

FREIBURGER ALTORIENTALISCHE STUDIEN

Herausgegeben von Burkhard Kienast, unter Mitwirkung von Mark A. Brandes und Horst Steible

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ISBN 3-515-01911-1
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ISBN 3-515-02592-8
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ISBN 3-515-02591-X

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FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH WIESBADEN

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
BURKHART KIENAST
UNTER MITWIRKUNG VON
MARK A. BRANDES UND HORST STEIBLE

BAND 4

PRIEST AND TEMPLE
IN
HELLENISTIC BABYLONIA

BY

GILBERT J. P. McEWAN



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH WIESBADEN

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GILBERT J. P. McEWAN
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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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McEwan, Gilbert J. P.:

Priest and temple in hellenistic Babylonia (von Gilbert J. P. McEwan. — Wiesbaden :
Steiner, 1981.

(Freiburger altorientalische Studien; Bd. 4)

ISBN 3-515-03557-5

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Printed in Germany

6-16-83

TO
R. J. WILLIAMS

Mit dem vorliegenden Band präsentieren die Freiburger Altorientalistischen Studien die Tübinger Dissertation eines jungen amerikanischen Kollegen und bekräftigen damit ihre Offenheit für die Beiträge auswärtiger Autoren.

Aus Gründen der Kostensenkung sind wir dazu übergegangen, maschinengeschriebene Manuskripte auf photomechanischem Wege zu reproduzieren. Während der vorliegende Band 4 ganz vom Autor redigiert wurde, wird ab Band 5 der Reihe ein neues, einheitlicheres Gesicht angestrebt.

B. Kienast

FORWARD

The present book is a slightly revised version of a dissertation presented to the Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften of the Universität Tübingen in June of 1980. The revisions, apart from some slight changes to accommodate the present format, consist mainly of minor corrections and the incorporation of material published since the completion of the dissertation, most notably the volume by J. VAN DIJK and W.R. MAYER, *Texte aus dem Rēš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka, Baghdader Mitteilungen Beiheft 2*, (Berlin, 1980).

In preparing this work I was fortunate enough to be able to use a substantial amount of unpublished material. Dr. L.T. Doty was extremely generous in making available to me his copies of unpublished Seleucid tablets in the Yale collections which he is preparing for publication in a future YOS volume, and the museum authorities of the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University were kind enough to give me permission to quote the material in this form.

To the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford I am indebted for permission to study the unpublished Hellenistic tablets there. More specifically, however, I should like to express my appreciation to Dr. P.R.S. Moorey of the Ashmolean Museum and Prof. O.R. Gurney for their unstinting help and good will which greatly facilitated my study of the texts there.

These unpublished texts have been quoted in this work by their museum numbers, but since I am preparing the Ashmolean texts for publication, provisionally as OECT volume IX, I am appending here a concordance between the museum numbers and the numbers used in that edition in order to facilitate future reference.

The present study owes much to Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Röllig of Tübingen, who has not only given generously of his scholarly advice at every stage of its preparation but who has also provided me with the technical equipment necessary to produce the

present camera-ready manuscript. Furthermore he has been instrumental in making arrangements for publication and in finding the necessary financial support. For all of this and for his characteristically friendly encouragement and help over the past few years I am in his debt.

I am also grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (formerly the Canada Council) for providing the funds to finance my studies in Tübingen and to the authorities of the Breuninger-Stiftung of Stuttgart who have generously provided a much-needed subvention toward the costs of publication.

In addition I wish to express my gratitude here to Prof. Dr. H. Hunger of Vienna for his many helpful suggestions and to Prof. Dr. B. Kienast of Freiburg for accepting this book for publication in the Freiburger Altorientalische Studien. I am grateful to Herr G. Neuber of Tübingen who prepared the graphs of prebend prices on page 111.

Finally, I cannot leave unmentioned the contributions of my wife Ruth, who in addition to exhibiting exemplary patience during the preparation of the manuscript has also provided material assistance in the copy-editing and preparation of the indices.

Tübingen
6 August 1981

G.J.P. McEwan

CONCORDANCE

Museum Numbers - *Edition Numbers

<u>Museum No.</u>	<u>Edition No.</u>	<u>Museum No.</u>	<u>Edition No.</u>
Ash. 1923.65	- 20	Ash. 1923.734	- 60
Ash. 1923.66	- 61	Ash. 1923.735	- 48
Ash. 1923.67	- 11	Ash. 1923.736	- 56
Ash. 1923.68	- 36	Ash. 1923.737	- 21
Ash. 1923.69	- 10	Ash. 1923.738	- 15
Ash. 1923.70	- 64	Ash. 1923.739	- 50
Ash. 1923.71	- 65	Ash. 1923.740	- 51
Ash. 1923.72	- 49	Ash. 1923.741	- 22
Ash. 1923.73	- 9	Ash. 1923.742	- 58
Ash. 1923.74	- 37	Ash. 1923.743	- 19
Ash. 1923.75	- 53	Ash. 1923.744	- 13
Ash. 1923.76	- 23	Ash. 1923.745	- 31
Ash. 1923.77	- 7	Ash. 1923.746	- 29
Ash. 1923.78	- 57	Ash. 1923.747	- 35
Ash. 1923.79	- 27	Ash. 1923.748	- 2
Ash. 1923.80	- 34	Ash. 1923.750	- 17
Ash. 1923.81	- 1	Ash. 1930.560	- 46
Ash. 1923.715	- 54	Ash. 1930.563a	- 66
Ash. 1923.716	- 4	Ash. 1930.563b	- 62
Ash. 1923.717	- 12	Ash. 1930.565	- 41
Ash. 1923.718	- 45	Ash. 1930.566	- 67
Ash. 1923.719	- 63	Ash. 1930.567	- 43
Ash. 1923.720	- 42	Ash. 1930.568	- 68
Ash. 1923.721	- 44	Ash. 1930.570	- 59
Ash. 1923.722	- 38	Ash. 1930.571	- 16
Ash. 1923.723	- 24	Ash. 1930.572	- 39
Ash. 1923.724	- 26	Ash. 1930.573	- 70
Ash. 1923.725	- 55	Ash. 1930.574	- 69
Ash. 1923.726	- 30	Ash. 1930.575	- 40
Ash. 1923.727	- 47	Ash. 1930.576	- 25
Ash. 1923.728	- 18	Ash. 1930.577	- 8
Ash. 1923.730	- 28	Ash. 1930.578	- 14
Ash. 1923.731	- 3	Ash. 1930.579	- 52
Ash. 1923.732	- 5	Ash. 1930.580	- 6
Ash. 1923.733	- 32	Ash. 1930.582	- 33

*Edition refers to the manuscript of OECT IX in preparation.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this work are those of W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1965-1981) and R. BORGER, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur Bd. II* (Berlin, 1975). In addition the following abbreviations are used:

AB	Siglum for the tablets in the collection of the Bodleian Library (now in the Ashmolean Museum). An edition of these texts will appear in G.J.P. McEWAN, <i>Arsacid Temple Records IRAQ 43/2</i> (1981).
AE	Arsacid era.
Ancient Mesopotamia	I.M. DIAKONOFF, ed. <i>Ancient Mesopotamia: Socio-Economic History - A Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars</i> (Moscow, 1969).
CAHU	L.T. DOTY, <i>Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk</i> (Dissertation, Yale, 1977 [University Microfilms, 1981]).
Lewenton, Diss.	U. LEWENTON, <i>Studien zur keilschriftlichen Rechtspraxis Babyloniens in hellenistischer Zeit</i> (Dissertation, Münster, 1970).
Oelsner, Diss.	J. OELSNER, <i>Studien zur babylonischen Kultur und Gesellschaft in hellenistischer Zeit</i> (Dissertation, Jena, 1970).
SE	Seleucid era.
VDI 1955	Siglum for tablets published by G. SARKISJAN, <i>VDI 1955/IV</i> , 136ff.

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PREFACE

With the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander a new era in the history of Babylonia began. Politically and culturally this conquest was to have far-reaching effects. These were not immediately apparent, however, since the conquest was not in the manner of a revolution, replacing all things Persian with those Greek, but rather it was a coup d'etat, which replaced the rulers while leaving the basic structure of the imperial administration basically unchanged. Such changes as occurred were the result of a gradual reshaping of the structures to fit the needs of the Greek ruling class and the creation of Greek institutions, which were intended to meet the needs of the Greek population, rather than to supplant local institutions. Thus, the Greek rulers probably did not set out to compass the ruin of Babylon, since - as far as we can judge from native sources - their policies toward the city were favourable. Nevertheless, the establishing of Seleucia as the eastern capital of the empire had the inevitable, even if unintended, effect of seriously diminishing the political and economic standing of the former.

Yet it is these changes which have been the subject of most of the works written about the history Babylonia. For here, as in Egypt, the study of the Hellenistic period has fallen almost exclusively to the classical scholars through the general reluctance of Egyptologists and Assyriologists to enter upon it. The studies of both countries during this period are thereby marked by an inevitable bias toward Greek sources and Greek institutions. The scholars, to whom we are most indebted for our knowledge of the Hellenistic Near East - one thinks of Rostovtzeff, Tarn and Bikerman - utilized Greek sources almost exclusively.¹ Consequently, Babylonia, due to the paucity of Greek sources from the area, has suffered a

¹ A good example of this tendency in a more recent work is H. KREISSIG, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Seleukidenreich* (Berlin, 1978) which virtually ignores native Babylonian material.

relative neglect, despite the fact that there are more documents from it than from any other area with the exception of Egypt. These sources, however, are in cuneiform and were consequently available to the classicists only in haphazard form, since they have scarcely been subjected to historical analysis by Assyriologists. The exception to this is in the field of political history and chronology where the chronicles from Babylonia and dated economic tablets provide invaluable data. In matters of social and economic history and administrative studies, however, they remained virtually terra incognita to the historian.

It must be stressed when we speak of the relative neglect by cuneiformists that we are referring to the evaluation of the social and economic aspects of the material, for in other areas the texts have been relatively well studied. Schroeder, for example used them for a study of the Uruk pantheon,² and Krückmann³ and Lewenton⁴ have elucidated the legal aspects of the Uruk contracts. Falkenstein combined data from contracts, religious texts and archaeological excavations in his masterful study of the topography of Uruk.⁵ Some aspects of social and economic history were touched upon by Clay in the introduction to his edition of the Seleucid texts in the Morgan collection⁶ and by Rutten in her study of the texts in the Louvre.⁷ Both of these, however, provide no more than a summary treatment.

More recently material from the Hellenistic period has been the object of renewed interest among cuneiformists. Disserta-

² O. SCHROEDER, *Das Pantheon der Stadt Uruk in der Seleukidenzeit auf Grund von Götterlisten und theophoren Personennamen in Kontrakten dieser Zeit* (SPAW XLI [1916], 1180-1196).

³ O. KRÜCKMANN, *Babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Urkunden aus der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen* (Weimar, 1931).

⁴ U. LEWENTON, *Studien zur keilschriftlichen Rechtspraxis Babyloniens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Dissertation, Münster, 1970).

⁵ A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie von Uruk* (ADFU 3, Leipzig, 1941).

⁶ BRM II pp. 15-23.

⁷ M. RUTTEN, *Babyloniaca XV* (1935), 59ff.

tions by Oelsner⁸ and Doty⁹ have provided us with an exhaustive catalogue of Hellenistic textual and archaeological material and an archival study of the Uruk contracts, respectively. Moreover there has been a considerable increase in the amount of material at our disposal with the publication of 189 texts from the Babylon area.¹⁰ This allows us for the first time to take up the question of regional differences inside Babylonia during the Hellenistic period.

The present study, then, is intended to be a contribution to our understanding of the social and economic history of Hellenistic Babylonia concentrating on the priesthood and the temple. The choice of subject is to a certain extent due to the nature of the textual corpus, for it is well known that almost all the documents from the Hellenistic period are concerned either directly or indirectly with the temple and the personnel who served it. Even if this were not so the choice of topic could be easily justified since we know from other centres of the Hellenistic Near East the importance which the temple had in the affairs of the indigenous peoples. The decision to extend the study throughout the whole of the Hellenistic period rather than limiting it to an evaluation of the Seleucid period serves two purposes. First it allows us to make use of a much wider range of material than would otherwise have been possible. This is especially important for the temple complexes of the Babylon region, where the bulk of the material comes from the pre- and post-Seleucid periods. Second it allows greater scope for a study of historical changes within the temples and of the possible causes of these changes. Therefore, all documents from the conquest of Alexander to the last temple records will be used in this study.

⁸ J. OELSNER, *Studien zur babylonischen Kultur und Gesellschaft in hellenistischer Zeit* (Dissertation, Jena, 1970).

⁹ L.T. DOTY, *Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk* (Dissertation, Yale, 1977 [University Microfilms 1981]).

¹⁰ D. KENNEDY, *Late-Babylonian Economic Texts* (CT XLIX, 1968). Copies of the unpublished texts used in the present study are being prepared by DOTY (Yale texts) and the present writer (Ashmolean texts).

As a further consequence of the choice of topic, the social and economic aspects of the temple are not the only ones to be considered. Rather, the consideration of the affairs of the temple inevitably brings with it an evaluation of the religious function of the temple. This aspect of the study has the additional value, apart from its contributions to the history of religion, that it can be used as an indicator of the degree of Hellenization in the society as a whole. This is especially true during this period, for religion played as important a political role then as at any time in the history of the country.

The study is intended to be in the first instance analytical rather than polemical. Hence the theories of others are rarely cited merely for the purpose of refutation. Instead, it is hoped that a clear presentation of the data and analysis thereof will make such effort superfluous. There is little scope for polemic in the present study in any event since it covers for the most part new ground. The previous studies of cuneiform material from the Hellenistic period mentioned above are only indirectly, when at all, concerned with the topics discussed here. Previous studies of Mesopotamian clergy and temples are for the most part now quite out-dated. Exceptions are the recent studies by Renger¹¹ of the Old Babylonian clergy and by Kümmel¹² of the Late Babylonian temple personnel at Uruk. The chief value of these for the present study is that they provide us with a means of assessing the degree of continuity and change between the Babylonian religious institutions of the Hellenistic period and their predecessors. Due to the breadth of scope and the size of the textual corpus questions of detail cannot always be gone into in depth. This

¹¹ J. RENGGER, Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit, ZA 58 (1967) 110-188 and ZA 59 (1969) 104-230.

¹² H.M. KÜMMEL, Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk (Berlin, 1979). Kümmel's study is not limited to temple personnel, but in practice virtually all of the professions from these texts were connected with the Uruk temples.

does not mean that all such questions are avoided but simply that in cases where nothing new is to be added unnecessary recapitulation is avoided. Thus we accept without going into the argumentation such conventional readings as ¹úšēšgallu for ¹úšēš.GAL (AHW 1220a) even though it is but one of several possibilities. In other cases, however, such as the reading ¹úššipu instead of ¹úšmaššū for ¹úš.MAŠ where our texts provide decisive evidence such questions are inevitably dealt with.

It can only be hoped that despite any possible deficiencies we have managed to do justice to the subject.

I. PRIESTS AND NON-SACERDOTAL TEMPLE PERSONNEL

The following is an attempt to systematize our knowledge of the sacerdotal and administrative personnel connected with the temple and those craftsmen and other workers in the service of the temples. Where the material allows this will take the form of a prosopographical study of the various offices. In many instances, however, insufficient attestation permits us to do little more than note the particular office or craft without saying much about its nature or extent.

A. PRIESTS

ērib bīti

The general word for "priest" in our texts is *ērib bīti*, "temple enterer". It is simply a designation for anyone who had access to the sacred precincts of the temple. In the Hellenistic period these priests are most frequently found in ritual contexts. They are the ones who are charged with the general performance of the rituals (*parṣu*).¹³ They are also found taking part in processions¹⁴ and there are prescriptions as to the ritual garments to be worn by the *ērib bīti*.¹⁵ In the procession from the Anu/Antu temple to the Akitu temple we find the following sequence of participants: *šešgallu*, *āšipu*, *ērib bīti*, *sirāšû*.¹⁶ *ērib bīti* here seems to refer to all sacerdotal personnel other than the expressly mentioned *šešgallu*, *āšipu* and *sirāšû*. That these were not only priests as we understand the word can be seen from the clan list VS XV 1, where the *āšipu*, *nagāru*, *kabšarru*, *purkullu* and *kutimmu* are all subsumed under the rubric *ērib bīti*, whereas the *sirāšû* and *nuḫatimmu* are excluded. Thus it would seem that the craftsmen could be considered part of this class while the brewers and bakers were not.

¹³ Racc. 130,37f.; 136,276f.

¹⁴ Racc. 120,2f.

¹⁵ Racc. 90,28; RA 71,41 r.7'; UVB 15,40 r.13'.

¹⁶ BRM IV 7,3f.7.26.39f.

This division is confirmed by the prebend system, where we find prebends for the butcher, baker, miller etc. differentiated from that of the *ērib bīti*. To what extent the *āšipu* was subsumed under the *ērib bīti* is not certain, for the clan list numbers him among the *ērib bīti* while in the ritual he is listed separately.

Outside of ritual texts the *ērib bīti* is found infrequently. There is mention of a storehouse of the *ērib bīti* near the *bīt dulli* in the Reš temple complex.¹⁷ There is a colophon on a text also from Uruk which mentions Iqiša, son of Ištar-šumareš, descendant of Ekur-zakir, who bears the titles: *āšipu Urukū ērib bīti Anu u Antu* - "exorcist, citizen of Uruk, the *ērib bīti* of Anu and Antu".¹⁸ From Babylon we have a text which mentions two *ērib bīti* priests who collected the contributions from the *bīt hilšu* of the Esabad temple.¹⁹ Finally, as mentioned earlier, the *ērib bīti* was a prebendary office and as such will be discussed below.

gerseqqû

This priest whose duties are still ill-defined is mentioned only twice in texts from our period aside from the occurrences as a prebendary office. The first is as ¹úGIR.SĒ-qí^{meš} in a list of ritual personnel including the butcher, baker and singer, who wear the same ritual garments.²⁰ The second is the *l-en* ¹úGIR.SĒ.GA-ú who occurs in a broken context in an astronomical diary.²¹

šangû

The *šangû*, who is encountered so often in texts from earlier

¹⁷ VS XV 48,5; W 521i,5. See A. FALKENSTEIN, ADFU 3, p.14.

¹⁸ SpTU 94,55f.

¹⁹ CT XLIX 161,6f.

²⁰ UVB 15,40,9'.

²¹ LBAT 483,6'. Both writings, incidentally, speak against the suggestion in CAD M¹ 234a to read *manzāz pāni* rather than *gerseqqû*. For the most recent discussions of the *gerseqqû* see I.J. GELB, StOr 46 (1975) 56 and A.L. OPPENHEIM, JANES 5 (1973) 327.

periods, is found but rarely in texts from this period. It is not always possible to distinguish between the *šangû* and the *ṭupšarru* "scribe", since during this period they were not orthographically distinguishable, both being written with the same sign, *šID*.

The only relatively certain occurrences are in ritual texts. Once in a ritual of the Anu temple a *šangû* priest of Adad is found conducting exticipy along with the diviner.²² In a text concerned with the nocturnal vigil at the Anu temple a *šangû* priest of the temples of Uruk is mentioned.²³ This latter instance is interesting for in this text there seems to be a clear distinction between the *šangû* and the *ērib bīti*. The former term then, was probably used as a designation for professional priests, while the latter probably referred to those of other professions who were entitled to exercise sacerdotal functions. With the writing ¹úšID in non-ritual contexts, however, it is impossible to be certain whether it is the priest or the scribe who is meant.²⁴

šešgallu

The ¹úšEŠ.GAL²⁵ "big brother" was the chief sacerdotal officer in the temple. In our texts he is most frequently found in ritual contexts and in colophons. In rituals the *šešgallu* played an important role, as for example in the New Year's ritual from Babylon where he is the one who recites *Enūma eliš*.²⁶ The *šešgallu* also participated in the *kinūnu*-festival on the 18th of Araḥsamna in the Ekašbarkalama chapel of the Esagila temple²⁷ and is mentioned first in the series of priests in the procession to the Akitu temple in Uruk.²⁸

²² Racc. 92,3.

²³ Racc. 120,14

²⁴ E.g. CT XLIX 10,8 and TCS V 117,4.

²⁵ The reading is still not entirely certain, cf. H.M. KÜMMEL, ADOG 20,134, but AHW and CAD prefer the reading *šešgallu*.

²⁶ Racc. 136,280ff. and passim in this ritual.

²⁷ BRM IV 25,9f.

²⁸ BRM IV 7,3.7.10.14.18.22.26.39.

In colophons from Uruk the *šešgallu* appears most often together with the *āšipu* and the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla*. Those known from the colophons are:

- Kidin-Anu/Ekur-zakir (BAK 107) yr. 32-45²⁹
Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Kidin-Anu/Ekur-zakir (No. 16)³⁰ yr. 61-84.
Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Ekur-zakir
(No. 40) yr. 99.
Anu-aha-iddin/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-belšunu/Ekur-zakir (No. 42)
yr. 117.
Šamaš-eṭir/Ina-qibit-Anu/Šipqat-Anu/Ekur-zakir (No. 46)
yr. 118.
...../Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Ekur-zakir (BAK 104) yr. 124.

As can be seen from the list all the *šešgallu* priests were members of the clan of Ekur-zakir, which we know from VS XV 1 to have been one of the seven *āšipu* clans. Moreover, we may note that the *šešgallu* is found only in the Reš temple and that it was as far as we know not a prebendary office.

Other Priests

Two purification priests are attested in the texts from the Hellenistic period. The first is the *lumahḥu*, whose function as a purification priest can be deduced from his connexion with the *gizillû* and *banduddû*, two purification instruments.³¹ The second is the *šuluhhû*. This title occurs only once as a professional designation of a witness in a contract from Uruk. There we find Anu-iqišanni, son of Kidin-Anu, who is called the *lûšU.LUḤ.ḤA*.³²

In addition to these two other terms for priest occur in the texts. The first is the general term *mār bēl parši* "member of the ritualists",³³ which simply designates anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the temple rites. The

²⁹ Dated by the co-regency of Antiochos I and Seleucos.

³⁰ The number refers to the list in OELSNER, Diss. pp. 133-152 where the relevant attestations may be found.

³¹ Racc. 91,2; 119,28.

³² MLC 2652 r.14 = MLC 2655 r.16.

³³ Racc. 16,30.

second is the *lûšU.BAR.RA* who is mentioned beside the *gersegqû* in a list of those who wear the same ritual garments.³⁴ Nothing further is known of his role in the temple, nor is it known if he is to be identified with the *šubarrû* "freedman".

B. CULTIC PERFORMERS

kalû

The most important cultic performer was undoubtedly the *kalû*, who was the liturgist who sang the lamentations to the gods in the various rituals. The importance of the *kalû* can be seen by the facts that there was a ritual series which was termed *nēpeš ša qāt kalû*³⁵ and that in chronicles we find the king himself decreeing offering portions for the *kalû* together with the *šatammu*.³⁶

A problematical text from Babylon dated in the sixth year of Antigonos lists 100 *kalû* priests who receive wool rations. The text is anomalous, however, and it is doubtful that a temple would have so many *kalû* priests at any one time.³⁷ Aside from this document there are few *kalû* priests known from the texts from Babylon. Those known are:

- Bel-aba-ušur/ Ea-ibni (CT XLIX 119,2) yr. 51.
Marduk-zera-ibni/Ea-balassu-iqbi/Bel-apla-iddin/Nanna-utu
(BAK 147a.k) yr. 175-178.
Bel-iddina/Marduk-belšunu/Bel-re'ušunu/Šumu-libši³⁸
(BAK 149) yr. 157.
Nabu-apla-ušur/Nabu-mušetiq-uddi (CT XLIX 144,9f.) yr. 193
Ea-balassu-iqbi/Bel-apla-iddin/Nanna-utu (BAK 147h.i.p)
yr. 226.

³⁴ CAD M¹ 234a tentatively suggest the reading *uššurtu* for the occurrence in UVB 15,40,9 but without giving a reason.

³⁵ BRM IV 6,2'; Racc. 20,36; 34,15; 36,2; 42,20; 44,14.

³⁶ TCS V 283,1.8f. Cf. *ibid.* 123,10.

³⁷ CT XLIV 84. The *a priori* improbability of so many *kalû* priests, however, suggest a possible emendation to *lûšU.BAR*. The copy has a clear *lûGALA(UŠ.KU)* however.

³⁸ For Šumu-libši cf. W.G. LAMBERT, JCS 16 (1962) 66 vii 1-4.

These few attestations from Babylon do not allow us to say anything about the organization of the *kalû* priesthood there. It may be noted, however, that one of the *kalû*, Nabu-apla-ušur, also bore the title of astrologer.

From Cutha we have a text which bears the seal of a *kalû*, who is one of the members of the assembly of Emeslam witnessing an assignment of temple land.³⁹

A recently published text from Uruk records the distribution of neck joints (^{uzu}*ti-ik-ka^{meš}*) for the *kalû* priests.⁴⁰ Otherwise, however, the *kalû* is attested almost exclusively in colophons and as scribes in business documents in the texts from Uruk. Those known are:⁴¹

Anu-belšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Sin-leqe-unnini (BAK 103c.f.k; 105a; GDBT Pl. 7; Ibid. Pl. 16; BagM Beih. 2,12 r.5') yr. 81-120.

Nidintu-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Sin-leqe-unnini (BAK 104a; BagM Beih. 2,65,7') yr. 84⁴²

Anu-iqišanni/Nidintu-Anu/Sin-leqe-unnini (Lewenton, Diss. p.104) yr. 102-132.

Anu-aba-uter/Anu-belšunu/Sin-leqe-unnini (BAK 92; 94; 103b.e; BagM Beih. 2,6,42) yr. 118-156.

Anu-belšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Sin-leqe-unnini (BAK 101; BagM Beih. 2,5,34; 89,22) yr. 147-150.

Mannu-iqapu/Anu-iqišanni/Sin-leqe-unnini (BAK 115) undated
Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Riḥat-Anu (BAK 109) undated.

Anu-uballiṭ/.../Sin-leqe-unnini (BAK 118; BagM Beih. 2, 16 r.1') date lost.

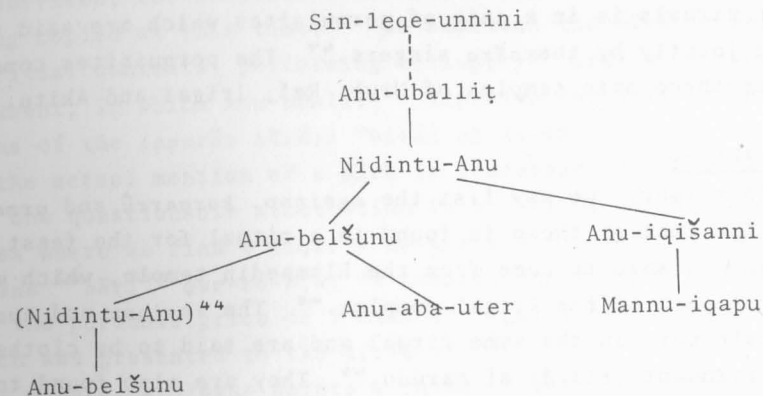
³⁹ BRM I 88.

⁴⁰ BagM Beih. 2,115. For the neck as the cut of the *kalû* prebend cf. SVAT 19 i 16 and OECT I Pl. XX 12.

⁴¹ No differentiation is made here between the *kalû*, *galamāḥu*, *galaturru*/*kalû šeḥru* and *šamallû kalî*. Any difference between them seems to have been one of rank rather than function. Note, however, that only the *kalû* and *galamāḥu* are mentioned in ritual texts.

⁴² Nidintu-Anu is actually the father of the preceding. In BAK 103k dated to yr. 81 Anu-belšunu is called *galaturru*, while in BAK 104a from yr. 84 Nidintu-Anu is called *galamāḥu*.

From the list one can see that the common ancestral clan of all the *kalû* priests, as far as we can tell, was that of Sin-leqe-unnini. We may thus perhaps surmise that this famous editor of the Akkadian version of the Gilgameš epic was a *kalû* priest.⁴³ The office of *kalû* is also one of the few offices which can be proved to have been directly inherited, as can be seen by the following genealogical chart.



The only ones not placed in this chart are the last two in the list above, Anu-aha-ittannu and Anu-uballiṭ. The latter may be identical with the father of Nidintu-Anu, leaving only the former, who is at any rate anomalous since he is given no clan affiliation.

nāru

Another important cultic performer was the *nāru* "singer", who was often found in rituals together with the *kalû*.⁴⁵ His

⁴³ Lambert reads ^{lú}*M[AŠ.MAŠ...]* for the title of Sin-leqe-unnini in the literary catalogue Sm.669 (JCS 16 [1962] 16,66), the unexpected nature of which he had already noted in JCS 11 (1957) 5. Perhaps we should simply restore ^{lú}*G[ALA?]*, since we do not expect him to be an *āšipu* as he is not listed as such in the clan list in VS XV 1.

⁴⁴ The filiation is not certain but it is not unlikely based on what we know of family onomastic practices.

