dress are seen on figures on a relief reconstructed from fragmentary yellow and green glazed bricks found on the Acropole at Susa; they represent a royal couple (fig. 5.10:b). These were once part of the *kumpum kiduya* (see below) constructed by Šutruk-Nahhunte, Kutir-Nahhunte, and Šilhak-Inšušinak. The woman is very likely Nahhunte-Utu, who bore nine children from her brothers Kutir-Nahhunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak, and possibly one from her son, Huteluduš-Inšušinak.[74] The bearded male with broad shoulders and narrow waist is probably Šilhak-Inšušinak.[75] Another representation of Šilhak-Inšušinak and his "beloved daughter" Bar-Uli is found incised on a chalcedony pebble given to her by her father (see above, fig. 5.11:a). The description of Bar-Uli in the *takkime* inscription of her father suggests that she was chosen to play a particular dynastic role; perhaps because she was the oldest daughter of Šilhak-Inšušinak and Nahhunte-Utu.[76]

In their brick inscriptions, members of the Šutrukid dynasty commemorate predecessors, establish their descent, and honor family members past, present, and future. We learn from the stela inscriptions of Šilhak-Inšušinak that *hut-halikpi* "statuettes" (EKI 46, 24–25) of divinities and members of the royal family were made for the *kumpum kiduya* "exterior sanctuary" and *suhter*, explained as "chapelle royal" (Grillot) or "tabernacle" (Vallat).[77] At the end of the passage, Šilhak-Inšušinak lists his relatives: his father Šutruk-Nahhunte, his oldest brother Kutir-Nahunnte, his sister Nahhunte-Utu, and nine other family members. One of Šilhak-Inšušinak's brick inscriptions relating to the construction of the *kumpum kiduya* explicitly mentions images or statues. It records the earlier work of Šilhak-Inšušinak's brother, Kutir-Nahhunte, on the statues (*zalmu*) and his own refurbishment of temple and statues.[78] The manufacture and placement of images of the ancestors and members of the royal family, male and female, was thus part of the king's pious duties.

Although we have little information on the art of the Neo-Elamite period from Susa, it is significant that two of the pieces preserved from that period show women. The first is the very fragmentary stela of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak The king wears a hat with a domed crown and pointed visor not unlike those worn by Hanni at Kūl-e Farah. His broad shoulders, narrow waist, elaborately decorated garment, long straight beard, lion-headed bracelet, and staff give him a royal presence. The figure facing him is poorly preserved but may be identified as a woman by the brooch she wears on her shoulder, which can be compared to one worn by Untaš-Napiriša.[79] She stands to the same size as the seated king. The fragmentary inscription suggests that Atta-hamiti-Inšušnak's home territory was to the southeast, in Khūzestān, and a reasonable guess would be that the figure represents his Susian wife.

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[70] Agnès Spycket, *Les figurines de Suse*, Vol. 1: *Les figurines humaines*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 52 (Paris: Gabalda, 1992), pl. 135:M31.

[71] Pittman, "Reconsidering the 'trouvaille,'" p. 186.

[72] Françoise Tallon, "Statue of Queen Napir-Asu," in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa*, p. 135, cat. no. 83.

[73] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, p. 26.

[74] Steve, Gasche, and Vallat, "Suse," cols. 552–54.

[75] Amiet, "History of Art in Iran," p. 11.

[76] Lines 29–31, ^{f}*bar-*uli pak hanik-uri šurur-uri-me*. Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, pp. 107–08, 174–76. Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 17 (Berlin: Reimer, 1987), p. 617 s.v. *ha-ni-ik,* translate the passage as "my beloved daughter, my luck bringer; Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, p. 108, as "elle qui représente mon salut." For the calcedony pebble, see Sollberger, "A New Inscription."

[77] Françoise Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal de Suse," *Iranica Antiqua* 18 (1983): 7; François Vallat, "Le palais élamite de Suse," *Akkadica* 112 (1999): 33–45.

[78] Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal," p. 14, EKI 43.

[79] Oscar White Muscarella, "The Neo-Elamite Period: Sculpture," in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 198–99.

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The second item is a fragmentary relief made of bituminous compound showing a spinning woman (fig. 5.11:b). It was manufactured in this distinctive Susian material and is the latest known example of that craft known to us.[80] The spinner sits on a stool with her feet pulled up under her. Behind her stands an attendant with a fan and in front of her is a table with a fish and six round loaves of bread. On the far right bottom of the piece are the remains of a skirt of a figure, who we might guess is a king. The object is dated, by Muscarella, to the eighth–seventh centuries, despite some similarities with the small bronze nipple beakers from Luristan that show banquet scenes and are dated somewhat earlier, to the tenth–ninth centuries.[81] For our purposes, the presence of the woman seated before the ruler suggests links to older traditions.

Images, Legitimacy, and Memory

The centrality of the squatting female figures in the Kūrāngūn rock relief and on seals and sealings from Iran distinguishes Elamite art from contemporary Mesopotamian styles. The importance of women may be linked to a possible distant Central Asian past and transregional royal marriages with the kings of Ur.[82] The remarkable presence of women in Elamite royal iconography may, as I suggest, be linked to Elamite customs, which acknowledged the mother's and/or sister's role in producing a legitimate her.

Texts from the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods relate that part of the king's building responsibilities included the manufacture of images of both the ancestors and living members of the royal family. The fragmentary archaeological record shows that temple facades, rock reliefs, and tombs could be embellished with images of these revered personages. The importance that Elamite royalty placed on descent from both the paternal and maternal sides of the family, and the occasionally attested ability to inherit the throne directly through the mother's side,[83] provide an explanation for the importance of women in Elamite art.[84]

Although we have little in the way of quantitative data, comparisons with Mesopotamian and later Achaemenid art are instructive. For the middle of the second millennium B.C., we can compare the number of women included in Spycket's study of Kassite and Middle Elamite sculpture, and identify more images of women from Elam than Babylonia.[85] Women are absent in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs until the seventh century,[86] and it even seems possible that the female images that appear late in the Neo-Assyrian period (the Assurbanipal banquet scene and the Esarhaddon bronze plaque) may reflect the increasing contact with Elam, both diplomatic and adversarial. Later, in the Achaemenid empire, royal women played important public roles and were active at the court, traveled with the king, and were managers of estates, but they are not commonly shown in public art, particularly from the core of the empire. The Persepolis reliefs show no women, royal or otherwise, although there are seals and sealings that depict royal women.[87]

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[80] For bibliography, see Connan and Deschesne, *Le bitume à Suse*, p. 227, and cat. no. 431, pp. 339–40.

[81] For an illustration, see Muscarella, "The Neo-Elamite Period," pp. 200–01. For Luristan beakers, see Amiet, *Élam*, p. 540, no. 413. Edith Porada, "Die Kunst des Iran," in *Der Alte Orient*, edited by Winfried Orthmann, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 18 (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1975), p. 386, no. 296a, opts for an earlier date, in the tenth–eighth centuries, pointing to the traditional hairdo worn by the woman.

[82] Potts, "Puzur-Inšušinak."

[83] Humbanumena's (ca. 1350–1340) brick inscription indicates that he inherited through his mother's side: "O great god, Kiririša, and the (divine) protectors of the earth, (gods) of Liyan, I Humban-numena, son of Attar-kittah, I (am) the enlarger of the kingdom, the master (of the) Elamite (land), the holder of the Elamite throne, the king of Anzan and Susa, on account of the continuity by (my) mother, (the) great god chose me and loved me: prosperity established(?), the crown restored(?)..." (Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions royales*, pp. 59–61).

[84] We have not dealt here with private citizens, but Walther Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam*, pp. 108–10; and idem, "Persia c. 1800–1550 B.C. II. Legal Life in Old Elam," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), vol. 3/1, p. 288, points out that the administrative texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa show that women enjoyed a relatively favorable position. They appeared as witnesses and plaintiffs in court cases and there was a right of inheritance through the female line. A large number of female figurines of terra-cotta and faience portray women. Of particular interest for this discussion is a series of clay plaques that show couples of equal size together on a bed making love. Such plaques are common at Susa and in Susiana, but rare in Mesopotamia (Spycket, *Les figurines de Suse*, p. 209).

[85] Spycket, "Kassite and Middle Elamite Sculpture," pp. 25–32.

[86] Reade, "Was Sennacherib a Feminist?," pp. 139–45.

[87] Maria Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia, 559–331 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 83–87; Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King': The Table of Darius, That of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and That of His Satrap, Karkiš," in *Der Achäemenidenhof*, edited by Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger, Classica et Orientalia 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 667–775.

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Abbreviation

EKI	Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 16. Graz: Ernst Weidners, 1965

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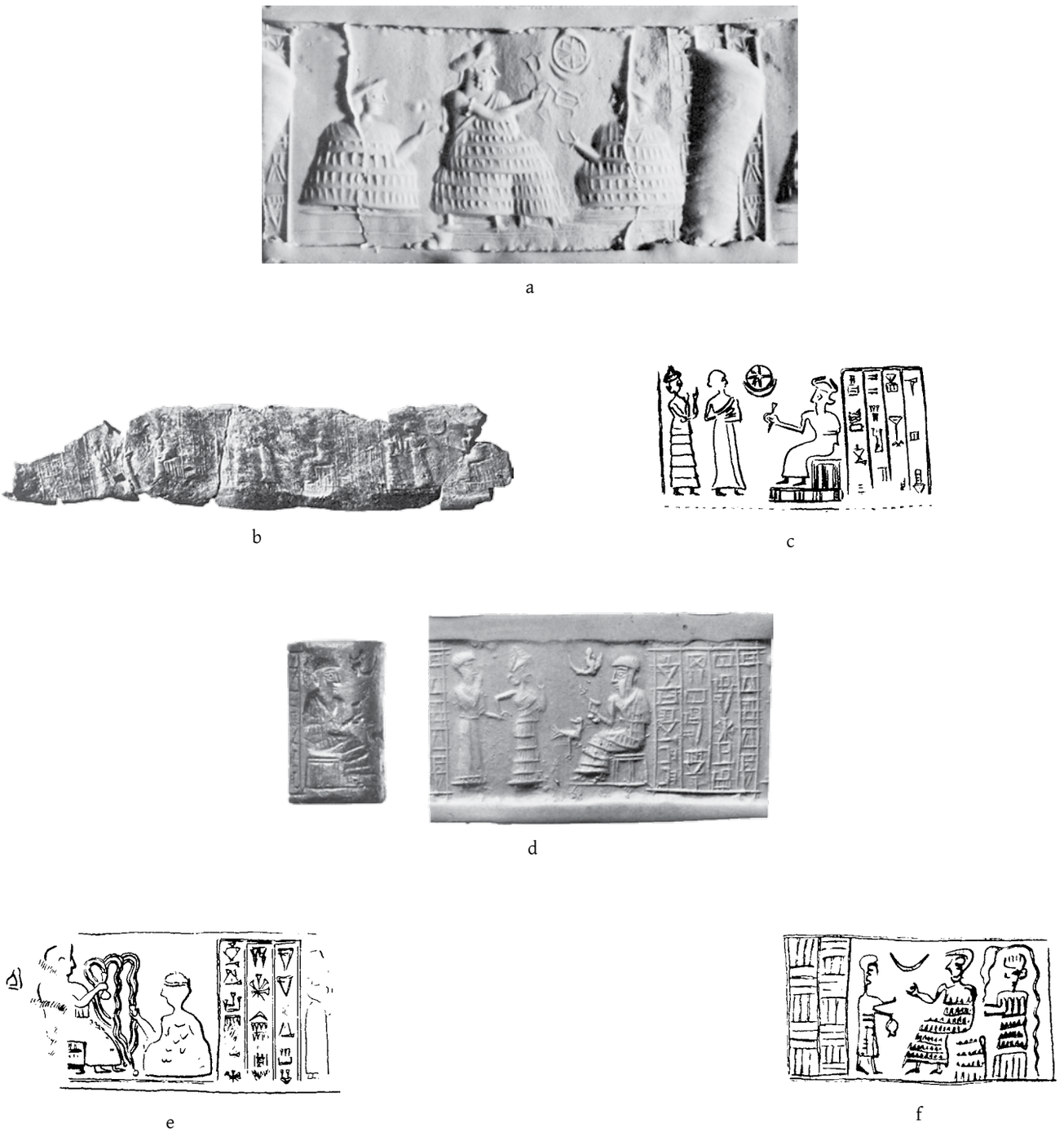


Figure 5.1. Seal and sealings from the Šimaški through early Sukkalmah period

a. Modern impression of the seal of Ebarat's "beloved wife" (after W. G. Lambert, Near Eastern Seals in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham," *Iraq* 41/1 [1979]: pl. 5:42e; Steinkeller, "New Light")
b. Sealing of a scribe of Me-kūbi from Susa, Ville Royale B (after Ghirshman, "Suse au tournant du III^{e} au II^{e} millénaire avant notre ère," *Arts Asiatiques* 17 [1968], fig. 8)
c. Drawing of the same sealing (after Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, no. 1676)
d. Susian version of a presentation scene; the inscription names Ebarat II and Šilhaha (after Aruz, "Seals of the Old Elamite Period," fig. 73)
e. Sealing of ʾIllituram, servant of Palla-iššan, Sukkalmah of Elam (after Amiet, *L'âge des échanges*, fig. 114:2)
f. Sealing from Susa with pseudo-inscription (after Pierre Amiet, "Glyptique élamite: à propos de documents nouveaux," *Arts Asiatiques* 26 [1973]: 38, pl. 10:50)

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a





b



c

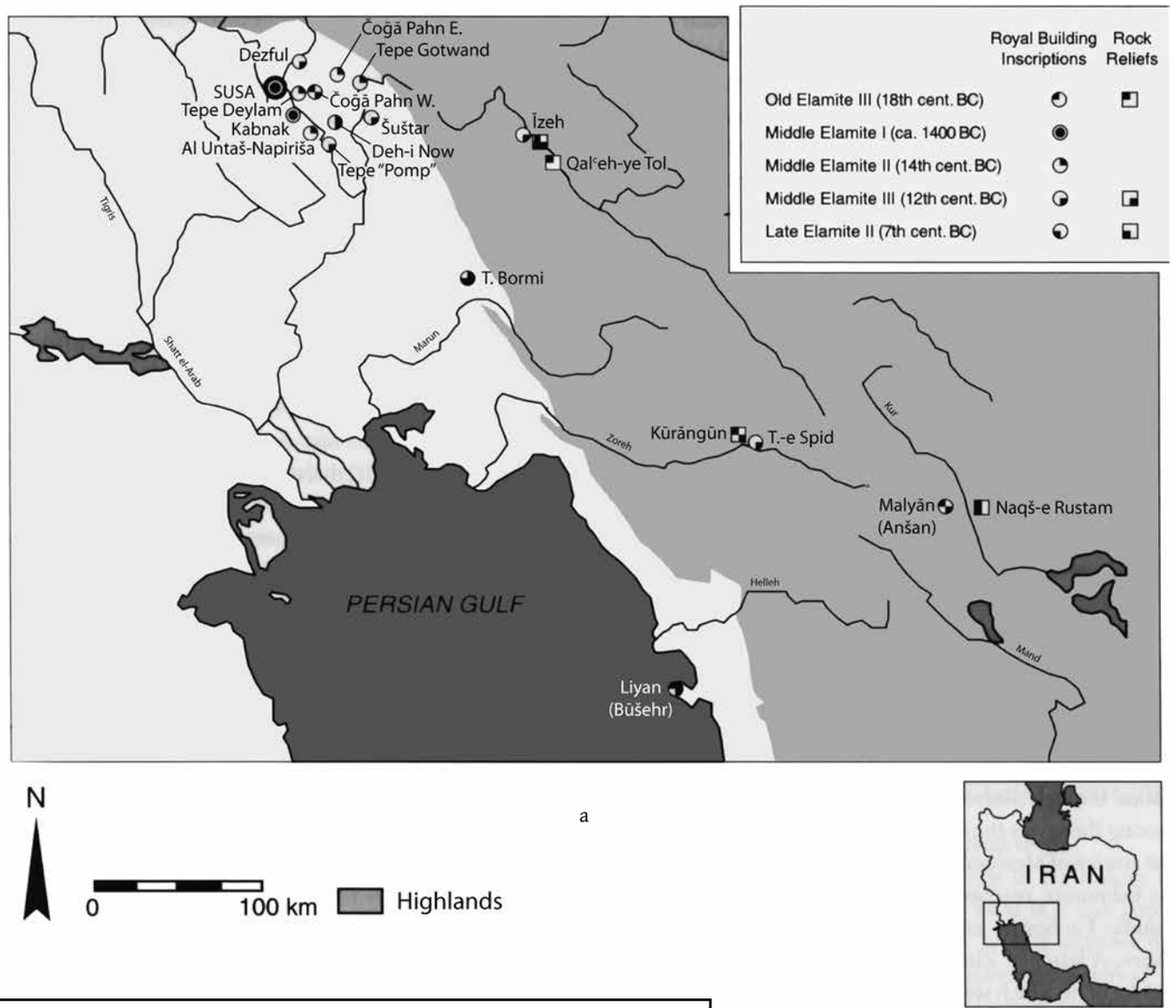


d

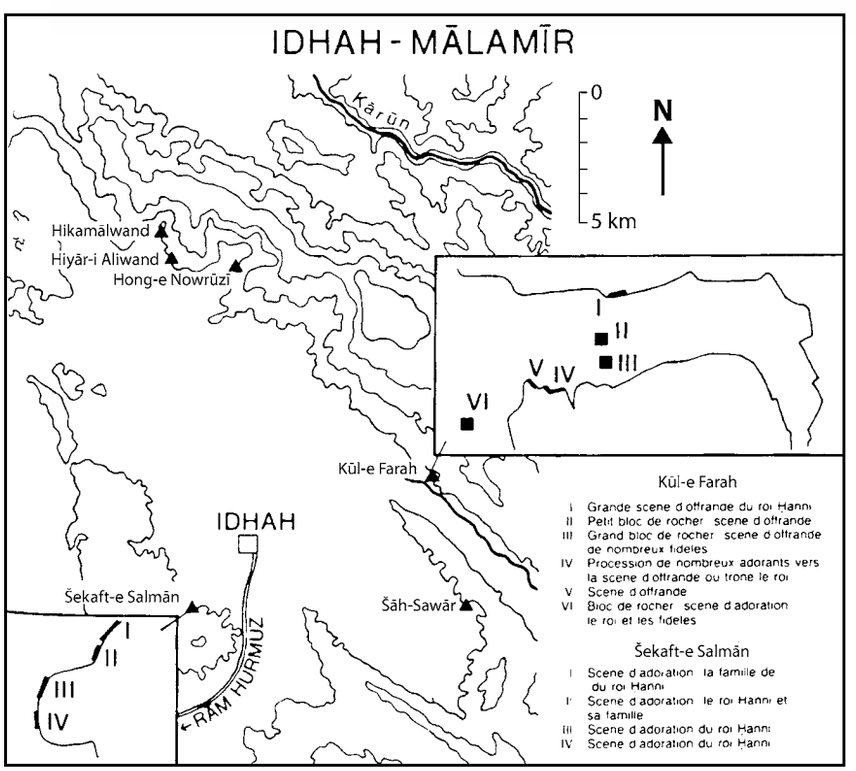
Figure 5.2. Seals and sealings with the squatting woman or goddess from Anšan (Malyān) and Susa

a. Stamp seal showing the goddess with a cup and plant behind (after Sumner, "Excavations at Tall-i Malyān," fig. 12:i)
b. Cylinder seal impression shows a squatting goddess or queen behind an enthroned deity or king. An attendant, standing behind her, holds a bough over her (seal impression and drawing courtesy of Holly Pittman)
c. Bitumen-compound seal from Susa (after Aruz, "Seals of the Old Elamite Period," cat. no. 74)
d. Serpentine seal and modern impression (after Aruz, "Seals of the Old Elamite Period," fig. 37)

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a

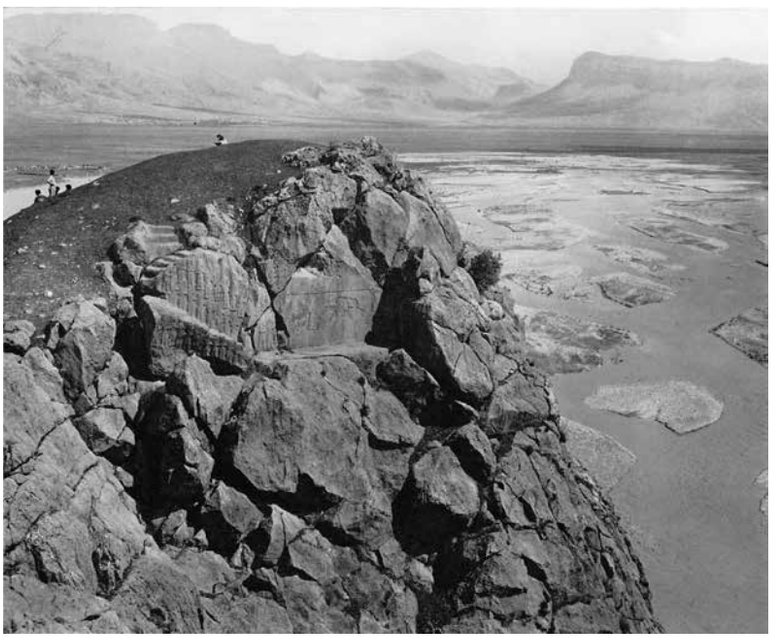


b

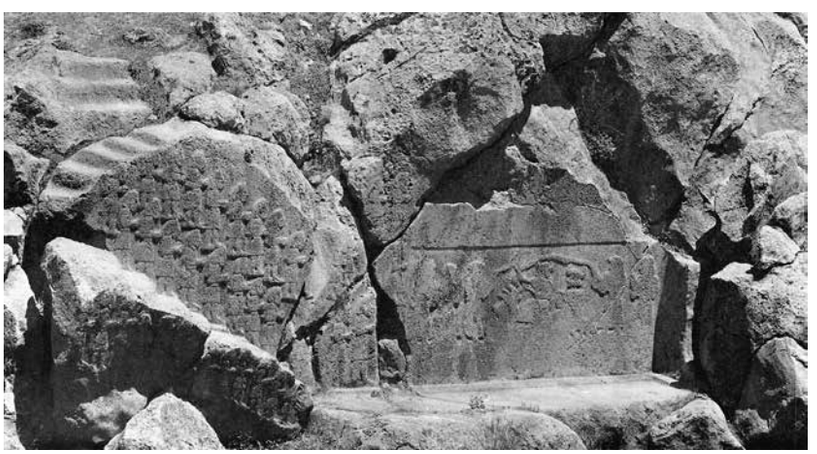
Figure 5.3. Maps showing the locations of key sites and reliefs

a. Map showing the location of the sites mentioned in the text (after Pierre de Miroschedji, "Susa and the Highlands: Major Trends in the History of Elamite Civilization," in Naomi F. Miller and Kamyar Abdi, eds., *Yeki Bud, Yeki Nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*], fig. 3.4)
b. Sketch map showing the location of the rock reliefs in Īzeh (after Calmeyer, "Mālamīr," fig. 1)

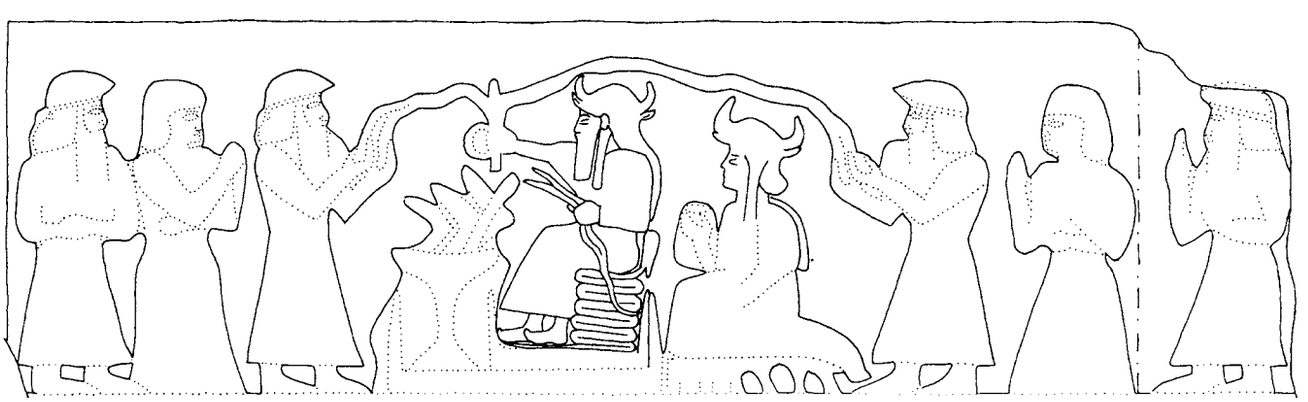
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a



b



c

Figure 5.4. Three views of the Kūrāngūn relief

a. Photo showing the setting (after Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, pl. 3:a)
b. Photo showing the central scene and added worshipers and steps on the left (after Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, pl. 3:b)
c. Reconstruction drawing (after Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, fig. 2:a)

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a

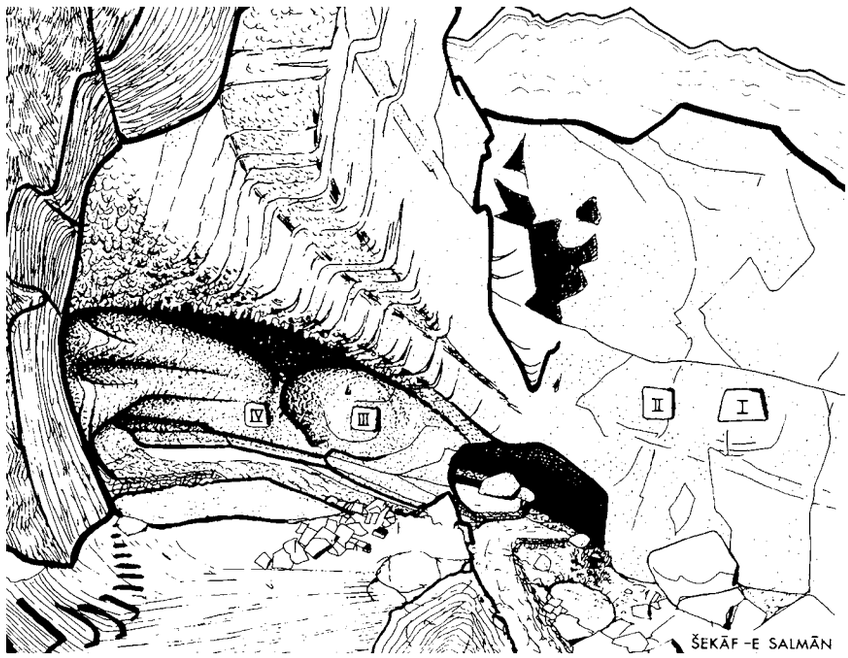


b

Figure 5.5. Rock reliefs from Īzeh and its environs

a. Relief at Šah Sawār, near Īzeh (photo courtesy of Shapour Shilandari)
b. Relief fragment from Qalʿeh-ye Tol (after Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, p. 126; after Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam*, fig. 17)

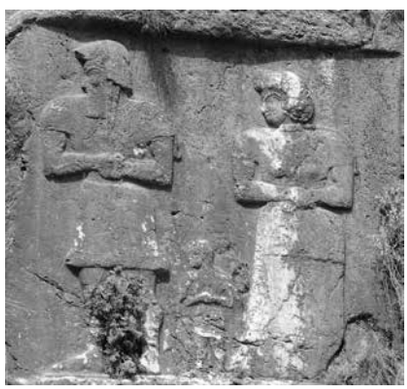
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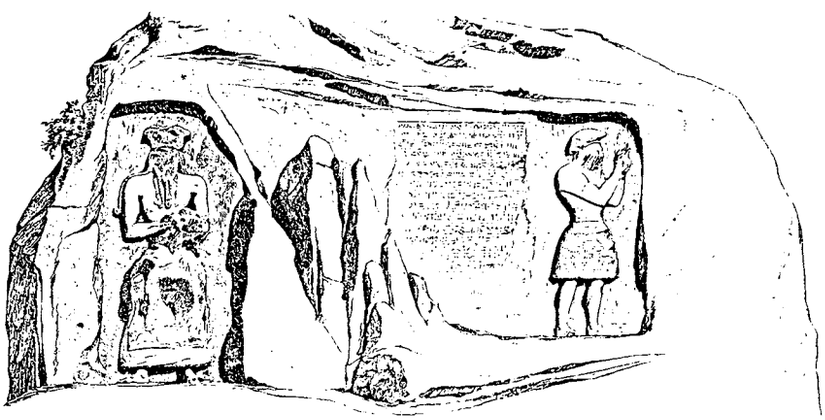
a



b



c



d

Figure 5.6. Rock reliefs from Šekaft-e Salmān, near Īzeh

a. Sketch map of Šekaft-e Salmān (after De Waele, "Travaux archéologiques," fig. 6)
b. Šekaft-e Salmān I (photo courtesy of Patrick Charlot, M.D.)
c. Šekaft-e Salmān II (photo courtesy of Patrick Charlot, M.D.)
d. Šekaft-e Salmān III and IV (after Calmeyer, "Mālamīr," fig. 2)

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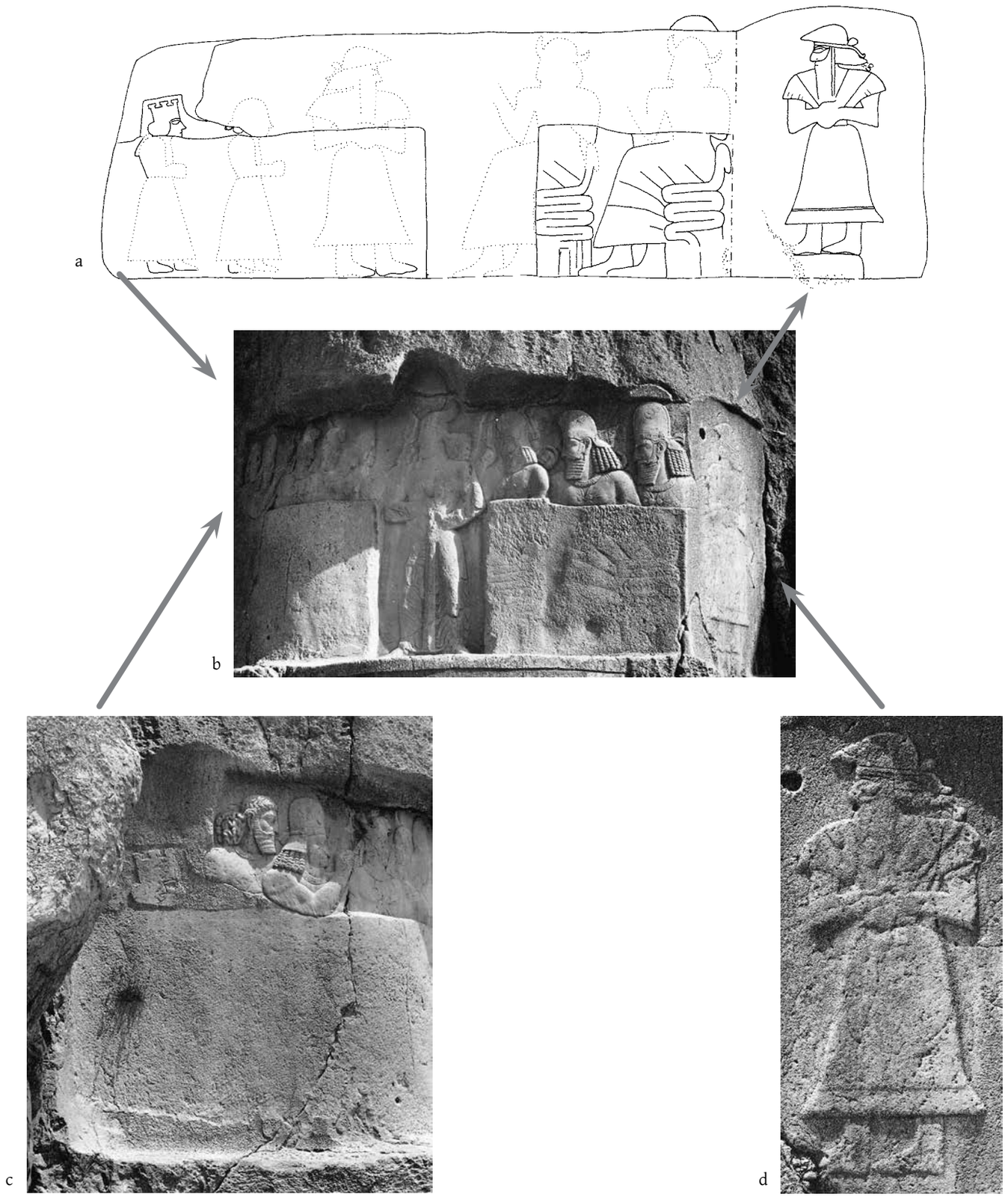


Figure 5.7. Rock reliefs from Naqš-e Rustam

a. Reconstruction drawing (after Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, fig. 2:b)
b. Central panel showing the overlying Sasanian relief to and Elamite coiled-serpent thrones beneath after (Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, pl. 12:b)
c. Left panel of the relief with crowned portrait (after Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, pl. 12:a)
d. Right panel showing full-length male figure (after Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs*, pl. 14, detail)

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a

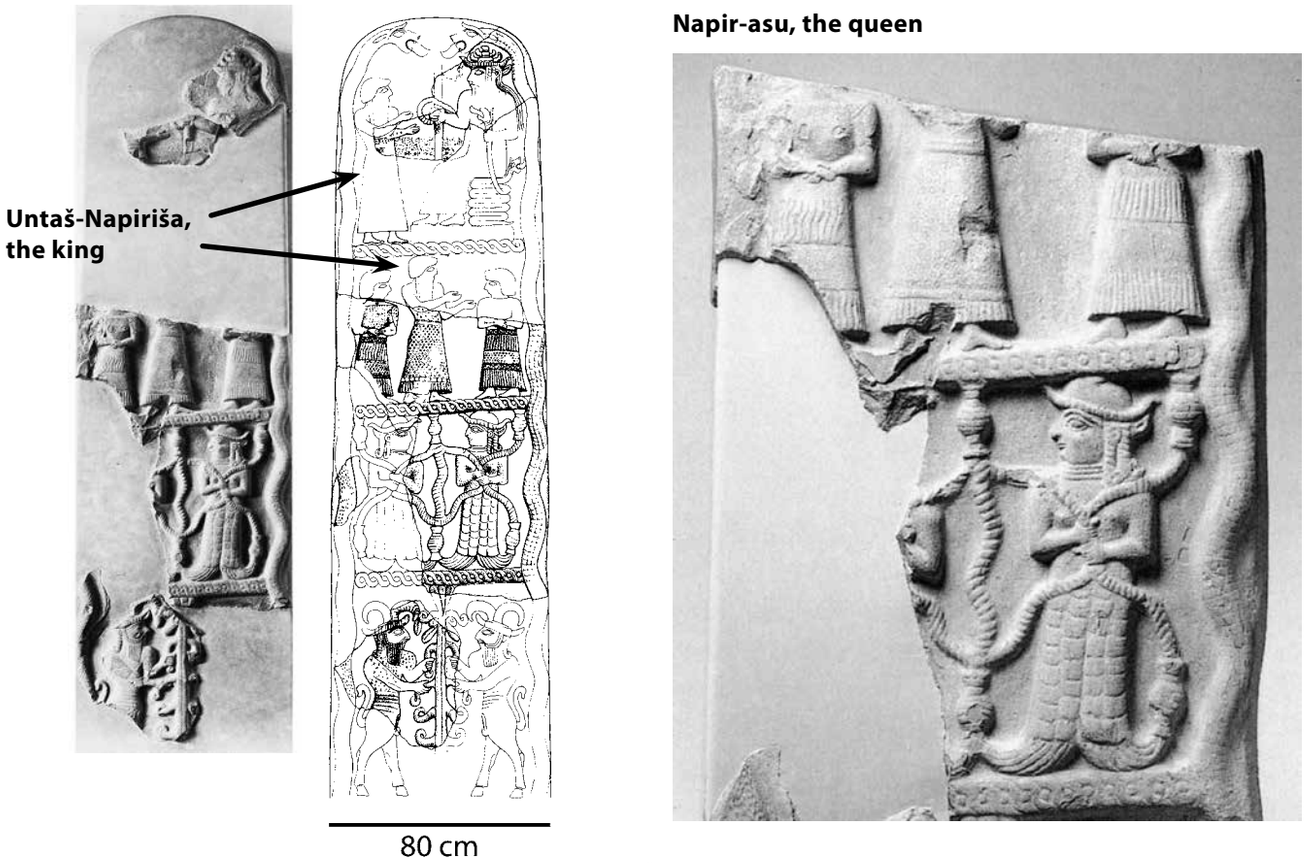


b

Figure 5.8. Clay funerary heads from (a) Susa and (b) Kabnak (Haft Tappeh)

a. Funerary head from Susa (after Spycket, "Funerary Heads," fig. 84)
b. Three views of funerary head from Kabnak (after Negahban, *Excavations at Haft Tepe*, pl. 24:167)

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a



b

Figure 5.9. Elamite women worshiping

a. Three views of the stele of Untaš-Napiriša (after Benoit, "Stele of Untash-Napirisha"; de Miroschedji, "Le dieu élamite," pl. 8)
b. Fragment of a tile with incised designs (after Spycket, *Les figurines de Suse*, pl. 135:M31)

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a

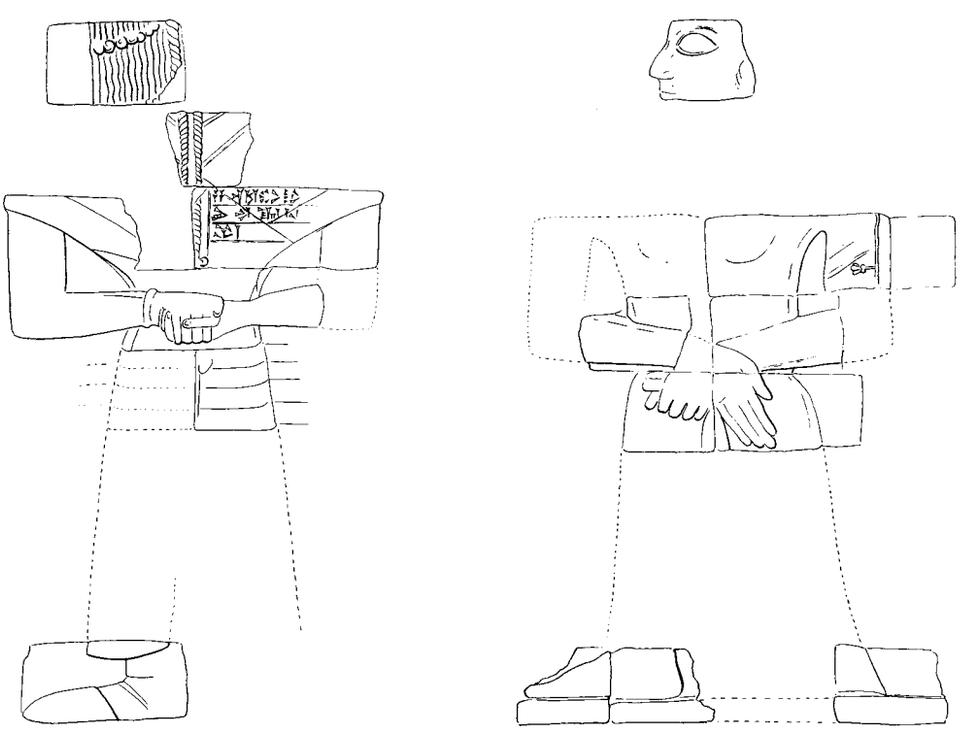


Figure 5.10. Elamite royal women

a. Two views of the statue of Napir-asu (after Tallon, "Statue of Queen Napir-Asu")
b. Reconstruction drawing of glazed brick architectural reliefs from the Susa Acropole showing a royal couple, possibly Šilhak-Inšušinak and Nahhunte-Utu (after Amiet, "History of Art in Iran," fig. 13)

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a



b

Figure 5.11. Elamite women in family scenes

a. The chalcedony pebble given by Šilhak-Inšušinak to "Bar-Uli, my beloved daugther" (after Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse*, fig. on page 174)
b. "The spinner," relief fragment made of bituminous compound (after Muscarella, "The Neo-Elamite Period," cat. no. 141; Connan and Deschesne, *Le bitume à Suse*, p. 339)

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6

Iddin-Nabû *sēpir ša gardu*

Walter Farber, University of Chicago

Es gelingt nicht immer, für thematisch streng definierte Festschriften einen passenden Beitrag zu verfassen, wenn das Thema des Bandes dem eigenen Arbeitsgebiet relativ fern liegt. In solchen Fällen ziehe ich es dann vor, lieber nichts zu schreiben, als mir eine "themabezogene" Trivialität aus den Fingern zu saugen. Dennoch hätte es mich geschmerzt, mich gar nicht unter die Gratulanten meines Kollegen und Freundes Matt Stolper einreihen zu können, und so danke ich dem Zufall, der mir, kurz nachdem die Einladung zur Mitarbeit an der Festschrift eingetroffen war, einen alten Aktendeckel in die Hand spielte. Dieser enthielt noch Unterlagen zu einem Kurs über neu- und spätbabylonische Urkunden, den ich zusammen mit Gerhard Ries im Jahre 1979 an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München hielt – das erste und einzige Mal, dass ich mich mit dieser Textgattung im Unterricht befasst habe, da ich seit meiner Übersiedelung nach Chicago (1980) auf diesem Spezialgebiet immer gerne der so viel größeren Fachkenntnis von Matt Stolper den Vortritt ließ. Unter den verschiedensten Notizen fand sich dort zu meiner Überraschung auch die Kopie eines kleinen, leider nicht vollständig erhaltenen, m.W. bisher unpublizierten spätbabylonischen Täfelchens, die ich hier als Abb. 6.1 vorlege. Diese Kopie stammt nicht von mir; sie ist nicht datiert oder signiert. Ich habe auch keine Notizen oder Erinnerungen, wer sie gezeichnet haben könnte, und ihr Urheber muss daher bis auf Weiteres unbekannt bleiben.[1] Auf demselben Blatt wie diese Kopie befinden sich jedoch auch noch eine offenbar direkt vom Original angefertigte Umschrift des Textes von meiner Hand, sowie einige Kollationen und Teilkopien von Zeichen und Zeichengruppen, die ebenfalls eindeutig von mir stammen. Diese Notizen geben mir, so denke ich, eine gewisse Berechtigung, den Text (dessen Herkunft und derzeitiger Besitzer[2] mir, wie gesagt, nicht mehr bekannt sind) hier vorzustellen, zumal er in einem Detail besonders gut in diese Festgabe passt: Z. 5 erwähnt einen *sēpir*[3] *ša gardu*, also eine Berufsbezeichnung, die der Jubilar schon 1974 in seiner Dissertation behandelt und in der Druckfassung von 1985 dann als "clerk of the *gardu* persons" übersetzt hat.[4]

[1] Eine Nachfrage bei meinem damaligen Münchner Kollegen G. Ries ergab leider auch keine Anhaltspunkte, außer dass seine Autorschaft definitiv ausgeschlossen werden konnte.

[2] Ich bitte diesen um Entschuldigung, dass daher diese Veröffentlichung seines Eigentums ohne ausdrückliche Erlaubnis stattfindet. Da ich annehme, dass sich das Täfelchen in Deutschland befindet, hielt ich zumindest eine Publikation in deutscher Sprache für angemessen, in der Hoffnung, dass diese den Besitzer irgendwie erreichen und er ihr noch nachträglich seine Zustimmung erteilen möge.

[3] Die traditionelle Umschrift *sepīru* (unter dieser Form ist das Wort auch in beiden Wörterbüchern gebucht) wird hier zugunsten einer Deutung als Partizip *sēpiru* (so noch in AHw. s.v. *gardu*; vgl. die Diskussion in CAD s.v. *sepīru*) aufgegeben, da die Ableitung einer Länge auf der zweiten Silbe dieses Nomens aus dem Aramäischen keineswegs zwingend erscheint und bisher keine akkadischen Schreibungen vorliegen, die eine solche nahelegen oder bestätigen lönnten. [Korr.-Zus. 2013: Vgl. jetzt M. Jursa, Ein Beamter flucht auf Aramäisch: Alphabetschreiber in der spätbabylonischen Epistolographie und die Rolle des Aramäischen in der babylonischen Verwaltung des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.", in: G. Lanfranchi et al. (Hrsg.), *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 2012, 381 m. Anm. 7. – Zur Deutung des Wortes *sēpiru* als Partizip s. jetzt speziell K. Abraham/M. Sokoloff, "Aramaic Loanwords in Akkadian – a Reassessment of the Proposals", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 52 (2011), 22–76.]

[4] Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 54 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985), p. 55.

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a b

Abbildung 6.1. (*a*) Vorderseite, (*b*) Rückseite



a b c

Abbildung 6.2. Abweichungen zur obenstehenden Kopie

Es folgt meine Umschrift von 1979 nach dem Original, wobei ein paar wichtigere Abweichungen zur obenstehenden Kopie von mir damals jeweils durch eigene Kopien (Abb. 6.2) abgesichert wurden:

Vorderseite

1 3 GUR ŠE.BAR ^{m}KAR-^{d}EN[5] A-š[*ú šá*]
2 ^{m}*i-qu-pu* ^{md}*na-na-a*-MU A-*šú šá*
3 ^{m}IGI-*ni-ia* ^{m}*du-ú-ri-a* DUMU-*šú*
4 [*š*]*á* ^{m}*ḫu-la-al*-DI/KI[?]-*ia ina qí-bi*
5 [*šá*] ^{m}MU[6]-^{d}AK ^{LÚ}*se-pir šá* ^{LÚ}*ga-ar-du*[7]
6 [*ina* ŠU.II *š*]*u-*/[*a*]*p-la-a* DUMU *šá* ^{m}M[U- ...]
[... ... *maḫrū*]

Rückseite

[^{LÚ}*mu-kin-nu ... ...]*
1′ [A[?] ^{m}*d*]*a-bi-bi* ^{m}*š*[*u*]*l*[?]-*lu*[?]-*ma*[?]-[*ia*[?]][8]
2′ *Ṣ-šú šá* ^{md}AK-*na-din*-ŠEŠ ^{LÚ}UMBISAG
3′ ^{m}*la-a-ba-ši* A-*šú šá* ^{m}*gi-mil-lu*
4′ A ^{LÚ}EN.NUN-KÁ.GAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
5′ [I]TI.SIG$_4$ U$_4$.20.KÁM MU.25.KAM
6′ [^{m}]*da-ri-ia-*<*muš*> LUGAL E$^{k[i]}$
7′ [LU]G[AL K]U[R.K]UR

3 Gur Gerste haben Mušēzib-Bēl S. d. Iqūpu, Nanâja-Iddin S. d. Inija (und) Dūrija S. d. HulalD/Kija auf Anweisung des Iddin-Nabû, des *sepīru*-Schreibers der *gardu*-Leute, [von] Aplâ[?] S. d. xx[xx ... ... erhalten. Zeugen: ... ... N. d. D]ābibī; Šullumāja(?) S. d. Nabû-nādin-aḫi. Schreiber: Lâbâši S. d. Gimillu N. d. Maṣṣār-abulli. – Babylon, 20.III.25 Darius (= 5. Juli 497 v.Chr.).

[5] Vgl. Abb. 6.2:a.

[6] Vgl. Abb. 6.2:b.

[7] Vgl. Abb. 6.2:c.

[8] Zu diesem unleserlichen Passus existiert leider keine Kollations-Kopie; auch meine Umschrift von 1979 zeigt nur ^{m}*xx xx xx* [... ...]. Der hier gegebene Lesungsvorschlag bleibt daher ganz unsicher. Immerhin ist ein Šullumāja S. d. Nabû-nādin-aḫi des öfteren in Kathleen Abraham, *Business and Politics under the Persian Empire: The Financial Dealings of Marduk-nāṣir-apli of the House of Egibi (521–487 B.C.E.)* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2004) (im Folgenden BPPE) belegt (s. Index S. 517). Zu weiteren Affinitäten unserer Tafel mit Texten des dort behandelten Steuerpacht-Dossiers vgl. auch noch weiter unten und Anm. 9.

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Michael Jursa, dem ich auch für zahlreiche andere Hinweise großen Dank schulde, machte mich zuerst darauf aufmerksam, dass unser Text eine Parallele in BM 31138 (= BPPE Nr. 38) besitzt. In der Tat ist jener Text genau einen Tag früher als unserer datiert und registriert eine Getreidezuteilung an zwei Personen *ina qībi Iddin-Nabû ša-rēš-šarri sēpiri* "auf Anweisung des Iddin-Nabû, des königlichen *ša-rēši*-Hofbeamten und *sēpiru*-Schreibers." Es liegt natürlich sehr nahe anzunehmen, dass dieser *sēpiru* und unser *sēpir ša gardu* Iddin-Nabû ein- und dieselbe Person waren. Er taucht außerdem vielleicht auch nochmals als Gläubiger in *Dar.* 544 (= BPPE Nr. 133), Z. 2f. auf: ^{m}<MU>-^{d}AK [(?)] ^{LÚ}SAG-LUGAL ^{LÚ}*se-pir*.[9] Wiederum M. Jursa verweist mich weiterhin auf BM 33152 (unv. Bertin-Kopie Nr. 2421), wo eine Getreidezuteilung "auf Anweisung des Iddin-Nabû S. d. Šarru-dūrī" verbucht ist. Wenn auch dies dieselbe Person sein sollte, könnte es sich um einen Sohn des *ša-rēši* Šarru-dūrī S. d. Idrâ aus BPPE Nr. 141 (= TCL 13 193) handeln; der Sohn hätte dann die Position eines *ša-rēši* von seinem Vater übernommen. All dies würde für eine Zugehörigkeit unseres Textes zum Egibi-Archiv (und noch genauer wohl zum von Abraham bearbeiteten Steuerpacht-Dossier) sprechen.[10]

Dabei ergibt sich allerdings ein Problem: Alle Parallelen zum Steuerpacht-Dossier würden erwarten lassen, dass die das Getreide verausgabende Person eine Zentralfigur des Archivs, also am ehesten Marduk-nāṣir-apli (*alias* Širku) S. d. Iddināja, sein sollte. Eine solche Lesung scheint jedoch weder die anonyme Kopie, noch auch meine Umschrift unseres Textes zuzulassen. Da ich es offenbar 1979 nicht für nötig gehalten habe, die fraglichen Zeichen der Zeile Vs. 6 neu zu kopieren, nehme ich an, dass die erhaltenen Reste einigermaßen korrekt kopiert waren; das wird auch durch meine von Fragezeichen freie Transliteration indirekt bestätigt. Ich zögere daher, [*ina* ŠU.II ^{m}*ši-r*]*ik*$^{?!}$ DUMU *šá* ^{m}S[UM$^{?!}$-*na-a*][11] oder [*ina* ŠU.II ^{m}*Marduk-n*]*a*-[*ṣ*]*i*$^{?!}$-<*ir*>-A DUMU *šá* ^{m}S[UM$^{?!}$-*na-a*] zu lesen. Wenn wir innerhalb des Steuerdossiers bleiben wollen, kann ich allerdings auch keine Parallelen finden, in denen andere Personen, deren Namen zum erhaltenen Text besser passen würden, in ähnlicher Funktion wie Marduk-nāṣir-apli/Širku genannt wären. Epigraphisch exakt passen würde aus dem Namensindex bei Abraham eigentlich nur ein Name, [^{m}*a*]*p-la-a* DUMU *šá* ^{m}*m*[*u-ra-šu-ú*], der als Zeuge in BPPE 61 vorkommt; bei Emendation des Zeichenrestes am Ende (dieselbe Emendation S[UM] statt M[U], die auch bei einer Deutung als *Marduk-nāṣir-apli/Širku benötigt würde) könnte vielleicht auch noch an [^{m}*a*]*p-la-a* DUMU *šá* ^{m}S[UM$^{?!}$-*na-a*], den Vermieter eines Boots an Marduk-nāṣir-apli/Širku's Sohn Nidintu in BPPE 56, zu denken sein. Beide scheinen mir allerdings im Kontext nicht überzeugend,[12] doch muss ich eine sachkundigere Entscheidung hier denjenigen Kollegen überlassen, die das Archiv und seine Protagonisten genauer kennen.

Die Namen der drei Zuteilungsempfänger sind mir entweder anderweitig ganz unbekannt (*Ḫulal*D/K*ija*), oder zumindest nicht mit derselben Filiation nachweisbar; das ist wenig verwunderlich, da ich über keine Sammlungen zum neu- und spätbabylonischen Onomastikon verfüge. Zur Lesung von Rs. 1f. vgl. oben, Anm. 8; zu einer möglichen Identifikation des Schreibers in Rs. 2–4 mit dem von *Dar.* 544 = BPPE 133 s. ebenfalls bereits oben, Anm. 9.

Und schließlich *sēpir ša gardu*: Nachdem M. Stolper schon vor vielen Jahren das Wichtigste zur Funktion der *gardu*-Personen gesagt (s. oben, Anm. 4) und kürzlich J. Tavernier die relevanten Belege neu zusammengestellt hat,[13] bringt unser isolierter Beleg keine neuen Erkenntnisse für diese nach wie vor schwierig zu fassende Bevölkerungsgruppe. Auch die Übersetzung von *sēpiru* stellt immer noch ein Problem dar, wie H.-M. Kümmel besonders deutlich gesehen und beschrieben hat.[14] Die Zusammensetzung beider Begriffe, *sēpiri ša gardu*, ist, soweit ich sehe, bisher nur ein einziges Mal belegt, und zwar in dem aus Nippur stammenden Murašû-Text BE 10 95: 6 ^{md}EN-TIN-*su* ^{LÚ}*se-pi-ri šá* ^{LÚ}*ga-ar-du*; dieser

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[9] M. Jursa hält hier Kollation für möglicherweise erfolgversprechend; oder wäre eher ein anagraphischer Schreibfehler ^{md}AK-MU für ^{m}MU-^{d}AK denkbar? – Beachte, dass *Dar.* 544 auch sonst auffällige Berührungspunkte mit unserem Text hat: Der Schreiber ist mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit derselbe (Lâbâši S. d. [Gimillu] N. d. Maṣṣār-abulli), und selbst das Datum (12.IV.21+ Darius) könnte, falls Kollation die nach der Kopie nicht völlig undenkbare Annahme 21+x=25 nicht ausschließt (wie schräg verläuft der Bruch durch die senkrechten Keile wirklich? Ist eine "zweistöckige" Zahl wie 5 möglich?), mit etwas Glück nur weniger als einen Monat nach dem unsrigen liegen. Ob dann auch noch der erste Zeuge (Aplâ S. d. ^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU N. d. Maṣṣār-abulli) dieselbe Person sein könnte wie der Zuteilende in unserem Text (Aplâ? S. d. M[U-... ...]), wage ich nicht zu beantworten (s. auch noch weiter unten).

[10] Für weitere "stray tablets" aus dem Egibi-Archiv in den verschiedensten Sammlungen vgl. Cornelia Wunsch, *Das Egibi-Archiv I: Die Felder und Gärten*, Cuneiform Monographs 20 (Groningen: Styx, 2000), S. 2 Anm. 6. Wann und wie unser Text aus Babylonien nach Deutschland gefunden hat, bleibt, wie gesagt, unklar, aber wenn er tatsächlich zum Egibi-Archiv gehört, ist er jedenfalls nicht der einzige "Vollwaise."

[11] Vorschlag von M. Jursa.

[12] Ebenfalls zu den Spuren passen würde *[*Š*]*u-la-a* DUMU *šá* ^{m}M[U-...] (bzw. S[UM-...]), doch ist ein entsprechender Name zumindest im Steuerpacht-Dossier (d.h. im Index von BPPE) nicht belegt.

[13] Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), S. 423f., mit nunmehr 17 Belegen aus 13 spB Urkunden, sowie zahlreichen Stellen aus elamischen und aramäischen Texten; Übersetzung "domestic staff, workman."

[14] Hans-Martin Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 20 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1979), S. 136f. – Stolpers Wiedergabe "clerk" (s. oben Anm. 4) versucht geschickt, diesem komplizierten Begriff (Schreiber alphabetischer Texte, Dolmetscher und Übersetzer, Verwaltungs- und Hofbeamter) mit einer griffigen Ein-Wort-Übersetzung gerecht zu werden; diese hat sich speziell in der englischsprachigen Literatur inzwischen eingebürgert.

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Beleg wurde etwas fehlerhaft zitiert in CAD G 50b,[15] dann behandelt von Stolper (s. Anm. 4), und zuletzt mit verbesserter Umschrift wiederholt in CAD S 226b. Er ist datiert in das 4. Jahr Darius II. (419 v. Chr.), also fast 80 Jahre später als unser Text. Die beiden einzigen bisher bekannten Belege für den "clerk of the *gardu* persons" liegen also zeitlich weit auseinander, stammen mit großer Sicherheit aus verschiedenen Orten und Archiven, und belegen damit die (wenn auch offenbar seltene) Verwendung dieser hochspezialisierten Berufs- bzw. Funktionsbezeichnung für verschiedene Träger über einen längeren Zeitraum der achämenidischen Herrschaft in Baylonien.

Abkürzungen

AHw.	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
BE 10	Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)*, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 10. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, 1904
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
Dar.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon.* Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1892
TCL 13	Georges Contenau, *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens II: Achéménides et Séleucides*. Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 13. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929

[15] LÚ *sip-pi-ri* ist Druckfehler! – Vgl. auch AHw. 282a s.v. *gardu*; der dortige Verweis auf **sēpiru* wurde allerdings unter *sepīru* (S. 1036b) nicht wieder aufgenommen.

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7

The Royal-Name Seals of Darius I

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Abstract

This paper collects together and provides a brief analysis of all the known seals that carry inscriptions naming Darius I (522–486 B.C.). With one exception, these seals are preserved only as impressions from two large archives of administrative tablets from Persepolis, the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive.

Introduction

It is a great pleasure to be able to offer this small token to mark Matthew W. Stolper's sixty-fifth birthday.[1] Hopefully the exalted subject of this paper, the royal-name seals of Darius I, will sufficiently express the degree of gratitude to him on the part of the present writer for so many things Persepolitan.[2]

The Achaemenid period marks one of the great high points of glyptic production in ancient western Asia. The period stands also as the last great floruit of one of the most distinctive artifact types from ancient western Asia, the cylinder seal. In addition to the large number of actual seals, the period is exceptional for the number of seal images that survive on clay documents from archival contexts. Those archives span almost the full breadth of the empire, from Egypt to Iran, including Memphis in Egypt, Daskyleion in Phrygia, Wadi ed-Daliyeh in Palestine, Babylon, Nippur, Sippar, and Uruk (and others) in Babylonia, and, of course, Persepolis itself in Iran.[3] These archives range from private business contexts (e.g., Nippur) to imperial administrative contexts (e.g., Persepolis). These various contexts provide a wealth of opportunity to explore a wide range of issues surrounding the social aspects of seal art. These archives also provide welcome relief from issues surrounding provenance, dating, and authenticity (to mention only three of the most prominent concerns) that plague the study of unprovenanced seals in museum collections.[4]

[1] I would like to thank the editors for their invitation to include a paper in this Festschrift. In addition to Matthew W. Stopler, the author is indebted to the following individuals for all manner of support for the ongoing work on the seals from the Fortification archive: Elspeth R. S. Dusinberre, Annalisa Azzoni, Margaret Cool Root, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Charles E. Jones, and L. Magee; at Trinity University, Kelly Grajeda and Sarah Gretsch. Jonathan Tenney and Walter Farber kindly facilitated my study of the Treasury tablets now housed at the Oriental Institute; Trevor Crowell graciously made new photographs of the Treasury tablets included in this study. All errors rest with the author. Abbreviations follow the conventions established in M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, *Images of Heroic Encounter*, Oriental Institute Publications 117 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001), pp. xv–xvi. Abbreviations not found there include: "PFS corpus" to designate the complete corpus of seals that occur on the PF tablets (i.e., those Elamite tablets published in Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 92 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969]; the seals that occur on those tablets are the ones that fall under the publication scope of the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project [see Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 1]); "PFUT" to designate a tablet that is uninscribed but carries seal impression(s) from the Fortification archive; "PFUTS" to designate a seal that occurs only on the uninscribed (but sealed) tablets or on the uninscribed and the Aramaic tablets from the Fortification archive. A seal that occurs on the Elamite tablets from the archive (PFS) followed by a Cat. No. indicates that the seal has been published in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, where the reader can find full documentation. The photographs and drawings of the seals on the Persepolis Fortification tablets are courtesy of the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project. Line drawings used in this article are by the author. All Persepolis seals illustrated in this article are at a scale of 2:1. Permission to publish the seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification archive and the Persepolis Treasury archive comes from the director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

[2] Including the generosity of sharing his office on countless visits to Chicago.

[3] Surveyed with references in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 32–39.

[4] In this sense it may be helpful to recall that we have relatively few archival contexts for glyptic from the Akkadian period, and only very small amounts for Babylonia of the Old Babylonian period and Assyria of the Neo-Assyrian period, three periods in ancient western Asia also well known for glyptic production.

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This paper is concerned with a very distinctive type of glyptic artifact: cylinder seals that carry inscriptions naming the king, hereafter called royal-name seals. For the purpose of this paper, I confine my comments to the eight known seals that name Darius I.[5] There has been a good deal of interest in the royal-name seals of Darius I. This venue provides an opportunity for the first time to collect together this material (as known currently), illustrate it in measured line drawings, and suggest some social/political contexts in which to consider the imagery on these seals.

Royal-Name Seals

The Achaemenid period is by no means the only period in which royal-name seals are known in ancient western Asia; indeed, the phenomenon is widespread in both time and space. Especially well known and often illustrated are the Early Dynastic III royal-name seals from Ur, Girsu, and Al-Hiba, and the goodly number of seals carrying the names of Naram-sin or Shar-kali-sharri from the Akkadian period. Other prominent rulers for whom we have royal-name seals include Gudea of Lagaš, various kings of the third dynasty of Ur and the Šimaški and *sukkalmah* kings of Elam, the kings of several city-states in Syria in the second millennium B.C., many kings of the Hittite empire, and select Neo-Assyrian kings.[6]

The exact functions of royal-name seals have been often discussed. Understandably, there has been a strong desire to identify in some of these examples the personal seal of a particular ruler. As most commentators have recognized, however, the occurrence of a royal name on a seal by no means indicates that a seal in fact belonged to the named king.[7] For any particular occurrence of a royal name on a seal, the specific temporal, spatial, and functional contexts of that seal will need to be carefully examined. Obviously, in many cases those contexts are unknown or too poorly understood (owing to the original archaeological deposition and/or modern archaeological retrieval) to provide any insights. The inscriptional formulae in which many royal names on seals occur clearly indicate, however, that in many cases the royal-name seal belonged to a non-royal individual.

In addition to giving the names of potential seal owners, inscriptional formulae employed in royal-name seals may often yield other information concerning the functional contexts of the seals. To no surprise, inscriptional formulae vary considerably according to time and place.[8] Some of the more common inscriptional formulae employed in royal-name seals include:

A. RN title
B. PN DUMU PN-2, title/prof. of RN
C. RN title, PN DUMU-*ni*
D. RN title, PN DUMU-*su*
E. RN title, FN *dam-ni*
F. RN title, PN title
G. RN title, PN prof.-*ni*
H. PN ARÁD RN
I. PN prof. DUMU PN-2, ARÁD RN
J. PN prof. DUMU PN-2 prof., ARÁD RN
K. Prayers, PN DUMU PN-2, ARÁD RN
L. RN title, ON title ARÁD-*da-ni-ir in-na-*(*an*)*-ba*
M. RN *na-ra-am* DN, PN prof. ARÁD-*zu*

[5] This study is part of a larger project that the author and M. C. Root have in preparation on the royal-name seals of the Achaemenid period.

[6] For some surveys of the evidence and research on particular periods, see, for example, A. R. Millard, "Königssiegel," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 6 (1980–1983): 135–40; Wolfram Nagel, "Datierte Glyptik aus Altvorderasien," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20 (1963): 125–40; Richard Zettler, "The Sargonic Royal Seal: A Consideration of Sealing in Mesopotamia," in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu: Undena, 1977), pp. 33–39; Ignace J. Gelb, "Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions," in Gibson and Biggs (eds.), *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 107–26; Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 123–30; Suzanne Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.–7. Jh. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siegelungen auf Tafeln und Tonverschlüssen*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 1 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1992), pp. 123–36, on the so-called Assyrian royal seal type; H. Otten, "Die hethitischen Königsiegel der frühen Großreichszeit," *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaflichen Klasse der Akademie des Wissenschaften und der Literatur* 1995/7 (1995): 5–42; Rocío Da Riva and Eckart Frahm, "Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, die Herrin von Ninive und das babylonishe Königssiegel," *Archive für Orientforschung* 46/47 (1999/2000): 156–82; Suzanne Herbordt, "The Hittite Royal Cylinder Seal of Tuthaliya IV with *Umarmungsszene*," in *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals*, edited by Paul Taylor, Warburg Institute Colloquia 9 (London: Warburg Institute; Turin: Nino Aragno, 2006), pp. 82–91, with bibliography on the Hittite royal seals; Karen Radner, "The Delegation of Power: Neo-Assyrian Bureau Seals," in *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*, Persika 12, edited by Pierre Briant, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, and Matthew W. Stolper (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2008), pp. 481–515, esp. pp. 487–94, on the Assyrian royal seal type.

[7] Cf. a more traditional perspective, as articulated by Millard, "Königssiegel," p. 135, that those seals which bear only a royal name are the personal seal of the king (note also the comments below concerning inscriptional formulae in which royal names occur on seals).

[8] Note the extensive chart for the typology of seal inscriptions (both royal and non-royal) in Gelb, "Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions," pp. 115–26. I follow his typology and abbreviations in the list that follows.

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This list by no means exhausts the possibilities, and some royal-name inscriptions can be relatively long, providing an opportunity to expand/elaborate upon these basic types.[9]

Gelb's typology, from which the list above was culled, did not include any examples of royal-name seals from the Achaemenid period. The royal-name seals of Darius introduce a slight variation on the most basic formula, RN title, through the use of the personal pronoun: "I, RN title." It is generally assumed that all the royal-name seals of Darius employ the same formula, although only one of them, the London Darius cylinder, has an inscription that is completely preserved with both the personal pronoun and the full title (Old Persian *XŠ* and Elamite *sunki* "king," and Babylonian *šárru rabû* "great king").[10]

With the exception of the London Darius cylinder, the royal-name seals of Darius I are preserved for us only through impressions on clay documents. This is a remarkable circumstance, made even more so owing to the nature of the two archives in which these seals are preserved: large, state archives from an imperial capital, Persepolis, located in the heart of the empire. These two archives from Persepolis provide relatively detailed information concerning the owner/users and administrative contexts of these seals. The royal-name seals preserved in these archives may therefore be an especially rich resource for exploring the social/political functions and significance of these very distinctive glyptic artifacts, i.e., royal-name seals, at one particular time and place.

The Royal-Name Seals of Darius I

There follows a catalog of the eight known royal-name seals of Darius I. I employ an abbreviated version of the catalog format found in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1. For seals that have already appeared in that publication, I give only a summary description and commentary. With no seal do I attempt to provide an exhaustive bibliography. *Appendix 2* provides a list of the tablets on which the seven royal-name seals from the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive are found. These lists include unpublished Fortification tablets that the author has collated.[11]

All eight seals carry trilingual inscriptions (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian). In his study of Old Persian seal inscriptions, Rüdiger Schmitt discussed the inscriptions on seven of these seals, PFUTS 18* being then not known to him.[12] In the catalog that follows, the inscription numbers refer to those assigned by Schmitt.

For the collated line drawings of the seals from the Treasury archive, PTS 1*, PTS 2*, and PTS 3*, I have been able to consult only the tablets in Chicago. The drawings represent only what I could see from those tablets.[13]

All eight seals are cylinder seals. I present the seals here in rough chronological order as determined by the usage dates within the two archives at Persepolis in which seven of the seals are preserved, the Fortification archive (dated 509–493 B.C.) and the Treasury archive (492–457 B.C.).[14] How closely these usage dates correspond to the date of the

[9] E.g., the seal naming King Ini-Tešub of Carchemiš carries a nine-line inscription (Collon, *First Impressions*, no. 552).

[10] See also the inscription on PFUTS 18* (see below), which has the most complete inscription of any of the royal-name seals of Darius preserved only in impressions.

[11] I have not seen NN 0923 and NN 3135 (= Fort. 7864), both of which carry PFS 7*. Impression data from those tablets thus have not been included in the count of total number of impressions for that seal.

[12] Rüdiger Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 381 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), pp. 19–24, for the seals carrying the name of Darius I. This work remains the standard epigraphic commentary on the royal-name seal inscriptions. For the seal inscriptions in this study, I have followed the transcription style of Schmitt (but modified to accord with the transcription style of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project). My thanks to Charles Jones and Wouter F. M. Henkelman for much assistance regarding the readings of the inscriptions on the seals from the Fortification and the Treasury archives.

[13] Some of the photographs of impressions of these seals published in Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 2. The Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, Oriental Institute Publications 69 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), are photographs of tablets now in Iran. They will show detail not included on the drawings here. The inscription copies on the drawings here published also reflect only what I could see on the tablets now in Chicago. They will not, thus, reflect the full readings as found in Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, pp. 20–22. For the Treasury seals, I have simply followed the readings provided by Schmitt (modified to accord with the transliteration style of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project).

[14] The primary publication of the Elamite texts from the Fortification archive remains that of Hallock, who published 2,087 of the Elamite texts in *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Overviews of the Fortification archive, with previous bibliography, may be found in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 1–61; Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, English translation by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), pp. 422–71, 938–47; Pierre Briant "Bulletin d'histoire achéménide (BHAch) I," in *Recherches récentes sur l'Empire achéménide*, edited by Marie-Françoise Boussac, TOPOI Supplément 1 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, 1997), pp. 5–127 (pp. 11, 43, 85–86); Pierre Briant, *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide II*, Persika 1 (Paris: Thotm-éditions, 2001), pp. 18, 103, 114, 133–36; Wouter F. M. Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortifications Texts*, Achaemenid Studies 14 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008), pp. 65–179; Briant, Henkelman, and Stopler (eds.), *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis*. George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 65 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), published 139 of the 198 well-preserved Elamite texts from the Treasury archive (in addition to the one Akkadian text from the archive); there are also some 548 small fragments of texts from the Treasury archive. The seals that occur on the tablets whose texts were published by Cameron and the uninscribed labels, some 199 in number, are published in Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pp. 4–42, pls. 1–14. See also the comments on the Treasury archive in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 33–34.

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cutting of the seal is difficult to determine, but in most cases, I think, we are dealing with a production date not far removed from the usage date.[15] The one exception may be PTS 1*, a seal that I would consider, based on its composition, style, and iconography, quite early, if not the earliest, in the preserved series of royal-name seals of Darius.[16] Only in the case of PFS 11*, a seal that is a replacement seal for Ziššawiš and, presumably, a recently made object, can we be fairly certain that the usage dates fall almost immediately after the date of the cutting of the seal.[17]

PFS 7* (Cat.No. 4) (figs. 7.1–3)

Earliest dated application of the seal: 503/502 B.C.
Preserved height of the image: 2.60 cm (incomp.)
Estimated height of original seal: 3.00 cm
Preserved length of image: 5.40 cm (comp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: 1.70 cm
Completeness of image: Almost complete except for upper and lower edges
Number of impressions: 191[18]
Quality of impressions: Many preserve excellent detail

Inscription number: SDe

[*a*]-*da-ma : da-a-ra-ya-va*-[*u-ša* XŠ]
[^{DIŠ}*ú*] ^{DIŠ}*da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš* [EŠŠANA]
[*ana-ku* ^{HAL}]*da-ri-iá-muš* [*šárru rabû*]

Commentary

As remarked in Garrison and Root, no impression that we have seen preserves the ends of any of the lines of the inscription.[19] The restorations at the beginning of the lines, based upon other exemplars, seem secure. Schmitt's restoration of "king" and "great king" at the ends of the lines, based solely upon the evidence of the London Darius cylinder, was perhaps more open to question, but the inscription on PFUTS 18* now confirms the occurrence of these titles in Persepolitan glyptic.[20] Each line of the inscription is contained in its own panel, a display feature that is unique among the corpus of royal-name seals of Darius.

PFS 7* belongs to an office associated with a special type of ration provision qualified as ^{HAL}EŠŠANA *tibba makka*.[21] The seal occurs alone, or as a counter-seal to PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, or PFS 66c*.[22] While there has been some discussion concerning whether the phrase EŠŠANA *tibba makka* implies the physical presence of the king, Henkelman, who has most recently reviewed the question, has made a good case that it does not. Whether or not one believes that the offices

[15] Note, for example, the comments of Margaret Cool Root, "The Cylinder Seal from Pasargadae: Of Wings and Wheels, Date and Fate," *Iranica Antiqua* 34 (1999): 157–90, esp. pp. 169–70, concerning PTS 1*.

[16] I shall discuss PTS 1* in more detail in a future publication.

[17] See also the discussions below for PFS 11* and for the earliest dates of cutting of Court Style seals at Persepolis.

[18] This count includes the three impressions of the seal on the tablet MDP 11 308 (see below, n. 24).

[19] Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 69.

[20] See below.

[21] Hallock consistently normalized EŠŠANA as Elamite *sunki: m.sunki tibba makka*; see Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King': The Table of Darius, That of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and That of His Satrap, Karkiš," in *Der Achämenidenhof*, edited by Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger, Classica et Orientalia 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 667–775, p. 673 n. 18 for EŠŠANA as *sunki*; Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 69, with bibliography; Mark B. Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996): 1–21, discusses the administrative contexts of PFS 7*; note also Matthew W. Stolper, "Elamite Administrative Tablet with Impression of a Royal Name Seal," in *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, edited by Prudence O. Harper, Joan Aruz, and Françoise Tallon (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), p. 273. Henkelman ("'Consumed Before the King,'" pp. 676–92) has provided an in-depth review of the evidence for these transactions. He concludes that the phrase EŠŠANA *tibba makka* "points to the presence of the king, but it does not focus on the spatial constellation of the monarch sitting at a table, but rather on his presence as nucleus of the court, where the food and drink were distributed and consumed" (ibid., p. 683).

[22] The seal that Hallock had identified as PFS 66* in fact is three separate seals that employ exactly the same composition, a phenomenon which we propose calling "replica seals." Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1–2087*, Achaemenid History 9 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996/1998 [corrected edition]), p. 9, identify only two versions of the seal. Wouter F. M. Henkelman and the author have a study in preparation on the replica seals in the Fortification archive.

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associated with these types of transactions (Hallock's J texts) actually traveled with the king, or that the king was physically present at them, the personnel, contents, and phrasing of the texts, combined with the distinctive qualities of the seals associated with these transactions, clearly indicate their special nature.[23] Remarkably, PFS 7* also occurs on a Fortification-type Elamite tablet found at Susa.[24] This is the only Persepolitan seal that is documented outside of the administrative regions encompassed by the two archives.

The seal first appears in the Fortification archive in 503/502 B.C. (NN 0790); its last dated attestation is in 495/494 B.C. (PF 0722).

The scene is a heroic encounter. The hero faces right holding two rampant, winged bulls by the horn. The hero is bearded and wears a banded dentate crown (five points); a round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears the Persian court robe, sleeves pushed up to reveal the bare arms, with folds indicated on the edges of the upper part of the garment. A central pleat (marked by two vertical lines) and diagonal folds are indicated on the lower part of the garment. Each winged bull places one foreleg on the hero's upper arm, the other near his waist. The tails curl upward with tufted terminations. Above the heroic encounter floats a partial figure in a winged device; a bird's tail and two hooked tendrils depend from the winged device. The wings are broad and rectangular with feathers indicated by long parallel horizontal lines intersected in each case by two diagonal lines. The figure within the winged device, wearing the upper part of the Persian court robe, looks to the right (the same direction as the crowned heroic figure) and holds his arms out in front of his body. Date palms with bulbous fruit clusters frame the scene of heroic encounter and figure in winged device. The inscription, each line contained in its own panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

It is noteworthy that bulls and taurine-based creatures are relatively rare in the heroic encounters from Persepolis. Of the 312 seals that appeared in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, only some thirty-four scenes could be definitively identified as employing bulls or taurine-based creatures.[25] This count includes two of the four royal-name seals from the Fortification archive, PFS 7* and PFS 113*/PTS 4*. Of the eighteen heroic encounters in the Treasury archive, five include bulls or taurine-based creatures. Among these five are three royal-name seals, PFS 113*/PTS 4*, PTS 5*, and PTS 7*, the last two of which carry royal-name inscriptions of Xerxes.

PFS 11* (figs. 7.4–6)[26]

Earliest dated application of the seal: December 503 B.C. / January 502 B.C.
Preserved height of the image: 2.00 cm (incomp.)
Estimated height of original seal: NA
Preserved length of image: 4.50 cm (comp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: 1.40 cm
Completeness of image: Large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length
Number of impressions: 72
Quality of impressions: Many preserve excellent detail

Inscription number: SDf

[*a-da-*]⌜*ma*⌝ *: da-a-ra-ya-*[*va-u-ša* XŠ]
[^{DIŠ}*ú* ^{DIŠ}]*da-ri-ia-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*u-iš* EŠŠANA]
[*ana-ku*] ^{HAL}*da-ri-iá-*⌜*muš*⌝ [*šárru rabû*]

[23] As discussed in Mark B. Garrison, "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 1–29.

[24] See Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308," pp. 16–20, concerning the difficulties surrounding the documentation of the tablet from Susa. While the tablet was clearly recovered by the Susa mission, there are no records of its excavation (a feature that is not uncommon for objects associated with the early years of the French mission at Susa).

[25] Twenty-one control encounters and thirteen combat encounters.

[26] The drawing of PFS 11* here published is a revised one that corrects, based upon further examination of impressions of the seal, the reading of the sign ⌜ma⌝ at the preserved end of the Elamite line. This drawing also includes new iconographic details that appear on impressions of the seal recently identified on unedited tablets.

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Commentary

Our transcription of the inscription is essentially the same as Hallock's (as indicated in Schmitt's transliteration based upon a letter from Hallock).

Usage of the seal in the Fortification archive clearly indicates that it is the personal seal of Ziššawiš.[27] Some forty-two letter orders (Hallock's T texts) from the Fortification archive stating that Ziššawiš issued the order are sealed with PFS 11*.[28] Ziššawiš is well known, in essence the second-in-command of the ration distribution system represented by the Fortification archive, the right-hand man of Parnaka, the head of the system.[29] As indicative of his high administrative rank, Ziššawiš receives very high food rations, issues letter orders, employs scribes, and never needs a counterseal on his transactions.[30]

PFS 11* is the second seal that Ziššawiš employs in the Fortification archive. His first seal, PFS 83*, is first attested in month 2 in year 15 (i.e., May/June 507 B.C.).[31] The latest attested use of PFS 83* is month 9 in year 18 (i.e., November/December 504 B.C.).[32] PFS 11* is first attested in month 10 in year 19 (i.e., December 503 B.C./January 502 B.C.).[33] There is thus approximately a one-year hiatus between the latest attested use of PFS 83* and the earliest attested use of PFS 11*. The journal NN 2493 records Ziššawiš receiving wine rations and issuing *halmi* throughout year 19, so the hiatus in seal usage would seem to reflect either simply a lacuna in the documentation or Ziššawiš administering for some time without a seal. The latest attested use of PFS 11* is in months 10 and 11 in year 25, that is, January/February 496 B.C.[34]

The central scene depicts two attendants wearing crowns and the Persian court robe flanking a rectangular tower-like structure, what one would traditionally characterize as a "worship" scene. The crowned figures, shown in profile and facing toward the rectangular structure, are exact doubles of each other simply rotated 180 degrees. Each crowned figure holds a staff vertically in his left hand; each figure raises his right arm, bent at the elbow, before his face, hand cupped upward. They both wear the Persian court robe. The upper part of the garment has voluminous, elbow-length sleeves with detailing lines indicated on the sleeves. The lower part of the garment has a central vertical fold from which diagonal folds fall. One end of a double belt is indicated at the waist. Each crowned attendant has a long pointed beard with horizontal and vertical striations and a round mass of hair (striated) at the back of his neck. The dentate crown has five points and a band with four circular bosses (preserved fully only on the figure to the left). Only one of these circular bosses is preserved on the crown of the figure to the right of the rectangular structure. There is much detailing in the faces of the figures, including the indication of the lips and eyebrows. The rectangular structure between the two attendants has recessing on its lower part, while the top has a distinctive crenellated profile; a V-shaped stand on the top center of the structure holds a spherical object. A spherical object also adorns the two top edges of

[27] Ziššawiš is the Elamite rendering of the Old Iranian **Čiçavahuš*, "of good lineage" (Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 133; Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 155–56, no. 4.2.406). See Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 775–74 s.v. *Ziššawiš* for the Elamite variant forms and a comprehensive listing of all PF and PT tablets that mention this name; Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 210 s.v. *Ṣi-iš-šá-ú-ma-iš*.

[28] In T texts the issuer of the order always seals the tablet.

[29] There are also four letter-type documents from the Treasury archive, PT 028, PT 029, PT 031, and PT 033, where a Ziššawiš issues orders. Whether this Ziššawiš is the same as the one known from the Fortification archive we cannot know for certain. Both are extremely high-rank administrators. Richard T. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 2: *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, edited by Ilya Gershevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 589–90, and, apparently, Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 133, assumed that they were the same individual. David M. Lewis, "Postscript," in *Persia and the Greeks: The Defence of the West, c. 546–478 B.C.*, by A. R. Burn, 2nd ed. (London: Duckworth, 1984), pp. 587–612 (pp. 592, 601), and David M. Lewis, "The Persepolis Tablets: Speech, Seal and Script," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, edited by Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 17–32 (p. 23), also linked them, and even went so far as to identify him with the Mede Tithaios, son of Datis, a hipparch in 480 B.C. (based upon Herodotus 7.88.1). Heidemarie Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/89 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1990), pp. 232–33, prefers to see two separate individuals (perhaps father and son) owing to the extremely long time span involved in the two careers. If one and the same individual, I calculate a working career spanning some forty years at the minimum (I am uncertain from where Lewis, "Postscript," p. 601, inferred his dates of 504–467 B.C. for the career of Ziššawiš). The Ziššawiš in the Treasury archive uses PTS 6*, a royal-name seal (monolingual, in Old Persian, naming Xerxes). All three seals associated with a person named Ziššawiš, PFS 83*, PFS 11*, and PTS 6*, will be discussed in Mark B. Garrison, *The Ritual Landscape at Persepolis: The Glyptic Imagery from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Archives*, Persika 17 (Paris: de Boccard, in press).

[30] The functions/roles of the Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive have been frequently discussed; for example, Walther Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 61 (1971): 260–311 (pp. 288, 302 [the "Vizemarshall"]); Richard T. Hallock, "The Persepolis Fortification Archive," *Orientalia* 42 (1973): 320–23 (p. 322); Richard T. Hallock, "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," in Gibson and Biggs (eds.), *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 127–33 (p. 128); David M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia: Lectures Delivered at the University of Cincinnati, Autumn 1976, in Memory of Donald W. Bradeen*, Cincinnati Classical Studies, new series, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 8 n. 31, 9–11; Lewis, "Postscript," pp. 592, 595, 601; Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," pp. 589–90, 606; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, p. 362 s.v. *Zí-iš-šá-ú-iš*; Lewis, "The Persepolis Tablets" p. 23; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 425, 427; Garrison, *Ritual Landscape*, in press.

[31] NN 0698.

[32] PF 0673.

[33] PF 0678.

[34] PF 1828.

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the structure. Above the structure hovers a partial figure in a winged ring, facing to the right;[35] a bird's tail and two tendrils depend from the lower part of the ring. The wings are broad and rectangular with feathers indicated by long parallel horizontal lines intersected in each case by two diagonal lines. The figure extends one arm upward in front of his face, the palm of the hand cupped upward. He extends the other arm along the top of the wing and grasps a ring in his hand. Date palms with bulbous fruit clusters frame the scene of crowned attendants, rectangular structure, and figure in winged ring. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

Thematically, PFS 11* breaks dramatically from the heroic encounters more commonly seen in royal-name seals of Darius. While the rectangular structure has been traditionally identified as a fire altar, and the scene as a whole one of fire worship, glyptic evidence from the Fortification archive suggests that this reading of the scene on PFS 11* may need substantial revision.[36] The author has discussed in other venues various aspects of its imagery, which, while having obvious linkages to the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, appears much more heavily indebted to early Neo-Assyrian representational types involving the king.[37]

The carving on PFS 11* is deep and rich. The profile shoulders of the crowned figures are beautifully rendered to yield a real sense of depth. A similar attempt to render space in depth is the manner in which the central vertical pleats on the lower parts of the garments are offset toward the front of the figures. The human bodies are thick and deep, the garments soft and flowing.

PFS 113* (Cat.No. 19) = PTS 4* (figs. 7.7–8)

Earliest dated application of the seal: 495/494 B.C.
Preserved height of the image: 1.70 cm (incomp.)
Estimated height of original seal: NA
Preserved length of image: 3.90 cm (comp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: 1.20 cm
Completeness of image: Large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length
Number of impressions: 12[38]
Quality of impressions: Many preserve excellent detail

Inscription number: SDg

[*a*-]⌜*da*⌝-*ma* : *da*-⌜*a*⌝-[*ra-ya-va-u-ša* XŠ]
[DIŠ]⌜*ú*⌝ DIŠ*da-ri-a-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*u-iš* EŠŠANA]
[*ana*-]⌜*ku*⌝ HAL*da-ri*ⁱ-*a*-[*iá-muš šárru rabû*]

Commentary

As remarked in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, we were able to see slightly more of the beginning of the Old Persian and Elamite lines than was apparent to Hallock and Schmitt, but the reading simply confirms what they had restored.[39] Schmitt (*Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, p. 24), following Hallock, notes that in both the Elamite and the Akkadian the *ri* lacks the third vertical wedge.

[35] Unfortunately, the upper part of the head of the figure in the winged ring is not preserved.

[36] See Garrison, *Ritual Landscape*, in press; Mark B. Garrison, "Les arts visuels du début de l'ère achéménide ont-ils représenté l'autel du feu et le feu sacré zoroastriens?" *Religions & Histoire* 44 (2012): 42–45.

[37] Mark B. Garrison, "The Seals of Ašbazana (Aspathines)," in *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, edited by Maria Brosius and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 11 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1998), pp. 115–31 (pp. 126–28); Mark B. Garrison, "Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art: Subject Matter, Social Function, Audience and Diffusion," in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium B.C.E.)*, edited by Christoph Uehlinger, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 175 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 115–64 (pp. 141–42); Mark B. Garrison, "Visual Representation of the Divine and the Numinous in Achaemenid Iran: Old Problems, New Directions," in *Iconography of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, Vol. 1: *Pre-Hellenistic Periods, Introductory Essays*, edited by Christoph Uehlinger and F. Graf (Leiden, in press); Mark B. Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā: Kingship and the Divine in the Early Achaemenid Period," in *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship* (proceedings of the international colloquium organized by the Belgian School at Athens, November 1–2, 2007), edited by Panagiotis P. Iossif, Andrzej S. Chankowski, and Catharine C. Lorber, Studia Hellenistica 51 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), pp. 15–104 (pp. 52–55, 59, 63–65); Garrison, *Ritual Landscape*, in press.

[38] This count includes impressions of the seal on both Fortification and Treasury tablets.

[39] Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 89.

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PFS 113*/PTS 4* is one of four seals that are currently known to occur in both Persepolitan archives.[40] In the Treasury archive it was identified as PTS 4*. In both archives the accompanying texts indicate that the seal is used by Baratkama.[41] The Treasury texts identify Baratkama as the treasurer at Persepolis in the years 490–479 B.C. In the Fortification archive he is also concerned with the treasury. PFS 113*/PTS 4* occurs on three tablets in the Fortification archive, all of them ration texts (L1 texts) concerning treasury workers. In PF 0864 Baratkama is overseeing the provisioning of seventy-seven treasury workers at Uranduš; in PF 0865 it is 181 treasury workers at Tirazziš (at or near modern Shiraz); in PF 0865 it is seven treasury workers at Kurpun. In these transactions Baratkama is qualified as either *šaramanna* or *damanna*, an official who is responsible for setting rations for and supplying workforces. The two terms, *šaramanna* and *damanna*, represent one of the two main branches of the provisioning system in the archive, "provisioners at whose command commodities (of every kind) could be set aside in, or released from the suppliers' stores as rations for the individuals, workforces and animals" under their responsibilities (*šaramanna*) or "assigned [by them]" (*damanna*).[42] Many officials who are qualified by the terms *šaramanna*/*damanna* have high administrative authority; in some cases the seals used by these officials occur alone on the Fortification tablets that they seal, yet another indication of high administrative rank.

When he first appears using PFS 113*/PTS 4* in the Treasury archive, PT 001, the transaction occurring from late October of 490 through March of 489 B.C., Baratkama addresses a letter to the treasurer Šakka. Baratkama and PFS 113*/PTS 4* also occur in PT 017, PT 023, and PT 024, all memorandum-type documents in which he is qualified as *šaramanna* for workmen at Persepolis (in PT 017 and PT 024 they are workmen making reliefs). The transaction in PT 017 is dated from June through July of 482 B.C.; PT 023 from April 480 B.C. to March 479 B.C.; PT 024 from late March through May 479 B.C.[43]

As attested in PT 002, the transaction dated from September 490 B.C. through April 489 B.C., Baratkama is named the treasurer at Persepolis; he most likely assumed the office sometime in the spring of 489 B.C.[44] Treasury documents indicate that he held that office into the sixth year of Xerxes (480/79 B.C.). Baratkama, thus, continued to seal with PFS 113*/PTS 4* as *šaramanna* while he was treasurer at Persepolis.

The fact that Baratkama uses PFS 113*/PTS 4* in the Fortification archive before he became treasurer may suggest that the seal is his personal seal, but the occurrence of PFS 113*/PTS 4* on both letter- and memorandum-type documents in the Treasury archive clouds the issue. As noted, in PT 001 he is addressing a letter to the treasurer, in PT 017, PT 023, and PT 024 he is qualified as *šaramanna*, the same designation that he carries in the Fortification archive. It is conceivable that in all the transactions, both those in the Fortification archive and those in the Treasury archive, PFS 113*/PTS 4* marks some specific treasury office rather than Baratkama's personal seal.[45]

The scene on PFS 113*/PTS 4* is a heroic encounter. The hero faces right holding two rampant, winged, human-headed bulls by a foreleg. The hero is bearded (with horizontal striations) and wears a dentate crown (five points); a round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears a belted Persian court robe, sleeves pushed up to reveal the bare arms, with folds indicated on the upper part of the garment. A central vertical pleat with diagonal folds is indicated

[40] Ibid., p. 33.

[41] The Elamite rendering of Old Iranian **Baratkāma* "he who fulfills wishes." See Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, p. 147, no. 4.2.328.

[42] Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are*, p. 128; he gives previous bibliography on the terms *šaramanna* and *damanna*.

[43] The memorandum-type documents from the Treasury archive record that "the workmen have already been paid by one individual who issues this type of document in order that he himself may be reimbursed" (Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 25). Cameron noted (ibid., p. 25) that PFS 113*/PTS 4* is the only seal that occurs on both letter-type documents and memorandum-type documents in the Treasury archive. He later published a letter-order, PT 1963-20, issued and sealed by Irdumartiya (Old Persian Artavardiya) who also seals five memoranda in the Treasury archive with his seal, PFS 71*/PTS 33* (George G. Cameron, "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 [1965]: 167–92, with only an oblique reference to the seal [not identified by number]). The phenomenon may suggest that Baratkama was more actively involved in affairs of the treasury than his successors. See also the comments of Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 13 n. 60, who remarked that Baratkama is mentioned on two memorandum-type texts, PT 011 and 020, as *šaramanna*, but the seal applied to the tablets is PTS 26. PTS 26 occurs on one other inscribed tablet, PT 26, where Vahuš is *šaramanna*. This certainly complicates our attempts to assign seals to specific individuals. It is, however, not unusual in the Fortification archive for *šaramanna* officials to be mentioned in texts that are sealed with seals that clearly do not belong to those *šaramanna* officials. In these cases the mentioning of the *šaramanna* official seems simply a way to identify a particular workgroup. Alternatively, PTS 26 may be an office seal associated with Baratkama (Vahuš being a subordinate within that office).

[44] In PT 002 Baratkama is the addressee of the letter, thus indicating his status as treasurer. As the addressee (rather than the addressor), his seal does not occur on PT 002. The actual designation of treasurer, **ganzadara-*, transliterated into Elamite as *kanzabara*, is not always used in the letter-type documents from the Treasury archive. One surmises that the addressee in those letters where the title is not mentioned is in fact the treasurer (as is the case in PT 002); see the comments of Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, pp. 33–34; Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 12; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 235–37. PT 010a, PT 014, and PT 022 do qualify Baratkama as *kanzabara*. PT 010b, PT 012, PT 012a, and PT 021 qualify him as *kapnuškira*, which is the Elamite equivalent of Old Iranian **ganzadara-*. Both Koch and Hinz, *Achämenidische Hofverwaltung*," pp. 261–64, identify the office as the "Hofschatzwart." Baratkama is mentioned as the addressee (and hence treasurer) in the following letter-type documents: PT 002, PT 003, PT 003a, PT 009, PT 009a, PT 009b, PT 010, PT 010a, PT 010b, PT 012, PT 012a, PT 013, PT 014, PT 015, PT 016, PT 018, PT 019, PT 021, and PT 022.

[45] It is not, in any case, the seal of the office of the treasurer.

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on the lower part of the garment. The winged, human-headed bulls move toward the hero, but turn their heads away. Each has a thick beard and wears a crown that has a serrated edge running along its top; a round mass of hair rests at the back of the neck. To the left of the creature at left there is a date palm with bulbous fruit clusters. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

As remarked above, bulls and taurine-based creatures are rare in heroic encounters generally, but quite common in heroic encounters that also carry royal-name inscriptions. The serrated tops to the crowns of the creatures in PFS 113*/PTS 4* seem a deliberate attempt to distinguish them from the crown worn by the hero. They do not appear to replicate the horned and feathered crowns worn by similar taurine-based creatures in architectural sculpture at Persepolis.[46]

PFUTS 18* (figs. 7.9–18)

Earliest dated application of the seal: NA
Preserved height of the image: 2.10 cm (comp.)
Estimated height of original seal: 2.10 cm
Preserved length of image: 3.90 cm (comp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: 1.20 cm
Completeness of image: Almost complete with exception of passages at the top and bottom of the design
Number of impressions: 115
Quality of impressions: Variable, many are shallow and very poorly preserved

Inscription number: SDh

a-da-ma : da-a-⌜ra-ya-va⌝-u-⌜ša⌝ [XŠ]
$^{\text{DIŠ}}$*⌜ú⌝* $^{\text{DIŠ}}$*da-ri-ia-⌜ma⌝-u-⌜iš⌝* ⌜EŠŠANA⌝
⌜*ana-ku*⌝ $^{\text{HAL}}$*da-ri-iá-muš* ⌜*šarru*⌝ [*rabû*]

Commentary

I included this seal in my dissertation because it carried a royal-name inscription of Darius.[47] It was there numbered PFS 1683*. Following protocols that have been now established for the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, the seal has been re-labeled as PFUTS 18*.[48]

The seal was not known to Schmitt. Continuing his labeling schema, we have proposed SDh to identify the inscription. It is the most complete of all the inscriptions preserved on royal-name seals from the Persepolitan archives; impressions show the beginnings of all three lines, as well as the titles at the ends of the Elamite and Akkadian lines. The reading is the standard trilingual text on all royal-name seals of Darius.

Since the seal occurs only on the uninscribed tablets from the Fortification archive, we are unable to associate it with a specific office/official. Nevertheless, recent research on the uninscribed tablets from the archive has begun to reveal some patterns in seal application.[49] PFUTS 18*, with a handful of other seals occurring on the uninscribed tablets, has a very distinctive seal praxis. The seal occurs on a relatively large number of tablets, is always applied to multiple surfaces of the tablets, and is always the only seal applied on the tablets.[50] Most of the time PFUTS 18* is applied on at least four surfaces of the tablet, and in several instances on all six surfaces of a tablet, a glyptic praxis that is quite rare in the archive as a whole.[51] Additionally, PFUTS 18*, with two exceptions, always appears on a tablet of

[46] E.g., the human-headed bulls on the south stairs on the Palace of Darius; see Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 1: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Oriental Institute Publications 68 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pl. 127.

[47] Mark B. Garrison, "Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988), pp. 401–02. PFUTS 18* has been mentioned and illustrated also in Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity: A 'Graeco-Persian' Cylinder Seal from Sardis," *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 99–129 (pp. 106–09, fig. 7 for a photograph of an impression of the seal on tablet Fort. 11278, which is now labeled PFUT 2143-101); Mark B. Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets from the Fortification Archive: A Preliminary Analysis," in Briant, Henkelman, and Stopler (eds.), *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis*, pp. 158, 160–61, 165, 173, figs. 4–7.

[48] Since PFUTS 18* occurs only on the corpus of uninscribed tablets; see the comments above, n. 1.

[49] Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets."

[50] See Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets," pp. 158–61. Other seals that occur repeatedly and always without any other seal on the uninscribed tablets are: PFS 75, PFS 535*, PFUTS 3, PFUTS 17, and PFUTS 82s.

[51] PFUTS 18* is applied to all six surfaces of the following tablets: PFUT 711-201, 1017-106, 2143-101. This distinctive manner of sealing many or all the surfaces of a tablet is similar to that seen for high-rank offices and officials in the Elamite tablets, e.g., PFS 1* (Cat.No. 182), the office seal of the director of the Persepolis administrative

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very distinctive shape, what we have called Type K.[52] These Type K tablets are triangular in plan and relatively large and thick by Fortification standards; the result is that the surfaces of the upper, bottom, right, and left edges are very broad and flat (and thus excellent surfaces for sealing). The distinctive size, shape, and thickness of the tablet type, along with the very distinctive application of PFUTS 18* to the tablets, make the Type K tablets stand out dramatically from any other tablet type across the whole of the archive, uninscribed, Elamite, or Aramaic.[53]

These distinctive features of the use of PFUTS 18*, that is, the shape of the tablet on which it occurs and the manner in which it is applied to those tablets, very strongly suggest that it represents an office/official of high rank within the administrative system recorded in the uninscribed tablets. The distinctive theme, specifically royal iconography, and royal-name inscription suggest the same. PFUTS 18* and a handful of other seals used on the uninscribed tablets from the Fortification archive represent what we could call "super-users," that is, high-order authority similar to that seen in the Elamite tablets with the seals of Parnaka, Ziššawiš, and the regional directors.

The scene on PFUTS 18* is a heroic encounter on pedestal creatures. The hero faces right holding two lions inverted by a hindleg. The hero has a beard with vertical striations and wears a dentate crown (seven points) with traces of a band at the forehead; an oval-shaped mass of hair is at the back of his neck. He wears the Persian court robe, belted at the waist, the sleeves pushed up to reveal the bare arms. Each lion turns its head away from the hero, the mouth open. Each creature places the hindleg not held by the hero on the hero's chest; it holds the forelegs down near the wings and heads of the pedestal creatures. The tail of each lion curls inward with a tufted termination. The hero stands on the rumps of two winged creatures who are couchant, back to back. The one to the left is a winged, bird-headed lion. The one to the right is a winged, horned lion. Both creatures have their mouths open. A ground-line runs under the creatures. Above the heroic encounter hovers a partial figure in a winged device, facing to the right; a bird's tail and two tendrils depend from the lower part of the device. The wings are broad and rectangular with feathers indicated by long parallel horizontal lines intersected by two diagonal lines at left, one (surviving) at right; there are two parallel vertical lines set immediately in front of the figure on the right wing. The figure raises both hands, one placed above the other; the palms of both hands are cupped upward. The figure has a beard and wears a dentate crown (five points). The shoulder of the figure is depicted in profile. Date palms with bulbous fruit clusters frame the scene of heroic encounter and figure in winged device. The bottoms of the palms are rounded. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

Two other royal-name seals of Darius I employ pedestal creatures: PTS 1* and PTS 3*. In the case of PTS 1*, it is a combat heroic encounter, while PTS 3*, like PFUTS 18*, is a control heroic encounter.[54] PFUTS 18* also shares with PTS 3* the compositional type of inverted animals. The compositional type is well represented among seals in the Fortification archive.[55] The fact that the pedestal creatures rest on a ground-line that clearly is above the bottoms of the date palms is intriguing, suggesting a platform.[56]

By the standards of the other royal-name seals from Persepolis, the vertical space in the design is condensed. This is mainly due to the decision to employ pedestal creatures and a winged symbol. The combination results in relatively small figures by the standards of the other royal-name seals (even though the seal itself is approximately the same size as the other royal-name seals), giving the design a very different visual quality from the other Persepolitan royal-name seals. It is interesting to compare the proportions of the figures on the other royal-name seal that uses a control encounter on pedestal creatures, PTS 3*, where there is no winged symbol.

The rather flat carving style seems closer stylistically to PFS 7* than to PFS 11*. The distinctive triangular swelling at the neck of the hero is seen also on PFS 7* and PFS 113*/PTS 4*, both of which may be from the same hand. The small size of the figures on PFUTS 18* may have occasioned a slightly more restrained carving than one normally sees in the Court Style.

region, PFS 4* (Cat.No. 292), the office seal of the director of the Fahliyān administrative region, PFS 16* (Cat.No. 22), the personal seal of Parnaka, etc.; see Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are*, pp. 131–34.

[52] The two exceptions are the occurrence of PFUTS 18* on PFUT 717-102, a Type D tablet, and PFUT 1190-101, a Type L (this Type L seems, however, simply to be a condensed version of Type K). See Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets," p. 161, fig. 1b.

[53] To date, with one exception, only the royal-name seal PFUTS 18* occurs on the Type K tablets; see Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets," p. 160. The exception is PFUT 687-101. It carries two seals, PFUTS 79 on the reverse, upper, and bottom edges, PFS 48 on the left edge. The tablet PFUT 687-101 is, however, something of an anomaly with regard to shape. It has the distinctive thickness of Type K, and the general shape, but it is smaller than the other Type K tablets and the right edge is much more rounded.

[54] For pedestal creatures, see the comments of Dusinberre, "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity," pp. 103–09; Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," pp. 45–47.

[55] See Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 256–81.

[56] The convention recalls the use of a platform on the facade of the tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam. See the comments in Garrison "By the Favor of Auramazdā," pp. 33–35, 65.

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PTS 1* (figs. 7.19–20)

Earliest dated application of the seal: 21 August–18 October 484 B.C.[57]
Preserved height of the image: 2.10 cm (incomp.)
Estimated height of original seal: NA
Preserved length of image: 3.80 cm (comp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: 1.20 cm
Completeness of image: Large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length
Number of impressions: 8
Quality of impressions: Many preserve excellent detail

Inscription number: SDb

a-da-ma : da-a-ra-ya-[*va-u-ša* XŠ]
[$^{\text{DIŠ}}$*ú*] $^{\text{DIŠ}}$*da-ri-a-ma-u-*$^{\ulcorner}$*iš*$^{\urcorner}$ [EŠŠANA]
[*a-n*]*a-ku* $^{\text{HAL}}$*da-ḫu-a-iá-muš* [*šárru rabû*]

Commentary

Schmitt's reading followed Cameron, who remarked on the unusual signs *ḫu* and what he took to be an imperfectly carved *iá* (in actuality the sign is *ša*) in the Akkadian. The Akkadian is exactly the same in PTS 3*. We were able to see the full form of the *ya* in the Old Persian.

Sealing protocols on letter-type documents from the Treasury archive are consistent and well understood. Tablets carry only one seal (always applied on the left edge of the tablet and, in a few cases, on other edges as well) and that seal belongs to the addressor named in the text.[58] In those tablets preserving PTS 1*, the addressor is Tarkawiš.[59]

The exact office/functions of the addressors in letter-type documents from the Treasury archive are unknown. Schmidt remarked that the tenor of the letters suggested that the addressors "were the treasurer's peers or his superiors in rank."[60] As Schmidt's table I indicates, one is not able to reconstruct a continuous sequence of addressors (unlike the addressees) on the letter-type documents.[61] This led him to suggest that the addressors did not represent a specific "public" office, but simply individuals involved with "the supervision of Persepolis constructions."[62] Hinz and Koch both also suggested that the addressors in the letter-type documents were a higher rank than the addressees. Hinz hypothesized that the addressors held a supra-authority office which he called the "Hofmarschall."[63] Koch identified some of the addressors with Hinz's "Hofmarschall," others with her office of the "Vizemarschall."[64] Whatever titles we

[57] These are the dates stated for the work period recorded in PT 10. In general, the letter-type documents from the Treasury archive give a work period that stretches over several months, but not the exact date of the writing of the text (and the application of the seal). There are some exceptions; e.g., see below n. 82. The dates given here are those of the work-dates stated in the text, thus, one assumes, the *terminus post quem* for the writing of the text and the application of the seal.

[58] See Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, pp. 55–58; Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pp. 12–14.

[59] For consistency, I follow Hallock's transliteration of the Elamite form of the name; Schmidt and Cameron use the reconstructed Old Iranian form of the name, which they rendered as *Darkauš*; Hinz and Koch also use the reconstructed Old Iranian form, which they render as **Dargāyuš* (followed by Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, p. 168, no. 4.2.501, "having a long life").

[60] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 13. Cameron did not specifically discuss the rank of the addressors, although he stated (*Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 96) with respect to PT 9 that the addressor was of inferior rank to the addressee.

[61] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, between pp. 18 and 19. One can establish a chronological sequence of names, but the names of the addressors do not cluster in tidy contiguous groups; e.g., Tarkawiš is the addressor on tablets dated to years 2–4 in the reign of Xerxes, but Ašbazana (Greek Aspathines) also addresses three letter-type documents in year 3 of Xerxes.

[62] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pp. 13–14.

[63] See Hinz, *Achämenidische Hofverwaltung*," p. 271, for addressors of letter-type documents from the Treasury archive; pp. 301–08 for the "Hofmarschall"; p. 306 for Tarkawiš as the "Hofmarschall" and the possibility of amending the reading of the Aramaic inscription on one of the ritual vessels from the Treasury archive to read *drgyš* (= **Dargāyuš*). He does not appear to address the problem of interruptions in the sequences of names, as discussed above, n. 61.

[64] Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 232–34. This division of addressors into one of two different offices appears to be an attempt to solve the problem of the lack of contiguity in the chronological sequencing of names of addressors. Baratkama again is something of a problem in all of these scenarios. He is the addressor in PT 001, but thereafter the addressee in letter-type documents. Do we assume that this marks his move from a position of high authority (addressee) to one of lower authority (treasurer)? Koch seemingly has him filling two offices for a period of time, "Vizemarschall" from 490/89 to 485/84 B.C., "Hofschatzwart" from 495 to 481 B.C. Note also the comments of Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 428–29, 940.

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apply to the addressors in letter-type documents from the Treasury archive, we can assume that these were individuals of fairly high administrative rank.[65]

Although PTS 1* occurs only on tablets dated to the reign of Xerxes, the naming of Darius in the inscription would most likely indicate that the seal in fact was executed during that king's reign.[66] Moreover, elements of composition, iconography, and style of the seal suggest very strongly that PTS 1* may be the earliest seal in the surviving series of royal-name seals of Darius.[67]

The scene on PTS 1* is a heroic encounter on pedestal creatures. The hero faces left, extending a straight right arm outward to grasp a rampant, winged, bird-headed lion by the throat; the left arm is straight and held down behind the body to hold a sword-like weapon with jagged profile. The upper part of the hero's body is depicted frontally, his head and feet in profile. The lower part of the body appears to be a combined perspective that is both profile (one leg placed in front of the other) and frontal (central vertical pleat on the lower part of the garment). He stands upon a winged, human-headed bull marchant, his forward leg resting on the top of the creature's headdress, his back leg on its wing-tip. His forward leg is bent and slightly raised. The hero has a long rounded beard with horizontal striations; a round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck.[68] He appears to wear the Persian court robe, sleeves pushed up to reveal the arms, the forward leg below the knee exposed; remnants of the central pleat and diagonal folds (on the back hip) are preserved. A fringe runs along the bottom hem of the garment between the hero's legs. The winged, bird-headed lion is posed diagonally in the field, its hindlegs held together to stand on the wing-tip of a second winged, human-headed bull marchant, its forelegs held together and extended straight outward from its chest. The creature has one pointed ear, and what appears to be a short horn at the front of the head; a short tail curves upward with tufted termination. The mane of the creature is rendered by a thin line along the contour of the neck. The beak of the creature is open. The pedestal creatures are identical winged, human-headed bulls. They are marchant, disposed antithetically under the heroic encounter. Each creature has a thick squared beard with horizontal striations; a round mass of hair rests at the back of the neck. They wear polos-like headdresses.[69] The tail of each creature curves upward with undulating contour and has a tufted termination. At left there is a date palm with bulbous fruit clusters. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

PTS 1* exhibits some features of composition and iconography that are unusual for the corpus of royal-name seals of Darius. The seal is the only example in the royal-name corpus that shows a heroic encounter of the combat sub-type. The theme is, however, well represented in the seals from the Fortification archive.[70] The hero stands in a pose that is also well documented in Persepolitan glyptic, the forward leg slightly raised, arm extended to grasp a creature by the throat, weapon held down and back.[71] PTS 1*, PFUTS 18*, and PTS 3* are the only royal-name seals of Darius to employ pedestal creatures.[72] Like PFS 113*/PTS 4* and PTS 3*, the scene on PTS 1* has only one date palm.

Although the scene in PTS 1* exhibits a series of strong vertical accents through the design, the overall dynamics of the design are unique among the royal-name seals of Darius from Persepolis. Much of this is due, of course, to the selection of the combat encounter, which yields a much more centripetal dynamic than the control encounter.

The hero appears to wear a version of the Persian court robe, although the serration along the lower hem is undocumented in any other depiction of this garment in the PFS corpus; it is, however, commonly seen in renderings of Assyro-Babylonian garments that are often worn by heroes in Persepolitan glyptic.[73] The slightly lifted leg affords the opportunity to reveal the forward leg below the knee, again, an unusual aspect of the Persian court robe in glyptic, but very commonly seen in renderings of the Assyro-Babylonian garment in Persepolitan glyptic.[74] The hero does not

[65] In the case of Ašbazana, who addresses four letter-type documents, we have an individual at the very highest levels of the Achaemenid court. On the equation of this Ašbazana (Old Persian Aspacanā) with a person by the same name mentioned in the Fortification archive and with the Aspathines mentioned in Herodotus 3.70.1, see Garrison, "The Seals of Ašbazana (Aspathines)," pp. 115–31; Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial: The Šumar of Cambyses and Hystaspes," in *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, edited by Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 13 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), pp. 101–71 (pp. 117–29 for Ašbazana).

[66] See the comments of Root, "The Cylinder Seal from Pasargadae," pp. 169–70, and below.

[67] See the discussion in Garrison, *Ritual Landscape*, in press.

[68] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 18, suggested that the hero might wear a fillet; I saw no evidence for such on impressions of the seal on the tablets in Chicago.

[69] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 18, suggested "plain or slightly dentate tiara." I saw no evidence for dentate markings on impressions of the seal on the tablets in Chicago.

[70] See Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 295–420.

[71] Thematic type II-B in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1.

[72] See the discussion above.

[73] See the iconographic index in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 514–15, Garments of Heroes, Assyrian garment.

[74] The exposed forward leg in a Persian court garment is, however, conspicuously seen in the heroic encounters on the doorjambs of the Palace of Darius at Persepolis (Schmidt, *Persepolis 1*, pls. 144–47).

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wear any headgear, making it unique among all royal-name seals of Darius. The weapon that the hero holds appears to be a hooked blade or scimitar, or perhaps a throw-stick(?); various iterations of similar weapons are well documented in heroic encounters from Persepolis.[75] The weapon is an archaizing element from Assyro-Babylonian glyptic.[76] The winged, bird-headed lion the hero grasps is documented in Persepolitan glyptic, but it is not common.[77] The polos-like headdresses of the pedestal creatures do have a few parallels in Persepolitan glyptic.[78] Within the context of the royal-name seals of Darius, one would expect dentate/serrated crowns rather than polos headdresses, but, as we have noted, the hero himself on PTS 1* does not wear any headdress. We have also noted in royal-name seals of Darius the common occurrence of human-headed bulls that otherwise are rare in Persepolitan glyptic.

Although somewhat speculative given partial preservation, there would seem to be too little room in the upper field for a winged symbol. If so, it, with PTS 3*, would be the only royal-name seals that definitively did not include such a figure.[79]

Stylistically, the figures on PTS 1* are deeply cut yielding a high-relief impression. Select human and animal passages are well modeled. The rounded edges of the hero's garment have a soft quality to them. One is particularly struck by the distinctive segmented approach to rendering the passage at the front of the chest on the winged pedestal creatures. The wing itself is a separate passage; a second curved element that runs up into the neck of the creature rests in front of the wing. This particular carving technique finds many parallels in a large group of seals from the Fortification archive. These seals, all relatively small, are carved in a distinctive version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style that employs heavily segmented human and animal bodies with select passages deeply carved.[80] This carving style perpetuates older Assyro-Babylonian carving styles. The carving style on PTS 1*, thus, stands in contrast to the other Persepolitan royal-name seals that, to varying degrees, all are rendered in the Persepolitan Court Style.

Although PTS 1* occurs only on tablets dated to the reign of Xerxes, the unusual features of design, style, and composition that I articulate above may suggest that the seal in fact is one of the earliest in the royal-name sequence.[81] The archaizing features of dress and weapon link the seal into the exceptionally strong archaizing tendencies seen in glyptic from the Fortification archive as a whole. So, too, the pose, forward leg slightly lifted, resting on the head of the pedestal creature and revealing the lower leg, seems exceptionally evocative of Darius' pose at Bīsotūn. The seal has an experimental feel to it, employing some aspects of traditional archaizing carving styles at Persepolis combined with some new elements of iconography (dress and palm tree). The lack of a crown may be another feature suggesting a very early date for the seal. Once the Persepolitan Court Style in glyptic had been canonized, and on all evidence provided by the royal-name seals from Persepolis the date for that would be the last years of the last decade of the sixth century B.C. (PFS 7* and PFS 11*), it seems difficult to envision the execution of a royal-name seal that would have not included a crowned figure.

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[75] See the iconographic index in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 528 s.v. Weapons: Sword, Curved, and Weapon of uncertain type.

[76] See, e.g., Dominique Collon, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Cylinder Seals V: Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 154–55, described as a "scimitar (sickle-sword)"; the weapon often occurs on seals that Collon, following Porada, classified as Babylonian.

[77] See, e.g., the animals and composite creatures index in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 502 s.v. Quadrupeds: Lion, Lion creature.

[78] See, e.g., the iconographic index in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, p. 518, Headdresses of Heroes, Polos; and Headdresses of other Humans and Human-headed Creatures, Polos. Note esp. PFS 526* (Cat.No. 216), a heroic encounter whose compositional rubric is very similar to the one seen in PTS 1*. The creature there, interestingly, a winged, human-headed bull, wears a polos-like headdress. The seal has some stylistic features that draw it toward the Court Style.

[79] The upper field of PFS 113*/PTS 4* is preserved in no impression of the seal, leaving open the possibility that there may have been a winged symbol in the design. PTS 3* clearly does not have a winged symbol, possibly so as to afford the space to use pedestal creatures (see the comments above concerning pedestal creatures on PFUTS 18*).

[80] I briefly discuss this class of Modeled Style seals in Garrison, "Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art," pp. 131–34.

[81] An option hinted at by Root, "The Cylinder Seal from Pasargadae," pp. 169–70.

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PTS 2* (figs. 7.21–22)

Earliest dated application of the seal: February 481–481/80 B.C.[82]
Preserved height of the image: 2.20 cm (incomp.)
Estimated height of original seal: NA
Preserved length of image: 4.00 cm (incomp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: NA
Completeness of image: Large segment of the middle and upper part of the design survives
Number of impressions: 37[83]
Quality of impressions: Fair to poor, but several preserve excellent detail

Inscription number: SDc

a-da-ma : da-a-ra-ya-va-[*u-ša* XŠ]
DIŠ*ú* DIŠ*da-ri*[*-a-ma-u-iš* EŠŠANA]
[*a-na-ku* HAL]*da-ri-a-*[*iá-muš šárru rabû*]

Commentary

According to protocols on letter-type documents from the Treasury archive, PTS 2* ought to belong to Irdatakma, the addressor named in all of the texts with which the seal is associated.[84] PTS 2* occurs on a relatively large number of tablets and is used for a lengthy period of time, from January 481 B.C. down to June 466 B.C., a period during which three different individuals held the office of treasurer at Persepolis.

The scene on PTS 2* is a heroic encounter. The hero faces left, arms straight at shoulder level, holding two rampant, winged, horned lions by the throat. The hero has a squared beard and wears a banded dentate crown (four points); a round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears the Persian court robe, belted at the waist, the sleeves pushed up to reveal the bare arms. Detailing lines are indicated on the upper part of the garment. A wide vertical pleat, rendered by two parallel lines, and diagonal folds are on the lower part of the garment. Each creature raises one foreleg upward to wrap the paw around the hero's upper arm. The other foreleg is extended outward horizontally to place the paw at the hero's waist. The forward hindleg ends in a bird's talon, which the creature raises to place on the hero's thigh. A short, thick tail extends upward (on the creature at left the tail terminates in four small feathers[?]). Each creature has a pointed ear and a pair of horns. The horns, presumably caprid, are shown frontally and undulate outward horizontally; the mouth is open. The mane is indicated by a serrated edge running along the contour of the back of the neck. Three rows of feathers are indicated on each wing. Above the heroic encounter hovers a partial figure in a winged ring, facing to the left; a bird's tail and two tendrils depend from the lower part of the device. The wings are broad and rectangular with feathers indicated by long parallel horizontal lines intersected by two diagonal lines on each wing. The figure raises both hands, one placed above the other; the palm of the upper hand is cupped upward. The figure has a squared beard and wears a plain crown/headdress; a round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The figure in the winged ring, depicted in profile, wears the upper part of the Persian court robe, the sleeve pushed up to the elbow. Date palms with bulbous fruit clusters frame the heroic encounter and the figure in the winged ring. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field. Part of the edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

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[82] PT 021 states that the tablet was written in the 10th month, Anamaka, of the fourth year (of Xerxes), which would be between 25 December 482 B.C. and 22 January 481 B.C. The text accounts, however, for services rendered in the 9th–12th months of the fourth year, thus between 25 November 482 B.C. and 22 March 481 B.C. These dates would indicate that the text had been written before the services had been completed, a very unusual procedure in the Treasury archive. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 120, had remarked that the year number was "written over an erasure and somewhat dubious." Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, table I, note 17, thought that the scribe had made an error in pre-dating the text, and so dated the writing of the text to the "12th month of the 4th year, or sometime in the 5th year, of Xerxes," a date that I have followed here.

[83] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 19, noted that three other tablets whose left edges were destroyed mention Irdatakma as the addressor and so most probably were sealed by PTS 2*.

[84] See the discussion on sealing protocols and the offices held by addressors on the Treasury tablets, above. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 230–34, identifies Irdatakma as the "Hofmarschall" from year 4 through year 19 of Xerxes. The name Irdatakma is the Elamite rendering of the Old Iranian **Ṛtātaxma* "brave through Arta," Artataxma in Greek (Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, pp. 301–02, no. 4.2.1507).

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The basic compositional rubric, control encounter framed by date palms, is exactly the same as that on PFS 7*.

This is the only seal in the royal-name corpus to employ winged, horned lions in the heroic encounter. The broad vertical pleat on the lower part of the garment is also a distinctive rendering of such within the royal-name corpus.

The seal exhibits one of the most detailed carving techniques of the royal-seal corpus. This can be seen especially in the very careful rendering of the ring and garment of the figure in the winged ring. The carving is closest stylistically to PTS 3*, although it also shares some features with PFS 113*/PTS 4*. All three seals show an exaggerated pinched waist on the hero. PTS 2* and PTS 3* are noteworthy for the extended use of the unmasked drill, a feature not encountered on any other of the Persepolitan royal-name seals. The drill-work gives the designs a particularly hard, detailed quality. The carving on both PTS 2* and PTS 3* is deep yielding heavily modeled forms. The animal form on PTS 2* is exceptionally broad and powerful, closely related to that seen on PFS 113*/PTS 4*.

PTS 3* (figs. 7.23–24)

Earliest dated application of the seal: 489–488 B.C.?[85]
Preserved height of the image: 2.00 cm (incomp.)
Estimated height of original seal: NA
Preserved length of image: 4.20 cm (comp.)
Estimated diameter of original seal: 1.30 cm
Completeness of image: Large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length
Number of impressions: 5[86]
Quality of impressions: Good–excellent

Inscription number: SDd

[*a*]-*da-ma : da-a-ya-va-u-*⌜*ša*⌝ [XŠ]
[^{DIŠ}*ú*] ^{DIŠ}*da-hu-a-ma-u-*⌜*iš*⌝ [EŠŠANA]
a-na-ku ^{HAL}*da-ḫu-a-iá-muš* [*šárru rabû*]

Commentary

Our copy confirms Cameron's observations on the idiosyncratic features of the inscription, namely, the elision of the *ra* in the Old Persian, the *ḫu* for *ri* in the Elamite and Akkadian, and the imperfectly cut *iá* (actually *ša*) in the Akkadian.[87] As mentioned, the Akkadian, with irregularities, is exactly the same in PTS 1*.

According to protocols on letter-type documents from the Treasury archive, PTS 3* ought to belong to Rumatinda/Uratinda, the addressor named in PT 003 and PT 003a.[88]

The scene on PTS 3* is a heroic encounter on pedestal creatures. The hero faces right holding two lions inverted by a hindleg. The hero wears the Persian court robe, belted at the waist, the sleeves pushed up to reveal the bare arms.[89] A detailing line is indicated on the upper part of the garment. A single vertical pleat, with diagonal folds, is indicated on the lower part of the garment. Each lion turns its head away from the hero, the mouth open. Each creature places the hindleg not held by the hero on the hero's upper thigh; it places one foreleg at the hero's lower leg, and holds the

[85] PTS 3* occurs on only three tablets. The date formulae are not intact on any of these tablets. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 87, suggested that the date on PT 003 might have been year 33 of Darius (i.e., 489–488 B.C.).

[86] PT 003 is one of the few letter-type documents to carry seal impressions on surfaces other than the left edge (see the comments of Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 4).

[87] Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 55 n. 6.

[88] See the discussion on sealing protocols and the offices held by addressors on the Treasury tablets above. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, pp. 86–87, discussed the two different forms of the name Rumatinda/Uratinda and the other occurrences of the name Uratinda in the Treasury texts (as scribe and, repeatedly, as *šaramanna* official). Cameron supposed that we are dealing with two or, perhaps, three different individuals. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 230–34, following Hinz, restores the Old Iranian name as **Vratayanta* (see contra in Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, p. 356, no. 4.2.1944, who interprets it as **Vratēnta* "religious"). Koch included the Elamite Ratininda as another form of this name. This Ratininda is named as treasurer in numerous Treasury texts dated to years 19 and 20 in the reign of Xerxes. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 233 n. 42, leaves open the possibility that we are dealing with one and the same person (although she does not discuss Uratinda the *šaramanna* official). As for the addressor Rumatinda/Uratinda, she identifies him as the "Vizemarschall" late in the reign of Darius (Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 232–33).

[89] The one tablet now in Chicago, PT 003, did not preserve the upper part of the hero's body. As Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pl. 3, indicates, the impression on tablet PT 4 860 (now in Iran) clearly shows the hero wearing a dentate crown (five points) that carries circular bosses.

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other down near the wing of the pedestal creature. The tail of each lion curls inward with tufted termination. The hero stands on the heads of pedestal creatures which Schmidt described as "antithetic winged lions, sejant or couchant."[90] To the left of the heroic encounter is a date palm with bulbous fruit clusters. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

As noted, two other royal-name seals of Darius I employ pedestal creatures, PFUTS 18* and PTS 1*, and one other the compositional type of inverted animals, PFUTS 18*.[91]

This is a handsomely carved seal. The carving is very deep, detailed, and precise; as mentioned, it shares with PTS 2* extensive use of the unmasked drill, but in the case of PTS 3* the drill-work is even more prominent, as seen in the paws and snouts of the lions held by the hero. The central vertical pleat on the lower part of the Persian court robe is rendered by a single deep furrow that physically separates the lower body into two distinct passages.

3.8. London Darius Cylinder (fig. 7.25)

Height of seal: 3.70 cm

Diameter of seal: 1.70 cm

Material: Quartz, chalcedony/prase, streaked, green-gray-brown, clouded[92]

Inscription number: SDa

a-da-ma : da-a-ra-ya-va-u-ša XŠ
^{DIŠ}*ú* ^{DIŠ}*da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš* EŠŠANA
ana-ku ^{HAL}*da-ri-iá-muš šárru rabû*

Commentary

Merrillees (*British Museum VI*, pp. 52–53) reviews the evidence for the proposed provenance of this very well-known and often-illustrated seal, opting simply for "Lower Egypt." As her discussion indicates, the provenance of the seal is plagued with difficulties; the traditional association of the seal with Egypt seems based more upon modern desire to link the seal with some place rather than any positive evidence.[93]

Merrillees discusses the seal within the context of the impressions that Petrie found at Memphis, suggesting that the London Darius cylinder was connected somehow with the administration of the province or, following Yoyotte, that it was a votive object.[94] Unfortunately, the lack of secure information on the seal's provenance makes any speculation as to its original context/function impossible to substantiate.

The scene on the London Darius cylinder shows a lion hunt from a chariot. A chariot pulled by two horses moves to the right. A crowned figure drawing a bow and arrow stands in the back of the cart, a driver in the front of the cart. The archer wears the Persian court robe, the sleeves pushed up to reveal the bare arms; folds are indicated on the upper part of the garment. The figure wears a dentate crown that has four points and a band with four circular bosses. He has a long, squared beard with horizontal and vertical striations; a round mass of hair (striated) rests at the back of his neck. The bow is a composite type.[95] The driver, bent forward to grasp a set of reins from each of the horses, wears a cape with detailing lines at its outer hem. He has a short, pointed beard; a mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears a fillet around his head.[96] The chariot is rendered with much detail (cart, wheel spokes and knobs, yoke, rigging, etc.). Two horses, the one set almost exactly in front of the other, are shown in full gallop with forelegs held together and extended in front of their bodies. At right a rampant lion moves toward the chariot. The lion holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally before its head, claws extend; it holds the other foreleg straight and extends

[90] On the one tablet now in Chicago, PT 003, only a small part of the pedestal creature at left is preserved.

[91] See above.

[92] All information on size and color of the seal is from Parvine H. Merrillees, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Cylinder Seals VI: Pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid Periods* (London: The British Museum Press, 2005), p. 52. Merrillees provides a detailed description of the scene and a bibliography current up to approximately the late 1990s.

[93] I shall not pursue in any detail here the possibility that the seal is a forgery, although this is something that must be kept open for discussion. While Cullimore did raise questions about the authenticity of the seal already in 1840 (Merrillees, *Cylinder Seals VI*, p. 53; the seal was apparently purchased by the British Museum in 1835), its authenticity is today rarely questioned (e.g., Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," pp. 19–20).

[94] Jean Yoyotte, "La provenance du cylindre de Darius (BM 89.132)," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 46 (1952): 165–67.

[95] Merrillees, *Cylinder Seals VI*, p. 52, says that the bow has bird-head terminals, but this does not seem to be the case.

[96] Merrillees, *Cylinder Seals VI*, p. 52, "diadem with central boss."

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it downward diagonally before its belly, claws extended. The tail curls upward with tufted termination. The mouth is open. The lion has been hit by two arrows, one at the forehead, the other at the paw of the upper foreleg. Below the chariot team there is a small lion lying prone (presumably dead), its legs extended to front and back. Three arrows are embedded in the back of its neck. Above the scene hovers a partial figure in a winged ring, facing to the right; a bird's tail and two tendrils depend from the lower part of the device. The wings are broad and rectangular with feathers indicated by long parallel horizontal lines intersected by five diagonal lines placed irregularly along the length of each wing; the tail is also broken into two distinct sections. The partial figure in the ring, depicted in profile, holds one arm bent and extends it upward before his face; the hand is open. He holds the other arm bent and extends the forearm along the top of the wing, the hand holding a ring. The figure has a long beard with horizontal striations and wears a crown with serrated top edge.[97] He appears to wear the Persian court garment, the sleeves pushed up to the elbows. Date palms with bulbous fruit clusters frame the scene. The bottom of the palms are thick half-rounds. The whole of the figural scene is placed on a ground-line. The trilingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

For many reasons the scene on the London Darius cylinder remains an outlier not only in the royal-name corpus, but in Achaemenid glyptic as a whole.[98] The lion hunt from a chariot is, of course, unknown in the other royal-name seals of Darius, and, as Merrillees (*Cylinder Seals VI*, p. 53) notes, the hunt of lions with a bow and arrows from a chariot is a very rare scene in Achaemenid glyptic as a whole. I would note also that the hunt of lions from chariots is unknown in Achaemenid monumental relief from Iran. None of the examples of chariot scenes that Merrillees cites are similar to the composition of the London Darius cylinder.[99] The Fortification archive preserves a goodly number of chariot scenes, almost all of which remain as yet unpublished. These scenes generally show a cart with two individuals in it, at front a driver, at the back a figure who engages in "combat" with an animal or composite creature that approaches the cart from the rear. By way of example I illustrate here PFS 207 (figs. 7.26–27). In no example from the Fortification archive does the person in the rear of the cart use a bow and arrow, employing rather a spear, sword, or simply grasping the animal/creature as it approaches the cart from the rear. In one case, PFS 166, the individual holds a lion inverted, as if in a heroic encounter. In no example from the Fortification archive can the creature pulling the chariot be conclusively identified as a horse; rather, when we can identify the draft animals, they are lions, bulls (as in PFS 207), or composite creatures.[100] In a handful of scenes, the chariot holds only one individual. All the chariot scenes from the Fortification archive are generally very lively, with animals/creatures disposed throughout the field and in active poses. The scene can often, as with PFS 207, play on the continuous rolling of the cylinder seal by having the draft animal also be the animal with which the figure at the back of the cart engages. Almost all the scenes exaggerate the reins, which are shown as great looping affairs. In no example of chariot scenes from the Fortification archive does any individual wear the Persian court robe or a crown. None of the scenes include a partial figure in a winged symbol, a winged ring/disk, date palms, or an inscription.[101] None of the examples are rendered in the Court Style.

One takes away from the Persepolitan evidence the conclusion that the lion hunt using a bow and arrow from a chariot is exceptionally rare within a central Achaemenid context.[102] Perhaps the closest parallels are various coinage

[97] Merrillees, *Cylinder Seals VI*, p. 52, "crown with spikes (giving it a feather-like appearance) set on a narrow circlet."

[98] As this article was going to press, we have discovered on a fragmentary uninscribed tablet (PFUT 1673-201) a partial impression of a seal, PFUTS 603, that is very similar to the London Darius cylinder (see *Appendix 1*).

[99] The exception is the unprovenanced cylinder seal Boston MFA 21.1193 (John Boardman, *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art* [London: Thames & Hudson, 2000], fig. 5.10), which appears to me to be a modern knock-off of the London Darius cylinder. Deniz Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*, Achaemenid History 12.1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002), pp. 83–86, has a discussion of the depiction of chariots in art of the Achaemenid period with regard to the four chariot scenes preserved on the seals from Daskyleion.

[100] See, e.g., PFS 96, PFS 198, PFS 311, PFS 877, PFS 1585, PFS 1689, etc. The exception is PFUTS 603, discussed in *Appendix 1.*

[101] See, however, the discussion of PFUTS 603 in *Appendix 1.*

[102] In addition to PFUTS 603 (see *Appendix 1*), a possible resonance of the imagery on the London Darius cylinder with Persepolis could be the "royal" chariots depicted twice at the end of the upper registers on the northern wing of the eastern portico and on the eastern wing of the northern portico of the Apadana (Schmidt, *Persepolis 1*, pp. 83–84, pls. 19, 52, and 57). The chariots in fact are somewhat similar to that depicted on the London Darius cylinder. They are pulled by two horses, the drivers bend forward, the square-ish carts are elaborately decorated (at least the front chariot on the northern wing of the eastern portico), the wheels very large (although having more spokes than the one on the London Darius cylinder), etc. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 223–24, 914, discusses the literary evidence for the royal chariot and its place in royal ideology. It is all the more striking that there are no chariot scenes rendered in the Court Style in Persepolitan glyptic (the exception may again be PFUTS 603).

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series from Sidon, which apparently show the Achaemenid king in a chariot. These scenes are almost always processional, although in one case there is an ibex(?) below the chariot, and they all of course date well after the time of Darius I.[103]

Many commentators have noted the Assyrianizing features of the scene on the London Darius cylinder. Certainly, the lion hunt with bow and arrow from a chariot is famously documented in Assyrian palace reliefs, especially those from the North Palace of Aššurbanipal at Nineveh. So, too, the visual tropes of rampant lions, dead lions lying in the field, and lions pierced with arrows are all part and parcel of the Assyrian monumental repertoire.[104]

Grafted onto what is for all intents and purposes an Assyrianizing scene are elements of Achaemenid iconography such as the Persian court robe, dentate crown, date palm, and trilingual royal-name inscription. While the figure in the winged ring is also a carry-over from the Assyrian period, the garment and headdress of this figure are Achaemenid.

One is struck by the very different compositional rhythm in the London Darius cylinder in comparison to the Persepolitan royal-name seals. The strong vertical axes that are such prominent aspects of the Persepolitan royal-name seals are only vaguely echoed in the date palms and rampant lion on the London Darius cylinder. The ground-line in the London Darius cylinder also anchors the scene to a realistic space that is lacking in the Persepolitan royal-name seals.

Stylistically, the London Darius cylinder has little in common with what I would define as the central Achaemenid Court Style.[105] The proportions of the figures are different, the carving much harder and drier, the modeling more rigid and stiff, the use of linear detail and the unmasked drill more pronounced, etc.

The London Darius cylinder still remains something of an enigma. If pressed to identify a context for this seal, I would still look to western Anatolia.[106] For all the discussion of the potential Egyptian provenance for the seal, it exhibits none of the very interesting hybridization of Achaemenid and Egyptian elements that seem to mark images of royalty and elites from Achaemenid period Egypt.[107]

Summary

Imagery and Style

It has often been implied or stated outright, based upon the evidence from the Treasury archive, that there existed a specific royal-seal "type" during the reign of Darius. This does not seem to be the case. While six of the eight royal-name seals of Darius do show some version of the heroic encounter, two of the eight seals, PFS 11* and the London Darius cylinder, clearly do not employ the heroic encounter. Moreover, the six seals that are heroic encounters employ three distinct variations on that theme, and the animal/creatures used in each seal are, with one exception, different. There follow typologies for the compositions and animals/creatures employed in the royal-name seals that show heroic encounters.

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[103] See, e.g., Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 607–08, fig. 50 (50a for the coin mentioned in the text here); p. 983 for bibliography on the identification of the figure in the chariot (Achaemenid king, local ruler, statue of a god [Baal?]). The theme of royal figure in a chariot is found also on coinage of Samaria, but, again, the context is processional rather than hunt. More recent summaries of research on the chariot scenes on Sidonian coinage include: Briant, "Bulletin d'histoire achéménide (I)," pp. 103–04; Briant, *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide II*, pp. 202–04; Christoph Uehlinger, "Powerful Persianisms in Glyptic Iconography of Persian Period Palestine," in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-exilic Times*, edited by Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel, Oudtestamentische Studien 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 134–82 (pp. 166–69 and 175–79, for chariot scenes and coinage); Haim Gitler and André Lemaire, "The Levant: Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian Period," in *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1996–2001*, edited by Carmen Alfaro and Andrew Burnett, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 14 (Madrid: International Numismatic Commission, 2003), pp. 151–75; Leo Mildenberg, "A Note on the Persian Great King Wearing the Jagged Crown," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 13 (1994–1999): 15–24. The seal from Dor (Ephraim Stern, John Berg, Ayelet Gilboa, Bracha Guz-Zilberstein, A. Raban, Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, and Ilan Sharon, *Excavations at Dor, Final Report*, Vol. IB, *Areas A and C: The Finds*, Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2 [Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995], pp. 475–78, seal no. 5174, fig. 10.1:2), that is often mentioned within the context of discussions of Sidonian coinage shows the figure in a chariot holding an animal inverted behind the chariot, i.e., in the manner of many of the seals from Persepolis, and thus has little to no connection with the archer scene on the London Darius cylinder.

[104] It bears noting that dead animals lying in the field are rare in Achaemenid art. A few of the archer scenes in Persepolitan glyptic show the animal/creature struck by arrows (e.g., PFS 35* and PFS 1638*).

[105] I address this issue briefly in Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," pp. 19–20.

[106] Cf. Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," p. 20. Although the Sidonian coins discussed above, in n. 103, suggest that we could possibly look to the area of Phoenicia, especially given the strong Assyrianizing tendencies in Phoenician art in the pre-Achaemenid period. The discovery of PFUTS 603 certainly, however, raises new avenues of exploration.

[107] On Achaemenid royal monuments from Egypt, see, e.g., Margaret Cool Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*, Acta Iranica 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 61–72, 123–28; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 472–84; Briant, "Bulletin d'histoire achéménide (I)," pp. 32–37, 98–99; Alan B. Lloyd, "Darius I in Egypt: Suez and Hibis," in *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, edited by Christopher Tuplin (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2007), pp. 99–115.

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Composition

Control heroic encounter with rampant animals/creatures: PFS 7*, PFS 113*/PTS 4*, PTS 2*

Control heroic encounter with inverted animals/creatures on pedestal creatures: PFUTS 18*, PTS 3*

Combat heroic encounter on pedestal creatures: PTS 1*

Animals/Creatures

Winged bulls: PFS 7*

Winged, human-headed bulls: PFS 113*/PTS 4*

Lions: PFUTS 18*, PTS 3*

Winged, horned, bird-talon lions: PTS 2*

Winged, bird-headed lion: PTS 1*

It is interesting that PFUTS 18* and PTS 3* are the only two seals to share both the basic compositional type, control heroic encounter with inverted animals/creatures on pedestal creatures, and the animal type, lions.

Given that hundreds of other seals from the Fortification archive also employ heroic encounters, and that the compositional rubrics of the heroic encounters used on the royal-name seals are in no way distinct from the heroic encounters used on other Persepolitan seals, one is hard-pressed to interpret the theme per se as having any distinct royal connotations. That is not to say, however, that the compositional rubrics for all of the royal-name seals of Darius were randomly selected, or that there does not exist some linkages in composition between the royal-name seals. The selection of the heroic encounter may reflect the great popularity of the theme in early Achaemenid glyptic. The combat heroic encounter was also, of course, employed in monumental wall relief in the Palace of Darius.

The configuration of the worship scene on PFS 11* remains exceptional among royal-name seals and rare within Persepolitan glyptic as a whole.[108] I have suggested that the imagery attempts to articulate complex issues surrounding the relationship between Achaemenid kingship and the divine, and as such interfaces indirectly with the relief on Darius' tomb at Naqš-e Rostam.[109] I am unable to offer much by way of analysis on the imagery on the London Darius cylinder, since, based on current evidence, the theme seems so very un-Achaemenid (but see also the comments in *Appendix 1*).

Setting aside for the moment the theme, one is struck by what seems a conscious selection of a very static compositional rubric that emphasizes five vertical elements/axes on PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFUTS 18*, and PTS 2*. PFS 113*/PTS 4* and PTS 3* exhibit the same emphasis on verticality, but four in number, PTS 1* three in number. The outlier, unsurprisingly, is the London Darius cylinder. Here four vertical axes, palm-king-lion-palm, are subsumed within a dominant horizontal axis, king-driver-horses-lion.[110]

There does not appear then to be any thematic device that distinguishes the royal-name seals of Darius. Four features may have functioned together, however, to differentiate these seals (in the Persepolitan glyptic landscape at least): size, iconography, style, and trilingual royal-name inscription.

All the royal-name seals of Darius are large by the standards of other seals in the Persepolitan archives:

Heights of royal-name seals of Darius, arranged greatest to least (in cm)	
London Darius cylinder	3.70
PFS 7*	3.00
PTS 2*	> 2.20
PFUTS 18*	2.10
PTS 1*	> 2.10
PFS 11*	> 2.00
PTS 3*	> 2.00
PFS 113*/PTS 4*	> 1.70

Diameters of royal-name seals of Darius, arranged greatest to least (in cm)	
London Darius cylinder	1.70
PFS 7*	1.70 (est.)
PFS 11*	1.40 (est.)
PTS 2*	> 1.30
PTS 3*	1.30
PFUTS 18*	1.20
PTS 1*	1.20
PFS 113*/PTS 4*	1.20 (est.)

[108] See Garrison, *Ritual Landscape,* in press.

[109] Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā"; Garrison, *Ritual Landscape,* in press.

[110] The figure in the winged ring in the London Darius cylinder seems adrift in the upper field; cf., in the Persepolitan examples, how the figure in the winged device always is anchored by a significant element (king or tower structure) below it.

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With regard to size, the London Darius cylinder may again be outstanding. At first blush the seal seems much taller than any of the Persepolitan examples, but the heights of five of the Persepolitan seals cannot be estimated owing to preservation. PFS 7*, at 3.00 cm the tallest of the preserved Persepolitan royal-name seals, is nevertheless, considerably shorter than the London Darius cylinder. The London Darius cylinder and PFS 7* have, however, the same diameters, 1.70 cm. The diameters of the other royal-name seals, almost all of which can be reconstructed, then cluster tightly in the range of 1.20–1.40 cm.

If one compares these dimensions with those recorded for the seals published in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, one sees that the royal-name seals are exceptionally large.[111] The great majority of the seals in volume 1 cluster in the range of 1.40–2.00 cm for height and 0.70–1.00 cm for diameter. Thus, the royal-name seals as physical objects would have easily stood out within the context of glyptic artifacts at Persepolis.