⁴⁵ Racc. 89,7; 119,33; 131,40; 136,278; 140,337.

function is self-evident, and it is interesting to note that he appears without the *kalû* when providing entertainment during the ritual meals for the gods. This was probably due to the fact that the lamentations of the *kalû* were considered inappropriate in what was essentially a festive context. In addition the *nāru* occurs in a list of temple personnel along with the brewer, baker, butcher, *sigbarrû*, *gerseqqû* and *šubarrû*, all of whom wear the same ritual garments.⁴⁶ The sole occurrence outside of rituals is in a sale of perquisites which are said to be held jointly by the *nāru* singers.⁴⁷ The perquisites come from the three main temples of Uruk: Reš, Irigal and Akitu.

Cultic Actors

Under this rubric we may list the *assinnu*, *kurgarrû* and *urmaḫ-līli*. The last of these is found in a ritual for the feast of Ištar and is said to come from the Elamaedin temple, which may have been part of the Irigal complex.⁴⁸ The *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* take part in the same ritual and are said to be clothed in the rainment (*tillû*) of Narudu.⁴⁹ They are also found together receiving payment from temple funds.⁵⁰ And finally, the *kurgarrû* is found in a fragmentary list of temple personnel from Babylon⁵¹ and in a request for a lease of temple income, where the prospective lessee is the *kurgarrû*, Bel-aba-ušur, son of Bel-iddina.⁵²

⁴⁶ UVB 15,40,8'. The sign seems to be a clear NAR although Falkenstein left it blank in his transliteration.

⁴⁷ VS XV 19,7.21. The sign does not seem to have been recognized by the editor or either of the modern lexica as NAR, but a similar form of the sign can be seen in BRM II 23,13 ... *meš-ḫat šá-lul=(NAR)-tu*₄, where the form of the sign is virtually identical with the present one.

⁴⁸ Racc. 114,10. For the Elamaedin temple see A. FALKENSTEIN, ADFU 3,36.

⁴⁹ Racc. 115,7.

⁵⁰ BRM I 99,38f.

⁵¹ CT XLIX 183,5.

⁵² CT XLIX 160,1.

C. MAGICIANS, DIVINERS and ASTROLOGERS

bārû

The *bārû* is virtually unattested in texts from the Hellenistic period. This is not surprising since we know that the great vogue enjoyed by astrology at this time made his specialty, divination, superfluous. But if he did not flourish, at least he survived, for we still have extracts of the *iškar bārûti* being copied at this time.⁵³ In addition the *bārû* is mentioned in ritual contexts, performing extispicy⁵⁴ and in an unusual document, in which Anu-uballiṭ - Kephalon requests an omen by means of the *išsurāt bārûti* "birds of divination".⁵⁵ As far as the actual mention of a *bārû* is concerned, however, we have but one questionable attestation in a list of temple expenditures where we find 4 *šiqil* 2 *ma-ḫat ana šī-me* 5 *uzugi-nu-ú šá ana* ¹*lūbārû*⁵⁶ *qur-ru-b[u]* "4 shekels and 2 maḫat (of silver) for the purchase price of 5 cuts of regular offering meat, which was presented to the diviner".⁵⁷

This meagre catalogue paints a rather bleak picture of the position of the diviner during the Hellenistic period. This should not be attributed, however, to Greek influence since it is merely a continuation of the trend away from extispicy and toward astrology which can be seen as early as the reign of Esarhaddon.

ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla

The *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla*, literally the "scribe of (the series) *Enūma Anu Enlilla*", was what in the present day par-

⁵³ E.g. TU 1-7 and BRM VI 12 and 13 and BagM Beih. 2,65-68.

⁵⁴ Racc. 42,22f.; 92,3.

⁵⁵ See G.J.P. McEWAN, ZA 70 (1980) 58-69.

⁵⁶ The present writer has collated the passage, and it would seem that the mark copied by Kennedy above the two horizontal wedges is not a wedge but just a fault or scratch on the tablet.

⁵⁷ CT XLIX 150,59. The passage is interesting since in earlier periods the *bārû* was not a normal recipient of temple offerings.

lance would be termed an "astrologer".⁵⁸ His star waxed as that of the diviner waned. Already in the Neo-Assyrian period he had begun to play an important role, but during the Hellenistic period his influence reached its zenith. In addition to the many tablets from Uruk belonging to this series⁵⁹ we have direct evidence of the astrologer from a series of colophons from Uruk. In these he is either found with the *kalû* or with the *āšipu/šešgallu* in the multiple titulary of a scribe or owner of a tablet. The following are known:

Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Ina-qibit-Anu/Ekur-zakir (No. 40)⁶⁰

yr. 99.

Šamaš-eṭir/Ina-qibit-Anu/Ekur-zakir (No. 46) yr. 118/9.

Anu-belšunu/Nidintu-Anu/Sin-leqe-unnini (No. 47) yr.

119-147.⁶¹

Anu-aba-uter/Ina-qibit-Anu/Sin-leqe-unnini (No. 49) yr.

119-137.

The first two are also *āšipu/šešgallu* while the last two are also *kalû* priests. From this it would seem that the astrologer did not form an independent professional class, but rather that this was an additional activity of other professions. This is emphasized by the fact that the astrologers were not members of a single ancestral clan but took their clan affiliation from the other professions of the title holder, viz. *kalû* - Sin-leqe-unnini and *āšipu/šešgallu* - Ekur-zakir. The scribal activities of the astrologer were not limited to astrological/astronomical texts although this was undoubtedly their main literary activity. For example, in addition to these texts we find Šamaš-eṭir as a scribe for the series *iškar bārûti*,⁶² which incidentally is further ironical proof of the decline of the *bārû*.

⁵⁸ See B. LANDSBERGER, ZA 41 (1933) p.298 Anm.2.

⁵⁹ Cf. OELSNER, Diss. 120ff.

⁶⁰ See above n. 30 p. 10.

⁶¹ It is not certain if the colophon attestations refer to the same individual as those of the economic documents. If so, it may indicate a limited term for the exercise of the astrologer's office.

⁶² TU 2-4; BRM IV 13.

In Babylon on the other hand the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla* seems to have been an independent professional designation, which was attained after an examination by members of the astrologers' "guild". Some insight into this process can be extracted from the following difficult but interesting texts.

BOR 4,132⁶³

1 - šá ú-ba-' [...]

2 - ^{md}nabû-šuma-ušur ^{lú}x [...]

3 - ultu IM SI RI [...]

4 - ^{iti}simānu ūm 13^{kam} šattu [...]

5 - ^mas-pa-si-ni-e šarri [...]

6 - ^{iti}ajaru ūm 24^{kam} ^m[as-pa-si]-ni-e šarri

7 - ^{md}bēl-lūmur šatam É-SAG-GÍL u ^{lú}bābili^{ki} meš

8 - puḥur ^{lú}šá É-SAG-GÍL it-ti a-ḥa-meš im-mil-ku-ú

9 - u iq-bu-ú um-ma ^mitti-^dmarduk-balāṭu ^{lú}rab banī (šá)

10 - muḥḥi āli ^{lú}up-pu-de-e-tú šá bītāti^{meš} ilāni^{meš}

11 - ṭupšar Enūma AN-NA-^dEN-LÍL-LÁ aplu {LÚ} ^middin-^dbēl

12 - šá ina pāna-ma a-na ida ^mas-pa-si-ni-e šarri

13 - 'ni[?]-iš[?]-pu[?]-ru šá ḥi-ših-ti ina bāb šarri

14 - [iš-šu]-ú u en-na a-ga-a i-ba-áš-ši

15 - ^{md}bēl-aḥḥe^{meš} -iddin u ^{md}nabû-mušētiq-uddi ^{lú}aplū^{meš} -šú

16 - [...] ma-la na-ša-ri šá na-šar ma-šu-ú

17 - [mim[?]]-ma pāni in-da-šal ina pa-ni ^{md}bēl-lūmur an-na-a

18 - u ^{lú}bābili^{ki} meš ^{lú}puḥru šá É-SAG-GÍL

19 - šá ultu u₄-mu an-na-a šá šattu-us-su

20 - 2 mana kaspu kurummātu ^{há} ^mitti-^dmarduk-balāṭu apli-šú

21 - ^{lú}abi-šú-nu a-na ^{md}bēl-aḥḥe^{meš} -iddin u ^{md}nabû-mušētiq-uddi

22 - ultu ḥi-ših-ti-ni ni-nam-din-nu ^{lib}-bu-ú

23 - mim-ma šá ^mitti-^mmarduk-balāṭu ^{lú}abu-šú-nu iš-šu-ú

24 - šá na-šar i-na-aš-ša-ru-ú u ter-si-e-tú

25 - šá šattu-us-su i-nam-din-nu-ú itti ^mbēl-šú-nu

26 - ^mlābāši ^mmu-ra-nu ^middin-^dbēl ^{md}bēl-nāšir-šú

27 - ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma AN-NA-EN-LÍL-LÁ u ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma

AN-NA-EN-LÍL-LÁ

28 - šá-nu-ú-tú

⁶³ Of the previous studies of this text the most important is that of B. LANDSBERGER, ZA 41 (1933) 298f.

"That which ... sought ... Nabu-šuma-ušur, the ... from ... 13 Siman, year (185) of king Hyspaosines.

Bel-lumur, the dean of Esagil and the Babylonians of the assembly of Esagil took council together on 24 Ajar and said, "Itti-Marduk-balaštu, the building inspector(?), who is in charge of the city, the commissar of temples,⁶⁴ the astrologer, son of Iddin-Bel, whom we sent(?) earlier to king Hyspaosines, (and) who drew supplies at the royal gate - now it has come to pass that his sons, Bel-aḥḥe-iddin and Nabu-mušetiḫ-uddi are now capable of making the observations and are (now) equal with the aforementioned Bel-lumur and the Babylonians of the assembly of Esagil.⁶⁵ We shall give Bel-aḥḥe-iddin and Nabu-mušetiḫ-uddi from this day forward two mina of silver, the ration of Itti-Marduk-balaštu, his son, their father out of our supplies in accordance with whatever their father, Itti-Marduk-balaštu has drawn. They will make the observations and give the yearly calculations together with Belšunu, Labaši, Muranu, Iddin-Bel (and) Bel-naširšu, the astrologers and assistant astrologers."

This document is the account of a protocol, whereby the sons of the astrologer, Itti-Marduk-balaštu are said to be qualified for the duties of the astrologer. It implies that the latter is no longer active in that capacity. We might therefore conclude that the number of astrologers was limited, as can perhaps be seen as well from the following document.

CT XLIX 144

1 - [... ^{lú}šatam É-SAG-GÍL ...]

2 - [u] ^{rlú}bàbili^{ki} meš ^{lú}puḥru šá É-SAG-GÍL itti¹ a-ḥa-meš

⁶⁴ For the first title we may compare the *rabû ša reš āli* from Uruk, while the second word seem to be the Persian equivalent of the *paqdu ša bīt ilāni* also from Uruk. The *uppudētu* is a Persian title, cf. EILERS AKM 25/5 p.41f. Anm.2 and AHW 1424a. Add to these the attestation ^mū-mar-'-mi-ra ^{lú}up-pa-de-tu₄, Th. PINCHES, Heb. 8 (1891/2) 134,14.

⁶⁵ Translation uncertain; merely suggested by context.

- 3 - im-mil-ku-ú u iq-bu-ú um-ma ina ^{iti}ṭebet ūm ¹⁵kam
 4 - šattu 129^{kam} šá šī-i šattu 193^{kam} im ^{taḥ}-sis-tú
 5 - ina ka-re-e-nu ni-il-ta-kan šá l mana
 6 - kaspu manûtu^{tú} šá babiliki^{ki} u zēru šá ^{md}bēl-aba-ušur
 7 - ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma AN-EN-LÍL-LÁ apli šá ^{md}bēl-rimanni(SIPA-man-ni)
 8 - ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma AN-EN-LÍL-LÁ šá ana muḥ-ḥi na-šar šá na-šar
 9 - i-kul^{1?}-lu a-na ^{md}nabû-apla-ušur ^{lú}kalí ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma AN-EN-LÍL-LÁ
 10 - apli šá ^{md}nabû-mušetiḫ-uddi nu-ul-te-zi-zu
 11 - u en-na a-ga-a ^{md}bēl-nāšir-šú ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma AN-EN-LÍL-LÁ
 12 - aplu šá ^{md}bēl-aba-ušur šá ina pāni ša[ṭ]-ri [i]t²-tal-ku
 13 - ana gab-bi u-ul-te-ni-i-da-na-a-šú ma-l[a]¹ na-šar
 14 - na-[š]ar ma-[š]u-ú ù a-ni-ni-na-am
 15 - ni-[i]t²-ta-mar¹ šá² ma-la {na} na-ša-ri
 16 - šá na-šar [...]ú u ni¹-ik-tal-du ana muḥ-ḥi ^{md}nabû-apla-ušur
 17 - šá ina pāni šaṭ-ri šá zēra ù¹ l mana kaspu kurummāta^{há}
 18 - šá ^{md}bēl-aba-ušur-ÀM ^{lú}abu x [...]]
 19 - šattu 2^{kam} ú-maš-šá-ri ina pa-ni-ni u un-d[a-šir]
 20 - ana tar-ši ^{md}bēl-nāšir-šú šu'āti^{a-ti} šá ultu lib-bi in-da-šal
 21 - ina pa-ni-ni šá l mana kaspu manûtu^{tú} šá babiliki^{ki} u zēra
 22 - šá ina pāni šaṭ-ri ultu šatti an-nit a-na šatti šá šattu-us-su
 23 - ultu kaspi šá ḥi-ših-ti-ni ni-in-na-an-din-na-a-šú šá na-šar
 24 - i-na-šar ^{im}ter-se-e-tú u meš-ḥi-ti i-nam-din [it-ti]¹
 25 - ^mlābāši^m mu-ra-nu u ^{md}marduk-šāpik-zēri apli
 26 - šá ^{md}bēl-uballit-su ^{md}bēl-aḥḥe^{meš}-ušur ^{md}nabû-mušetiḫ-ud[di] apli
 27 - šá ^mitti^d marduk-balāštu u it-(ti) ^{lú}ṭupšarri^{meš} Enūma AN-EN-LÍL-LÁ
 28 - šá-nu-ú-tu₄

"... (the dean of Esagil and) the Babylonians of the assembly of Esagil took council together and said, "On 15 Ṭebet, year 129 (AE), which is year 193 (SE), we drew up a memorandum concerning our common holdings⁶⁶ (to the effect that) one mina of silver, the currency of Babylon, and the arable land of Bel-aba-ušur, the astrologer, son of Bel-rimanni, which he

⁶⁶ So with CAD K 228a rather than AHW 1302b, which refers to *karû* II "kurz sein, werden". Cf. also CT XLIX 141,4 and 147,7.

enjoyed(?) for carrying out the observations (and in which) we installed Nabu-apla-usur, the lamentation priest and astrologer. Now, Bel-naširšu, the astrologer, son of the Bel-aba-ušur mentioned above,⁶⁷ has gone through everything and we have instructed him. He is capable of carrying out the observations. We have seen(?) that he is capable of making the observations and we have approached the aforementioned Nabu-apla-ušur, who has had the free use of the arable land and one mina of silver, the ration of Bel-aba-ušur, the father (of Bel-naširšu) for two years. And he has made it free for Bel-naširšu, who is thereby(?) equal with us(?), so that we shall give him yearly, from this year on, the aforementioned one mina of silver in the currency of Babylon and the arable land from the account for our needs. He will make the observations and give the calculations and measurements⁶⁸ together with Labaši, Muranu, Marduk-šapik-zeri, son of Bel-uballissu, Bel-aḥḥe-ušur, Nabu-mušetiq-uddi, son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu and with the assistant astrologers."⁶⁹

From these two documents we get some idea of the organization of the craft of the astrologer in Hellenistic Babylon. In the first place it would seem that the "guild" was self-governing since they are not only the ones who examine the candidates as to their fitness for the office, but they also seem to have had full control over the disposition of funds marked for their use. Furthermore, it would seem that the craft was to a certain degree hereditary, since both the documents discussed give the rations which the father had enjoyed to his son(s), but only, however, after they had passed examinations.

It may be noted also that there seems to have been some form of state control, since the first document seems to be a request for ratification of the decision made by the assembly. The second on the other hand, would seem to be merely a copy of the decision of the assembly to accept the candidate into his post and might be viewed as a form of "master's papers" for the astrologer concerned.

In addition to these we also find a ^{lú}bēl mi-in-du šá ^{lú}ṭupšar Enūma AN-[EN-LÍL-LÁ] in a text from the period 50-60 SE,⁶⁹ who is the addressee in

⁶⁷For ša ina pāna šaṭru, "who was recorded earlier".

⁶⁸Or read meš-ḥi^{meš}, cf. CAD M² s.v. mišhu A rather than the im^{ter}-se-e-ti ṭābāti in AHW 1349b.

⁶⁹CT XLIX 181,2. Probably from the same archive as CT XLIX 118-128.

a letter (order), from which we see that the astrologers had their own paymaster.

āšipu⁷⁰

The āšipu would seem to have been the most important of these priest/experts during the Hellenistic period. For, although the astrologer was certainly important, we find the āšipu mentioned more often in documents from all centres of Hellenistic Babylonia. He represented an older stratum of Mesopotamian religion than the astrologer, who was to a certain extent still somewhat of a *nouveau arrivé*. Their functions, however, were more complementary than conflicting as can be seen from the fact that the same individual could have both titles. In Babylon we find the āšipu mainly in ration texts⁷¹ and in an interesting though fragmentary text which mentions an assembly of the exorcists of Esagil ^{lú}puḥru [šá] ^{lú}āšipī^{meš} šá É-SAG-GÍL.⁷² Those mentioned by name in the texts from Babylon are:

Nabu-belšunu/Bel-aḥḥe-iddin (CT XLIX 19,2f.) yr. 6
Alexander IV.

Marduk-belšunu/Bel-uballissu (CT XLIX 126,1f.) yr. 58.

Ea-ibni/Bel-apla-iddin (CT XLIX 126,10f.) yr. 58.

In Cutha we also find an assembly of the exorcists as a subsidiary of the larger temple assembly, and in an interesting document we gain some insight into its workings.

BRM I 88

- 1 - ūm 11^{kam} šá iti du'uzu šattu 125^{kam} m^{se}-lu-ku šarri
lib-bu-ú^{im}šⁱ-piš-tu⁴
- 2 - šá ^{lú}puḥri šá ^{lú}āšipī^{meš} šá É-MES-LAM ša iš-ṭur-ru-'
a-na muḥ-ḥi^{md} bēl-uballiṭ-su
- 3 - ^{lú}šatam É-MES-LAM apli šá ^{md}nergal-apla-ušur u
^{lú}puḥri šá É-MES-LAM a-na
- 4 - muḥḥi zitti šá zēri zaq-pi u pī^{šul}-pu ni-din-tu⁴
šarri šá ina kišād^{id} puratti

⁷⁰For the reading MAŠ.MAŠ - āšipu see below p. 73.

⁷¹CT XLIX 19,2f.; 20,5; 126,1f.7.10f.

⁷²CT XLIX 140,9'f.

- 5 - šá ina gi-iz-za-tu₄ šá^{md} bēl-apla-ušur lú^áššipi apli
 šá^{md} bēl-balāṭ-su-iq-bi lú^áki-na-at-ta-šú-nu
- 6 - šá šim-tu₄ tu-bil-lu-uš ù māra ù mārta la ir-šu-ú ù
- 7 - en-na a-ga-a^{md} nabû-nāšir-šú lú^áššipu aplu šá^{md} nergal-
 uballiṭ^{iṭ} i-ri-iš a-na^m la-ba-ši lú^áššipi lú^ámāri-šú
- 8 - lú^áki-na-at-ta-šú-nu a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú^l áš-šu {tu}
 šá ar-ki šu-[u]ṣ-bu-tú
- 9 - šá zēri^{meš} al-du u iš-ṭur-ru-' ana muḥ-ḥi-in-nu[-mi][?]
 par-dje-eḫ-su
- 10 - šá zitti šá zēri šu'āti^{meš} te^l-pu-uš-šá-'-niš-šú
 it-ti-ni a-na
- 11 - u₄-mu ša-a-tú a-nin-na-ma ni-it-ta-din zitta šá zēri
- 12 - šu'āti^{meš} ù par-de-ek-su ni-te-ep-šá-áš-šú a-na
^mla-ba-ši lú^áššipi
- 13 - apli šá^{md} nabû-nāšir-šú lú^áki-na-at-ta-šú-nu it-ti-šú-
 nu ana u₄-mu ša-a-tú
- 14 - l-en-TA-AM ilqū^á

"11 Du'uzu, year 125 Seleucus, king. The contents of the communication of the assembly of the exorcists of Emeslam, which they wrote to Bel-uballissu, the dean of Emeslam, son of Nergal-apla-ušur, and the assembly of Emeslam concerning the share of arable land standing in stubble, the gift of the king on the bank of the Euphrates from the *gizzātu* land of Bel-apla-ušur, the exorcist, son of Bel-balassu-iqbi, their comrade, whom fate has carried off and who has neither son nor daughter.

Now, Nabu-nāširšu, the exorcist, son of Nergal-uballiṭ, wishes it for Labaši, the exorcist, his son, their comrade in perpetuity, because he was born after taking possession of the fields. And so they wrote to us, "You should make an allotment⁷³ to him of the share in this field with us in perpetuity." We have given this share in the field and made him an allotment for Labaši, the exorcist, son of Nabu-naširšu, their

⁷³ If correctly read the word would seem to represent the Greek word *parádeixis*, which has the literal meaning "proof". The related verb *paradeiknumi*, however, can also mean to assign or allot, cf. LIDDELL & SCOTT, Greek Lexicon, s.v.

comrade with them in perpetuity. Each one took (a copy of the document)."

The document may be summarized thus: A field has fallen vacant due to the death of an exorcist who left no offspring. Another exorcist wishes it to be assigned to his son, who is also an exorcist, but who was not yet born when the fields of the exorcists' allotments were assigned and thus has no field of his own. They (the assembly of the exorcists) petition the assembly of the temple to grant the land to him formally, and the temple assembly agree.

The *āššipu* in Cutha, then, received his salary in the form of the usufruct of a temple field which was assigned to him. Normally, these fields would pass from father to son (and perhaps to daughter), and we may assume that the office passed with it (at least in the former case). In this case both father and son were exorcists at the same time so that there was only one field between them, hence the petition to assign a vacant field to the son. We may perhaps assume, since the field was assigned in perpetuity, that the father's field would revert to the temple upon his death if he had no other sons who were exorcists. This system of payment contrasts with that of Babylon, where we have seen that the *āššipu* received either a cash salary or a combination of money and the usufruct of a temple field.

It is also different from the system at Uruk, where the *āššipu* was one of the prebendary professions. In Uruk all the exorcists known by name are found in colophons. The following are known:

Iqiša/Ištar-šuma-ereš/Ekur-zakir (No. 37⁴ and SpTU 80, 103f.; 94,55f.; 96 r.1'f.) yr. 8 Philip.

Kidin-Anu/Ekur-zakir (BAK 107) yr. 32-45.

Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Kidin-Anu/Ekur-zakir (No. 16 and SpTU 2 r.6'f.) yr. 61-84.

Nidintu-Anu/Anu-belšunu/Ekur-zakir (No. 36) yr. 91-109.

Anu-uballiṭ/Nidintu-Anu/Hunzu (No. 37) yr. 97-98.

⁷⁴ See above p. 10 n.30.

Nidintu-Anu/Ina-qibit-Anu/Hunzu (No. 38) undated.
 Anu-aḥa-ušabšī/Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Hunzu (No. 40)
 yr. 99.
 Anu-aḥa-iddin/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-belšunu/Ekur-zakir (No. 42)
 yr. 116-129.
 Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ušabšī/Ekur-zakir (No. 43) yr. 117.
 Šamaš-eṭir/Ina-qibit-Anu/Šibqat-Anu/Ekur-zakir (No. 46)
 yr. 118-119.
 Labaši/Lišir/Gimil-Anu (No. 63) undated.

All the exorcists are members of three clans: Ekur-zakir, Hunzu and Gimil-Anu, all of whom are found in the ancestral clan list, VS XV 1 under the rubric ^{lú}*a-šī-pu^{meš}*; and, while direct filiation is possible for several of the members of the list, there is not enough data to give us a clear picture of the inheritability of the office. We may assume, however, on the basis of parallels that direct inheritance was usual. In ritual contexts the *āšīpu* appears, not unexpectedly, most often reciting incantations.⁷⁵ In addition he is also found taking part in processions⁷⁶ and in various purification rites.⁷⁷ In these texts the *āšīpu* is sometimes involved with other priests in the performance of ritual duties, most commonly with the *kalû* and *nāru*⁷⁸ but in one ritual with the *šešgallu*, *ērib bīti* and *sirāšū*.⁷⁹

Other

Aside from the priest/experts discussed above there is one other such priest/expert known to us from the texts from Uruk, and he is the *pāšīru* "oneiromancer". This profession is found only as the title of a witness, Idat-Anu/Arad-Reš in a contract. Thus we know nothing of his activities in this period.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ BRM IV 6,35f.; 7 passim; SBH VIII ii 26; Racc. 141,355.

⁷⁶ Racc. 90,27f.; 92,6.9; 115,12.

⁷⁷ Racc. 38,12; 120,19f.; 140,340.

⁷⁸ Racc. 79,45; 90,35; 92,19; 119,33.

⁷⁹ BRM IV 7 passim.

⁸⁰ VS XV 40,49. Cf. VS XV 39,14 where the patronymic Arad-Ekur is a scribal mistake for Arad-Reš.

D. ADMINISTRATORS

Higher Administrators.

The administrative situation in the temples varied from place to place. These differences will be discussed below. In general, however, the administration of the temples of the Babylon area retained more of the features of the earlier periods while that of the Uruk area showed more innovation. The chief administrator of the temples remained the *šatammu*, who exercised his function by virtue of his position as head of the temple assembly. Thus, in the texts from the Hellenistic period the *šatammu* is virtually always found together with the assembly and is not seen acting administratively of his own accord. And, although we know that the temples of Cutha and Babylon had subsidiary assemblies, there is no mention of a *šatammu* as the presiding officer of these assemblies, as may have been the practice in earlier periods.⁸¹

The *šatammu* of the Emeslam in Cutha is mentioned in the Diadochi chronicle in connexion with Seleucus, although the context is not clear,⁸² and in the text concerning the *āšīpu* field from year 125 the *šatammu* of Emeslam, Bel-uballissu, son of Nergal-apla-ušur, is addressed along with the assembly of the exorcists. From the legend of his seal we learn that he was also a carpenter as well as being dean of the temple. Thus the dean could be selected from the temple craftsmen, and the office was not exclusively a priestly prerogative, though we should remember that the carpenter was one of the professions listed under the rubric *ērib bīti* in the clan list, VS XV 1.

In Babylon the *šatammu* of Esagila is found primarily in administrative letters, here again together with the assembly of Esagila. In addition he is found in the texts concerning the initiation of new astrologers discussed above and in historical

⁸¹ Cf. *šatam bīt unā(te)* Nbn 43,2 and MSL XII 98.

⁸² TCS V 117,5.

contexts receiving royal donations to the temple.⁸³ The *šatammu* of Esagila is attested in texts from 46-234 SE. The following are known:⁸⁴

- Bel-ibni (CT XLIX 115,3.9; 118,1; 192,1) yr. 46-50.
Marduk-šuma-iddin (CT XLIX 122,1; 123,1; 182,2) yr. 54.
Bel-re'ušunu/Marduk-šuma-iddin (CT XLIX 122,2; 123,1;
128,1f.; 182,2) yr. 54-59.
Nergal-teši-ešir/Bel-ibni (CT XLIX 132,7; 168,5; 170,4;
ZA 7,330 Anm.2) yr. 75-85.
Bel-uballissu (CT XLIX 147,3) yr. 172.
Bel-lumur (CT XLIX 149,2; BOR 4,132,7) yr. 185.
(....) (CT XLIX 144,1) yr. 193.
Bel-tabtan-bullit (CT XLIX 160,2.21) yr. 219.
...-su (ZA 6,230,6) yr. 224.

As can be seen from the fact that the *šatammu* occurs so frequently in historical documents this official had political as well as administrative importance. This is underscored by the additional title borne by Bel-ibni, viz. "deputy of Nicanor" (^{lu}*paq-du mni-ka-nu-ru*).⁸⁵

There is no *šatammu* attested in the texts from Uruk during the Hellenistic period. Instead his place seems to have been taken by the *paqdu ša bīt ilāni* "deputy of the temples", who was probably subordinate to the *rabū ša-rēš āli* "epistates". These officials are not always kept distinct from one another, probably because both fulfilled functions in the temple administration. Both, for example, are found together with the assembly of Uruk as those who set the penalty for breach of contract offences in contracts involving temple property.⁸⁶ Some idea of the confusion can be seen by the fact that the former was sometimes called *paqdu ša Uruk*^{ki}⁸⁷ while the latter sometimes has the additional qualification *ša bīt ilāni*

⁸³ TCS V 283,3-9; LBAT 516 r.15'; ZA 7,330ff.

⁸⁴ Note also the unnamed *šatammu* in TCS V 283,3.9 (yr. 88?) and LBAT 516 r.15' (yr. 234).

⁸⁵ Nicanor is otherwise unknown (governor?).

⁸⁶ BRM II 47,29; Ash. 1930.563,28; VDI 1955 VIII 22.