Although one is accustomed to considering the distinctive iconography and style of the royal-name seals of Darius as typical of "Achaemenid" glyptic, this is certainly not the case in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. and the first decade of the fifth century B.C.[112] Both the distinctive iconography (i.e., dentate crown, Persian court robe, figure in winged device, and date palm) and the style (Court Style) of most of the royal-name seals of Darius are rare in the Fortification archive.[113] Granted, one cannot assume that the seals preserved on the Fortification archive are representative of all glyptic phenomena in southwestern Iran in the late sixth century B.C. Nevertheless, as noted throughout the discussion here, the Fortification archive captures thousands of seals being used in a remarkably short period of time by a substantial cross section of individuals and offices active in Fārs or traveling through Fārs on state business. That we may be missing large segments of seal-using groups (using seals that are different from those found in the Fortification archive or using a much higher percentage of seals that draw iconographically and stylistically from the Court Style) seems unlikely. Thus, the distinctive iconography and style of the imagery on the royal-name seals of Darius would have easily stood out within the context of the glyptic landscape at Persepolis in the late sixth century B.C. and, one imagines, in other areas as well.

Lastly, there are the trilingual royal-name inscriptions themselves, the defining criterion for the royal-name seals as a group. A thorough study of the inscriptions employed on seals in the Fortification and Treasury archives remains a desideratum.[114] To reiterate observations that have been made in other contexts, inscribed seals are rare in both of the Persepolitan archives. Within this rare group of seals, the trilingual royal-name inscriptions would have stood out for multiple reasons. They were the only seals that carried inscriptions in multiple languages.[115] They were the only seals that carried inscriptions in Old Persian in the Fortification archive.[116] The particular formula employed in the royal-name seals, I, PN, title, occurs on no other inscribed seal in the Persepolitan archives.[117] Thus, for the literate few, the trilingual royal-name inscriptions would have been exceptional glyptic products. For the non-literate, who probably would have accounted for almost all individuals both using seals and consuming seal imagery at Persepolis, the trilingual royal-name inscriptions would also have seemed unusual owing to their distinctive display characteristics. The orientation of the inscriptions, along the horizontal axis of the seal, and the use of case lines and a panel occur only on a handful of other inscribed seals in the Fortification archive.[118] Moreover, the royal-name seals are almost the only seals to employ three lines of inscription oriented along the vertical axis of the seal.[119]

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[111] Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 471–83.

[112] Note also the comments above concerning the style of PFS 1*, which is intimately connected with some of the stylistic trends in the Fortification archive.

[113] As one can tell from the sample of the PFS corpus published in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1.

[114] See preliminary comments in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1, pp. 7–9, 489; Mark B. Garrison, "The 'Late Neo-Elamite' Glyptic Style: A Perspective from Fars," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 16 (2006): 65–102, esp. pp. 70–72.

[115] The inscriptions that occur on seals in the two Persepolitan archives are, with the exception of the trilingual inscriptions on royal-name seals, monolingual.

[116] Monolingual inscriptions in Old Persian do not appear before the time of Xerxes in the Persepolitan archives (e.g., PTS 5* and PTS 6*). One tablet whose text is written in Old Persian has recently been identified in the Fortification archive (Matthew W. Stopler and Jan Tavernier, "From the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, 1: An Old Persian Administrative Tablet from the Persepolis Fortification," *ARTA* 2007.001).

[117] For preliminary remarks on inscriptional formula used in the Fortification archive, see Garrison, "The 'Late Neo-Elamite' Glyptic Style," pp. 71–72.

[118] See the comments in Garrison, "The 'Late Neo-Elamite' Glyptic Style," pp. 71–72. Aramaic inscriptions oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, using case lines and enclosed in a panel: PFS 535*. Aramaic inscriptions oriented along the vertical axis of the seal and enclosed in a panel: PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, PFS 66c*, PFS 266* (Cat.No. 208). Elamite inscriptions oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, using case lines and enclosed in a panel: PFS 1* (Cat.No. 182), PFS 35*, PFS 1601*. Cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain language oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, using case lines and enclosed in a panel: PFS 64* (Cat.No. 173), PFS 526 (Cat.No. 216), PFS 671* (Cat.No. 174), PFS 1095*.

[119] Other examples, not including heirloom seals, are: PFS 32* (Cat. No. 180), a three-line Elamite inscription that is disposed floating in the terminal field; PFS 848*, an Elamite inscription that is disposed floating in the terminal field in two lines and with one sign placed between the archer and his prey; PFS 1632* (Cat.No. 244), a Babylonian inscription that is disposed floating in the terminal field of a heroic encounter in 2–3 lines.

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Functions

The administrative functions of the provenanced royal-name seals of Darius are remarkably uniform. Without exception, the seven provenanced examples from Persepolis belong to high-rank officials/offices working in administrative contexts.[120] The Persepolitan royal-name seals of Darius are used both as personal seals as well as office seals. The most informative biographically of the group are PFS 11* and PFS 113*/PTS 4*. PFS 11* is Ziššawiš' second seal, which replaced his earlier seal, PFS 83*, a seal showing strong Assyrianizing elements.[121] Baratkama's use of PFS 113*/PTS 4* in the two Persepolitan archives constitutes the longest usage period that we can attest for any of the royal-name seals of Darius, running from 495/494 B.C. down to May 479 B.C., almost fifteen and one-half years.[122] Not only does he use the seal in two different archives, but also, apparently, within different administrative roles.

By way of review, there follow the seven royal-name seals of Darius from Persepolis and the owners/users:

PFS 7*:	office seal
PFS 11*:	Ziššawiš (Old Iranian [dialect] **Čiçavahuš*)
PFS 113*/PTS 4*:	Baratkama (Old Iranian **Baratkāma*)
PFUTS 18*:	unknown
PTS 1*:	Tarkawiš (Old Iranian **Dargāyuš*)
PTS 2*:	Irdatakma (Old Iranian **Ṛtataxma*)
PTS 3*:	Rumatinda/Uratinda (Old Iranian **Vratēnta*)

Although highly speculative, the nature of the administrative positions held by these individuals and what we know of their social status may provide a window into the social/political roles that these royal-name seals played.

The officials themselves, when known, all have Iranian names and appear to have reached a high administrative rank. That rank was, however, certainly not anything equal to that of a satrap, an army commander, or one of the special offices/ceremonial positions closely linked to the king. Of the last group, one thinks, for example, of the *ṛštibara* Kambarma (Old Persian Gaubaruva, Greek Gobryas) (DNc) or the *vaçabara* Ašbazana (Old Persian Aspačanā, Greek Aspathines) (DNd), both of whom were named and depicted on Darius' tomb at Naqš-e Rostam.[123] Furthermore, the individuals who used the royal-name seals, as far as we know, had no blood connection to the royal family, were not married into the royal family, nor did they belong to one of the select Persian families who were singled out for special privileges owing to their roles in Darius' seizure of kingship.[124] These individuals who used royal-name seals of Darius then appear to have been talented men, Iranian by ethnicity, who, although they do not seem to have been members of the upper echelon of Persian nobility, have risen through the administrative ranks to positions of no minor administrative note.

An interesting study, which I shall not pursue in any detail here, would be an analysis of the seals belonging to the very highest elite among the Persian nobility, that is, satraps, members of the royal family, family members of the other six conspirators, etc., whose seals are preserved in the Persepolitan archives. Many of these seals are already well known and published and would include the seals belonging to, for example: Parnaka, possibly the uncle of Darius (Old Iranian **Farnaka*, Greek Pharnakes, PFS 9* [Cat.No. 288] and PFS 16* [Cat.No. 22]); Irtašduna (Old Iranian **Ṛtastūnā*, Greek Artystone, PFS 38 [Cat.No. 16]), a wife of Darius; Irdabama (Old Iranian **Ṛtabāma*, PFS 51), another royal woman; one, perhaps even two, of the seven conspirators, Kambarma (PFS 857s, certainly a conspirator) and Ašbazana (PFS 1567*

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[120] As noted previously in Mark B. Garrison, "Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period. Glyptic Insights and Perspectives from Persepolis," in *Achaemenid Anatolia* (proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma, 15–18 August 1997), edited by Tomris Bakır, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 92 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2001), pp. 65–74, esp. pp. 69–74.

[121] As discussed in some detail in Garrison, *Ritual Landscape*, in press; Mark B. Garrison, "Glyptic Studies as Art History," in *Handbook of Ancient Near Eastern Art*, edited by Brian Brown and Marian H. Feldman (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, in press).

[122] PTS 2* is used for some fourteen and one-half years in the Treasury archive.

[123] The terms *ṛštibara* and *vaçabara* have often been discussed. See, e.g., Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 108–09, 113, 214, 880, 898; Garrison, "The Seals of Ašbazana (Aspathines)," p. 116; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 117–20. For Kambarma and Ašbazana on Darius' rock-cut tomb facade at Naqš-e Rostam, see Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 3. The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, Oriental Institute Publications 70 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 86, pls. 19, 22A, and 23–24.

[124] The now-famous "conspiracy of the Seven" is preserved in Herodotus 3.68–88. The conspirators, as named by Herodotus, were Darius, Intaphernes, Otanes, Gobryas, Hydarnes, Megabyzus, and Aspathines; at DB §§68–69 the six other conspirators, all noted as Persians, are Vidafarnah, Utāna, Gaubaruva, Vidarna, Bagabuxša, and Ardumaniš (see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 107–13, 128–37, 898, 901–03 for a discussion of Darius' seizure of power, the versions as preserved in Herodotus and at Bisōtūn, the careers of some of the Seven, etc.). In his account Herodotus mentions the various connections by blood and marriage of several of the conspirators to the Teispid house. At DB §69 Darius invokes special privileges/protection for the families of these men.

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and PTS 14*, most likely one of the conspirators); Irdumartiya (Old Iranian Artavardiya, PFS 71*/PTS 33*), perhaps the general who defeated the rebel Vahyazdata in Fārs mentioned at DB §42.[125] For the purposes of our discussion, the most critical observations about this group of seals belonging to the uppermost elite of Persian society are that none of them carry a trilingual royal-name inscription and none of them are executed in the Court Style.[126]

The fact that the very highest elite among the Persian nobility and the royal family did not use seals that carried royal-name inscriptions would seem to suggest that, for this particular social group, such distinctions were unnecessary.

The royal-name seals thus appear to have been specifically targeted at a social/administrative level at least one or two ranks removed from the likes of Parnaka, Irtašduna, Ašbazana, etc. That social group targeted by the royal-name seals was Iranian by birth, but, apparently, not directly/intimately involved in the events of 522/521 B.C. or connected to the royal family by birth and/or marriage. The royal-name seals of Darius as such then represent a deliberate glyptic "programme" aimed at a specific segment of Achaemenid society.

Given the restricted dates of the Fortification archive, 509–493 B.C., and the uneven distribution of dated texts within that time span, it is perhaps overly optimistic to assume that we may identify with any precision the exact temporal beginnings of this glyptic programme.[127] Both PFS 7* and PFS 11* first appear, however, rather suddenly in the archive in 503/502 B.C. This congruence seems hardly fortuitous, especially given the fact that Ziššawiš had been using before this date another seal, PFS 83*.[128] This period, that is, the last decade of the sixth century B.C., marks, moreover, something of an interlude in the reign of Darius. The first ten years of his reign had been given over to quelling revolts and then territorial expansion to the west (e.g., Samos, Egypt, Scythia, and Thrace) and the east (India).[129] The events of the decade 500–490 B.C. still lay in the future. Moreover, the Fortification texts document the king in Fārs and Elam on and off again during the period covered by the archive. Thus, the last decade of the sixth century would have provided a respite in which Darius could have addressed issues surrounding social/political hierarchies within the heartland. Part of that negotiation appears to have been a carefully calculated turn away from the bellicose verbal and visual rhetoric of his early years (i.e., Bīsotūn) to a rhetoric stressing harmonious cooperation and support (Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis).[130] This visual programme in the last decade of the late sixth century B.C. included not only the large-scale construction projects at Persepolis, Naqš-e Rostam, and Susa, but also glyptic.

Although highly speculative, we may be able to discern some of the social dynamics driving this new visual programme in glyptic. As I mentioned, the target audience of the royal-name seals of Darius appears to have been Iranian administrators who, although of high administrative rank, were several levels removed from the upper echelon of Persian nobility, lacked any direct connection by birth or marriage to the royal family, and were not members of the six conspiratorial families that supported the Darius' seizure of power. This "lack" of connectedness to the king on the part of this particular social group may have been cause for some concern from the perspective of both that group and the king. The royal-name seals might thus have been part of an ideological programme that sought to create a sense of

[125] As indicated, PFS 9*, PFS 16*, and PFS 38 are published in Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1. Henkelman has raised doubts concerning the traditional identification of Parnaka as Darius' uncle (Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are*, p. 407, and "'Consumed Before the King'," p. 733). For PFS 51, see now Mark B. Garrison, "The Seal of 'Kuraš the Anzanite, Son of Sespes' (Teispes), PFS 93*: Susa – Anšan – Persepolis," in *Elam and Persia*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon and Mark B. Garrison (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 375–405, esp. pp. 383–84, figs. 14–19 for PFS 51; for PFS 1567* and PTS 14*, see Garrison, "The Seals of Ašbazana (Aspathines)"; for PFS 857s, see Margaret Cool Root, "From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire," in *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, edited by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 6 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991) pp. 1-29, esp. 19–21, fig. 4; for PFS 71*/PTS 33*, see Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pl. 10, and Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā," p. 56, figs. 36–37. Regarding the identification of Irdumartiya, see Hallock, "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," p. 129; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 65 and 231, identifies Irdumartiya as the "Hofmarschall" in years 26–27, after Parnaka; Gerassimos G. Aperghis, "Storehouses and Systems at Persepolis: Evidence from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42/2 (1999): 152–93, esp. p. 164, the probable "commander" of Shiraz. See also the discussion in Garrison, "Glyptic Studies as Art History," in press.

[126] The one exception is the second seal of Ašbazana, PTS 14*, which regenerates the Assyrianizing imagery of his first seal, PFS 1567*, but updates the garments (Persian court robes) and is executed in the Court Style. PTS 14* is attested much later than royal-name seals of Darius here discussed, first appearing in the Treasury archive in July/August 483 B.C. This date is some two decades after the initial appearance of the royal-name seals, in a period when the Court Style was much more commonly employed.

[127] The uneven distribution of dated Elamite texts has often been noted. For example, memorandum-type texts, the most numerous text type in the archive, dated before year 22 (500/499 B.C.) are relatively rare, some 26 percent of the dated memorandum-type texts; memorandum-type texts dated before year 17 (505/504 B.C.) are rare, less than 2 percent of the dated memorandum-type texts (see the chronological distribution of 4,091 dated PF and NN texts in Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are*, p. 174). In comparison, some 63 percent of dated memorandum-type texts are dated to three years, years 22–24 (500/499–498/497 B.C.). Henkelman's analysis (*The Other Gods Who Are*, pp. 173–77) of the chronological distribution of the dated texts distinguishes between the four types of texts: memoranda, letter orders, journals, and accounts. Each has a distinctive chronological distribution.

[128] The inference being that the beginning of the use of PFS 11* in 503/502 B.C. must mark a date very soon after its creation.

[129] Events outlined in Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 139–46, 904–05.

[130] As articulated in the seminal study by Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*.

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connection to/recognition by the new regime with a specific level of the administrative elite and/or with a particular social group.[131] The seals would then have been part of a broader and well-known Achaemenid royal tradition, "the gift-giving king," wherein the king bestowed gifts and honors as a means to bind individuals to him.[132] Although the documentation for royal gifting in the Achaemenid period happens to be especially rich, similar practices must have been common at all times and periods in ancient western Asia. Indeed, Zettler and Winter have argued such specifically for royal-name seals of the Akkadian and Ur III periods respectfully, and Henkelman for some royal-name seals of the Simaški rulers of Elam (contemporary to the Ur III period);[133] i.e., royal-name seals originated with the king and then were doled out to a *specific* class/group of administrators.[134]

The royal-name seals of Darius, via a combination of distinctive iconography, style, inscriptions, and, indeed, by their very size, signaled a multi-dimensional social/political transaction. On one level, the seals legitimized the authority of the king himself through the very act of their issuance (in this sense the royal-name seals may have functioned in some ways directly analogous to official Achaemenid coinage during the reign of Darius). On a second level, these seals would have promulgated to select officials, via imagery and inscriptions, a distinctive ideological message about the nature of Achaemenid kingship, a message that would have been echoed/reinforced/expanded in monumental rock-cut relief and architectural sculpture in Fārs and Elam.[135] On a third level, these seals legitimized the authority of officials who, by all surviving evidence, may have required some outward tokens reinforcing social status and/or administrative rank (in lieu of ties of conspiracy, blood, and/or marriage to the royal house). On yet a fourth level, one of the most critical functions of these seals would have been as devices for group self-identity and affirmation. As markers of acceptance, the seals would have created a sense of group identity among the administrators in question and signaled a message of affirmation (I/we belong to the new order).

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[131] Much research on the dynamics of empire has stressed the importance of "the evolution of a bureaucratic elite that has a sense of its own function within the state or society," an elite "that identifies with a particular set of ideological and symbolic narratives and can recruit and train its personnel into institutional roles and behavioral patterns relevant to the maintenance and even expansion of these structures" for the formation, reproduction, and maintenance of state power (Jack A. Goldstone and John F. Haldon, "Ancient States, Empires, and Exploitation: Problems and Perspectives," in *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*, edited by Ian Morris and Walter Scheidel, Oxford Studies in Early Empires [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], pp. 3–29 [quotes p. 8]). The royal-name seals of Darius seem directly to reflect concerns of the relationship of state power and administrative elites.

[132] This practice has been documented in detail by Briant (*From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 302–23, 923–25); see also Henkelman, "The Šumar of Cambyses," pp. 123–29, concerning Ašbazana.

[133] Zettler, "The Sargonic Royal Seal," pp. 33 and 36; Irene J. Winter, "The King and the Cup: Iconography of the Royal Presentation Scene on Ur III Seals," in *Insight Through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, edited by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, Paolo Matthiae, and Maurits N. van Loon, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 21 (Malibu: Undena, 1986), pp. 253–68; Irene J. Winter, "Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend: Seals Belonging to Officials in the Administrative Bureaucracy of the Ur III State," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, 2nd ed., Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 46 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1991), pp. 59–99. I thank W. F. M. Henkelman for bringing my attention to the seal from Susa naming in its inscription the Simaški ruler Idadu: "Idadu / *ensí* of Susa / beloved hero / of Inšušinak / son of Tan-Ruhuratir / to Kuk-Simut the scribe/chancellor / to his beloved servant / has given (this seal)" (the translation is compiled from Daniel T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 145; and Henkelman, "The Šumar of Cambyses," p. 125; the seal is published in P. Amiet, *La glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides: cachets, sceaux-cylindres et empreintes antiques découverts à Suse de 1913 à 1967*, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran 43 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1972), p. 216 (no. 1677), pl. 33 (no. 1677). The scene on the seal shows the handing over of a ceremonial ax from the king to Kuk-Simut. Henkelman ("The Šumar of Cambyses," p. 125), following Amiet (*Glyptique susienne*, p. 210), reads both the inscription and the scene on the seal as signaling the king handing out tokens of administrative rank (seal and ax) at the "investiture" of Kuk-Simut; other seals from the Simaški period appear to show the same ritual (Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, pp. 210–11). The inscription on the seal of Kuk-Simut documents in a vivid fashion the type of phenomenon that I envision the royal-name seals of Darius representing: the king's gifting of seals as tokens of recognition to specific administrators.

[134] In her study of the royal-name seals of the Ur III period, Winter, "Legitimation of Authority," pp. 78–79, identified the target group as "offices found in the second tier, just below the king: ensis, šaginas, and officials of the royal bureaucracy." The evidence from Persepolis would seem to suggest that we are dealing with individuals in a third tier: tier 1 = King; tier 2 = highest level of Persian nobility, e.g., satraps, members of the royal family, the "Seven," etc.; tier 3 = mid-high level of Persian nobility, Ziššawiš, Baratkama, etc. See the references above, note 132, for titles and objects given by the Achaemenid king as tokens of rank and status.

[135] As discussed in Garrison, "By the Favor of Auramazdā."

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Appendix 1

A Possible Companion to the London Darius Cylinder at Persepolis?

As this article was going to press, a fragmentary impression of a seal, PFUTS 603 (figs. 7.28–29), whose composition appears to be the same as the famous London Darius cylinder (fig. 7.25), was found on an uninscribed tablet, PFUT 1673-201, from the Fortification archive. It was decided that a short appendix noting this discovery should be added to this article. A more complete analysis of the seal will appear in a future study.

The impression of PFUTS 603 on PFUT 1673-201 is fragmentary and poorly preserved (fig. 7.29). The impression is very shallow and the surface is very damaged. A series of linear indentations running diagonally across the right half of the surface makes retrieving details of the winged symbol and the rampant lion very challenging. The preserved impression captures only portions of what appears to be the upper center of the design. The preserved portion of the scene is, compositionally, an exact duplicate of that on the London Darius cylinder.

At far left of the preserved scene are the shoulders and head of a chariot driver. The driver is bent forward at a 45º angle; a small part of the upper part of one arm is preserved, apparently held downward diagonally toward the reins (see below). He appears to have a blunt-pointed beard; a thick mass of hair coming to a rounded point is at the back of his neck. Too little remains to determine the nature of the driver's garment. To the right and below the driver is an animal, perhaps a horse, moving to the right. Part of one foreleg is preserved, apparently stretched out before its chest. There is a small, pointed ear at the back of the neck. A curved element (perhaps a forelock?), partially preserved, emerges from the front of the head. Three reins run upward diagonally from the back of the animal's neck toward the driver; there may originally have been more reins, but the preservation in this passage is especially poor. To the right of the draft animal are the head and shoulders of a rampant lion. The lion moves to the left. Part of one foreleg is preserved, held straight and extended downward in front of its body toward the muzzle of the draft animal. The other foreleg appears to be held straight and extended upward in front of its head, but the preservation is poor in this passage and this object may be an arrow rather than the lion's foreleg. The lion has been hit in the forehead by one arrow. The mouth is open. In the field above the draft animal there is a partial figure in a winged device (owing to poor preservation, one cannot determine whether there is a ring or a disk). The figure faces to the right. He holds one arm bent(?) and extends it outward before his chest; the hand is rendered as a circle. The other arm is also bent(?) and extended along the top of the wing; the hand is not preserved. The figure has a squared beard; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair is at the back of his neck. He wears a dentate crown (six points). The garment cannot be determined. Details of the feathers on the wings and tail are not preserved. Two hooked tendrils depend from the winged symbol; the tail is only partially preserved. At far right are preserved a small section of the trunk and the outline of the leaf canopy of a date palm. A small portion of the edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design above the winged symbol.

There remain many unstudied uninscribed tablets. Our hope is that more impressions of PFUTS 603 will be identified. The similarity of the composition with that on the London Darius cylinder is striking; there are apparently some slight differences in the rendering of some elements; e.g., the beard and hair of the driver, but details such as this are very difficult to retrieve from the one impression of the seal. The poor preservation of the impression of PFUTS 603 does not allow one to determine whether we are in fact dealing with the London Darius cylinder, or a different (but compositionally similar) seal. The preserved impression of PFUTS 603 does not extend beyond the canopy of the date palm, hence we cannot determine whether or not there was a trilingual inscription, but it seems highly likely that we have to do here with a royal-name seal.

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Appendix 2
List of Tablets on which the Seven Royal-Name Seals from the Fortification Archive and the Treasury Archive Occur

Tablet	*Notes*
PFS 7*	
MDP 11 308[136]	
NN 0117	With PFS 66-* (left edge too poorly preserved to determine version of PFS 66*)
NN 0174	With PFS 66c*
NN 0189	
NN 0324	With PFS 66b*
NN 0554	
NN 0676	
NN 0697	
NN 0766	
NN 0790	
NN 0797	With PFS 66c*
NN 0857	
NN 0906	
NN 0919	With PFS 66c*
NN 0923	*non vidi*
NN 1224 (= PFa 6)	
NN 1383	
NN 1384	
NN 1407	
NN 1735	
NN 1843	With PFS 66a*
NN 1874	With PFS 66a*
NN 1894	
NN 1901	
NN 1929 (= PF 0719)	
NN 2030	
NN 2213	
NN 2554	
NN 3086 (= Fort. 6352)	Probably with a version of PFS 66-* on left edge (tablet now in Tehran)
NN 3102 (= Fort. 6767)	(Tablet now in Tehran)
NN 3135 (= Fort. 7864)	*non vidi*
PF 0697	

Tablet	*Notes*
PF 0698	
PF 0699	With PFS 66c*
PF 0700	With PFS 66c*
PF 0701	With PFS 66a*
PF 0702	With PFS 66a*
PF 0703	With PFS 66b*
PF 0704	With PFS 66b*
PF 0705	
PF 0706	
PF 0707	
PF 0708	
PF 0709	
PF 0711	
PF 0712	
PF 0713	
PF 0714	
PF 0715	
PF 0716	
PF 0717	
PF 0718	
PF 0719 (= NN 1929)	
PF 0720	
PF 0721	
PF 0722	
PF 0723	With illegible seal impression on left edge, probably version of PFS 66-*
PF 0724	
PF 0725	
PF 0726	
PF 0727	
PF 2034	
PFa 6 (= NN 1224)	
PFS 11*	
Fort. 0029-101[137]	
Fort. 1740-1	
NN 0002	
NN 0088	
NN 0191	

[136] See Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308."

[137] Four-digit Fort. numbers refer to Elamite tablets that were read by Cameron and then returned to Iran. Hyphenated Fort. numbers refer to Elamite tablets whose texts were not edited by Hallock.

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Tablet	*Notes*
NN 0333	
NN 0349	
NN 0495	
NN 0779	
NN 0939	
NN 0948	
NN 1036	
NN 1269	
NN 1280	
NN 1368	
NN 1369	
NN 1460	
NN 1463	
NN 1528	
NN 1590	
NN 1700	
NN 1839	
NN 1848	
NN 1880	
NN 2078	
NN 2394	
NN 2535	
NN 2561	
NN 3007 (= Fort. 1016)	
NN 3050 (= Fort. 3566)	
PF 0614	
PF 0672	
PF 0674	
PF 0675	
PF 0676	
PF 0677	
PF 0678	
PF 1182	
PF 1813	
PF 1814	
PF 1815	
PF 1816	
PF 1817	
PF 1818	
PF 1819	
PF 1820	
PF 1821	
PF 1822	
PF 1823	
PF 1824	
PF 1825	
PF 1826	
PF 1827	
PF 1828	
PF 2069	
PFS 113*/PTS 4*	
PF 0864	
PF 0865	
PF 0879	
PT 001	
PT 017	
PT 023	
PT 024	
PT4 370	
PT4 786	
PFUTS 18*[138]	
PFUT 0045-101	
PFUT 0067-102	
PFUT 0194-252	
PFUT 0383-101	
PFUT 0392-201	
PFUT 0419-201	
PFUT 0448-201	
PFUT 0482-251	
PFUT 0528-201	
PFUT 0529-201	
PFUT 0573-263	
PFUT 0711-201	
PFUT 0717-102	
PFUT 0725-201	
PFUT 0870-101	
PFUT 0926-101	
PFUT 1017-106	
PFUT 1085-101	
PFUT 1091-101	
PFUT 1141-204	
PFUT 1190-101	
PFUT 1262-101	
PFUT 2143-101	
PFUT 2156-101	
PTS 1*	
PT 010	
PT 010a	
PT 010b	
PT 013	
PT 015	
PT 016	
PT 018	
PT 019	
PTS 2*	
PT 021	

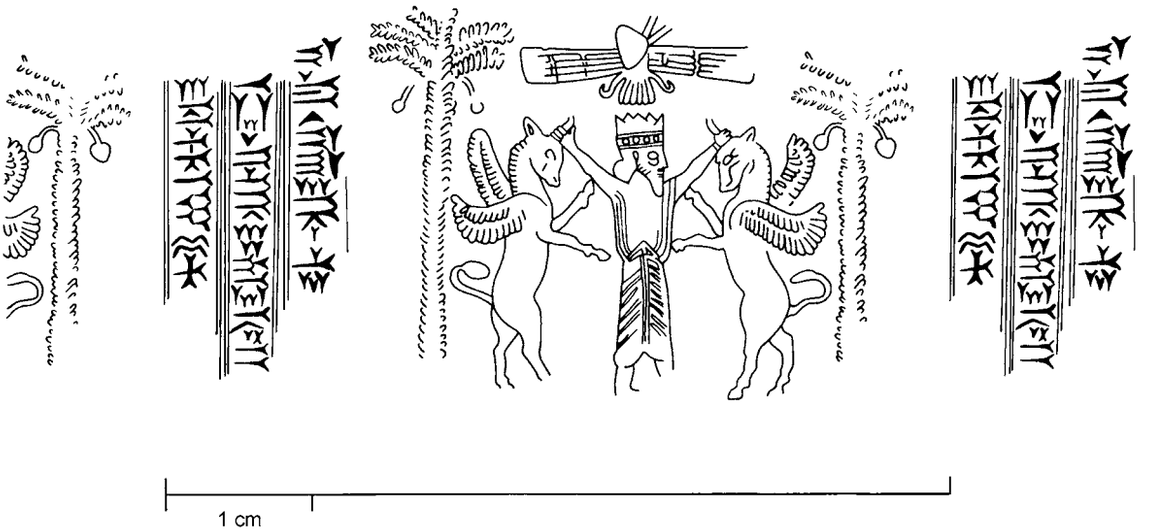
[138] This list supersedes that in Garrison, "The Uninscribed Tablets," p. 191.

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Tablet	*Notes*
PT 022	
PT 027	
PT 037	
PT 038	
PT 038a1	
PT 038a2	
PT 038a3	
PT 038a4	
PT 038a5	
PT 038a6	
PT 038a7	
PT 041	
PT 042	
PT 042a†	
PT 042b	
PT 046	
PT 047†	
PT 048†	
PT 048a	
PT 049	
PT 049a1	
PT 049a2	
PT 049a3	
PT 049b1	
PT 049b2	
PT 052	
PT 053	
PT 054	
PT 055	
PT 056	
PT 057	
PT 058	
PT 059	
PT 059a1	
PT 059a2	
PT 063	
PT 063a	
PT 068a	
PT4 649	
PTS 3*	
PT 003	
PT 003a	
PT4 860	

† = tablet assumed to carry seal but seal impression destroyed or mutilated)

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7.1. Collated drawing of PFS 7*

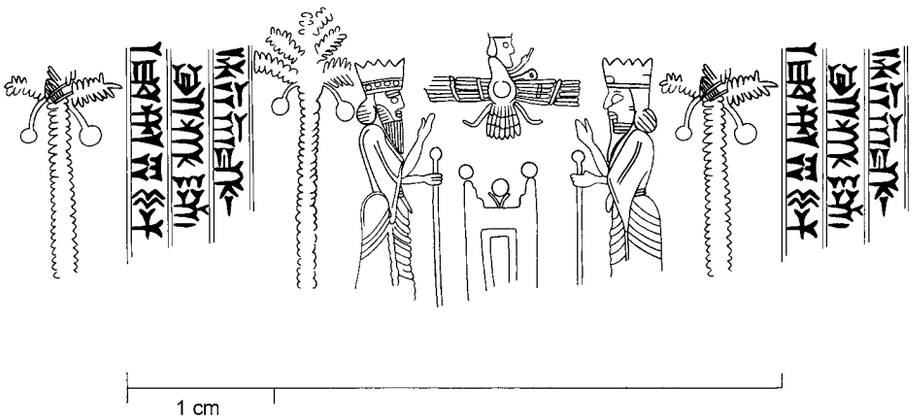


7.2. Impression of PFS 7* on the reverse of PF 702



7.3. Impression of PFS 7* on the left edge of NN 554

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7.4. Collated drawing of PFS 11*

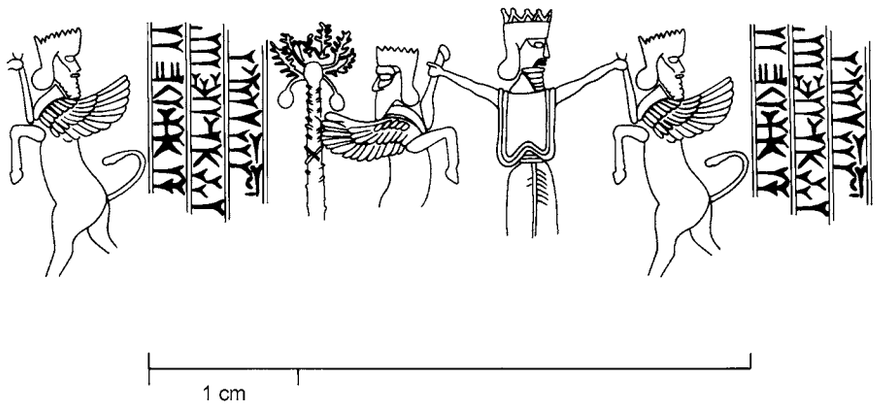


7.5. Impression of PFS 11* on the upper edge of PF 1820



7.6. Impression of PFS 11* on the left edge of NN 939

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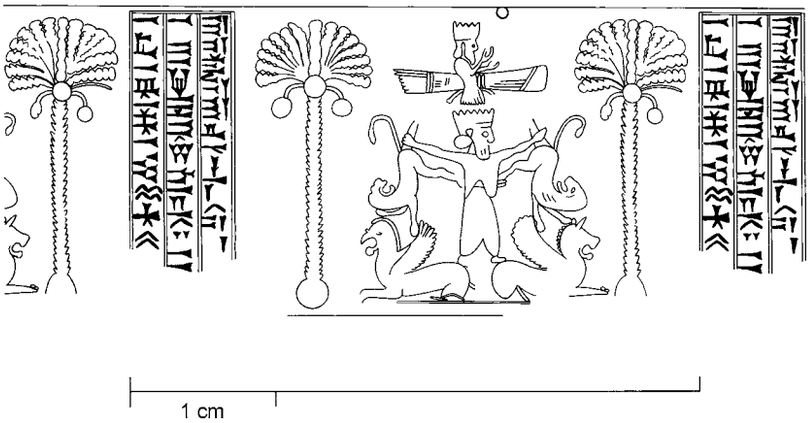


7.7. Collated drawing of PFS 113*/PTS 4*



7.8. Impression of PFS 113*/PTS 4* on the left edge of PF 864

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7.9. Collated drawing of PFUTS 18*



7.10. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the left edge of PFUT 383-101



7.11. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the upper edge of PFUT 383-101

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7.12. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the bottom edge of PFUT 419-201



7.13. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the obverse of PFUT 419-201



7.14. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the left edge of PFUT 711-201

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7.15. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the obverse of PFUT 711-201



7.16. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the upper edge of PFUT 711-201

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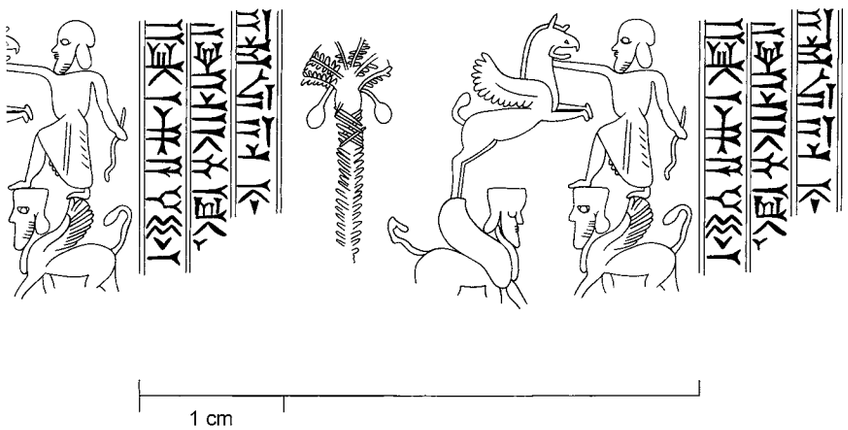


7.17. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the obverse of PFUT 2143-101



7.18. Impression of PFUTS 18* on the reverse of PFUT 2143-101

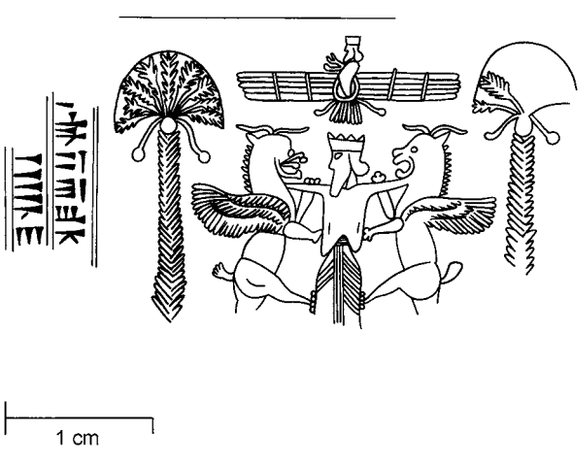
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7.19. Collated drawing of PTS 1*



7.20. Impression of PTS 1* on left edge of PT 15

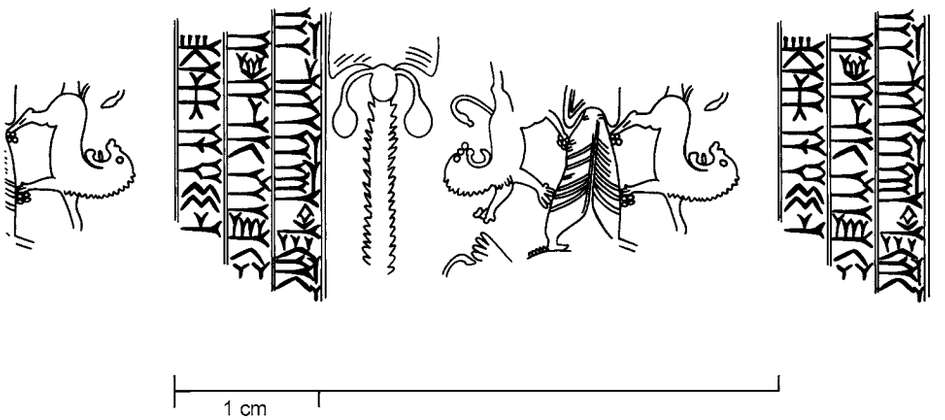


7.21. Collated drawing of PTS 2*



7.22. Impression of PTS 2* on left edge of PT 22

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7.23. Collated drawing of PTS 3*

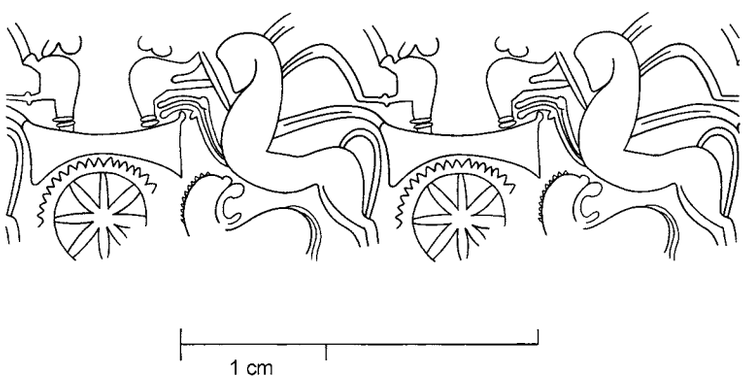


7.24. Impression of PTS 3* on the upper edge of PT 3

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7.25. Modern impression of the London Darius cylinder (AN23386; image copyright The British Museum)



7.26. Collated drawing of PFS 207



7.27. Impression of PFS 207 on the reverse of PF 450

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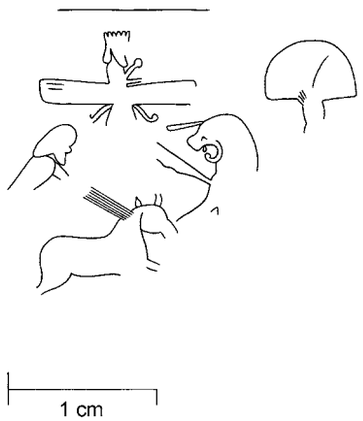


Figure 7.28. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 603



Figure 7. 29. Impression of PFUTS 603 on the obverse of PFUT 1673-201

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8

De vie à trépas

Françoise Grillot-Susini, CNRS – Paris

Pour les Élamites la mort ne signifiait pas le terme de la vie. Mourir c'était disparaître de la surface de la terre et prendre le chemin du monde souterrain. Une longue suite d'épreuves jalonnaient le parcours du trépassé. Si par chance, il parvenait à les surmonter et arrivait au bout du chemin, il pouvait alors se présenter devant le Maître du monde inférieur.[1] Ce Maître qui régissait le royaume des morts était Inšušinak, le dieu de Suse, dont l'autorité s'étendait en Susiane et même au delà notamment lors de l'extension du royaume élamite. Sans doute pour des raisons politico-religieuses, Inšušinak sera doté à une certaine époque des attributs et des fonctions du dieu d'Anšan, Napiriša (= EA/Enki en Mésopotamie), en tant que Maître des eaux douces, celles qui étaient source de vie et purificatrices.[2]

Dans les textes royaux méso- et néo-élamites le fait de quitter le monde de la lumière (domaine des dieux Soleil et Lune) et celui de poursuivre sa marche dans le monde des ténèbres (domaine d'Inšušinak) sont exprimés par des termes indiquant le mouvement. Quelques exemples:

> *nahhunte ir šara-ra ani uzzun*
>
> "puisse-t-il ne plus aller sous Nahhunte (le Soleil)!" (EKI 45 VIII.6–8)

> *sa-e sîn* (d.XXX) *ak* UTU *šara-ma mašsikni*[3]
>
> "que sa marche soit interrompue (coupée/tranchée) sous Sîn (la Lune) et le Soleil (Nahhunte)!" (EKI 76: 35–36)

> *kutir-nahhunte zalmu erentum-ia huhtaš ak siyan inšušinak-ma ahan kušinki mar ak imme kušiš ak purku uzzunra u tak*
>
> "Kutir-Nahhunte a fait des statues en briques cuites et 'là, j'ai construit le temple d'Inšušinak,' a-t-il déclaré, et il ne (l')a pas construit. Et (Kutir-Nahhunte) s'en étant allé préalablement, elles ont été mises en place par moi" (Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal," p. 14)

> *e kuk-kirmaš melku mete-ia inšušinak i riel-satna*
>
> "... ô Kuk-Kirmaš, prince en précellence, afin que, pour cela (la sauvegarde d'une dédicace), tu ouvres le chemin(?) (litt. tu marches le chemin (?)) vers Inšušinak!"[4] (EKI 38: 28–30)[5]

---

[1] La traduction du mot *haštu* par "fosse," terme qui se trouve dans une inscription sur stèle faite par Šilhak-Inšušinak et vouée à Inšušinak, a mis en évidence le caractère chthonien de ce dieu, voir Françoise Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal de Suse," *Iranica Antiqua* 18 (1983): 5 n. 9.

[2] Françoise Grillot-Susini, "Le monde d'en bas en Susiane," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 95 (2001): 145–47. Si Inšušinak revêt les pouvoirs de Napiriša, les deux dieux ne sont pas pour autant assimilés, ils gardent leur identité propre.

[3] Pour la lecture des deux noms divins cf. Walther Hinz, "Die elamischen Inschriften des Hanne," dans *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, édité par W. B. Hennig et Ehsan Yarshater (London: Lund, Humphries, 1962), p. 116.

[4] La traduction "chemin, voie" donnée au mot *riel* n'est pas assurée. Il en est de même pour les sens "(s')acheminer, (se) diriger" que nous proposons pour la base verbale *rieli-* qui en est issue. Le verbe *rieli-* est attesté avec un groupe nominal au pluriel à valeur adverbiale formé de *mer* "sceptre" dans une supplique qui appartenait à une porte vouée à Kiririša: *mer-pa rielhuna*, ensemble qui pourrait signifier "afin que nous nous acheminions(?) en pasteurs/maîtres (litt. en (ceux) du sceptre)." Voir Françoise Grillot et François Vallat, "Dédicace de Šilhak-Inšušinak à Kiririša," *Iranica Antiqua* 19 (1984): 22 et pl. 3. Notons que dans cet article la transcription *gi*$^{!}$*-el-hu-na* est à lire *ri-el-hu-na* conformément à la graphie. Par ailleurs, le verbe *gili-* "gouverner/commander" est attesté avec un groupe nominal au pluriel à valeur adverbiale formé de *men* "couronne" dans une inscription commémorative de Šilhak-Inšušinak sur stèle: *men-pa gielhuna* "afin que nous gouvernions en souverains (litt. en (ceux) de la couronne)" (EKI 54: 39). Les verbes *rieli-* et *gieli-* pourraient définir les fonctions royales correspondant aux attributs *mer* "sceptre" et *men* "couronne"; voir Françoise Grillot, "Trinôme de la royauté en Élam," *Studia Iranica* 13/2 (1984): 185–90.

[5] Ce texte est une invocation adressée à un souverain défunt.

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inšušinak ir si-ra ani uzzun

"puisse-t-il ne pas se présenter (litt. aller) devant Inšušinak!" (EKI 45 VI.9)

Ainsi le verbe *laha-* qui est depuis longtemps traduit par "mourir,"[6] paraît avoir pour sens premier "faire disparaître/faire passer" et pour sens second "supprimer/enlever/effacer," d'où la traduction "disparu/trépassé/mort" donné aux participes passifs *lahak* et *lahan* et la traduction "trépas/mort" donné au participe passé accompli *lahak* employé substantivement. Quelques exemples:

hiš-e nahhunte lahašni

"que Nahhunte fasse disparaître son nom!" (EKI 74 II.22)

*akka uddu-*KI.MIN *appa daha lahamanra …*

"(celui) qui déciderait d'enlever le matériel que j'ai placés …" (EKI 76: 31–32)

SUNKI *lahan ak puhu* SUNKI-*pe* GIŠ.GU.ZA.lg *adda api-ri-na-ma murdampi*

"le roi est mort alors les enfants du roi s'installeront sur le trône de leur père" (Scheil, "Déchiffrement," p. 31)

La réécriture par les souverains de dédicaces vouées aux dieux par leurs prédécesseurs et la conservation d'anciennes statues royales font état du respect accordé aux défunts. Par ailleurs, l'existence de chapelles royales à option funéraire (*suhter*) témoigne de l'espérance en une vie dans l'au-delà. Elles étaient gardées par des *lamassu* et on y enfermait pour l'éternité les effigies du roi et des membres de sa famille, leurs divinités protectrices ainsi que des dépôts précieux.[7]

Par ailleurs, le fait d'avoir donné le sens de bosquet au terme *husa* dans la traduction de textes du roi Šilhak-Inšušinak et d'avoir démontré, grâce à une inscription d'Assurbanipal sur prisme, que le bosquet de Suse dit "secret" était un lieu de sépultures, nous a permis de traduire *siyan husa-me* par "temple du bosquet" et de mettre ainsi en évidence l'existence de nombreux temples préposés aux rites funéraires.[8] Ils étaient placés sous l'autorité de divinités ayant des liens avec le monde inférieur, telles Kiririša, Lakamar, Išnikarab, Suhsipa et bien sûr Inšušinak, le dieu de Suse.

Une porte donnait accès au bosquet secret.[9] Cette porte était consacrée aux prières qui, tout en rappelant les actes de piété accomplis sur terre par le défunt, plaidaient pour sa vie dans l'autre monde. La supplique, qui avait été gravée par Šilhak-Inšušinak sur une brique de grès émaillé et qui était adressée à Kiririša, appartenait vraisemblablement à la grande porte du bosquet sacré de Suse.[10] À Čoḡā Zanbīl, les textes attestent l'existence d'un temple du bosquet appartenant à Kiririša et d'une porte portant l'appellation de "porte du bosquet" (*abul kišāti*) qui vraisemblablement y conduisait.[11]

Dans son article "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," E. Reiner a publié une inscription en akkadien sur stèle qui a été exhumée à Haft Tappeh lors de la fouille de la tombe du roi Tepti-ahar.[12] Le texte énumère des livraisons (farine, bière, moutons de sacrifice) destinées aux rituels funéraires pratiqués à l'occasion de diverses festivités. Si certaines de ces offrandes portent le nom des fêtes auxquelles elles étaient destinées: (fêtes) d'Abu, de Kirwašir, de Tašrītu et sont par ailleurs attribuées aux chars/chariots d'Inšušinak et de Tepti-ahar, d'autres sont nommées *terru šetru*. L'auteur qui ne traduit pas ces termes indique à propos de l'expression *itti terri šetri* et de l'ensemble *itti terri šetri ù šà Abi*, respectivement rendus par "with the *terru šetru*" et "with/including the *terru šetru* and (the festival) of *Abu*": "The parallelism with *šà Abi* 'that of the festival *Abu*' makes it plausible that *terru šetru* refers to specified offerings."[13]

[6] Jean-Vincent Scheil, "Déchiffrement d'un document anzanite relatif aux présages," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 14 (1917): 31.

[7] Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal," pp. 10–11.

[8] Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal," pp. 141–42.

[9] Les portes avaient des vocations différentes et les enceintes en possédaient plusieurs. La reconstruction d'une porte dite "d'Inšušinak" est citée dans une inscription de Suse, deux autres inscriptions de même provenance attestent chacune l'existence d'une grande porte, l'une est vouée à Lakamar (*hiel*; EKI 30), l'autre à Išnikarab (*sip rappi* = *sip rabû*; EKI 37). Ces deux divinités liées au monde inférieur possèdaient un "temple du bosquet" hors de Suse (EKI 48 III.198–200 et EKI 47 rev. 109–10). On peut donc se demander si ces inscriptions concernent réellement des portes de Suse ou des portes appartenant à d'autres lieux.

[10] Grillot et Vallat, "Dédicace," pp. 21–23.

[11] Françoise Grillot, "Kiririša," in *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*, edited by Françoise Vallat, Hermann Gasche, and Léon De Meyer (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986), esp. pp. 175–76.

[12] Erica Reiner, "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24 (1973): 87–102.

[13] Reiner, "Elamite Tomb," p. 93.

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Nous suggérons de traduire le terme *terru*, mentionné ci-dessus, par "bosquet" étant donné que d'après von Soden (AHw. 1349a–b s.v.), *terru* = *qištu* "bosquet,"[14] mais nous laissons aux spécialistes de la langue akkadienne le soin d'interpréter le mot *šetru* qui le qualifie.[15]

Selon cette hypothèse, de même que le terme *Abu* évoque les offrandes funéraires destinées aux fêtes du mois d'Abu, l'ensemble *terru šetru* nommerait celles livrées pour le rituel pratiqué dans le bosquet ; notons qu'en Mésopotamie des offrandes destinées aux morts se faisaient aussi au mois d'Abu.

Ainsi, se trouverait encore conforter le fait d'avoir jadis mis en relation le bosquet secret de Suse avec les tombeaux royaux et le monde souterrain.

Dans ce même article, E. Reiner a publié une autre inscription sur brique du roi Tepti-ahar mentionnant la construction d'un édifice nommé É.DÙ.A qui était voué à Inšušinak. Il abritait la statue du roi, celle des ses "servantes," ainsi que des divinités qui devaient intercéder en leur faveur et des objets précieux. Son entrée était gardée par des *lamassu* et des *kāribu*. Selon d'auteur, il s'agirait d'une chapelle appartenant au complexe funéraire de la tombe. Cet édifice É.DÙ.A et le *suhter* pourraient ainsi avoir eu la même vocation à des époques différentes.[16]

À la mort du défunt royal, des cérémonies funèbres étaient sans doute célébrées en son honneur dans le sanctuaire du dieu Inšušinak lié au palais royal de Suse (*kumpum kiduia*) qui possédait une chapelle royale funéraire (*suhter*).

Le temps venu, le défunt quittait la ville profane et empruntait la voie processionnelle pour se rendre dans la ville sacrée, plus précisément sur l'aire sacrée de la tour-à-étages (*ziggurat*) que surmontait le temple-haut (*kukunnum*), édifice qui représentait le sanctuaire jadis émergé de Napiriša (= EA/Enki),[17] le dieu des eaux pures et vivifiantes. Là, au pied de la tour-à-étages, devaient s'effectuer en présence des divinités concernées les rites funéraires qui se terminaient par des cérémonies de purification célébrées face au soleil levant. On peut présumer qu'un chariot servait à transporter le défunt et qu'il était suivi par le cortège des officiants qui participaient aux funérailles.

Puis le défunt était conduit à sa dernière demeure par la voie qui menait au bosquet sacré. Une porte devant laquelle se faisaient les prières d'usage en permettait l'accès. Passé cette porte "des suppliques," il pouvait pénétrer dans le bosquet, lieu de sa sépulture. Dans cet endroit ombragé et secret où se trouvait la résidence du dieu Inšušinak, s'accomplissaient les libations et les offrandes conformément aux rituels funéraires.

En entrant dans sa sépulture le défunt disparaissait du monde des vivants et il s'en allait dans l'autre monde. Devant lui s'ouvrait un chemin de privations et de misères au bout duquel il espérait pouvoir se désaltérer d'eau pure. Il implorait l'aide de son dieu protecteur tout au long de ce parcours au bout duquel il devait suivre deux divinités infernales dont la mission était de l'introduire dans la "fosse" (*haštu*) où se tenait Inšušinak, le maître des morts, qui allait décider de son sort.

Abréviations

AHw.	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
EKI	Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 16. Graz: Ernst Weidners, 1965
CT 18	E. A. Wallace Budge, *Cuneiform texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 18. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1904

[14] CT 18 4 IV 56 (20). Selon AHw., le terme qui est lu *te-er-ru* dans Roland de Mecquenem et Vincent Scheil, *Mission en Susiane: actes juridiques Susiens*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 23 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932), no. 289: 8 et no. 290: 8 (lecture reprise dans Reiner, "Elamite Tomb," p. 94) représente le mot *ṭēru*(*m*) "Schlamm" qui est à transcrire *ṭe*$_4$*-er-ru*.

[15] Il est peut-être possible de rapprocher le mot *šetru* de l'akkadien *šitrum*. Cf. les termes suggerés comme apparentés par AHw. 1252a s.v. *šitrum*: "s. he. *sēter* Versteck, od ar. *sitr* Schleier?"

[16] Grillot, "Le 'suhter' royal," pp. 18–19.

[17] Grillot-Susini, "Le monde d'en bas," pp. 145–46.

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9

The Estates of Šamaš on the Ḫābūr

*Michael Jursa and Klaus Wagensonner, University of Vienna**

Very little is known about the way in which the Neo-Babylonian empire ruled over those regions of Syria and the Levant that had formerly been part of the Neo-Assyrian empire; in fact, even the geographical extent of Babylonian control is a matter of debate.[1] It has been assumed that in these regions Babylonian domination amounted to little more than regular incursions of the Babylonian army which levied tribute from vassal states; only a few cities of particular strategic importance, such as Karkemiš, which controlled the upper Euphrates, or Harrān on the Balīh, would then have been under permanent Babylonian control.[2] Also Guzāna in the Ḫābūr basin had a Babylonian governor,[3] and private cuneiform tablets from Dūr-Katlimmu dating to early in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar provide further evidence for the Babylonian presence on the Ḫābūr.[4] Isolated tablet finds point to the presence of Babylonians in the Aleppo region,[5] in the Levant, and elsewhere in Syria and northern Mesopotamia.[6] Furthermore, economic texts dealing with long-distance trade refer to goods (iron, textiles, wine, etc.) imported into Babylonia from several locations in Syria and the Levant.[7]

Recently, the dossier dealing with Ṣūru, Tyre, has been re-studied by K. Kleber.[8] She can demonstrate that Babylonian personnel and officials from several cities (Borsippa, Cutha, Dilbat, Kiš, Marad, Nippur, Sippar, and Uruk) were present at (the siege of) Tyre during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. She also argues that Babylonian farmers were settled in the region on a permanent basis.[9] This new aspect, which shows the Babylonian presence in the newly occupied regions in the west in a new light, leads us to the subject of this paper. We will demonstrate that the Ebabbar temple

* This paper is based on research conducted first as part of a project entitled "Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C." and later in the context of an ongoing project entitled "Official Epistolography in Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C.," both funded by the Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Vienna); the second part, on the Habūru letters, is based on the work of the latter project. Unpublished texts from the British Museum are cited by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The first part of the paper was written by M. Jursa, the second is the joint work of M. Jursa and K. Wagensonner; we wish to thank also our co-workers in the epistolography project, J. Hackl and M. Schmidl, for their input. K. Kleber very kindly copied the three texts in the British Museum published here.

[1] For the Neo-Babylonian presence in Northern Mesopotamia and in the West, see in general Elizabeth Nation von Voigtlander, "A Survey of Neo-Babylonian History" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963), pp. 87ff.; David Stephen Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets*, Harvard Semitic Museum Monographs 59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), pp. 61ff.; John Curtis, "The Assyrian Heartland in the Period 612–539 B.C.," in *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*, edited by Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi, Michael Roaf, and Robert Rollinger, History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs 5 (Padova: Sargon, 2003), pp. 157–67; Michael Jursa, "Observations on the Problem of the Median 'Empire' on the Basis of Babylonian Sources," in Lanfranchi, Roaf, and Rollinger, eds., *Continuity of Empire*, pp. 169–79; and several articles in Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), especially David Stephen Vanderhooft, "Babylonian Strategies of Imperial Control in the West: Royal Practice and Rhetoric," ibid. pp. 235–62 (see p. 237 for additional references to statements on the subject).

[2] See Francis Joannès, "Le monde occidental vu de Mésopotamie, de l'époque néo-babylonienne à l'époque hellénistique," *Transeuphratène* 13 (1997): 141–53, esp. p. 146; and idem, "Guerre et économie dans l'empire néo-babylonien," in *Économie antique: la guerre dans les économies antiques*, edited by Jean Andreau, Pierre Briant, and Raymond Descat (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Musée archéologique départmental, 2000), pp. 63–81, esp. pp. 73ff. Vanderhooft, "Babylonian Strategies of Imperial Control," is likewise very sceptical about the presence of a well-developed Neo-Babylonian imperial organization in the West.

[3] BM 78887, courtesy S. Zawadzki. Guzāna has also yielded a few Neo-Babylonian letters: Michael Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives*, Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), p. 151 n. 1172.

[4] See the references cited by Curtis, "The Assyrian Heartland," p. 163.

[5] On the Neirab texts, see Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, p. 152, with further references.

[6] See the list in Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, p. 151 n. 1172.

[7] See A. Leo Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21 (1967): 236–54, and Joannès, "Le monde occidental," pp. 147ff.

[8] Kristin Kleber, *Tempel und Palast: Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 358 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008) pp. 141–54. The city is spelled $^{kur/uru}$*ṣur-ru*.

[9] This is based, inter alia, on a new interpretation of PTS 3181, a text which was published by Francis Joannès, "Trois textes de Ṣurru à l'époque néo-babylonienne," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 81 (1987): 147–58, esp. pp. 155–56.

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of Sippar, as well as other large temples of the Babylonian heartland, received royal land grants in the Ḫābūr region. Previous studies, also by the present writer, have assumed that Ebabbar's estate on the Nār-Habūru, in the area of garim/uruHabūru, was located somewhere in the Sippar region.[10] Nevertheless, it is now clear that this watercourse cannot be anything but the river Ḫābūr in Syria: the dossier on Ebabbar's estate in Habūru is the first explicit source of information about domains of Babylonian temples outside of Babylonia proper. It is a pleasure to dedicate the present investigation of these Babylonian "colonies" in Syria to Matthew Stolper, *il miglior fabbro* of Neo-Babylonian studies.

A watercourse by the name of Habūru is explicitly attested just twice during the reign of Nabonidus.[11] It is only of importance as the supplier of water for the agricultural settlement Habūru (which is written with the uru and the garim determinative, or without any determinative). The area is attested from the twenty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign until the reign of Darius. Evidence for its agricultural exploitation only starts to appear in the reign of Nabonidus. Before that, Habūru is attested as a center for animal husbandry: sheep are sent from uru⌜*ha*⌝*-bu-ru* as a royal contribution to the offerings in Ebabbar,[12] later also some of Ebabbar's cattle are kept there.[13]

The assumption that Habūru was just one of the numerous scattered holdings of Ebabbar in central Babylonia can be disproved by some hitherto unknown texts. They show that Habūru was a remote region — men traveling there were given rations and the equipment typical for a long overland trip. This never occurred when temple personnel were sent to any of the estates in Babylonia.[14] In BM 61083 ([ca. 10] Nbn), a man sent to *ha-bur* receives two *kurru* barley as his provisions.[15] BM 61829 (fig. 9.1) is a list of issues made to a certain Šamaš-upahhir before his departure for Habūru. As demonstrated below, he was in charge of the management of Ebabbar's estates on the Ḫābūr for several years during the reign of Nabonidus.

BM 61829 (AH 82-9-18, 1798)

Obv. 1 [1-*en* (?)] anše ta anše^{meš} *šá ina* ká
[1-*en*] anše ta é gu$_4$ <<diš>>
[x g]ur še.bar ta é níg.ga
2-*ta mar-ra-tu$_4$* an.bar
5 4 ma.na ki.lá *ina ha-a-ṭu ina* igi ^{l}ìr-^{d}me.me
2-*ta* šu$^{II.me}$ kù.babbar šá[m] ⌜x⌝ [x x *šá* (*i-na*)]
pa-ni ^{giš}gigir$^{?}$ *a-na* TAR *li* [x (x)]

lo.e. *šá ina muh-hi a-ṣi-t*[u$_4$ (x)]

Rev. 1 *til-lu la*-igi ^{Id}utu-b[a-*šá*]
(one line uninscribed)
10 *a-na* ^{Id}utu-nigin-*ir* <<⌜diš?⌝>> *šá a-*[*na*]
ha-bu-ru il-li-ku sum-*in*
(one line uninscribed)
iti.bára ud.6.kam mu.11.kam
^{d}ag-i lugal tin.tir^{ki}

2) For the stabling of donkeys in the cattle pen, see Michaela Weszeli, "Die Stallungen des Ebabbar von Sippar in der neubabylonischen Zeit," in *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra: Analecta Semitica in Memoriam Alexander Sima*, edited by Werner Arnold, Michael Jursa, Walter W. Müller, and Stephan Procházka (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), pp. 411–45.

[10] Ran Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*, Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1985), pp. 146 and 371 ("homonym of the Ḫābūr river"); Michael Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 25 (Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik, 1995), pp. 223–24. For earlier attestations of the Ḫābūr (íd *ha-bur*, etc.), see, e.g., Khaled Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*, Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 5 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1982), p. 299.

[11] Unless stated otherwise, all the evidence treated in the following comes from the Ebabbar archive.

[12] CT 57 214 (24 <Nbk>); for the date and the collation, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, p. 223.

[13] VS 4 36 (2 Nbn).

[14] On travel provisions and related matters in Neo-Babylonian temple archives, see now Bojana Janković, "Travel Provisions in Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C.," in *L'archives des fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches*, edited by Pierre Briant, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, and Matthew W. Stolper, Persika 12 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2008), pp. 429–64.

[15] BM 61083: 1–3: še.bar *šá i-na* ⌜é⌝.níg.ga *šá* u[gu ^{Id}buranun], sum-*na-tu$_4$* iti.[ba]rá ud.21.k[am mu.x.kam], ^{d}ag-i lugal tin.tir^{ki}; 19: 2 gur pad. hi.a ^{l}*ki-na-a šá a-na ha-bur il-lik*. Kīnāya is mentioned in BM 65279 = John MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996): 99–159, no. 4, a letter sent from Habūru to Sippar, certainly by Šamaš-upahhir; see below.

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5) Arad-Gula is a well-known blacksmith (A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 80 [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997], pp. 370–71).

6–8) These lines concern the issuing of silver for the purchase of an object or objects to be fixed "in front of" (or sim.) a cart for "... which are on the *āṣītu*." *āṣītu* is normally a drainage ditch in Neo-Babylonian, a usage which clearly does not fit the context here. Since the word means literally "that which goes out" and seems to designate here an object which is found in front of a wagon (note **pān narkabti* "Vorderseite ... des (Kastens des) 2-rädrigen Wagens" in Armas Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der 5. Tafel der Serie* ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu): Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 72 [Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1951], p. 83), it could refer to the shaft to which the donkeys were hitched. We cannot suggest a convincing reading for the final word in line 7: neither *sellu* "basket" nor *sillû* "a tool" fits the context. One might think of CAD's *sillu* A ("arch, corbel"), an architectural term which might conceivably also refer to some kind of cross-piece attached to a wagon shaft.

> [One] donkey from the donkeys (stabled) in the gate, [one] donkey from the cattle pen, [x] *kurru* of barley from the storehouse, two iron spades, four minas (of iron) from the stock at the disposal of Arad-Gula, two-thirds (of a shekel) of silver, the price of [... which is] in front of the wagon, for ... which is attached to the *shaft*(?); one quiver (taken) from Šamaš-iqīša: (all this) has been given to Šamaš-upahhir who went to Habūru.
>
> 6.1.11 Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

Wagons for overland transport are referred to very rarely in the Ebabbar archive for the obvious reason that water transport was far more convenient within Babylonia.[16] This alone shows that Šamaš-upahhir was setting out on an overland journey. The decisive proof for the identification of Habūru with the modern Ḫābūr (which appears as *ha-bur* etc. in Middle Assyrian sources[17]) comes from an analysis of the file on agriculture in the region. Arable farming was one of the temple's main objectives in the area. The barley was often sold locally, which is very unusual for an estate of Ebabbar: in general, the temple barely managed to produce enough grain for its own internal needs; the main cash crop was dates.[18] The second mainstay of agriculture on the Habūru was the growing of wine — even the pressing of grapes is mentioned. Date gardening, on the other hand, is completely unattested. This combination of grain farming and wine growing, and the absence of date gardening, places Habūru securely in northern Syria: no other estate farmed by Ebabbar (or, for that matter, by any other landowner attested in Neo-Babylonian sources) displays this particular agricultural profile. Wine is of course a product typically imported from the middle Euphrates.[19]

From early in the reign of Nabonidus onward, at least two full plough teams of Ebabbar were employed to farm the temple's arable land at Habūru.[20] The earliest evidence comes from a text listing the plough oxen and ploughmen sent to Habūru: BM 75537 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, no. 3). One plough team was headed by a Šamaš-ahhē-erība and consisted of himself, three of his sons, and a brother of his; the other was led by a certain Līšir, who was accompanied by his brother and four other, unrelated men. Each plough team consisted of four heads of cattle, not all of which were trained plough oxen. The text is undated, but BM 75526 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, no. 68) establishes the fifth year of Nabonidus as a *terminus ante quem* for its drafting. BM 75526 lists barley owed to the temple from its estate in $^{\text{garim}}$*ha-bu-r*[*u*] from several years beginning with year 5 of Nabonidus; part of the barley is owed as a substitute payment for grapes (or wine; geštin). The man responsible for this land is the above-mentioned ploughman (*ikkaru*) and gardener

[16] CT 57 314 is an exception. In Uruk, the clearest reference for the use of carts is found in BIN 1 45.

[17] See above, n. 10.

[18] For Ebabbar's cash crops, see Michael Jursa, *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C.: Economic Geography, Economic Mentalities, Agriculture, the Use of Money and the Problem of Economic Growth*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 377 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), pp. 510ff. For its agricultural activities in general, see ibid., pp. 322ff., and Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*. For references to the grain trade in Habūru, see below.

[19] See, e.g., Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade." Wine from Habūru is mentioned also in CT 55 436 (reign of Darius). It is not a coincidence that Arad-Bēl, the temple clerk sent to inspect the work of Šamaš-upahhir (see below), is known to have imported grapes, wine, and raisins from Syria (see preliminarily Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, pp. 120–21). Note, furthermore, CT 55 862 (8 Nbn), according to which goods imported from Syria (dyes and so forth) were paid for in part with silver from Habūru — i.e., with silver obtained from the selling locally of barley grown in the region. This trade is referred to in *Nbn.* 1078 (the buyer, Mūrānu, is mentioned as a recipient of barley in a letter written by Šamaš-upahhir, CT 22 212), in *Nbn.* 247 (silver from the sale of barley is given for wine), in CT 22 38 and perhaps in *Nbn.* 119.

[20] We present here a survey of the entire dossier, including the pertinent letters which do not mention Habūru explicitly. For these letters, see already Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, p. 131. BM 65279 has now been published as MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4.

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(*nukuribbu*) Šamaš-upahhir, son of Šamaš-unammir.[21] He was sent to Habūru because the performance of Ebabbar's personnel there was unsatisfactory. This is referred to in CT 22 20, the letter of either the *qīpu* or the *šangû* of Ebabbar (the beginning is broken) to some temple scribes or emissaries in the Ḫābūr region:

... še.numun é ⌜kišib⌝?
šá-a-šú <*šá*> [I]*Li-šir*
muš-šur$_x$(*šìr*) *ù* a[!].šà[!]-š[*ú*]
ul ir-riš al-ka-ma
i-na i-ni-ku-nu
a-mu-ra-aʾ ki-ma-aʾ
ki-i še.numun *mu-šu-ru*
še.numun *ù kis-sat*
a-na [Id]utu-nigin-*ir*
in-na-ma še.numun
la ú-ta-ap-pal

Land, (viz.) the very plot allotted to Līšir, is abandoned; he does not cultivate his field. Go and see with your own eyes how much land lies abandoned. Give seed grain and fodder to Šamaš-upahhir so that the sowing be not delayed.

The Līšir mentioned here is certainly the chief of the plough team mentioned in BM 75537.

The ploughman and gardener Šamaš-upahhir is attested several times in Habūru until 11 Nbn.[22] He may partly have worked with, or under, a certain Mušēzib-Nabû, who is attested in 9 Nbn as overseer of the "ploughmen of the 'Gift of the King,'" *ikkarātu ša nidinti šarri*;[23] — BM 74439 proves that the temple had received its estate in Habūru as result of a royal land grant (see below). Šamaš-upahhir may have been back farming land in Babylonia in 13/14 Nbn, according to *Cyr.* 34+, where a man of that name is listed as farming land around Bīt-Dihummu. This is uncertain, however; he was certainly back at Habūru between 15 and 17 Nbn according to the letters CT 22 37 and 38 (see below). We have one undated list of the personnel who went with him to Habūru (BM 75601; fig. 9.2).

BM 75601 (AH 83-1-18, 950)

Obv. 1′ (traces) [*šá*]
[*it-t*]*i* [Id]utu-nigin-[*ir*]
[*i*]*l-la-ku* [I]ki-[d]ag-i[gi-*ni-ia*]
ši-i-bi [I]*lu-hu-ú-*[*a*]
5′ [d]umu-*šú it-bar-ri*
[[I]ì]r-[d]en *ù* [I]*re-mut*-dingir
[du]mu[meš]-*šú ra-bé-e*
[Id]har-dù [lú]*ši-i-bi*
[Id]utu-šeš-ùru *it-bar-ri*
Rev. 10′ pab 7 [lú]erén[meš] *šá* [uru]*ha-bu-r*[*u*]
2 [lú(sic)]gu$_4$ *um-man-na-a-ta*
1 gu$_4$ *ši-i-bi*
[1]-*et* gu$_4$ *bu-uš-tu*$_4$
[pa]b 4 gu$_4$[meš] 2-*ta* anše *a-ta-na-a-ta*
15′ [[lú]]sipa[meš] *šá ina* [uru]*ha-bu-ru*
[[I]]⌜*re*⌝-*mut*-[d]k[á x x]
(traces, rest of rev. lost)

4′) Lū-ahūʾa re-appears as lessee of land on the Nār-Habūru in BM 74439, see below.

[21] See Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, p. 223.

[22] See table 9.1, below. For Šamaš-upahhir's activities elsewhere, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, pp. 33, 55, 131, 223.

[23] See *Nbn.* 350: 20f.; cf. *Nbn.* 398: rev. 10′ (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, pp. 169–70, and 121 n. 236).

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[Ploughmen] who are to go with Šamaš-upahhir: Itti-Nabû-ī[nīa], the old man; Lū-ahūʾa, his son, an adult worker; Arad-Bēl and Rēmūt-ili, his elder sons; Bunene-ibni, the old man; Šamaš-ahu-uṣur, an adult worker; altogether seven men of/for Habūru.

Two plough oxen, one old ox, one cow; altogether four heads of cattle and two donkey mares.
Shepherds in Habūru: Rēmūt-Bāʾu, [...]

Šamaš-upahhir's men would have been sent as a reinforcement of Ebabbar's workforce in Habūru. They probably were intended to make up two plough teams, but with only three able-bodied men, two (probable) adolescents, and two old men they were well below the ideal complement of eight adult workers. There must have been an even greater lack of plough animals if an old ox was sent off to Syria. In addition to farmers, oxen, and donkeys, shepherds are also mentioned — an indication that animal husbandry in the area retained its importance for the temple.[24]

BM 74439 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, no. 43; 16 Nbn) is a key text for understanding the type of land-use characteristic of Ebabbar's estate at Habūru. According to this lease contract, a vineyard of Šamaš, measuring two *pānu* and two *sūtu* and situated on the Nār-Habūru, was rented out to Lū-ahūʾa/Itti-Nabû-īnīa, one of the men originally sent to Habūru with Šamaš-upahhir (BM 75601). It is clear from some clauses in the text that Lū-ahūʾa was also engaged in arable farming in the Habūru area. Importantly, Ebabbar's estate there is designated as a "royal grant," *nidinti šarri*: a king had gifted the temple with this important asset. It is therefore unsurprising that the men cultivating it owed the crown (military) service and corvée labor.[25] The date of the donation is unknown. The chronological distribution of the pertinent evidence suggests that it was made by Nabonidus, although this cannot be proven conclusively. The king's fifth year is simply a *terminus ante quem*.[26]

The size of the temple's fields at Habūru is unknown; they consisted of at least nine separate units. Not all this land was farmed directly by Ebabbar personnel: a part, perhaps a significant part, was rented out to sharecroppers. This is based on a newly identified list of plots of arable land at Habūru stating the dimensions of fields and their estimated yield (BM 61541; fig. 9.3). The text dates to 10 Nbn and concerns, inter alia, Šamaš-upahhir (his name is partially restored).

BM 61541 (AH 82-9-17, 1514)

Obv. 1 [*meš-ha-t*]u_4 še.numun *ù* še.bar <<⌜x⌝>> *i-mit-tu*$_4$ níg.ga ^{d}utu
[*šá* ^{garim}*ha*]-*bu-ru* iti.gu$_4$ ud.1.kam mu.10.kam ^{d}ag-i lugal e^{ki}

[x x] ⌜x⌝ (uninscribed) 3 me 40 [sag].ki pab 6 gur 2 pi še.numun
[x x] (uninscribed) ^{Id}utu-n[igin-*ir*] *ina lìb-bi* 1 gur 3 (pi) 2 bán še.numun ⌜é ^{giš}geštin⌝
5 [ ] ⌜x⌝ (uninscribed) ⌜x x⌝ [1-*en*] ⌜x⌝ *e-mid*
[ ] še.numun 1-*en* [x] *e-mid*
[še].numun 1-*en* 3 *e-mid*
[*ina lì*]*b-bi* 7 ⌜gur⌝ [x] ⌜x⌝ še.bar 6-*ú*
[ ] *šá la šá* $^{!}$*šu-l*[*a-a*] ^{lú}*er-re-*[*šú*]
10 [še].bar [*ina*] ⌜igi⌝ ^{Id}[utu-nigin]-*ir*

[ ] ME 20 é.babb[ar.ra]
(traces)
Rev. [x x x 1]-⌜*en*⌝ [ ]
[x x] 1-*en* ⌜4⌝? [ ]
[x x] 1-*en* [ ]

(the rest of the reverse is uninscribed)

[24] The shepherd Rēmūt-Bāʾu mentioned in BM 75601 appears in CT 22 37 together with Šamaš-upahhir; his (temporary?) absence is reported in CT 22 38.

[25] BM 74439: 11–13 mentions *ilku* and *urāšu* service that are to be rendered by the local tenant farmers (*aššābēnu*) and gardeners (*zāqipānu*) under Lū-ahūʾa's control.

[26] Perhaps *Nbn.* 119 (3 Nbn), in which the payment of a royal tithe (in silver, *ešrû ša šarri*) "for barley of Habūru" is reported, could be seen as reflecting a state of affairs prior to the donation in that the temple might have had only a nominal title to revenue from Habūru (resulting in the payment of a tithe) without actually owning land of its own.

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The format of this unfortunately quite damaged text is well known: fields are measured and the factor by which the field size (given in seed measure) is to be multiplied to calculate the expected harvest is established.[27] Typically for Habūru, one plot is said to include a vineyard.[28] Lines 7 to 9, though heavily damaged, probably refer to a plot that was supposed to be cultivated by Šamaš-upahhir himself, but was partly let to a sharecropper (*errēšu*)[29] — Ebabbar did not rely on its ploughmen alone. A sharecropper working several individual fields in the area is also mentioned in the letter CT 22 38, discussed below. In passing, one should note that the factors quoted to establish the yield that are preserved on the tablet, four and three, are low: the average of the factors found in such yield assessment texts from the Ebabbar archive is around twelve.[30] While this may be a coincidence — elsewhere such low factors are rare, but not completely unknown — it would also be consistent with the a priori assumption that what was probably rain-fed agriculture in the Ḫābūr basin should produce lower surface yields than irrigation agriculture in southern Babylonia.

Several letters written by Šamaš-upahhir himself and by temple clerks sent to inspect his work refer to the estate in Habūru (even though the place name is not mentioned explicitly). They relate the gradual expansion of the area under cultivation and the permanent lack of manpower and resources from which Šamaš-upahhir suffered, as well as his anxiety caused by activities of "the enemy." Although this dossier has already been discussed briefly,[31] a new look at the letters is warranted given the newly identified geographical setting of the events they narrate and the improved understanding of the prosopography of the men mentioned in them.[32] It is obvious that the temple had to struggle with the logistical problems of maintaining even a small labor force in the area.

In CT 22 212, Šamaš-[upahhir] claims to have just one ox and one *ikkaru* and yet to have planted (*zaqāpu*) one *kurru* of land. This text can be dated to the ninth year of Nabonidus because of another letter, CT 55 9 (sender and addressees lost).[33] The impost owed by Šamaš-upahhir for year nine is mentioned, and his statement about the single ox, the single *ikkaru*, and the one *kurru* of land is cited. This letter specifies that a vineyard is meant.

MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (BM 65279), is a letter sent by [Šamaš-upahhir] probably to the *šangû* of Sippar, "my lord." The sender reports having sold some barley and having sent home some of the money. "Kīnāya, the messenger of my lord, and Rēmūt" are mentioned. Kīnāya is the messenger referred to in BM 61083 (above, n. 15), Rēmūt is certainly identical with the sender of two other letters dealing with Habūru, CT 22 196 and 198. The rest of the letter concerns a vineyard of one *kurru*, three *pānu*, two *sūtu*, and some arable land, both farmed by the sender. This is the vineyard attributed to Šamaš-upahhir in BM 61541: 4, where it is given the same size. Therefore, the letter can be dated to Nabonidus' tenth year, the year of the drafting of BM 61541. The sender also complains of suffering from a lack of workers in general and for building a garden wall in particular.

The topics of BM 65279 are partly taken up by CT 22 196. Here Rēmūt, the temple clerk mentioned above, writes to the *šangû*, first about the availability of land for grazing, and then about Šamaš-upahhir's vineyard and the lack of workers, as follows (see the edition below for the Akkadian text and for CT 22 198, Rēmūt's second letter).

> (...) [In the past], when Šamaš-upahhir planted [one] *kurru* of vineyard, he barely managed to complete the task, while much of the land belonging to Bēl and Nabû was being planted. But this year he will complete the planting of three *kurru* of land. However, he does not have (enough) workers to build the enclosure (of the vineyard). Let the lord send workers so that they can build the enclosure; otherwise let the lord send a letter. The harvest of this year should have been allotted to (some) hirelings to make them build the enclosure. (...)

This letter shows that Esangila and Ezida were also active in the area: they too must have received royal land grants. This is precious evidence for an extension of the economic base of the Neo-Babylonian temples into the (newly occupied) provinces of the empire. To the best of our knowledge, with the possible exception of the Urukean data on Babylonian land holdings close to Tyre, there is no comparable dossier anywhere else in the Neo-Babylonian documentation — unless Ebabbar's land in the region of one of the two trans-Tigridian cities of Lahīru[34] is a comparable case. If the northern city on the Assyrian border is meant, the fields in the region that were farmed by Ebabbar in the early Chaldean period may have been given to the temple after the area had been definitely secured from the Assyrians at some point during the reign of Nabopolassar.

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[27] This text group is studied in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, pp. 160ff., where several examples are edited.

[28] This plot is mentioned in the letter MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (10 Nbn); see *Appendix*, below.

[29] Such transactions are documented, e.g., in BM 60160 and CT 56 505+; see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, pp. 15ff.

[30] Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, pp. 164–65.

[31] Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, p. 131.

[32] The texts have been collated, and new readings have been established.

[33] The letter can be attributed to the temple clerk Rēmūt, see below.

[34] See preliminarily Rocío Da Riva, *Der Ebabbar-Tempel von Sippar in frühneubabylonischer Zeit (640–580 v. Chr)*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 291 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), pp. 78ff.

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Three letters were sent to Sippar by the scribe Arad-Bēl, who was in Syria apparently to inspect the temple's holdings there and probably also to further his own business interests in foreign trade.[35] The damaged text CT 22 37, which mentions, inter alia, Šamaš-upahhir and wine, is addressed to Marduk-šumu-iddin, the *šangû* of Ebabbar between 15 Nbn and 7 Cyr, and therefore establishes an independent date for the dossier. The private letter CT 22 39, addressed to Šamaš-ahu-iddin, Arad-Bēl's "father,"[36] mentions, inter alia, the sale of agricultural products by Bēl-lū-ahūʾa/Itti-Nabû-īnīa, the lessee of BM 74439 (16 Nbn): the geographical setting of this dossier in Habūru is certain. The most important of these letters is CT 22 38. Here Arad-Bēl reports that Šamaš-upahhir's grapes had been pressed before his arrival, while his barley had been sold. Two men, among them Rēmūt-Bāʾu, the shepherd mentioned in BM 75601, seem to be absent from their duties.[37] Making an official statement before a commission, Itti-Nabû-īnīa, the old ploughman (and father of (Bēl-)Lū-ahūʾa) who was sent to Habūru with Šamaš-upahhir, again according to BM 75601, establishes the number of plots (four) farmed by a certain sharecropper. The result of the said commission's work may well have taken the form of a tablet such as BM 61541. The letter's conclusion is quoted verbatim (see the edition below).

> (...) When I said to Šamaš-upahhir "(why) have you pressed the grape mash before my arrival," [he replied]: "we were afraid of the enemy, so [we have] pressed the grapes (already); but look, the rest has been dried."

The enemy whose presence induced Šamaš-upahhir to hurry and press his grapes before the arrival of a supervisor from the mother city is bound to have been the Persians whose presence, after the fall of Lydia and at the eve of Cyrus' attack on Babylonia, must have been felt strongly in northern Mesopotamia.

In conclusion, this dossier is evidence for Babylonian attempts at establishing a firm foothold in the Ḫābūr triangle. Temples were given land grants presumably on the condition that they farm the estates in question and thereby create pockets of Babylonian presence in an otherwise "foreign" environment — one notes in particular the military obligations of the gardeners and farmers on the Ḫābūr that are mentioned in BM 74439. This may imply that Babylonian control over Syria was tighter and more in line with prior Assyrian practice than is usually assumed. However, it is impossible to ascertain how widespread such land grants to Babylonian temples in Syria actually were. The present dossier also suggests that Ebabbar's estate on the Ḫābūr was established during the last decades of the Chaldean empire, not in the immediate aftermath of Nebuchadnezzar's conquests. This may suggest that the Babylonian presence in this area took shape only gradually. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will add to the increasingly complex picture of the relationship between the imperial core and the Syro-Levantine (as well as trans-Tigridian) periphery during the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The full evidence for Habūru is set out in table 9.1.

Table 9.1. Evidence for Habūru[38]

Text	*Date*	*Contents*
CT 57 214	18.3.24 <Nbk>	[sheep] brought from $^{uru\lceil}$*ha*$^{\rceil}$*-bu-ru* for *sattukku*
VS 4 36	13.9.2 Nbn	silver is sent via Taqīšu to ^{uru}*ha-bu-*[*r*]*u* to Šulāya/Šamaš-ahu-iddin for oxen of ^{uru}*ha-bu-r*[*u*]
Nbn. 119	21.9.3 Nbn	account of silver income, inter alia, 8 $^{1}/_{3}$ minas royal tithe for barley of ^{uru}*ha-bu-ru* (*ešrû ša šarri ša uṭṭati ša* H.) which A and B brought from Babylon from the treasurer (*rab kāṣiri*)
BM 75537 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, no. 3)	no date, to be dated before 6 Nbn	list of plough oxen and ploughmen *ina zēri ša Šamaš ša ina* ^{garim}*ha-bu-ru*: eight oxen, eleven *ikkarus*; *rab epinnis*: Šamaš-ahhē-erība and Līširu (cf. CT 22, 20)
Nbn. 247	6 [Nbn]	funds (part silver, part barley for silver according to the price of month VII *šá ha-bu-ru*) given to Tabnēa/Kiribtu for wine

[35] On Arad-Bēl, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, pp. 120–21.

[36] In fact Šamaš-ahu-iddin is either an uncle or another older relative who in BM 62941 (12 Nbn) is granted sustenance rations (*epru*, *piššatu*, *lubuštu*) by Arad-Bēl. Arad-Bēl has a brother named Šamaš-ahu-iddin (*Cyr.* 183); he might be the recipient of the letter, in which case he would be the older brother of Arad-Bēl.

[37] Regarding Rēmūt-Bāʾu, see n. 24.

[38] The letters sent from Habūru without mentioning the place have not been included; they are discussed in the *Appendix*. Texts that came to our attention after the completion of Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, are marked with an asterisk.

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Table 9.1. Evidence for Habūru (*cont.*)

Text	*Date*	*Contents*
Nbn. 250	16.1.7 Nbn	silver given to the royal alphabet scribe Nabû-šarru-uṣur for oxen for ploughmen in ^{uru}*ha-*[*bu-ru*]; the oxen have not been delivered
CT 55 862	10.4.8 Nbn	trade goods (*mēreštu*: dyed wool, alum, honey, dyes, wax) brought from (*lapān*) ^{l}*ru-up-šá-*^{d}im who is paid silver "from silver of íd *ha-bu-ru*"
BM 75526 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, no. 68)	10 Nbn	barley arrears for ^{garim}*ha-bu-ru* owed by Šamaš-upahhir/Šamaš-unammir for 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 Nbn; partly barley instead of wine
*BM 61083	ca. 10 Nbn	2;0 barley rations issued to Kīnāya who went to *ha-bur* (cf. MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4)
*BM 61541	1.2.10 Nbn	measurement of fields and harvest estimation ([*mešh*]*at zēri u uṭṭati imittu makkūr šamaš*) for [^{garim}*ha*]-*bu-ru*; at least eight plots; named cultivators: Šamaš-u[pahh]ir, Šulāya *errēšu*
*BM 61829	6.1.11 Nbn	donkeys, spades, silver for … of a cart and one *tillu* quiver issued to Šamaš-upahhir who went to *ha-bu-ru*
*BM 75601	undated, ca. 11 Nbn	list of workers of ^{uru}*ha-bu-ru* who set out with Šamaš-upahhir, together with oxen and donkeys and accompanied by shepherds
BM 74439 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, no. 43)	26.12.16 Nbn	land *makkūr Šamaš nidinti šarri ša* [*kišād*] *íd ha-bur-ru* (arable land and vineyard) leased to Lū-ahū$^{?}$a/Itti-Nabû-īnīa, *ikkaru ša Šamaš*
Nbn. 1078	9.4.[..] Nbn	2 minas silver paid for 200$^{?}$ *kurru* of barley of ^{uru}*ha-bu-ri* by Mūrānu (cf. CT 22 212)
CT 55 436	Dar	income (*erbu*) of wine, inter alia, 50 *šappatu* [from] ^{garim}*ha-bu-ru*

Appendix: Letters Sent from Habūru to Officials of Ebabbar

Michael Jursa and Klaus Wagensonner

The extant letter corpus referring to Habūru and the estate of Ebabbar managed by Šamaš-upahhir is the result of inspection visits of temple clerks, inspections such as the one ordered in the letter CT 22 20 (see above): "… go and see with your own eyes how much land lies abandoned. Give seed grain and fodder to Šamaš-upahhir so that the sowing be not delayed …." We know of at least two such inspections and three inspectors: the well-known temple scribe Arad-Bēl of the Adad-šamê family was in the region towards the end of the reign of Nabonidus; a certain Rēmūt, who cannot be identified in other Ebabbar texts with any certainty, was in Syria on behalf of the temple administration for several years early in the reign of Nabonidus, either constantly or intermittently.[39] Rēmūt was accompanied by, or worked in conjunction with, a certain Kīnāya who is explicitly called "messenger" (of the priest of Sippar or of the royal resident in Ebabbar) in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (BM 65279), and who is also mentioned in the ration list BM 61083 as being en route to Habūru. Kīnāya is also a very frequent abbreviation of several common names; in our case it could conceivably be a hypochoristic of Šamaš-mukīn-apli, in which case our Kīnāya would be identical with a well-attested temple clerk and scribe active during the reign of Nabonidus.[40]

[39] The name Rēmūt is very common but no likely candidate can be identified in Bongenaar's prosopography of the Sippar administration (Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*). A few additional letters in the Sippar corpus are written by a Rēmūt (especially CT 22 197 and 199, which deal with agricultural matters), but there are no incontrovertible grounds for identifying the Rēmūt of these letters with the sender of the Habūru letters.

[40] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 497.

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CT 22 212 (BM 75446) (end of 8 Nbn or early 9 Nbn)

Obv. 1 ìr-*ka ki-nu* $^{\text{Id}}$utu-[nigin-*ir*]
a-na $^{\text{lú}}$*qí-i-*[*pi*]
u $^{\text{lú}}$sanga ud.[kib.nun$^{\text{ki}}$]
en-*e-a* [$^{\text{d}}$utu *u* $^{\text{d}}$*bu*]-*ne-ne*
5 *šu-lum u* tin *ṭu-*<*ub*> *li*[*b*]-⌜*bi*⌝ *ṭu-*<*ub*> uzu
a-ra-ku u_4*-mu šá* en-*e-a*
liq-bu-ú a-na [ugu] še.bar
šá mu.8.kam *šá* en-[*e*]-*a iš-pu-ru-nu*
[še.bar] ⌜*a**-*na**⌝ $^{\text{I}}$*m*[*u-r*]*a-nu*
10 [*a-na* kù.babbar *at*]-*ta-din*
(break)

Rev. 1′ ⌜gu_4 *u* $^{\text{lú}}$engar *ina* igi-*iá*⌝
ia-a-nu al-la 1-*en* gu_4
u 1-*en* $^{\text{lú}}$engar *a-mur* 1 gur še.numun
az-za-qáp ṭè-mu u šu-lum
5′ *šá* en-*e-a lu-uš-mu*
(remainder of rev. uninscribed)

3′f.) The parallel in CT 55 9 (see below) is more explicit and adds $^{\text{giš}}$geštin. In these texts *zaqāpu* means "to plant (fruit) trees."

> Your loyal servant Šamaš-[upahhir] to the resident and to the priest of Sippar, my lords. May [Šamaš and B]unene ordain well-being, vigor, contentment, health, and long life of my lords. Regarding the barley of the eighth year, about which the lords wrote to me, I have sold [the barley] to Murānu [for silver.] [...] I have only one ox and one ploughman. Look, I have planted one *kurru* of land (with vines). Let me hear the instruction of my lords and that they are well.

The letter is written on a portrait-format tablet of uncommon width for a Neo-Babylonian letter (3.7 cm); the tablet format is close to that of MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (BM 65279). Šamaš-upahhir reports having sold to Mūrānu barley of the harvest of the eighth year, complains about the lack of oxen and ploughmen and states to have turned one *kurru* of land into a vineyard. The letter is to be dated to the end of the eighth year or to the early ninth year of Nabonidus, in any case, to the time before the barley harvest of the ninth year. The latter is mentioned in CT 55 9, a letter almost certainly sent by the temple clerk Rēmūt, in which CT 22 212 is quoted.

CT 55 9 (BM 56032) (end of 8 Nbn or early 9 Nbn)

Obv. 1 [im $^{\text{I}}$*re-mut*]
⌜*a*⌝-*na* $^{\text{lú}}$*q*[*í-i-pi*]
u $^{\text{lú}}$sanga ud.kib.⌜nun$^{\text{ki}}$⌝
en-*e-a* $^{\text{d}}$en *u* $^{\text{d}}$ag
5 *šu-lum u* tin *ṭu-*<*ub*> *lìb-bi*
ṭu-<*ub*> *uzu a-ra-ku* u_4*-mu*
šá en-*e-a liq-bu-ú*
a-na ugu zag.lu
šá še.bar en-*ú iš-pu-ru*
10 ⌜x x x x x⌝ [x x]
(break)

Rev. 1′ *ina* zag.lu *šá* mu.9.kam
$^{\text{Id}}$utu-nigin-*ir a-na* en-*e-a*
ul-te-bi-lu $^{\text{lú}}$engar *u* gu_4
ina igi-*šú* ⌜*ia*⌝-*a-nu al-ka*
5′ 1-*en* gu_4 *u* 1-*en* $^{\text{lú}}$engar
a-mur 1 gur še.numun $^{\text{giš}}$geštin
iz-za-aq-qáp en-*ú*
lu-ú i-du [x x k]am

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še.bar *šá ina* ⌜x⌝ [x x x x]
10′ ⌜x⌝ [x x x x x x x x]

[Letter of Rēmūt] to the resident and to the priest of Sippar, my lords. May Bēl and Nabû ordain well-being, vigor, contentment, health, and long life of my lords. Regarding the impost on the barley harvest about which (my) lords wrote to me [...] Šamaš-upahhir has sent to my lords [...] of the impost of year nine. He has only one ox and one ploughman. Look, he has planted one *kurru* of land with vines. My lords should know [...] barley which [...] in [...].

The attribution of this tablet to Rēmūt is based on the appearance of this temple clerk in Šamaš-upahhir's letter MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4, and on Rēmūt's letters CT 22 196 and 198, which give further evidence for his stay in Habūru in these years. The tablet on which this letter is written is comparatively wide (3.2 cm), as are several of the other letters of the dossier. Lines 3′ to 7′ repeat essentially verbatim (changing from the first to the third person) the information given in the final section of CT 22 212.[41] The two letters were undoubtedly sent at the same time; the clerk Rēmūt added his own report to that made by Šamaš-upahhir on the occasion of the inspection of his work done by Rēmūt.

MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (BM 65279) (10 Nbn)

Obv. *(a few lines are missing at the beginning of the text)*
1′ *šá* en-*ia* ⌜*ú**-*ṣal**⌝-[*la*]
a-na ugu-*hi* še.bar *šá šad-*⌜*da-qad*⌝
ù ⌜mu⌝.an.[na] ⌜*a*⌝-*ga-a šá* en
iš-pur ⌜2* me*⌝ še.bar *šá šad-da-qad*
5′ *šá i-ba-áš-šu-ú a-na* kù.babbar
ki-i ni-id-din-nu
$^{1}/_{2}$ *ma-na* kù.babbar *a-na* en-*ia*
nu-ul-<*te*>*-bi-il-li*
ù še.bar *šá* mu.an.na *a-ga-a*
10′ $^{\text{I}}$*ki-na-a* $^{\text{lú}}$<<mu>>-kin.gi$_4$.a
šá en-*ia u* $^{\text{I}}$*re-*⌜*mut*⌝

Rev. *ki-i i-ṭi-ru-*[*u*?]
a-mir-tu$_4$ *a-*⌜*na* en-*ia*⌝
ul-te-bi-lu-ni 1 gur 3 (pi) 2-bán
15′ še.numun *a-na* $^{\text{giš}}$geštin *az-zaq-*⌜*qáp*⌝*
ù 2 pi še.numun *e-re-eš*
iz-zaq-qáp mam-ma it-t[*i-ia*]
ia-a-nu šá i-ga-ri-[*ia*]
i-lam-mu-ú dul-lu [x x]
20′ *ip-pu-uš* $^{\text{lú}}$erín[$^{\text{meš}}$ en]
liš-<<*iš*>>°*-pur-am-*⌜*ma*⌝ [x x]
⌜*en-ia*⌝ ⌜*a-na*⌝ [x x x]
(break)

l.ed. *a-na dul-lu šá ep-pu-uš a-na* $^{\text{I}}$*ki-*[*na-a aq-ta-bi*]

4′–7′) This is not an indication of a barley price: the passage can (and given the comparatively low and stable barley price during the reign of Nabonidus, must be) understood to say that the thirty shekels of silver are only part of the money received for the 200 *kurru* of barley.

10′) The scribe has conflated common spellings for *mukinnu* and *mār šipri*, the latter certainly being the word intended.

[41] Thereby proving beyond doubt that the restoration of the sender's name in CT 22 212 as Šamaš-[upahhir] is correct.

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14′) In the field inspection text BM 61541 of 10 Nbn, 1;3.2 of land are said to be é ⌜giš⌝geštin⌝ of Šamaš-upahhir; hence the dating of this letter.

16′) A small horizontal wedge in front of *e* that can also be seen in MacGinnis's copy has no significance; *errēšu* has to be the subject of the sentence.

21′) The sign *iš* has been erased by the scribe only in part.

> [Letter of Šamaš-upahhir to the priest of Sippar, my lord. Daily I pray to Šamaš and Bunene for the well-being, contentment, health, and long life] of my lord. Regarding the barley of last year and of this year about which the lord wrote: we sold for silver the two hundred *kurru* of barley of last year that were available and sent half a mina of silver to my lord. When Kīnāya, the messenger of my lord, and Rēmūt paid the barley of this year, they sent a record of the inspection to my lord. I have planted 1;3.2 of land with vines and a sharecropper has planted 0;2 of land. However I have no one with me who can build the enclosure and do the [...] work. Let my lord send workers and [...] of my lord to [... I have spoken] to Kīnāya of the work that I do.

The letter can be assigned conclusively to Šamaš-upahhir on the basis of content and prosopography. It is written on a portrait-format tablet of uncommon width for a Neo-Babylonian letter (3.7 cm). The tablet format is close to that of CT 22 212, the other letter of Šamaš-upahhir dealing with Habūru, but the handwriting seems different: the signs are smaller and less slanted. On the other hand, the ductus is certainly similar, if not identical to that of BM 61541, the field inspection text written at Habūru in the same year as MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4.

CT 22 196 (BM 56033) (ca. 12–14 Nbn)

Obv. 1 ⌜im ˡ*re-mut*⌝ *a-na*
lú.sanga ud.kib.nun^{ki}
en-*ia* u_4-*mu-us-su*
^{d}en *u* ^{d}ag *a-na* tin zi^{m}[^{eš}]
5 *ṭu-ub* <*lìb-bi*> *ṭu-bu* uzu
u a-ra-ku u_4-*mu šá* en-[*ia*]
ú-ṣal-la a-na muh-hi udu
šá ^{d}utu *šá* en *iš-pu-ru*
1-*en* [*u*] ⌜2⌝-*šú ši-pir-tu*$_4$
10 *a-na* [en]-*ia al-tap-*[*ra*]
[x x] še.numun *a-na* ⌜*muh*⌝-[*hi*]
[*ṣe*]-⌜*e*⌝-*nu al-la* še.numun
[*šá*] ⌜giš⌝geštin *i-ba-áš-ši*
[x x]⌜x⌝ en *iš-pu-ru*
15 [x x x]-⌜*ši*⌝-*šú*
[x x x x x] še.numun
[x x x x x-*u*]š
Rev. [x x x 1$^{?}$] gur še.numun
é ^{giš}geštin [^{ld}]⌜utu⌝-nigin-*ir*
20 *ki-i iz-qup-pu ina* ⌜*da*⌝$^{?}$-[*na-ni*]
il-te-lim u še.numun *ma-a-d*[*u*]
ina lìb-bi šá ^{d}en u ^{d}pa *za-qip*
u mu.an.na *a-ga-a* 3 gur še.n[umun]
ú-šal-lam-ma i-zaq-qáp
25 *u* ^{lú}erín^{meš} *ina* igi-*šú ia-a-nu*
šá i-ga-ri ip-pu-uš-šú
^{lú}erín^{meš} en *li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma*
i-ga-ri li-ip-pu-uš
u ia-a-nu-ú en *liš-pu-r*[*a*]
30 buru$_{14}$ a.šà *šá* mu.an.na *a-n*[*a*]
lú.hun.gá.gá^{meš} *lu id-d*[*i-nu-ma*]
i-ga-ri li-⌜*ip*⌝-[*pu-šu*]

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[x]⌜x⌝ mu.an.na
a-na ^{d}utu *li-id-din kap-du ṭè-e-*[*mu šá* en-*ia lu-uš-me*]

31) For this line, see Johannes Hackl, "Irreale Sätze in den spB Briefen," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 98 (2008): 85.

Letter of Rēmūt to the priest of Sippar, my lord. Daily I pray to Bēl and Nabû for the well-being, contentment, health, and long life of my lord.

Regarding the sheep of Šamaš about which the lord wrote: I have sent one or two letters to my lord. There is more land for sheep than there is land suitable for vines. [Regarding ... about which] the lord wrote: [...] him [...] land [...].

[In the past], when Šamaš-upahhir planted [one] *kurru* of vineyard, he barely managed to complete the task, while much of the land belonging to Bēl and Nabû was being planted. But this year he will complete the planting of three *kurru* of land. However, he does not have (enough) workers to build the enclosure (of the vineyard). Let the lord send workers so that they can build the enclosure; otherwise let the lord send a letter. The harvest of this year should have been allotted to (some) hirelings to make them build the enclosure. He should give [...] of this year to Šamaš. [Let me hear] quickly the instruction [of my lord].

The text is written on a large tablet (width: 3.8 cm). The dating of this letter to ca. 12–14 Nbn is based on the fact that Šamaš-upahhir, by the time of its writing, had planted three *kurru* of vineyard, that is, he had doubled the size of the plot mentioned in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4. In lines 18–19, Rēmūt makes an observation regarding Šamaš-upahhir's lack of workers in the past, which can be taken as further proof for his presence in the area earlier in the reign of Nabonidus. The problems Šamaš-upahhir faces at the time of writing of the letter are in any case the same as earlier: he is lacking the manpower and/or the funds necessary for building a wall for his vineyard. The relevance of the reference to the holdings of Bēl and Nabû, that is, of Esangila and Ezida, has been pointed out above.

CT 22 198 (BM 84916) (ca. 14–16 Nbn)

1 im [$^{!}$*re*]-*mut*
a-na ^{lú}sanga ^{uru}ud.kib.nun[^{ki}]
en-*ia* u_4-*mu-us-su*
^{d}en ^{d}pa ^{d}utu *u* ^{d}u.gur
5 *a-na bu-lu-ṭu* zi^{meš}
a-ra-ku u_4-*mu*
ṭu-bu:ub$^{!}$ *lìb-bi ṭu-bu:ub uzu*
⌜*ù*⌝ *bu-ú-nu pa-ni*
[*šá* lugal *ha-du-tú i*]*t-ti* en-*ia*
10 [*ú-ṣal*]-*la* <<x°>>
[en *lu-ú*] *i-de* še.numun
[x x x *i-n*]*a pa-ni*
(break)

Rev. 1′ [x x x x x] ⌜x⌝ dùg.ga
[x x x x x] ⌜x⌝ dùg.ga
15 [x x x] *i-na lìb-bi*
[$^{!}$]^{d}utu-⌜nigin⌝*-*ir a-na* ^{giš}geštin
[*ki*]-*i ip-pu-uš*
lu-ú ma-a-du šu-nu
en-na ki-i pa-ni en-*iá*
20 *mah-ra* <<⌜x⌝°>> 5 ^{lú}érin^{meš}
en *li-iš-*⌜*pur*⌝-[*am-m*]*a*
5 gur še.numun [*li-iz-qu-pu*]

3ff.) For the elaborate salutation formula, see the commentary on CT 22 37, below.

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> Letter of Rēmūt to the priest of Sippar, my lord. Every day I pray to Bēl, Nabû, Šamaš, and Nergal for the well-being, long life, contentment, health, and the benevolence [of the king] for my lord. [The lord should] know: land [...] at the disposal [of ...] (break) ... [...] good [...] good [...] how can Šamaš-upahhir use them for (planting) vines? They are numerous. If my lord agrees, let the lord send five men so that [they might plant] five *kurru* of land.

The handwriting of this letter is slanted and characterized by slightly unusual, distorted sign forms; it does not seem to be the handwriting found in CT 22 196, even though both letters were sent by Rēmūt from Habūru. The subject is once again the surface area planted with vines by Šamaš-upahhir and his lack of workmen. Since the writer talks about completing the planting of five *kurru* of land, the letter must be later than CT 22 196.

CT 22 37 (BM 84963) (ca. 17 Nbn)

1 [i]m ˡìr-ᵈen *a-na* ˡᵈamar.utu-mu-⌜mu⌝
en-ia *u₄-mu-us-<su>* ᵈen ᵈag
ᵈutu *<<mu>>* *u* ᵈu.gur *a-na* tin ziᵐᵉš
a-ra-ku *u₄-mu* *ṭu-ub* *lìb-bi* *ṭu-ub* uzu
5 [*u b*]*u-ni* *pa-ni* *šá* lugal *ha-du-tu* ki ⌜en-*iá*⌝
[*ú*]-*ṣal-lá* en *lu-ú* *i-de* *ul-*⌜*tu*⌝
[*al-li-k*]*u* *ši-pir-tu₄* ⌜*šá* ˡ⌝ᵈ⌜utu⌝-nigin-*ir* *a-*⌜*na*?⌝ igi
[ˡki-ᵈa]g-igi-*i*[*a* *u* ˡ*re-mut*]-ᵈká
[*ta-at-t*]*a-a*[*l-ka*]⌜?⌝
10 [x x x] ⌜x x⌝ [ ]⌜x⌝
[x]⌜x⌝[ ]
(break)

Rev. 1′ [x x x] ⌜x x x⌝ [x x]
[*ù m*]*im-ma* *ina* *lìb-bi* *ul* *id-<di(n)>-nu*
[a.šà] ⌜ᵈ⌝utu *it-ta-du-u* pad.hi.a
[*šá i*]*d-din-nu-nu* *šad-da-qád* 1 ¹/₂ *ma-na* kù.babbar
5′ ⌜*u*⌝ ᶻⁱˡku!(T: SUG)-*u*ʾ-*si-ip* 4! gur ᵍⁱˢgeštin
la-bi-ru 10 udu.nitá gig.ba *ta-bi***-lu*
u gú.turʔᵐᵉš še.bar še.giš.ì *duh-nu*
⌜*a*⌝-*na* ˡᵈutu-nigin-*ir* *it-tan-nu-*ʾ en
[*lu*]-*ú* *i-de* *kap-du* *ṭè-e-m*[*u*]
10′ ⌜*šá*⌝ en-*iá* *lu-uš-me-e*ʾ-*ma* *lu-bu-lu*[*ṭ*]

3) As written, the letter has ᵈ*u₄-mu*. In the Ebabbar archive, Divine "Day" occurs in offering lists (e.g., Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 231), but in no other Late Babylonian letter is this deity invoked in the greeting formula. In the light of the otherwise identical salutation formula of CT 22 198, it seems preferable to emend the text as proposed here.

5) *būn pāni ša šarri hadûtu itti bēliya* is attested rarely in salutation formulae. A parallel to our letter in the Sippar letters can be found only in CT 22 53: 6–8 (letter of Bēl-uballiṭ, coll.): (...) *bu-ú*-nu pa-ni / šá* ⌜lugal *ha*⌝-[*d*]*u-tu šá it-ti* / e[n-*i*]*a* and in CT 22 198: 8f. (letter of Rēmūt, Habūru dossier, see above).

5′) Loaves of *kusīpu*-bread are well attested in administrative documents in many orthographic variations (e.g., Ran Zadok, "The Text Group of Nabû-ēṭer," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51 (2005/06): 152 and passim). Nevertheless, the spelling in our text, if interpreted correctly, is unparalleled.

6′) According to BM 74439 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar,* no. 43; 16 Nbn), *tābīlu* "dried vegetables or herbs" (according to CAD, s.v.) were in fact cultivated on the estates of the Ebabbar temple on the Ḫābūr. Regarding the use of *tābīlu* as provisions, see also YOS 3 66: 11–14 (coll.): zíd.da *ta°-bi-lu* / síkʰⁱ·ᵃ *ù hi-ših-tu₄* / *ma-la i-ba-áš-šu-ú a-na* / ᵍⁱˢmáᵐᵉš en *lu-še-él-li* "flour, dried vegetables, wool, and (other) necessities as many as there are the lord shall load on ships."

7′) *Pace* CAD s.v. *tikku*, the signs should be read gú.turˡᵐᵉš.

9′f.) The formula *ṭēmu ša* PN *lušmē-ma lubluṭ* is comparatively rare. A parallel is found, for example, in YOS 3 153: 29f. (coll.): *ṭè-e-mu / šá* en-*iá* *lu-uš-me-e-ma* *lu-bu-luṭ*ˡ. See further YOS 3 157: 23ff. (coll.): ⌜*ṭè-e-mu*⌝ / *u šu-lum / šá* en-*iá*

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lu-uš-me-e-ma lu-ub-⌜*luṭ*⌝. Further attestations are YOS 3 189: 24–26 (*lu-ub-lu-uṭ*), YOS 21 53: 22–24 ([*l*]*u-ub-luṭ* {x x}), and YOS 21 58: 11f. (⌜*lu*⌝*-ub-luṭ*).

> Letter of Arad-Bēl to Marduk-šumu-iddin, my lord. Daily I pray to Bēl, Nabû, Šamaš, and Nergal for the well-being, long life, contentment, health and the benevolence of the king for my lord.
>
> The lord should know: after my departure a letter of Šamaš-upahhir to [Itti-Nab]û-īnia [and Rēmūt]-Bāʾu [has arr]ived.
>
> *(break)*
>
> [... but] they issued nothing thereof. They let lie fallow [the field(?)] of Šamaš. These are the provisions which they issued last year: they issued 1.5 minas of silver and (loaves of) *kusīpu*-bread(?), four *kurru* old grapes, ten sheep, wheat, ..., and peas, barley, sesame, (and) millet to Šamaš-upahhir. The lord should know. Let me hear quickly the instruction of my lord so that I might rest easily.

The letter is written on a portrait-format tablet of uncommon width for a Neo-Babylonian letter (4.0 cm; the full height of the tablet cannot be established). The handwriting is comparable to that of CT 22 38 and 39, two other letters sent by Arad-Bēl from Habūru, but somewhat more cramped and upright than the more slanted and widely spaced ductus of the other two letters. Nevertheless, the forms of individual signs are quite close to those of CT 22 38 and 39, so that one should attribute all three letters to the same scribe.[42] The date is based on the office period of the addressee, the priest of the Ebabbar Marduk-šumu-iddin (attested 15 Nbn to 7 Cyr),[43] and on the date of another Habūru letter of Arad-Bēl, CT 22 38, which was probably written toward the very end of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. The issue under discussion is first, a communication of Šamaš-upahhir to another ploughman and the shepherd Rēmūt-Bāʾu; second, problems of field cultivation; and third, foodstuffs and general provisions issued to Šamaš-upahhir.

CT 22 38 (BM 65387) (ca. 17 Nbn)

Obv. 1 ⌜im⌝ ⌜ir⌝-^{d}en *a-na*
^{lú}sanga *Sip-par*^{ki} en-*ia*
u$_4$*-mu-us-su* ^{d}en ^{d}ag ^{d}utu
u ^{d}u.gur *a-*⌜*na*⌝ tin zi-*tì*
5 *a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu ṭu-ub lìb-bi*
u ṭu-ub uzu *šá* en-*ia ú-ṣal-lá*
a-na ugu še.bar *u* ^{giš}geštin *šá a-na*
pa-ni ^{Id}utu-nigin-*ir šá* en *iš-pur-ru-an-ni*
^{giš}geštin *ina pa-na-tu-ú-a ṣa-hi-it*
10 *u* še.bar *a-na* kù.babbar sum.na-*at*
⌜en *lu*⌝*-ú i-de* 10 gur ^{giš}geštin
[x x x] ⌜še.bar *ù*⌝ ^{giš}geštin
[x x x x x x x]⌜x x x⌝
(break)

Rev. 1′ ⌜*ul*?⌝[x x x]⌜x⌝[x x]⌜ *ṣa**⌝*-hi***-it**
ù ⌜^{I}*ta-qiš*⌝ *a-na pa-ni* en-*ia*
al-tap-par ṭè-e-mu šá en-*ia*
a-na ka-pa-du lu-uš-me
5′ *a-na* ugu ^{I}*re-mut-*^{d}ká *u* ^{Id}utu-kal
šá en *iš-pur-ra-an-ni ki-i ú-ba-aʾ-ú*
ul a-mur-šú-nu-tu en *lu-ú i-de*
a-na ugu še.bar *šá* ^{Id}ag-tin-*iṭ* ^{lú}*er-re-ši*
šá en *iš-pur-ra-an-ni* ^{lú}dumu.dù^{meš} *ul-te*^{I}(T: ŠE)*-zi-iz*
10′ *ù* ^{I}ki-^{d}ag-igi-*ia ina* igi-*šú-nu uk-ti-in*
um-ma 4-*ta* ká^{meš} ^{Id}ag-tin-*iṭ*
i-te-reš a-na ^{Id}utu-nigin-*ir*
⌜*ki-i*⌝ *a-qab-bu-ú um-ma*

[42] All the more so because of orthographic peculiarities shared by CT 22 37 and 38 (e.g., *-lá* in *ú-ṣal-lá*).

[43] For attestations, see Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, pp. 29–30.

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u.ed. [*m*]*i-*⌜*ri*⌝*-is* ^{giš}geštin *ina pa-na-*⌜*tu-ú*⌝*-a*
15′ [*ta*(*-aṣ*$^{?}$)]*-ṣa-ha-at*

lo.ed. [*iq-ta-bi*] *um-ma la-pa-ni* ^{lú}kúr *ni-ip-ta-*[*lah*]
[^{giš}geštin *ni-i*]*ṣ-ṣa-ha-it a-mur ri-hi-tú a-bil-tú*

7) *ana pāni* has to be translated here as if the scribe had written *ina pāni*.

> Letter of Arad-Bēl to the priest of Sippar, my lord. Daily I pray to Bēl, Nabû, Šamaš, and Nergal for the well-being, long life, contentment, and health of my lord.
> Regarding what the lord wrote to me about the barley and the grapes at the disposal of Šamaš-upahhir, the grapes were pressed before my arrival and the barley was sold for silver. The lord should know: ten *kurru* of grapes, [...] barley and grapes [...]
>
> *(break)*
>
> [...] not [...], [...] was pressed and I (now) sent Taqīš to my lord. Let me hear quickly the instructions of my lord. Concerning Rēmūt-Bā$^{?}$u and Šamaš-udammiq about whom the lord wrote to me: when I searched I could not find them. The Lord should know.
>
> Regarding what the lord wrote to me about the barley of the sharecropper Nabû-uballiṭ: I have called an assembly of gentlemen and Itti-Nabû-īnia has stated in their presence, as follows: "Nabû-uballiṭ has cultivated four plots." When I said to Šamaš-upahhir, "(why) have you pressed the grape mash before my arrival," [he replied]: "we were afraid of the enemy, so [we have] pressed the grapes (already); but look, the rest has been dried."

The text is written on a comparatively wide tablet (3.6 cm), the handwriting resembles that of CT 22 39 (see below). The letter provides the most vivid information available on the management of Ebabbar's estates on the Ḫābūr. We hear of the absence of the shepherd Rēmūt-Bā$^{?}$u, of the establishment of a commission for the purpose of ascertaining how many plots the sharecropper Nabû-uballiṭ had cultivated, and finally reference is made to Šamaš-upahhir and his grapes, which had apparently been pressed in haste, as the arrival of an enemy (the Persians?) threatened.

CT 22 39 (BM 84928) (ca. 17 Nbn)

Obv. 1 im ^{l}ìr-^{d}en *a-*⌜*na*⌝
^{ld}utu-šeš-mu ad-*i*[*a*]
⌜dag⌝ *u* ^{d}amar.utu *a-na* ad-*ia*
⌜*lik*⌝*-ru-bu ina* giš.mi *šá* dingir^{meš}
5 *šu-lum* ⌜*a-na*⌝*-ku a-ga-a-*$^{?}$*i-i*
gab-bi šá aq-bak-ka um-ma
a-na ka-⌜*pa-du*⌝ *ṭè-en-ku*
u mi-nu-ú [*šá*] *te-pu-uš*
⌜*šu-pur*⌝ *en-*⌜*na mi*$^{?}$⌝*-*[*n*]*am-ma* a*-di al*-lik*-ku**
10 [x x x x x x x *na*]*m*$^{?}$*-din*$^{?}$
[x x x x x x x]⌜x⌝
[x x x x x še]š-*ú*$^{!}$*-a*
[x x x x x x] ú *ki-i*
[x x x x x x]⌜x *i*⌝*-qab-bu-ú*
15 ⌜*ši-i-mi*⌝ *ki-i* ⌜*id*$^{?}$⌝*-bu-ub-u*$^{?}$
su-ud-dir-ma hur*-*⌜*ṣu**⌝ *u* ši-i-mu*
šu-pur a-na ^{l}*la-qí-pi qí-bi*
um-ma la tap-làh ki-i
^{lú}sanga *sip-par*^{ki} ^{lú}*qí-i-pi*
20 ^{lú}umbisag^{meš} *i-*⌜*mur*⌝*-r*[*u*]

lo.ed. *um-ma* ⌜*ki-ma-a*$^{?}$ kù.babbar *a-na*⌝

Rev. [š]u$^{?II?}$ ⌜^{Id}en⌝*-lu-ú-*šeš*-ú-*a
id-din qí-bi* ⌜*um*⌝*-ma* kù.babbar
ul a-mur ki-i a-na ugu *duh-nu*
25 še.giš.ì ⌜*i-qab-bi*⌝*-nik-ka*
qí-bi-šú-nu-⌜*tú*⌝ [*um*]*-*⌜*ma*⌝ *up-te-he-er-ru*

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u ina giš.bán *ki-i an-du-du*
[*a-na*(?) $^{\text{Id}}$e]n-*lu-ú-šeš-ú-a* $^{\text{I}}$ki-$^{\text{d}}$ag-⌜igi⌝-*ia*
[*u* $^{\text{I}}$ki-$^{\text{d}}$]utu$^{\text{?}}$-*bu-di-ia at-ta-*⌜*din*⌝
30 [*mim-ma ina*] *lìb-bi* $^{\text{Ir}}$⌜ìr-$^{\text{d}}$en⌝ *ul iš-*⌜*ši*⌝
[*mim*(?)-*m*]*a*$^{\text{?}}$ *šá* še.giš.ì *ul i-mu-ur*
[(illegible traces)]
⌜*a*⌝-*m*[*ur*$^{\text{?}}$ *it-ti*]-*ka* id*-dab**-[*bu-ub*]
⌜*a**-*na**-*ku** *ul**⌝ *a-*⌜*ka-a**⌝-*šú*
35 ⌜*al*⌝-*la-*⌜*ka a-kan*$^{\text{?}}$*-na*$^{\text{?}}$⌝ $^{\text{Id}}$en-šeš$^{\text{?meš}}$-su$^{\text{?}}$
u $^{\text{I}}$*kal-*⌜*ba*⌝-[*a*] ⌜(x)$^{\text{?}}$⌝ *a-na* igi-*ka*! ⌜*al-tap*$^{\text{?}}$*-ra*$^{\text{?}}$⌝
su-ud-⌜*dir-ma*⌝ *ina* igi-*šú-nu i-ši-iz*
5 bán zú.lum.ma 5 *tuh-hal** ⌜*u**⌝ 20 *gi-pu**-⌜*ú**⌝
a-na $^{\text{Id}}$ag-pab *i-din mi-*⌜*nu-ú*⌝
40 $^{\text{I}}$šeš$^{\text{meš!}}$-*e*$^{\text{!}}$*-a šu-pur šu-l*[*um-šu*]
ša-al $^{\text{I}}$ìr-$^{\text{d}}$en *šu-lu*[*m* (*šá*)]
$^{\text{mí}}$*ba-zi-tu*$_4$ ⌜gašan⌝-*šú*
u.ed. *i-*⌜*ša*⌝-*al*

25) *i-qab-bi-nik-ka* must be taken as a plural (*iqabbûnikka*).

26ff.) The statement following *umma* should be in the third person, with Arad-Bēl as the subject; however, the text is phrased carelessly, the sender, being himself the grammatical subject of this sentence, uses both the first and the third person.

28) [$^{\text{I}}$*l*]*u-ú-šeš-ú* a $^{\text{I}}$ki-$^{\text{d}}$ag-⌜igi⌝-*ia* could also be taken as an instance of haplography for ...-*šeš-ú-a* a $^{\text{I}}$ki-... assuming that the full name of Bēl-lū-ahū$^{\text{?}}$a, son of Itti-Nabû-īnīa, the lessee of temple land in Habūru according to BM 74439 (16 Nbn; see above) was intended. However, since Bēl-lū-ahū$^{\text{?}}$a's father Itti-Nabû-īnīa demonstrably was also active in the Habūru area (CT 22 37 and 38), we take the text as written, assuming that Arad-Bēl intended father and son.

37) For *sudduru ... ušuzzu*, see also CT 22 23: 12–14 (coll.): *su-ud-dir-a-ma* / *ina* ugu $^{\text{giš}}$*le-e* / *šu-*⌜*uz*⌝-*zi-za-a*$^{\text{?}}$.

38) The spelling of *tuhallu* "a small basket made of woven palm fronds" (CAD, s.v.) is uncommon: *tu-hal-*° would be the expected form. The word is often mentioned together with *gipû*, as in this case (see, e.g., VS 5 66: 7–8).

41ff.) See also CT 22 40: 15–18 (coll.; another private letter of Arad-Bēl, without any clear connection to the Habūru dossier): $^{\text{I}}$ìr-$^{\text{d}}$en *šu-lum šá* $^{\text{mí}}$[*b*]*a-zi-tú* / $^{\text{mí}}$*ha-ni-na-a* $^{\text{I}}$*a-*⌜*na*⌝-[x]⌜x⌝ / u $^{\text{mí.d}}$*a-a-en-qit* / *i-šá-al-la*.

> Letter of Arad-Bēl to Šamaš-ahu-iddin, my father. May Nabû and Marduk bless my father. Thanks to the protection of the gods I am well.
>
> As for all that I have said to you, as follows: "Quickly write your report and what you have done!," why [have you not yet written to me] before my departure? [...] give(s) (*lines* 11–13 *too poorly preserved for translation*) [14] [...] they say. As soon as they state the price arrange matters accordingly and write (me) the price! [17-18] Tell Laqīpi: "were you not afraid (to act in the way you did)?" If the priest of Sippar, the resident, and the (temple) scribes take note (of the affair) (and ask), as follows: "How much silver did he hand over to Bēl-lū-ahū$^{\text{?}}$a?," then tell (them), as follows: "I have not seen the silver." If they speak with you regarding the millet and the sesame, then tell them, as follows: "they have collected it. I (recte: Arad-Bēl) measured (it) with (the temple's) *sūtu*-measure and gave (it) [to B]ēl-lū-ahū$^{\text{?}}$a, Itti-Nabû-īnia [(and) Itti-Š]amaš?-būdia, but Arad-Bēl himself has taken [nothing] thereof. He has seen [nothi]ng? of the sesame."
>
> [...]. Look, he has spoken [with] you. I will come without delay. Here, I have (already) sent Bēl-ahhē-erība and Kalbāya to you. Take care to take command of them; give Nabû-nāṣir five *sūtu* dates, five *tuhallu*-baskets and twenty date baskets! Write what is the matter with Ahhēa, enquire after [his] health. Arad-Bēl asks after the well-being of his mistress Bazītu.

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The letter is written on a comparatively large tablet (3.5 cm wide); the handwriting is very similar to that of CT 22, 38. Arad-Bēl's "father" Šamaš-ahu-iddin is in fact an older relative, probably his brother (see n. 36), but in any case not his physical father. The letter is clearly private in nature. In addition to common complaints about the lack of information and inquiries after the health of family members, Arad-Bēl requests the addressee's assistance: he is to justify and explain the sender's recent activities in Habūru when questioned on the subject by the administration of Ebabbar. Arad-Bēl seems not to have been completely confident regarding the persuasive powers of the pertinent report(s) (which must have been similar to the two letters treated above) he certainly sent directly to the priest of Sippar and his colleagues, so he resorted to family ties for additional support. Letters displaying such a clear interconnection of private and official business and the use of personal ties to achieve one's ends in a bureaucratic context are comparatively rare in the corpus of Babylonian letters dating to the sixth century B.C.

The dossier merits some additional thoughts from the viewpoint of administrative epistolography. We have letters sent by Šamaš-upahhir between 8 and 10 Nbn (2: CT 22 212 and MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4), letters sent by Rēmūt between 8 and 16 Nbn (3: CT 55 9 [restored] and CT 22 196 and 198), and letters sent by Arad-Bēl, all presumably around 17 Nbn (3: CT 22 37, 38, and 39). This does not necessarily mean that these letters were actually written by three different persons. A survey of the greeting formulae, the most stylized part of such letters, throws some light on this issue.

CT 22 212 (BM 75446) (end of 8 Nbn or early 9 Nbn)

> ìr-*ka ki-nu* ^{Id}utu-[nigin-*ir*] *a-na* ^{lú}*qí-i-*[*pi*] *u* ^{lú}sanga ud.[kib.nun^{ki}] en-*e-a* [^{d}utu u ^{d}*bu*]-*ne-ne šu-lum u* tin *ṭu-*<*ub*> *li*[*b*]-$^{⌜}$*bi*$^{⌝}$ *ṭu-*<*ub*> uzu *a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu šá* en-*e-a liq-bu-ú*

CT 55 9 (BM 56032) (end of 8 Nbn or early 9 Nbn)

> [im ^{I}*re-mut*] $^{⌜}$*a*$^{⌝}$*-na* ^{lú}*q*[*í-i-pi*] *u* ^{lú}sanga ud.kib.$^{⌜}$nun$^{ki⌝}$ en-*e-a* ^{d}en *u* ^{d}ag *šu-lum u* tin *ṭu-*<*ub*> *lìb-bi ṭu-*<*ub*> uzu *a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu šá* en-*e-a liq-bu-ú*

MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (BM 65279) (10 Nbn)

> (a few lines are missing at the beginning of the text)
> [im ^{Id}utu-nigin-*ir* ...] *šá* en-*ia* $^{⌜}$*ú**-*ṣal**$^{⌝}$-[*la*]

CT 22 196 (BM 56033) (ca. 12–14 Nbn)

> $^{⌜}$im ^{I}*re-mut*$^{⌝}$ *a-na* ^{lú}sanga ud.kib.nun^{ki} en-*ia u*$_4$*-mu-us-su* ^{d}en *u* ^{d}ag *a-na* tin zi^{m}[^{eš}] *ṭu-ub* <*lìb-bi*> *ṭu-bu* uzu *u a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu šá* en-[*ia*] *ú-ṣal-la*

CT 22 198 (BM 84916) (ca. 14–16 Nbn)

> im [^{I}*re*]*-mut a-na* ^{lú}sanga ^{uru}ud.kib.nun[^{ki}] en-*ia u*$_4$*-mu-us-su* ^{d}en ^{d}pa ^{d}utu *u* ^{d}u.gur *a-na bu-lu-ṭu* zi^{meš} *a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu ṭu-bu:ub*^{I} *lìb-bi ṭu-bu:ub* uzu $^{⌜}$*ù*$^{⌝}$ *bu-ú-nu pa-ni* [*šá* lugal *ha-du-tú i*]*t-ti* en-*ia* [*ú-ṣal*]*-la* <<x°>>

CT 22 37 (BM 84963) (ca. 17 Nbn)

> [i]m ^{I}ìr-^{d}en *a-na* ^{Id}amar.utu-mu-$^{⌜}$mu$^{⌝}$ en-*ia u*$_4$*-mu-us-*<*su*> ^{d}en ^{d}ag ^{d}utu <<*mu*>> *u* ^{d}u.gur *a-na* tin zi^{meš} *a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu ṭu-ub lìb-bi ṭu-ub* uzu [*u b*]*u-ni pa-ni šá* lugal *ha-du-tu* ki $^{⌜}$en-*iá*$^{⌝}$ [*ú*]*-ṣal-lá*

CT 22 38 (BM 65387) (ca. 17 Nbn)

> $^{⌜}$im$^{⌝}$ $^{I⌜}$ìr$^{⌝}$-^{d}en *a-na* ^{lú}sanga *Sip-par*^{ki} en-*ia u*$_4$*-mu-us-su* ^{d}en ^{d}ag ^{d}utu *u* ^{d}u.gur *a-*$^{⌜}$*na*$^{⌝}$ tin zi-*tì a-ra-ku u*$_4$*-mu ṭu-ub lìb-bi u ṭu-ub* uzu *šá* en-*ia ú-ṣal-lá*

CT 22 39 (BM 84928) (ca. 17 Nbn)

> im ^{I}ìr-^{d}en *a-*$^{⌜}$*na*$^{⌝}$ ^{Id}utu-šeš-mu ad-*i*[*a*] $^{⌜d}$ag$^{⌝}$ *u* ^{d}amar.utu *a-na* ad-*ia* $^{⌜}$*lik*$^{⌝}$*-ru-bu ina* giš.mi *šá* dingir^{meš} *šu-lum* $^{⌜}$*a-na*$^{⌝}$*-ku*

The greeting formulae are remarkably similar to each other and, as a group, atypical within the corpus of Sippar letters:[44] With the exception of the private letter CT 22 39 (Arad-Bēl), they are all comparatively elaborate and add

[44] As even a quick perusal of the Sippar letters published in CT 22 shows.

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"contentment, health, and long life" (*ṭūb libbi ṭūb šīri arāk ūmi*, frequently spelled badly) to the usual *šulmu u balāṭu*. One is tempted to consider the possibility of attributing them to a single scribe working in Syria for the temple and its visiting inspectors. Testing this hypothesis, one notes that the two oldest letters, CT 55 9 ([Rēmūt]) and CT 22 212 (Šamaš-upahhir), stand out: they use the DN *u* DN *šulum … liqbû* formula, while the other texts employ the rarer variant based on the verb *ṣullû*. In fact, apart from the different gods invoked and from the unique beginning of CT 22 212 (*arad-ka kīnu* PN),[45] CT 55 9 and CT 22 212 have completely identical greeting formulae including the same scribal mistakes. Given the fact that CT 55 9 actually cites CT 22 212 in an indirect form, it can be considered certain that the two texts were written at the same time by the same scribe. This scribe may have been the temple clerk Rēmūt (rather than the ploughman Šamaš-upahhir), but it could also have been a third man.[46]

The second letter we can attribute to Šamaš-upahhir, MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4, has the same distinct tablet format as CT 22 212, but the handwriting seems different;[47] on the other hand, the sign forms and the ductus in general are close to, perhaps identical with, that of CT 22 196 (Rēmūt).[48] The third letter sent by Rēmūt, CT 22 198, is characterized by yet another ductus: the letter has unusual, slightly distorted sign forms; one cannot attribute this text to the same scribe who wrote CT 22 196.[49] There are similarities in certain sign forms that could be assumed to establish a connection between CT 22 198 and CT 22 212 (and CT 55 9),[50] but overall the handwriting of CT 22 198 is more irregular and slanting than that of CT 22 212. Regarding the three letters sent by Arad-Bēl, the handwriting of CT 22 38 and 39 seems to be identical, whereas that of CT 22 37 is more cramped and upright, but shares some distinct sign forms with the other letters.[51] Both CT 22 37 and 38 use the sign LÁ in *ú-ṣal-lá* in the greeting formula, a very unusual orthographic choice that one would like to attribute to a single individual scribe: on balance it seems preferable to consider all three letters as having been written by the same individual. One should also note the fact that Arad-Bēl's letter CT 22 37 and Rēmūt's letter CT 22 198 (which were both written toward the end of the reign of Nabonidus) share the same very elaborate and unusual greeting formula (but not the handwriting[52]): a coincidence seems unlikely.

Finally, mention should be made of the only administrative text known that must have been written at Habūru: the field inspection text BM 61541 of 10 Nbn. The ductus of this text is close to that of MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (which was written in the same year); it may even be by the same hand.[53]

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[45] This antiquated seventh-century way of beginning a letter is paralleled in the sixth-century Sippar corpus only by CT 22 64: *arad-ka* PN *ana šangî sippar bēlīšu lū šulmu ana bēlia …* and in Uruk by YOS 3 194; BIN 1 23, 46; YOS 21 106; and a few other letters. The addition *arad-ka kīnu* in a letter to an official is, to our knowledge, unparalleled in these letters.

[46] We could not examine the original of CT 55 9, but only Pinches' copy of this tablet. However, Pinches' copy, though standardized, reflects obviously at least some peculiarities of the handwriting, in particular the use of the rare variant forms of gu_4 and *ul* in which the vertical wedge does not cross the upper horizontal wedge. The same peculiarity is present in CT 22 212:



[47] In particular, the text writes *ul* with a long vertical that does cross the upper horizontal:



[48] E.g., compare UŠ in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar," no. 4:



and CT 22 196:

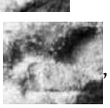


with that of CT 22 212:



.

[49] UŠ in CT 22 196:

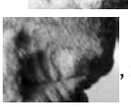


, in CT 22 198:



,

IR in CT 22 196:



, in CT 22 198:



,

GA in CT 22 196:



, in CT 22 198:



;

UD in CT 22 196:



, in CT 22 198:



.

[50] Compare, e.g., the forms of UŠ in CT 22 198 and CT 22 212, illustrated in the two previous notes.

[51] ÌR in CT 22 37:

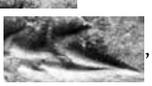


, in CT 22 39:



;

GEŠTIN in CT 22 37:



, in CT 22 38:



.

[52] As can be seen, e.g., by comparing the GEŠTIN of CT 22 198 (



) to that of CT 22 37 (



).

[53] Unfortunately, BM 61541 is badly preserved and does not offer many potentially distinct signs. GU_4 is written with the vertical crossing the upper horizontal, as in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4. Compare 1 gur 3 (pi) 2 bán in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4



and in BM 61541



, as well as the form of the sign E in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (



) and in the administrative text



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On the basis of the above, one can establish the following hypothetical scheme:

Scribe A:
CT 22 212 (BM 75446) (end of 8 Nbn or early 9 Nbn, Šamaš-[upahhir])
CT 55 9 (BM 56032) (end of 8 Nbn or early 9 Nbn, [Rēmūt])

Scribe B:
MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4 (BM 65279) (10 Nbn, [Šamaš-upahhir])
CT 22 196 (BM 56033) (ca. 11–14 Nbn, Rēmūt)
BM 61541 (10 Nbn, administrative)

Scribe C:
CT 22 198 (BM 84916) (ca. 14–16 Nbn, Rēmūt)

Scribe D:
CT 22 37 (BM 84963) (ca. 17 Nbn, Arad-Bēl)
CT 22 38 (BM 65387) (ca. 17 Nbn, Arad-Bēl)
CT 22 39 (BM 84928) (ca. 17 Nbn, Arad-Bēl)

Scribe D is without doubt Arad-Bēl himself.[54] Rēmūt, if he could write, hides behind A, B, or C, another of whom might be identified with the messenger Kīnāya mentioned in MacGinnis, "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," no. 4, and BM 61083, if this man was indeed the scribe Šamaš-mukīn-apli. This variety of scribal hands is at odds with the unusual consistency of the atypical greeting formulae and the tablet format (let alone the smaller number of senders). We have to conclude that also middle-ranking temple officials such as the senders of our letters sometimes made use of (lower-ranking) scribes who either accompanied them on their missions or who worked permanently on the temple's estates. In any case, the unusually elaborate greeting formulae of our letters would seem to reflect a scribal idiosyncrasy particular to the Habūru estate which visiting scribes, such as Arad-Bēl, also felt the need to emulate.

[54] Arad-Bēl very characteristically and consistently places the "KUR" element of ÌR above the initial horizontal wedge, rather than across it (see n. 51). This can be seen also in legal texts written by Arad-Bēl (who in these texts gives his full name, son of Bēl-ušallim of the Adad-šamê family), e.g., in Ronald H. Sack, *Neriglissar — King of Babylon*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 236 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994), p. 264 no. 100 (BM 74938):  , and in CT 55 91: 21; 97: 16; 133 rev. 4; and WZKM 83 32 BM 61196. The analysis of the handwriting, in this case, confirms conclusively the prosopographical identification.

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Abbreviations

BIN 1	Clarence Elwood Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CT 22	E. A. Wallace Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 22. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1906
CT 55	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 55: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982
CT 56	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 56: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982
CT 57	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 57: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982
Cyr.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon: von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums*. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890
Nbk	reign of Nebuchadnezzar
Nbn	reign of Nabonidus
Nbn.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon: von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums.* Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889
VS 4	Friedrich Delitzsch, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* 4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907
VS 5	Friedrich Delitzsch, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* 5. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908
WZKM 83	A. C. V. M. Bongenaar and Michael Jursa, "Ein babylonischer Mäusefänger." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 83 (1993): 31–38
YOS 3	Albert T. Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*. Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919
YOS 21	Eckart Frahm, *Neo-Babylonian Letters and Contracts from the Eanna Archive*. Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 21. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011

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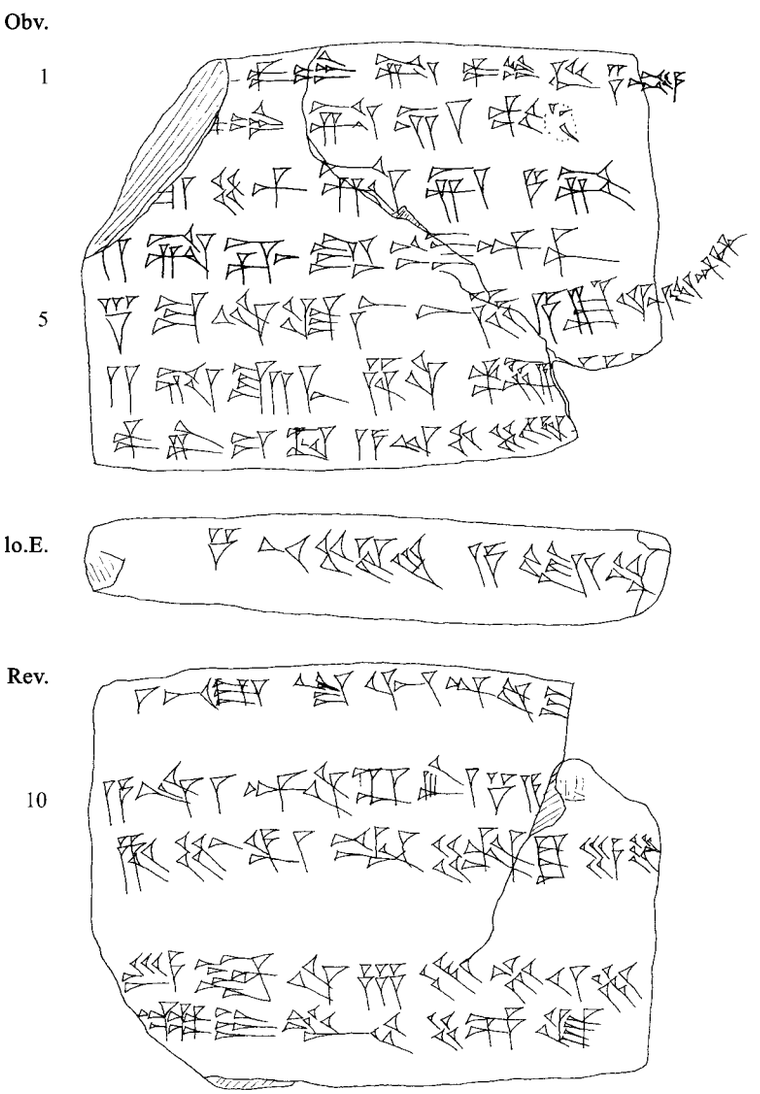


Figure 9.1. BM 61829. List of issues made to Šamaš-upahhir before his departure for Habūru

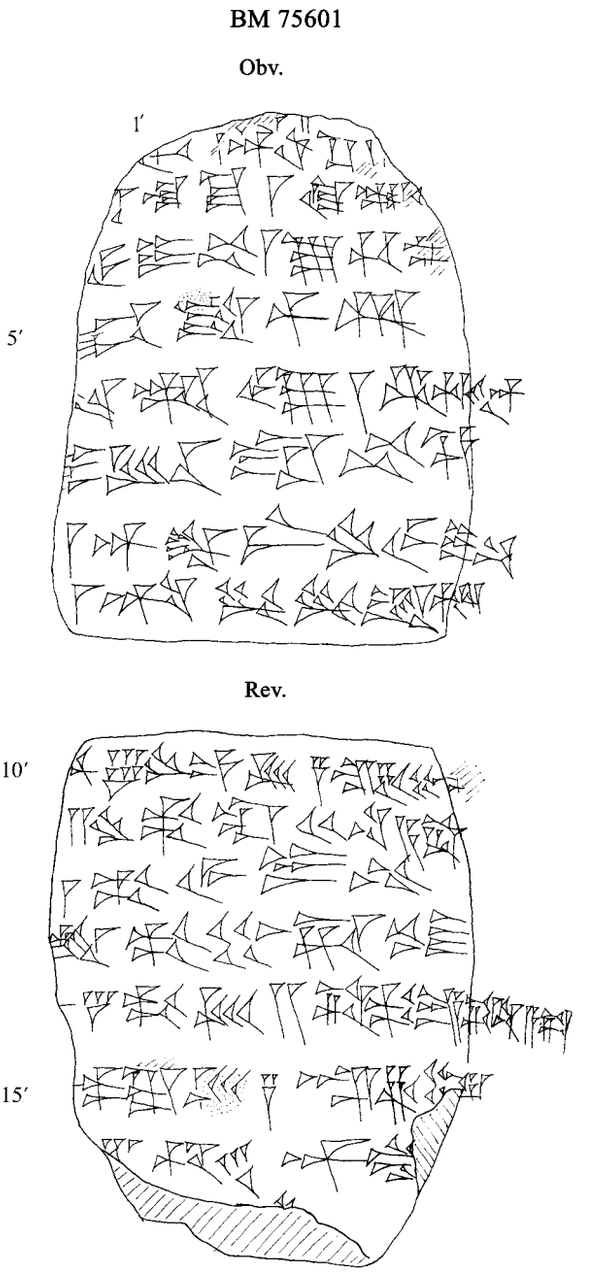


Figure 9.2. BM 75601. Undated list of the personnel who went with Šamaš-upahhir to Habūru

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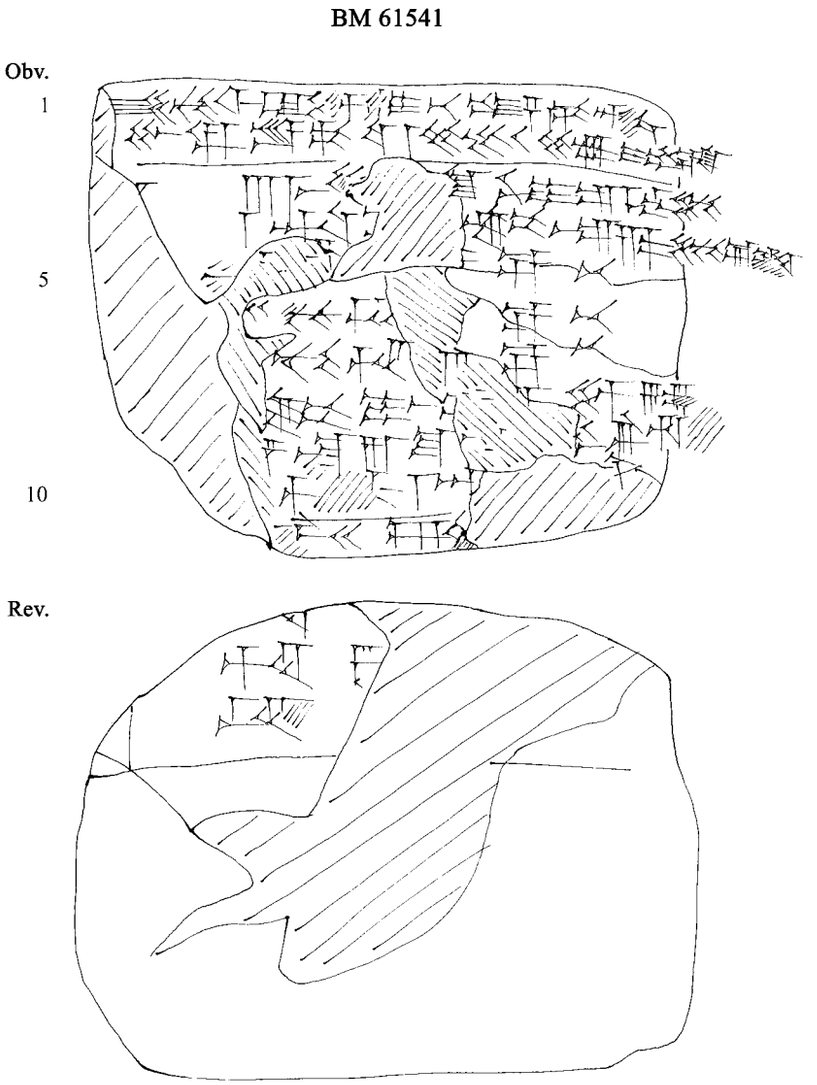


Figure 9.3. BM 61541. List of plots of arable land at Habūru

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10

Elamite and Akkadian Inscribed Bricks from Bard-e Karegar (Khuzistan, Iran)

*Michael Kozuh, Auburn University**

Inscribed bricks from the site of Toll-e Bard-e Karegar (KS 1625), in Khuzistan, Iran, first came to my attention in June of 2002. My colleague Abbas Moghaddam, from the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization (ICHTO), e-mailed photographs of them to me, reporting that he found them in his survey of southeastern Khuzistan undertaken earlier that spring. He e-mailed me a total of seven photographs; from these I was able to distinguish that the bricks were written in Elamite and Akkadian and that some mentioned the name of the Middle Elamite king Šilhak-Inšušinak (ca. 1150 B.C.). I could also read some dedicatory formulae known from other Middle Elamite bricks. Later that summer, Dr. Abbas Alizadeh of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago invited me to come to Iran in order to study the bricks and participate in an excavation of the site at which they were found.

In Iran, I first examined the bricks in the office of Dr. Majid Arfaee, then curator of tablets in the National Museum of Iran. The total number of bricks at that time had grown to twenty-four, and Dr. Arfaee had made some preliminary remarks on them, in addition to some useful rough sketches. At that time, I confirmed that the king mentioned in most of the bricks was Šilhak-Inšušinak, and also discovered that in one of the bricks he claimed to either have built or refurbished a temple of the Elamite goddess Pinigir. The bricks were then taken with the excavation team to the dig house in Shushtar (in Khuzistan), where we prepared to investigate a temple of Pinigir, either built or rebuilt by Šilhak-Inšušinak. Soundings at the site unfortunately did not reveal much.[1] As the bricks were scattered around the surface of the site in no discernable pattern, we recorded no findspots.[2]

Just after our arrival, the ICHTO in Shushtar informed Abbas Moghaddam that it also possessed inscribed bricks from Toll-e Bard-e Karegar. We went to the office of the ICHTO and eventually, with the aid of the friendly and helpful staff, located twenty-one more inscribed bricks. The staff also told us that it had sent another set of bricks to the ICHTO in Ahvaz. Of these, the ICHTO Ahvaz sent seven bricks to the Ghale-ye Shush for me to examine; photographs of another five were also made available to me there.[3]

With joins, there are a total of 142 bricks. Najmeh Mirmontazeri photographed the bricks at the dig house; these are the photographs published with this article. At the dig house I also gave each brick a TBK (that is, Toll-e Bard-e Karegar) number when I entered it into my database. I refer to the bricks by these numbers herein; I do not know whether the bricks were subsequently relabeled when we returned them to the ICHTO and I do not know where they are currently located.[4]

* I express my deep gratitude to the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization and Dr. Abbas Alizadeh and Dr. Abbas Moghaddam for permission to publish the bricks. Staff members of the ICHTO in Shushtar lent a particularly helpful hand in locating and allowing me to study bricks from Bard-e Karegar that they had in their possession, as did the wonderful staff at the Ghale-ye Shush. Thank you also to Majid Arfaee and Matthew Stolper for some preliminary comments on the bricks, and Jan Tavernier for his comments on a part of this article. Errors herein, of course, are my own. I am happy to share my complete set of photographs of the bricks with those interested; contact me at mgkozuh@msn.com.

[1] See Abbas Moghaddam and Negin Miri, "Archaeological Surveys in the 'Eastern Corridor,' South-Western Iran," *Iran* 45 (2007): 40; and Abbas Alizadeh, Nicholas Kouchoukos, Tony J. Wilkinson, Andrew M. Bauer, and Marjan Mashkour, "Human-Environment Interactions on the Upper Khuzestan Plains, Southwest Iran. Recent Investigations," *Paléorient* 30/1 (2004): 76.

[2] In fact, we found the majority of the bricks while cleaning the surface of the site in preparation for the sounding.

[3] The five bricks I read from photographs are TBK 134 (type 4), 135 (unknown type), 136 (type 2), 137 (type 2), and 138 (type 2). As I do not have copies of these photographs, these bricks are not discussed in the notes to the texts. I do, however, include them in transliteration, marked with an asterisk (*).

[4] I published preliminary observations of the bricks in Michael G. Kozuh, "Inscribed Bricks," *Oriental Institute News & Notes* 177 (2003): 6–7.

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The majority of bricks belong to one of five types; types 1, 4, and 5 are in Elamite and types 2 and 3 in Akkadian. Twenty-one bricks do not conform to any of these types, either being too fragmentary or faded to classify (sixteen bricks)[5] or of a different type altogether. I include these latter bricks, which are all fragmentary, at the end of this article.

Type 1

Most perplexing of all the bricks is an Elamite stamp impression, of which eight fragmentary impressions were found, apparently all from the same stamp.[6] There is no complete version of the inscription, although most of it can be restored (if not understood) with certainty from the various fragments. The stamp has thirteen lines; of these only lines 6–8 cannot be completely restored from the impressions.

The brick as yet resists complete interpretation. Apart from the incomplete lines, I have failed to find parallels for most of lines 11–12.

TBK 001

1 ⌜*ù* ^{m}⌝[*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}]
2 *in-*[*šu-ši-na-ak*]
3 *ša-*[*ak* ^{m}*šu-ut-ru*]
4 *uk-*[^{d}*nah-hu*]
5 *un-*⌜*te*⌝*-*[*kí-ik*]
6 *ri-hi-*⌜x⌝ [...]
7 *a-ak* [...]
8 *ti* [...]
9 ⌜*nah*⌝*-*[*hu-un-te*]

TBK 019+036

6 ⌜*ri*⌝ [...]
7 ⌜*a-ak*⌝ [...]
8 *ti* [...]
9 *nah-hu-un-te-*
10 *ú-tú šar-ra-*
11 *tum-me* MA BU
12 TUK x *um pu-*
13 *hu-me a-ha ku-ši-ih*

TBK 002

1 *ù* ^{m}*šil-ha-a*[*k-*^{d}]
2 *in-šu-ši-*[*na-ak*]
3 *ša-ak* [^{m}*šu-ut-*]
4 ⌜*uk*⌝*-*[^{d}*nah-hu*]

TBK 120

2 [*šu*]*-*⌜*ši*⌝*-na-*⌜*ak*⌝
3 [*š*]*a-ak* ^{m}*šu-ut-ru*
4 [*uk*]*-*^{d}*nah-hu*

TBK 068

9 [*nah-hu-un-te-*]
10 [*ú-tú*] ⌜*šar-ra-*⌝
11 [*tum-me*] ⌜MA BU⌝
12 [TUK] x *um p*[*u-*]
13 [*hu*]*-me a-ha ku-*⌜*ši-ih*⌝

TBK 106

9 [*nah-hu-un-te-*]
10 *ú-tú š*[*ar-ra-*]
11 *tum-me* M[A BU]
12 TUK x *u*[*m pu-*]
13 *hu-me a-ha ku-*[*ši-ih*]

1–5 I am Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahhunte
6–8 [broken]
(9–13) Nahhunte-utu, the x queen she/I built here.

9f.) Nahhunte-utu is mentioned in other inscriptions of Šilhak-Inšušinak (see, for example, ShI 54 I:64, 71, 73, et al., ShI 40:21/22 and 23, ShI 46:46; cf. Carter, this volume), although this is the only published example that describes her with the Akkadian word for "queen." The word *šarratum* is rare even in Akkadian, but it seems unavoidable here.

11f.) The signs MA BU TUK are clear enough; the sign following the TUK is unidentifiable to me, although the UM following that sign seems certain (in TBK 019+036 the UM looks like an AP; yet note TBK 068 and 106, where there is clearly a vertical wedge bisecting the sign. A crack in the brick obscures this wedge in TBK 019+036). Given that this word may end in *-um*, one perhaps expects an Akkadian adjective modifying *šarratum*, although I am unable to distinguish one, much less one in a feminine declination.

[5] These are: TBK 005, 025, 037, 038, 040, 043, 045, 050, 051, 052, 080, 100, 103, 108, 114, and 137.

[6] Three from Abbas Moghaddam's survey (TBK 001, 002, 019) and five from excavation (TBK 036, 055, 068, 106, 120). Two of these (TBK 019 and 036) formed a join.

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Type 2

Abbas Moghaddam found eleven type 2 brick fragments on survey,[7] the ICHTO Shushtar had nine fragments,[8] and we found about thirty-nine additional fragments on excavation.[9] The ICHTO Ahvaz also sent photographs of another fragment to the Ghale-ye Sush for me to examine.[10] I found no obvious joins among the fragments, so there is no complete version of type 2. That notwithstanding, the fragments are easily reassembled into a complete version of the inscription. It reads as follows:

1 *ša* ^{m}*šil-ha-ak-din-šu-ši-na-ak* EŠŠANA AŠ.*šu-ú-ši ù an-za-an i-pu-uš* (possible var.: *-šu*)[11]

1 What Šilhak-Inšušinak, king of Susa and Anšan, built.

Akkadian inscriptions from Middle Elamite Susiana are rare.[12] The use of the Elamite determinative for "place" (transliterated AŠ or h.), as well as the clear rendering of the logogram for "king" in the Middle Elamite cuneiform ductus, strongly suggest that the scribe was a native Elamite, which is not surprising. This may also account for the regular lack of a subjunctive ending on *īpuš*.

The photographs of the brick published herein read as follows:

TBK 099: *ša* ^{m}*šil-ha-ak-din-šu-*[...]

TBK 010: [...*i*]*n-šu-ši-na-ak* EŠŠANA AŠ.*šu-ú-ši* ⌜*ù*⌝ [...]

TBK 104: *ù*] *an-za-an i-pu-uš*

TBK 117: *ù an-za-an i-p*[*u-uš*]

TBK 126: [... EŠŠAN]A AŠ.*šu-ú-ši ù an-za-*[*an* ...]

Type 3

I know of only seven fragments of this one-line Akkadian inscription: two from Abbas Moghaddam's 2001 survey;[13] three from the ICHTO Shushtar;[14] and two photographs of it were sent from the ICHTO Ahvaz to the Ghale-ye Shush for examination.[15] An edition of each brick follows, as each preserves only a few signs and the composite text must be justified.

TBK 009

1 [...] *nah-hu-un-te i-*[...]

TBK 013

1 *ša* EŠŠANA [...]

TBK 129

1 [...EŠŠA]NA ^{m}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}[...]

TBK 146[17]

1 [...] ⌜*un-te*⌝ *i-pu-uš*

TBK 136(*)

1 ⌜*ša*⌝ EŠŠANA ^{m}*šu-ut-*[...]

TBK 137(*)

1 [...] ⌜*ut*⌝*-ru-uk-*⌜^{d}⌝[...]

TBK 139[16]

left face:

1 [...] *i-pu-uš*

right face:

1 *ša* EŠŠAN[A ...]

[7] TBK 003, 004, 010, 011, 014, 015, 020, 021, 022, 023, and 024.

[8] TBK 030, 088, 121, 123, 125, 126, 128, 130(?), and 132.

[9] TBK 035, 039, 041, 042, 044, 046, 049, 053(?), 054, 056, 057, 058, 061, 062, 063, 064, 069(?), 071, 072, 073, 074, 077, 080(?), 081, 082, 083, 086, 087, 094, 095, 096, 098, 099, 102, 104, 105, 107, 117, and 118.

[10] TBK 138.

[11] TBK 086 preserves only *i-pu-šu*, so it may be a variant to either type 2 or 3.

[12] I am only aware of those published from Chogha Zanbil, in Marie-Joseph Steve, *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash)*, Vol. 3: *Textes élamites et accadiens de Tchoga Zanbil*, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran 41 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1967), pp. 105ff.

[13] TBK 009, 013.

[14] TBK 129, 139, 146.

[15] TBK 136, 137.

[16] Written on two faces of a corner of the brick.

[17] There is no photograph of TBK 146.

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These fragments can be related together to make the composite:

1 *ša* EŠŠANA *šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te i-pu-uš* (possible var.: *-šu*)

1 What King Šutruk-Nahhunte built.

Opinion might differ on the date of these bricks, as there are two kings named Šutruk-Nahhunte (I = mid-twelfth century, II = late eighth century). It certainly did on site in Iran. The use of the logogram EŠŠANA, which is more common in the Neo-Elamite period, may tempt some to date type 3 to Šutruk-Nahhunte II. I find this argument unconvincing. First, type 2 shows that the logogram was in use in Middle Elamite times.[18] Second, the two kings mentioned in types 2 and 3 are Šilhak-Inšušinak and Šutruk-Nahhunte. These are also the same two kings mentioned in the longer texts (types 4 and 5), where they are unambiguously called Šilhak-Inšušinak son of Šutruk-Nahhunte and Šutruk-Nahhunte son of Halluduš-Inšušinak (and thus Šutruk-Nahhunte I). These texts were all found together, side by side, at the same site. Third, text type 4 claims that a temple was built by Šutruk-Nahhunte and rebuilt by Šilhak-Inšušinak; the archaeology seems to confirm this, in that most of the recovered texts date to Šilhak-Inšušinak, and only a few to a Šutruk-Nahhunte. It would, in fact, be more unusual if Šutruk-Nahhunte II refurbished the temple in Neo-Elamite times (about 450 years after Šilhak-Inšušinak), yet the written evidence for that refurbishment is dwarfed by that from Middle Elamite times. The evidence, then, suggests that type 3 refers to Šutruk-Nahhunte I.

Type 4

We found a total of thirty-five type 4 fragments. Abbas Moghaddam found four on survey,[19] we excavated thirty,[20] and one came from the ICHTO Shushtar.[21] Excepting slight disparities in line length, there is no variation among the fragments. Published here is the complete brick TBK 090+093+109+147.

1 ⌜*ù* ^{m}*šil-ha*⌝*-ak-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak ša-ak* ^{m}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-*⌜*un-te-*⌝
2 *kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik* ⌜*su-un-ki-ik*⌝
3 *an-za-an šu-*⌜*šu-un-ka* ^{m}⌝*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te si-ia-an* ^{d}⌜*pi-ni-gìr-me*⌝
4 *ú-pa-at-*⌜*na ku-ši-iš*⌝ *mi-šir*$_{7}$*-ma-am-ma ù e-ri-en-tum*$_{8}$*-im-ma ku-ši-*⌜*ih*⌝

1–3 I am Šilhak-Inšušinak son of Šutruk-Nahhunte, beloved servant of Inšušinak, king of Anšan and Susa.
3–4 Šutruk-Nahhunte built a temple to Pinigir out of *upat*-bricks; (it) having fallen into ruins, I (re)built (the temple) out of *erientum* bricks.

The first three lines of this text are mostly preserved in the reconstructed exemplar TBK 090+093+109+147; they parallel introductory lines from Šilhak-Inšušinak bricks from Susa, and are unremarkable in language and content. Parts of these lines are also preserved in the following bricks: TBK 008, 012, 031, 033, 034(?), 047, 060, 065, 066, 076, 078, 079, 084+085, 089, 091, 092, 097, 100(?), 113, 115, 116, 007, and 122(?).

The fourth line is partially preserved in TBK 090+093+109+147 as: *ú-pa-at-*⌜*na*⌝ [x x x x] *mi-šir*$_{7}$*-ma-am-ma ù e-ri-en-tum*$_{8}$*-im-ma ku-ši-*⌜*ih*⌝. The remaining signs are reconstructed from the following brick fragments, which read:

TBK 079

1 [...]
2 ⌜*kí*⌝*-ik* ⌜*li*⌝-[...]
3 ⌜*an*⌝*-za-an šu-šu-un-kí-*⌜*ik*⌝ [...]
4 [*ú-pa*]-⌜*at*⌝*-na ku-ši-iš mi-šir*$_{7}$-[...]

[18] And is also used in Akkadian texts from Chogha Zanbil; see Steve, *Tchoga Zanbil*, pp. 110ff.

[19] TBK 007, 008, 012, and 017.

[20] TBK 031, 033, 034, 047, 048, 059(?), 060, 065, 066, 076, 078, 079, 084+085, 089(?), 090+093+109+147, 091, 092, 097, 100(?), 101, 110(?), 112, 113, 115, 116, and 119,

[21] TBK 122.

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TBK 076

1 [...]-*ak*-^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak* [...]
2 [...]-⌜*ba*⌝-*ak ha-ni-ik* [...]
3 [...]-⌜*ka*$_4$⌝ ^{m}*šu-ut-ru-uk*-[...]
4 [...]-⌜*na*⌝ [*ku*]-⌜*ši-iš*⌝ *mi-š*[*ir*$_7$...]

TBK 012

1 [...]
2 [...]
3 ⌜x x x⌝ [...]
4 [...]-*iš mi-*⌜*ši*(?)-*ir*⌝-*m*[*a* ...]

The fourth line is unparalleled as such — although similar phraseology occurs in other Šilhak-Inšušinak texts — and individual elements of it require further examination.

3f.) *siyan* ^{d}*Pinigirme upatna kušiš*: The writing *upatna* is unique, but not especially problematic. The noun *upat* is a type of clay brick, usually qualified as either *upat hussipme* "colored(?) brick,"or *upat aktiyama* "enameled(?) brick."[22] Texts with similar phraseology read: *siyan Inšušinakme upatimma kušik* "the temple of Inšušinak was built out of clay bricks," and *siyan* DINGIR.MEŠ *ak Kiririšame upatimma kušiš* "he built the temple of the gods and Kiririša out of baked bricks." In these phrases, *upat* takes the inanimate "class marker" *-me* (the writing *-imma* is understood to be *-me* + relative/connective particle *-a*), as do the names of the gods (*Inšušinak-me*, *Kririša-me*), all of which modify *siyan* "temple." In exceptional cases *siyan* is modified by words that take *-ni*, the (perhaps) neutral class marker (e.g., EKI 47 3 *siyan Išnikarap-ni* "the temple of Išnikarap"). It has long been recognized, and is now accepted, that nominal inanimate class marker *-me* could be replaced by *-ni* or *-na* (i.e., *-ni+a*) in Middle Elamite.[23]

Interestingly, in the phrase under consideration, two consecutive nouns each use different delocutive inanimate endings (*Pinigir-me* and *upat-na*) to modify *siyan*. This differs from the examples cited above, although the sentences are exactly parallel (*siyan* DN-*me upatimma kušik/š*). I am unable to find parallels for this.[24] Moreover, *erientumimma* parallels *upatna* in the attributional postpostion, inasmuch as *erientumimma* modifies the same noun (*siyan*) and has the same meaning ("of *erientum* bricks"), yet it also takes the *-ma* "class marker." Clearly, then, this text uses both *-ma* and *-na* to mark an inanimate delocutive relationship with *siyan*.

4) *miširmamma*: The writing *mi-ši-ir-ma-am-ma* occurs in a Kutir-Nahhunte text that reads *mi-ši-ir-ma-ma* in alternative versions;[25] the latter writing also occurs in a number of other brick inscriptions (e.g., IRS 34, 37, and 39), usually in a phrase like RN *siyan ... kušiš ak miširmama ...* . Hinz and Koch take both of these as variants for *mi-ši-ir-ma-na*, which is a common writing;[26] whereas this has validity in terms of parallels, I know of no phonological reason for the phoneme /*m*/ to replace /*n*/.[27] I return to this below.

The word divides into four elements: the base *miši-*+*-r-*+*-ma-*+the ending *-ma* or, in parallels, *-na*. Some parallel forms of this word do not use the infixed *-r-* (e.g., *mi-ši-ma-na*);[28] the difference between the use of the simple verbal stem and the verbal stem +*r* remains unclear. Reiner argues that essentially *-rma-* is another "enlarged verb-base," in addition to *-ma-* and *-nu-*.[29] Stolper states that the form is a "verbal noun with animate marker *-r*," which follows Grillot and Vallat.[30]

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[22] These translations follow Florence Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse: briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'empire néo-élamite* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), pp. 34–35.

[23] See Françoise Grillot, "La postposition genitive *-na* en Elamite," *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 3 (1973): 126ff. The suffix *-na* marks genitival and at times attributive relationships in Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite; in texts from those periods it modifies both animate and inanimate nouns and is therefore thought to be a neutral class marker; see M. L. Khačikjan, *The Elamite Language*, Documenta Asiana 4 (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici, 1998), p. 15; and Matthew W. Stolper, "Elamite," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, edited by Roger D. Woodard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 74.

[24] Grillot, "Le postposition genitive," pp. 126–27, for example, cites the transposition of the two endings in similar phrases or variants of the same phrase, but does not cite an example of the two endings used in the same phrase.

[25] See EKI 31. It also occurs in type 4, published here.

[26] Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 17 (Berlin: Reimer, 1987), p. 937.

[27] Excepting the labializing of *n* to *m* before the plural marker *-p*; see Khačikjan, *Elamite*, p. 8.

[28] Hinz and Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 938.

[29] Erica Reiner, "The Elamite Language," in *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen*, edited by B. Spuler, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/2/1–2/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), p. 79.

[30] Stolper, "Elamite," p. 80; Françoise Grillot and François Vallat, "Le semi-auxiliaire *ma-* en Élamite," *Journal Asiatique* 263 (1975): 213.

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This helps to explain why parallel forms take either verbal (conjugation I) endings (*pepširmah* "I renovated") or conjugation II "class marker" endings (*miširmak* "it became dilapidated"). Khačikjan suggests that the infixed *-r* of *miširma* is a more archaic writing of *mišima*.[31] She echoes Malbran-Labat, who argues that infixed *-ma* was used to verbalize certain nouns, replacing the cognate adjectival form used in earlier times. She then argues that later this evolved from using the verbal noun into expressing the cognate in a purely verbal way. One assumes from this that the grammatical and semantic, if not syntactic, differences between *miširmana* and *mišimana* are negligible, and that these are variants of the productive, or perhaps even dialectical, use of the infixed auxiliary verb *-ma*.

More problematic than the infixing of *-r-* is the interchange between *miširmana* and *miširmama*, which has passed all but unnoticed in the literature. Malbran-Labat remarks that *miširmana* is "suffexée par *-na*," without further explication,[32] and makes note of the interchange between *miširmana* and *miširmama*, but finds it unexplainable.[33] I know of no other explicit discussion of this form.

There are two interpretations of the common *miširmana*. Some authorities understand *miširmana* as a form of conjugation III, parsing it as *miši*(base)+*r* (animate marker)+*ma* (auxiliary verb)+ /*n*/ (conjugation III marker)+*-a* (relative/connective particle); this understanding assumes that delocutive inanimate subjects are not resumptively marked in conjugations of this type.[34] Although conjugation III is syntactically participial (or para-verbal — that is, it is morphologically nominal), most authorities recognize a separate participial form of conjugation III (and conjugation II), consisting of the bare verb stem (or stems, if an auxiliary verb is included) and the conjugation III *-n*(*a*) marker.[35] Grillot-Susini cites *miširmana* in her discussion of verbs of this type[36] and this seems to be the sense of the translation when this form appears in Khačikjan.[37]

The parallel form *miširmama* calls both these interpretations into question, as it does not contain the conjugation III /*n*/, which is essential to both of them. Khačikjan does not discuss this specific form; nor do I find it in Grillot-Susini, *Eléments*. As mentioned above, Hinz and Koch, without explanation, take this as a variant for *mi-ši-ir-ma-na*. The solution, then, will come in finding an explanation for the interchange between the elements /*m*/ and /*n*/ at the ends of words that apparently function as syntactic participles.

One possibility presents itself. All authorities recognize the nominal declension of conjugation III, although, perhaps lacking examples, most do not include the usual delocutive inanimate ending *-me* or the neutral *-ni* in their paradigms.[38] Yet the interchange between *miširmana* and *miširmama* mirrors that between the different words that modify *siyan*, discussed above, which take either a *-na* or *-ma* delocutive inanimate ending. That is to say, as *miširmam*/*na* modifies *siyan* as well, I posit that the final *-ma* is the inanimate classifier *-me* (+ relative *-a*), which, when modifying *siyan*, was used interchangeably with the neutral marker *-ni* (+ relative *-a*). In fine, I would recognize the delocutive inanimate endings for conjugations II and III.

Whereas this would help to explain partly why *miširmama* and *miširmana* occur alternatively in parallel phrases, it also adds one more possibility to what is a dizzying array of ways to express syntactic subordination of much the same idea. Compare, for example, the following examples:[39]

1. *tuš pitteka appa sunkip uripupi imme hutahša agi menpu imme kušihša u kuših* "I built *tuš pitteka*, which former kings had not made, and *menpu*, (which) they had not built." In this case, subordination is expressed in two ways: first, by the relative pronoun and the subordinate marker *-a* attached to the conjugation I form, and secondly, by the subordinate marker *-a* attached to a conjugation I form alone.
2. *siyan* DN *sunkip urpuppa kušihšita ak miširmak ak erentime tutuššik* "the temple of DN, which former kings had built, was/became dilapidated and its bricks were … ." This phrase uses the *-ta* particle to subordinate a conjugation I form.[40]

[31] Khačikjan, *Elamite*, p. 36.

[32] Florence Malbran-Labat, "Le 'semi-auxiliarie' élamite *-ma*: une nouvelle approche, essai de définition d'un champ sémantique," *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 81 (1986): 267–68. From her chart on p. 258 it would appear that this refers to the marker of conjugation III. Malbran-Labat, *Suse*, p. 82, states that *miširma* can be suffixed by either *-ma* or *-na*.

[33] Malbran-Labat, "'Semi-auxiliarie,'" p. 268 n. 1.

[34] This best fits the paradigms in Reiner, "Elamite," pp. 84–85 (see also her examples of concord on p. 101, where she translates and analyses phrases with *miširmana*).

[35] See Stolper, "Elamite," p. 81, and Françoise Grillot-Susini, *Éléments de grammaire élamite*, Études élamites, Synthèse 29 (Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1987), pp. 36–37.

[36] Grillot-Susini, *Éléments*, p. 37.

[37] See Khačikjan, *Elamite*, pp. 52, 58, and 61.

[38] Reiner, as mentioned above, recognizes delocutive inanimate concord in conjugation III, but argues that such concord is expressed without the usual endings.

[39] These are taken from Khačikjan, *Elamite*, p. 52. Grillot discusses these examples, among many others, in Françoise Grillot, "Les affixes nominaux et les pronoms indépendants de la langue Élamite," *Journal Asiatique* 266 (1978): 8–35.

[40] On this particle, see Khačikjan, *Elamite*, p. 51.

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3. *siyan* DN *sunkip uripupi* GN *imme hušihšima u alumelu kuših* "I built in the acropolis the temple of DN, (which) the former kings had not built in GN."

With regard to the final example, Grillot argues that the inanimate delocutive suffix *-me*, with the addition of the particle *-a*, marks a subordinate clause modifying *siyan*; she uses another example (*si-ia-an … mu-uh-tù-uh-me ku-ši-ih*) to show that the *-a* particle was not always necessary for this type of subordination.[41] In both these instances, the verb is conjugation I. In either case, the delocutive inanimate was used to subordinate the clause, so my argument follows that, given the regular interchange between the use of *-me* and *-na* on nouns that modify *siyan*, the same interchange occurs in the participial forms *miširmama* and *miširmana*. That, in point of fact, Middle Elamite also used both *-ma* (or *-me*) and *-na* to mark the delocutive inanimate on some participial verb forms.

Yet a complete analysis of the verb remains, as *miširma-* alone does not fit any known paradigms. Putting aside the issue of the problematic infixed *-r-*, the form may be a conjugation III; that is **miširmanma* (i.e., *miši*+*-r-*+infix *-ma-*+conjugation III marker-*n*+inanimate "class marker" *me*+subordinating *-a*);[42] the parallel form would be **miširmanna*, where the final three elements are the conjugation III marker *-n*+the alternate neutral "class marker" *-ni*+subordinating *-a*. Given the problems of understanding /*m*/ and /*n*/ gemination in Elamite phonology and its representation in Elamite cuneiform,[43] it is not therefore surprising that the ending of this word is rendered in the writing system in a variety of ways (*miširma-na*, *-ma*, and *-am-ma*).

Type 5

We found no complete bricks of type 5, nor were enough fragments found on site to reconstruct a whole brick. However, as research progressed, I discovered that the brick fragments found at Bard-e Karegar identically matched parts of other inscribed bricks known from the antiquities market, or reclaimed from smugglers. Ewan Michaud published one of these bricks, obtained in Peshawar, Pakistan;[44] Iranian authorities turned over another exemplar of this brick to Prof. Arfaee in Tehran, who supplied me with an (unpublished?) edition of the brick in Persian,[45] although I have never seen the original in person. Given the well-known looting of the site, more bricks of this type (and the others) may turn up on the antiquities market.[46]

As only small fragments of the brick were found on site, I give here a transcription of most legible ones (not included: TBK 089, 114, 122, 127):

TBK 018

5 [...] *ir* [...]
6 [...] *te-im-ma* [...]
7 [... *i*]*h hi-ni*

TBK 027

1 [...]*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-*[...]
2 [...*i*]*n-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-*$^{\lceil}$*ik*$^{\rceil}$ [...]
3 [...] $^{\lceil}$*ka*$_4$ *si*$^{\rceil}$*-ia-an* ^{d}*ka-mu-u*[*l* ...]
4 [...] $^{\lceil}$x x x x$^{\rceil}$ [...]

TBK 006

5 [...]-$^{\lceil}$*ir-ma-ah ku-ši-ih*$^{\rceil}$ *a-*[...]
6 [...] $^{\lceil}$*ul*$^{\rceil}$ *in du-ni-ih e* $^{\lceil d \rceil}$ [...]
7 [...] *tu-ur* $^{\lceil}$*hi*$^{\rceil}$*-ih zi-it-*[...]

TBK 029

4 [...] *ma*(?)-[x]
5 [...] *ú-mi*
6 [...]*-te-im*
7 [...]*-ih hi-ni*

[41] In addition, she argues that clauses could be subordinated with *-a* alone (see Grillot, "Affixes nominaux," pp. 10–11). Her earlier arguments about Elamite syntactical subordination (Françoise Grillot, "À propos de la notion de subordination dans la syntaxe Élamite," *Journal Asiatique* 258 [1970]: 213–36), which contain her understanding of delocutive inanimate *-ma* in a rudimentary form, did not convince Richard T. Hallock, "On the Middle Elamite Verb," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973): 149, although he was unable to offer a convincing counter-interpretation.

[42] On the assimilation of /*n*/ to a following /*m*/, see Khačikjan, *Elamite*, p. 8.

[43] See Khačikjan, *Elamite*, p. 6; Stolper, "Elamite," p. 71; and Reiner, "Elamite," p. 75.

[44] Ewan Michaud, "Le culte du dieu Kamul en Elam: une nouvelle brique de Šutruk Nahhunte (1190–1155)," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2000/11.

[45] "Ajar-e nebashtiye az Shutruk-Nahhunte, padeshah-e Elam."

[46] On the looting of the site, see Moghaddam and Miri, "Eastern Corridor," p. 40; and Alizadeh et al., "Human-Environment," p. 76.

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TBK 070

2 [...]-*ik su*-[...]
3 [...] *ka-mu*-[...]
4 [...]-*ak ir* [...]
5 [...]-*mu-u*[*l* ...]

TBK 026

1 [...] *hu-un-te ša*-[...]
2 [...] *ik s*⌜*u-un-ki*⌝ [...]
3 [...]-*mu-ul-me mi* [...]
4 [...] *ak ir-ki-in-t*[*i* ...]
5 [...] ⌜^{d}*ka-mu-ul*⌝ [...]
6 [...] ⌜x x x x⌝ [...]

TBK 124

1 [...]⌜x⌝ *ia* [...]
2 [...]-*ma-ah* [...]
3 [... *m*]*u-ul in* [...]
4 [... *a*]-*ak tu-ur h*[*i* ...]

TBK 131

1 [...]*nah-hu-u*[*n* ...]
2 [...]-*ki-ik* ⌜x⌝ [...]
3 [...]-*an* ^{d}*ka-mu*-[...]
4 [...]-*ši-ih a-ak* [...]
5 [...] ⌜*hi*⌝-*ih e* ^{d}[...]
6 [...]-*ih*(?) *zi-i*[*t*...]

TBK 134(*)

1 [...]
2 [...] ⌜*za*⌝-*an šu-šu*
3 [...] *ma-am-ma pè*
4 [...] *ma* ^{d}(?) *ka*(?)
5 [...] *me te-im-ma*
6 [...] *hi-ih-hi-ni*

TBK 111

3 [...] ⌜x x⌝ [...]
4 [...*i*]*n-ti-ú-mi-*⌜*ma*⌝[...]
5 [...*t*]*a-ak-me t*[*e*- ...]
6 [...]-*ih-hi-n*[*i* ...]

TBK 133

1 [...] ⌜x x x⌝ [...]
2 [...]-*šu-ši-na-ak* [...]
3 -*ka*(!) ⌜*si-ia-an* ^{d}*ka*⌝-[...]
4 -*ir-ma-ah ku-ši-ih* [...]
5 ⌜x *in*⌝ *du-ni-ih*[...]
6 ⌜*a-ak*⌝ *tu-ur hi-i*[*h* ...]

TBK 140+141

1 [...] ^{m}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}[...]
2 [... *i*]*n-šu-ši-na-ak* [...]
3 [...] *šu-šu-un-ka si-ia-an*[...]
4 [... *i*]*p-ši-ir-ma-ah ku-ši-*⌜*ih*⌝ [...]
5 [...]-⌜*mu*⌝-*ul in du-ni-ih* [...]
6 [... *u*]*r hi-ih zi-it-n*[*i* ...]

TBK 142

1 [...]-*hu-un-te ša-a*[*k* ...]
2 [...]⌜*ki*⌝-*ik su-*⌜*un*⌝-[...]
3 [...] ^{d}*ka-mu*-[...]
4 [...] ⌜x x x⌝ [...]

TBK 144

1 [...*l*]*u-du-uš*
2 [...] *an-za-an*
3 [...] ⌜*ir-ma* x x⌝

TBK 143

1 *ú* ^{m}*šu-ut-ru*-[...]
2 ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na* [...]
3 *un*(?)-*ka*(?) *si*(?)-*ia*-[...]

The complete brick reads (unclear translations are represented in italics):

1 *ú* ^{m}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te ša-ak hal-lu-du-uš*
2 ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik su-un-kí-ik an-za-an šu-šu-*
4 *un-ka si-ia-an* ^{d}*ka-mu-ul-me mi-ši-ir-ma-am-ma pi-*
5 *ip-ši-ir-ma-ah ku-ši-ih a-ak ir ki-in-ti-ú-mi-ma* ^{d}
6 *ka-mu-ul in du-ni-ih e* ^{d}*ka-mu-ul ta-ak-me te-im-ma*
7 *a-ak tu-ur-hi-ih zi-it-ni-ú-na hu-un hi-ih-hi-ni*

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1–4 I am Šutruk-Nahhunte son of Halluduš-Inšušinak, King of Anšan and Susa.
4–6 The temple of Kamul, having fallen into disrepair, I rebuilt (lit. I restored and built), and dedicated it to Kamul for my *continuity*.
6–7 O Kamul, may I *receive* in exchange a *favorable* life and my *powerful* reign.

The following comments only mark disagreements with Michaud's edition.

3) *ka-mu-ul-me*: one finds the distinctive writing of the *-mu* sign, noted by Michaud, "Le culte de dieu Kamul," n. 2, in TBK 026 and Prof. Arfaee's manuscript, but not in TBK 027, 070, 124, or 142. The sign in TBK 131 is not completely legible.

mi-ši-ir-ma-am-ma: Michaud reads this is *mi-ši-ir-ma-<na> tak-ma*, translating *takma* both as "au même endroit," and, in the notes to the text, "in situ." Nonetheless, reading his *-tak-* as *-am-* requires no emendation to the text, giving us *mi-ši-ir-ma-am-ma*. The form *miširmamma* finds a parallel in type 4 (above, and see the associated note there).

4) *ki-in-ti-ú-mi-ma*: Michaud restores *ki-in-ti-ú-*[*me*]*-ma*; the *-mi-* is clear in TBK 029 and Dr. Arfaee's manuscript.

6) *hu-un hi-ih-hi-ni*: I find Michaud's parsing of this phrase unconvincing. He reads it *hu-un-hi-ih*, arguing that *hu-un* appears in the Persepolis texts in forms derived from the base *unsa*, meaning "to receive in exchange," which ultimately derives from the root *hun*, meaning "equal," according to Grillot. This base is then added to a verb *hi* "to receive." He then argues for a compound *hu-un-hi* "to receive in exchange." This much seems probable enough.

The problem is that he transcribes the phrase as *hu-un-hi-ih hi-ni* and translates "[O Kamul] … que j'obtienne en échange," yet, with this transliteration, the form remains unexplained. Is this perhaps just a typo, and one should instead read *hu-un-hi-ih-hi-ni*? If so, we are left with an unusual form (expected is **hunhihni*). The transcription works if one assumes, as Hinz and Koch do, that the /*h*/ of conjugation I forms is expressed irrespective of whether the scribe uses a Vh or hV sign. Is it possible to read it as *hun hihi*(*h*)*ni* "may I receive (for) myself," where *hun* is the first person accusative *un*? This remains perplexing.

Unclassifiable Bricks

TBK 016

1′ [...] *mi-ši-*[*ir-ma*]
2′ [...] *ir-ki-in-ti e-*[]
3′ [...] ⌜x⌝ *ta-ak-me* ⌜x⌝
4′ [...] *na ki-nu-u*[*n* ...]

TBK 028

1′ [...] ⌜x x⌝ [...]
2′ [...] *ni* ⌜x x(?)⌝ *am* [...]
3′ [...] *mi* ⌜x x x⌝ [...]
4′ [...][...] *tu-ur h*[*i* ...]

TBK 032

1′ *li-ka*$_4$*-me ri-*[...]
2′ x *me ma in* [...]
3′ *ma* ⌜x⌝ *a-ak*

TBK 067

1′ [...] ⌜x x x⌝ [...]
2′ [...] ⌜x⌝ NIM(?) *ia nu* [...]

TBK 075

1′ [...]*-ak-ki ta-ak* [...]
2′ [...] *ik-ka*$_4$ *a-ak* ⌜x x x⌝ [...]
3′ [...] ⌜x x x x⌝ [...]

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Abbreviations

EKI	Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 16. Graz: Ernst Weidners, 1965
IRS	F. Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse: briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'empire néo-élamite*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995
KS	Khuzistan Survey
ShI	Šilhak-Inšušinak



TBK 001 (type 1)

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TBK 002 (type 1)



TBK 068 (type 1)

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TBK 106 (type 1)



TBK 120 (type 1)

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TBK 019+036 (type 1)



TBK 010 (type 2)

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TBK 099 (type 2)



TBK 104 (type 2)

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TBK 117 (type 2)



TBK 126 (type 2)

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TBK 009 (type 3)



TBK 013 (type 3)

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TBK 129 (type 3)



TBK 139, corner (type 3)

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TBK 139, left face of corner (type 3)



TBK 139, right face of corner (type 3)

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TBK 012 (type 4)

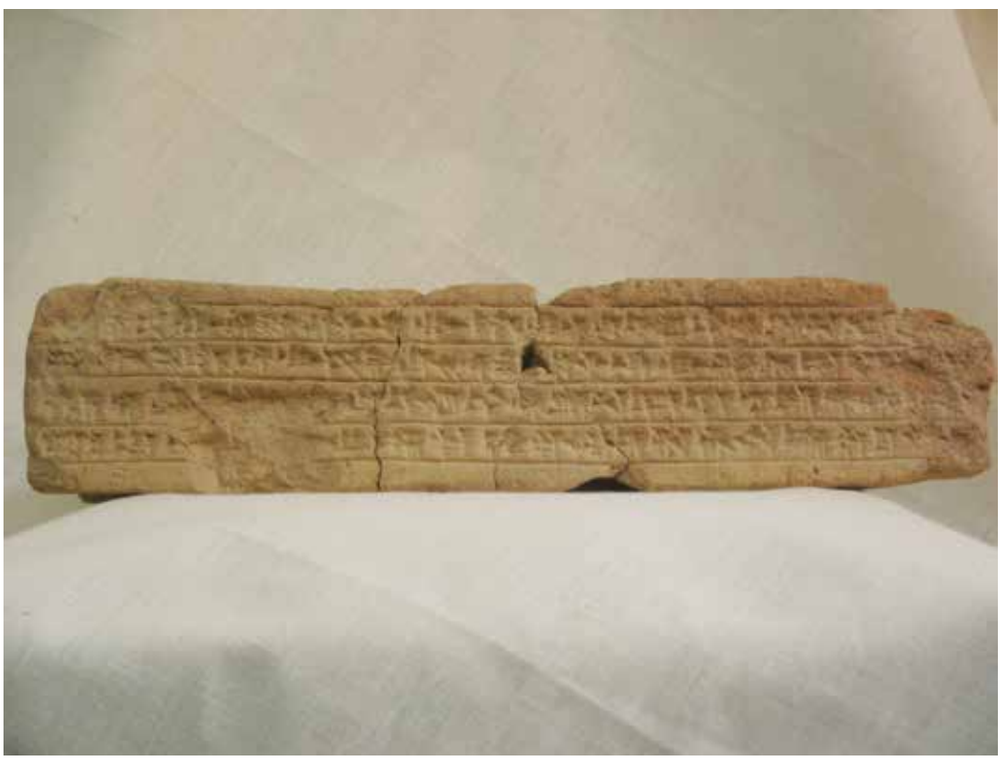


TBK 076 (type 4)

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TBK 079 (type 4)



TBK 090+093+109+147, complete (type 4)

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TBK 090+093+109+147, left side of brick (type 4)



TBK 090+093+109+147, right side of brick (type 4)

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TBK 006 (type 5)



TBK 018 (type 5)

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TBK 026 (type 5)



TBK 027 (type 5)

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TBK 029 (type 5)



TBK 070 (type 5)

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TBK 111 (type 5)



TBK 124 (type 5)

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TBK 131 (type 5)



TBK 133 (type 5)

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TBK 140+141 (type 5)



TBK 142 (type 5)

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TBK 143 (type 5)



TBK 144 (type 5)

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TBK 016 (unclassified)



TBK 028 (unclassified)

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TBK 032 (unclassified)



TBK 067 (unclassified)

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TBK 075 (unclassified)

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11

Reassessing the Reign of Xerxes in the Light of New Evidence

Amélie Kuhrt, University College London

Introduction

Matt Stolper and I first met when we were both engaged in composing contributions on Achaemenid Babylonia for the revised edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History.* As the structure of this work reflects its European perspective, volume 4 (for which I was writing) traces historical events between ca. 525 and 479, that is, it stops with the Battle of Plataea.[1] Volume 5 is devoted exclusively to Greek history of the fifth century — essentially Athens and Sparta,[2] while volume 6, although entitled *The Fourth Century,* in fact picks up the history of various regions under Achaemenid rule from 478 onward, to accompany the history of Greece and Macedon to Alexander, the Mediterranean, Black Sea, and Celtic Europe.[3] This last is the volume containing Matt's chapter on Babylonia down to Darius III.[4] He and I thus overlapped somewhat clumsily in the time of Xerxes, whose reign is presented in this segmented fashion. As it happened, a colleague and I were at that time working on a reconsideration of the evidence for Xerxes' activities in Babylonia,[5] which he was able to take into account in his discussion for volume 6. Our fairly short paper has resulted over the years in what may be called a new "orthodoxy," which has undermined a traditional image of Xerxes as the destroyer of temples.[6]

More recently, the work of Caroline Waerzeggers has brought important new evidence to light, which makes it possible to make real progress in evaluating the nature and significance of Xerxes' reign and its effects in Babylonia, so that it emerges as a key turning point in Achaemenid history.[7] Unfortunately, her careful study has also led to some confusion, with certain scholars interpreting her work as providing support for old ideas about Xerxes and his sacrileges in Babylonia. One example is Andrew George's meticulous and valuable review of Schmid's report on the archaeology of the ziggurat of Babylon.[8] He argues that a Nebuchadnezzar II cylinder recording work on E-temen-anki and found during the French excavations at Susa early in the twentieth century, combined with signs of damage to the ziggurat and a story in Aelian (to be discussed below), lend "renewed credence to the tradition of Xerxes' vandalism passed down among classical writers."[9] It seems that such views are gaining a wider circulation, as indicated, for example, by the review of a recent article by Michael Jursa[10] in the online journal *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, where Xerxes' actions

[1] Amélie Kuhrt, "Babylonia from Cyrus to Xerxes," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 B.C.*, edited by John Bordman, N. G. L. Hammond, David M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 112–38.

[2] David M. Lewis, John Boardman, and M. Ostwald, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 5: *The Fifth Century B.C.*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[3] David M. Lewis, John Boardman, Simon Hornblower, and M. Ostwald, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 6: *The Fourth Century B.C.*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[4] Matthew W. Stolper, "Mesopotamia, 482–330 B.C.," in Lewis, Boardman, Hornblower, and Ostwald, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 6: *The Fourth Century B.C.*, pp. 234–60.

[5] Published as Amélie Kuhrt and Susan M. Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction of Babylonian Temples," in *Achaemenid History* 2: *The Greek Sources* (proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop), edited by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 2 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), pp. 69–78.

[6] See, for example, Josef Wiesehöfer's reversal of the images of Cyrus the Great and Xerxes in *Das Antike Persien: Von 550 v. Chr. bis 650 n. Chr.* (Zurich: Artemis & Winkler, 1993), pp. 71–89.

[7] Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes and the 'End of Archives,'" *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003/04): 150–78.

[8] Andrew R. George, "The Tower of Babel: Archaeology, History and Cuneiform Texts," *Archiv für Orientforschung* (2005/06): 75–95, reviewing Hansjörg Schmid, *Der Tempelturm Etemenanki in Babylon*, Baghdader Forschungen 17 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1995).

[9] George, "The Tower of Babel," p. 91. I should like to thank Andrew George for sending me a copy of the review article. While I disagree with some of his conclusions concerning Xerxes, I must stress that it is a most stimulating (and lucid) discussion of the history of E-temen-anki, containing a wealth of valuable material. It is obligatory reading for anyone concerned with the history of Babylon's urban layout.

[10] Michael Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia from the Neo-Babylonian Empire to Achaemenid Rule," in *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: From Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*, edited by Harriet Crawford, Proceedings of the British Academy 136 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 73–94.

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in Babylonia are characterized as "a savage repression."[11] This is a gross distortion of the careful analysis presented by Jursa himself, but suggests that such crude interpretations of the dense and complex Babylonian material are likely to gain ground.[12] In order to promote clarity on this issue, and as a tribute to Matt's own work on it, I propose to re-examine it here. I shall first consider how the image of Xerxes' devastation of Babylonian shrines has been created, summarizing the evidence on which it is based and how the work of Waerzeggers and others has shed new light on this period of the regions's history and fundamentally expanded our understanding of Xerxes' reign. That will be followed by a brief analysis of the classical material, which lies at the heart of the picture of Xerxes as a sacrilegious vandal. Is that what the Greco-Roman writers are saying? If so, what or whose views are they reflecting?

The Creation of the Image of Xerxes as the Destroyer of Babylonian Cults

In 1941, George Cameron published an article on Darius I and Xerxes in Babylonia using Babylonian documentary evidence.[13] Franz de Liagre Böhl presented, in 1962, additional arguments and more evidence strengthening and amplifying Cameron's article.[14] From then on it was accepted as an established fact that Babylonia revolted twice in Xerxes' reign: in 484 (= regnal year 2) and 482 (= regnal year 4) respectively, and that Xerxes' response to the revolts was to destroy the great Marduk sanctuary in Babylon along with looting its cult statue. This meant that the annual New Year's festival of Babylon, which had become a crucial element in the legitimization of those claiming power there in the preceding 250 years, could no longer be performed.[15] This loss of legitimacy by the Persian kings in Babylonian eyes was marked by the omission of the title "king of Babylon" from the royal Persian titulary from 482 on. A further humiliation for Babylonia was an administrative rearrangement whereby the huge Neo-Babylonian imperial territory, previously a single province, was divided into two — "Babylon" and "Across-the-River." This modern-day narrative (there are only dated documents from Babylonia for this period, no chronicles or similar accounts) has been constructed on the basis of deep-seated assumptions about Xerxes' character,[16] derived from his Greek campaign. His reputation as a destroyer of temples there has been transferred to Babylonia and combined with a superficial reading of the accounts of classical writers, beginning with Herodotus 1.183. Into this scholarly creation, Babylonian and Persian evidence has been forced to fit — to which it has been, indeed, subordinated. The argument is obviously circular.

In the paper published in 1987 by Kuhrt and Sherwin-White,[17] it was demonstrated that not a single element of the evidence used to construct this picture stands up to scrutiny and that the Cameron-Böhl presentation of the fate of Babylon and its temples must be rejected. Over the last fifteen years, this has become the established view. In her recent important study, Caroline Waerzeggers[18] has presented an analysis of Babylonian archives (primarily from Borsippa) and shown that a major administrative, social, and economic restructuring, inevitably involving temples and cults given their central role in Babylonian life,[19] took place in the years immediately following 484.

In the light of Waerzegger's work, I have (as noted above) become aware of a tendency to label the new orthodoxy of the last fifteen years or so as a "revisionist" view of Achaemenid rule in Babylonia. The implication is that we should now return to the pre-1987 position and put our trust once again in the primarily Greek accounts of Xerxes' destruction of temples in Babylon. But do any of the classical writers in fact say this?

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[11] See Gary Beckman's review of Crawford, ed., *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt*, in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2008.04.39, available online at http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-04-39.html.

[12] For the complexities, see now the detailed review of O. Pedersen's publication of the excavated archives from Babylon (*Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon: Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899–1917*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 25 [Saarbrücken: In Kommission bei Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag, 2005]), by Heather Baker, "Babylon in 484 B.C.: The Excavated Archival Tablets as a Source for Urban History," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 98 (2008): 100–16, describing the uncertainties, problems, as well as rewards to be encountered in trying to use this material. (I am most grateful to Dr. Baker for sending me an advance copy of her review article.)

[13] George G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia, IV: Xerxes and the Babylonian Revolts," *American Journal for Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941): 319–25.

[14] F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, "Die Babylonischen Prätendenten zur Zeit des Xerxes," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 19 (1962): 110–14.

[15] For recent discussions of the festival, see Beate Pongratz-Leisten, "Neujahr(sfest) B.," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9.3/4 (1999): 294–98; Julye Bidmead, *The* Akitu *Festival: Religious Continuity and Royal Legitimization in Mesopotamia*, Gorgias Dissertations, Near Eastern Studies 2 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2002).

[16] See Sancisi-Weerdenburg's important article on the assumptions made about Xerxes' personality and how this has affected interpretations of the relevant Old Persian evidence: Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Personality of Xerxes, King of Kings," in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis vanden Berghe* (Gent: Peeters, 2002), pp. 549–62, reprinted in *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, Irene J. F. de Jong, and Hans van Wees (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 579–90.

[17] Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction."

[18] Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts."

[19] See the discussion by Michael Kozuh, "Temple, Economy, and Religion in First Millennium Babylonia," *Religion Compass* 2/6 (2008): 929–48.

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The Evidence

A fundamental point to make is that the 1987 article cannot be described as a "revisionist" view of Achaemenid history. It did *not* try to approach Xerxes' actions in Babylonia from a fresh angle thus creating a new hypothesis to set against, and test, the prevailing one — it was simply a demonstration that the evidence that had been used to delineate his actions either did not exist or was deficient. Let me run briefly through the main points:

a) Nowhere does Herodotus say that Xerxes removed the cult statue (Gr. *agalma*)[20] of Bel-Marduk, even less that he destroyed any temple in Babylon. Xerxes *is* described as guilty of an act of pillage from the temple — removal of a precious statue (Greek *andrias*) — but nothing else.[21] In fact, Herodotus describes Esangil, E-temen-anki, and the Marduk statue *intact* and personally viewed by him, using the present tense. We may have our doubts as to whether Herodotus actually ever visited Babylonia,[22] but, inasmuch as his account has been the linchpin of the portrait of Xerxes as the destroyer of Babylon's central and most prominent cult, we have to acknowledge the inescapable fact that he never said anything of the kind. In fact, he describes the regular cult sacrifices (animal and material) performed on the various altars.

b) Support for Xerxes' drastic action was sought by Cameron, followed by Böhl, in the omission from dated documents of the "king of Babylon" element in Xerxes' titulary after 482. There was, in fact, at the time one text in Berlin[23] that did not fit his reasoning, dated as it is to Xerxes' regnal year 6+x, which should probably be emended to regnal year 8, that is, 478. This Cameron dismissed as a scribal error[24] — although it is not a particularly easy one to explain. In the 1980s, two important groups of Babylonian texts were published, one in the Oxford Ashmolean Museum,[25] the other from the German excavations at Uruk.[26] Both contained documents dated to the reigns of Xerxes and his successor, Artaxerxes I. Examination of the titulary showed that Xerxes had continued to be assigned the "king of Babylon" element sporadically throughout his reign. Three Artaxerxes I documents showed that his successor, too, had still used it occasionally. The latest document known so far in which it appears dates from 441.[27] The evidence shows, quite incontrovertibly, that while there was an evolution in the formulation of Achaemenid royal titles in Babylonia,[28] there is no abrupt, decisive change that could be linked with a known political event.

c) As the Marduk cult statue continued to be in Esangil, there is no reason to assume cessation of the New Year's festival in Babylon. What is *likely* is that royal participation was rare after the end of the Neo-Babylonian empire, if indeed it was ever performed by any Persian ruler. The only documented instance of an Achaemenid king taking part in the ceremony is its rather unusual performance by both Cyrus and Cambyses five months after the Persian conquest of Babylonia.[29] Although there is some (slight) evidence for continuation of the fes-

[20] For a recent study of the use of this term to specify "cult statue," see Pierre Briant, "Droaphernès et la statue de Sardes," in *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, edited by Maria Brosius and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 11 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1998), pp. 217–20.

[21] Herodotus' story runs that Darius had planned the theft of the statue previously, but his nerve failed him, with Xerxes completing his father's action. This fits a recurring pattern in Herodotus' account of Xerxes' behavior: Darius repeatedly foreshadows his son's actions, paving the way for his future dealings (a good example is the case of Darius' Scythian campaign; see Thomas Harrison, "The Persian Invasions," in Bakker, de Jong, and van Wees (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, pp. 551–78; cf. Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*, 2 volumes (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 182.

[22] See Robert Rollinger, *Herodots babylonischer Logos: Eine kritische Untersuchung der Glaubwürdigkeitsdiskussion an Hand ausgewählter Beispiele; Historische Parallelüberlieferung, Argumentationen, archäologischer Befund, Konsequenzen für eine Geschichte Babylons in persischer Zeit*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 84 (Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1993); Amélie Kuhrt, "Babylon," in Bakker, de Jong, and van Wees (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, pp. 475–96.

[23] Arthur Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), no. 118.

[24] Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," pp. 323–25.

[25] Gilbert J. P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

[26] Karlheinz Kessler, "Duplikate und Fragmente aus Uruk, Teil II," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 15 (1984): 261–72.

[27] Robert Rollinger, "Überlegungen zu Herodot, Xerxes und dessen angeblicher Zerstörung Babylons," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 25/2 (1998): 339–73; idem, "Xerxes and Babylon," *Notes assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1999, no. 8.

[28] Note the occasional use of an expanded title by Xerxes (as well as Artaxerxes I), "king of Persia and Media, king of Babylon, king of Lands"; see further Francis Joannès, "La titulature de Xerxès," *Notes assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 1989, no. 37.

[29] A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5 (Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1975), no. 7, col. iii, lines 24–28. Note the important new reading of these lines, based on collation, by Andrew R. George, "Studies in Cultic Topography and Ideology," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 53 (1996): 365–95. His proposal (pp. 379–80) would show Cambyses being installed as sub-king of Babylon in the course of the festival, under the aegis of his father Cyrus.

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tival itself,[30] the next certain instance of *royal* participation in the ceremony occurs in 205 (i.e., over 300 years later), when Antiochus III celebrated it on completion of his triumphant eastern campaign.[31] Clearly, royal participation in Babylon's New Year's festival had ceased to be the decisive barometer of social and political well-being that it had become in the centuries of contested control over the country by Assyrians, Chaldaeans, and Babylonians. But that change in emphasis seems to have begun already in Cyrus' reign and continued right through into the Hellenistic period — there is no evidence of any subsequent Achaemenid king or Alexander (the much vaunted "restorer") ever performing it. All, however, without exception were recorded and remembered in Babylonia as recognized, legitimate kings of the region.

d) When exactly the reorganization of the Babylonian province took place, we do not know. The latest evidence for the territory undivided is, at present, 486, the final year of Darius I.[32] The earliest evidence for a governor of the separate province of Babylon is Gubaru (Gobryas) in 420, although he was probably preceded in this position by Artareme, attested in 431.[33]

This, in summary, is the evidence — no more. It is not an alternative approach to, or revisionist image of, Xerxes. It is a *correction* of earlier work, which 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, and character.[34] The methodological faultiness of such a procedure cannot be subject to argument.

Revolt and Reorganization in Babylonia

And this is not changed by Waerzeggers' brilliant article — as she herself would be the first to admit. What her study shows, most valuably, is that a fundamental change in Babylonia's social and political framework took place in Xerxes' second regnal year, 484. In that year there were two overlapping revolts in Babylonia (including Babylon itself): one was very short-lived, perhaps no more than two weeks, the other lasted three months. They were confined to the north of the region. After 484, the archives of the long-established urban elites, who had controlled the highest positions in city government and the temples (including Uruk in the south), cease. The archives that continue belong, in Waerzeggers' words, to individuals from "a different stratum of society, one that may be described in political terms as pro-Persian and in economic terms as dependent on the presence of the Persian nobility," people like the members of the Murashu family attested a little later. In other words, what the evidence shows is not a destruction of cults — there is sufficient evidence to show that they continued[35] — but a breaking by the Achaemenid authorities of the concentration of power in the hands of a powerful, traditional elite group. This would, of course, have necessitated a thoroughgoing re-staffing of temples, although the scanty evidence does not allow us to be more precise. Significantly, no such fundamental change can be documented in the southern cities of Uruk and Ur. What is striking here is that, whereas previously the top posts in, for example, the Uruk sanctuary had been monopolized by old families based in Babylon, they are replaced by *local* people early in Xerxes' reign.[36]

It is tempting to associate these far-reaching changes with other administrative reforms, such as the provincial reorganization.[37] All the evidence for these changes clusters around the end of the reign of Darius I and the early reign

[30] Possibly in the reign of Darius I: Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* 5, no. 89; cf. Eckhard Unger, *Babylon: Die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 1931), p. 155 n. 1 (reprinted in 1970); and during the revolts in the reign of Xerxes: Böhl, "Die babylonischen Prätendenten," pp. 110–14.

[31] Abraham J. Sachs and Hermann Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, Vol. 2: *Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschrift 210 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989) no. - 204; cf. Susan M. Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 13 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 130–31.

[32] Matthew W. Stolper, "The Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in 486 B.C.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48/4 (1989): 283–305.

[33] Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašu Archive, the Murašu Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 54 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985).

[34] Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Personality of Xerxes."

[35] See in particular Jursa's observation that all the important texts of the Sippar temple archive had apparently been carefully selected and removed in 484. "Had the temple been sacked and the cult entirely disrupted, no-one would have gone to so much trouble" (Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia," p. 91).

[36] See the article by Karlheinz Kessler, "Urukaische Familien versus babylonischen Familien: Die Namengebung in Uruk, die Degradierung der Kulte von Eanna und der Aufstieg des Gottes Anu," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31/2 (2004): 237–62. The growing impression is that the regionalism that marked Babylonian life in the eighth to seventh centuries was temporarily reversed by the Neo-Babylonian regime and resurfaced in the subsequent periods; see further Francis Joannès, "La Babylonie méridionale: continuité, déclin ou rupture?" in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques, vers 350–300 av. J.-C.*, edited by Pierre Briant and Francis Joannès, Persika 9 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2006), pp. 101–35.

[37] But note that, contrary to Francis Joannès, "Pouvoirs locaux et organisations du territoire en Babylonie achéménide," *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990): 173–89, there is now evidence for the continuation of the old Babylonian office of *šakin temi*; see Waerzeggers, "Babylo-

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of Xerxes, although chronological certainty eludes us. As does the precise sequence of events. Were the revolts in 484 sparked by this major bureaucratic reorganization, led by the groups most closely affected in northern Babylonia? Or were they part of the response by the Persian authorities to the revolts? This remains impossible to decide either way at the moment.

The Classical Writers

The much trumpeted, oft repeated, claim that a whole bevy of classical historians tell us that Xerxes destroyed temples in Babylon is, in fact, false. Their testimony is rather general, often confused and internally contradictory. Herodotus, as we have seen, says nothing of the kind. The Babylonian scholar Bersossus,[38] writing in the early third century, has Cyrus destroy Babylon's walls, which were (according to Herodotus 3.159) destroyed by Darius I at the end of a revolt, although he has described them previously (Herodotus 1.178–81) in the present tense, as though they were still standing in his day — which, indeed, they were and well beyond.[39] Diodorus Siculus (2.9.4; 2.9.9) once has the ziggurat in Babylon ruined by the passage of time,[40] although elsewhere (17.112.3) he says it was destroyed by unspecified "Persians," while Justin (12.13.6) has Alexander restore interrupted festivals, but says nothing about any physical destruction nor when that interruption occurred. Only Strabo (*Geography* 16.1.5), nearly five hundred, and Arrian (*Anabasis* 3.16.4–5; 7.17.2), nearer to seven hundred, years later link Xerxes' name with a destruction of sacred structures in Babylon, though neither mentions a removal of Marduk's statue. Moreover, Arrian (3.16.5) presents the Babylonian priests anxious to induct Alexander, on his entry in 331, into the intricacies of the correct cult of Babylon's supreme god — impossible if the statue were not in situ and the sanctuaries in ruins,[41] while Strabo hedges his statement with *has phasin* "as they say," suggesting he is quoting popular rumor rather than a reliable source.

The only contemporary historian, apart from Herodotus, who is likely to have had some access to knowledge of Persian history is Ctesias, a Greek doctor at the Persian court who wrote a history of Persia early in the fourth century. He is, notably, the *sole* writer to mention a revolt of Babylon in Xerxes' reign. However, there is no hint in his account of any destruction.[42] His account is only preserved in a heavily summarized form by the ninth-century Byzantine patriarch Photius, and in a slightly longer version by Aelian, writing in the late second–early third century A.D.[43] The Aelian passage is often cited as an independent source, as done by Andrew George,[44] although its derivation from the original text of Ctesias is virtually certain. At this point it might be useful to give the two passages, and then consider their import.

a) First (i.e., before the invasion of Greece), he (sc. Xerxes) went to Babylon and wanted to see the tomb of Belitanas. Thanks to Mardonius he saw it, but failed to fill the sarcophagus with oil, as prescribed. Xerxes went off to Ecbatana and there received news of the revolt of the Babylonians and the murder of their governor Zopyrus. This is what Ctesias says about him, disagreeing with Herodotus. What he (sc. Herodotus) says about Zopyrus, apart from the mule giving birth, Ctesias attributes to Megabyzus, Xerxes' son-in-law, husband of Amytis, his daughter. So Babylon was taken thanks to Megabyzus. Xerxes bestowed many presents on him, in particular a golden millstone weighing six talents, which is one of the most royal gifts among the Persians. (Ctesias, *Persika* = *FGrH* 688 F13[26])

b) Xerxes, the son of Darius, having dug his way into the monument of the ancient Belus (Gr. *tou Belou tou archaiou*), found a glass sarcophagus, in which, the body lay in olive oil. The sarcophagus was not full, the oil was perhaps an inch short of the rim. Near the sarcophagus lay a small stela on which was written: "For the man who opens the monument and does not fill the sarcophagus, things will not get better!" When Xerxes read this, he was afraid and gave orders to pour in oil at once. But the sarcophagus would not fill. He gave orders to pour once more. But the level

nian Revolts," p. 178, addendum. However, Jursa ("The Transition of Babylonia," p. 91 n. 58) remarks that the *šakin temi* of Borsippa in Xerxes' reign is from a previously unknown family.

[38] *FGrH* F680 F10a.

[39] See Rollinger, *Herodots babylonischer Logos*, pp. 106–37.

[40] Diodorus 2.9.5–9 describes an array of precious cult statues (Greek *agalmata*), which were "later looted by the Persian kings" (Gr. *alla tauta men hoi ton Person basileis husteron esulesan*).

[41] On Alexander in Babylon, see further Amélie Kuhrt, "'Ex Oriente Lux': How We May Widen Our Perspectives on Ancient History," in *Getrennte Wege? Kommunikation, Raum und Wahrnehmung in der alten Welt*, edited by Robert Rollinger, Andreas Luther, and Josef Wiesehöfer, Oikumene 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike, 2007), pp. 617–29.

[42] *FGrH* 688 F13(26); Dominique Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide: La Perse – L'Inde – autres fragments*, Collection des universités de France, Série grecque 435 (Paris: Belles lettres, 2004), p. 124. For doubts about Ctesias' claim to have stayed at the Persian court and hence the possibility of his having access to any independent historical knowledge, see Marco Dorati, "Ctesia falsario?" *Quaderni di Storia* 41 (1995): 33–52. Note a similar approach to the writer by R. Bichler, "Ktesias spielt mit Herodot," in *Die Welt des Ktesias/Ctesias' World,* edited by Josef Wiesehöfer, Robert Rollinger, and Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, pp. 21–52. Classica et Orientalia 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

[43] *Varia Historia* 13.3 = Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide*, F.13 b*.

[44] George, "The Tower of Babel," p. 90.

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> would not rise, and he gave up after wasting oil (literally: "what was poured in") fruitlessly. Closing the tomb, he retreated in dismay. The stela did not lie in its prediction: having gathered 700,000 men against the Greeks, he came off badly, and on his return he suffered a most shameful death, murdered one night in bed by his son. (Aelian, *Varia Historia* 13.3 = Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide,* F13b*)

Both texts describe Xerxes performing a divinatory ritual in Babylon, which is unsuccessful. In the Photius summary of Ctesias, the bad omen implies that the future campaign in Greece will be unsuccessful, while the immediate consequence is a revolt in Babylonia. The fuller Aelian version links the bad omen directly with the disastrous Greek campaign and Xerxes' assassination. The place in which the ritual is performed is, contrary to a widely held assumption, *not* the Marduk ziggurat in Babylon. As Miglus, Lenfant, and Henkelman have argued,[45] Ctesias always refers to the *temple* of Belus, when he is talking about parts of the Marduk sanctuary in Babylon. Ctesias' "tomb of Belitanas" and the, apud Aelian, "tomb of the ancient Belus" is most likely to refer to the tomb of an earlier Babylonian ruler. As Henkelman suggests, it is thus more appropriate to compare Xerxes' act to that of Darius I's opening of the tomb of Nitocris in Babylon (see Herodotus 1.187), and receiving an unpleasant message from the dead queen.[46] There are, indeed, some similarities between Herodotus' and Ctesias' phrasing and, as the former has been shown to reflect *Greek* oracular idiom,[47] the Xerxes' story in Ctesias seems to be modeled (in part, at least) on the Herodotus passage and so likely to reflect a Greek tradition.

As indicated above, Andrew George proposed that the Aelian story, which he sees as representing a separate tradition from that in Ctesias, should be connected with the Nebuchadnezzar II cylinder found in Susa and the damage suffered by E-temen-anki. In other words, he argues that Xerxes' action in Babylon in relation to the "tomb" should be understood as Persian despoliation of Babylon's ziggurat, with the cylinder providing proof of Xerxes' looting. Quite apart from the fact that we do not have a date for the removal of the cylinder, is that the only way to understand the migration of Mesopotamian building inscriptions from their original place of deposition? An instructive counter example is provided by the Eanna cylinder of the Chaldaean ruler Marduk-apla-iddina II.[48] This records the restoration by him of part of the Uruk sanctuary, but was found in Nimrud (ancient Kalhu). It is most likely to have been transported there after Sargon II's defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina. As Sargon's own recorded work on Eanna echoes the phraseology of his defeated foe's inscription, the assumption is that it was found during Assyrian refurbishments and removed to Kalhu to serve as a model for his own repairs.[49] Obviously, this is a hypothesis, but it indicates that there can be a variety of reasons for the removal of an earlier building text, including (as in the Sargon-Marduk-apla-iddina II case) the wish to commemorate rebuilding rather than destruction.

To summarize the main points:

1. The Ctesias and Aelian passages represent the same source.
2. Xerxes' act is not focused on a sanctuary connected to Bel-Marduk, but most likely on the tomb of an earlier ruler.
3. Neither passage refers to the destruction of monuments, only to a divinatory ritual, which produces a bad omen.
4. It is possible that the episode was modeled, in part, on Herodotus' story of Darius I and the tomb of Nitocris.
5. There is no date for the removal of the Nebuchadnezzar II cylinder to Susa, nor is the agent known. The assumption that it reflects looting by Xerxes in response to a revolt in Babylon is just that — an assumption. There are other possibilities to explain the appearance of a building inscription away from its original place of deposition.
6. Note that, according to Ctesias, who is the sole writer to mention a Babylonian revolt against Xerxes, the revolt occurred *after* the Persian king's visit to Babylon. His story of the revolt may itself again be modeled on Herodotus' account of a Babylonian rebellion against Darius I (see Herodotus 3.150–60).

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[45] Peter A. Miglus, review of Hansjörg Schmid, *Der Tempelturm Etemenanki in Babylon*, Baghdader Forschungen 17 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 86 (1996): 294–301 (p. 301); Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide*, pp. lxxxviii–ix; Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "Der Grabhügel," in Wiesehöfer, Rollinger, and Lanfranchi, eds., *Ktesias*, pp. 111–39.

[46] See Henkelman, "Der Grabhügel."

[47] John Dillery, "Darius and the Tomb of Nitocris (Hdt. 1.187)," *Classical Philology* 87/1 (1992): 30–38.

[48] See Grant Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 B.C.)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), Marduk-apla-iddina II B.6.21.1.

[49] Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 8.6.22.3.

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The one possible conclusion that might be drawn from the episode is that, as in the case of Darius I and Nitocris, the story reflects badly on Xerxes, and that this *could* reflect a Babylonian tradition hostile to him. If so, this opinion was not shared by all in antiquity as is, for example, shown by a passage in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities:*

> Xerxes inherited also (Darius') piety towards god and his way of honouring him. For he followed his father in all the things which he had done for his service, and he held the Jews in the highest esteem. (Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaeorum* 11.120)

While there is not, and never has been, any evidence whatever for Xerxes (or, indeed, Persian) destruction of Babylonian temples and cults, apart from this ambiguous material, we do now have more material[50] that allows us to begin to reassess his reign constructively, as a time of profound change, marked by a considerable tightening of the Achaemenid grip on its imperial territories. Xerxes is emerging, more and more, as one of the most important architects of a stable and successful Persian empire.[51]

Abbreviation

FGrH	Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923–1959

[50] See Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts"; Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia"; and Baker, "Babylon in 484 B.C."

[51] For a balanced assessment of Xerxes' reign, see Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Fayard, 1996), ch. 13.

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12

Cultural Exchange at Kültepe

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This essay is intended as a contribution to the discussion on the exchanges between distinct cultural, political, and socioeconomic entities that are such a characteristic feature of the Bronze Age in the Near East. We have available for study not only a quite extensive and varied textual record, but also a very large number of artifacts that testify to widespread contacts and an intense exchange of objects and ideas. A number of different mechanisms of interaction lay behind the effects we can observe in both material objects and texts. Politics and trade played a vital role, but power and money provide us only with the most basic tools for our analysis, and we shall have to delineate more subtle and complex concepts, both for the sociopolitical sphere and perhaps especially for the interaction in the field of art or culture, if we are to arrive at truly satisfactory analyses.

Several suggestions for a new theoretical and analytical framework have been put forward recently, and, inspired by a recent article by Stephen Lumsden,[1] we shall attempt to apply two of these in our discussion of the material from the Old Assyrian period. One refers to the concept of hybridity or hybridization and will be introduced later. The other is called the "Middle Ground," and was developed by the historian Richard White[2] to describe the interaction from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries in North America, where French colonists and fur traders engaged in economic exchanges with the Algonquian Indians.

The Middle Ground theory posits that the two societies in contact establish a metaphorical space where they can interact on the basis of a set of rules that refer to what each side in the interaction understands (or more often misunderstands) as the traditions and practices of the other side. This sets up a virtual space where problems and controversies could be resolved, while the participants in the exchanges are able nonetheless to retain the essential part of their own group identity.

White has defined the elements that were necessary for the construction of such a space as follows: "a rough balance of power, mutual need or a desire for what the other possesses, and an inability by either side to commandeer enough force to compel the other to change." He furthermore noted that "force and violence are hardly foreign to the process of creating and maintaining a Middle Ground, but the critical element is mediation."[3] At the end of the period dealt with in his book power relations had shifted drastically, and the Middle Ground was subverted in various ways, presenting a stark choice to the Indians between assimilation and otherness. There was therefore a development throughout the centuries, where the growth of French — and then U.S. — authority in the region destroyed the fundamental condition of a balance of power between the two groups. White concludes in poignant brevity: "Europeans met the other, invented a long-lasting and significant common world, but in the end reinvented the Indian as other."[4]

For White, the "central and defining aspect" of the earlier situation was the willingness of those who created the Middle Ground "to justify their actions in terms of what they perceived to be their partner's cultural premises." The understanding of the Middle Ground leads to a serious questioning of the common acculturation model, which claims that the situation in America conformed to the model of a massive intake of traits from another culture, that is, the Indians adopted European values. It is now generally recognized that in such situations both groups taking part in the encounter are often deeply influenced by the interaction, and that a process of hybridization regularly emerges, a kind of fusion that can lead to completely new configurations.

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[1] Stephen Lumsden, "Material Culture and the Middle Ground in the Old Assyrian Colony Period," in *Old Assyrian Studies in Memory of Paul Garelli*, edited by Cécile Michel, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 112; Old Assyrian Archives, Studies 4 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2008), pp. 21–43.

[2] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); a twentieth-anniversary edition with new preface was published in 2011.

[3] Richard White, "Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) 63/1 (2006): 10.

[4] White, *Middle Ground*, p. xv.

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In our view there are clear similarities between White's theory and the hybridity models developed in recent years, and Homi Bhabha's notion of a "third space of enunciation" where the process takes place is in fact quite close to White's "Middle Ground." In our view the theory of hybridity has special relevance for the interpretation of material culture.[5]

Kültepe

In an attempt to apply these models to material from the ancient Near East we investigate elements of the historical situation at Kültepe, ancient Kanesh, from the twentieth to the eighteenth century B.C., where a very well-documented process of cultural contacts can be described.

We have at Kültepe a large mound and a lower town of unknown size that have been partly excavated in annual campaigns since 1948.[6] The houses uncovered in the lower town were inhabited by a mixture of local people and Assyrian merchants whose hometown was Assur on the Tigris, some 1,000 kilometers away from Kültepe. Especially the houses of the Assyrians contained small and large archives of cuneiform tablets, today numbering around 23,000. They provide a detailed picture of a society where people of different ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds met, hence producing a classic example of cultural interaction.

The economic basis for the Assyrian presence was their participation in a vast network of commercial exchange that reached from Central Asia to the Aegean and the Black Sea coast.[7] The merchants of Assur had developed a sophisticated commercial system, where their hometown functioned as a transit center for the trade in textiles and tin — that is, commodities that were imported from the south and sent farther on to Anatolia, where they were exchanged for silver.

The settlement at Kanesh, and by implication Assyrian commercial activities in Anatolia, can be followed during a period of more than 250 years, from ca. 1975 to ca. 1700 B.C.[8] The written documentation is almost entirely concentrated in a brief period of time from around 1895 to 1865 B.C., the heyday of the trade. In ca. 1835 a catastrophe of some kind led to a massive fire and the temporary abandonment of the lower town, a disaster that sealed the houses with their archives. At the same time the palace on the mound was destroyed by fire, an indication that we are faced with the result of a military attack.

The last great fire in ca. 1835 marked the end of what is called the "level 2 period," but at least part of the lower town was resettled very quickly, and the commercial practices reemerged. It is a fair assumption that the new community — at least in its first phase — was as wealthy and successful as the one in the previous period. However, we have very little information about this period (in archaeological terms referred to as "level 1b"), although it lasted more than a century.

The excavated part of the lower town contained about 100 houses, most of which can be determined to have belonged to Assyrian merchants on the basis of the archives found in them. It is important, however, to keep in mind that quite a substantial number of local Anatolians also had houses in the same neighborhoods where we find the foreign traders. Moreover, although the excavations here have continued during a period of sixty years, it seems clear that only part of the lower town has been touched. This part housed mostly Assyrians, but we must be prepared to find that other areas of the site — when dug — will turn out to show a different ethnic configuration.

In this town, it is still possible to walk the narrow streets and enter the more recently excavated houses where people once lived who spoke a variety of languages, dressed in different types of clothes, and venerated gods and goddesses from different cultural backgrounds. This was a truly international, cosmopolitan world, a fact that is clearly reflected in the extensive archives found in the houses. In terms of material culture, however, the site appears as typically Anatolian. The architecture is in the local tradition, with extensive use of half-timber constructions, and the ceramics discovered on the floors and in graves are clearly of local type; indeed, it has become commonplace to say

[5] For references, see Lumsden, "Material Culture," pp. 29–31, and Gil J. Stein, "A Theoretical Model for Political Economy and Social Identity in the Old Assyrian Colonies of Anatolia," *TÜBA-AR* 11 (2008): 25–40.

[6] See, in general, Tahsin Özgüç, *Kültepe Kaniš/Neša: The Earliest International Trade Center and the Oldest Capital City of the Hittites* (Tokyo: The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, 2003); and Klaas R. Veenhof and Jesper Eidem, *Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian Period*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/5 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

[7] Gojko Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies 38 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011).

[8] For the chronology, see Klaas R. Veenhof, *The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms from Karum Kanish and Its Chronological Implications*, Publications of the Turkish Historical Society VI/64 (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2003), and the new list of eponyms published by Cahit Günbattı, "An Eponym List (KEL G) from Kültepe," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 35/1 (2008): 103–32. The absolute dates used here are in accordance with the Middle Chronology and based on the evidence from the eponym lists, which start in the year 1974 B.C. A detailed discussion of the chronological problems may be found in Gojko Barjamovic, Thomas Hertel, and Mogens Trolle Larsen, *Ups and Downs at Kanesh: Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 120; Old Assyrian Archives, Studies 5 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), ch. 1.

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that without the texts and the associated cylinder seals it would have been impossible to determine the true nature of the site — it would have been seen simply as an Anatolian town. Undoubtedly, more precise and detailed excavation techniques will lead to an adjustment of this view,[9] but it seems clear that the Assyrian visitors did adopt vital elements of material culture from the local community. Although next to nothing is known about the activities of the thirteen known smiths in Anatolia, it is interesting to note that several of them had good Assyrian names; one such man, Puzur-Anna, has been studied by T. Sturm, and it is clear that he was of Assyrian descent and that he was active in different contexts as a member of the Assyrian community.[10] It has also been shown that Assyrian women living in Kanesh engaged in the production of the typical Anatolian textile type called *pirikannum*.[11] This suggests that Assyrians were actively engaged in craft production in Anatolia and adopted at least some local practices. The astonishing variety and elegance of the ceramics found in the houses of the lower town is surely to be understood as a reflection of the intellectual ferment and energy of this multi-cultural, vibrant society.

The Assyrian traders whose archives provide the bulk of our information were visitors, of course, but they appear to have become gradually entrenched and settled. When the first merchants from Assur turned up here cannot be said, but the people whose lives we can follow in such intimate detail from their archives based their existence on already well-established patterns of commercial exchanges. Two generations are especially well attested: The first comprised a large group of rich and influential men whose lives can be followed from around 1900 B.C. to 1865 B.C.[12] Their names are well known in the scholarly literature (Pūšu-kēn and Imdī-ilum are examples) and in some cases we have editions of their reconstructed archives. They were in charge of businesses run along family lines with the real bosses back in Assur; the men in Kanesh ran the affairs in Anatolia, and they relied on a sophisticated network of agents and representatives, many of whom were sons and other members of the family.

The earliest commercial penetration of central Anatolia was certainly based on a version of what we would call "venture trade"; that is, the creation of partnerships in Assur where a sum of money or goods was invested in a common fund, enabling a trader to bring shipments to Anatolia, oversee the sale of the wares, and then return home with the profit that would then be divided among the investors. This obviously meant that the traders themselves would spend no more than a couple of years in Anatolia at a time. However, the practices attested during the lives of the first generation of well-attested traders show that a much more elaborate system had been developed, where men were sent out to function as more or less permanent agents abroad; the important merchants themselves did not travel much with their caravans any more, but they had specially trained personnel to bring goods to Anatolia and silver back to Assur. This parallels the development of the trade in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

All available dated texts (more than 1,100) have been plotted in a graph developed by Thomas Hertel, and it shows that there was a drastic rise in the number of texts in the years 1893–1891, from a handful to more than forty each year.[13] This, in other words, marks the beginning of the many archives known from houses in the lower town, and it is not unreasonable to assume that it was around this date that the Assyrian merchants in large numbers settled permanently in these houses. It is surprising that it seems not to have been a gradual development, but rather a sudden change in the way archives were constituted.

In this new situation the traders established households in Anatolia, not just in Kanesh but in a large number of smaller Assyrian commercial establishments spread over central Asia Minor. It seems probable to us that this generation was the first to operate more or less permanently from the base at Kanesh, although they were still firmly rooted in Assur, the hometown on the Tigris, where their wives and children lived. One indication that a change had taken place is that tensions arose between the men in Anatolia and their wives back in Assur, a fact that is revealed with painful clarity in a series of letters received by them from these women. In these texts the wives complain bitterly at having been in practice abandoned by their husbands, who clearly spent many years in Anatolia without having the time to visit the home in Assur. They ask that the men send them money to support them and the family, and they demand

[9] See the suggestions for an application of a "household archaeology" in Stein, "Theoretical Model," pp. 34–36.

[10] Thomas Sturm, "Puzur-Annā — Ein Schmied des Kārum Kaniš," in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume: Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, edited by Wilfred H. van Soldt, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 89 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2001). See also the list of occupations known from the texts in Sturm, "Schmied," p. 475 n. 1.

[11] Agnete Wisti Lassen, "The Trade in Wool in Old Assyrian Anatolia," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 42 (2010): 164–66.

[12] The reference to generations must obviously be taken with a grain of salt. The "first" generation was not in fact the first, for Assyrian merchants had frequented Kanesh and Anatolia for a long time, and the names of some of the men in these earlier generations are known as patronymics of the better-attested persons; nor were all the men in the so-called generations necessarily of the same age. It is worth noticing, however, that several of the well-known figures from the "first" generation are known to have died around 1870–1865 B.C.

[13] Full documentation is published in Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen, *Ups and Downs*.

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that their husbands free themselves from the commitments that tie them to Kanesh so that they can at least visit their wives and children in Assur.[14]

The next generation, the sons of the men in the first generation, organized their lives in a new way, one that was designed to resolve at least some of these tensions, for many of them married local Anatolian women with whom they created families and households in the houses in the lower town at Kanesh. A few established a marriage in Assur as well, but most Assyrian traders now had their nuclear family in Anatolia, and their ties to the men and women of their hometown must have changed in nature. The men in Kanesh were economically dependent on regular shipments of tin and textiles from their bosses and investors in Assur, and they clearly had a strong emotional attachment to what they referred to as "the paternal house," the ancestral home that obviously had to be in Assur. On the other hand, it seems that it was precisely at this defining moment, when this generation of Assyrian traders established themselves in new, independent households, that we can observe what has been described as a "fragmentation of the family structure," where the sons set up business for themselves, often without any close relationship to their brothers, and instead in partnership with men outside the family circle.[15]

After about 1835 B.C., during the long period referred to by the archaeological designation "level 1b," it seems that the trade continued, but that major changes, organizational, social, and commercial, led to the creation of a quite different situation. Some Assyrians (referred to as *wašbūtum* "settlers") appear to have lost their commercial links with the hometown and become more closely involved in the Anatolian community — without, however, losing their status as Assyrians and the rights and prerogatives this entailed. One striking feature of the documentation from the later phase is that we have a much higher percentage of texts that concern only Anatolians than in the earlier period, indicating that the local people had taken over the literate practices of the Assyrians, even writing in their language. It is also clear that the traders were in a weaker political and economic position than before; their commercial transactions were on a smaller scale, often concerned with locally produced textiles, and they seem quite often to have become economically dependent on local people, even having to be bought free from debt-slavery by their local compatriots. So, not only was there more interaction directly between the two groups, but it seems that in economic terms they were now equals. This must then also mean that the social, emotional, and legal ties that connected the Assyrian traders to their distant hometown of Assur had become weaker.[16]

They were also living in a politically changed world. We are certainly not in a position to write the political history of Anatolia in the eighteenth century as yet, but it seems that a general trend may be described. During the period when the Assyrian merchants worked in the region there was a change in the local political system that can be described as a progressive centralization; the situation encountered by the first Assyrian traders was dominated by a large number of quite small political units, but even during the level 2 period we seem to find a consolidation of power in fewer, much larger territorial states. In the period of level 1b this becomes very clear, and the process of course culminates in the creation of the Old Hittite state around 1700 B.C., that dominated the entire central Anatolian region. We have to ask whether, and then to what extent, this process was influenced or fostered by the Assyrian trade in Anatolia, and also what impact this centralization had on the Assyrian trade and the life of the merchants.

The Middle Ground

For many years, the most prolific scholar writing on the Old Assyrian period, Julius Lewy, maintained that the proper basis for an understanding of the relationship between the Assyrian colonists and the Anatolians was the existence of an Assyrian political domination, a proper empire in Asia Minor. The Assyrians, he explained, were in Anatolia as conquerors and exploiters.[17] This view has now been abandoned and the situation is understood as an example of treaty-based commercial penetration as part of a vast network of trade contacts that linked areas from the Black Sea to Central Asia. Our reading of the evidence now leads us to conclude that the basic precondition for the presence of the Assyrians in Anatolia was an ability and willingness on the part of both Anatolians and Assyrians to find ways of interacting with each other on all levels: from the political and diplomatic one with negotiations and treaties, through the commercial one with face-to-face encounters in marketplaces, to the most intimate one with marriage,

[14] See Cécile Michel, *Correspondance des marchands de Kaniš au début du II^e millénaire avant J.-C.*, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 19 (Paris: Cerf, 2001), the letters edited in ch. 7.

[15] Mogens Trolle Larsen, "Individual and Family in Old Assyrian Society," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 59 (2007): 105.

[16] See Jan Gerrit Dercksen, "'When We Met in Hattuš': Trade According to Old Assyrian Texts from Alishar and Boğazköy," in van Soldt (ed.), *Veenhof Anniversary Volume*, pp. 63–66; and Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen, *Ups and Downs*, ch. 3.

[17] Julius Lewy, "On Some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 27 (1956): 53ff.

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the establishment of relations with other families across cultural boundaries, and the bringing up of children. This is where the concept of the Middle Ground becomes useful for our analyses, even though it should be kept in mind that there are very significant differences between the historical situation for which the model was designed and the Old Assyrian experience in Anatolia.

On all levels the two groups had developed very different traditions. As mentioned, Anatolia was at the beginning of the period in question divided into a large number of small political units centered on a town — a kind of city-state pattern. These states were apparently quite centralized with a powerful royal couple in a dominant position; around them we find a large number of officials who were in charge of the various social, economic, and military sectors, designated as "chief of the market," "chief of horses," "chief of city-gates," "chief of the storehouses," "chief of weapons," etc.[18] The Assyrian traders honed their skills in a very different political environment. In the home city of Assur the king had important religious functions, but in other respects he is best described as *primus inter pares* within a system that was largely oligarchic in nature. The Assembly in Assur made all decisions; the king was the executive officer for this body, which was presumably dominated by the elders, the heads of the most important family groups. The differences between the Assyrian and Anatolian systems become even more pronounced when we compare with the way in which Assyrian affairs were regulated in Kanesh. Here the oligarchic nature of the Assyrian political system is manifested in councils and assemblies in collaboration with a number of officials who functioned only for short periods of time.[19]

In the field of social relations there were equally dramatic differences — quite apart from the fact that the interacting groups spoke different languages. We have several references to ruling queens in Anatolian kingdoms, and they are referred to as active in diplomatic engagements with the Assyrians. This is just one reflection of the quite independent position enjoyed by women in Anatolia, which is not paralleled in Assyrian culture. This is further discussed below.

The overall rules for the commercial interaction in Anatolia were established by way of official negotiations between envoys from the government in Assur and the local palaces in Anatolia, negotiations that led to the writing of formal treaties.[20]

Since all available texts are written in Assyrian with the use of the cuneiform system of writing, the terminology and the fundamental concepts were those brought by the traders, but our texts clearly mask a quite complex situation, where the Anatolian understandings and traditions played a role. Local kings occasionally wrote letters that showed how they understood the rules set by the Assyrians, apparently attempting to manipulate them and establish new ones more acceptable to themselves.[21] In a letter exchanged between Assyrians, the writers, with some degree of exasperation, describe the complex political situation at the court in the city of Hahhum; the king is said to have committed a bloody deed and the Assyrians, wishing to establish a treaty with the authorities in the city, cannot get anyone among the nobles to explain the situation to them.[22]

White saw the essential feature of the situation in the *pays d'en haut* as "mutual misunderstandings and the ways that new meanings are derived from them," and he says that his book was "about the virtues of misreading."[23] It seems to us that the Old Assyrian situation was different and that there was a higher degree of mutual understanding there; instead we seem to be faced with repeated deliberate attempts to manipulate the relationship between the two groups or, contrarily, to find ways in which to maneuver safely in the space open to them.

The treaties between the two groups established rules for taxation, confirmed the right of the Assyrian community to extraterritoriality, with Assyrian courts and assemblies, and gave guarantees from the local ruler concerning the safety of the roads and compensation for robbery and murders. These stipulations were in general strictly adhered to, although we have many references to individuals smuggling shipments in order to avoid the payment of taxes to the palaces.

We are accordingly dealing with two distinct societies that interact in accordance with mutually agreed upon rules. Only occasionally do we find that serious problems arose in the political relations. We hear, for instance, of a situation

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[18] For a complete list of these titles, see Veenhof and Eidem, *Old Assyrian Period*, ch. 5. The list contains no less than fifty different titles.

[19] See Mogens Trolle Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-state and Its Colonies*, Mesopotamia 4 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1976), part 3; and Jan Gerrit Dercksen, *Old Assyrian Institutions*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 98, MOS Studies 4 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004), chs. 4 and 6.

[20] Discussed at length in Veenhof and Eidem, *Old Assyrian Period*, pp. 183–218, and see, for instance, the text kt m/k 134 mentioned in ibid., p. 211 n. 890.

[21] When a ruler in a small town refers to the Assyrian authorities in Kanesh as "my fathers" we must at least reckon with the possibility that this relation may have meant different things for an Assyrian and an Anatolian. See the discussion in White, *Middle Ground*, pp. 84–90, where he writes: "For them [the French] all authority was patriarchal, from God the Father, to the king (the father of his people), to the father in his home. Fathers commanded; sons obeyed. The Ottawas understood the relationship somewhat differently. A father was kind, generous, and protecting. A child owed a father respect, but a father could not compel obedience."

[22] CCT 4 30a.

[23] See the preface to the twentieth-anniversary edition of White, *Middle Ground* (2011), p. xi.

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where a local palace had put an Assyrian trader in jail on suspicion of having spied on behalf of another Anatolian ruler with whom there was a state of war. This led to a negotiation where representatives from the Assyrian assembly in the town went up to the palace on the mound and had a meeting with the local king and queen. The text runs:

> Two months after Aššur-taklāku was arrested by the palace the colony went up to the palace and said as follows to the king and queen: "The man has committed no crime. Release the man. Together with us the man has a house here in your city and he is ready to obey your wishes." The king and queen answered: "The man who sent the letter from Tawniya and obeys our enemy, therefore seeking our heads — produce him and then I [*sic*] shall release your colleague." The colony said: "Let him stand up and swear on the sword of divine Aššur; or let him go to the river like a citizen of your city (to prove) that he has purchased no goods and sent them to Tawniya and that he does not obey the wishes of the king of Tawniya; or, alternatively, let us swear on divine Aššur's dagger that our brother does not obey the wishes of the man of Tawniya." The king and queen answered: "Since we hold the letter I shall send you to the oath! Produce the man. If you do not bring the man then give us 1 pound of iron or 10 pounds of gold, then I shall release your colleague. If you do not give us that, then do not come back to bring up his name. Your colleague will be dead."[24]

The Assyrians try to persuade the Anatolian rulers that this conflict should be treated as a legal problem that can be resolved by oaths, and they are even willing to accept the local judicial custom for the prisoner by subjecting him to the river ordeal. For the king and queen the matter is political, however, and they therefore reject the suggested solutions. Claiming that they have in their hands the decisive evidence in the form of a letter, which must have been somehow secured from Aššur-taklāku, they are willing to let the men from the assembly take an oath, but this appears to be a mockery, for it will have no effect. It may be that the poor man did spend a couple of years in prison, but we are not informed about why he was eventually released.[25]

Although the matter remained unresolved in the texts we have, the situation illustrates essential elements in the relationship between the two groups, and it shows some of the characteristic features of a Middle Ground confrontation. The Assyrian representatives emphasized the fact that the accused was a member of the local Assyrian community and they declared their willingness to guarantee for him, stressing the binding relationship between the two parties. Despite treaty-bound guarantees of extraterritoriality they even accepted the recourse to local judicial procedures in an effort to place the matter in a shared space.

Another text tells us about a situation where an Assyrian and a local dignitary became involved in legal controversies. This led to a verdict being issued by the local king and his chief military officer, but this decision again involved the use of the water ordeal, which clearly was unacceptable to the Assyrians in this situation. So a new negotiation had to take place, where four local men and four Assyrians were empowered to come up with a compromise that involved nothing more dramatic than the payment of a sum of money and some textiles.[26]

Occasionally, negotiations would break down, and we can see that in extreme situations the merchants in their assembly could decide to confront the Anatolian nobles directly, for instance by issuing a decree that prohibited Assyrians from entertaining any commercial contacts with a named local official.[27] Such actions presumably constituted a different kind of negotiation tactic, and it is obvious that the two sides engaged in a subtle (sometimes perhaps not so subtle) use of the rules of the Middle Ground in the open realization of a mutual interest in maintaining the commercial activities.

Under normal circumstances the legal affairs of the two groups were each dealt with in separate fora. The king and his officials were concerned with the conflicts among the Anatolian citizens, and the assemblies of the Assyrian merchants functioned as courts under the ultimate authority of the city assembly of their hometown Assur. In rare cases the two systems were forced to interact directly, and it is not always obvious to us exactly why certain matters

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[24] We have two almost identical texts telling this story: kt 93/k 145, published by Cécile Michel and Paul Garelli, "Heurts avec une principauté anatolienne," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86 (1996): 277–79; and kt n/k 504, published by Cahit Günbattı, "The River Ordeal in Ancient Anatolia," in van Soldt (ed.), *Veenhof Anniversary Volume*, pp. 151–60.

[25] See Cécile Michel, "Nouvelles données de géographie historique anatolienne d'après des archives récente de Kültepe," in *New Perspectives on the Historical Geography and Topography of Anatolia in the II and I Millennium B.C.*, edited by Karl Strobel, Eothen 16 (Florence: LoGisma Editore, 2008), pp. 241ff.

[26] Mogens Trolle Larsen, "Going to the River," in *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs*, edited by Martha T. Roth, Walter Farber, Matthew W. Stolper, and Paula von Bechtolsheim, Assyriological Studies 27 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), pp. 173–88.

[27] EL 273 is a verdict by a colony forbidding Assyrians to give anything whatsoever to the local crown prince, who owes money to a named Assyrian merchant. In the text kt 94/k 1267 (no. 111 in Mogens Trolle Larsen, *Kültepe Tabletleri VI-a: The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 1: *The First Two Generations*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları VI/33d-a [Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010]), fifteen named Assyrians "sat in the assembly in the Purushaddum colony and said: 'Do not sell a single textile to Ušinalam!'" This man was a high official in the city, involved in a complex commercial and legal affair with Šalim-Aššur.

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had to be dealt with in that way. It seems clear, moreover, that in the course of the later phase of the Assyrian presence the Anatolian legal system became much more directly engaged in affairs involving Assyrians. The very late treaties with the rulers of Kanesh and Hahhum contain references to the need for fair trials before the king.[28]

As already mentioned, there are huge differences between the situation described by Richard White and the case of the Assyrians in Anatolia,[29] but it seems to us that there are significant points of similarity. Indeed, White's balance of power, which is a precondition of the Middle Ground model, quite nicely illuminates interactions between Assyrians and Anatolians.[30] Both parties were interested in maintaining and developing their relations, because both benefitted from the exchange of goods. It is obvious that the Anatolian kingdoms had a monopoly of force in the region, and the Assyrians in return monopolized the supply of essential commodities, both strategic goods such as tin and luxury items like textiles, lapis lazuli, and exotica of various kinds. Over time the Assyrian traders even built up an inner-Anatolian network for trade in copper and wool, and very large quantities were transported between the local states by Assyrian traders. The balance of power was accordingly based on a complex network of interests, contacts, and opportunities.

The solidarity of the members of each group would be called in question when too close relations at the personal level were established across the boundary. In a letter an Assyrian was said to be "close to the palace and constantly behaving like an Anatolian," so there is no doubt that problems could arise at the level of political contact.[31] Anatolians could also get into trouble if they crossed the boundary line, as can be seen from a letter exchanged between Assyrian merchants:

> Here [the Anatolian] Luhrahšu in his cups spoke to the *rabi sikkātim* and said: "You will see how I shall become a merchant on the caravan circuit!" As the *rabi sikkātim* told me this I said: "If he really said that, I shall have to write to the elders so they can pursue the matter to the end." But the *rabi sikkātim* answered: "My dear son, don't write anything." He then drank to my health to the gods Aššur and Šamaš. He drank 20 times with me.[32]

The drunk and boastful Luhrahšu, in his conversation with the high Anatolian official,[33] had threatened to beat the Assyrian merchants at their own game by becoming a player in the caravan trade, but that would clearly be in contravention of the Middle Ground rules that governed the relationship between the two groups. The threat to expose Luhrahšu to the Assyrian authorities indicates that the situation was taken seriously by the writer of the letter, who had to be mollified by the official, himself a man who seems to have appreciated a drink.

Despite such conflicts on the level of official contacts, relations were quite close on the personal level between many Assyrians and Anatolians. The fact that the merchants were settled in the midst of Anatolian communities, and not least that the second generation of the traders in large numbers married local women, meant that new and different relationships had to be negotiated and established.

It was certainly not a simple matter to set up such a marriage union across the cultural, linguistic, religious, and social boundaries that separated Assyrians and Anatolians, and we may be sure that a good deal of negotiation and mutual adjustment was involved. Women had a much freer and more influential position in Anatolian society than was the norm in Mesopotamian traditions. To take just a few examples: the existence of ruling queens in Anatolia as negotiating partners for the Assyrians has already been mentioned; Anatolian women regularly appear alongside their husbands in debt-notes, having sealed the document together with them, which indicates that their acceptance was necessary for a man to enter into a contractual relationship that could have an effect on his family; and several divorce settlements show that women enjoyed equal rights with their husbands. Such a position was clearly not given to the Anatolian women who married Assyrians, but we have to assume that compromises were established which created new types of relationships that were neither traditionally Anatolian nor Assyrian.

It is therefore significant that we have extensive evidence of long-lasting marriages between Assyrian men and local wives; in some cases we have several letters exchanged between spouses. They show that the women were fully in charge of the household and enjoyed the trust of their husbands. We know little about the children from such marriages, but it seems that some had Assyrian names, whereas others had Anatolian ones. The Assyrian merchant Aššur-nādā may serve as an example of such a situation; he had been married in Assur to an Assyrian lady, whose name is not recorded, and he

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[28] See Veenhof and Eidem, *Old Assyrian Period*, ch. 5.

[29] It is surely highly significant that the Assyrians lived next door to the Anatolians in the lower town at Kanesh, a situation that was probably typical for other cities as well.

[30] Another significant similarity is found in the existence of a literate group settled in the land of an illiterate people.

[31] TCL 14 27: 14. The interpretation of the word in question (*nuwāʾuttum*) as a form of *nāmūtu* with the meaning "joke, jest" in the CAD is not convincing.

[32] See Karl Heinz Hecker, "Rechtlos in der Fremde?" in *1994 yili Anadolu Medeniyetleri müzesi konferansları*, edited by Sena Mutlu, Tulga Albustanlioglu, and Kemalettin Ates (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanligi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, 1995), p. 148, for the text kt m/k 14.

[33] For the title, see Veenhof and Eidem, *Old Assyrian Period*, pp. 227–29.

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had some daughters and a son from this marriage. He was also married in Kanesh to an Anatolian lady called Šišahšušar, with whom he had a son and a daughter. All of the children whose identity is known had good Assyrian names, but it seems clear that the son born in Assur was the one who took up a career as a merchant in Kanesh, whereas the son of the Anatolian wife is unattested in our material as an adult; we also know that his Kanesh-daughter was later married to an Assyrian, but with status as secondary wife.[34] This may indicate that children from mixed marriages in Anatolia had a lower status, but we need more evidence before such a conclusion can be made safely.

It should also be pointed out that we know of Assyrian women who married Anatolian men. The daughter of the prominent Assyrian merchant Imdī-ilum, a certain Ištar-bāštī, was married twice, first to an Assyrian and after his death to an Anatolian. In a letter her father complains that her marriages has cost him a lot of money for dowries.[35] Another woman from a prominent family, Šāt-Anna, daughter of Šalim-Aššur, was married to an Anatolian called Šuppi-numan son of Peruwa, and she was an active participant in commercial procedures, even investing in caravans from Assur.[36] Šalim-Aššur in fact had two daughters, one of whom (Lamassī) lived in Assur as a priestess, whereas Šāt-Anna seems always to have lived in Anatolia. It is not clear whether they had different mothers, since Šalim-Aššur's marital situation is poorly recorded.

Models and Interpretations

Marriage relations of the kind described above went beyond and to some extent undermined the rules that governed the Middle Ground type of interaction on the official level, and in effect created new, innovative solutions to the questions facing the individuals involved. This is where it seems useful to introduce the concept of hybridization, the creation of different patterns and customs that in time could lead to profound changes in both societies. We find that it offers a more flexible tool for an analysis of the cultural interaction.

Whereas the Middle Ground provides us with a model for an analysis of social and political relations, it seems to us to be less helpful when it comes to an understanding of the way in which material culture shapes and reflects the interaction between groups in contact. For our purposes the strength of White's model lies primarily in its ability to describe the processes at work connecting the two groups in the metaphorical space created between them.

Another model, referred to as "Trade Diaspora" — in our view a supplementary rather than a competing one — has recently been applied to the material from Kültepe by Gil Stein. He quotes the definition given by Abner Cohen as follows:

> Inter-regional exchange networks composed of spatially dispersed specialized merchant groups that are culturally distinct, organizationally cohesive, and socially independent from their host communities while maintaining a high level of economic and social ties with related communities who define themselves in terms of the same general cultural identity.[37]

Stein sees his interpretation in contrast to hybridity or hybridization, stressing that trade diasporas place a strong emphasis on their own distinctive cultural identity — "being different is the essence of a trade diaspora."[38] His model is relevant for an understanding of the specific Old Assyrian experience in Anatolia because it stresses the commercial basis for the very existence of the colonies. It is also obvious that the two groups retained their different traditions, but our focus on the contacts and the process of interaction between the two groups makes Stein's model less useful for our purposes. His view that the traders "actively maintain a social identity very different from that of their local host community" risks downplaying the complexities in the social and cultural relations that can be directly observed and described. Highlighting the differences rather than the ongoing process of negotiation and manipulation in our view presents a one-sided picture of the interactions. Stein's suggestions for research agendas in Old Assyrian archaeology are useful and should be taken seriously by those who work at Kültepe. Some of these ideas are perhaps better tested

[34] For this family, see Mogens Trolle Larsen, *The Aššur-nādā Archive*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 96, Old Assyrian Archives 1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002).

[35] See the text VS 26 33, translated in Michel, *Correspondance*, as no. 355.

[36] See Larsen, *Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 1, no. 174 with notes. She may have been married first to an Assyrian called Man-mahir, perhaps as a secondary wife. In the letter no. 315 (to be published in Mogens Trolle Larsen, *Kültepe Tabletleri VI-b: The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 2: *Ennam-Aššur* [Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, forthcoming]), her brother Ennam-Aššur writes to Šāt-Anna to inform her that Man-mahir has taken a wife (*aššutum*), and this is expected to make her unhappy and worried. We also hear of expenses incurred by the family in connection with her second marriage, see Larsen, *Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 1, no. 174.

[37] Abner Cohen, "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas," in *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, edited by Claude Meillassoux (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1971), pp. 266–67 quoted in Stein, "Theoretical Model," p. 30.

[38] Stein, "Theoretical Model," p. 31.

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on the texts rather than on excavated remains of material culture. He suggests, for instance, that clothes must have marked ethnic identity, and the textual material shows us that textiles of a variety of types could be used for clothing. Assyrians are often said to use rather expensive imports such as the type called *abarni'u* for clothes, but we also have a number of references to the Anatolian product called *pirikannum* used for this purpose;[39] these are typically said to be clothes for servants, therefore probably marking lower social status perhaps rather than ethnic identity.

In this study we instead concentrate on another part of material culture and offer an analysis of the evidence from the seals used on the tablets, hoping that such a study will provide the basis for a more subtle understanding of the complexities involved in our material. In this effort we find that the concept of hybridization is a useful tool for our analysis. In the Old Assyrian situation we must insist on White's observation that there existed a kind of balance of power between the two groups in contact. A study of the Phoenician colonies in the Mediterranean region by van Dommelen represents an attempt to apply this model, and he points to a double-edged approach that he defines as follows:

> Studying hybridization suggests a different perspective on the colonizers, emphasizing, on the one hand, the local roots and local interests of at least part of the colonial community, while, on the other hand, also acknowledging their extraregional involvement in a colonial network.[40]

Over time, especially in the late period of level 1b, we find at least elements of new, composite social and cultural identities being created, but in our analysis we wish to place emphasis on the ways in which cultures in contact interacted, offering new interpretations and innovative practices to each other, all the time maintaining the central core of their distinctive identities.

Hybridization in Action

The Anatolians adopted many of the administrative technologies the Assyrians brought with them. Most important are cuneiform writing and the cylinder seal, two technologies that are closely linked. The seals not only serve an administrative purpose of validation, they can also be regarded as pieces of miniature personal art, and as such provide a fascinating window into the workings of the multi-cultural and diverse society created in the meeting between Assyrians and Anatolians, and an interesting example of hybridization of material culture.

Anatolia had a long stamp-seal tradition before the arrival of the Assyrians, and the concept of sealing and marking ownership was not new to the Anatolians.[41] Cylinder seals are sporadically attested in Anatolian prehistory, and in the 1b period they were used alongside stamp seals. However, the cylinder seal had a period of grandeur in the level 2 period, where it almost ousted the stamp seal. It seems that the impetus provided by the Assyrian presence not only made locals acquire and use cylinder seals, but even prompted the production of cylinder seals in the area. Thousands of seals are attested as impressions on the cuneiform documents from Kültepe,[42] some of which were locally produced (the so-called Anatolian style), and others came from Syria or Mesopotamia.[43] Of interest to us here are the styles conventionally referred to as Old Assyrian and Anatolian.

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[39] See Cécile Michel and Klass R. Veenhof, "The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia (19th–18th Centuries B.C.)," in *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia B.C.*, edited by Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient Textiles Series 8 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 265–66; for the *pirikannu*, see, e.g., BIN 4 78: 6–7, and BIN 4 162: 1–2. Several texts refer to white garments (*lubūšu*).

[40] Peter van Dommelen, "Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean," in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gil J. Stein, School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005), p. 118.

[41] Stephen Lumsden, "Symbols of Power: Hittite Royal Iconography in Seals" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1990), p. 50.

[42] Only a part of the attested corpus is published. See most recently Nimet Özgüç and Önhan Tunca, *Kültepe-Kaniš: Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları V/48 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001); Nimet Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniš/Neša: Seal Impressions on the Clay Envelopes from the Archives of the Native Peruwa and Assyrian Trader Uṣur-ša-Ištar Son of Aššur-ımittī*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları V/50 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006). The most notable studies of the seals and their use are: Beatrice Teissier, *Sealing and Seals on Texts from Kültepe Kārum Level 2*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 70 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1994); Mogens Trolle Larsen, "Seal Use in the Old Assyrian Period," in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu: Undena, 1977), pp. 89–105; Nancy Leinwand, "Regional Characteristics in the Styles and Iconography of the Seal Impressions of Level II at Kültepe," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1992): 141–72; and recently Agnete Wisti Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters: A Stylistic and Prosopographical Study of Seals in the Old Assyrian Period – Chronology, Ownership and Identity," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 2012).

[43] The Old Assyrian cylinder seals can be divided into styles, which relate to their assumed origin: the Anatolian style, Old Assyrian style, Old Syrian style, Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian style, and Ur III style.

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An easy assumption, which has sometimes been put forth in the literature, is to equate seal style with ethnicity, so that Anatolians would own Anatolian-made seals, and Assyrians Old Assyrian-style seals.[44] However, the picture presented by the sources is much more complex and considerable changes took place in unison with social developments and the cultural integration of the Assyrian community in Kanesh.

The Classic Old Assyrian Style

We first consider the so-called Old Assyrian style, quantitatively the largest glyptic style in the documentation. The Old Assyrian style consists of (at least) two clearly distinguishable sub-styles, in addition to a group of relatively heterogeneous seals.[45] The two sub-styles share some formal characteristics, such as the stylized hands with clearly visible fingers, and both groups must be said to display a minimalist approach to the rendering of details. One of the sub-styles represents a "classic" tradition. This classic Old Assyrian style is closely connected to its Ur III predecessor and shows a limited and standardized image repertoire based heavily on the introduction scene (see fig. 12.1).[46]

Seals of the classic Old Assyrian style are primarily used by elite merchants of the first generation, such as Pušuken[47] and Šalim-Aššur son of Issu-arik,[48] but also the king of Assur, Sargon I (contemporary with the first generation of traders). Also Aššur-bāni son of Šalim-Aššur had such a seal (fig. 12.1), which he inherited from his father Šalim-Aššur son of Kubidi some time before 1911 B.C.[49] The seal would have been carved years before that, and is, in this way, one of



Figure 12.1. Seal of Aššur-bāni, CS 542. Drawing by A. W. Lassen (this seal has two CS numbers: Özgüç and Tunca, *Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae*, CS 156, and Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 542)

[44] The seals were impressed on clay envelopes and were usually accompanied by a cuneiform inscription listing the names of the sealers and a short résumé of the contents of the document in the envelope. The list of sealers enables the connection of a named individual with a specific seal. At times, the seals are equipped with seal legends giving a name and a patronym, but since we find a high frequency of reused seals in the Old Assyrian period, the name indicated on the seal sometimes does not correspond to the name written on the tablet. See Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters"; Itamar Singer, "Borrowing Seals at Emar," in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Symposium held on September 2, 1993, Jerusalem, Israel*, edited by Joan Goodnick Westenholz, Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem Publications 1 (Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 57–64; and Klaas R. Veenhof, "On the Identification of Old Assyrian Seals," in a forthcoming festschrift for Önhan Tunca. Furthermore, ascribing ethnicity to an individual on the basis of name is not without problems. The Old Assyrian written evidence amply demonstrates that name-giving did not unconditionally follow ethnic lines. There are examples of names of Assyrian origin given to children of Anatolian origin, and perhaps vice versa; see Paul Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul 19 (Paris: Dépositaire: Librairie A. Maisonneuve, 1963), pp. 161–68. However, as a general rule, when both the name and patronym are of the same linguistic origin, we ascribe that ethnicity to the individual.

[45] For analysis, see Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters," ch. 3.

[46] For a detailed description of the style, see Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters," ch. 3.6.

[47] Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 635; and Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 37.

[48] Mogens Trolle Larsen, *Kültepe Tabletleri VI-a: The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 1: *The First Two Generations*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları VI/33d-a (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), pp. 463–64.

[49] After Aššur-bāni inherited the seal he used it on the unpublished document kt 86/k 162 (courtesy K. H. Hecker), which is eponym dated to REL 63 (*limmum* Ilī-pilah), corresponding to 1911 B.C.; see Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen (eds.), *Ups and Downs*, appendix 1.

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the earliest seals we have attested in the Old Assyrian documentation.[50] The daughter of Šalim-Aššur, Lamassī, who was a priestess in Assur, also owned a seal in the classic Old Assyrian style. This group of seals is then not only represented from early on, and clearly connected to individuals of very high status, but, through such people as Lamassī and the Assyrian kings, also tied to the city of Assur.

The Second Old Assyrian Style

The other Old Assyrian sub-style (we will call it "Old Assyrian 2") displays the human figure with less regard for anatomical proportions (see fig. 12.2) and breaks with the standardized and conventional renderings of the classic Old Assyrian style.[51]

For the most part, seals in this sub-style show a presentation or worship scene and a simple secondary motif, but there are examples of more complex compositions, such as in the seal of Mannum-ki-Ištar, CS 827 (fig. 12.3). This seal does show a variation of the presentation scene and a secondary element (a standing goat). But the figures are robbed of their ground line and are instead placed over a series of kneeling animals and mythological creatures. An offering



Figure 12.2. Seal of Amur-Ištar. This seal is typical of the Old Assyrian 2 style (Larsen, *Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 1, p. 322). Drawing by A. W. Lassen



Figure 12.3. Seal of Mannum-ki-Ištar (CS 827) on BIN 4 110 (Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 192). Drawing by A. W. Lassen

[50] Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 542. The seal is impressed on kt 86/k 162, which mentions the eponym Ilī-pilah, i.e., REL 62 (H. Sever, "Yeni belegerein ışığında Asur Ticaret Kolonileri Çağı kronolojisinin yeniden değerlendirilmesi," in *Uluslarası 1: Hitioloji Kongresi bildirileri (19–21 Temmuz 1990), Çorum* [Çorum: 1990], p. 137). For further examples, see A. W. Lassen, "The Old Assyrian Glyptic Style: An Investigation of a Seal Style, Its Owners and Place of Production," in *Current Research at Kültepe/Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity during the Middle Bronze Age*, edited by Levent Atici, Fikri Kulakoğlu, Gojko Barjamovic, and Andrew Fairbairn. Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplements 4 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, forthcoming).

[51] For a stylistic description, see Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters," pp. 63ff.

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table, a bird, and a star are placed in front of the seated king. Such a composition is unusual in the Old Assyrian 2 sub-style and completely absent from the classic Old Assyrian seals.

It is, on the other hand, an established type in the Anatolian glyptic,[52] and so is the motif cluster with the offering table, bird, and star.[53] An example of this type of composition in an Anatolian version is seen in figure 12.4. This seal shows the same way of replacing the ground line with a series of animals, and an identical type of offering table and bird in front of a seated king.

The stylistic configuration of ENES 1147b (fig. 12.3) clearly distinguishes it from the Anatolian school — the treatment of space and depth and rendering of details are very different — but it breaks with traditional Mesopotamian conventions and image layout and elements of iconography are paralleled in Anatolian glyptic.[53] The specific meaning of these elements escapes us, but the identity of the owners of the seals carved in this Old Assyrian sub-style reflects the mixed nature of the imagery very well. As opposed to the seals of the classic Old Assyrian style, these seals were owned by both Assyrians, especially of the second generation of traders, and local Anatolians. ENES 1147b was owned by an Assyrian (Mannum-ki-Ištar) and was impressed on a court document; the lawsuit involved Buzazu son of Pušuken against Ili-wedāku son of Iddin-Aššur, and this dates the seal squarely to the second generation of traders.[54] Buzazu also had one of these seals,[55] whereas his father, as mentioned, owned a classic Old Assyrian-style seal. Other notable examples are the seals of Iddin-Aššur son of Uzua (ENES 1159b) impressed on a document dated 1866 and 1858 B.C.,[56] and of Ikūn-pīya, who was also active in the second generation, and whose seal appears on documents dated to 1884 and 1878.[57]



Figure 12.4. Detail drawing of CS 538 impressed on kt n/k 1807 and ICK 1 41a. Drawing by A. W. Lassen

[52] E.g., Özgüç and Tunca, *Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae*, CS 139; Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniš/Neša*, CS 352, CS 502, CS 38, CS 613, and CCT 6, seal no. 72.

[53] E.g., Nimet Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları V/22 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1965), no. 15; Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniš/Neša*, CS 311, CS 403, CS 538, CS 613, VS 26, seal no. 30.

[54] For further examples of Anatolian composition types and iconography in Old Assyrian glyptic, see Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters," pp. 69–71.

[55] The lawsuit took place in the years around and after REL 107. Both Šamaš-bāni and Mannum-ki-Ištar are part of events in the very late Kuliya archive (REL 120–135?); Klaas R. Veenhof, *Kültepe Tabletleri V: The Archive of Kuliya, Son of Ali-abum (Kt. 92/k 188–263)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları VI/33c (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010); and Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen, *Ups and Downs*, ch. 1.

[56] See Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, seal no. 109; and Deena Ragavan, "Cuneiform Texts and Fragments in the Harvard Art Musuem/Arthur M. Sackler Museum," *Cuneiform Digital Library Journal* (2010): 2010, no. 1–17 (2010): §6.10.2, available at http://cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/cdlj/2010/cdlj2010_001.html with links to online photos of Buzazu's seal.

[57] BIN 4 211. The eponym is Enna-Suen. No patronym is provided. The seal is listed in Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, as no. 200. Another example is the seal CCT 6, no. 60, on a document (CCT 5 18a) dated to REL 101, and two seals on POAT 23 dated to REL 96. Drawings of these seals are available in Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, nos. 113 and 115.

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Furthermore, Peruwa son of Šuppi-ipra, the Anatolian whose archive was excavated in 1951, owned such a seal;[58] and so did Anna-anna, an Anatolian lady who married an Assyrian trader and was actively involved in running the household and conducting small-scale trade herself.[59] Further examples of Anatolian owners of Old Assyrian 2 seals are Tuwituwi, who sealed the document AAA 1 13[60] and Šad-ahšu.[61] It is reasonable to assume that none of these Anatolians ever left Anatolia, and that they all acquired their seals within Anatolia, probably even in Kanesh where they lived. The Assyrians who owned seals in this sub-group were also closely connected to Anatolia. Furthermore, the strong influence the of Anatolian glyptic on this sub-style of Old Assyrian seals suggests that they were, in fact, manufactured in Anatolia, and not Assur. The classic Old Assyrian style does not display any direct influence from Anatolian glyptic, but rather a reliance on Mesopotamian styles. Its strong ties to Assur points to this city as the place of manufacture. If these localizations of production areas are correct, it means that seals carved in the same general style were produced almost 1,000 kilometers apart.

The Anatolian Glyptic

There is general agreement that the Anatolian-style seals were carved in Anatolia,[62] and the group exhibits much less stylistic heterogeneity than the Old Assyrian. Nimet Özgüç, who excavated at Kültepe along with her husband Tahsin Özguç, published a large sample of the Anatolian seals in a volume in 1965,[63] and these seals later became the basis for a seminal stylistic analysis of the group by R. Alexander in 1979.[64] Alexander was able to outline a stylistic development and with that an internal chronology for the Anatolian seals, which is now at least partially confirmed by the dated archival material.[65]

Seals in the Anatolian group are characterized by herringbone-patterned dress, surface striations, and human and animal figures with very large eyes. There is some internal stylistic variation within the Anatolian group, but most of seals in the group are remarkably similar in style. Alexander regarded these seals as the output of a single production unit (which we will call "the Anatolian workshop"), though distributed on four distinguishable hands. Alexander also pointed out that the workshop as a late development took up carving stamp seals in addition to the cylinder seals. It was argued by N. Özgüç that the cylinder seals dominated the level 2 period and the stamp seal only regained popularity in the level 1b period. However, the initiation of a stamp seal production by the Anatolian workshop already at the end of level 2 speaks against this and may correspond to other significant social changes that are usually ascribed to level 1b, but which in fact seem to have begun already in late level 2.[66]

The seals from the Anatolian workshop are generally of very high quality and the image compositions are complex. The scene types fall into two overall groups. The first is connected closely to the Mesopotamian glyptic tradition, showing primarily variations of the typical presentation scene, and using the same motifs, symbols, and divine attributes as well as visual techniques. Examples may be the seals of Dakniš son of Dalaš[67] and Ilabrat-bāni son of Aššur-malik (fig. 12.5).[68] The second main group presents a type of frieze-like animal or hunt scenes which seem to be indigenous and not reliant on a Mesopotamian source of inspiration.

The first group integrates a variation or a modified version of the presentation scene, initially directly copied from Ur III or Isin-Larsa glyptic, complete with the central protagonists of the scene: a seated deity or king, one or more interceding goddesses, and a figure led forward to or worshipping the seated god/deity.[69] Soon, however, the

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[58] Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 472. Ikūn-pīya was active in the second generation of traders and acted as the representative for Ali-ahum son of Šalim-Aššur; see Larsen, *Kültepe Tabletleri VI-c: The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 3: *Ali-ahum* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, forthcoming).

[59] CS 259; Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, p. 61. The seals of Peruwa's archive were published in Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*. The archive as a whole has yet to be published. A few of the texts are quoted or published, see Cécile Michel, *Old Assyrian Bibliography of Cuneiform Texts, Bullae, Seals and the Results of the Excavations at Aššur, Kültepe/Kaniš, Acemhöyük, Alişar and Boğazköy*, Old Assyrian Archives, Studies 1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), pp. 74–75.

[60] Larsen, *Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family*, Vol. 2.

[61] For the name, see Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, p. 153; and Emmanuel Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Études linguistiques 4 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966), p. 1410 Duwiduwi. See also CCT 6, seal no. 40 impressed on CCT 5 20a, which belonged to either Happu-ahšu or Kurunuwa, both with Anatolian (Hittite) names.

[62] TC 3 253 = Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 6.

[63] Cf. Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, pp. 54–55.

[64] Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*.

[65] R. L. Alexander, "Native Group Cylinder Seal Engravers of Karum Kanish Level II," *Belleten* 43 (1979): 171–72.

[66] Lassen, "Glyptic Encounters," ch. 6. Alexander worked only on the basis of stylistic criteria and did not consider the archival context of the seal.

[67] Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen (eds.), *Ups and Downs*, pp. 78ff.

[68] Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 242; Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 294.

[69] See also Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 544 and CS 631. For a discussion of the scene in Mesopotamia, see, e.g., Martha Haussperger, *Die Einführungsszene: Entwicklung eines mesopotamischen Motivs von der altakkadischen bis zum Ende der altbabylonischen Zeit*, Münchener vorderasiatische Studien 11 (Munich: Profil, 1991).

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seal carvers of the Anatolian workshop modified the composition and the interceding goddess was removed from the scene. Furthermore, partially in unison with a similar development in Syrian art, the focus of the scene changes from presentation over worship to libation and offering. The strict visual verticality of the Mesopotamian glyptic tradition is abandoned, but as can be seen in figure 12.6 (the seal of Adad-ellat), clearly Babylonian motifs (such as the bull-man, the lion-griffin, and the watery hero) and gods (such as Ea, Šamaš, and Adad) remain of prime importance in the seal imagery of the Anatolian workshop. Also, these compositions do not always have a single focal point, but instead several scenes, which may be mythological or ritual in character, are present in the imagery.

This is apparent in such hybrid renderings of deities as can be seen in figure 12.6. The seated deity is to be identified with the Mesopotamian water god Ea/Enki. He is equipped with the central attributes: he is wearing a horned headdress, which indicates that he is a divine being. Below his feet lies his animal the goat-fish (*suhurmašû*) and a bull-man (*kusarikku*), and he is accompanied by a kneeling watery hero.

The headdresses of Ea and the other gods in the seal are topped by a disc. This is uncommon in Mesopotamian art, but frequently encountered in Anatolian glyptic. The dress of Ea is marked by oblique lines forming a herringbone pattern, in a manner that is typical for certain types of fabric in Anatolian art.[70] This pattern is found on the dress of



Figure 12.5. Seal of Ilabrat-bāni son of Aššur-malik (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 626; Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 329). Photo from CDLI: http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P345131_e.jpg



Figure 12.6. Drawing of the seal of Adad-ellat, belonging to the Anatolian workshop group (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 367). Drawing by A. W. Lassen

[70] Agnete Wisti Lassen, "Weaving with Crescent Shaped Loom Weights: An Investigation of a Special Kind of Loom Weight," in *Tools, Textiles and Contexts: Investigating Textile Production in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age*, edited by Eva Andersson Strand and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient Textiles Series 13 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013); idem, "Technology and Palace Economy in Middle Bronze Age Anatolia: The Case of the Crescent Shaped Loom Weight," in *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch, Henriette Koefoed, and Eva Andersson Strand, Ancient Textiles Series 12 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012).

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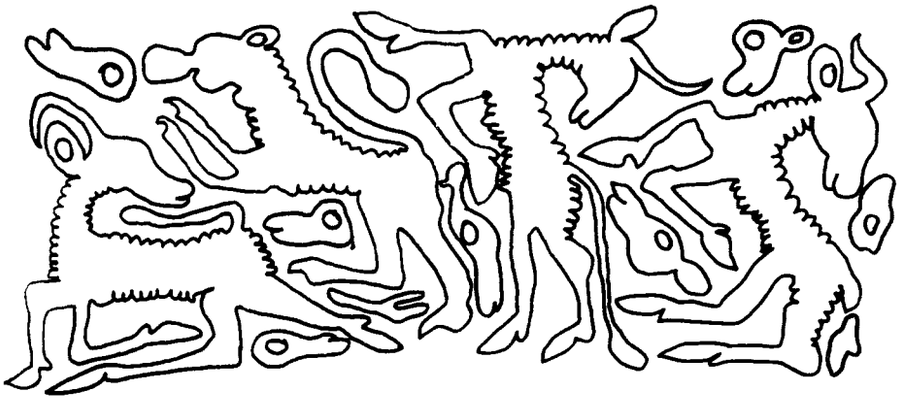


Figure 12.7. CS 326 impressed on kt d/k 41 (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, pls. 14 and 115). Drawing by A. W. Lassen



Figure 12.8. St (stamp seal) 103 impressed on kt d/k 48 (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, pl. 14). Drawing by A. W. Lassen

deities, on the padded stools of seated gods or kings, and on the so-called bull-altar or bull-god, which is a motif typical of Old Anatolian (and also Old Assyrian) glyptic. The attire of the seated god, Ea in the seal in figure 12.6, thus places him squarely in Anatolia, whereas his symbolic make-up links him to Mesopotamia.

As mentioned above, the other type of scene used by the seal carvers in the Anatolian workshop shows little or no connection to Mesopotamian imagery. These scenes have nothing in common with the complex, symbolically charged compositions such as Adad-ellat's, and show neither ritual scenes nor mythological narratives. The imagery on these seals seems to be primarily decorative, and shows animals and symbols intertwined in frieze-like hunt and animal scenes and simple friezes with rows of animals (fig. 12.7).[71]

Interestingly, similar image compositions recur among the stamp seals that were also carved in the Anatolian workshop (fig. 12.8).

The two different seal media, cylinders and stamps, invite different composition types. The never-ending length of a rolled cylinder seal calls for frieze-like or narrative scenes, whereas the bounded field of a stamp seal seems more suited for non-narrative, non-linear iconic or heraldic compositions, and this is the type most commonly found in Anatolian stamp seals, for example, the animal head-whorls, masks, and double-headed eagles.[72] But these stamp seals carved at the end of level 2 in Kanesh share their imagery with contemporary cylinder seals.

The people who owned these Anatolian seals were, at first glance, a mixed group of Assyrians and Anatolians. However, certain patterns are immediately clear: first, all identifiable stamp seals are owned by Anatolians. A tradition of stamp seals was in existence before the Assyrians entered the area and introduced widespread use of cylinder seals,

[71] Seals of this type are not completely without influence from Mesopotamian glyptic, as is evident by the presence of motifs such as the sun-disc in crescent, the goat-fish and the way of rendering the lion with the head seen from above.

[72] E.g., Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, St 36, 89, 91, 92, 95–98, and many more.

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and the stamp seal was, for a time, of lesser importance. However, the tradition was unbroken and continued among Anatolians at Kültepe.

Secondly, the Anatolian-style cylinder seals were used by both Anatolians and Assyrians. Anatolian owners include Peruwa son of Nakiahšan,[73] Šuppi-ahšu,[74] Šezur,[75] and Hišt-ahšu son of Šimnušan.[76] The seal shown in figure 12.6 was owned by an Assyrian named Adad-ellat son of Adad-bāni,[77] and, in fact, in the group of Anatolian seals that can be connected to a specific owner the majority are Assyrian. This includes, among others, Adada son of Adad-rābi, who was a scribe,[78] Itūr-ilī son of Amur-Ištar,[79] Aššur-bāni son of Iddin-abum,[80] Erišum son of Amur-Šamaš, and Ali-ahum son of Šalim-Aššur,[81] whose father, older sister Lamassī, and sister-in-law the Anatolian Anna-anna, were mentioned above as owners of Old Assyrian style seals.[82]

This means that a one-to-one correspondence between ethnicity and seal style must be abandoned. It also underlines the entangled nature of social life in Old Assyrian Kanesh. Both Assyrians and Anatolians acquired seals in Anatolia (and elsewhere), seals that contained imagery that might not have been immediately understandable nor significant for them.[83] The seal cutters took up motifs and compositions they borrowed from a different visual tradition. A closer look at the Anatolian seals owned by Assyrians reveals that these seals all fall into the group that displays Mesopotamian or Mesopotamian-inspired imagery. None belongs to the group of frieze-like animal scenes. This may be significant and suggests that the Assyrians deliberately chose, or specifically requested, seals that contained imagery they were able to relate to.

The production of cylinder seals in Anatolia was undoubtedly caused by the presence of the Assyrian merchants, and it is likely that seals of this type were manufactured with the Assyrians in mind as consumers. The hybridized imagery on these seals reflects the negotiated and entangled nature of society in Kanesh in the Old Assyrian period. At the same time, the elements do not seem to be randomly compiled, but rather deliberately so by the seal carvers to please specific groups of consumers.

Accordingly, there existed an Anatolian workshop, which manufactured high-quality seals directed at two consumer groups, Assyrians and Anatolians. The workshop employed two types of imagery: one type that draws heavily on a Mesopotamian tradition and another type that uses scenes of local origin. The Assyrian merchants preferred the former type. Anatolians, on the other hand, owned seals that show both ritual/mythological and frieze-like animal scenes. To understand this distribution better, it would have been useful to, for example, explore the contexts in which the Anatolians used seals in Kanesh in the Old Assyrian period. The two primary loci of seal use were in mercantile matters relating to the Assyrians, and in the local (palatial) bureaucratic administration, and perhaps different imagery was preferred in each context. Unfortunately, the evidence is not at present available to confirm or reject such suggestions. The d/k archive, which belonged to the Anatolian trader and money lender Peruwa son of Šuppi-ipra, contains many examples of local officials and Anatolians who appear to have little or no relation to the trade network. They appear in the archive because they borrowed money or grain, or were involved in other non-mercantile business. There is a high frequency of stamp seals and seals from the Anatolian workshop showing animal scenes and friezes. Unfortunately, the corpus is not extensive enough to allow the specific identification of more than a handful of Anatolian seal owners.

[73] Özgüç and Tunca, *Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae*, CS 50, appearing in the d/k and f/k.

[74] Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 333.

[75] Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 255, appearing in the d/k texts.

[76] Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, CS 261, appearing in the d/k texts.

[77] Nimet Özgüç, "Remarks on the Impressions of ^{d}IM.KAS.KUR — ^{d}Adad-ellat's Seal," in *Vom Halys zum Euphrat: Thomas Beran zu Ehren*, edited by Ursula Magen and Mahmoud Rashad, Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 7 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996), p. 109; Larsen, "Going to the River," p. 185.

[78] Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, seal no. 15, attested in the a/k, c/k, j/k, and 94/k archives. kt a/k 494a mentions that Adada was a scribe; Jan Gerrit Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 75 (Istanbul: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996), n. 298.

[79] CS 230 (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, p. 227; and Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 312), attested in c/k, j/k, n/k, 94/k.

[80] CS 485 (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, p. 151), attested in g/k, m/k, n/k, and 94/k.

[81] Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, seal no. 17, attested in a/k, c/k, f/k, and 94/k. Others include: CS 544 (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, p. 175), attested in n/k and 94/k, was used first by Šu-Aššur son of Ali-ahum, and then later by his son Inah-ilī; CS 680 (Özgüç, *Seal Impressions*, p. 227), attested in c/k, n/k, 94/k, belonged to Innāya son of Amurāya. Aššur-malik son of Ali-ahum, whose seal is attested in 94/k. Aššur-malik used his seal also in his capacity as representative of the Assyrian community at Kanesh (*kārum Kaniš*). Nabi-Suen son of Puzur-Ištar, and later his nephew Lā-qēp (Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, no. 33) used a seal attested in k/k, 94/k, ICK 1 and 2 (Ka 281 A).

[82] E.g., ICK 1 30a D (Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 299) and ICK 1 30a B (Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 304) both appearing on a text which lists only Anatolian names as sealers. This is also the case for Özgüç and Tunca, *Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae*, CS 142 and TC 3, seal 92 (Teissier, *Sealing and Seals*, no. 327).

[83] This includes, e.g., the deity called the seated goddess or the "chief goddess of Kanish" (Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, p. 69), who seems to be exclusive to Anatolia.

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At the same time, another production locale, also in Anatolia, manufactured seals as part of Old Assyrian glyptic tradition, though in a style that emulated parts of the local Anatolian glyptic. Also this style was used by Assyrians and Anatolians alike, and again it seems that the specific imagery used on the seals was chosen to accommodate the potential consumers of these seals.

Finally, a clear developmental trend can be traced through the seals and their owners. The first generation of traders to a high degree owned classic Old Assyrian-style seals, whereas their sons owned Anatolian-style seals and Old Assyrian 2 seals. The family of Šalim-Aššur reflects the development well: Šalim-Aššur's seal was classic Old Assyrian, as was the one owned by his oldest child, Lamassī the priestess. His son Ennam-Aššur and daughter Šāt-Anna had Old Syrian seals (a group of imported seals), whereas his youngest son owned an Anatolian-style seal. If we look at the spouses of Šalim-Aššur's children, we find that Šāt-Anna's first husband, the Assyrian Man-mahir, had an Isin-Larsa-style seal. The seal of her second husband, the Anatolian Šuppi-numan, we have not been able to identify. The Anatolian wife of Ennam-Aššur, Anna-anna, had a local Old Assyrian 2 seal (fig. 12.2). The cosmopolitan nature of the family is thus clearly reflected in the seal styles that are represented there.

Conclusions

The evidence interpreted here, from texts and from material culture, illuminates the complex nature of the encounter between Assyrians and Anatolians in the Old Assyrian period. In several places we have hinted at the possibility for a diachronic analysis that can show how the interactions in Kanesh and the other cities and kingdoms in Anatolia led to changes in the sociocultural traditions of the two groups. It is not unlikely that the trend toward political centralization in the region was supported by the presence of the Assyrian merchants, whose activities must have benefitted certain kingdoms more than others.

During the heyday of the trade quite enormous quantities of tin and textiles arrived in Anatolia, creating substantial revenue for at least the most important and powerful kings by way of the system of taxation stipulated in treaties. At the level of private families it can be observed that some Anatolians became quite closely tied to Assyrian merchant families, and the mixed marriages must have led to the creation of a social group that could provide intimate links between the two main groups. Already at the end of the first period, level 2, documents referred to the Assyrian community as consisting of three groups: the so-called "fee-payers," the elite merchants in Anatolia; the "settlers"; and "the people who travel to Assur." This indicates that deep changes had taken place and that some of the Assyrians in Anatolia had established links to the local society that were probably much closer than those to the home city of Assur. The "settlers" (*wašbūtum*) may have become directly involved in agricultural production, owning houses, gardens, and fields, and it is a fair assumption that they no longer took an active part in the overland trade between Assur and Anatolia. The treaties show, however, that Assyrians were still defined as a separate group and that they were not seen as subjects of the local kings; they were not forced to do corvée labor, for instance, and they retained their place in the Assyrian judicial and political system. The changes observed in the glyptic material also point to the development of new styles and re-interpretations of the old ones. From one generation of Assyrian merchants to the next we can discern changing preferences and conventions, and we can see a merging of Assyrian and Anatolian traditions.

Unfortunately, the available material from the long level 1b period is very limited, so it is not at the moment possible to see what happened to the Assyrian community in Anatolia. We have conflicting evidence concerning the character and importance of the overland caravan trade, and the available evidence will not allow any firm conclusions. It is intriguing to speculate about the developments that may have taken place, in social and cultural structures, and one wonders how the various glyptic styles and traditions evolved. The long Old Assyrian adventure in Anatolia provides us with a fascinating example of the cultural encounters that must have been such a common phenomenon in the Middle Bronze Age in the Middle East.

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Abbreviations

AAA 1	Theophilus G. Pinches, "The Cappadocian Tablets Belonging to the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology." *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 1 (1908): 49–80
BIN 4	Albert T. Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*. Babylonian lnscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 4. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CCT 4	Sidney Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 4. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1927
CCT 5	Sidney Smith and D. J. Wiseman, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 5. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956
CCT 6	Paul Garelli and Dominique Collon, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 6. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1975
EL	Georg Eisser and Julius Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 33 (1930) and 35/3 (1935)
ENES	Briggs Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981
ICK 1	Bedřich Hrozný, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé*, Vol. 1. Prague: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelstvé, 1952
ICK 2	Lubor Matouš, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé*, Vol. 2. Prague: Éditions de l'Akadémie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 1962
kt a/k etc.	tablets from Kültepe *kārum* in the Ankara Museum
POAT	William C. Gwaltney, Jr., *The Pennsylvania Old Assyrian Texts*. Hebrew Union College Annual Supplements 3. Cincinnati: Ktav, 1983
REL	Revised Eponym List. See Gojko Barjamovic, Thomas Hertel, and Mogens Trolle Larsen, *Ups and Downs at Kanesh: Chronological Babylonian Collection. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period*. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 120; Old Assyrian Archives, Studies 5. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012
TC 3	Julius Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes*. Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre 19, 20, 21. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935–1937
TCL 14	François Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes cappadociennes*. Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre 14. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928
VS 26	Klaas R. Veenhof and Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, *Altassyrische Tontafeln aus Kültepe: Texte und Siegelabrollungen*. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1992

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13

The Curricular Context of an Akkadian Prayer from Old Babylonian Ur (UET 6 402)

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UET 6 402 is an Old Babylonian prayer from Ur addressed to the patron deity of that city, Nanna, in which a man named Kuzullum complains about an unpaid loan, asking not that his silver be repaid to him but that the gods punish the defaulter. In this article I argue that the single extant manuscript of this prayer, often called a letter-prayer, was copied and probably composed within the context of scribal education. It is a pleasure to dedicate the article to my former teacher Matt Stolper, even if, in its subject matter, it strays from the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian settings to which he patiently introduced me. I offer first a translation of the text (see the appendix for a transliteration and brief commentary, and figures 13.1–3 for photographs of the tablet):[1]

> [1] Nanna, you are the king of heaven and earth!
>
> [2] I trusted in you, but Elali, son of Girni-isa, wronged me. Render judgment for me! He had no silver and so he approached me. With my silver, he paid his debts, he got married, he had a son and daughter. He did not satisfy me, he did not return all of my money to me. He wronged me, the bearer of his touch (i.e., the recipient of his oath?).
>
> [15] As I trusted in Nanna, in the orchards opposite the Ekišnugal, he swore: "I will not wrong you." He swore at the main gate beneath the weapon which you love. He swore to me in the main courtyard opposite the Ekišnugal across from (the statue of) Ningal of the Egadi, before Nin-šubur ... of the main courtyard, before Alammuš, before Nanna-igidu and Nanna-adaḫ. He swore: "I will not wrong you or your sons." He said: "May these gods be my witnesses."
>
> [30] Moreover, in the orchards opposite the Ekišnugal, Elali swore thus: "Before Nanna, before Šamaš, I will not wrong Kuzullum," (and) "Before Nanna, before Šamaš, may there be no heir of Elali (if I do)." One who has sworn falsely by Nanna and Šamaš will be covered with leprosy, he will be poor and he will not acquire an heir. Elali swore by Nanna and Šamaš, but then he wronged me.
>
> [41] May Nin-šubur, king of property, stand as my advocate! May Nanna and Šamaš render judgment for me! May I see the greatness of Nanna and Šamaš!