⁸⁷ Ash. 1923.720,7

added to *rabū ša-rēš āli*.⁸⁸
The following holders of the office of *paqdu ša bīt ilāni*/
paqdu ša Uruk^{ki} are known:

- Anu-balassu-iqbi/Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Aḫu'utu FB 16,59 No. 1,
16f.23.39) yr. 91.
Anu-belšunu/Anu-balassu-iqbi/Aḫu'utu (Ash. 1923.720,7
[*paqdu ša Uruk*^{ki}]; BagM Beih. 2,118,5.r.3) yr. 126(?).
Kidin-Anu/Ṭab-Anu (Ash. 1923.66,32f.) yr. 153.
The holders of the office *rabū ša-rēš āli* (*ša bīt ilāni*) are:
Anu-balassu-iqbi/Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Aḫu'utu (TU 1,57) yr.
91.
Anu-uballiṭ(Kephalon)/Anu-balassu-iqbi/Aḫu'utu (Ash.
1923.720,6; ADFU 3,6,1ff.; FB 16,74 No. 23,10'; BagM
Beih. 2,116,3f.; 118,3) yr. 110-126(?).
.../Labaši/Hunzu (Ash. 1923.719,33) yr. 163+.

It would seem that Anu-balassu-iqbi held both titles in yr. 91, and that when he died his sons, Anu-uballiṭ and Anu-bel-šunu, inherited the offices of epistates and deputy of the temples, respectively. This family history may have something to do with the confusion which we find in regard to these titles.

Two other high administrative officials are known, both from Babylon. The first is the *uppudētu*, which was probably the Persian equivalent of *paqdu*, who is mentioned in the text concerning the examination of the prospective astrologers discussed above.⁸⁹ The second is the *zazakku*, who is mentioned in an astronomical diary.⁹⁰ The *zazakku* is not otherwise mentioned in texts from the Hellenistic period, but in earlier periods this title was used to designate an administrative official concerned with taxation.

Clerks

Clerical work was divided between two offices, the *ṭupšarru*, who was the cuneiform scribe, and the *sepīru* who wrote on

⁸⁸ BRM II 47,29.

⁸⁹ See above p. 18 n.64.

⁹⁰ LBAT 372 r.13'.

parchment/papyrus. In Uruk the former was definitely of higher status often being a member of the priestly class, while the latter is never a member of one of the clans of Uruk. This was probably the situation at Babylon as well, but the laconic nature of the evidence does not allow us to judge with certainty. The scribes of Uruk have been the subject of several recent studies, and thus we need not enumerate them here.⁹¹ Those from Babylon, however, are not so well known, and so they are listed here:⁹²

Bel-ereš/.... (CT XLIX 7,18) yr. 9 Alexander III.
 Bel-zera-lišir/.... (BAK 175) yr. 10 Alexander III.
 Bel-uballissu/Bel(?)... (CT XLIX 8,11) yr. 10 Alexander III.
 Nabu-našir/Nabu-ittannu (ZA 3,149 No. 10,27) yr. 11 Alexander III.
 Bel-naširšu/Ea-iddin (CT XLIX 83,81) yr. 13 Alexander III.
 Danqi-Bel/Bel-aba-ušur (BAK 169) yr. 13 Alexander III.
 Bel-apla-iddin/Mušallim-Bel/Mušezib (BAK 180) yr. 2 Philip.
 Nabu-našir/Belšunu (CT XLIX 9) yr. 3 Philip.
 Bel-balassu-iqbi/Bel-uballissu (CT XLIX 34) yr. 3 Antigonos.
 Nabu-šuma-ukin/Bel-eriba (CT XLIX 46,18) yr. 6 Antigonos.
 Nergal-šuma-iddin/... (BM 68610,30) yr. 9 Alexander IV.
 Bel-uballissu/Bel-zera-lišir/Bel-aba-ušur/Umug (BAK 146) yr. 85.
 Bel-apla-ušur/... (CT XLIX 103,17) yr. 32.
 Tanittu-Bel/Bel-aba-ušur (CT XLIX 104 r.11'; 105,20; 108,18; 111,22; 114 r.2'; 121 r.11'; 172 r.1') yr. 33-54.
 ...-iddin/Tanittu-Bel (CT XLIX 107 r.11'; 130 r.5') yr. 37-73.
 Itti-Marduk-balaštu/Labaši (CT XLIX 113,19) yr. 42.

⁹¹ For the literary scribes see BAK p. 17ff., and for those of the economic documents see LEWENTON, op. cit. p. 104ff. Both are to be found in OELSNER, Diss. Exkursus I pp. 130-152.

⁹² Scribes from Borsippa and Cutha are also included.

.../Mušezib-Marduk (CT XLIX 117 r.4') yr. 47.
 Marduk-šuma-iddin (CT XLIX 124,14; 125 r.1') yr. 56.
 ...-uballiṭ/Muranu (CT XLIX 127 r.2') yr. 58.
 Bel-aḥḥe-iddin/Bel-iddina/Arad-Ea (CT XLIX 129,19) yr. 61.
 Nergal-šuma-ibni/Bel-uballissu/Bel-eṭir (CT XLIX 131 r.15') yr. 85.
 Ea-ibni/Bel-apla-iddin (CT XLIX 132,13) yr. 85.
 Belšunu/Nabu-apla-ušur (ZA 3,151 No. 13,24) yr. 94.
 Bel-kušuršu/Bel-ušezib (CT XLIX 133 r.4'?'; 134,15) yr. 96-100.
 Bel-ibni/Munahḥiš-Marduk/Eṭiru (BAK 415) yr. 108.
 Belšunu/Bel-mušetiq-uddi (BAK 415) yr. 108.
 Ea-iddin/Nergal-iddin/Dabibi (BRM I 88,24) yr. 125.
 Nabu-tabtān-bulliṭ/.... (CT XLIX 135 r.4') yr. 111.
 Nidintu-Bel/Bel-apla-iddin/Nur-Papsukkal (CT XLIX 137, 39) yr. 118.
 Bel-uballissu/Marduk-šuma-iddin/Šagiu (BAK 141) yr. 141.
 Libluṭ/Bel-šuma-iškun/Šagiu (BAK 148; 166) yr. 148.
 Nabu-mušetiq-uddi/Nabu-šuma-lišir (CT XLIX 138,13) yr. 151.
 Belšunu/Bel-našir (BAK 174; 176) yr. 156.
 Bel-iddina/Marduk-belšunu/Bel-re'ušunu/Šuma-libši (BAK 149) yr. 157.
 Marduk-belšunu/Bel-re'ušunu/Šuma-libši (BAK 149) yr. 157.
 Bel-uballiṭ/Bel-balassu-iqbi/Iddin-Papsukkal (BAK 158) yr. 162.
 Bel-uballissu/Bel-ana-kittišu/Mardaja/Mišraja (BAK 167) yr. 164.
 Bel-aḥḥe-iddin/Bel-kušuršu/Eṭiru (BAK 137) yr. 174.
 Marduk-zera-ibni/Ea-balassu-iqbi/Bel-apla-iddin/Nanna-utu (BAK 147a.d.k.q) yr. 175-181.
 Bel-aḥḥe-ušur/Itti-Marduk-balaštu/Iddin-Bel/Mušezib (BAK 148) ca. yr. 185.⁹³
 Itti-Marduk-balaštu/Iddin-Bel/Mušezib (BAK 148) ca. yr. 185.⁹³

⁹³ For Bel-aḥḥe-ušur and his father, Itti-Marduk-balaštu, see BOR 4, 132,20f.

Marduk-šapik-zeri/Bel-uballissu (BAK 181; 170) yr. 209.
 Bel-apla-iddin-Ea-balassu-iqbi/Bel-apla-iddin/Nanna-utu
 (BAK 147b.e.f.g.l.m; 144a.b.c; 162) yr. 182-221.
 Bel-šuma-lišir/Itti-Marduk-balaṭu/Egibatila (BAK 144a.b.
 c) yr. 209-221.
 Nabu-kin-apli/Ile'i-Marduk (BAK 163) undated.
 Bel-uballissu/Ea-uballissu (CT XLIX 181) yr. lost.
 Iddin-Bel/Marduk-šapik-zeri/.... /Mušezib (BAK 143)
 undated.
 Bel-aba-ušur/.... /Ea-epuš-ilani (BAK 171) undated.
 Nabu-nadin-šumi/Iddin-Papsukkal (BAK 159) undated.
 Marduk-belšunu/.... (CT XLIX 180) date lost.
 Bel-uballissu/.... (CT XLIX 170) date lost.
 /Bel-kušuršu (CT XLIX 193) date lost.

The *sepīru* is attested much more infrequently in the texts from the Babylon area. Only two are known, Belšunu⁹⁴ and Nabu-šuma-ušur,⁹⁵ both of whom are termed *sepīru ša makkūri* "scribe of the property" (of the god), and both are found receiving the same salary (four shekels).

The attestations of the *sepīru* in the texts from Uruk are more numerous than in those from Babylon. For the most part the *sepīru* is found as a witness in contracts although they also appear occasionally as principals in contracts. The *sepīru* never bears a clan affiliation and thus may be considered to have held an inferior social status to that of the *ṭupšarru*. This accords well with what is known of the *sepīru* in earlier periods, when he is also thought to have had an inferior social status.⁹⁶

In texts from Uruk this official bears either the simple title *sepīru* or else that of *sepīr makkūr Anu* "scribe of the property of Anu". There seems to have been no real difference between the two designations other than a temporal one, since there are no attestations of the former title after year 96. The *sepīru* known from the Uruk texts are:

⁹⁴ CT XLIX 150,58.

⁹⁵ CT XLIX 158,16f.

⁹⁶ Cf. M. DANDAMAEV, *Rabstvo v Vavilonii* (Moskva 1974) 377ff.

Anu-aba-ušur/Ina-qibit-Anu (NCBT 1953 r.9) yr. 12.
 Labaši/Anu-belšunu (MLC 2163,28) yr. 29.
 Nidintu-Ištar/Arad-Ninurta (VS XV 5,11) yr. 37.
 Mannu-ki-Dilbat/Ištar-ḫituja (BRM II 13,27) yr. 49.
 Nidin-Anu/Ištar-ḫituja (BRM II 13,27; VS XV 11,32) yr.
 49-83.
 Anu-mukin-apli/Arad-Ninurta (BRM II 16,30) yr. 57.
 Arad-Ninurta/Nidintu-Ištar (MLC 2162,28) yr. 61.
 Anu-mara-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar (NBCT 1949 r.13'; TCL XIII
 239,25; BRM II 28,20; Ash. 1923.726/745,27) yr. 77-93.
 Anu-aḫḫe-iddin/Anu-mukin-apli (MLC 2157,29) yr. 78.
 Anu-aḫḫe-iddin/Arad-Ninurta (Ash. 1923.79,25) yr. 82+.
 Illut-Anu/Kidin-Anu (VS XV 32,30) yr. 93.
 Nidintu-Anu/Kidin-Anu (Ash. 1923.80,24) yr. 96.
 Kidin-Anu/Illut-Anu (RIAA 294,30; MLC 2652,22f./2655,26f.;
 Ash. 1923.78,30'; 75,33'; 725,27/715,28) yr. 107-126.
 Kidin-Anu/Arad-Ninurta (BRM II 30,25; Ash. 1923.726/745,
 28) yr. 109.
 Dumqi-Anu/Kidin-Anu (VS XV 32,30; MLC 2652,22f./2655,29f.)
 yr. 119.
 Arad-Ninurta/Nidintu-Anu (Ash. 1923.735,26) yr. 119.
 Dumqi-Anu/Anu-mara-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar (Ash. 1923.735,
 27f.) yr. 119.
 Arad-Ninurta/Anu-mara-ittannu (BRM I 98,28; MLC 2169
 r.10') yr. 128-147.
 Illut-Anu(Ina-qibit-Anu)/Anu-mukin-apli/Anu-mara-ittannu
 (BRM II 36,1; MLC 2185,26f./BRM II 46,27f.) yr. 131-
 155.
 Anu-mara-ittannu/Anu-aḫḫe-iddin (BRM II 36,35f.) yr. 131.
 Anu-aḫḫe-iddin/Nidintu-Ištar/Anu-aḫḫe-iddin (VS XV 49,29;
 MLC 2169, r.11'; BRM II 48,28; VS XV 24,16) yr. 132-
 160.
 Nidintu-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Illut-Anu (Ash. 1923.736,29f.) yr.
 132?.
 Anu-uballit/Kidin-Anu/Illut-Anu (MLC 2197 r.10; TLC XIII
 245,26f.) yr. 138-144.
 Nidintu-Ištar/Anu-aḫḫe-iddin/Arad-Ninurta (VS XV 34,28;
 BRM II 39,6; Ash. 1923.66,29; MLC 2169 r.6') yr. 138-
 153.

Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/Arad-Ninurta/Anu-mara-ittannu/Dumqi-Anu
 (VS XV 34,28f.) yr. 143(?).
 Anu-mara-ittannu/Nidintu-Ištar/Anu-mara-ittannu (TCL XIII
 245,25f.; BRM II 48,29) yr. 144-160.
 Illut-Anu-Arad-(Ninurta?) (FB 16 No.13,7) yr. 155.
 Dumqi-Anu/Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/Kidin-Anu (BRM II 50,25/RIAA
 295,26) yr. 166.
 Labaši/Ina-qibit-Anu/Kidin-Anu (Ash. 1923.720,8) yr. lost.
 Kidin-Anu/Illut-Anu (MLC 2187 r.16) yr. lost.
 Ina-qibit-Anu/.... (MLC 2177,35f.) yr. 108/9.
 Nidintu-.../.... (VS XV 52,33) yr. 124.
 .../Anu-mukin-apli/Ušuršū-Anu (Ash. 1923.736,6) yr.
 132(?).
 ...-tu-Anu/Kidin-Anu (MLC 2156 r.9') yr. 138.
 .../Mannu-ki-Dilbat (Ash. 1923.726,2) yr. 93.
 .../Arad-Ninurta (Ash. 1923.726,28) yr. 93.
 .../Kidin-Anu (Ash. 1923.726,29) yr. 93.
 .../Illut-Anu (Ash. 1923.726,30) yr. 93.
 .../...-Ištar (VS XV 31,28) yr. 125-132.
 .../Ina-qibit-Anu/Kidin-Anu (RIAA 296,27) yr. lost.
 .../Kidin-Anu (VS XV 22,27) yr. lost.
 .../Anu-aḥḥe-iddin (FB 16 No.17 rev.) yr. lost.
 .../Illut-Anu (FB 16 No.24,1f.) yr. lost.

Superintendants

In addition to the clerks there were of course other members of the administration intermediate between the chief administrators and the members of the temple community. The general term for such officials seems to have been *bēl piqitti*. In Cutha the *bēl piqitti* was seemingly the chief official of the various professional assemblies. This we can deduce from the fact that among the seals of the various members of the assembly of Emeslam who witness the allotment of the *āšipu* field discussed above there are four individuals who bear the designation *bēl piqitti* in addition to their professional title:

Tanittu-Bel/Nergal-uballissu - ^{lú}nagāru^l ^{lú}bēl pi-qit-tú
 Nergal-ereš/Bel-apla-ušur - ^{lú}sirāšū^l ^{lú}bēl pi-qit-tú
 Nergal-iddin/Belšunu - ^{lú}kabšarru^l ^{lú}bēl pi-qit-tú
 Nergal-uballit/Nabu-naširšu - ^{lú}āšipu^l ^{lú}bēl^l pi-qit-tú

The most logical explanation for this additional designation, then, is that this designated the superintendent of the profession or the president of the various subsidiary assemblies, which would amount to much the same thing. Not all the professions represented among the seals have a *bēl piqitti* among those sealing the document. This would seem to be due to chance rather than design, since the professions without a *bēl piqitti*, the *kalû*, *ṭābiḥu* and *kutimmu* do not differ significantly from those with a *bēl piqitti*. The only superintendent whose presence was probably necessary was the *bēl piqitti* of the exorcists, since the decision concerned the affairs of the exorcists. The presence or absence of other superintendants was probably not significant. The *bēl piqitti* is also found in texts from Babylon. In one instance they appear in a protocol concerning dates before the assembly of Esagila, where they give testimony(?).⁹⁷ In the only other occurrence they are found in an administrative note which reads:

CT XLIX 10

- 1 - 10 šiqil kaspu a-na ṣi-di-tu₄
- 2 - a-na šu-lu-ú šá suluppi
- 3 - ultu ^{uru?}sar-ra-ni-tu₄
- 4 - ultu makkūri a-na ^{md}bēl-apla-iddin
- 5 - apli ^{md}bēl-eṭir ^{lú}sirāšī[^] na-din
- 6 - te-li[t-t]u₄ šá kaspā-AM
- 7 - 10 šiqil ^{md}bēl-apla-iddin
- 8 - a-na ^{lú}ṭupšarrī^{meš} u ^{lú}bēl^{meš} piq-ni-tú
- 9 - ú-kal-lam

"10 shekels of silver for provisions for bringing up the dates from Sarranitu⁹⁸ from the stores was given to Bel-apla-iddin, son of Bel-eṭir, the brewer. The withdrawal of the money,⁹⁹ the 10 shekels, Bel-apla-iddin will show to the

⁹⁷ CT XLIX 115,3.16.19 (^{lú}bēl^(meš) SI.LÁ).

⁹⁸ The toponym would seem to be otherwise unknown, assuming of course that it has been correctly read.

⁹⁹ The *tēlītu* is probably best understood here in a literal sense, "withdrawal" rather than "Ertgag (sabgabe)".

scribes and superintendants."

The withdrawal was shown to the scribes in order that they might record it, while it was probably shown to the superintendants in order to obtain some form of administrative authorization for the transaction.

The *bēl piqitti* is unattested in texts from Uruk. Indeed, we know very little at all about the organization of the temple there. Two officials, however, who exercised supervisory functions are known to us. The first is the *rab bīt hilši* "superintendent of the *bīt hilši*", whose functions are unknown since we know virtually nothing about the *bīt hilši*. Two holders of this office are known, Kidin-Anu, whose sons sell a share in the income of the *kirū hallātu* in year 48¹⁰⁰ and Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/Šamaš-ittannu, who was a witness in a property sale in year 122.¹⁰¹ The second office was that of the *rab širkē*, "superintendent of the temple oblates", who is attested once in a contract from year 93.¹⁰² None of the holders of these offices was a member of any of the ancestral clans of Uruk, and so we may surmise that their social status was not high.

Financial Officers

From the texts of Uruk but one financial officer is known, viz. the *ganzabara* "treasurer", which is an Old Persian (originally Median) loanword.¹⁰³ Two holders of this title are known, Anu-aba-ušur, who is listed among the officials in whose presence a dispute over a temple prebend is heard,¹⁰⁴ and Mušalim-Anu/Anu-aba-ušur/Hunzu, who is one of the principals in a prebend lease.¹⁰⁵ The latter may be the son of the former, but in any event the latter's clan affiliation assures us of a relatively high status of the office. This can also be seen

¹⁰⁰WZJ 1970,905,1. Cf. p. 909f.

¹⁰¹VS XV 14,24.

¹⁰²Ash. 1923.726/745,31.

¹⁰³See HINZ, ZA 61,261f.

¹⁰⁴Ash. 1923.720,8

¹⁰⁵Ash. 1930.563b,2f. *ša ultu lú gan-zu-bar-ra meš ša bīt ilāni meš*

from the fact that the *ganzabara* in the first text is listed directly after the *paqdu ša Uruk* and his brother.

The equivalent in Babylon to the *ganzabara* was the *bēl minde* "paymaster". There would seem to have been a paymaster for every profession, although only those of two professions are actually attested. The first and most common is the paymaster of the brewers, *bēl minde ša sirāšē*, an office held by Nabukušuršu and Bulluṭ attested in a series of documents from the 4th year of Antigonos to the 6th year of Alexander IV. The manner in which the paymaster operated can be seen from these documents, which are letter orders directing a subordinate to disburse rations to an individual or group of individuals. A typical example of the genre is the following:

CT XLIX 40¹⁰⁶

- 1 - *ṭuppi^m bul-ṛluṭ bēl min-du^l*
- 2 - *ša lú sirāšē^{meš} a-na*
- 3 - *^mbēl-šuma-iddin^{md} bēl-erība*
- 4 - *u^{md} bēl-apla-ušur aḥḥē^{meš}*
- 5 - *2 kūr 2 (pān) 5 (sūtu) suluppu*
- 6 - *ina giš ar-da-bi ša^d nabū*
- 7 - *ultu suluppi ša mu-ša-ni-e*
- 8 - *makkūr^d nabū^l 107 šar kiššati*
- 9 - *ša itti tašriti šattu 5^{kam}*
- 10 - *^man-ti-qin-ni-us*
- 11 - *lú rab ú-qu a-na*
- 12 - *^{md}nabū-apla-ušur apil^m iddin-^dbēl*
- 13 - *aḥḥū^{meš} lid-din-nu-'*

"Letter(-order) of Bulluṭ, the paymaster of the brewers, to Bel-šuma-iddin, Bel-eriba and Bel-apla-ušur: Brethern! 77 seah of dates, according to the artaba-measure¹⁰⁸ from the exit dues, the property of Nabu, king of the universe, for the 5th year of generalissimo Antigonos let the brethern

¹⁰⁶Others from this archive are CT XLIX 16;18;20;22;35;36;38;40;43;45; 51;54;63;69;74;76;79;81;87;97.

¹⁰⁷Cf. CT XLIX 9,2.

¹⁰⁸The artaba was a Persian measure containing ca. 40 litres. Here it is equal to the *mašihu* measure of 1 *pānu*, ca. 36 litres.

give to Nabu-apla-iddin, son of Iddin-Bel"

These sealed letter-orders are not common in the preceding period although they are found in the late Persian period¹⁰⁹ and in this form bear a certain resemblance to the letter-orders of the Persepolis archive. This continuity with the late Persian period is also shown in the fact that the first four letters from the archive date to the reign of Artaxerxes III. The only other profession aside from the brewers which is known to have had a paymaster is that of the astrologers.¹¹⁰ It seems not unlikely, however, that other professions would also have had their own paymasters but that these are simply not attested in our documentation.

E. CRAFTSMEN AND LABOURERS

1. CRAFTSMEN

The temples of Babylonia in the Hellenistic period, as in the earlier periods, were not solely religious institutions but also productive economic units. Thus we find a full complement of craftsmen and labourers who produced the goods necessary for the ceremonies and rites and provided for the physical needs of the gods and their servants.

Weavers, etc.

Those concerned with the production of clothing and reed wares and with their care were the *išparu* "weaver", the *pūšāja* "bleacher", the *aškapu* "leather worker" and the *atkuppu* "reed-weaver".

In Babylon the weavers are known to have had their own assembly *puḫru* šá ^{lú}*išparī*^{meš}¹¹¹ and are also attested as recipients in ration texts.¹¹² They also had their own workhouse as we can see from the list of temple expenditures with the following

¹⁰⁹E.g. JCS 28 (1976) 37 No. 24.

¹¹⁰See above p. 20f. and n. 69.

¹¹¹CT XLIX 190,2'. Cf. line 5'.

¹¹²CT XLIX 128,9.11.

entry: 1/2 šiqil ana ^{lú}*išparī*^{meš} ana nu-[u]ḫ-ḫu-tú šá dul-la-tú 1/2 šiqil ana ša-bat bat-qa šá bīt ^{lú}*išparī*^{meš}

"One half shekel to the weavers for the lessening of the unfilled orders. One half shekel for the repairing of the weavers' building."¹¹³

Finally, the weaver receives a rib (of mutton) for his labour in the preparation of two statues for the sixth day of the Akitu ritual.¹¹⁴

The bleacher *pūšāja* is mentioned only in texts from Uruk and then only as principals or witnesses in contracts. Those mentioned are:

Kitu-Anu/Illut-Anu (VS XV 12,1).

Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Ṭab-šuma-Nana (BRM II 21,14.26).

Nidintu-Anu/Anu-naširšu (MLC 2162 r.11).

The same situation obtains for the *aškapu*. Those known are:

Anu-uballiṭ/Riḫat-Anu (BRM II 32/MLC 2171,1.3¹¹⁵).

Riḫat-Anu/Anu-aḫa-ittannu (Ash. 1930.565,12.14)

..../Riḫat-Anu (Ash. 1923.719,30).

The *atkuppu* is found in somewhat more informative contexts.

In a list of temple expenditures he is found receiving money for the production(?) of reed baskets,¹¹⁶ and in a *kaḷû* ritual a list of reed products is found under the rubric *udē* ^{lú}*atkup*=*pi*.¹¹⁷

Carpenters, etc.

In the ancestral clan list VS XV 1 the workers in wood, stone and metal, i.e. the *nagāru* "carpenter", the *kabšarru* "jeweller", the *purkullu* "seal-cutter", the *qurqurru* "metal worker" and the *kutimmu* "goldsmith" are all summarized as *lú*^{erib} *bītātī*^{meš}. These then are the craftsmen who were allowed to enter the temple precincts and perform sacerdotal functions.

¹¹³BRM I 99,35f.

¹¹⁴Racc. 132,198.

¹¹⁵Cf. E. CAVIGNAC, RA 50 (1956) 79ff.

¹¹⁶CT XLIX 150,36f.

¹¹⁷Racc. 20,34.

The carpenter is relatively well represented in the texts from this period. In ritual texts we find the *ú-di-e* ¹¹⁸ *nagāri* as the rubric for several wooden objects,¹¹⁸ and we also find the carpenter involved in the production of statues for the sixth day of the Akitu ritual, for which he receives a shoulder (of mutton).¹¹⁹

In the text from the Emeslam in Cutha, discussed above, five carpenters are listed among the members of the assembly of Emeslam who witnesses the assignment of land to an exorcist:

Nergal-ušallim/Bel-apla-ušur
 Nergal-ibni/Nergal-uballissu
 Rimut/Bel-uballiṭ
 Bel-uballissu/Nergal-apla-ušur
 Bel-irimanni/Tanittu-Bel.¹²⁰

The carpenter is found in a fragmentary list of temple personnel from Babylon.¹²¹ Moreover, we also find a *nagār rukūbi* "ship's carpenter" in texts from Babylon. The latter seems to have been more concerned with ration distribution than with carpentry, at least as far as the individuals who bore the title were concerned. It is found in a series of documents dated from year 46 - 59 and was borne by Muranu/Bel-uballissu and his son Ea-tabtan-bulliṭ.¹²² They seem to have acted as assistant paymasters, for they are always found as the recipients of letter-orders, in which they are ordered to disburse rations to various individuals or groups.

In the contracts from Uruk the carpenter appears as either a principal or witness and is never given a clan affiliation. Those known are:

Dumqi-Anu/Anu-aḥa-uter (VS XV 12/Babylonica VII 27,3).
 Ḥanin-Anu/Ana-rabuti-Anu (BIN II 136,6)
 Šamaš-ittannu/Ana-rabuti-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu BRM II 56,
 5.17.20).

¹¹⁸Racc. 20,33.

¹¹⁹Racc. 132,198.

¹²⁰BRM I 88 seals and line 23.

¹²¹CT XLIX 183,9.

¹²²CT XLIX 115; 118; 122; 123; 124; 125; 126; 127; 128.

Sumuttu-Anu/Kitu-Anu (RIAA 298,32).

The *qurqurru* is mentioned in the clan list VS XV 1 but elsewhere he is found only in a ritual text during the Hellenistic period. There he delivers gold and precious stones to be used in constructing two statues for the Akitu ritual, for which he is to receive a tail joint.¹²³ His equivalent outside of ritual texts is the *nappāḥu* "smith", who occurs but once in the seals of the members of the Emeslam assembly on the text BRM I 88, discussed above.

Far more frequent was the *kutimmu* "goldsmith", six of whom are found among the seals of the document just mentioned. In Babylon the goldsmith is found in a variety of contexts. A goldsmith, Bel-aḥḥe-iddin/Lublūṭ, for example, is a witness in a contract¹²⁴ while another, Marduk-šuma-iddin/Nabu-iddin, is a principal in a loan of dates.¹²⁵ Unnamed goldsmiths are found in a list of temple expenditures,¹²⁶ a list of temple personnel¹²⁷ and in an astronomical diary.¹²⁸ Finally, in an interesting passage we find two goldsmiths, Nabu-mušetiq-uddi/Bel-aḥḥe-iddin/Bel-iddin and Bel-naširšu/Belšunu, receiving gold for smelting (*a-na pe-te-qa ma-ra-ḡu u šá-ka-an ina utūni*).¹²⁹

In Uruk the goldsmith is mentioned only once outside of prebends, where in a contract concerning the sale of a house the seller's husband and the buyer are both goldsmiths.¹³⁰ Finally, the goldsmith is mentioned in the ritual mentioned above, where he is involved in the construction of statues, for which he received a breast cut of meat.¹³¹

¹²³Racc. 132,190.197.

¹²⁴CT XLIX 160,33.

¹²⁵CT XLIX 136,2f.

¹²⁶CT XLIX 162,10.

¹²⁷CT XLIX 183,11.

¹²⁸LBAT 357 r.3'ff.

¹²⁹AB 245,14ff. See G.J.P. McEWAN, Iraq 43 (1981) forthcoming.

¹³⁰VS XV 25,1.11.

¹³¹Racc. 132,195.197.

The *kabšarru* is also found in texts from this period. Two are known from the seals of the document, BRM II 88, mentioned several times already. They are Nergal-iddin/Belšunu and Bel-kušuršu/Belšunu. The only other occurrence is in a loan text from Babylon where the *kabšarru*, Bel-zera-lišir/Iddin-Bel, borrows money from Muranu.¹³²

The *purkullu* is not attested in texts from this period.

Potter

The potter *paḥāru* is attested in several texts. He is mentioned in a list of temple personnel from Babylon,¹³³ while in texts from Uruk the *paḥāru* is only found as a professional designation for principals in contracts. The following are known:

Ušuršu-Anu/Laḥaši-Anu (RIAA 295/BRM II 50,4).

Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/Anu-aḥa-ittannu (RIAA 298/300,14f.).

Riḥat-Anu/Anu-aba-ušur/Nana-iddin (TCL XIII 235,6.10.15.18).

Finally, the potter is also found in a *kalû* ritual, where the products of the potter *ú-di-e* ^{lú}*paḥāri* are enumerated.¹³⁴

Cooks, Brewers etc.

Those concerned with the preparation of the food and drink for the ritual meals were the baker/cook *nuḥatimmu*, the miller *ararru* (/ṭēnu),¹³⁵ the butcher *ṭābiḫu*, the brewer *sirāšû*, the "soaker" *rāsinu* and the oil presser *šāḫitu*. Because of their importance in preparing the ritual meals and, consequently, in the perquisite income derived from them these occupations are found frequently in both ritual and economic texts.

ararru

The *ararru* is found in ritual texts preparing flour for delivery to the baker.

¹³²CT XLIX 106,4.

¹³³CT XLIX 183,4.

¹³⁴Racc. 18,29.

¹³⁵Both readings are lexically attested for ^{lú}*HAR*. (*HAR*), but for convenience we follow CAD A² 233b and read *ararru* in all cases.

AO 6451 (Racc. 76)

- 21 - u₄-mi-šam kal šatti l-en naptanu(BUR) 3 kùr 3 pānu
uṭṭatu u [....]
- 22 - 108(LX+XL+VIII) ^{giš}sūtū^{-meš} 108(C+VIII) ^{giš}sūtū^{-meš}
qaqqadi gi-ni-e ina ^{giš}sūti šá 10 mana [....]
- 23 - šá lú ararrū^{-meš} ina bīt lú nuḥatimmī^{-meš} a-na l-en u₄-
mu a-na 4 nap-tan šá^d anu an-tu₄
- 24 - ^dištar^d na-na-a u ilāni^{-meš} a-šá-bu-tu šá uruk^{ki}
i-na[m-d]i-nu

"Daily, throughout the whole year, (for?) a meal the miller delivers 3 kur and 3 pan of barley, (that is) 108 seah/108 seah¹³⁶ of the regular offering capital according to the *sūtū* measure of 10 mina¹³⁷ ... to the bakery for one day for four meals for Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nana and the gods resident in Uruk."

In the same ritual we find the miller reciting a prayer during his work.

- 44 - lú ararru ina muḥ-ḫi ṭe-e-nu šá^{na4} eri MUL-APIN ina
šēri ^{giš}epin zēri iṣ-mi-du
- 45 - naq-bit i-qab-bi

"While grinding with the millstone the miller recites the prayer, "They have yoked the plough-star to the seed plough in the field.""

In non-ritual texts we find the millers receiving money for grain for flour, as for example in the following:

CT XLIX 150

- 8 - 6 šiqil kaspu ana ši-me 3 kùr uṭṭatu a-na lú ararrī^{-meš}
- 9 - ina mi-in-de-šú-nu šá^{kam} ultu ūm 12^{kam} šá iti šabaṭi
šattu 218^{kam}

¹³⁶This repetition of numbers in different forms is not a common practice in Babylonia, but it is nicely paralleled in contemporary Demotic practice, e.g. ḫt 111 r ḫt 55 ḫt r ḫt 111 Ca - "111 silver pieces - one half is 55.5 - 111 silver pieces again" S. WANGSTEDT, OrS XIV/XV (1965/6) 18,2f.

¹³⁷See Racc. 81 n.3 and cf. ^{giš}sūti šá 10 mana Camb. 150,3.

10 - adi ūm 11^{kam} šá iti adari šá šatti an-nit ina qātē^{II}
 m^dea-uballiṭ-su
 11 - ana lú rabī[?] šá lú ararrī^{meš} na-din

"Six shekels of silver for the purchase price of 3 kur of barley for the millers from their supplies from 12 Šabaṭ of year 218 to 11 Adar of this year given by Ea-uballissu to the head(?) miller."

In the same text we have a record of the wages received by the millers.

12 - 2 1/2 šiqil a-na i-di-šú-nu šá lú ararrī^{meš} šu'āti^{a-ti}
 ina qātī^{II} KI.MIN na-din

"Two and one half shekels for the wages of these millers given by ditto (Ea-uballissu)."

Unfortunately we do not know how many millers divided these wages. It is interesting to note that the rations were paid in money instead of in kind.¹³⁸

nuḫatimmu

The baker/cook is likewise attested in both ritual texts and in economic accounts. In the same ritual in which we find the miller we also find the baker preparing the flour received from the miller.

25 - ina līb-bi 81 giš sūti qēm uṭṭati 27 sūti qēm kunāši
 26 - ša a-na 243 šib-tu₄ lú nuḫatimmu ip-pu-ú šá ultu
 līb-bi a-na 4 nap-tan
 27 - a-na giš pašūrri a-na pān^d a-nim 30 šib-tu₄ lú nuḫa=
 timmu i-nam-din
 28 - ina rabū^ú ù tar-den-nu šá šēri(KIN.NIM) 8-TA-ÀM
 šib-tu₄ lú nuḫatimmu i-nam-din
 29 - ina rabū^ú ù tar-den-nu šá lilāti(KIN.SIG) 7-TA-ÀM
 lú nuḫatimmu i-nam-din
 30 - 30 šib-tu₄ pān an-tu₄ 30 šib-tu₄ pān^d ištār 30 šib-
 tu₄ pān^d na-na-a 12 šib-tu₄ pān
 31 - šu-bat^d anu u ili bīti šá bīt pa-pa-ḫa an-tu₄ 4 šib-
 tu₄ pān 2 agī šá^d a-nim

¹³⁸Note the badal apposition, probably an Aramaism, cf. GAG §193c.

32 - 16 šib-tu₄ pān ziq-qur-rat u ili bīti šá ziq-qur-rat
 16 šib-tu₄ pān a-ḫa-nu šá pa-pa-ḫa^d anu
 33 - u an-tu₄ napḫar 168 šib-tu₄ šá a-na 4 nap-tan lú^{nu}=
 ḫatimmu inamdinⁱⁿ

"Therefrom 81 seah of barley flour and 27 seah of wheat flour, which the baker bakes into 243 šibtu loaves, from which for four meals at the table of Anu the baker gives 30 šibtu loaves, 8 apiece for the main and secondary meals of the morning and 7 apiece for the main and secondary meals of the afternoon the baker gives. 30 loaves before Antu, 30 before Ištār, 30 before Nana, 12 before the shrine of Anu and the house god of the cella of Antu, 4 before the two crowns of Anu, 16 before the ziqqarrat, 16 before the wings(?) of the cela of Anu and Antu, in toto 168 šibtu loaves for four meals the baker gives."

Like the miller the baker also said a prayer as he worked.

45 - ù lú nuḫatimmu ina muḫ-ḫi ba-la-la šá gi-ir-ši ù
 46 - ṭa-ḫu-ú šá im-me-ti^d nisaba ḫÉ-EN-GÁL du-uš-šū-ú
 47 - ma-ka-lu-ú el-lu naq-bi-tu₄ i-qab-bu-ú

"And the baker while mixing the dough and serving the hot loaves recites the prayer, "Nisaba, abundant produce, pure food.""

In addition the baker takes part along with the nāru and kalū in the dīk bīti ceremony,¹³⁹ and he is found in a list of priests and craftsmen who wear the same ritual garments.¹⁴⁰ Outside of ritual contexts we also find the baker in a list of temple expenditures, where he is connected with the bīt ḫilši:

CT XLIX 153

7 - 10 mana ana ša[!]-bat[!] ṛbat-qa igāri(I.ZI) šadī(III)[!]
 8 - šá bīt ḫi-il-šu šá É-SA-BAD
 9 - a-na^{md} marḫuk-šuma-iddin lú nuḫatimmi apli šá^{md} nabū-nāšir na-din
 "10 mina for the repair of the west wall of the bīt ḫilši

¹³⁹Racc. 89,7.

¹⁴⁰UVB 15,40,8'.

of Esabad given to Marduk-šuma-iddin, the baker, son of Nabu-našir."

What the connexion of the baker to the *bīt hilši* was remains uncertain. On the one hand it is possible that this was the locus of his activity. On the other hand the baker may simply have been acting as an agent for the repairs. The latter seems perhaps more likely since we have evidence elsewhere for a bakery.

sirāšû

Another individual involved in the preparation of offerings for the gods was the brewer, who is attested in ritual and economic texts. In ritual texts we find the brewer mentioned in a list of those who wear the same ritual garments.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, he is listed along with the *šešgallu*, *āšipu* and *erib bīti* as those who take part in the procession from the Reš temple to the Akitu temple.¹⁴² It is noteworthy that here we find the brewer taking part in a ceremony and not just preparing offerings like the baker and miller. Four brewers are found among those sealing the allotment text for the exorcist from the Emeslam in Cutha:

Nergal-ibni/Bel-apla-ušur Bel-balassu-iqbi/Bel-apla-ušur
Bel-kušuršu/Bel-apla-ušur Nergal-ereš/Bel-apla-ušur

The last named is also termed *bēl piqitti* and was thus the supervisor of the brewers. All are the sons of Bel-apla-ušur, and thus we are probably justified in assuming that the profession was a hereditary one.

The archive mentioned during our discussion of the *lú bēl minde ša lú sirāšû meš* provides us with the names of several brewers from Babylon.¹⁴³

Bel-apla-ušur/Bel-eṭir (CT XLIX 10,5) yr. 4, Philip.

Marduk-eriba/Iddin-Bel (CT XLIX 19,4; 50,4) yr. 6/7

Alexander IV.

¹⁴¹UVB 15,40,8'.

¹⁴²BRM IV 7,4.7.26.40, where the brewers are the ones who actually carry the statue of the god.

¹⁴³See above, p. 35f. and n. 106.

Bel-ibni/...-aja (CT XLIX 26,3; 92,5)¹⁴⁴ yr. lost,

Alexander IV.

Bulluṭ/Nabu-iddin (CT XLIX 29,3) yr. 6, Alexander IV.

Marduk-šuma-iddin (CT XLIX 150,14f.; BRM I 99,16) yr. 218.

The last named is not from this archive, but is found in a list of temple expenditures from Babylon. Many of the individuals found in the texts of the brewers' archive without title are probably brewers, although we can not be certain of this as other professions are also found in the archive.

Another person involved in the brewing process was the "soaker" (*TU₅ - rāsinu*)¹⁴⁵ who is to be kept separate from the *resinnu*, who will be discussed in the prebend section. The *rāsinu* has been discussed by Oppenheim¹⁴⁶ and Doty,¹⁴⁷ and it would seem that he was involved in the preparation of raw materials by soaking for tanning, cooking and brewing. The connexion with brewing can be seen from an expenditure list, where we find:

BRM I 99¹⁴⁸

14 - 1 1/2 *šiqil ana kurummati há lú sirāšû meš lú rāsinī meš*

15 - *šá ultu ūm 15^{kam} šá iti adari adi ūm 14^{kam} šá iti adari atri*

16 - *ina qātí^{md} marduk-šuma-iddin lú sirāšû na-din*

"One and one half shekel for the rations of the brewers (and) the soakers from 15 Adar to 14 Intercalary Adar given by Marduk-šuma-iddin, the brewer."

tābiḫu

The butcher occurs in ritual texts, where we find him wearing special clothing,¹⁴⁹ and where like the miller and baker he

¹⁴⁴Perhaps the same as the Bel-ibni who is termed *rab šá lú sirāšû meš* in CT XLIX 26,2f.

¹⁴⁵The reading *rāmiku* for *TU₅* cannot be excluded. However the reading *rāsinu* gives better sense in the context, and in addition we find a separate entry for *rāmiku* written phonetically *lú ra-mi-ke-e* in the same list of temple expenditures, BRM I 99,23; CT XLIX 150,20.

¹⁴⁶A.L. OPPENHEIM, JAOS Suppl. 10,48,69.

¹⁴⁷L.T. DOTY, CAHU 106ff.

¹⁴⁸Cf. CT XLIX 150,13f.

¹⁴⁹UVB 15,40,8'.

was to recite a special prayer while performing his duties:

AO 6451 rev. (Racc. 78)

8 - ... ina muḫ-ḫi

9 - na-ka-sa šá alpi ù immeri ^{lú}ṭābiḫu naq-bi-tu₄ i-qab-bi

10 - mār ^dšamaš be-lu bu-lim ina šēri ú-šab-šá-a ri-'-i-ti

11 - šá-niš a-na muḫ-ḫi na-ka-sa šá alpi ù immeri ^{lú}ṭābiḫu
rabú^ú a-na ^danu an-tu₄ MUL-GAL

12 - ù ^ddil-bat ba-la-tu i-qab-ma a-na ilāni^{meš} šá-n[im-m]a ul i-qab-bi

"While butchering cattle or sheep the butcher recites the prayer "The son of Šamaš, lord of the beasts, has created pasturage in the steppe." Furthermore, while butchering cattle or sheep the chief butcher says "Life!" to Anu, Antu, Jupiter and Venus. To no other gods should he say (it)."

In another ritual we find the butcher participating in the Akitu ritual.¹⁵⁰ Aside from these ritual attestations we also find two butchers, Riḫat-Bel/Nergal-uballissu and Bel-ušuršu/Nabu-ibni, among the seals of the allotment document from the Emeslam in Cutha referred to several times above.

We also find three butchers listed among the witnesses in a contract from Babylon.¹⁵¹ Finally, we find the following entry in a list of temple expenditures:

CT XLIX 150¹⁵²

29 - 1/3 m[an]a 1 1/2 šiqil ana taš-lim-du 2 immer niqē^{meš}
šal-ma-tú

30 - šá ūm 28^{kam} šá ^{iti}kislimi ina qātí ^{md}nabû-ku-šur-šú
^{lú}ṭābiḫi

31 - apli šá ^{md}ea-tab-tan-bulliṭ^{iṭ} na-din

"One third mina and one half shekel for the full payment of two offering sheep in good condition for 28 Kislim paid by Nabu-kušuršu, the butcher, son of Ea-tabtan-bulliṭ."

¹⁵⁰Racc. 133,214; 140,353; 141,360.

¹⁵¹Nabu-iddina/Bel-iddin, Bel-kašir/Lublūṭ and Bel-kušuršu/Bel-iddina
CT XLIX 160,31.32.34.

¹⁵²Cf. BRM I 99,1off.; AB 244,6-12.

ṣāḫitu

The oil presser is mentioned only twice in this period, both times a professional designation for principals in contracts from Uruk. They are:

...-Anu/Anu-aḫa-ittannu (TCL XIII 240,6) yr. 88.

Nana-iddin/Idat-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššu (Ash. 1923.736,4) yr. 132?

Finally, we should mention two other professions concerned with the preparation of offerings. The first is the *luḫšû/sigbar=rû*¹⁵³ whose duties are not altogether clear. In texts from the Hellenistic period he appears together with brewer, cook, butcher etc. in a list of those wearing the same ritual garments,¹⁵⁴ and he is also found in a fragmentary list of temple personnel between the carpenter and the goldsmith.¹⁵⁵ The second is the *mubannû* who was a temple cook. The sole attestation for this profession comes in a list of temple expenditures, where we find:

CT XLIX 150¹⁵⁶

15 - 1 1/2 šiqil ana kirban ṭabti u ^{giš}ḫu-šab šá ultu KI.MIN

16 - ina qātí ^{md}marduk-šuma-iddin an-[n]ja-a šá til-lu šá
^{lú}mu-ban-nu-ú-tú

17 - i-na-áš-šú-ú na-din

"One and one half shekel for salt and firewood from ditto (14 Tebet) to ditto (13 Šabaṭ) given by that Marduk-šuma-iddin who is picking up the trappings(?)¹⁵⁷ of the temple cooks."

Before leaving craftsmen altogether we should at least mention one profession which probably belongs here although the duties connected with it and even the reading are unknown, that is the ^{lú}U.MUG. Texts from the Hellenistic period are of no help

¹⁵³CAD s.v. *luḫšû* and AHW s.v. *sigbarrû*.

¹⁵⁴UVB 15,40,8'.

¹⁵⁵CT XLIX 183,10.

¹⁵⁶Cf. BRM I 99,17.

¹⁵⁷CAD M² 158b reads *baṭ-lu* instead of *til-lu* without, however, venturing a translation. Cf. AHW 1358f. *tillu* "ein Behang", though these passages are not cited there.

in clarifying the difficulties for the title is met with only once in a ration text.¹⁵⁸

Builders

Those directly connected with construction and repair of the temple complex were the *itinnu* and *arad ekalli*, who were builders and the *ēpeš dulli tiṭṭi ša bīt ilāni*, who were probably simply construction workers.

itinnu

The *itinnu* is found in both rituals and in economic texts. In the former he is found, not unexpectedly, in the ritual for the reconstruction of a temple wall that has fallen into ruin. There he lifts up the first brick clothed in a white garment, wearing a tinbracelet and carrying a leaden axe.¹⁵⁹ The *itinnu* is also involved peripherally in the ritual for lunar eclipses, where he clears away the brazier and ashes used in the ceremony and throws them in the river.¹⁶⁰

In economic texts the *itinnu* occurs in various contexts. In a list of temple expenditures, for example, we find:

CT XLIX 154¹⁶¹

12 - 1 šiqil 2 ma-ḫi ana ša-bat b[at-qa] šá xx

13 - šá x šá ina bāb du-de-e šá É-SA[G-G]ÍL

14 - ana^m ma-ri-'-u-nu

15 - 1^ú itinni na-din

"One shekel and two *maḫi* for the repair of the of the *dudē* gate of Esāgil¹⁶² given to Mari'unu the builder." The occurrence of the builder in a context having to do with repairing the temple is gratifying, but not too much can be read into the text since, as we have seen, even the baker could receive money for repairs. Since Mari'unu occurs in

¹⁵⁸CT XLIX 118,8.10.

¹⁵⁹Racc. 40,13ff.

¹⁶⁰BRM IV 6,30.

¹⁶¹Cf. CT XLIX 155,7ff. and 157,6ff.

¹⁶²The *dudē* gate is also mentioned in AB 246,11f., where it is said to be in the north wall (I.ZI^{im} II) of Esāgil.

other texts, however, receiving money for repairs we may assume that this was normal practice, whereas the baker's appearance in such a context was an aberration. In texts from Uruk we find the *itinnu* used as a professional designation for witnesses and principals in contracts. Those known from the contracts are:

Nidintu-Anu/Anu-mara-ittannu/Kina-apli (BRM II 22,1) yr. 77.

Riḫat-Anu/Labaši/Anu-mara-ittannu (BRM II 22,10f.; 24,1) yr. 77-82.

Nidintu-šarri/Anu-aḫḫe-iddin/Balaṭu (BRM II 22,11f.; MLC 2157,8) yr. 77-78.

Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Riḫat-Anu/Anu-aḫa-ittannu (MLC 2157,1) yr. 78.

Anu-mara-ittannu/Labaši/Anu-mara-ittannu (BRM II 24,1; BRM I 98/HSM 913,1.4) yr. 82-122.

Nidintu-šarri/Riḫat-Anu/Labaši (BRM II 30,1; BRM II 32/MLC 2171,4f.) yr. 109-119.

Labaši/Riḫat-Anu/Labaši (BRM I 98/HSM 913,1.4; Ash. 1923.715/725,32; MLC 2156 r.8') yr. 122-138.

Labaši/Anu-mara-ittannu (BRM I 98/HSM 913,1.4.5) yr. 122.

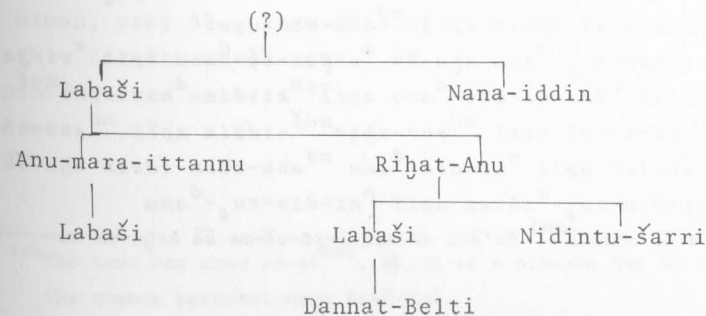
Dubqi/Anu-aḫa-ušabši (BRM I 98/HSM 913,1.4.5) yr. 122.

Nana-iddin/Kidin-Anu (BRM I 98/HSM 913,1.4) yr. 122.

Dannat-Belti/Labaši/Riḫat-Anu (BRM II 43,27; Ash. 1923.66,31; 719,52) yr. 153-163+.

Labaši/Riḫat-Anu (Ash. 1923.719,10.33) yr. 163+.

The profession of builder was obviously a hereditary one as the following chart shows.



This of course does not take into account all the builders known from the texts, but it shows beyond doubt that the profession was a hereditary one. The hereditary nature of the profession can also be seen from an inheritance division tablet between two brothers concerning an *itinnūtu* allotment¹⁶³ which will be treated in the prebend section.

arad ekalli

The *arad ekalli* was closely connected with the *itinnu*. Indeed, from the duty roster BRM II 17 we might assume that the former was merely a term for the duty of the latter in the temples.

The text reads:

BRM II 17

- 1 - [ūm 22^{ka}]^m šá itⁱ simāni šá šatti 67^{kam} m^{se}-lu-ku šarri šá i-zi-zi
- 2 - [a[?]-ha[?]]-meš[!]? lú itinnū^{meš} [...] šá bīt ilāni^{meš} ù iq-bu-ú a-na epuš^{uš}
- 3 - šá dul-lu ina bīt ilāni^{meš} lú arad ekalli^{meš} šá i-pu-uš-ma ultu ūm 22^{kam}
- 4 - šá itⁱ simāni a-di ūm 22^{kam} itⁱ du'ūzu m^{ki}-din^d anu apil m^{lā}bāšī m^d na-na-a-iddin apil m^{ki}-din^d anu
- 5 - m^{il}-lut^d anu apil m^d anu-aba-ušur m^d na-na-a-iddin apil m^{ana}-rabūti^d anu m^d anu-ik-šur aḫu-šú
- 6 - m^d anu-aḫḫe-iddin apil mⁿⁱ-din-tu⁴-^d anu m^{arad}-re-eš apil m^d na-na-a-iddin m^{dum}-muq m^d anu-iq-bi apil mⁿⁱ-din-tu⁴-^d anu
- 7 - m^{ina}-qí-bit^d anu apil m^{ki}-din^d anu m^{šib}-qát^d anu aḫu-šú lú arad ekalli^{meš}
- 8 - šá i-pu-uš-ma šá-nu-ú-tú ultu ūm 22^{kam} itⁱ du'ūzu a-di ūm 22^{kam}
- 9 - šá itⁱ abi m^d anu-mukīn-apli apil mⁿⁱ-din-tu⁴-^d anu m^d anu-uballit^{su} apil m^d anu-aba-ušur
- 10 - m^{su}-mut-tu⁴-^d anu aḫu-šú m^u-šur-šú^d anu apil m^{ri}-ḫat^d ištār m^{ina}-qí-bit^d anu apil m^{ki}-din^d anu aplū^{meš}
- 11 - m^{arad}-re-eš apil m^d anu-aḫḫe^{meš}-iddin apil m^d anu-aba-uter
- 12 - m^{lib}-luṭ apil m^{ki}-din^d anu m^d anu-zēra-iddin aḫu-šú mⁿⁱ-din-tu⁴-^d ištār apil mⁿⁱ-din-tu⁴-^d anu
- 13 - lú arad ekalli^{meš} šu'āti dul-lu i-pu-uš-ma šá arḫu-us-su

¹⁶³BRM II 24.

- 14 - lib-bu-ú šá šatari^{ta-ra} ina šumāti^{meš}-šú-nu
- 15 - ma-la šá dul-lu ina bīt ilāni^{meš} lú man-am šá ina lib-bi-šú-nu
- 16 - lib-bu-ú šá šatari^{ta-ra} šá arḫu-us-su ina šumāti^{meš}-šú-nu
- 17 - la illaku^{ku} a-na dul-lu la i-pu-uš ḫi-ṭu
- 18 - šá lú puḫru i-me-du-šú ú-šal-(lam)-ma
- 19 - lú arad-re-eš^{meš} šu'āti^{meš} šá dul-lu i-pu-uš-ma ultu ūm 22^{kam}
- 20 - šattu 67^{kam} ma-la dul-lu ina bīt ilāni^{meš} kal šatti arḫu a-na arḫi
- 21 - arḫu u lú arad ekalli^{lú} mu-kin⁷

"(On 22) Siman, year 67, Seleucus king the builders came on duty together and said, "For doing the work in the temples: the *arad ekalli* who work from 22 Siman to 22 Du'uzu are: Kidin-Anu, son of Labaši, Nana-iddin, son of Kidin-Anu, Illut-Anu, son of Anu-aba-ušur, Nana-iddin, son of Ana-rabuti-Anu, Anu-ikšur- his brother, Anu-aḫḫe-iddin, son of Nidintu-Anu, Arad-Reš, son of Nana-iddin, Dummuq, Anu-iqbi, son of Nidintu-Anu, Ina-qibit-Anu, son of Kidin-Anu, Šibqat-Anu, his brother.

The other *arad ekalli* who are to work from 22 Du'uzu to 22 Abu are: Anu-mukin-apli, son of Nidintu-Anu, Anu-uballissu, son of Anu-aba-ušur, Sumuttu-Anu, his brother, Ušuršu-Anu, son of Riḫat-Ištār, Ina-qibit-Anu, son of Kidin-Anu, the sons, Arad-Reš, son of Anu-aḫḫe-iddin, Anu-aḫḫe-iddin, son of Anu-aba-uter, Libluṭ, son of Kidin-Anu, Anu-zera-iddin, his brother, Nidintu-Ištār, son of Nidintu-Anu.

These *arad ekalli* are to do service monthly according to the roster of their names, as much as there is work in the temples. Whosoever among them who does not come and do work according to the monthly roster in their name shall pay in full whatever the assembly imposes upon him."

These *arad ekalli*(!)¹⁶⁴ are the ones who will do service from 22 Siman, year 67 - as much work as there is in the temples monthly for the whole year.

Month and *arad ekalli*.¹⁶⁵

Witness"

¹⁶⁴The text has *arad re-eš^{meš}*, which is a mistake due to confusion with the common personal name Arad-Reš.

¹⁶⁵I.e. the *arad ekalli* who are to serve for the month.

From this it would seem that the *arad ekalli* was a duty status of the *itinnu*. The situation is not so simple, however, for we have a number of attestations of the *arad ekalli* independent of the *itinnu* during the same period that we find the latter mentioned in documents. The *arad ekalli* are found in the same situations in contracts as the *itinnu*, i.e. as witnesses and principals in contracts. Those attested in the contracts from Uruk are:

Nana-iddin/Kidin-Ištar (MLC 2194 r.10; VS XV 3,26) yr. 12-14.

Nana-iddin/Anu-mara-ittannu (MLC 2174,18) yr. 53.

Arad-Reš/Anu-mara-ittannu (BRM II 24,35f.) yr. 82.

Riḥat-Anu/Labaši (BRM II 28,1) yr. 89.

Idat-Anu/Arad-Reš/Anu-uballiṭ (MLC 2156,10) yr. 138.

Nana-iddin (BRM II 50,10/RIAA 295,11) yr. 166.

Kidin-Ištar/Bani-apli (VS XV 43,1) yr. lost.

These occurrences of the title *arad ekalli* indicate that it was an independent profession rather than simply a duty of the *itinnu*. This is further supported by the fact that Arad-Reš/Anu-mara-ittannu appears as a witness in a contract (BRM II 24) in which the title *itinnu* also appears.

The problem remains then, how do we interpret the duty roster. We are not helped by the list of names contained in it since none of those listed is found among the *itinnu* or *arad ekalli* attested elsewhere. Perhaps the *arad ekalli* is best understood on the basis of what we know as an independent profession which was in some way subordinate to the *itinnu*. This might explain why the *itinnu* set the duty roster for the *arad ekalli*.

ēpeš dulli tiṭṭi ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk

The *e.* was a profession involved in construction work in the temple complex. The profession was probably of low status, for we find slaves being dedicated to the temple to do this work.¹⁶⁶ The individuals mentioned in contracts who bear this designation do not seem, however, to have been slaves, at least in so far as we can ascertain. Instead they seem to have had approx-

¹⁶⁶BRM II 53,5; YBC 11633,6.

imately the same status as the *arad ekalli*. The first two occurrences of the title are without *tiṭṭi*, and thereafter the full form is found. There is no difference between the forms with and without *tiṭṭi* as far as function is concerned. Those known are:

Anu-mara-ittannu (VS XV 12/Babyl. VIII 27,4) yr. 130.