* * *

Previous scholarship on UET 6 402 has had some difficulty situating the text within the larger body of such complaints in Akkadian. Following Mayer, two anthologies of Akkadian literature have classified the text as a letter-prayer,[2] perhaps

* An early version of this article was presented to the University of Chicago's Ancient Societies Workshop on January 24, 2006. A later version was presented at the 219th meeting of the American Oriental Society in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on March 14, 2009. I would like to thank the audiences of both these presentations for their many helpful comments. Of course, any errors contained herein are entirely my own responsibility.

[1] The translation of divine names follows that of William Moran, "UET 6, 402: Persuasion in the Plain Style," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 22 (1993): 115–16.

[2] Walter Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonsichen "Gebetsbeschwörungen,"* Studia Pohl, Series Major 5 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976), p. 33 n. 67; Karl Hecker, "Ein Brief an den Mondgott Nanna," in *Lieder und Gebete I*, edited by Karl Hecker and Willem H. P. Römer, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments 2/5 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998), p. 750; Benjamin Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 3rd edition (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005), p. 215. The text is also classified as a letter-prayer in HKL 3, p. 57.

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because a piercing extends through the middle of the tablet along its horizontal axis, evidently so that a rod might be passed through. The text's original editor, Gadd, suggested that such a rod may have been used to position the tablet within the hands of a statue representing the petitioner that was placed in the temple of Nanna, a situation similar to that sometimes ascribed to letter-prayers.[3] (I offer other suggestions for the piercing's function at the end of this article.) But UET 6 402 lacks the defining feature of a letter-prayer, the letter's introductory formula in which the petitioner is the sender and the deity is the addressee.[4]

The text also lacks any rubric or associated ritual instructions to suggest that its recitation formed one component of a larger ritual activity, that is, that it was an incantation-prayer. If UET 6 402 is neither a letter-prayer nor an incantation-prayer, then who wrote the text and for what reason? Following the discussion of the text's genre, I examine the archeological context of the text's single known manuscript in order to reconstruct its social milieu. My examination affirms Charpin's suggestion that UET 6 402 is a product of scribal education. However, this answer provokes in turn another question: How does the text fit into the curriculum of scribal education during the Old Babylonian period?

The nature of this curriculum has been the focus of increased scholarly attention over the past thirty years.[5] One of the most important conclusions to come out of this scholarship is that the curriculum had the creation of a sense of identity among scribes — what has been called a bureaucratic *esprit d'corps*[6] — as one of its fundamental aims. The curriculum achieved this aim by having apprentice scribes copy and memorize lexical lists and literary texts in Sumerian that, in effect, constructed a Sumerian heritage for them.

UET 6 402 also would have played a role in the construction of a corporate identity. Specifically, the interplay of language (the language of written contracts) and content (a narrative about a broken oral oath and the lack of any divine response) would have highlighted the importance of the scribal craft to the apprentices who were reading the text. Of course, in its use of Akkadian UET 6 402 presents a departure from the constructed "Sumerian" identity of the consensus understanding of Old Babylonian educational practices. In this regard, the tablet's provenience from Ur may be significant, as much of the evidence on which the consensus description rests originates from the city of Nippur. The article concludes by suggesting that a curricular context for this Akkadian literary composition may not be as anomalous as it seems when considered in light of other curricular material from Ur.

* * *

UET 6 402 was excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley during the 1930/31 season at Ur, where it was found among a large collection of literary and mathematical texts, letters, and administrative documents in the house at No. 1 Broad Street. On the basis of the letters, Woolley attributed this house to a priest named Igmil-Sin and, as the literary and mathematical texts were found on one side of the house and the texts of a more quotidian nature on the other, Woolley proposed that Igmil-Sin taught students in the first area while he lived and conducted his personal affairs in the second.[7]

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[3] Cyril John Gadd, "Two Sketches from the Life at Ur," *Iraq* 25 (1963): 177. On the deposition of letter-prayers in temples, see, e.g., Karel van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria, and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life*, Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), p. 130; but cf. Rykle Borger, "Gottesbrief," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 3 (1957–1971): 575; and A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, revised edition completed by Erica Reiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 279.

[4] So also van der Toorn, *Family Religion*, p. 130 n. 64: "UET 6/2, 402 ... often ranged among the letter prayers, does in fact belong to the somewhat different category of the appeal-cum-oath records. In this case, the suppliant is a litigant who sets down the particulars of his case, swears his innocence, and invokes the curse of the god upon his opponent. It is then left for the god to adjudicate his case." Other descriptions of UET 6 402 focus on its legalistic and argumentative style (for Gadd, "Two Sketches," p. 177, UET 6 402 is "a petition, or rather an appeal at law," while Moran, "Persuasion in the Plain Style," p. 114, examines the text's use of rhetoric, seeing it as "an example of an Old Babylonian composition written in the plain style"), or are very general (in Claus Wilcke, *Familiengründung im alten Babylonien* [Freiburg: Alber, 1985], p. 268, the text is simply a "Gebet," and in Jacob Joel Finkelstein, "*Ana bīt emim šasû*," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 61 [1967]: 127, it is a "text ... in which a petitioner to the gods complains). A significant departure is Dominique Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi (XIX^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles av. J.-C.)* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1986), p. 328, where UET 6 402 is described as "un sorte de placet" with the suggestion that it was probably a scholarly exercise. The present article develops this last suggestion.

[5] Niek Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition Nanše and the Birds*, Cuneiform Mongraphs 22 (Leiden: Brill; Boston: Styx, 2004), pp. 58–80, is a recent comprehensive treatment of the subject, discussing previous literature.

[6] Steve Tinney, "Texts, Tablets, and Teaching: Scribal Education at Nippur and Ur," *Expedition* 40 (1998): 50. See also Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship*, p. 66.

[7] Charles Leonard Woolley, *Excavations at Ur: A Record of Twelve Years' Work* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1954) p. 185; see also idem, *The Old Babylonian Period*, Ur Excavations 7 (London: Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, 1976), pp. 136–37.

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Woolley's reconstruction has met with mixed reactions. Reviewing the archaeological record, Charpin challenged the reconstruction and argued that the tablets were not found in situ.[8] He claims that the house at No. 1 Broad Street underwent a series of renovations. In the course of these renovations, various collections of discarded tablets, the literary and mathematical texts on the one hand, and the letters and administrative texts on the other, were used as fill to raise the level of the floors. More recently, Brusasco utilized unpublished excavation records to maintain that "Woolley's distinction between a first sector of the house where school documents are found and another sector including private archives is confirmed by both the archaeological and the textual evidence."[9] Whether the tablets were used in the house in which they were found or were discarded there, it is clear that the texts, which include proverbs, model letters, copies of royal inscriptions, religious texts, debates, and myths, were produced during the second phase of the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum (even if the collection cannot necessarily be considered representative of that stage as a whole).[10] At a minimum, then, the collection of literary texts from No. 1 Broad Street represents educational detritus — what a teacher presented, what an advanced student copied, and what, having been learned, was subsequently discarded or recycled.

* * *

What was the role of UET 6 402 in this curriculum? One approach, taken up in this article's conclusion, is to consider that unusual physical feature of the tablet mentioned above, a piercing through the tablet's horizontal axis. Another approach, taken up in this section, is to consider the text's pedagogical purposes. As a number of scholars have demonstrated, the Old Babylonian student scribe, in studying the myths, hymns, proverbs, and inscriptions that made up the scribal curriculum, spent at least as much time internalizing a specific worldview as he did focusing on practical aspects of writing.[11] Therefore, in order to describe the role that UET 6 402 played in this school from Old Babylonian Ur, we should try to understand both the quotidian skills that it taught and also the ideological message that it conveyed.

Focusing on UET 6 402 as an instructional tool designed to communicate quotidian scribal skills may allow insight into a seeming peculiarity in the text: why, within its prayer-like frame, the text departs from the language of appeal and supplication to embark instead on a detailed complaint filled with what we might describe as Mesopotamian legalese. This departure is striking enough that Gadd originally described the text, as noted above (n. 4), as "an appeal at law." Yet, within a curricular context, the use of legal language makes sense. Court protocols were one of the primary types of texts that scribes would be expected to compose in Akkadian,[12] and UET 6 402 uses many words and phrases that appear in both actual protocols as well as in the later first-millennium list of business phrases *ana ittišu*.[13] In this list, business phrases are organized into narrative groupings so that, for instance, phrases describing the discovery of a foundling child precede adoption clauses.[14] UET 6 402 takes this combination of legal language with narrative one step further, presenting a narrative that seems consciously designed to incorporate many of the words and phrases of lawsuit protocols that student scribes studied.

But why should the text express this legal narrative as a prayer of complaint? Here, the second, ideological function of the text seems to be at work. As Foster has pointed out, Kuzullum's loan of silver to Elali was guaranteed by an oral and not a written contract.[15] The oral nature of this contract is not explicitly stated but is clear from the internal evidence of the text: Kuzullum can summon no human witnesses to the transaction, only the gods before whom Elali swore; in a visual emphasis of this point, these gods are listed at the bottom of the obverse in a manner similar to that by which human witnesses would be listed in a standard loan document, that is, the divine names are preceded by IGI (lines 23–25); furthermore, the verb *tamûm* "to swear" is one of the two most frequently used words in the text, the

[8] Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, pp. 434–86.

[9] Paolo Brusasco, "Family Archives and the Social Use of Space in Old Babylonian Houses at Ur," *Mesopotamia* 34/35 (1999–2000): 161.

[10] Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, p. 452 and cf. p. 485. On the second phase, see Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship*, pp. 62–66. For comments on the curriculum at Old Babylonian Ur, see Piotr Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989), p. 17; Steve Tinney, "On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature," *Iraq* 61 (1999): 167–68; and Paul Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2006) pp. 44–47.

[11] See Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship*, pp. 66–79.

[12] Niek Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur: The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects* (Gronigen: Rijksuniversiteit Gronigen, 1997), p. 81.

[13] For example, the following words and phrases appearing in UET 6 402 also appear in *ana ittišu*: *ḫabālum* (lines 4, 14, 18, 27, 33, and 40): *dīnam dânum* (lines 4, 42), *ḫubullum* (line 7), *apālum* (line 7), *mārum u mārtum rašûm* (line 9), *libbam ṭubbum* (line 10), *târum* (line 12), *tamûm* (lines 18, 20, 25, 27, 35), and *kakki* DN (line 19).

[14] Martha T. Roth, "Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law: A Study of FLP 1287, a Prism in the Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1979), p. 14.

[15] Foster, *Before the Muses*, p. 215.

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other not coincidentally being *ḫabālum* "to wrong"; and, finally, the fact that Kuzullum must turn to the gods for his recourse implies that he had no tablet with which to prove his claim.

Ultimately, then, Kuzullum's complaint is about Elali's broken oath and his confusion at the absence of any divine response in the face of Elali's later success in life. By choosing to embed the language and phraseology of written contracts within this narrative about a broken oath, the text is making a statement: written contracts, with their promise of temporal justice, are necessary because divine justice cannot be assured. Keeping in mind the text's intended audience of student scribes, we can see how this statement would highlight the importance of the scribal craft. In doing so, the Akkadian prayer UET 6 402 contributed to a sense of scribal corporate identity, if not a "Sumerian" one, in much the same way as the Sumerian myths, hymns, and debates.

* * *

This article began by noting the difficulty in placing UET 6 402 within traditions of individual complaint in Akkadian and by querying the circumstance of the text's production. By way of a conclusion, two answers to this question, the second more speculative than the first, are put forward here. First, we may answer that the text was most likely composed (i.e., not just copied) within the context of an Old Babylonian school at Ur. Although UET 6 402 might be difficult to situate within traditions of Akkadian prayer, both the practical skills and also the ideological message communicated in the text are at home within a curricular context. On closer examination, even the fact that UET 6 402 is written in Akkadian is shared with other curricular material from Old Babylonian Ur. Tinney has already noted that bilingualism is a distinguishing characteristic of the Ur material.[16] More recently, an Akkadian city-lament also from No. 1 Broad Street has been shown to be a translation of a Sumerian original.[17] Hopefully this discussion of UET 6 402 gives us another glimpse into the place of Akkadian in scribal education at Old Babylonian Ur.

A second, more speculative answer focuses on the text's piercing. As mentioned above, Gadd suggested that a rod may have passed through the tablet, allowing it to be held by a statue of Kuzullum in the temple of Nanna. In light of the tablet's curricular context, this suggestion seems unlikely. Rather, a useful parallel comes from prisms, the large clay objects with four or six inscribed faces that were pierced through their vertical axis. In contrast to a prism, which a scribe rotated along its vertical axis in order to write or read the successive inscribed faces, a scribe would need to flip UET 6 402 along its horizontal axis in order to read the reverse. The piercing is perfectly positioned to allow the tablet to be rotated in this manner.

Ultimately, the motivation for the piercing remains unclear. The text may have been written by an advanced student, and the tablet may have been put on display for some reason. Or should we consider the possibility that our solitary manuscript of this text was written by a teacher, with the piercing provided so that a student could read the obverse with his hands free for copying, flip the tablet, and continue to copy the reverse?[18] This suggestion seems very much at odds with our understanding of the methods of Old Babylonian scribal education, especially with its emphasis on the memorization of literary texts in the second phase of the curriculum.[19] However, as this article has described, the opposition between the written and spoken word is a central concern of UET 6 402, and this opposition would have been greatly emphasized if students copied the text from sight instead of producing it from memory.

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[16] Tinney, "On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature," pp. 167–68.

[17] Nathan Wasserman and Uri Gabbay, "Literatures in Contact: The Balaĝ Úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi and Its Akkadian Translation UET 6/2, 403." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 57 (2005): 69–84.

[18] Though note the comment of Gadd, "Two Sketches," p. 177, that the tablet naturally swings back to the obverse.

[19] Herman L. J. Vanstiphout, "How Did They Learn Sumerian?" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 31 (1979): 120; and see now Paul Delnero, "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71 (2012): 189–208.

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Appendix
UET 6 402: Transliteration and Commentary

Transliteration[20]

1 ^{d}nanna lugal an ki *at-ta*
2 *at-ka-al-ku-um-ma*
3 *e-la-lí* dumu gìr-ni-ì-sà
4 *iḫ-ta-ab-la-an-ni di-ni di-in*
5 kù-babbar-*am ú-la i-šu-ú-ma*
6 *iṭ-ḫi-a-am i-na ka-ás-pi-ia*
7 *ḫu-bu-li-šu ú-pi-il*
8 *a-na bi-it e-mi-im iš-si*
9 *ma-ra-am ù ma-ar-ta-am ir-ši*
10 *li-bi ú-la ú-ṭì-ib*
11 *ka-ás-pi ša-al-ma-am*
12 *ú-la ú-te-ra-am*
13 *ù na-aš la-pa-ti-šu*
14 *iḫ-ta-ab-la-an-ni*
15 *a-na* ^{d}nanna *at-ka-al-ma*
16 *i-na ki-ra-tim*
17 *me-eḫ-re-et* é-kiš-nu-gál
18 *la a-ḫa-ba-lu-ka-ma it-ma*
19 *i-na* ká-maḫ *ša-pa-al* ^{giš}tukul
20 *ša ta-ra-mu it-ma*
21 šà kisal-maḫ *me-eḫ-re-et* é-kiš-nu-gál
22 *me-eḫ-re-et* ^{d}nin-gal *ša* é-ga-di
23 igi ^{d}nin-šubur SUR kisal-maḫ
24 igi ^{d}*a-la-mu-uš*
25 igi ^{d}nanna-igi-du *ù* ^{d}nanna-á-taḫ / *it-ma-a-am*
26 *ka-a-ti ù ma-ru-ka*
27 *la a-ḫa-ba-lu-ka-ma it-ma*
28 dingir-e-ne *an-nu-tum*
29 *lu ši-bu-ú-a-mi iq-bi*
30 *a-pu-na-ma i-na ki-ra-tim*
31 *me-eḫ-re-et* é-kiš-nu-gál
32 igi ^{d}nanna igi ^{d}utu e-la-lí
33 *ku-zu-la-am la a-ḫa-ba-lu-ma*
34 igi ^{d}nanna igi ^{d}utu
35 *a-pil*^{il} *e-la-lí a-a ib-ši* / *ki-a-am it-ma*
36 *ta-mi* ^{d}nanna *ù* ^{d}utu
37 *e-ep-qá-am i-ma-al-la*
38 *i-la-pi-in ù* ibila / *ú-la e-ra-aš-ši*
39 ^{d}nanna *ù* ^{d}utu *e-la-lí it-ma-ma*
40 *iḫ-ta-ab-la-an-ni*
41 ^{d}nin-šubur lugal níg-ga / *li-zi-iz-ma*
42 ^{d}nanna ù ^{d}utu *di-ni* / *li-di-nu*
43 *ra-bu-ut* ^{d}nanna *ù* ^{d}utu / *lu-mu-ur-ma*

[20] A forward slash (/) indicates that the text following is indented in a subsequent line on the tablet.

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Commentary

3. *Elali* — This name has been abbreviated so that only the divine element remains.[21] The name Elali is attested in eight Old Babylonian legal texts from Ur.[22] *Girni-isa* — This Sumerian name is attested four times in three Old Babylonian legal texts from Ur.[23] Girni-isa also appears in the Sumerian literary debate between Enki-mansum and Girni-isa, which was found in the same assemblage of texts at UET 6 402.[24]

13. *nāš lapātišu* — No scholarly consensus has yet been reached on the reading of this line. AHw., followed by Charpin and Foster, reads the signs as a single word, *našlapātišu*, understanding a mapras-formation derived from *šalāpum*, and translates as "unerlaubte Entnahme?"[25] As Moran notes,[26] this reading and the ensuing translation, "he wronged me by means of his illicit removal," seem unlikely for two reasons. First, although *ḫabālum* can take a double accusative, when used in this construction it has the meaning "to deprive someone of something." That is, *našlapātišu* should be the thing of which Kuzullum was deprived and should not signify the means by which he was wronged. Moran also points out that in the five other occurrences of *ḫabālum* in this text, the verb is used with a single accusative.

The original editor of the text, Gadd, reads the signs as comprising two words, *nāš lapātišu*, and translates the verb *lapātum* "to touch" with the extended meaning "to write" that is known primarily in Old Assyrian contexts but also in Old Babylonian.[27] "The bearer of his writings" would then be an otherwise unattested expression indicating that Kuzullum is the bearer of tablets that were written to record the loan.[28] Moran approaches this same understanding even more directly, assuming an error on the part of the scribe or copyist and emending the LA sign to DUB, so that the second word is actually *ṭuppātišu* "his tablets."[29] The primary objection to these readings is that there is no evidence in the text that a loan document was ever written. As I discuss in the body of this article, the internal evidence of the text overwhelmingly points to the opposite conclusion, that Kuzullum's loan of silver to Elali was an oral contract. Furthermore, Moran's interpretation requires us to speak of "tablets" in the plural, yet the practice of composing multiple copies of a deed to prevent fraud is later. In Kuzullum's time, we would expect only one tablet to have been written, which would then have been sealed in a clay envelope.

Perhaps the construct chain *nāš lapātišu* is best understood as a reference to a symbolic action that accompanied Elali's oath. The use of the verb *lapātum* naturally calls to mind the ritual of "touching the throat" (*lipit napištim* or *napištam lapātum*) that occurred in conjunction with oaths sworn during the conclusion of treaties, as attested in texts from Mari and Tell Leilan.[30] Alternatively, the touching might refer to an act of anointing that accompanied the oath.[31] As the bearer of Elali's touch, Kuzullum would have been, in either of these cases, also the recipient of his oath.

23. SUR — The reading of this logogram is unclear. Moran and Foster do not translate it.[32] Gadd and Hecker translate "overseer (?)" and "Aufseher," respectively, which Hecker notes is an attempt to fit the context.[33] Charpin translates "emblème (?)." He suggests that the logogram should be read as *maṣraḫum*, which is used to designate a part of the liver. However, *maṣraḫum* is also equated with the logographic writing ^{giš}ŠU.NIR in lexical lists, and thus with the meaning "emblem." As Charpin notes, although the CAD considers these attestations to reflect two different lemmata, AHw. does not.[34] Following this same logic, could one possibly read SUR as *zānin* "provider," the active participle of the verb

[21] Johann Jakob Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, 2nd reprint (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), p. 117, cf. Elali-waqar, UET 5 167: 20.

[22] UET 5 100: 29, 124: 31, 147: 20, 252: 5, 352: 12, 492: 17, 820: 13, and 843: 30.

[23] UET 5 265: 21, 267: 3, and 276: 7, 24. Note that in UET 5 267 Girni-isa is the brother of one Elaya, perhaps a still more abbreviated form of a name with Elali as the divine element.

[24] UET 6 150 and 151; see Gadd, "Two Sketches," p. 178 n. 8, and Hecker, "Ein Brief," p. 751 n. 1.

[25] AHw., p. 760a; Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, pp. 326–27 with n. to line 13; Foster, *Before the Muses*, p. 215 with n. to line 13. CAD s.v. *našlaptu* similarly derives the word from *šalāpum* but refrains from offering a translation. Significantly, the two other attestations of *našlaptu* occur in a single economic text from Old Babylonian Ur, UET 5 575: 1 and 3: x GUR ŠE *na-aš-la-ap-ti* PN.

[26] Moran, "Persuasion in the Plain Style," p. 115 n. 9.

[27] Gadd, "Two Sketches," p. 180.

[28] This interpretation seems to be behind the translation "ein Schriftstück," of Hecker, "Ein Brief," p. 751, with the clarifying note "Gemeint ist wohl eine Schuldurkunde."

[29] Moran, "Persuasion in the Plain Style," p. 115 n. 9, followed by John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, Harvard Semitic Museum Studies 45 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), p. 448. Geller apud Foster, *Before the Muses*, p. 216 n. to line 13, has collated the line and confirmed Gadd's reading of the sign as LA. However, the scribe could simply have written the wrong sign.

[30] On the *lipit napištim* ritual, see most recently Jasper Eidem, *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan: Old Babylonian Letters and Treaties from the Lower Town Palace East*, PIHANS 117 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2011), pp. 317–21.

[31] Meir Malul, *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 221 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), p. 72 n. 112.

[32] Moran, "Persuasion in the Plain Style," p. 115; Foster, *Before the Muses*, p. 216.

[33] Gadd, "Two Sketches," p. 179; Hecker, "Ein Brief," p. 751 n. to line 23 b.

[34] Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, p. 328.

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zanānum B, which is well attested as an epithet of gods? The homophonous verb *zanānum* A "to rain" is written with the logogram SUR.

33. *Kuzullam* — The meaning of this name, which is also attested in three contemporary legal texts from Old Babylonian Ur,[35] is unclear. Akkadian *guzullum* "bundle of reeds" is occasionally written with the KU sign but is not attested as a personal name. A *purrus*-formation indicating a bodily physical defect, which is common for personal names, is an attractive interpretation, but the writing ku-zu-ul-lum (UET 5 457: 8, and 467: 5) makes this unlikely. And the writing ku-su-lum in UET 5 173 tablet rev. 4 creates further uncertainty as to the nature of the name's sibilant (cf. Foster, who translates the name as "Kussulu"[36]).

43. *šar makkūrim* — I do not know any other occurrences of this phrase as a divine epithet for Nin-šubur/Ilabrat, although it may relate to his role in initiating lawsuits, cf. his epithet *šukkallu āḫiz dīni*, An I 38a.

45. *lūmurma* — The text ends, unexpectedly, on a verb with an enclitic *-ma*. The enclitic may simply occur because the verb is precative. Three prohibitives in this text (*lā aḫabbalukama* in lines 18 and 27; *lā aḫabbaluma* in line 33) have an enclitic *-ma*, and so the form *lūmurma* is consistent with the formation of wish expressions in the text.[37]

Abbreviations

AHw.	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
An	Lexical series An = *Anum*, in Richard L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*. Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3. New Haven: Yale Babylonian Collection, 1998
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
HKL	Rykle Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. 3 volumes. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967–1975
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
UET 5	H. H. Figulla and William J. Martin, *Letters and Documents of the Old-Babylonian Period*. Ur Excavations, Texts 5. London: British Museum Press, 1953
UET 6	Cyril J. Gadd, Samuel Noah Kramer, and Aaron Shaffer, *Literary and Religious Texts*. 3 volumes. Ur Excavations, Texts 6. London: British Museum Press, 1963, 1966, 2006

[35] UET 5 173 tablet rev. 4, 457: 8, and 467: 5.

[36] Foster, *Before the Muses*, pp. 215–16.

[37] Cf. Moran, "Persuasion in the Plain Style," p. 120 n. 19, where the use of enclitic *-ma* with the text's oaths is considered to be one of "a number of problems" in the text still awaiting discussion; Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, p. 449 n. 43, observes "*-ma* at the end of the text clearly does not function as a conjunction; its precise sense is elusive, but it may mark the end of its clause."

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Figure 13.1. Obverse of UET 6 402.
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Figure 13.2. Reverse of UET 6 402.
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Figure 13.3. Left side of UET 6 402. © Trustees of the British Museum

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14

Myth, History, Cosmology, and Hydraulics in Achaemenid Iran

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1. A recurrent goal of Mazdaean cosmology is to establish homologies between different aspects and levels of existence, for each item encompassed within the general schema is implicitly understood to reinforce and revalidate the system as a whole. As an example, one might compare the way Pahlavi cosmological texts (above all, the *Greater Bundahišn* and the *Selections of Zād Spram*) organize time and space into three sequential components, the first and third of which stretch infinitely in opposite directions, while the middle part is finite (table 14.1).[1]

Table 14.1. Homologies of time and space in Mazdaean cosmology

	Time	*Space*
1. Initial Infinitude	Primordial eternity, which lasts until the Wise Lord creates the material world and the Evil Spirit assaults it	"Endless Light," where the Wise Lord resides, stretching boundlessly upward from the Void, which marks its lower limit
2. Finite Middle	The historic era of mixture and conflict, which lasts from creation of the material world until the Evil Spirit's conclusive defeat: a period of 9,000 or 12,000 years	The primordial Void, bounded by Endless Light on the top and Endless Darkness on the bottom; the material world emerges in this space and becomes the battleground between the Wise Lord and the Evil Spirit
3. Final Infinitude	Eschatological eternity, the enduring state of perfection that begins with the Evil Spirit's defeat and the cosmic Renovation	"Endless Darkness," where the Evil Spirit resides, stretching boundlessly downward from the Void, which marks its upper limit

Pressing the homology further, the same pattern served to connect macro- and microcosm, as the individual life-cycle was theorized along the same tripartite pattern. Thus, an infinite period of perfect peace precedes birth, during which time the person has spiritual (*mēnōg*), but not yet material (*gētīg*) existence. An equally infinite spiritual existence follows death, and between these two markers lie the travails and conflicts of embodied existence, when the person assumes material (as well as spiritual) being.[2]

Returning to the macrocosmic plane, the tripartite pattern was also applied to the category of number. Thus, the first and last instances — whether of time (primordial and eschatological infinities) or space (endless light above, endless darkness below) — were all characterized by unity, while the tense middle ground (the material world during the finite period of historic time) was theorized as multiple in nature. Further, unity was associated with perfection, stability, peace, and calm, while multiplicity and difference (themselves the product of violent fragmentation) were understood as the precondition of all confusion, competition, disorder, and conflict. Such conflict was expected to end with the definitive triumph of good, at which point time, space, and cosmos would return to the situation of perfection and peace in unity. The set of homologies may thus be expanded, as in table 14.2.

[1] As regards categories of time, see *Greater Bundahišn* 1.42 (TD2 MS. 10.1–8), *Dēnkard* 3.329, 5.24.6–9, *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 36.4–13; for those of space, *Greater Bundahišn* 1.1–8 (TD2 MS. 2.11–3.12), *Selections of Zād Spram* 1.1, *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 36.6, etc.

[2] On the relations of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* as regards both creation and the human life-span, see Shaul Shaked, "The Notions of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi Texts and Their Relation to Eschatology," *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971): 59–107, esp. pp. 65–71; and such texts as *Greater Bundahišn* 1.53 (TD2 MS. 13.7–13), 3.23–24 (TD2 MS. 39.6–11), *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 1.3, 2.13, 36.25–27, *Dēnkard* 3.123, 3.416.

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Table 14.2. Mazdaean homologies of space, time, number, quality, microcosm, and macrocosm

	Time	*Space*	*Individual Life*	*Number*	*Quality*
1. Initial Infinitude	Primordial eternity	Endless light above	Spiritual existence before birth	Primordial unity	Peace, perfection
2. Finite Middle	History	Primordial void, later the material world	Material existence between birth and death	Fragmentation, multiplicity	Conflict, mixture, turbulence
3. Final Infinitude	Eschatological eternity	Endless darkness below	Postmortem spiritual existence	Eschatological unity	Peace, perfection

2. This same pattern, in which a troubled but finite middle disrupts and contrasts with an ideal, open-ended beginning and end provided the organizing structure for the series of mythic narratives through which later Zoroastrian cosmology theorized each of the Wise Lord's original creations. Thus, for example, plants, animals, and humans (the fourth, fifth, and sixth creations) are said to experience sickness, suffering, death, and reproduction only during historic time. In contrast, before the Evil Spirit's primordial Assault (Pahlavi *ēbgat*) and after the Restoration (*frašegird*), their existence is characterized by immortality and bliss.[3] Similarly, the earth (the third creation) is flat and smooth during primordial and eschatological eternity, but rough and disfigured by mountains during the finite interval of historic time. The inequities of height that come into existence with these mountains were thus theorized as a demonic distortion of natural equality, and became the model for social inequities of rank and status.[4] For its part, the sky (the first creation) is motionless at the beginning and end. Only in the middle period do celestial bodies (stars, planets, sun, and moon) rotate. The passage of (finite, historic) time having thus been set in motion by the violence of the Evil Spirit's attack, it is expected to cease when the threat of such violence has ended (table 14.3).[5]

Table 14.3. The tripartite schema as structuring device for mythic narratives of the Wise Lord's original creations

	Sky (1st Creation)	*Earth (3rd Creation)*	*Plants, Animals, Humans (4th, 5th, and 6th Creations)*
1. Initial Perfection	Motionless	Flat	Immortal, impervious to sickness and harm
2. Imperfect Middle	Celestial bodies in motion, mixture of light and darkness	Mountains disrupt the earth's surface, introduce inequalities of height/status	Mortal, vulnerable, suffering
3. Final Perfection	Motionless	Flat	Immortal, impervious to sickness and harm

3. This leaves water, second of the Wise Lord's creations and discussed in numerous passages. Most detailed and systematic, perhaps, is the eleventh chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, which takes up the topic of rivers.

> Regarding the nature of rivers: it says in the Religion: "The Wise Lord made these two rivers flow from the north, from the Alborz. One went to the west: the Arang; and one to the east: the Weh." Later, eighteen rivers flowed from these, all from the same original source. At the same (part of the) Alborz they descend into the earth. In Xwanirah [the central world-region], they emerge and become visible, as other waters flow forth from them in great numbers. As it says [in the Avesta]: "Thus, quickly one after the other they flow, like a man who recites the Ašem-vohu prayer from the very beginning." All the waters mix back into these two rivers, which are the Arang River and the Weh River. At the edge of the earth, both of them turn and pass into the seas, and all the world-regions drink from that source. Then both arrive together at the Frāxkard Sea and they arrive back at the original source from which they flowed. As it says [in the Avesta]: "Just as light comes into the Alborz and goes from the Alborz (so too do the rivers)." This too is said [in the Avesta]: "The spirit of the river Arang desired of the Wise

[3] *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 31.10–11, 36.4, 36.29, *Dēnkard* 3.209, 3.317, *Pahlavi Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 48.99–101, 62.14.

[4] *Greater Bundahišn* 6c.1 (TD2 MS. 65.12–15), 34.32–33 (TD2 MS. 228.1–5), *Selections of Zād Spram* 3.27, 34.52, *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 36.1 and 109. On this motif, see Bruce Lincoln, "The Earth Becomes Flat: A Study of Apocalyptic Imagery," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25 (1983): 136–53.

[5] *Yašt* 13.57–58, *Greater Bundahišn* 2.17 (TD2 MS. 29.12–15).

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> Lord: "First, give all the means for producing happiness that will be the goodness of the River Weh. Then, give it immortality. And the spirit of the River Weh desired the same from the Wise Lord for the River Arang. Because of their love and friendship, they were made to flow one into the other in combined strength. Just as they were non-flowing before the primordial Assault, so they will again become non-flowing after they smite the Lie."[6]

Although the description is slightly baroque, the underlying schema is relatively simple and utterly consistent with the pattern we have described. At the northernmost extremity of the world-encircling Alborz chain,[7] where the narrative begins, all rivers — indeed, all waters — are said to be initially united. As soon as the water begins to flow southward, however, it divides in two streams, one of which heads east (the Weh),[8] while the other (the Arang, derived from Avestan Raŋhā "Sap, Essence") flows west.[9] Most scholarly treatment of the traditions concerning the Arang and Weh have sought to identify them with major rivers in Asia, and many of the attempts at identification are wonderfully ingenious.[10] For our purposes, however, it seems preferable to follow Herman Lommel, who saw these as exercises in mythic cosmology that may, occasionally, have been projected onto one body of water or another.[11]

If primordial undifferentiated water divides to form the Arang and Weh, these two rivers themselves divide to form eighteen principal (*madagwar*) rivers. In turn, those tributaries submerge before leaving the Alborz and resurface once they have reached the central world-region (Xwanirah), where they divide once more to form countless smaller tributaries. Then, as the water flows farther south, these streams recombine to form the eighteen principal rivers, which themselves reconverge, thereby restoring the Arang and Weh.

Finally, the Arang and Weh flow together as they enter the great Frāxkard Sea, situated on the southernmost edge of the Alborz.[12] Their confluence is said to result from their mutual love and friendship (*dōšāram ud ayārīh ēk andar ō did*), which is to say, the rivers' longing for each other. Characterized by goodness (*nēkīh*), immortality (*amargīh*), and the ability to produce happiness (*šnāyišnīdārīh*), their waters are near-ideal, duality being their sole imperfection. That state is obviated, moreover, in the quasi-erotic conjunction through which they regain the unity, wholeness, and contentment they enjoyed at the start of their journey in the far north.[13]

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[6] *Greater Bundahišn* 11.0–7 (TD2 MS. 84.10–85.16): abar ciyōnīh ī rōdīhā gōwēd pad dēn kū: ēn 2 rōd az abāxtar nēmag az Harburz Ohrmazd frāz tazēnīd ēk ō xwarōfrān kū Arang ud ēk ō xwarāsān šud kē Weh xwānēnd. az pas ī awēšān 18 rōd az ham bun-xān frāz tazīd hēnd. pad ham Harburz andar zamīg frōd šud hēnd ud pad Xwanirah ō paydāgīh hēnd ciyōn abārīg āb az awēšān pad was marag frāz tazīd estēnd. ciyōn gōwēd kū: ēdōn zūd ēk az pas ōy ī did be tazīd hēnd ciyōn mard-ē Ašem-wohu-ē az padisār be gōwēd. awēšān āb hamāg ō ēn 2 rōd gumēzēnd ī ast Arang rōd ud Weh rōd. awēšān harw 2 pad kanārag ī zamīg gardēnd ud pad zrēhīhā widerēnd ud hamāg kišwar xwārēnd az ān zahābīhā ud pas harw 2 pad zrēh ī Frāxkard ō ham rasēnd ud abāz ō bun-xān rasēnd *kū azīš be tazīd hēnd. ciyōn gōwēd kū owōn ciyōn rōšnīh ī pad Harburz ud andar āyēd ud pad Harburz be šawēd. ēn-iz gōwēd kū: mēnōg ī Arang az Ohrmazd xwāst kū fradom harwispīn šnāyišnīdārīh kē Weh rōd nēkīh awiš be dah ud pas pad man amargīh be dah. mēnōg-iz ī Weh rōd az Ohrmazd Arang rōd rāy ēdōn xwāst. dōšāram ud ayārīh ī ēk andar ō did rāy pad hamzōrīh frāz tazīd hēnd ciyōn pēš az madan ī ēbgat atazišn būd hēnd ud ka drōz be zanēnd atazišn abāz bawēnd. Cf. *Selections of Zād Spram* 3.22–23, *Dēnkard* 3.409.

[7] The mythic structure of the Alborz is described at *Yašt* 19.1, *Greater Bundahišn* 5b.1–3 (TD2 MS. 55.3–12) and 9.1–3 (TD2 MS. 76.7–13), *Selections of Zād Spram* 3.27–30, and *Mēnōg ī Xrad* 56.7 and 57.13. See further Mary Boyce, "ii. Alborz in Myth and Legend," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 1 (1985): 811–13.

[8] The Weh (which means "Good" in Pahlavi) is also known as the Dāitī ("Lawful"), and the Weh-dāiti. All these forms are derived from Avestan Vaŋuhi Dāitya ("Good-Lawful"). In the Avesta, this river is among the first landmarks created by the Wise Lord (*Vīdēvdāt* 1.2), the place where he meets with other deities (*Vīdēvdāt* 2.20), and the place where sacrifice is performed by the Wise Lord (*Yašt* 5.17, 15.2), Zarathuštra (*Vīdēvdāt* 19.2, Yašt 5.104), Vištāspa (*Yašt* 9.29), and others (*Yašt* 5.112, 17.61). The Pahlavi texts include much fuller, cosmologically informed descriptions, including such texts as *Greater Bundahišn* 1a.12–13, 6b.17, 11a.2, 11a.7–8, 17.5; *Selections of Zād Spram* 2.8–9, 3.22–23, 21.1, 21.10, 23.1–7; and *Dēnkard* 3.409. See further Jürgen Hämpel, "Dāityā," in *Altiranische und Zoroastrische Mythologie*, edited by Carsten Colpe (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1974–1982), pp. 323–24.

[9] In the Avesta, the Raŋhā is among the last of the topographical features created by Ahura Mazdā (*Vīdēvdāt* 1.20; cf. *Yašt* 15.27), and the later tradition regularly grouped it with the Vaŋuhi Dāitya, which the same chapter of the *Vīdēvdāt* places at the head of the list (*Vīdēvdāt* 1.2). Other Avestan texts place the Raŋhā at the edge of the earth (*Yašt* 10.104), and treat it, like the Vaŋuhi Dāitya, as a privileged place for the performance of sacrifice (*Yašt* 5.63, 5.81, 10.104, 15.27). Its name is cognate with Vedic Rasā, also described as a world-encircling river (*Ṛg Veda* 5.41.15, 9.41.6). See further Helmut Humbach, "Die Awestische Länderliste," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4 (1960): 36–46, esp. pp. 41–44; and Christopher J. Brunner, "Arang," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 2 (1986): 262–63.

[10] Cf., inter alia, Josef Markwart, *Wehrōt und Arang: Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, edited by Hans Heinrich Schaeder (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938); Arthur Emanuel Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1943), pp. 55–59 and 71–76; and Gherardo Gnoli, *Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico* (Rome: Istituto per il Medio e Estremo Oriente, 1967), pp. 13–14, 38, 76–77, 86–88, and 111.

[11] Herman Lommel, "Rāsa," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4 (1926): 194–206; cf. Humbach, "Die Awestische Länderliste," p. 44.

[12] Thus *Greater Bundahišn* 10.1 (TD2 MS. 81.10–11), *Selections of Zād Spram* 3.19.

[13] Regarding these qualities attributed to the two rivers, see Jean de Menasce, "Exégèse spirituelle d'un mythe géographique mazdéen," *Journal Asiatique* 259 (1971): 21–24; and Gherardo Gnoli "Arang e Wehrōd, rāy e xwarrah," in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, edited by Philippe Gignoux and Aḥmad Tafażżolī (Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste, 1974), pp. 77–81.

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Having worked out this schema on the spatial plane, the text proceeds to rephrase it in terms of time, stating that before the Evil Spirit's Assault, the Arang and Weh constituted a single, unified body of water that possessed such perfect peace, it did not move.[14] Running waters, like rotating celestial bodies, thus make their appearance only as the result of demonic violence, and their motion persists in the finite historic period of mixture, confusion, and conflict. After the Renovation, however, peace and perfection will be restored, at which time the reunited waters will no longer move, thereby obviating the possibility of any subsequent division. Once more, the narrative works to homologize multiple categories, as shown in table 14.4.

Table 14.4. Homologies of space, time, number, and quality in Zoroastrian mythic hydrology, as treated in *Greater Bundahišn* 11

	Space	*Time*	*Number*	*Quality*
1. Initial Perfection	Northern side of the Alborz chain; unified waters start to divide	Before the Evil Spirit's Assault; unmoving water	Original Unity	Primordial peace, calm, stability
2. Intermediate Divisiveness, Imperfection	Central world-region; division of rivers reaches its maximum, after which they start to reconverge	Historic time of conflict, when all motion and division of waters occurs	Multiplicity	Historic turbulence
3. Final Perfection	Southern side of the Alborz chain, where the Arang and Weh are brought together by mutual love, then flow into the Frāxkard Sea	After the defeat of the Evil Spirit: Unmoving water	Final Unity	Eschatological peace, calm, stability

4. Although the *Bundahišn* text we considered is the most thorough account, other passages in Pahlavi literature supply many of the same details regarding the Arang and Weh, without assembling the full narrative schema.[15] Within the Avesta, however, the situation is somewhat different. There, the Raŋhā and Vaŋuhi Dāitya are never treated together, nor do they form part of any fluvial system that manifests the pattern of One-to-Many-to-One. Accordingly, we might imagine the general template was applied to questions of hydrology only rather late, conceivably as the result of Sassanian cosmological speculation.

Such is certainly possible, but it is risky to draw conclusions *e silentio* from the Avesta, which survives only in fragmentary form: heavy on liturgy, and lacking all the sections that treated mythic cosmology (above all, the *Dāmdād Nask*, which provided much of the basis for the *Bundahišn*).[16] In addition, there are certain data from the Achaemenid period that might have relevance for the question. What I have in mind, of course, is the story Herodotus tells of how Cyrus took Babylon, beginning with the incident of the river Gyndes (today known as the Diyala):

> When Cyrus was marching on Babylon, he came to the river Gyndes, whose springs are in the Matiēnian mountains and which flows through Dardanian territory, discharging into another river, the Tigris, which runs by the city Opis to issue into the Red Sea. Cyrus tried to cross the river Gyndes where it was navigable, and there one of his holy white horses hybristically entered and tried to cross the river, but it was dragged under water and borne away. Cyrus was very angry with the river's insolence and he threatened to make it so weak that thereafter women would cross it easily, without wetting their knees. After making this threat, he abandoned the expedition against Babylon and divided his army in two. Having made this division, he laid out a network of 180 canals running every way on either bank of the Gyndes. And having set the army in order, he commanded them to dig. Since there was a great multitude of workers, the task went quickly, but even so, they spent all summer working on it. Thus Cyrus punished the river Gyndes, dividing it into 360 canals and when spring came around again, he marched against Babylon.[17]

[14] *Greater Bundahišn* 11.7 (TD2 MS. 85.14–16), 11c.1 (TD2 MS. 90.13–91.2). Cf. *Yašt* 13.53–54 and the discussion of Marijan Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), pp. 390–93.

[15] Cf. *Greater Bundahišn* 6b.17–20 and 11c.1–2, *Selections of Zād Spram* 3.22–23, *Dēnkard* 3.409.

[16] See, in particular, *Dēnkard* 8.5.1–5 (Madan 681.11–19), which summarizes the contents of the *Dāmdād Nask*.

[17] Herodotus 1.189–90, ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὦπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὅ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καί οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δή μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαίρεε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι. ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.

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One ought not make too much of the numerical coincidence: Cyrus divided the Gyndes into two sets of 180 canals, for a total of 360 (a total some commentators associate with the number of days in a year or degrees in a circle),[18] while the Arang and Weh each split into eighteen principal rivers, for a total of thirty-six (a total that was subsequently multiplied many times over, but not necessarily by a factor of ten). More important — and less superficial — are the thematic correspondences. Here, once again, unity is treated as the proper state of being, while division is the product of violent action and a sign of a world in moral and physical disarray. At the beginning of the story, both the river and Cyrus' army are unified and strong. As the result of arrogance, insolence, a violent death, and the desire for vengeance, the river is divided into hundreds of tiny streams: not only weakened, but shamed, punished, diminished, fragmented, rendered unrecognizable and also effeminate (for it is stressed how women now cross the mighty Gyndes, without getting their knees wet). Cyrus and his army fare only a bit better, for having fallen victim to his own wrath, the first thing Cyrus does is to divide his host in two so they can dig on either side of the river. Divided and distracted, they abandon their march on Babylon and lose a year's time, during which they cease to function as an army.

All is not lost, however. After dealing with the Gyndes, the Persian army reassembles and makes for Babylon once more. There, the Babylonian army sallies forth, meets defeat at Persian hands, and withdraws behind the formidable city walls, expecting to hold out against siege. Here, the year gained, thanks to the Gyndes, has proved extremely beneficial, for the Babylonians have laid in such massive provisions they believe their position invincible.[19] There is, however, a chink in their armor, for Babylon itself is situated on the Euphrates, which is normally impassable, except at closely guarded points. The experience of the Gyndes, however, has given Cyrus ideas.

> Leading the river by a canal to the lake, which was previously just a swamp, he made the old stream fordable by reducing the level of the river. And when this happened, the Persians whom he had stationed there entered Babylon by the stream of the river Euphrates, which had fallen approximately to mid-thigh level on a man. Had the Babylonians been forewarned, or had they learned what Cyrus was doing, they would have permitted the Persians to enter the city and destroyed them utterly. For by shutting all the gates that gave onto the river and climbing up on the walls beside the river banks, they could have seized the Persians as if in a fish-weir. But now the Persians fell on them unexpectedly. And because of the city's size — so it is said by those who live there — the people who dwell around the city's outskirts were conquered, while those who dwell in the center did not know they were conquered, for it happened to be their festival, at which time there was dancing and good-feeling, until they learned just what had transpired. And in this way, Babylon was captured for the first time.[20]

Others have taken this complex tale as a distorted account of Mesopotamian irrigation practices,[21] or the residue of Indo-European myths of power hidden in — and protected by — mysterious bodies of water.[22] Conceivably, there is something to be said for both views, although neither one accounts terribly well for the full scenario. Much closer, I think, is the parallel to the mythic hydrology of *Greater Bundahišn* 11. For when we consider the full narrative, three phases can be differentiated: (1) A period when Cyrus' army is united and clear in its purpose, but when no open conflict had yet occurred; (2) a period of division, distraction, fighting, and tension, which corresponds to the period in which the water of two mighty rivers (first the Gyndes, then the Euphrates) is divided and diverted; (3) a period of triumph,

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[18] See, e.g., Walter W. How and Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, Vol. 1: *Books I–IV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), p. 147; and Detlev Fehling *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), p. 164. Note that the variant of the story given by Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.5.7–32, has him divide his army into twelve groups, each group associated with one month of the year (thus 7.5.13).

[19] Herodotus 1.190.

[20] Herodotus 1.191–92, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἵ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρητεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κῃ, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήισαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οἳ δ' ἂν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακληίσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἱμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο. καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἁραίρητο.

[21] Thus George Rawlinson, Henry Rawlinson, and John Gardner Wilkinson, *The History of Herodotus* (New York: Appleton, 1859–1870), commentary ad 1.189. Cf. George G. Cameron, "Cyrus the 'Father,' and Babylonia," in *Commémoration Cyrus: actes du congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500e anniversaire de la fondation de l'empire perse*, edited by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Acta Iranica 1 (Tehran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Liège and Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 45–48.

[22] Dominique Briquel, "Sur un passage d'Hérodote: prise de Babylone et prise de Véies," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 3 (1981): 293–306, drawing on Georges Dumézil's reconstruction of an Indo-European prototype from Roman, Irish, Vedic, and Avestan examples, in *Mythes et épopée*, Vol. 3: *Histoires romaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), pp. 19–89.

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when Babylon is taken without bloodshed, in the midst of celebration, and the two rival peoples are peacefully united under Cyrus' rule.[23]

Although it would help round out the story, we are not told whether the Euphrates (or the Gyndes, for that matter) was restored to its original form after Babylon came under Persian rule. Were Zoroastrian priests producing the narrative, one may assume they would have provided a final unity of water to match that of humans and to mirror the original ideal state. One can also assume they would have better integrated the category of space, which figures rather little in the structure of the story. The narrative that comes down to us, however, is that of Herodotus and as always, his sources are frustratingly occluded. Yet given how closely the schema of table 14.5 corresponds to the others considered above, it is tempting to imagine Persian variants that drew on the same cosmological concerns, conventions, and obsessions as does the *Bundahišn*'s account of the Arang and Weh.

Table 14.5. Homologies of time, number, and quality in Herodotus' narrative of how Cyrus took Babylon (1.189–92)

	Time	*Number*	*Quality*
1. Original State	Pre-conflict; unified Persian army on the march	Initial unity: army and rivers undivided	Confidence, wholeness
2. Intermediate State	Confusion and conflict; Cyrus decides to punish Gyndes; army divides, digs canals for a year, then resumes march; battle with Babylonians, then prospect of an unsuccessful siege	Multiplicity: army divided, Gyndes split into 360 canals, Euphrates divided and diverted	Unexpected turbulence and conflict; hybris, loss, anger, vindictiveness, temporary loss of focus
3. Final State	Conclusion of conflict; diversion of Euphrates permits Persians to enter Babylon unopposed; city taken without bloodshed, amid (ironic) rejoicing	Triumphant unity: Persians bring Babylon under their rule	Celebration, rejoicing, even by the vanquished

Abbreviation

TD2 MS. Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, *The Bûndahishn, Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2 Brought from Persia by Dastur Tirandâz and now Preserved in the Late Ervad Tahmuras' Library*, Pahlavi Text Series 3. Bombay: British India Press, 1908

[23] That the city was taken without bloodshed and amid celebration is also attested by the Cyrus Cylinder, the Nabonidus Chronicle, and Daniel 5, albeit with significant variation among these accounts.

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15

Biography of a Sentence: Assurbanipal, Nabonidus, and Cyrus

Piotr Michalowski, University of Michigan

"Everything we say has a past, and its meaning depends on that past. Equally, everything we say has a future into which we push it." — A. L. Becker

As anyone who knows him well recognizes, Matt Stolper likes to downplay the importance of his own work, but his voluminous contributions to the study of the ancient Near East constitute a body of work so impressive that it is difficult to find a topic for an anniversary volume that would do him justice. I can only hope that he will find this small contribution of some value, offered in recognition of years of friendship and admiration. I trust that he will not find my somewhat speculative ruminations to be laden with "ghost facts."[1]

* * *

1. Cyrus and Assurbanipal

The Cyrus Cylinder is one of the most famous, some would say even notorious, documents recovered from the sands of ancient Mesopotamia.[2] The inscribed clay object was discovered in March of 1879 in the ruins of ancient Babylon, either in the mounds of Amran or at Jumjuma, by diggers working under Daoud Toma, sent back to London, and deposited in the British Museum, where it remains to this day.[3]

The modern name of the object, which has doubled as the title of the Babylonian language text inscribed on its surface, has had a life of its own, implying a uniqueness that set it apart from similar artifacts and inscriptions. This illusion was shattered in January of 2010, when the British Museum announced the discovery of still another exemplar of the Cyrus inscription, this one on clay tablets:[4]

> The two new pieces of cuneiform tablet come from the small site of Dailem near Babylon and also in Iraq. They have been in the British Museum since 1881, but their significance has not previously been recognized. It has now been discovered, by Professor Wilfred Lambert formerly of the University of Birmingham and by Dr Irving Finkel of the Department of Middle East in the British Museum, that the pieces come from a cuneiform tablet that was inscribed with the same text as the Cyrus Cylinder.[5]

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[1] Matthew W. Stolper, "Some Ghost Facts from Achaemenid Babylonian Texts," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988): 196–98. A version of the present paper was presented at the Cyrus Cylinder Workshop at the British Museum on June 23, 2010. I wish to thank Irving Finkel for inviting me to contribute to the workshop, to Jamie Novotny for kindly providing me with a copy of his unpublished doctoral dissertation, and to Peter Machinist, Gonzalo Rubio, Margaret Cool Root, and Karen Radner for important comments.

[2] The latest edition, with full bibliography, is in Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 256 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), pp. 550–56. Recent translations are by Piotr Michalowski, "The Cyrus Cylinder," in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, edited by Mark W. Chavalas (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 426–30; and Irving Finkel, http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/article_index/c/cyrus_cylinder_-_translation.aspx; and now Irving Finkel, "The Cyrus Cylinder: The Babylonian Perspective," in *The Cyrus Cylinder: The King of Persia's Proclamation from Ancient Babylon*, edited by Irving Finkel (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 4–34.

[3] On the date and place of discovery, see now Jonathan Taylor, "The Cyrus Cylinder: Discovery," in Finkel, ed., *The Cyrus Cylinder*, pp. 35–68.

[4] "The British Museum: Cyrus Cylinder," available online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/news_and_press_releases/statements/cyrus_cylinder.aspx.

[5] BM 47134 (81-8-30,656) and BM 47176 (81-8-30,698) cited, with permission, from a preliminary mss. prepared by Irving Finkel and now published in Finkel, "Transliteration of the Cyrus Cylinder Text," in Finkel, ed., *The Cyrus Cylinder*, pp. 129–35.

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There are many fascinating aspects to the discovery of the fragmentary new British Museum manuscript of the Cyrus Cylinder. The most obvious and particularly salient consequence is that we should no longer refer to the famous text as the "Cyrus Cylinder," a sobriquet that reflects the chance discovery of one particular version of a composition that must have circulated in a variety of media. Indeed, the fact that we knew it from a clay cylinder — that is, from a format used for foundation deposits, and therefore not directed to living readers — was always perplexing, as it seemed to obviate the force of the urgent political and ideological messages to contemporaries that scholars have detected in the text.[6] Its uniqueness was always suspect, because similar texts were often copied in various media in Neo-Babylonian times. The new data supports the supposition that the composition was more than a foundation text and was made available in various formats in antiquity, perhaps in different versions, and, if later analogy is of any validity, perhaps even in different languages. The best analogies come from the reign of Darius, whose Bisitun rock relief inscription was rendered in Elamite, in Babylonian, and in Old Persian, but which also circulated in different media in Aramaic, as known from a version from Elephantine in Egypt.[7] Other monumental texts of Darius were redacted in Elamite, Old Persian, Babylonian, and hieroglyphic Egyptian.[8]

Here I would like to focus on the final paragraphs of the Cyrus inscription, in which the new Persian ruler of Babylonia assertively imitates, perhaps even mockingly, the archaeological assertions of Nabonidus, who, following in the footsteps of his own predecessors, so often described his search and recovery of foundation deposits inscribed with messages from earlier Mesopotamian kings.[9] Among the last extant words of the text we read that while his workmen were conducting work on Imgur-Enlil, the wall of Babylon (line 43):

> *...š*]*i-ṭi-ir šu-mu šá* ^{I}an.šár.dù.ibila lugal *a-lik maḫ-ri-*[*ia šá qer-ba-šu ap-pa-a*]*l-sa*
>
> "I s[aw within it] an inscription of Assurbanipal, a king who preceded [me]."

The line is broken, but Hanspeter Schaudig's restoration, based on collation, seems most convincing.[10] One may have thought that the last part of the composition was an addition, provided only in the version used as a commemorative cylinder inserted in the wall or walls of Babylon, but one of the new duplicates suggests that the text that circulated in antiquity was not modified and that the last lines were an integral part of it. The British Museum tablet is fragmentary at this point, but it contains the name of Assurbanipal (BM 47134: 2′; Finkel, "Transliteration," p. 133):

> [...] ^{I}an.šár.dù.⌜a⌝ [...]

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[6] This pertains not only to cylinders but also other foundation-deposit writings. For example, Assurbanipal's inscribed pavement stones from Nineveh were apparently set with the writing facing downward, and thus not visible to contemporary eyes; see William W. Hallo, "An Assurbanipal Text Recovered," *Israel Museum Journal* 6 (1987): 33–37. For a full study of hidden texts and inscriptions, see Karen Radner, *Die Macht des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung*, Santag: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), pp. 234–50, 141–45, 153.

[7] On the use of different languages by the Old Persian kings, see Joan Goodnick Westenholz and Matthew W. Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions of Darius I in Four Languages," *ARTA* 2002.005 (2002): 1–13; and Gonzalo Rubio, "Writing in Another Tongue: Alloglottography in the Ancient Near East," in *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, edited by Seth L. Sanders, 2nd printing with postscripts and corrections, Oriental Institute Seminars 2 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), pp. 33–70; and Rüdiger Schmitt, "The Languages of the Multicultural Achaemenid Empire," *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences* 175 (2007): 160–66. For editions of the Elamite, Babylonian, Old Persian, and Aramaic versions of the Bisitun inscription, see, respectively, Françoise Grillot-Susini, Clarisse Herrenschmidt, and Florence Malbran-Labat, "La version élamite de la trilingue de Behistun. Une nouvelle lecture," *Journal Asiatique* 281 (1993): 19–60; Elisabeth N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version,* Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Iran, Vol. 2: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, Texts 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1978); Rüdiger Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 1: The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts 1 (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991); as well Jonas C. Greenfield and Bezalel Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I/V/1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1982).

[8] Monique Kervran, David Stronach, François Vallat, and Jean Yoyotte, "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse," *Journal Asiatique* 260 (1972): 235–66. Note also that there was at least one stone monument with a version of the Bisitun relief: Ursula Siedl, "Ein Monument Darius' I. aus Babylon," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 89 (1999): 101–14.

[9] The classic description of the "archaeological" and "antiquarian" researches of Nabonidus and the other Neo-Babylonian kings is Godefroy Goossens, "Les recherches historiques à l'époque néo-babylonienne," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* (1948): 49–59. More recent appraisals are: Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Antiquarianism and the Concern for the Past in the Neo-Babylonian Period," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 28 (1994): 37–42; Irene J. Winter, "Babylonian Archaeologists of The(ir) Mesopotamian Past," *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Rome, May 18–23, 1998)*, edited by Paolo Matthiae, Alessandra Enea, Luca Peyronel, and Frances Pinnock, International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (ICAANE) 1 (Rome: Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza," 2000), pp. 1785–98, now reprinted in Irene J. Winter, *On Art in the Ancient Near East*, Vol. 2: *From the Third Millennium B.C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 461–75; Hanspeter Schaudig, "Nabonid, der 'Archäologe auf dem Königsthron': Zum Geschichtsbild des ausgehenden neubabylonischen Reiches," in *Festschrift für Burkhart Kienast zu seinem 70. Geburtstage*, edited by Gebhardt Selz, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 274 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), pp. 447–97. See also Radner, *Die Macht des Namens*, pp. 203–34.

[10] Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 554.

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This single incomplete sentence, embedded toward the end of the Cyrus inscription, resonates in a manner that requires explication. It is here that I would like to invoke, in fuller context, the citation from the work of my late friend and colleague A. L. Becker, which serves as the epigraph for this essay:[11]

> Everything we say has a past, and its meaning depends on that past. Equally, everything we say has a future into which we push it. All languaging is what in Java is called *jarwa dhosok*, taking old language (*jarwa*) and pushing (*dhosok*) it into new contexts. This seems to me to be one of the most important things I learned in Southeast Asia.

In turn, this is one of the most important things that I have learned from Pete Becker. The sentence cited above has as its prior texts all the similar statements encountered in the inscriptions of Neo-Babylonian kings, most prominently Nabonidus, who in various places refers to the discovery of earlier foundation deposits of Sargon, Naram-Sin, Hammurabi, Kurigalzu, and Kudur-Enlil. But of all the kings whose names were carved on the numerous foundation deposits and other monuments that were to be found in Babylon, including numerous inscribed objects of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, why did the scribes writing in Cyrus' name choose only one, that of Assurbanipal?[12]

2. Nabonidus and Assurbanipal

As with all things Nabonidus, the documentation is murky and open to many interpretations, but there are signs that the final independent Babylonian king had a special place in his heart for the last great monarch of Assyria.[13] Not only does he refer to him several times, but his inscriptions are also characterized by "a unique willingness among Neo-Babylonian kings to emulate Assyrian inscriptions, particularly those of Assurbanipal."[14] This is an interesting choice, but it is hardly surprising. After all, there was no dearth of relevant material in Babylon itself; we have at our disposal at least forty-nine objects from the city inscribed with Assurbanipal's name, including ten prisms describing his work on the walls Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil.[15]

But the very availability of Assurbanipal inscriptions in Babylon does not adequately explain the connections between the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. For this, one needs to expand this search to include a more distant location, namely, the city of Harran. One can infer from the wording of the famous autobiography of Nabonidus' mother, Addaguppi (Hadad-ḥappe), written "with the collaboration of Nabonidus," as one would say these days, that the mother of the future ruler of Babylon grew up in Harran, was thirty-four when Assurbanipal died, and probably left the city for Babylonia, child in hand, when it was overrun a decade and a half later.[16]

The early history of Harran is not well known, but it is usually assumed that it was controlled by Assyria at least as early as the ninth century.[17] Its importance as a trading center cannot be doubted, but it was renowned in antiquity primarily as the seat of the cult of the moon god Sin. The abundance of textual and pictorial information pertaining to

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[11] A. L. Becker, "Biography of a Sentence: A Burmese Proverb," in *Beyond Translation: Essays toward a Modern Philology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), p. 185.

[12] For Neo-Babylonian inscriptions commemorating the rebuilding of Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil (the inner and outer walls of Babylon), see Farouk N. H. Al-Rawi, "Nabopolassar's Restoration Work on the Wall *Imgur-Enlil* at Babylon," *Iraq* 47 (1985): 1–13; and Ronald Wallenfels, "A New Stone Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II," in *From the Banks of the Euphrates: Studies in Honor of Alice Louise Slotsky*, edited by Micah Ross (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), pp. 263–91. The history of these walls is fully documented by Andrew R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 40 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek and Peeters, 1992), pp. 343–51. On the repairs to Imgur-Enlil commanded by Cyrus, see now Robert Rollinger, "Berossos and the Monuments: City Walls, Sanctuaries, Palaces and the Hanging Garden," in *The World of Berossos*, edited by Johannes Haubold, Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Robert Rollinger, and John Steele, Classica et Orientalia 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2013), pp. 143–47.

[13] The best treatment of the reign of Nabonidus remains Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus: King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 10 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989); see also idem, "Nabonidus the Mad King: A Reconsideration of His Steles from Harran and Babylon," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), pp. 137–66; and Piotr Michalowski, "The Doors of the Past," *Eretz-Israel* 27 (2003; Hayim und Miriam Tadmor Volume): 136*–52*.

[14] David Stephen Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets*, Harvard Semitic Museum Monographs 59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), p. 53.

[15] Barbara N. Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 208 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1993), pp. 51–52.

[16] The most recent edition is in Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, pp. 550–56. Benjamin R. Foster, "Self-reference of an Akkadian Poet," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 125 n. 16, observed that the first-person autobiographical style of the funerary inscription is Western, pointing to Luwian hieroglyphic analogs.

[17] The classic history of the city is Tamara M. Green, *The City of the Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992). On its ancient history, see Steven W. Holloway, *Aššur Is King! Aššur Is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 388–425. On the earliest documented references to the city, see now Maria Vittoria Tonietti, "The Expedition of Ebla against Ašdar(um) and the Queen of Ḫarran," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 100/1 (2010): 56–85.

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this incarnation of the moon god provides vivid testimony of the singular importance of this specific cult throughout the western part of the Near East in antiquity.[18] In Assyria, this city and its main deity received particular focus during the time of the Sargonids, most spectacularly during the rule of Esarhaddon.

The reign was not a happy one either for the king or for his subjects. His interest in Harran was undoubtedly due to two prophecies that came from the moon god: the first predicted his conquest of Egypt, and the second one, toward the end of his life, warned him of a dangerous attempt at a coup d'etat.[19] Esarhaddon eventually warded off the attempted coup, but the resulting mass executions of Assyrian elites had disastrous effects for the future history of the state. In the wake of these events the king altered certain self-representational strategies, with particular accent on the continuity of the dynasty, by portraying himself in the company of his two appointed heirs, Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukin, the respective future rulers of Assyria and Babylonia. In Harran, the statue of Sin in the temple Ehulhul was now accompanied by statues of Esarhaddon's two heirs, and still another son, Aššur-etel-šame-erṣeti-muballisu, was appointed as the *urigallu*-priest of Sin. These dramatic events undoubtedly contributed to Esarhaddon's focused interest in Harran; Karen Radner goes further and suggests that the sickly king, afflicted with a disfiguring skin disease, was attracted to the moon god because the latter was capable of instilling such misery, and therefore presumably could also cure the illness.[20]

Esarhaddon did not live to see to the rebuilding of Sin's temple nor the actual installation of his son as the god's priest. Jamie Novotny recently reexamined Assyrian building activity in Harran and concluded that it was indeed Assurbanipal and not his father who had ordered the extensive rebuilding of the cultic areas sacred to the moon god Sin, his spouse Nikkal, as well as to their son Nusku early in his reign.[21] Although these building works seem to have been commissioned by Assurbanipal, there is ample evidence of Esarhaddon and his Aramaean mother Naqi'a's interest in the cult of Sin at Harran; as Novotny states, "Ehulhul and its cult seem to have received a great deal of attention during the last four years of Esarhaddon's reign, the very same period in which he and his mother were actively promoting the crown princes Assurbanipal and Shamash-shumu-ukin."[22]

Assurbanipal's annals and inscriptions and contemporary correspondence provide ample evidence of the broad scope of the construction activity that resulted in the massive rebuilding of an *akitu*-house, of Sin's Ehulhul, of Nikkal's Egipar, as well as in the construction of a new temple of Nusku, named Emelamana. In the words of one version of his annals:[23]

> Even before my father was born and my mother who bore me was not even formed in her own mother's womb, the god Sin, who created me for kingship, nominated me to rebuild the Ehulhul, saying: "Assurbanipal will rebuild this temple, he will make me sit within it on an eternal dais."

This finds an echo in the Ehulhul Cylinder of Nabonidus, in which the Babylonian ruler described the undertaking:[24]

> to rebuild Ehulhul, the temple of Sin, my master, who marches before me, (located) in the midst of Harran, which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a ruler who came before me had built.

Assurbanipal's Harran was one of the main urban administrative centers of the Assyrian polity, and it ultimately became the final refuge of the last defender of Assyria, the poorly attested Aššur-uballiṭ II.[25]

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[18] The textual information from a broad array of sources has been collected by Edward Lipiński, "The Moon-God of Ḫarrān in Aramean Cult and Onomastics," in *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 57 (Louvain: Peeters, 1994), pp. 171–92. The widespread attestation of the symbol of Sin of Harran, a staff with a crescent and characteristic tassels (*šurinnu*) is amply documented in the chapter "Das Mondemblem von Harran auf Stelen und Siegel-amuletten und der Kult der nächtlichen Gestirne bei den Aramaern," in *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel IV*, by Othmar Keel, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 135 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 135–202; and by Gabriele Theuer, *Der Mondgott in der Religion Syrien-Pasätinas unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von KTU 1.24*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 173 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

[19] These events have been described in detail by Jamie R. Novotny, "Eḫulḫul, Egipar, Emelamana, and Sîn's Akitu-house: A Study of Assyrian Building Activities at Harran" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2003), pp. 71–3, with earlier literature; and, most interestingly, by Karen Radner, "The Trials of Esarhaddon: The Conspiracy of 670 B.C.," in "Assur und sein Umland," edited by Peter A. Miglus and Joaquín M. Córdoba, special issue, *ISIMU: Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la antigüedad* 6 (2003; actual publication date 2007): 165–84.

[20] Radner, "The Trials of Esarhaddon," p. 173.

[21] Novotny, "Eḫulḫul, Egipar, Emelamana," pp. 80–84.

[22] Novotny, "Eḫulḫul, Egipar, Emelamana," p. 56.

[23] K 3065 and dupl., lines 1–7; Novotny, "Eḫulḫul, Egipar, Emelamana," pp. 97, 290–93.

[24] Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 418, lines I 38–40.

[25] The processes that led to the collapse of the Assyrian state remains a contested matter to this day; see, most recently, Mario Liverani, "The Fall of the Assyrian Empire: Ancient and Modern Interpretations," in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, edited by Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D'Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, and Carla M. Sinopoli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 374–91.

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Harran fell to the Medes and Babylonians after prolonged battles in 609 B.C., although the exact details of this series of events remain difficult to trace. The sources are incomplete and much of the information on the fall of Assyrian Harran and the aftermath was colored by later attempts to censor the Babylonian responsibility for the consequences of these dramatic events.[26] Indeed, the very identity, fate, and even the legitimacy of Aššur-uballiṭ II, the leader, or "king," of the Assyrian forces at Harran, are issues that remain in the realm of speculation.[27] It is apparent that Sin's temple and other civic and cultic buildings were despoiled after the Assyrian defeat, but we do not know just how badly the city was damaged and what happened to its inhabitants. One must assume, however, that at least prior to the devastation, Harran had a substantial elite Assyrian population and a significant Mesopotamian cultural life.

This is the Assyrianized Harran in which Adda-guppi spent many if not all of her formative years and where she raised Nabonidus. As the preceding paragraphs, which only summarize a much more extensive documentation, readily demonstrate, the city was filled with elite Assyrians, including members of the royal family, and had an emotionally infused symbolic place in the mental map of the empire. I am not resurrecting the claim that she was a priestess of the moon god — an unsubstantiated modern rumor — although her son might have been the offspring of courtiers or even royalty.[28] I would suggest, however, that her formative years were spent in an elite Assyrian milieu physically dominated by Assurbanipal's massive building projects. Simo Parpola simply claimed that Nabonidus was "of Assyrian extraction."[29] The mother of the last king of Babylon refers to the cultural climate of her Harranian life in the opening of her autobiographical mortuary narrative:[30]

> I am Adda-guppi, mother of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, worshiper of Sin, Nikkal, Nusku, and Sadarnuna, my gods, for whose divinity I have cared since my youth.

When the cult centers of Harran were badly damaged in 610 B.C., Adda-guppi, as a number of scholars have proposed, probably accompanied many of the city's inhabitants into exile as well, having spent almost half her life in Harran. It is unclear at the present time if the statues of the main deities of the city, and the famous standard of the moon god, were taken to Babylonia as well. But no matter how comforting her new environment may have been, the wording of Adda-guppi's autobiography — and the earlier similar statements by Nabonidus — suggests a nostalgic and highly personal attachment to Assurbanipal's Harran. Her son was eventually raised somewhere in Babylonia, perhaps even in Babylon itself, but his formative years were spent in Assyrian Harran. Parpola has even suggested that the Neo-Assyrian dialect of Akkadian was still alive there, even as Aramaic had overwhelmed it in the Assyrian heartland.[31] If this was indeed the case, and the evidence for this is rather thin, then it is possible to imagine that Assyrian and Aramaic would have been the childhood languages of the future king of Babylonia.[32]

If Nabonidus grew up in this milieu, his own interest in the last great king of Assyria would make perfect sense. Indeed, this would help us to understand the background of Nabonidus' learned literacy. We are indebted to Pierre Villard and Alasdair Livingstone for new perspectives on Assurbanipal's claims of deep scribal knowledge; it is now quite certain

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[26] Stefan Zawadzki, *The Fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian Relations in the Light of Nabopolassar Chronicle* (Poznań: Delft, 1988); and idem, "Umman-manda: Bedeutung des Terminus und Gründe seiner Anwendung in der Chronik von Nabopolassar," in *Šulmu: Papers on the Ancient Near East Presented at International Conference of Socialist Countries (Prague, Sept. 30–Oct. 3, 1986)*, edited by Petr Vavroušek and Vladimír Souček (Prague: Charles University, 1988), pp. 379–97. The most recent discussion of the final battles of the last king of Assyria is in Robert Rollinger, "The Western Expansion of the Median 'Empire': A Re-Examination," in *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*, edited by Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi, Michael Roaf, and Robert Rollinger, History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs 5 (Padova: Sargon, 2003), pp. 289–320.

[27] The name and deeds of this individual are known only from one incomplete chronicle; see Karen Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tell Schech Hamad (Tall Sheikh Hamad)*, Berichte zur Ausgrabung Tell Schech Hamad (Tall Sheikh Hamad) 6 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2002), pp. 17–18, who raises important questions about Aššur-uballiṭ's status and legitimacy. What happened to this individual after he unsuccessfully tried to recapture Harran is not known. Others see these events differently; see, for example, Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die Assyrer: Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Kultur* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003), p. 98.

[28] Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus*, pp. 68–74; he suggested that they might have been "courtiers of lesser rank" (p. 79). Walter Mayer, "Nabonids Herkunft," in *Dubsar anta-men: Studien zur Altorientalistik; Festschrift für Willem H. Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres*, edited by Manfried Dietrich and Oswald Loretz, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 253 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), pp. 245–61, argues that she was the daughter of Aššur-etel-šame-erṣeti-muballisu, the *urigallu* priest of Sin, son of Esarhaddon and brother of Assurbanipal. See also Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, pp. 12–13.

[29] Simo Parpola, "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-empire Times," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18 (2004): 12.

[30] Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 502, lines I 1–5.

[31] Parpola, "National and Ethnic Identity," p. 12.

[32] The Assyrian "identity" of Nabonidus may have been referenced indirectly by Darius, who represented the Babylonian rebel who claimed to be the son of Nabonidus in Assyrian garb; see Ursula Seidl, "Der unbewaffnete Babylonier auf den achämenidischen Grabfassaden," in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, edited by Simonetta Graziani (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 2000), p. 954. Note her observation that "Für die Achämeniden stellte sich also das babylonische Reich, das von Kyros erobert wurde, als ein Land dar, das von einer auswärtigen, einer assyrische Dynastie beherrscht wurde" (p. 955).

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that both he and perhaps already his father had been fully trained in the scribal arts, not just in functional literacy, but also in the higher arcana of learned lore.[33] Moreover, it is quite possible that such training was made available to other members of the royal family and to selected children of elites in the court circle, as both Villard and Livingstone have argued. There is some question as to just how far-reaching were the more sophisticated aspects of literate education, but one can easily imagine that Nabonidus may have benefited from a similar education, which would not only explain his deep learning without necessarily assuming that he was trained as a priest, but also help us to understand more clearly his spiritual kinship with the last major king of Assyria.[34]

Nabonidus usurped the throne of Babylon fifty-four years after the devastation of Harran, and sixteen years or so later he rebuilt the sanctuaries whose destruction had forced him to leave his childhood home.[35] This return allowed him to fulfill spiritual duties, but it also reunited him with the Assyrian legacy that had undoubtedly figured strongly in his upbringing, and it was in Harran that he might have rekindled his intellectual and personal kinship with Assurbanipal.[36] The temples of Harran contained inscriptions of the great Assyrian king, and their language and phraseology became ingrained in the inscriptional style of the last native Mesopotamian occupant of the throne of Babylon.[37]

All of this happened at the very end of the seventeen-year sovereignty of Nabonidus. The sequence of events of his reign remains somewhat hazy, however. It is now clear that he "traveled south on the King's Highway from the region of Syria during his third (553 B.C.E.) and fourth (552 B.C.E.) years. In his fifth year (551 B.C.E.), he and his troops reached the mountainous terrain of Edom."[38] The Nabonidus Chronicle states that he spent ten years in Arabia, but it is uncertain if the beginning of this sojourn is to be counted from year 3, when he departed on his Western campaign, or from year 5, when he apparently settled in the Arabian town of Teima. As a result, it is unclear if he was back in Babylon in his thirteenth or sixteenth regnal year.[39] The issue is important in his context, because the king of Babylon did not finish the restoration of the Ehulhul in Harran until his fifteenth or sixteenth year, as Hayim Tadmor established.[40] According to one possible scenario, the renovation of the cultic center of Harran would have been the culmination of his stay in Teima, although why Nabonidus chose a residence so distant from Sin's temple is impossible to determine at present.[41] In the context of this discussion it is significant that the focus on Assurbanipal and on the Assyrian milieu of Harran comes to the fore in the very last years of the last Babylonian king.[42]

3. Cyrus and Assurbanipal

Earlier I invoked Cyrus' discovery of an object that included the name of an earlier ruler. The phrasing of the line in question — "I saw within it an inscription of Assurbanipal, a king who preceded me" — comes right out of Nabonidus' inscriptions, as anyone with only a passing knowledge of these texts will immediately recognize. Most important,

[33] Pierre Villard, "L'éducation d'Assurbanipal," *Ktema* 22 (1997): 135–49; and Alasdair Livingstone, "Ashurbanipal: Literate or Not?" *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 97 (2007): 98–118. Earlier scholarship viewed Assurbanial's literacy in a more restrictive light; see, for example, Stephen J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal's Personal Tablet Collection," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William J. Moran*, edited by Tsvi Abusch, John Huehnergard, and Piotr Steinkeller, Harvard Semitic Monographs 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. 305–36.

[34] Nabonidus must have been literate, if for no other reason that the Verse Account accuses him of being illiterate.

[35] On the date of the restoration of Ehulhul, see Hayim Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabunaid: Historical Arrangement," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, edited by Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen, Assyriological Studies 16 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 352–58; Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, pp. 205–09; Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Nabonid (Nabû-nāʾid). A," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9 (1998): 8.

[36] Ironically, a later tendentious text, the so-called Dynastic Prophesy, will refer to his reign as an intrusive "dynasty of Harran." See A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies 3 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1975), pp. 30–36. On the composition, see most recently Matthew Neujahr, "When Darius Defeated Alexander: Composition and Redaction in the Dynastic Prophecy," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64 (2005): 101–07, with earlier literature.

[37] See Tadmor, "Inscriptions of Nabunaid," pp. 352–53; and Novotny, "Eḫulḫul, Egipar, Emelamana."

[38] Bradley L. Crowell, "Nabonidus, as-Silaʿ, and the Beginning of the End of Edom," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 348 (2007): 84.

[39] For a full discussion of this matter, see Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, pp. 149–69.

[40] Tadmor, "Inscriptions of Nabunaid," pp. 351–59; see Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, pp. 205–09.

[41] On Nabonidus and Teima, based on recent excavations, see now Alasdair Livingstone, "Taimāʾ and Nabonidus: It's a Small World," in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard*, edited by Piotr Bienkowski, Christopher Mee, and Elizabeth Slater (New York: T & T Clark, 2005), pp. 30–39; and Ricardo Eichmann, Hanspeter Schaudig, and Arnulf Hausleiter "Archaeology and Epigraphy at Tayma (Saudi Arabia)," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 17/2 (2006): 163–76.

[42] Note that according to Thomas E. Lee, "The Jasper Cylinder Seal of Aššurbanipal and Nabonidus' Making of Sîn's Statue," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 87 (1993): 131–36, the statue of Sin in Harran had to be reconstructed by Nabonidus from a likeness preserved on an elaborate cylinder seal commissioned by Assurbanipal. If so, this is but another element in the kaleidoscopic textual and ideological connections between Nabonidus, Assurbanipal, and Harran.

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Cyrus had already set up the invocation of the Assyrian monarch earlier in his own composition; indeed, Assurbanipal has been lurking all along, alluded to in the structural form of the text. As János Harmatta demonstrated in his classic essay on the literary form of the composition under study here, its antecedents have to be sought not in the writings of the Neo-Babylonian kings, but rather in the Babylonian inscriptions of Assurbanipal, and similar opinions have been expressed by other scholars over the years, most recently by Amélie Kuhrt.[43]

The reference to a particular inscribed object may be more specific; according to Christopher Walker, this is "most certainly the cylinder L6 of Assurbanipal … which commemorates his restoration of Imgur-Enlil, Nimit-Enlil and the gates of Nimit-Enlil."[44] Walker makes a good point, but the veracity of Cyrus' statement is irrelevant in the context of our discussion; the fact that so much of the content of the Cyrus text is aimed at undermining the authority of the deposed Babylonian king makes it unlikely that the mention of Assurbanipal should be ascribed to chance. After all, the work on Imgur-Enlil must have brought to light various inscribed bricks and cylinders of earlier kings who had conducted repairs, including more immediate predecessors, namely, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, as already noted above.[45] That the author deliberately chose to cite Assurbanipal was dictated by the overarching strategy of the central message of the Cyrus inscription: the claim that it was the Persian king, and not Nabonidus, who was chosen by Marduk as *the* legitimate and beneficent ruler of Babylon. One may surmise that this was also a matter that would have had immediate resonance because the scribes of Nabonidus, working in Harran as well as in Babylonia, had just been channeling Assurbanipal in the inscriptions they were composing in the very last years of his time on the throne of Babylon. This is a tangled web, because many of these same scribes, who had studied Assurbanipal's statements concerning works on Ehulhul in Harran as well as on the walls of Babylon, were now undoubtedly working for the administration of Cyrus.

The reference to Assurbanipal by Cyrus is but part of a broader strategy of state formation that included elements of economic and bureaucratic organization as well as intellectual cooption that was designed to facilitate the smooth functioning of the new polity. As David Stronach has recently argued, the regime of Cyrus consciously borrowed architectural forms "partly dictated on Cyrus' part to indicate that he had fallen heir to the overarching authority of the last great kings of Assyria."[46] Later Achaemenid kings would reference Assyrian style and motifs for their own purposes in complex and nuanced ways, but this is part of a somewhat different story.[47]

In the Cyrus text, the very wording of the line in question, with the first-person verbal form "I saw," echoes deliberately, as I have already suggested, an important element in the self-representational strategy of Nabonidus — his claims to mastery of the written legacy of Mesopotamia.[48] This erudition is mocked mercilessly in the Verse Account; in the Cyrus Cylinder, one may suggest, the strategy is put to somewhat different use and the knife is twisted in a different direction: it is *Cyrus* who sees and presumably can read the older text. Thus, by implication, Cyrus, rather than Nabonidus, is the legitimate spiritual heir to the throne and stylus of the learned Assurbanipal. This claim of knowledge and literacy, regardless of its veracity, may also be anagrammed, so to speak, into the fabric of the whole text, with its high style that includes an indirect allusion to *Enuma Elish*, and its echoes of Assurbanipal's inscriptional language.[49] Here silence also plays a part: Nabonidus had commissioned restorations of Imgur-Enlil and recorded this in writing, but Cyrus chose to ignore these deeds, harking back to Assurbanipal. The Verse Account likewise ignores the fact that Nabonidus had restored the wall, referring only to the earlier labors of Nebuchadnezzar.[50] This eradication of the name

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[43] János Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974): 29–44; see also Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25 (1983): 83–97, with earlier literature.

[44] C. B. F. Walker, "A Recently Identified Fragment of the Cyrus Cylinder," *Iran* 10 (1972): 159.

[45] George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, p. 346, is of the opinion that Assurbanipal worked mainly on the outer wall Nimit-Enlil and did not really rebuild Imgur-Enlil.

[46] David Stronach, "From Cyrus to Darius: Notes on Art and Architecture in Early Achaemenid Palaces," in *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium B.C.: Regional Development and Cultural Interchange Between East and West*, edited by Inge Nielson, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 4 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001), p. 99.

[47] It has often been remarked that the Bisitun rock relief was heavily influenced by Assyrian artistic conventions, especially those of Assurbanipal; see Marian H. Feldman, "Darius I and the Heroes of Akkad: Affect and Agency in the Bisitun Relief," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, edited by Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 269–70, with earlier literature. Further, in this chain of misprision, one should note the observation that "a similar distribution of inscriptions and imagery as on the (Nabonidus) Sela' relief can be found at the monumental rock-relief of Darius I at Behistun, dating some twenty years after the fall of Babylon" (Eichmann, Schaudig, and Hausleiter, "Archaeology and Epigraphy at Tayma," p. 175 n. 40). Margaret Cool Root has been investigating the complex ways in which later Achaemenid rulers played with and restated Mesopotamian ideological and artistic elements for their own narrative purposes; her study on "Imperial Ideology in Achaemenid Persian Art: Transforming the Mesopotamian Legacy," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 35 (2000): 19–27, includes an analysis of the Bisitun relief.

[48] On these matters, see Peter Machinist and Hayim Tadmor, "Heavenly Wisdom," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), pp. 146–51; and Michalowski, "The Doors of the Past."

[49] According to Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 555 n. 906, line 17 of the Cyrus inscription alludes directly to *Enuma Elish* VI 126.

[50] George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, pp. 348–49.

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of Nabonidus parallels the more tangible erasure of his name and writings from a stela that clearly belonged to Nabonidus but on which the inscription had been partially erased, possibly during the time of Cyrus.[51]

By invoking Assurbanipal, Cyrus accomplished three related goals. First, he upended and appropriated the very essence of Nabonidus' identity; in this case his spiritual and political kinship with the last great Assyrian king. Second, he invoked the latter's return of the statue of Marduk to Babylon, thereby establishing his own ideological claim to legitimate power and divine sanction. As a corollary of this, he appointed his son and heir Cambyses as the king of Babylon, indirectly echoing the actions of Esarhaddon, who had placed Assurbanipal and his brother Šamaš-šumu-ukin on the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia, respectively, even if that fraternal relationship ended rather badly for the latter, for Babylon, and for its inhabitants.[52] And third, he implied that he and not Nabonidus ruled over the legitimate extension of the Assyrian empire.

I have attempted to explicate one sentence in the Cyrus inscription, a sentence that on first glance appears to provide a simple referential fact. But if I am on the right track, it is more complex than one would first think. Indeed, it is but one component of the multifaceted series of self-representational messages that extol Cyrus just as they serve to undermine the legitimacy of the deposed Nabonidus. These very same elements link this text with the Persian Verse Account and the other highly tendentious texts that were designed to appeal to the conquered elites of the new Persian polity, texts that must have been widely distributed in various media, including the cylinders and tablets that carried the composition formerly known as the Cyrus Cylinder.

[51] BM 90837, possibly from Babylon (Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, pp. 530–32). Irving L. Finkel, "The End of the Dynasty," in *Babylon: Myth and Reality*, edited by Irving L. Finkel and Michael J. Seymour (London: British Museum Press, 2008), p. 165, states: "Great pains were taken to efface all the *writing*, while not destroying the monument outright and leaving the image of the king of Babylon untouched. This raises the question of whether the same might have happened to the even more damaged Teima stela. This is made of much softer sandstone, and the whole surface has been eroded although fragments of the inscription are still readable," referring to a Nabonidus stela from Teima (published in Eichmann, Schaudig, and Hausleiter "Archaeology and Epigraphy at Tayma"). The authors also call attention to a passage in the Verse Account referring to the destruction of the monuments of the last Babylonian king and the effacement of his name ordered by Cyrus.

[52] Herbert Petschow, "Das Unterkönigtum des Cambyses als 'König von Babylon,'" *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 82 (1988): 78–82; Stefan Zawadzki, "Cyrus-Cambyses Coregency," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 90 (1996): 171–83. On the subtle manipulation of Mesopotamian traditions and the denigration of Nabonidus by the scribes of Cyrus, see now Caroline Waerzeggers, "Very Cordially Hated in Babylonia? Zēria and Rēmūt in the Verse Account," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39 (2012): 316–20.

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Periodicities and Period Relations in Babylonian Celestial Sciences

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The flowering of astronomical science in Achaemenid Babylonia came from deep roots in both celestial observation and divination practiced since the second millennium B.C. Babylonian astral sciences continued to develop in Hellenistic Babylonia, from which time Greek, Greco-Roman, and Indian cultures became aware of and borrowed ideas and methods from Babylonian astronomy and astrology. Ultimately, some of Babylonian astrology's systems and astronomy's mathematical content entered the stream of Western science, continuing until the European Renaissance. What gave the Babylonian astronomical tradition its power and longevity was the fact that it was grounded in an understanding of periodicities. Periodicities and period relations are basic to all astronomical thought and practice, but in ancient Mesopotamia they were both a point of departure and an enduring central feature.

It is by now canonical that the foundation of Babylonian mathematical astronomy is built upon the recognition of period relations.[1] These take two forms, each one expressed in some unit or units of time, such as the year, month, day, and degree. One type of period relation identified a whole number of cycles made by one heavenly body (such as the sun) with a whole number of cycles made by another (such as the moon). An example of such a period relation is the calendrical cycle 19 (sidereal) years = 235 lunar (synodic) months. The other type correlated integral numbers of phenomena with integral numbers of some time unit, say years or months, such as the well-known Saros cycle, where 38 eclipse possibilities = 223 synodic months. The period relations implicit in Babylonian astronomical texts provide the means for solving various problems of lunar or planetary behavior, and they all have in common a desire to know when a phenomenon will occur again. The phenomenon can be a return to a certain position of the sun or moon or planet with respect to the fixed stars, or the return of a planet with respect to the sun, such as the first or last appearance of Jupiter. All such returns can be counted in terms either of the position in the heavens where the phenomenon occurs or by the date when it occurs. Positions and dates are the fundamental elements in the expression of periods and their relations. In principle, all regularly recurring celestial phenomena can be rendered predictable by means of such period relations.

Of course the behavior of the moon with respect to the sun is the all important determiner of Babylonian calendrical systems, but the calendar does not provide the focal point for all Babylonian astronomical inquiry, as the periodic return of the planets to initial positions of a variety of appearances is of interest as well. It is the unification of a method of approach to both lunar and planetary phenomena, one based on the establishment of relations between relevant periods, which brings both lunar and planetary theory into a coherent system within Babylonian astronomy. Also significant is the harmony struck between the aims of this system and the essential concerns of celestial divination, that is, an interest in visible phenomena, though not all ominous phenomena were periodic and therefore not amenable to astronomical prediction. The interest in visible phenomena, common to celestial divination and predictive astronomy, however, reflects a congruence or compatibility among the various parts of the Babylonian celestial sciences — that is, among celestial omina, horoscopes, observational, and computational texts — and this is evident in the attention to periodicities and period relations.

As Bernard Goldstein pointed out, the quantities expressed in period relations do not derive either from geometry or precise measurement, but from counting.[2] To determine when a phenomenon will recur, returning either to a certain

[1] The first important paper on the subject, which also attempted to describe period relations and methods of predicting planetary and lunar positions from within a Babylonian perspective, was Asger Aaboe, "On Periods Relations in Babylonian Astronomy," *Centaurus* 10 (1964): 213–31.

[2] See Bernard R. Goldstein, "On the Babylonian Discovery of the Periods of Lunar Motion," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 33 (2002): 1–13, esp. p. 9. See also Asger Aaboe, "Observation and Theory in Babylonian Astronomy," *Centaurus* 24 (1980): 30; and idem, *Episodes from the Early History of Astronomy* (Berlin and New York: Springer, 2001), p. 66.

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date or a certain position in the sky, it was evidently more desirable to count with whole numbers than with fractions. For practical purposes, the development of Babylonian period relations is the result of a desire to establish integral periods to bring an exact return of particular phenomena to dates (i.e., days of the month) and positions in the sky (i.e., degrees of the zodiac). In the case of dates, of course, it is desirable to avoid fractions of a day, and similarly, to avoid fractions of degrees. Although the periods and their relations deal in integer quantities, the calculations in the Babylonian ephemeris tables do compute fractions of what are for all intents and purposes days — they are 1/30ths of a lunar month (*tithis*) — but this is necessary to maintain number theoretical control of the underlying period relations.

John Britton discussed the central importance of annually recurring phenomena in Babylonian astronomy.[3] Such phenomena are the subject of Babylonian astronomical work from the earliest written evidence for the recognition of the periodic nature of celestial phenomena in the second millennium B.C. to the latest development of methods to predict them in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. Beginning with a schematic treatment of the dates of the cardinal points of the year, that is, the equinoxes and solstices, and the corresponding variation in the length of daylight over the course of the year, the progressive development of Babylonian astronomy had to do with achieving, over the course of some 600 years from roughly the eighth century B.C., an understanding of the relationships between years, months, and days and the determination of increasingly better values for the lengths of the (solar) year and the (lunar) month.[4] Good values for these units of time were key to the success of computational models to predict periodic phenomena, be they annual, such as equinoxes and solstices, or occurring at greater intervals, such as first appearances of the planet Jupiter, or indeed smaller intervals, such as the first visibility of the moon each month.

One fundamental unit of time was the ideal year of 360 units. This implies twelve ideal months, each divided into thirty units, treated as days in a schematic calendar. The month, even when idealized in the schematic calendar, is tied to the synodic cycle of the moon. That is, day one is defined by the first visibility of the moon following conjunction, when it sets for the first time after sunset and one sees the thin crescent moon in the west in the evening for a short time. The middle of the month is defined with the opposition of sun and moon, when the moon rises at sunset and sets at sunrise. The earliest astronomical compendium, composed around 1100 B.C. probably in Nineveh and entitled MUL.APIN or "Plow Star,"[5] utilizes the schematic year with its twelve thirty-day ideal months and 360 ideal days. This calendar continued in use throughout the cuneiform writing tradition, preserved within celestial divination texts.

Already in MUL.APIN the sun is described as rising along the eastern horizon in a different place each season. On the day of the vernal equinox its point of rising was in the middle of "the cattle pen" (*tarbaṣu* "cattle pen," meaning "horizon"), due east. From there it moved progressively northward with the increase in daylight length and the coming summer solstice, then south during the winter, returning to its initial spot twelve months later. MUL.APIN describes the cardinal points of the year by saying that when the Arrow (Sirius) becomes visible on the fifteenth of the fourth month (Duʾuzu), and the day is four *mina*s and the night two *mina*s, the sun, "which rose toward the north with the head of the Lion turns and keeps moving down towards the south at a rate of 40 *ninda* per day. The days become shorter, the nights longer."[6] This statement reflects a ratio of longest to shortest day of two to one, a placement of the summer solstice at the mid-point of month on the fifteenth day, and an awareness that the rate of solar progress is less than one degree per day. Here the forty *ninda* value (= about 2/3 degree) is a result of the daylight scheme, which is utterly schematic.

A correspondence was made between the sun's positions on the horizon at its monthly risings and a group of stars seen to rise or set near sunrise or sunset. It would be a very short step from noting the variation of the position of the sun along the eastern horizon at the cardinal points to the variation of its position month by month in accordance with the risings of constellations. This is the empirical basis for a hypothesis put forward by Lis Brack-Bernsen and Hermann Hunger, that the zodiac was first "perceived as arcs along the horizon over which the constellations rise."[7] The identification of times of year with positions of the sun in the region of twelve constellations, that is, one constellation rising per month, meant that the sun's position was automatically known by the date. A later substitution of thirty degrees for thirty days in the schematic year seems a natural enough effect of the recognition of the correspondence between position and date.

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[3] John P. Britton, "Treatments of Annual Phenomena in Cuneiform Sources," in John M. Steele and Annette Imhausen, eds., *Under One Sky: Astronomy and Mathematics in the Ancient Near East*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 297 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), pp. 21–78; and idem, "Calendars, Intercalations, and Year-lengths in Mesopotamian Astronomy," in John M. Steele, ed., *Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), pp. 115–36.

[4] See Britton, "Calendars," passim.

[5] Known from its incipit: *Šumma* $^{\text{MUL GIŠ}}$.APIN $^{\text{d}}$EN.LÍL *ālik pani kakkabāni šūt* $^{\text{d}}$EN.LÍL "the (constellation) Plow, Enlil, who goes at the front of the stars of Enlil." See Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *MUL.APIN — An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 24 (Horn: Berger & Söhne, 1989), p. 18.

[6] MUL.APIN II i 9–18.

[7] Lis Brack-Bernsen and Hermann Hunger, "The Babylonian Zodiac: Speculations on Its Invention and Significance," *Centaurus* 41 (1999): 280–81. For this they adduce the LBAT 1494 and 1495, which concerns the construction of a shadow clock of some kind.

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This idea of identifying times with positions is diagnostic of the Babylonian approach and underlies most of the methods devised to predict the phenomena. It was still the essential feature of the fully mature theories of the moon and planets represented in the ephemerides of the Seleucid period. Why the continuity in methodological style is evident throughout the cuneiform astronomical tradition is a question that might be addressed by reference to its divinatory and astrological motivation, which provided the context within which astronomical work was done.

MUL.APIN reflects the state of Babylonian astronomical knowledge and practice around the turn of the first millennium B.C. It provides a systematic astronomical counterpoint to the extensive set of celestial omens of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, which stem from the Old Babylonian period in the second quarter of the second millennium. The celestial omen series continued, however, to have an intimate connection with Babylonian astronomy, being both its wellspring and continuous partner until both traditions ceased to exist in their native language and script. Yet celestial omens do not limit themselves to periodic phenomena, though the concern to identify the occurrences of phenomena with dates is certainly prominent, as exemplified in the Venus Tablet of Ammiṣaduqa, which provides dates for the appearances and disappearances of Venus. Lunar and solar eclipses, constituting fully one-fifth of all celestial omens, are regularly given together with their dates of occurrence, although many of these omens are not valid from an astronomical point of view. Still, the attention to the periodic nature of visible phenomena is marked in the omens.

Because of the concern for the recurrence of phenomena, periodic or not, celestial omens display great interest in the position of the moon and planets with respect to the sun. Judging by the omens themselves, the most important, that is to say the most ominous, synodic moments of the moon's cycle were conjunction and opposition. As a result, the diviners watched for the day of the moon's first visible crescent shortly after sunset, and then most attentively the day of full moon, considered ideally to fall on the fourteenth day. These moments of syzygy, of course, are also the focus of the later lunar ephemerides. The twenty-two-tablet lunar section of *Enūma Anu Enlil* is itself divided into two parts focused on syzygies in the lunar synodic cycle: part 1 (tablets 1–14) deals with the appearance of the moon in its first crescent, termed "the visibilities of the moon," and part 2 (tablets 15–22) concerns the middle of the month when eclipses occur, and pays close attention to when "one god is seen with the other." This expression was still used in early (i.e., seventh- and sixth-century) astronomical diary texts to mean "opposition," but by the fourth century the statement that the moon and sun were in opposition was fully replaced by references to intervals in time degrees between the risings and setting of the sun and moon around opposition and designated in the texts as the quantities ŠÚ and NA, ME and GE_6.[8] The sun and moon may have been referred to as "gods" in the omens and early diaries, but the observation of the luminaries on the day of opposition was a matter of astronomical interest in the same way as were the later observations of ŠÚ and NA, ME and GE_6.

The dates of opposition were a significant feature of the omen texts as well. These focused on whether or not the syzygy was timely, early, or late. The fourteenth and fifteenth days were considered normal for opposition, hence of good portent, as in the following Neo-Assyrian astrological report sent by a court diviner to the Neo-Assyrian king:

> On the 14th day the moon and sun will be seen with each other. If the moon and sun are in opposi[tion]: the king of the land wil[l widen] his understanding; the foundation of the king's throne will becom[e stable]. — On the 14th day one god will be seen with the other. (Report of Nabû-Iqīša, translation of H. Hunger, SAA 8 no. 294)

Conversely, note the words of another diviner about an ill-timed opposition:

> If on the 13th day [the m]oon and sun are seen together: unre[liab]le speech; the ways of the land will not be straight; the foot of the enemy (will be in the land); the enemy will plunder in the land. If the moon in month Ab (V) is not seen with the sun on the 14th or on the 15th day: there will be deaths; a god will devour (meaning "pestilence"). (Report of Zakir, translation of H. Hunger, SAA 8 no. 306)

Omens for the appearance of the lunar crescent around conjunction always include the possibility that the moon's first or last appearance of the month was *ina la minâtišu* "not according to its count," meaning "at the wrong time."[9] The letters and reports from the scribes to the Assyrian monarchs reflect considerable anxiety about the timeliness of celestial appearances. This evidence of the conception of periods and periodicities in the omen and divinatory

[8] ŠÚ is the interval from moonset to sunrise, when the moon sets for the last time before sunrise; NA is the interval between sunrise and moonset, when the moon sets for the first time after sunrise; ME is between moonrise and sunset, when the moon rises for the last time before sunset; and GE_6 is between sunset and moonrise, when the moon rises for the first time after sunset. For an interesting and condensed discussion of Lis Brack-Bernsen's work on the Lunar Four and the period of lunar velocity in terms of these quantities as well as their relation to the Saros, see Lis Brack-Bernsen and Matthias Brack, "Analyzing Shell Structure from Babylonian and Modern Times," *International Journal of Modern Physics* E 13 (2004): 247–60.

[9] See CAD s.v. *minītu*, meaning 1d.

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literature stands in direct relation to the development of quantitative means to deal with such periodicities evident in other kinds of astronomical texts.

It is the quantitative expression of the conception of periodicity that seems particularly diagnostic of the Babylonian approach and was that which made Babylonian astronomical knowledge useful and adaptable by the Greeks. Gaining quantitative control over lunar and planetary periods may indeed have been motivated by the concerns of the diviners, and from this point of view periodicity in divination, despite the crudity and inexactness of its expression, may not have been conceptually so different from that in astronomy. What is interesting to note, especially with respect to the difference between the Babylonian tradition and the Greek, at least in the Greek cinematic tradition, is that there is no geometry in period relations — they are based on simple counting.

Surely one of the more celebrious of all Babylonian period relations is the Saros, the cycle that brings the return of eclipses of similar nature. This is because it brings a return to the moon's synodic phase, that is, to opposition, a return to its position with respect to a node (which in modern terms is the intersection of the moon's path with the ecliptic), and a return to its position with respect to its distance from earth, an important factor in solar eclipse magnitudes. This cycle is a perfect illustration of a good period relation as it establishes the equivalence between whole numbers of three interconnected lunar periods, the synodic month, the draconitic month, and the anomalistic month. These lunar periods will repeat nearly exactly in the relation 223 synodic months = 242 draconitic months = 239 anomalistic months, and are very nearly equal to 6,585 days or roughly eighteen years, eleven days, and eight hours. The so-called Saros cycle texts dating to the Achaemenid period tabulate the months of eclipse possibilities arranged in cycles of 223 months. Three of the four Saros texts concern lunar eclipses and one solar, which is treated in exactly the same way as the lunar eclipse tables.[10]

Each Saros cycle has thirty-eight eclipse possibilities. An eclipse possibility is treated as a phenomenon, regardless of its visibility, and is defined in modern terms as "the syzygy [i.e., conjunction or opposition of sun and moon that occurs] in the vicinity of a node [where the moon's path intersects that of the sun's path, and] in which the earth's shadow — for a lunar eclipse — or sun (for a solar eclipse) is closest to that node."[11] In other words, an eclipse possibility will occur at any conjunction or opposition at which the sun is near a node.[12] The Babylonian approach to the prediction of eclipses was to establish a period for eclipse cycles that is the ratio of the number of months to the number of eclipse possibilities. This period was determined on the basis of counting only the number of months and eclipse possibilities that separate two eclipses with the same distance to a node. Of course this statement belies great complexity in the understanding of the many factors that determine when in fact an eclipse would actually be visible. Establishing the period relation, however, avoids the entire question of lunar motion per se by focusing on the factors that define the basic lunar periods, that is, the synodic, draconitic, and anomalistic months, and avoids the problematic issue of visibility factors by treating the *possibility* of an eclipse as an occurrence. The construction of the Saros is surely not an unexpected consequence of the centuries of focus on conjunctions and oppositions of the sun and moon within the context of celestial divination, not to mention the extensive collection of hypothetical eclipse "possibilities" in the form of omens.

The establishment of periods and period relations is the same for the phenomena of the planets. Rough empirical estimates of periods of visibility and invisibility of some of the planets were already known by the end of the second millennium, and these early estimates no doubt provided a beginning for the eventual development of excellent periods and period relations for the planets that underlie the later ephemerides. The function of the periods stated, for example, in the early MUL.APIN text, in addition to establishing guidelines for knowing when a planet would be seen in a particular appearance again, no doubt also served a divinatory purpose, that is, not only to know where in the sky and when a phenomenon would recur, but also whether a certain appearance was propitious or not. MUL.APIN already gives the duration of intervals between first and last visibilities for all five naked-eye planets, but without an indication of how such intervals were to be used. Mars, for example, is given an interval of two years for the period of visibility and two months for the period of invisibility. Saturn is given a period of one year and twenty days, which compares favorably with the one year and eighteen day interval of the late Babylonian mathematical astronomical table texts. The Venus Tablet of Ammiṣaduqa, tablet 63 of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, constructs a scheme for intervals of visibility and invisibility of Venus. Clearly, synodic periods of the planets and the moon were integral to both divination and astronomy.

Together with the determination of the correspondence between positions and dates of phenomena was progress in control of the calendar and thereby the units in which period relations could be expressed. This depended upon

[10] Asger Aaboe, John P. Britton, J. A. Henderson, Otto Neugebauer, and Abraham J. Sachs, *Saros Cycle Dates and Related Babylonian Astronomical Texts*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 81/6 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1991).

[11] John P. Britton, "An Early Function for Eclipse Magnitudes in Babylonian Astronomy," *Centaurus* 32 (1989): 1–52.

[12] See also the definition given in Aaboe et al., *Saros Cycle Dates*, p. 16, cited in Goldstein, "Lunar Motion," p. 2.

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construction of practical and successful intercalation rules to square the lunar cycles or months with the solar cycles or years. MUL.APIN's schematic year of 360 days obviously could not sustain a workable calendar, as it would be off by an entire month in a mere three years. An extra month added every three years was not quite enough, one month every two years was a little too much. Variations on the schematic calendar led eventually in the last quarter of the sixth century to the standardized ninteen-year cycle referred to at the outset. The nineteen years refer to complete returns of the sun to a position with respect to the stars, that is, to a position in the zodiac which was sidereally fixed. Hence we refer to nineteen sidereal years. In the second year of Xerxes (484 B.C.), this period relation 19 years = 235 months was fixed with seven intercalations occurring regularly in cycles of nineteen years and then remained in use until cuneiform astronomical texts disappear from the record.[13] With units of time firmly established for expressing the date there was the need for arithmetical standardization of the expression of celestial positions as well.

It was at about the same time, early in the fifth century, that a standard numerical reference for the positions of the sun in the heavens was adopted for the calculation of what we call celestial longitudes. The earliest zodiacal longitudes that can be dated appear in one of the Saros cycle texts, the text that lists the thirty-eight solar eclipse possibilities from 475 to 457 B.C. in the reigns of Xerxes II and Artaxerxes I. As discussed earlier, the 360 ideal calendar days could have been transformed into ecliptical degrees by associating intervals of solar risings along the horizon with the twelve ideal months. The sun would stay in each of the twelve arcs for thirty days, giving rise to a numerically identified solar path divided into twelve portions of thirty units each, called UŠ. This, as posited by Brack-Bernsen and Hunger, is a plausible derivation of the twelve zodiacal signs and the 360 degrees of the ecliptic. Indeed it is common practice in late astrological texts to substitute months for zodiacal signs, or simply to use numerals to indicate either one, making reference to months or signs quite ambiguous. The signs of the zodiac and their corresponding degrees, conceived of with respect to the various positions of the sun on the horizon throughout the year, do not in themselves point to a spherical mode of the cosmos in which the path of the sun is a great circle on it traveling from west to east against the fixed stars.[14]

This throws certain aspects of Babylonian astronomy into a sharper light. For example, it is interesting to note the development of the treatment of the variation in length of daylight from a function of determining the ideal calendar month to the idea that length of daylight is directly tied to the sun's position in the ecliptic. Early texts such as MUL.APIN and *Enūma Anu Enlil* find the length of the day as a direct corollary to the month of the year, while the late ephemerides compute the length of daylight based on a position of the sun in the zodiac on a given date and the sum of rising times of the zodiac. The latter were also well known in Greek astronomy as *anaphora*.

Otto Neugebauer first showed that evidence for the rising times of the zodiac (fig. 16.1)[15] are embedded in the Babylonian ephemerides in the column that calculates the length of daylight (so-called column C).[16] A rising time (marked α_1, α_2, etc. on the diagram) is the time required for one zodiacal sign to cross the eastern horizon. Since, from a geometrical point of view, both horizon and ecliptic are great circles on the celestial sphere, as shown in the diagram, at any given moment one-half of the ecliptic (six zodiacal signs) is above the horizon and the other half is below. During the interval of sunrise to sunset, 180 degrees of the ecliptic will have crossed the horizon. The assumption is that when the rising time of each individual zodiacal sign is known, the length of daylight for any day of the year is also known. The diagram shows α_1–α_6 rising, so the length of day is the sum of the rising times of α_1–α_6. But without the conception of the celestial sphere and great circles such as the ecliptic and equator, how did the Babylonians conceptualize the rising times? The computation of daylight length in the lunar ephemerides derives the length of daylight from the sum of the rising times for the appropriate half of the zodiac that rises on the day in question, beginning with the position of the sun (that is, values in column C [daylight length for a given solar position] = $\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 + \alpha_3 + \ldots + \alpha_6$).[17] But given the

[13] Britton, "Calendars," passim.

[14] Noel M. Swerdlow, *The Babylonian Theory of the Planets* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 34; and John M. Steele, "Celestial Measurement in Babylonian Astronomy," *Annals of Science* 64 (2007): 293–325, have both rightly pointed out the fallacy in regarding the Babylonian zodiac as equivalent to Ptolemy's or modern astronomy's ecliptical coordinate of "longitude." The celestial bodies traveled on "paths" (*harrānu*) in the direction against that of the daily rising and setting of the stars. These paths were fairly parallel to one another, but had different widths, or "latitude," as a body could be said to be "high" or "low" or in the "middle." There is insufficient evidence to show that these paths all shared the same center, which would be the equivalent of our ecliptic, which is the line along which the sun appears to an observer to move through the stars in one year.

[15] I thank Noel M. Swerdlow for producing the figure.

[16] Otto Neugebauer, "Jahreszeiten und Tageslängen in der Babylonischen Astronomie," *Osiris* 2 (1936): 517–50, esp. pp. 530ff. and 544ff. See also Neugebauer's "The Rising Times in Babylonian Astronomy," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 7 (1953): 100 n. 4, citing his earlier "On Some Astronomical Papyri and Related Problems of Ancient Geography," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 32 (1942): 251–63.

[17] Neugebauer, "The RIsing Times in Babylonian Astronomy," p. 100; see also Otto Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 1 (Berlin and New York: Springer), pp. 368–71.

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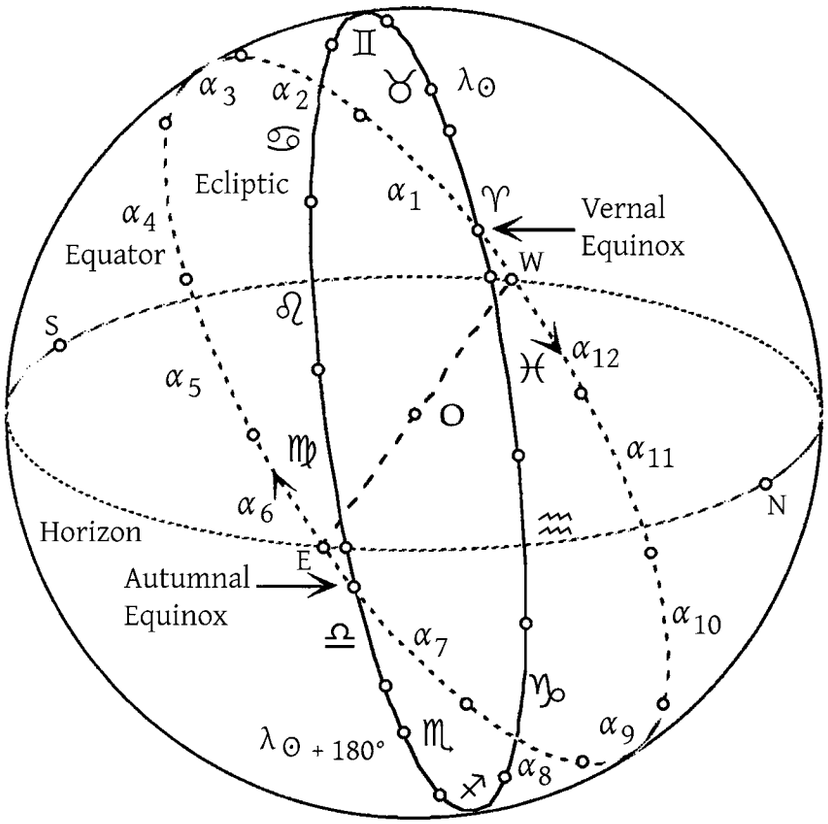


Figure 16.1. Rising times of zodiac signs α and length of daylight. Rising times are measured along equator from vernal equinox. ♈ 0° is setting; ♎ 0° is rising. $\lambda_{\odot}$ = ♉ 10°; $\lambda_{\odot}$ + 180° = ♏ 10°. Length of daylight is $\Sigma\alpha_{(2\text{-}7)}$

hypothesis that the heavenly bodies did not, in the Babylonian conception, travel continuously in arcs of the ecliptic viewed as a great circle around the heavenly sphere, we can hardly take the rising times scheme to imply a conception of the continuously moving great circle of the ecliptic. Cognizance of the connection between the position of the sun in the ecliptic and the length of daylight is certainly expressed in the Babylonian scheme. The solar positions given in the table texts, however, do not represent locations on a continuous arc of solar motion, but are intermittent locations derived from the lunar longitudes of the preceding column, column B, which are positions of the moon at conjunction or opposition. These then are intermittent lunar phenomena and ignore the motion of the moon in between. The sun's derived positions, what we call longitudes, refer not to progress along a continuous arc, but only discrete positions which are either the same as the moon at conjunction, or 180 degrees apart at full moon.

In the absence of spherical geometry, the question of rising times becomes most interesting. The rising times were the key to the solution of what is known as oblique ascensions, which has been said to be one of the two central problems of ancient spherical astronomy (the other being the problem of the so-called zodiacal anomaly, or the fact that the sun does not move at a constant rate around its circular path). Euclid's *Phaenomena*, ca. 300 B.C., is the earliest extant Greek treatise to take up the question of the rising times and the corresponding values for length of daylight. Theodosius of Bithynia's late second-century B.C. *On Days and Nights* and Menelaus' *Sphaerica*, ca. 100 B.C., both focus on the rising times, and of course, Ptolemy's *Almagest* 2.9 provides the definitive trigonometrical solution to the oblique ascensions. It is also clear that Hellenistic Greek writers knew of the Babylonian arithmetic techniques for calculating rising times, for example, Hypsicles' *Anaphoricus* of ca. 150 B.C. It is J. L. Berggren and R. S. D. Thomas' view, in fact, that Euclid knew of these methods and that, as they put it, "one of his goals in writing the *Phaenomena* was to demonstrate geometrically the assumption behind this arithmetic method."[18]

[18] John L. Berggren and Robert S. D. Thomas, *Euclid's Phaenomena: A Translation and Study of a Hellenistic Treatise in Spherical Astronomy* (New York and London: Garland, 1996), p. 2.

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The problem of oblique ascensions is dependent upon the conception of the celestial sphere and the great circles of the celestial equator and the ecliptic. These are the great circles represented in the diagram. But the diagram is static. In fact, because the ecliptic changes its angle of inclination to the horizon throughout the year, as the sun changes its place along the horizon at its rising, equal arcs of the ecliptic do not rise in equal times. Only equal arcs of the celestial equator rise in equal times because the position of the celestial equator with respect to the horizon is fixed for a given locale. On this basis such a concept as oblique ascensions or rising times makes little sense in an astronomical system that does not operate within a geocentric spherical framework.

What then are the rising times values that Neugebauer discovered in the mathematical structure of the daylight schemes of late Babylonian astronomy? They are linear arithmetic extrapolations from more elementary daylight schemes and from earlier texts that in fact describe the risings of segments of zodiacal signs in terms of the crossings of the meridian by a certain group of fixed stars long used for telling time at night. The idea is that just as noon is indicated by the sun's passing the local meridian at midday, so at night different times are indicated by the meridian crossings of particular fixed stars. The early rising times scheme is symmetrical because it is based on the Babylonian ideal year, the twelve months of thirty days, which was made equivalent to the twelve signs of 30 degrees in a correspondence of time and position, the two chief elements in the creation of one of the types of Babylonian period relations. The meridian crossings of the stars were observable for any date in the year, so the correspondence obtained between these observational quantities, that is, the intervals in time degrees for certain stars to cross the meridian, and intervals of degrees of zodiacal signs, would have been a theoretical step, but only insofar as dates in the ideal calendar were already interchangeable with zodiacal "positions." Dates (months) and positions (zodiacal signs) were seen in lockstep with one another, permitting events that occur at various intervals to be related to events that occur in various parts of the sky.

The point of the excursus into the rising times was to underscore the nature of the Babylonian astronomical methodology that addressed the recurrence of celestial phenomena with respect to time and position and did so in a thoroughly arithmetic way. The very conception of position in the zodiac was tied to corresponding dates. The 30 degrees per zodiacal sign provided an arithmetic standard of reference not tied to a geometrical cosmological framework as they were in Greek astronomy, where positions meant longitudes on a continuously moving ecliptic envisioned as a great circle bisecting the celestial sphere. In other words, each system, the Babylonian and the Greek, had a zodiac, that is, twelve 30-degree segments of the sun's path against the background of the fixed stars. But what the zodiac referred to in terms of a physical model was different in each system.

One might argue that the Babylonian zodiac was indeed a circle, and of course 360 degrees comes to be by definition a circle. But the words that we translate as "zodiacal sign" in Akkadian and Greek, for example, *lu-maš* and *zoidion*, express two different conceptions with two entirely different relationships to a world-picture. The difference in conception of celestial positions is important not only for our understanding of Babylonian astronomy on its own terms, but also because it reminds us that in the history of science there are such examples of differences in ontological assumptions, which in turn raise questions about the nature of empiricism and scientific inquiry and their relation to the world.

The difference in definition of the celestial positions from Babylonian to Greek also had an impact on the function and further development of period relations. As Goldstein and Bowen have discussed, any period relation implies a mean period;[19] for example, the relation 19 sidereal years = 235 lunar synodic months implies a mean period for the year of twelve plus a fraction months, expressed sexagesimally, this value is 12;22,6,18, ... months. The period relations that equate phenomena with time units also imply mean periods, found by dividing the number of days or whatever the time unit is by the number of phenomena to find a mean period of so-many phenomena per time unit.

This arithmetical determination of mean periods is certainly possible in Babylonian astronomy; in fact, such mean periods are embedded in the structure of various columns of the ephemeris tables. For example, the period relation 19 sidereal years = 235 synodic months implies nineteen complete returns to a given position for the sun but it also implies 254 (i.e., 235 + 19) complete returns to a given position for the moon. In terms of returns of the moon to a given position of longitude, an interval known as the sidereal month, the question arises, How many degrees of longitudinal progress does the moon make per day in a sidereal month? Goldstein showed how the number of days in a sidereal month can be found from the relation 235 synodic months = 254 sidereal months by finding the length in days of 235 synodic months (multiply the number of months by the value for the number of days in a synodic month) and dividing this number by 254: 6939;41 ÷ 254 = 27;19,17,43 $^{d/sidereal\ month}$.[20] If one complete revolution of the zodiac, or 360 degrees, is divided by this value, the result is 13;10,35$^{o/d}$, which is a standard Babylonian value for the daily mean progress in longitude of the moon.[21]

[19] Alan C. Bowen and Bernard R. Goldstein, "Geminus and the Concept of Mean Motion in Greco-Latin Astronomy," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 50 (1996): 157–85.

[20] Goldstein, "Lunar Motion."

[21] Ibid., p. 3.

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The mean period of the moon in longitude (13;10,35$^{o/d}$) is implied by the period relation 235 synodic months = 254 sidereal months. But, as made clear in Bowen and Goldstein's argument, an implied mean *period* is not the same as the concept of mean *motion*.[22] The concept of mean motion, according to Bowen and Goldstein, appears for the first time in Greek astronomy, beginning perhaps with Geminus' *Introductio astronomiae*.[23] Extant Greek astronomical texts speak in terms of constant and smooth motion with respect to the heavenly bodies, and indeed in spherical astronomy a body will move uniformly if traveling equal angles in equal times as seen from the center of the sphere. The approach to astronomy as a problem of celestial motion, viewing the planets as moving continuously in arcs of the ecliptic with their periods as functions of time, was a significant departure from Babylonian methods.

It was not only a fundamental difference in cosmology, but was also a different conception of the function of circles, which played no role in the theorization of celestial phenomena, that accounts for the difference between Babylonian and Greek astronomy. Eleanor Robson has discussed the conception of the circle in Babylonian mathematics, pointing out the lack of an interest in radii. She says, "in ancient Mesopotamia, by contrast [to the conception of a circle in modern mathematics as the locus of points equidistant from a central point], a circle was the shape contained within an equidistant circumference … . There are many more examples of circle calculations from the early second millennium, and none of them involves a radius. Even when the diameter of a circle was known, its area was calculated by means of the circumference."[24] The meaning of the Akkadian word *kippatum* "thing that curves" is, she notes, both the figure of the circle itself as well as its circumference. In other words, the circle is defined by the circumference (from the outside, so to speak), not the area defined by the rotation of a radius (from the inside out, so to speak). Therefore, the analogy to the motion of a body around a circular path defined with respect to the center, that is, the observer on earth, was not made by Babylonian astronomers, who were concerned rather with the return of certain phenomena to certain directions in the sky, calculated with respect to their periods of return. The goal of Babylonian astronomy was not the determination of the motion of a planet, much less the distinction between real and apparent motion such as one finds in Greek cinematic astronomy, but rather the date and position of individual phenomena. This, as Noel Swerdlow has emphasized,[25] makes the idea of continuous motion along a circular path completely irrelevant.

For the Babylonian celestial sciences periodicity was a central preoccupation; it was conceived of and dealt with in a quantitative but arithmetical way, that is, through counting but not geometry. Where a single cycle would yield a fractional quantity, the Babylonians favored larger cycles and integral periods, as in the Saros, where one eclipse possibility occurs every five plus a fraction months but thirty-eight eclipse possibilities occur exactly every 223 months. There is no physical background for the concept of period relations. Neither is there a particular commitment to a cosmological framework essential to their derivation or use. Their cognitive substance is in counting and predicting the appearance or possibility of appearance of celestial phenomena, a goal that was fully consistent with the divinatory and astrological context of Babylonian astronomy.

Abbreviations

LBAT	Theophilus G. Pinches, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*. Brown University Studies 18. Providence: Brown University Press, 1955
SAA 8	Hermann Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. State Archives of Assyria 8. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992

[22] Bowen and Goldstein, "Geminus," pp. 158–59.

[23] Bowen and Goldstein, "Geminus." Cf. Bernard R. Goldstein, "What's New in Ptolemy's Almagest?" *Nuncius* 22 (2007): 261–85, esp. p. 272.

[24] Eleanor Robson, "Words and Pictures: New Light on Plimpton 322," *American Mathematical Monthly* 109 (2002): 111.

[25] Noel M. Swerdlow, *The Babylonian Theory of the Planets*, p. 30.

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On Persons in the Old Babylonian Law Collections: The Case of *mār awīlim* in Bodily Injury Provisions

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In a recent article,[1] I maintain, building on insights published by R. Westbrook,[2] that in the Old Babylonian law collections: (1) *mārum* and *mārtum* always denote (a) a son and daughter, (b) of any age from birth through adulthood, who is (c) dependent upon or subordinate to a head-of-household; (2) the compounds *mār awīlim* and *mārat awīlim* do **not** refer to "free person" or "member of the *awīlum* class," as I and others have translated and understood in commentaries, but rather to a male or female dependent of an *awīlum*; and (3) without compelling reasons to the contrary, *mārum* should be understood to refer to a male ("son") and not to a gender-neutral "child."[3] This article elaborates on how these points affect our understanding of two sections of provisions in the Laws of Hammurabi (LH)[4]: those on bodily injuries, LH §§ 196–214, and the following related provisions that consider fees for a physician attending such injuries, LH §§ 215–223.

The literary structures and compositional principles (or better: trends) observable in the legal provisions of Mesopotamian law collections have been isolated elsewhere. The larger blocks of thematically linked provisions — the "concatenation of ideas, key words and phrases, and similar motifs"[5] — have been discussed by scholars since the early 1930s.[6] B. Eichler,[7] focusing on the marriage and family provisions in LE §§ 25–35, identified two principles that elucidate the cases within these blocks or topical groupings: first, developing points made by J. J. Finkelstein, "polar cases with maximal variation," and second, the "creation of a legal statement by juxtaposing individual legal cases with one another."[8] These observations are crucial to my understanding of *mār awīlim* in the provisions under discussion.

Before proceeding to the provisions themselves, it is appropriate to recall one obvious point: the numbering of provisions and indeed the division into discrete provisions are the product of modern scholarship (actually, of the *editio princeps*) and not of the ancient redactors. For the most part, V. Scheil, the first modern editor, construed each numbered provision as consisting of a protasis and apodosis (or condition and consequent) and beginning with the particle *šumma*, without regard for whether a complete and new set of circumstances warranted each such division.[9] Indeed, the thematic section[10] of twenty-seven law provisions dealing with bodily injuries and traditionally numbered

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[1] "On *mār awīlim* in the Old Babylonian Law Collections," (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 72/2 [2013]: 267–72). The present article is the second in a series of explorations on the *mār awīlim*.

[2] Raymond Westbrook, "Reflections on the Law of Homicide in the Ancient World," *Maarav* 13 (2006): 145–74, a review essay of Pamela Barmash, *Homicide in the Biblical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 148; see also Raymond Westbrook, "LH §§ 7 and 123 — A Contradiction?" *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2007/27.

[3] See also Raymond Westbrook, "Old Babylonian Law," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, edited by Raymond Westbrook, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/72 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 395 n. 102: "The law codes use Sumerian terminology, which can be ambiguous as to gender. dumu means 'son' (Akk. *mārum*) and dumu.mi$_2$ means 'daughter' (Akk. *mārtum*), but especially in the plural, dumu can be gender non-specific. Nonetheless, dumu is paradigmatically a son and should be taken as such unless the context demands otherwise."

[4] Citations to law collections correct Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, Writings from the Ancient World 6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995; 2nd rev. ed., 1997); see the appropriate criticism of B. Levinson, Review of *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, by Martha T. Roth, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59 (2000): 120.

[5] Shalom M. Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law*, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), p. 106.

[6] For early bibliography, see Paul, *Studies*, p. 106 n. 1.

[7] B. L. Eichler, "Literary Structure in the Laws of Eshnunna," in *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, edited by Francesca Rochberg-Halton, American Oriental Series 67 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987), pp. 71–84.

[8] Eichler, "Literary Structure," p. 72 with n. 9.

[9] A. Poebel, "Eine altbabylonische Abschrift der Gesetzessammlung Hammurabis aus Nippur," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 18 (1915): 257–65, first proposed alternative numberings; see Reuven Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, 2nd rev. ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 30ff.

[10] The demarcation into longer thematic sections is, of course, even more so an expression of modern editing practice, although three ancient exemplars provide some rubrics; see Roth, *Law Collections*, pp. 75f. In the present instance, §§ 196–223 follow the hinge provi-

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§§ 196–223 might usefully be redivided into twelve units, that is, into sections with subsections, using the first and simplest distinguishing criterion: the articulation of a new actor.[11] Within the twelve sections, each protasis or condition presents three variables: (a) the actor (perpetrator), (b) the person acted upon (victim), and (c) the body part injured. (The unarticulated repetition of a variable is presented parenthetically.)

Laws of Hammurabi		*Actor*	*Acted-upon*	*Injury*
Section I (§§ 196–99)				
§ 196	*šumma awīlum īn <<mār>> awīlim uḫtappid īnšu uḫappadu* If an *awīlum* should blind the eye of an *awīlum*, they shall blind his eye.	*awīlum*	*awīlum*	blinding
§ 197	*šumma eṣemti awīlim ištebir eṣemtašu išebbiru* If he should break the bone of an *awīlum*, they shall break his bone.	(*awīlum*)	*awīlum*	broken bone
§ 198	*šumma īn muškēnim uḫtappid ulu eṣemti muškēnim ištebir* 1 *mana kaspam išaqqal* If he should blind the eye of a *muškēnum* or break the bone of a *muškēnum*, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.	A. (*awīlum*) B. (*awīlum*)	*muškēnum* *muškēnum*	blinding broken bone
§ 199	*šumma īn warad awīlim uḫtappid ulu eṣemti warad awīlim ištebir mišil šīmišu išaqqal* If he should blind the eye of slave of an *awīlum* or break the bone of the slave of an *awīlum*, he shall weigh and deliver one-half of his value (in silver).	A. (*awīlum*) B. (*awīlum*)	*warad awīlim* *warad awīlim*	blinding broken bone
Section II (§§ 200–01)				
§ 200	*šumma awīlum šinni awīlim meḫrišu ittadi šinnašu inaddû* If an *awīlum* should knock out the tooth of *awīlum* of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth.	*awīlum*	*awīlum meḫrušu*	tooth loss
§ 201	*šumma šinni muškēnim ittadi* $^{1}/_{3}$ *mana kaspam išaqqal* If he should knock out the tooth of a *muškēnum*, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.	(*awīlum*)	*muškēnum*	tooth loss
Section III (§ 202)				
§ 202	*šumma awīlum lēt awīlim ša elišu rabû imtaḫaṣ ina puḫrim ina qinnaz alpim* 1 *šūši immaḫḫaṣ* If an *awīlum* should strike the cheek of an *awīlum* who is of a status higher than his own, he shall be flogged in the public assembly with 60 stripes of an ox whip.	*awīlum*	*awīlum ša elišu rabû*	cheek slap
Section IV (§ 203)				
§ 203	*šumma mār awīlim lēt mār awīlim ša kīma šuāti imtaḫaṣ* 1 *mana kaspam išaqqal* If the son of an *awīlum* should strike the cheek of the son of an *awīlum* who is his equal, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.	*mār awīlim*	*mār awīlim ša kīma šuāti*	cheek slap

sion § 195 which, in dealing with a *mārum* who strikes his father, looks back to the preceding adoption-related provisions and forward to the bodily injury provisions; on LH § 195, see Martha T. Roth, "Elder Abuse: LH § 195," in *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, edited by Ann K. Guinan, Maria deJ. Ellis, A. J. Ferrara, Sally M. Freedman, Matthew T. Rutz, Leonhard Sassmannshausen, Steve Tinney, and M. W. Waters, Cuneiform Monographs 31 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 349–56. Following the final *šumma*-provision of LH § 223, in which the actor is a physician, the actor in §§ 224f. is a veterinarian, in §§ 226f. a barber; the physician-clauses discussed here could easily belong with those that follow in another discussion of structure.

[11] For another grouping, see Godfrey R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, Vol. 1: *Legal Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 42 nn. 2–5; for the provisions with which we are here concerned, Driver and Miles (ibid., nn. 4–5) cite the unity of §§ 196–99, 200–01, 206–08, 209–10, 211–12, 213–14, 219–20, and 221–23.

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Laws of Hammurabi		*Actor*	*Acted-upon*	*Injury*
Section V (§ 204)				
§ 204	*šumma muškēnum lēt muškēnim imtaḫaṣ* 10 *šiqil kaspam išaqqal* If a *muškēnum* should strike the cheek of a *muškēnum*, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.	*muškēnum*	*muškēnum*	cheek slap
Section VI (§ 205)				
§ 205	*šumma warad awīlim lēt mār awīlim imtaḫaṣ uzunšu inakkisu* If the slave of an *awīlum* should strike the cheek of the son of an *awīlum*, they shall cut off his ear.	*warad awīlim*	*mār awīlim*	cheek slap
Section VII (§§ 206–08)				
§ 206	*šumma awīlum awīlam ina risbātim imtaḫaṣma simmam ištakanšu awīlum šû ina idû la amḫassu itamma u asâm ippal* If an *awīlum* should strike an *awīlum* inadvertently and inflict upon him a wound, that *awīlum* shall swear, "I did not strike him intentionally," and he shall pay the physician in full.	*awīlum*	*awīlum*	non-fatal wound
§ 207	*šumma ina maḫāṣišu imtūt itammāma šumma mār awīlim* $^1/_2$ *mana kaspam išaqqal* If he (victim) should die from his beating, he (aggressor) shall swear ("I did not strike him intentionally"), and <...>; if he (the victim) is the son of an *awīlum*, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.	A. (*awīlum*) B. (*awīlum*)	(*awīlum*) *mār awīlim*	fatal wound (fatal wound)
§ 208	*šumma mār muškēnim* $^1/_3$ *mana kaspam išaqqal* If he (the victim) is the son of a *muškēnum*, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.	(*awīlum*)	*mār muškēnim*	(fatal wound)
Section VIII (§§ 209–14)				
§ 209	*šumma awīlum mārat awīlim imḫaṣma ša libbiša uštaddīši* 10 *šiqil kaspam ana ša libbiša išaqqal* If an *awīlum* strikes the daughter of an *awīlum* and thereby causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for her fetus.	*awīlum*	*mārat awīlim*	miscarriage
§ 210	*šumma sinništum šî imtūt mārassu idukku* If that woman should die, they shall kill his daughter.	(*awīlum*)	(*mārat awīlim*)	fatal wound
§ 211	*šumma mārat muškēnim ina maḫāṣim ša libbiša uštaddīši* 5 *šiqil kaspam išaqqal* If he should cause the daughter of a *muškēnum* to miscarry her fetus by the beating, he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of silver.	(*awīlum*)	*mārat muškēnim*	miscarriage
§ 212	*šumma sinništum šî imtūt* $^1/_2$ *mana kaspam išaqqal* If that woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.	(*awīlum*)	(*mārat muškēnim*)	fatal wound
§ 213	*šumma amat awīlim imḫaṣma ša libbiša uštaddīši* 2 *šiqil kaspam išaqqal* If he strikes the slave woman of an *awīlum* and thereby causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 2 shekels of silver.	(*awīlum*)	*amat awīlim*	miscarriage
§ 214	*šumma amtum šî imtūt* $^1/_3$ *mana kaspam išaqqal* If that slave woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.	(*awīlum*)	(*amat awīlim*)	fatal wound

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	Laws of Hammurabi	*Actor*	*Acted-upon*	*Injury*
Section IX (§§ 215–17)				
§ 215	*šumma asûm awīlam simmam kabtam ina karzilli siparrim īpušma awīlam ubtalliṭ ulu nakkapti awīlim ina karzilli siparrim iptēma īn awīlim ubtalliṭ* 10 *šiqil kaspam ileqqe* If a physician makes a major incision with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlum* and thus heals the *awīlum*, or opens an *awīlum*'s temple with a bronze lancet and thus heals the *awīlum*'s eye, he shall take 10 shekels of silver (as his fee).	A. physician B. (physician)	*awīlum* *awīlum*	healed injury healed eye
§ 216	*šumma mār muškēnim* 5 *šiqil kaspam ileqqe* If he (the patient) is the son of a *muškēnum*, he shall take 5 shekels of silver (as his fee).	A. (physician) B. (physician)	*mār muškēnim* (*mār muškēnim*)	(healed injury) (healed eye)
§ 217	*šumma warad awīlim bēl wardim ana asîm* 2 *šiqil kaspam inaddin* If he (the patient) is the slave of an *awīlum*, the slave's master shall give to the physician 2 shekels of silver (as his fee).	A. (physician) B. (physician)	*warad awīlim* (*warad awīlim*)	(healed injury) (healed eye)
Section X (§ 218)				
§ 218	*šumma asûm awīlam simmam kabtam ina karzilli siparrim īpušma awīlam uštamīt ulu nakkapti awīlim ina karzilli siparrim iptēma īn awīlim uḫtappid rittašu inakkisu* If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlum* and thus causes the *awīlum*'s death, or opens an *awīlum*'s temple with a bronze lancet and thus blinds the *awīlum*'s eye, they shall cut off his hand.	A. physician B. (physician)	*awīlum* *awīlum*	fatal outcome blinding
Section XI (§§ 219–20)				
§ 219	*šumma asûm simmam kabtam warad muškēnim ina karzilli siparrim īpušma uštamīt wardam kīma wardim iriab* If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon a slave of a *muškēnum* and causes (the slave's) death, he shall replace the slave with a slave of comparable value.	physician	*warad muškēnim*	fatal outcome
§ 220	*šumma nakkaptašu ina karzilli siparrim iptēma īnšu uḫtappid kaspam mišil šīmišu išaqqal* If he opens his temple with a bronze lancet and thus blinds his eye, he shall weigh and deliver silver equal to half his value.	(physician)	(*warad muškēnim*)	blinding
Section XII (§§ 221–23)				
§ 221	*šumma asûm eṣemti awīlim šebirtam uštallim ulu šerʾānam marṣam ubtalliṭ bēl simmim ana asîm* 5 *šiqil kaspam inaddin* If a physician should set an *awīlum*'s broken bone or heal an injured muscle, the patient shall give the physician 5 shekels of silver.	A. physican B. (physician)	*awīlum* (*awīlum*)	healed bone healed muscle
§ 222	*šumma mār muškēnim* 3 *šiqil kaspam inaddin* If he (the patient) is the son of a *muškēnum*, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.	A. (physician) B. (physician)	*mār muškēnim* (*mār muškēnim*)	(healed bone) (healed muscle)
§ 223	*šumma warad awīlim bēl wardim ana asîm* 2 *šiqil kaspam inaddin* If he (the patient) is the slave of an *awīlum*, the slave's master shall give the physician 2 shekels of silver.	A. (physician) B. (physician)	*warad awīlim* (*warad awīlim*)	(healed bone) (healed muscle)

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As is clear from the above schema, the redactor might alter but one variable for clarity or two variables for "maximal variation."[12] Thus Section I, with four *šumma*-clauses, contains six unique three-part conditions. The actor (the *awīlum*) is made explicit only in the first *šumma*-clause, § 196; two injured body parts (eye and bone) alternate, seesaw fashion; and the four acted-upon parties are considered in the following sequence: *awīlum*[13] — *muškēnum* — slave of an *awīlum*.

Section II has two *šumma*-clauses. The actor is again an *awīlum*; a third injured body part (the tooth) is introduced; and a fifth acted-upon person is added. The sequence of acted-upon parties is: an equal *awīlum* — *muškēnum*.

Sections III, IV, V, and VI each consists of but one *šumma*-clause. Each has a different actor, a different acted-upon party, and repeats the same injured part.[14] The order in which the acted-upon parties are presented is: superior *awīlum* — equal *awīlum* — *muškēnum* — son of an *awīlum*.

Section VII consists of three *šumma*-clauses with four conditions and one actor, an *awīlum*, explicit only in the first. The first two conditions retain the same acted-upon party, an *awīlum*, and vary the injury, thus introducing only one variable. The next two conditions then vary the acted-upon party and retain the second injury. The order of the varied acted-upon parties is: *awīlum* — son of an *awīlum* — son of a *muškēnum*.

Section VIII consists of six *šumma*-clauses. The injury alternates in the same seesaw pattern we observed in Section I. The three acted-upon parties, each of which is considered with the same two injuries, are presented in the order: daughter of an *awīlum* — daughter of a *muškēnum* — slave woman of an *awīlum*.

The protases in Sections IX through XII are concerned not with the inflicting of bodily injuries but rather with the conditions and outcomes of a physician's activities demanded by those injuries. In all provisions in these sections, the actor is the physician.

Section IX, with three *šumma*-clauses and six conditions, presents two positive medical outcomes resulting from a physician's surgery: a general, unspecified healing and a healing of an injury to an eye. The two outcomes again alternate in the same seesaw pattern we have already observed. The acted-upon party (that is, the person healed) is presented in the order: *awīlum* — son of a *muškēnum* — slave of an *awīlum*.

Sections X and XI — which could be one section were it not for the explicit repetition of *asûm* in § 219 — contain together three *šumma*-clauses and four conditions. The two outcomes again alternate in seesaw fashion. These two outcomes are the negatives of the positive outcomes in Section IX. The acted-upon parties, however, are not the same three we found in Section IX but: *awīlum* — slave of a *muškēnum*.

Section XII, with three *šumma*-clauses and six positive medical outcomes, follows the same seesaw injury pattern we have seen, alternating a healed bone and healed muscle. The acted upon parties are: *awīlum* — son of a *muškēnum* — slave of an *awīlum*.

What can we conclude about the hierarchy of the acted-upon parties? The order of primacy of rank is clear: *awīlum* antecedes *muškēnum*, son or daughter antecedes slave, and male antecedes female. The sequence of parties is:

awīlum > *muškēnum* > son of an *awīlum* > son of a *muškēnum* > slave of an *awīlum* > slave of a *muškēnum*

Similarly for the females:

(*sinništum*) > daughter of an *awīlum* > daughter of a *muškēnum* > slave woman of an *awīlum* > slave woman of a *muškēnum*

Furthermore, within the *awīlum* group:

superior *awīlum* > equal *awīlum* > inferior *awīlum*

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[12] Eichler, "Literary Structure," p. 72.

[13] Assuming the emendation in LH § 196; see below.

[14] Elsewhere I developed the argument that the injury to the cheek is an insult to dignity rather than (only) a literal physical assault. See Martha T. Roth, "Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 71 (1995): 13–39, esp. pp. 34ff.