Nidintu-Anu/Riḥat-Anu/Mattattu-Anu (BRM II 41,9; 45,3) yr. 152-154.

Riḥat-Belet-šeri/Baggan-Anu/Riḥat-Anu (BRM II 41,1) yr. 152.

Illut-Ištar (BRM II 43/MLC 2179,3; HSM 913,1.5.7) yr. 153.

Pašir-Baraqa/Ruma-šar-Bel (BRM II 45,9) yr. 154.

Anu-aḥa-iddin/Riḥat-kitti/Anu-aḥa-iddin (VS XV 27,7) yr. 156.

Šaḥila/Nidintu-Anu (VS XV 27,7) yr. 156.

Ana-rabuti-Anu/Nidintu-Anu (VS XV 27,7) yr. 156.

Anu-aḥa-iddin/Idat-Anu/... (VS XV 27,20) yr. 156.

Idat-Anu/Tattannu-Nana/... (YBC 8955,2) yr. 159.

Anu-iqiša/Tanittu-Anu (YBC 8955,10) yr. 159.

Nana-iddin/Nidintu-Anu/Šibqat-Anu (TCL XIII 246,1f.) yr. 161.

Ḥanina(Ina-qibit-Anu)/Riḥat-Bunene (BIN II 246,1f.) yr. 163.

Riḥat-Ištar/Bagana-Anu/(Ša)ḥilu (VDI 1955 V 1f.) yr. lost.

Ḥanini/Nidintu-Anu/... (FB 16,68 No. 10,1f.) yr. lost.

Anu-aba-ušur/Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Raḥmat-Anu (VS XV 22,1f.) yr. lost.

Šamaš-ittannu/... (VS XV 22,14f.) yr. lost.

Ḥanina/... (VS XV 22,14f.) yr. lost.

Ḥanina/Riḥat-Belet-šeri (FB 16,70 No. 13,8f.; 73 No. 20, 6f.) yr. lost.

Idat-Nana/Itti-Anu-.../Ana-rabuti-Anu (MLC 2167,1f.) yr. lost.

Anu-ana-bitišu/Ana-rabuti-Anu (MLC 2167,5f.) yr. lost.

Ṭab-Anu/Arad-Reš (MLC 2167,8f.) yr. lost.

Anu-balassu-iqbi/...-Nana (MLC 2167,12) yr. lost.

Porters, etc.

Those entrusted with the caretaking and guarding of the temple buildings were the porter *atú*, the cleaners *mušēšīru*, *rāmiku* and the guards *maššāru*.

About the first of these, the porter, we are relatively well informed. In a text from Babylon we find the following entry in a list of temple expenditures:

CT XLIX 150¹⁶⁷

18 - 3 šiqil ana kurummāti^{há} md bēl-aḥḥe^{meš}-iddin m^ú-bar
u mⁿidintu-^dbēl

19 - lú^{atí} meš šá É.UD.1^{kam} šá ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN na-din

"Three shekels for the rations of Bel-aḥḥe-iddin, Ubar and Nidintu-Bel, the porters of Day One temple, from ditto (14 Tebet) to ditto (13 Šabaṭ) given."

In texts from Uruk we find porters mainly as principals and witnesses in contracts. In addition to these attestations, however, there are several passages which give us more information about the porter. We know for example that the porter in Uruk was paid by means of an allotment, which will be discussed in the section dealing with prebends. The locus of duty is sometimes given in the texts, as for example in a text where we find a porter of the entrance of the Reš temple lú^{atú} šá bāb nērebi šá é-re-eš.¹⁶⁸ What may have been the porter's lodge is also mentioned in a text where we find: bīt qāti šá lú^{atí} šá ina lib-bi mu-ṣu-ú šá bīt qāti šu'āti, "the "hand-house" of the porter which is inside the entranceway of this "hand-house"."¹⁶⁹

Furthermore, we know that the porter was a member of the collegium of the temples, the most common one being the collegium of the Reš temple. Idat-Anu, for example, who is known to have been a porter, is termed in one document šá ultu ki-niš-tu₄ šá é-re-eš "who is from the collegium of the Reš temple."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷Cf. BRM I 99,19ff.

¹⁶⁸MLC 2175,5'.

¹⁶⁹BRM II 9,4.

¹⁷⁰BRM II 41,23f.

The porter was not a member of any of the ancestral clans of Uruk and is known only from texts dated to 122 - 166 SE. Those known are:¹⁷¹

Nidintu-šarri/Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Anu-aba-uter (VS XV 14,26; BRM II 34,1) (C) yr. 122-124.

Nidintu-Anu/Mušezib-Anu/Kidin-Anu (MLC 2182,13) (A) yr. 123.

Kidin-Anu/Mušezib-Anu/Kidin-Anu (MLC 2182,13) (A) yr. 123.

Kidin-Anu/Anu-aba-uter (MLC 2182,4) (A) yr. 123.

Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Reš/Dumqi-Anu (BRM II 37,5; 42,6f.; 49,1; VS XV 34,30; BM 93004,37) (A/B/C) yr. 133-166.

Anu-aba-ušur/Arad-Reš/Dumqi-Anu (BRM II 37,1) (A) yr. 133.

Tattannu/Ušuršu-Anu/Labaši (BRM II 37,26) (A) yr. 133.

Idat-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Reš (BRM II 39,15; 40,14f.; 42+ VAT 16472+W 15034h¹⁷²,15f.; MLC 2180,12'f.; FB 16,68 No.

10 r.2'; VDI 1955 VIII 2) (A/C) yr. 149-165.

Kidin-Anu/Ina-qibit-Anu-ultazizu(*GUB*^{zu})¹⁷³ (Ash. 1923.66, 31) (A) yr. 153.

Arad-Reš/Dumqi-Anu (VDI 1955 III 28) (A) yr. 159.

Anu-aba-uter(Tattannu)/Ušuršu-Anu (BRM II 49,27; 50,26/ RIAA 295,27) (B) yr. 166.

The cleaners, *mušēšīru* and *rāmiku*, are found only in lists of temple expenditures, as for example the following:

CT XLIX 150¹⁷⁴

20 - 3 šiqil ana kurummāti^{há} m^{pa}-ši-ri-i u md nabú-iddina^{na}
lú^{ra}-mi-ké-e

¹⁷¹The title has several variants, (A) lú^{atú} (B) lú^{atú} makkūr^d anu (C) lú^{atú} ša bīt makkūri (D) lú^{atú} ša bīt makkūri ša bīt ilāni^{meš}.

¹⁷²The latter two tablets have already been joined by G. SARKISIAN, AOF 5,82. The line of the further join, BRM II 42,10+VAT 16472+W 15034h, 1' would then read 'pūtu' [šaplītu] im^šadú ṭāḥ makkūr^d anu bīt m^{dum}-qí-^danu. This join is confirmed by the presence of two seals, those of Šamaš-ittannu and Nidintu-Anu, in AOF 5,83, of witnesses who occur in BRM II 42.

¹⁷³The full form of the name is noteworthy.

¹⁷⁴See also BRM I 99,22-30.

- 21 - šá É.UD.1^{kam} šá ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN na-din
 22 - 5 1/2 šiqil ana pe-en-tu⁴ meš šá bāb rabiⁱ bāb nērebi
 d^abēlti-ía
 23 - bāb nērebi d^amandanu É-TÛR-KALAM-MA giš^a kirî buraši
 24 - la-me-e bīti bīt d^agu-la ĤUR-SAG-SIKIL-LA
 25 - bīt d^agu-la É-ĤUR-SAG-KÛ-GA akli^{há} gi-nu-ú
 26 - ša bīt d^agu-la šu'āti^{a-ti} ù šá lú¹ mu-še-ši-ir šá bābi
 27 - šá É-SAG-ÍLA šá ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN
 28 - ina qāti^m ra-ĥi-me-e-su na-din

"Three shekels for the rations of Paširi and Nabu-iddina, the cleaners of the Day One temple, from ditto (14 7bet) to ditto (13 Šaba7) given.

Five and one half shekels for charcoal for the main gate, the entry gate of Beltia, the entry gate of Mandanu of Eturkalama, the cypress garden surrounding the temple, the temple of Gula, (i.e.) Eĥursagsikila, the temple of Gula (i.e.) Eĥursagkuga and for the regular offering bread of this Gula temple and of (rations of?) the sweeper of the gates of Esagila, from ditto to ditto given by Raĥim-Esu."

The meanings given for mušēširu and rāmiku are to a certain extent guesswork since the two designations occur only here and in earlier lexical lists. They fit the contexts, however, and accord well with the meanings of the respective roots. Finally we have the watchman maššāru, whose nocturnal activities are specified for the night vigil of the Anu temple in Uruk.

A0 6460 rev. (Racc. 120)

- 24 - ... lú¹ maššār āli ina su-u-qa^{meš}
 25 - ù suq erbetti abna i-nap-pa-aĥ abullāti^{meš} uruk^{ki} a-di na-ma-ri
 26 - ul uĥ-ĥi-ir lú¹ maššār abullāti^{meš} gi urigalli^{meš} imna u šumela
 27 - ša abullāti^{meš} ú-zaq-qa-pu ab[!]-ri a-na na-ma-ri ina
 abullāti^{meš} i-nap-pa-a[ĥ]

"The city watchman lights fires in the streets and crossroads. He does not ... the gates of Uruk until dawn. The watchman of the gates sets up standards on the right and left of the gates. Until dawn he keeps fires lit at the gates."

The watchman also occurs several times in ration texts from Babylon. In one text, for example, we find Tanittu/Labaši

receiving ten shekels for clothing.¹⁷⁵ In another text the watchman, Bel-naširšu, is listed among those receiving a barley ration,¹⁷⁶ while in a third text the watchman, Ubar, receives four mina of wool for his ration.¹⁷⁷

Farmers, etc.

Those responsible for the crops and animals which had to be provided for the sacrificial meals in the temples were the ploughman *ikkaru*, the sheep feeders *mušākil immeri*, the herdsmen *rē'û* and the fishers *bā'eru*. The first two are met with only exceptionally. The ploughman, for example, is found only once in an entry in a ration list, where the ploughmen are to receive 57 bushels of dates.¹⁷⁸ The sheep feeder also occurs only once in the following entry in a list of temple expenditures:

CT XLIX 151

- 1 - 1/3 mana kaspu reĥtu (IB.TAK₄) kaspi 2 mana
 2 - šá ina pāna-ma ina 2-TA taĥ-sis-tú
 3 - ultu makkūr d^abēl a-na dul-lu-šú[?] ana mⁱiddin-d^abēl
 4 - m^dnabû-šuma-ušur apli^{meš} šá m^dbēl-iddina^{na}
 5 - [m]u-šá-ki-il immerāti^{meš} ana māĥiri
 6 - a-na niqī^{meš} šá É.UD.1^{kam} nadnu^{nu}

"One third mina of silver, the remainder of the silver, the two mina, which was given earlier from the property of Bel in two memoranda, for his work, to Iddin-Bel (and) Nabu-šuma-ušur, the sons of Bel-iddina, the sheep feeder, at market price for sacrifices in the Day One temple."

Shepherds are attested somewhat more frequently although all the evidence comes from Uruk in the form of professional designations of principals and witnesses in contracts. Several types of herdsmen are known from these titles: *rē'û alpi* "cowherd", *rē'û ginê* "shepherd of the regular offering", *rē'û šēri* "shepherd of the steppe", *rē'û makkūr Anu* "shepherd of the pro-

¹⁷⁵CT XLIX 11,10.

¹⁷⁶CT XLIX 15,14.

¹⁷⁷CT XLIX 33,3-8.

¹⁷⁸CT XLIX 146,1-6.

perty of Anu" and *rē'û ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk* "shepherd of the temples of Uruk". The first three may have been different professional designations while the last two refer to the employer of the shepherd. Little weight can be placed on these differences, however, since the same individual is often found bearing more than one of these titles. The herdsmen are attested only in texts dated before 100 SE. Those known are:

- Mukin-apli/Riḫat-Anu (VS XV 5 r.8'; NCBT 1952,23) (A/C)¹⁷⁹ yr. 37-38.
 Ata-Anu/Riḫat-Anu (BRM II 14,12.18; MLC 2186,5.9) (B) yr. 51-56.
 Anu-uballiṭ/Mukin-apli (BRM II 14,27; MLC 2157,27) (A) yr. 51-78.
 Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Mukin-apli (MLC 2157,27) (A) yr. 78.
 Nidintu-Anu/Anu-balassu-iqbi (FB 16,59f. No. 1,27.48ff.; VS XV 22,7) (D/E) yr. 91.
Nidintu-Anu/Ša-Anu-iššu (BRM II 54,31) (A) yr. lost.

Like the herdsmen the fishers occur only in contracts. In contrast to the former, however, all attestations for this profession occur after 118 SE. Those known are:

- Anu-balassu-iqbi/Šupeltu/Anu-balassu-iqbi (MLC 2652/2655, 1) yr. 119.
 Anu-aba-ušur/Illut-Anu (MLC 2652/2655,5) yr. 119.
 Ina-qibit-Anu(Illut-Belet-šeri)/Anu-aḫa-ittannu (MLC 2652/2655,17) yr. 119.
 Anu-balassu-iqbi (VS XV 12,3) yr. 130.
 Nidintu-šarri/Nidintu-Anu (BRM II 41,10; 45,10) yr.152-154.
 Anu-aḫḫe-iddin/Nidintu-Anu (BRM II 46/MLC 2185,29f.) yr. 155.

2. LABOURERS

The temples of Babylonia employed both slave and free labour. Attestations of either type of labour, however, are rather rare. In a text from Babylon we find a private slave

¹⁷⁹(A) *rē'û šēri* (B) *rē'û alpi* (C) *rē'û ginê* (D) *rē'û makkūr Anu* (E) *rē'û ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk*.

paying a tithe to the temple for the clearance of debris from Esagila during the reign of Alexander III:

CT XLIX 6

- 1 - *mana kaspu ešru-ú šá^m ba-ra-qa-a*
- 2 - *lú^u ardi šá^m na-bar-za-nu a-na da-ku-ú*
- 3 - *šá eperi^h á šá É-SAG-ÍLA*
- 4 - *a-na bulluṭ napišti^t1-šú a-na*
- 5 - *d^a bēl u d^a bēlti-ia na-din*

"One mina of silver, the tithe of Baraqa, the slave of Nabarzanu,¹⁸⁰ for the clearance of debris of Esagila to prolong his life was given to to Bel and Beltia."

Temple oblates are attested in Uruk, where we have dedications of slaves to the temples for construction work.¹⁸¹ In addition the old institution of *širkūtu* was still in practice in Uruk. This can be deduced from the existence of the title *rab širkē*, discussed above,¹⁸² but we also have direct evidence for temple oblates in the form of an early text which mentions the dedication of a slave to the temple *a-na lú^u šir-ki-ú-tú a-na d^a anu* "for temple oblate status to Anu".¹⁸³ Furthermore, since sales still contain a clause guaranteeing the freedom of the slave from *širkūtu* obligations, we could assume even in the absence of other proof that the institution was still in existence.¹⁸⁴ Finally, a recently published text from Seleucia (Tell ^cUmar) dated in year 87 SE mentions the dedication of slaves (*lú^u qal-la^me*) as temple oblates (*lú^u šeš-ki-ú-tu*).¹⁸⁵ There is no mention in the texts from Babylon of either slaves or temple oblates. Instead we have evidence there of the use of hired labour, of which incidentally there is no trace in Uruk. In a list of temple expenditures from Babylon we find the following entry:

¹⁸⁰For the Persian name Nabarzanu see R. ZADOK, IOS VII (1977) 126f.

¹⁸¹See above p. 52 and n. 166.

¹⁸²See above p. 35 and n. 102.

¹⁸³MLC 2202,11.15, quoted in L.T. DOTY, CAHU p. 13f.

¹⁸⁴See U. LEWENTON, Diss. p. 8 and n. 41.

¹⁸⁵L.T. DOTY, Mesopotamia XIII/XIV (1978/9) 91ff.

6 - [x+]l šiqil kaspu 4-tú ana lú agrūti^{meš} ana [z]e²-e-bi-l[u²]

7 - []-nu ultu nāri ana bīt n[a¹-k]an-da

8 - [šá] É-SAG-ÍLA

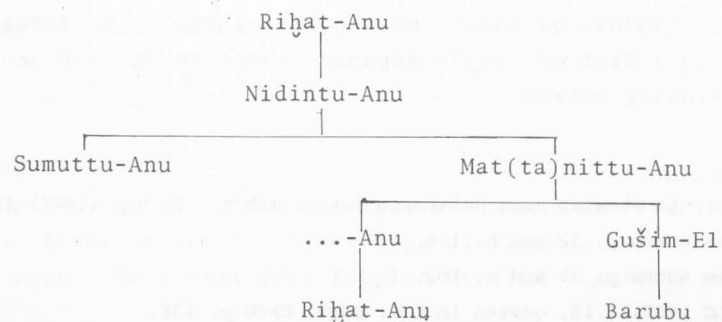
"... + one and a quarter shekel silver for the hired-men for the carrying(?) of ... from the river to the storehouse of Esagila."

A similar entry is found in another list of temple expenditures where hired labourers receive rations for their repair work on the gate of Esagila.¹⁸⁶ The evidence, meagre though it is, would suggest that in Babylon the work connected with the temple was done by hired labour while at Uruk the old system of temple slavery remained.

Other

A series of miscellaneous and in some cases unclear professional designations are found among the contracts from Uruk. We know, for example, of two barbers (^{lú}gal-la-ba/šU.I), Anu-aḥa-ukin¹⁸⁷ and Nidintu-Anu¹⁸⁸ who owned houses in Uruk. In addition we also find boatmen *malāḥu* mentioned in the texts. The title is held by the following individuals in two texts:

- Sumuttu-Anu/Nidintu-Anu/Riḥat-Anu (BRM II 20,13) yr. 71.
- Mattanittu-Anu/Nidintu-Anu/Riḥat-Anu (BRM II 20,13) yr. 71.
- Riḥat-Anu/...-Anu/Matnittu-Anu (MLC 2156,1) yr. 138.
- Barubu/Gušim-El/Matnittu-Anu (MLC 2156,1) yr. 138.



¹⁸⁶AB 246,9-12.

¹⁸⁷NCBT 1936,5.

¹⁸⁸BRM II 27,5f.

As the chart shows, these two texts allow us to reconstruct five generations of the family. Little is known about the family, however, except that they owned property in Uruk and that they probably had West Semitic connexions to judge from the names.

In addition to barbers and boatmen we also find a number of professions about which we know little. One such profession is the *gardūja*, which may have some connexion with the *gardu* of the Persian period, the latter being a term for a group of workmen. Two individuals with this title are known, Kitu-Anu/Idat-Anu, who was a witness in a contract¹⁸⁹ and Anu-mara-ittannu/Riḥat-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu, who was the seller of a piece of property.¹⁹⁰

More uncertain yet is the *gadāja*, whose function is still unknown. A connexion with the temple can be seen by the addition of the designation *ša bīt ilāni* to the title *gadāja* in one instance¹⁹¹ and by the fact that goods to be delivered to the Irigal and Reš temples are said to be held in common with the *gadāja*.¹⁹² Individuals given this title in Uruk texts are:

- Riḥat-Anu/Anu-ušezib (BRM II 27,11.18) yr. 87.
- Riḥat-Anu/Šamaš-iddin (MLC 2156,7; BRM II 38,4) yr. 138/9.
- Ušuršu-Anu/Arad-Reš (BRM II 41,17; 42,9; MLC 2180,6') yr. 151/2.
- Ana-rabuti-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu (BRM II 43/MLC 2179,6; HSM 913,1.7.8) yr. 153.
- Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Ina-qibit-Anu (VS XV 37,1) yr. 171.
- Anu-ittannu/Anu-aḥa-ušabši/Ina-qibit-Anu (VS XV 37,35) yr. 171.

Another official known from these texts is the *dajjālu*. Whether this is to be understood with CAD as "scout", "inspector" or with AHW as *dajjālu* 2) "Diener" is not quite certain. Strangely enough, neither lexicon enters the two published Seleucid oc-

¹⁸⁹BRM II 41,36, yr. 152.

¹⁹⁰BRM II 44,26f., yr. 154.

¹⁹¹MLC 2180,6'.

¹⁹²NCBT 1968,7.

currences of the word under the respective lemmata. The *daj=jālu* is described either as a member of the temple staff (*šá bīt ilāni^{meš}*)¹⁹³ or is connected with the temple shepherds (*šá lú rē'î alpi^{hā} šá bīt ilāni^{meš} šá Uruk^{ki}*).¹⁹⁴ Those known from the texts from Uruk are:

- Sumuttu-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu (BRM II 21,14) yr. 75.
 Riḥat-Dilbat/Sumuttu-Anu (BRM II 42,1) yr. 151.
 Anu-aba-ušur/Kitu-Anu/Anu-aba-ušur (MLC 2186,4f.) yr. 156.
 Tattannu/Nidintu-Anu/Kitu-Anu (MLC 2186,7f.) yr. 156.
 Kitu-Anu/Kitu-Anu/Anu-aba-ušur (MLC 2186,8f.) yr. 156.

Finally we may mention the enigmatic professional title from Babylon, the *lúzi-na-bar-ra*, which is the designation of Riḥat-Nana/Ate-Bel who purchases some vats of wine belonging to the temple.¹⁹⁵ The word, if correctly read, would seem to be Persian in origin although no etymology is apparent.

CONCLUSION

There are several features of the preceding prosopographical study which require comment. In our discussion of the various professions we have attempted to keep separate the evidence from various geographical regions as well as to separate secular from religious evidence. This was done in order to see if any patterns of distribution were evident in the material. Even a quick perusal of the material shows that just such patterns are apparent. The most immediately evident differences are between the offices found in the texts from Uruk and those from the Babylon area.¹⁹⁶ The following list will serve to make these differences apparent.

¹⁹³BRM II 42,1.

¹⁹⁴MLC 2186,5f.9f.23f.

¹⁹⁵CT XLIX 111,3.

¹⁹⁶The texts from Borsippa and Cutha are considered together with the texts from Babylon to form a corpus, since the institutions in the three cities are seemingly the same. They may in fact have formed a type of *sympoliteia*, cf. G. SARKISIAN, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 325.

BABYLON

agru (2)¹⁹⁷
ararru (4)
ardu (1)
asinnu (3)
atkuppu (2)
bēl minde (26)
bēl piqitti (6)
gerseqqū (1)
ikkāru (1)
išparu (5)
kabšarru (3)
kurgarrū (3)
lagarturru (1)
mār šipri (2)
maššāru (5)
muma''eru (1)
muššakil immeri (1)
mušēširu (2)
nāḥilu (1)
nuḥatimmu (5)
rab banī ša muḥḥi āli (1)
rāmiku (2)
rāsinu (2)
sigbarrū (2)
sirāšū (12)
šabat qāti (1)
šatammu (15)
ṭābiḥu (9)
ummānu (4)
 U.MUG (1)
uppuḍētu (1)
zazakku (1)
zinabara (1)

URUK

aḥšadrapanu (1)
arad ekalli (9)
aškāpu (3)
ba'ēru (7)
bēl qašāti (1)
dajjālu (5)
dioikētēs (1)
ēpeš dulli ṭiṭṭi
ša bīt ilāni (20)
gadāja (9)
gallābu (2)
ganzabara (2)
garduja (2)
labbāšu (1)
malāḥu (2)
manzāz pāni (1)
mār banī (1)
pāliḥu (1)
pašīru (1)
pūšāja
rabū ša rēš āli (6)
rab bīt ḥilši (2)
rab širki (1)
rē'ū (11)
šāḥitu (1)
šešgallu (8)
šuluhhū (1)

BOTH

āšipu (23)
atū (22)
bārū (5)
ērib bīti (7)
itinnu (28)
kalū (30)
kutimmu (17)
nagāru (15)
nāru (5)
paḥāru (5)
paqdu (7)
sepīru (66)
ṭupšarru (*passim*)
ṭupšar Enūma AN
EN-LÍL-LÁ (15)

¹⁹⁷The numbers in parentheses refer to the number of occurrences, which is sometimes only approximate.

The immediately noticeable feature of the list is that relatively few professions and offices are shared by both the Babylon area and the Uruk area in secular documents.¹⁹⁸ The reasons for this are the different nature of the documents on the one hand and the difference in the organization of the temples on the other. We can isolate three further factors which contribute to this variation between the different regions, complementary distribution of titles, regional peculiarities and insufficient documentation.

The first of these refers to such instances where the same office or profession is designated differently in each centre. This is most noticeable in administrative titles. Thus the financial official in the temples of Uruk bears the title *ganza-bara* while in Babylon he is known as the *bēl minde*. There does not seem to have been any essential difference in function but rather merely in title. Another such instance is in the term for the prefect of the city, an office in Babylon termed *rab banī ša muḫḫi āli* and in Uruk *rabū ša rēš āli*. The same is true for the chief administrative officer of the temple, who in Cutha and Babylon bore the ancient title *šatammu*, while in Uruk the same function would seem to have been exercised by the *paqdu ša bīt ilāni*.

On a less exalted level it is possible that the title *mušākil immeri* in Babylon corresponds to the more familiar designation *rē'û* in Uruk. Finally, it is possible that such ill known professional terms such as *dajjālu*, *gadāja* and *garduja* in the texts from Uruk and *nāḫīlu* and *zinabara* in those from Babylon may be but local variants of a more familiar term in the other centre.

Regional peculiarity refers to such professions found in one temple complex with no correspondence in those of the other centre. Examples of this are those involved in food preparation, such as the miller, baker, brewer and butcher, who are attested in texts from Babylon but not in texts from Uruk. Other examples are hired labourers, found only in texts from Babylon and temple oblates, found only in texts from Uruk.

¹⁹⁸Professions occurring only in rituals are not taken into consideration.

Insufficient attestation is the probable cause of much of the regional variation. Of the 36 officials and professions peculiar to Babylon, for example, 13 occur only once; and of the 26 peculiar to Uruk 17 occur only once or twice. It seems likely then, that if we had more textual evidence some of those titles peculiar to one or the other centre would find correspondence in the other centre. This is especially true of well known professions like the *aškapu* and *atkuppu*.

The first of the factors discussed, complementary distribution, is clearly due to the different organization of the respective temples, while the second, regional variation, might be due either to the nature of the documentation or to differences in organization. These questions will be discussed in more detail in the concluding section.

The question of temporal differences in the distribution of professional titles is more difficult to answer on the basis of the material at hand. With so many of the professional designations and officials occurring only once or twice one is left with very little evidence on which to base conclusions. On the basis of those professions which are relatively well attested, however, it would seem that there was little temporal variation.

In the case of an office like the *bēl minde* which is limited temporally to the early part of the Hellenistic period it would seem that this is to be attributed to the fact that the archive in which it occurs is limited to that period. There are a few possible exceptions such as the *arad ekalli* and *ēpeš dulli ṭiṭṭi ša bīt ilāni ša uruk^{ki}*, which may have been temporally determined variants, but in general continuity rather than change is the rule.

The final area of differences in distribution is between secular and religious texts. Comparison between these two classes of texts is important in as much as it allows us to determine whether the Seleucid copies of rituals, hymns etc. reflected actual cultic reality or whether they were merely products of a purely literary tradition.

To judge from the religious offices mentioned in secular texts it would seem that such copies did indeed represent contemporary cultic practice. The *ašipu*, *kalû*, *šešgallu*, *nāru*, *assinu*,

kurgarrû and *ērib bīti*, who are well attested in ritual texts, are also attested in non-religious texts.

This is also true of those involved in the preparation of food and drink for the ritual meals, such as the miller, baker, brewer and butcher and of the craftsmen who are mentioned in ritual texts, such as the carpenters, potters, etc.

Only a few designations, *lumahḫu*, *mār sisi*, *mukkallu*, *qurqurru*, *šubarrû* and *urmaḫlīlu*, seem to have been limited to ritual texts. These however, with the exception of the *qurqurru* were rarely occurring cultic actors and the like, whom we should not expect to make an appearance in secular texts. The *qurqurru* was probably nothing more than a learned synonym for *nappāḫu* "smith", as was suggested above, and thus did not represent a separate profession.

In summary then, there is no appreciable difference between the professions found in ritual texts and those found in secular texts, which indicates that the copies of religious texts from the Hellenistic period reflected contemporary cultic practice.

II. PREBENDS

Normally one might expect to find the topic of prebends treated as a subsection of temple income and expenditures, and indeed we might have presented it as such. The situation with regard to the prebendary system of Uruk, however, presents features which make a separate analysis desirable. Foremost among these is the number of documents at our disposal. Almost one third of the approximately 320 contracts from Uruk whose contents are known are concerned with prebends. Moreover, until now this material has only been cursorily treated, for the most part by those whose main interests lay in other areas.¹⁹⁹ One should note at the outset that the prebendary system of Hellenistic Uruk was somewhat different than that of Ptolemaic Egypt, for example, where prebends consisted of the right to part of the usufruct of temple land. While there is some evidence that this type of system existed at Uruk the main source of prebend income there consisted of perquisites derived from the offerings presented to the gods at ritual meals.

In our discussion we will maintain a distinction between prebends, which were more or less divorced from the performance of duties associated with the office in question, and salary allotments, which were alienable in the same fashion as prebends but which were associated with the performance of duties connected with the office. The latter consist in fact of shares in the rations (*kurummatu*) allotted for the salary of certain offices.

Examples of prebends, as opposed to allotments, are not confined to what we would consider priestly offices. We find, for example, prebends for the butcher and baker in addition to that of the *ērib bīti*. Differences between prebends and

¹⁹⁹See, for example, L.T. DOTY, CAHU 122-138 and M. RUTTEN, *Babylonica* VIII (1935) 199ff. San Nicolo in his study of prebends in ArOr 6 (1934) 179-202 does not distinguish between the prebendary system of the Chaldean and Persian periods and that of the Hellenistic period.

salary allotments (e.g. *itinnūtu* and *atūtu*) are not always clear. Both share the same legal sales formula, i.e. that of movable property,²⁰⁰ and such features which might be thought to be distinctive of prebends, such as the clause which names the deities in whose presence the office is held, are also occasionally found in allotment sales.

Nor are the prebends themselves uniform. To cite but one example, while normal income from a prebend consisted in fractions of a day's income, the prebendary share of the exorcist consisted simply of fractions of shares (*sebū isqāti*) not connected with any day.

Within a single prebend there was also considerable variation especially in price and in the deities involved. These were due mainly to temporal factors. These patterns and problems will become clearer as we discuss the individual prebends.

ararrūtu (ṭē'inūtu)²⁰¹

Only one document is known which is concerned with the *ararrūtu* prebend, Ash. 1930.563b. This document is a lease of shares in the *ararrūtu* and *nuḫatimmūtu* prebends for a period of ten years. Since this is the sole occurrence of the miller's prebend we have no way of knowing whether it was always connected with the baker's prebend or whether it could also occur independently.

Ash. 1930.563b

- 1 - ^mnidintu-^danu aplu šá ^{md}anu-zēra-iddin apli šá ^mkidin-^danu apil ^mḫun-zu-ú ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú
- 2 - iq-bi a-na ^mmušallim-^danu apli šá ^{md}anu-aba-ušur apli šá ^mḫun-zu-ú šá ultu
- 3 - ^{lú}gan-zu-bar-ra ^{meš} šá bīt ilāni ^{meš} šá uruk^{ki} um-ma šal-šú šá u₄-mu
- 4 - ina l-en u₄-mu ina ūm ^{2kam} ūm ^{3kam} u ūm ^{19kam} šal-šú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu

²⁰⁰During the Hellenistic period all sales contracts followed the formula for the sale of movable property, cf. H. PETSCHOW, Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare p. 69.

²⁰¹See above p. 40 n. 135.

- 5 - ina u₄-mu šu'āti ^{meš} isqi-ka ^{lú}nuḫatimmu-ú-tú u ^{lú}ararru(ḪAR)-ú-tú napḫar šá i-tur-ru i-na l kùr
- 6 - l (pānu) 4 sūtu isqa šu'āti ^{meš} ^{lú}nuḫatimmu-ú-tú u ^{lú}ararru-ú-tú šá ina pān^danu an-tu₄
- 7 - ^denlil^dea u ilāni ^{meš} rabūti ^{meš} u ilāni ^{meš} bīti-šú-nu gab-bi šá arḫu-us-su
- 8 - a-di muḫ-ḫi 10 šanāti ^{meš} bi-in-nam-ma ^{lú}ri-si-in-nu-ú-ut-ka lu-pu-u[š]
- 9 - šá baṭ-lu la ašakkan^{an-ka-nu}²⁰² u si-man-nu la ú-še-ti-iq u anamdin-ka
- 10 - šir ararrī ^{meš} u uzu^{ri-qa-a-tú} ù 4 sūtu l qa u 2-TA qātī ^{meš} šá l qa mim-ma šá a-na
- 11 - šal-šú šá u₄-mu isiq ^{lú}nuḫatimmu-ú-tú ina u₄-mu ^{meš} šu'āti ^{meš} ik-kas-ši-du
- 12 - šá arḫu-us-su u šattu-us-su a-di 10 šanāti ^{meš} šu'āti ^{meš}
- 13 - u₄-mu šú(BI)²⁰³ ^mmušallim-^danu aplu šá ^{md}anu-aba-ušur šu'āti ^{meš} iš-me-šu-ma isqa
- 14 - šu'āti ^{meš} šal-šú sa u₄-mu ^{lú}nuḫatimmu-ú-tú u ^{lú}ararru-ú-tú a-di muḫ-ḫi
- 15 - 10 šanāti ^{meš} it-taš-šú pu-ú-ut pa-laḫ ^{lú}ri-si-in-nu
- 16 - la šakān^{an} šá baṭ-a[l] u la šu-tu-ú-qu šá si-man-nu a-di muḫ-ḫi
- 17 - 10 šanāti ^{meš} ^mnidintu-^danu šu'āti ^{meš} a-na ^mmušallim-^danu šu'āti ^{meš}
- 18 - na-áš ul i-šal-laṭ-ṭu-ma ^mmušallim-^danu šu'āti ^{meš} isqa šu'āti ^{meš}
- 19 - ^{lú}ri-si-in-nu-ú-tú a-di muḫ-ḫi 10 šanāti ^{meš} i-šal-līⁱ-ma
- 20 - ul ú-še-ti-iq u a-na ^{lú}man-am šá-nam-ma gab-bi
- 21 - ul i-nam-din u ki-i it-tan-nu ul ušazzazu^{zu} u ú-šá-lam

²⁰²The writing of multiple phonetic complements is noteworthy but not unparalleled during this period, cf. SAR^{ta-ra} BRM II 17,14. The scribe probably viewed GAR-an as an ideogram, cf. line 16, and simply added -ka-nu as the actual phonetic complement.

²⁰³See C.P.T. WINKWORTH, JRAS 1925,688 and note the variant writings: UD.BI - NCBT 1957,10' and u₄-mu šu-ú VDI 1955 VIII 15; TCL XIII 238,8; Ash. 1923.68,12; 74,12.

- 22 - a-na l-en u₄-mu šá ú-še-ti-iq ina qātí^m nidintu-d^danu
š'u'āti^{meš}
- 23 - šá la dīni u lā ḥa-ra-ra 10 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú^m
mušallim-d^danu š'u'āti^{meš}
- 24 - a-na^m nidintu-d^danu š'u'āti^{meš} i-nam-din u ki-i
nidintu-d^danu š'u'āti^{meš}
- 25 - baṭ-al iš-ta-kan u si-man-nu ul-te-ti-iq a-di la-'
26 - 10 šanāti^{meš} i-šal-līⁱ-ma a-na l-en u₄.mu šá baṭ-al
iš-ta-[kan]
- 27 - 10 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú a-na^m mušallim-d^danu š'u'āti^{meš}
i-nam-din u mim-ma
- 28 - šá lú^{lú} rabú lú^{lú} sa rēš āli-' šá bīt ilāni^{meš} u puḥru šá
uruk^{ki} še-bu-u
- 29 - i-mi-ḏu-ú-šú a-na^m nidintu-d^danu š'u'āti^{meš} i-zi-b[i]-il

"Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-zera-idāin, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Ḥunzu, of his own free will spoke to Mušallim-Anu, son of Anu-aba-ušur, descendant of Ḥunzu, who is from the treasury officials of the temples of Uruk, thus:

"One third of a day in one day in days 2, 3 and 19 - one third of a day in these days - your baker's and miller's prebend, the total of what accrues to 40 seah,²⁰⁴ the baker's and the miller's prebend before Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea and the great gods and all the gods of their temples monthly, give me for ten years. Let me be your *resinnu*.²⁰⁵ I shall neither cause an interruption nor miss the proper times. Furthermore, I shall give you the miller's cut²⁰⁶ and the omasums²⁰⁷ and 25 2/3 litres (of barley), whatever belongs to this one third of a day

²⁰⁴The figure refers in all probability to the size of the field providing the prebendary income, being the amount of seed corn necessary to plant the field.

²⁰⁵The *resinnu* would seem to refer to a person taking on a type of lease relationship rather than being a term for a craft. See below.

²⁰⁶The parallel in VDI 1955 VIII 11 šīr ṭābiḥu-ú-tú favours this reading rather than ^{uzu} hašú.

²⁰⁷In OECT I 20,16 ^{uzu} ri-qí-ti is also given as the baker's cut.

the baker's prebend²⁰⁸ monthly and yearly for these ten years." Thereupon Mušallim-Anu heard him (i.e. agreed) and gave him this portion, the one third day in the baker's and miller's prebend for ten years.

Nidintu-Anu guarantees to act faithfully as *resinnu*, not to cause an interruption and not to miss the proper times for this Mušallim-Anu for ten years.

Mušallim-Anu does not have power to dispose of this portion, and before the ten years are over he can not transfer the *resinnu*-ship nor give it to anyone else whomsoever. Should he give it, they shall not stand by it, and he must make restitution. For each day that he causes it to be transferred illegally and without contestation from the hand of Nidintu-Anu Mušallim-Anu must pay ten shekels of pure silver to Nidintu-Anu.

And if Nidintu-Anu causes an interruption or misses the proper times before the ten years are over, for each day's delay that he has caused he must pay ten shekels of pure silver to Mušallim-Anu as well as whatever the noble city prefect of Uruk and the assembly wish to impose on him, viz. Nidintu-Anu, he must bear."

This contract is important not only in that it provides us with the sole evidence for the existence of a miller's prebend but also because it gives us such a clear picture of the workings of the *resinnūtu* system. The mention of the 40 seah field is also of interest since it is one of the few attestations of this type of income for prebends.

āšipūtu

The exorcist's prebend is mentioned in two documents from the Uruk archives, BRM II 16 from year 57 SE and NCBT 1954 from year 95/6. The two documents present several interesting and abnormal features of the prebend system as a study of the former document shows:

²⁰⁸ararrūtu is omitted by the scribe, probably inadvertently.

- 1 - ^{md}anu-aḥa-ittannu^{nu} u ^{md}anu-uballiṭ^{iṭ} māru^{meš} šá
^mni-din-tu₄-^danu aplū^{meš} ^{mé}-kur-za-kir
- 2 - ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu sa-ma-nu-ú ina se-bu-ú
 isqāti^{meš}-šú-nu
- 3 - a-ši-pu-ú-tú pān^d anu an-tu₄ ^dištar ^dna-na-a ^dbēlti
 šá rēš
- 4 - u ilāni^{meš} bīti-{BI}-šú-nu gab-bi šá arhu-us-su
 kal-la šatti
- 5 - gu-uq-qa-ni-e u eššešāni^{meš} u mim-ma ma-la šá a-na
 isqi
- 6 - šu'āti^{meš} ik-kaš-šid isqa šu'āti^{meš} šá ina pāna-am-ma
^mni-din-tu₄-^danu
- 7 - māru šá ^mki-din-^danu apil ^{mé}-kur-za-kir ina qāt
^{md}anu-balāṭ-su-iqbi
- 8 - u ^fana-rabūti-šú mārāt ^{md}anu-aḥa-uter mārāt(sic!)
^{md}anu-zēra-lišir a-na kaspi im-ḥur
- 9 - šá itti bēlē^{meš} zizāti^{meš}-šú-nu kul-lu-ú a-na 10
 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú
- 10 - is-ta-ṭir-an-na šá ^man-ti-'-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú
- 11 - a-na ši-me gam-ru-tu a-na ^mla-ba-ši māri šá ^manu-
 zēra-iddin
- 12 - apil ^{meš} ^{mé}-kur-za-kir a-na u₄-mu ṣa-a-tú it-tan-nu-ú

"Anu-aḥa-ittannu and Anu-uballiṭ, sons of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir of their own free will have sold one eighth in one seventh of their shares in the exorcist's prebend before Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nana and the Mistress of Reš and all the deities of their temples monthly for the whole year, the guqqū and eššešu offerings and whatever appertains to this prebend (which Nidintu-Anu, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir previously bought from Anu-balassu-iqbi and Ana-rabutišū, the daughter of Anu-aḥa-uter, son of Anu-zera-lišir), which they hold with the shareholders, for ten shekels of pure silver in staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Labaši, son of Anu-zera-iddin, descendant of Ekur-zakir in perpetuity."

In the other contract Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Ekur-zakir sells one eighteenth of one seventh of a share in his exorcist's prebend to Maqartu/Anu-aba-ušur/Ḥunzu, the wife of Labaši/Anu-zera-iddin/Ekur-zakir for 17 shekels. Several features of interest are noticable in these contracts. In the first place all the principals were members of the clan of Ekur-zakir, which as we have seen above was one of the three clans from which all exorcists come. Even Maqartu who was a member of this clan only by marriage was originally a member of the Ḥunzu clan, which was also one of these same three clans.

This suggests that the exorcist's prebend, unlike those of the butcher and baker for example, could only be sold among exorcists' families. Maqartu, incidentally, was the wife of the purchaser of the prebend in the first contract, Labaši who was a well-known pluralist.

Another interesting feature is the fact that both shares are given as fractions of one-seventh shares. This of course is quite unusual as a fractional measurement and in this period is confined to these two documents. This suggests that the exorcists' prebends were for some reason divided into sevenths or were seven in number. Although there is no direct evidence for the exorcists being limited to seven in number it is interesting to note the lexical correspondence *āšipu* = *apkallu*, the latter being traditionally seven in number.²⁰⁹

Finally we note that the second document NCBT 1954 provides us with proof for the reading of the ideogram *MAŠ.MAŠ* as *āšipu*. In line 2f. we have *isiq-šú [a-ši]-pu-ú-tú* while in line 6 we find *isiq* ^{1ú}*MAŠ.MAŠ-ú-tú* *šu'āti^{meš}*. This reading is further supported by the ancestral clan list VS XV 1, which has the heading ^{1ú}*a-ši-pu^{meš}* for the seven clans of this profession. To judge from these texts it would seem that the reading **mašmāšu* for *MAŠ.MAŠ* is to be excluded, at least during this period

²⁰⁹See CAD s.v. *apkallu* for the lexical correspondences and note E. REINER, OrNS 30 (1961) 1ff. and J. van DIJK, UVB 18,44ff. for discussions of the seven *apkallu*.

As mentioned above several of the income shares of the temple are better classed as salary allotments rather than as prebends in the normal sense. One of these is the porter's allotment. Although the porter is mentioned not infrequently in rituals and contracts there is but one contract concerning the sale of a porter's allotment.

BRM II 34²¹⁰

- 1 - ^mnidintu-šarri aplu šá ^manu-aḥa-ušabši^ši aplu šá ^manu-aḥa-uter ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú ultu ūm ^lkam adi ūm ⁶kam
- 2 - napḥar 5 u₄-mu ina arḥi ^lú atú-ú-tú šá bīt makkūri šá bīt ilāni^{meš} šá uruk^{ki} ù kurummati^{ḥá} ù
- 3 - mim-ma gab-bi šá ik-kaš-šⁱ-du a-na ^lú atú-ú-tú šu'āti^{meš} ma-la u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš}
- 4 - šá arḥu-us-su šattu-us-su gab-bi a-na 15 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú
- 5 - is-ta-tir-ra-nu šá ^man-ti-'-i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na šimi gamrūti^{meš}
- 6 - a-na ^mdum-qí-^danu apli šá ^marad-^ére-eš apli šá ^mdum-qí-^danu a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú
- 7 - it-ta-din

Nidintu-šarri, son of Anu-aḥa-ušabši, son of Anu-aba-uter has sold of his own free will (his share) from day 1 to day 6 a total of five days in the month, his porter's duties in the storehouse of the temples of Uruk and the rations and whatever appertains to this porter's allotment for all these days monthly and yearly for 15 shekels of pure silver in the staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Dumqi-Anu, son of Arad-Reš, son of Dumqi-Anu in perpetuity."

After the usual guarantee and penalty clauses the document concludes with a unique clause, unfortunately ill-preserved, which refers to some of the duties of the purchaser.

- 16 - [] ṛeppuš^{uš} ^lú atú-ú-tú m[a-l]a u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš}
- 17 - [^mdum-qí-^danu a^l-ga-a u ki-i mim-ma ṛit-ta^l-ša-a

²¹⁰Cf. L.T. DOTY, CAHU, 272ff.

ultu bīt ilāni^{meš}

18 - šá uruk^{ki} ṛa-na muḥ^l-ḥi pa-ni šá u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš}
i-pal-làḥ ^mdum-qí-^danu

19 - a-ga-a a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú

"... this Dumqi-Anu will do the porter's duties for all of these days and nothing will go out of the temples of Uruk.²¹¹ Dumqi-Anu will faithfully perform the service with reference to the pānu²¹² of these days in perpetuity."

While the clause cannot be paralleled exactly, it is quite clearly related to the justification clause in the more conventional ration sales where the seller is said to sell "as much as he is not able to faithfully perform the duties with relationship to the pānu of the rations.²¹³

This quite clearly puts the porter's allotment outside the normal prebendary relationship which does not specify the performance of any duties. This connexion between allotment and duties is further strengthened by the fact that both buyer and seller are known to have been porters.²¹⁴ Neither of these porters was a member of one of the clans of Uruk. This fact further emphasizes the difference between prebends and allotments since the former were sold overwhelmingly though not exclusively among members of the ancestral clans of Uruk. The porter can thus be seen to have been a member of the temple community but one of rather low status entitled to rations but not to prebendary perquisites.

ērib bītūtu

The ērib bītūtu prebend is the most frequently occurring prebend in the Uruk archives. It is also found frequently

²¹¹The phrase is here understood as a negative oath, although a simple conditional clause cannot be ruled out.

²¹²Von Soden AHW 820a sub B6 suggests "früherer Betrag?", but the context would suggest that pānu here was either a type of obligation or perhaps simply a member of an extended compound preposition.

²¹³mala palāḥu ana muḥḥi pāni ša kurummati šu'āti lā mašû - as in BRM II 33,9f.; 56,6f.

²¹⁴See above p. 55.

together with other prebends, most commonly with that of the butcher. The standard *ērib bītūtu* prebend sale formula is the one common to most prebends and need not be repeated here. Instead we present an unusual document combining the sale of two *ērib bītūtu* shares and the combined shares in an *ērib bītūtu* prebend and a *ṭābiḫūtu* prebend.

BM 93004²¹⁵

- 1 - ^frubu-ut-tu₄ mārtu šá ^{md}anu-uballiṭ^{it} apli šá ^mnidintu-
d anu apil ^maḫu-'-ú-tú ina ḫu-ud lib-[bi-šú]
- 2 - ina [mil]-ki šá ^{md}anu-aḫa-ittannu^{nu} mūt-su apli šá
^man-ti-pa-at-ru-su apil ^maḫu-'-ú-tú 3[0 (+x?)]
- 3 - u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ultu ūm 1^{kam} adi ūm 5^{kam} ti-šú-ú
u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ultu ūm 6^{kam} adi ūm [x^{kam}]
- 4 - isiq-šú ^{lú}ērib bītu-ú-tú pān^d anu an-tu₄ ^dpapsukkal
^dištar ^dbēlet ṣēri u ilāni^{meš} bītāti^{meš}-šú-nu gab-bi
- 5 - 12-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ultu ūm 1^{kam} adi ūm
15^{kam} isiq-šú ^{lú}ērib bītu-ú-tú pān^d enlil ^dpapsukkal
- 6 - ^dna-na-a ^dbēlti šá ^érēš ^dšar-ra-ḫi-i-tu₄ u ilāni^{meš}
bītāti^{meš}-šú-nu gab-bi ḫa-an-za u mi-šil
- 7 - ina 18-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ina ūm 23^{kam} u ina
ūm 24^{kam} isiq-šú ^{lú}ērib bītu-ú-tú u ^{lú}ṭābiḫu-ú-tú
- 8 - ina É-GAL-MAḪ bīt ^dgula (ME.ME)²¹⁶ bīti šá É-AN-NA
de-pu-ú pān^d bēlet māti u ilāni^{meš} bīti-šú gab-bi
- 9 - isiq-šú 2 šīri ba-áš-lu u bal-ṭu ina um 1^{kam} u 6 šīri
ba-áš-lu u bal-ṭu ina ūm 10^{kam}
- 10 - ūm 11^{kam} u ina ūm 12^{kam} u l-en šīri ba-áš-lu u bal-ṭu
ina ūm 27^{kam} ultu immeri^{meš} šá ina u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš}
- 11 - ina bīt ^dbēlet māti šu'āti^{meš} šá a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá
^dbēlet māti elú^ú isiq-šú šá qa-a-a-i-tu₄

²¹⁵Published first by J. OPPERT, Documents juridiques, 315ff. A new transliteration can be found in L.T. DOTY, CAHU 412ff. The text has been collated by the present writer.

²¹⁶Read correctly by Oppert, op. cit., while Doty reads ^danu IGI, which does not agree with the parallel BRM II 36,6, cf. A. FALKENSTEIN, ADFU 3,521. The Egalmah is known as the name of a Gula temple in Assur and Isin as well as the one here.

- 12 - šá 6 ^{ninda}tak-ka-su-ú u šá šamni 30 as-ni-e u
rapaštu šá immeri ina ūm 13^{kam} itti šašalli
- 13 - šá pīt bābi šá a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá ^danu u an-tu₄ elú^ú
isiq-šú l-en šīri ba-áš-lu u bal-ṭu
- 14 - ultu immeri šá ina ūm 4^{kam} a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá ^dbēlet
ṣēri elú^ú isiq-šú šá šīri ba-áš-lu
- 15 - u bal-ṭu ultu immeri^{meš} šá ina ūm 13^{kam} a-na ^{giš}paššūri
šá ^dpapsukkal u ^dbēlet ṣēri elú^ú
- 16 - naphar 3 ḫa-an-zi-šú-nu šá šīri^{bá} šu'āti isiq-šú mi-šil
ina ^{uzu}pēmi ultu puḫādi
- 17 - šá ina ūm 3^{kam} šá a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá ^dištar elú^ú isiq-
šú 7-ú ina re-bi-i ina paspasi^{mušen}
- 18 - šá ina eššešāni^{meš} gab-bi šá a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá
^dna-na-a elú^ú u isiq-šú
- 19 - ina mi-šil immeri šá ina eššešāni^{meš} gab-bi šá a-na
^{giš}paššūri šá ṣa-lam šarrāni^{meš} elú^ú
- 20 - isqāti^{meš} šu'āti^{meš} šá arḫu-us-su kal šatti gu-uq-qa-
ni-e eššešāni^[meš]
- 21 - u mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na isqāti^{meš} ik-kaš-ši-du šá
itti ^{lú}aḫḫe^{meš}-šú u bēle^{meš} [zizāti^{meš}-šú]
- 22 - gab-bi a-na l mana kaspu qa-lu-ú is-ta-tir-ra-nu šá
^mdi-miṭ-ri-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na šimi
- 23 - gamrūti^{meš} a-na ^{md}anu-zēra-iddin apli šá ^{ma}anu-uballiṭ^{it}
apli šá ^{md}anu-zēra-iddin apil ^mé-kur-za-kir a-na u₄-mu
ša-a-tú tat-ta-din (... standard clauses unlil line 29)
- 29 - a-na ^{im}taḫ-siṣ-tu₄
- 30 - isqāti^{meš} šu'āti^{meš} šá ^{md}anu-zēra-iddin a-ga-a ultu
pāna-am-ma ina ^{kuš}giṭṭi ina qāti^f rubu-ut-tu₄
- 31 - šu'āti^{meš} im-ḫur-ru

"Rubuttu, daughter of Anu-uballiṭ, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Aḫu'utu, on the advice of Anu-aḫa-ittannu, her husband, son of Antipater, descendant of Aḫu'utu has sold of her own free will - one thirtieth(?) of a day in one day from day 1 to day 5, one ninth of a day in one day from day 6 to (day ...), her share of the *ērib bītūtu* prebend before Anu, Antu, Papsukkal, Ištar, the Mistress of the steppe and all the gods of their temples - one twelfth of a day in one day from day 1 to day 15, her share of the *ērib bītūtu* prebend before Enlil, Papsukkal, Nana, the Mistress of Reš and Šarraḫitu and

all the gods of their temples - one fifth and one half in one eighteenth of a day in one day in days 23 and 24, her share in the *ērib bītūtu* prebend and butcher's prebend in Egalmah, the temple of Gula, the temple which upon the grounds of Eanna, before the Mistress of the land²¹⁷ and all the gods of her temple - her portion of the two cuts of cooked or raw meat in day 1 and six cuts of cooked or raw meat in days 10, 11 and 12 and one cut of cooked or raw meat in day 27 from the sheep²¹⁸ which are brought up to the table of the Mistress of the Land, her portion of the hulled barley²¹⁹ and the six *takkasû* pastries and the oil²²⁰ and 30 Tilmun dates and a leg of mutton in day 13, together with the back portion of the *pīt bābi* festival(?), which goes up to the table of Anu and Antu - her portion of one cut of cooked or raw meat in day 27 from the sheep which come up to the table of the Mistress of the steppe: Total three-fifths of them, i.e. of these cuts of meat - one half in a thigh from a lamb which comes up to the table of Ištar on day 3 - her portion of one seventh in one fourth of the ducks which come up to the table of Nana on every *ešeššu* feast and her portion in one half of a sheep which comes up to the table of the statues of the kings²²¹ on every *ešeššu* feast - these portions monthly for the whole year, the *guqqû* and *ešeššu* offerings and everything which appertains to these portions, which are held with all the brethren and shareholders - for one mina of pure silver in staters of Dimitrius in good condition for the full price to Anu-zera-iddin, son of Anu-uballit, son of Anu-zera-iddin, descendant of Ekur-zakir, in perpetuity

^{217d} *GAŠAN.KUR* here and ^d *GAŠAN.TIN* in the parallel, BRM II 36,6. Both present some difficulties of interpretation but the latter seems to be the better form, cf. the epithet of Gula *GAŠAN-TIN-UG₅-GA*.

²¹⁸ Doty reads *ta-lu-te^{meš}*, but *TA UDU.NITÁ^{meš}* gives better sense, cf.

TA UDU.SILA₄ in line 16.

²¹⁹ So rather than a **šaqqājūtu* prebend. See below.

²²⁰ This is the sole mention of oil from the Hellenistic period outside of ritual texts, and it is tempting to attribute this to an oil monopoly similar to that of Ptolemaic Egypt.

²²¹ For possible evidence of a royal cult cf. also BRM II 36,5; VS XV 16, 7f. and Racc. 38,14.

(line 29ff.) ... for a memorandum (of agreement) for these portions which Anu-zera-iddin purchased previously from Rubuttu by means of a parchment document."

This document is of particular interest in that it shows clearly the differences between the simple temple enterer's prebend, shares of which were expressed in fractions of a day's income and the combined temple enterer's and butcher's prebend, which had specific cuts of meat as perquisites. From this we may perhaps assume that the income from simple prebends was well defined, whereas the income of combined prebends needed a more exact definition.

That the seller in this instance is a woman is not unusual for in a not inconsiderable number of documents concerning prebends we find women as principals.²²² This only emphasizes the fact that the prebend shares which were bought and sold were not directly tied to the performance of the duties of the particular office, for we have no record of a woman playing an active role in temple affairs during this period.

Also noteworthy is the fact that at this particular time there seems to have been two distinct *ērib bītūtu* prebends associated with different sets of gods. What the principle for the division was, whether between different temples or between the various gods of a single temple, is difficult to determine.

In addition to the document just discussed there are four others which mention combined prebends, three where the temple enterer's prebend is combined with the butcher's prebend and one where it is combined with the *gerseqqûtu* prebend. Of the first set two are of particular interest. Both are drawn up at the same time, ca. 99 SE and both mention that the income was derived from the "bow lot" (*qaš/ltu*) of the Adad gate.

TCL XIII 242

2 - *isiq-šú-nu*

3 - *gab-bi šá ina lú^uērib bītū-ú-tú ù lú^utābiḥu-ú-tú ù ina*

šīri ba-áš-lu

4 - *ù šīri ba-al-ṭu gab-bi šá immeri šá pān^d papsukkal*

²²² See below p. 118ff.

5 - ù^d AMA.SIG.NU.UL ù ilāni^{meš} bīti-šú-nu gab-bi
 6 - šá ik-kaš-ši-du a-na l-et qa-al-tu šá ši-iš-šú
 7 - maṭú^ú šá itti^{lú} uruk^{ki}-a-a bēlē^{meš}4 qa-šá-a-tú šá
 abul^d adad

"Their whole share in the temple enterer's and butcher's prebend and in all the cooked or raw cuts of mutton, which is before Papsukkal and Amasignul²²³ and all the deities of their temple, which belongs to one "bow lot" minus one sixth, which is held with the Urukeans who are holders of "bow lots" of the Adad gate."

The interesting feature of these two texts²²⁴ is obviously the "bow lot". During the Persian period the "bow lot" was a fief held under obligation to perform military service, analogous to the *klērouchia* of the Hellenistic period. This meaning is clearly unsatisfactory in the present context, however, where we might expect it to mean something like "lot" or "share" (cf. *bēl isqāti* and *bēl zizāti*). If we consider that *qaštu* was probably a synonym for Greek *klērouchia*, we have only to go one step further and remember that the basi meaning of *kleros*, from which *klērouchia* was derived, was "lot" or "share". Then what we have here may be a slight mistranslation from the Greek, i.e. *qaštu* - *klērouchia* used to translate Greek *klēros*. Thus the actual meaning of "bow lot" in this instance would be "share" rather than "fief".