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A "full paradigm" of the LH bodily injury and physician provisions would permit a reconstruction that accounts for all possible acted-upon parties (reconstructed portions in single pointed brackets and italics):

Actor	*Injury*	*Acted-upon*	*Result*
If an *awīlum* should			
	blind the eye of		
		an *awīlum*	they shall blind his eye (§ 196)
		a *muškēnum*	he pays 60 shekels silver (§ 198)
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a son of a *muškēnum*>	—
		a slave of an *awīlum*	he pays half the slave's value (§ 199)
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
	break the bone of		
		an *awīlum*	they shall break his bone (§ 197)
		a *muškēnum*	he pays 60 shekels silver (§198)
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a son of a *muškēnum*>	—
		a slave of an *awīlum*	he pays half the slave's value (§ 199)
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
	knock out the tooth of		
		<a superior *awīlum*>	—
		an equal *awīlum*	they shall knock out his tooth (§ 200)
		<an inferior *awīlum*>	—
		a *muškēnum*	he pays 20 shekels silver (§ 201)
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a son of a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a slave of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
	inflict non-fatal injury inadvertently[15] on		
		an *awīlum*	he swears unintentionality and pays physician (§ 206)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a son of a *muškēnum*>	—
	inflict non-fatal injury on and cause miscarriage to		
		a daughter of an *awīlum*	he pays 10 shekels silver for fetus (§ 209)
		a daughter of a *muškēnum*	he pays 5 shekels silver for fetus (§ 211)
		a ^{f}slave of an *awīlum*	he pays 2 shekels silver for fetus (§ 213)
		<a ^{f}slave of a *muškēnum*>	—

[15] Following the suggestion of Dominique Charpin, "'Lies natürlich …': à propos des erreurs de scribes dans les lettres de Mari," in *Vom Alten Orient Zum Alten Testament: Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 240 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995), p. 50.

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Actor	*Injury*	*Acted-upon*	*Result*
If an *awīlum* should (*cont.*)			
	inflict fatal injury inadvertently on		
		an *awīlum*	he swears unintentionality (and ?) (§ 207)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		a son of an *awīlum*	(he swears unintentionality and) pays 30 shekels (§ 207)
		a son of a *muškēnum*	(he swears unintentionality and) he pays 20 shekels (§ 208)
	inflict fatal injury on (and cause miscarriage to)		
		a daughter of an *awīlum*	they kill his daughter (and he pays 10 shekels for fetus) (§ 210)
		a daughter of a *muškēnum*	he pays 30 shekels silver (and he pays 5 shekels for fetus) (§ 212)
		a ^{f}slave of an *awīlum*	he pays 20 shekels silver (and he pays 2 shekels for fetus) (§ 214)
		<a ^{f}slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
If a physician should			
	successfully perform (unspecified) surgery on		
		an *awīlum*	he receives 10 shekels silver (§ 215)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		a son of a *muškēnum*	he receives 5 shekels silver (§ 216)
		a slave of an *awīlum*	he receives 2 shekels silver (§ 217)
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
	successfully perform eye surgery on		
		an *awīlum*	he receives 10 shekels silver (§ 215)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		a son of a *muškēnum*	he receives 5 shekels silver (§ 216)
		a slave of an *awīlum*	he receives 2 shekels silver (§ 217)
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
	successfully set a broken bone of		
		an *awīlum*	he receives 5 shekels silver (§ 221)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		a son of a *muškēnum*	he receives 3 shekels silver (§ 222)
		a slave of an *awīlum*	he receives 2 shekels silver (§ 223)
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—
	successfully heal an injured muscle of		
		an *awīlum*	he receives 5 shekels silver (§ 221)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		a son of a *muškēnum*	he receives 3 shekels silver (§ 222)
		a slave of an *awīlum*	he receives 2 shekels silver (§ 223)
		<a slave of a *muškēnum*>	—

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Actor	*Injury*	*Acted-upon*	*Result*
If a physician should (*cont.*)			
	unsuccessfully perform (unspecified) surgery with fatal outcome on		
		an *awīlum*	they cut off his hand (§ 218)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a son of a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a slave of an *awīlum*>	—
		a slave of a *muškēnum*	he replaces the slave (§ 219)
	unsuccessfully perform eye surgery resulting in blinding on		
		an *awīlum*	they cut off his hand (§ 218)
		<a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a son of an *awīlum*>	—
		<a son of a *muškēnum*>	—
		<a slave of an *awīlum*>	—
		a slave of *muškēnum*	he pays half the slave's value (§ 220)

It is probably futile to attempt to "fill in" the paradigm with predictions of the monetary amounts in the apodoses (the penalty clauses or consequents), as the ratios between and among the actors vary in detail.[16] Moreover, of course, the monetary amounts are idealized and illustrative rather than prescriptive. But it is clear that the compensations follow the same priorities of the sequence of parties: penalties for offenses against an *awīlum* are greater than those against a *muškēnum*; penalties for those against a son or daughter are greater than those against a slave; and penalties for those against a male are greater than those against a female.[17]

Finally, the emendation I propose in Section I, LH § 196, alters the acted-upon party by changing *īn mār awīlim* "eye of the son of an *awīlum*" to *īn awīlim* "eye of an *awīlum*." It should be clear from the foregoing that it is anomalous for *mār awīlim* (§ 196) to precede *awīlum* (§ 197); the anomaly was obscured by editions that failed to recognize the significance of *mārum* in the law collections. Thus Driver and Miles, for example, translated the body part and acted-upon persons in § 196 as "the eye of a free man" and then in § 197 "the bone of (free) man."[18] And my own earlier edition missed the significance completely, translating "the eye of another *awīlu*" and "the bone of another *awīlu*."[19] Unfortunately, the Louvre stela is the only witness for the relevant line in LH § 196 (xl 46) and thus there are no variants extant to support my reading.[20] Also unfortunately, the bodily injury provisions in the Laws of Ur-Namma and the Laws of Eshnunna have as their only actors and acted-upon persons the lu_2 or *awīlum* and are of no help in providing parallels. Nonetheless,

[16] For "a daughter" the ratio of the payment for the loss of the fetus of a daughter of an *awīlum* to that of a daughter of a *muškēnum* is 2:1 (§§ 209 and 211). For "a son" the ratio for the death of son of an *awīlum* to that of a son a *muškēnum* is 3:2 (§§ 207–08). For a female dependent of an *awīlum*, the ratio of the payment for the loss of the fetus of a daughter of an *awīlum* to that of a slave woman of an *awīlum* is 5:1 (§§ 209 and 213). Mixing both the dependant and the patron, the ratio of compensation for the death of a pregnant daughter of a *muškēnum* to that of a pregnant slave woman of an *awīlum* is 3:2 (§§ 212 and 214); and the ratio of the physician's fee for healing the eye or the bone of an *awīlum* to that of a son of a *muškēnum* to that of a slave of an *awīlum* is 10:5:2 (§§ 215–17 and 221–23).

[17] The same prioritization of persons may be seen, albeit fleetingly, in some of the parallels to our provisions and elsewhere in other law collections. Thus LL §§ d–f (paralleling our LH §§ 209–14) present the victims of assault and subsequent miscarriage in the order dumu.munus lu_2 — geme_2 lu_2, daughter of a lu_2 — slave woman of a lu_2; in SLEx §§ 1′-2′, only the dumu.munus lu_2 is considered and the variation is one of unintentional jostling versus deliberate assault. Yaron is not correct in his conclusion that the bodily injury provisions LE §§ 42–47A "... concern themselves only with injuries inflicted by free men upon free men. There are no distinctions relating to the status of either party, the offender or the offended" (Yaron, *Eshnunna*, p. 285). Rather, LE §§ 42–46 deal with specific injuries (to the nose, eye, ear, "cheek," finger, hand, foot, collarbone) inflicted by an *awīlum* upon an *awīlum*, LE § 47 deals with any (other) injury inflicted in the course of a fray or melee (*ina šigištim*) by an *awīlum* upon an *awīlum*, and § 47A provides a clear instance of maximal variation by altering the injury (fatal), the circumstances (inadvertently, *ina risbātim*), and the victim (son of an *awīlum*).

[18] Godfrey R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* Vol. 2: *Transliterated Text, Translation, Philological Notes, Glossary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 77.

[19] Roth, *Law Collections*, p. 121.

[20] On variants to the LH, see Pamela Barmash, "Scribal Initiative in the Clarification and Interpretation of Mesopotamian Law Collections," in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Chaim Cohen, Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, Avi Hurvitz, Yochanan Muffs, Baruch J. Schwartz, and Jeffrey H. Tigay (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 551–63.

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should another witness to LH § 196 appear — as is certain to happen some day — I expect that it will confirm my emendation and validate the typology proposed here.

Abbreviations

LE	Laws of Ešnunna
LH	Laws of Hammurabi
LL	Laws of Lipit-Ištar
LU	Laws of Ur-Namma
SLEx	Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet

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18

Gilgamesh and the *ius primae noctis*

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> "Doch unenträtselt blieb die ewge Nacht,
> Das ernste Zeichen einer fernen Macht."
> — Novalis, *Hymnen an die Nacht*, 5

In the Babylonian *Gilgamesh*, the king of Uruk is said to let no young woman go free to her bridegroom (or husband):[1]

> [*ul*] *ú-maš-*⌜*šar*⌝ [^{d}GIŠ.GIN$_2$.MAŠ ^{mí}]⌜GURUŠ.TUR *a*⌝*-n*[*a ḫa-i-ri-šá*]
> "Gilgamesh would let no girl go free to her *bridegroom*." (I 76)

In recent editions and translations, most prefer to fill the gap at the end of the line with either *mutīša* "her husband" or *ḫāʾirīša* "her bridegroom."[2] This may have a parallel in I 91: *ul ú-ma-šar* ^{d}GIŠ.GIN$_2$.MAŠ ^{mí}GURUŠ.TUR *a-na m*[*uʔ-ti-šáʔ*] (George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 542). Moreover, since the abuse inflicted upon young women took place after the betrothal and before the wedding, this affected fathers and bridegrooms alike, as is summarized in I 77–78 and 92–93:

[*m*]*a-rat qu-ra-di ḫi-rat e*[*ṭ-li*]	(variant: DAM [*qurādiʔ*])
ta-zi-im-ta-ši-na iš-te-nem-me ^{d}[*a-num*]	(in I 78: ^{d}*išta*[*rātu*(XV)]
"The warrior's daughter, the young man's bride,	(variant: "the warrior's wife")
To their complaint Anu was listening."	(in I 78: "the goddesses were …")

These two lines would refer to I 76 and I 68 (*ana abīša* "… to her father").[3] Perhaps the presence of *ḫīrtu* in I 92 should support the reconstruction *ḫāʾirīša* in I 76 (both *ḫīrtu* and *ḫāʾiru* come from the root of the verb *ḫiāru* "to choose, to seek in marriage"). Still, due to the parallel with I 72 (⌜*ul ú*⌝*-ma*[*š-šar* ^{d}GIŠ.GIN$_2$.MAŠ *mārta ana*] ⌜AMA⌝-[*ša*]; George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 542), others opt for *ummīša* "her mother" to fill the gap in I 76.[4]

The most explicit allusion to this motif of abuse can be found in a passage from the Old Babylonian version of tablet II of the epic, the Pennsylvania tablet (CBS 7771 rev. i 25–30 [159–164]; George, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 178–79, pl. 2):

> *aššat šīmātim iraḫḫi*
> *šū pānānumma*
> *mutum warkānu*
> *ina milki ša ilim qabīma*

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[1] For the text of this section, see Andrew R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*. 2 volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 542. George's complete scores of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh can be downloaded at: http://www.soas.ac.uk/nme/research/gilgamesh/standard/.

[2] See Giovanni Pettinato, *La saga di Gilgamesh* (Milan: Rusconi, 1992), p. 126 (*suo marito*); Karl Hecker, "Das akkadische Gilgamesch-Epos," in *Texte aus der Umwelt des alten Testaments*, Vol. 3, Part 4: *Mythen und Epen II*, edited by Karl Hecker, Wilfred G. Lambert, Gerfried G. W. Müller, Wolfram von Soden, and Ahmet Ünal (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994), p. 674 (*zu ihrem Geliebten*); Raymond Jacques Tournay and Aaron Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 15 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994), p. 48 n. 41 (*son mari*); Shin Shifra and Jacob Klein, בימים הרחוקים ההם [*In Those Distant Days*] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers, 1996), p. 188 (חֲתָנָהּ "her bridegroom"); Simo Parpola, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh*, State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 1 (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), pp. 4 and 71–72 (I 62 and 74: [*ḫa-i-ri-šá*]); Herman L. J. Vanstiphout, *Het epos van Gilgameš* (Nijmegen: Sun, 2001), p. 55 (*haar bruidegom*); George, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 542–43; Joaquín Sanmartín, *Epopeya de Gilgameš, rey de Uruk* (Barcelona: Trotta, 2005), pp. 94 (*su novio*) and 111 n. 34.

[3] See Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 264–65; CAD s.v. *batultu* d; A. Leo Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," *Orientalia*, n.s., 17 (1948): 22–23.

[4] See Igor M. Diakonoff [Дьяконов], *Эпос о Гильгамеше ("О все видавшем")* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk, 1961), p. 8 (матери); Jorge Silva Castillo, *Gilgamesh, o la angustia por la muerte: Poema babilonio*, 4th ed. (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2000), p. 52; Benjamin R. Foster in Benjamin R. Foster, Douglas R. Frayne, and Gary M. Beckman, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation, Analogues, Criticism* (New York: Norton, 2001), pp. 5–6.

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ina bitiq abunnatīšu
šīmassum

"He (= Gilgamesh) copulates with the betrothed bride.
He first,
The husband afterwards.
By divine counsel it is so ordained.[5]
When his umbilical cord was cut,
It was determined for him."[6]

In the traditional and still widely held interpretation, these passages would point to some sort of *ius primae noctis*, even if *avant la lettre*, or rather *ante litteram*.[7] However, such an interpretation faces two essential problems. First, the institution known as *ius primae noctis*, *droit de seigneur*, *droit de cuissage*, or *das Recht des Herrn*, which would provide the historical model for a similar social practice in Mesopotamia, never existed in the European Middle Ages, contrary to what some Assyriological literature seems to assume.[8] Secondly, there is no evidence of such an institution in Mesopotamian legal documents; any alleged evidence comes from a literary context, especially the Babylonian *Gilgamesh* itself.[9] The lack of any tangible historical parallel is especially troubling, since the mere mention of the label *ius primae noctis* would seem to create a cross-cultural context for such a legal and social institution.

The late medieval and early modern constructed tradition of a *ius primae noctis* may have originated in a small kernel of institutional fact, such as the bridal tax known as merchet.[10] The merchet was a tax that had to be paid by a tenant or bondsman to his overlord in order to be granted the right to give his daughter in marriage.[11] This may have triggered a medieval legend that seems to surface for the first time in 1247, in a poem included in the cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, which lists the corvées owed by the *vilains* of Verson in Normandy and refers to a feudal due on marriages (*cullage*) to be paid in lieu of the sexual abuse of the future bride by the lord.[12] Even in this its first occurrence, the legend places the institution in a rather mythical past and does not make it contemporary with the mid-thirteenth-century context of the cartulary and the poem in question. A small group of fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century French documents also mention a payment made instead of an earlier *droit de seigneur*, but

[5] Here Wolfram von Soden, "Gab es in Babylonien die Inanspruchnahme des *ius primae noctis*?" *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 71 (1981): 182 n. 27, chooses AN (= *Anim*) instead of DINGIR. However, as George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 189, points out, Anu is spelled syllabically in this tablet.

[6] On cutting the umbilical cord as a fate-determining moment, see Marten Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean Setting*, Cuneiform Monographs 14 (Groningen: Styx, 2000), p. 143. In line 164, *šīmassum* (*šīmat+šum*) is not taken here as referring to the bride, since this would seem to imply a possible *non sequitur* ("when *his* umbilical cord was cut, *she* was destined to him"), unless she is his birthright; see CAD s.v. *šâmu* B mng. 1b; Tournay and Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, p. 69; *pace* George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 179.

[7] See Thorkild Jacobsen, "How Did Gilgameš Oppress Uruk?" *Acta Orientalia* 8 (1930): 62–74 (cf. idem, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976], p. 196); Albert Schott, review of Georges Dossin, *La pâleur d'Enkidou* (Paris, 1931), *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36 (1933): 521; idem, "Zu meiner Übersetzung des Gilgameš-Epos," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 42 (1934): 95; Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," p. 23; Otto E. Ravn, "The Passage on Gilgamesh and the Wives of Uruk," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 10 (1953): 12–13; idem, "Notes on Selected Passages in *Enuma Eliš* and Gilgameš," *Acta Orientalia* 22 (1955): 46–47; Heinrich Otten, "Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesch-Epos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958): 122; Wilfred G. Lambert, "Morals in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 15 (1957–1958): 195–96; idem, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 339–40; idem, "Gilgameš in Religious, Historical and Omen Texts and the Historicity of Gilgameš," in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, edited by Paul Garelli, Cahiers du Groupe François-Thureau-Dangin 1 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1960), p. 51; Viktor Korošec, "Gilgameš vu sous son aspect juridique," in Garelli, ed., *Gilgameš et sa légende*, p. 163; Jacob J. Finkelstein, "On Some Recent Studies in Cuneiform Law," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 251–52; Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, pp. 182–84; Jean-Jacques Glassner, "Women, Hospitality and the Honor of the Family," in *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*, edited by Barbara S. Lesko (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 72–73; George, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 169, 188, and 190–91.

[8] See Karl Schmidt, *Jus primae noctis: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1881); and idem, "Der Streit über das *jus primae noctis*." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 16 (1884): 18–59; Alain Boureau, *The Lord's First Night: The Myth of the droit de cuissage*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: Universtiy of Chicago Press, 1998 = Alain Boureau, *Le droit de cuissage: la fabrication d'un mythe (XIII^{e}–XX^{e} siècle)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995). On the topos of ritual deflowering in medieval and early modern travel narratives, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts, see Jörg Wettlaufer, "The *jus primae noctis* as a Male Power Display: A Review of Historic Sources with Evolutionary Interpretation," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 21 (2000): 111–23.

[9] See Samuel Greengus, "Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 20 (1966): 68–69; von Soden, "Inanspruchnahme." Against the attestation of *ius primae noctis* in Gilgamesh, see Igor M. Diakonoff, Reviews of *Het Gilgamesj Epos*, by F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl (Amsterdam, 1958) and *Epos o Gilgamešovi*, by Lubor Matouš (Prague, 1958), *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 18 (1961): 62–63; Benno Landsberger, "Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Beilager und Eheschliessung,'" in *Symbolae iuridicae et historicae Martino David dedicatae*, edited by J. A. Ankum, R. Feenstra, and W. F. Leemans (Leiden: Brill, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 82–84.

[10] Paul A. Brand, Paul R. Hyams, and Rosamond Faith, "Debate: Seigneurial Control of Women's Marriage," *Past & Present* 99 (1983): 123–48; Eleanor Searle, "Seigneurial Control of Women's Marriage: A Rejoinder," *Past & Present* 99 (1983): 148–60.

[11] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v.) finds a likely etymology in Old Welsh *merched*, plural of *merch* "daughter, girl, wife," perhaps through an Anglo-Norman *merchet* or a Medieval Latin *mercheta*, *merchetum*, *marchettum* (the latter Latin forms are attested in thirteenth-century British sources).

[12] Boureau, *The Lord's First Night*, pp. 118, 193–202.

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they never refer to its then-current existence or implementation.[13] Even in these literary and legal documents, this institution appears as a ghost from the past rather than a present reality. In sum, the myth of this *ius* or *droit* is a late medieval and early modern construct, rooted in earlier medieval folklore. The original function of the legend became explicit when the *ius primae noctis* constituted a charter for social critique during the eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. During the eighteenth century, authors such as Voltaire and Beaumarchais (in *Le nozze di Figaro*) employed its alleged existence to stress the corrupted nature of feudalism and, by extension, to criticize the remnants of the medieval polity in *l'ancien régime* of the Valois and the Bourbon dynasties.[14] In the mid-nineteenth century, references to the *ius primae noctis* were used to attack the reactionary nostalgia for the Catholic Middle Ages that characterized the rule of Napoleon III.[15]

The other sources frequently quoted by some Assyriologists as apparent parallels to the *ius primae noctis* — the early Jewish writings of the Mishnah, the Talmud, and other rabbinical works — do not bear witness to any social reality in this specific case, but rather to a folkloric tradition. In this regard, probably the most famous passage can be found in the Talmud Yerushalmi (*y. Ketubbot* 1.5, 25c):

> In the beginning they decreed (גזרו) a religious persecution (שמד) in Judea (....) And they decreed that a soldier (איסטרטיום < στρατιώτης) should have sexual intercourse (בועל) first (תחילה). They [namely, the sages] ordained (התקינו) that her husband (בעלה) would come unto her (בא עליה) while she was still in her father's house (....) The religious persecution ceased, but the custom did not (בטל השמד המנהג לא בטל).

According to this passage, the rabbis had adopted a legal remedy or measure (תקנה) authorizing premarital sex, in order to avoid the implementation of the *ius primae noctis* by the Roman occupiers. This measure enabled and encouraged the prospective bridegroom to have sex with his bride before the wedding ceremony, during the betrothal period, so the bride could not be deflowered by a Roman soldier. Nevertheless, as Tan Ilan has pointed out,[16] the Talmud Yerushalmi is here interpreting Mishnaic references to premarital cohabitation in Judea under the assumption that such a behavior would never have been tolerated in Jewish law. Thus, the Talmud Yerushalmi offers a historically constructed justification for the tolerance of premarital sex in Roman Judea: the need to circumvent the occupier's imposition of the *ius primae noctis*, which would have resulted from the aftermath of the Bar Kokhbah revolt. The use of the word שמד ("religious persecution") clearly points to this precise historical setting.[17] The Galilean rabbis put forward a pious aggadic explanation that set up a halakhic rationale for the troubling existence of premarital sex among Judean Jews.[18]

The literary and folkloric legend that eventually made it into modern tractates on legal history needs to be linked to a social discourse against the arbitrariness and abuses of power and government, as was clearly the case with its presence in the political discourse of the Enlightenment. Likewise, the fact that the only possible Mesopotamian evidence for *ius primae noctis* surfaces in a literary context needs to be placed against the same background of popular dissent in folkloric traditions. The *ius primae noctis* in the Babylonian *Gilgamesh* is a narrative construct that helps to define the king's behavior, but it is as likely to correspond to a historical reality as Almaviva's wishful claims in *Le nozze di Figaro* or, in the realm of contemporary kitsch, the algolagnic fantasies of Mel Gibson's *Braveheart*.[19] Moreover, there is also a common motif involved in the relation between kings and heros, in which the former are not portrayed in a particularly flattering way: Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad*; Charlemagne and Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*;

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[13] Ibid., pp. 201–24. The alleged legal evidence was analyzed and dismissed by Schmidt (*Jus primae noctis* and "Der Streit über das jus primae noctis"). His study remains the last word on the institutional side of the matter.

[14] Boureau, *The Lord's First Night*, pp. 40–66.

[15] Ibid., pp. 67–91.

[16] Tal Ilan, "Premarital Cohabitation in Ancient Judea: The Evidence of the Babatha Archive and the Mishnah (*Ketubbot* 1.4)." *The Harvard Theological Review* 86 (1993): 247–64 = Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), pp. 235–51.

[17] Ilan, "Premarital Cohabitation," p. 261; and idem, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History*, p. 248, translates שמד as "destruction." However, the meaning of this Aramaic word is more specific. In the Talmud Yerushalmi and in early Rabbinic writings, it means mostly "forcible conversion" (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 2nd ed. [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002], p. 556a). In the Talmud Bavli and in later Rabbinic writings, it normally has the most generic meaning of "religious persecution" (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002], p. 1155b). Here the latter sense seems more suitable.

[18] A similar but rather confusing account can be found in the other Talmud, the Talmud Bavli (*b. Ketubbot* 3b). Concerning sex and betrothed couples in Second Temple Judaism, see Michael L. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 166–68.

[19] The other side of the coin pertains to Gilgamesh's alleged homoerotic involvements, at which several compositions seem to hint: the Sumerian stories *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* and the *Death of Gilgamesh*, a Middle-Assyrian astronomical text (Astrolabe B), and, more famously, the Babylonian *Gilgamesh* itself. On this, see Jerrold S. Cooper, "Buddies in Babylonia: Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and Mesopotamian Homosexuality," in *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, edited by Tzvi Abusch (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), pp. 73–85; Jacob Klein, "A New Look at the 'Oppression of Uruk' Episode in the Gilgameš Epic," in Abusch, ed., *Riches Hidden in Secret Places,* pp. 187–201.

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King Kāvus and Rustam in the *Shāhnāmah*; King Alfonso and the Cid in the *Mio Cid* (20: *¡Dios, qué buen vassallo, si oviesse buen señor!* "God, what a good vassal, if he had a good lord!").[20] In the first tablet of the Babylonian *Gilgamesh*, the figure of the unjust king is embodied by Gilgamesh himself, and a peculiar incarnation of the seditious hero appears in the character of Enkidu. However, any possible critique of the dangers posed by the institution of kingship becomes attenuated and eventually dissolved when Gilgamesh and Enkidu form a partnership in which one becomes a heroic king and the other his capable sidekick.[21] Thus, there is no full-fledged discourse of dissent in this context, but rather a narrative trope to make Gilgamesh a more remarkable hero, precisely because of the initial *bathos* of his one-third of humanity, a humanity that will eventually turn into the *pathos* of his search for full immortality.

Abbreviations

CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, Philadelphia

[20] For the case of the *Shāhnāmah*, see Dick Davis, *Epic and Sedition: The Case of Ferdowsi's Shāhnāmeh* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1992).

[21] Although he assumes the general existence of the *ius primae noctis* (seemingly for other periods and cultures), Jan Keetman, "Der Kampf im Haustor. Eine der Schlüsselszenen zum Verständnis des Gilgameš-Epos," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67 (2008): 162 n. 13, has placed the Gilgamesh episode in the context of a generic narrative device with a political purpose of sorts: "Als literarischer Text kann das Gilgameš-Epos sein Anliegen in verfremdeter Gestalt darstellen. Statt Unterdrückung ganz abstrakt oder am konkreten Gegenstand (z.B. übertriebener Arbeitsdienst, Steuern) aufzuzeigen, ist es möglich, dass die, Unterdrückung in einen anderen Bereich transponiert wird, etwa als sexuelle Unterdrückung."

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Cyrus the Great, Exiles, and Foreign Gods: A Comparison of Assyrian and Persian Policies on Subject Nations

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Introduction

Cyrus, king of Persia (559–530 B.C.), conqueror of Babylon (539), has a good reputation, also among modern historians. Most textbooks, monographs, and articles on ancient history stress his tolerance toward the countries and nations he subdued. It is mentioned time and again that he allowed them freedom of religion, that he behaved respectfully toward Babylon and its temple cults, and that he reinstated several cults, especially that of the god of Israel in Jerusalem. This policy is often contrasted with that of the Assyrian kings, who are presented as cruel rulers, oppressing subdued nations, destroying sanctuaries, deporting gods and people, and forcing their subjects to worship Assyrian gods. Cyrus' acts supposedly inaugurated a new policy, aimed at winning the subject nations for the Persian empire by tolerance and clemency. It was exceptional that Cambyses and Xerxes abandoned this policy in Egypt and Babylonia. In the prestigious *Cambridge Ancient History* volume on Persia, T. Cuyler Young maintains that Cyrus' policy "was one of remarkable tolerance based on a respect for individual people, ethnic groups, other religions and ancient kingdoms."[1]

* This contribution is an update of my article "Cyrus de Pers in Assyrisch perspectief: Een vergelijking tussen de Assyrische en Perzische politiek ten opzichte van onderworpen volken," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 96 (1983): 1–27 (in Dutch, for a general audience of historians). It was based on a lecture given at the first Achaemenid History Workshop, the Colloquium on Early Achaemenid History, held in Groningen on May 29, 1981, organized by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Summaries of the lectures were published in *Persica: Jaarboek van het Genootschap Nederland-Iran / Annuaire de la Société Néerlando-iranienne* 10 (1982): 273–84. For the study of Assyrian imperialism, see also my "Assyriology and History: A Comparative Study of War and Empire in Assyria, Athens, and Rome," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), pp. 262–70. I thank Jona Lendering for the translation of this article into English and for his inspiring comments.

[1] T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "The Early History of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid Empire to the Death of Cambyses," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525 to 479 B.C.*, edited by John Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, David M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 42. In the same vein: Muhammad A. Dandamaev and Vladimir G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 348, 367. Older studies: A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, 1976), pp. 51–52, 57–58; Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1963), pp. 78, 82, 120; idem, *The History of Ancient Iran*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 3/7 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984); Roman Ghirshman, *Iran: From the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 133; Sabatino Moscati, *The Face of the Ancient Orient: A Panorama of Near Eastern Civilizations in Pre-Classical Times* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1962), pp. 287–88; George G. Cameron, "Ancient Persia," in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Robert C. Dentan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), pp. 92–93; Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique, de Cyrus à Xerxès," *Persica* 3 (1967–1968): 1; Ismael Quiles, "La philosophie sous-jacente au message de Cyrus," in *Commémoration Cyrus, Actes du congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500e anniversaire de la fondation de l'empire perse*, vol. 1, edited by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Acta Iranica 1 (Tehran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 19–23; Józef Wolski, "La constitution de l'empire d'Iran et son rôle dans l'histoire de l'antiquité," in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., *Commémoration Cyrus 1*, p. 74; Antonio Pagliaro, "Cyrus et l'empire perse," in *Commémoration Cyrus, Actes du congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500e anniversaire de la fondation de l'empire perse*, vol. 2, edited by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Acta Iranica 2 (Tehran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 3–23; Gherardo Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les achéménides," in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., *Commémoration Cyrus 2*, pp. 117–90, esp. 154–55; Muhammad A. Dandamaev, "La politique religieuse des Achéménides," in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, edited by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Acta Iranica 4 (Tehran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: Brill, 1975), vol. 1, p. 193. For more relevant literature, see Pier Luigi Tozzi, "Per la storia della politica religiosa degli Achemenidi: Distruzioni persiane de templi greci agli inizi del V secolo," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 89 (1977): 29 n. 29. Tozzi presents a less positive picture of the Achaemenid kings, quoted by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, *Yaunā en Persai: Grieken en Perzen in een ander perspectief* (Groningen: Drukkerij Dijkstra Niemeyer, 1980), pp. 15–16; cf. below. A more nuanced picture of Cyrus is found in Klaas R. Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexanders des Großen*, Grundisse zum Alten Testament 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), pp. 288–91.

Since the publication of this article in 1983 a lot has changed thanks to the work of, among others, Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Fayard, 1996) = *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, English translation by Peter

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The most important document in this context is the Babylonian Cyrus Cylinder. This clay cylinder was probably intended for deposition in the foundation of the Imgur-Enlil wall in Babylon. It was discovered in 1879 by Hormuzd Rassam in the Amran Hill (temple area), and acquired in 1880 by the British Museum.[2] The document is one of the latest examples of an age-old Mesopotamian royal tradition of depositing such cylinders in the foundations of temples and palaces with the purpose of justifying the deeds of the king to the gods and to posterity.[3] The Cyrus Cylinder is especially notable as a document in which Cyrus denounces his Babylonian predecessor Nabonidus as a usurper and proclaims himself as the true Babylonian king, appointed by Marduk himself.

The cylinder has raised interest from its discovery, but received special attention in 1971 during a festival in Tehran in which the Shah of Persia celebrated the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian monarchy. Part of the celebrations was the presentation of a replica of the document to U Thant, then secretary general of the United Nations; it has ever since been on display since in the UN headquarters in New York as "the first declaration of human rights."[4] A state-organized conference intended as homage to Cyrus was held in Shiraz.[5] In the same vein, Cyrus' tolerance was treated by Cyrus Masroori in a volume dedicated to religious toleration.[6] The discussions of this kind are valuable in that they challenge the usual Eurocentric approach to the history of the Near East in traditional scholarship, which tends to see all the blessings of modern civilization as coming solely from Greece and Rome. It is good to see that in the past decades this Eurocentric treatment of ancient Near Eastern history (including that of the Hellenistic period) has lost

T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002); Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25 (1983): 83–97; idem, "Babylonia from Cyrus to Xerxes," in Boardman, Hammond, Lewis, and Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* 4, pp. 112–38; idem, "Cyrus the Great of Persia: Images and Realities," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), pp. 169–91; idem, "The Problem of Achaemenid 'Religious Policy,'" in *Die Welt der Götterbilder*, edited by Brigitte Groneberg and Hermann Spieckermann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 117–42; idem, "Ancient Near Eastern History: The Case of Cyrus the Great of Persia," in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*, edited by H. G. M. Williamson, Proceedings of the British Academy 143 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 107–27; Josef Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia: From 550 B.C. to 650 A.D.*, translated by Azizeh Azodi (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996), pp. 49–51; idem, "Kontinuität oder Zäsur? Babylonien unter den Achaimeniden," in *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*, edited by Reinhard G. Kratz (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002), pp. 29–48; Reinhard Kratz, "From Nabonidus to Cyrus," in *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena* (Proceedings of the third annual symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, held in Chicago, October 27–31, 2000), edited by A. Panaino and Giovanni Pettinato, Melammu Symposia 3 (Milan: Università di Bologna and Isiao, 2000), pp. 143–56.

However, the view of Cyrus as champion of religious toleration is persistent. Cyrus Masroori devotes an entire article on Cyrus' supposed policy of religious toleration, contrasting it with the policy of the Assyrian kings, in which he rejects Kuhrt's analysis of the cylinder (p. 22 and n. 49): Cyrus Masroori, "Cyrus II and the Political Utility of Religious Toleration," in *Religious Toleration: "The Variety of Rites" from Cyrus to Defoe*, edited by John Christian Laursen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 13–36. The view of Cyrus as human rights champion is also still strong in many books written for a general audience. The traditional contrast between Assyrian cruelty and Cyrus' "course of mercy" is maintained by Tom Holland, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire and the Battle for the West* (London: Little, Brown, 2005), p. 12, who also, probably mistakenly, assumed that Cyrus had spared Croesus of Lydia (p. 14; see Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, p. 50). The story, told by Herodotus (1.87), that the Lydian king was saved from the pyre by a rain shower, is contradicted by Bacchylides (*Third Ode*), who says that Croesus was taken away to the Hyperboreans, i.e., the realm of the dead. The Nabonidus Chronicle also suggests that Cyrus killed the king of Lydia (see n. 184). Kaveh Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert: Ancient Persia at War* (Oxford: Osprey, 2007), p. 44, still calls the Cyrus Cylinder "the world's first human rights charter." The website of the Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies provides an equally uncritical platform for the eulogy of Cyrus: www.cais-soas.com/ (accessed June 2009).

[2] For a translation and more information on the Cyrus Cylinder, see the appendix at the end of this article. For the findspot of the cylinder, see C. B. F. Walker, "A Recently Identified Fragment of the Cyrus Cylinder," *Iran* 10 (1972): 158–59.

[3] It is strange that the cylinder was supposedly found in the Amran area (= temple area), while the document especially refers to the restoration of the Imgur-Enlil wall (inner city wall), so that one would expect it to be found somewhere in that area. The latest royal inscription of which we are aware is the Antiochus Cylinder, dated to 268 B.C. It was found by Hormuzd Rassam, in 1880, in Borsippa. A recent transliteration by Marten Stol and myself can be consulted online, on the Livius website: www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/antiochus_cylinder/antiochus_cylinder1.html. The most beautiful flowers grow on the edge of the ravine: whereas the Cyrus Cylinder is written in plain Neo-Babylonian script, the Antiochus Cylinder is composed in Old Babylonian monumental signs. See also Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 71–86.

[4] This even led to the publication of a fake translation of the Cyrus Cylinder on the web (www.farsinet.com/cyrus/), in which mention is made of the Iranian god Auramazdā, Cyrus' announcement of freedom of religion, and the abolishment of slavery, none of which is present in the real Cyrus Cylinder. The fake translation is engraved on a plaque in the House of Iran, Balboa Park, San Diego. This plaque can be consulted on the web at www.kavehfarrokh.com/news/a-new-translation-of-the-cyrus-cylinder-by-the-british-museum/, where, perhaps surprisingly, a reliable translation made by Irving Finkel is also provided. The British Museum, meanwhile, has published an updated version of Finkel's translation accompanied by a translation in Persian: www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/article_index/c/cyrus_cylinder_-_translation.aspx (all websites accessed July 2010).

For a completely new edition of the cylinder (with new fragments added), see Irving L. Finkel, ed., *The Cyrus Cylinder: The King of Persia's Proclamation from Ancient Babylon* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013). See also the appendix to this article.

[5] Proceedings published as *Commémoration Cyrus: Actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500e anniversaire de la fondation de l'empire perse*, 3 vols., edited by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Acta Iranica 1–3 (Tehran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: Brill, 1974). Cf. n. 1, above.

[6] Masroori, "Cyrus II."

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ground, among others by the work of the dedicatee of this volume, Matthew Stolper, as well as by Amélie Kuhrt and Pierre Briant. I hope to have done my bit in this as well. However, the worthy cause of deconstructing "orientalism," a term famously discussed by Edward Said,[7] is not furthered by presenting fake documents (see n. 4) and unhistorical and anachronistic reconstructions.

The idea of Cyrus as the champion of religious tolerance rests on three fundamentally erroneous assumptions. In the first place, it rests on an anachronistic perception of ancient political discourse. In antiquity, no discourse on religious tolerance existed. Religion was deeply embedded in society, in political structures, in daily life. This is true for the ancient Sumerian city-states, for the Athenian city-state, and for the Roman Republic. Especially for expanding empires, authorities had to face the problem of encompassing a variety of political constructs with their religious concepts embedded in them. Sometimes this led to harsh treatment of subdued people and the destruction of temples, but empires typically accepted a certain amount of multiformity in order not to provoke rebellion. In addition, polytheism was the normal type of religion in antiquity, which made it easier to accept the existence and also to respect the power of foreign gods. It is not a coincidence that suppression of religion often had something to do with monotheistic religions (persecution of Jews and Christians, who refused to accept gods other than their own; persecution of pagans under Christian emperors). Persecution of religious beliefs and practices were usually related to would-be disturbances of order (as in the case of the suppression of the Bacchanalia in Rome in 186 B.C. or, possibly, the prohibition of the Jewish cult in the temple of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV in 168 B.C.).[8]

Secondly, it is too facile to characterize Cyrus' rule as one that had "tolerance" as its starting point. Although it is indeed possible to describe his policy as positively pragmatic or even mild in some respects, it is also clear that Cyrus was a normal conqueror with the usual policy of brutal warfare and harsh measures. The will of the Persian king was law, and no principal right of participation in government was allowed.

Thirdly, the comparison with Assyrian policy is mistaken in its portrayal of that policy as principally different from Cyrus'. As we shall see, the "Assyrian attitude" did not only consist of cruelty and intolerance, and the cult of Assyrian gods was not imposed on subdued peoples.

This article tries to place Cyrus' policy in its ancient Near Eastern historical context. I maintain that for centuries the principles of government remained essentially the same: the Assyrian empire (745–612), the Babylonian empire (612–539), the Persian empire (539–331), the Greco-Macedonian empires of Alexander the Great, the Diadochi, and the Seleucids (331–64) were not fundamentally different. Assyria did not all of a sudden vanish from the earth in 614–609 B.C., but its place was taken over by later dynasties and rulers. Of course, these had to adapt themselves to different circumstances, but the similarities are striking. Although I will concentrate on a comparison of Assyrian and Persian policies, because these are generally seen as opposites, I will occasionally digress on the other empires, to show that many Assyrian and Persian policies were common in the ancient Near East. I shall deal with three subjects: religious policy, the stance toward Babylon, and the treatment of new subjects (especially as regards deportation).

Persian Religious Policy

Babylonian documents praise Cyrus because he restored the cult of the supreme god Marduk, purportedly neglected by Nabonidus, the last king of the Babylonian empire. The Cyrus Cylinder even states that the king had been chosen by Marduk to seize power in Babylon.[9] The document also states that Cyrus returned the statues of the gods, which had been taken away by Babylonian conquerors from the cities of Mesopotamia and across the Tigris, to their home towns, that he ordered their temples to be rebuilt, and that he allowed "their people" to return home.[10] It may be useful to stress that the Cyrus Cylinder focuses on a limited group of cities, indicated by name, from Mesopotamia and the Transtigridian regions; countries in which, as we will see below, the Persians had a special interest. The cylinder does, therefore, not prove that all gods and all people were allowed to return, and cannot be constructed as proof — as has often been done — that the Jews were allowed to go home in 539.

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[7] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978).

[8] For the development in the Greco-Roman world from a situation in which religious commitment was predicated on civic identity to "a situation of competition and potential conflict between religious groups based on voluntary commitment," see John North, "The Development of Religious Pluralism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, edited by Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 174–93, quotation from p. 187. A similar development is present in the ancient Near East from the early Sumerian city-states to the world empires in the first millennium B.C. Still fundamental for the position of Judaism and Christianity in the ancient world is A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933). For the relation of community and religion, the process of mobility of people and their gods, concept of syncretism, and the profusion of cults in the Roman empire, see James B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 105–57. I owe these references to Jaap-Jan Flinterman.

[9] Cyrus Cylinder (see *Appendix*), lines 11–12.

[10] Cyrus Cylinder, lines 30–32.

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Reference to a return of Judahites from exile by order of Cyrus can be found in the biblical books of Isaiah, Chronicles, and Ezra.[11] Although a return from exile under the Achaemenid empire certainly took place, the historicity of a return under *Cyrus* is disputed.[12] The biblical evidence concerning a return under Cyrus is feeble; the actual return and rebuilding rather seems to have taken place under Darius I and Artaxerxes I. Diana Edelman has argued that the author of Second Isaiah somehow must have known Cyrus' propaganda concerning the Esagila temple of Babylon and hence expressed similar hopes for the temple of Jerusalem, a point taken up later by the authors of Ezra and Chronicles.[13]

Greek authors also give a favorable judgment of Cyrus. Herodotus reports that the Persians called him a "father," because he was gentle and procured the Persians all kind of goods.[14] The Babylonians, however, feared his onslaught.[15] Xenophon produced a romanticized and very favorable life of Cyrus, the *Cyropaedia*, intended as a kind of "Fürstenspiegel." Book 8 stresses the wickedness and decadence of the Persians after Cyrus. Ctesias, as far as his *Persica* is preserved, seems to present a heroic picture of Cyrus and his triumphs.[16]

It is unnecessary to deal much longer with this "positive" aspect of Cyrus' policy, because it is the subject of much secondary literature, as discussed above. However, there are certain negative aspects as well, which were dealt with for the first time by Pier Luigi Tozzi.[17] He pointed out that the Persians destroyed several Greek sanctuaries, such as the temple of Phocaea, whose destruction (an archaeological fact) most probably should be attributed to Harpagus, who captured the city in the 540s on the orders of Cyrus. Herodotus and Ctesias did not close their eyes to the sometimes brutal actions of Cyrus.[18] Darius I, the king who supposedly contributed to the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem[19] and who supposedly protected the temple of Apollo in Magnesia against a governor who had taxed the peasants on the temple land,[20] also destroyed temples, like the oracle at Didyma and sanctuaries of Eretria.[21] In the Babylonian version of the Bisotun Inscription Darius proudly mentions the numbers of rebel leaders and soldiers whom he defeated, killed, and executed.[22] In short, both cruelty and mildness belong to Persian policy since Cyrus.[23]

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[11] Isaiah 44:24–45:8; 2 Chronicles 36:22–23; Ezra 1 and 6:1–5.

[12] K. D. Jenner, "The Old Testament and Its Appreciation of Cyrus," *Persica* 10 (1982): 283–84; Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, *Geschichte Israels bis Bar Kochba*, 3rd, revised ed. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979), pp. 135–38; J. C. H. Lebram, "Die Traditionsgeschichte der Esragestalt und die Frage nach dem historischen Esra," in *Sources, Structures and Synthesis* (proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop), edited by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Achaemenid History 1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), pp. 103–38; Diana Edelman, *The Origins of the "Second" Temple: Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem* (London: Equinox, 2005).

[13] Edelman, *Origins of the "Second" Temple*, pp. 162–208, argues that the return under Darius I is also not historical.

[14] Herodotus 3.89.

[15] Herodotus 1.109.

[16] Dominique Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide: la Perse, l'Inde, autres fragments* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004).

[17] Tozzi, "Distruzioni persiane."

[18] Herodotus 1.164 for the capture of Phocaea; Tozzi, "Distruzioni persiane," pp. 19, 23–24. For a discussion, see Kuhrt, "Cyrus the Great of Persia: Images and Realities," p. 173. Ctesias reports that Cyrus had Croesus' son killed before his father's eyes, *FGrH* F9.4, Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide*, p. 110.

[19] Ezra 6.

[20] Letter of Darius I to Gadatas: Wilhelm Brandenstein and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1964), pp. 91–92. Pierre Briant now considers this inscription as a falsification of Roman date: Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. xviii n. 15; idem, "Histoire et archéologie d'un texte: la *lettre de Darius à Gadatas* entre Perses, Grecs et Romains," in *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione* (atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 11–12 ottobre 1999), edited by M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M. C. Trémouille, and P. Vannicelli (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 2003), pp. 107–44.

[21] Herodotus 6.19, 101.

[22] Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version,* Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Iran, Vol. 2: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, Texts 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1978), passim.

[23] The reputations of Cambyses and Xerxes are more complicated issues. Both have been accused of religious intolerance. For Cambyses and the purported killing of the Apis Bull, see n. 60, below. Xerxes destroyed the temples on the Athenian Acropolis (as a punitive measure for Athens' support for the Ionian Revolt); this destruction is supported by archaeology. Late and potentially biased sources claim that Xerxes did the same with the Babylon temple(s). For the classical sources, see Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, pp. 236–37 with n. 23. Sancisi-Weerdenburg argued that the references in the so-called Daiva Inscription of Xerxes, in which it is stated that Xerxes destroyed sanctuaries of false gods, do not refer to a specific event, but can better be seen as expression of royal ideology (disobedience to the king is punished and holy places of rebellious people will be destroyed), *Yaunā en Persai*, pp. 1–47, 266–67 (English summary); Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Personality of Xerxes, King of Kings," in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in honorem Louis vanden Berghe*, edited by Leon de Meyer and E. Haerinck (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 549–61. The purported destruction of the temple of Babylon by Xerxes occurs in classical sources describing the entry of Alexander in Babylon in October 331 B.C.: Diodorus Siculus 2.9.4–5, 9; Strabo 15.3.9–10, 16.1.5; Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.16.2–5, 7.17.1–4; the destruction of Babylon is *not* mentioned in the earlier sources on Persian history, Herodotus and Ctesias. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121–22, says that the temple of Jupiter Belus was still standing in his time. Doubts concerning Xerxes' destruction of the temple were expressed by Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction of Babylonian Temples," in *The Greek Sources* (proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop), edited by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 2 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), pp. 69–78. More recently, Caroline Waerzeggers convincingly argued that Xerxes took severe, targeted measures against the traditional temple elite in Babylon and a number of (but not all) Babylonian cities. The reason was their support for the insurrection of Bēl-šimanni and Šamaš-eriba in Xerxes' second year of reign. See Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes and the 'End of Archives,'" *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003/2004): 150–73. For an evaluation of the condition and number of the temples in the early Hellenistic period, see R. J. van der Spek, "The Size and Significance of the Babylonian Temples under the Successors," in *La Transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques*, edited by Pierre Briant and Francis Joannès, Persika 9 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2006), pp. 261–306.

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Assyrian Religious Policy

The treatment of Assyria in modern secondary literature is as hostile as the treatment of Persia is favorable. The Assyrian rulers are pictured as notorious for their aggressive expansionism and the fear they inspired among the subdued nations. Israel and Judah are just two of the states that had to bear the consequences. They were reduced to the status of "vassal states," which meant that their kings were only allowed to remain on their thrones on the condition that they would recognize the Assyrian king as their lord, pay tribute, and refrain from a foreign policy of their own.[24] In 722, a rebellious Israel was punished: it was added to the Assyrian empire and became a province under an Assyrian governor.

The Hebrew Bible is important for our knowledge of the policies of the Assyrian administration, as it offers information from the point of view of the vanquished. The prophets especially show that people were afraid of Assyrian aggression (cf., e.g., Isaiah 10:5–14; Nahum), and probably rightly so: the royal inscriptions of the Assyrian kings document cruel acts, the ruining of cities and temples, the destruction and deportation of the statues of the gods, torture (impaling, flaying), and the deportation of citizens. The inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II (884–859) especially contain such gloomy stories.

The royal inscriptions stress that the kings performed their conquests on behalf and by order of the supreme god Aššur. The kings offered their deity an account of their policy in, for example, compositions of the type "letter to god X." The one written by Sargon II after his eighth campaign, against Urartu, is best preserved.[25] It states that all gods on earth should pay homage to Aššur and come to his temple with all their riches.[26] We also learn from Assyrian sources that the kings habitually looted temples and seized the gods' statues, which they brought to the temple of Aššur. The "letter" of Sargon describes at great length how the (statue of the) Urartian god Ḫaldia was taken away, together with his temple's treasures.[27]

On the basis of these sources and several texts from the Hebrew Bible, scholars have tried to prove that it was the policy of the Assyrians to *impose* the cult of their gods on subdued people.[28] This theory was proposed in 1908 by A. T. Olmstead[29] and has since been accepted by many students of Hebrew literature, like Theodor Oestreicher, who interpreted the reforms of King Josiah as an anti-Assyrian revolt,[30] and by Jagersma in an overview of the history of Israel.[31] Independently from each other, Morton Cogan and John McKay protested against Olmstead's hypothesis,[32] McKay focusing on the Hebrew texts and Cogan on the Assyrian ones. Their arguments can be summarized as follows:

1. That the Assyrians *imposed* the cult of their gods is stated nowhere in the Hebrew Bible. Had the Assyrians encouraged the introduction of a new cult, the prophets would certainly have mentioned this. One might add that it is remarkable how *un*successful the Assyrian propaganda concerning the head of the Assyrian pantheon was. In the entire Bible the name of the god Aššur does not occur, nor is his name preserved in any Greek or Roman text. It indicates that the eulogy of Aššur did not get far beyond the royal inscriptions and did not play an important role in the subject territories.
2. The Assyrian sources do not mention imposing the cult of Aššur either. What the Assyrian kings wanted to do was to exalt their royal god and emblem, Aššur. This could be achieved by Assyrian victories, destruction of temples and statues, deportation of statues, or imposing tribute on behalf of the temple of Aššur. Assyrian victories proved that their supreme god was more powerful than his rivals, which in turn legitimized their

[24] Van der Spek, "Assyriology and History." The best treatment of Assyrian religious policy is now Steven W. Holloway, *Aššur Is King! Aššur Is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[25] François Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Paris: Geuthner, 1912); Walter Mayer, "Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu — 714 v. Chr.: Text und Übersetzung," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 115 (1983): 65–132; Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. 2: *Historical Records of Assyria: From Sargon to the End* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), §§ 139–78.

[26] Sargon, Letter to Aššur (cf. n. 23), lines 314–16. See also below.

[27] Sargon, Letter to Aššur, lines 346–425; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, §§ 172–76.

[28] See, for example, 2 Kings 16:18: Ahaz, the king of Judah, introduced a few changes in the temple of Jerusalem "because of the king of Assyria," after he had submitted himself to Tiglath-Pileser III in Damascus in 732 B.C. and so became his servant (2 Kings 16:7). He also built a new altar in the temple of Jerusalem.

[29] A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722–705 B.C.* (New York: Holt, 1908), p. 171; idem, "Oriental Imperialism," *American Historical Review* 23 (1918): 755–62, esp. pp. 757–58; idem, *History of Assyria* (New York: Scribner, 1923); idem, *History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest* (New York: Scribner, 1931), p. 452.

[30] 2 Kings 22–23; Theodor Oestreicher, *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie 27/4 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1923), pp. 9–11, 37–58; idem, *Reichstempel und Ortsheiligtümer in Israël*, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie 33/3 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930), pp. 35–37.

[31] H. Jagersma, *A History of Israel in the Old Testament Period*, trans. by John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1982), pp. 159, 163; reprinted in idem, *A History of Israel to Bar Kochba* (London: SCM Press, 1994).

[32] Morton Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 19 (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1974); John McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians, 732–609 B.C.* (London: SCM Press, 1973).

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actions. This thought was common in the ancient Near East and can also be encountered in the Hebrew Bible.[33] Destruction or deportation of the statues of the gods did not mean that the cult could not be restored with a different statue, or with the original if it were allowed to return from exile. Where the Assyrian texts speak of the imposition of sacrifices to Aššur and the great gods, this invariably refers to supplying goods to the temples of Assyria, *not* to the establishment of a cult in a vassal state. The only indication for the imposition of a cult is the placing of the "weapon of Aššur" in a newly conquered province.[34]

3. Where the Hebrew Bible discusses the worship of foreign gods, it usually refers to Phoenician or Canaanite deities, seldom to Mesopotamian gods, and never to Aššur.[35] Nor is there a reference that introducing these cults was an Assyrian demand. McKay explained the introduction of foreign gods from the uncertainty of the times, which made the believers open to new deities.[36] Cogan stressed that Israel and Judah, when they were integrated into the world empire, developed more contacts with the outside world and were more inclined to accept foreign gods.[37]

In 1982, Hermann Spieckermann tried to refute Cogan and Mackay's positions.[38] He collected a number of Assyrian inscriptions that he took as referring to cultic impositions. Some of these indeed suggest some interference into the local cult (like the imposition of a royal stela with an image of the king and symbols of the gods in the palace of the king of Gaza; see n. 34), but none of them mentioning a clear-cut erection of an Assyrian temple or the restructuring of an indigenous temple into an Assyrian one. It is true that images of Assyrian kings and "weapons of Aššur" were erected in local temples (not only in provinces, as Cogan thought), but Steven Holloway argued convincingly that these sacred objects functioned as reminder of Assyrian supremacy and as part of the ritual of loyalty oaths, stating that "neither administrative texts nor royal correspondence nor royal prophecies suggest that a cult of Aššur was established on foreign soil, nor do these sources provide evidence that Assyrian temples were constructed for Assyrian deities outside Mesopotamia."[39] Also, the fact remains that the reforms in Judah and Israel do not concern Assyrian, but Canaanite gods; Aššur is not even mentioned once. Spieckermann's assumption that behind the traditional list of Canaanite gods, Baal, Asherah, and the host of heaven (2 Kings 23:4), lurk the gods Aššur and Ištar, is absurd.[40]

At the same time, it is surprising that neither Cogan nor McKay recognized that the religious policy of Assyria was not unique; it was essentially identical to that of all ancient empires. McKay stated that "the religio-political ideal of the ancient Semites was not therefore identical to that of the later Greeks and Romans who did try to impose or encourage the worship of their gods throughout their empires"[41] and Cogan also thought that the Roman policy was to impose their religion on other nations, because the "manner of imperial Rome" was: *cuius regio, eius religio*.[42] Now this may be Latin, but as a principle formulated at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 (!), it has nothing to do with Roman policy. Both Cogan and McKay have obviously been influenced by more recent European history, in which a monotheistic faith determined religious policy. To make this clear, we must re-investigate the situation in antiquity.

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[33] 2 Kings 18:33–35, "Has any of the gods of the nations ever delivered its land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Who among all the gods of the countries have delivered their countries out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?"; 2 Kings 19:12, "Have the gods of the nations delivered them, the nations that my fathers destroyed, Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and the people of Eden who were in Telassar?" (I use the New Standard Revised Version, with some adaptations).

[34] Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, p. 54. Sargon changed the name of the city Kišesim in the province of Parsuaš into Kar Nergal, brought there "the gods who advance before me," and erected a "statue of my majesty" (Annals from Dur-Sharrukin – Khorsabad, lines 93–94). In the city of Harhar, renamed Kar-Sharruken, he established "the weapon of Aššur, my lord, as their deity" (line 99); see A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, Vol. 1: *The Annals* (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), pp. 16–17; and Andreas Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1994), pp. 102–05, 317–18. For a parallel, see the Display Inscription ("Prunkinschrift"), line 63 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 211, 347; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 57). See also the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III (not mentioned by Cogan and MacKay) on the capture of Gaza: "As to Hanūnu of Gaza (who had escaped to Egypt), [I took] his possessions and [his] gods. I made an image of the (great) gods, my lords, and a golden image showing me as king (on one royal stela?). [I set (the stela / stelae) up] in the palace of the city of Ga[za], and I counted (the stela / stelae) among the gods of their country." See Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, King of Assyria* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994; revised ed. 2008), pp. 188, 222–30, § 3; I owe the reference and English translation to Hanspeter Schaudig, Heidelberg.

[35] The altar that Ahaz had built (see n. 28) was not an Assyrian altar. It was a holocaust altar, which was alien to the Mesopotamian tradition. The model of the new altar was the altar that Ahaz had seen in Damascus in Syria.

[36] McKay, *Religion*, pp. 70–71.

[37] Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 88–96.

[38] Hermann Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

[39] Holloway, *Aššur Is King*, pp. 177, 198–200 (quote on p. 200).

[40] Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 80 n. 107. In "Judah under Assyrian Hegemony: A Reexamination of *Imperialism and Religion*," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 403–14, Mordechai Cogan discusses and refutes Spieckermann's book more elaborately.

[41] McKay, *Religion*, p. 74.

[42] Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, p. 111.

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Background of Ancient Religious Policy

Religious intolerance was uncommon in ancient empires. This is a consequence of the polytheistic nature of their religions: a polytheist can easily accept other gods than his own. This phenomenon has been studied among others by the ancient historian G. J. D. Aalders,[43] who showed that polytheistic rulers are usually pragmatic in religious matters, but can repress foreign cults when they consider them to be hostile to the state. Several examples from the ancient Near East illustrate this. The acceptance of foreign gods is shown clearly in the Hittite and Assyrian treaties, which end with curse formulas invoking deities from both sides, who will unitedly punish the treaty-breaking party.[44] The relation between a "great king" and his vassal kings was often laid down in treaties like these. A good example of how this could be effected is given in Sargon's Letter to Aššur concerning his eighth campaign regarding Ullusunu, king of the Manneans. It is interesting to see how Sargon tries to get loyalty not only from this king but also from the common people by offering them a banquet, a procedure which Cyrus could have used as a model:

> Before Ullusunu, their king and lord, I spread a groaning (lit., heavy) banquet table, and exalted his throne high above that of Iranzu, the father who begot him. Them (i.e., the people of his land) I seated with the people of Assyria at a joyous banquet; before Aššur and the gods of their land they did homage to my majesty.[45]

A second example concerns king Hezekiah of Judah, who apparently had concluded a treaty of vassalage, since he said after his ill-fated rebellion: "I have sinned; withdraw from me. Whatever you impose on me I will bear." "I have sinned," that is, he conspired against the gods by whom the oaths had been sworn, among whom must have been Yahweh. This is also why Sennacherib could say to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: "Moreover, is it without the LORD that I have come up against this place to destroy it? The LORD said to me, Go up against this land, and destroy it."[46] In other words, Sennacherib acts as the executor of God's punishment.

Recognition of foreign deities can also be deduced from the ancient belief that the gods of an enemy could leave their city, angry at its inhabitants. Esarhaddon repeatedly stresses this in his inscriptions, justifying his father's sacking of Babylon by stating that the gods of that city were angry because its citizens had seized the temple treasures to hire Elamites to fight against Assyria.[47] Deserting deities are also known from outside Babylonia. It is reported that Sanduarri, the ruler of Kundu and Sissu in Anatolia, was abandoned by his gods.[48] There is even a text by Assurbanipal, in which this king devotes an emblem to an *Arabian* goddess to express his gratitude for her assistance in the Assyrian's war against an *Arab* king.[49] The same motif is known from Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which we read about the vanquished gods of Troy[50] and about gods who have left their city.[51] Among several ancient nations, the idea that the gods can leave their city or country and can even desert to the enemy gave rise to rituals and prayers to the enemy gods, imploring them to abandon their country and go over to the other side. The gods could be lured with promises, for instance, a promise to build a temple. A ritual like this is known from Hittite[52] and Roman sources[53] and is known by its Latin name *evocatio*.

In the Bible, there is speculation about Yahweh deserting Jerusalem and joining the Assyrians in the story of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem during the reign of Hezekiah. The Assyrian supreme commander (Rabshakeh = *rab šāqê*, lit., "chief cupbearer") declares: "But if you say to me, 'We trust in the LORD our God,' is it not he whose high places and

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[43] G. J. D. Aalders H. Wzn, "The Tolerance of Polytheism in Classical Antiquity and Its Limits," *Free University Quarterly* 9 (1964): 223–42. See now also Jan Assmann, *Of God and Gods: Egypt, Israel, and the Rise of Monotheism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

[44] Assyrian treaties: Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, State Archives of Assyria 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988). This is not the place to mention all editions of the vast number of Hittite treaties. An accessible edition of a few examples is Gary M. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World 7, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999).

[45] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 149; Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne*, lines 62–63.

[46] 2 Kings 18:14 and 25. Compare Ezekiel 17:11–21, where the prophet warns King Zedekiah of Judah of the wrath of Yahweh, because the king has broken the treaty with King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia.

[47] Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, Volume 4 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), no. 104: I 18b–II 1; no. 114: I 1–II: 11; no. 116: 1′–17′. Sennacherib had described this destruction in a rock inscription at Bavian: Daniel David Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Oriental Institute Publications 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 78, lines 48–52. It seems remarkable that exactly at the beginning of this inscription Marduk and Nabû, the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, are invoked, while they hardly play a role in Sennacherib's other inscriptions. It shows again the polytheistic way of thinking. Babylon may have been destroyed, but Sennacherib wants to have its god at his side. The same holds true, *mutatis mutandis*, for Xerxes. After he had destroyed the city of Athens in 480 B.C., he ordered Athenian exiles who had come into Greece in his retinue to make offerings on the Acropolis "in their own fashion" (Herodotus 8.54).

[48] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, no. 1: III 20–13 (*ša* DINGIR.MEŠ *u-maš-šir-u-ma*, "whom the gods abandoned").

[49] K.3405 in Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 16–19. A more detailed treatment of this motif can be found in the first chapter of Cogan's book ("The Assyrian Empire and Foreign Gods: The Motive of Divine Abandonment").

[50] Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.68 = 8.11.

[51] Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.351.

[52] Albrecht Goetze, "Hittite Rituals, Incantations, and Description of Festivals," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by James B. Pritchard, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 351–53.

[53] Livy 5.21; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.9.2.

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altars Hezekiah has removed, saying to Judah and to Jerusalem, 'You shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?'"[54] The implication apparently is that Hezekiah made Yahweh angry so that the God of Israel may likely forsake his people.

To be sure, I do not claim that these words are a verbatim transcript of the speech by the Assyrian commander. K. A. D. Smelik[55] has convincingly shown that this speech was drafted by the author of this part of the Bible to be relevant to its theological message.[56] In ancient historiography, speeches are hardly ever accurate renderings of what was actually spoken and may serve a variety of ulterior purposes. Yet, an author may make a speech more convincing by working historical details into its *Sitz im Leben*. Given the many realistic details, this seems to be case in 2 Kings.[57]

Returning to the matter of foreign gods, it is easy to multiply the number of kings who take the existence of such gods seriously. Alexander the Great,[58] Ptolemaic kings, and some Roman emperors[59] had themselves depicted as pharaohs worshipping to the gods of Egypt. Even the well-known story of Herodotus concerning the Persian king Cambyses, who after his conquest of Egypt killed the Apis Bull, may be unhistorical as he is also depicted and documented as a pious worshipper of the Egyptian gods, including the sacred Apis Bull.[60]

Recognition of foreign gods is, in short, completely normal in the polytheistic mind frame and missionary activity is not to be expected. Recognition could take place with the acceptance of a new god or with identification of a foreign god with a god of one's own pantheon. Indeed, the identification of foreign gods with gods of the own pantheon ("syncretism") is widely attested. Herodotus calls Marduk of Babylon Zeus Bēlos[61] and Melqart of Tyrus, Heracles.[62]

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[54] 2 Kings 18:22; cf. the above quoted passage 2 Kings 18:25 (ad n. 46).

[55] Klaas A. D. Smelik, "'Zegt toch tot Hizkia': Een voorbeeld van profetische geschiedschrijving," *Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en Bijbelse Theologie* 2 (1981): 50–67; idem, "Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy: The Purpose of Isaiah XXXVI and XXXVII," in *Crisis and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism, Biblical Theology, Palestinian Archaeology and Intertestamental Literature*, edited by A. S. van der Woude, Oudtestamentische Studiën 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 70–93; idem, *Converting the Past: Studies in Ancient Israelite and Moabite Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), esp. pp. 93–128. See also: Nadav Naʾaman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 214 (1974): 25–39.

[56] This message was that the cult centralization installed by Hezekiah, which certainly must have met opposition in his own country, was criticized by Judah's archenemy, the Assyrian king, which brought the domestic opposition against it in the same camp as the Assyrian pagan king.

[57] The Assyrian dignitaries have proper Assyrian titles (*tartan = turtānu* or *tartānu* "military commander"; *rabsaris = rab ša rēši* "head of court attendants"; *rabshakeh = rab šāqê* "chief cupbearer"). It is indeed known that the Assyrians used propaganda when besieging cities. On a relief found in Sargon II's new Assyrian capital Dur-Šarrukin (Khorsabad), a writer is shown reading a proclamation from a siege engine in front of the besieged city. See Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands: In Light of Archaeological Study* (Jerusalem: International Publishing Company, 1963) vol. 2, p. 425 (I owe this reference to K. R. Veenhof). It is also known that the Assyrian kings sought to undermine their enemy's confidence in their deities (Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 9–21). There are several related Assyrian notions. "Trust" is not only an important concept in the prophetic literature of Israel (Smelik, "Zegt toch tot Hizkia," p. 60), but also in Assyrian sources. In Sargon's Annals, it is said of Samaria that "the people, together with their chariots and the gods in which they trusted, I counted as my booty" (Prism D from Nimrud [Calah] IV.25–49, in Cyril J. Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud," *Iraq* 16 [1954]: 179–80). Cf. Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12 (1958): 34. For the historicity and the backgrounds of the Assyrian speeches in Isaiah and Kings, see Hayim Tawil, "The Historicity of 2 Kings 19:24 (= Isaiah 37:25): The Problem of *Yeʾōrê Māṣôr*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41 (1982): 195–206; H. Leene, "רוח en שמע in Jesaja 37, 7: een kwestie van vertaalhorizon," *Amsterdamse Cahiers* 4 (1983): 49–62; Peter Dubovský, *Hezekiah and the Assyrian Spies: Reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian Intelligence Services and Its Significance for 2 Kings 18–19* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), pp. 238–41.

[58] David Syme Russell, *The Jews from Alexander to Herod*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 6; R. J. van der Spek, "Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship," in *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, edited by Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 13 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), pp. 289–346; M. Heerma van Voss, "Alexander und die ägyptische Religion: Einige ägyptologische Bemerkungen," in *Alexander the Great: Reality and Myth*, edited by Jesper Carlsen, Bodil Due, Otto Steen Due, and Birte Poulsen (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1993), pp. 71–73.

[59] See the illustrations in Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London: Routledge, 2001); Jan Quaegebeur, "Aspecten van de Romeinse aanwezigheid in het land van de Farao's," *Phoenix* 26 (1980): 106–31; idem, "Cultes Égyptiens et grecs en Égypte hellénistique: L'exploitation des sources," in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 24–26 May 1982), edited by E. van't Dack, P. van Dessel and W. van Gucht, Studia Hellenistica 27 (Leuven: Peeters, 1983); Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 B.C.–A.D. 642, from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[60] Herodotus 3.27–29. Cf. Klaas A. D. Smelik and E. A. Hemelrijk, "'Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?' Opinions on Egyptian Animal Worship in Antiquity as Part of the Ancient Conception of Egypt," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung,* Part 2, Vol. 17.4: *Religion (Heidentum: Römische Götterkulte, Orientalische Kult in der römischen Welt)*, edited by Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 1853–2000; Inge Hofmann and Anton Vorbichler, "Das Kambysesbild bei Herodot," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 27 (1980): 86–105. For a recent discussion of the Egyptian sources, see Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London: Routledge, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 122–24. As a caveat it is useful to remember that the foundation charter of the University of Leiden, founded in 1575 by the leader of the Dutch revolt against Philip II of Spain, William of Orange, was nevertheless emitted in the name of the Spanish king (suggestion Jona Lendering). Incidentally, a document from the Eanna temple in Uruk, dated to the third year of Cambyses, issued by the *šatammu*, mentions a messenger of the king asking to show old stelae of former kings kept in Eanna. The document, BM 113249, is discussed by Michael Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia from the Neo-Babylonian Empire to Achaemenid Rule," in *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: From Sargon to Saddam Hussein*, edited by Harriet Crawford, Proceedings of the British Academy 136 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 78. Its contents fit royal interest in the building operations of former kings, an interest which was strong in Neo-Babylonian kings such as Nabonidus.

[61] Herodotus 1.181–83 and 3.158.

[62] Herodotus 2.44.

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Complications mainly occurred when monotheists were involved or when religion played a role during an insurrection. This would lead one to expect that the kings of Judah (especially the kings who are said to have done away with foreign gods, like Hezekiah and Josiah) would have objected to oaths of loyalty to their Assyrian and (later) Babylonian overlords, but they apparently did not.[63] Problems, however, did arise in the Seleucid age, especially during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164). This king had successfully invaded Egypt, but in 168 the Roman envoy Gaius Popillius Laenas ordered him to leave. In the meantime, a rebellion had started in Jerusalem, which may have had a pro-Egyptian character. On their return from Egypt, the Seleucid armies violently suppressed the insurrection and desecrated the temple by erecting a pagan cultic object, probably for the benefit of the garrison; in the Jewish literature it is called, with a wordplay on Baʿal Šamêm, *šiqquṣ mešomêm* "the abomination that makes desolate."[64]

J.-C. H. Lebram has offered an original reconstruction of the above events. His point of departure is Daniel, the only available contemporary source.[65] Lebram argued that Antiochus IV was not a religiously intolerant persecutor; on the contrary, he recognized the foreign god and the sacredness of his temple precinct. For the orthodox, monotheistic Jews — in the end the victorious party — it was, however, unacceptable that foreigners intervened with the cult, identified the God of the Covenant with Baʿal Šamêm or Zeus Olympius, and introduced their own cultic practices. It is against these aspects that the author of Daniel directs his accusations, and although he opposes violent resistance, some of his compatriots will have preached rebellion and resistance against the impure cult. People may even have been killed;[66] this may be the historical fact behind the martyrs' stories in Maccabees.[67] The so-called persecution decrees quoted in these books[68] — they are not mentioned in Daniel — are only a construction to blacken Antiochus IV and justify the Maccabaean revolt. There is, according to Lebram, no evidence of a *forced* policy of Hellenization.[69]

It is well known that Roman emperors, in later centuries, persecuted Christians. Their motivation, however, was not per se religious intolerance, but was rather guided by their opinion that Christians were hostile to the state because they refused to sacrifice to the emperor and the state gods. This is also why Christians refused to serve in the Roman armies.[70]

The potential for conflict increased when the government itself was monotheistic. Typically, it was not satisfied with the *recognition of the state god's leadership*, but demanded *exclusive worship* of this deity. This may be observed with the Egyptian king Akhenaton, who tried to erase the name of Amûn, and with countless emperors and kings in the Christian world, who did not even accept differing opinions about the correct cult of the one state god.[71]

Assyria and Babylonia

The recognition of foreign gods in the polytheistic religions does not mean that all gods were equally appreciated. The appreciation of foreign gods among the Assyrians varied from deity to deity and could change over time. To understand Cyrus' policy, it is useful to take a close look at this aspect of Assyrian religious policy.

The attitude toward foreign gods could vary from scorn to admiration and worship. Admiration was, in the first place, the prerogative of Babylonian deities. This comes as no surprise: Babylonia is where the Mesopotamian civilization originated. It was the country of the ancient Sumerian cities and Akkad, the city of the legendary King Sargon,

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[63] 2 Kings 18:14 and 25 (Hezekiah); Ezekiel 17:12–19 (Zedekiah, who was not purely Yahwistic. Note that Ezekiel did not condemn the fact that he had a treaty with the Babylonian king — quite the contrary!)

[64] Daniel 11:31; I Maccabees 6:1–9.

[65] J.-C. H. Lebram, "Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Danielforschung," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 5 (1974): 1–33; idem, Review of *Apokalyptik und Hellenismus im Buche Daniel*, by Martin Hengels, *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970): 503–24; idem, "König Antiochus im Buch Daniel," *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975): 737–72; idem, "Daniel/Danielbuch," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 8 (1981), pp. 325–49, esp. pp. 337–41.

[66] Daniel 11:31–35.

[67] 2 Maccabees 6:18–7:42.

[68] 1 Maccabees 1:41–49 and 2 Maccabees 6:1–9.

[69] Since 1983 a flood of literature on this subject has appeared. For a recent discussion, see Peter Franz Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes: Eine politische Biographie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2006), pp. 225–81. Mittag likewise downplays Jason's and Antiochos' Hellenizing policy (esp. pp. 246–47), though he does not refer to the work of Lebram. The author pays much attention to the question whether Jerusalem was turned into a *polis* (pp. 239–47), a useless exercise as the word *polis* was not a technical term before the Roman period. Cf. R. J. van der Spek, *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische Rijk* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1986), pp. 45–54; idem, "The Babylonian City," in *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander,* edited by Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White (London: Duckworth, 1987), pp. 57–74, esp. pp. 57–59.

[70] Cf. Aalders, "The Tolerance of Polytheism"; G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?" *Past and Present* 26 (1963): 6–38 (reprinted in *Studies in Ancient Society,* edited by M. I. Finley [London: Routledge, 1974], pp. 210–48); W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to the Donatus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965); Jakob Speigl, *Der römische Staat und die Christen* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1970); Lukas de Blois, "De vroeg-christelijke vredesopvatting en het vraagstuk van de oorlog: Pacifisme en vreemdelingschap op aarde," in Lukas de Blois and Adriaan Hendrik Bredero, *Kerk en vrede in Oudheid en Middeleeuwen* (Kampen: Kok, 1980), pp. 24–36.

[71] A. Rosalie David, *The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1982), p. 158; Bruce G. Trigger, Barry J. Kemp, David O'Connor, and Alan B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 220. Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

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who had once founded the first world empire. Babylonia was, in later ages, often and anachronistically, still called "Akkad." It was also the land of Babylon, which had in about 1750 achieved world fame during the reign of Hammurabi. Traditionally, the Assyrians had close ties to Babylonia, because both countries had inherited the Sumerian pantheon, myths, literature, and cuneiform script. The Assyrian language was closely related to Babylonian.

The city god of Babylon, Marduk, was a comparatively young deity, who had developed into Babylonia's supreme god since Hammurabi's reign. He stood outside the Sumerian pantheon, and had been introduced, somewhat artificially, as son of Ea, replacing Enlil, the god of Nippur. Consequently, Marduk is often called "the Enlil of the gods." His position is comparable to that of Aššur, the god of the city of Assur and the supreme deity of the Assyrians. In the Assyrian version of *Enuma Eliš*, the Babylonian creation epic, the name of Marduk is everywhere replaced with that of Aššur. From this, we may deduce that in the Mesopotamian divine world, Marduk was seen as a competitor of Aššur. The Assyrian deity is also called "the Enlil of the gods," and Ninlil, the wife of Aššur.[72]

Taking the above into consideration we will examine the Assyrian policy toward Marduk and the Babylonian cities. The main source of our knowledge is the corpus of Assyrian royal inscriptions, which were written on palace walls and on clay cylinders or prisms buried in the foundations of temples and palaces. These texts are, obviously, very biased. They glorify the deeds of the king and legitimate them before the gods. Fortunately, this biased image can be corrected by state correspondence and the Babylonian chronicle series, which present a neutral point of view. For our purposes, the bias of the inscriptions is not a problem, since we actually want to reconstruct the policy the Assyrian kings were *aiming at* as well as the image they wanted to project.[73]

Studying the relevant texts, we must in the first place focus on the role of specifically Babylonian gods like Marduk, and Nabû, his son, supreme god of Borsippa: what position do they have in the lists of gods in the royal inscriptions,[74] which epithets and which type of worship (prayers, sacrifices) do they receive, and to what extent are orders by Marduk and Nabû relevant to explain the kings' acts? In the second place, we must look at the Assyrian policy toward the Babylonians: what kind of administration did they impose? Did they privilege or terrorize the population?

Surveying Assyrian history from the twentieth to the seventh century B.C., it can be observed, firstly, that Marduk, after becoming Babylonia's supreme god, obtained an increasingly important role in Assyria too. It is certain that in the fourteenth century, he had a temple in Assur.[75] Since the beginning of the ninth century, he is mentioned in the lists of deities in the Assyrian inscriptions.[76] It is remarkable that, in these lists, Marduk and Nabû achieve an increasingly higher status. Aššur remains the supreme god, but as time goes by, Marduk and Nabû (sometimes in inverted order) are mentioned more frequently and on higher places. Of course, this phenomenon can best be discerned in inscriptions dealing with Babylon, but it also happens in other texts. An eighth-century building inscription by governor Bēl-Ḫarran-bēl-uṣur even begins with Marduk and Nabû,[77] even though this official was responsible for a province in the north (Guzana). Marduk's epithets become more honorable too: since Sargon II (722–705), he is called the "Enlil of the gods," an honor that was — until then — only used for Aššur.

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[72] Although she was locally known as Muliššu. See Simo Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, edited by Bendt Alster, Mesopotamia 8 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980), pp. 171–82. Note also that she had a rival, Šerûa. See G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), p. 88, lines 20–22; p. 92, lines 33–36; p. 94, lines 24–27; p. 98, line 27; p. 100, line 13; p. 102, lines 53–57 (!).

[73] For the Sargonid attitude toward Babylonia, see Peter Machinist, "The Assyrians and Their Babylonian Problem: Some Reflections," in *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin* 1984/85: 353–64; Grant Frame, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History*, Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 69 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1992), pp. 245–55; John A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747–626 B.C.*, Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1984); Holloway, *Aššur Is King*, pp. 343–88.

[74] Lists of gods are frequently inserted in the inscriptions. Often, the prologue contains an invocation of a number of deities; the conclusion often contains a curse formula, invoking the wrath of the gods for those who damage the inscription and their blessing for those who take care of it. In the main body of the texts, deities are often mentioned as lords or helpers of the king.

[75] Mentioned in an inscription of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, the royal scribe of Aššur-uballiṭ I (1365–1330); see Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972), p. 43 no. 276. See also Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 B.C.* (London: Routledge, 1995), vol. 1, p. 350.

[76] Cf. the inscription of Tukulti-Nunurta II (890–884 B.C.) from Assur in Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Vol. 2: *From Tiglath-pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), p. 106 § 486 = idem, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, Vol. 1: *1114–859 BC*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 164 no. 1:8. See also Albert Schott, "Die Anfänge Marduks als eines assyrischen Gottes," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 43 (1936): 318–21; Ernst F. Weidner, "Studien zur Zeitgeschichte Tukulti-Ninurtas I," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 13 (1939–1941): 109–24, esp. pp. 119–23 ("Marduk und die Kassiten in Assyrien unter Tukulti-Ninurta I"); Hillel A. Fine, *Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1955), pp. 106–12.

[77] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, §§ 824–26; Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, Vol. 2: *858–745 BC*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996), p. 241 no. 2.

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Moreover, many Assyrian rulers honored Babylonian deities.[78] A remarkable example is Shalmaneser III (858–824), who, after assisting his brother-in-law, Marduk-zakir-šumi, in repressing a revolt, visited Cuthah, Babylon, and Borsippa. In his inscriptions, Shalmaneser gives the honor of having achieved victory to Marduk-zakir-šumi. The Assyrian king also mentions his sacrifices and public meals in the cities: "For the people of Babylon and Borsippa, his people, he established protection and freedom (*šubarē*) under the great gods at a banquet. He gave them bread (and) wine, dressed them in multicolored garments, (and) presented them with presents."[79] In Nimrud (the Assyrian capital Calah), a statue has been found, representing Shalmaneser shaking hands with his Babylonian colleague. Both men are presented in equal length, proving their equality.[80]

Assyrian kings fighting *against* Babylonia also recognized and honored the Babylonian gods, even after they had defeated their opponents. The first king to conquer Babylon was the empire-builder Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727). It is remarkable that he did this only toward the end of his reign (729 B.C.), when a Chaldaean usurper occupied the throne in Babylon. Once Tiglath-Pileser had captured the city, he did not treat it like other subject towns. He did not appoint a vassal king or governor, but had himself crowned as king of Babylonia. In all aspects, he acted like a Babylonian king: in this new role, he sacrificed to the gods of Babylon. He even took part in the New Year's festival, submitting himself to several humiliating rituals: he had to lay down his royal dignity, declare that he had done nothing against Babylon or its gods, and was hit in the face by a priest. During a procession, he had to grasp the hand of the statue of Marduk, a motif often referred to in the Assyrian royal inscriptions to describe that the king took part in the New Year's festival.[81]

Sargon II acted in the same way. He had to reconquer Babylon after the Chaldaean Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-apla-iddina) in 722 had taken the throne and had held it for twelve years.[82] Several Assyrian kings stress in their inscriptions that they acted on behalf of Marduk and Nabû. This is especially true for Sargon, who presents himself as chosen by Marduk to fight against Merodach-Baladan. We return to this claim below, in the context of the Cyrus Cylinder. After Sargon had finally conquered Babylon in 709 B.C., he honored the Babylonian gods and took part in the New Year's festival:

> In the month of *Nisânu*, the month of the going forth of the lord of the gods, I took the hand(s) of the great lord, Marduk (and) Nabû, the king of all heaven and earth, and finished my march (lit., road) to the temple of the New Year's Feast. Outstanding bulls and fat sheep, geese, ducks together with (an) unceasing (supply) of (other) gifts, I presented (lit., spread out) before them. To the gods of the sacred cities of Sumer and Akkad I offered [pure] sacrifices. [In order to inflict a defeat upon] Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-baladan), son of Iakinu, [of Chaldaean extraction, the likeness of an evil demon] I turned to th[em (the gods)]; with prayers and [supplications I prayed to them. After I had accomplished the feast of my great lord Marduk, I departed without fear? from] the sacred cities of Sumer and Akkad.[83]

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[78] For a broader discussion with references, see Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, pp. 22–27.

[79] Inscription on the great bronze palace gates in Imgur-Enlil (Balawat, near Nimrud), VI.4. See Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3, pp. 27–32 no. 5. Earlier editions: Adolf Billerbeck and Friedrich Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars II von Balawat,* Beiträge zur Assyriologie 6/1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), p. 139; Ernst Michel, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III. (858–824)," *Die Welt des Orients* 4 (1967): 32 V.5–VI.3; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 624. Cf. John A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158–722 B.C.*, Analecta Orientalia 43 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1968), p. 197.

[80] M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (London: Collins, 1966), vol. 2, p. 447.

[81] Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, pp. 240–43. For the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, see now Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III*. For the New Year's festival, see J. A. Black, "The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon: 'Taking Bel by the Hand' and a Cultic Picnic," *Religion* 11 (1981): 39–59; Amélie Kuhrt, "Usurpation, Conquest and Ceremonial: From Babylon to Persia," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, edited by David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 20–55; Julye Bidmead, *The Akītu Festival: Religious Continuity and Royal Legitimation in Mesopotamia* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2002); Karel van der Toorn, "The Babylonian New Year's Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and Their Bearing on Old Testament Study," in *Congress Volume Leuven 1989,* edited by J. A. Emerton, Vetus Testamentum Supplements 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 331–44. It must be noted that our main information concerning the ritual of the New Year's festival comes from a document from the Hellenistic period; cf. Marc J. H. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practice*, Cuneiform Monographs (Leiden: Brill; Boston: Styx, 2004), pp. 215–37 (edition) and p. 11 (date). We therefore cannot be sure that the described rituals were exactly so en vogue in the Neo-Assyrian period.

[82] John A. Brinkman, "Merodach-Baladan II," in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964*, edited by Robert D. Biggs and John A. Brinkman (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964), pp. 6–53; R. J. van der Spek, "The Struggle of King Sargon II of Assyria against the Chaldaean Merodach-Baladan (710–707 B.C.)," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 25 (1977–78): 56–66.

[83] Cf. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, pp. 53–54. For the inscriptions of Sargon II, see Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*; Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon*; D. G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, Königs van Assyrien (722–705 v. Chr.)*, Assyriologische Bibliothek 5 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1883; reprint Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1977); Hugo Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen neu herausgegeben* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1889); Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms," pp. 173–201, pls. xliv–li; H. W. F. Saggs, "Historical Texts and Fragments of Sargon II of Assyria: The 'Aššur Charter,'" *Iraq* 37 (1975): 11–20. For a comparison of the ceremonial entries of Sargon II, Cyrus, and Alexander in Babylon, see Amélie Kuhrt, "Alexander and Babylon," in *The Roots of the European Tradition*, edited by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and J. W. Drijvers, Achaemenid History 5 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990), pp. 121–30. The quote is from the annals of Sargon in the Khorsabad palace, Room II, pl. 29:7–14, reconstructed from parallels

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Marduk's role was not limited to Assyrian inscriptions regarding Babylon. This is shown especially by Sargon's famous Letter to Aššur, mentioned above, reporting his campaign against Urzana, prince of Muṣaṣir in Urartu, "who had sinned against the oath taken by Aššur, Šamaš, Nabû and Marduk." Because of the importance of this text, I quote it *in extenso*:

> Trusting in the strong support of Aššur, father of the gods, lord of lands, king of the whole heaven and earth, begetter (of all), lord of lords, to whom, from eternity, the Enlil (lord) of the gods, Marduk, has given the gods of land and mountain of the four quarters (of the world) to honor him — not one escaping — with their heaped-up stores(?), to bring (them) into Ehursaggalkurkurra;[84] at the exalted command of Nabû [Mercurius] and Marduk [Jupiter], who had taken a course in a station of the stars (portending) the advance of my arms (...) I set out and took the road to Muṣaṣir.[85]

This shows that Aššur is considered to be the supreme god of the world, to whom all other gods have to prostrate. This does not mean that places of worship for the Assyrian god had to be created all over the world; it means that the statues of the other gods could be brought to Assur, that the subject nations had to pay tribute to Aššur's temple and to obey the Assyrian king, the enforcer of Aššur's decrees. It is remarkable that Aššur is presented as having received his supremacy from Marduk, and this in a text that is not related to Babylonia, from a period in which Sargon was not king in Babylon, to be read in the city of Assur on a special occasion.[86] Marduk is therefore in some sense superior to Aššur. One is reminded of the prologue to the Codex Hammurabi, in which we read that Anu and Enlil had given dominion of all people (*ellilūtu* "Enlilhood") to Marduk.[87] In both cases, a city god is recognized as the main god of the pantheon. In the codex, this means that Marduk, not Enlil, is the active ruler of the world. In Sargon's Letter to Aššur it is not Marduk who rules the world, but Aššur. The lines quoted above attribute world rule to Aššur. It remains remarkable, however, that the Assyrian god receives his power from Marduk. Perhaps this can be explained from Sargon's policy to present himself as king of all of Mesopotamia (both Assyria and Babylonia) vis-à-vis Urartu, the object of his campaign.[88] This is corroborated by the statement, in line 60, that Sargon had received power from Aššur and Marduk, and the words of line 92, that the king of Urartu had broken his promise to the two gods. To stress that Aššur was the ruler of all Mesopotamia, his name is spelled in lines 13 and 63 of this inscription (and in many younger texts) as AN.ŠÁR. Anšar and Kišar were an ancient couple of gods, mentioned in the Babylonian creation epic; they were older than Anu and Enlil. By identifying Aššur with Anšar, the Assyrian god had become a normal, general Mesopotamian god, more than just a city god.

Nabû enjoyed similar favors from the Assyrian kings. Adad-nirari III (811–783) devoted a very large temple to him at Calah.[89] A dedicatory text by one of his officials has been found: "Trust Nabû, do not trust any other god."[90] From Assyrian personal names, in which the name of Nabû is often included, we can deduce that he enjoyed great popularity in this age.[91] Under the Sargonid dynasty, Nabû became even more influential. On the occasion of the inauguration of the new capital Dur-Sharrukin, in 706, King Sargon organized a banquet for the gods who were to have their residence in the city. Among them was Nabû, but not Marduk.[92] Often, Nabû is named before Marduk. The last great king of Assyria, Assurbanipal, showed his faith in Nabû in prayers and in temple construction.[93]

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in the inscriptions from Room V, pl. 9:6b–14, the Display Inscription and the Nimrud prisms; cf. R. J. van der Spek, "The Struggle of King Sargon," pp. 58–59. Cf. Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon*, p. 56–59: 384–390 (Room II) + 13–15 (Room V); Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 38; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 156–58 (lines 320–28), 332–33.

[84] The temple of the god Aššur in the city of Assur. Note that in Akkadian, the names of god, city, and country are all *Aššur*. In this article, I call the city Assur and the country Assyria.

[85] Sargon, Letter to Aššur, lines 314–21 (cf. n. 26). Translation: Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 170.

[86] A. Leo Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1960): 133–47, esp. 144–47.

[87] Codex Hammurabi, Prologue I.11–2. Cf. M. E. J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws: Text, Translation and Glossary* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

[88] Suggestion F. R. Kraus in 1975 (pers. comm.).

[89] Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains,* p. 261.

[90] Inscription on two stone statues found in the Nabû temple of Calah made by "Bēl-tarṣi-ilumma, governor of Calah, for the life of Adad-nārāri, king of Assyria, his lord and (for) the life of Sammuramat, palace woman, his mistress ([f]*sa-am-mu-ra-mat* MUNUS.É.GAL NIN-*šú*)." The last line of the inscription (line 12) reads: "Whoever you are, after (me), trust in the god Nabû! Do not trust in another god." See Grant Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 B.C.)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 226–27 no. 2002. Also in Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 745. This is, incidentally, not an indication of monotheism; at most, it is a henotheistic text: Nabû is represented as the only reliable god and the only deity worthy of praise, but the existence of the other gods is not denied.

[91] Wolfram von Soden, "Der Nahe Osten im Altertum," in *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*, Vol. 2: *Hochkulturen des mittleren und östlichen Asiens*, edited by Golo Mann and Alfred Heuß (Berlin: Propyläen, 1962), p. 119.

[92] Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, pp. 155–57 ("Prunkinschrift"); Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 235–36, 353; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 72.

[93] Compare the inscription dedicated to Nabû in Maximilian Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's,* 3 vols., Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7/1–3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1916), vol. 1, p. 272 = Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 991–94

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Not only the Babylonian gods, but also the Babylonians themselves could count, post-conquest, on Assyrian respect. In the twentieth century B.C., the Assyrian king Ilu-šumma attacked Akkad (the future Babylonia). He tells that on that occasion he made an end to several unlawfully imposed duties (corvées and taxes).[94] We already noticed that Shalmaneser III organized banquets for the Babylonian population. Since the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, most kings stressed that the Babylonian cities were free of taxes. Tax freedom, but also the fact that the Assyrian officials ignored this privilege frequently, is a common theme in official correspondence. A good example is a letter to Assurbanipal in which the following is said about the Babylonians:

> The words that the Babylonians spoke to the king: "Ever since the kings, our lords, sat on the throne, you have been intent on securing our privileged status (*kidinnūtu*) and our happiness (*ṭub libbi*). (...) Whoever enters inside it, his privileged status (*kidinnūtu*) is secured. (...) Not even a dog that enters inside it, is killed. (...) And in having made our privileged status sur[passing ...] (...) So let the privileged status of the women who [...] al[so be established] with us by the name of Babylon.[95]

The protection of the rights (*šubarû*) of the citizens of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon from taxation, forced labor, injustice, and breaking of treaties, against apprehensions of the king, is the subject of a document known as "The Advice to a Prince" ("Fürstenspiegel").[96] The date of the composition is unknown, but it is to be noted that Sargon II claims to have established the freedom (*šubarû*) of these same cities Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon already before he actually had conquered Babylon.[97] The author who composed this "advice" may well have come from the Babylonian circles who wrote letters to Sargon requesting him to intervene in Babylon (cf. below).

In many respects, Sargon can be compared to Cyrus. He conformed himself to Babylonian traditions, honored the Babylonian gods, attended the New Year's festival, awarded privileges to Babylonian cities, and returned the statues of the gods that had been taken away by Merodach-Baladan. There is even evidence that he came to Babylon at the invitation of influential individuals in Babylon, though not the highest officials such as the *šatammu*. The evidence comes not only from royal inscriptions, but also from letters sent to the Assyrian court. In the inscriptions of Sargon we read:

> The people (lit., sons) of Babylon (and) Borsippa, the "temple-enterers" (*êrib biti*), the *ummanê* officials, skilled in workmanship, who go before and direct (the people) of the land, (all these) who had been subject to him, brought the "leftovers" (of the divine meals) of Bēl and Zarpanitu, (of) Nabû and Tašmetu, to Dur-Ladinnu, into my presence, invited me to enter Babylon and (thus) made glad my soul (lit., my liver). Babylon, the city of the En[lil of the gods], I entered amidst rejoicing and to the gods who dwell in Esagila and Ezida I brought pure, additional offerings before them.[98]

Several letters suggest that this was not mere propaganda talk.[99] One such letter is written by a certain Bēlšunu, a temple official, to Nabû-ahhe-eriba, vizier (*sukkallu*) of Sargon:

> Certain Babylonians, free citizens (*mar-banû*), friends who are loyal to the king and the vizier (*sukkallu*), my lord, have written to me from Babylon. Send us [go]od news, whatever is appropriate! (...) He (= Bēl) has ordained that the son of Yakin (= Merodach-Baladan) be ousted [from] Babylon, and he has also spoken about the king's entry

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and the dialogue between Assurbanipal and Nabû in Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 1, p. 342 = Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 1122–29.

[94] Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 15 no. 1: 14–16, "He established the freedom (*a-du-ra-ar*) of the Akkadians" and p. 18 no. 2: 49–65, "I established the freedom of the Akkadians and their children. I purified their copper. I established their freedom from the border of the marshes and Ur and Nippur, Awal, and Kismar, Dēr of the god Ištaran, as far as the city (Aššur)" = Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. 1, §§ 37, 42.

[95] Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, 4 parts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930–1936), no. 878; new edition and translation in F. Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sîn-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia*, State Archives of Assyria 18 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1983), pp. 130–32 no. 158; cf. Paul Garelli and V. Nikiprowetzky, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique: les empires mésopotamiens, Israël* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), p. 141; Frame, *Babylonia*, pp. 36 and 110.

[96] Transcription and translation in Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960; reprint Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 110–15.

[97] CAD s.v. *šubarrû*. References in Sargon's inscriptions: (1) An inscription on the backside of a plate: Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, pl. 40:2 = Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 54–59 no. 1.3: 2; (2) A barrel cylinder inscription from Khorsabad: Lyon, *Keilschriftexte Sargons*, no. 1: 4 = Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 29–44 no. 1.1: 4; (3) A bull inscription: Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, no. 2: 5 = Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 60–74 no. 2.1: 5; (4) Bronze inscription: Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, no. 3: 7 = Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 45–55 no. 1.2.1: 7. Cf. Igor M. Diakonoff, "A Babylonian Political Pamphlet from about 700 B.C.," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, edited by Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen, Assyriological Studies 16 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 343–49.

[98] Annals of Sargon from Khorsabad: Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon*, pp. 54–6: 371–76 = Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, p. 154: 312–14 (translation pp. 331–32); Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, §§ 35, 40.

[99] As suggested by Kuhrt, "Cyrus the Great of Persia: Images and Realities," p. 174; idem, "Alexander and Babylon," pp. 122–23.

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> to Babylon. Perhaps Bēl will act so the king can perform a ritual and hear him. Let my lord do everything possible so the army can come here and the king will obtain his objective. I am one who blesses my lord. I pray daily to Marduk and Zarpanitu for the good health of my lord.[100]

Another letter is from an unknown sender, "your servant" (who may have deliberately left out his name), to the vizier (*sukkallu*) of Sargon:

> When will the king, my lord, come here and establish the privileged status (*kidinnutu*) of Babylon? (...) Why does my lord remain silent, while Babylon is being destroyed? Šamaš and Marduk have installed you for intercession in Assyria. Persuade the king to come here and to exempt (*lu-zak-ki*) Babylon for Marduk and (make) your name everlasting in Esaggil and Ezida.[101]

It is an acceptable guess that Cyrus later likewise acted at the instigation of certain notables of the Marduk temple in Babylon. There are more examples of empires invading a country at the request and with the support of authorities of the land concerned. A good example is King Ahaz of Judah, who invited Tiglath-Pileser III to help him against a coalition of King Resin of Aram and Pekah of Israel (2 Kings 16:7). The history of Roman imperialism is full of examples of cities that pleaded for Roman intervention, like Saguntum (against Hannibal, 218 B.C.), the Greek city Massilia (Marseilles) against neighboring Gallic tribes (125 B.C.), and numerous Greeks cities against Macedonia. An example of this is the request of Pergamum and Rhodes in 201 to intervene in Greece. After Rome had intervened with the help of Greek allies and the victory in the Second Macedonian War had been attained, Titus Quinctius Flamininus declared the Greek cities "free" at the Isthmian Games of 196 B.C.[102] In this and all other cases the request for intervention ended in incorporation in the Roman empire.

The permission to exiled people to return home is not a new feature of Cyrus' policy. We know at least three Assyrian kings who allowed deported people to return to Babylonia (discussed below).

The friendly policy toward Babylonia was obviously not the only one the Assyrians pursued. Apart from the conquest of another country constituting a hostile act by itself, several kings did so in a particularly harsh way. The best-known example is Sennacherib, who, from the very beginning of his reign, broke with some of the policies of his father. He abandoned Sargon's new capital Dur-Sharrukin and used Nineveh instead, he consistently refused to mention his father in his inscriptions, and he had a different attitude toward Babylonia from his father. Their policies can be compared, however, because they had to deal with the same problems: both kings had, early in their reigns, to cope with the Chaldaean usurper Merodach-Baladan. Sargon expelled him after twelve years, Sennacherib after several months. Yet their ensuing acts could not have differed more. As pointed out before, Sargon honored Babylonian gods, gained support from priests and servants of Merodach-Baladan, and awarded privileges to Babylonian cities. Sennacherib, on the other hand, did not mention Marduk and Nabû in the inscription on his campaign against Merodach-Baladan. According to this text, he captured the priests and the servants of Merodach-Baladan, looted the palace, and sacked the very cities that his father had privileged.[103] Sennacherib did not proclaim himself Babylonian king as previous kings had done, but appointed a Babylonian puppet,[104] later replaced by Sennacherib's son. His attitude became even harsher when the Babylonians captured this son and extradited him to Elam, Assyria's archenemy. In 689, Babylonia was punished cruelly. The city was utterly destroyed, a fact that Sennacherib describes at great length in two inscriptions.[105] Water from the Euphrates was led over the ruins, allowing the later Assyrian king Esarhaddon to say that "reed-marshes and poplars grew profusely in it and threw out many offshoots. There were birds of the heavens (and) fish of the *apsû*, without number, in it."[106] Maybe the prophet Isaiah had this in mind when he wrote: "'I will rise up against them,' says the LORD of hosts, 'and will cut off from Babylon name and remnant, offspring and posterity,' says the LORD. 'And I will make it a possession of the hedgehog (King James Version: bittern), and pools of water, and I will sweep it with the broom of destruction,' says the LORD of hosts."[107]

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[100] ABL 844: 7–13, rev. 1′–16′ = Manfried Dietrich, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*, State Archives of Assyria 17 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003), no. 20; Galo W. Vera Chamaza, *Die Omnipotenz Aššurs: Entwicklungen in der Aššur-Theologie unter den Sargoniden; Sargon II., Sanherib und Asarhaddon*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 295 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), pp. 31–32, 252–54 no. 6.

[101] ABL 1431: 13–15, rev. 11–16 = Dietrich, *The Babylonian Correspondence*, no. 21; Vera Chamaza, *Die Omnipotenz Aššurs*, pp. 28–31, 248–50 no. 3. For the supposed pro-Assyrian party, see Diakonoff, "A Babylonian Political Pamphlet," and Brinkman, "Merodach-Baladan II," p. 20 n. 10. Brinkman is more cautious in his article "Babylonia under the Assyrian Empire, 745–627 B.C.," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, edited by Mogens Trolle Larsen, Mesopotamia 7 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), pp. 223–50, esp. pp. 236–37.

[102] Polybius 18.46; Livy 33.32–33.

[103] Luckenbill, *Annals*, pp. 48–55, 94–98 (Prism A1); idem, *Ancient Records*, §§ 255–67; note especially lines 48–53 = Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 262.

[104] Ibid., line 53.

[105] Luckenbill, *Annals*, p. 78 lines 48–52; idem, *Ancient Records*, § 438.

[106] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, no. 108: III 1′–14′.

[107] Isaiah 14:22–23.

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Sennacherib's successor Esarhaddon abandoned this policy, without condemning his father's approach, which he attributed to the wrath of Marduk, who, angry about the sins of the Babylonians, had seized the temple treasures.[108] In his inscriptions, Esarhaddon stresses that he had Babylon restored and repopulated. Benno Landsberger[109] has shown that this may be exaggerated, but it is a fact that a beginning was made with the reconstruction. Besides, it is interesting to observe that Esarhaddon found it necessary to create this image of himself.

Esarhaddon strove to be succeeded by his two sons: Šamaš-šuma-ukin became king of Babylon, while Assurbanipal received the rest of the empire. Vassal rulers were forced to accept this arrangement under oath.[110] In their inscriptions, both kings always spoke positively about Babylon and its gods. Like Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal boasts that he had returned the statue of the god Marduk from Nineveh to Babylon. Among other texts, Cylinder L6, a display inscription dedicated to Marduk for the reconstruction of the walls called Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil, makes his relationship to Marduk explicit:

> During my reign the great lord, Marduk, entered Babylon amid rejoicing, and in Esagila took up his eternal abode. The regular offerings of Esagila and the gods of Babylon, I provided for (lit., established). The privileges (*kidinnūtu*) of Babylon I maintained.[111]

It was probably this very inscription that Cyrus found when he restored the Imgur-Enlil wall of Babylon, if we may believe his own cylinder (Cyrus Cylinder, lines 38, 43). Assurbanipal remains respectful toward Babylon even after an insurrection by his brother had forced him to take the city in a protracted war. Rebels were pardoned and orders were given to restore the war damage.[112]

Why these changes in the Babylonian policy? Why did one king prefer the stick, and the other the carrot? Investigating this subject is worthwhile as it may help us understand Cyrus' attitudes toward, on the one hand, Babylon and its gods and, on the other hand, the other deities and nations in his empire.

Arguments for using the carrot are easy to find: a benevolent conqueror will more easily win the hearts and minds of his new subjects, who will feel no need to revolt. We can also imagine arguments for using the stick: a terrorized nation will be too scared to revolt.

There are other factors as well, however — factors that are often ignored by modern historians. First, the kings themselves clearly *believed* that there were religious reasons for their policies. Of course, religious beliefs have in the course of history often been manipulated. Liverani argued, with good reason, that the religious discourse of the pious king as the executor of the orders of the Assyrian gods was for Assyrian kings a hypostatic way of describing Assyrian absolute power.[113] This view may, however, be too one-sided. Religious beliefs and fears are very real parts of human life and kings were not free from them. For what other reason do the royal inscriptions so often stress the importance of the gods' orders or the accord that the deities, by means of oracular prescripts, gave to a royal decision? For every important decision, the will of the gods was examined. Countless prayers survive in which the Assyrian kings ask for divine advice before the beginning of a military enterprise.[114] On more than one occasion, King Esarhaddon had himself replaced by a substitute king because an evil omen (like a lunar eclipse) would occur; in this way, the misfortune predicted by the omen would befall the substitute and not the real king.[115] In a polytheistic worldview, *all* gods, the ones of the foreign nations included, can send prosperity and calamities. It is possible to use one's own gods to intimidate foreign deities, but one can also try to become friendly with them. When, for example, one builds a temple for a foreign god, and one makes his nation pray on your behalf, the god may return the favor. It is at least worth trying. The biblical book of Ezra (6:10) presents an image of Darius I mentioning, as an argument to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, sacrifices and prayers for the life of the Persian king and his sons. We encounter something similar in the Cyrus Cylinder when the conqueror announces his decision to send back the images of the gods that had been captured by Nabonidus.[116]

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[108] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, nos. 104: I 18b–33; 114: I 10–18; 116: 5′–9′.

[109] Benno Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde 28/6 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965), pp. 14–37.

[110] D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 1–99; Parpola and Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, pp. 28–58 no. 6.

[111] Cylinder L6: 10–12 in Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 236–37; same phrase in Cylinder L2: 8–11 = Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 230–31 = Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, §§ 963–64.

[112] Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Rassam Cylinder, pp. 3–91, III.128–IV.109; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, §§ 796–97.

[113] Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in Larsen, ed., *Power and Propaganda*, pp. 297–317, esp. p. 301.

[114] See, for instance, Ivan Starr, *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, State Archives of Assyria 4 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990).

[115] Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila*, pp. 38–51, esp. p. 51; cf. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 626. The ritual is well known in the Near East. For a discussion see: Klaas A. D. Smelik, "The 'omina mortis' in the Histories of Alexander the Great," *Talanta* 10–11 (1978–1979): 92–111; Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, State Archives of Assyria 10 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993), pp. xxii–xxxii (collection of references in the ancient Near East, the classical texts, and beyond).

[116] Cyrus Cylinder, lines 34–36; cf. Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "An Episode in the Fall of Babylon to the Persians," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993): 241–61.

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That religion could influence royal policy is also proven by the fact that Sennacherib and Esarhaddon consulted seers. One of the most interesting texts in this respect this is a document dealing with an investigation of the causes of death of Sargon II.[117] Sennacherib's father had been killed in action, but his body could not be retrieved. Obviously, the gods were angry, and three or four teams of haruspices had to find out which sin Sargon had committed to raise the divine wrath: "Did he sin against the gods of [Assyria ...] or against the gods of the land of Akkad (= Babylonia), or did he break oaths to the king of the gods (= Aššur)?"[118] Unfortunately, the damaged tablet does not preserve the answer. In his 1958 article, Tadmor assumed that Sargon's sin was his pro-Babylonian policy, because there is a reference to the erecting of "a statue of Aššur (Anšar) and the great gods," something that is also recorded in Sennacherib's inscriptions. If Tadmor was right, Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon may be (partially) explained as a reaction to Sargon's sinful policy. Landsberger suggested that the text was written in the time of Esarhaddon, that it was a text made in order to support Esarhaddon's policy to rebuild Babylon and to return the statue of Marduk from Assur to Babylon. Sargon is criticized for his *neglect* of Aššur and Sennacherib confessed to have neglected Marduk.[119] In Parpola's final synthesis and edition of the document, Sargon is criticized of honoring Aššur too much at the expense of Marduk (see n. 117). I find this interpretation speculative at best.

In my view, King Sennacherib simply mentions three possible sins of Sargon: against Aššur, against Marduk, or against the oaths sworn in a treaty. One may endorse Parpola's idea that the sin of Sargon was the breach of a treaty between Sargon and Merodach-Baladan.[120] As discussed above, the breaking of a treaty was considered a great offence, one that could indeed arouse the anger of the gods. So the solution was to remedy all three possible sins: crafting a statue for Aššur and one for Marduk in order to reconcile those gods who were implored in the curse formula of a treaty between Assyria and Babylonia. The document has nothing to do with a preference for either Aššur or Marduk. An interesting feature of the document is, furthermore, that Sennacherib complains that Assyrian scribes prevented him from making the statue of Marduk (if it is really Marduk): "As for me, after I had made the statue of Aššur my lord, Assyrian scribes wrongfully prevented me from working [on the statue of Marduk] and did not let me make [the statue of Marduk, the great lord]" (rev. 21–23). Apparently, Esarhaddon was to finish the job of his father by making (remaking?) the statue of Marduk and return it to Babylon. That Sennacherib had not finished the job is attributed to Assyrian scribes, a remarkable feature for a document found in Nineveh. So Esarhaddon reconciled with the gods, whose wrath Sargon had incurred by breaking a treaty sworn to Aššur and Marduk. Sennacherib already had tried to reconcile with Aššur by making a statue for this god, but had failed in the case of Marduk (with the lame excuse that he was prevented from doing so by the scribes). Esarhaddon now finally finished the job by making a statue of Marduk and leading it to Babylon. Landsberger and his followers consider the document as a defense of Esarhaddon's policy.[121] It might as well have been a document composed at the accession of Esarhaddon by some rival scribe or diviner meant as an exhortation to rebuild Babylon, as we shall see below.

Garelli[122] did not see a major break in Sennacherib's religious policy as regards Babylon as a reaction to his father Sargon. In his view, the ejection of Sennacherib's son to the Elamites and the great number of insurrections offered sufficient political justification for the sack of Babylon. De Liagre Böhl offered similar suggestions.[123] Garelli also doubted whether Sargon was really all that pro-Babylonian, since Sargon, by equating Aššur to Anšar, placed this god higher than Marduk.[124] Moreover, Garelli suggests that the Assyrian kings were not much interested in Babylon and

[117] Transliteration and translation in Alasdair Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, State Archives of Assyria 3 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989), pp. 77–79, no. 33; editio princeps: Hayim Tadmor, "The 'Sin of Sargon,'" *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958): 150–62 (in Hebrew) and *93 (English summary); I owe the translation to P. A. Siebesma. Cf. Paul Garelli, "Les sujets du roi d'Assyrie," in *La voix de l'opposition en Mesopotamie* (colloque organisé par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique, 19 et 20 mars 1973), edited by A. Finet (Brussels: Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique, [1973]), pp. 189–213, esp. pp. 193–99. For a new edition and re-evaluation, see Hayim Tadmor, Benno Landsberger, and Simo Parpola, "The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib's Last Will," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 3/1 (1989): 3–51. Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, follows this edition.

[118] The reconstruction proposed in Tadmor, Landsberger, and Parpola, "Sin of Sargon," p. 10, and adopted by Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, p. 77, reads: "was it because [he honoured] the gods o[f Assyria too much, placing them] above the gods of Babylonia [....., and was it because] he did not [keep] the treaty of the king of gods [that Sargon my father] was killed [in the enemy country and] was not b[uried] in his house?" I find this too speculative; it infers too much from lost lines. The crucial passages, in which mention is made of the statue of Marduk, are lost. In the case of Sennacherib's recommendation to posterity (in Parpola's view to Sennacherib's son Esarhaddon) *all* supposed references to Marduk and Babylonia are in the breaks.

[119] Tadmor, Landsberger, and Parpola, "Sin of Sargon," pp. 33–34.

[120] Ibid., pp. 48–49.

[121] In the same vein, Ann M. Weaver, "The 'Sin of Sargon' and Esarhaddon's Reconception of Sennacherib: A Study in Divine Will, Human Politics and Royal Ideology," *Iraq* 66 (2004): 61–66.

[122] Garelli, "Les sujets du roi d'Assyrie," pp. 195–96.

[123] F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, "Eine Tauschurkunde aus dem fünften Regierungsjahr des Aššur-nādin-šumi (694 v. Chr.)," in *Orientalia Neerlandica: A Volume of Oriental Studies Published under the Auspices of the Netherlands' Oriental Society (Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland) on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Its Foundation (May 8th, 1945)* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1948), pp. 116–37, esp. pp. 117–18.

[124] That this argument is not very strong is suggested by Sargon's letter to the gods in which Anšar (= Aššur) is said to have received dominion over the world from Marduk.

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assumes that the "faction theory," which maintains that Sargon and Esarhaddon were exponents of a pro-Babylonian faction and that Sennacherib was a representative of an Assyrian nationalist party, is mistaken. In this, he is supported by Landsberger, who argues that Esarhaddon's pro-Babylonian policy was mere propaganda and that this king hosted the same feelings toward the ancient city as his father had done before him.[125]

This does not explain, however, why Sennacherib never mentions Sargon in his inscriptions, why he abandoned Sargon's new capital Dur-Sharrukin, why he changed his attitude toward Babylon *at the very start* of his reign,[126] and why Marduk and Nabû are almost absent from his inscriptions.[127] It is very difficult to explain Sennacherib's hostility toward his father because we have no explicit statements about it, but it does not seem unreasonable to assume that he was aware of some "sin of Sargon," whatever it may have been.

A second example of the influence of religion and prophecy on policy is Esarhaddon's decision to revoke his father's resolution to destroy Babylon. As his motive, Esarhaddon mentions the clemency of Marduk: "The merciful god Marduk wrote that the calculated time of its abandonment (should last) 70 years, (but) his heart was quickly soothed, and he reversed the numbers and thus ordered its (re)occupation to be (after) 11 years."[128]

Letters found in Nineveh inform us about what appears to have been the true reason of Esarhaddon's U-turn. It must be noted that his succession had not been easy. His father Sennacherib had appointed Esarhaddon as his successor, but an elder brother tried to prevent his accession. Esarhaddon even had to flee to exile. Meanwhile, Sennacherib was assassinated by his son Arda-Muliššu.[129] From his exile, Esarhaddon managed to capture Nineveh and seize the throne. The cardinal point is that there had been a seer who had issued a dual prophecy: that Esarhaddon would become king and that Babylon would be repopulated. In a letter it is stated that because the first part of the prophecy had come true, the new king had to make sure that the second part of the prophecy would be fulfilled as well.[130] I suggest that the document concerning the Sin of Sargon, discussed above, originated from the circles of this same seer, sneering at Assyrian scribes who had prevented Sennacherib from doing the right thing.

It is clear that much of what the Assyrian kings said about their policy is too positive from a historical perspective. Yet there is no doubt that Babylonian cities received a special treatment, different from the ways in which other parts of the empire were dealt with. As we have seen, only Sennacherib adopted — from the very beginning of his reign — a hostile and merciless approach toward Babylon. In his Babylonian policy, Cyrus thus followed age-old traditions, as described in the Cyrus Cylinder.

Cyrus and Babylonia

After the fall of the Assyrian empire a Babylonian dynasty conquered Mesopotamia and chose Babylon as its capital. Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562) has become especially famous for refurbishing Babylon (and notorious because he deported the Judeans). The last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus (556–539), may have met opposition in Babylon because of his exceptional behavior. He stayed out of Babylon for ten years, made Temā (Thaema) in Arabia his residence, and left the administration in Babylon to his son Belshazzar. As long as Nabonidus stayed away, the New Year's festival did not take place. In these years, temple grounds were subject to palace regulations.[131] In addition, Nabonidus seems to have had a preference for the moon god Sîn at the expense of Marduk. He spent much on the building of temples for Sîn at Ḫarran and Ur and even called Esagila and other temples "houses of your (= Sîn's) godhead."[132] In the propaganda text

[125] Landsberger, *Brief des Bishofs von Esagila,* p. 16.

[126] Babylonian Chronicle from Nabonassar to Shamash-shuma-ukin, II.19–III.38. Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Studies 5 (Locust Valley: Augustin, 1975), pp. 77–82 no. 1 = Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, Writings from the Ancient World 19 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), pp. 193–202, no. 16.

[127] Marduk is mentioned only thrice and Nabû only twice and that without any epithet.

[128] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, nos. 104: II 1–9; 114: II 12–18; cf. slightly different no. 116: 18′–19′. (In cuneiform 𒐗𒐊 = 70; 𒐊𒐗 = 11)

[129] = Arad-^{d}NIN.LÍL = Adrammelek in 2 Kings 19:37. Cf. Parpola, "Murderer of Sennacherib," pp. 171–82.

[130] Parpola, "Murderer of Sennacherib," p. 179 n. 41. The letter is from prophet Bēl-ušezib, who had been imprisoned before and apparently risked his life with his prophecy: "I am the one who told the omen of the kingship of my lord the crown prince Esarhaddon to the exorcist Dadâ and the queen mother saying: 'Esarhaddon will rebuild Babylon and restore Esaggil, and [*honor*] me' — why has the king up until now not summoned me?" (ABL 1216 = Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, no. 109: 14′–16′).

[131] Cf. the so-called edict of Belshazzar (YBT VI.103): Denise Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559–520)*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 8 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1968), pp. 37, 108. See G. van Driel, "The Edict of Belšazzar: An Alternative Interpretation," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 30 (1987–1988): 61–64.

[132] References: Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 256 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), p. 21 n. 90. For an interpretation of Nabonidus' reign, see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), esp. pp. 43–65 ("The Exaltation of Sîn in the Inscriptions of Nabonidus").

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called King of Justice, Marduk is equated with Sîn.[133] It must be admitted that much of the anti-Nabonidus evidence comes from pro-Cyrus propaganda after the Persian takeover. The main documents are the Cyrus Cylinder and the so-called Verse Account of Nabonidus, a satirical pamphlet ridiculing Nabonidus' preference for Sîn and his pedantry as scholar.[134] Amélie Kuhrt correctly argued that a united opposition of the "Babylonian priesthood" against Nabonidus cannot be asserted, first of all because a category "priesthood" is a European concept that did not exist in Babylonia, secondly because the temple administration was largely dependent on royal supervision and benefaction, and finally because there is hardly evidence from the time of Nabonidus himself.[135] However, some discontent with Nabonidus' measures as regards the temple is to be expected and even if the Cyrus Cylinder and the Verse Account are part of Persian propaganda, they may well have had a kernel of truth, if only to render them more convincing. Beaulieu pointed out that many allegations in the Verse Account find their basis in Nabonidus' own inscriptions. He concludes that vocal and active opposition against Nabonidus among at least part of the scribal circles must have existed.[136]

It is von Soden's assumption that in Nabonidus' time propaganda for and against the king existed side by side. The King of Justice[137] and the Royal Chronicle[138] are examples of pro-Nabonidus literature, the Verse Account is the voice of the opposition. Von Soden suggests that the latter was composed already before Cyrus' conquest of Babylon by a scribe from these hostile circles or adapted from such a document shortly after.[139]

The scribes and scholars from the anti-Nabonidus circles had hoped that, after the deposition of Nabonidus, Cyrus would radically get rid of the Babylonian king and his policies, and that he would give Marduk and Esagila a privileged position and perhaps depose the high officials, the *šatammu* (head of the temple administration) Zeria and the *zazakku* (registry official) Rimut, who were appointed by Nabonidus and seemingly are ridiculed as flatterers of Nabonidus in the Verse Account (but see below for a different interpretation). Caroline Waerzeggers recently argued that the Cyrus Cylinder must be interpreted as a document mirroring views and hopes of the local elite, more or less as a manifesto on what conditions the kingship of Cyrus was acceptable. Regardless of whether or not the initiative came from Cyrus or the priests the message is one of political hope, Cyrus' hope that he would be accepted as Babylonian king and the hope of the Babylonian elite that the new king would accept the duties belonging to this kingship as regards the temple. Hopes of both parties, Waerzeggers concludes, were destroyed within one generation.[140] This view partially agrees with that of Amélie Kuhrt, who argued that surrender of Babylon to invading kings was more than once the result of negotiations between the local elite and the king, Sargon II in 709, Cyrus in 539, and Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. (see above, n. 83).

Indeed, at least some of the expectations were not satisfied. Cyrus saw to it that Esagila was not damaged and that the normal rites could be performed, but he did not take part in the New Year's festival in person. That Cyrus (or Cambyses?) appeared in Elamite (= Persian) attire at Cambyses' investiture ritual may have shocked some Babylonians (although the sources do not state so explicitly). Babylon lost the position it had enjoyed before Cyrus: it ceased to be the core of an empire; the new king represented a new power structure.[141]

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[133] Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids,* pp. 579–88, P2 III 18, IV 26, VI 9.

[134] Ibid., pp. 563–78; English translations in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 312–15; Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, pp. 75–80.

[135] Amélie Kuhrt, "Nabonidus and the Babylonian Priesthood," in *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, edited by Mary Beard and John North (London: Duckworth, 1990), pp. 119–55.

[136] Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Nabonidus the Mad King: A Reconsideration of His Steles from Harran and Babylon," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), pp. 137–66, esp. p. 160. Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia," pp. 73–94, downplays the extent of the discontent with Nabonidus' policy, because there was no rift between temple authorities and the palace (the temple officials were mostly appointed by the king) and because many high officials stayed in power, among whom the *šatammu* and the *zazakku* of Esagila (cf. previous note). Jursa, however, has no explanation for the fact that these officials remained in office although they supposedly were ridiculed as sycophants in the Verse Account. Jursa is correct in his argument that a lot of continuity existed in the governance of Babylonia, as happens most of the time in regime change, but the realities of the power structure in Babylon probably were complex. Some circles will have supported Nabonidus and his name apparently had a positive connotation among the rebels against Darius I, others will have retained their jobs despite their allegiance to Nabonidus (note that Nabonidus himself was spared and exiled, not killed), and again others will have had a more radical antipathy against the last Babylonian king and may have written letters to Cyrus like the (partly anonymous) officials had done to Sargon II. The Verse Account may have been a scholarly satire coming from this group, but not intended for a wider audience.

[137] Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, pp. 579–88.

[138] Ibid., pp. 589–95.

[139] Wolfram von Soden, "Kyros und Nabonid: Propaganda und Gegenpropaganda," in Wolfram von Soden, *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babylonien*, Series minor (Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di studi asiatici) 32 (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1989), pp. 285–92, esp. p. 288.

[140] Lecture delivered June 30, 2010, VU University, Amsterdam.

[141] Nabonidus Chronicle III.24–28 in the interpretation of Andrew R. George, "Studies in Cultic Topography and Ideology," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 53 (1996): 363–95, esp. pp. 379–80; so also Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, p. 51. I reject von Soden's opinion that the Nabonidus Chronicle was a piece of pro-Cyrus propaganda. The document treats Nabonidus with a certain detachment. It stresses that the king did not take part in the Akītu festival, but no judgment is given. It is also stressed that the other ceremonies were performed correctly (*ki šalmu*). The participation of the king in the New Year's ceremony in his seventeenth year is duly recorded and it was also done "correctly" (*ki šalmu* III.8). Negative reports about Cyrus are his slaughter of Babylonian people after the battle at Sippar (III.14) and his attendance of the investiture of Cambyses as viceroy in "Elamite" dress, but no

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Cyrus continued Nabonidus' policy of exploiting the temple lands, he did not kill Nabonidus and did not remove Zeria and Rimut from office. Kristin Kleber observed that the *šatammu* Zeria was still in office in the ninth year of Cyrus and the *zazakku* Rimut in the fifth year of Cambyses. So she concluded that the composition of the Verse Account must have taken place much later, after the revolt of two rebels from the time of Darius I (522 and 521 B.C.), who both called themselves Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus.[142] The allusion to Nabonidus by these rebels would have been the occasion to compose this derogatory document concerning the last Babylonian king.[143] Taking into account von Soden's and Waerzeggers' observations one may alternatively suggest that the Verse Account was not late, but rather early, just before or after Cyrus' accession. Zeria and Rimut would as shrewd politicians have welcomed Cyrus in Babylon and have praised Cyrus' rededication of Esagila to Marduk, if we accept Waerzeggers' proposal that in the Verse Account (V 18′–28′) there is no question of sycophancy of these officials toward Nabonidus, but that it was Cyrus, who took away from Esagila the crescent of the moon god Sîn and was supported in this by Zeria and Rimut.[144]

Subsequent generations cherished different opinions of Nabonidus, though. A negative judgment is still preserved in a prophecy text, the Dynastic Prophecy, a historical composition in the form of predictions from the downfall of Assyria to (at least) Alexander the Great, seemingly issued in the Neo-Assyrian period, but apparently being *vaticinia ex eventu* from the early Hellenistic period.[145] The "prophecy" on Nabonidus is negative ("he will plot evil against Akkad"[146]), while Cyrus is judged favorably ("During his reign Akkad [will live] in security"[147]).

Berossus, on the other hand, does not seem to have had a negative view of Nabonidus' religious policy.[148] As mentioned above, the Babylonian rebels under Darius I claimed to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, implying that Nabonidus was a respectable Babylonian king. If Lambert was right, the pro-Nabonidus treatise King of Justice is preserved on a tablet copied in the Seleucid-Parthian period.[149]

It is possible that under these circumstances of internal conflicts in Babylonia, some Babylonian diviners and priests predicted Cyrus' victory, explicitly linking this to the restoration of the cult of Marduk, and actually invited him to intervene, similar to the calls of their predecessors in the days of Sargon II. A comparable prophecy is known from a Hebrew source:

> [I am the LORD] who says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and he shall carry out all my purpose"; and who says of Jerusalem, "It shall be rebuilt," and of the temple, "Your foundation shall be laid." Thus says the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subdue nations before him and strip kings of their robes, to open doors before him and the gates shall not be closed. (...) For the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I call you by your name, I surname you, though you do not know me.[150]

Just like a seer could successfully urge Esarhaddon to make sure that the second part of the prediction would come true, a Jewish and a Babylonian prophet may have tried to achieve their aims through Cyrus.[151]

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judgment is given. Cf. Amélie Kuhrt, "Some Thoughts on P. Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire Perse*," in *Recherches récentes sur l'empire achéménide*, Topoi, Supplement 1 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1997), pp. 299–304. Cf. Gauthier Tolini, "Quelques éléments concernant la prise de Babylone par Cyrus (octobre 539 av. J.-C.)," *ARTA* 2005.003: 1–13.

[142] Bisotun Inscription I § 16, III § 49, IV § 52 (Persian version, translation: Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, pp. 141–58); lines 31–31, 85, 91–92 (Babylonian version, translation: von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription*, pp. 55–56 and 60).

[143] Kristin Kleber, "Zēria, *šatammu* von Esangila und die Entstehungszeit des 'Strophengedichts,'" *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2007/52.

[144] Caroline Waerzeggers, "Very Cordially Hated in Babylonia? Zēria and Rēmūt in the Verse Account," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39 (2012): 316–20.

[145] Column II.16′. Editio princeps: Albert Kirk Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 24–37; collated new edition: R. J. van der Spek, "Darius III," pp. 311–33, no. 5.

[146] Dynastic Prophecy II.16′.

[147] Dynastic Prophecy II.24′, *i-na* BAL-*e-šú* KUR URI.KI *šub-tum ni-i*[*h-tum* TUŠ]. Grayson understood this as: "During his reign Akkad [will *not* enjoy] a peaceful abode." This cannot be correct. There is hardly room for an extra sign *ul* or NU "not." In addition, this is a sentence common in the omen literature, always used in the affirmative, and as this text is closely related to the omens it will have been in this context similarly. Cf. van der Spek, "Darius III," pp. 319–20. The expression in affirmative sense is preserved indeed in the Cyrus Cylinder itself: KUR.KUR *ka-li-ši-na šu-ub-ti né-eh-tì ú-še-ši-ib* (line 36, fragment B; cf. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 554) and on a brick inscription of Cyrus: KUR *šu-ub-ti né-eh-ti ú-še-šib* (ibid., p. 549, K1, 2a: 6).

[148] Berossus *apud* Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.151–53.

[149] Wilfred G. Lambert, "A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 22 (1968/1969): 1–8. Cf. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 591; Beaulieu, "Nabonidus the Mad King," pp. 137–40.

[150] Isaiah 44:28–45–1 and 4.

[151] Isaiah's prophecy may of course be considered to have been *vaticinatio ex eventu*, but Babylonian and Jewish prophets could well have anticipated a Persian victory before 539. It is interesting to note that Beaulieu, "Nabonidus the Mad King," argues that the Babylonian scholars wanted to challenge the royal monopoly in religious affairs, were hence opposed to Nabonidus' plans, and thus ridiculed Nabonidus' scholarship. We may detect a similar development in the Jewish scribal circles who denounced kingship (1 Samuel 8), denounced all Israelite and many Judahite kings, especially the last one, Zedekiah, and who managed to set up a temple state without kings under Persian rule at the instigation and inspiration of scribe Ezra. For the role of Jewish scribal circles in the creation of the Hebrew Bible, see Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Doubts on the historicity of the return of Jewish exiles under Cyrus are expressed by Edelman, *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple*, cf.

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The author of Deutero-Isaiah would have been as disappointed in Cyrus as his Babylonian contemporaries. Cyrus' promise (if it was made at all) to repatriate the Judaeans was probably not implemented before Darius I (see nn. 12 and 13). One might ask how the Verse Account could be preserved as long as Zeria and Rimut lived. If Waerzeggers' interpretation is correct (see above, at n. 144), there is no problem, as the Verse Account is pro-Cyrus and Zeria and Rimut are supporting Cyrus'decision to rededicate Esagila to Marduk. But the Verse Account may also be the voice of a minority view. As a matter of fact, the Hebrew Bible is also the voice of a minority group in ancient Israel, the "Yahweh Alone party," yet well preserved.[152]

It is sobering to note that even Nabonidus early in his reign had high expectations of Cyrus and considered him to be a "small servant" of Marduk, who would defeat the Medes; see the Ehulhul inscription from Harran in Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 436, no. 2.12 / 11: I 27.

The Cyrus Cylinder and Babylonia

The Cyrus Cylinder is first and foremost a document intended to legitimize Cyrus' rule. In order to justify his conquest it was necessary to blacken his predecessor as much as possible. And so he did. Cyrus wanted to stress that Marduk, the god of Babylon, had turned his back on Nabonidus; from this it logically followed that Marduk had looked for and chosen a new king, who happened to be Cyrus. The reason was that Nabonidus had abominated the cult of Marduk in the temple of Babylon. A full quote of the start of the cylinder is illuminating:

> [When Mar]duk, king of the whole of heaven and earth, ... who, in his ..., lays waste his .....][.. .. .. broa]d(?) in intelligence, [..... who inspects(?) the world quar]ters,[.. .. ..

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a-na É.KUR ÈŠ *tam-ši-lu si-mat lu-me-šil*
É.HÚL.HÚL *lu-um-bi zi-kir-šú ana ṣa-a-tú*

To the temple (= Esagila) he will make equal a temple (*eššu*) that is a counterfeit of a proper appurtenance, he will name it Ehulhul (= name of the temple of Sîn in Harran) for eternity.[154]

This reminds us in some way of the attempt of the Assyrian Rabshakeh before Jerusalem to discredit Hezekiah's policy of cult centralization and find support among opponents of it (cf. above).[155] However propagandistic these statements may have been, they are likely to contain some kernel of truth. Hezekiah did take away shrines of Yahweh from the countryside for cult centralization.

But, the Cyrus Cylinder continues — and I am paraphrasing now — with Marduk's pity for the people of Sumer and Akkad, who have become like corpses. Marduk decides to show his mercy.

> "He examined and checked all of the lands, and he searched constantly for a righteous king, his heart's desire. He took his hands, he called out his name: Cyrus, king of Anshan; he proclaimed his na[me] for the rulership over all" and orders him to march on Babylon (lines 11–15).

Phrases reminiscent of the Cyrus Cylinder can be found in the inscriptions of Sargon and Esarhaddon. In the Annals of Sargon, we read that the Chaldaean Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-apla-iddin), ruling in Babylon, ignored the will of Marduk for twelve years and even despised the god.

> For twelve years against the will of the gods, he ruled and governed Babylon, the city of the Enlil (of the gods). Marduk, the great lord, saw (*i-ṭu-*[*ul*]!) the evil deeds of the Chaldaean that he hated, and the deprivation of his royal scepter and throne was established on his lips. Me, Sargon, the reverent king, he (Marduk) chose from all kings and he correctly appointed me. He lifted my head in the land of Sumer and Akkad. To cut off the feet of the Chaldaean, the evil enemy, he made strong my weapons. On the orders of my great lord Marduk, I prepared the weaponry, pitched my camp, and ordered [my soldiers] to march against the evil Chaldaean.[156]

Here, Sargon is, like Cyrus, the chosen of Marduk. His predecessor is an evil demon, who rules against the will of Marduk, who is a foreigner, a Chaldaean. Note that the Dynastic Prophecy stresses the fact that Nabonidus established a "reign (*palû*) of Ḫarran." Likewise, Esarhaddon claimed to have been chosen by Marduk from his brothers to become king.[157] The wrath of Marduk and his mercy to Babylon are mentioned most clearly in a text by this Assyrian king: "Marduk, the Enlil of the gods, became angry," but he had mercy and ordered the rebuilding of the city.[158]

There is much irony in the observation that Merodach-Baladan adopted the same kind of propagandistic theology:

> (8-11) [At that] time, the great lord, the god Marduk, had turned away in divine wrath from the land of Akkad, and the evil enemy, the Subarian (= Assyrian), exercised the rule over the land of Akkad for [seve]n [years, unt]il the days had elapsed, the appointed time had arrived, (and) the great [lord], the god Marduk, became reconciled with the land of Akkad, with which he had become angry.
>
> (12-15) He (the god Marduk) looked (with favor) upon Marduk-apla-iddina (II), king of Babylon, prince who reveres him, to whom he (the god Marduk) stretched out his hand, legitimate eldest son of Erība-Marduk, king of Babylon, who has made firm the foundation(s) of the land. The king of the gods, the god Asari,[159] duly named him [to] the shepherdship of the land of Sumer and Akkad (and) personally said: "This is indeed the shepherd who will gather the scattered (people)."[160]

In the inscriptions of Sargon and in the Cyrus Cylinder (lines 22–28), the king enters Babylon without violence. Just like his Assyrian predecessor, Cyrus presents himself as the one who removes the yoke from the Babylonians and restores a damaged city. In lines 28–30, we read that the kings of all countries came to bring tribute to Cyrus and this returns in the Dynastic Prophecy (II.23′). Again, this is a topical remark, taken from the Assyrian annals; Sargon also mentions this in the context of his entering of Babylon.[161]

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[154] Verse Account II.6; cf. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, p. 567. For a deviating English translation, see Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 312–15 (translation A. L. Oppenheim).

[155] 2 Kings 18:22; cf. the above quoted passage 2 Kings 18:25 (see n. 46).

[156] Annals of Sargon's twelfth year: Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon*, p. 43: 267–73; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 326–33, 255–66; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 31.

[157] See above, n. 129; Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, nos. 104: II 9b–23a; 114: II 19–III 8.

[158] See above and n. 128.

[159] Asari was an ancient Sumerian god, equated with Marduk.

[160] Clay cylinder of Marduk-apla-iddin concerning repairs of the Eanna temple in Uruk. This document was found in the North-West Palace of Sargon in Calah (Nimrud) and may have been taken from Uruk as trophy by Sargon. Translation: Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, p. 137.

[161] Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon,* p. 55–57: 375–77; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, p. 155: 314–16 (translation, p. 332).

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In line 33 of the cylinder it is stated that Cyrus allowed the gods of Sumer and Akkad that had been brought to Babylon by Nabonidus, to return to their own cities.[162] This is exactly what Sargon did in 707 with the gods of Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kisik, and Nimid-Laguda whom Merodach-Baladan had seized and taken to Dur-Yakin.[163] It is understandable that Sargon and Cyrus publicly rejected their predecessors' policy to move gods from their temples to other places. Yet, what Merodach-Baladan and Nabonidus had done was not sacrilegious at all. It fits the polytheistic worldview of ancient man, discussed above. The move had two purposes. By collecting as many gods as possible into his city a threatened king could accumulate divine power, which would help his defense. At the same time it was a token of reverence to move the gods of cities that could not be defended and bring them to the most defensible city. Nabonidus' acts in this respect are neutrally mentioned by the Nabonidus Chronicle. After reporting that in the seventeenth year of Nabonidus the New Year's festival was correctly performed, the text continues:

> In the month [II–VI Lugal–Maradda and the god]s of Marad, Zababa and the gods of Kish, Ninlil [and the gods of] Hursagkalamma entered Babylon. Until the end of the month Ululu (29 August–26 September 539 B.C.) the gods of Akka[d] from everywhere entered Babylon. The gods of Borsippa, Cuthah and Sippar did not enter.[164]

Apparently, Borsippa, Cuthah, and Sippar were considered to be too close to necessitate migration to Babylon. The operation was to no avail. One month later Nabonidus' army was defeated at Opis, Sippar was taken on October 10th, and Babylon on the 12th. Between November 539 to March 538 "the gods of Akkad, whom Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon returned to their sacred cities," as is neutrally stated in the chronicle (III.21′–22′). It is Cyrus who constructs this as an act of piety and reconciling the gods' anger.

In line with the policy of Sargon and other kings, Cyrus saw to it that the rituals in Esagila were not disturbed and showed reverence to the Babylonian gods, as is stated in the Cyrus Cylinder and confirmed by the Nabonidus Chronicle. We also read in the Cyrus Cylinder that Cyrus sacrificed geese, ducks, and turtledoves on top of the usual sacrificial birds (line 37). In this he also simply tries to outdo Nabonidus: in the En-nigaldi-Nanna Cylinder[165] Nabonidus makes a similar claim concerning sheep. The section closely mirrors a description of bird sacrifices by Sargon and other Assyrian and Babylonian kings.[166] Finally, we reach the purpose of the cylinder: it is a foundation text for the rebuilding of the wall known as Imgur-Enlil and/or a quay along the city's ditch (lines 38–39). It is remarkable that Cyrus explicitly and reverently referred to an Assyrian king: "An inscription with the name of Assurbanipal, a king who had preceded me, I saw in its midst" (line 43). There are indeed parallels with texts by this king; they were discussed by János Harmatta, who showed that the royal titles used by Cyrus are Assyrian rather than Babylonian.[167] In this respect Cyrus even went into the footsteps of his wretched predecessor: Nabonidus himself spoke reverently about Assurbanipal.[168]

One might ask why there is no reference to any Persian god in the Cyrus Cylinder. Didn't the Assyrian kings always stress their allegiance to their supreme god Aššur (next to other gods such as Marduk) and stress the fact that foreign gods had to accept Aššur's supremacy? Didn't the Persian kings have their own tutelary deity in Auramazdā? In the Bisotun Inscription of Darius I, Auramazdā is the only god mentioned by name (apart from "and all the gods").[169] The answer is that the Cyrus Cylinder was intended for Babylonian usage and conformed to local religion and practices. In this the cylinder is not unique. The Assyrian building inscriptions of Esarhaddon destined for Babylon do not mention Aššur at all; they are all about Marduk and other Babylonian gods.[170] The same is true for the Babylon inscriptions of Assurbanipal, such as the L6 cylinder, discussed above.[171] Darius I, for that matter, applied the same policy. In the copy

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[162] It is confirmed by the Nabonidus Chronicle (Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 7 III.21–2); note that the removal of the gods is criticized in the Verse Account VI.12–5 (Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, pp. 572, 578).

[163] Van der Spek, "The Struggle of King Sargon," pp. 65–66.

[164] Nabonidus Chronicle III.8′–12′ (my translation; cf. www.livius.org > Mesopotamia); Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 7; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 26.

[165] Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids,* p. 377, II.18; cf. Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, p. 131

[166] References: CAD s.v. *kurkû* (KUR.GI.MUŠEN) "goose", CAD s.v. *paspasu* (UZ.TUR.MUŠEN) "duck," and CAD s.v. *sukanninu* (TU.GUR$_4$.MUŠEN) "turtledove." For Sargon, see van der Spek, "The Struggle of King Sargon," p. 58, inscription from Khorsabad, Room V, pl. 9, line 12.

[167] János Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus," in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., *Commémoration Cyrus 1*, pp. 29–44.

[168] For references, see Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids,* p. 708.

[169] Babylonian version: Von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*, pp. 44 and 61, lines 103 and 104; Persian version "the other gods who are": Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, p. 148–9, IV §§ 62 and 63.

[170] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, nos. 104–126 (Aššur is mentioned once in a god list: no. 113: 22).

[171] Cylinders L1 (rebuilding of Esagila and Eturkalamma, mentioning Marduk and Ishtar), L2 (rebuilding of Esagila and Ebabbar in Sippar, found in Sippar [Abu Habba], mentioning Marduk and Šamaš), P1 (a barrel cylinder probably from Babylon mentioning the return of Marduk), L6 (repair of Esagila and the Imgur-Enlil wall), the Emah Cylinder (restoration of Emah, mentioning the goddess residing there, Ninmah [Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 2, pp. 226–40]). Stelae S2 and S3 (Esagila) only mention the fact that Assurbanipal acts at the command of Aššur, Šamaš, and Marduk (ibid., pp. 240–48). On brick inscriptions from Babylon it is again Marduk and on bricks from Nippur Enlil (idem,*Assurbanipal*, vol. 3, pp. 50–53; commentary in idem, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 1, pp. xl–xlv).

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of the Bisotun Inscription found in Babylon, the name Auramazdā was replaced by Bēl.[172] The Seleucid king Antiochus I was the last king of whom a clay cylinder is preserved. It was deposited in Borsippa and the concern is only Borsippa's god Nabû (see n. 3). No reference to any Greek god is made. As far as we know, neither Aššur nor Auramazdā, Zeus, or Apollo ever got a shrine in Babylon.

Cyrus' policy, however, was not just one of adoration of Babylon. In everyday life, he acted just like his predecessors. He may have entered Babylon peacefully, as is recorded by the Nabonidus Chronicle and by the Cyrus Cylinder, but he could only achieve this after having defeated the Babylonian army at Opis and having slaughtered the people, again according to the Nabonidus Chronicle.[173] Cyrus did not abolish the tribute that the Chaldaean kings had ordered the temples to pay;[174] in the Cyrus Cylinder Cyrus is praised for receiving "heavy tribute" from the whole world (lines 28–30). Cyrus made Babylon part of a satrapy with a Babylonian, later a Persian, satrap.[175] The Greek sources also do not unequivocally advocate Cyrus' clemency in Mesopotamia. Although Herodotus' story about Cyrus' conquest of Babylon (after a siege and by a stratagem of diverting the Euphrates) is probably unhistorical, he accentuates the great fear of the Babylonian population for the advance of Cyrus' army.[176] And even Xenophon, in his hagiographic description of Cyrus, describes how Cyrus "sent the companies of cavalry around through the streets and gave them orders to cut down all of whom they found out of doors, while he directed those who understood Syrian (*syristi*, Aramaic) to proclaim to those in their houses that they should stay there, for if anyone should be caught outside he would be put to death" (*Cyropaedia* 7.4.31). He also made the proclamation "that all Babylonians deliver up their arms; and he ordered that wherever arms should be found in any house, all the occupants should be put to the sword" (7.4.33).

To summarize: to the best of our knowledge, Cyrus' propaganda and policy are highly traditional, with Babylonian as well as Assyrian precedents.

The Cyrus Cylinder and the Assur Charter of Sargon II

So far we have focused on Babylonia, as the Cyrus Cylinder is first of all a document from and concerning Babylon. As matter of fact, if one would look for a first declaration of human rights, the so-called Assur Charter has older credentials. It is a document in which Sargon II restores the privileges of the city of Assur, "the city of privilege" (URU *ki-di-ni*, lines 12, 23). The preceding king, Shalmaneser V, is denounced, the invoked god (in this case Aššur) has become angry with this imposter and has chosen Sargon in order the restore the ancient rights. The text starts with an evocation of the god Aššur, just as the cylinder probably started with the evocation of Marduk. It is stated that Aššur, "to renew the cult of the temple, to make the ritual perfect, to make the cult center perfect, he steadfastly gazed on me amongst all the black-headed (people) and promoted me (Sargon)" (lines 13–14). The city of Assur, "whose people from ancient times had not known corvée nor forced labor, Shalmaneser (V), who did not reverence the King of the Universe, brought his hand to that city for evil, and so imposed hardship. He grievously imposed corvée and forced labor (upon) its people, (and) so counted (them) as people of serf status (ERÍN.MEŠ *hup-šiš*). *At that time* the Enlil of the gods in the anger of his heart overthrew his reign (BALA). Me, Sargon, the legitimate king, he promoted; he made me grasp scepter, throne, (and) crown" (lines 31–35). "I conceived a desire to bring about the freedom (*zakūtu*) of those citizens" (line 38). The text of the charter was to be inscribed on a silver vessel (line 41).[177]

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[172] Ursula Seidl, "Ein Monument Darius' I. aus Babylon," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 89 (1999): 101–04; "Eine Triumphstele Darius' I. aus Babylon," in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne,* Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrückener Drückerei und Verlag, 1999), pp. 297–306. Cf. Wouter F. M. Henkelman, *Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Elamite: A Case of Mistaken Identity*, in *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich / Herodotus and the Persian Empire*, edited by Robert Rollinger, Brigitte Truschnegg, and Reinhold Bichler, Classica et Orientalia 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2011), p. 578 n. 6.

[173] Nabonidus Chronicle III.12–14 (Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, p. 109): (12′) ITI DU_6 ^{m}*Ku-raš ṣal-tum ina* ÚH.KI (= U_4.KÚŠU/ÚH.KI) *ina* UGU [GÚ] (13′) ÍD *Ì-diq-lat ana* ŠÀ ERÍN-*ni* KUR URI.KI *ki* DÙ-*šú* <<ERÍN.MEŠ URI.KI *ki* DÙ-*šú*>> UN.MEŠ KUR URI.KI (14′) BAL.KI SAR SAR UN.MEŠ GAZ "In the month Tašrītu (27 September–26 October 539), when Cyrus did battle at Opis on [the bank of] the Tigris against the army of Akkad, the people of Akkad retreated. He (Cyrus) plundered and killed the people." Cf. Lambert's translation: "In Tishri when Cyrus did battle with the army of Akkad at Opis on the [bank] of the Tigris, the soldiers of Akkad withdrew. He (Cyrus) took plunder and defeated the soldiers (of Akkad)" (Wilfred G. Lambert, "Cyrus' Defeat of Nabonidus," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2007/14). Though this interpretation is possible, I find it unlikely. Although *nišū* exceptionally can mean "soldiers" (in Assyrian letters in the context of levying and assembling people for all kinds of duties; cf. CAD s.v. *nišū* 1d), the normal meaning refers to the people of city and countryside. I would say that in this passage a deliberate opposition is made between the Babylonian soldiers (ERÍN-*ni* = *ummani*) and the Babylonian people (UN.MEŠ = *nišū*). A parallel may be found in the Diadochi Chronicle (Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 10: rev. 29: UN.MEŠ BALA.KI), where it is stated that the population of Cuthah retreated due to the plundering by the army of Antigonus. In the Ptolemy III Chronicle (BCHP 11: 10–11) we see the same opposition: the common people of Babylon (UN.MEŠ) are slaughtered by the heavily armed Macedonian troops of the Egyptian army (^{lú}ERÍN.MEŠ KUR *Ha-ni-i*).

[174] Dandamaev, "Politique religieuse," pp. 52–53; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 67–76; Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia."

[175] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 71.

[176] Herodotus 1.190.

[177] Saggs, "Historical Texts and Fragments of Sargon," pp. 11–20 (I owe this reference to H. Schaudig).

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Cyrus and the Other Nations

On both the fields of religious policy and everyday administration — not just regarding Babylon but also other nations — Cyrus has a good reputation, just like most of his successors. It is often presented as something special that the Persian kings did not intervene in the internal affairs of the foreign nations.[178] One has to remember two things, however.

In the first place, refraining from direct involvement in internal affairs was normal practice among ancient conquerors. Their aim was, above all, to accumulate land and wealth and eliminate any potential rival power. The subdued nations had to pay a certain amount of tribute — how this was collected did not matter — and had to be loyal to their new masters. As long as the subjects paid and were loyal, local rulers could usually remain on their thrones. Only when the vassal kings revolted, stopped paying tribute, or allied themselves to foreign nations did the great king see a reason to intervene. A new vassal king would be appointed or the kingdom would be converted into a province.[179] The process of provincialization of the conquered countries sped up especially under Tiglath-Pileser III, and had been completed largely (but not completely[180]) during the Persian empire. If anything, there is a tendency toward *more* involvement, not less. The reorganization of the empire and the increasing burden of taxation during the Achaemenid period (esp. Darius I) seem to have had serious consequences.[181] Cyrus appears to have been less an organizer than a conqueror; he did not introduce important new policies in the administration of the empire. The major changes came only in the reign of Darius I and especially after the revolts of the second year of Xerxes.[182]

In the second place, Cyrus' clemency toward the subdued nations must not be exaggerated. The massacre among the Babylonians after the battle of Opis has already been mentioned. The Nabonidus Chronicle mentions how he looted the Median capital Ecbatana after he had captured it.[183] In 547, Cyrus killed the king of Lydia[184] and Lydians, Phrygians, and Urartians were probably deported to Nippur.[185] Although Herodotus reports otherwise, it is likely that Cyrus executed the Lydian king Croesus.[186]

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[178] See n. 1; for a different view, see now Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 79–84.

[179] The system of vassal states is best known in the Hittite empire of the Late Bronze Age thanks to numerous published vassal treaties. The literature is too vast to be mentioned here. For the Assyrian treaties, see Parpola and Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*. Cf. R. J. van der Spek, "Assyriology and History."

[180] In Cilicia a local dynasty could — until 401 B.C. — stay in power (Herodotus 1.28, 74; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.12; Afif Erzen, "Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft" [Ph.D. diss., Leipzig University, 1940], pp. 97–130). In Phoenician cities kings could remain seated on their thrones; see H. Jacob Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period (539–486 B.C.E.)," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42/1 (1979): 23–34; Josette Elayi, "L'essor de la Phénicie et le passage de la domination assyro-babylonienne à la domination perse," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 9 (1978): 25–38. A third example of princes within the Persian empire are the Greek tyrants in Ionian cities.

[181] Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, pp. 185–94 (whose interpretation of Persian "overtaxation" as leading to higher prices, however, is erroneous: overtaxation and hoarding lead to deflation rather than inflation); cf. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 388–471. See also Hans G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 42–77; and Nehemiah 5:4. Michael Jursa and Caroline Waerzeggers, "On Aspects of Taxation in Achaemenid Babylonia," in *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, edited by Pierre Briant and M. Chauveau, Persika 14 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2009), pp. 237–69.

[182] Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia," passim. Differently, Lisbeth S. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), pp. 8–48. She stresses new appointments by the Persian kings, but ignores the fact that Zeria, the *šatammu*, and Rimut, the *zazakku*, had remained in office.

[183] Nabonidus Chronicle II.2–4 (Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 7; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 26).

[184] Nabonidus Chronicle II.16 (Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 7; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 26). The passage has long been taken to refer to Lydia, but many other readings have been proposed, most recently by Robert Rollinger, who argued that it did not regard Lydia but Urartu (*ina* ITI GU$_4$ *ana* KUR ⌜ú⌝-[*raš-ṭu il-li*]*k*); Robert Rollinger, "The Median 'Empire,' the End of Urartu and Cyrus the Great's Campaign in 547 B.C. (Nabonidus Chronicle II.16)," *Ancient East and West* 7 (2008): 51–65. On March 12, 2013, I collated the tablet together with Mark Geller, Irving Finkel, and Stefan Zawadzki, and we all agreed that the reading *Lu* is by far the most acceptable reading, while *ú* is impossible. It was also suggested by professor Wilfred F. Lambert on June 3, 2010 (cf. Stefan Zawadzki, "The Portrait of Nabonidus and Cyrus in *Their(?)* Chronicle: When and Why the Present Version Was Composed," in *Who Was King? Who Was Not King? The Rulers and the Ruled in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Petr Charvát and Petra Maříková Vlčková [Prague: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2010], pp. 142–54, esp. p. 147 n. 27). I now propose the following transliteration of the traces, including those on the right edge: II 16′ … *ina* ITI GU$_4$ *ana* KUR *Lu-*⌜*ú*⌝-[*du* GI]N [17] LUGAL-*šú* GAZ *bu-šá-a-šú il-qí šu-lit šá ram-ni-šú ina* ŠÀ[!] (text: LU) *ú-še-li* […] [18] EGIR *šu-lit-su ù* <É> *šar-ri ina* ŠÀ GÁL-*ši* (*ušabši*), "in the month Iyyar (Cyrus) [mar]ched to Ly[dia]. He killed its king, he took its valuables (and) a garrison of his own he stationed in it! Afterwards he had his garrison and the royal treasury[!] (*bīt šarri*) in it." Note that the verb GAZ = *dâku* can either mean "to kill" or "to defeat," but in the context of an individual the translation "to kill" is to be preferred. So it appears that Croesus was killed, as can be derived from Bacchylides (see n. 1).

[185] The Murashû archive provides evidence that deportees from Lydia, Phrygia, and Urartu were settled in Nippur. A document from 430 B.C. mentions the Sardian Midas ([m]*Mi-da-*ʾ [lú]*Sa-par-da-a-a*; Veysel Donbaz and Matthew W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts* [Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997], p. 79, no. 3: 3). In Nippur was a *hadru* (group of military landholders) of Phrygians and Lydians ([lú]*Muš-ka-a-a u* [lú]*Lud-da-a-a* BE 10 90: 10f; PBS 2/1 144: 31; CBS 5148: 3) and of Urartians and Melitenians ([lú]*ú-ra-áš-ṭa-a-a u* [lú]*mi-li-du-a-a*) headed by a *šaknu* (foreman) named Iltammeš-barakku: BE 10 107: 2, 3, 6, and lower edge; cf. Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*, Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 54 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985), resp. p. 79, no. 60 and p. 78, no. 53 and p. 250. Cf. Israel Ephʿal, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.E.: Maintenance and Cohesion," *Studia Orientalia* 47 (1977): 74–79.

[186] Herodotus 1.86–7. See above, n. 1.

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Cyrus owes his good reputation to the presumed fact that he allowed exiles to return home. There are indeed indications for this, but again, we must not look at the facts in isolation. Allowing the return of exiles was not a new policy; and besides, the Persians were not above exiling other nations themselves.

Regarding Cyrus' decision to allow the exiles to return, we find evidence in the Cyrus Cylinder and the Hebrew Bible.[187] The cylinder was in the first place intended for Babylon, and this is the reason why it pays so much attention to this city. Yet there is also an interesting section (lines 28–34) devoted to other nations, in which the return of exiles is mentioned:

> [By his] exalted [command], all of the kings who sit upon thrones, of all the quarters of the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, those who dwell [in distant regions], kings of Amurru (= the West), those who dwell in tents,[188] all of them, their heavy tribute they brought to me and in Babylon they kissed my feet. From [Babylon] to Assur and Susa, Akkad, the land of Ešnunna, Zamban, Meturnu, Dēr, as far as the border of Gutium, the cultic center[s at the other si]de of the Tigris (the eastern bank), whose dwelling places had been in ruin since long, I made the gods, who had dwelled therein, return to their places and made them take residence forever. All of their people I gathered and returned them to their settlements. And the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus had made enter, at the anger of the lord of the gods, into Babylon, at the command of Marduk the great lord, in well-being, I made them dwell in their cellae, dwellings pleasing to their heart.

This is not a full amnesty for all exiles: the decree refers to the gods and people from several cities in Mesopotamia and Iran only. Yet, there is a parallel to the proclamation of Cyrus quoted in Ezra 1:2–4.[189] In both cases, the restoration of the temple is mentioned first, the return of exiles is secondary:

> [2] Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: "The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem in Judah. [3] Any of those among you who are of his people — may their God be with them! — are now permitted to go up to Jerusalem in Judah, and rebuild the house of the LORD, the God of Israel — he is the God who is in Jerusalem; [4] and let all survivors, in whatever place they reside, be assisted by the people of their place with silver and gold, with goods and with animals, besides freewill offerings for the house of God in Jerusalem."

The edict in Ezra 6:3–5 refers only to the rebuilding of the temple and the return of its vessels. Evidently, there can be no reference to the return of the statue of the Israel's God.

As we have seen, the return of the statues of the deities was nothing new: the Assyrian kings did the same, and not just with Mesopotamian statues.[190] At the beginning of his reign, Esarhaddon issued a proclamation that closely resembles Cyrus' edict. The Assyrian king states that he is the one "who returned the plundered gods of the lands from the city Assur to their (proper) place and let them dwell in security."[191] Variants to this text have: "who restored the splendid appearance of the plundered gods of the lands, returned them from Assyria to their (proper) places, and (re) confirmed their income."[192] We also read that Esarhaddon allowed several Arabian gods, which are mentioned by their names, to return.[193] Assurbanipal even gave a star emblem to an Arabian goddess in gratitude for her help against the Arabian leader Uate.[194] Another example is the restoration of the cult of Yahweh in Samaria by the Assyrians and the installation of an Israelite priest, as mentioned in the book of Kings.[195] The closest parallel comes from Nabopolassar, the founder of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, who like Cyrus at his accession returned gods to Iran, as described in the Babylonian chronicle concerning the early years of Nabopolassar: "The accession year of Nabopolassar in the month Adar: Nabopolassar returned to Susa the gods of Susa whom the Assyrians had carried off and settled in Uruk."[196]

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[187] Biblical passages in which Cyrus' name is mentioned: 2 Chronicles 36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–8; 3:7; 4:3–5; 5:13–17; 6:13–14; Isaiah 44:25–28; 45:1–9; Daniel 1:21; 6:29; 10:1. The historicity of the return under Cyrus is disputed; cf. nn. 13 and 14.

[188] The Babylonian scribes had a preference for archaic geographic designations. Amurru ("the West"), the biblical Amorites, were traditionally regarded as nomadic tribes who lived in tents, even though that was hardly true in Cyrus' time. Gutium is an archaic designation for lands east of the Tigris.

[189] Elias J. Bickerman, "The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65 (1946): 249–75, interprets Ezra 1 as an oral proclamation and Ezra 6:3–5 (in Aramaic) as the official edict. The authenticity of proclamation and edict is widely contested, e.g., by Gunneweg, *Geschichte Israels*, pp. 135–38; Edelman, *Origins of the "Second" Temple*, pp. 151–208 et passim. But even if the edicts are not historical, they still give valuable information of the theological foundation of a return of exiles which is paralleled in the Cyrus Cylinder.

[190] Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 35–41.

[191] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, no. 1: II 22–24; cf. nos. 105: VII 5–11 and 107: VII 7–14.

[192] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, no. 128: 11; Albrecht Goetze, "Esarhaddon's Inscription from the Inanna Temple in Nippur," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 17 (1963): 130, line 11.

[193] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, nos. 1: IV 1–16; 6: III 1′–10′; Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, p. 35.

[194] Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 16–19.

[195] 2 Kings 17:24–32; according to Ezra 4:2 it was King Esarhaddon who did this.

[196] Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 2: 15–17.

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But let us return to the Cyrus Cylinder. With the gods, their worshippers returned. This policy has not been pursued by the Assyrian kings on a large scale, but is not unknown. The Synchronistic History, a history of the Assyrian-Babylonian conflicts from an Assyrian point of view, informs us about Adad-Nirari III: "He brought [back] the abducted peoples [*and*] assigned to them an income, a regular contribution (and) barley rations."[197] When Sargon II captured Dur-Yakin, he freed the inhabitants of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa, who had been imprisoned by Merodach-Baladan.[198] Esarhaddon allowed the return of the Babylonians, who had, during the reign of Sennacherib, been sold, expelled, or forced to flee, and he reinstated the city's privileges.[199]

Apparently, both Assyrian and Persian kings found it expedient to allow people, every now and then, to return to their homes. This does not mean that they abandoned their policy of deportation. Cyrus probably deported the inhabitants of Sardis, the capital of Lydia: from the Murašû archive, we know that there was a community of Lydians ("Sardians") in Nippur.[200] This deportation may have taken place after the Lydian revolt of Pactyes, Cyrus' governor of Sardis.[201] According to Herodotus, Cyrus intended to enslave and sell all the Lydians; Croesus is said to have been afraid that this would happen. In the end, Cyrus decided to be lenient, but Pactyes and his fellow rebels had forfeited their freedom. It was the Median Mazares who executed the order and proceeded to enslave the inhabitants of Priene.[202]

Herodotus' expression "to enslave" can, in this context, only mean "to deport," even when it was not the custom in the ancient Near East to lower the status of those who were deported. More often, the people were settled *en bloc* in special settlements, where they could keep their own communities. It is understandable, however, that the Greeks equaled "enslaving" and "deportation." They saw their compatriots disappear to unknown provinces of the Persian empire, without knowing what happened to them. Because the Greeks had the custom to enslave their prisoners of war, they believed that the Persians had done the same. Besides, the deportations showed the power of the great king, who could treat his people at will, as one does with slaves.[203]

Deportations by Cyrus' Successors

Later Persian kings also deported people. Histiaeus, who became leader of the Ionian Revolt after the death of Aristagoras in 497, made the Ionians believe that Darius I intended to send the Greeks to Phoenicia and settle Phoenicians in Greece.[204] Although Herodotus comments that this was not really among Darius' plans, we may deduce from his account that deportation was considered to be a possibility. Not much later,[205] we read how the Persians threatened to enslave the Ionians, castrate their sons, deport their daughters to Bactria, and give their land to others. We know that Darius deported inhabitants of Thrace to Phrygia in Asia Minor,[206] and sent people from Miletus to a town near the Persian Gulf.[207] On that occasion, the temple of Apollo in Didyma was looted and sacked; the priests, the Branchidae, were sent to Bactria, where Alexander the Great met their descendants.[208]

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[197] Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 21: IV.19–20 (= Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 10).

[198] Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, pp. 134–35 ("Prunkinschrift"); Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, § 40; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, pp. 189–248 (translation pp. 343–55); Annals of Sargon from Khorsabad: Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon*, pp. 64–65: 8–9 = Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, p. 169: 373–74 (translation p. 335).

[199] Leichty, *Esarhaddon*, nos. 104: V 10–38; 105: VII 12–35a; 107: VIII 1–17. Two letters to Esarhaddon are relevant. The first is ABL 418 = Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence*, no. 14: lines 10–14, rev. 1–13, a letter of Ubaru, governor (*šaknu*) of Babylon to the king: "I have entered Babylon. The people of Babylon welcomed me, and they bless the king every day, saying: '(He is) the one who returned Babylon's captives and booty.' Also the chiefs of Chaldea (lú*ra-šá-ni šá* KUR *kal-du*) from Sippar to the mouth of the sea bless the king, saying: '(he is) the one who resettled Babylon. All the lands are happy before the king, my lord.'" The second is ABL 702 = Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, no. 169, a letter of Zakir complaining about Ṣillaya, appointee of the king, who wanted to collect taxes, lines 4–10: "The Babylonians and the(ir) governor (*šaknu*) Ubaru (said to them): 'There is no such order of the king! Last year, in Calah, when you appealed to the king for the collection of old debts (incurred) while Babylon was still intact, he lost temper with you, (shouting): 'What is there in Babylon (to collect)? The city was in ruins, and I have resettled it and established its freedom! (...) Ṣillaya does not wish the settling of Babylon" (rev. 7). See also Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila*, pp. 32–34; Manfried Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700–648)*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 7 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970), p. 152.

[200] Cf. n. 185.

[201] Herodotus 1.154–56. Suggestion H. T. Wallinga (pers. comm., July 24, 1981), to whom I also owe the following references.

[202] Herodotus 1.161.

[203] Cf. Bustenay Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979); Ephʿal, "Western Minorities"; Joachim Oelsner, "Zur Sklaverei in Babylonien in der chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeit," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 5 (1977): 71–80; Muhammad A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia: From Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626–331 B.C.)* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984).

[204] Herodotus 6.3.

[205] Herodotus 6.9.

[206] Herodotus 5.12, 14–16, 98.

[207] Herodotus 6.19–29.

[208] Strabo 11.11.4; Quintus Curtius Rufus 7.5.28–35. Cf. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 434, 505, 955, 1027; F. L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria*, Supplements to Mnemosyne 104 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 73–74.

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In 490, the Persians captured Eretria, looted the temples, sacked the cities, and enslaved the inhabitants.[209] In Plato's *Laws*[210] we read how this happened: the Persian soldiers gave each other a hand, made a line, and closed the people in as if in a net. The Greek uses a special verb, σαγηνεύω, from σαγήνη "dragnet." The inhabitants of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos were terrorized in the same fashion,[211] which was a well-known Persian custom. According to Herodotus there were islands in the Persian Gulf that were used to house deportees, for which he uses the technical term ἀνασπαστός.[212] The expression is also used when he describes the deportation of the Thracians (Paeonians),[213] and we also read this word when he tells that the inhabitants of Libyan Barca were sent to a village in Bactria.[214]

A non-Greek source confirms deportation as a Persian policy: a Babylonian chronicle about Artaxerxes III tells that in 345 B.C. prisoners from Sidon reached Babylon and Susa.[215] This must have been the punishment for a revolt that took place during the reign of Artaxerxes. The landholding groups (*hadrus*) with geographical designations in Nippur, mentioned in the Murashû archive, betray deportations by Persian kings: Phrygians and Lydians, Urartians and Melitenians (see above, n. 184), *Arūmaja* (an Iranian ethnic group), *Aššiaja* (Asians from Asia = western Asia Minor?), Carians (*Bannēšaja* — who were in Cambyses' army[216]), Cimmerians, Tyrians, Arabs, Indians, and Skudrians.[217]

All this shows that the Persians never abolished deportation.[218] Besides, the Greco-Macedonian rulers, who succeeded the Achaemenid kings, deported people too. Alexander's policy in Sogdia was ruthless.[219] An inscription from Magnesia informs us that the inhabitants of this city were sent to Antioch-in-Persis.[220] Ptolemy I took many captives from Judaea and Samaria and settled them in Egypt.[221] Briant has pointed out that the Macedonian kings in the Hellenistic kingdoms replaced large groups of people in order to populate their newly founded cities.[222] An example is the resettlement of Babylonians in Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.[223] Another example is the deportation of Jews from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor by Antiochus III.[224]

The deportation of large groups of people is a policy that was pursued in the entire history of the ancient Near East, although it did not always happen on the same scale. The greatest and most numerous deportations took place during the reigns of the three kings who founded the Assyrian empire: Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. Later, the number of deportations decreased.[225] This was to be expected, because deportation is especially useful for founding and stabilizing an empire. When it had been solidly founded, the necessity was no longer there. That the Assyrians achieved exactly this stability is proved by the fact that the Babylonians, Persians, and Macedonians could take over their world empire part and parcel. Cyrus benefited from earlier deportations, and could even permit himself a policy of repatriation.

This was facilitated by the fact that the Assyrians had kept the communities of the conquered intact.[226] The Neo-Babylonian kings deported their subjects even while keeping their urban organization intact.[227] The Jews in Babylonia could keep and record their traditions. After that, repatriation was comparatively easy. This policy did not shock the people involved deeply: many people preferred to stay in their new countries. The Jewish community of Babylonia still existed in modern Iraq until recently, and Herod the Great settled a community of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea near the Sea of Galilee.[228]

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[209] Herodotus 6.101.

[210] Plato, *Leges* 698d.

[211] Herodotus 6.31.

[212] Herodotus 3.93, 7.80.

[213] Herodotus 5.12.

[214] Herodotus 4.204; cf. 6.9.

[215] Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, no. 9: 1–8 (= Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 28).

[216] Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Carians of Borsippa," *Iraq* 68 (2006): 1–22.

[217] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, pp. 72–79; Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Matthew W. Stolper, "Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Labelling at Persepolis: The Case of the Skudrians," in *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, edited by Pierre Briant and M. Chauveau, Persika 14 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2009), pp. 271–329.

[218] Cf. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 505–07.

[219] Alexander destroyed seven Sogdian cities and deported the inhabitants to Alexandria-Eschate; cf. Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria*, p. 58.

[220] Wilhelmus Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903), no. 233; English translation: M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd, augmented ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), no. 190.

[221] Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.7–8 (I owe the reference to Jona Lendering).

[222] Pierre Briant, "Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes: La phase d'installation," *Klio* 60 (1978): 57–92.

[223] Pausanius 16.1.3. Cf. R. J. van der Spek, "The Astronomical Diaries as a Source for Achaemenid and Seleucid History," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 50 (1993): 97–98, where it is argued that contrary to accepted opinion Astronomical Diary -273 B does not refer to this deportation.

[224] Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.3.4, §§ 148–53.

[225] Oded, *Mass Deportations*, p. 19.

[226] Ibid., pp. 23–25.

[227] Ephʿal, "Western Minorities."

[228] Josephus, *Vita* 11; idem, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 17.2.1–3, §§23–31.

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Conclusion

The Persian attitude toward subject nations did not principally differ from the Assyrian attitude. Cyrus did not introduce a new policy.

Cyrus' much-praised religious "tolerance" was not a new, but a time-honored policy pursued by many ancient Near Eastern kings, who wanted to have as many gods as possible on their side and hoped to gain the support of their worshippers. "Tolerance," in antiquity, was almost never a matter of principle. If a conqueror deemed it useful, he could also forcefully compel a nation into submission, and Cyrus did not abstain from this policy. Such a harsh policy incidentally does not constitute evidence for religious "intolerance." Destruction of temples, removal of cult images, and the like were not intended to prove that a particular god did not exist, or to prove the correctness of a dogma or creed. Repression of religious practices was rare in antiquity; it was, however, at issue when a monotheistic religion (of the victor or the vanquished) was involved, when religion had become the vehicle of rebellion, or was considered to be hostile toward the state.

Regarding Babylon, Cyrus' policy was traditional as well. Showing reverence to the ancient city and its civilization was a policy that had also been pursued by earlier kings. Sennacherib and to some extent Nabonidus are rare exceptions. If the situation required it, the Persians could be merciless too. Xerxes' targeted measures against the rebellious temple elite of a number of Babylonian temples (but not against the cults as such) is a good example that also underlines the pragmatic nature of such measures.

Finally, we have seen that Cyrus' treatment of subdued nations did not introduce new elements. Non-interference with local government is a common characteristic of the empires of the ancient Near East. Still, the influence of the central government had a tendency to increase since the days of Tiglath-Pileser III. Cyrus did not abandon this policy. The policy of deportation exhibits a certain development: after the first mass deportations by the Assyrian conquerors, their number and volume gradually decreased since the days of Esarhaddon. Yet this policy never disappeared; the Seleucids still deported people. Cyrus' permission to the deportees to return was not innovative either: it belongs to a general policy of, on the one hand, punishment and intimidation and, on the other hand, pragmatic clemency — a policy that could be applied to both human beings and their gods.

It is also evident that it is misleading to treat categories, like "the Babylonians" or "the priesthood," as if they were always of one opinion and acted unitedly. As always, real society is and was more complex.

What created Cyrus' remarkable popularity? A partial explanation is Cyrus' policy of appeasement of local elites, a policy which he shares with other successful conquerors and founders of empires like Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, Alexander the Great, T. Quinctius Flamininus, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and others. With a shrewd policy combining (ruthless) military power, negotiations with local elites, and sometimes real or fictional invitations to intervene, these conquerors were able to acquire a certain degree of acceptance from the subdued.[229] This policy must entail tangible benefits for elites and citizens, like respect for age-old traditions and confirmation of privileges, endowments to temples, tax exemptions, repatriation of peoples and their gods, and this must be accompanied by efficient propaganda, in which the ousted ruler is depicted as violator of old traditions and privileges. When the reality of imperial rule becomes evident — conquerors demand income — and insurrections start, repression of local elites can be the result, like in the time of Sennacherib and Xerxes.

Cyrus was very successful in his propaganda and modern historiography is still influenced by it. This success is explained by the fact that relevant groups of people, that is, relevant in the sense of their literary heritage, rightly or wrongly could ascribe benefits to this ruler: Babylonian scribes (Cyrus Cylinder, Verse Account), Jewish exiles who gratefully saw that the kingdom that had brought them into captivity was beaten (Hebrew Bible), Greek authors who had acquaintance with Persians regarding Cyrus as the liberator from the "Median yoke" and who liked to make an opposition between the "father" Cyrus and the evil Xerxes, the destroyer of Athens (Herodotus, Xenophon, Alexander historians). It is interesting to note how this propaganda works. The Babylonian sources hail Cyrus because he rescued Babylon from oppression by Nabonidus and saved the city, the Hebrew authors expected Cyrus to destroy it. In both cases Cyrus went his own way. He did not kill Nabonidus and he did not destroy Babylon.

It is the difficult task of modern historians to look through these images created by Cyrus himself and by groups with their different interests and biases to create a balanced picture. A way to do this is to examine Cyrus' deeds and propaganda in the light of comparable policies and propaganda of preceding and succeeding kings of the same period and region. This does not mean that all kings and emperors pursued exactly the same policy. Different kings have

[229] Kuhrt, "Alexander and Babylon," pp. 121–30. Acceptance obviously does not imply absence of resistance. The fact that usurpers from the time of Darius I claimed to be sons of Nabonidus and the fact that polemic documents like the Verse Account were produced attest to that fact. Cf. Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, p. 323.

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different characters and have to cope with different problems. Some rulers are more inclined to clemency than others, and Cyrus' reputation must have some basis in his deeds. What I have tried to show, however, is that this policy was part and parcel of well-established customs among ancient Near Eastern kings and that the interpretation of the Cyrus Cylinder as "the first declaration of human rights" is anachronistic and certainly a misnomer.

Appendix: The Cyrus Cylinder

The text of the Cyrus cylinder is thus far known from two documents:

A1: Barrel clay cylinder (BM 90920; 1880-06-17,1941) found in Babylon by Hormuzd Rassam in 1879. Length: 21.9 cm, diameter 7.8 and 7.9 cm (edges) to 10.0 cm (middle). lines 1–11, 36–45 are partly lost; lines 24–31 contain a small gap.

A2: A fragment of this cylinder showed up in 1972 at Yale University (NBC 2504); its contains lines 36–40 of the main text and is now joined with it.

In 2010, two fragments from one large tablet were identified in the British Museum, the first by Wilfred G. Lambert (BM 47176), the second by Irving L. Finkel (BM 47134):

B1: BM 47134 (1881-8-30,656); part of lines 1–2; 42–45

B2: BM 47176 (1881-8-30,698); part of lines 33–37

Editions

Editio Princeps

A1: H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* Vol. 5: *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia* (London: R. E. Bowler, 1875), no. 35 = V R 35.

A2: P.-R. Berger, "Der Kyros-Zylinder mit dem Zusatzfragment BIN II Nr. 32 und die akkadischen Personennamen im Danielbuch," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 65 (1975): 192–234.

Latest scholarly edition of A1–2: Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*, pp. 550–56, with references to earlier editions.

Previous English Translations

Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, pp. 70–74.

Complete new edition including B1 and B2 with transliteration, translation, commentaries, and studies of the object:

Irving L. Finkel (ed.), *The Cyrus Cylinder: The King of Persia's Proclamation from Ancient Babylon* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013). See also I. L. Finkel, www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/article_index/c/cyrus_cylinder_-_translation.aspx

The translation below results from a reading class on texts of Nabonidus and Cyrus at VU University (Amsterdam), organized by Marten Stol and myself in fall 2009, for which our students Barend Maltha and Bastian Still prepared an edition, translation, and commentary (forthcoming on www.livius.org). It is based on the edition of the cylinder fragments A1–2, combined with Finkel's translations of B1–2 on the British Museum website. Each line contains ca. 55 signs, but in the later part of the cylinder the signs seem to be more widely spaced. In the transliteration two dots (..) represent the space for approximately one missing sign. See also www.livius.org/ct-cz/cyrus_I/cyrus_cylinder.html. We thank Irving Finkel for sharing the information concerning the new fragments with us and for suggestions of some of the translations prior to the publication of his new edition. Nevertheless, our translation diverges at some points from Finkel's and any mistakes are our sole responsibility.

1. [When Mar]duk, king of the whole of heaven and earth, ... who, in his ..., lays waste his .....]
2. [.. .. .. broa]d(?) in intelligence, [... ... who inspects(?) the world quar]ters,

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3. [.. .. ..] ⌜his [off]spring⌝, an insignificant (person) (i.e., Belshazzar) was installed for the lordship of his country.
4. ⌜and?⌝ [.. .. .. a coun]terfeit (i.e., crown prince Belshazzar) he imposed upon them.
5. A counterfeit of the Esagila he bu[ilt and .. ..]x for Ur and the rest of the cultic centers.
6. a ritual which was improper to them, [impure] fo[od offerings .. ..

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25. I shepherded in well-being the city of Babylon and all its cultic centers. The citizens of Babylon [...] upon [w]hom he (i.e., Nabonidus) had imposed a yoke which was not decreed for them as if without di[vine inten]tion.
26. I put to rest their exhaustion, their burden(?) I released. Marduk, the gre[at] lord, rejoiced at [my good] deeds
27. and kindly sent blessings upon me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, [my] offspring, [and] my enti[re] army,
28. so that we could go [about] in peace and well-being before him. [By his] exalted [command], all of the kings who sit upon thrones,
29. of all the quarters of the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, those who dwell [in distant regions], kings of Amurru [i.e., the West], those who dwell in tents, all of them,
30. their heavy tribute they brought to me and in Babylon they kissed my feet. From [Babylon] to Assur and Susa,
31. Akkad, the land of Ešnunna, Zamban, Meturnu, Dēr, as far as the border of Gutium, the cultic cent[ers at the other si]de of the Tigris [i.e., the eastern bank], whose dwelling places had been founded in ancient times, (or: in ruin; cf. line 10)
32. I made the gods, who had dwelled therein return to their places and made them take residence for ever. All of their people I gathered and returned them to their settlements.
33. And the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus had made enter, at the anger of the lord of the gods, into Babylon, at the command of Marduk the great lord, in well-being,
34. I made them dwell in their cellae, dwellings pleasing to the heart. May all the gods whom I had made enter into their cultic centers
35. daily plead in front of Bēl and Nabû to lengthen my days and may they speak words on behalf of my welfare, and may they say to Marduk, my lord that: "King Cyrus, who worships you and Cambyses, his son,
36. x⌜x⌝[.. .. ..]x. May they be the providers of our shrines until distant(?) days, x[.. .. (...)]." The people of Babylon blessed the kingship, (and) all of the lands (i.e., their population(s)) I made dwell in peaceful abodes.
37. [.. .. ..] (line 38) [Dai]ly I increased copiously (line 37) [the number of offerings with n] goose, two ducks, ten turtledoves, above the (former offerings of) a goose, ducks, and turtledoves
38. [.. .. ..]. Dur-Imgur-Enlil, the great wall of Babylon, I sought to strengthen its [defe]nse.
39. [.. .. ..] the quay of baked bricks on the bank of the city moat, which a former king ha[d built, but had not com]pleted its construction-work,
40. [.. .. .. who had not made it surround the city] on the outside, which a former king had not made, his (i.e., Cyrus') workmen, the lev[y of his land, in/to] Babylon.
41. [.. .. .. with bitumen] and baked bricks, I made anew and [completed th]eir [work].
42. [.. .. .. splendid gates of cedar] with a bronze overlay, thresholds and door-sockets [cast in copper, I installed (line 43) in all t]heir [gates].
43. [.. .. ..] an inscription of Assurbanipal, a king who went before [me, I saw in its midst].
44. [.....] in its place(?). May Marduk, the great lord, [*present to me* (line 45)] as a gift [a long] li[fe and the fullness of age, a secure throne and an enduring rei]gn
45. [..... and may I ..... in] your heart forever.

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Abbreviations

ABL	Robert Francis Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*
BCHP	Irving Finkel and R. J. van der Spek, *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* (forthcoming)
BE 10	Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)*, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 10. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, 1904
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, Philadelphia
FGrH	Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923–1959
PBS 2/1	Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated to the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)*. University of Pennsylvania Publications of the Babylonian Section 2, No. 1. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1912

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Persians on the Euphrates? Material Culture and Identity in Two Achaemenid Burials from Hacınebi, Southeast Turkey

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Abstract

This paper examines two Persian-period burials at the site of Hacınebi Tepe, near the Euphrates River crossing at Zeugma/Apamea (southeast Turkey), to investigate the relationship between material culture styles and social identity in the multi-ethnic Achaemenid empire. Achaemenid material culture was an imperial synthesis drawing on stylistic elements from Scythia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other regions; as a result, it is extremely difficult to identify the ethnicity of any individual burial based on the style of specific objects. However, when the artifacts and styles are examined within their mortuary context, our interpretations become better grounded.

The Hacınebi tombs are compared with burials from other parts of the Persian empire to examine the question of whether the burial practices and grave goods reflect Persian/Iranian ethnic identity as opposed to the use of what we can call "portable elite material culture" by local non-Persian elites in the satrapies. It is important to distinguish between burial goods and burial practices, since they do not necessarily convey the same information about social identity. I suggest that the individuals in the Hacınebi burials were most likely Mesopotamian or Persian high-ranking personnel in a Persian military garrison guarding this key route of communication near the Royal Road to Sardis. Taken together, textual, iconographic, and archaeological data on burial practices, military garrisons, and material culture styles at Hacınebi highlight the complex hybrid identities and cultural *koine* that linked Persian and non-Persian elites across the cosmopolitan Achaemenid empire.

Introduction

Matt Stolper's path-breaking research on the Persepolis Fortification archive has focused on the interplay between language and administrative organization in the Achaemenid empire and has emphasized repeatedly the importance of context and association as the twin keys to understanding both individual texts and the totality of the archive itself. The enormous complexity of this task is best expressed in one of Matt's favorite quotations from the great philologist Richard Hallock, who, in discussing his work on the Persepolis Fortification texts, said, "if you're not confused, then you don't understand the problem." In this essay dedicated to Matt as a scholar and deeply respected friend, I offer an archaeological case study of two Achaemenid burials from the site of Hacınebi in the Euphrates valley of southeast Turkey. As with the fortification archive, the complexity of these burials can only be understood by careful attention to their associations and context — both archaeological and historical.

* I am grateful to a large number of colleagues who generously shared their expertise with me in suggesting sources, discussing ideas, and commenting on various drafts of this paper. In particular I want to acknowledge the bibliographic suggestions, editorial improvements, and critical insights of Murat Arslan, Elspeth Dusinberre, Dilek and Yilmaz Erdal, Mark Garrison, Jack Green, Harald Hauptmann, Wouter Henkelman, Michael Kozuh, Gregory Marouard, Augusta McMahon, Nadine Moeller, and Foy Scalf. Most of all, I want to acknowledge Matt Stolper for the profound impact he has had in so many ways, but especially in educating me about the fascinating complexities of the Achaemenid world.

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Hacınebi Tepe — Overview

The 3.3 ha mound of Hacınebi is a multi-period site located in the Taurus piedmont zone, on a bluff overlooking the east bank of the Euphrates River 3.5 km north of the modern town of Birecik in Sanlıurfa province, Turkey (fig. 20.1). The site is situated atop an easily defensible east–west-oriented spur that drops down steeply to the Euphrates River to the west, and into deep canyons to the north and south.

Hacınebi is strategically located at the juncture of two of the most important trade and communication routes in the Near East. The first of these arteries is the Euphrates itself — the main north–south trade route linking the forests and copper source areas of the eastern Taurus Mountains with the steppes of Syria and the south Mesopotamian alluvium. The area around Hacınebi forms the northernmost easily navigable stretch of the Euphrates River. For thousands of years, rafts and boats transported goods from this region south into Syria and Mesopotamia. The downstream boat and raft trade was active as recently as the early twentieth century.[1]

Hacınebi also occupies a strategic location on a second key trade route through its location on what has historically been the major east–west crossing point of the Euphrates. The Achaemenid Royal Road to Sardis crossed the Euphrates near this point in the fifth century B.C.[2] In later periods, the key Hellenistic, Roman, and early Byzantine river crossing town at Zeugma was located approximately 8 km to the northwest of Hacınebi. From the Islamic period up to the present, the main Euphrates crossing point has been at Birecik, just 3.5 km to the south of the site.

Cultural deposits at Hacınebi are approximately 9 m deep at the east end of the mound, becoming gradually shallower toward the west, as the natural surface of the spur slopes down toward the bluffs overlooking the Euphrates. In six seasons of excavation (1992–97) at Hacınebi, eighteen trenches were excavated, exposing an area of ca. 1,400 sq. m and reaching bedrock in three different parts of the site (Areas A, B, and C) (fig. 20.2). This work identified seven main occupations (table 20.1).[3]

Table 20.1. Occupation phases at Hacınebi

	(final abandonment of site)	
7.	Roman farmstead	
6.	Hellenistic	Late fourth–second centuries B.C.
	(gap)	
5.	Achaemenid burials	Fifth century B.C.
	(site abandonment-occupation gap)	
4.	Early Bronze I burials	ca. 3000–2800 B.C.
	(gap)	
3.	Late Chalcolithic phase B2a–b	ca. 3700–3300 B.C.
2.	Late Chalcolithic phase B1	ca. 3800–3700 B.C.
1.	Late Chalcolithic phase A	ca. 4100–3800 B.C.
	(virgin soil/bedrock)	

[1] Anonymous, *A Handbook of Mesopotamia* ([London]: Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Division, 1916), vol. 1, p. 167.

[2] W. M. Calder, "The Royal Road in Herodotus," *Classical Review* 39 (1925): 11; David French, "Pre- and Early-Roman Roads of Asia Minor: The Persian Royal Road," *Iran* 36 (1998): 15–43; David F. Graf, "The Persian Royal Road System," in *Achaemenid History* 8: *Continuity and Change* (proceedings of the Achaemenid History Workshop, April 6–8, 1990, Ann Arbor, Michigan), edited by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Amélie Kuhrt, and Margaret Cool Root (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1994), pp. 167–89.

[3] See also Gil J. Stein, Reinhard Bernbeck, Cheryl Coursey, Augusta McMahon, Namoi F. Miller, Adnan Misir, Jeffrey Nicola, Holly Pittman, Susan Pollock, and Henry Wright, "Uruk Colonies and Anatolian Communities: An Interim Report on the 1992–1993 Excavations at Hacınebi, Turkey," *American Journal of Archaeology* 100 (1996): 205–60; Gil J. Stein, Christopher Edens, Naomi Miller, Hadi Özbal, Julie Pearce, and Holly Pittman, "Hacınebi, Turkey: Preliminary Report on the 1995 Excavations," *Anatolica* 22 (1996): 85–128; Gil J. Stein, Kenneth Boden, Christopher Edens, Julie Pearce Edens, Kathryn Keith, Augusta McMahon, and Hadi Özbal, "Excavations at Hacınebi, Turkey — 1996: Preliminary Report," *Anatolica* 23 (1997): 111–71; Gil J. Stein, Christopher Edens, Julie Pearce Edens, Kenneth Boden, Nicola Laneri, Hadi Özbal, Bryan Earl, A. Mieke Adriaens, and Holly Pittman, "Southeast Anatolia Before the Uruk Expansion: Preliminary Report on the 1997 Excavations at Hacınebi, Turkey," *Anatolica* 24 (1998): 143–93.

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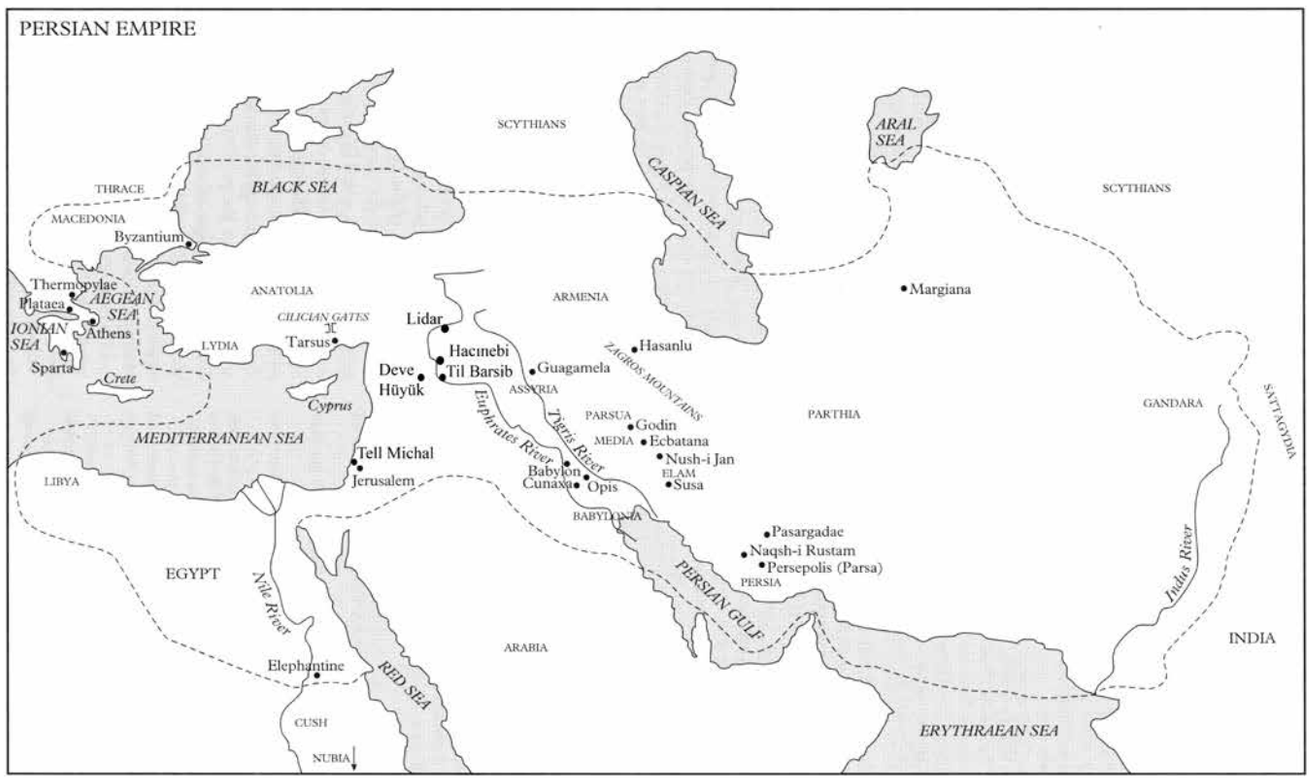


Figure 20.1. Map showing location of Hacınebi and other key sites mentioned in the text (modified after T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "Persians," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by Eric M. Meyers [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], vol. 4, p. 296)

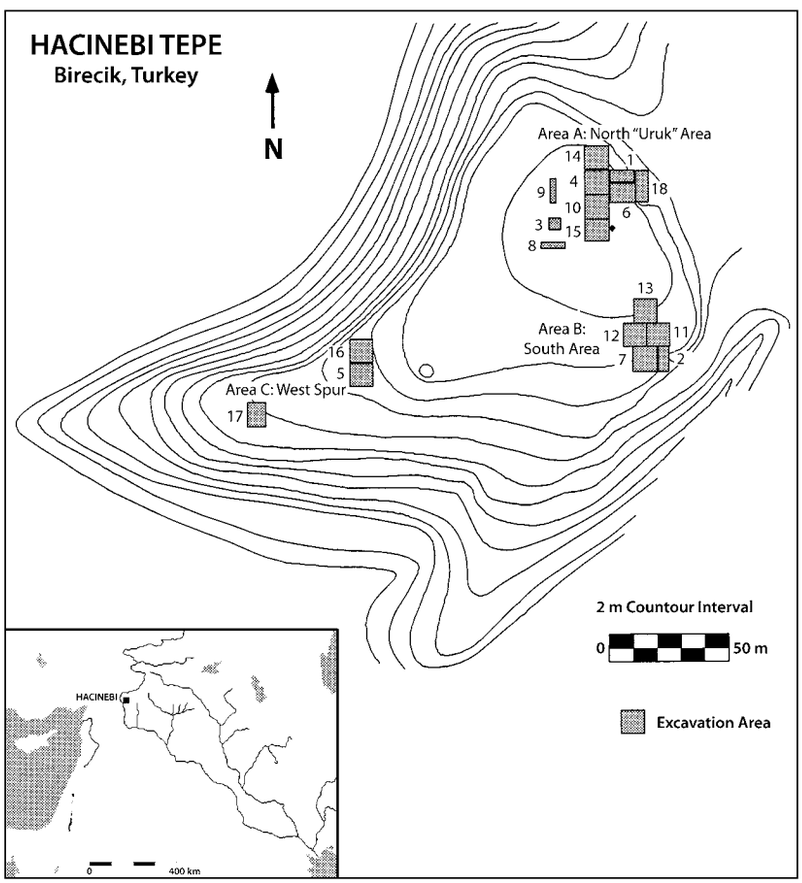


Figure 20.2. Topographic map of Hacınebi Tepe showing excavation areas. The Achaemenid burials were recovered from Operations 7 and 13 in Area B on the southeast slope of the site

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Achaemenid materials were recovered in Area B at the southeast corner of the site in operations 7 and 13, sealed by Hellenistic occupational strata dating to the late fourth–second centuries B.C. The Hellenistic deposits consisted of an uppermost phase of large grain-storage pits and more casually excavated pits overlying and cut down through an underlying phase of small-scale stone and mudbrick houses, courtyards, and domestic ovens probably dating to the third to second centuries B.C. This residential quarter in turn overlies the earliest Hellenistic phase consisting of a well-planned complex of at least four rooms constructed of mudbrick on stone foundations that probably represent a Hellenistic garrison outpost at the site. This architectural complex sealed off the strata containing the two Achaemenid burials that form the focus of this essay. Both burials were cut into the deep deposit of wash and silts that accumulated in the course of the 2,300-year-long abandonment of the site after the Early Bronze I occupation in the early third millennium B.C. As far as we can determine, these two isolated burials represent the only recovered Achaemenid-period remains at Hacınebi; no traces of an associated contemporaneous settlement were identified. The discussion presented here builds on Augusta McMahon's excavation, description, and dating of the two Achaemenid burials, presented in her publications reporting on the 1993 field season (Operation 7 locus 28)[4] and 1996 field season (Operation 13, locus 38).[5]

The Hacınebi Achaemenid Burials

Operation 7 Locus 28

Stratigraphically sealed by the fourth through second century B.C. Hellenistic occupation in Operation 7, the burial pit for locus 28 was cut into the post-Early Bronze I abandonment strata. The tomb itself was an elaborate Achaemenid cist burial covered over with seven flat limestone slabs (fig. 20.3).

The cist or burial box was 2.40 m (NE–SW) in length, with a width of 1.38 m (NW–SE), and a depth of 0.87 m. Part of the tomb extended into the north baulk of Operation 7. The box was constructed of mudbricks on its northwest side, and of unworked limestone pieces on its northeast and southeast sides. The southwest wall consisted of a single larger vertical slab of limestone by the feet of the burial. Inside, a single adult burial had been placed in an extended position, lying on its right side, with its arms crossed at the wrist over the stomach area. The body was oriented northeast–southwest, with the head to the northeast. The bones were poorly preserved, so that the sex of the individual could not be determined.

The burial had never been looted in antiquity and contained a rich variety of elaborate grave goods both on the body itself and carefully arranged around it (fig. 20.4). Above the head was a group of grave offerings comprising a round bronze mirror (HN3000.2), a bronze pin (HN3000.1), an Egyptian-style alabastron (HN2298), a fragmented four-sided incised bone object with a knob at one end (HN2299), a necklace made of glass, carnelian, and shell beads (HN2296), two arrowheads — one trilobed/socketed and one flat/tanged (HN3014.1–2), a pair of bronze tweezers (HN3014.3), and a paste scaraboid seal with a griffin image (HN3013).

The body itself was bedecked with jewelry. On the right side of the skull next to the ear were two penannular flat silver earrings with knobbed decoration (HN2282). Around the neck were two necklaces. The first was comprised of small beads of carnelian, gold, silver, bronze, black stone, and faience (HN2280). The second was a silver filigree double chain necklace with a flat crescent-shaped silver pendant decorated with granulation surrounding a central roundel that enclosed a three-petal flower motif (HN2276, HN2283). Attached to the fragments of silver filigree chain were eighteen small, hollow pomegranate-shaped silver beads — some rounded, and some flat.

Placed on the ribcage, close to the sternum, were three silver rings (HN2294.1–3). The most notable of these (HN2294.1) had an oval bezel with a winged lion (perhaps echoing the griffin motif on the scaraboid seal HN3013). The second ring had a rosette on a round bezel, while the third ring had a rectangular bezel depicting two opposed figures flanking a vertical staff. The central placement of the winged lion signet ring on the chest may indicate that it had some special significance for the deceased.

Two silver bracelets were placed on the right forearm of the body. The first (HN2279.1) is a penannular bracelet with zoomorphic terminals possibly representing deer or calf heads. The second silver bracelet is annular with a rosette centerpiece and granulated decoration. Four silver and three bronze rings adorned the fingers of the right hand (HN2291.1–7). One of the silver rings (HN2291.2) has a round bezel with an engraved motif possibly representing a bird. Bronze ring HN2291.4 has a bezel with an eye motif.

The left arm of the deceased also bore two bracelets and rings. The first of these is a penannular silver bracelet with zoomorphic terminals possibly representing deer or calf heads (HN2293), almost identical to the example on the right

[4] Augusta McMahon, "Achaemenid-Hellenistic Occupation at Hacınebi," in Stein et al., "Hacınebi 1992–1993," pp. 222–29.

[5] Augusta McMahon, "Achaemenid-Hellenistic Remains at Hacınebi, 1996 Interim Report," in Stein et al., "Hacınebi 1996," pp. 121–24.

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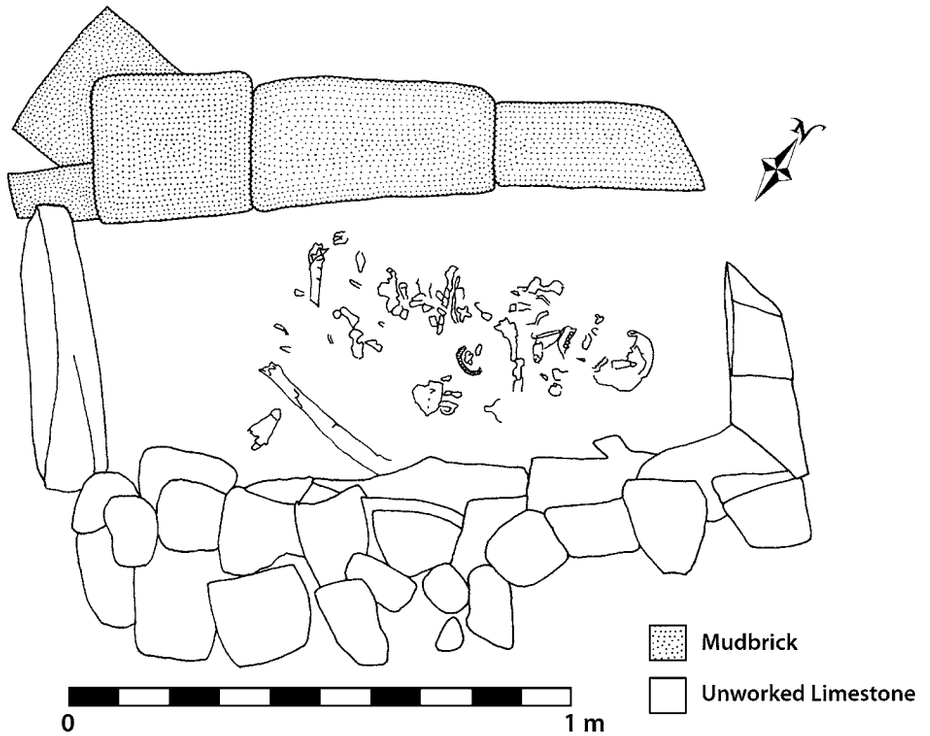


Figure 20.3. Plan of Hacınebi cist burial, Operation 7 locus 28

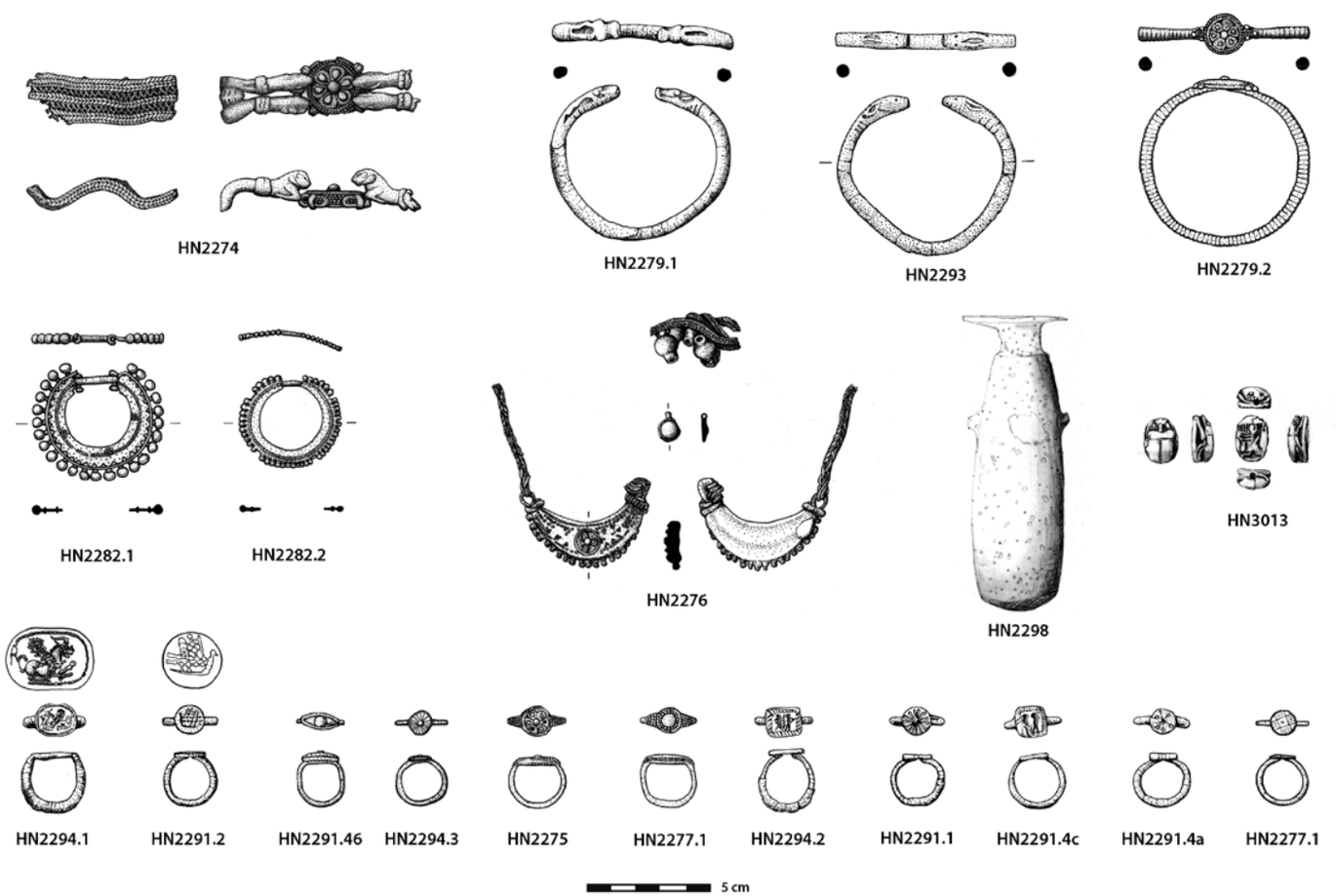


Figure 20.4. Grave goods from Hacınebi Operation 7 locus 28 (after Stein et al., "Hacınebi 1992–1993," fig. 14)

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arm. The second bracelet has an elaborate silver filigree flat chain band with two pairs of lions flanking a rosette clasp (HN2274). Three silver rings were on the left hand — a ring whose round bezel is topped with a rosette (HN2275), a ring with a plain round bezel (HN2277.1), and a ring whose circular bezel has set into it the remains of a poorly preserved yellowish green material of unknown composition.

The individual in this burial did not have any jewelry such as anklets on either leg. However, a shallow, flat-bottomed bronze omphalos bowl (HN2292) was placed next to the knees. Two complete ceramic vessels were found at the feet of the deceased — a small grit-tempered plain buff ware ovoid storage jar with a flaring rounded rim (HN2265) and a grit-tempered buff ware pitcher with a trefoil spout (HN2264). In addition to these items, a 13.5 cm long iron nail (HN3015), several small pieces of worked stone, a fossil marine shell, and numerous small unidentifiable fragments of copper and iron were found in the burial.

McMahon established the fifth-century date of burial 28 mainly through its parallels to the period II cemetery at Deve Hüyük[6] and through the stylistic similarities of the winged-lion signet ring (HN2294.1) to fifth-century seal impressions from Persian-period deposits at Ur.[7]

Operation 13 Locus 38

The large fourth-century B.C. Hellenistic building complex that sealed off burial 28 in Operation 7 also sealed the second Achaemenid tomb — Operation 13 locus 38 (figs. 20.5–6).[8] Burial 38 is located 14 m to the north-northeast of burial 28 and the two are stratigraphically contemporaneous. Burial 38 was set in a deep, roughly rectangular pit 2.25 m long (NE–SW) and 1.5 m wide (NW–SE). Inside the pit was a mudbrick cist 2.0 m long and 1.30 m wide, with a corbelled roof of mudbrick. The cist or box enclosed a baked clay "bathtub" coffin (HN12442). The coffin is oval in plan, 1.22 m long × 0.77 m wide × 0.47 m tall, with straight sides and a heavy flat rim with finger-impressed decoration. Below the rim were four horizontal lug handles for transporting the coffin. Three ceramic jars had been placed outside of the cist in the northwest corner of the pit. Two were tall cylindrical jars with horizontal red paint stripes (HN11690, HN11691), while the third was a narrow-necked plain ware ovoid bottle (HN11693).

Analysis of the skeletal remains by physical anthropologist Dr. Dilek Erdal (Hacettepe University, Ankara) determined that the individual in burial 38 was a young adult woman, 25–30 years old. Although this individual was poorly preserved, it was still possible to detect some signs of non-specific infection on the leg bones (Dilek Erdal, pers. comm.), although it is uncertain whether it was this infection or some other trauma that caused her death.

Inside the coffin, the body had been placed on its left side in a flexed position, with the head toward the east-northeast, as was the skeleton in burial 28 in Operation 7. Grave goods consisted of both objects on the body and those placed around it (fig. 20.7). Against the southern wall of the coffin, between the knees and the arms of the deceased, were two small stone alabastra with wide flat rims and vestigial lug handles (HN12122, HN12133) stacked horizontally one on top of the other. At the back of the skeleton behind the neck and ribcage were placed a group of objects: a red-striped cylindrical jar (HN12128) of the same type as the two vessels outside the coffin, a round bronze mirror (HN12140) with traces of the wooden handle and a fragment of the leather cover for the mirror still preserved, along with a badly shattered object made of pieces of tortoise carapace and plastron. Four of the ninety fragments had been drill-pierced; the object may have been a tortoiseshell rattle (HN12126). Close to these items, near the back of the pelvis were two sets of three gilt-silver rings, fused together in a straight line 4.5 cm long × 1.6 cm wide (HN12135, HN12136). With these ring sets were two large hub-shaped hollow spherical gilt silver beads (HN12138.1–2); given the placement of the fused triple rings and beads at the base of the spine in the pelvic area, they may have been parts of an ornamented belt whose cloth or leather parts had long since decayed. Several scapulae and limb bones of a small mammal (HN12139) were placed between the upraised hands and head of the deceased; these are probably the remains of a food offering. Next to the hands of the deceased was a concentration of seventy-five stone, glass, and frit beads together with fifteen bronze coin-shaped pendants with stamped decoration on both faces (HN12125). This same cluster of items also included a flint nodule, a lump of quartz, and a rock-crystal disk-shaped bead. Finally, an 11.1 cm long iron pin or nail (HN12132) was found in the coffin as well.

Several pieces of jewelry and other ornaments were directly associated with the body proper. At the right side of the jaw was a group of five fragmentary hollow bronze crescent-shaped objects and fragments of wire which may have been part of a boat-shaped earring or earrings (HN12127); and at the other ear was a plain, solid silver penannular

[6] P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük, near Carchemish, Salvaged by T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley in 1913*, BAR International Series 87 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980).

[7] L. Legrain, *Seal Cylinders*, Ur Excavations 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), pl. 41:776–96; and McMahon, "Remains at Hacınebi," p. 226.

[8] See also McMahon, "Remains at Hacınebi."

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Figure 20.5. Bathtub coffin from Hacınebi Operation 13 locus 38

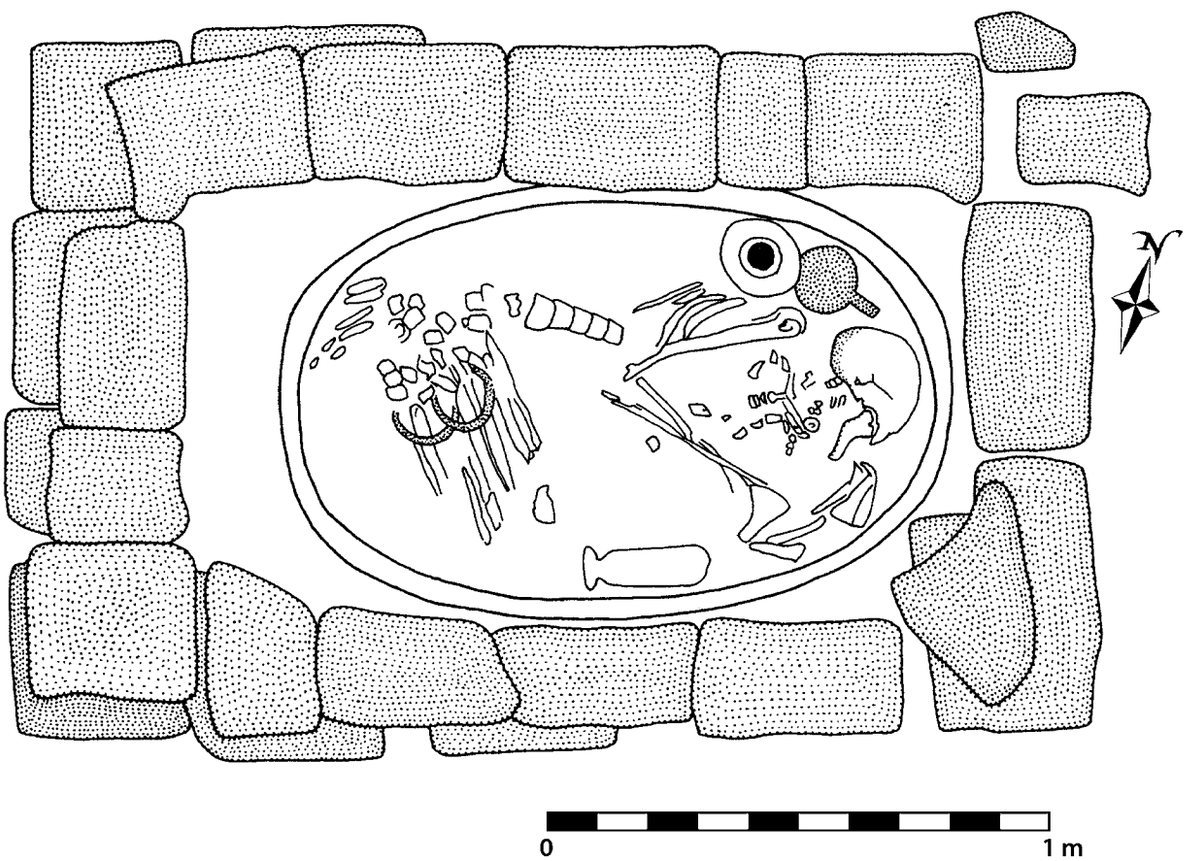


Figure 20.6. Plan of Hacınebi ceramic "bathtub" burial, Operation 13 locus 38

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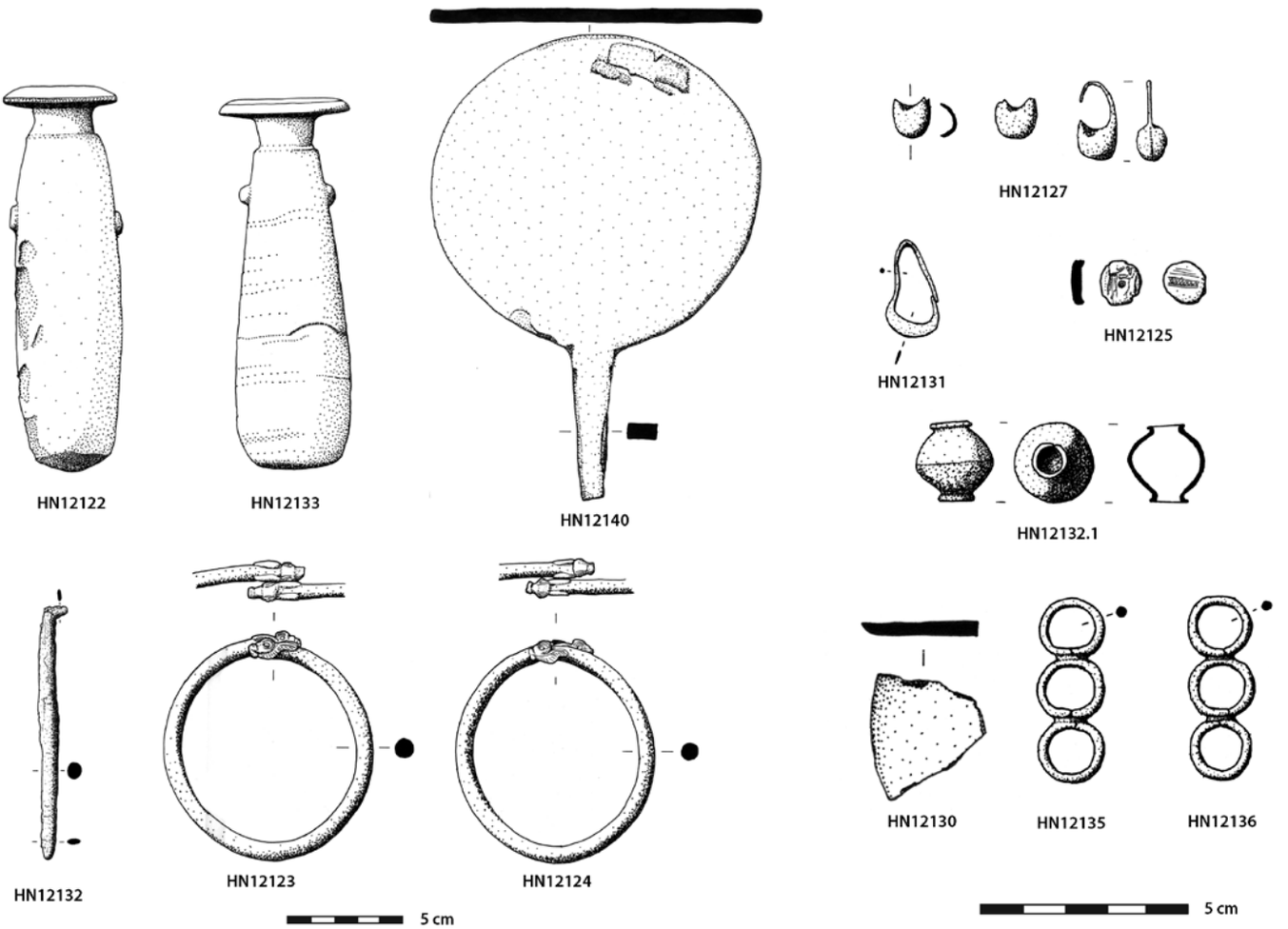


Figure 20.7. Grave goods from Hacınebi Operation 13 locus 38 (after Stein et al., "Hacınebi 1996," fig. 16)

boat-shaped earring (HN12131). Finally, on the tibia of each leg there was a silver and bronze alloy anklet with finely detailed calf-head terminals (HN12123, HN12124). The anklets are penannular with the terminals overlapping, so that there was no gap between them. The anklet dimensions are 9.9 × 8.8 cm (HN12124) and 10.0 × 9.2 cm (HN12123) — approximately 3 cm larger in each dimension than the penannular bracelets (7.4 × 6.4 cm [HN2279.1] and 7.30 × 6.55 cm [HN2293]). This size difference between known anklets and bracelets gives a good baseline for distinguishing these ornament types when they are not found directly on a skeleton. The overlapping ends of the penannular anklets may also serve as a useful way to distinguish bracelets from anklets.[9]

Burial 38 was dated to the fifth century B.C. based on its parallels to Deve Hüyük[10] and to the hoard of jewelry from the Persian-period palace at Vouni, Cyprus; this hoard was found with a coin of Artaxerxes I.[11]

Comparison of Burial 28 and Burial 38

Based on stratigraphy, typology, and parallels, these two intact burials can be viewed with confidence as contemporaneous tombs dating to the mid–late fifth century B.C. The burials share a number of key characteristics: they are isolated, that is, not associated with any settlement that we know of in the immediate vicinity. Both have a burial cist/box sealed

[9] See also Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 74

[10] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*.

[11] Einar Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. 3: *Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927–1931* (Stockholm: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1937), p. 238, nos. 292, 278, pls. 90–92; McMahon, "Remains at Hacınebi," p. 123.

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on top with either limestone slabs (burial 28) or a corbelled roof of mudbrick (burial 38). Both graves are oriented with the corners aligned to the cardinal points. Both burials are articulated primary burials of a single individual, with the head to the northeast and the body facing the southeast. Both are fairly rich burials containing significant amounts of grave goods, including ornaments of precious metals such as silver, gold, and silver-bronze alloy. A certain number of grave goods are present in both burials — mirrors, alabastra, ceramic storage vessels, pins or large nails, earrings, bead necklaces, and other jewelry/personal ornaments (table 20.2).

The burials differ in some ways, although the significance of these differences is hard to assess. In burial 28, the deceased was placed in an extended position directly inside the cist/box, while the tightly flexed body in burial 38 was placed in a bathtub coffin burial set inside a covered mudbrick box. Overall, burial 28 had almost twice as many grave goods as burial 38. Burial 28 contained two arrowheads, and penannular bracelets. Trilobed socketed arrowheads were the characteristic form of arrowhead used by the Persian army, and are ubiquitous at Achaemenid sites across the empire.[12]

Penannular bracelets, and jewelry more generally, were a common form of adornment for males — both soldiers and royalty — within the Persian empire. F. Tallon notes the account of the Greek historian Arrian in which Cyrus the Great was buried at Pasargadae adorned not only with gold materials, embroidered clothes, and daggers, but also with necklaces, bracelets, and pendants made of gems and gold. Similarly, Herodotus describes the ten thousand immortals who constituted the elite soldiers of Xerxes as distinguished by "their vast quantities of gold ornaments."[13] Penannular bracelets with zoomorphic terminals are common jewelry on the Persian and Median soldiers depicted on the Persepolis Apadana reliefs and on the glazed brick reliefs from Susa (although we must also note that in the absence of representations of women in the Persepolis reliefs, we do not know if it was *only* males who wore penannular bracelets). By contrast, burial 38 had anklets but lacked both bracelets and weaponry.

From the skeletal evidence, Dr. Dilek Erdal identified the individual in burial 38 as female. Based on the differences in grave goods, it is tempting to hypothesize that the less-well preserved individual with the arrowheads in burial 28 was male. In some cases — for example, the third-millennium B.C. royal cemetery at Ur — it has been possible to make gender attributions based on personal ornaments;[14] however, this requires large samples of well-excavated and recorded burials from a single location, ideally combined with physical anthropological analyses of the skeletons. To date, this has not been possible with Achaemenid burials. One major problem with gender attribution based on grave goods is the fact that, unless the objects were unambiguously worn by the deceased (e.g., in situ earrings, bracelets, necklaces, or toggle pins), we cannot really distinguish between grave offerings from mourners and the personal property of the deceased. Thus, for example, in Hacınebi burial 28, we cannot say whether the silver signet rings that were found on the chest of the deceased or the two arrowheads by the skull belonged originally to the deceased or had been placed there by male and/or female mourners. As a result, in the absence of good skeletal evidence, the sex of the individual in burial 28 remains undetermined.

We are on much safer ground in saying that the variety and quality of grave offerings (notably the amount of precious metals) in the two burials is good evidence that, regardless of gender, both were interments of elite or high-ranking individuals. The interpretation of higher social status for the Hacınebi burials is borne out by comparison with other Persian-period sites such as Tel Michal in Israel, where very few of the 121 excavated burials had rich grave goods, and the vast majority lacked grave goods altogether.[15] Significantly, at Tel Michal, the small number of burials with rich grave goods such as silver and carnelian beads, bracelets, anklets, earrings, finger rings, seals, and alabastra seem to have been limited to the cist graves with roofed over burial boxes[16] closely resembling the Hacınebi Achaemenid burials.

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[12] Serge Cleuziou, "Les pointes de flèches 'Scythiques' au Proche et Moyen Orient," in *Le plateau Iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique: leurs relations à la lumière des documents archéologiques*, edited by J. Deshayes, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 567 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977), pp. 187–99; P. R. S. Moorey, "The Iranian Contribution to Achaemenid Material Culture," *Iran* 23 (1985): 21–37.

[13] Françoise Tallon, "The Achaemenid Tomb on the Acropole," in *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, edited by Prudence O. Harper, Joan Aruz, and Françoise Tallon (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), p. 242.

[14] E.g., Amy Rebecca Gansell, "Identity and Adornment in the Third-Millennium B.C. Mesopotamian 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17/1 (2007): 29–46.

[15] LeGrande Davies, Katherine Kostamo, and Ronald Jyring, "Persian-period Cemetery (Strata XI–VI)," in *Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel*, edited by Ze'ev Herzog, George Rapp, Jr., and Ora Negbi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 163.

[16] Ze'ev Herzog and Yossi Levy, "Excavations in the Persian-period Cemetery of Tel Michal (English summary)," '*Atiqot* 38 (1999): 221.

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Table 20.2. Comparison of grave goods between Hacınebi burials 28 and 38

Type	*Material*	*Burial 28*	*Burial 38*
Alabaster — worked, fragment	Alabaster	—	1
Alabastron	Alabaster	1	2
Anklet — penannular	Silver-bronze alloy	—	2
Bead	Frit/faience	—	75
Bead	Glass	—	3
Bead	Indeterminate	1	—
Bead	Quartz	—	1
Bead — spherical, hollow	Gold and silver	—	2
Bracelet — with rosette	Silver	1	—
Bracelet — penannular	Silver	2	—
Bracelet — silver filagree	Silver	1	—
Coffin	Ceramic	—	1
Coins from necklace	Silver-bronze alloy	—	15
Earring — crescent with granulation	Silver	3	—
Earring — hollow crescent	Bronze	—	10
Earring — penannular	Silver	—	1
Fibula	—	1	—
Filigree	Metal	1	—
Glass fragment/lump	Glass	1	—
Jar — pitcher	Ceramic	1	—
Jar — bottle	Ceramic	—	1
Jar — wide mouthed	Ceramic	1	3
Knob	Copper/bronze	1	—
Lump	—	—	—
Mirror	Copper/bronze	1	1
Nail	Iron	1	—
Necklace — composite	Gold, silver, carnelian, copper/bronze	1	—
Necklace — composite	Carnelian, glass, stone, shell, faience	1	—
Necklace — silver filagree	Silver	1	—
Object — carved, incised	Bone	1	—
Object — iron-lumps	Iron	5	—
Ornament — triple ring	Gold and silver	—	2
Pin	Copper/bronze	3	—
Pin	Iron	1	1
Plate	Copper/bronze	1	—
Projectile point — arrowhead	Iron	2	—
Ring — with bezel	Silver	10	—
Ring	Copper/bronze	3	—
Seal — scarab	Frit/faience	1	—

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Table 20.2. Comparison of grave goods between Hacınebi burials 28 and 38 (*cont.*)

Type	*Material*	*Burial 28*	*Burial 38*
Sheet copper — fragments	Copper/bronze	6	—
Shell-fossil	Stone	1	—
Stone disk with two piercings	Stone	1	—
Stone sphere	Limestone?	1	—
Tortoise carapace — worked (rattle?): four pierced pieces + 86 fragments	Bone	—	1
Tweezers	Copper/bronze	1	—
TOTAL		**58**	**122**

Regional Variation in Persian-period Burial Forms

In attempting to understand who was interred in the Hacınebi burials, we need to consider burial *forms* and *grave goods* separately, since these two lines of evidence do not necessarily convey the same information about social identity. The grave goods in the Hacınebi burials form part of a complex of what we can call portable elite material culture that was widely distributed in the Persian empire and shared by both provincial elites and their Persian overlords (see following section). At the same time, the mortuary *practices* (especially burial form) were much more localized in character and therefore show considerable variation, especially when Persia[17] is compared with the western satrapies, for example, Egypt, the Levant, and Anatolia.[18] Thus, for example, bathtub coffin burials are most common in the eastern parts of the Achaemenid empire (where they have a long history in Mesopotamia and Iran), while rock-hewn tombs in the Phoenician tradition are most common along the coast, for example, at Atlit,[19] and pillar tombs were most common in Lycia.[20] Stone-lined cist tombs seem to have been common in both the western and eastern parts of the Persian empire.[21]

Bathtub Coffins

In the Persian period, ceramic and/or bronze bathtub-shaped coffins are most common in Mesopotamia and Iran,[22] and occur frequently as far west as the Euphrates River valley in Syria and southeast Anatolia. Bathtub coffins were originally an Assyrian form that developed in the late second millennium, continuing into the Neo Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian,

[17] Frantz Grenet, "Burial: ii. Remnants of Burial Practice in Ancient Iran," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 4 (1990): 559–61; Shahrokh Razmjou, "Religion and Burial Customs," in *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia*, edited by John Curtis and Nigel Tallis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 150–80.

[18] See, e.g., Nicholas Cahill, "Taş Kule: A Persian-period Tomb near Phokaia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988): 481–501; Laurence Cotelle-Michel, "Les sarcophages en terre cuite en Égypte et en Nubie," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150 (Dijon: Faton, 2004), pp. 353–59; Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity: A 'Graeco-Persian' Cylinder Seal from Sardis," *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 99–129; M. Heinz, "Kamid el-Loz 1997–2007," in *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture Libanaises* 12 (2008); Oric P. V. L'vov-Basirov, "Achaemenian Funerary Practices in Western Asia Minor," in *Achaemenid Anatolia* (proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma, 15–18 August 1997), edited by Tomris Bakır, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 92 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2001), pp. 101–07; Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*; Astrid Nunn, "Nekropolen und Gräber in Phönizien, Syrien und Jordanien zur Achämenidenzeit," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 32 (2000; Cyrus H. Gordon memorial volume, actual publication date 2001): 389–463; Ephraim Stern, *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C.* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982); Samuel R. Wolff, "Mortuary Practices in the Persian Period of the Levant," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65 (2002): 131–37.

[19] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, pp. 8–9.

[20] Cahill, "Persian-period Tomb," p. 499.

[21] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 9; Stern, *Material Culture*, ch. 3; Wolff, "Mortuary Practices" — although it should be noted that the term "cist tomb" has often been applied in an overly broad manner to encompass other classes of burials; see Oren Tal, "Some Remarks on the Coastal Plain of Palestine Under Achaemenid Rule: An Archaeological Synthesis," in *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches*, edited by Pierre Briant and Rémy Boucharlat (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2005), p. 87.

[22] E. Haerinck, "Babylonia under Achaemenid Rule," in *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism, 539–331 B.C.* (proceedings of a seminar in memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin), edited by John Curtis (London: British Museum, 1997), p. 33; Eva Strommenger, "Grabformen in Babylon," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 3 (1964): 170.

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and Persian periods, gaining wider distribution.[23] The coffins were made either of bronze or of baked clay ceramic, and occur in two main shapes: (a) straight-sided at one end and rounded at the other, and (b) rounded at both ends, creating an oval shape in plan view. Bathtub coffins were used for the burial of both adult males and females. These are almost always single burials, although in rare cases two individuals were interred in bathtub coffins.[24] Quantitative analyses of the bathtub burials from Babylon show that the dimensions and proportions of the coffins vary systematically, most notably in the fact that coffin height tends to decrease over time, and can actually be dated or seriated on this basis (fig. 20.8).[25] After the Persian period, bathtub coffins more or less disappear, and are replaced by long, low, narrow ceramic coffins, and eventually by ceramic "slipper coffins" in the Parthian period.

Persian-period bathtub coffin burials are known from virtually all of the major Mesopotamian urban centers with Achaemenid-period occupations — for example, Ashur,[26] Babylon,[27] Kish,[28] Nimrud,[29] Nippur,[30] Ur,[31] and Uruk.[32]

This burial style was used in Iran as early as the eighth–seventh centuries B.C., as can be seen from the Arjan tomb in the western Zagros.[33] This style continued in use and increased in frequency to become the most common burial type

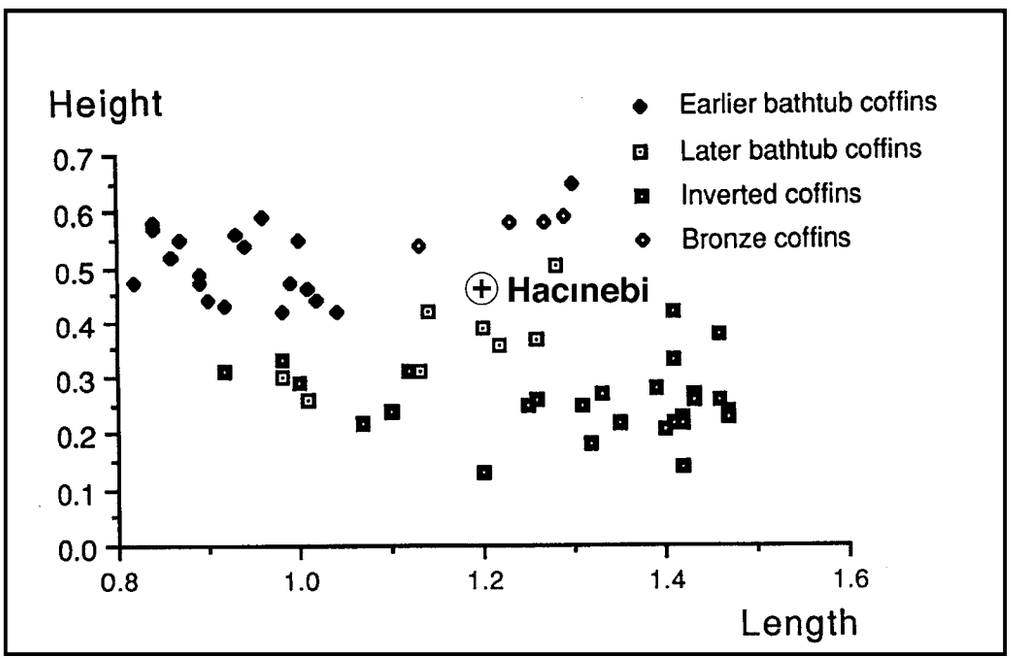


Figure 20.8. Dimensions of Hacınebi bathtub coffin compared with data from Babylon and other sites, presented in Baker, "Neo-Babylonian Burials," fig. 25:4. The Hacınebi coffin falls within the range Baker identifies as "later bathtub coffins" dating to the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods

[23] Heather Baker, "Neo-Babylonian Burials Revisited," in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green, Oxbow Monograph 51 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995), pp. 209–20; John Curtis, "Late Assyrian Bronze Coffins," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 85–95; Strommenger, "Grabformen"; Jeffrey R. Zorn, "Mesopotamian-style Ceramic 'Bathtub' Coffins from Tell en-Nasbeh," *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993): 216–24. It is probable that Achaemenid bathtub coffins represent a fusion of Neo-Assyrian and traditional Iranian Elamite burial practices, since ceramic bathtub coffins are known from second-millennium B.C. Elamite burials at Haft Tepe near Susa in Khuzistan, Iran. Two examples of these coffins are on display in the Haft Tepe Museum (Gil Stein, personal observation).

[24] See, e.g., Ephraim Stern, "Achaemenian Tombs from Shechem," *Levant* 12 (1980): 90–111.

[25] See also Baker, "Neo-Babylonian Burials," pp. 214–15.

[26] Arndt Haller, *Die Gräber und Grüfte von Assur*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 65 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1954), pp. 54–58.

[27] Baker, "Neo-Babylonian Burials"; Oscar Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926), pp. 212–34.

[28] P. R. S. Moorey, *Kish Excavations, 1923–1933* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 48ff.

[29] David Oates and Joan Oates, "Nimrud 1957: The Hellenistic Settlement," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 153–57.

[30] McGuire Gibson, Judith A Franke, Miguel Civil, Michael L. Bates, Joachim Boessneck, Karl W. Butzer, Ted A. Rathburn, and Elizabeth Frick Mallin, *Excavations at Nippur: Twelfth Season*, Oriental Institute Communications 23 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1978), pp. 70–71.

[31] C. Leonard Woolley, *The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods,* Ur Excavations 9 (London: British Museum, 1962), pp. 52–87.

[32] R. M. Boehmer, *Uruk: Kampagne 38, 1985; Grabungen in J-K/23 und H/24–25*, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 1 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), pp. 68–69. For general discussions, see Stern, "Achaemenian Tombs"; Strommenger, "Grabformen"; Wolff, "Mortuary Practices"; Zorn, "'Bathtub' Coffins," p. 220.

[33] Abbas Alizadeh, "A Tomb of the Neo-Elamite Period at Arjān, near Behbahan," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 18 (1985): 49–74; Javier Álvarez-Mon, *The Arjān Tomb: At the Crossroads of the Elamite and the Persian Empires*, Acta Iranica 49 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010). Achaemenid

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in Iran.[34] Bathtub coffins are well attested at the Achaemenid capital cities of Persepolis[35] and Susa.[36] Bathtub coffins are also found in southeast Anatolia and northwest Syria at sites such as Neirab near Aleppo,[37] and especially in the Euphrates River valley at Tell Ahmar/Til Barsib,[38] Carchemish,[39] Hacınebi,[40] and Lidar.[41] Northwest Syria and the Euphrates valley seem to mark the westernmost limit of the area of this distinctively Mesopotamian and Iranian burial form; it does not occur in the western parts of the Persian empire, where different traditions of mortuary praxis prevailed.

Bathtub coffins occur very rarely as an intrusive burial form in the southern Levant; with only one exception (Shechem/Tell el-Balata), these belong to the Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian periods (eighth–sixth centuries), and are not Achaemenid in date.[42] This coffin style is apparently absent altogether from sites in Achaemenid western Anatolia. Carved shallow marble bathtub sarcophagi do appear in Achaeminid Sardis;[43] however, their form, constituent raw material, and placement in rock-hewn tombs differ markedly from the terra-cotta and bronze bathtub coffins that are so distinctive in Greater Mesopotamia and Iran. Similarly, although terra-cotta coffins are common in Egypt, overviews of later first-millennium burial practices suggest that the distinctive "bathtub" shape is not attested in the Nile valley during the Persian period.[44]

Some of the closest published parallels to the Hacınebi bathtub coffin burial can be found at Susa, Persepolis, Lidar, Til Barsib, and Shechem.

Susa

One of the most striking parallels for the Hacınebi Achaemenid burials can be seen in Iran, with the fourth-century B.C. bronze bathtub coffin burial discovered on the Susa Acropole in 1901 by J. de Morgan (fig. 20.9).[45] Although the Susa tomb is more elaborate in the quantity and quality of the jewelry and in the use of a bronze coffin rather than a ceramic one, it still closely resembles both the tomb structure and grave offerings of Hacınebi bathtub coffin burial 38 in almost every major aspect.

The Susa tomb was a roofed mudbrick cist/box enclosing the bronze bathtub coffin containing a primary extended burial lying on its on its back, the upper part of its body covered with gold jewelry, including torques and semiprecious stone. The grave goods also included a silver bowl and two uninscribed alabastra. Two associated coins dating between 350 and 332 B.C. suggest a later fourth-century B.C. date for the Susa tomb, slightly later than its counterpart at Hacınebi.[46] The Susa tomb's flat penannular gold earrings with knobbed or lobed decoration are a typical Achaemenid style[47] represented in the Persepolis reliefs and have nearly identical parallels in the silver earrings found in Hacınebi burial in Operation 7 locus 28 (see fig. 20.4), and at numerous other Achaemenid sites, for example, Pasargadae,[48] Persepolis,[49] Babylon,[50] Nineveh,[51] Deve Hüyük,[52] and Neirab.[53]

De Morgan suggested that the deceased in the Susa burial was a woman based on her small stature, the absence of weapons, and the large quantity of jewelry. However, textual and iconographic evidence make it clear that Persian men and women both wore large amounts of jewelry in life; similarly, burials of males often also contained large amounts of jewelry.[54]

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bathtub coffins may also continue a earlier tradition known from Haft Tepe in the Susiana Plain of Khuzistan (see note 23).

[34] Haerinck, "Babylonia under Achaemenid Rule," p. 33.

[35] Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 2. The Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, Oriental Institute Publications 69 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[36] Jacques de Morgan, *Découverte d'une sépulture achéménide à Suse*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 8 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905), pp. 29–58; Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb," pp. 242–52.

[37] B. Carrière and A. Barrois, "Fouilles de l'École archéologique française de Jérusalem effectuées à Neirab du 24 septembre au 5 novembre 1926," *Syria* 8 (1927): 201–12.

[38] François Thureau-Dangin and Maurice Dunand, *Til-Barsib*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 23 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936).

[39] C. Leonard Woolley, "The Iron-Age Graves of Carchemish," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 26 (1939–40): 21–37.

[40] McMahon, "Occupation at Hacınebi," pp. 222–29.

[41] Harald Hauptmann, "Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Lidar Höyük," *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 3/4 (1991): 33–37; idem, "Vier Jahrtausende Siedlungsgeschichte am Mittleren Euphrat," *Archäologie in Deutschland* 9/1 (1993): 10–15; Machteld J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991): 123–53.

[42] Stern, "Achaemenian Tombs," pp. 90–111; Wolff, "Mortuary Practices," pp. 131–37; Zorn, "'Bathtub' Coffins," pp. 220–21.

[43] E.g., tomb 813; see Howard Crosby Butler, *Sardis*, Vol. 1: *The Excavations* (Leiden: Brill, 1922), fig. 177; Dusinberre, "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity," pp. 99–129.

[44] See, e.g., Cotelle-Michel, "Sarcophages en terre cuite."

[45] See de Morgan, "Sépulture achéménide," pp. 29–58; Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb," p. 242.

[46] Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb," p. 242.

[47] Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb," p. 250.

[48] David Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 200–01, no. 3.

[49] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pl. 45:27.

[50] John Curtis, "Jewellery and Personal Ornaments," in Curtis and Tallis, eds., *Forgotten Empire*, p. 145, no. 179; Julian Reade, "A Hoard of Silver Currency from Achaemenid Babylon," *Iran* 24 (1986): 80, no. 25.

[51] Or possibly Nimrud; see E. S. G. Robinson, "A 'Silversmith's Hoard' from Mesopotamia," *Iraq* 12 (1950): pl. 24:25.

[52] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, fig. 13:300.

[53] Carrière and Barrois, "Neirab," pl. 54:106a.

[54] Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb," p. 242.

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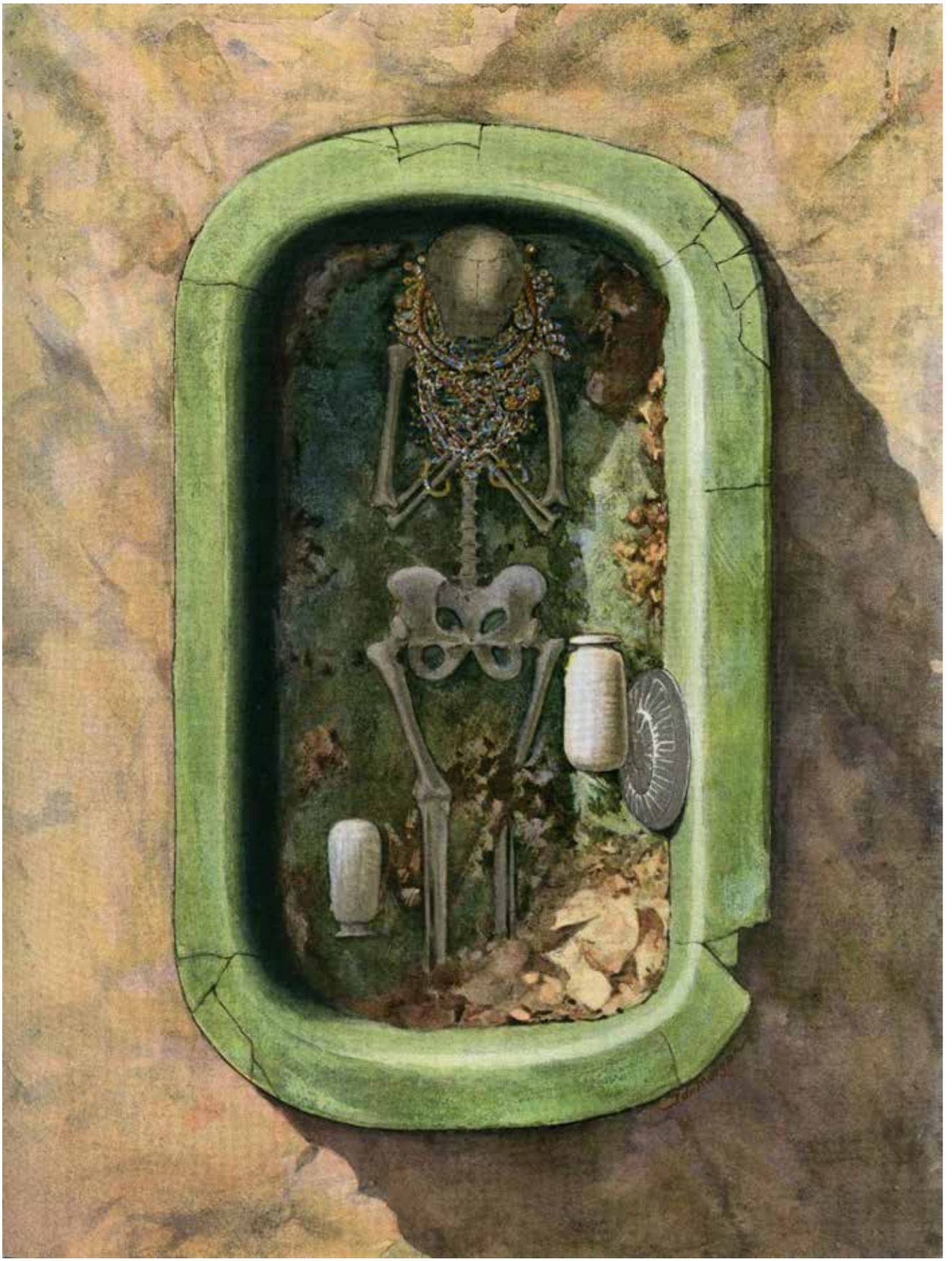


Figure 20.9. Achaemenid bathtub coffin burial from Susa, excavated by Jacques de Morgan (*Découverte d'une sépulture achéménide à Suse*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 8 [Paris: E. Leroux, 1905], pl. 2)

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Persepolis

Salvage excavations in the Persepolis spring cemetery site ca. 1 km northwest of the Persepolis platform located a cemetery with thirty-one burials, twenty-four of which were ceramic bathtub coffin primary burials oriented more or less north–south.[55] Both males and females were buried in the ceramic coffins, which had few grave goods, mostly ceramics. Based on ceramic parallels to Persepolis, Schmidt dated the cemetery to the late Achaemenid period, possibly extending into the earliest Hellenistic.[56] The burials appear to be those of Iranian commoners, rather than elite individuals.

Lidar Hüyük

Excavations at the site of Lidar, on a key Euphrates River crossing ca. 5 km north of Samosata/Samsat in southeast Turkey, recovered a sixth–fifth-century Persian-period settlement and a walled and roofed cist burial containing an oval bronze bathtub coffin with four double handles. The deceased was an adult male primary burial in a flexed position.[57] The associated grave goods consisted of a gold signet ring and a bronze socketed object with a figurine of a man wearing a headdress, cloak, long tunic, and trousers. The object may be a scepter depicting a Magus (H. Hauptmann, pers. comm.). Between the coffin itself and the walls of the burial cist were placed three alabastra and a red-painted pilgrim flask dated to the fifth century B.C.[58]

Tell Ahmar/Til Barsib

Along the Middle Euphrates in Syria at Tell Ahmar/Til Barsib, a number of Persian-period burials were found dug into the earlier abandoned remains of the Assyrian palace. Prominent among these were two terra-cotta bathtub coffins. The first of these was 1.27 m long × 0.55 m wide × 0.40 m tall with a modeled clay band along the rim.[59] It contained a single articulated flexed skeleton, resting on its right side with the head to the east, arms next to the chest. The coffin contained a rich array of grave goods, including bronze torques, two silver bracelets with zoomorphic terminals, two bronze rings, beads of crystal and carnelian, and four scarabs (most notably one with a griffin motif and another Aramaic-inscribed scarab with a human-lion contest scene), a circular bronze box with a seventeen-petalled rosette decoration, a dagger, and a ceramic alabastron.[60] A second, smaller bathtub coffin contained carnelian beads, a bronze bracelet with a rectangular cross section, and two silver pennular bracelets with snake-headed terminals.[61]

Shechem/Tell el-Balata (Nablus)

In a rock-hewn tomb 1.5 km northeast of Tell el-Balata, salvage excavations recovered a ceramic bathtub coffin with one rounded end and one straight-sided end having four rounded handles.[62] The coffin contained two fragmentary skeletons of a male and female, along with two typical Achaemenid carinated bronze bowls with rounded bases, the necks and handles of three fragmentary Attic black-glaze lekythoi with old breaks, suggesting that they were already fragmentary before being placed in the tomb, possibly as offerings by mourners. The lekythoi are dated to the mid-fifth century B.C.[63] Outside, between the coffin and the wall of the tomb, a number of grave offerings had been placed, including a bronze *thymiaterion* incense-burner stand, a long-necked bronze oil lamp, and a tall ceramic storage jar, possibly containing food offerings. The tomb is probably contemporaneous with the nearby fifth-century B.C. Persian-period occupation of Tell el-Balata (Shechem stratum V).[64]

The use of specific tomb and coffin types appears to have been deeply grounded in local cultural and religious systems and shows a considerable degree of regional variation across the satrapies of the Persian empire. The spatial distribution of bathtub coffin burials in particular appear to have been closely associated with the peoples and cultural traditions of Mesopotamia and Iran. In contrast, cist burials were far more widespread throughout the Persian empire and could reflect either local or Persian/Mesopotamian identity.

[55] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, pp. 117–23.
[56] Schmidt, *Persepolis 2*, p. 123.
[57] Hauptmann, "Lidar Hoyuk"; Hauptmann, "Siedlungsgeschichte am Mittleren Euphrat"; Machteld J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88/4 (1984): 441–59.
[58] Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," p. 448.
[59] Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til Barsib*, p. 76.
[60] Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til Barsib*, pl. 18.
[61] Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til Barsib*, p. 78.
[62] Stern, "Achaemenian Tombs."
[63] Stern, "Achaemenian Tombs," p. 102.
[64] Stern, "Achaemenian Tombs," p. 107.

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Cist Burials

Box or cist burials were widely distributed across the Persian empire, not only in the Mediterranean coastal regions[65] but across Syria, Mesopotamia, and even western Iran, where they represent a long-standing cultural tradition.[66] In the southern Levant and Syria, cist burials often occur with other burial types such as simple pit inhumations. However, in these cases, lined cists (especially with corbelled covers or lids) almost always are the tombs of high-status individuals, as confirmed by the richness of the associated grave goods.

Deve Hüyük

P. R. S. Moorey's analysis of cist burials from the period II cemetery at Deve Hüyük near Carchemish provide extremely useful material and interpretive parallels for the Hacınebi Achaemenid burials.[67] Looters had badly damaged Deve Hüyük, impelling C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence to conduct salvage excavations in 1913 while also purchasing items that had already been pillaged from the site. As a result, although the physical graves can be described, we unfortunately lack reliable provenience and associational data for the grave goods. Based on the coins and ceramics — notably the Attic black-figure lekythoi — the period II inhumations of the Persian period can be dated to a time range of 480–380 B.C.[68] The period II tombs are of two main types: (a) simple inhumations for poorer individuals, and (b) more elaborate and richer stone-lined and roofed cist burials measuring 3.00 × 0.80 m internally, with the sides approximately 0.80 m tall, and are roughly oriented east–west. The graves generally held single burials, although "it was not uncommon" for there to be more than one individual in a given burial.[69] Notable artifact types included distinctive Achaemenid weaponry forms such as trilobed arrowheads, fragments of an *akinakes* short sword, a *sagaris* double-headed battle-ax, and a *gorytus* combined quiver-and-bow case, alabastra, scarabs, penannular bronze bracelets and anklets with zoomorphic terminals, flat penannular earrings with lobed/knobbed decoration, and cast disk mirrors of bronze or gold alloy.[70] This assemblage closely resembles the Achaemenid portable elite material culture found in the bathtub burials at Susa, Neirab, Lidar, Hacınebi, Shechem/Tell el-Balata, and Tel Michal (see below). Based especially on the weaponry and the stylistic affiliation of the simple red ware ceramics, Moorey hypothesized that at least some of the Deve Hüyük period II cist burials were those of an ethnically Persian or Median military garrison stationed along the Euphrates.[71] However, based on the "Egypto-Phoenician" stylistic affiliation of much of the jewelry and toiletry items from the site, Moorey also suggests, "If the soldiers buried in Deve Hüyük II were of Iranian origin, it is probably that many of the women were local."[72]

Tel Michal

Tel Michal is located on the coastal plain of modern Israel. Fifty-five of the 119 Persian-period interments in the cemetery were cist burials, and the remainder were jar or simple pit burials with few or no grave goods.[73] Most of the cist burials were simply constructed and contained few grave goods.[74] However, four of the cists were more elaborate, lined with ashlar blocks or *hamra* (red) mudbricks, and seem to have originally had wooden covers.[75] These elaborated cist burials were rich in grave goods such as silver and carnelian beads, bronze bracelets and anklets, bronze and silver earrings, finger rings, alabastra, stamp seals, and iron weapons.[76] This assemblage of grave goods is closely analogous with the contents of both the cist burials and bathtub coffin burials at the other Persian-period sites discussed above. Based on the labor-intensive construction combined with the amount and quality of the grave goods, the excavators identify the elaborated cist tombs as elite burials in a social hierarchy where lower status individuals were buried in the simple cist or pit graves.[77]

Overall, cist tombs as a burial form were widespread across the Persian empire and therefore cannot be seen as diagnostic of a specific region or ethnicity. However, the construction and contents of elaborated cist tombs are consistent with their identification as a high-status, elite mortuary form containing the distinctive assemblage of portable

[65] Davies, Kostamo, and Jyring, "Persian-period Cemetery," p. 153; Stern, *Material Culture*, p. 85; Tal, "Some Remarks on the Coastal Plain of Palestine," p. 87 and n. 16; Wolff, "Mortuary Practices," pp. 131–37.

[66] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 9.

[67] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*.

[68] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 8.

[69] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 7.

[70] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, pp. 74–78, 82.

[71] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 10.

[72] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, p. 74.

[73] Davies, Kostamo, and Jyring, "Persian-period Cemetery," p. 153; Herzog and Levy, "Persian-period Cemetery of Tel Michal," p. 221.

[74] Davies, Kostamo, and Jyring, "Persian-period Cemetery," pp. 160, 163.

[75] Herzog and Levy, "Persian-period Cemetery of Tel Michal," pp. 221–22.

[76] Herzog and Levy, "Persian-period Cemetery of Tel Michal," p. 221.

[77] Herzog and Levy, "Persian-period Cemetery of Tel Michal," p. 222.

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elite material culture that asserts Achaemenid imperial elite identity independent of ethnicity. This same assemblage of portable elite material culture is also present in the bathtub coffin burials of north Syria, Mesopotamia, and western Iran. The broad distribution of Achaemenid portable elite material culture and its occurrence across a range of different localized burial forms suggests that burial forms and burial goods expressed different aspects of social identity in the Persian empire.

Ethnicity, Elite Identity, and Material Culture in the Persian Empire

In contrast with the later coercive practices of the Hellenistic period, the Achaemenids did not impose a specifically Persian cultural identity on the subject peoples of the empire. The Achaemenid state did not mandate the use of the Old Persian language and script, and in fact used a foreign language — imperial Aramaic — as the language of administration, reserving Old Persian almost exclusively for use in monumental inscriptions. The Persian kings also showed tolerance for local religious beliefs in the satrapies of the empire and made little effort to pressure the subject peoples into adopting specifically Persian religious beliefs and deities. Instead, active participation in this cultural *koine* seems to have been voluntary on the part of the local elites.[78] Achaemenid tolerance of cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity seems to have been the result of deliberate political calculations aimed at ensuring political stability and minimizing the threat of revolts within the satrapies.[79]

At the same time, the Persians seem to have been highly conscious of their own cultural identity, and of the distinctions between themselves and the subject peoples, as seen in royal inscriptions of Darius, who identifies himself forcefully as "an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having an Aryan lineage." For both administrative and cultural reasons, positions in the Persian court, satrapal organization, and the higher ranks of the military were all almost exclusively limited to members of what P. Briant has called the Persian "ethno-class."[80] Both public art such as the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, and military organization as reflected in Greek historical sources, show that the Achaemenids formally recognized ethnic-linguistic differences, so that military units on Persian campaigns retained their distinctive local dress, weaponry, and even language. What we see, then, is the fusion of two seemingly contradictory principles in Achaemenid statecraft. On the one hand, it represented a worldview that recognized differences in ethnic or cultural identity, while privileging the position of Persians and Medes. On the other hand, Achaemenid imperial policy actively encouraged participation by subject groups and facilitated the creation of a pan-regional identity as both a reward and an expression of loyalty on the part of local elites. Material culture played a key role in this process.

Achaemenid material culture represents a rapidly created imperial synthesis and cultural *koine* drawing on stylistic elements from Scythia, Assyria, Egypt, Lydia, Greece, and other regions.[81] Achaemenid monumental public art, palace organization, administrative systems, some jewelry styles,[82] cuneiform script, glyptic,[83] and the use of bathtub-shaped coffins[84] all derive from Neo-Assyrian (and probably Neo-Babylonian) models. Median and Persian clothing styles and weaponry such as the *akinakes* short sword, *gorytus* quiver cases, trilobed arrowheads, and *sagaris* battle axes show clear derivation from a Scythian origin.[85] Egyptian-style alabastra, scarab seals, and iconographic elements such as the winged sun disk or the god Bes[86] form important elements of this material culture synthesis. This Achaeminid imperial style was characteristic of the Persian capitals and court, and the elite administrators of the Persian ethno-class. At the same time, a subset of portable objects in this style found a much broader distribution across the empire.

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[78] Maria Brosius, "Keeping Up with the Persians: Between Cultural Identity and Persianization in the Achaemenid Period," in *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Erich S. Gruen (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), p. 136.

[79] Christopher Tuplin, "The Limits of Persianization: Some Reflections on Cultural Links in the Persian Empire," in Guren, ed., *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, p. 158.

[80] Pierre Briant, "Ethno-classe dominante et populations soumises dans l'empire Achéménide: le cas de l'Égypte," in *Achaemenid History* 3: *Method and Theory* (proceedings of the Achaemenid History Workshop, London, 1985), edited by Amélie Kuhrt and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1988), pp. 137–74.

[81] Brosius, "Cultural Identity and Persianization"; A. Farkas, "Is There Anything Persian in Persian Art?" in *Ancient Persia: The Art of an Empire*, edited by Dominique Schmandt-Besserat (Malibu: Undena, 1980), pp. 15–21; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture"; Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Tuplin, "Limits of Persianization."

[82] K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery, c. 3000–612 B.C.* (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 238 and 247.

[83] Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1: *Images of Heroic Encounter*, Oriental Institute Publications 117 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001), p. 16.

[84] Curtis, "Late Assyrian Bronze Coffins."

[85] Cleuziou, "Les pointes de flèches 'Scythiques'"; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture."

[86] Kamyar Abdi, "Bes in the Achaemenid Empire," *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 111–40; Tuplin, "Limits of Persianization."

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The integration of the subject peoples into the broader social fabric of the Persian empire was expressed most visibly through the emergence and widespread distribution of a *koine* of material culture.[87] The objects that served as key elements in this common language of portable elite material culture were most notably portable prestige goods and distinctive styles of personal ornaments such as alabastron vessels, carinated round-bottomed bowls, cast bronze disk mirrors, scarab seals, flat disk-shaped penannular earrings with knobbed or lobed decoration, bronze and silver rings (sometimes with a griffin motif), torques (for very high-ranking individuals), animal rhyta, carnelian beads, earrings, bracelets, penannular bracelets and anklets with zoomorphic terminals, necklaces, weapons, clothing styles, and clothing appliqués.

Penannular bracelets with animal-head terminals are a common Achaemenid style, with good parallels in Persepolis reliefs, and archaeological examples from Pasargadae.[88] This style of bracelet has clear antecedents in Assyria.[89] In the Persepolis Apadana reliefs, penannular bracelets with animal-head terminals are brought as tribute by delegations of Medes, Lydians, Scythians, and Sogdians/Chorasmians.[90] Both at Susa and Persepolis the monumental art depicts the king, nobles, ushers, soldiers, archers, and grooms wearing bracelets and earrings; however, necklaces or torques are worn only by the king, nobles, and ushers,[91] Similarly, the high-status individual in the bathtub coffin burial at Susa was interred wearing a torque.[92]

Achaemenid-period torques of precious metal are very rare and seem to have been worn only by the highest-ranking Achaemenid elites — whether ethnic Persians, Medes, or highest-ranking local elites among the subject peoples.[93] Several textual and artistic attestations show that the Persian kings bestowed torques as gifts or marks of favor on subordinates — even non-Persians — whom they wished to reward or honor.[94]

We know of the bracelets, torques, and other items of portable elite material culture best through their widespread occurrence in mortuary contexts. The use of this cultural *koine* in life and in burial ceremonies seems to have identified a person as both a loyal subject of the empire and as (at some level) a member of its ruling class. The international character of this portable elite material culture can be seen in the fact that, in almost every case we know of, it can be seen as a distinctive hybrid materiality in which Achaemenid styles combined with recognizably local styles. Individuals asserted an Achaemenid — but not necessarily a *Persian* — identity through the use of these highly valued and widely identifiable material symbols of imperial elite identity. One could suggest that Achaemenid elite identity in this sense was comparable to Ottoman (but not specifically *Turkish*) elite identity and its material signifiers in the nineteenth century.

This is consistent with the idea that the local elites had composite, and situationally contingent cultural identities in which, for example, there might have been no real contradiction between being a "Lydian" and an active participant in "Achaemenid" imperial society. The symbolic value and imperial association of the Achaemenid art style are quite clear. For example, Xenophon[95] notes certain Achaemenid material objects such as Persian clothing and jewelry torques were presented by the king to both Persian and non-Persian elites as marks of special favor.

We can see the hybrid character — simultaneously Achaemenid and local — in the metalwork of the Lydian treasure, and in the architecture and wall paintings in western Anatolian tombs.[96] Persian-period sculpture from Egypt shows two good examples of local elites who are clearly identified in the accompanying inscriptions and represented in complete keeping with the canons of Egyptian sculpture, while combining Persian jewelry and clothing with standard Egyptian material culture. The statue of Udjahorresnet represents a high official who had served the pharaohs before the Persian conquest and continued to serve in several other major administrative capacities after the Persian conquest under Cambyses and later Darius.[97] Udjahorresnet is represented wearing a Persian robe and Persian-style bracelets. Similarly, the statue of Ptah-hotep — the Egyptian minister of finance under Darius I — shows this native Egyptian elite administrator wearing Persian clothing and a clearly Persian torque, along with a typical Egyptian pectoral.[98]

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[87] Brosius, "Cultural Identity and Persianization"; Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 146; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture"; Tuplin, "Limits of Persianization."

[88] Stronach, *Pasargadae*, pp. 210–11, fig. 90:1–2.

[89] Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, p. 247, figs. 142, 144.

[90] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 32.

[91] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 32.

[92] De Morgan, "Sépulture achéménide," pl. 4; Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb."

[93] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 32.

[94] E.g., John D. Cooney, "The Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator," *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Museum* 15/2 (1953): 1–16; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 42.

[95] *Anabasis* 1.2, 1.8; *Cyropedia* 1.3.3, 8.2.8; quoted in Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 32; see also Cooney, "Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator," pp. 1–16.

[96] Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire*; Ilknur Özgen and Jean Öztürk, *The Lydian Treasure: Heritage Recovered* (Istanbul: General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, 1996), p. 47; Tuplin, "Limits of Persianization," pp. 160–66.

[97] A. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjaḥorresnet: A Collaborator's Testament," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 166–80; Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire*, pp. 85–86.

[98] Cooney, "Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator"; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 32.

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The multi-dimensional aspects of identity and its material signifiers were not limited to the elites of the subject peoples, but in fact were characteristic of the Persians as well. It is striking that the seals used by the Persian administrators represented in the Persepolis Fortification archives show that a surprisingly diverse set of artistic styles were in use by a more or less homogeneous Persian ruling elite.[99]

Taken together, the available evidence suggests that ethnic identities such as "Persian" or "Lydian" coexisted with and fit within the broader overarching framework of an Achaemenid elite identity that encompassed both Persians and non-Persians. One identity or another would have been expressed or emphasized more forcefully depending on the specific social context of interaction.

Are There Reliable Material Correlates of Persian/Median Ethnic Identity?

The identification of ethnicity through material culture is a major research issue in archaeological method and theory.[100] Aspects of daily practice such as food preferences and preparation procedures can be effective indicators of ethnicity,[101] especially for periods where textual documentation is available. However, the use of specific artifact types as ethnic indicators is a much more risky endeavor, unless these objects are analyzed with close attention to their archaeological context and associations.

Attempts to identify people of Persian or Median ancestry and ethnicity based solely on specific items of material culture such as weaponry or jewelry have proved to be highly problematic. Moorey notes that, "as all scholars who approach this problem are aware, there is still no archaeological data from sites within Iran that may *certainly* be described as representing the material culture of either the Medes or the Persians before the reign of Cyrus the Great, and little enough for the Achaemenid Period itself, outside the Imperial centres of Pasargadae, Persepolis and Susa."[102] The problem of attempted ethnic identifications of this sort is compounded by the fact that many artifacts used in this way derive from unknown and/or undated archaeological contexts.[103]

Although trilobed socketed arrowheads seem to have been used throughout the Achaemenid military by soldiers of all nationalities, Moorey identified several styles of weaponry as distinctively "Iranian" or "Median": the *akinakes* short sword, the *gorytus* bow-and-quiver case, or the *sagaris* battle ax.[104] However, these weapon types originated outside Iran proper, and their use was not limited to Persians and Medes. The *akinakes* originated in the Caucasus and "appears in graves of the Caucasian Koban culture by the eighth or early seventh centuries B.C." and "is most likely to have come to the Medes through their Scythian confederates."[105] In his analysis of the throne bearers depicted on the royal tomb facades at Naqsh-i Rustam, E. Schmidt identified the *akinakes* on individuals whom he identified as "East Iranian, European Scythian, Asiatic Scythian, East and West Median."[106] In a similar fashion, the *sagaris* and the *gorytus* originated outside of Iran, and their use was not limited to ethnic Persians or Medians.[107] The most frequently occurring weapon type — trilobed socketed arrowheads — were initially introduced into the Near East by the Scythians and became standard equipment in the Achaemenid military throughout the empire in units, regardless of ethnicity.[108]

As is the case with weaponry, jewelry does not really work well as a marker for distinctively Persian-Iranian ethnic identity. Torques are a Persian style of jewelry, and occur in both the Susa bathtub coffin burials and in the Oxus treasure. However, we know that torques were presented by the king to non-Persians.[109] Tallon also notes that "It is ...

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[99] Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Vol. 1; Mark B. Garrison, "Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art: Subject Matter, Social Function, Audience and Diffusion," in *Images As Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium B.C.E.)*, edited by Christoph Uehlinger, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 175 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 115–64.

[100] E.g., Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997); *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, edited by Miriam T. Stark (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998); Gil J. Stein, "Material Culture and Social Identity: The Evidence for a 4th Millennium B.C. Mesopotamian Uruk Colony at Hacınebi, Turkey," *Paléorient* 25 (1999): 11–22; Barbara L. Voss, "Gender, Race, and Labor in the Archaeology of the Spanish Colonial Americas," *Current Anthropology* 49/5 (2008): 861–93; Peter S. Wells, "Identity and Material Culture in the Later Prehistory of Central Europe," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 6 (1998): 239–98.

[101] E.g., *The Archaeology of Food and Identity*, edited by Katheryn C. Twiss (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007).

[102] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 21.

[103] Cf. Oscar White Muscarella, "Excavated and Unexcavated Achaemenid Art," in Schmandt-Besserat, ed., *Ancient Persia*, pp. 31ff.; Farkas, "Is There Anything Persian in Persian Art?"

[104] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 27.

[105] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 26.

[106] Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 3. The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, Oriental Institute Publications 70 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 180ff.; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 26.

[107] Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 27.

[108] Cleuziou, "Les pointes de flèches 'Scythiques'"; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," pp. 27–29; Stronach, *Pasargadae*, fig. 94:1–20.

[109] Cooney, "Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator"; Moorey, "Achaemenid Material Culture," p. 32.

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difficult to attribute the manufacture of these jewels to a specific region because their style and iconographic motifs were common all across the empire."[110] Overall, it seems nearly impossible to identify any specific type of material culture as a reliable marker of Iranian/Persian/Median ethnic identity in the absence of its association with other artifacts and without a detailed knowledge of its specific archaeological context.

Achaemenid Military Administration and Garrisons

The complex relationship between a Persian/Iranian ethnic identity and the broader notion of an Achaeminid elite social or political identity (encompassing multiple ethnic groups) emerges most clearly in the structure of the Achaemenid military. Herodotus and Xenophon provide much of the limited textual evidence for the structure of Persian military garrisons in the satrapies of the Persian empire.[111] These standing garrisons were organized differently from the large-scale, shorter-term troop levies employed in military campaigns.[112] Each satrapy used taxes and tribute to fund the troops charged with its protection and stationed within its boundaries. Garrison commanders were in theory appointed by the king and subordinate to the local satrap,[113] although in practice the satrap himself often made the appointments.[114] Xenophon distinguishes between *akra* garrisons commanded by *phrourach*s who were responsible for the security of a small number of major urban citadels, and the smaller garrisons commanded by *chiliarch*s, distributed more widely to guard strategic points in the countryside or *chora*.[115] Xenophon and other Greek sources suggest that there seems to have been a clear ethnic distinction between the rank-and-file garrison troops and their commanders. The common soldiers were either local populations, mercenaries drawn from other parts of the empire (as at Elephantine), or occasionally Iranians. By contrast, with very few exceptions, garrison commanders and highest-ranking officers appear to have been almost exclusively ethnic Persians.[116] The senior commanders were apparently Persian at Doriscus, Eion, Sardis, Gaza, Elephantine, and Memphis.[117] When Greek authors mention the names of army commanders, they are overwhelmingly Persian and often members of extensive noble families.[118]

Although we have only sparse references to garrisons in the middle and upper Euphrates valley, some idea of the composition of these outposts and their troops can be obtained by considering the fifth-century B.C. Elaphantine papyri, as the source for the Achaemenid garrison at Elephantine (and Syene) at the First Cataract on the frontier between Egypt and Lower Nubia. The soldiers at Elaphantine and Syene consisted of "Jews, Arameans, Babylonians, Caspians, Khorazmians, Medes, and Persians."[119] Although the ethnic composition of the actual foot soldiers and lower-ranking officers (such as "decurions") seems to have been fairly diverse, as shown in table 20.3, the upper ranks ("centurions," "*degel*" commanders, *Rab Hayla*, and *Frataraka*) were almost entirely staffed by commanders with clearly Iranian names.[120]

The presence of Persian officers and troops in military garrisons across the empire is consistent with archaeological evidence as well. As noted above, Moorey's analysis of the Deve Hüyük II burial practices, cist tomb structure, and associated grave goods led him to conclude that the cemetery was used for the burial of a Persian military garrison and their local Syrian wives. Based on the Median-style weaponry and the coarseware ceramics, Moorey suggests that the soldiers of the garrison may have originated in the Caspian region of northwestern Iran.[121] Deve Hüyük provides a useful interpretive analog for the Hacınebi burials.

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[110] Tallon, "Achaemenid Tomb," p. 242.

[111] Christopher Tuplin, "Persian Garrisons in Xenophon and Other Sources," in Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, eds., *Achaemenid History 3*, pp. 67–70.

[112] Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 33.

[113] Tuplin, "Persian Garrisons," p. 67.

[114] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, p. 43.

[115] Tuplin, "Persian Garrisons," p. 67.

[116] Tuplin, "Persian Garrisons," p. 69.

[117] Christopher Tuplin, "Xenophon and the Garrisons of the Achaemenid Empire," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 20 (1987): 219–20.

[118] Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, translated by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), p. 352.

[119] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, p. 29.

[120] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, pp. 31–45.

[121] Moorey, *Deve Hüyük*, pp. 9–10.

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Table 20.3. Military ranks, personal names, and ethnicity in the fifth-century B.C. Persian garrison at Elephantine, Egypt*

Rank	*Name*	*Ethnicity*
Frataraka ("the Foremost" — civil-military local governor)		
	Ramandaina: read *Ramnadaina (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1348)	—
	Vidranga (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1877)	Old Persian name
Rab Hayla ("general," "commander of the garrison" — equivalent to "Phrourach")		
	Ravaka: read *Rauka (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1385)	—
	Nefayan: read *Na:faina (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1150)	—
	Vidranga (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1877)	Old Persian name
Degel Commanders		
	Atroparan: read *A:trfarna: (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.190)	—
	Haumadata: read *Haumada:ta (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.731)	—
	Varyazata: read *Varyaza:ta (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1818)	Median name
	Artabanu: read *Rtaba:nu (Tavernier, *Iranica*, 4.2.1451)	—
"Centurions" (leaders of a subdivisio of a "degel")		
	Fourteen names listed	"mostly Persian" (Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, p. 32)
"Decurions" (leaders of a subdivision of a century)		
	—	mostly Jews (Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, p. 32)

* Names and ranks from Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, pp. 31–45; identification of Iranian names from Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), and Jan Tavernier, pers. comm., 2011

Discussion

The Hacınebi Achaemenid burials are extremely valuable as stratigraphically excavated examples of burial practices within the Persian period and provide good examples of Achaemenid ornaments and other items of material culture with unimpeachable archaeological context and provenience. Who was interred in the Hacınebi Achaemenid burials? The answer is not clear cut. The burial goods and burial practices convey different information about social identity — or more accurately, identities — within the Persian empire. The specific set of burial goods in the Hacınebi tombs appears to have been part of an assemblage of portable elite material culture that marked the political identity of Achaemenid elites and was shared across the empire. By contrast, specific aspects of mortuary practice — notably, burial or tomb types — show a much higher degree of regionalization and can give some indication of local identity or possibly ethnicity.

The elaborated construction and rich contents of the burials indicate that these were high-status individuals. The grave goods are consistent with an assemblage portable elite material culture that seems to have functioned to assert the broadly based identity of the Achaemenid ruling class in a cosmopolitan empire. This was essentially a political identity of administrators, aristocrats, and military leaders that transcended specific regional or ethnic lines and is therefore found throughout the Persian empire.

However, the forms of the burials are much more localized than the grave goods they contained. Although the use of elaborated cist tombs was widespread across the Achaemenid lands, the use of bathtub-shaped coffins was much more limited to Mesopotamia (where the practice originated) and western Iran.

It is possible to narrow the range of possibilities a bit further. We know that Persian military garrisons were stationed throughout the empire in border regions and along strategic routes of communication and transport such as the Euphrates valley, especially in the area where it was traversed by the Royal Road to Sardis. Given the strategic location of Hacınebi at a strategic Euphrates crossing, along with the absence of a local settlement, it is reasonable to conclude that these are burials of two high-ranking individuals in the Achaemenid military. The names and titles preserved in the Elaphantine papyri show that there was a clear pattern of ethnic stratification in the hierarchy of military ranks in the Achaemenid army, such that the higher ranks were almost always Persians or Medes, while the soldiers and the equivalent of non-commissioned officers were generally of indigenous origin.

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The evidence of grave goods and burial practices (especially the use of a bathtub coffin) combined with historical and iconographic evidence are consistent with the interpretation that the cist tomb at Hacınebi represents a high-ranking soldier of Iranian (i.e., Persian or Median) ethnic identity, and we cannot exclude the possibility that the female buried in the bathtub coffin might have been a Mesopotamian — perhaps the spouse of a high-ranking Persian officer. Ultimately, we can only speak in terms of probabilities. When analyzed with close attention to association and context, the textual, iconographic, and archaeological data on burial practices, military garrisons, and material culture styles at Hacınebi highlight the complex hybrid identities and cultural *koine* that linked Persian and non-Persian elites across the cosmopolitan Achaemenid empire.

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21

On the Dynasty of Šimaški: Twenty Years (or so) After

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As the alert reader will not fail to notice, the title of this contribution alludes to an epoch-making article by Matthew W. Stolper (rather than to a book by Alexandre Dumas), which appeared in 1982.[1] *Stolper's masterful study was the first cogent attempt to offer a systematic reconstruction of the history of the Šimaškian dynasty. I was privileged to have been a foil for Matt's ideas when his article was still on the drawing board, and when I myself struggled with the related question of Marhaši. The knowledge I gained from those discussions helped me in no small measure to tackle my own problem. Perhaps unavoidably, our talks about things Šimaškian, and even more so, his published article, eventually directed my path into that particular area of research as well. It is fitting, therefore, that I should honor him — and repay my (somewhat questionable) debt to Matt for infecting me with the* Bacillus shimashkiensis *— with a contribution that revisits some of the problems he treated so knowledgeably, logically, and elegantly. My pleasure is all the greater that, as I show in the following, his prescient reconstruction of the sequence of the rulers of Šimaški is as valid today as it was twenty (or so) years ago — the happy time when we were both still young and full of musketeer spirit.*

* * *

1. Our understanding of the chronology of the Šimaškian dynasty has been significantly enhanced by the recent publication of a new inscription of Idattu I,[2] who, according to the Šimaškian King List (henceforth abbreviated as ŠKL),[3] was the seventh ruler of that dynasty. This inscription conclusively establishes that Idattu I was the son of Kindattu and the grandson of Ebarat (Yabrat/Ebarti) I, who rank as no. 6 and no. 3 in ŠKL, respectively.

This exceedingly important historical information, when augmented by the Ur III and Isin archival data bearing on a number of Šimaškian royal figures, such as Ebarat I, Tazitta II, Kindattu, and Idattu I, permits us now to draw a much clearer picture of the early history of the dynasty.[4] The most significant finding that emerges here is that, already during the Ur III period, the Šimaškian dynasty controlled a powerful territorial state.[5] The influence of that state extended to its neighbor Anšan, which, sometime toward the end of Šulgi's reign, became its client or vassal. The ruler of Šimaški at that time was Ebarat I. Documented since the year Šulgi 44, Ebarat was a close and loyal ally of Ur until the reign of Ibbi-Suen. Ebarat's state counterbalanced and provided a check on other Šimaškian principalities in western and central Iran, which posed a threat to the political and commercial interests of the House of Ur. It was, evidently, in recognition of this service that the Ur III kings tolerated Ebarat's domination of Anšan. Ebarat ruled over Anšan via his surrogate — and apparent close kinsman — Tazitta II. Ebarat turned against Ur in the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's reign, conquering Susa and occupying it temporarily. The process of the expansion of the Šimaškian state, which culminated

[1] Matthew W. Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalmahs," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 72 (1982): 42–67. See also idem in Elizabeth Carter and Matthew W. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 25 (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1984), pp. 16–23 and 232.

[2] Piotr Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and Its Rulers," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 97 (2007): 215–32 (esp. pp. 221–22); idem, "Idattu of Šimaški," in *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, edited by A. R. George, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011), pp. 21–22.

[3] Vincent Scheil, "Dynasties Élamites d'Awan et de Simaš," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 28 (1931): 2, lines 14–26, edited most recently by Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 216 n. 5. The same tablet, lines 1–13, lists the rulers of the Awan dynasty (12 PNs, 12 LUGAL.MEŠ *šá A-wa-an*$^{k[i]}$), the last of whom is Puzur-Inšušinak.

[4] See Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 218–30; idem, "Addenda to 'New Light on Simaški and Its Rulers,'" *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2008/15; idem, "Camels in Ur III Babylonia?" in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, edited by J. David Schloen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), pp. 415–19.

[5] For the question of the location of that state, see the appendix at the end of this article.

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in the outright absorption of Anšan, the conquest of the Susiana, and the subjugation of other Šimaškian lands, was continued — and probably completed — by his son Kindattu, the subsequent vanquisher of Ur. The task of consolidation fell to the next two generations of the Šimaškians: Kindattu's son Idattu I, and his grandson Tan-Ruhurater.[6]

This historical sketch is novel in terms of the paramount importance it ascribes to Ebarat I in the Ur III geo-political picture. Its chronology, as well as most of its facts, however, are in close agreement with Stolper's reconstruction of the early history of the dynasty, as offered by him back in 1982.[7] This is especially true of the sequence of the Šimaškian rulers.

The main reason why Stolper's reconstruction proved to be correct is the fact that it had adopted as its basis the testimony of ŠKL. Although ŠKL's veracity had been questioned by some scholars,[8] we can be positive now — thanks primarily to the new inscription of Idattu I just mentioned, that this document is an authentic chronological source. But a caveat is still necessary here. Such an evaluation of ŠKL is completely certain only as far as its treatment of the line of Ebarat I is concerned.[9] More problematic is its information on the two (alleged) predecessors of Ebarat: Kirname (no. 1) and Tazitta I (no. 2). And there remains an unresolved question of ruler no. 5, named Lu-[...]-uhhan. But, as I try to show here, this section of ŠKL may actually be historically accurate.

3. For this, we need to take a fresh look at the data bearing on Kirname, the founder of the dynasty. As already established, a Šimaškian Kirname is referred to in two documents from Puzriš-Dagan, dating to Šu-Suen 3/iv/12 and Šu-Suen 6/ii/6, respectively.[10] This individual may also be named in a Girsu/Lagaš tablet from Šulgi 46/xii.[11] His documented dates thus are Šu-Suen 3–6 (certainly) or Šulgi 46–Šu-Suen 6 (possibly).

Beginning with Thorkild Jacobsen,[12] all of the writers who studied this individual (myself included) assumed that he is identical with the founder of the dynasty.[13] However, there are compelling reasons to question the correctness of this identification. First of all, there is the fact that the Kirname of Ur III sources was a contemporary of Ebarat I. This disagrees with ŠKL's chronological scheme, according to which Ebarat I was a junior of the founder by two generations. Secondly, as the Ur III data clearly show, the importance of this individual was in no way comparable to that of Ebarat I.[14] This fact is also difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with ŠKL, which considers Kirname to have been not only the founder of the dynasty, but also a deified king — an unmistakable sign of his significance as a historical figure.

An obvious alternative solution that suggests itself in view of this (in my view irresolvable) conundrum is to assume that the Kirname of Ur III sources is a *different* person than the founder of the dynasty. If we were to follow this line of reasoning, that another Kirname (almost certainly another member of the Šimaškian royal family) lived two generations later, and simply happened to bear the same name as his famous ancestor.

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[6] The line then continues with Ebarat II and Idattu II. See Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 229 n. 50.

[7] Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški," pp. 44–45, 47–50, 62–63. See also Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, pp. 20–22, 232, table 2.

[8] See Jean-Jacques Glassner, "Les dynasties d'Awan et de Simaški," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1996/34; and, more recently, Katrien De Graef, *Ville Royale de Suse 9. De la dynastie Simaški au Sukkalmaḫat: les documents fin PE IIB–début PE III du chantier B à Suse*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 55 (Ghent: University of Ghent, 2006), pp. 52–55 and 68. These two writers prefer instead to rely on the evidence of the so-called Genealogy of Šilhak-Inšušinak, a Middle Elamite source that dates to ca. 1140 B.C. and names the early kings who built temples at Susa (Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 16 [Graz: Ernst Weidners, 1965], p. 110 no. 48 § 2, p. 113 no. 48a § 3, p. 114 no. 48b § 3). Among the rulers listed there are Idattu, his son Tan-Ruhurater, and Tan-Ruhurater's son Kindattu. By using this approach, De Graef (who, it needs to be emphasized, wrote before the publication of my "New Light") arrived at the following sequence: Idattu I > Tan-Ruhurater > Kindattu > Idattu II. But, in view of the information supplied by the new inscription of Idattu I, it is now crystal clear that the Genealogy of Šilhak-Inšušinak errs in placing Kindattu between Tan-Ruhurater and Idattu II (unless some other Kindattu is meant there). For this conclusion, see already Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški," pp. 44–45. But even without the benefit of this new information, such a dating of Kindattu is independently precluded by the fact that Tan-Ruhurater was a junior — or at least a contemporary — of Bilalama of Ešnuna (Douglas Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 B.C.)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 4 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990], pp. 493–94, Bilalama 4), whose reign began in the last years of Ibbi-Suen if not later. See Robert M. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, Assyriological Studies 22 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1987), pp. 27–28. It is logically impossible, therefore, that a *son* of Tan-Ruhurater could have been responsible for the deposition of Ibbi-Suen, an event that took place when Tan-Ruhurater was a youth at best. Here also note that Kindattu is documented already in the year Išbi-Erra "13" (BIN 9 382).

[9] See Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 222, 228–29.

[10] Sigrist Ontario 1 149: 5 (spelled Ki-ir-na-mi); Jacobsen Copenhagen 7: 7 (spelled Ki-ir-na-me). These two sources also mention Ebarat I. Both of them are discussed in Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 220 and n. 22.

[11] MVN 12 125: 5 (spelled Gu-ri-na-me), discussed in Piotr Steinkeller, "On the Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 201–02.

[12] Thorkild Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, Chiefly of Economical Contents* (Leiden: Brill, 1939), pp. 7–8.

[13] See, e.g., Walther Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam: Re-Creation of a Vanished Civilization*, translated by Jennifer Barnes (New York: New York University Press, 1972), p. 83; Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški," pp. 49, 62–63; Glassner, "Les dynasties d'Awan"; François Vallat, "La date du règne de Gudea," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1997/37; Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 220, 229–30.

[14] See Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 218–30.

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A possibility that there existed an earlier historical Kirname finds support in an inscription of Puzur-Inšušinak,[15] the last ruler of Awan, which records the latter's conquests in the Zagros. Toward the very end of that inscription, there is a passage describing how, following Puzur-Inšušinak's victory, a king of Šimaški, being apparently impressed by that event, came to Puzur-Inšušinak to pay obeisance to him: *in* UD 1 / *ù-ga-ti-*⌜*id*⌝ / *a-na* DU-*su* / *ù* / *ki-ma* LUGAL / *Si-maš-gi*^{ki} / *il-li-kam-ma* / DU *Puzur*$_4$-^{d}*Inšušinak* / *iṣ-ba-at* "in a single day he made (those lands) fall prostate at his feet; and, when the king of Šimaški came up (on learning about it), he seized the feet of Puzur-Inšušinak (in submission)."[16] Significantly, this is the earliest attestation not only of a Šimaškian ruler on record,[17] but also of Šimaški's name itself. The fact that Puzur-Inšušinak attaches so much importance to his encounter with the unnamed ruler of Šimaški, and that he recognizes him as a "king," can only mean that this individual was a political figure in his own right, whose power, while inferior to that of Puzur-Inšušinak, was something to be reckoned with. At the same time, one has the impression that this mysterious figure appeared on the scene somewhat unexpectedly and as if from nowhere — the tell-tale signs of a newcomer.

It will not be unreasonable to consider, therefore, that the unnamed Šimaškian partner of Puzur-Inšušinak was none other than the founder Kirname. Such a hypothesis would certainly fit chronologically. Since Puzur-Inšušinak belonged to Ur-Namma's generation,[18] Kirname would have been a contemporary of Ur-Namma. In turn, this would make him two generations removed from Ebarat I, the third ruler of the Šimaškian dynasty, whose rule seems to have begun in or shortly before the year Šulgi 44.

Such a hypothesis would also help explain Šimaški's subsequent ascent to power. Since Puzur-Inšušinak was eventually defeated by Ur-Namma,[19] who, very likely with Gudea's active cooperation,[20] expelled Puzur-Inšušinak both from northern Babylonia and the Susiana,[21] Kirname (if indeed it is he to whom Puzur-Inšušinak refers in his victory inscription) would be expected to have profited directly from Puzur-Inšušinak's demise. Indeed, it is even conceivable that Kirname aided Ur-Namma in the latter's war on Puzur-Inšušinak. According to this scenario, Puzur-Inšušinak's territorial possessions might very well have been divided up between Ur-Namma and Kirname, with the former taking the hold of the Susiana plain (with the cities of Susa, Urua, Sabum, AdamDUN, and Pašime, to name only the most important settlements there), and with the latter seizing the Elamite highlands. Very likely, it was this dramatic transfer of rule over (at least some territories of) Elam from Puzur-Inšušinak to Kirname that is reflected in ŠKL, which closes the Awan chapter of Elam's history with Puzur-Inšušinak,[22] and begins the next Šimaškian chapter of that history with Kirname.

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[15] For Puzur-Inšušinak, see Béatrice André and Mirjo Salvini, "Réflexions sur Puzur-Inšušinak," *Iranica Antiqua* 24 (1989): 55–72; Piotr Steinkeller, "The Date of Gudea and His Dynasty," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40/1 (1988): 52–53; Daniel T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 122–27; Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa: A Pivotal Episode of Early Elamite History Reconsidered," in *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives, Proceedings of the International Congress Held at Ghent University, December 14–17, 2009*, edited by Katrien De Graef and Jan Tavernier, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 293–303.