The following table gives an overview of the prices of the *ērib bītūtu* prebend.²²⁵

²²³The parallel, BRM II 29,4 has ^dama-saq-qa-nu-úl(NU) which is probably a phonetic "Akkadian" rendering of the name since the sign NU does not have the phonetic value ÚL in Sumerian.

²²⁴The second text is BRM II 29, cf. lines 2-9.

²²⁵Transactions involving the *ērib bītūtu* prebend are: NCBT 1959 (yr. 35); BM 30117 (yr. 60); NCBT 1944 (yr. 68); BM 93002 (yr. 68); BRM II 19 (yr. 71); NCBT 1956 (yr. 77); BM 93003 (yr. 78); VS XV 11 (yr. 83); Ash. 1930.576 (yr. 86); BM 30120 (yr. 90); VS XV 26 (ca. yr. 96); BRM II 29 (yr. 96/9); TCL XIII 242 (yr. 99); RIAA 294 (yr. 107); VS XV 7 (ca. yr. 110); NCBT 1941 (yr. 115); TCL XIII 243 (yr. 116); BRM II 55 (yr. 144-150); BRM II 46/MLC 2185+FB 16 No. 22 (yr. 155); BM 93004 (yr. 151-161).

TABLE 1

ērib bītūtu Prices

Document	Amount (1/60 of day)	Price (In shekels)	Price per 1/60
1) NCBT 1959	15	66	4.4
2) BM 30117	24	120	5.0
3) NCBT 1944	5	17	3.4
4) BRM II 19	3	11	3.6
5) NCBT 1956	20	130	6.5
6) BM 93003	10	65	6.5
7) VS XV 11	16	100	6.2
8) Ash. 1930.576	5	62.5	12.5 ²²⁶
9) VS XV 26	3	19	6.3
10) RIAA 294	5	8	1.6
11) VS XV 7	15	55	3.6
12) NCBT 1941	1	5	5.0
13) BRM II 46	30	20	0.6
14) BM 93004	ca. 8(?)	60	7.5 ²²⁷

ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu

This prebend always occurs with a combination of the two offices "enterer into the secret house" and goldsmith. Neither element is found separately. The goldsmith, if he had appeared separately at all, would probably have been subsumed under the prebendary rubric *ērib bītūtu* since this is one of the professions found under the heading ^{lú}*ērib bīti*^{meš} in the ancestral clan list from Uruk.²²⁸ The present combination is probably due, as Doty has convincingly argued, to the fact that the

²²⁶It is possible that the price 1 mina 2 1/2 shekels is a scribal error for 1/2 mina 2 1/2 shekels, which would bring the price into line with the other, but cf. below for price fluctuations.

²²⁷The share included a number of cuts of meat, and this may account for the slightly higher price.

²²⁸See VS XV 1,11f.

goldsmith produced ornaments and garments for the gods, which were probably stored in the *bīt pirištu*.²²⁹ It should be noted that the prebends are not the normal type with income divided into fractions of a day, but like the exorcists' prebends they are divided into simple shares. As in the case of the combined temple enterer's and butcher's prebend the perquisites are always enumerated in detail. The following document may serve as an example of this genre.

Ash. 1923.718/1930.560²³⁰

- 1 - [^mnidintu-^danu māru šá ... aplu šá] ^mni-din-tu₄-^danu
apil
- 2 - [^mhun]-zu-ú ina [hu-ud] 'lib-bi-šú 60-'-[ú]
- 3 - []-'-ú isiq-šú ^{lú}erib bīt pi-ri[š-tu₄-ú-tú]
- 4 - [] ^dna-na-a u ilāni^{meš} bīti-šú-[nu gab-bi]
- 5 - [] ù ri-bu-ú ina 60-'-ú isiq ^l[^{lú}erib]
- 6 - [bīt pi-ri]š-tu₄-ú-tú ù ^{lú}kutimmu-ú-tú šá an-tu₄
- 7 - ^dpapsukkal u ^dbēlet šēri ^dšar-ra-ḫi-i-tu₄ ù ilāni^{meš}
- 8 - bīti-šú-nu gab-bi ina immeri^{meš} šá ḫi-it-pi^{meš} šá
túg lu-bu-šá-a-tú
- 9 - gab-bi u ina šīri ba-áš-lu ù ina šīri bal-tu šá immeri
- 10 - šá ina eššešāni^{meš} a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá ^denlil elú^ú
ina šīr alpi
- 11 - immeri iššūri ù puḫādi ù šá qa-'-i-tu₄ šá ina ūm 17^{kam}
- 12 - šá iti tašriti a-na ^{giš}paššūri šá ^dpapsukkal elú^ú ina
šīri šá alpi immeri
- 13 - iššūri puḫādi ù šá qa-'-i-tu₄ šá ina ūm 8^{kam} šá
iti addari a-na
- 14 - ^{giš}paššūri šá an-tu₄ elú^ú ina kitē^{meš} šá šu-bat^{meš}
šiddi^{meš} [u] šamē^e
- 15 - u ki-i kaspi šá ku-um kitē šu'āti^{meš} in-nam-din
ina []-tu
- 16 - burāši karani u šu-up-pa-a-tu túg hu-za-na-a-tú túg []
- 17 - [túg] šu-up-pa-a-tú šá ^{giš}kussē^{meš} ina bīti mim-ma
gab-bi [šá a-na]

²²⁹ See L.T. DOTY, CAHU 126f.

²³⁰ A composite transliteration is presented here with the line numbering following Ash. 1923.718.

- 18 - [^{lú}er]ib bīt pi-riš-tu₄-ú-tú u ^{lú}kutimmu-ú-tú šu'āti¹
- 19 - [ik-kaš]-šī-du šá itti aḫḫē^{meš}-šú 'ù' bēle^{meš}
zizāti^{meš}-šú gab-bi
- 20 - u itti ^{lú}kutimmī^{meš} a-na 1/3 mana 5 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú
is-ta-t[ir-ra-nu]
- 21 - šá ^man-ti-'-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na šīmi gamrūti^{meš}
- 22 - a-na ^mlābâši māri šá ^mina-qí-bit-^danu apli šá ^{md}ištar-
šuma-ereš apil ^maḫu-'-ú-tú
- 23 - a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú it-ta-din

"(Nidintu-Anu, son of ..., son of) Nidintu-Anu, descendant

of Hunzu has sold of his own free will one sixtieth the prebend of the "enterer of the secret house" (and the goldsmith before) and Nana and the gods of their temples and one fourth of one sixtieth of the "enterer of the secret house" and the goldsmith's prebend of Antu, Papsukkal and the Mistress of the steppe, Šarahitu and all the gods of their temple - in the sheep of the *ḫitpu* offerings²³¹ of all the clothing ceremonies²³² and in the cooked and raw mutton which goes up to the table of Enlil on the *eššešu* feasts - in the beef, mutton, fowl and lamb and in the hulled barley which goes up to the table of Papsukkal on the 17th of Tašrit - from the beef, mutton, fowl, lamb and from the hulled barley which goes up to the table of Antu on the 8th of Addar - in the linens of the cultic stands, the curtains and the baldachins and, if money is given in lieu of this linen, from the the juniper oil, the wine and the strips of carded wool, the sashes, the garments and the strips of carded wool for the thrones of the temples - whatever appertains to these prebends of the "enterer of the secret house" and the goldsmith, which (are held) with all the brethren and shareholders and with the goldsmiths for 25 shekels of pure silver in staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Labaši, son of Ina-qibit-Anu, son of Ištar-šuma-ereš, descendant of Aḫu'utu in perpetuity."

²³¹ See below p. 167. Note the variant writings: *ḫi-ta-pu*^{meš}, Ash.

1923.721,6; *ḫi-ta-pat*^{meš}, Ash. 1923.739,6 and *ḫi-ta-tap*, VS XV 37.3.22.

²³² See below p. 163f.

The income for these prebends comes from a small number of feasts and ceremonies rather than being a daily income as is common for the other prebends. In addition to the feast of Papsukkal on the 17th of Tašrit and that of Antu on the 8th of Addar the only other specifically named feast is that of Ištar on the 8th of each month.²³¹ Income was also derived from the *eššešu* festivals and clothing ceremonies but we are not certain how often these took place.

Originally the income probably accrued to the goldsmith as a consequence of his preparation of the garments and equipment of the gods for these ceremonies, and even in these texts the shares are said to be held together with the goldsmiths. There is, however, no evidence that the prebends were attached to the performance of any duties. None of the principals in these contracts is known to have been a goldsmith. Nor is it likely that they should have been since the goldsmiths known from the contracts of Uruk were not members of any of the ancestral clans, whereas virtually all of the principals in the prebend sales are. Moreover, we find a woman as the seller in one of the contracts.²³² Thus it would seem that in this period prebends were strictly income shares no longer tied to duties of the office.

TABLE 2

ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu Prices

Document	Amount (In 1/60 of share)	Price (In shekels)	Price per 1/60th
1) Ash. 1923.721	2.125	17.5	8
2) Ash. 1923.718/1930.560	2.0	20.0	10
3) Ash. 1923.720	2.0(?)	20.0	10
4) Ash. 1923.740	ca. 15.0	240.0	16
5) Ash. 1923.78	2.0	20.0	10
6) Ash. 1923.734	1.0	6.0	6

²³¹VS XV 37,25.

²³²Ash. 1923.78.

The figures in the preceding table are sometimes only approximate but they are probably accurate enough for our purposes. So far as we can judge there was little variation in the price of this prebend,²³³ which averaged about 10 shekels per 1/60th of a share, thus 10 minas per share. This can be compared to the *ērib bītūtu* prebend, the price of which was ca. 5 shekels per 1/60th of a day, thus ca. 150 minas per share (5x60x30 days). Since the latter represents the income for a full year and the former only a portion thereof, the discrepancy may not be as great as it seems at first glance.

gerseqqūtu

The prebends of the *gerseqqū* priest are standard prebends with income reckoned in fractions of a day. In two cases the *gerseqqūtu* prebend is found combined with other prebends, once with the *ērib bītūtu*²³⁴ and once with the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend.²³⁵ The following contract may serve as an example of this group.²³⁶

BRM II 15

- 1 - ^{md}anu-aba-ušur māru šá ^mrabi-^danu māru šá ^mki-din-
^danu māru šá ^{md}anu-aba-ušur apil ^mlu-uš-tam-mar-^dadad
- 2 - ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú ši-in-ze-ru-ú šá l-en u₄-mu ina
ūm ⁹kam ūm ¹⁰kam ūm ¹¹kam ūm ¹²kam ūm ¹³kam
- 3 - isiq-šú ^{lú}gerseqqū-ú-tú pān ^danu an-tu ^dištar ^dbēlet-
šeri ^dna-na-a ^dbēlet šá rēš u ilāni ^{meš}₄ bīti-šú-nu

²³³Documents involving this prebend are: Ash. 1930.582 (yr. 95); Ash. 1923.721 (yr. 102-119?); Ash. 1923.718/1930.560 (yr. 111); Ash. 1923.739 (yr. 125); Ash. 1923.715/725 (yr. 126+); Ash. 1923.720 (yr. 125-137); Ash. 1923.740 (yr. 125-137); Ash. 1923.78 (yr. 137-142); Ash. 1923.734 (yr. 153); VS XV 37 (yr. 171); Ash. 1930.568 (yr. lost).

²³⁴BM 30120.

²³⁵Ash. 1923.740.

²³⁶Texts concerned with the *gerseqqūtu* prebend are: BM 30118 (yr. 32/42); BRM II 15 (yr. 56); BM 30120 (yr. 90); MLC 2165 (yr. 108); VS XV 18 (yr. 108); MLC 2201/BagM Beiheft 2,132 (yr. 116); VS XV 32 (yr. 119); Ash. 1923.740 (yr. 125-137); FB 16,71 No. 15 (yr. lost).

- 4 - gab-bi šá arḥu-us-su kal šatti gu-<uq-qa-ni-e>
eššešāni^{meš} mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na ši-in-ze-ru-ú
5 - šá u₄-mu ina u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš} isiq^{lú} gerseqqû-ú-tú
šu'āti^{meš} ik-kaš-ši-du šá itti^m la-ba-ši
6 - lú^{ma} hi-ra-nu isqi šu'āti^{meš} māri šá^{md} anu-zēra-iddin
u lú^{bēlē}^{meš} zizāti^{meš} gab-bi a-na 5 šiqil
7 - kaspu is-ta-tir-ra-nu šá^m an-ti-'-i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-
ú-tú a-na šīmi gamrūti^{meš} a-na^m la-ba-ši
8 - māri šá^{md} anu-zēra-iddin apil^m é-kur-za-kir a-na
u₄-mu ša-a-tú it-ta-din

"Anu-aba-ušur, son of Rabi-Anu, son of Kidin-Anu, son of Anu-aba-ušur, descendant of Luštammar-Adad has sold of his own free will one twelfth of one day in day 9, day 10, day 11, day 12, day 13 - his *gerseqqûtu* prebend before Anu, Antu, Ištar, the Mistress of the steppe, Nana, the Mistress of Reš and all the gods of their temples monthly for the whole year, the *guqqû* and *eššešu* offerings and everything which appertains to the twelfth of a day in these days, the *gerseqqûtu* prebend which is (held) with Labaši, the purchaser of this prebend, son of Anu-zera-iddin, and all the shareholders, for five shekels of silver in staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Labaši, son of Anu-zera-iddin, descendant of Ekur-zakir in perpetuity."

TABLE 3

gerseqqûtu Prices

Document	Amount (In 1/60th of day)	Price (In shekels)	Price per 1/60
1) BM 30118	30	20.0	0.66
2) BRM II 15	5	5.0	1.00
3) MLC 2165	20	7.5	0.375
4) VS XV 18	16.66	6.0	0.363
5) MLC 2201	10	5.0	0.50
6) VS XV 32	36.66	20.0	0.56

A glance at Table 3 shows that the prices of the *gerseqqûtu* prebend were relatively low, being approximately one tenth of

those of the *ērib bītūtu* prebends. One is tempted to attribute this to a difference in status between the two offices, but this is difficult to prove.

itinnūtu

The *itinnūtu* is an allotment of the temple builder. That this is an allotment rather than a prebend can be seen by the fact that the principals in the transactions involving the *itinnūtu* are builders. Moreover, these builders are not members of any of the clans of Uruk, which suggests a relatively low status for the builder and consequently his allotment. This is supported by the low prices commanded by these allotment rights, which were divided into simple shares (*zittu*) rather than into fractions of a day's income as was normal in the case of prebends. Sales of this allotment are rather rare. A well preserved one, however, is found in the following tablet:

BRM II 22

- 1 - ^mni-din-tu₄-^danu māru šá^{md} anu-māra-ittannu^{nu} māri
šá^mki-na-apli lú^{lú}itinnu ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú
2 - zitta-šú gab-bi šá ina isiq^{lú}itinnu^{nu}-ú-tú šá ina
É-IRI₁₂-GAL^ére-eš
3 - u bīt a-ki-tu₄ šá^dištar pān^d anu an-tu₄^dištar
^dna-na-a^dbēlti šá re-eš u ilāni^{meš}
4 - bīti-šú-nu gab-bi šá arḥu-us-su kal šatti gu-uq-qa-ni-e
eššešāni^{meš}
5 - u mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na isiq^{lú}itinnu^{nu}-ú-tú šu'āti^{meš}
ik-kaš-ši-du
6 - zitta-šú šá ina giš^{meš}da-lu-ú^{meš} šá ištarāti^{meš} gab-bi
zitta-šú šá ina uzu^{meš}ḥu-ru-up^{meš} šá alpi
7 - u maškī^{meš} zitta šá ina giš^{meš}kinūnī^{meš} šá ištarāti^{meš}
gab-bi
8 - ma-la zitti-šú gab-bi šá itti aḥḥe^{meš}-šú u bēlē^{meš}
zizāti^{meš}-šú šá a-na
9 - lú^{lú}itinnu^{nu}-ú-tú ik-kaš-ši-du a-na 4 šiqil kaspu šá
^mse-lu-ku
10 - bab-ba-nu-ú a-na šīmi gamrūti^{meš} a-na^mri-ḥat-^d<anu>
māri šá^mla-ba-ši

11 - māri šá^{md} anu-māra-iddin lú^{itinni} u^{ni-din-tu}₄-šarri
māri šá^{md} anu-aḥḥē^{meš}-iddin māri šá

12 - ^mba-la-tu a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú it-ta-din

"Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-mara-ittannu, son of Kina-apli, the builder, has sold of his own free will his whole share in the allotment of the builder of the Irigal and Reš temples and the Akitu temple of Ištar in front of Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nana, the Mistress of Reš and all the gods of their temples monthly for the whole year, the *guqqû* and *eššešu* offerings and whatever appertains to this builder's allotment, his share in the pails(?) of all the goddesses, his share in the hip joints of beef and hides, (his) share in the braziers of all the goddesses, as much as his whole share, which is (held) with his brethern and his fellow shareholders, which appertains to the builder's allotment, for four shekels of silver (staters) of Seleucus in good condition for the full price to Riḥat-Anu, son of Labaši, son of Anu-mara-ittannu, the builder and Nidintu-šarri son of Anu-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Balaṭu in perpetuity."

This document shows the obvious difficulty in making fine distinctions between prebend and allotment documents. For this text, while clearly an allotment, has many of the features of a normal prebend text, for example the list of gods in whose presence the allotment was held and the mention of the *guqqû* and *eššešu* offerings as part of the income. It is possible that what we have here is a combination of a normal salary allotment with rations²³⁷ with some form of prebendary rights. If we remember that the builder was sometimes involved in rituals in addition to his other duties we can see how such a situation might have arisen.

In addition to this text there are three others which are concerned with the *itinnūtu* allotment. The first of these is another sales contract, in which Nidintu-šarri, one of the buyers

²³⁷Although this text does not mention rations specifically they probably formed the main part of the allotment income. This we can deduce from the other texts concerned with the builder's allotment where rations are mentioned specifically.

in the first document, purchases a builder's allotment with perquisites much the same as those of the first document.²³⁸ Then we have a division of inheritance contract between Riḥat-Anu and Anu-mara-ittannu, the sons of Labaši, in which the builder's allotment is part of the patrimony to be divided.²³⁹ The Riḥat-Anu in this document is the co-purchaser in the first text. Finally there is a quitclaim issued by Anu-mara-ittannu to three builders for rations and temple property. These builders are said to hold their allotments with Labaši/Riḥat-Anu/Labaši, the nephew of the issuer of the quitclaim.²⁴⁰ The close relationship among the various principals and the fact that they are all explicitly called builders emphasizes the allotment nature of the income, which was obviously connected with the exercise of the office of builder.

*nārūtu

There is no direct evidence for the existence of a singer's prebend (*nārūtu*), but on analogy with Ash. 1930.575 where we find the phrase *ša itti lú^{itinni} kutimmī^{meš}* used as a circumlocution for the *kutimmūtu* prebend, we are perhaps justified in viewing the unnamed prebend in VS XV 19 which is said to be held with the singers (*ša itti lú^{nārī} meš²⁴¹* as evidence for the existence of a *nārūtu* prebend.

This prebend, as far as we can tell from the meagre evidence of the ill-preserved tablet, seems to have consisted of portions of beef²⁴² which came from the Irigal, Reš and Akitu temples. The fact that the purchaser, Anu-aba-ušur/Nidintu-Anu/Hunzu and probably the seller, Labaši/Ina-qibit-Anu/... are members of the clans of Uruk suggests that this is indeed a prebendary office rather than a mere allotment.

²³⁸MLC 2157 (yr. 78).

²³⁹BRM II 24 (yr. 82).

²⁴⁰BRM I 98 (yr. 122).

²⁴¹VS XV 19,7.21.

²⁴²Read perhaps *[S]AG².DU^{meš} šá alpi^{meš}* at the end of line 2. Cf.

Dar. 463,2 where *1-en SAG.DU GU₄ ù 1-en SAG.DU UDU.NITA* are found among the perquisites of the *nārūtu* prebend.

nuḫatimmūtu

The baker's prebend is one of the normal type of prebends, consisting of income derived from the daily offerings and expressed in terms of fractions of a day's income. The baker's prebend is sometimes combined with other prebends, once with the miller's as we have seen above²⁴³ and twice with the brewer's prebend (*sirāšūtu*).²⁴⁴ The following text may serve as a paradigm for this prebend.²⁴⁵

Ash. 1923.738

- 1 - ^mki-din-^danu u ^mba-la-ṭu mārū^{meš} šá ^{md}anu-māra-ittannu^{nu} māri šá ^mni-din-tu₄-^danu aplū^{meš} []
- 2 - ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu šal-šú ina ši-in-ze-ru-ú šá u₄-mu ina ūm 5^{kam} ù
- 3 - ši-iš-šú šá u₄-mu ina ūm 15^{kam} isiq-šú-nu lú nuḫatimmu-ú-tú pān^danu
- 4 - an-tu₄ ^dištar ^dna-na-a ^dbēlti šá é-re-eš u ilāni^{<meš>} bīti-šú-nu gab-bi
- 5 - šá arḫu-us-su kal šatti gu-uq-qa-ni-e u eššešāni^{meš}
- 6 - u mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na šal-šú ina ši-in-ze-ru-ú šá u₄-mu ina ūm 5^{kam} u ši-iš-[šú]
- 7 - šá u₄-mu ina ūm 15^{kam} isiq lú nuḫatimmu-ú-tú šu'āti^{meš} ik-kaš-ši-du šá itti aḫḫē^{meš} -šū-[nu]
- 8 - u bēlē^{meš} zizāti^{meš} -šú-nu gab-bi a-na 1/3 mana kaspu qa-lu-ú is-ta-tir-r[a-nu]
- 9 - šá ^mse-lu-ku bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na šīmi gamrūti^{meš} a-na f^eṭirtu^{tu}₄ mārti šá ^{md}anu-uballiṭ^{iṭ}
- 10 - alti ^mki-din-^danu māri šá ^{md}anu-aḫḫē^{meš} -iddin māri šá ^{md}na-na-a-iddin apil ^mḫun-zu-ú
- 11 - a-na u₄-mu sa-a-tú it-tan-nu-'

²⁴³See above p. 68ff.

²⁴⁴Ash. 1923.723; 1930.572.

²⁴⁵The texts concerned with the *nuḫatimmūtu* prebend are: Ash. 1923.738 (yr. 72); 1930.571 (yr. 73); 1923.70 (yr. 80/90); 1923.723 (yr. 84); 1923.730 (yr. 90-7); VDI 1955 VII (yr. 99); MLC 2177 (yr. 108/9); Ash. 1930.563b (yr. 157); RIAA 297 (yr. 160); Ash. 1930.566 (yr. lost).

"Kidin-Anu and Balaṭu, sons of Anu-mara-ittannu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendants of have sold of their own free will one third in one twelfth of a day in day 5 and one sixth of a day in day 15, their baker's prebend before Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nana, the Mistress of Reš and all the gods of their temples monthly for the whole year - one third in one twelfth of a day in day 5 and one sixth in one day in day 15 - which is (held) with their brethern and all their fellow shareholders for one third mina of pure silver in staters of Seleucus in good condition for the full price to Eṭirtu, daughter of Anu-uballiṭ, wife of Kidin-Anu, son of Anu-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Nana-iddin, descendant of Ḫunzu, in perpetuity."

The baker's prebend shows no peculiar features, and conforms in every way to the standard type of prebend. The following table shows the prices commanded by the baker's prebend.

TABLE 4

nuḫatimmūtu Prices

Document	Amount	Price	Price per 1/60
	(In 1/60th of day)	(In shekels)	
1) Ash. 1923.738	11.66	20	1.66
2) Ash. 1923.70	5.0	7	1.40
3) Ash. 1923.730	10.0	22(?) ²⁴⁶	2.20
4) VDI 1955 VII	10.0	15	1.50
5) MLC 2177	25.0	20/40 ²⁴⁷	0.80/1.60

²⁴⁶The traces of the price in line 9 of the text are [MJA.NA 2 šiqil, and the smallest fraction of the mina, i.e. one third, seems the most likely restoration.

²⁴⁷The traces of the price would fit either one third or two thirds of a mina, but on the basis of the other prices the latter would seem better.

rab bānūtu

The *rab bānūtu* prebend has been discussed recently by Cocquerillat in her discussion of the *kirū hallatu* garden.²⁴⁸ As she notes the *rab bānūtu* and the *kirū hallatu* no longer have any connexion during the Hellenistic period although in earlier periods the *rab bānūtu* was a tenant farmer who cultivated the *kirū hallatu*. During the Hellenistic period the *rab bānūtu* was simply a prebend providing income and not connected with the performance of any duties. The one extant text²⁴⁹ from the Hellenistic period is a document recording the purchase of one day's income in this prebend for eight shekels by the well-known prebendary pluralist Labaši/Anu-zera-iddin/Ekur-zakir.²⁵⁰ The form of the document differs in no way from the standard prebend sale and since it has been fully discussed by Cocquerillat we need not give a transliteration and translation here.²⁵¹ We might point out one or two interesting features of the text, however. In the first place the seller is not a member of one of the clans of Uruk though the buyer of course is. This might suggest a rather low status for the prebend, and this seems to be confirmed by the price which is extremely low in comparison to other prebends. It is also interesting to note that although there is no evidence of a connexion between this prebend and the *kirū hallatu* garden the buyer had in the previous year bought the income rights in a *kirū hallatu*.²⁵² Though the circumstance is suggestive we should not rush to any conclusion on the basis of it since the individual in question, Labaši, was the purchaser of quite a large number of prebends and ration rights of all sorts.

²⁴⁸D. COCQUERILLAT, WO 7 (1973) 111-117.

²⁴⁹BRM II 13 (yr. 49).

²⁵⁰For texts involving Labaši see the list in L.T. DOTY, CAHU 198f.

²⁵¹See D. COCQUERILLAT, op. cit. 114ff.

²⁵²BRM II 12 (yr. 48).

sirāšūtu

The brewer's prebend is one of the most frequently occurring prebends in the Uruk archives.²⁵³ In form it conforms to the normal type of prebend sale formula. The following example is typical.

BRM II 11

- 1 - *mr^danu-aḫa-ittannu¹nu māru šá^mana-rabūti-ka^danu
apil^{md}sīn-leqe-unnīni ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú*
- 2 - *sa-ma-nu-ú ina ūm 14^{kam} mi-šil ina 3-TA qātī ina l-en
u₄-mu ina ūm 27^{kam}*
- 3 - *ūm 28^{kam} ūm 29^{kam} ūm 30^{kam} napḫar mi-šil u₄-mu ina
l-en u₄-mu ina u₄-mu^{meš}*
- 4 - *šu'āti^{meš} isiq-šú lú^{lú}sirāšū-ú-tú pān^danu an-tu₄
d^dištar^dna-na-a^dbēlti šá^drēš*
- 5 - *u ilāni^{meš} bīti-šú-nu gab-bi šá^darḫu-us-su kal šatti
gu-uq-qa-ni-e*
- 6 - *u še-šá-an-na u mim-ma gab-bi šá^da-na mi-šil ina l-en
u₄-mu ina u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš} isqa šu'āti^{meš}*
- 7 - *ik-kaš-ši-du šá^ditti lú^{lú}bēlē^{meš} zizāti^{meš}-šú¹ gab-bi
a-na 1/3 mana 5 šiqil*
- 8 - *kaspu is-ta-tir-ri^{meš} šá^man-ti-'-i-ku-su 'bab-ba¹-
nu-ú-tú a-na šīmi*
- 9 - *gamrūti^{meš} a-na^mla-ba-ši māri šá^{md}anu-zēra-iddin
apil^mé-kur-za-kir a-na u₄-mu ṣa-a-tu₄*
- 10 - *it-ta-din*

"Anu-aḫa-ittannu, son of Ana-rabutika-Anu, descendant of Sin-leqe-unnini, has sold of his own free will one eighth in day 14 (and) one half of three quarters in one day in day 27,

²⁵³Transactions involving the *sirāšūtu* prebend are: Ash. 1923.71 (yr. 32-45); Ash. 1930.577 (yr. 32-45); BRM II 8 (yr. 35); Ash. 1923.73 (yr. 40); BRM II 11 (yr. 47); Ash. 1930.571 (yr. 73); NCBT 1949 (yr. 77); Ash. 1923.743 (yr. 78); NBD Mich. 91/Ash. 1923.65 (yr. 80); Ash. 1923.76 (yr. 84); Ash. 1923.723 (yr. 84); Ash. 1923.726/745 (yr. 93); Ash. 1923.80/747 (yr. 96); TCL XIII 245 (yr. 144); Ash. 1923.66 (yr. 153); Ash. 1930.574 (yr. lost); VS XV 10 (yr. lost).

day 28, day 29, day 30 - a total of one half in one day in these days - his brewer's prebend before Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nana, the Mistress of Reš and all the gods of their temples monthly for the whole year, the *guqqû* and *eššešu* offerings and whatever appertains to this prebend of one half of a day in these days, which is (held) with all his fellow shareholders for one third mina and five shekels of silver in stater of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Labaši, son of Anu-zera-iddin, descendant of Ekur-zakir in perpetuity."