[16] MDP 14, 7–16, most recently edited by Ignace J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 7 (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1990), pp. 321–24, Elam 2, lines 101–12. Cf. Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, p. 15: "After naming seventy conquered places, the text concludes with the *surprising claim* [emphasis mine] that Puzur-Inshushinak received obeisance from a king of Shimashki, a locale prominent as the nominal seat of rulers of Elam a century later."

[17] Otherwise, the earliest certain attestations of the title lugal in reference to a Šimaškian ruler come from the date-formulae of Ebarat I at Susa. See Katrien De Graef, *Ville royale de Suse 8. Les archives d'Igibuni: les documents Ur III du chantier B à Suse*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 54 (Ghent: University of Ghent, 2005), pp. 99, 105–06, 112–13; Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 220.

[18] See Steinkeller, "The Date of Gudea," pp. 52–53; Douglas Frayne, *Ur III Period, 2112–2004 B.C.*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 3/2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 65–66, Ur-Namma 29.

[19] See Frayne, *Ur III Period,* pp. 65–66, Ur-Namma 29.

[20] See Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," pp. 298–302. The scenario suggested there finds further support in a recently published inscription of Gudea, which demonstrates that, sometime during his reign, Gudea was active in AdamDUN, perhaps even controlling it politically. See Marie-Joseph Steve, "La tablette sumérienne de Šūštar (T. MK 203)," *Akkadica* 121 (2001): 5–21. According to that source, which appears to have been found in the area of Shushtar, Gudea built, evidently in AdamDUN itself, a structure of some sort for the "mistress of AdamDUN." Unfortunately, due to the poor quality of the hand-copy published there (ibid., p. 13), neither the name of the goddess nor the name of her building can be read with confidence: ^{d}[x(-x)]-⌜AB?⌝ / [n]in! A-dam-DUN$^{k[i]}$ / [n]in-a-ni / ⌜x-x⌝-ka-ni / mu-⌜na⌝-dù (lines 7–11). Contrary to Steve's claim (ibid., p. 14), it is by no means certain that the first quoted line (line 7) names Nanše. See now also Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," pp. 297, 299.

[21] Three royal inscriptions in the collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania refer to Ur-Namma's conquest of Susa. See G. Marchesi, "Ur-Nammâ(k)'s Conquest of Susa," in De Graef and Tavernier, eds., *Susa and Elam*, pp. 285–91.

[22] The veracity of the Awan king-list is difficult to verify. Notice, however, that, apart from Puzur-Inšušinak, at least two other rulers recorded in it are independently documented: Lu-uh-hi-iš-šá-an (no. 8) and Hi-še-ep-ra-te-ep (no. 9), who correspond to Lu-uh-iš-an and Hi-ši-ip-ra-si-ni of Sargonic royal inscriptions, respectively. See Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, p. 12: "The resemblances [between these names] are sufficient to provide a synchronism." The identification of Hišep-ratep with Hišep-rašeNI has since then been questioned by Glassner, "Les dynasties d'Awan," p. 26, but, in my view, such doubt is unjustified. I hope to return to this issue on another occasion.

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4. We may at this point consider the question of Tazitta I, ruler no. 2 in ŠKL. On the evidence of ŠKL, Tazitta I was either a son or, less likely, a brother of Kirname. If, as argued above, it is Kirname who is referred to in Puzur-Inšušinak's inscription, and if, as ŠKL has it, Tazitta I was Kirname's successor and the predecessor of Ebarat I, his reign would broadly coincide with that of Šulgi. The ante-quem date for the end of his reign would be year Šulgi 44, which marks the earliest appearance of Ebarat I in Babylonian sources.

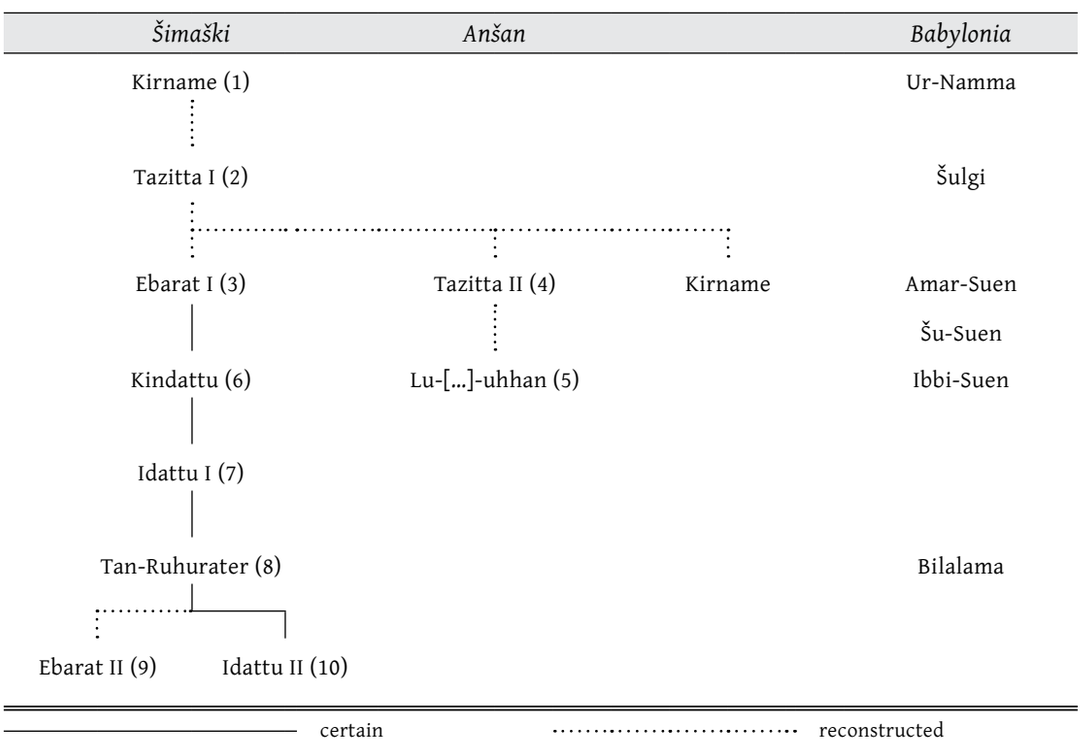
Chances are, therefore, that Tazitta I was the father of Ebarat I (no. 3). The latter is documented from year Šulgi 44 into the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's reign.[23] Since his reign lasted twenty-six years or longer, Ebarat I must have ascended to the throne at a relatively young age. This fact may offer further indication that he was Tazitta's son (rather than Tazitta's brother).

5. Before we can attempt to draw a complete family tree of the early Šimaškians, two other figures need to be commented upon: Tazitta II (no. 4) and Lu-[...]-uhhan (no. 5). As argued by this author elsewhere,[24] Tazitta II was identical with a ruler of Anšan of that name — and an apparent surrogate of Ebarat I — who is mentioned in a number of Ur III sources.[25] Although it is tempting to hypothesize, primarily because of his name, that Tazitta II was another son of Tazitta I, such an assumption is complicated by the fact that the ruler of Anšan in year Šulgi 44 evidently was a certain Hundah(i)šer, who too may have been related to Ebarat I.[26] We have to leave the Tazitta question at that.

Lu-[...]-uhhan (no. 5) is still a problem. Since he is not, apparently, mentioned in Ur III sources, his identity is difficult to assess. Purely as a guess, I suggest that he was the successor of Tazitta II at Anšan. If so, one would expect him to have been Tazitta's son.

Finally, we return to the question of the Kirname of Ur III sources (see above). I suggest that he was a junior member of the royal family, who never ascended to the throne, either in Šimaški or in Anšan. Given his dates, chances are that he was a brother of Ebarat I.

I conclude with the following, in many respects still tentative, reconstruction of the family-tree of the Šimaškian dynasty (numbers in parens correspond to the ŠKL):



[23] Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 218–20, 230–32. To the attestations listed there (appendix), add Šu-Suen vi/i: Zú-úr-zú-úr lú-kin-gi$_4$-a Ià-a-ba-ra-ad-da gìr Zu-hu-úh (Natalia V. Koslova, *Ur III-Texte der St. Petersburger Eremitage*, Santag: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 6 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000], p. 300: 8–11 — Umma).

[24] Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 220–21.

[25] Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 221 n. 25.

[26] Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 218–19; idem, "Camels in Ur III Babylonia?," pp. 415–16 (see above, n. 4).

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Appendix: On the Location of Šimaškian Lands Again

The location of the Šimaškian lands was studied extensively by this author in a number of articles, most recently in 2007.[27] However, these studies were undertaken in a somewhat piecemeal fashion. It will be useful, therefore, to discuss this issue once again, this time in a truly systematic and exhaustive way. The need of such a discussion is all the more urgent given that a recent article by Daniel Potts argues for a radically different solution to this question.[28] According to Potts' proposal, which, it needs to be stressed from the outset, does not rest on a single hard fact, and thus is nothing more than pure supposition, Šimaški is to be sought in Bactria and Margiana, the locus of the so-called Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC for short).

Our primary source of information on the location of the Šimaškian lands is the testimony of the royal inscriptions of Šu-Suen, which offer a detailed description of Šu-Suen's campaign against Šimaški in his seventh (or sixth) regnal year.[29] These sources name some sixteen Šimaškian principalities, among which the most important apparently was Zabšali, the leader of the Šimaškian coalition. Other Šimaškian lands singled out there are Šigriš, Yabulmat, Alumidatum, Karta, and Šatilu. Importantly, the sources in question also give a precise description of the geographic extent of these lands, locating them "from the border of Anšan up to the 'Upper Sea' (i.e., Caspian Sea)."[30] On the basis of this information, these particular Šimaškian principalities can safely be placed in western Iran, within and around the Zagros zone of the modern provinces of Khermanshah, Kurdistan, Hamadan, and Luristan.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that Karta, one of the Šimaškian lands conquered by Šu-Suen, was subsequently incorporated into the peripheral zone of the Ur III state. This we know with absolute certainty from an inscription of the chancellor Arad-Nanna (a.k.a. Aradmu), dedicated to Šu-Suen, in which Arad-Nanna carries the title of the "general of Šimaški and the land of Karta" (šagina Šimaški(LÚ.SU)^{ki} ù ⌜ma⌝-da Kar-da^{ki}-ka, lines 25–26).[31] As this title indicates, not only Karta, but also some other Šimaškian lands had, in the wake of Šu-Suen's campaign, been made part of the Ur III periphery. Since it necessarily follows that those principalities must have been directly adjacent to the Ur III periphery (the so-called gún ma-da territory), this datum alone is sufficient to establish — *beyond any conceivable doubt* — that the Šimaškian adversaries of Šu-Suen were situated in western Iran.[32]

Similar, though less conclusive, evidence is provided by the data bearing on Šigriš, another of Šu-Suen's Šimaškian targets. As is well known, this Šimaškian principality is otherwise attested in Ur III documentation. A number of its rulers traveled to Babylonia or sent their envoys there.[33] And, vice versa, Babylonian envoys were regularly dispatched to Šigriš, via the Urusagrig–Der overland route.[34] We also know that Šigriš supplied "Elamite" mercenaries to Babylonia.[35] And, most important of all, a daughter of Šulgi named Šulgi-inib-Mama married a ruler of Šigriš.[36]

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[27] Steinkeller, "Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A)," pp. 197–202; Matthew W. Stolper, "In the Chronicle of the Diadochi," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1990/7; Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 216–18, 223–25.

[28] Daniel T. Potts, "Puzur-Inšušinak and the Oxus Civilization (BMAC): Reflections on Šimaški and the Geo-political Landscape of Iran and Central Asia in the Ur III Period," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 98 (2008): 165–94 (esp. pp. 187–94).

[29] Frayne, *Ur III Period,* pp. 301–06, Šu-Sin 3; pp. 308–12, Šu-Sin 5. The relevant passages were translated and discussed by this author in "Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A)," p. 199; Stolper, "Chronicle of the Diadochi"; Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 216–17.

[30] zag An-ša-an^{ki}-ta a-ab-ba igi-nim-ma-šè (Frayne, *Ur III Period,* pp. 301–06, Šu-Suen 3 ii 18–19).

[31] Frayne, *Ur III Period,* pp. 323–24, Šu-Sin 13. This source, which must have been written after the pacification of the Šimaškian lands by Šu-Suen, contains a detailed list of Arad-Nanna's ensiships and generalships, some of which were new appointments. The consolidation of so many strategically important posts under Arad-Nanna undoubtedly was a desperate, last-ditch effort to shore up the defenses of the weakening Ur III state.

[32] See already Steinkeller, "Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A)," p. 200.

[33] See Ku-tu lú Ši-ig-rí-šum^{ki} (BIN 3 518: 14 — Š 48/vi/5); Gu-du lú Ši-⌜gi⌝-ri-šum$^{<ki>}$ ud [tu]-ra ì-me-a "when he was sick" (JCS 52 40 no. 37: 12–13 — AS 9/xi/9); Ši-il-NI-gi lú-kin-gi$_4$-a Ši-ig-⌜rí-iš⌝^{ki} (PDT 473: 3 — AS 1/i/16); HAR-ti lú Ši-ig-ri-⌜iš?⌝$^{[ki]}$ (Buccellati Amorites 22 iii 15 — ŠS 6/–/20); [...]-ba lú Ši-ig-ri-šu[m^{ki}] (MVN 15 142: 16 — date lost). Of particular interest here is MVN 5 236: 5: 9 (Girsu/Lagaš — undated), which links Šigriš with Šimaški: food for lú Ši-ma-aš-gi$_4^{ki}$ ù lú Si-gi<-ri>-eš-a^{ki}-me gìr I-ti-na-^{d}Adad lú-^{giš}tukul ù-na-dug$_4$ sukal-mah-ta Ši-ma-aš-gi$_4$ gin-ne-ne "men of Šimaški and Šigriš who went with the letters of the chancellor to Šimaški, via Iddin-Adad, the military man."

[34] This information is provided by the Ur III sources from Urusagrig. See David I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig / Āl-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Volume 1: *Commentary and Indexes*, Nisaba 15 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013), pp. 552–53 and n. 586.

[35] Elam Si-gi-ri-eš^{ki} (Reisner *Telloh* 216: 16; Sigrist Messenger Texts 117: 6; Nisaba 3, 216 no. 40: 13 — all three from Girsu/Lagaš, undated).

[36] Animals for é ^{d}Šul-gi-<<NI->>i-ni-íb-Ma-ma dumu-munus lugal dam lú Ši-ig-ri-ši^{ki} "the house of the princess Šulgi-inib-Mama, the wife of the man of Šigriš" (Nisaba 8, 241 no. 371 rev. 1′–5′ — Š 48/viii/22, Puzriš-Dagan). That ruler of Šigriš was probably Kutu, who appears in a Puzriš-Dagan tablet dated two months earlier (BIN 3 518: 14 — Š 48/vi/5) (see above, n. 33).

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As convincingly argued by Stolper,[37] Šigriš is likely identical with the Median land Sikris/Sikrisi, which is named in a number of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions.[38] Should this identification be correct, we would find here additional evidence that the Šimaškian targets of Šu-Suen's campaign were situated in western Iran, and therefore comparatively close to the Ur III periphery. In this connection, note that a Puzriš-Dagan tablet (PDT 473: 1–5) mentions an envoy from Šigriš next to the envoy from Zidanum, suggesting a geographic proximity between these two loci. If true, this would make Šigriš a neighbor of Zidanum, which, as I show below, was located in the general area of Kimaš and Huwurti, and thus along the Great Khurasan Road as it passes through the Zagros ranges.

A similar — and equally suggestive — datum is the likely inclusion among the targets of Šu-Suen's Šimaškian campaign of the land of Lullubum.[39] Since Lullubum is to be sought in the area of modern Suleimaniyah,[40] this evidence too (if correct) would allow us to circumscribe the scope of Šu-Suen's campaign to the Zagros zone of western Iran.

Apart of the lands named in the inscriptions of Šu-Suen, at least three other Šimaškian principalities can confidently be identified. Those are Zidahri,[41] Buli,[42] and Zidanum.[43] The case of Zidanum is particularly informative for our purpose, since this place was located at or near Abullat,[44] a locale otherwise known to be situated in the vicinity of Kimaš. Accordingly, Zidanum is to be sought in the general area of Kimaš and the latter's neighbor Huwurti, the two principal controlling points of the Great Khurasan Road along its mountainous stretch between Shahabad and Kermanshah.[45]

Another independent source of information on the location of the Šimaškian lands are the records of booty brought to Babylonia during the years Šulgi 46–48.[46] Those records talk of the booty of Šimaški, naming in this connection a Šimaškian Badadu, who must have been a leader of some importance. Importantly, the same records also mention the booty of the "Amorite land," indicating that both were acquired as part of the same military operation. That operation was, without any doubt, the campaign against Kimaš and Huwurti in the years Šulgi 46–48, which culminated Šulgi's twenty-five-year-long efforts to bring under his control the Great Khurasan Road, and so to open up to Babylonia trade routes with the east.[47] The fact that the campaign in question also comprised (apparently secondary) operations against the Šimaškians and the Amorites, which must have been directed to the east and to the west of the Zagros passes respectively, allows us to establish that the overall objective of this campaign was to clear out and to secure the Great Khurasan Road all the way from Jebel Hamrin (the "Amorite land") onto the the Iranian plateau as far as the Hamadan plain. It was there, on the Hamadan plain, that the Šimaškian adversaries in question appear to have resided. Be that as it may, it is absolutely certain that these Šimaškians lived and operated in *western* Iran.[48]

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[37] Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški," p. 45. See also I. N. Medvedskaya, "Media and Its Neighbours I: The Localization of Ellipi," *Iranica Antiqua* 34 (1999): 57–59, 65, who accepts this identication, and locates Sikris(i) in the Zagros, to the south of the Great Khurasan Road.

[38] See Simo Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 6 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970), p. 309; D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 29, 82 (^{uru}*Sik-ri-si*).

[39] Wa-bur-tum [ÉN]SI [*Lu-u*]*l-lu-bi*!*-im*^{ki} (Frayne, *Ur III Period,* p. 31, Šu-Sin 5 caption 8: 1–3 + M. Krebernik, ZA 92, 134 [collations]). A restoration [*L*]*u-lu-bi*!*-im*^{ki} is equally possible. See already Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 217 and n. 11, where, however, Krebernik's collations had been overlooked. Although this reading cannot be proved beyond doubt, one cannot think of any other toponym that would fit here.

[40] See, most recently, Jesper Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2. The Administrative Texts* (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1992), pp. 50–54.

[41] The evidence here is a Šimaškian named DUN-gá-at, who is attested both as a ruler of Yabulmat (Šu-Suen inscriptions) and as a man of Zidahri (Puzriš-Dagan sources). See Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 223 and n. 32. Zidahri appears as Zi-dah-ru-um^{ki} in Urusagrig texts (Owen, *Texts from Iri-Saǧrig*, p. 554 and n. 594). See also the writing Zi-dar^{ki}: Ì-lí-zé-li lú Zi-dar^{ki} (UCP 9/2 240 no. 38: 4 — Š 46/iii/24; Nikolski 2 454: 2 — Š 46/iv/6) as compared with Ì-lí-zé-lí lú Zi-da-ah-ri^{ki} (SANTAG 7 108: 9 — Š 46/iii/24).

[42] A Šimaškian named Šebba is independently documented as a "man/ruler of Buli": Ad-da-bu-NI lú-kin-gi$_4$-a Še-eb-ba … Šimaški(LÚ.SU) (TCL 2 5508 ii 5–13 — AS 4/i/6); Zé-ri dumu Še-eb-ba lú Bu-li^{ki} ud Bu-li^{ki}-ta … ì-im-e-ri-éš-ša-a (Genouillac Trouvaille 83: 2–10 — AS 5/vii). The same locale appears as Bu-lu-um^{ki} in Urusagrig texts (Owen, *Texts from Iri-Saǧrig*, p. 549 and nn. 566 and 567).

[43] A Šimaškian named Raši is independently documented as a "man/ruler of Zidanum": Še-bi lú-kin-gi$_4$-a Ra-ši … Šimaški(LÚ.SU) (TCL 2 5508 ii 7–13 — AS 4/i/6); Ra-ši lú Zi-da-núm/nu-um^{ki} (RGTC 2 244; AUCT 1 110: 17 — AS 1/xi/2; 414: 1 — AS 4/x/8; Hilgert Drehem 1 9: 10 — AS 2/xii/10; 39: 7 — AS 2/xi/19); Ra-ši lú Zi-ti-an^{ki} (PDT 466: 13 — AS 4/x/25). Note also A-ab-mi-ra-DIN lú-kin-gi$_4$-a lú Zi-da-ni-um^{ki} (PDT 473: 5 — AS 1/i/16). A Susa tablet dating to year Amar-Suen 5 names a Ra-si, who almost certainly is the same person as the ruler of Zidanum of that name: ⌜1?(gur)⌝ ì-giš gur / mu Ra-si-šè / ki Za-ri-iq-ta / A-da-làl lú-kin-gi$_4$-lugal / šu ba-ti / ⌜šag$_4$⌝ A-bu-la-at^{ki} / *in* Zé-ti-an^{ki} / iti l[a]-⌜lu-bu⌝-um / mu en Unu$_6$-gal ^{d}Inana ba-hun "⌜1?⌝ bushel of sesame oil was received, on behalf of Raši, from Zariq by the royal envoy Adallal, in Abullat, (which is) in Ziti'an (= Zidanum); date" (MDP 10 125: 1–9). See already Katrien De Graef, "Annus Simaškensis: l'usage des noms d'année pendant la période Simaškéenne (ca. 1930–1880 av. notre ère) à Suse," *Iranica Antiqua* 43 (2008): 74–75. Cf. the year-formula mu ús-sa Zi-da-na ba-⌜hul⌝ in MDP 18 23: 6, a tablet dating to the Šimaški period, for which see De Graef, "Annus Simaškensis," p. 74.

[44] See MDP 10 125, cited in the preceding note.

[45] For a detailed discussion of the location of Kimaš and Huwurti, see Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," pp. 304–12.

[46] For the references, see Steinkeller, "Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A)," p. 201 n. 31; Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 217–18 and nn. 12–14. Add Sigrist Ontario 1 53, from Šulgi 46/–/20, which records animals from Ba-da-du Šimaški(LÚ.SU) (line 1), as well as animals from nam-ra-ak kur MAR.TU (lines 8–14).

[47] Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," pp. 304–06.

[48] If needed, yet another proof of this are the frequent mentions, among the animals brought to Puzriš-Dagan, of sheep and goats designated as Šimaškian. For the examples, see Dietz Otto Edzard and Gertrud Farber, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 2. Die Orts- und Gewassernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur*, Beihefte zum

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A separate, but obviously closely related issue is the location of the state of Ebarat I and his line. Texts never connect Ebarat with any particular toponym, except in one instance where his messenger is said to come from Šimaški.[49] Since other Šimaškians are invariably linked to specific loci other than Šimaški (such as Zabšali, Zidanum, Buli, etc.), it is possible that, as seen from the Babylonian perspective, Ebarat's state constituted Šimaški *sensu stricto* or, to put it differently, the core Šimaški territory.[50] It appears virtually certain that it is this core or original Šimaški territory that is referred to in the inscription of Puzur-Inšušinak discussed earlier.

Where exactly that core Šimaškian state was situated remains uncertain. Since Ebarat was able to control Anšan, it is clear that his possessions bordered on Anšan to some extent. This conclusion finds support in the fact that the envoys from Anšan traveling to Babylonia invariably accompanied the envoys of Ebarat.[51] On the other hand, the fact that the northwestern portions of the Iranian plateau were taken over by other Šimaškian principalities (such as Zabšali, Šigriš, Karta, etc.) plausibly argues that Ebarat's state lay somewhere to the southeast of those principalities. Hence my tentative suggestion that Ebarat's state was situated somewhere between Huhun(u)ri (Tappeh Bormi near Ramhormoz) and Anšan (Tall-e Malyan).[52] But this is only an educated guess, of course. It is equally possible that its location was much farther to the northeast, for example, in the general area of Esfahan. We certainly need new and better data to settle this issue conclusively.

To conclude this overview, the Šimaškian lands — including Šimaški *sensu stricto*, the state of Ebarat — can confidently be located within the wide area stretching from the borders of Anšan in the southeast to the shores of the Caspian Sea in northwest. One could even consider that the some of them were perhaps situated as far as modern Tehran — but certainly not farther to the east than that.

It needs to be emphasized here that this surprisingly wide distribution of "Šimaškian" principalities over the Iranian plateau, as painted in Ur III sources, may not necessarily be historically correct. One should remember that this picture reflects merely a *Babylonian* perception of those lands and their populations. What specific native terms those "Šimaškians" used to designate themselves, we will probably never know. It is highly likely that the inhabitants of the "Šimaškian" lands were far from being uniform in terms of their ethnicity and language.[53] To the Babylonians, however, they seemed to form a homogenous group of highlanders sharing various common characteristics, and so all of them were subsumed in a convenient single category, named after the dominant political group among them. As such, the label "Šimaški" is likely as lacking of ethnographic finesse as is the Latin "Germani."

These are the facts. Let us now turn to Potts' hypothesis. The gist of it is that the original Šimaški was situated in Bactria/Margiana. It was there that, according to Potts, Ebarat I began his career, moving into southwestern Iran only

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Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften 7/2 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1974), pp. 173–74; Markus Hilgert, *Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute 1. Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi*, Oriental Institute Publications 115 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1998), pp. 408–09; idem, *Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute 2. Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena,* Oriental Institute Publications 121 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2003), pp. 482–83; etc. Those animals were invariably delivered either by the individuals native to the periphery or by the Babylonian officials stationed there. The Zagros/west Iranian origin of these breeds is thus beyond doubt.

[49] Charles-F. Jean, *Šumer et Akkad: Contribution à l'histoire de la civilisation* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), LXV: 57, cited in Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 231. An important new datum linking Ebarat with Šimaški is BM 109752: 1–11, an unpublished tablet from Girsu/Lagaš (cited here courtesy of P. Notizia), which records the transportation of prisoners of war, from Šimaški on boats!, by a detachment of thirty Elamite mercenaries of Ebarat: ⌜0.1.0⌝ kaš 0.1.0 ninda 1 sìla ì-giš Elam Ià-ab-ra-ad^{ki}-me 32 guruš kaš ninda 4 sìla-ta 2 gìn ì-ta lú-má-gal-gal nam-ra-ak-me Ši-ma-aš-ki-ta du-ne-ne gìr Ku-ù ra-gaba Ù-ba-a [iti] ezen-^{d}Li$_{9}$-si$_{4}$ "(30) Elamites of (the land of) Ebarat, (receiving jointly) 60 liters of beer, 60 liters of bread, and 1 liter of sesame oil; 32 men, each receiving 4 liters of beer and bread, and 2 shekels of (sesame) oil, the crew of the large boats (transporting) prisoners of war; (these two groups of recipients) came from Šimaški; via Kuʾu, the mounted messenger of Ubaʾa; third month." Since má-gal-gal denotes seaworthy boats used by the military (see Piotr Steinkeller, "Toward a Definition of Private Economic Activity in Third Millennium Babylonia," in *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction*, edited by Robert Rollinger and Christoph Ulf [Stuttgart: Steinder, 2004], p. 104), it is certain that the trip in question took place over the Persian Gulf, along the Iranian coast. Unfortunately, the year of this operation is unknown. But note that the Ubaʾa mentioned here could be identical with the governor of AdamDUN of that name. For that person, who is documented during the late Šulgi and Amar-Suen reigns, see Piotr Michalowski, "Observations on 'Elamites' and 'Elam' in Ur III Times," in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, edited by Piotr Michalowski, Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 1 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008), pp. 117–19.

[50] Possibly because of the inherent ambiguity of the term Šimaški, some Babylonian scribes chose to refer to the state of Ebarat by simply invoking his personal name. See Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 218 n. 15.

[51] See Steinkeller, "New Light," pp. 224–25.

[52] See Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 223.

[53] For example, it appears quite likely that there were some Hurrians among them. Note that, already in Ur III times, the northwesternmost ranges of the Zagros showed the presence of Hurrian-affiliated population. Examples here are the polities of Šašrum (= Old Babylonian Šušarra) and Urbilum. This entire northwestern zone became markedly Hurrianized during the following two centuries, with the dominant Hurrian-related group there being the Turukkeans. See Jesper Eidem and Jørgen Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Archives 1: The Letters* (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2001), pp. 25–30.

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in the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's reign.[54] However, this scenario is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with the fact that, as shown above, there existed Šimaškian polities in western Iran already during the reign of Šulgi.

This sudden transplantation of Ebarat and company from Bactria/Margiana to southwestern Iran is compared by Potts to the later migrations of Parthians and Seljuk Turks.[55] Such an analogy is totally inappropriate, however, since what made the rapid movements of Parthians and Seljuks possible was the possession of horses — a technological and cultural innovation that was not available to the Šimaškians.

Potts' hypothesis results in a host of other improbabilities. For example, if Ebarat's home indeed was in Bactria/Margiana, then the unnamed king of Šimaški who paid obeisance to Puzur-Inšušinak (Kirname according to my explanation) would have traveled on that occasion all the way from Bactria/Margiana. Again, while not totally impossible, such a scenario is not very likely. Chances are that the homeland of that individual lay in a relative proximity to Puzur-Inšušinak's possessions. And then there is a related historical problem: why would that fabulously rich and powerful BMAC-an subjugate himself, apparently of his own free will, to Puzur-Inšušinak in the first place? Potts does not answer this question (or even consider it).

Since, as I noted earlier, the precise location of Ebarat's kingdom cannot be pinned down as yet, this particular part of Potts' hypothesis retains at least a shadow of plausibility. However, no such uncertainty attaches to his suggestion that Šu-Suen's Šimaškian campaign was directed against Bactria and Margiana.[56] Such a theory can be rejected outright, for the following reasons:

1. The geographic compass of the campaign is conclusively circumscribed to the Zagros ranges of western Iran by the inclusion in it of the Šimaškian land Karta (see above).
2. A military campaign against Bactria/Margiana would have been impossible logistically in Ur III times. Potts is right, of course, that the distance between Babylonia and Bactria/Margiana is not much larger than that between Babylonia and Marhaši (Jiroft).[57] But the fundamental difference between the two situations is that the communications between Babylonia and Marhaši were assuredly conducted, especially as far as the transportation of goods and large groups of individuals was concerned, via the maritime connection, and not *overland*, as would have been required in the case of Bactria/Margiana. Here note that Šulgi's campaign against Anšan, which was the farthest foreign military operation ever undertaken by an Ur III king, was essentially an amphibious operation, with the troops having been transported by ships from Babylonia to the coast of Anšan.[58]
3. Even more important, one cannot think of any reason why Šu-Suen should have campaigned against Bactria/Margiana. Such an act would be totally unexplainable, especially at that critical juncture of Ur III history, when the Ur III state neared collapse and disintegration. It is certain that the Šimaškian campaign was, rather than a quest after booty (as Potts suggests), a desperate attempt to shore up the defenses of Ur, and to put under a modicum of control the Šimškian states in western Iran, which directly threatened the Babylonian periphery and Ur's trade connections with the east. Moreover, a military operation of this type would be in total disagreement with Ur III foreign policy, which was characteristically defensive and non-expansionist.[59]
4. Were Šu-Suen's campaign directed against Bactria/Margiana, its target would have been Ebarat, since, as required by Potts' hypothesis, Ebarat still remained in Bactria/Margiana at that time. And we know that this was not the case, since the descriptions of the campaign do not name Ebarat. On the contrary, at the time of the Šimaškian campaign Ebarat was on good terms with Šu-Suen, sending his envoys to Babylonia; quite possibly, he even supported Šu-Suen militarily in that undertaking.[60]

Thus, the "Bactrian/Margiana hypothesis" may safely be dispensed with. Potts is certainly right, however, in stressing the cultural connections between the Šimaškian polities and BMAC. It is undeniable that those two entities, together with Marhaši, formed a single, highly interactive cultural, and perhaps even political, complex. However, there are strong reasons to think that the BMAC, while in many respects an original and independent phenomenon, was to

[54] Potts, "Puzur-Inšušinak and the Oxus Civilization," p. 192.
[55] Ibid., p. 193.
[56] Ibid., p. 191.
[57] Ibid., p. 192.
[58] See Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 226 and n. 45. And see also above, n. 49.
[59] See in detail Piotr Steinkeller, *The Grand Strategy of the Ur III Empire: Babylonia's Foreign Policy and Territorial Expansion at the End of the Third Millennium* (a monograph in preparation). This monograph builds upon my paper "The Grand Strategy of the Ur III Empire: Exquisite Design, Perfect Failure," which was presented at the 54th RAI, Würzburg, July 21, 2008.
[60] See Steinkeller, "New Light," p. 227.

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a large extent an offshoot of Marhaši and Šimaški.[61] But this is not the place to go into this complicated and highly controversial issue; I hope to treat it extensively elsewhere. One point, though, should be made in this connection, since it directly touches on Potts' hypothesis. And this is the question of the ancient name of the cultures of Bactria and Margiana. As I have argued recently, that name is conceivably Tukriš. Like Marhaši, Makkan, and Meluhha, Tukriš was a distant eastern land famous for its natural resources. The fame of Tukriš stemmed primarily from its being a source of lapis-lazuli and gold, the latter coming from its gold-bearing mountain Harali.[62]

Abbreviations

AS	reign of Amar-Suen
AUCT 1	Marcel Sigrist, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum*. Andrews University Cuneiform Texts 1. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1984
BIN 3	Clarence Elwood Keiser, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971
BIN 9	Vaughn Emerson Crawford, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the First Dynasty of Isin*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 9. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954
Buccellati Amorites	Giorgio Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*. Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica, Ricerche 1. Naples: Istituto Orientale, 1966
Genouillac Trouvaille	H. de Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1911
Hilgert Drehem 1	Markus Hilgert, *Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute 1. Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi*. Oriental Institute Publications 115. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1998
Jacobsen Copenhagen	Thorkild Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, Chiefly of Economical Contents*. Leiden: Brill, 1939
JCS 52	David I. Owen and E. Wasilewska, "Cuneiform Texts in the Arizona State Museum, Tucson." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 52 (2000): 1–53
MDP 10	Vincent Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques.* Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 10. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1908
MDP 14	Vincent Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques.* Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 14. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913
MDP 18	R. de Mecquenem and Vincent Scheil, *Mission en Susiane: autres textes sumeriens et accadiens*. Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 18. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1927
MVN 5	Edmond Sollberger, *The Pinches Manuscript*. Materiali per il vocabolario Neosumerico 5. Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1978
MVN 12	Tohru Gomi, *Wirschaftstexte der Ur III-Zeit aus dem British Museum*. Materiali per il vocabolario Neosumerico 12. Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1982
MVN 15	David I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Texts from American Collections*. Materiali per il vocabolario Neosumerico 15. Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1991
Nikolski	Mikhail V. Nikolski, *Dokumenty khozjajstvennoj otcetnosti drevnejsej epokci Khaldei iz sobranija N. P. Likhaceva*. St. Petersburg: n.p., 1908 [in Russian]
Nisaba 3	M. Capitani, *Girsu Messenger Texts in the British Museum*. Nisaba: Studi Assyriologici Messinesi 3. Rome: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina, 2003
Nisaba 8	J. Politi and L. Verderame, *The Drehem Texts in the British Museum*. Nisaba: Studi Assyriologici Messinesi 8. Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina, 2003
PDT	Muazzez Çığ, Hatiche Kızılyay, and Armas Salonen, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler archäologischen Museen*, Part 1: Nrr. 1–725. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B/92. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennicae, 1954
Reisner *Telloh*	George Reisner, *Tempelurkunken aus Telloh*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1901

[61] Piotr Steinkeller, "Beyond Marhaši: Thoughts about Inter-cultural Connections in Greater Elam during the Third Millennium B.C.," unpublished paper read at the conference Countries and Lands of the Magan Sea, Ravenna, Italy, March 25–27, 2006; idem, "Marhashi and Beyond: The Jiroft Civilization in a Historical Perspective," unpublished paper read at the International Congress on Jiroft Civilization, Tehran/Kerman/Jiroft, Iran, May 5–9, 2008 (a revised edition is prepared for publication).

[62] For more information on Tukriš, and my reasons for identifying it with the cultures of Bactria and Margiana, see Steinkeller, "Marhashi and Beyond."

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RGTC 2	Dietz Otto Edzard and Gertrud Farber, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 2. Die Orts- und Gewassernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften 7/2. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1974
Š	reign of Šulgi
ŠS	reign of Šu-Suen
SANTAG 7	Tohru Ozaki, *Keilschrifttexte aus japanischen Sammlungen*. Santag: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002
Sigrist Messenger Texts	Marcel Sigrist, *Messenger Texts from the British Museum*. Potomac: Capital Decisions, 1990
Sigrist Ontario 1	Marcel Sigrist, *Neo-Sumerian Texts from the Royal Ontario Museum*, Vol. 1: *The Administration at Drehem*. Bethesda: CDL Press, 1995
TCL 2	H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*. Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1911
UCP 9/2	Henry Frederick Lutz, *Sumerian Temple Records of the Late Ur Dynasty*. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 9/2. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928
ZA 92	Manfred Krebernik, "Anhang: Kollationen zu HS 2009+2985." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 92 (2002): 131–34

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Some Thoughts on the *ustarbaru*

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One of the most conspicuous officials of fifth-century Nippur is the *ustarbaru*. Although this appellative is predominantly attested in texts belonging to the Murašû archive, there are various other texts from the Achaemenid period mentioning this official. The word has been variously translated as "Steuerinspektor,"[1] "Abgabe-Inspektor,"[2] "trésorier,"[3] and "chambellan, chamberlain."[4]

In this study, which stems from a presentation I gave in a course on the Murašus taught by Professor Stolper, all known *ustarbaru*s are discussed, including both those attested in Babylonian as well as those attested in Elamite (and Old Persian) texts. The etymology and linguistic history of the expression *ustarbaru* is discussed along with the role of these people in the source material. The later sections of this article deal with possible insignia of *ustarbaru*s and situate them in a wider Achaemenid context.

1. The Babylonian Evidence

1.1. Prosopographical Data[5]

1.1.1. Bagadata[6] */ Bēl-iddin (seal no. 204*[7]*)*

This person, bearing an Iranian name and having a Babylonian patronymic, is attested in a litigation (BE 10 9). He accuses Enlil-šum-iddin, the son of Murašû, and his cohort with trespassing. Enlil-šum-iddin denies and buys off Bagadata from further claims. The text is dated to 18/I/1 Darius II (= 28 Apr 423) and is sealed by Bagadata. In the same text his agents (*mār bīti* "member of the household"), commissioned agents (*ālik našparti*),[8] and servants (*ardu*) are mentioned.

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[1] Josef Kohler and Arthur Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums von Xerxes bis Mithridates II. (485–93 v. Chr.)* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1911), p. 34.

[2] Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, p. 51; Julius Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes I. und Darius II.*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 59/3 (Vienna: Hölder, 1917), p. 102.

[3] Francis Joannès, "Textes babyloniens de Suse d'époque achéménide," in *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran: Mélanges offertes à Jean Perrot*, edited by François Vallat (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1990), pp. 173–80.

[4] Francis Joannès and André Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens d'époque achéménide du Bît-Abî Râm avec une épigraphe araméenne," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 90 (1996): 49; Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial: The Šumar of Cambyses and Hystaspes," in *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, edited by Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 13 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), p. 120; Michael Jursa and Matthew W. Stolper, "From the Tattannu Archive Fragment," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 97 (2007): 254.

[5] See also Wilhelm Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 25/5 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1940), pp. 83–89.

[6] *Bagadāta- "given by Baga" (Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg: Elwert, 1895], p. 57; Walther Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen 3/3 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975], pp. 54–55; Muhammad A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6 [Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1992], p. 50; Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158 [Leuven: Peeters, 2007], pp. 132–33 no. 4.2.246).

[7] The seal and ring numbers given here are the ones used in Linda Beth Bregstein, "Seal Use in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murašû Archive" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2000).

[8] The *ālik našparti* are not attested very often and always appear in a kind of fixed expression: "agents, commissioned agent(s) and servants" (LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ É.MEŠ, *a-lik na-áš-par-ti*, LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ; BE 9 69; BE 10 9) or "agents, servants, and commissioned agent(s)" (IMT 105; PBS 2/1 137). One time the servants are not included (PBS 2/1 140). The expression seems to sum up all subordinates of a particular person, apparently in three categories. Guillaume Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû: une famille d'hommes d'affaires babyloniens à l'époque perse (455–403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1951), p. 11, believes the expression reflects some hierarchy, but the different order in which the categories are listed casts doubts on this hypothesis.

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1.1.2. Bagamiḫi[9]

Bagamiḫî also renders an Iranian name. Its bearer was an *ustarbar*, whose agent Bēl-nādin / Nabû-ittannu receives rations and rent for land from Enlil-šum-iddin (BE 9 50; dated 20/VIII/36 Artaxerxes I = 29 Nov 429). Bēl-nādin (seal no. 47) sealed the document.

1.1.3. Bagapata[10]

Hitherto this name (spelled ^{md}Bag-ʾ-a-pa-a-tu$_4$) was read ^{md}Ḫu-ʾ-a-pa-a-tu$_4$ and analyzed as a rendering of Iranian *Xvapati-.[11] It has, however, been pointed out that the reading ^{md}Bag-ʾ-a-pa-a-tu$_4$, rendering *Bagapāta-, is more plausible.[12]

Bagapata occurs in a receipt of payments made by his bailiff (WZKM 97 278: 4, 6–7).[13] The text is drafted on 29/V/19 Artaxerxes II (= 7 Sep 386).

1.1.4. Bagazuštu / Bagadata[14]

Bagazuštu / Bagadata the *ustarbaru* is mentioned in the unpublished and undated text VAT 15608, drafted in Babylon, and possibly also in PBS 2/1 192 (422 B.C.) as a witness.[15] Both he and his father have Iranian names. Moreover, this Bagazuštu provides an interesting prosopographical link between the Murašû and the Kasr archives.

1.1.5. Bagazuštu / Marḫarpu

This man, explicitly called an Egyptian (^{LÚ}Mi-ṣir-a-a), occurs in a text (RA 90 48–49 no. 6) dated to the reign of Darius I (18/VIII/26 = 17 Nov 496). He leases out a plot of land to Zababa-šar-uṣur, who is the major-domo of the crown prince's

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People called *ālik našparti* are only attested in the Murašû archive, although connections between *alāku* and *našpartu* are regularly attested in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian texts. The officials are always directly related to a personal name, in all but one case to members of the Murašû family. The exception is the *ustarbaru* Bagadata (herein § 1.1.1), who also disposes of this type of agents. Since *ālik našparti* is not a plural form one could believe there was only one *ālik našparti* involved. Nevertheless it is always situated between plural forms. In addition, the form has only descriptive value; never is there an individual *ālik našparti* attested (Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 54[(Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985], p. 20).

The precise task and/or responsibilities of the *ālik naštpartu* are not clear. Basically, it may have two meanings, "who is in the service of" or "who conducts business." This dichotomy has created various translations: "messenger" (Hermann V. Hilprecht and Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.)*, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 9 [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, 1898], p. 32; Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)*, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 10 [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, 1904], p. 31), "Leibeigene" (Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, p. 46), "Beauftragter" (Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden*, p. 74), "Dienstbote" (Mariano San Nicolò and Arthur Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungskunde*, Vol. 1: *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus vorhellenistischer Zeit* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929], p. 184 no. 150 n. 8), "Geschäftsführer" (AHw. s.v. *naštpartu*), "agent" (CAD s.v. *ālik našparti*; Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 20), "commissioned agent" (Veysel Donbaz and Matthew W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 79 [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997], p. 153). The present author is inclined not to overestimate the status of the *ālik našparti*. The combination of the verb *alāku* and *naštpartu* may refer to both service obligations and business commissions (see CAD s.v. *naštpartu* A mng. 3a 1′–2′, where *ālik našparti* is believed to refer to business commissions). Nevertheless, the first meaning (service obligations) occurs much more frequently and is always attached to a personal name, as is *ālik našparti*.

[9] *Bagamihra- "Baga's treaty" (Wilhelm Eilers, "Eine mittelpersische Wortform aus frühachämenidischer Zeit?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90 [1936]: note on p. 175; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 57; Ran Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals Bearing Iranian Names in Achaemenian Babylonia," *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 [1977]: 101; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 55; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 136 no. 4.2.264).

[10] *Bagapāta- "protected by Baga" (Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 58; Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 94 and n. 29; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 59; Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 137–38 no. 4.2.275).

[11] Ran Zadok, "Foreigners and Foreign Linguistic Material in Mesopotamia and Egypt," in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński*, edited by Karel van Lerberghe and Antoon Schoors, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 65 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), p. 442; idem, "Some Iranian Anthroponyms and Toponyms," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1997/7: no. 5.

[12] Jan Tavernier, "A Note on ^{Id}Ḫu-ʾ-a-pa-a-tu$_4$ (HSM 8414)," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2004/3. As Jursa and Stolper have pointed out, some support for the strange spelling of the name is presented by the equally odd spelling of Zabādā as ^{m}Za-ba-ad-a in the same text (Jursa and Stolper, "Tattannu Archive Fragment," p. 253).

[13] See Matthew W. Stolper, *Late Achaemenid, Early Macedonian and Early Seleucid Records of Deposit and Related Texts*, Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Supplemento 77 (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1993), p. 10.

[14] *Bagazušta- "loved by Baga" (Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû*, p. 51; Wilhelm Eilers, "Neue aramäische Urkunden aus Ägypten," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17 [1954–1956]: 332; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 61; Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 96 and n. 51; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 62; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 144 no. 4.2.310).

[15] Matthew W. Stolper, "Achaemenid Legal Texts from the Kasr: Interim Observations," in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*, edited by Johannes Renger, Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), p. 375 and n. 31.

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estate.[16] The *ustarbar* again has an Iranian name, while his father has an Egyptian one.[17] Most likely the son had an Egyptian name too, but took an Iranian name or changed his Egyptian name into an Iranian one in order to have more opportunities for an administrative career. His high position is also expressed by the title *ša rēš šarri* "royal commissioner."

According to Joannès and Lemaire[18] the same person may be mentioned among other Persian officials in Amherst 258 (lines 4 or 12), the date of which, however, is an issue of debate.[19] The text itself is a ration list for high-ranked persons, some of them with Persian names (e.g., Uštana / Ostanes, satrap of Babylonia and Across-the-River).

1.1.6. Bēl-bullissu / Damamiasta (seal no. 633)

In BE 9 102 (16/VII/41 Artaxerxes I = 30 Oct 424) Bēl-bullissu leases a field to Enlil-šum-iddin. He has a Babylonian name, while his father has probably, but not certainly, an Iranian one.[20] He is also mentioned as *šaknu ša Banaikānu* "foreman of the Banaikānu."

1.1.7. Bēl-ēṭir / Šara-ilī (seal no. 153)

An *ustarbaru* with a Babylonian name and a West Semitic patronymic.[21] He is attested as first and sealing witness in BE 9 102.

1.1.8. Bēl-ibukaš

Two agents (Nabû-nadin and Aššur-aḫ-iddin) of Bēl-ibukaš serve as witnesses in BE 9 1 (dated to 28/VII/1 Arta II = 1 Nov 404). Again this official has a Babylonian name.

Perhaps Bēl-ibukaš occurs also in ROMCT 2 35, a slave sale not belonging to the Murašû archive. In this text Bēl-ibukaš / Nidintu-Bēl is mentioned before the witnesses in a group of three judges.

If it is indeed him, then ROMCT 2 35 is dated to 1/IX/10 Artaxerxes II (= 24 Nov 395). If not, the text can also be dated to 1/IX/10 in the reign of Artaxerxes I (= 27 Nov 455). There are no strong prosopographical ties with the Murašû archive except for the name Bēl-ab-uṣur / Bēl-bullissu (mentioned also in PBS 2/1 113 and 195) and the text was not drafted in Nippur itself, but in Ḫuṣ-Šagībi, a place only known through this text. If Bēl-ibukaš the *ustarbaru* is the same person as Bēl-ibukaš the judge then ROMCT 2 35 must be dated to Artaxerxes II and the location of Ḫuṣ-Šagībi is not far from Nippur.[22] This remains hypothetical.

1.1.9. Bēl-īdiš / Nabû-bullissu

Unfortunately, the only text where this *ustarbaru* occurs (PBS 2/1 96) is badly damaged. Its date is 12/XII/4 Darius II (= 9 Mar 419). In the text Ḫašdaya, an associate of Bēl-īdiš, leases land, among which is a bow fief of Bēl-īdiš, to Rīmūt-Ninurta, member of the Murašû family.

1.1.10. Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ (seal no. 409)

First of all, this *ustarbaru* (with a Babylonian name and patronymic) is member of a panel that has to decide in a litigation between Šiṭā', a servant of Prince Aršam, and Enlil-šum-iddin (IMT 105).

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[16] Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," pp. 54–56.

[17] This name can be analyzed in various ways. The first part, represented by Babylonian *mar°*, is in all likelihood Egyptian *mr* "loved by," suggesting that the second part of the name is a divine name. Possibilities for Babylonian *-ḫarpu* then are (1) Ḫrp, a metathesis of Ḫpr, i.e., Khepri, the Egyptian beetle god; (2) Ḫrp "the leading" or an abbreviation of a divine name containing this element (see Christian Leitz et al., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Vol. 4: *nbt–ḥ*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 113 [Leuven: Peeters, 2002], pp. 948–49); and (3) Ḫrpw or an abbreviation of a name containing this element, which is related to the previous possibility (see Christian Leitz et al., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Vol. 5: *ḥ–ḫ*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 114 [Leuven: Peeters, 2002], p. 950).

[18] Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," p. 56 n. 28.

[19] Theophilus G. Pinches, "Notes Upon a Small Collection of Tablets from the Birs Nimroud Belonging to Lord Amherst of Hackney," in *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, September 1902* (Leiden: Brill, 1904), p. 269, dated the tablet to year 30 of Darius I (492/91), but Arthur Ungnad, "Neubabylonische Privaturkunden aus der Sammlung Amherst," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 19 (1960), p. 81, considered this incorrect. According to him the tablet was written around 485, certainly not later than 484/483. Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 138, believes that the text must be situated between 520 and 503/02. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 28, prefers the end of the first quarter of the fifth century, but elsewhere (ibid., pp. 35, 41, and 46) he accepts Ungnad's date. Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Achaemenid History 10 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996), p. 526, remains cautious when he proposes the beginning of the fifth century as a possible date.

[20] Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 514 no. 5.4.2.18.

[21] Ran Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1977), p. 87; Bregstein, "Seal Use," p. 549.

[22] Ran Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*, Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1985), p. 177.

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Secondly, he occurs as a witness four times with his title and patronymic in the following texts: BE 10 80; PBS 2/1 63, 76, and 224.

Finally, there are six texts where Bēl-ittannu, the *ustarbaru*, is mentioned without a patronymic: EE 52; PBS 2/1 104, 126, 207; RA 86 75; and TuM 2/3 204. As there is also an *ustarbaru* attested with the same name but a different patronymic (Naʾesī; no. 1.1.11) it is at first sight not possible to determine which one is meant in these six texts. Yet further research will show that with regard to four of these texts it can be determined which Bēl-ittannu is meant.

In two texts the seal impressions are a decisive means to determine which *ustarbaru* is involved: in PBS 2/1 104 and TuM 2/3 204 Bēl-ittannu uses the same seal (no. 409) as Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ, the *ustarbaru*.

In PBS 2/1 126 Bēl-ittannu is mentioned together with Marduk, who was apparently a colleague of his. The same two appear in PBS 2/1 104, which makes it likely that PBS 2/1 126 mentions Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ as well. The seal on this text (no. 576) belongs most likely to another Bēl-ittannu, who is mentioned as the instigator of the litigation that is the subject of the text.[23]

Three texts remain to be studied: EE 52, PBS 2/1 207, and RA 86 75. The lattermost one quite likely refers to Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ, because it is related to PBS 2/1 126. Two aspects point to this: (1) both texts are drafted in Susa within eight days of each other and (2) both texts have some witnesses in common: Šataḫme and Bēlšunu, the sons of Labaši, on the one hand, and the *ustarbaru*s Bēl-ittannu and Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu, on the other.

The evidence for EE 52 and PBS 2/1 207 is more problematic, but still two aspects may be used to gain insight: the function of Bēl-ittannu and his title. In all texts Bēl-ittannu is a witness and he is never called *ustarbaru ša šarri*. This is also the case for EE 52 and PBS 2/1 207. While neither of these aspects apply, for example, to Bēl-ittannu / Naʾesī, who is always called *ustarbaru ša šarri*, it must be noted that Marduk (no. 1.1.19) is once called *ustarbaru ša šarri* and two times *ustarbaru*.

Finally, three texts mention a person Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ, without any title: BE 10 56 (–/–/1 Darius II = 423–422), 64 (18/III/3 Darius II = 3 Jul 421), and PBS 2/1 154 (15/V/[2] Darius II = 11 Aug 422). In the first text Ninurta-aḫ-uṣur, Bēl-ittannu's servant, receives an amount of silver from an agent of the Murašû family. The text itself does not mention Bēl-ittannu as son of Bēl-uballiṭ (the text is broken where the father's name is), but its content suggests a restoration of his name in line 2.[24] As the role of Bēl-ittannu is in accordance with the role of other *ustarbaru*s, it is probable, though not certain, that the *ustarbaru* Bēl-ittannu is meant here.

Concerning the second text (BE 10 64), Clay identifies this Bēl-ittannu with the famous *ustarbar*.[25] If he is correct, then yet another seal is being used by Bēl-ittannu (no. 388). Bregstein prefers not to identify him with the *ustarbaru*, because both the name and the patronymic are frequent ones in Nippur.[26] Nevertheless, she does not exclude such identification, arguing that possibly he used seal no. 388 until he received his *ustarbar*-title, following which he started to use seal no. 409. According to Bregstein, Bēl-ittannu would have had to become *ustarbar* between the third and fifth month of year 3 of Darius II; unfortunately this cannot be correct, since seal no. 409 is already used in EE 109, which is dated to the accession year of Darius II (9/XII/0 = 20 Mar 423) and is thus older than BE 10 64. If Bregstein were right Bēl-ittannu would have used two seals concurrently, which is rather unlikely.[27] Accordingly, it is still better to assume that Bēl-ittannu (seal no. 388) and Bēl-ittannu (seal no. 409) are not identical.

In PBS 2/1 154 the case is even more problematic. Bēl-ittannu is simply named as the first witness, but it cannot be determined whether he was also *ustarbar*. The text is — through its nearly identical list of witnesses[28] — closely related to PBS 2/1 44, 49, 155, and 157, but unfortunately only one of these texts mentions Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ. Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu occurs in three of these texts and the fact that he is also attested together with Bēl-ittannu (PBS 2/1 126 and RA 86 75; they both accompanied Rīmūt-Ninurta, a member of the Murašû family, to Susa in 417) offers circumstantial evidence that cannot easily be dismissed. It looks plausible to assume that PBS 2/1 154 indeed mentions Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ, the *ustarbaru*.

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[23] Bregstein, "Seal Use," p. 981.

[24] See Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, p. 22.

[25] Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû*, p. 44.

[26] Bregstein, "Seal Use," p. 810 no. 409n.

[27] See Bregstein, "Seal Use," p. 365.

[28] PBS 2/1 44: Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-zēr-lîšir, Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli / Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu / Bēl-ēriš, Šum-iddin / Ina-ṣilli-Ninurta and Enlil-ibni / Ibâ.

PBS 2/1 49: Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-bullissu, Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli / Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu / Bēl-ēriš, Šum-iddin / Ina-ṣilli-Ninurta and Enlil-ibni / Ibâ.

PBS 2/1 154: Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ, Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli / Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu / Bēl-iddin, Šum-iddin / Ina-ṣilli-Ninurta and Enlil-ibni / Ibâ.

PBS 2/1 155: Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-bullissu, Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli / Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu / Bēl-ēriš, Šum-iddin / Ina-ṣilli-Ninurta and Enlil-ibni / Ibâ.

PBS 2/1 157: Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-bullissu, Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli / Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu / Bēl-iddin, Šum-iddin / Ina-ṣilli-Ninurta and Enlil-ibni / Ibâ.

All texts but one (PBS 2/1 154) are written by the same scribe: Bēlet-ušabši, the son of Rēme-šukun.

The dates of these texts are also quite close to each other. Despite the broken dates of PBS 2/1 154 and 157, it may be assumed that they too were dated in the second year of Darius II. PBS 2/1 44 dates to 9 May 422, while the other four texts were all drafted between 11 and 16 August 422.

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Needless to say, there are many mentionings of persons named Bēl-ittannu without patronymic or appellative. Nevertheless, in one text (PBS 2/1 44, dated 22/V/2 Darius II = 18 Aug 422) it is quite sure that Bēl-ittannu is the *ustarbaru*. The reason for assuming this is the same as that given for PBS 2/1 154. In PBS 2/1 44 Bēl-ittannu leases agricultural products from Rībat, a servant of Rīmūt-Ninurta.

To summarize, it may be accepted that Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ, *ustarbaru*, is attested in the following texts: BE 10 80; EE 109; PBS 2/1 44, 63, 76, 104, 126, 154, 224; RA 86 75; TuM 2/3 204. Their dates range from 9/XII/0 to 13/VI/7 Darius II (= 20 Mar 423 to 10 Sep 417). Two texts probably but not certainly refer to him: EE 52 and PBS 2/1 207. One mention of Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ (BE 10 64) does most likely not refer to the *ustarbaru*.

1.1.11. Bēl-ittannu / Naʾesī (ring no. 160)

This person, a royal *ustarbaru*, occurs in only one text (PBS 2/1 65), dated to 19/VI/3 Darius II (= 10 Oct 421), where he sells four slaves to Rīmūt-Ninurta. He also impressed the tablet with his ring. While his father has an Egyptian name, his own name is Babylonian. Naʾesī is possibly an abbreviation for Paṭaniʾesī;[29] another *ustarbaru* called Paṭniʾesī (1.1.23) might be the same person. This is, however, hypothetical.

1.1.12. Bēlšunu

In AIONS 77 1 Bēlšunu (a Babylonian name) deposits 1,5 talents of silver. This contract is dated to 11+/–/7 Artaxerxes I, II, or III, that is, in 458/457, 398/397, or 352/351.

1.1.13. Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu / Bēl-ēriš (seal no. 326)

His Babylonian name is spelled ^{md}Bēl-tab-tan-DIN-su (four times) and ^{md}Bēl-tat-tan-DIN-su (three times), but his title and patronymic prove that one individual is meant. According to H. Torczyner the sign TAB could be pronounced /ta/.[30]

Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu appears with his title in four texts (PBS 2/1 48, 96, 126; RA 86 75), always as a witness. Once he is attested together with Bēl-ittannu (1.1.10) and Marduk (1.1.19; PBS 2/1 126) and once with Bēl-ittannu (1.1.10) and Šum-uṣur (1.1.29; RA 86 75). The texts date from 13/V/2 to 14/XI/6 Darius II (= 9 Jun 422 to 18 Feb 417) and have different contents: one receipt of payment (PBS 2/1 48), one lease (PBS 2/1 96), and two litigations (PBS 2/1 126 and RA 86 75).

He is also attested three times without the title of *ustarbar* in three leases (PBS 2/1 44, 49, and 155). In these texts he also functions as a witness. The first of the texts, PBS 2/1 44, is dated to 10/II/2 Darius II (= 9 May 422). PBS 2/1 49 was drafted on 16/V/2 (= 12 Aug 422). Although the date of PBS 2/1 155 is broken (16/V/x Darius II), it is quite probable that this contract was also drafted on 12 August 422. Two aspects point to this: (1) there is not much room for a longer year number according to the copy and (2) the lists of witnesses of both texts are identical. Moreover, the same scribe wrote both texts.

The texts are drafted both in Nippur and Susa and their dates are in accordance with this assumption. Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu spent the year 422 in Nippur, while in 417 he made his trip to Susa, together with Bēl-ittannu.[31]

Text	*Date*	*Place*
PBS 2/1 44	9 May 422	Nippur
PBS 2/1 48	9 Jun 422	Nippur
PBS 2/1 49	12 Aug 422	Nippur
PBS 2/1 155	12 Aug 422	Nippur
PBS 2/1 96	9 Mar 419	Nippur
PBS 2/1 126	10 Feb 417	Susa
RA 86 75	18 Feb 417	Susa

[29] E.g., Pꜣ-dj-nj-ꜣś.t "he who has been given to me by Isis" (see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Vol. 1: *Verzeichnis der Namen* [Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935], p. 40; Ran Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam during the 1st Millennium B.C.," *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 [1992]: 145), rendered in Greek by Πετενησις. See also Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 84 n. 3 and p. 86.

[30] Harry Torczyner, review of *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II,* by Albert T. Clay, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 67 (1913): 137.

[31] Other Murašû texts drafted in Susa are IMT 46, PBS 2/1 113, and PBS 2/1 128. Four of these texts form a cluster, which indicates that Rīmūt-Ninurta spent the late winter of 317 in Susa. Thereby he was accompanied by various people, among whom were some scribes (Matthew W. Stolper, "The Murašû Texts from Susa," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 86 [1992]: 71–74) as well as some *ustarbaru*s.

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1.1.14. Enlil-šum-ibni

In IMT 3, dated 5 February 430, a canal is named after this *ustarbaru*, who has a Babylonian name.

1.1.15. Ipraduparna[32]

This person has an Iranian name and appears in BE 10 114, drafted on 8/X/6 Darius II (14 Jan 417). In this text Paruḫātu (seal no. 524), his bailiff (*paqdu*), receives rent for land from Rīmūt-Ninurta. He is also attested without his title, namely, in a text (PBS 2/1 138) from year 7 of Darius II (417/416). This text has a seal caption of Barsipai (seal no. 525), the bailiff of Ipraduparnâ.

1.1.16. Kiribti-Bēl / Bēl-šar-ibni (ring no. 603)

This *ustarbaru*, bearing a Babylonian name, is attested as a witness in BE 10 89, a receipt of a payment, dated to 23/VIII/4 Darius II (= 22 Nov 420).

1.1.17. Linūḫ-libbi-ilī (ring no. 288)

Royal *ustarbaru* acting as a witness and sealing the tablet is Linūḫ-libbi-ilī (BE 10 91; date: 11/IX/4 Darius II = 10 Dec 420). His name is Babylonian.

1.1.18. Mannukia / Aḫḫê-iqīša

Attested in AIONS 77 1, dated to the seventh year of a King Artaxerxes (i.e., either in 458/457, 398/397, or 352/351). The text mentions that the transaction was recorded in the presence of Mannukia, who is listed before the witnesses. Both his name and the name of his father are Babylonian.

1.1.19. Marduk (seal no. 460)

This person occurs in three texts as a witness: in BE 10 15 (as a royal *ustarbar*) together with Paṭaniʾesī (1.1.23), in PBS 2/1 104 together with Bēl-ittannu (1.1.10), and in PBS 2/1 126, a text drafted in Susa,[33] together with Bēl-ittannu and Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu (1.1.13). The dates range from 8/II/1 to 6/XI/6 Darius II (= 18 May 423 to 10 Feb 417). His name is obviously Babylonian. His title of "royal *ustarbar*" is attested in the first-drafted text. This could mean that he was stripped of his title later (between Darius II 1 and 5), but equally it could be scribal negligence or convention. The text BE 10 15 also mentions an uš-ta-ba-ri (line 20). According to Cardascia[34] this is an unusual writing for us-tar-ba-ri. Yet the first part does not contain *-r-*, so the title must be different. Some scholars[35] have **uštrabāra-* "camel driver" in mind, but such a title does not correspond with the Babylonian spelling.[36] The translations "riding at will" and "wanting instructions" are not plausible.[37] Possibly the expression should be read **ušta-bāra-* "driver of oxen."[38]

1.1.20. Nanâ-iddin (seal no. 198)

Nanâ-iddin is attested as a witness in three texts. One of these texts (TuM 2/3 204) is impressed with his seal. The other two texts are BE 10 102 and 103. The dates range from 7/VI/5 to 23/X/5 Darius II (= 28 Aug 419 to 10 Jan 418).

Because he is mentioned together with Bēl-ittannu (1.1.10) in TuM 2/3 204, Eilers argues that Bēl-ittannu and Nanâ-iddin are brothers.[39] However, the lack of a patronymic makes such an assumption rather insecure. Other texts also mention more than one *ustarbaru* next to each other.

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[32] *Frādafarnā, nom. sg. of *Frādafarnah- "furthering glory" (Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 96; Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 110 and nn. 235–36; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 86; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 180 no. 4.2.579).

[33] Stolper, "Murašû Texts from Susa," pp. 75–76.

[34] Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû*, p. 161 n. 3.

[35] Georg Hüsing, *Porušētiš und das achämänidische Lehenswesen,* Bausteine zur Geschichte, Völkerkunde, und Mythenkunde, Ergänzungsheft 2, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Eichendorff-Haus, 1933), p. 42; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 247.

[36] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 104–06.

[37] "Riding at Will," in Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 247. "Nach Weisung hegend," in Manfred Mayrhofer, apud AHw. s.v. *uštabari*.

[38] Vladimir A. Livšic, apud Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 86.

[39] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 84 and 88.

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1.1.21. Ninakku,[40] *the Agent of Zatamē (seal no. 262)*

Ninakku, mentioned with both his titles (agent of Zatamē and *ustarbaru*), witnesses a lease of a plot of land by Aplā to Enlil-šum-iddin. He also seals the text (PBS 2/1 30), drafted on 18/–/1 Darius II (= sometime in 423–422). His name is Iranian.

In four texts he appears without the title of *ustarbar* (BE 9 45, BE 9 50, EE 7, EE 12). The dates of these texts range from 20/V/36 to some point in year 40 of Artaxerxes I (= 1 Sep 429–425/424). Three times he is listed as the first witness, in EE 7 he is the third witness.

Since he only appears with the title of *ustarbaru* in the reign of Darius II and not in that of Artaxerxes I, it is possible that he received this title shortly after the throne accession of Darius II (cf. infra).

1.1.22. Parnuš[41] */ Šibbû*

He is attested as *ustarbaru* in two texts (PBS 2/1 70 and 102; dates range from 22/IX/3 to some point in year 4 of Darius II = 31 Dec 421 to 420/419). He is, however, only attested indirectly, since the active parties in these two texts are Rīmūt-Ninurta, on the one hand, and Barikia (seal nos. 63 and 285), the son of Isparda and the bailiff of Parnuš (an Iranian name), on the other hand. Barikia receives the *imit eqli* and rent, a total of 12 shekels of silver, for land from Rīmūt-Ninurta. In BE 10 103 and PBS 2/1 98 (dates range from 17/–/4 to 23/X/5 Darius II = 420/419 to 10 Jan 418) Parnuš is mentioned without his title. In the former text Barikia, receiving rent from Rīmūt-Ninurta, again is one of the contracting parties. In the latter text Bēl-ibni (seal no. 558), a servant of his, receives rent for land from Rīmūt-Ninurta.

Three of these four texts (BE 10 103; PBS 2/1 70, 102) seem to deal with the same plot of land, located in Bāb Nār Dirāt. They record the receipt of the rent from the third to fifth years of Darius II. PBS 2/1 98 concerns the rent of a plot of land in Ḫuṣṣēti ša [ ]. This means that Parnuš possessed at least two plots of land. Zadok[42] assumes that the name of the settlement in PBS 2/1 98 should be restored to Ḫuṣṣēti ša ^{md}Bābu-ēreš, on the basis of its occurrence in PBS 2/1 43, a text where Parnuš's father Šibbû appears as owner of land in the same settlements. It is likely that both texts deal with the same plot of land. In that case either Parnuš inherited the land after his father's death or Šibbû donated the land to his son while still living.

1.1.23. Paṭaniʾesī

This person, called *ustarbar ša šarri* ("royal *ustarbar*"), acts as a witness in a lease contract (BE 10 15) between Bēl-īdišu and Enlil-šum-iddin, a member of the Murašû family. The text was drafted on 8/II/1 Darius II (= 18 May 423). He is accompanied by Marduk (1.1.19), a colleague of his, who is also called *ustarbar ša šarri*. He could be the father of Bēl-ittannu (1.1.11) and his name is Egyptian.

1.1.24. Pitibirī

Pitibirī is an Egyptian name[43] whose bearer occurs in two texts drafted on the same day (13/I/8 Darius II = 5 May 416). TuM 2/3 148 is the record of a lease of a plot of land, property of Pitibirī, by Bēl-aḫ-ušabši / Marduk, the bailiff of Pitibirī, to Murašû, the son of Enlil-šum-iddin. Murašû paid his rent for the first year on the same day the lease was drawn up, as is illustrated by the receipt BE 10 129: four clerks of Murašû handed over the rent to Bēl-aḫ-ušabši. Both texts were sealed by Bēl-aḫ-ušabši / Marduk (ring no. 613[44] and witnessed and sealed[45] by, among others, Bābu-iddin / Bēlšunu (seal no. 59), the bailiff of the estate of Siṭunu, which was given to Pitibirī, and Paniʾesī (seal no. 305), a servant of Pitibirī. Marduk, the father of Bēl-aḫ-ušabši, is possibly the same individual as Marduk, the *ustarbaru* (1.1.19).

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[40] *Nināka- "he who is beating" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 106; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 260 no. 4.2.1191).

[41] *Parnuš "the old one" (Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 180; Ran Zadok, review of *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, by Walther Hinz, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 33 [1976]: 214; idem, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 110 n. 234; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 110; Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 264–65 no. 4.2.1223).

[42] Zadok, *Geographical Names*, p. 171.

[43] The first element, represented by Pi-ti-°, is probably Egyptian Pꜣ-di "given by," despite the possible objection that the better representation would be pi-ṭi-°. The second element is not yet convincingly analyzed. Pꜣ-irj "the companion" is possible, but in that case the new name *Pꜣ-di-pꜣ-irj is problematic. An alternative possibility is Pꜣ-di-pꜣ-Rᶜ "given by Re," but the sign RI is not an adequate rendering of Rᶜ (Günther Vittmann, pers. comm.; see also Dem. Nb. 529). Yet, as the final vocal was not pronounced in Late Babylonian, this problem may be dismissed. Moreover, the value *re* for RI already stands closer to the Egyptian original.

[44] Bregstein, "Seal Use," p. 1018.

[45] TuM 2/3 148 is impressed with the seal of Enlil-iddin / Enlil-[ ], who does not occur elsewhere in the text. Either this is an otherwise unattested individual or he can be identified with someone already known. Possibilities are (1) Enlil-iddin / Enlil-kāṣir (EE 89), (2) Enlil-iddin / Enlil-kišir (JCS 53 89 no. 3), or (3) Enlil-iddin / Enlil-uballiṭ (e.g. BE 10 29, 125; PBS 2/1 117; TuM 2/3 184), who has two seals (nos. 73 and 500).

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1.1.25. Rībat (seal no. 186)

This *ustarbaru* witnesses a receipt for a payment of taxes (PBS 2/1 128) drafted in Susa on 10/XII/6 Darius II (= 15 Mar 417). His name is Babylonian.

1.1.26. Siamû[46] *(ring no. 367)*

The presence of the ring seal of the bearer of this Iranian name on PBS 2/1 38 (drafted in 423–422), in a text on which the list of witnesses is not preserved, indicates that he was a witness to this contract. He is called the *ustarbaru* of Parysatis.

1.1.27. Šamû[47]

One of the servants of this *ustarbaru* occurs in a contract from Susa (Fs Perrot 173 no. 1). Unfortunately the date is completely broken, with the only element preserved being the name of a King Artaxerxes. The *ustarbaru*'s name (spelled ^{m}Šá-mu-ú) is Egyptian,[48] but his patronymic is not mentioned. In another text from Susa (Fs Perrot 177 no. 2) he is mentioned as the one who sealed the tablet recording the purchase of a plot of land. Many people in both texts also bear Egyptian names.[49]

In PBS 2/1 130, a tax receipt, ^{m}Šá-mu-ú is called *ša rēš šarri*, the usual designation for a court official. Šamû sealed the text with his ring (no. 270). The rarity of the name, in combination with the fact that the Murašû conducted parts of their business in Susa, confirms the prosopographical identity of Šamû the *ša rēš šarri* and Šamû the *ustarbar*. This makes it possible to date the text from Susa (Fs Perrot 173 no. 1) to the end of the reign of Artaxerxes I.[50]

1.1.28. Šibbû

In PBS 2/1 43 Bēl-ibni, the bailiff of Šibbû, and Kešaya, the servant of Šibbû, receive rent for a plot of land from Rīmūt-Ninurta. The contract was drafted on 2/II/2 Darius II (= 1 May 422). Šibbû is the Babylonian representation of an Iranian name.[51] Bēl-ibni sealed the document (ring no. 561), while Kešaya printed his nail in it.

1.1.29. Šum-uṣur (seal no. 638)

He occurs as a witness (together with Bēl-ittannu and Bēl-tattannu-bullissu) in a litigation drafted in Susa on 14/XI/6 Darius II (= 18 Feb 417), a text which he sealed (RA 86 75). The name is Babylonian.

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[46] *Syāva- "the black one" (Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 87; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 229; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 119; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 316 no. 4.2.1620).

[47] The same name also occurs in other texts from first-millennium Babylonia and is thus not a hapax, as Joannès believes (Joannès, "Textes babyloniens de Suse," p. 178). In OECT 10 285 ^{m}Šá-am-mu-ú appears in a broken context. A man with the same name is a slave of As-ma-a (or As-ba-a) in Borsippa in the year 443–442 B.C. (VS 3 189; see Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam," p. 142). There is also an irrigated farmland called É-^{m}Šá-mu-ú (Bīt-Šamû) mentioned in TCL 12 85 (551 B.C.) and TuM 2/3 1 (550 B.C.). See Mariano San Nicolò, "Due atti matrimoniali neobabilonesi," *Aegyptus* 27 (1947): 121, for the reading (followed by Martha T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements: 7th–3rd Centuries B.C.*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 222 [Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989], p. 53). Francis Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: la famille Ea-ilûta-Bâni; étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII^{e} au V^{e} siècle av. J.-Chr.*, Hautes études orientales 25 (Geneva: Droz, 1989), pp. 165 and 309, reads É-^{m}A-mu-ú. See also Zadok, *Geographical Names*, p. 105.

The name is also attested in the Murašû archive. The oldest attestation dates from 4/I/ 41 Artaxerxes I (= 25 Apr 424), when a person called Šamû, the son of ^{m}Pa-ta-aḫ, and his colleagues (messengers of Mannu-ki-Ea, and a servant of Manuštanu) receive tax from someone (BE 9 84 = TuM 2/3 202). In PBS 2/1 54 (20/X/2 Darius II = 10 Jan 421) Enlil-iddin and Bēl-ittannu, the sons of ^{m}Šá-am-mu-ú, have a lease agreement with Rīmūt-Ninurta. Another lease contract (PBS 2/1 96; 12/XII/ 4 Darius II = 9 Mar 419) is sealed (no. 4) by ^{m}Šá-mu-ú A-šú šá m⌜x⌝-[x]-a.

It should also be noted that the name, spelled Šmw, is attested in an Aramaic inheritance document from Saqqara (ATNS 28: 1). Because he is the son of Snbnt (apparently Semitic, perhaps a compound with Sîn) and the brother of Bryk^{3}l (Barik-^{3}El), Segal thought the name to be Semitic, but more scholars favor an Egyptian origin and accordingly a homonomy with the Babylonian spellings. Semitic origin: J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra, with some Fragments in Phoenician*, Excavations at North Saqqâra, Documentary Series 4, Texts from Excavations 6 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983), p. 44. Egyptian origin: Walter Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 333 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), p. 94; Ran Zadok, review of *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra*, by J. B. Segal, *Die Welt des Orient* 16 [1985]: 174; Günther Vittmann, "Zu den ägyptischen Entsprechungen aramäisch überlieferter Personennamen," *Orientalia,* n.s., 58 (1989): 229.

[48] T̰^{3}j-im-w "who seizes" (Ran Zadok, "On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-millennium Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 6 [1979]: 173; idem, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam," p. 142; see Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, p. 387 no. 13). Joannès, "Textes babyloniens de Suse," p. 178, considers the name to be a variant of the Middle Babylonian name Šamûa.

[49] Joannès, "Textes babyloniens de Suse," p. 178.

[50] Michael Jursa, "'Höflinge' (*ša rēši, ša rēš šarri, ustarbaru*) in babylonischen Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends," in *Die Welt des Ktesias/ Ctesias' World*, edited by J. Wiesehöfer, R. Röllinger, and G. B. Lanfranchi, Classica et Orientalia 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), p. 170.

[51] Šībava- "path" (Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 319 no. 4.2.1642).

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1.1.30. Tiriadatu[52]

According to a text (Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pl. 3) drafted on 8/VII/12 Darius II (= 11 Oct 412),[53] this *ustarbaru* leased a destroyed house (*bītu abta*). Most likely, the king meant here is Darius II.[54] Along with his Iranian name he has a Babylonian one: Nabû-kāṣir.

1.1.31. Zababa-iddin

In BE 9 28, a text drafted on 18/VII/31 Artaxerxes I (= 23 Oct 434), Ḫurru, the deputy (*šanu*) of the *ustarbaru* Zababa-iddin, receives rent for land from Enlil-šum-iddin.

According to Hilprecht Zababa-iddin, the *ustarbaru*, is identical with Zababa-iddin / Zababa-ēriš, who appears in BE 9 95.[55] This text records the lease of a field by Zababa-iddin, his brother Bēl-aḫ-iddin, and some other persons (among others Bēl-ēṭir / Barīk-il) for the rent of 2,155 kur of dates. Zababa-iddin also occurs in EE 63, where he is called Zababa-šum-iddin and where he is again mentioned as leasing a field together with inter alia Bēl-ēṭir / Barīk-il. One of the witnesses of both texts (BE 9 95 and EE 63) is also the same: Arad-Enlil / Širikti-Ninurta.

1.1.32. Name Broken

This person, whose name is unfortunately not preserved, is attested as a witness in a badly damaged contract (BM 34974 = Sp II 497[56]). The date of the text is most likely year 14 of Darius I (508/507). Despite the absence of a royal name, the construction PN a-*šú šá* PN is typical for the sixth century and, in that case, only the reign of Darius I can fit the mentioning of a fourteenth year.[57]

1.1.33. Ḫaṭru šá ^{LÚ}*ustaribarra*

Attention should also be given to the *ḫaṭru*, which is named after the *ustarbaru*s. It is attested in the promissory note BE 10 32 (26/IV/1 Darius II = 3 Aug 423).

Possibly the function/title of *ustarbar* was hereditary and was kept within a particular family.[58] The low number of examples is, however, not convincing enough to take such a heriditary aspect for granted. The examples are:

1. Šibbû and his son Parnuš.[59] Their familial relationship is quite plausible.[60] Henkelman plays with the idea that Parnuš, mentioned in PF 2050 as a *karamaraš*-official, is also an *ustarbaru* and perhaps an ancestor of Šibbû and Parnuš. Yet this cannot be proven, first of all since one may not assume that the Persepolitan Parnuš indeed was an *ustarbaru*. Even so, it remains impossible to determine whether the Persepolitan Parnuš had any familial relationship with Šibbû and Parnuš.
2. The name of Naʾesī, the father of Bēl-ittannu (1.1.11), is an abbreviation of Paṭaniʾesī. An *ustarbaru* Paṭaniʾesī (1.1.23) is attested and could very well be identical with Naʾesī.[61]
3. Bēl-ittannu (1.1.10) and his brother Nanâ-iddin (1.1.20). However, see above for this hypothetical identification.

No *ustarbaru* as such is attested in either the reign of Artaxerxes I or Darius II. Ninakku may occur in texts from the reigns of both kings, but he is only mentioned in texts from the reign of Darius II as an *ustarbaru*. Moreover, his first attestation as *ustarbaru* dates from the first regnal year of Darius II, which may point to a direct connection between the throne accession of Darius II and the appointment of Ninakku as *ustarbaru*. The other three regularly mentioned *ustarbaru*s (Bēl-itannu/Bēl-uballiṭ, Bēl-tattannu-bullissu/Bēl-ēreš, and Marduk) only start appearing from the accession year of Darius II onward.

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[52] *Tīryadāta- "given by Tīrya" (Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 238; Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 170; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 327 no. 4.2.1713).

[53] See Jursa, "Höflinge," p. 170.

[54] See Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," p. 54 n. 24. Certainly not Darius I, as Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 115, believed.

[55] Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû*, p. 73.

[56] For a copy of this text, see Otto Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, Acta historica scientiarum naturalium et medicinalium 9, 2nd ed. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1957), pl. 14.

[57] Jursa, "Höflinge," p. 170 n. 63.

[58] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 162.

[59] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 88–89; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 162.

[60] This could be corroborated by the person of Bēl-ibni as *paqdu* of Šibbû. In PBS 2/1 98 a man with the same name is servant of Parnuš. If we assume that this is the same individual, one may also believe that Parnuš and Šibbû were both *ustarbaru*s. This might point to a hereditary title. Unfortunately, this cannot be safely assumed, since Bēl-ibni is a frequent name.

[61] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 89.

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Most *ustarbar*us (twenty-four of them) are attested in the Murašû archive. Eighteen of those appear in texts from the reign of Darius II on. This is not all too surprising, since most Murašû texts date from the first seven years of Darius II's government.[62] Nevertheless it is still a bit surprising to see so few attestations of *ustarbar*us during the reign of Artaxerxes I, during whose fortieth and forty-first years a considerable number of Murašû texts were drafted. Apparently, Darius II granted various people the right to assume the title of *ustarbar*, whatever this meant in practice (cf. infra).

This phenomenon might be a direct result of the way Darius II got to the throne. The succession of Artaxerxes I was a rather turbulent happening, with his legal successor Xerxes II assassinated by Sogdianus, who himself later on was expelled by Darius II.[63] It is quite possible that the new king rewarded some of his supporters with the right to assume the title of *ustarbar*.

An indication in favor of this theory is the fact that there are only a few people who are attested bearing the same title both in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II, and the last attestation of each of them is the first year of Darius II. There are three examples: (1) Enlil-iddin / Enlil-uballiṭ, *paqdu ša* KÁ.GAL LUGAL-GU-SI-SÁ (attested with this title from Artaxerxes 36 to Darius 1); (2) Ninurta-aḫ-iddin / Arad-Egalmaḫ, *paqdu ša* KÁ.GAL IGI-BI ŠEŠ.UNU^{KI}.ŠÈ (attested with this title from Artaxerxes 36 to Darius 1); and (3) Ninurta-ana-bītišu / Lu-idija, *paqdu ša* KÁ.GAL GU-LA (attested with his title from Artaxerxes 36 to Darius 1). These three people, all *paqdu*s at one of the city gates, are only attested until the first year of Darius II. One might start to believe that the end of the reign of Artaxerxes I marked for many officials the end of their position.

Finally it may be noted that although the *ustabar*us appear chiefly in texts from Nippur, they also appear in Babylon, Ḫuṣ-Šagībi, and Susa. One text from Babylon deals with property in Bīt-Abī-rām, others refer to property in Bāb Nār Dirāt or Ḫuṣṣēti ša ^{md}Bābu-ēreš.

1.2. Linguistic and Ethnic Affiliation of the Anthroponyms

Seventeen personal names, belonging to eighteen individuals,[64] are Babylonian: Bēl-bullissu, Bēl-ēṭir, Bēl-ibukaš, Bēl-īdiš, Bēl-ittannu, Bēlšunu, Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu, Enlil-šum-ibni, Kiribti-Bēl, Linūḫ-libbi-ilī, Mannukia, Marduk, Nabû-kāṣir, Nanâ-iddin, Rībat, Šum-uṣur, and Zababa-iddin.

There are eleven Iranian names, belonging to twelve persons: *Bagadāta-, *Bagamihra-, *Bagapāta-, *Bagazušta-, *Frādafarnā, *Nināka-, *Parnuš, *Syāva-, *Šībava-, and *Tīryadāta-.

Finally three *ustarbar*us have an Egyptian anthroponym: Paṭaniʾesī, Pitibirī, and Šamû.

As is well known, the study of the relation between anthroponyms and ethnicity is fraught with problems. People may have changed their names in order to have a greater possibility of an administrative career, etc. Even patronymics are not without danger. Still, it may be worth having a look at the linguistic combinations of the names themselves and their patronymics. The most frequent combination (four times) is a Babylonian name with a Babylonian patronymic. Two times an Iranian name has an Iranian patronymic. Each of the following combinations are attested once: Iranian name–Babylonian patronymic, Iranian name–Egyptian patronymic, Babylonian name–Iranian patronymic, Babylonian name–West Semitic patronymic, Babylonian name–Egyptian patronymic. The combinations where the anthroponym belongs to the same language as the patronymic assume a relatively certain ethnicity. It is possible that an Iranian anthroponym with a Babylonian patronymic indicates that the person was a Babylonian who changed his name to an Iranian one. Another person who changed his name to an Iranian one is Bagazuštu / Marḫarpu (1.1.5), who is explicitly called an Egyptian.[65] The ethnicity of the other persons cannot be traced. Perhaps the bearers of the Egyptian names were Egyptians.

Unfortunately, we know only eleven patronymics of *ustarbar*us. The reason for this is most likely that the people did not necessarily need to know the father's name when the title of the person discussed was sufficient for identification.

1.3. Spellings and Etymology of the Appellative

1.3.1. The Various Spellings of the Appellative

As can be expected for a foreign word, *ustarbar* appears in different spellings.[66] The restored passages are not included in table 22.1.

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[62] Donbaz and Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, p. 6.

[63] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, pp. 114–16; Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 605–06.

[64] Note that Nabû-kāṣir is the same individual as *Tīryadāta-.

[65] It is interesting to see that an Egyptian had the title of *ustarbar* in 496 B.C., i.e., a bit more than thirty years after the Persian conquest of Egypt.

[66] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 81–82; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 435.

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Table 22.1. Spellings and etymology of the appellative

1.1.3.1. Without syncope of the middle vocal (-VrVb-)	
a) us-ta-ra-ba-ri (twice)	
Text: Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pl. 3	*Scribe:* Bēl-uballiṭ / Ubar
Date: 10 Oct 393 or 11 Oct 347	*Place:* Babylon
b) us-ta-ri-ba-ri (once)	
Text: BE 10 9	*Scribe:* Šula / Ninurta-nāṣir
Date: 1 Nov 404	*Place:* Nippur
c) us-ta-ri-bar-ra (once)	
Text: BE 10 32	*Scribe:* Ninurta-ab-uṣur / Šum-iddin[67]
Date: 3 Aug 423	*Place:* Nippur
d) us-tar-ri-ba-ri (once)	
Text: PBS 2/1 48	*Scribe:* Ninurta-ab-uṣur /Enlil-šum-iddin
Date: 9 Jun 422	*Place:* Nippur

1.1.3.2. With syncope of the middle vocal (-Vrb-)	
e) mus-tar-ba-ri (once)[68]	
Text: TuM 2/3 148	*Scribe:* Ninurta-ab-uṣur / Enlil-šum-iddin
Date: 5 May 416	*Place:* Nippur
f) ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-ʾ (once)	
Text: RA 90 48–49 no. 6	*Scribe:* Itti-Gula-Balāṭu / Marduk-šum-ibni
Date: 17 Nov 496	*Place:* Babylon
g) us-ta-ar-ba-ri (once)	
Text: BE 9 102	*Scribe:* Ninurta-ab-uṣur / Enlil-šum-iddin
Date: 30 Oct 424	*Place:* Nippur
h) us-ta-ar-pa-ri (once): inaccurate spelling of us-ta-ar-ba-ri	
Text: BE 9 102	*Scribe:* Ninurta-ab-uṣur / Enlil-šum-iddin
Date: 30 Oct 424	*Place:* Nippur
i) us-ta-bar-ri (once): inaccurate spelling of us-ta-ar-bar-ri	
Text: BM 34974 = Sp II 497	*Scribe:* unknown
Date: 508/07	*Place:* Babylon
j) us-tar-ba-ar (once)	
Text: IMT 3	*Scribe:* Ninurta-nāṣir / Arad-Enlil
Date: 5 Feb 430	*Place:* Nippur
k) us-tar-bar (twice)	
Texts: BE 10 15; PBS 2/1 126[69]	*Scribe:* Ubar / Nadin (BE 10 15). The other text is broken (cf. appendix 2)
Dates: 18 May 423–10 Feb 417	*Place:* Nippur, Susa

[67] Certainly the same person as Ninurta-ab-uṣur, the son of Enlil-šum-iddin (Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû*, p. 58).

[68] Since MUŠ and US are relatively similar to each other, Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû*, p. 161 n. 3, believes this spelling is a scribal error for us-tar-ba-ri. This is indeed possible, because us-tar-ba-ri was the usual way to write *ustarbar*. One should, however, not forget that mus-tar-ba-ri is also a perfect way to render Iranian **vastrabara-*.

[69] Spelled us-tar-bar^{MEŠ}. It is not sure whether the addition of the plural morpheme MEŠ has influenced the writing.

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Table 22.1. Spellings and etymology of the appellative (*cont.*)

l) us-tar-ba-ri (33 times)	
Texts: BE 9 1, 50: 11; BE 10 15, 80, 89, 91, 102, 103, 114, 129; EE 52; PBS 2/1 30, 38, 43, 48, 63, 65, 70, 76, 96, 102, 207, 224; TuM 2/3, 204	*Scribes:* (1) Ninurta-ab-uṣur / Enlil-šum-iddin (BE 10 80, 89, 91, 102, 103, 114, 129; PBS 2/1 48, 63, 65, 70, 96, 102, 207, 224; TuM 2/3 148, 204) (2) Labaši / Balāṭu (PBS 2/1 43, 76) (3) Nidintu-Enlil / Ninurta-nadin (BE 9 1) (4) Ninurta-naṣir / Arad-Enlil (BE 9 50) (5) Ubar / Nadin (BE 10 15)
Dates: 29 Nov 429–1 Nov 404 (oldest and youngest texts; all the other texts range between 18 May 423 and 5 May 416)	*Place:* Nippur
m) us-tar-ba-ru (once)	
Text: BE 9 28	*Scribe:* Aqara / Nadin
Date: 23 Oct 434	*Place:* Nippur
n) us-tar-bar-ra (6 times)	
Texts: HSM 8414; Fs Perrot 173 no. 1; PBS 2/1 128; VAT 15608	*Scribes:* (1) Bēl-naṣir / Nabû-bullissu-iqbi (PBS 2/1 128) (2) Bēl-tattannu-uṣur / Bēlšunu (Fs Perrot 173 no. 1) (3) Unknown (HSM 8414; VAT 15608)
Dates: 14 Feb 417–7 Oct 386 or 8 Oct 340	*Places:* Babylon, Susa
o) us-tar-bar-ri (twice)	
Text: AIONS 77 1	*Scribe:* [...r]u / Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin
Date: 458/457, 398/397, or 352/351	*Place:* Babylon

The other attestations are too broken for a precise determination of the spelling. The most common spelling *us-tar-ba-ri* seems to be restricted to Nippur. The only scribe who wrote this spelling outside Nippur is Ubar, but he probably traveled to Babylon to write the tablet (BE 10 15), as the tablet was found in Nippur but said to be drafted in Babylon.

Sometimes the persons are mentioned without their title. If this is the case, they are mostly witnesses. Only Parrinu is mentioned two times without his title, when he is not a witness (BE 10 103 and PBS 2/1 98).

1.3.2. Etymology

The various spellings suggest that *ustarbar* is the Babylonian rendering of a non-Babylonian loanword. The first scholar to venture an etymology was Georg Hüsing.[70] After mentioning an implausible connection with Old Persian *uša-bāri-* "camel-driver,"[71] he presents an etymological link with Avestan *vastra-* "garment." According to him the *ustarbaru* was connected with the "Regimentskammer." Hüsing also referred to the Susa texts, a corpus of hundreds of Neo-Elamite texts from Susa, where many words belong to the semantic category of textiles.[72] It should be noted that, although he was the first to discuss the expression, Hüsing was not the first one to come up with this translation. Already in 1855 Edwin Norris had a translation "keeper of the clothes" or "chamberlain."[73]

Twenty-two years later Eilers formulated a reaction against this hypothesis.[74] If one wants to accept **vastrabara-* "garment-bearer," he cannot refer to a "Regimentskammerverwalter." The form **vastrabara-* would have to denote

[70] Georg Hüsing, "Porušātiš und das achämänidische Lehenswesen," *Berichte des Forschungs-Institutes für Osten und Orient* 2 (1918): 129–31.

[71] This etymology was proposed and defended by some scholars (Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* [Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1904], p. 421; Antoine Meillet and Émile Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, 2nd ed. [Paris: H. Champion, 1931], p. 109; Ernst Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 1 [Berlin: D. Reimer, 1938], p. 95). On the totally incredible possibility **vadar-bara-* "weapon bearer," see Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 118–19.

[72] See Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 118.

[73] Edwin Norris, "Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1855): 432.

[74] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 81 and 93–96.

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someone who possesses an honorary garment, but Avestan *vastra-* is not attested meaning "honorary garment." As an alternative solution Eilers proposes to read **vistarbara-*.[75] **Vistar-* "bedding, carpet, blanket, cover" is the ancestor of Middle Persian *vistar(ag)* and New Persian *gustar* "bed." The word actually would denote the court security police, charged with keeping everyone away from the king.

The next author to be occupied with this intriguing word was Walther Hinz.[76] He picked up Hüsing's proposal and proved it to be right by viewing it in light of an inscription of Darius I, that is, DNd (Darius Naqš-e Rustam d). The result is the currently accepted one.[77] To Hinz, *ustarbar* is a rendering of Iranian **vastrabara-*, the Median equivalent of the Old Persian attested form *vaçabara-*[78] (DNd 1) "garment bearer."[79] **Vastrabara-* developed to **vasçabara-*, which, through assimilation (sç > çç < ç), became *vaçabara-*.[80]

An edition of a Babylonian text (RA 90 48–49 no.6) corroborates Hinz's etymological opinion. In this text the title is spelled *ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-*ʾ, which can only reflect Iranian **vastrabara-*.[81] This makes the etymology and meaning of the word certain.

2. The Irano-Elamite Evidence

With the discovery that Babylonian *ustarbar* is a rendering of **vastrabara-*, which developed to Old Persian *vaçabara-*, and the importance of the inscription DNd in this discovery, it is now possible to look for *ustarbar*us in Elamite sources. In fact, an Elamite calque on the Old Persian form immediately suggests itself: *lipte kuktir:* PN *lipte kuktira Tariyamauš sunki apte marriš* "PN, the *lipte kuktir*, holds Darius the king's bow-and-arrow case."[82]

Lipte kuktir, whereby *kuktir* is a reduplicated form of *kutir*, consists of *lipte* and *kutir*, a participial form of the verb *kuti-* "to carry, bear." The meaning of *lipte* was originally thought to be "bow" or "battle-ax," because of the fact that Aspacānah- is pictured holding a ceremonial ax or hammer.[83]

Weissbach refers to the occurrences of this word in the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts from Susa, where the word is attested three times (MDP 9 73: 1, 175: rev. 4, 264: 5).[84] A closer look at these texts,[85] where *lipte* is associated with textiles, induced F. Bork to assume a meaning "garment, blanket."[86] This proposal was confirmed by R. Borger, who clearly

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[75] Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 95–104.

[76] Walther Hinz, apud Rykle Borger, "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius," *Vetus Testamentum* 22 (1972): 390–91; idem, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, Reihe 3, Iranica 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), pp. 57–58.

[77] Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 258; Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," p. 49 n. a; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 118; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 434 no. 4.4.7.121; Jursa, "Höflinge," p. 168.

[78] The Elamite equivalent is *lipte kuktir*, the Babylonian one is restored *ša* [*ṣu-ba*]*-ta* (see Borger, "Die Waffenträger," p. 391).

[79] This solution brings to an end the discussion on the origin and meaning of Old Persian *vaça-* and *vaçabara-*. *Vaçabara-* (and, in a derived way, *vaça-*) has been read (e.g., *manθrabara-* and *vursabara-*) and translated in various ways: "chamberlain" (Norris, "Memoir on the Scythic Version," p. 432), "porteur des orders," (Jules Oppert, *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes* [Paris: Maisonneuve, 1879], p. 206), "Genosse" (Friedrich Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften: Im Grundtexte mit Uebersetzung, Grammatik und Glossar*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig: Engelmann, 1881], p. 59; Franz H. Weissbach and Willy Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften in Umschrift und Übersetzung*, Assyriologische Bibliothek 10 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893–1908], p. 37), "Stabtrager" (Ferdinand Justi, "Der Chiliarch des Dareios," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 50 [1896]: 663), "shield" (Artur F. Hoffmann-Kutschke, "Zu den Achamaniden-Inschriften," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 9 [1906]: 484) and "battle-axe" (Herbert C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexikon*, Vanderbilt Oriental Series 6 [Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1908], pp. 42 and 47; Franz H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 3 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911], p. 97; Walther Hinz, *Altpersischer Wortschatz*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 27/1 [Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1942], p. 144; Albert T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948], p. 218). Ilya Gershevitch, "Outdoor Terms in Iranian," in *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, edited by Walter B. Henning and Ehsan Yarshater (London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., 1962), p. 78 n. 8, believes that it is a formation from a stem **vaθar-*. The latter would be related to **vaθa-* (cf. Avestan *vadar- / vada-*). Such a stem **vaθa-*, Avestan **vasa-* is clearly connected with Old Indian *vāśī-* and Ossetian *uæs* "ax." See also Wilhelm Brandenstein and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1964), p. 150 (from Aryan **vaśr-*, Old Indian *vāśī-*, Ossetian *väs*). According to Roland G. Kent, "The Name of Hystaspes," *Language* 21 [1945]: 233; idem, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexikon*, American Oriental Series 33, 2nd rev. ed. [New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953], p. 206) its meaning is "bow," because of Aspathines' holding of a bow on the accompanying relief.

[80] The cluster *-str-* thus had a development *-str-* > *-sç-* > *-ç-*, whereas *-štr-* developed to *-sç-* and finally to *-š-* (Beekes, apud Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 118 n. 14).

[81] See Wilhelm Eilers, review of *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte*, by Oluf Krückmann, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 9 (1933–1934): 334 n. 13, and Zadok, review of Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 216, for the equation of Iranian /va/- and Babylonian <V-ma>.

[82] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 117.

[83] Willy Foy, "Zur altpersischen Inschrift NR d," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 55 (1901): 514; Weissbach, *Keilinschriften*, p. 97; Kent, "The Name of Hystaspes," p. 233; Gershevitch, "Outdoor Terms," pp. 78–79 and n. 8; Wilhelm Eilers, "Vier Bronzewaffen mit Keilinschriften aus West-Iran," *Persica* 4 (1969): 29–31; Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 92 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 721.

[84] Weissbach, *Keilinschriften*, p. 160.

[85] Vincent Scheil, *Textes Élamites - Anzanites* 3, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 9 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907), p. 66, translates his false reading lu-ip-te with "lainage." In MDP 9 175 a list of garments (*kuktum*, *tukli*, etc.) is followed by *pap 59 li-ip-te* "In total: 59 garments."

[86] Ferdinand Bork, review of *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, by F. H. Weissbach, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 15 (1912): 68.

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showed that *apte* means "his bow-and-arrow case," which excluded such a meaning for *lipte*. The meaning "garment" is now fully accepted.[87]

Having established the meaning of *lipte* it is now easy to translate the expression *lipte kuktir* as "garment bearer." This makes *lipte ku*(*k*)*tir* the perfect Elamite equivalent of Old Persian *vaçabara-* (and its Babylonian rendering *ustarbar*) and accordingly a study can be conducted of the *ustarbar*s in Elamite texts.

2.1. Prosopographical Data

2.1.1. Aspacānah- (Aspathines)[88]

Doubtlessly Aspacānah- is the most famous *vaçabara-*. Otanes, who organized the murder of "pseudo-Smerdis," chose him and Gobryas as the two most important conspirators.[89] Both he and Gobryas are depicted on the tomb relief of Darius I in Naqš-e Rustam; the presence of his image on the rock of Naqš-e Rustam is the clearest evidence of his high-ranking position.

A person called Aspacānah- (Elamite ^{m}Áš-ba-zí-na) is also attested in the Persepolis Fortification archive as a high-ranking official.[90] More precisely he was the principal administrator of the Persepolis economy from at least year 28 of Darius I to year 3 of Xerxes (494/493–483/482) and was thus the successor of *Farnaka-.[91] It is very well probable that Aspacānah-, the *lipte kutir*, and Aspacānah-, the chief administrator of the Persepolis economic system, is one and the same person, but unfortunately homonymy cannot be completely excluded. In the case of identity, he was also responsible for the management of royal property, espcially agricultural holdings.[92]

*2.1.2. *Daiθaka- (Teatukka)*[93]

He occurs in PF 1256, a receipt of flour rations, where he is introduced "chamberlain, registrar[94] [working] at the estate of Bakabadda the *habezziš*."[95] As Henkelman points out, he belonged to the higher ranks of Achaemenid society (this is confirmed by his high flour ration of 60 quarts a month) and occurs performing various functions in the Fortification archive. Possibly he is also called **bājikara-* "tax official." In any case, this corresponds to the social status of other *ustarbar*s.

2.1.3. PF 1599

Text PF 1599 does not mention an individual *vaçabara-*, but an unnamed group of *lipte kutip* (pl.). Bakadada receives rations of flour which he passes on to, among others, some *lipte kutip*. In this text evidence can be found of *lipte kutip* as free men, as they are mentionened on the same level with the *hasup*, a class of persons who were certainly free.[96] Bakadada is probably identical with the homonomous lance-bearer and occurs also in PF 1196, where he receives rations to be divided over twenty-eight free men.[97]

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[87] Ju. B. Jusifov, "Эламские хозяйственные документы из Суз," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 2/84 (1963): 248; Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 17 (Berlin: Reimer, 1987), p. 824; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 118. The latter also presents an etymology for the word: *lipte* could be related to Akkadian *labāšu* "to clothe" with an added *-t* as indicator of the Elamite inanimate class. Henkelman reconstructs a form **libište* with syncope of the second syllable. It is, however, equally possible to derive it from Akkadian *lubuštu* "garment, clothes."

[88] See Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 14 no. 1.2.7.

[89] Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 107–08 and 111–13; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 119.

[90] For a list of attestations, see Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 123 n. 25; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 47 no. 2.2.7.

[91] David M. Lewis, "Persians in Herodotus," in *The Greek Historians: Literature and History: Papers Presented to A. E. Raubitschek* (Saratoga: ANMA Libri, 1985), p. 115; Heidemarie Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/89 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1990), pp. 232–33.

[92] Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 478–86; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 124, who calls him "chancellor of the house of the king."

[93] The Elamite spellings Da-a-tuk-ka$_4$ and Te-a-tuk-ka$_4$ represent Old Persian *Daiθaka-, whereas the spelling Te-tuk-ka$_4$ is a rendering of the monophthongized form *Dēθaka-. The name is the Old Persian equivalent of *Daisa-ka- "he who shows" (Hinz, *Neue Wege*, p. 91; idem, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 81; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 165 no. 4.2.480).

[94] Elamite *karamaraš*, a rendering of the Iranian form **kāra*(*h*)*māra-* (Matthew W. Stolper, "Three Iranian Loanwords in Late Babylonian Texts," in *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, edited by Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7 [Malibu: Undena, 1977], pp. 260 and 262; Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 408–09 no. 4.4.3.6).

[95] Translation by Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 164.

[96] Heidemarie Koch, "Zu den Lohnverhältnissen der Dareioszeit in Persien," in *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, edited by Heidemarie Koch and David N. McKenzie, Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 10 (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1983), p. 38.

[97] Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "Exit der Posaunenbläser: On Lance-guards and Lance-bearers in the Persepolis Fortification Archive," *ARTA* 2002.007: 25–28 (www.achemenet.com); idem, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 164–65.

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2.1.4. PFNN 1848[98]

In PFNN 1848 a group of thirty-five *lipte kuktira* (sg.) is mentioned (line 8). Each one receives one quart of flour a day. It is noteworthy that they are described as "keepers of the *šumar*" (*akkap šumar niškip*). The word *šumar* probably refers to a tomb or burial mound. In the case of PFNN 1848 it most likely refers to a royal tomb.[99]

3. Functions of the *ustarbaru*s and the *lipte kutip*

3.1. Combination with Other Functions

The title *ustarbar* or *lipte ku*(*k*)*tir* could be combined with other functions and/or titles, although this is relatively rare. Nonetheless, this does not imply that the combination of the title *ustarbaru* and another office appellative was unusual. Only five examples are known.

1. *mār bīti* (*ša Zatame*, a Persian nobleman): Ninakku[100]
2. *ša rēš šarri* "court-official": Bagazuštu
3. *šaknu ša banaikānu* "foreman of the *banikānu*": Bēl-bullissu
4. Aspacānah- (DNd), who was the chief administrator in Persepolis
5. *Daiθaka- (PF 1256), who performed other duties and was possibly called **bājikara-*
6. a group of *lipte kutip* is called "the guards of the royal tomb" (*lipte kutip akkap šumar niškip*)

In addition to this, *ustarbar* itself may also be specified.

1. *ustarbaru šá Puršātu* (Parysatis): Siamû
2. *ustarbaru šá šarri*: Bēl-ittannu (no. 1.1.11), Šibbû, Linūḫ-libbi-ilī, Marduk (he is also a mere *ustarbaru* in other texts), and Paṭaniʾesī

*Ustarbaru*s could thus be connected to one individual (Parysatis). Possibly an *ustarbar ša šarri* had more prestige than a mere *ustarbar*.

3.2. The Relation between ustarbarus and the Royal Family

The *ustarbaru*s did obviously not belong to the royal family, but at minimum they had strong connections to it.[101] The officials could manage royal land (e.g., the Queen's Estate; BE 9 28 and 50) or they could lease land to high officials (RA 90 48–49 no. 6). Pitibirī was granted a plot of land by the Achaemenid prince Siṭunu and Tiriadatu received a house from the king. It is not surprising to see that three of the five *ustarbaru*s connected to the royal house have Iranian names (Bagamiḫî, Bagazuštu, and Tiriadatu). The others have an Egyptian (Pitibirī) and a Babylonian (Zababa-iddin) anthroponym.

The *ustarbaru*s or their subordinates also witnessed contracts dealing with members of the Persian royalty or their subordinates.[102] It is needless to say that not all records of business between the Murašû firm and the Achaemenids were witnessed by *ustarbaru*s.

1. Aššur-aḫ-iddin and Nabû-nadin, two agents of Bēl-ibukaš (no. 1.1.8), witness a contract between Qûsu-Iâḫabi and Enlil-supē-muḫur, the bailiff of Prince Aršam (BE 9 1).
2. Kiribti-Bēl (no. 1.1.16) witnesses a contract between Labaši, the bailiff of prince Dundana, and Rīmūt-Ninurta, a member of the Murašû family (BE 10 89).[103]

Finally, the contacts between the *ustarbaru*s and the royal family also were visible in death. In the Persepolis Fortification texts the guards of royal tombs could have the title of *ustarbaru*.

[98] For a commented edition of this text based on Hallock's notes, see Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 107–10.
[99] A thorough study of the expression *šumar* can be found in Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial."
[100] See Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 88; Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," pp. 102 and 111; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 106; and Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.
[101] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 122.
[102] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.
[103] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 66.

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3.3. Ustarbarus *as Masters or Owners of Other Persons*

An indication of a higher status of the officials discussed here is the appearance in documents of their subordinates. These people, who worked for an *ustarbaru*, leased out land owned or managed by their master (TuM 2/3 148), managed land owned by the *ustarbaru*s (e.g., PBS 2/1 70, 98), received rent for such land (BE 9 28, 50; BE 10 103, 114, 129; PBS 2/1 43, 70, 98, 102), or made payments on behalf of the *ustarbaru*s (HSM 8414). The direct involvement of the *ustarbaru*s is less frequent (AIONS 77 1; BE 9 102; Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pl. 3; PBS 2/1 65; RA 90 48–49 no. 6).

It seems that the bailiffs (*paqdu*) had the highest responsibility of all subordinates. They managed properties, which they could lease out.[104] There are only two activities that could also be conducted by other subordinates: the receiving of rent and the witnessing of contracts. The first one was the competence of bailiffs,[405] deputies,[106] agents,[107] and servants,[108] but bailiffs are still involved in the majority of texts. Only servants[109] and agents[110] witnessed contracts. In other Murašû texts bailiffs too could be witnesses.[111]

This pattern seems to be only partly corroborated by the other Murašû texts: there the competence of servants (*ardu*) is much greater, since they also make payments,[112] lease out land,[113] lease land,[114] but their main function remains the receiving of rent.[115] In one case (IMT 105), a servant starts litigation. This suggests that the common translation of "servant" is misleading.

In general, the responsibility of the agents (*mār bīti*) and the bailiffs (*paqdu*) was not simply to receive rent.[116] Agents also lease and lease out,[117] make payments,[118] appear as creditors,[119] or do other things.[120] The name of only one agent is known: Iranian *Tīrīkāma- "having a desire for Tirya."[121] This person had an authority approaching that of the family members themselves:[122] he made payments for the firm (BE 10 56), he leased out land (IMT 22) or a building (BE 9 54), he appears as creditor[123] (BE 9 68; EE 86), receives land to work on (PBS 2/1 159), and is attested conducting other business (BE 10 10; EE 93, 94; PBS 2/1 28).

Bailiffs were especially engaged in the managing of land.[124] All this may lead one to see some hierarchy in the various titles, although it is equally possible that the titles do not have a hierarchical connotation. The social status of the subordinates (free or unfree) will not be discussed here.[125]

The attested subordinates of *ustarbaru*s are:

1. agents (*mār bīti*): Bēl-nadin, agent of Bagamiḫî (1.1.2)
2. commissioned agents (*ālik našparti*): no individual is named (cf. n. 2)
3. associate (*aḫu*):[126] Ḫašdaya, associate of Bēl-īdiš (1.1.9)
4. deputy (*šanû*): Ḫurru, deputy of Zababa-iddin (1.1.31)

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[104] This authority is also attested for bailiffs of other officials.

[105] BE 10 103, 114, 129; PBS 2/1 43, 70, 102.

[106] BE 9 28.

[107] BE 9 50.

[108] PBS 2/1 43, 98.

[109] BE 10 129; Fs Perrot 173 no. 1; TuM 2/3 148.

[110] BE 9 1.

[111] E.g., (1) PBS 2/1 27, 129, and 193 (Nidintu-Šamaš / Kartakku, *paqdu* and *ardu* of Artaḫšari); (2) TuM 2/3 147 (Mitradatu, *paqdu* of Dadaršu); (3) TuM 2/3 184 (Pe-e-É-ku-uš, *paqdu* of Amurru-iddin).

[112] E.g., BE 8/1 126; BE 10 126; IMT 100; TuM 2/3 189.

[113] E.g., BE 10 99.

[114] E.g., BE 9 54, 60; EE 99; IMT 13, 33; PBS 2/1 215. In most cases they leased the land from their master, e.g., BE 9 26, 29, 30, 51, 65, 86a, 99; BE 10 54; EE 17, 28, 30; IMT 10, 16, 18; PBS 2/1 106, 115. Other contracts between an official and his subordinate are BE 9 21, 51; IMT 96; PBS 2/1 111, 127, 222; and TuM 2/3 203.

[115] E.g., BE 9 11, 73, 75, 83–84; BE 10 56, 58, 76, 80, 88, 117; EE 34, 59; IMT 53, 55; PBS 2/1 60, 133.

[116] *Mār bīti:* BE 9 14, 15, 59; IMT 40, 45; PBS 2/1 125. *Paqdu:* BE 9 39; BE 10 89, 127; IMT 38.

[117] E.g., IMT 20; PBS 2/1 15, 159.

[118] E.g., BE 10 56.

[119] E.g., BE 9 68.

[120] E.g., BE 10 10; IMT 20; PBS 2/1 15, 28.

[121] Attested in texts dating from 428 (Artaxerxes 37) to 423 (Darius 1). It is interesting to see that the oldest attestation (EE 94) describes him as *ardu* "servant," while the other eleven texts (Anatolica 14 127 no. 67; BE 9 54, 68; BE 10 10, 56; EE 86, 93; IMT 20, 22; PBS 2/1 11, 28) call him *mār bīti* "agent." This could give us a hint about the career of *Tīrīkāma-.

For the name, see Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, p. 237; Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals," p. 102; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, p. 125; Tavernier, *Iranica*, pp. 326–27 no. 4.2.1710.

[122] Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû*, pp. 12 and 29 n. 2; Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 21.

[123] The only other subordinate of the Murašû firm who appears as creditor is Rībat, an *ardu*, who also held a high position within the firm.

[124] E.g., BE 9 1, 39; BE 10 89, 127, 130–32; EE 4; IMT 38; PBS 2/1 145.

[125] For a study of this status, see Muhammad A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia: From Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626–331 B.C.)*, edited by Marvin A. Powell and David B. Weisberg, translated by Victoria A. Powell (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984), pp. 83–89 and 99–101.

[126] *Aḫu* has a general sense and can mean "assistant, colleague, associate" (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 20).

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5. bailiff (*paqdu*)
   - Barikia / Isparda, bailiff of Parnuš (1.1.22)
   - Bēl-aḫ-ušabši, bailiff of Pitibirī (1.1.24)
   - Bēl-ibni, bailiff of Šibbû (1.1.28)
   - Paruḫātu, bailiff of Ipraduparnâ (1.1.15)
6. servants (*ardu*)
   - Bēl-ibni, servant of Parnuš (1.1.22)
   - Kišā, servant of Šibbû (1.1.28)
   - Paniʾesī, servant of Pitibirī (1.1.24)
   - six servants of Šamû (1.1.27; four with name preserved)
7. slaves (*amēlūtu*): four of them sold by Bēl-ittannu (1.1.11) for 5 minas of silver

Two texts indicate that some *ustarbaru*s had many subordinates. In BE 10 9 the agents, commissioned agents, and servants of Bagadata are mentioned and in Fs Perrot 173 no. 1 at least six servants of Šamû appear in a marriage contract between two servants. The *ustarbaru*s could, just like other free citizens, sell or buy slaves. In PBS 2/1 65 Bēl-ittannu sells four slaves for 5 minas of silver.

One Elamite text (PF 1256) mentions three servants of *Daiθaka- the *ustarbaru* (here: *lipte kutir*), who receive one quart of flour a day, that is, half of the rations their master receives.

3.4. Ustarbaru*s as Owners and/or Managers of Land, Houses, and Canals*

*Ustarbaru*s could possess plots of lands,[127] which they rented out. A good example of this is Parnuš, who owned at least two plots of land, which were managed by two of his subordinates (BE 10 103; PBS 2/1 70, 98, 102). Yearly he received 30 kur of barley for one plot and 12 shekels of silver for the other plot.

The immovable property owned by them could have been a royal grant (in the case of Tiriadatu [Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pl. 3]) or a grant by a prince (e.g., Siṭunu, who gives land to Pitibirī [BE 10 129; TuM 2/3 148]). Possibly other royal grants were given to Bagadata (BE 10 9) and Bagapāta (HSM 8414).[128] In some cases there is no information available about the property of the *ustarbaru*: Ipraduparna (BE 10 114) and Šibbû (PBS 2/1 43; rent of 1/2 mina).[129] This, however, does not exclude that these properties were also royal grants.

The case of Siṭunu is particularly interesting.[130] The two relevant texts are witnessed by Bābu-iddin, who in one text is called "bailiff of the estate of Siṭūnu, which has been given to Pitibirī" (TuM 2/3 148).[131] In all likelihood Pitibirī belonged to the retinue of Siṭunu and as such was granted property from the prince, although it is not impossible that Siṭunu died (or lost the king's favor) after which the land came into Pitibirī's hands. Consequently, both persons were proprietors.[132]

In other cases *ustarbaru*s only managed land owned by other people. In BE 9 28 and 50 (respectively from 429 and 434) two *ustarbaru*s are presented as managers of the so-called queen's estate. Part of the rent paid by the Murašu firm consists of rations for the *ustarbar* and his subordinates.[133] Accordingly, these managers and their subordinates who were also occupied with the management of land had to draw their supplies from the rent they received for lands belonging to the estate itself.[134]

Another estate connected with *ustarbaru*s is the crown prince's estate (*bīt umasupitrû*).[135] In BE 10 15 Bēl-īdišu, the associate of Labaši, the *šaknu* of the crown prince's estate, turns over some bow lands, belonging to this estate, to Enlil-šum-iddin. Two royal *ustarbaru*s (Paṭaniʾesī and Marduk) are witnesses.

PBS 2/1 38 bears the seal impression of Siamû, the *ustarbar ša Puršâtu* (Parysatis). Probably he was the manager of an estate of this queen, but this is not fully certain.[136]

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[127] Matthew W. Stolper, "Iranians in Babylonia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994): 622.

[128] Stolper, "Iranians in Babylonia," p. 622; Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," p. 54 n. 24.

[129] This plot of land cannot be connected to one of the plots of Parnuš, which would have enhanced the possible familial relation between these two *ustarbaru*s.

[130] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 67.

[131] In BE 10 129 he is simply called "bailiff of Pitibirī." This is probably an abbreviation (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 67 n. 78).

[132] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 67.

[133] Rations for *ustarbaru*s are also attested in the Persepolis Fortification archive.

[134] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, pp. 63 and 67.

[135] Iranian *Vāsapuθrava-, an adjectival derivation from **vās*(*a*) *puθra-* "crown prince" (Karl Butz, review of *Management and Politics in Later Achaemenid Babylonia*, by Matthew W. Stolper, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 68 [1976]: 200; Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 60; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 434 no. 4.4.7.120).

[136] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.

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In BE 9 102 the land is a "royal grant," but not to the *ustarbar* Bēl-bullissu, as some authors believe.[137] It is much more likely that Bēl-bullissu represented the *ḫaṭru* of the *banaikānu*, whose foreman he was. Consequently, the land was property of the *ḫaṭru* and as representative of it Bēl-bullissu could lease out the land of the feudatories of the *ḫaṭru*.[138]

Possibly some *ustarbaru*s were fiefholders on the estates they managed. The rent paid to the two managers of the queen's estate, for instance, included rations for these managers (explicitly in BE 9 50, where part of the rent paid by Enlil-šum-iddin is 15 kur of barley for Bagamiḫî). This means that they may have possessed a part of the estate and that as a consequence they were fiefholders on the estate.[139]

Henkelman suggests that this is also the case concerning Pitibirī, who was given a plot of land by Siṭunu. An important difference is that Pitibirī was the owner of the land, which automatically means he was a fiefholder. Henkelman's hypothesis is only valid for people who manage another person's land.[140]

The reasons why these people leased out land of their own is not fully clear. Several possibilities arise:[141]

1. The lessor did not live close to his property, for example, Bagazuštu.
2. The lessor did not have sufficient means to maintain the management and exploitation of his land, so he leased it out to gain more profit (e.g., BE 9 102).

It should be emphasized that land management of this sort does not apply to *ustarbaru*s alone.[142]

Finally, *ustarbaru*s could also be organized in a *ḫaṭru*-institution.[143] This is shown by the occurrence of a *ḫaṭru ša* LÚ*ustaribarra* (BE 10 32: 4). As seen above, the title of *ustarbar* could be cumulated with the foremanship of such a *ḫaṭru*.

In the Elamite Fortification texts *Daiθaka- (PF 1256) is called a "registrar." This means that one of his duties was to make up registers of property.[144]

The text IMT 3 mentions a canal named after an *ustarbaru*, Enlil-šum-ibni. This could imply that at the time the text was written this person was leasing a stretch of a particular canal or that he owned (i.e., it was granted by the king or a royal official)[145] this stretch. He might also have been canal manager (*ša ana muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD NN). Certainly the title of *ustarbar* on itself had nothing to do with canal management.

3.5. Other Business of the ustarbarus

Although the majority of the *ustarbaru*s were engaged in land management, not all of them occur in texts related to that kind of business. They can be witnesses (cf. infra) or the title simply serves as an identification (Fs Perrot 173 no. 1, where Mannu-kî-Nanâ, a servant of Šamû, marries a slave woman of Kinûnaia, another servant of Šamû). In AIONS 77 1 Bēlšunu deposits 1,5 talents of silver.

The most interesting document in this regard is IMT 105, in which Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ appears as member of a panel of free citizens judging in a case between Šiṭāʾ, servant of Prince Aršam, and Enlil-šum-iddin, member of the Murašû family. Here an *ustarbaru* has clearly some juridical influence, albeit seemingly only as member of the panel, rather than as *ustarbaru*. Other texts might indeed point to such a competence. If the named Bēl-ibukaš, a judge in ROMCT 2 35, is the same individual as Bēl-ibukaš the *ustarbaru* (1.1.8), then the connection between *ustarbar* and legal authority is directly attested. He and two other judges are explicitly listed before the witnesses, as if they have to guard the contract. As a matter of fact *ustarbaru*s also appear in this position (AIONS 77 1: *ina* IGI ^{m}*Man-nu-ki-ia* LÚ *us-tar-bar-ri*).

In BE 10 15 two royal *ustarbaru*s are also named together with a judge. In BE 10 91 Linūḫ-libbi-ilī is the first witness, appearing after Bēl-zēr-iddin, a judge of whom it is explicitly said that he was present. This evidence, however, is at most supportive for an assumption of juridical power of *ustarbaru*s.

To summarize, competence in jurisdiction is attested in connection with *ustarbaru*s, but this competence was probably not acquired through their title of *ustarbar*.

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[137] Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," p. 54 n. 24; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.

[138] Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû*, p. 128 and n. 1; Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 127.

[139] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 63; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.

[140] The bailiff of Parysatis had a fief on her estate (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 65).

[141] Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," p. 54.

[142] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, pp. 65 and 67; Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," pp. 54–56.

[143] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 78; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.

[144] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 164.

[145] Most canals were property of the king (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, pp. 37–38).

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3.6. Ustarbarus *as Witnesses*

Mostly the *ustarbaru*s appear as witnesses. Yet they seem to be rather important witnesses. This is proven by their occasional attestation before the actual list of witnesses ("in the presence of PN"). In the majority of texts the *ustarbar* is the first or second witness. Mostly their patronymic is not mentioned, but apparently that was not necessary, since their title in itself was already identification for the readers of the tablets.

One time an *ustarbaru* is the fifth witness (Bēl-ittannu / Bēl-uballiṭ) or the sixth (Kiribti-Bēl). There they are named with title and patronymic. As a counter-example of this tendency, Nanâ-iddin is in BE 10 102 the last witness, without patronymic.

In some texts two or more *ustarbaru*s appear as witness:[146]

1. Bēl-ittannu and Marduk: PBS 2/1 104 (13 Aug 417)
2. Bēl-ittannu and Nanâ-iddin: TuM 2/3 204 (28 Aug 419)
3. Bēl-ittannu, Bēl-tattannu-bullissu and Šum-uṣur: RA 86 75 (18 Feb 417)
4. Bēl-ittannu, Marduk and Bēl-tattannu-bulissu: PBS 2/1 126 (10 Feb 417)
5. Marduk and Paṭani'esī, both royal *ustarbaru*s: BE 10 15 (18 May 423)

It also happens that *ustarbaru*s witness contracts between a colleague (or one of his subordinates) and another party:

1. In BE 9 102 Bēl-bullissu is a party, while his colleague Bēl-ēṭir is the first witness (sealing)
2. Nanâ-iddin witnesses a contract (BE 10 103) in which a subordinate of Parnuš is one of the parties
3. Bēl-tabtannu-bullissu is witness when an associate of Bēl-īdiš leases some land (PBS 2/1 96)
4. When Bēlšunu deposited 1,5 talents of silver, his action was witnessed by his colleague Mannukia

Finally, it should be mentioned that *ustarbaru*s or their subordinates also witness contracts dealing with members of the Persian royalty or their subordinates, as already explained above.

4. Insignia of *ustarbaru*s?

The weapon (a sort of hammer) held by Aspacānah- on the relief at Naqš-e Rustam is not referred to in any of his titles ("garment-bearer" and "holder of the king's bow-and-arrow case").[147] Therefore it is believed by Henkelman to be the "insignium of Aspathines' office, that of 'chancellor of the king's house' and chief administrator of the Persepolis economic system."[148] Henkelman cites various Old and Middle Elamite axes and seals as parallels for such insignia. Yet most of these objects have an uncertain nature and could be votive objects. This is the case for the ax inscribed with the name of Attahušu,[149] the ax with an inscription of Untaš-Napiriša,[150] the ax with an inscription of Šilhak-Inšušinak,[151] and the uninscribed ax dating from the end of the second millennium B.C.[152]

Two other objects could be insignia, but that depends on how their inscriptions are translated.[153] The first one[154] is an ax with an inscription At-tá-hu-šu … Ib-ni-^{d}Adad ìr-zu ha-ṣi-[ud-k]a-[bar] in-na-ba, which can be translated in two ways: (1) "Attahušu (*titulature*): Ibni-Adad, his servant, presented him with this (bronze) axe" (Sollberger), or (2) "Attahušu (*titulature*) has made and given this (bronze) axe to Ibni-Adad, his servant" (Lambert). Lambert connects in-na-ba with the various Ur III seals containing this expression and which he considers to be gifts from kings to their top officials.[155]

The second object is a tankard inscribed with the following text: *At-tá-hu-šu … Ib-ni-*^{d}*Adad* egir *te-ep-pí-ir* ìr-*zu* gu-na-gi$_4$ zabar *in-na-dím in-na-sum.* This text too can be translated in two ways: (1) "Attahušu (*titulature*): Ibni-Adad, the assistant scribe, his servant, made for him and gave him (this) bronze *gunagi*-tankard" (Sollberger), or (2) "Attahušu (*titulature*): to Ibni-Adad, the assistant scribe, his servant, he made and gave (this) bronze *gunagi*-tankard" (Lambert).

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[146] Stolper, "Murašû Texts from Susa," pp. 71 and 75; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 163.

[147] For an image of this ceremonial weapon, see Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 1: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Oriental Institute Publications 68 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pl. 121.

[148] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 124–26.

[149] Pierre Amiet, *Élam* (Auvers-sur-Oise: Archée, 1966), p. 259 no. 188.

[150] Amiet, *Élam*, p. 358 no. 265.

[151] Georges Dossin, "Bronzes inscrits du Luristan de la collection Foroughi," *Iranica Antiqua* 2 (1962), p. 157 no. 13; Amiet, *Élam*, p. 406 no. 306.

[152] Amiet, *Élam*, p. 407 no. 307.

[153] Edmond Sollberger, "A Tankard for Atta-hušu," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 22 (1968): 30–31; Maurice Lambert, "Investiture de fonctionnaires en Élam," *Journal Asiatique* 259 (1971): 217.

[154] Dossin, "Bronzes inscrits," p. 157, reads the name as E-a-ni-e-em.

[155] See also Vincent Scheil, "Passim," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 25 (1925): 147–49.

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If Lambert's translations are corrent, then the two objects may very well be insignia of high-ranking officials. Another parallel is presented by the axes held by some officials at the Qajar court (e.g., under Fath-Ali Shah, 1797–1834), when the *nasaqčī bāšī* "chief-discipliner" had such axes. According to Henkelman these insignia are indications of a traditional relation between ceremonial battle-axes and the office of royal chancellor.

Two seals are also of interest to this discussion. They both depict the same scene: the handing of an ax likely of the same type of those discussed above by one person to another. Both seals have an inscription. The first one[156] has "Imazu, son of Kintattu, king of Anšan," whereas the inscription of the second one is much more informative and actually belongs to the *innaba*-type: I-da-du en_5-si Šušin^{ki} ìr ki-ág ^{d}Inšušnak dumu Tan-^{d}Ru-hu-ra-ti-ir Ku-uk-Si-mu-ut *te-ep-pi-ir* ìr ki-ág-a-ni in-na-ba "Itatu, prince of Susa, beloved servant of Inšušinak, has presented (this seal) to Kuk-Simut, the *teppir*, his beloved servant."[157] The officials received the seal and probably also a battle-ax.

Finally, there is a nice seventh-century parallel to the Naqš-e Rustam relief.[158] The Neo-Elamite relief of Kūl-e Farah I has an image of Hanni, a local ruler of Ayapir, accompanied by two officials.[159] Just like Aspacānah- in Naqš-e Rustam, one of the officials is carrying a quiver and a short sword. He is presented as "Šutruru, the *ragipal* of Hanni" (EKI 75B: ú ^{m}Šu-ut$^{!}$-ru-ru [r]a-g[i]-pal ^{m}Ha-an-ni). The title *ragipal* is in all likelihood a derivation of Akkadian *rab ekalli* "master of the palace,"[160] although that is not yet completely corroborated.[161] The weapons he carries are in all likelihood insignia of his office. It is equally likely that Šutruru and Aspacānah- had comparable functions at their respective courts (chief administrator, chancellor of the royal house). As a consequence, Aspacānah- must have had a third title, not mentioned on the relief, but designating his function as "royal chamberlain." Whether he bore the title *rab ekalli* for this office cannot be confirmed.

The *rab ekalli*, first attested in twelfth-century Assyria, was a key figure in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian administration. He is, however, more frequently attested in the Neo-Assyrian empire and was actually the head of the palace administration. In that function he was responsible for the internal organization of the palace: making sure that the palace workers did their jobs, that the cattle and the birds belonging to the palace were being fed, etc.

Each palace (there are six known palaces in Kalhu, for example) had its *rab ekalli*, so that this office could be held by various persons simultaneously. This emerges from especially Neo-Assyrian texts, where sometimes two or three different *rab ekalli*s are mentioned together (e.g., in ADD 640–641 or ND 2314 [cf. *Iraq* 16: 40]). In other cases the texts specify the palace or city to which the *rab ekalli* belongs, for example, "the palace manager of the Review Palace at Kalhu" (*rab ekalli ša ekal māšarte ša Kalhu*: CTN 3 10: 4–5 and 12: 2–3 [Neo-Assyrian]) or "the palace manager of Borsippa" (*rab ekalli ša Barsip*: TCL 13 153: 6–7 [527 B.C.]).[162]

From Mesopotamia the office and the title were introduced into Elam, where it appears in texts from the Late Neo-Elamite period, ca. 640–550 B.C. Twice a *rab ekalli* is mentioned in the Niniveh Letters (nos. 3: 6 [^{be}gal e.gal^{meš}] and 5: 4 [gal^{meš} ^{aš}*e-kál-li*]), unfortunately without clear contexts. Scholars assume that in Nin. 5 the "master of the palace" is mentioned together with the place names Ayapir and Katmurti, while in the preceding line Zamin of Hatamti is mentioned.[163] Nevertheless, the *rab ekalli* and the name Ayapir (which is a personal name, as indicated by the determinative HAL) are connected in a coordinative way: "The *rab ekalli* and Ayapir from Katmurti."[164]

In the Acropole Texts from Susa three *rab ekalli*s are attested: Humpan-haltaš (MDP 9 9: 2, 93: 14, 163: 4–5, 232: 2), Humpan-tuniš (MDP 9 39: 7), and Harina (MDP 9 145: 8). An unnamed one occurs in MDP 9 22: 1.[165] Finally, the *rab ekalli* of King Humpan-šutruk, Nappahpi, appears in the Ururu Bronze Tablet.

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[156] Amiet, *Élam*, p. 257 no. 186.

[157] Lambert, "Investiture," p. 219.

[158] On other parallels between the Neo-Elamite reliefs of Kūl-e Farah and Šekaft-e Salmān, on the one hand, and the Achaemenid tomb reliefs, on the other hand, see Peter Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 6 (1973): 140–52; idem, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs," in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*, edited by Firouz Bagherzadeh (Tehran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research, 1975), pp. 233–42).

[159] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 127–28.

[160] Walther Hinz, "Elamisches," *Archiv Orientální* 18 (1950): 297 n. 13; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 128.

[161] Matthew W. Stolper, "Malāmīr. B. Philologisch," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7 (1988): 277–78.

[162] Stephanie Dalley and J. Nicholas Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, Cuneiform texts from Nimrud 3 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984), pp. 6–9; Marie-Joseph Steve, "La fin de l'Elam: à propos d'une empreinte de sceau-cylindre," *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986): 14; Nili Sacher Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 23 (Cinicnnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), pp. 93–94; Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid State Administration in Mesopotamia," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, edited by Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), p. 373.

[163] François Vallat, "Le royaume élamite de Zamin et les 'Lettres de Ninive,'" *Iranica Antiqua* 33 (1998): 99–100; Matthew W. Waters, *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 12 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000), p. 92.

[164] See Hinz and Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, p. 15.

[165] The text citations are the ones where the title *rab ekalli* is mentioned. The names themselves (Humpan-haltaš, Humpan-tuniš, and Harina) occur elsewhere in the archive, but it is not certain if all these attestations refer to the same individuals.

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The Elamite texts do not yield much information on the Elamite *rab ekalli*: in the Acropole Texts they appear as receivers of garments or bronze objects, Šutruru, the palace manager of Hanne (EKI 75–76), apparently advised his master on a statue.

It may be assumed that the royal court had one *rab ekalli*, who actually was the head of the administration. Some local rulers (e.g., Hanni) also could have a *rab ekalli*.

Henkelman believes that Šutruru and Aspacānah- held the same office and that accordingly the *vaçabara-* (*ustarbaru*, *lipte kuktir*) and the *rab ekalli* were basically the same people, designated as "chamberlain, royal chancellor." In the case of Aspacānah- this title is then the official indication of his high-ranked position (principal administrator). The difference in the attestations of both individuals is found at the level of their titles: Šutruru is mentioned with his professional title, whereas Aspacānah- is designated by his honorary title.[166]

It is certain that some of the objects fit in the pattern of investiture of officials and that they were thus insignia connected with the specific function and title of the officials. One should, however, be cautious. As Henkelman correctly implies, the persons who possessed the insignia (e.g., Šutruru and Aspacānah-) had (probably) more than one title: Aspacānah- is called both "garment-bearer" and "he who holds the king's bow-and-arrow case" and probably also had a title *rab ekalli* or something indicating that he was the royal chancellor. The two first titles were court titles (cf. § 5.3) and it is to one of both titles that the insignia refer.

It is thus by no means proven that any of the insignia discussed above has anything to do with the appellative *ustarbar*. The insignia may well be connected with a type of official, for example, the royal chancellor or the *teppir*, but never is there a certain direct relationship between insignia and the *ustarbar* or *lipte kutir*.

Moreover, it is far from sure that the appellative *ustarbar* / *lipte kuktir* refers to the royal chancellor, as Henkelman implies. While Aspacānah- was indeed a top official, there are attestations of many other *ustarbar*us, who were certainly not as high-ranked officials as Aspacānah-. In addition, some of them appear in a same time span as Aspacānah- (first years of Darius II). It is impossible that all of them were holding the same high-ranked function of royal chancellor. With regard to Šutruru it is not sure if he had a title *lipte kuktir* or something similar, since that title is never attested for this person. In short, royal chancellors could also be called *ustarbaru*, but not all people called *ustarbaru* were royal chancellor.

It may thus very well be that the objects held by Aspathines on the relief are the insignia of his real offices. Yet he may also have had a symbol attached to his title of *vaçabara-*: his garment (Old Persian *vaça-*). If the hammer refers to his chancellorship and the bow-and-arrow case to his title "holder of the king's bow-and-arrow case," the garment may as well refer to his *vaçabara*ship and be thus the very symbol of this appellative. Garments could easily be given by the king to his supporters (cf. infra).

5. The *ustarbaru*s in a Wider Context

5.1. *Frequency and Social Position of the* ustarbaru

The appellative *ustarbar* is most often attested in texts dating from the reign of Darius II. Although the number of texts dating from the reign of Darius I is very high, only two named *ustarbar*us are attested in these texts:[167] (1) Aspacānah-, who is already discussed, and (2) Marḫarpu, an Egyptian who also took an Iranian name (*Bagazušta-) and who is also called *ša rēš šarri* "royal commissioner." The latter aspect corroborates his high position in the Achaemenid administration and society. If he is identical with *Bagazušta- mentioned in Amherst 258, a list of various top officials, this would be a further confirmation of his high status.

Possibly the title became more frequently used after the second year of Xerxes, but this is difficult (impossible?) to judge due to the lower number of texts from his reign. More attestations occur in the Murašû texts (reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II), with a peak in the texts from the beginning of the reign of Darius II. An explanation for this phenomenon is given below (see below, § 5.2).

As already demonstrated, the *ustarbar*us held a high social position.[168] They were mostly high-ranking officials in the Achaemenid administration; indeed, it appears that the granting of the title *ustarbaru* only enhanced their already high position. They were land owners and had strong connections with the royal family; they also combined their title of *ustarbaru* with other offices and had many subordinates and may have possessed insignia.

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[166] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 118–29.

[167] Next to the *ustarbaru*, whose name is not preserved (no. 1.1.32).

[168] Against Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 89), who uses the high frequency of the title as an argument in favor of a low social importance of the *ustarbaru*.

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5.2. Ustarbaru *and* ša rēš šarri

In an interesting article, M. Jursa claims that the title *ustarbar* is in fact the successor of the title *ša rēš šarri*.[169] Various aspects favor this hypothesis:

1. The title *ustarbar* appears at the moment when the title *ša rēš šarri* begins to fall into disuse. During the Neo-Babylonian period and into the beginning of the Achaemenid period, that is, until the second year of Xerxes' reign[170] (484 B.C.) the title *ša rēš šarri* is amply attested, whereas from 484 on it is barely attested. Jursa lists only eight examples.[171]
2. Their function and role in the texts is similar: both official (in the civilian administration)[172] and non-official (e.g., as witness, house owners, etc.) functions are taken care of by these officials.
3. Their social position is similar: both the *ša rēš šarri*s and the *ustarbaru*s are high-ranking persons who have various subordinates at their disposal. The fact that not many patronymics are attested of these people supports this. Apparently the title guaranteed such an amount of prestige that it automatically identified the person who bore it.
4. The people holding these titles are ethnically diverse.
5. In some cases the title seems to have been hereditary.

A difference between the bearers of both titles is their military responsibility. While a *ša rēš šarri* could be a military commander, an *ustarbaru* apparently could not. This can partly be explained by the transition from the Neo-Babylonian to the Achaemenid empires, since the various *ša rēš šarri*s with military responsibilities all figure in the Neo-Babylonian empire, which organized its military differently from the Achaemenid empire. However, as our knowledge of the military of these periods remains limited, one should be cautious about this.

Two times the same individual is both called (*ša*) *rēš šarri* and *ustarbaru*. In RA 90 48–49 no. 6 (from 496 B.C.) *Bagazušta- (1.1.5) has both appellatives. Šamû is called *ša rēš šarri* in PBS 2/1 130 and *ustarbaru* in Fs Perrot nos. 1–2. According to Jursa this text demonstrates that the titles were not always synonymous. He explains this anomaly by suggesting that the title *ustarbar* was semantically expanded and could be used for any former *ša rēši*.[173] Alternatively, these texts may be situated in a transition period during which the title *ustarbar* was used as synonym for *ša rēši*.[174] This is certainly valid for the text of 496 B.C., when the expression *ustarbaru* was not yet fully integrated.

5.3. Ustarbarus *as Collaborators*[175] *with the Achaemenid Administration*

One of the aspects of royal Achaemenid ideology is loyalty to the king and royal recompensations for this loyalty.[176] It was indeed a royal duty to promote the people who had been of assistance to the king. The Achaemenid royal inscriptions at Bīsītūn and Naqš-e Rustam are explicit: "The man who strove for my (royal) house, him I treated well" (DB iv 63), and "the man who co-operates, for him, according to the cooperation, thus I care for him" (DNb 16–17; XPl 17–19) or "what a man achieves or brings according to his powers, by that I become satisfied, and it is very much my desire; and I am pleased and give generously to loyal man" (DNb 24–27; XPl 26–31).[177] This attitude is also described by Greek

[169] Jursa, "Höflinge."

[170] In the summer of that year the rebellions against Xerxes started, upon which some retaliatory reprisals followed against a traditional Babylonian segment of the Babylonian elite. The pro-Persian Babylonians were not affected by these reprisals (see Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes and the 'End of Archives,'" *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 [2003/2004]: 150–73).

[171] Jursa, "Höflinge," pp. 166–67.

[172] A good example is the *ša rēš šarri* engaged in managing functions in the ration distribution system in the palace archive from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (Olof Pedersén, *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon: Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899–1917*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 25 [Saarbrücken: Saarländische Drückerei und Verlag, 2005], pp. 113–14; idem, "Foreign Professionals in Babylon: Evidence from the Archive in the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar II," *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia* (papers read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1–4 July 2002), edited by Wilfred H. van Soldt, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 102 [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2005], p. 268; Jursa, "Höflinge," p. 163. This is easily comparable with the function of Aspacānah- in Persepolis.

[173] Jursa, "Höflinge," pp. 169–70.

[174] A further indication for this may be that the title *ša rēš šarri* did not disappear completely after that date. Note that the title *ustarbaru* is not the only example of a Babylonian title being replaced by its Iranian equivalent. The same happened to *rab kāṣiri*, which was replaced by *ganzabaru* "treasurer."

[175] "Collaborator" is not used here in its meaning of "someone who acts against his own people in favor of a foreign power," but rather in a meaning "someone who helps run the affairs of a foreign power (e.g., the Persian empire) in a specific region (e.g., Mesopotamia)."

[176] Muhammad A. Dandamayev and Vladimir G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 138–39; Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 314–66, esp. pp. 314–22 and 327–28.

[177] Translations by Rüdiger Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 1: The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts 1 (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991), p.

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authors: the king donates according to the cooperation and the gifts were abundant: gold or silver objects, garments, horses, weapons, cities, vast landholdings, etc. Important is also that apparently a register was kept of the people who were rewarded in this way.[178]

The people receiving such royal gifts were not necessarily Persians.[179] The Greek authors provide numerous examples of Greeks enjoying this honor: Demaratus, a Spartan king; Demokedes, the physician of Darius I; Pausanias, a Spartan general; etc. In some cases entire Greek communities (e.g., Akanthos and Abdera) were proclaimed "benefactor" and accordingly received gifts from the Persian king. Ešmunʾazar II, the Phoenician ruler of Sidon (ca. 475 B.C.), received plots of land from the Persian king.

These foreigners served as the king's strongholds in their respective homelands (Egypt, Babylonia, etc.) or as advisors in the relations of the Achaemenid empire with its neighbors (e.g., the Greeks). Through this system the king could have collaborators in each region of his empire.[180] The general idea is that while collaboration certainly goes hand-in-hand with basic imperial ruling structures, it was the Achaemenids who first institutionalized the registers of collaborators and gave them official status.

Greek authors described people receiving such royal gifts as "benefactors" (εὐεργέτης). According to Herodotus (8.85) they were called *ὀροσάγγαι* in Persian: ὁι δ'εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί "The benefactors of the king are called *orosangae* in the Persian language." The *Lexicon rhetoricum Cantabrigiense* (by Peter P. Dobree, 1822), which is based on a series of articles in the margin of a manuscript of Harpocration's *Lexicon of the Ten Orators* (second century A.D.) mentions that Sophocles believed the *ὀροσάγγαι* to be bodyguards, whereas according to Nymphis of Heracleia (ca. 310–after 246 B.C.) the *ὀροσάγγαι* had "the highest precedence and were called royal guest-friends in their language" (τοὺς ὀροσάγγας ... παρὰ Πέρσαις τὴν μεγίστην ἔχειν προεδρίαν, καλεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ γλῶτταν ξένους βασιλείους). In the lexicon of Hesychius (fifth century A.D.) one can read: ὀρσάγγης: σωματοφύλαξ. ἢ ὁ τήν [*sic*] βασιλέως οἶκον πότε εὐεργετήσας "Bodyguard; or: he who has once been a benefactor to the royal house." In his lexicon Photius simply calls them "the bodyguards of the king."

An etymology for this word was proposed by R. Schmitt, who transformed Schaeder's original etymology[181] into **varusanha-* "widely reknown, world-famous" (Old Indian *uruśáṃsa-* "to be praised by many"). This hypothesis is now largely accepted.[182]

It is not entirely certain whether **varusanha-* was the general Old Persian expression for the collaborators or an example of an Achaemenid aulic title. These titles form one of the many types of titles reflecting royal collaboration. In the Achaemenid empire many titles circulated that were not indications of real official functions, but which were rather honorary court titles. Nevertheless they were very important because they gave their bearers a great prestige, on the one hand, and easy access to more advanced positions, on the other hand. Some examples are *ἀστάνδης* "courier," *διφροφόρος* "footstool-carrier," *δορυφόρος* "lance-bearer," **gāθukabara-* (Elamite ka_4-du-ka_4-bar-ra) "chair-carrier," *μηλοφόρος* "apple carrier," *οἰνοχόος* "cup-bearer," *ὁπλοφόρος* "squire," **patišuvarnabara-* (Elamite bat-ti-iš-mar-na-bar-ra-is) "cup-bearer," *ῥαβδοφόρος* "wand-bearer," **ṛštibara-* (Babylonian áš-ta-bar-ri and áš-te-ba-ri-an-na; Elamite ir-iš-ti-bar-ra, ir-ti-bar-ra, iš-ti-ba-ra, and iš-ti-bar-ra) "lance-bearer," *φαρετροφόρος* "quiver-bearer," etc.[183]

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71 for DB; and idem, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 1: The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts 2 (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000), pp. 40 and 103 for DNb and XPl.

[178] Cf. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 303–04.

[179] Josef Wiesehöfer, "Die 'Freunde' und die 'Wohltäter' des Grosskönigs," *Studia Iranica* 9 (1980): 17–19, has a list of foreigners receiving those honors. See also Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 359–64.

[180] Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, p. 361.

[181] Old Persian **varuθanha-* (Hans H. Schaeder, review of *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, by Carl Schmidt and Hans Jakob Polotsky, *Gnomon* 9 [1933], 347 n. 3; Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, pp. 23–24 n. 4; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, p. 147). Already Jules Oppert, "Mémoire sur les inscriptions des achéménides conçues dans l'idiome des anciens Perses," *Journal Asiatique* 4/17 (1851): 266, connected the *ὀροσάγγαι* with the Old Indian expression.

[182] Rüdiger Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 117 (1967): 131; Wiesehöfer, "Die 'Freunde,'" p. 8; Dandamayev and Lukonin, *The Culture*, p. 138; Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, p. 948; Angus M. Bowie, *Herodotus: Histories, Book VIII*, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 176–77; Manfred Brust, *Die indischen und iranischen Lehnwörter im Griechischen,* Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 118 (Innsbrück: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbrück, 2005), pp. 492–94; Joseph Wiesehöfer, "Günstlinge und Privilegien am Achaimenidenhof," in *Der Achäemenidenhof*, edited by Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger, Classica et Orientalia 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), p. 515. Alternative and unlikely reconstructions are **xursansa-* "worthy of being recorded, worthy of praise" (George Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus* [New York: Appleton, 1859–1860], p. 275), **varxšāyata-* "protecting the king" (Heinrich Stein, *Herodotus erklärt*, Vol. 5: *Buch VIII und IX*, *Namenverzeichnis* [Berlin: Weidmanns, 1868], p. 65; Reginald W. Macan, *Herodotus, the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books* [London: Macmillan, 1908], p. 492; Walter W. How and Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1912], pp. 264–65), **hvarzanga-* "working well" (Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, pp. 95–96), and **rivivaθa-* "friend" (Gherardo Gnoli, *Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico* [Rome: Istituto per il Medio e Estremo Oriente, 1967], p. 48 n. 2; Paul Bernard, "Une problème de toponymie antique dans l'Asie centrale: les noms anciens de Qandahar," *Studia Iranica* 3 [1974]: 179–80 n. 126).

[183] Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, pp. 124–25, 319–22, 642, and 791–92; Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," pp. 120–22.

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The title *vaçabara-* (*ustarbaru*, *lipte kuktir*) was in all likelihood also a court title. The characteristics which can generally be attributed to the court titles also apply to it. The *ustarbaru*s were all of high rank (including possible connections to the royal house and/or gifts from the royal family) and had access to high offices, as is demonstrated above. The fact that *ustarbaru*s combined their title with other office titles (cf. § 3.1) confirms this. In other words, the title *ustarbar* did not denote a real office, but was an honorary aulic title that opened professional possibilities for its owners.[184]

In addition, the Murašû archive especially documents lands that were used by the royal administration and its cooperators. This might be an explanation for the frequency of *ustarbaru*s in this archive, as opposed to other archives. One should, however, not forget the influence of Darius II's struggle for the throne on the number of *ustarbaru*s (see above).

This collaboration model is quite well known for the Achaemenid period. Our documentation for other periods is scanty. Yet glances of this model can be found in the Neo-Elamite texts: the estates mentioned in the inscription of Šutruru (EKI 74) may well be royal gifts. Hanni suggests that he was rewarded by King Šutur-Nahhunte, the son of Intata, because of his good deeds toward the king (EKI 75). The Susa Acropole texts mention some groups (e.g., the Samatians, the Zampekirian Persians) who lived in some alliance with the Neo-Elamite king. By bestowing these groups with gifts, the king buys their loyalty, while they could retain their semi-autonomous status. It is, however, not certain if in the latter case a system comparable with the Achaemenid collaboration model was at work, because the precise relations between the Neo-Elamite kingdom and these groups are not known.

Although the collaboration model as briefly described above probably existed in the Neo-Elamite kingdom, it seems that the titles *vaçabara-* and *lipte kuktir* were only used during the Achaemenid period.

With all this in mind it is possible to assume that *vaçabara-* (*ustarbaru*, *lipte kuktir*) was one of the aulic titles that could be granted to collaborators with the empire. This is not contradictory to the title *ὀροσάγγαι*, which was a general expression for the collaborators. That is, the appellative *vaçabara-* was one of the aulic titles which could, as a gift, be granted to collaborators; all *ustarbaru*s were *ὀροσάγγαι*, whereas only some *ὀροσάγγαι* had the title *ustarbaru*.

6. Conclusion

This article presents a closer look at the Babylonian appellative *ustarbaru*, which occurs in various texts from the Achaemenid period. The term *ustarbaru* is the Babylonian equivalent of Old Persian *vaçabara-* and Elamite *lipte ku*(*k*)*tir*. In the Babylonian texts thirty-two individual *ustarbaru*s are attested, whereas in Old Persian and Elamite texts only two individual *vaçabara-* / *lipte ku*(*k*)*tir*, among whom is the most famous official, namely, Aspathines, occur. Interestingly, some guards of a royal tomb having this title appear in the Persepolis Fortification texts.

Etymologically Old Persian *vaçabara-*, the source word, means "garment-bearer." The Babylonian equivalent *ustarbaru* is simply a rendering of **vastrabara-*, the Median form of *vaçabara-*. The Elamite equivalent, *lipte ku*(*k*)*tir*, is a literary translation of *vaçabara-*, *lipte* meaning "garment" and *ku*(*k*)*tir* meaning "bearer."

The garment-bearers, however, were not real garment-bearers. Their title was only one of the many Achaemenid court titles that were bestowed to persons, Persians as well as non-Persians, who in one way or another acted as collaborators with the Achaemenid administration and who were generally called **varusanha-* "widely reknown" in Old Persian. **Varusanha-* is clearly a more general expression; one may safely assume that all *vaçabara*s were **varusanha*s, but not vice versa. It is unfortunately impossible to discern why these collaborators were granted one title or the other. Their title of *ustarbaru* had nothing to do with their activities as presented to us through the tablets. These activities were more accurately reflected in the other titles the *ustarbaru*s had, although these titles are only rarely known to us.

In any case, the possession of court titles, including *vaçabara-*, could open doors to higher positions within the Achaemenid administration. Accordingly, the owners of the title *vaçabara-* had a high social status. They combined their *ustarbar*-status with other functions (e.g., royal chancellor, *karamaraš* or *šaknu*) and did most likely belong to the upper levels of Achaemenid society, since they owned extensive estates and had various subordinates whose task it was to manage the business of their master. They managed royal estates (e.g., the estate of Parysatis) or could have juridical power. In addition they had a close relationship with the royal family.

The title of *vaçabara-* was not limited to Persians. The Greek classical authors mention non-Persians receiving this honor and in the Babylonian texts many *vaçabara*s with non-Persian names appear.

The reason why these people were called "garment-bearers" is probably the garment they received when being granted the title. This garment was the exclusive symbol connected with this appellative. Unfortunately, there is no absolute certainty on this idea. In any case, many other offices had their own insignia, for example, axes.

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[184] Henkelman, "An Elamite Memorial," p. 128; Jursa, "Höflinge," p. 168.

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The oldest attestations come from the time of Darius I, but most *ustarbaru*s are attested in the reign of Darius II, who apparently granted this title to several of his supporters after his throne accession.

To sum up, the title *ustarbaru* was a prestigious title that was awarded to people because of special services they had delivered to the empire. When the title *ustarbar*, which was rarely used before the reign of Xerxes, became more widespread, possibly as a consequence of the further Iranization of the administration, it gradually took over the place of the title *ša rēš šarri*.

Abbreviations

ADD	C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents Recording the Transfer of Property, Including the So-called Private Contracts, Legal Decisions, and Proclamations, Preserved in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum, Chiefly of the 7th Century B.C.* Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1898–1923
AHw.	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
AIONS 77	Matthew W. Stolper, *Late Achaemenid, Early Macedonian and Early Seleucid Records of Deposit and Related Texts*. Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Supplemento 77. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1993
Amherst	Theophilus G. Pinches, "Notes Upon a Small Collection of Tablets from the Birs Nimroud Belonging to Lord Amherst of Hackney." *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, September 1902*. Leiden: Brill, 1904
Anatolica 14	Francis Joannès, "Fragments de Nippur d'époque neo-babylonienne." *Anatolica* 14 (1987): 107–30
ATNS	J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra, with Some Fragments in Phoenician*. Excavations at North Saqqâra. Documentary Series 4, Texts from Excavations 6. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983
BE 9	Hermann V. Hilprecht and Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.)*. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 9. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, 1898
BE 10	Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II (424–404 B.C.)*. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts 10. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, 1904
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum, London
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CTN 3	Stephanie Dalley and J. Nicholas Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*. Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 3. Oxford: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984
Dem. Nb.	Erich Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1960–
EE	Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 54. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985
EKI	Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 16. Graz: Ernst Weidners, 1965
Fs Perrot	François Vallat, ed., *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran: mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1990
HSM	museum number Harvard Semitic Museum
IMT	Veysel Donbaz and Matthew W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts*. Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 79. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997
JCS 53	Matthew W. Stolper, "Fifth Century Nippur: Texts of the Murašûs and from Their Surroundings." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 53 (2001): 83–132
MDP 9	Vincent Scheil. *Textes Élamites - Anzanites* 3. Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 9. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907
Nin. 5	Elamite letter found in Niniveh and published in F. H. Weissbach, "Susische Tontäfelchen." *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 4 (1902): 168–201
OECT 10	Gilbert J. P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 10. Oxford: Clarendon, 1984
PBS 2/1	Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated to the Reign of Darius II*. University of Pennsylvania Publications of the Babylonian Section 2, No. 1. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1912
PF	Persepolis Fortification tablet published in Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Oriental Institute Publications 92. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969
PFNN	unpublished Elamite tablets from the Persepolis Fortification, transliterated by Richard T. Hallock

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RA 86	Matthew W. Stolper, "The Murašû Texts from Susa." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 86 (1992): 69–77
RA 90	Francis Joannès and André Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens d'époque achéménide du Bît-Abî Râm avec une épigraphe araméenne." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 90 (1996): 41–60
ROMCT 2	Gilbert J. P. McEwan, *The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts 2. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1982
TCL 12	Georges Contenau, *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens I: de Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide*. Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 12. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927
TCL 13	Georges Contenau, *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens II: Achéménides et Séleucides*. Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 13. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929
TuM 2/3	Julius Lewy, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Texte*. Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena 2/3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933
VAT	museum number Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VS 3	Friedrich Delitzsch, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907
WZKM 97	Michael Jursa and Matthew W. Stolper, "From the Tattannu Archive Fragment." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 97 (2007): 243–81

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23

A Statue of Darius in the Temple of Sippar

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At first sight BM 72747 is an unremarkable clay tablet from the extensive Sippar collection of the British Museum (fig. 23.1), but upon closer scrutiny the text offers valuable new information about a sacrificial cult that was carried out in the Ebabbar temple of Sippar for a statue of the Persian king Darius I during the reign of his successor Xerxes. So far, this is the only text that informs us of the practice, showing that images of Persian kings were venerated in Babylonian temples during their long period of reign in the area. I would like to present an edition of this unique text here, in honor of Matt Stolper's influential contributions to the study of Achaemenid Babylonia.[1]

BM 72747 (82-9-18, 12755)
Sippar, Xer 26-[x]-01 (485 B.C.)

Obv. 1 še.bar *sat-tuk šá ṣal-mu šá* $^{\text{I}}$*da-ri-i*$^{\text{?}}$*-a-muš* lugal
2 *šá ul-tu* ud.1.kam *šá* $^{\text{iti}}$gu$_4$ mu.1.kam
3 *a-di qí-it* $^{\text{iti}}$šu mu.1.kam
4 $^{\text{I}}$*hi-ši-i*$^{\text{?}}$*-ar-ši* lugal
5 $^{\text{Id}}$har-dù $^{\text{lú}}$*qal-la šá* šuk.hi.a lugal ((erasure))
6 *ù e-piš-šá-nu šá* $^{\text{I}}$*ta-at-tan-nu*
7 *ina* šu$^{\text{II}}$ $^{\text{Id}}$en-tin^{it} a-*šú šá* $^{\text{Id}}$en-šeš-*it-tan-nu*
8 a $^{\text{Id}}$en-*e-ṭè-ru ma-hi-ir*
9 *ù* 1 gur 4 bán 1 silà zú.lum.ma
Rev. 10 *ma-ak-ka-su šá* $^{\text{iti}}$sig$_4$
11 *šá* [x x lug]al$^{\text{?}}$ *ina* šu$^{\text{II}}$ $^{\text{Id}}$en-tin^{it}
12 x [x x] *ma-hi-ir*
13 $^{\text{lú}}$[*mu-kin*]-*nu* $^{\text{Id}}$ag-*it*-[*ta*]*n-nu*
14 a-*šú šá* [$^{\text{Id}}$]u.gur -[*ina*]-sùh-sur a $^{\text{lú}}$sanga-$^{\text{d}}$utu
15 $^{\text{I}}$dùg.ga-*ia* a-*šú šá* $^{\text{I}}$mu-$^{\text{d}}$en a $^{\text{lú}}$x x
16 $^{\text{Id}}$amar.utu-mu-mu a-*šú šá* $^{\text{Id}}$amar.utu-*na-ṣir*
17 a $^{\text{Id}}$kaskal.kur^{i} $^{\text{Id}}$utu-[x-(x)] a-*šú šá* $^{\text{Id}}$en-sur
18 $^{\text{lú}}$umbisag $^{\text{Id}}$amar.utu-x [a-*šú šá* $^{\text{I}}$x (x)]-*ha-ri*
19 ud.kib.nun$^{\text{ki}}$ [$^{\text{iti}}$x ud].26.kam
u.e. 20 mu.1.kam $^{\text{I}}$*hi-ši-i*$^{\text{?}}$*-ar-ši*
21 lugal *par-sa ma-da*-[*a*]-*a*
l.h.e. 22 lugal tin.tir$^{\text{ki}}$ lugal kur.kur.meš

Barley (of) the regular offerings of the statue of King Darius, from the first day of month *ayyaru* (II) of the first year until the end of month *du*$^{\text{?}}$*ūzu* (IV) of the first year of King Xerxes: (5) Bunene-ibni, the slave, (the person in charge of) the rations of the king, and the deputy (*ēpišānu*)[2] of Tattannu, has received (the barley) from Bēl-uballiṭ/Bēl-ahu-ittannu/Bēl-eṭēru.

[1] BM 72747 is published here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The article was written within the framework of European Research Council Starting Grant BABYLON (project 241118). An earlier draft was presented at the conference Die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakt: Interkulturelle Begegnungen in der Alten Welt (Leopold-Franzens Universität Innsbruck, November 2007).

[2] The translation of the word *ēpišānu* proposed in CAD E p. 240 ("confectioner") and AHw. p. 229 ("Konditor, Zuckerbäcker") was corrected by A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*, Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 80 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997), pp. 261–64, showing that an *ēpišānu* was a person who performed cultic tasks on behalf of an inactive prebend owner.

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(9) He has also received 1;0.4.1 *makkasu* dates of the month *simanu* (III) of [x of] the king (?) from Bēl-uballiṭ. (13) Witnesses: Nabû-ittannu/Nergal-ina-tēšî-ēṭer/Šangû-Šamaš, Ṭābia/Iddin-Bēl/FN, Marduk-šumu-iddin/Marduk-nāṣir/Balīhu, Šamaš-[x]/Bēl-ēṭer. (18) Scribe: Marduk-[x]/[x]-ha-ri. (19) Sippar, Xer 26-[x]-01.

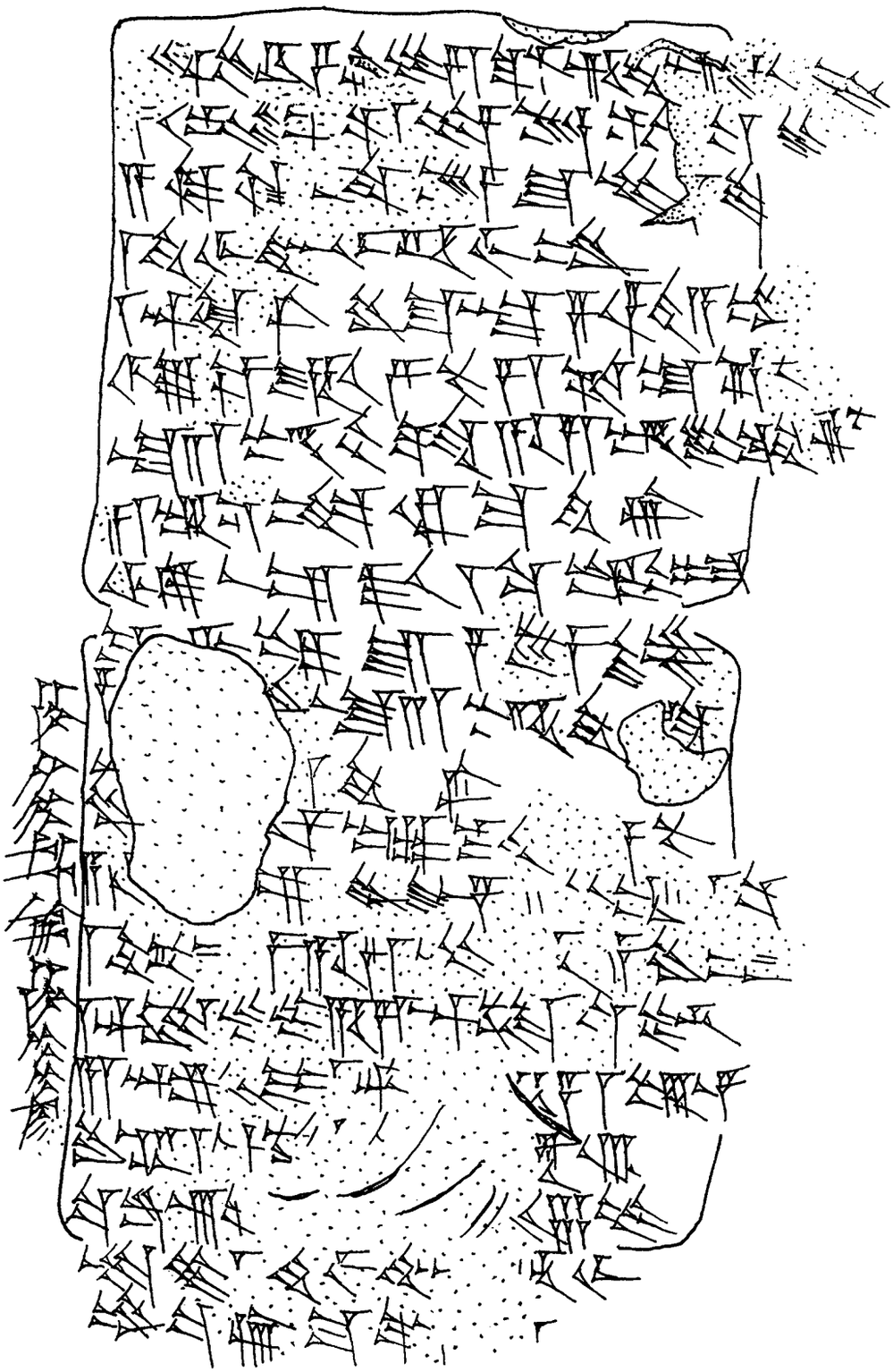


Figure 23.1. BM 72747 (82-9-18, 12755); Sippar, Xer 26-[x]-01 (485 B.C.)

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Commentary

1) The offerings are said to belong to (*ša* "of") the statue of King Darius. Countless tablets from the Ebabbar archive use the same phrase and replace the last element ("the statue of King Darius") with names of regular deities of the local pantheon. For instance, *Cyr.* 33 records "offerings of month *nisannu* of the goddess Gula" (*sattukku ša nisannu ša Gula*, lines 2–3), *Cyr.* 189 concerns "offerings of the gods Adad and Šala" (*sattukku ša Adad u Šala*, line 24), and BM 59073 knows of "offerings of the god Sîn" (*sattukku ša Sîn*, line 2). These parallels — and more could be cited — show that the statue of Darius received offerings in the same fashion as the cult images of the gods who populated the local pantheon of Sippar.

It is worth noting that the statue of Darius enjoyed a regular sacrificial cult that was performed daily. This is suggested by the use of the term *sattukku*, which relates to the daily cult, in contrast to the term *guqqû*, which describes offerings brought at special monthly occasions.[3] The barley issued for the statue in BM 72747 was meant to cover the needs of three full months, from the beginning of month *ayyaru* (II) until the end of *duʾūzu* (IV). The periodicity of this issue is odd given the archival context of the tablet. Length and timing of this term comply neither with the Babylonian civil calendar nor with the local *maššartu* calendar used by the administrators of Ebabbar, as both started in month *nisannu* (I) and the latter lasted for four months. Looking beyond Sippar, we do, however, find some examples of the calendar based on four administrative terms starting in the second month of the year. At the time when BM 72747 was written, the system was in use in the Ezida temple of Borsippa,[4] and several other temples, including the Esagil temple of Babylon and the Eanna temple of Uruk, had applied this calendar at an earlier point in their existence.[5]

5–8) The social and professional background of the persons mentioned in BM 72747 helps to put the text in its historical context. The person who supplied the barley for Darius' statue — Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-ahu-ittannu of the Bēl-eṭēru family — is listed in A. C. V. M. Bongenaar's prosopography of the Ebabbar temple as overseer of the brewers in the early fifth century B.C.[6] This tells us something about the purpose of the payment recorded in BM 72747, namely, that the barley was meant for the manufacture of sacrificial beer, and about the payment's source, for the overseer (*šāpiru*) acted as middleman between the temple treasury and the individual person who was responsible to prepare the sacrificial food in the given period (Tattannu; see below).[7]

The person who received the barley from Bēl-uballiṭ — Bunene-ibni, a slave (*qallu*) — cannot be identified among the published texts of the Ebabbar archive, but BM 72747 uses several identity markers that help to situate Bunene-ibni within a certain professional milieu. Besides the reference to his servile status, he is identified by his relationship to two individuals. First, he is put in connection with the king, as the "official in charge of the rations of the king" (*ša kurummat šarri*), and second, he is identified as the deputy, *ēpišānu*, of a certain Tattannu. Each of these markers tells us something about Bunene-ibni himself and about the administrative framework behind the cult of Darius' statue.

Officials known by the title *ša kurummat šarri* "(he) in charge of the rations of the king" were members of the royal administration who were dispatched to temples in the provincial centers in order to protect and endorse certain royal prerogatives there. As explained by J. MacGinnis, their tasks were twofold.[8] On the one hand, they oversaw the

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[3] CAD S p. 198; and see Francis Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Études assyriologiques 5 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982), pp. 213–14; and Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 145, for the opposition between *sattukku* and *guqqû* in the Neo-Babylonian temple cult.

[4] Caroline Waerzeggers, *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa: Priesthood, Cult, Archives*, Achaemenid History 15 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2010), §1.6.1.

[5] For Uruk, see Rocío Da Riva, "Pfründen in Eanna in der Zeit der Unruhe," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003/2004): 246, 250; GCCI 2 22: 1–2; YOS 17 183: 3; and Erlend Gehlken, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv*, Part 1: *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 5 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990), no. 83: 2–3 and no. 86: 2. For Babylon, see CTMMA 3 no. 13: 7, no. 20: 7, *Nbn.* 311: 4–6.

[6] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, pp. 210–11. Bongenaar concedes that Bēl-uballiṭ is not explicitly identified as overseer of the brewers in the texts, but this affiliation is suggested by Bēl-uballiṭ's career as brewer prior to his appointment to the position of overseer (p. 211).

[7] The office of *šāpiru* was discussed by Mariano San Nicolò, "Materialien zur Viehwirtschaft in den neubabylonischen Tempeln III," *Orientalia* 20 (1951): 148; Hans-Martin Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhundrerts v. Chr. in Uruk*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 20 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1979), pp. 150ff.; Karlheinz Kessler, *Uruk: Urkunden aus Privathäusern; Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs*, Part 1: *Die Archive der Söhne des Bēl-ušallim, des Nabû-ušallim und des Bēl-supê-muḫur*, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 8 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), pp. 89ff.; Teodolinda Di Gennaro, "Lo *šāpiru* nell'Ebabbara neo-babilonese e achemenide," *Annali* 55/4 (1995): 381–405; Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 142; and Govert van Driel, *Elusive Silver: In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment; Aspects of Mesopotamia's Society*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 95 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002), p. 140.

[8] John MacGinnis, "The Royal Establishment at Sippar in the 6th Century B.C.," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 84 (1994): 203–04. Cf. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 105. The office was recently studied anew by K. Kleber on the basis of the Eanna temple archive from Uruk, see Kristin Kleber, *Tempel und Palast: Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 358 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008), pp. 292–310.

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allocation and distribution of resources provided by the king for the offerings in the local temples. On the other hand, they collected leftovers of the sacrificial meals and brought these back to the palace in special boxes for consumption by the king and his household. BM 72747 suggests that we may add a third area to the activities of the *ša kurummat šarri*: preparing food for the statue of the king erected in the local temple. In fact, BM 72747 is not the only Neo-Babylonian text that hints at this task. In the reign of Nabonidus, there might have been another bearer of this same title who took care of a royal statue in the Eanna temple of Uruk (Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, no. 34).[9] I will return to this text shortly.

Bunene-ibni's second title, "*ēpišānu* of Tattannu," is equally important. It tells us that the cult of Darius' statue was modeled on the prebendary system, mirroring the arrangements that existed for the worship of the regular gods of Babylonia. A prebend was a legal title that lent access to a specific cultic task in the service of a particular deity during a designated period of the year. The title *ēpišānu*, borne by Bunene-ibni in BM 72747, puts the entire transaction squarely in the sphere of the prebendary system. It was used to designate the person who acted as deputy on behalf of an absentee prebend owner. In the case of BM 72747, the prebend owner was Tattannu.

It is unfortunate that Tattannu is not further identified in our text. His identity would have told us something about the personnel that staffed the cult of Darius' statue in Sippar. However, a hint about his background is contained in his very name. "Tattannu" was not a common name borne by members of the traditional prebendary families in the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. It only became popular in these circles after the break caused by the revolts against Xerxes and their aftermath. In the period when our text was written, Tattannu was a name typically borne by members of the royal administration, such as the famous governor of Across-the-River in the reign of Darius I,[10] the less important decurion of the royal resident of Ebabbar (*rab-ešerti ša qīpi*) in the reign of Cyrus,[11] the treasurer of the royal cash box (*ša quppi*) in the same temple,[12] or the interpreter of the Carian community living in Borsippa early in the reign of Darius.[13] Although this onomastic evidence does not tell us anything specific about the identity of the Tattannu mentioned in BM 72747, it does make it less likely that he was a member of the local Babylonian priesthood of Sippar. There is indeed no Tattannu in Bongenaar's extensive prosopography of this social group and we can therefore cautiously conclude that Tattannu was an outsider.

Summarizing, BM 72747 tells us that the temple of Sippar was the scene of a cult for the statue of the Persian king Darius shortly after his death in 485 B.C. The cult was modeled on the prebendary system and relied on royal officers and other outsiders to perform the daily tasks of food preparation and presentation. In operation, this system mirrored the arrangements of the traditional cult, but in practice it drew on a different set of social actors. Not the Babylonian hereditary priesthood catered to the needs of the royal image, but local members of the royal establishment and unidentifiable outsiders. The cult of the royal image thus provided an alternative pathway to temple worship, opening up a world of privilege to persons who did not normally partake in it.

Context

The practice of bestowing sacrificial honors upon the statue of the king was an ancient, indigenous tradition in Mesopotamian temples. From the third millennium B.C. onward, countless textual and visual sources from all areas of the Mesopotamian realm refer to this practice.[14] In the more recent past, Neo-Assyrian kings had erected images of themselves in temples of Assyria, Babylonia, and the vassal states, and they had commissioned provisions of food and drink for these objects.[15] In the Neo-Babylonian period, the practice may have been temporarily abandoned in the reigns of

[9] Note, however, that the title *ša* (*muhhi*) *kurummat šarri* was reconstructed by Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, pp. 273, 306; the person in question is not actually attested with this title so far.

[10] Matthew W. Stolper, "The Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in 486 B.C.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48/4 (1989): 289.

[11] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 55.

[12] Ibid., p. 112.

[13] Ran Zadok, "Israelites, Judeans and Iranians in Mesopotamia and Adjacent Regions," in *God's Word for Our World: Theological and Cultural Studies in Honor of Simon John De Vries*, edited by J. Harold Ellens, Deborah L. Ellens, Rolf P. Knierim, and Isaac Kalimi, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement 389 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), vol. 2, p. 125.

[14] William W. Hallo, "Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Divine King," in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem, 1986*, edited by John Adney Emerton, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 54–66; Irene J. Winter, "Idols of the King: Royal Images as Recipients of Ritual Action in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6 (1992): 14–42; idem, "Art *in* Empire: The Royal Image and the Visual Dimensions of Assyrian Ideology," in *Assyria 1995* (proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995), edited by Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), pp. 359–81; Gebhard J. Selz, "Eine Kultstatue der Herrschergemahlin Šaša: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Vergöttlichung," *Acta Sumerologica* 14 (1992): 245–68.

[15] Steven W. Cole and Peter Machinist, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, State Archives of Assyria 13 (Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press, 1998), pp. xiii–xv; Shigeo Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III (859–824 B.C.) Relating to His Campaigns in the West*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3 (Boston: Brill, 2000), 295; Steven W. Holloway, *Aššur Is King! Aššur Is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Culture and History of the

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Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Neriglissar,[16] but it was given a new impulse by the dynasty's last king, Nabonidus, who installed his statue in the Ebabbar temple of Sippar and possibly another one in the Eanna temple of Uruk.[17] Here we have arrived at the closest, and most recent, parallel to the cult practice described in BM 72747.

Nabonidus' initiative to set up an image of himself in Ebabbar was probably inspired by the accidental discovery of an ancient statue of Sargon of Akkad in Ebabbar's foundations during reparation works carried out at the temple of Sippar in his reign.[18] According to the Royal Chronicle, Nabonidus fully refurbished the damaged object,[19] and administrative texts from the Ebabbar archive confirm this story. Starting in his reign and continuing well into the Persian period, a dozen offering lists show that a statue of Sargon was regularly given food offerings in the Ebabbar temple.[20] An interesting dimension of these lists is that they inadvertently reveal how the new cult of Sargon was accommodated in the local pantheon of Ebabbar. In offering lists from the reign of Nabonidus, the statue of Sargon is mentioned toward the end, following four deities of national importance: Marduk and Ṣarpānītu, and Anu and Enlil.[21] Nabonidus established this tetrad in Ebabbar in the second year of his reign, and the cult of Sargon's statue was probably introduced alongside it for its bearings on kingship and matters of state.[22] When the Persians arrived, however, the ritual context of Sargon's statue changed. Offering lists now associate Sargon with a new deity called Sîn-of-Heaven (*Sîn-ša-šamê*),[23] instead of the usual tetrad of state gods. Oddly enough, this moon deity became popular in Sippar only *after* Sîn's biggest supporter, Nabonidus, had already left the stage.[24] The reasons behind this change in the cult practice of Ebabbar are unclear.

As to Nabonidus' statue in Ebabbar, until recently, it was not believed that this votive image would have required care and feeding in the traditional fashion of the sacrificial cult,[25] but lately some new texts have come to light that might suggest otherwise. Firstly, J. MacGinnis presented two tablets from the Ebabbar archive that report on activities involving an anonymous royal statue (*ṣalam-šarri*) in the reign of Nabonidus.[26] One of these texts (BM 62602) relates to the manufacture of a *ṣalam-šarri*, the other (BM 63751) to a sacrificial cult in honor of a *ṣalam-šarri*. Whether these texts refer to the same statue, and whether that statue represented Nabonidus and should be equated with the one talked about in the royal inscriptions, are questions that remain unresolved, as MacGinnis pointed out in his article.

Secondly, K. Kleber gave a new twist to this discussion by publishing a text (BM 114521) that tells of a cult for a royal statue (*ṣalam-šarri*) in Eanna in the reign of Nabonidus (Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, no. 34). Like the two texts from Sippar, BM 114521 is tantalizing but not entirely satisfactory for it gives no information about the identity of the king represented by the statue. Kleber's assertion that the expression *ṣalam-šarri* "statue of the king" should be interpreted as a reference to the reigning king (ibid., p. 275) is unfounded, as we can point to at least one instance where *ṣalam-šarri*

Ancient Near East 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 178–93; Peter Machinist, "Kingship and Divinity in Imperial Assyria," in *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, edited by Gary M. Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, Brown Judaic Studies 346 (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006); Irene J. Winter, "Touched by the Gods: Visual Evidence for the Divine Status of Rulers in the Ancient Near East," in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, edited by Nicole Brisch, Oriental Institute Seminars 4 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2008), p. 86.

[16] So far, no references to the royal image (*ṣalam-šarri*) are made in cuneiform texts from the reigns of these kings, but this may of course be a coincidence of documentation.

[17] The evidence was conveniently assembled by K. Kleber in her recent study of temple-palace relations in Neo-Babylonian Uruk, and the present discussion is indebted to her work; see Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, pp. 271–75.

[18] Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 134f.; John MacGinnis, "Statue Manufacture in Sippar," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85 (1995): 182; and Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, pp. 271–72.

[19] Wilfred G. Lambert, "A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 22 (1968/1969): 4–5; Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 256 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), p. 594. The chronicle is also known under the name "Nabonidus Epic"; cf. Peter Machinist and Hayim Tadmor, "Heavenly Wisdom," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), p. 150.

[20] The dossier was first assembled by Douglas Kennedy, "Realia," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 63 (1969): 79, and later updated with new texts by Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, p. 135; Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple*, p. 230 n. 205; Sverrir Ólafsson and Olof Pedersén, "Cuneiform Texts from Neo-Babylonian Sippar in the Gothenburg City Museum," *Orientalia Suecana* 50 (2001): no. 15; and Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, p. 272 n. 766. Add to the dossier BM 59073: 5 which mentions [ṣa-lam] lugal; although "Sargon" is not added as identity marker, there can be no doubt that BM 59073 relates to the cult of Sargon's statue in view of the fact that *Cyr.* 40, *Cyr.* 256, and CT 57 117 all mention the statue "of Sargon" in the same cultic setting as BM 59073.

[21] Ólafsson and Pedersén, "Gothenburg City Museum," no. 15 (Nbn 09); CT 56 442 (Nbn 02?); CT 57 312 (Nbn 15); CT 57 242 (date lost); implicitly CT 57 307 (Nbn 11; Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, p. 135 n. 40).

[22] On the introduction of the tetrad and the statue of Sargon by Nabonidus in his second year, see Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, p. 136. Note that the fourth member of the group is Enlil (cf. Ólafsson and Pedersén, "Gothenburg City Museum," no. 15: 5), not Nabû (*pace* Beaulieu).

[23] *Cyr.* 40 (Cyr 02; Šamaš and Aya – Sîn-of-Heaven – gods of the small temples – statue of Sargon); *Cyr.* 256 (Cyr 08; Sîn-of-Heaven – statue of Sargon); CT 57 117 (Camb 01; Sîn-of-Heaven – statue of Sargon); *Camb.* 150 (Camb 02; Sîn-of-Heaven – statue of Sargon – gods of the small temples). Sîn-of-Heaven is also mentioned in *Camb.* 175 (Camb 03).

[24] For Sîn-of-Heaven, see Jennie Myers, "The Sippar Pantheon: A Diachronic Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2002), p. 363.

[25] See in particular Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, p. 135.

[26] MacGinnis, "Statue Manufacture."

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refers to the statue of Sargon.[27] So far, not a single text identifies a *ṣalam-šarri* as a representation of Nabonidus, and this element of uncertainty should be acknowledged and retained in the ongoing discussion on the matter. It is very well possible that the texts from Sippar refer to the statue of Sargon, whereas the referent of the *ṣalam-šarri* in BM 114521 could be a different king altogether.

Two more offering lists from Sippar mention the anonymous *ṣalam-šarri* as a recipient of food offerings: CT 55 469 (Nbn 12) and BM 79712 (Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, no. 35; Dar 30). According to Kleber, the first instance refers to a statue of Nabonidus and the second to a statue of Darius.[28] Again, this interpretation is possible but not secure. In BM 79712, the *ṣalam-šarri* appears at the end of a list that begins with the state gods Ṣarpānītu, Anu, and Enlil, continues with Sîn, Šala, and the temple of Bēlet-Sippar, and ends with the anonymous royal statue.[29] In CT 55 469 the list is comparable, mentioning Annunītu, Sîn, Adad, and Šala, the Chariot, the Ziggurrat, the temple of Bēlet-Sippar, and the *ṣalam-šarri*. Both lists in turn resemble the list found in *Cyr.* 40, where Sîn-of-Heaven is mentioned before Annunītu, Gula, Adad, the temple of Bēlet-Sippar, and the statue of Sargon. Given that CT 55 469 and BM 79712 fail to identify the *ṣalam-šarri*, while both resemble *Cyr.* 40, which talks of the statue of Sargon, it might be better not to rely too heavily on CT 55 469 and BM 79712 as evidence for a cult for the living king, as both texts might just as easily relate to the statue of Sargon of Akkad.

This means that with regard to Mesopotamian precedents for the cult of Darius' statue in the reign of Xerxes (BM 72747) the evidence is ambiguous: on the one hand, the practice of bestowing sacrificial honors on the statue of the king was an ancient Mesopotamian tradition, but on the other hand, we do not find immediate precursors in the recent Babylonian past that are based on secure evidence. The cult of Sargon's statue in Sippar is well documented, but the veneration of an antique statue of an illustrious Mesopotamian king can hardly be compared with the veneration of a statue of a recently deceased foreign king. As to the cult of Nabonidus' statue in Ebabbar and Eanna, the evidence has to be treated with caution as firm proof of its existence is lacking due to the practice of describing the royal statue generically as *ṣalam-šarri* in the texts, without reference to the actual king portrayed. This renders the case of BM 72747 unique: on the one hand, because it identifies the statue explicitly as an image representing King Darius, and on the other, because it refers to a Babylonian cult for a recently deceased Persian king modeled on the traditional prebendary system. The cult of Darius' statue can therefore be described both as a continuation of indigenous practices and as an innovation peculiar to the Persian era and limited, so far, to the temple of the northern Babylonian city of Sippar.

Abbreviations

AHw.	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
Camb	reign of Cambyses
Camb.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (529–521 v. Chr.), von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums*. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890
CT 55	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 55: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982
CT 56	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 56: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982
CT 57	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 57: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982
CTMMA 3	Ira Spar and Eva von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C.* Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 3. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000 = MON: Spar
Cyr	reign of Cyrus
Cyr.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.), von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums*. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890
Dar	reign of Darius

[27] This is the case in BM 59073 (Cyr 00), from Sippar, where offerings to the *ṣalam-šarri* are combined with offerings to Sîn. In view of the common association between the statue of Sargon and the cult of Sîn-of-Heaven in Persian-era Sippar (e.g., CT 57 117, *Camb.* 150), "*ṣalam-šarri*" should here be interpreted as a shorthand of "*ṣalam-Šarru-ukīn*."

[28] Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, p. 273 n. 768, p. 275.

[29] The é-^{d}*a-num* (BM 79712: 10) refers to the sanctuary of Bēlet-Sippar (Francis Joannès, "Les temples de Sippar et leurs trésors à l'époque néo-babylonienne," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 86 [1992]: 168–69), not to a temple of Anum, as asserted by Kleber, *Tempel und Palast*, p. 275.

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GCCI 2	Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Archives from Erech: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods.* Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 2. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933
Nbn	reign of Nabonidus
Nbn.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555–538 v. Chr.), von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums.* Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889
Xer	reign of Xerxes
YOS 17	David B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar.* Yale Oriental Series 17. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979

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Earth, Water, and Friendship with the King: Argos and Persia in the Mid-fifth Century

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There remains much to learn of the Persian empire's varied interchange with Greek civilization, even at the basic level of means and frequency of formal contact. Of concern here are two interconnected issues of Greek-Persian relations through the mid-fifth century B.C.: (1) contacts between the Greek city-state Argos and the Persian empire, and (2) the context for the shift from Persian demands for earth and water to diplomatic relationships based on *philia* ("friendship"), specifically as involves Argos and Persia. Argos' internal history (as it may be tracked)[1] is not of concern herein, but rather its status as a *polis* important to Persian policy within mainland Greece. Such a study, a microcosm of broader fifth-century Greek-Persian relations, is of course still dominated by continued parsing of Herodotus. Of the many Persian sympathizers, Argos is specifically mentioned by Herodotus as still on good terms with Xerxes' successor, Artaxerxes I. For the period circa 479 to 450, the extant record presents the Argive-Persian relationship as anomalous, yet there is no reason to assume that it was unique.

Earth and Water Revisited

In Herodotus' narrative, Persian demands for earth and water usually occur in context of potential or in-progress Persian military action. Explicit demands for earth and water cease after Xerxes' expedition, and later fifth- and fourth-century Persian-Greek diplomatic relationships are expressed in other terms (alliance, treaty, etc.), one of which was *philia*, on which more below. Reference to submission of earth and water does not occur outside Greek sources, to my knowledge, save in the book of Judith, wherein it occurs in a confused and anachronistic context, at least vis-à-vis our knowledge of it from Greek historiography.[2]

The symbolism of earth and water has been variously interpreted. Beyond a general sense that submission of these elements involved acknowledgment of Persian superiority, there remains disagreement on the particulars.[3] Whatever the symbolic ramifications, submission of earth and water clearly formed an important facet of Darius' and Xerxes'

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[1] For which see (with literature) Ignatius H. M. Hendriks, "De interpolitieke en internationale betrekkingen van Argos in de vijfde eeuw v. Chr., gezien tegen de achtergrond van de intra-politieke ontwikkelingen" (Ph.D. dissertation, Groningen University, 1982); Charalambos B. Kritzas, "Aspects de la vie politique et économique d'Argos au V^{e} siècle avant J.-C.," in *Polydipsion Argos: Argos de la fin des palais mycéniens à la constitution de l'État classique*, edited by Marcel Piérart, Suppléments du Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 22 (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1992), pp. 231–40; and Mait Kõiv, *Ancient Tradition and Early Greek History: The Origins of States in Early-Archaic Sparta, Argos and Corinth* (Tallinn: Avita, 2003), ch. 8.

[2] For discussion, see Aldo Corcella "Dare terra e acqua: da Erodoto a Giuditta," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi della Basilicata 1993–1994* (1996): 41–56; and idem, "Giuditta e i Persiani," in *Scritti in ricordo di Giacomo Bona*, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi della Basilicata 9 (Potenza: Università degli studi della Basilicata, 1999), pp. 73–90 (esp. pp. 83–87). I thank Professor Corcella for providing me with copies of these articles.

[3] I do not intend to enter that debate here. For discussion of earth and water and their associated symbolism, see, inter alia, Louis L. Orlin "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C.: A Neglected Perspective," in *Michigan Oriental Studies in Honor of George G. Cameron*, edited by Louis L. Orlin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976), pp. 255–66; Amélie Kuhrt, "Earth and Water," in *Achaemenid History 3: Method and Theory* (proceedings of the Achaemenid History Workshop, London, 1985), edited by Amélie Kuhrt and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1988), pp. 87–99; Corcella, "Dare terra e acqua"; Giuseppe Nenci, "La formula della richiesta della terra e dell'acqua nel lessico diplomatico achemenide," in *Linguaggio e terminologia diplomatica dall'Antico Oriente all'Impero Bizantino*, edited by Maria Gabriella Bertinelli Angeli and Luigi Piccirilli, Serta antiqua et mediaevalia 4/2 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2001), pp. 32–42; and Norbert Kramer, "Athen — keine Stadt des Großkönigs!" *Hermes* 132 (2004): 257–70.

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policies against Greece. In its essentials, as a working model, I follow A. Kuhrt's assessment of the general significance of this act: the request for earth and water was closely tied in with Achaemenid imperial ideology, which established through ritual the trustworthiness and loyalty of the contracting party to the King. Those Greek *poleis* that complied with the request acknowledged the King's superiority in exchange for his protection or patronage.[4] With a Persian army bearing down upon Greece, the Medizers' motivations may be grasped easily enough. But after Xerxes' invasion, the sources allude no more to demands for, or offerings of, earth and water.

The first recorded episode involving earth and water is set in 507. An Athenian delegation to the satrap Artaphernes in Sardis agreed to offer him, once he learned who the Athenians were, the requisite earth and water. As relayed by Herodotus, Artaphernes insisted on the submission of earth and water as a necessary first step to an alliance (*summakhia*) with Persia, which was the Athenians' expressed desire. The envoys agreed to offer the earth and water, but upon their return to Athens they were greatly censured (Herodotus 5.73). The sequel, couched by Herodotus in terms of the Athenians' later rejection of the Persians' insistence that they accept the tyrant Hippias' return (5.96), was open hostility against the Persians, that is, a break in whatever relationship had been understood by the Athenian envoys' agreement to submit earth and water.[5]

The circumstances surrounding Artaphernes' demand for earth and water do not precisely fit the pattern of subsequent episodes described in Herodotus. In 507, the Athenian delegation, as the initiator, was actively seeking an alliance with Persia, with no threat of Persian military action against Athens. Rather, the Athenians sought an alliance in the face of imminent danger of military action from other Greeks. The readiest parallel to this instance may be found in both the Athenians' and Spartans' attitudes before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, at which point both sides were prepared to seek alliances outside the Greek world (e.g., Thucydides 1.82 and 2.7), especially with Persia, but in Thucydides' account no mention of submission of earth and water is made.

Roughly seventeen years pass in Herodotus' account before the next instance of earth and water involving Greeks. Darius sent heralds throughout Greece asking for earth and water sometime before the campaign that ended at Marathon in 490 (Herodotus 6.48),[6] and that campaign's purported purpose was to conquer those *poleis* that did not oblige. To infer from Herodotus, there were not many. Those heralds attending Athens were thrown into the Pit (*barathron*) and those at Sparta into a well (*phrear*) for their earth and water (7.133). Herodotus provides a list of *poleis* that offered earth and water to Xerxes (7.132), but that list cannot be correlated with those *poleis* submitting to Darius, as no specific *poleis* are named in that passage (6.48). When Xerxes sent out heralds before his campaign he purposely neglected sending them to either Athens or Sparta, and it is further recorded that the Aegean islands of Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos did not give earth and water (8.46). It seems a safe assumption that a large number of *poleis* gave earth and water both to Darius and again to Xerxes some ten years later, but this is unverifiable.

While Herodotus does not explicitly list Argos among those cities that gave earth and water to Xerxes (7.132), the implication may be found in a number of places, especially the lengthy sequence at Herodotus 7.148–152, here summarized[7]: Argos received an oracle from Delphi that recommended neutrality in the coming conflict. Despite this, the Argives expressed willingness to join the Hellenic League against Persia, on condition of a thirty-year treaty with

[4] See Kuhrt, "Earth and Water," p. 98. Cf. Nenci, "La formula della richiesta della terra e dell'acqua"; and Kramer, "Athen — keine Stadt des Großkönigs," pp. 262–66. Also note Reinhold Bichler, *Herodots Welt: Der Aufbau der Historie am Bild der fremden Länder und Völker, ihrer Zivilisation und ihrer Geschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), p. 312. Kuhrt, "Earth and Water," pp. 96–97, postulates a parallel between earth and water and the application of Assyrian *adê*-agreements: those treaties (themselves of many different sorts and functions) by which Neo-Assyrian kings set expectations, of which loyalty was often a main concern, for those individuals and cities with whom they entered into a formal relationship. For these texts, see Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, State Archives of Assyria 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988), esp. pp. xiv–xviii for discussion of Assyrian usage and its ramifications. Neo-Assyrian examples that emphasize friendship (Akkadian *ṭūbtu*) include diplomatic marriages and border settlements, none of which may be readily compared to the Argos-Persia *philia*.

[5] This purportedly led to Athenian involvement in the Ionian Revolt. Kuhrt, "Earth and Water," p. 93, suggests a later Athenian recension of their own relationship with Persia is involved, to emphasize their anti-Persian credentials. Note Richard M. Berthold, "The Athenian Embassies to Sardis and Cleomenes' Invasion of Attica," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 51 (2002): 259–67; and especially Kramer, "Athen — keine Stadt des Großkönigs" (esp. pp. 259–60), who emphasizes, through his analysis of Herodotus' specific wording, that an agreement to provide earth and water was not the same as actually having done so.

[6] Two other instances worth noting: earth and water was requested from the Scythians, who refused (4.126–132), and from Amyntas of Macedon, who acquiesced (5.18–21). One might also include Gelon's hedging his bets (7.163), when he sent his lieutenant (Cadmus, son of Scythes) to await the outcome of Xerxes' invasions; if the Persians won, Cadmus was to offer money as well as earth and water to Xerxes. See Nenci, "La formula della richiesta della terra e dell'acqua," esp. pp. 39–40 on the Scythian episode. Note also Bichler, *Herodots Welt*, p. 312.

[7] Herodotus 7.148–152 is a much-discussed episode; see, e.g., Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, English translation by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), p. 541 (and p. 580 for dating the Argive embassy to 466/65). According to Herodotus 7.145, Hellenic League envoys were dispatched to Argos (and also to Syracuse, Corcyra, and Crete) for support.

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Sparta. Spartan equivocation on a treaty, so Herodotus credits the Argive version of the story, compelled the Argives to prefer Persian rule rather than to ally with their fellow Greeks.

Herodotus relays another version that highlights the direct appeal of Xerxes' herald to Argive neutrality via shared kinship from the hero Perseus;[8] this appeal had such an impact on the Argives that they purposely sabotaged their Hellenic League involvement by making demands unacceptable to the Spartans. Herodotus reports another element confirming this alternative version that involved the later Argive embassy to Artaxerxes I, variously dated from the late 460s to 449.[9] This mission resulted in that king's warm approval of the friendship (*philia*) that the Argives had made with Xerxes. There is no mention of earth and water at this juncture. Herodotus then offers an unusual defense of Argive neutrality in the war (7.152) — predicated on his lack of certainty about Xerxes' herald or the later embassy — and is supportive of the Argive version of events relayed initially (7.149). Herodotus' final note in this section refers to yet another, alternative version whereby the Argives actively invited Xerxes to invade, in view of that being preferable to their current vulnerable position, which is understood to refer to their loss at the Battle of Sepeia, about 494 (see Herodotus 6.77–80).

Plutarch at *Themistocles* 20 implies that the Argives had Medized, an extension of their not having joined the Hellenic League. Herodotus provides the blunt assessment that the "neutrality" of various Peloponnesian *poleis* — Argos by implication, though it was certainly not alone — was tantamount to Medism (8.72–73). Herodotus also highlights active Argive assistance to the Persians (9.12), beyond sympathetic or self-interested neutrality, manifest in their message to Mardonius that they had been unable to fulfill their promise to stop the Spartans from leaving the Peloponnesus. How the Argives were to have done this is nowhere explained, nor is this surprising report explicitly connected to the sequence described at 7.148–152.

Friendship with the King

The context of Herodotus 7.151 connects the Argive *philia* with Artaxerxes I to that established with Xerxes. There is no ambiguity that the initial *philia* was made with Xerxes (*tēn pros Xerxēn philiēn sunekerasanto*). The truncated account allows much room for creativity regarding the significance of this *philia* for the course of Argive-Persian relations. L. H. Jeffrey posits "... some kind of compact, perhaps of *philia kai xenia* (inter-state friendship and host/guest friendship), with Persia, symbolized by the propagandic myth that Argive Perseus was their common ancestor." N. G. L. Hammond asserts that Spartan attack on Argos ca. 494 was "no doubt" prompted by fear that Argos might make itself a base for the Persians.[10]

For the period before 480, in conjunction with Darius' and Xerxes' campaigns into Greece, Argos' formalized relationship with Persia would have required Argive submission of earth and water. There is a gap, then, of about two decades before the Argive embassy to Artaxerxes I, which, as described by Herodotus, refers only to *philia*. Did this renewal of *philia* necessitate an(other?) offering of earth and water to Artaxerxes? In other words, did a pact of *philia* and an offering of earth and water happen in conjunction with each other? Or were they sequential components of an evolving relationship, the former dependent upon the latter?

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[8] This mythical link is mentioned again in 7.61 and recalls the mention of Io at the very beginning of his work. For an overview of the Argive mythical tradition, see Kõiv, *Ancient Tradition and Early Greek History*, pp. 324–27. Note Lynette G. Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435–323 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 26, with the alliance between Thebes and Aegina as an example that the truth or accuracy of such myths was irrelevant and thus frequently subject to the interplay of political expediency.

[9] George Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars: The Failure of Persia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 137–38 n. 13, defends the dating of the Argive embassy to 461, in the context of the recent Argive-Athenian alliance: "Argos having allied with the King's arch-enemy Athens had some explaining to do." He also makes the point, "For 449 B.C. as the date of the embassies of Argos and Callias ... it is wholly unsuitable as a date for Argos to be asking Artaxerxes if their friendship with Xerxes, fifteen years dead, still held." This makes sense, but the question must be left open. Argos also concluded a treaty with Sparta in 451/50 (Thucydides 5.14.4 and 5.28), and perhaps similar "explaining" (in Cawkwell's words) would have been required after that. For the 451 treaty, note Thomas Kelly, "Argive Foreign Policy in Fifth Century B.C.," *Classical Philology* 69 (1974): 85–86 and nn. 22–23. Bichler, *Herodots Welt*, pp. 369–70, terms the Argive *philia* with Artaxerxes I an "Erneuerung eines Bündnisses."

[10] Lilian H. Jeffrey, "Greece before the Persian Invasion," p. 355; and N. G. L. Hammond, "The Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes," p. 498 (and cf. p. 506), both in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525 to 479 B.C.*, edited by John Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, David M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Note also Artaxerxes II's use of *philia kai summakhia* to re-establish his authority after the Cadusian campaign (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 24.3). See also Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 689–90; and Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars*, p. 202, for the very problematic case of such between Philip II and Artaxerxes III (Arrian 2.14.2). See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 324, for examples of *pistis* (with *philia* at Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.6.3: Artaxeres II and Orontas) to describe relationships between the King and his faithful. In the wide-ranging literature on *philia* I have not found Herodotus 7.151 discussed in this context. Note in general Sitta von Reden, *Exchange in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 1995), p. 214 n. 47, with references.

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On Kuhrt's model, and in consideration of the early fifth-century instances as relayed by Herodotus, one might assume that an initial Argive submission of earth and water was then augmented by a pact of *philia*. This would parallel the events of 507, when Artaphernes insisted on an initial submission of earth and water from the Athenians before any further, formal relations progressed — though a *summakhia*, not *philia*, was at issue in that instance. Though the sequence is unclear, further congruence may be found in the *philia* proffered by the Aleudae of Thessaly at 7.130; at 7.132 the Thessalians are listed among those having given earth and water. If, through the 480s, a submission of earth and water was necessary before any other relationship could be established, that does not appear to have been the case after Xerxes' invasion. For relations after 480–79, no demands for or submission of earth and water occur in the sources, and Persian-Greek diplomatic relationships — especially those based on *philia* — were relatively common. Did submission of earth and water become so commonplace as not to warrant mention in later authors? In consideration of the odious connotations attached to the submission of earth and water to the Persians, this seems unlikely. It is possible that an Argive *philia*-relationship with Xerxes in the 480s may have obviated any demand for earth and water, but there is nothing to suggest a dichotomy.

The full ramifications of relationships based on *philia* are too many and varied to be rehearsed here, though some discussion is necessary for the topic at hand. L. Mitchell has pursued many of the wider questions of *philia* and interstate relations, though her excursus on *philia* between Persians and Greeks is exclusively set in the late fifth and the fourth centuries where the extant evidence predominates.[11] What one may extrapolate from those backward to the case of Argos and Persia (i.e., during the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I) is certainly debatable.

Mitchell's assessments of *philia* relationships are couched in the wider framework of parallels with gift-giving in a *xenia*-relationship: an egalitarian focus within Greek culture contrasted with a hierarchical one in Persian. Thus, Mitchell views the Persian perspective on these relationships as one solely of convenience; a relationship that may, in fact, be discarded when the Persian side gained what it needed or wanted.[12] Such relationships were often dependent upon a personal bond (e.g., the one between Cyrus the Younger and Lysander), but there does not seem to be a consistent, or at least consistently discernible, pattern of what a relationship based on *philia* meant to the Persians. Thus, while there is much one can do with Mitchell's approach, with the Persia-Argos case in the mid-fifth century we do not have the necessary evidence available to make a confident judgment. There is nothing to suggest that a personal bond had been at issue, unless one wishes to extrapolate (heavily) from Argive exchanges with Mardonius in 479.

Enter *philia* — a Sampling

To reiterate, Persian insistence on submission of earth and water no longer appears to have been an expected component of Persian-Greek relations after Xerxes' invasion of Greece. There are no references to such relationships in the sources, at any rate, whether in conjunction with Persian relations with Greeks or with other peoples.[13] Subsequent Persian-Greek diplomatic relations involve other reciprocal exchanges in addition to (or instead of) *philia*, such as treaties (*spondai*) or guest-friendship (*xenia*). One cannot help but assume that the change in terminology reflects a change in dynamics as well. For the Persians, the context is no longer an impending or in-progress assault on mainland Greece but (so it seems) one of maintaining the integrity of the empire in Ionia and elsewhere. Did the end of active Persian attempts at conquest of Greece (or elsewhere) herald a movement away from demands for earth and water, which may signal the shift toward more "regular" vehicles of interstate relations, as described in Greek terms? If so, such a shift then implies a change in royal ideology, as understood by Kuhrt and others, or at least any components thereof associated with submission of earth and water. Much remains opaque, but the change is first traceable in the Argive-Persian *philia* under Artaxerxes, initiated with Xerxes.

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[11] Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, ch. 6; and idem, "φιλία, εὔνοια and Greek Interstate Relations," *Antichthon* 31 (1997): 28–44. For two examples with Xerxes and *xenia*, note the Lydian Pythius at Herodotus 7.29 and the Acanthians at Herodotus 7.116. Note also Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars*, chs. 8–10, for an extensive overview of the much richer fourth-century Persian-Greek activity. For a brief discussion of *philioi* in the Hellenistic kingdoms, see David Konstan, "Reciprocity and Friendship," in *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, edited by Christopher Gill, Norman Postlethwaite, and Richard Seaford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 293–96. For aspects of *philia* in conjunction with reciprocity, see Konstan, "Reciprocity and Friendship," and index references for "*philia*."

[12] Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, ch. 6 on Persia and Greeks, esp. p. 132. See also Hilmar Klinkott, *Der Satrap; Ein Achaimenidischer Amsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume*, Oikumene 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike, 2005), pp. 352–67, with emphasis on satraps.

[13] Later authors reference earth and water only in a generic sense or with regard to relating the events of Darius' or Xerxes' campaigns; e.g., Plutarch, *Themistocles* 6; Diodorus Siculus 11.2.3 and 6 and 11.3.5; Polybius 9.38.2; and Pausanias 10.19.12. For other examples, see Kramer, "Athen — keine Stadt des Großkönigs," pp. 259–60 and nn. 9–10.

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Other examples of *philia* may be found in plenty, but a few must suffice here for illustration. In the Spartan-Persian treaties that Thucydides preserves in book 8, where actions in Ionia are of primary concern, *philia* is mentioned only in the second treaty (8.37). Since the first treaty (8.18) is generally considered a disaster in its wording — from the Spartan perspective — and *philia* is omitted from the third and final treaty (8.58),[14] one must assume that, in context of the otherwise-specific stipulations of the second treaty, the vague *philia* was apparently not a critical component of the conditions. Additional examples include the so-called Peace of Epilycus (Andocides 3.29);[15] Alcibiades' appeal to the alleged *philia* of Tissaphernes both to Alcibiades himself and to Athens (Thucydides 8.88.1); Arsaces' (Tissaphernes' lieutenant) treacherous trick in slaying the Delians of Atramyttium via their trust in *philia kai summakhia* (Thucydides 8.108.4); and *philia* between Cyrus the Younger and the Spartans (the city) and Lysander (individually),[16] between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus, as well as between Artaxerxes II and Agesilaus and/or Sparta (and a number of other Greeks).[17] What these later (by a generation or more) relationships offer as parallels for the Argive *philia* with Artaxerxes I may be debated, especially in light of Herodotus' terse description of the Argive embassy to Artaxerxes I, with no other details about the embassy or its context.

Other, less-formalized relations between Persians and Greeks or Greek city-states may provide material for consideration. One curious example is found in Ctesias' seemingly incidental reference that Zopyrus the son of Amytis (daughter of Xerxes and wife of Megabyzus) rebelled from the King and found refuge in Athens on account of the "good service" (*tēn euergesian*) that Amytis had rendered the Athenians.[18] Gleaned from Photius' epitome of Ctesias, there are no other details. We are left to extrapolate what the *euergesian* that Amytis provided may have been, and its context. This aside occurs within a longer excursus focusing on Amytis' husband Megabyzus, who brought the revolt of Inaros to its successful conclusion, in which the Athenians suffered one of their greatest disasters of the Pentakontaetia. It is natural to suggest (with emphasis that this is speculation) that she secured some favor or benefit for the Athenians in its aftermath.[19] Whatever the case, here is another example of the import of personal associations, regardless of how formally couched, in Persian-Greek relationships.

A perception of *philia* as fluid in its application was an attitude that could work both ways. As long as Persians felt that they might receive benefit or aid from Greeks through *philia*, it was worthwhile to cultivate that type of relationship, as evinced especially in the numerous late fifth- and early fourth-century examples listed above. If specific expectations were not laid out in conjunction with a treaty, it is not surprising that either party would have seized opportunities to exploit the ambiguity. Even specific expectations of an alliance were hardly free from manipulation as, for example, the terms of the Sparta-Persian treaties of the Peloponnesian War.

To judge from a prominent fourth-century example, there was no specific compulsion (i.e., for concrete assistance or the like) attached to *philia*-relationships in the diplomatic realm. When Artaxerxes III requested troops from the Greeks for his expedition to Egypt in 343–42, the Athenians and Spartans replied that they continued to observe their *philia* with the Persians but that they did not wish to send troops in context of an alliance (*summakhia*; Diodorus Siculus 16.44.1).[20] The Diodorus passage implies (1) that active troop support implied a formal alliance; (2) that a formal alliance was not in effect at that time; and (3) that the refusal to send troops did not negatively impact, at least from the Athenian and Spartan perspectives, their *philia*-relationships with Persia.[21] This enhances the notion that *philia* was a

[14] The second treaty (8.37.1) mentions *spondas ... kai philian*. The third treaty contains neither *spondai* nor *philia* within the treaty text itself, but at 8.59 Thucydides uses the term *spondai* to describe it.

[15] The *philia* here was for all time (*ton hapanta khronon*), but, according to Andocides, it was squandered by the Athenians in their support of the rebel Amorges. This peace is very problematic; see, e.g., discussions at David M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia: Lectures Delivered at the University of Cincinnati, Autumn 1976, in Memory of Donald W. Bradeen*, Cincinnati Classical Studies, new series, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 76–77; Michael B. Walbank, "Herakleides and the Great King," *Échos du monde classique* 33 (1989): 347–52 (with references); Matthew W. Stolper, "The Death of Artaxerxes I," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 16 (1983): 223–36; and Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, p. 591.

[16] Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.1.13–14. Regarding Lysander and Cyrus, and the bonds of *xenia* or *philia* with other Greeks that Cyrus used to forge his army, see Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, pp. 119–20; and Gabriel Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 97–101. This application serves as an instructive example of how a Persian might exploit Greek mercenaries, but it is not typical.

[17] For further elaboration, see Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, ch. 6.

[18] Ctesias (Photius' epitome) § 45, in Dominique Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide: la Perse, l'Inde, autres fragments* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 134. For Zopyrus, note also Herodotus 3.160.

[19] Ctesias (Photius' epitome) §§ 36–38, in Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide*, pp. 129–31; see, inter alia, J. M. Bigwood, "Ctesias' Account of the Revolt of Inarus," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 1–25; and Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 574–77. Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide*, p. 270 n. 579, suggests that it may have involved the return of Athenians captured during the revolt.

[20] Cf. also Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F157 and Demosthenes 12.6 (Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, p. 130 n. 142); for the campaign, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 685–87.

[21] It is significant that the Thebans and Argives did provide troops at Artaxerxes' request, and it is justifiable to wonder if Argos maintained a long-running relationship, initially based on *philia* (with Xerxes), that also involved an alliance in effect at Artaxerxes III's time.

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concept fluid in its application, and it may have served as a foundation for other potential, more-formalized relationships. In such a respect, its application may have evolved from the earlier insistence on submission of earth and water. If so, this has significant ramifications: it reflects a change from a relationship insisting upon Persian superiority to one — at least ostensibly in Greek terminology — based on a reciprocal relationship, if not an equal one.

Other fifth-century examples of *philia*, these from an Athenian imperial context, bear mention, even if they do not contain on the surface many intrinsic parallels with the Argos-Persia case. Two instances involve Athenian treaties with the Colophians and Bottiaeans, respectively. Both decrees, cloaked in fair words but unmistakably oppressive, compel *philia* from these recalcitrant allies.[22] Athens' behavior during the Sicilian expedition offers potential parallels for Persia's perspective on Argos. Much of the Athenians' aid, or hopes for aid, Thucydides couches in terms of *philia*, sometimes qualified as *protera* ("former") or *palaia* ("of old"), with no further details. Hermocrates' speech (6.34) emphasizes *philia kai summakhia* with other Sicels in 415, just before the Athenian invasion; the Syracusans suspect that the Camarinaeans would join Athens on the basis of their previous ties of *philia* (6.75.3, cf. 6.78.1); Athens sends a trireme to Carthage *peri philias* (or hopes thereof) and to Tyrrhenia (6.88.6) on the chance of receiving aid; Athenian generals receive aid from the Iapygians after renewing the *palaian philian* with their chief Artas (7.33.4); Acarnanian involvement in the expedition is explained via *philia* for the general Demosthenes, and secondarily, on the goodwill to their allies the Athenians (7.57.10).[23]

These examples offer a glimpse of how an imperial power (though in this case, a Greek one) employed *philia* in its interstate relations, that is, mainly in expectation of military assistance. Whether self-interest or fear of Athenian reprisal played a part in these instances may be left moot here, but Persian expectations for Argos, in conjunction with their *philia*, may have been similar.[24] The King may have expected similar help from Argos when requested. The fourth-century appeal to various Greek cities before the re-conquest of Egypt illustrates such an expectation, one that may have been founded on an initial(?) *philia*-relationship that had led to an alliance (*summakhia*) besides.

However, was there any mid-fifth-century context in which an expectation for military assistance from Argos applied? Several might be posited in context of Persian-Athenian friction in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, but it must be emphasized that there is no clear indication that the Persians ever sought Argive military assistance, or that the Argives offered it, during Artaxerxes I's reign. It should be noted that, according to Herodotus' account (7.151), the Argives asked if the *philia* established with Xerxes still held. This could be taken to mean that there had been no formal diplomatic exchange in the interval. Artaxerxes' assurance that the *philia* did hold serves mainly to recast the questions posed herein about what the relationship may have entailed. One may presume that *philia* was demonstrated in other ways beyond the military, perhaps the gathering of intelligence or other logistical support. And one may then wonder what Argive sources may have contributed to the King's and his agents' knowledge of the political situation in Greece.

Abbreviations

IG i³	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. 1: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*. 3rd ed. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1998
FGrH	Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923–1959
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Revised edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969
Tod	M. N. Tod, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Vol. 1. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Perss, 1946

[22] For the Colophians (ca. 447), note *IG* i³ 37 = ML 47; and for the Bottiaeans (ca. 420s), see *IG* i³ 76 = Tod 68. For discussion, see Mitchell, "φιλία, εὔνοια and Greek Interstate Relations," pp. 42–43; note also pp. 37–44 for a number of similar uses between Greek *poleis*.

[23] Another parallel in Thucydides occurs at 2.100.3: Gortynia and Atalante went over to the Thracians on account of their *philia* for Amyntas (Philip of Macedonia's son), who was with Sitalces.

[24] The relationship established between Croesus and Sparta (1.69–70) is also of note. The term used is "alliance" (*summakhia*: 1.69.1), though the Spartans are also labeled as "friends" (*philous*: 1.70.1). A formalized alliance here, however, distinguishes this case from one based only on *philia* between Artaxerxes I and Argos.

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Freedom and Dependency: Neo-Babylonian Manumission Documents with Oblation and Service Obligation

*Cornelia Wunsch, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and F. Rachel Magdalene, Leipzig University**

Matt was one of the first scholars from the West whom I had the privilege to meet when I was still a student in what was back then East Berlin, and, to my surprise, he actually took time to discuss his work in progress with me. Over the years I have profited from his help and encouragement on numerous occasions. I am very happy to present this paper, devoted to a long-standing puzzle in our understanding of personal status in Neo-Babylonian times, as a token of my appreciation and gratitude. — Cornelia Wunsch

Coming late to Assyriological, particularly Neo-Babylonian, study, I first discovered Matt Stolper's work in a library. Over the years, his writing has been of utmost importance to my own. I had the pleasure of finally meeting him at the 2005 RAI in Chicago. Since that time, he has supported my work in numerous ways. In fact, he was instrumental in my coming to collaborate with Cornelia Wunsch. Thus, I offer my effort in this piece in thanks to, and in honor of, him. — F. Rachel Magdalene

* * *

Personal status in ancient societies and the legal and ideological concepts behind it are notoriously difficult to grasp. This paper focuses on the legal concepts of personal status, as seen in cuneiform documents from the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.[1] Personal status in the ancient Near East is generally determined by heredity, but it could change as a result of political, economic, or individual circumstances. Certain aspects of the transition from slave to free status — especially where a dedication as an oblate to a deity is achieved through manumission and oblation — are thus far only poorly understood. This article attempts, in particular, an explanation of this transition based on an approach not hitherto considered.

Free status. It is difficult to define free (*mār banûti*) status because the concept of "freedom" can only be described as the absence of another, clearly delineated state of property, that is, free persons are not the legal property of another individual, in contrast to chattel slaves. Nevertheless, free persons are always subject to the king and are liable to taxes and military duties.[2] Children of free parents are free by birth, but remain under the authority of the head of their

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[1] We use the term "Neo-Babylonian" hereafter to refer to the period when the Neo-Babylonian kings held political control of Mesopotamia (612–539 B.C.) and the early Achaemenid period until the end of Darius I's reign (539–486 B.C.).

[2] See, e.g., Govert van Driel, *Elusive Silver: In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment; Aspects of Mesopotamia's Society*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 95 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002), pp. 155–85; and Michael Jursa, "On Aspects of Taxation in Achaemenid Babylon: New Evidence from Borsippa," *Persika* 14 (2009): 237–69.

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respective family, the *pater familias*, until they become emancipated. In the case of sons, emancipation occurs automatically upon the death of their father.[3] Until then, their rights are limited. A son's business activities are restricted and his marriage plans have to meet with his father's approval. Daughters, by contrast, are given away in marriage and transferred from their paternal household to their husband's family without emancipation. The *pater familias* exercises ultimate power over his family members: he may place them under the control of another individual or institution (e.g., in adoption or as an apprentice), or — in times of need — even pledge or sell them.

Slaves.[4] Slaves are persons who are legally owned by another individual; their master is entitled to the slave's full labor and service. The master may cede this right to someone else by way of rent or antichretic pledge. Should, however, another individual appropriate his slave's labor without authorization, the owner is entitled to a compensatory rent payment, called *mandattu*. Such payments are also owed by the slave himself when he works on his own account.[5] Slaves cannot own property or pass it on to their children, despite the fact that their owner may grant them the right to manage considerable assets. Ultimately, such possessions belong to their master, to be inherited by his heirs upon his death.[6]

Oblates. Temple dependents or oblates (previously referred to as "temple slaves"), Akkadian *širku*, are terminologically differentiated from chattel slaves and hold a particular legal status. In a recent study, Asher Ragen has argued that such *širku*s are free persons who owe service and obligations to the temple instead of the king.[7] They are indeed free in the sense that they do not belong to an individual. No other person can exercise property rights over them, and they cannot be sold.[8] Unlike chattel slaves, oblates can own property (including slaves and apparently even real estate) and pass it on to the next generation.[9] The *širku* could rise within the temple's hierarchic structure to a position of some importance.[10] His powers are, however, limited to some degree, and the nature of these limitations is addressed more fully below. The temple administration registers[11] and closely monitors *širku*s, including their offspring, as its potential

[3] R. Westbrook asserts: "The vital question of whether a person was independent or a subordinate member of household did not depend on biological age. A grown man remained the son of a man in status as long as his father remained head of household, namely, until the father's death or division of his estate inter vivos" ("Introduction: The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, edited by Raymond Westbrook, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/72 [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003], p. 39 [1–90]). This was also true under Roman law; see William Wardwick Buckland, *A Textbook of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921; 3rd ed., W. W. Buckland and Peter Stein, 1966), p. 101.

[4] We follow the definition of Moses I. Finley, who sums up the three essential components of slavery as "the slave's property status, the totality of the power over him, and his kinlessness" (*Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* [New York: Viking, 1980], p. 77). In our view, the second two features arise from the first, but all remain important. Our study focusses on the legal aspects of slave status. We do not deal with bond servants or debt slaves here, as there is little attestation in Neo-Babylonian texts. For an overview of debt bondage in the ancient Near East, see Gregory C. Chirichigno, *Debt-Slavery in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 141 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

There are several Akkadian terms to describe chattel slaves that seem to be interchangeable, or, at least, overlap in part, such as *qallu* and *qallatu*, *ardu* and *amtu*, *lamutānu*, *aštapīru*, and the collective terms *amēlūtu* and *niš bīti*. Not all terms relate specifically to chattel slaves only; see Muhammad A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia: From Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626–331 B.C.)*, edited by Marvin A. Powell and David B. Weisberg, translated by Victoria A. Powell (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984), pp. 81–102; and Ronan Head, "Slaves, Servants, or Something Else? The Case of the Murašû Subordinates" (in press; to appear in Babel und Bibel 5 [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns]).

[5] See Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 112–21, 379–83.

[6] This becomes apparent, e.g., in the inheritance divisions *Dar.* 379: 60–62, and YOS 6 143: 4, that mention the house and property of a slave among the assets to be divided.

[7] Asher Ragen, "The Neo-Babylonian *širku*: A Social History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), p. 5: "In the eyes of the Babylonian courts, *širku* were seen as free men, albeit with labor obligations," and "[o]nce we reject the common view of *širku* as temple slaves, many of the seeming contradictions in the legal record disappear" (ibid., p. 4). We whole-heartedly endorse Ragen's approach but cannot accept the way in which he tries to make this "seeming contradictions in the legal record disappear."

[8] Note that *širkūtu* status is one of the statuses mentioned in the guarantee clauses of slave sales that void the sale of an individual of such status.

[9] For a *širku* selling his seemingly privately owned slave, see YOS 7 114. In the field plan CM 20 11 (BM 30627), a *širku* of the Marduk temple is listed among the neighbors. In the very fragmentary house sale BM 39654 (unpublished), a *širku* of Bēl appears as one of the neighbors. An inheritance division among *širku*s has not yet come to light but the marriage contract BaAr 2 3, concluded between *širku*s of the Nabû temple in Borsippa, includes stipulations concerning the dowry and uses the legal language typical for such contracts.

[10] For attestations for *širku*s as chief rent farmers of Eanna (YOS 6 150 and TCL 13 182), see Ragen, "NB *širku*," pp. 153–56. UCP 9/2 24 concerns the installation of a *rab širkī* "head *širku*" (ibid., pp. 616–22).

[11] Temple oblates are registered in certain lists, presumably shortly after their birth or dedication; see, e.g., YOS 6 116 about such a register of the Eanna (GIŠ.DA *šá* ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG.KI, line 13), which is compared to the register of bowmen kept by the royal administration in order to identify when and where they are supposed to serve (see Ragen, "NB *širku*," pp. 132–34). Another explicit mention of such a register is in Iraq 64, no. 12 (BM 64026; John D. MacGinnis, "The Use of Writing Boards in the Neo-Babylonian Temple," *Iraq* 64 [2002]: 234 [217–36]): the grandmother of a small child whom his unmarried mother tried to hide from the temple authorities asserts: "He is a *širku* of Šamaš. Let him be entered on to the writing board!" (translation by John D. MacGinnis). See also CRRAI 47, p. 115, where a dedicated *širku*, who is in the possession of a private individual, states to temple officials: "^{f}PN, my owner, has put a star on my wrist and freed me for (service to) the Lady-of-Uruk. And in

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workforce, assigns them work tasks,[12] and marks them with brands or tattoos.[13] Furthermore, the temple holds jurisdiction over its *širku*s as far as private and temple-internal issues are concerned,[14] and *širku*s have to live and marry within the realm of their respective sanctuary. In return, a *širku*'s family bonds are respected, and he or she has the right to be maintained, even if sick, disabled, too young or too old for work.[15] As oblates are subject to the authority of the temple, the right of *pater familias* in the head of the oblate family is always subject to the authority of the temple.

Other statuses. Little is known about the specific implications of other status designations such as *arad šarrūti* (royal serfs), mainly owing to the lack of royal archives, and *šušānūtu*.[16] We know, however, from guarantee provisions in slave sale contracts, that both had a protected legal status that prevented them from being sold as private chattel slaves.

Enslavement. Personal status is not static and unchangeable. While most slaves were born to slave parents and automatically acquired that status, even previously free persons could be enslaved under specific political or economic circumstances. This applies to persons unfortunate enough to be seized as booty in military campaigns or to be kidnapped in a raid and sold abroad. Impoverished persons might voluntarily give up their free status if this were the only guarantee for survival in times of famine. Family members also might be pledged and sold, although families were generally reluctant to sell members, and, if done, it was only in satisfaction of an outstanding debt.[17] In a few cases, children, especially foster children, were used as an antichretic pledge, but we have no cases thus far pertaining to wives being used as collateral for a debt.[18] Enslavement as punishment or deterrent for certain misdeeds is not unheard of.[19]

Adoption. Most adoptions were between parties of equal legal status.[20] Only in exceptional cases did adoption result in a new higher status for the adoptee, namely, when slaves were manumitted and adopted by their masters.[21] Such adoptions were valid only if there were no competing previous claims on the adoptee (discussed below, under manumission).

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the 35th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, this was written into the roster of (temple oblates) of the Lady-of-Uruk" (lines 3–7; *ina* GIŠ.DA *šá* ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG.KI *šaṭ-ṭa-ar*, line 7); edition by Nadja Czechowicz, "Zwei Frauengeschichten aus den späten Jahren von Nebukadnezar II. Probleme der Interpretation," in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001), edited by Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000), pp. 113–16.

[12] For an example of a roster of temple workers and their families obliged to do corvée work under the authority of the *qīpu* official, see John D. MacGinnis, "A Corvée Gang from the Time of Cyrus," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 93 (2003): 88–115. Other examples include YOS 7 154 (Ragen, "NB *širku*," pp. 639–41), wherein fifty *širku*s are assigned to guard outposts; and YOS 7 187 (ibid., pp. 681–82), wherein temple farmers are assigned corvée work at a royal palace.

[13] Dandamaev (*Slavery*, pp. 488–89) and Ragen ("NB *širku*," p. 426) conveniently collect the texts pertaining to the marking of *širku*s. On evidence for iron branding tools, see Laurie Pearce, "Iron 'Stars' in the Neo-Babylonian Period," *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1996/25.

[14] See F. Rachel Magdalene, *On the Scales of Righteousness: Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job*, Brown Judaic Studies 348 (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2007), pp. 60–64.

[15] For references in administrative temple records regarding rations for sick *širku*s, see Muhammad A. Dandamaev, "The Sick Temple Slaves' Rations in Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C.E.," *Eretz-Israel* 24 (1993; Avraham Malamat Volume): 19*–21*. OIP 122 103 is another such record about beer being issued to sick oblates.

[16] According to Matthew W. Stolper, the term *šušānu* designates proprietors of bow lands who "held grants of income-producing property. They were bound to their holdings by restrictions on alienation, and by tax and service encumbrances. Their personal and professional services were controlled by the masters of the subordinate organizations to which they were attached" (*Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 54 [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1985], p. 82).

[17] In contrast to earlier periods of Mesopotamian history, records of the sixth century are remarkably silent on this point. This phenomenon has been noted before; see, e.g., Heather D. Baker, "Degrees of Freedom: Slavery in Mid-first Millennium B.C. Babylonia," *World Archaeology* 33 (2001): 21 [18–26]; Joachim Oelsner, "The Neo-Babylonian Period," in *Security for Debt in Ancient Near Eastern Law*, edited by Raymond Westbrook and Richard L. Jasnow, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 301 [289–305]; and Dandamaev, "Freedom and Slavery," p. 222. Only a cluster of seventh-century siege texts allows more than a glimpse of the selling of family members in dire straights; see A. Leo Oppenheim, "'Siege-Documents' from Nippur," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 69–89. Note that in *Nbk.* 70 a couple sells their son. A case of *datio in solutum*, involving the debtor's son (and real estate as well) seems to be extant in TCL 12 18.

[18] On the use of free persons as pledge, see the examples given by Dandamaev (*Slavery*, pp. 157–80). See ibid., pp. 169–70, where previous misreadings regarding the sale of wives in *Nbk.* 366 and *Nbn.* 655 are corrected.

[19] E.g., *Cyr.* 312 records a restraining order against a woman who married a man whose father was still alive and opposed to the match. Similar cases are *Cyr.* 307 and BM 34025 (unpublished). In case of non-compliance, these women would be marked with "a slave mark" (*šimtu ša amtūti*). Whether this actually implies a change to slave status (and maybe subsequent sale) or was meant "only" to expose them to disgrace and shame remains an open question.

[20] For Neo-Babylonian cases of adoptions in general, see Cornelia Wunsch, "Findelkinder und Adoption nach neubabylonischen Quellen," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003/2004 [2005]): 174–224.

[21] Examples are AfO 50, nos. 16 and 18. The marriage contract BMA 5 refers to the fact that the groom was manumitted and adopted.

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Oblation. A free person might be dedicated to a certain temple as an oblate. This could occur through self-oblation,[22] dedication of children by their parents,[23] or through certain defeated population groups being presented by their new sovereign to the temple.[24] A common phenomenon is oblation by private individuals of their slaves by means of manumission and concurrent (i.e., immediate) dedication to a specific deity, usually with the obligation to serve the former master until his or her death. The temples, always in need of manpower, encouraged such dedications, but were not interested in receiving old and worn-out slaves.[25] Securing the *širkūtu* status of a manumitted slave's future offspring was, therefore, of crucial importance.

It should be noted that despite the fact that oblates are different from chattel slaves, their membership in the temple household might be expressed by language that is also employed to describe property rights. For instance, one may find the expression "he belongs to this god" in reference to *širkūtu* status.[26] It is clear that another kind of "belonging" is intended, not one based on property rights. Such cases are different from instances where the temple acquires ownership of slaves from private owners in satisfaction of debts owed to the temple.[27] The *širku* is also often called a "slave" (*ardu*/*amtu*) in post-manumission situations while still living and serving in the former owner's household,[28] but again this does not indicate the existence of property rights by the former owner in the *širku*.

Manumission. A slave might become free through an act of manumission.[29] It needs to be stressed that any manumission represents, originally, a unilateral act of goodwill or gratuity by the owner. A slave had neither the right nor the means to initiate a procedure to "buy his freedom," as his master was entitled to his full work capacity and the products thereof, and, as indicated previously, all the slave's possessions ultimately were part of the owner's estate. Rarely is manumission granted unconditionally, that is, without any further obligation for the former slave to fulfill. In most cases, the manumittee is required to care for his former master until his death.[30]

Manumission requires written evidence, and it is implemented by issuing a *ṭuppi mār banûti* for the individual in question. The term can be rendered as "tablet of free status" or "manumission tablet." The question as to whether such a document was issued in one or two copies, and who was to keep it, does not allow for a general answer. It depends, in the first place, on the rights and duties that the individual contract afforded to the parties.[31] None of the preserved documents employs the standard clause concerning the issue of duplicate copies, not even AfO 50, no. 17a and b, which verifiably has a duplicate.

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[22] So far, such a case is not attested in Neo-Babylonian records; this does, however, not preclude the possibility.

[23] A case in point is YOS 6 154, where a widow gives her two small sons as *širku*s to the Lady-of-Uruk to save them from dying of starvation in a time of famine. For a similar situation, see John D. MacGinnis, "BM 61152: *iškāru* and *širkūtu* in Times of Hardship," *Archiv Orientální* 66 (1998): 325–30.

[24] E.g., Nabonidus speaks of 2,850 people, captives of the land Ḫumē, whom he dedicated to Marduk, Bēl, and Nergal to increase their temple's workforce (*ana zabāl tupšikki*; lit., "to carry the basket"); Babylon stele, ix 31′ff.; see Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 256 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), p. 521.

[25] Govert van Driel, "Care of the Elderly: The Neo-Babylonian Period," in *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marten Stol and Sven P. Vleeming, Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 14 (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 1998), p. 167 n. 7 (pp. 161–97), has drawn attention to this fact. He assumed that concern by the master for the slave's future or outright attempts to spare the heirs the costs for maintaining an old slave may have been the crucial point behind many cases of oblation, pointing out that the temples might have sought to forestall being misused as "dumps" for worn-out slaves (ibid., p. 165).

[26] See, e.g., YOS 7 66: *ár-ki* PN *a-na šim-tum it-tal-lak* LÚ.*a-me-lut-tum pa-ni* ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG.KI *ta-ad-dag-gal* "after PN goes to (his) fate, the slaves (pl.) belong to the Lady-of-Uruk" (lines 20–21); and BaAr 2 35: UD-*mu a-na šim-ti it-tal-ku šá* ^{d}EN *šu-ú* "when he goes to (his) fate, he will belong to Bēl."

[27] As pointed out correctly by Ragen, "NB *širku*," p. 359. Examples for acquisition of slaves by the temple through pledge and forfeiture exist (e.g., BIN 1 120; JCS 28, no. 32; AnOr 8 56; YOS 6 221; YOS 7 130 and YOS 7 164), but none of them involves *širkūtu* status.

[28] This is articulated most strikingly in YOS 6 2: *a-na* PN LÚ.*qal-la-šú* LÚ.*šìr-ku šá* ^{d}GAŠAN *šá* UNUG.KI "to PN, his (former) slave, the *širku* of the Lady-of-Uruk" (lines 5–6). See also, e.g., RA 67, pp. 148–49; YOS 6 57; YOS 7 91; and BE 8/1 106.

[29] We use this term here in the sense of "release from slave status," "liberation of a slave," "granting freedom to a slave," and not in any specific meaning that the term may have had in Roman law. For prior literature regarding Neo-Babylonian slave manumissions, see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 438–55; Ragen, "NB *širku*," pp. 309–26; Raymond Westbrook, "Slave and Master in Ancient Near Eastern Law," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 1648–51 [1631–75]; Wunsch, "Findelkinder," pp. 205–09; and John D. MacGinnis, "The Manumission of a Royal Slave," *Acta Sumerologica* 15 (1993): 99–106.

[30] Such care is usually expressed in Neo-Babylonian texts by the verb *palāḫu*. For the different terms used from Old Babylonian to Rabbinic times and the gradual change of their meaning, see Jonas C. Greenfield, "Adi balṭu — Care for the Elderly and Its Rewards," in *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wien, 6.–10. Juli 1981*, edited by Hans Hirsch and Hermann Hunger, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 19 (Horn: Berger & Söhne, 1982), pp. 309–16.

[31] For a slave freed without obligations attached, the document was of utmost importance, but of no concern for the manumitter. Where a slave was freed and dedicated to a deity with future service obligation, e.g., toward the manumitter's wife, and had received the temple branding mark, it was the wife who needed written proof of this transaction to confirm her right to the former slave's services.

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When a slave is released from slave status and concurrently dedicated to a deity, such release is usually expressed by the verb *zukkû* "to cleanse (from all claims that any individual could have upon him)," or, figuratively, "to free."[32] Thereby, slave status is removed and the former slave is referred to as *zakû* or *zakītu* "the cleansed one." The term on its own does not necessarily point to a concurrent dedication,[33] but it occurs most often in such a context, expressed by the idiom PN *ana* (deity) *zukkû* "to 'cleanse' PN (from any claims) for (the service of) the deity."[34] At this point, the individual assumes the status of *širku* or *širkatu* of the respective deity and may receive a brand mark as proof of the dedication, despite the fact that he or she may still reside in the household of the former master and be called his "slave."

Slaves who became *širku*s via the cleansing process, that is, first-generation *širku*s, are sometimes referred to as *zakû* or *zakītu* in temple records, even after they take up residence in the temple.[35] This term does not convey any connotation of religious, ritual, or physical purity (or lack thereof).[36] There is also no difference in the individuals' status, rights, or duties, as compared to other *širku*s.[37] Being dedicated during their lifetime rather than born to *širku* parents affords the *zakû*s their special designation. This explains why some *širku*s are described by the term *mār zakīti* instead of a patronym. It was erroneously understood as a family name,[38] but it simply reflects the fact that such a person has no known father: his or her mother was a slave who was dedicated to the temple but did not live in a recognized marriage when her child was born.

Release from slave status with concurrent oblation and work obligations. Contracts in which a slave is released from slave status and concurrently oblated, yet is also bound to continue serving the former master until the master's death, represent the bulk of our evidence for slave manumissions. Scholars agree that the process of dedication requires the termination of all former property rights concerning the individual in question before his or her new status as *širku* can be established,[39] as he or she must no longer be claimed as private property by his or her former owner, the latter's relatives or heirs, or any third party. There is dissent, however, about how to interpret the legal details of the manumission and dedication procedure and its final outcome.

In some cases of oblation, the explicit vocabulary of manumission into free (i.e., *mār banûti*) status is employed over and above the usage of *zukkû*. Such a scenario provokes the first problem: How can someone who has received *mār banûti* status (therefore, being a free person) be dedicated to the temple by his or her former owner, given the fact that manumission should have severed all property ties? Moreover, this transaction is usually combined with an obligation on the part of the manumittee to serve his or her former master until the master's death, at which point the former slave will join the temple household.[40] Thus, the slave has been freed and dedicated to the temple, while the condition of future work for his former master has also been somehow imposed. This raises a second question: By what authority does the former master demand that his manumitted slave do work for him in the future?

The problems are best exemplified in the much-discussed record OIP 122 38,[41] wherein a former slave brought suit against the widow of his former master. His master and mistress had married him to a free woman in the context of

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[32] Cf. CAD s.v. *zakû* 5. *zukkû* a 1′ "to free, release." The verb can, of course, also refer to the release from obligations (tax or corvée) owed by individuals or communities to the sovereign or his officials in the context of land grants. Michael Jursa (*Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives*, Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1 [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005], p. 15), therefore, translates *zakû* as "free of claims (or the like)."

[33] In the case of ASJ 15, pp. 105–06 (BM 64650, edition in MacGinnis, "Manumission"; see now also Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, pp. 14–15), a slave is released and emancipated, rather than dedicated. He is, nevertheless, referred to as a *zakû*. The same holds true for a slave woman in BM 38948 (to be published in Wunsch and Magdalene, forthcoming): *a-na* DUMU.DÙ-*nu-tum ú-zak-ki* ^{f}PN DUMU.SAL *ba-ni-i ši-i* "he 'cleansed' (her) for free status; ^{f}PN is a *mārat banî* (i.e., of free status)"; and OIP 122 37: PN IM.DUB LÚ.DUMU.DÙ-*ú-tu ša* (slaves) … *ik-nu-uk*; (slaves) *za-ku-ú* "PN has issued a *ṭuppi mār banûti* to (the slaves); … (the slaves) are 'cleansed ones'" (lines 2–4; 8–9).

[34] See, e.g., YOS 6 56; YOS 6 224; YOS 7 66; BIN 2 132; CRRAI 47, p. 115.

[35] As pointed out by Cornelia Wunsch, "Metronymika in Babylonien. Frauen als Ahnherrin der Familie," in *Šapal tibnim mû illakū: Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Gregorio del Olmo Lete, Lluís Feliu, and Adelina Millet Albà, Aula Orientalis Supplement 22 (Sabadell: AUSA, 2006), p. 466 [459–69].

[36] Contrary to Ragen's claim that the term "may have carried some undertone of purity and cleanliness with regard to sexual matters" ("NB *širku*," p. 587).

[37] Cf. YOS 7 92 and YOS 7 56, where a *širkatu* and a *zakītu* woman occur in an identical context.

[38] See, e.g., AHw. s.v. *zakītu* "als FamN." Paul-Alain Beaulieu ("Introduction," in *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus*, Yale Oriental Series 19 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000], p. 4) speaks of "individuals claiming a *zakītu* woman as ancestress."

[39] See Ragen, "NB *širku*," esp. pp. 5, 55, 308, 320, 322.

[40] Cases of immediate transfer to the temple, in contrast, are rare; one such example may be reflected in YOS 6 56.

[41] First edited (without copy) by Martha T. Roth, "A Case of Contested Status," in *DUMU-E$_2$-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, edited by Hermann H. Behrens, Darlene D. Loding, and Martha T. Roth, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989), pp. 481–89; thereafter by David B. Weisberg, "*pirqūti* or *širkūti*? Was Ištar-ab-uṣur's Freedom Affirmed or Was He Re-enslaved?" in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, edited by Simonetta Graziani (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 2000), pp. 1164–77; re-edited by idem, *Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Oriental Institute Collection*, Oriental Institute Publications 122 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2003), no. 38 (without copy but with photograph of a cast on pl. 21); discussion in Wunsch, "Findelkinder," p. 208; Raymond

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freeing him by issuing a *ṭuppi mār banûti*, and concurrently dedicated him and his future children to the Lady-of-Uruk. After the master's death, one of his creditors asserted a claim against the estate, probably alleging that the manumitted individual had been pledged to him prior to his manumission and dedication. The master's widow satisfied the claim by selling the individual to the creditor, thereby reverting him to slave status. The individual contested his sale, explicitly pointing out that he had received a tablet of manumission.[42] The court, after hearing the evidence, ruled against the widow as it found that the manumission and dedication was not impeded by previous property claims and was, therefore, legitimate. Hence, the judges affirmed the rights of the manumitted individual to be a *širku*, as stipulated in his manumission tablet.[43]

Puzzling enough, the document that the manumitted slave refers to as *ṭuppi mār banûti* (tablet of "free status") is called by the judges a *ṭuppi zakûti* "tablet of 'cleansing' (from property rights)" and *ṭuppi širkūti* "tablet of oblate status." While the former slave asserts the fact of his manumission (which impedes any sale), the judges stress the outcome of this process: the severing of property rights and dedication to the deity, resulting in *širkūti* status. This case, therefore, clearly indicates the connection of *mār banûti* and *širkūtu* status: *širku*s are some type of *mār banî*, that is, persons of free status. Given the dependence of the *širku* on the temple and his or her limited rights in comparison with the representatives of the free urban elite who are normally referred to as *mār banî*, the connection between *mār banûti* and *širkūtu* status in the framework of slave manumissions appears to be contradictory and provokes questions: If the *širku* is free, why are his rights infringed? If he is somewhat unfree, what does *mār banûti* status actually mean?

Two primary ways to explain this seemingly paradoxical situation have been proposed. Martha T. Roth notes that *mār banûti* status has generally been understood to mean a free person or citizen based on judicial and administrative texts. In view of OIP 122 38, she has argued that *mār banûti* status may not always bestow complete freedom but may include, rather, certain dependent statuses, thereby implying that *širku*s held such "incompletely" free status. This eliminates one part of the problem but cannot solve the legal issues concerning the manumission-dedication procedure as described above.[44] Raymond Westbrook (followed by Asher Ragen and Kristin Kleber[45]) has suggested that the manumission may not have been full.[46] This approach avoids any redefinition of status. It assumes, on the one hand, that the manumission-dedication contract changes the owner-slave relationship from a property-based into a contractually-based one for the period of post-manumission service, but, on the other hand, it argues for a shared ownership right, sequential in time, by the slave's owner and the temple with respect to the slave. It, therefore, remains fraught with contradictions. We, by contrast, offer an entirely different interpretation that does not require any redefinition of free status and avoids complicated legal machinations. Instead, it bases itself on the legal concept of emancipation.

The concept of emancipation. The key to understanding the ability of the master to dedicate a manumitted slave to the temple does not lie in property rights or in the conditions placed upon the slave at manumission, as has been argued in the past. Rather, the solution rests on the presence or absence of another qualification intrinsically linked with free status that further defines the rights of an individual: emancipation.[47] This legal concept has been all but ignored in scholarly discussion thus far, although such concept is fundamental to the nature of the patrimonial household, and its importance for the ancient Near East has been repeatedly stressed.

As previously indicated, a Mesopotamian freeborn son has *mār banûti* status by birth, but as long as he lives in his father's household he is not emancipated and, therefore, is subject to his father's *potestas*. In other words, the son is

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Westbrook, "The Quality of Freedom in Neo-Babylonian Manumissions," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 98 (2004): 101–02 [101–08]; reprinted in Raymond Westbrook, *Law from the Tigris to the Tiber: The Writings of Raymond Westbrook, 1983–2008*, edited by Bruce Wells and F. Rachel Magdalene [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009], vol. 2, pp. 185–96 (herein citations only refer to the original publication); Ragen, "NB *širku*," pp. 305–09. For collations, see Michael Jursa, review of David B. Weisberg, OIP 122, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126 (2006): 456 [452–58].

[42] The document states in relevant part (lines 12–17): "PN and ^{f}PN (the owners) had an official tablet of my *mār banûti* status (IM.DUB DUMU-*ba-nu-ti-ia*) issued; on my tablet they wrote thus: 'PN$_2$ and the children that ^{f}PN$_2$ (his wife) will bear to PN$_2$ are [*mār banî*], 'cleansed' ones of Ištar of Uruk'" (the restoration is based on the parallel in line 38).

[43] IM.DUB *za-ku-ti-šu ša* PN$_2$ *la i-nu-ú er-ret* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *la ú-šá-an-nu-ú* PN *ù* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú ina* IM.DUB *ši-ir-ku-ti-šú-nu uš-zi-zu* (lines 42–45) "they would not change the tablet of 'cleansing' of PN$_2$; they did not alter the curse of the great gods; they confirmed (the status) of PN$_2$ and his children in the tablet of their oblate status."

[44] "There are occurrences of the term in contexts which imply that the status of the person so designated is perhaps above that of a chattel slave but still [legally] encumbered" (Roth, "Contested Status," p. 486).

[45] Kristin Kleber, "Neither Slave nor Truly Free: The Status of Dependents in Babylonian Households," in *Slaves and Households in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Laura Culbertson, Oriental Institute Seminars 7 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2011), pp. 101–11.

[46] Raymond Westbrook uses the term "quality of freedom" ("Quality of Freedom," p. 101), but we agree with Asher Ragen, "NB *širku*," p. 308, that Westbrook is actually arguing for a qualified and delayed manumission.

[47] This term is used in different ways, often more or less interchangeably with manumission. Here, however, we are referring to its specific meaning, derived from Roman law, of releasing a person from the *patria potestas*, notwithstanding the fact that such emancipation may have different effects for the individual in question under Neo-Babylonian and Roman law, e.g., with respect to inheritance rights.

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under a legal disability, that is, being a child with a living father. Any freeborn son possesses the potential for emancipation and will assume it automatically upon the death of his father. A freeborn daughter, by contrast, will not necessarily be emancipated. She typically moves from the *potestas* of her father to that of her husband or father-in-law.

Manumission contracts bestow freedom upon the individual concerned. Once free, he or she is no longer the property of the former owner and cannot be the object of property transactions. Such manumission does not, however, automatically include emancipation. That legal capacity needs to be specifically stipulated in the document. We, therefore, understand manumissions that lack emancipation clauses as resulting in the former slave's free, but unemancipated, state within the household, under the *potestas* of his former master as *pater familias*, similar (but not equal) to a child. Where emancipation was granted, it might have been given with immediate effect or deferred until the former master's death, under the usual condition to serve the former master. Where emancipation was not immediately given, or not given at all, the individual remained legally incapacitated or disabled even though free.

When manumission is complemented by oblation, the manumittee is dedicated, in reality, not through any property or contract right that rests in the former master but through the power of the master's role as *pater familias*. In these arrangements, then, the slave status is contractually changed from one of slave to freeman. At that moment the former slave becomes a free but subordinate member of the household, subject to the householder's *potestas*. The former master can require that the former slave, as a household dependent, continue to work for him in his household even where not contractually bound previously to do. He may also dedicate the individual to the temple as a *širku* — as an act for his own spiritual sake, to care for the slave in his old age, or for the benefit of the heirs.[48] The new *širku* may be transferred to the temple now or at the former master's death, as the master chooses, just as he could do with a dependent child.[49]

The status change that a slave undergoes by manumission and dedication while remaining to serve in the household is best understood in analogy to the betrothal of a freeborn daughter, where she remains unemancipated and the power of the *potestas* is transferred from her father to her husband or father-in-law only upon taking up residence in the house of her husband or father-in-law. The case under examination, that is, the manumission document with dedication, is a status-altering contract, like a marriage contract, both of which take effect immediately. The slave becomes a free yet unemancipated member of his new family — that of this former owner. When the owner dedicates him or her to the temple, he or she becomes a *širku*. Just as the marriage contract creates a wife, the manumission and dedication creates a *širku*. Only when the former slave leaves the household and power of his deceased former master to take up his or her residence in the temple does he or she become subject to its authority, just as the father's authority over the new wife does not end until she moves to the home of her husband or father-in-law. Yet, we must acknowledge that the marriage analogy is imperfect. There are circumstances in which a wife may become emancipated.[50] In the case of a dedicated former slave, he or she never will attain emancipation but remain until death in an unemancipated state in the temple. If slave status, as in O. Patterson's words,[51] amounts to, and is the epitome of, "social death," then *širkūtu* status is exemplary of permanent and unalterable legal infancy.

The terminology of emancipation. Emancipation clauses are differentiated by gender. In the case of a male slave, to be emancipated, as well as free, the manumission either must be complemented by an adoption by the former owner, thus providing for the adoptee to become emancipated by operation of law upon the death of his adoptive father, or the tablet of manumission must include the stipulation that the manumittee has a "right to himself," "he belongs to himself," or "he does not belong to anyone else,"[52] thereby releasing him from the *potestas* of the *pater familias*, such that he may either set up his own household or join someone else's.

In the case of a female slave, manumission and adoption does not automatically grant emancipation at a later point, as women generally were not expected to set up their own households. For a woman, therefore, the release from

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[48] Cf. n. 25, regarding the master's duty to maintain aged slaves, and the need to prevent slave owners from shifting this burden onto the society at large.

[49] As indicated above, the right of a *pater familias* over his dependents goes even further, including the right to sell family members in distress situations. This raises the question if a manumitted slave could be sold in his or her capacity as a family "member" or "dependent" by his or her former owner in times of extreme hardship, at least in theory. As there are no such examples extant, any answer to this question is pure speculation. Such drastic measures should only apply where all other property already is depleted. With such a situation pending, there is little incentive for a master to manumit the slave in the first place. Should, however, family fortune have turned suddenly, there is little reason to assume that a non-emancipated and non-dedicated former slave may have been spared the destiny of the other family members; his rank can be expected to be lower or equal to the children. The emancipated manumittee, by contrast, has no ties to the former household any longer and should not be affected, and, most importantly, the former slave who was dedicated, because of the special interest granted to the temple, is not allowed to be sold.

[50] This may happen in the case of divorce or when her husband dies. There are also adoption contracts for girls that grant emancipation after the death of her adoptive parent.

[51] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

[52] As exemplified by ASJ 15, p. 105–06: *ša ra-ma-ni-šú šu-ú* [*m*]*a-am-ma šá-na-am-ma a-na muḫ-ḫi-šú ul i-šá-al-la-aṭ*.

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potestas is expressed in different terms: "she can go where she wishes to" or "she can go to a *bīt mār banî*."[53] If any such clause of emancipation is stipulated in a tablet of manumission, the slave, whether male or female, is not only free, but is also no longer subject to any *potestas*. The common denominator of these formulations is the idea that the person in question is allowed to leave his or her previous household, is thereby released from any further obligations toward it, and can choose where to live or whom to join.

The usage of the aforementioned emancipation clauses is not restricted to slave manumissions, but can be applied to any case where the original *potestas* is severed and transferred to a new household. What type of household that will be depends entirely on the circumstances.[54] In the case of an adult, free non-*širku* man to whom his father grants full emancipation already during his lifetime (e.g., CTMMA 3 102), the son thereby is allowed to establish his own household ahead of time. In the case of free non-*širku* juveniles, another home of suitable station is meant, to which the *potestas* will transfer (e.g., AfO 50, no. 22). For marriageable women, the phrase often refers to the transfer of the *potestas* to her future husband (e.g., BaAr 2 16; AfO 50, no. 23). In the case of divorcées, it typically means full emancipation, wherein the woman is free to marry or select another household in which to live. Some free non-*širku* women may also be granted full emancipation once their adoptive parent or former master, to whom they owed service obligations, dies (e.g., YOS 17 1). Men and women of *širkūtu* status are not entitled to the severance and transfer of the temple's *potestas*. Thus, in reference to them, this clause is not used in the positive but only in the negative (e.g., *Dar.* 43).

Implications for understanding *širkūtu* status. With the concept of emancipation in mind and its bearing on the rights of a free person, we wish to return to the status of the *širku* and discuss some additional inferences. There was one particularly desirable aspect that *širku* life afforded in comparison to slave status: the family relationships of *širku*s were recognized and protected. They could form a family within the temple, and the temple respected such bonds. In private chattel slavery, by contrast, the bond between mother and child was respected only until the child reached workable age, and the father and older children might be separated. This explains why dedicated women and men with children who had been inappropriately transferred back to private ownership were especially eager to assert their *širkūtu* status.[55]

The right of *širku*s to form families resulted in a double hierarchy within the temple household. The temple bureaucracy acted as head of the household in the same way as a *pater familias*: being the liaison to, and regulating the connections with, the outside world, especially the royal administration; managing and controlling inner-household relations, including jurisdiction over its subjects (as long as the cases did not infringe on the rights of outsiders); and keeping a tight grip on their underlings and dependents. Within this framework, there existed "sub"-households of extended *širku* families, led in turn by a head of the family who acted on his part as *pater familias* for his subordinates by asserting his powers within the limits of *širkūtu* status. Such "sub"-households seem to have been kept apart terminologically from a *bīt mār banî* (i.e., a household of a free and emancipated householder), as may be implied by the use of the term *bīt zikari* "house of a man" in *Camb.* 273, regarding the future residence of a temple shepherd's widow.[56]

In sum, *širkūtu* status was a free status inasmuch as *širku*s could not be sold, transferred, or pledged. They could own and bequeath property. They were not kinless, and they were not entirely powerless.[57] This is not to say, however, that *širku* life was particularly attractive. Evidence exists for *širku*s trying to escape from temple authority, or to contest their status. Women hid their babies from the authorities, or tried to place them outside the temple's realm. There was also another drawback: while slave status always encompassed the hope for obtaining one's freedom and independence one day, *širku*s and their offspring would remain bound interminably to their temple and continue to be subject to its bureaucrats' power. A good number of privately owned slaves may have found themselves in better circumstances than the average temple dependent, even though *širkūtu* status generally was superior to chattel slavery.

[53] E.g., YOS 17 1: 16–19 (adoptee); *Nbk.* 101: 12–13 (divorcee); OIP 122 37: 9–11 (manumittee, elliptic construction).

[54] Michael Jursa provided the following definition: "'Entering a *bīt mār-banê*' is a technical term for a person's submission to the authority of the head of a household who is not a kinsman" (*Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, p. 10 n. 42). It should be noted, however, that the qualifier "who is not a kinsman" only applies to some of the cases. The divorcee, for example, may turn precisely to one of her kin. Furthermore, this definition lacks the most important aspect for understanding the legal implications of the term: the severing of the original *potestas*.

[55] As is the case, e.g., in OIP 122 38 and YOS 7 66.

[56] This widow has three young sons. Rather than "enter the house of a(nother) man (É *zi-ka-ri*)" she intends to dwell with her sons and raise them until they are "counted as men," i.e., she will take the place of her deceased husband as the head of the household and not move in with another man, be it a relative or a new spouse.

[57] In contrast to the definition of slave status, e.g., by Finley (see n. 4).

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Conclusion

The scholarly problem presented by the case where a privately owned slave is manumitted and dedicated to the temple as a *širku*, remains in the household of the former master to serve him until death, and then moves to the temple as a *širku* thus far had no satisfactory solution. This article has argued that the legal concept of emancipation (i.e., release from *patria potestas*) can explain the seeming contradiction of the manumittee's free status versus his or her ongoing (and, in fact, never ending) personal dependence.

In the aforementioned situation, the slave is released from slave status through the process of "cleansing" (*zukkû*) from any property rights attached. Thereby, he or she is granted freedom, which is full and unqualified. As a result, the individual is no longer a chattel slave, and his or her master no longer retains any property interest in the former slave: the individual cannot be sold, transferred, or used for debt satisfaction. The slave is not, however, automatically given emancipation. Rather, he or she remains unemancipated, like all the other members of the household, living under the continuing power of the householder, and thus becomes a dependent without full legal capacity.[58] The power of the *patria potestas* allows the householder to dedicate the former slave to the temple. The actual transfer of the freed slave in these cases is typically delayed until the death of the former owner, at which point the *potestas* transfers to the temple. In contrast to the situation in a private household that is headed by a free and emancipated householder whose death will by law emancipate his sons, the temple household as institution will not cease to exist and the oblate, therefore, will remain until his or her death under the *potestas* of the temple, in a permanent state of legal infancy.

Abbreviations

AHw.	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
AfO 50	Cornelia Wunsch, "Findelkinder und Adoption nach neubabylonischen Quellen." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003/2004 [2005]): 174–243
AnOr 8	P. Alfred Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*. Analecta Orientalia 8. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1933
ASJ 15	John D. MacGinnis, "The Manumission of a Royal Slave." *Acta Sumerologica* 15 (1993): 99–106
BaAr 2	Cornelia Wunsch, *Urkunden zum Ehe-, Vermögens- und Erbrecht aus verschiedenen neubabylonischen Archiven*. Babylonische Archive 2. Dresden: ISLET, 2003
BE 8/1	Albert T. Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions, Dated to the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian Periods, Chiefly from Nippur*. Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts, Volume 8, Part 1. Philadelphia: Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1908
BIN 1	Clarence Elwood Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918
BIN 2	James B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser, *Historical Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 2. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920
BMA	Martha T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements 7th–3rd Centuries B.C.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 222. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CM 20	Cornelia Wunsch, *Das Egibi-Archiv* I: *Die Felder und Gärten*. Cuneiform Monographs 20A/B. Groningen: Styx, 2000
CRRAI 47	Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting, eds., *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001). 2 volumes. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000
CTMMA 3	Ira Spar and Eva von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C.* Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 3. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000
Cyr.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon: von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums*. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890

[58] Free status with limited legal capacity because of non-emancipation, therefore, is not to be understood as "incomplete" or "qualified" freedom. Otherwise we would have to apply this term to all persons, except free-born householders, who thus far are labeled as "free," including "freeborn" sons with living fathers and practically all "freeborn" women, because they too are unemancipated and therefore legally incapacitated.

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Dar.	J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon.* Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1892
Iraq 64	John MacGinnis, "The Use of Writing Boards in the Neo-Babylonian Temple." *Iraq* 64 (2002): 217–36
JCS 28	Harold G. Stigers, "Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 28 (1976): 3–59
OIP 122	David B. Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Oriental Institute Collection*. Oriental Institute Publications 122. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2003
RA 67	Daniel Arnaud, "Un document juridique concernant les oblats." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 67 (1973): 147–56
TCL 12	Georges Contenau, *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens* I: *De Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide.* Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 12. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927
TCL 13	Georges Contenau, *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens* II: *Achéménides et Séleucides*. Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 13. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929
UCP 9/2	Henry Frederick Lutz, *Sumerian Temple Records of the Late Ur Dynasty*. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 9/2. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928
YOS 6	Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.).* Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 6. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920
YOS 7	Arch Tremayne, *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses (538–521 B.C.).* Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 7. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925
YOS 17	David B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar.* Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 17. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979

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From Lower Land to Cappadocia

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Since the decipherment of cuneiform, it has been commonly accepted that the Greek toponym Καππαδοκία, first used by Herodotus with reference to central Anatolia, is related to Old Persian *Katpatuka* (*K-t-p-tu-u-k*), the central Anatolian satrapy of the Achaemenid empire.[1] The earlier history of this place-name, however, is unclear. Nineteenth-century attempts at its analysis include reconstructions of pseudo-Akkadian **Katpa Tuka* (or similar) "land of (the tribe) *Duḫa*" (cf. Hebrew *kåtep* "side") or Iranian **Huwaspadahyu-* (or similar) "land of good horses." These suggestions, which occasionally re-emerge in non-specialized literature,[2] have no scholarly value. The Akkadian reconstruction operates with an unattested lexeme for "side" or "land," while the Iranian one assumes the cluster of non-trivial sound changes **Huwaspa-* > *Katpa-*, which do not have a parallel in any Iranian language.

Since the Achaemenid kings normally recycled pre-existing toponyms for the names of their satrapies, an Anatolian origin of the name Katpatuka/Cappadocia emerges as the *prima facie* hypothesis.[3] According to Herodotus (5.52), Cappadocia lies between Phrygia and Cilicia, and its core area apparently coincided with the bend of the Halys River (modern Kızıl Irmak) and the eastern part of the Konya plain.[4] The inscriptional evidence suggests that the Luvian language and the Anatolian hieroglyphic script continued to be used in this territory up to the eighth century B.C.,[5] even though a number of settlements on the eastern bank of the Halys River were Phrygian foundations or re-foundations. It is unclear to what extent the Cimmerian conquest of central Anatolia in the early seventh century B.C. or the annexation of the same territory to the Median kingdom in the early sixth century B.C. could immediately alter the local linguistic landscape. According to one interpretation, the statement of Herodotus (1.72) that the Greeks referred to Cappadocians as Syrians reflects a Greek perception of "Neo-Hittite" cultural unity stretching from the Konya plain to northern Syria.[6]

Unfortunately, all the existing Anatolian etymologies of Katpatuka/Cappadocia likewise appear to be fatally flawed. The proliferation of the view that Katpatuka somehow represents a continuation of the Bronze Age toponym Kizzuwatna can be explained only in the context of the earlier identification of Kizzuwatna with the area of the Hellenistic kingdom of Pontus (also known as Cappadocia ad Pontum). At present, however, Kizzuwatna is universally identified with the Cilician plain and its surrounding mountains, an area that was clearly distinct from Cappadocia according to Herodotus.[7] A different line of thought argues that the first part of Greek Καππαδοκία is genetically related to Hittite

[1] Liesbeth Franck, "Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce," *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 24 (1966): 9 n. 1; Rüdiger Schmitt, "Kappadoker," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5 (1976–1980): 399; J. Strobel, "Kappadokia," *Der neue Pauli*, vol. 6 (1999): 263.

[2] See most recently Adrian Room, *Placenames of the World: Origins and Meanings of the Names for 6,600 Countries, Cities, Territories, Natural Features, and Historic Sites*, 2nd ed. (Jefferson: McFarland, 2006), p. 78 s.v. Cappadocia.

[3] Recent decades have brought about a growing consensus on this subject: see Strobel, "Kappadokia," p. 263; Latife Summerer, "Amisos – eine griechische Polis im Land der Leukosyrer," in *Pont-Euxin et Polis: polis hellenis et polis barbaron; actes du X^e Symposium de Vani, 23–26 septembre 2002, hommage à Otar Lordkipanidzé et Pierre Lévêque* (Besançon: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises, 2005), p. 135; Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), p. 94. For the non-Iranian character of Old Persian *Katpatuka*, see already Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, American Oriental Series 33 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), § 83.III.

[4] A detailed discussion of the changing borders of Cappadocia in the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods lies beyond the scope of the present contribution. This issue is exhaustively addressed in Xavier de Planhol, "La Cappadoce: formation et transformations d'un concept géographique," in *Le aree omogenee della Civiltà Rupestre nell'ambito dell'Impero Bizantino: la Cappadocia*, edited by Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Lecce: Galatina, 1981), pp. 25–38.

[5] On the Cappadocian kingdoms of Tabal and Tuwana, ruled by Neo-Hittite dynasties, see Trevor Bryce, "History," in *The Luwians*, edited by H. Craig Melchert, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/68 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 97–100. For the distribution of Iron Age Luvian hieroglyphic inscriptions over Anatolia, see the map in Melchert, ed., *The Luwians*, p. 142.

[6] Summerer, "Amisos," pp. 133–34 with n. 25. *Pace* Summerer, this interpretation need not imply that the Greeks of the classical period preserved historical recollections of the Hittite empire. For a different interpretation, see Zsolt Simon, "Where is the Land of Sura of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIŠ A4b and Why Were Cappadocians Called Syrians by Greeks?," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39 (2012): 167–80.

[7] For the list of scholars who insisted on the etymological connection between Kizzuwatna and Cappadocia, see de Planhol, "La Cappadoce," p. 28 n. 13. The determination of the currently accepted location of Kizzuwatna was accomplished in Albrecht Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, Yale Oriental Series 22

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place-names *Kapa*, *Kapanuwanta*, *Kappatta*, *Kappitta*, etc., ignoring the phonotactics of Old Persian *Katpatuka*.[8] The abundance of mutually contradictory untenable hypotheses prompts many modern scholars to withhold their judgment with regard to the ultimate origin of the toponym Cappadocia.[9]

The only etymological suggestion that I consider to be a step in the right direction belongs to the French geographer Xavier de Planhol. According to his 1981 hypothesis, Cappadocia/ Katpatuka can be analyzed as "Low Land," since the first morpheme of *Kat-patuka* is ultimately cognate with the Hittite preverb *katta* "down, below." De Planhol stopped only one step short of completely solving the puzzle of Cappadocia, but his attachment to the Kizzuwatna connection prevented him from making this step. He cited the old idea of Emmanuel Laroche, according to whom Kizzuwatna could be read as **Katwatna* in the thirteenth-century hieroglyphic inscription of FIRAKTIN.[10] Laroche operated under the assumption that **Katwatna* was a Luvian rendering of Kizzuwatna, while *Katpatuka* represents the further development of **Katwatna* in an unspecified linguistic environment.[11] It is not easy to reconcile this account with de Planhol's interpretation of **Kat-watna* as "Low Land," since the element *kiz*(z)- of Kizzuwatna does not mean "low" in Hittite.

This is not, however, the only reason why de Planhol's etymology failed to find general acceptance, nor why the circle of its followers is limited to the historians of classical and later periods.[12] By the time his paper appeared in print, the reading **Katwatna* had already been outdated for more than a decade. The same Emmanuel Laroche suggested in 1969 that the toponym Kizzuwatna is spelled *ká*-*285-*na* in the FIRAKTIN inscription and offered compelling grounds for the phonetic reading of the sign *285 as <zu(wa)>.[13] Subsequent research on the Anatolian hieroglyphic script has fully vindicated his second suggestion.[14] On the other hand, the preverb *katta* "down" is not attested anywhere in the Luvian corpus, while Petra Goedegebuure has recently put together a cogent argument for taking Luvian *zanta* as the cognate and functional counterpart of Hittite *katta*.[15] Summing up, Kizzuwatna was never spelled **Katwatna*, and **Katwatna* could not mean "Low Land" in Luvian in any case.

Despite this criticism, I argue that the kernel of de Planhol's proposal can be salvaged. Cappadocia/Katpatuka did originally mean something similar to "Low Land" and contain *katta* as its first element, but this compound had nothing to do with Kizzuwatna, and the language in which it had been formed was not Luvian but Hittite. The Hittite historical sources mention two Anatolian regions conventionally rendered in English as Upper Land and Lower Land. The first region is usually written heterographically, as KUR *ŠAPLITI*, literally, "land of the bottom." According to the scholarly *communis opinio*, the Bronze Age Lower Land is to be identified with the Konya plain in the central part of Asia Minor.[16] The second region is commonly rendered as KUR UGU-*TI* (but also as 1x KUR *ILITI*, 1x [KUR] *ELITI*), literally, "land of the top," in Hittite sources and identified with the upper course of the Halys River.[17] Since the Halys is adjacent to the Konya plain in its middle course, both designations are logical, even though in absolute terms Lower Land represents an elevated plateau.

Although the combination of the Upper Land and the Lower Land defined the core area of the Hittite kingdom, the origin of both terms is probably pre-Hittite. The geographic term *māt šapiltim* "Lower Land" occurs in Old Assyrian commercial texts from Kaneš/Kültepe KTS 41 a 7 and Kt v/k 73 26–27. In the second text, a shipment of tin is expected to come from the Lower Land, and since Assyrian merchants held a monopoly on the trade of tin, it is likely that this

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). On the proposed etymologies of Kizzuwatna, see H. M. Kümmel, "Kizzuwatna," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5 (1976–1980): 627; and Ilya Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 278 with n. 80.

[8] This unconvincing comparison can be found in Johann Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie: Semantische und morphologische Analyse der griechischen Gewässernamen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977), p. 72.

[9] For recent statements of uncertainty on these subjects, see Mark Janse, "Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, edited by J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 348; and Summerer, "Amisos," p. 135.

[10] De Planhol, "La Cappadoce," p. 28.

[11] Emmanuel Laroche, "Comparaison du louvite et du lycien," *Bulletin de la Societé linguistique de Paris* 53 (1958): 48–49.

[12] See, e.g., Nicole Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols 2002), p. 11; Tessa Hoffman, "Pontos und Kappadokien: Versuch einer Einführung," in *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Christen in Osmanischem Reich: 1912–1922*, edited by Tessa Hoffman (Berlin: LIT, 2004), p. 191 n. 2.

[13] Emmanuel Laroche, "Les dieux de Yazılıkaya," *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 27 (1969): 89.

[14] Horst Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der hethitischen Großreichzeit in der Türkei* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), p. 64; David Hawkins, "Reading of *zu*(*wa*) (L. 285)," contributed to *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Grossreichzeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Niantepe-Archiv in Hattusa,* by Susanne Herbordt (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), p. 298; Zsolt Simon, "Towards an Interpretation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Pair of Signs *109.*285 and the Phonetic Value of *448," *Kadmos* 47 (2008): 20–30. The old reading *KATA-WATA-na* is retained only in Fred C. Woudhuizen, *Luwian Hieroglyphic Monumental Rock and Stone Inscriptions from the Hittite Empire Period* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 2004), pp. 70–71.

[15] Petra Goedegebuure presented her discovery at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum, Turkey, 2008). The relevant paper is published in the proceedings of this congress: Petra Goedegebuure, "The Luwian Adverbs zanta "down" and *ānni "with, for, against,"' in *Acts of the VIIth International Conference of Hittitology in Çorum, 25–31 August*, edited by Aygül Süel, (Ankara, 2008), pp 299–319.

[16] Giuseppe F. del Monte and Johann Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 6 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), p. 455. See also the map in Melchert, ed., *The Luwians*, p. 37.

[17] Del Monte and Tischler, *Orts- und Gewässernamen*, p. 293.

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geographic term refers here to Assyria or Mesopotamia as a whole, as opposed to its northwestern periphery.[18] In addition, the text Kt j/k 97, representing a narrative about the exploits of Sargon the Great, mentions *mātam elītam u šaplītam* "Upper and Lower Land (acc.)" as the object of his conquest (line 65). Since many other toponyms mentioned in this text are located in Asia Minor, one cannot absolutely exclude that Upper Land and Lower Land are used here in their Anatolian sense. It seems, however, much more likely that the two lands refer to the territories adjacent respectively to *tâmtu elītu* "Mediterranean Sea" and *tâmtu šaplītu* "Persian Gulf," and their combination refers to the whole of the Sargonic empire.[19]

The similar distinction, with reference to various geographic areas, is also attested in cuneiform texts from outside Anatolia. The Sumerian literary text Inanna and Šukaletuda contains the following passage: "I raised my eyes to the Lower (Land). I saw the lofty gods of the land where the Sun rises. I raised my eyes to the Upper (Land). I saw the lofty gods of the land where the Sun sets."[20] Here the combination of the two lands appears to encompass the whole of Mesopotamia. The eighteenth-century Ešnunna oracle revealed to king Ibalpiel promises him that he will amass the riches of the Upper and the Lower Land, and in this case their combination is more likely to refer to the country of Ešnunna.[21] In texts from Mari the term Upper Land is used with reference to the Upper Khabur area, while the location of the Lower Land is unclear.[22] Finally, in the Amarna Letter EA 162 this opposition is presumably used to convey the distinction between Upper and Lower Egypt.[23]

Two possibilities emerge from the discussion above. Either the foreign distinction between Upper Land and Lower Land was adapted in Anatolia with reference to the different, locally relevant regions, or there is no historical connection between the Mesopotamian and Anatolian dichotomies. Geographic designations similar to those under consideration are, of course, quite frequent cross-linguistically: in particular, Jared Miller reminds me about a similar distinction between High Lands and Low Lands in Scotland. An argument against the genetic connection in our case could be the relatively late date of the attestation of Upper Land and Lower Land in Hittite sources. No Hittite texts from the time before the reign of Suppiluliuma I (mid-fourteenth century B.C.) mention either KUR UGU-*TI* or KUR *ŠAPLITI*, but the Old Kingdom version of the Hittite Laws draws a distinction between Hatti and Luviya as two separate lands under Hittite jurisdiction.[24] In my doctoral dissertation I have endeavored to present converging evidence from various sources for the identification of Luviya with (part of) the Lower Land. I have hypothesized that this quasi-synonym eclipsed Luviya in the conditions when the old term stopped being descriptive enough, perhaps because new Luvian territories came under Hittite control or because more Luvians settled in the Hittite core area.[25] On the other hand, KUR ^{URU}*HATTI* eventually came to be used for the whole of the Hittite empire.

I find it significant, however, that the Upper Land and Lower Land of Hittite sources were always written Sumerographically or Akkadographically in Hittite, to the extent that their Hittite translation remains a matter of conjecture. To be sure, the use of pseudo-Akkadograms (endingless nouns) with reference to Anatolian geographic names in Hittite texts is quite common, but this is a vestige of a situation when Akkadian was the main written language in Asia Minor and Anatolian proper nouns were embedded in Akkadian texts as stem-forms. If the scribes had borrowed the new terms Upper Land and Lower Land from the colloquial Hittite language of the fourteenth century B.C., after the *Verschriftlichung* of Hittite had already taken place, they would have had no motivation to spell them Akkadographically. It stands to reason that they must have had access to some earlier written texts where these toponyms had already been in use. This fact and the close formal similarity between the Assyrian and Hittite toponyms prompt me to view them as genetically related. The precise channels of transmission remain unclear for the moment, but it appears that the refurbished terms Upper Land and Lower Land were introduced from above, as "politically correct" replacements for former Hatti and Luviya.

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[18] Emin Bilgiç and Cahit Günbattı, *Ankaraner Kültepe-Texte*, Vol. 3: *Texte der Grabungskampagne 1970*, Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, Beiheft 3 (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1995), p. 119.

[19] Cahit Günbattı, "Kültepe'den Akadlı Sargon'a âit bir Tablet," *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997): 119. For the English edition of Kt j/k 97, see Marc Van De Mieroop, "Sargon of Agade and His Successors in Anatolia," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 42/1 (2000): 146–48.

[20] Konrad Volk, *Inanna and Šukaletuda: Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes*, Santag: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), p. 107, lines 149–50 and the commentary on p. 177.

[21] Martti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, Writings from the Ancient World 12 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), p. 94. The statement "The country is given for you to rule" immediately precedes the mention of the Upper and the Lower Lands, which supports the assumption that these two terms refer to the parts of Ibalpiel's possessions.

[22] For the Upper Land in Mari texts, see CAD s.v. *elû* B mng. 2′ with references. The Lower Land is mentioned in ARM 26 205: 4.

[23] William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 250.

[24] Harry A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 29–32. Note that the identification between Luviya and Arzawa upheld on p. 30 is almost certainly incorrect; for details, see Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language*, pp. 107–11.

[25] Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language*, pp. 239–48, esp. p. 243.

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This, of course, does not mean that once the new use of the term Lower Land was officially sanctioned, it could not gain currency among the local population. Just as the Turks used the word *Anadolu* "Anatolia" (< Greek Ἀνατολή "sunrise, east") as the name of one of the first two vilayets of the Ottoman empire, so the Luvian speakers, constituting the bulk of the population of the central Anatolian plateau in the Late Bronze Age, could adopt the Hittite name for this region, even without fully understanding its meaning. But how would this name sound in the Hittite language? It is frequently assumed that the heterographic KUR *ŠAPLITI* literally corresponds to Hittite **katteran udne* "lower country,"[26] the expression that in fact occurs in Hittite texts as a designation for the Netherworld.[27] But positive evidence for this identification is not available. The reconstruction of [KU]R *kattirri* "Lower Land" in KUB 26 9 obv. 6, which served as its only philological support,[28] fell apart after the join between KUB 26 9 and KBo 50 264 revealed that this sequence should be read *ša-ra-az*[*-z*]*i kat-ti-ir-ri-ya* "above and below."[29] On the other hand, one may doubt whether the rulers of the Hittite empire could accept the designation for the Netherworld as a name for a part of their own country.

I suggest that a Hittite term corresponding to KUR *ŠAPLITI* was **katta peda-*, literally, "place below."[30] Although this phrase is not directly attested, its grammaticality can be inferred from a similar collocation *istarna peda-* "place in the middle, central position," which has numerous attestations in Hittite texts.[31] The same hypothesis implies that a designation for Upper Land could be **sara peda-*, literally, "place above."[32] This Hittite collocation is not directly attested either, but its Luvic counterpart may underlie the name of Sarpedon, the leader of the Lycians fighting on the Trojan side according to the Iliad.[33] It is not quite clear to me whether **sara peda-* and **katta peda-* were the only New Hittite designations for the respective territories or rather colloquial paraphrases of different Hittite terms, which were structurally more similar to KUR UGU-*TI* and KUR *ŠAPLITI*. But if the Hittite toponyms were invented secondarily, on the basis of the pre-existent heterograms, the exact structural isomorphism between the foreign and domestic terms is not expected.

Since Luvian speakers did not have /e/ in their phonemic inventory, they had to borrow Hittite *katta peda-* with certain phonetic modifications. I would reconstruct their pronunciation of the Lower Land as **kattapadda-* or something similar. The first part of this compound would be synchronically opaque in Luvian, while *padda-* presumably represents the regular Luvian cognate of Hittite *peda-*, with the geminate due to the application of Čop's Law.[34] In other words, we are dealing here not with the mechanical adaptation of sounds, in which case one would expect ***kattapida-*, but with the etymological substitution of the second morpheme. An additional possible argument for the morphological transparency of **katta-padda-* "place of *katta-*" is the reconstruction of the derived Luvian adjective **katta-wanni-*, literally, "belonging to *katta-*." According to the idea of Emmanuel Laroche,[35] this adjective underlies the name of Cataonia (Greek Καταονία), a region on the southeastern periphery of Hellenistic Cappadocia.[36] The structure of Cata-onia should be compared with another Hellenistic Anatolian toponym designating a peripheral region of Cappadocia, namely,

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[26] This identification was tentatively suggested for the first time in Albrecht Goetze, "Madduwattaš," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 32/1 (1927): 120 n. 1. For its recent affirmations, see, e.g., J. M. G. Salazar, "Reflexiones sobre los últimos grandes reyes hititas," *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 38 (2002): 256.

[27] Bo 3617 i 11, edited in Heinrich Otten and Jana Siegelová, "Die hethitischen Gulš-Gottheiten und die Erschaffung der Menschen," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23 (1970): 33, 36.

[28] Del Monte and Tischler, *Orts- und Gewässernamen*, p. 455.

[29] Heinrich Otten, "Der Anfang der Ḫazannu-Instruction," *Orientalia* 52 (1983): 134–35.

[30] It is worth noting that the western part of the Konya plain, known to the Greeks as Lycaonia, was probably referred to as KUR ^{URU}*Pedassa* in the Hittite sources (Del Monte and Tischler, *Orts- und Gewässernamen*, p. 455; H. Craig Melchert, "Prehistory," in Melchert, ed., *The Luwians*, pp. 6–7; and see the map on ibid., p. 37). This toponym was apparently derived with the productive suffix *-assa* from the same *peda-* "place," but it would be strange if a place-name would literally mean "(belonging to a) place." Perhaps one should reckon with the possibility of a secondary semantic development "place" > "plain"; cf. the cognate Greek πεδίον "plain."

[31] CHD s.v. *pedan*, f 2′.

[32] One has to specify that *sara* and *katta* are predominantly used as directional adverbs in Hittite, while their counterparts *ser* and *kattan* usually have the locative function. Since the form of the toponym Cappadocia is more compatible with the reconstruction **katta peda-* than **kattan peda-*, one should possibly understand "place below" as "place in the downward direction," the area of Hattusa being the likely orientation point.

[33] S. P. B. Durnford, "Is Sarpedon a Bronze Age Anatolian Personal Name or a Job Description?" *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008): 103–13. The author suggests that the reconstructed *sar-pēdan* should be taken as his title, literally, "(one having) high position," but a name referring to the place of its origin ("Mr. Uphill") represents, in my opinion, an equally possible interpretation. To be sure, the Luvic topographic feature that possibly underlies Sarpedon's name need not be identical to the Upper Land of Hittite sources.

[34] The reconstruction of the Iron Age Luvian word for "place" based on its attestations in Anatolian hieroglyphic orthography is a rather complicated matter, which is given full attentions in Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich, "The New Values of Luwian Signs L 319 and L 172," in *Ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis: Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of his 70th birthday*, edited Itamar Singer (Tel-Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2010), pp. 199–219. For the present purposes, it is enough to say that the derived Luvic stem **paddant-* "place" appears to have been irregularly reinterpreted as **palant-* in a different dialect of Luvian but is preserved as *pddē* in Lycian. For Čop's Law in Luvian, see H. Craig Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, Leiden Studies in Indo-European 3 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 252–53.

[35] Cited in de Planhol, "La Cappadoce," p. 28. Laroche literally translates this adjective as "qui habite en bas."

[36] For diverging views of ancient scholars on the precise borders of Cataoina, see Paulys *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 20, s.v. Kataonia.

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Lyca-onia, whose name goes back to **lukka-wanni-*, literally, "belonging to the Lukka-tribes."[37] It is, however, unlikely that those responsible for the creation of **katta-wanni-* could understand the etymological meaning of *katta-* "*down," because Cataonia is largely a mountainous area.

The syncopated form **katpadda-* probably came about as a result of a phonetic development within Luvian of the early first millennium B.C. The Anatolian hieroglyphic orthography is, unfortunately, rather unhelpful for studying syncope in Iron Age Luvian inscriptions, but this sound change is well attested in the closely related Lycian language.[38] The more distantly related Lydian even shows the syncopated form of the prefix under discussion, *kat-* < **katta-* "down."[39] Given that syncope in unstressed open syllables is also attested in Luvic names from Cilicia preserved in Greek transmission,[40] this trivial sound change appears to represent an areal phenomenon that spread across all of the first-millennium Anatolian dialects.

Finally, the Luvian compound was borrowed into Old Iranian as **Katpad-uk-a-* or *Katpat-uk-a-*, where *-uk-* is a well-known Iranian suffix, productive with proper nouns. Although it is labeled as "hypocoristic" in the recent literature,[41] one of its likely original functions was the formation of quasi-adjectival derivatives meaning "related to X," "having X," or "containing X."[42] Just as the female noun *Arjukā*, like its male counterpart *Arjaka-*, literally meant "having **arjah-*/ value," that is, "valuable,"[43] so the province name *Katpatuka-* could literally mean "containing (the region of) Katpadda." The variation between **Katpaduka-* (borrowed in Greek as Καππαδοκία) and Old Persian *Katpatuka-* may reflect two different phonetic adaptations of the voiced geminate **-dd-* to Old Iranian. As an alternative, one could hypothesize that **Katpaduka-* was the original name of a Median province, while the variant *Katpatuka-* is due to an irregular voicing assimilation in Old Persian.[44] The geographic distance between Cappadocia and Persis/Fars and the artificial character of the dialect of Achaemenid royal inscriptions increase the chance of imperfect phonetic transmission in this case. Irregular dissimilation in Greek Καππαδοκία is, in my opinion, much less likely.

I have tried to demonstrate that the etymology of Cappadocia cannot be approached without taking into consideration the complex ethnic history of Asia Minor. At the same time, one has to appreciate toponymic continuity in this region across time. The Hittites were the first to apply the term Lower Land to the central Anatolian plateau, but they might have ultimately hearkened back to the Mesopotamian geographic terminology. The Luvians, who constituted the majority of the population of central Anatolia, took over this term from the culturally dominant Hittite language, although they understood it only partially. The toponym persisted over centuries of Luvian linguistic dominance in the region, and eventually passed over to the invading Iranians, who used it as a derivational base for the name of their administrative unit. Finally, the name of an Achaemenid satrapy was taken over by the Greeks, who eventually became the new masters of Asia Minor and applied it to an independent Hellenistic kingdom of Cappadocia. Once we accept this sociolinguistic scenario, the unproblematic formal solution lies at hand.

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[37] Wolfgang Jenniges, "Les Lyciens dans l'Iliade: sur les traces de Pandaros," in *Quaestiones Homericae: Acta Colloquii Namurcensis habiti diebus 7–9 mensis Septembris anni 1995*, edited by Lambert Isebaert and René Lebrun (Louvain: Peeters, 1998) p. 41 with references.

[38] Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, pp. 318–21. For an isolated example of a syncope that can be traced back to Iron Age Luvian but not to Bronze Age Luvian, see Ilya Yakubovich, "The Luvian Enemy," *Kadmos* 47 (2009): 17.

[39] Roberto Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1964), p. 145.

[40] Cf., e.g., the Cilician compounds Ρωνδβερρας < **Runt(iy)a-tabara-*, Ρωνδβιης < **Runt(iy)a-piya-*, and Ρωνδερβεμις < **Runt(iy)a-tarpami-* versus the simplex Ρωνδας < **Runt(iy)a-*; Lasislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague: Tschechoslowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964), § 1339.

[41] Rüdiger Schmitt, "Die Kosenamensuffixe *-ina* und *-uka*," contributed to *Onomastica Persepolitana*, by Manfred Mayrhofer (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), pp. 287–98; Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 573.

[42] Edvin A. Grantovskij, *Ranniaja istorija iranskikh plemen perednej Azii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), p. 265, cf. ibid., p. 262.

[43] Citations of the respective forms are found in Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 113, but their analysis is mine. The *-uk-* suffix, in my opinion, need not be separated from the *-ak-* and *-ik-* suffixes, which formed both diminutives and quasi-adjectival derivatives in Old Iranian. This is not to deny that the first suffix came to be frequently used for deriving abridged ("hypocoristic") forms of compound personal names.

[44] The name of Katpatuka is also attested in Elamite, Babylonian, and Egyptian transmission, but none of these three orthographies is conducive to discriminating between the pronunciations /katpatuka-/ and /katpaduka-/. For attestations, see Tavernier, *Iranica*, p. 94.

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Abbreviations

ARM 26	Jean-Marie Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari*, Vol. 1, Part 1. Archives royales de Mari 26. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988
Bo	inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906–1912
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., editors, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CHD	Hans G. Güterbock, Harry A. Hoffner, and Theo P. J. van den Hout, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980–
KBo 50	Jared L. Miller, Texte historischen Inhalts. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 50. Leipzig, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2006
Kt a/k etc.	tablets from Kültepe *kārum* in the Ankara Museum
KTS	Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul
KUB 26	A. Götz, Historisch-politische Texte. Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi 26. Berlin: Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen, 1933