The nature of the income of the brewer's prebend is elucidated somewhat by two texts which contain additional clauses describing the income. In the first the income of the brewer's prebend is said to consist of:

Ash. 1923.726/745

- 2 - [1]5-'-ú šá u₄-mu u š_i-[iš-šú šá 6]0-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu [ina] ūm 20^{kam} ūm 21^{kam} ūm 22^{kam}
- 3 - [šal]-šú ina 30-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-[mu ina ūm 2]7^{kam} ūm 28^{kam} ūm 29^{kam} ūm 30^{kam}
- 4 - [napḫ]ar 1 kūr 2 sūtu 2 1/2 qa ina u₄-[mu^{meš} šu'āti]^{meš} isiq-šú bappiri

"One fifteenth of a day and one (sixth of one) sixtieth of a day in one day in day 20, day 21, day 22 (and one) third in one thirtieth of a day in one day in (day 2)7, day 28, day 29, day 30: total 32 1/2 seah in these days, his portion of the brewing material..."

In the other text the income is described as:

Ash. 1923.66

- 2 - 18-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu u sa-ma-nu-[ú ina]
- 3 - 60-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ultu ūm 1^{kam} adi
• ūm 30^{kam} isiq-[šú]
r¹ú¹
- 4 - [šal]-šú sirāšû-ú-tú napḫar šá i-tur-ru ana l-en u₄-mu ina u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš}
- 5 - [1[?]] kūr 1 sūtu r⁴? qa ù mi-šil re-bu-ú isqi šu'āti^{meš}

"... one eighteenth of a day in one day and one eighth (in) one sixtieth of a day in one day from day 1 to day 30, his brewer's prebend, the total of what accrues to (one) kur,

one seah and four(?) litres and one half of one fourth of this prebend..."

From these extracts it would seem that the income, as we might have imagined, was derived primarily from the activities of the brewer. This is certainly true for the first text where the income is said specifically to consist of "beer bread" (*bappiru*). The second may also refer to this, or again it might refer to the income from a field planted in seed corn, the amount of which is referred to by the measure given in the text.²⁵⁴

TABLE 5

sirāšûtu Prices

Document	Amount	Price	Price per 1/60
	(In 1/60th of day)	(In shekels)	
1) Ash. 1923.71	10	20	2.0
2) Ash. 1930.577	10	20	2.0
3) BRM II 8	10	13	1.3
4) BRM II 11	30	25	0.83
5) Ash. 1923.743	21.75	78	3.24
6) NBD Mich 91/Ash. 1923.65	30	120	4.0
7) Ash. 1923.76	5	20	4.0
8) Ash. 1923.726/745	4.8	28	5.8
) Ash. 1923.80/747	3.3	18	5.7
10) TCL XIII 245	5	50	10.0
11) Ash. 1923.66	3	25	8.3
12) Ash. 1930.574	5	12.5	2.5
13) VS XV 10	2.6	5	1.8

From the table of prices we can see that the brewer's prebend exhibited an extreme range of price fluctuation, the highest being more than tenfold that of the lowest. The average price, however, was between that of the *ērib bītūtu* and the *nuḫatimmūtu*.

²⁵⁴See above p. 70 n. 204.

Finally, to end on a negative note, the *sirāšûtu* referred to in SpTU 128 (yr. 6 Philip), a text which Hunger terms "Kauf einer Tempelpfründe", does not refer to a brewer's prebend but rather to brewing. In the contract in question Ina-qibi-Anu asks for dates, vats and spices in order to do some brewing (*sirāšûtu* ... *lūpuš* line 5f.). Similar contracts, also from early in the Hellenistic period are NCBT 1953²⁵⁵ and FB 16,63 No. 4. All of these contracts are more or less fragmentary, but comparison with the brewing contract BE X 4 leaves no doubt about their nature.

sukkal atûtu

The *sukkal atûtu* allotment, that of the overseer of the porters, is the subject of one text from early in the Hellenistic period:

BRM II 3 (yr. 20).

- 1 - ^{md}anu-aba-ušur u ^{md}anu-balāṭ-su-iqbi mārū^{meš} šá
m^{ri-ḥat}-^dištar apil ^mé-kur-za-kir
- 2 - ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu 1-en u₄-mu ù 2-TA qātí šá
u₄-mu isiq-šú-nu
- 3 - ^{lú}sukkal atû-ú-tú šá bābi šá ^danu ù bāb né-re-bi
u mim-ma
- 4 - šá a-gur-ru šá ana ^{lú}sukkal atû-ú-tú ik-kaš-ši-du
ultu ūm 5^{kam}
- 5 - adi ūm 16^{kam} šá itti ^mšá-^danu-iš-šu-ú u ^mki-din-^danu
mārē^{meš} šá
- 6 - ^{md}anu-aḥa-ušabšiši ^ši ^{md}anu-ik-šur mārī šá ^{md}anu-aḥa-
ittannu^{nu} u bēlē^{meš}
- 7 - zizāti^{meš} -šú-nu gab-bi a-na 8 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú
a-na šīmi
- 8 - gamrūti^{meš} a-na ^{md}na-na-a-iddin u aḥḥē^{meš} -šú
mārē^{meš} šá ^{md}anu-zēra-iddin
- 9 - apil ^mé-kur-za-kir a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú it-tan-nu-

"Anu-aba-ušur and Anu-balassu-iqbi, sons of Riḥat-Ištar, descendant of Ekur-zakir, have sold of their own free will one day and two thirds of a day, their allotment of overseer of

the porters of the Anu gate and the entrance gate and anything of the *agurru* imposts which appertains to the allotment of overseer of the porters from day 5 to day 16, which is (held) with Ša-Anu-iššu and Kidin-Anu, sons of Anu-aḥa-ušabši, Anu-ikšur, son of Anu-aḥa-ittannu and all their fellow shareholders for eight shekels of pure silver for the full price to Nana-iddin and his brothers, sons of Anu-zera-iddin, descendant of Ekur-zakir in perpetuity."

This text can be compared with the sale of the porter's allotment discussed above. Both specify the location of the porter's/overseer's duty station, and the prices of both are much lower than even the lowest temple prebend. The price of the porter's allotment is three shekels per day and that of the overseer is 4.8 shekels per day.

The higher status of the overseer's allotment is shown not only by the higher price it commanded but also by the fact that, whereas the porter received income simply from rations, the overseer's income was derived at least in part from the *agurru* imposts which may have been fees for entry and exit charged at the various gates. We should also note that unlike the porters the principals in the contract involving the overseer's allotment are members of one of the Uruk clans.

šāḥitūtu

The oil presser's prebend corresponds to the normal pattern of prebend sales. The following text is typical of the group.²⁵⁶

VS XV 28

- 1 - ^mdum-qí-^danu mārū šá ^{md}anu-uballiṭ^{iṭ} apil ^{md}na-na-a-
iddin apil ^mḥun-zu-ú
- 2 - ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú 9-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina ūm 19^{kam} ti-šu-ú
- 3 - šá u₄-mu ina ūm 20^{kam} šal-šú šá u₄-mu ina ūm 21^{kam}
šī-iš-šú šá u₄-mu

²⁵⁶Doty (CAHU 134) sets the number of *šāḥitūtu* texts at four. Only three, however, are known to the present writer: Ash. 1923.67 (yr. 43); Ash. 1930.570 (yr. 151-161); VS XV 28 (yr. lost).

²⁵⁵See L.T. DOTY, CAHU 170ff. The text is dated to year 12.

- 4 - ina ūm 22^{kam} napḥar 2-ṬA qāti^{meš} šá u₄-mu ù 18-'-ú
 šá u₄-mu
- 5 - ina 1-en u₄-mu ina u₄-mu^{meš} šu'āti^{meš} isiq-šú
 lú šāḥitu-ú-tú
- 6 - pān^d anu an-tu₄^d papsukkal^d ištār^d na-na-a^d bēlet šēri
- 7 - d^d bēlti šá é rēš^d šar-ra-ḥi-i-tu₄ ù ilāni^{meš}
- 8 - bīti-šú-nu gab-bi šá arḥu-us-su kal šatti gu-uq-qa-ni-e
- 9 - eššešāni^{meš} u mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na isqi šu'āti^{meš}
- 10 - ik-kaš-ši-du šá itti aḥḥē^{meš} -šú ù bēlē^{meš} zizāti^{meš} -šú
- 11 - gab-bi a-na 7 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú is-ta-tir-ra-nu
- 12 - šá^m an-ti-'-i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na šīmi
- 13 - gamrūti^{meš} a-na^f ni-din-tu₄ mārti šá^m ú-bar alti
 m^d anu-uballiṭ^{iṭ}
- 14 - mārī šá^{md} na-na-a-iddin apil^m ḥun-zu-ú a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú
- 15 - it-ta-din

"Dumqi-Anu, son of Anu-uballiṭ, son of Nana-iddin, descendant of Ḥunzu has sold of his own free will one ninth of a day in day 19, one ninth of a day in day 20, one third of a day in day 21, one sixth of a day in day 22 - total two thirds of a day and one eighteenth of a day in one day in these days, his oil presser's prebend before Anu, Antu, Papsukkal, Ištār, Nana, the Mistress of the steppe, the Mistress of Reš, Šar-raḥitu and all the gods of their temples monthly for the whole year, the guqqû and eššešû offerings and everything which appertains to this prebend, which is (held) with his brethern and all his fellow shareholders for seven shekels of pure silver in staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Nidintu, daughter of Ubar, wife of Anu-uballiṭ, son of Nana-iddin, descendant of Ḥunzu in perpetuity."

In the other documents the picture is much the same. In Ash. 1930.570 Sumuttu-Anu/Ana-rabuti-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Kuri sells one half of a day to Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Ḥunzu,²⁵⁷ and in Ash. 1923.67 Nadin/Mušezib-Anu/Kuri sells one day's income to Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Nidintu-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Ḥunzu for ten shekels. The preserved prices are virtually identical, i.e.

²⁵⁷The lines containing the price are lost.

ten shekels for a full day's income and seven shekels for 13/18ths of a day's income. In terms of prebends, however, this is quite a low figure, comparable to the price of the rab bānūtu prebend.

(šaqqājūtu)

The prebend of the "Trauergewandschneider" listed in AHW is non-existent. It is unfortunate that the occurrence in BRM II 36.2.4 was the only one available to the lexicographers since it is the only one which might lend itself to such an interpretation due to the qualifying phrase šá bīt^m nidintu-dⁱ ištār.²⁵⁸ In all cases, however, it is listed among food products presented at the table of a god for a ritual meal. The following sequence is typical.

Ash. 1923.734

- 11 - zitta-šú ina alpe^{ḥa} iṣṣūri^{ḥa} u puḥādi^{ḥa} immeri u
 šá qa-a-a-at^{meš}
- 12 - šá ina ūm 8^{kam} u ūm 10^{kam} šá iti addari^{kam} ù ūm 17^{kam}
 šá iti tašriti
- 13 - šá a-na an-tu₄^d papsukkal u^d bēlet šēri [el]ū^ú

"his share in the beef, fowl and lamb, the mutton and of hulled barley which goes up to the (tables of) Antu, Papsukkal and the Mistress of the steppe on the 8th and 10th of Addar and on the 17th of Tašrit."²⁵⁹

From this and similar passages it is evident that what is referred to here is a food-stuff. The reading ša qajātu and the translation "of hulled barley" proposed by Doty²⁶⁰ seems to fit the context quite well and should be adopted. Thus the entry šaqqājūtu as a designation for a prebend should be stricken from the lexica.

²⁵⁸AHW 1179b, cf. CAD I 201 sub 2c4'b'1'. Note, however, that BM 93004, 11 was already cited by Strassmaier in AV 2017.

²⁵⁹Cf. BM 93004, 11f. p. 77 above and Ash. 1923.718/1930.560, 11ff. p. 82 above. Note also uṭṭatu ... a-na qa-a-a-tu₄ šá bīt^d bēlet sip-par^{ki} Cyr. 80, 9f.

²⁶⁰L.T. DOTY, CAHU 136.

ṭābiḥūtu

The butcher's prebend is a frequently occurring prebend which conforms to the norm for prebend sales in all respects. It is found independently in sales and lease contracts and is also found in combination with other prebends most often with the *ērib bītūtu*.²⁶¹ The following text may be considered paradigmatic of the sales contracts.²⁶²

BRM II 40

- 1 - ^mana-rabūti-^danu aplu šá ^{md}anu-erība aplu šá ^{md}na-na-a-iddin apil ^mkur-i
- 2 - ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú 10-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ina ūm 2^{kam} isiq-šú
- 3 - lúṭābiḥu-ú-tú pān ^danu an-tu₄ ^denlil ^dea ^dsīn ^dšamaš ^dadad
- 4 - ^dmarduk ^dpapsukkal ^dištar ^dbēlet šēri ^dna-na-a ^dbēlti šá rēš
- 5 - ^dšar-ra-a-ḥi-tu₄ u ilāni^{meš} bīti-šú-nu gab-bi isqa šu'āti^{meš}
- 6 - 10-'-ú šá u₄-mu ina l-en u₄-mu ina ūm 2^{kam} šu'āti^{meš} šá arḥu-us-su
- 7 - u šattu-us-su u mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na 10-'-ú šá u₄-mu
- 8 - isqi šu'āti^{meš} lúṭābiḥu-ú-tú gu-^ruq-qa-ni¹-e eššešāni^{meš}
- 9 - ^ru mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na 10-'-ú šá u₄-mu x x ik-kaš-šī-du¹ <šá itti>
- 10 - aḥḥē^{meš}-šú u bēlē^{meš} zizāti^{meš}-šú gab-bi u itti

²⁶¹BRM II 29; TCL XIII 242; MLC 2188; BRM II 55 with *ērib bītūtu* and Ash. 1930.571 with the brewer's and baker's prebends.

²⁶²Texts dealing with the *ṭābiḥūtu* prebend are: VDI 1955 VI (yr. 12); NCBT 1972 (yr. 47); NCBT 1965 (yr. 50); TCL XIII 236 (yr. 50); TCL XIII 237 (yr. 51); NCBT 1935 (yr. 52); NCBT 1951 (yr. 63); TCL XIII 238 (yr. 66); Ash. 1930.571 (yr. 73); Ash. 1923.737 (yr. 80+); Ash. 1923.733 (yr. 95); BRM II 29 (yr. 96/9); Ash. 1923.68 (yr. 97); Ash. 1923.74 (yr. 97); TCL XIII 242 (yr. 99); MLC 2188 (yr. 106); BRM II 55 (yr. 144-50); BRM II 40 (yr. 150); FB 16 No. 2/16 (yr. 155); BRM II 47 (yr. 157); VDI 1955 VIII (yr. 165).

^mana-rabūti-^danu

- 11 - lú^{na}-din-na-an isqa šu'āti^{meš} i-ši u ma-a-du
- 12 - ma-la ba-šū-ú gab-bi a-na 1/3 mana ù 1 šiqil kaspu
- 13 - qa-lu-ú is-ta-tir-ra-an-nu šá ^man-ti-'-i-ku-su
- 14 - bab-ba-nu-ú-tú a-na šīmi gamrūti^{meš} a-na ^mi-dat-^danu apli šá
- 15 - ^mdum-q[í]-^danu apli šá ^mr arad-é-reš lú¹ atī bīt makkūr ^danu
- 16 - a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú it-ta-din

"Ana-rabuti-Anu, son of Anu-eriba, son of Nana-iddin, descendant of Kuri has sold of his own free will one tenth of a day in one day in day 2, his butcher's prebend before Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Papsukkal, Ištar, the Mistress of the steppe, Nana, the Mistress of Reš, Šarraḥitu and all the gods of their temples and whatever to the one tenth of a day, this butcher's prebend of the *guqqú* and the *eššešu* offerings and whatever appertains to one tenth of a day (which is held with) his brethern and with all his fellow shareholders and with Ana-rabuti-Anu, the seller, this prebend be it more or less for one third mina and one shekel of pure silver in staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Idat-Anu, son of Dumqi-Anu, son of Arad-Reš, the porter of the storehouse of Anu in perpetuity."

TABLE 6

ṭābiḥūtu Prices

Document	Amount (In 1/60 of day)	Price (In shekels)	Price per 1/60
1) VDI 1955 VI	60	34	0.56
2) NCBT 1965	5	16	3.2
3) TCL XIII 236	10	36.5	3.65
4) TCL XIII 237	5	24	4.8
5) NCBT 1951	15	53	3.55
6) Ash. 1923.737	7	54	7.725
7) Ash. 1923.733	3.3	28	8.4
8) MLC 2188	10	25	2.5
9) BRM II 55	60	570	9.5

10) BRM II 40	6	21	3.5
11) FB 16 No. 2/16	10	50	5.0

From the table it can be seen that the prices of the butcher's prebend showed quite a bit of fluctuation. The price of the first sale may be left out of consideration since the document is anomalous in other respects as well as in price. The remaining prices, though they fluctuate widely, are on the whole commensurate with those of the *ērib bītūtu* prebend.

kirū hallatu

The prebendary shares in this garden of the goddess Belet-šeri ²⁶³ differ from those of regular prebends only in the fact that the income for the prebend is not derived from perquisites of one of the temple professions, but presumably from the products of this garden. In all other respects, however, it conforms to the usual pattern of prebend sales as the following extract shows.

BRM II 4

- 1 - ^mla-ba-ši māru šá ^mtat-tan-nu apil ^mšamša-a-a ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú ri-bu-ú ina ūm 25^{kam}
 - 2 - ší-in-ze-ru-ú ina ūm 26^{kam} napḥar šal-šú šá u₄-mu isiq-šú šá ina pān^d bēlet šēri
 - 3 - ina ^{giš}kirū ḥal-la-tu₄ šá arḥu-us-su kal šatti gu-uq-qa-ni-e u se-sa-an-nu šá a-na
 - 4 - isqi šu'āti^{meš} ik-kaš-ši-du ma-la zitti-šú šá itti aḥḥē^{meš}-šú u bēlē^{meš} zizāti^{meš}-šú a-na
 - 5 - 1/3 mana 3 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú is-ta-tir-ri^{meš} šá ^ma-lik-sa-an-dar a-na šīmi
 - 6 - gamrūti^{meš} a-na ^{md}anu-zēra-iddin māri šá ^{md}na-na-a-iddin apil ^mē-kur-za-kir a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tu₄ it-ta-din
- "Labaši, son of Tattannu, descendant of Šamšaja,²⁶⁴ has

²⁶³The *kirū hallatu* garden in Uruk and other centres has been studied by D. COCQUERILLAT, WO 7 (1973) 96-134.

²⁶⁴If a clan name, cf. the name ^{md}šamše^{še}-e in the clan list VS XV 1 iii 8. Note, however, the occurrence of Šamšaja as patronymic in BRM II 4,24.

sold of his own free will one quarter in day 25 and one twelfth in day 26 - total one third of a day, his prebend share before the Mistress of the steppe in the *kirū hallatu* monthly for the whole year, the *gugqū* and *eššešu* offerings which appertain to this share, his whole share which is (held) with his brethren and all his fellow shareholders for one third mina and three shekels of pure silver in staters of Alexander for the full price to Anu-zera-iddin, son of Nana-iddin, descendant of Ekur-zakir in perpetuity."

In this and the other texts concerning prebend shares in this garden Belet-šeri is the only deity in whose presence the share was held. The prices of the prebend shares are somewhat low as can be seen from the following table.

TABLE 7

kirū hallatu Prices

<u>Document</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>Price per 1/60</u>
	(In 1/60th of day)	(Shekels)	
1) BRM II 4 (yr. 29)	20	23	1.15
2) VS XV 4 (yr. 36)	14.5	(X+)4	----
3) BRM II 12 (yr. 47)	10	15	1.50
4) WZJ 1970,905ff. (yr. 48)	20	25	1.25
5) TCL XIII 244 (yr. 132)	20	20	1.00

The prices of this prebend seem to have remained quite stable and are comparable to those of the *gersegqūtu* prebend.

resinnūtu

As mentioned above it seems best to separate the profession of *rāsinu* "soaker" from the prebend-related function of *resinnu*. The exact connotations of the latter are far from clear, but we hope to shed some light on the situation in the present discussion. There is no evidence that the *resinnu* had anything to do with "soaking" or with any other "craft" for that matter. The word occurs only in connexion with a certain type of prebend lease.

Furthermore, this lease is always termed a *resinnūtu* agreement, and in it the lessee is always said to act as *resinnu* during the period of the lease.

From the context, then, the *resinnūtu* would seem to designate the relationship of the lessee to the lessor, with the concomitant obligations of the former to the latter. There is, however, something more than a mere lease relationship involved since this type of lease is not found with every professional prebend.

Of the four most frequently occurring prebends, those of the baker, brewer, butcher and *ērib bītūtu*, only the last does not occur in this type of lease. If this is to be interpreted as more than simple chance, then we must attribute it to the differences between the various types of prebends. This difference between those occupations in the temples which were called *ērib bīti* and those which were not can be seen in the ancestral clan list of VS XV 1 where the brewer, baker and presumably the butcher are classed aside from the occupations which make up the *ērib bīti*^{meš}.

How then did this difference come to be reflected in this particular form of lease arrangement? The answer is not readily apparent nor do the provisions of the leases provide us with much information on this point. Let us examine these leases, however, to see what information they give us concerning the nature of this lease obligation.

With one exception these documents are all phrased as *Zwiesgesprächsurkunden* in which the prospective lessee asks that a certain prebend be leased to him for a certain period of years, and the lessor grants his request. The form is well known and need not be recapitulated here.²⁶⁵ Instead we shall examine the various clauses of the contract to see what light they throw upon the situation.

They begin with the names of the two parties and a description of the prebend in question, which does not differ at all from the descriptions in normal sales contracts. Thereupon follow the request of the lessee and his promises concerning

²⁶⁵See O. KRÜCKMANN, BRVU 66f.

what he will give in return for the lease of the prebend. For these the following extract may serve as an example.

VDI 1955 VIII

- 8 - a-di muḥ-ḥi 20-TA šanāti^{meš} bi-in-nam-ma^{lú} re-si-in-nu-ú-ut-ka lu-pu-uš
- 9 - šá baṭ-al la a-šak-kan u si-man la u-še-ti-iq ù anamdin-ka mim-ma šá i-nam-din^{meš}
- 10 - lú re-si-in-ni-e^{meš} a-na bēlē^{meš} isqāti^{meš} u anamdin-ka a-na eššešāni^{meš}
- 11 - gab-bi šá šatti ultu^{iti} nisāni a-di^{iti} tašriti 2-TA šīr ṭābiḥu-ú-tú 2^{uzu} qaqqadi
- 12 - 4^{uzu} kur-sin-ni u 4^{uzu} bi-ta-qa šá e-si-iḥ-tú 10 šīr alpi^{ḥa r'ù}
- 13 - mim-ma šá ik-kaš-ši-du u ultu^{iti} tašriti adi^{iti} nisāni ba-lu-uš-šú u anamdin-ka l-en maška
- 14 - ina^{iti} simāni u l-en maška ina^{iti} kislimi u mim-ma šá ik-kaš-ši-du-ka ina ṣi-di-tu₄ ilāni^{meš} šattu-us-su

"Give me (the prebend) for twenty years. I would act as your *resinnu*. I shall not allow interruption nor neglect the proper times, and I shall give you whatever the *resinnu*'s give to prebend holders. Moreover, on all the *eššešu* feasts of the year from Nisan to Tašrit (I shall give you) two butcher's cuts,²⁶⁶ two heads, four knuckles and four assigned cuts,²⁶⁷ ten (cuts of) beef and whatever appertains thereto. (Likewise) for the period from Tašrit to Nisan, not including the latter. And I shall give you one hide in Siman and one hide in Kislim as well as whatever appertains to you from the provisions of the gods."

The essentials of the contract then, are the following:

1 - The lessee receives the rights to the prebend for a specified period. With it comes the normal income of the prebend in question.

2 - He states that he wishes to act as *resinnu* for the

²⁶⁶According to OECT I Pl. 21,45 the normal portion of the butcher was the kidneys.

²⁶⁷See L.T. DOTY, CAHU 283.

prebend holder.

3 - He promises not to allow interruptions or to allow the proper times to pass by.

4 - He promises to give the lessor a fixed fee and in addition a number of cuts of meat, etc. Considering the first point, the only fact to be noted is that the period of the lease varies from three years²⁶⁸ to as many as twenty years, as in the example immediately above. The phrase *resinnūtkā lūpuš* "I would act as your *resinnu*", "I would take on a *resinnūtu* obligation for you" or the like, would seem to refer both to the position of the lessee vis-a-vis the lessor and to the duties the former undertakes. These duties or obligations are given in the third section, viz. not to allow interruption or to allow the proper times to pass by. Unfortunately it is not clear in what context these are to be understood. On the one hand they may refer to the financial obligations of the lessee, that is he promises not to interrupt or delay the regular payments to the lessor. On the other hand however, these may refer to certain unspecified duties, possibly in the temple, to be performed by the lessee on behalf of the lessor. In view of the fact that this phrase precedes the promise of payment the former interpretation would seem the less likely.

What these hypothetical duties might have been remains in the realm of speculation. We have argued that there were no professional duties attached to prebends, but in this case the duties need not have been professional but rather purely ceremonial. In other words the prebend holder would not have been expected to act as a butcher, baker or whatever, but his presence might have been required at certain temple affairs simply by virtue of his position as a prebend holder.

Why there should have been a difference in this respect between holders of the butcher's, baker's and brewer's prebends on the one hand and holders of the *ērib bītūtu* prebends on the other hand - if indeed there was one - remains unclear.

The income which the lessor obtained from the lease of his

²⁶⁸Ash. 1923.73.

prebend rights was either left unspecified, or as in the text above expressed in general terms, such as "that which a *resinnu* gives to a prebend holder". Variations of this phrase can be found but none is more illuminating.

These generally phrased statements of the income accruing to the lessor, which are sometimes even omitted, show that such income was so well known as to require no special clarification much in the same manner that normal prebend income is seldom specified. What percentage of the income of the prebend this amounted to we have no idea, but it was obviously enough to satisfy the lessor while still providing a profit for the lessee.

The additional emoluments provided by the lessee varied greatly, though they consisted generally of cuts of meat from the offerings of certain feasts.

The guarantees given by the lessor and lessee also follow a fixed pattern, which can be best seen in the guarantees in the lease of the miller's and baker's prebends discussed above.²⁶⁹ The elements are:

1 - The guarantee of the lessee not to cause interruption or to miss the proper times.

2 - The renunciation of the rights of the lessor for the period of the lease.

3 - Statement of invalidity of any transfer by the lessor to another person during the period of the lease.

4 - Penalty to be borne by the lessor should he transfer the lease.

5 - Penalty to be borne by the lessee for causing interruption or missing the proper periods.

6 - Penalty to be borne by the lessee should he not return the prebend to the lessor at the end of the period of the lease.

There is considerable variation among the contracts as to how many of these clauses are included in the contract. The text just mentioned, for example, contains the first five of these while the final penalty clause is found only in one contract

²⁶⁹Ash. 1930.563b. See above p. 68ff.

in the following form.

VDI 1955 VIII

23 - u ki-i^m nidintu-d^danu šu'āti^{meš} a-na na-da-an šá isqi
šu'āti^{meš}

24 - baṭ-al iš-ta-kan ú-šá-lam i-nam-din a-na^d i-dat-
d^danu šu'āti^{meš}

25 - ina arḫi-šú l šiqil kaspu

"And if Nidintu-Anu (the lessee) causes a delay in giving back the prebend he shall make restitution and give this Idat-Anu (the lessor) one shekel of silver per month."

Finally we should mention an unusual text concerning an arrangement between two brothers concerning the *resinnūtu* of the prebends of their father. The text reads:

Ash. 1930.571²⁷⁰

1 - iti simānu ūm [25^{kam} šattu 7]3^{kam} m^mse-lu-ku šarru

2 - šá in-ni-ri-bi^{md} anu-balāṭ-su-iqbi māru šá^m ni-din-
tu^d4^danu

3 - māru šá^{md} na-na-a-iddin apil^m ḫun-zu-ú a-na^{md} anu-
uballiṭ^{iṭ}

4 - aḫi-šú māri šá^m ni-din-tu^d4^danu a-na muḫ-ḫi mi-šil
ma-la

5 - zitti-šú ina isiq^{lú} sirāšú-ú-tú^{lú} ṭābiḫu-[ú-tú]

6 - [ú]^{lú} nuḫatimmu-ú-tú šá a-na^m ni-din-tu^d4^danu abi-šú

7 - [ik]-kaš-ši-du šá i-ri-si-in i-pal-làḫ-ḫa

8 - [a]-di maḫ²⁷¹ 10-TA šanāti^{meš} pu-ut pa-làḫ-ḫa

9 - [r]e-se-en u la ša-ka-nu šá bal-ṭu²⁷²

10 - a-di 10-TA šanāti^{meš} a-na^{md} anu-uballiṭ^{iṭ} aḫi-šú

11 - na-ši ina isiq^{lú} nuḫatimmu-ú-tú šu'āti^{meš}

12 - ultu bi-ri-šú-nu i-pal-làḫ^{meš}

"25 Siman, year 73 Seleucus, king. That Anu-balassu-iqbi, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Nana-iddin, descendant of ḫunzu,

²⁷⁰Edited by Doty in CAHU 234ff. under the number Ash. 1930.572. The tablets in this collection have been baked between the time Doty studied them and the present writer copied, which may explain the discrepancy in the numbers.

²⁷¹For *adi muḫḫi*.

²⁷²Metathesis for *baṭlu*.

entered into an agreement(?)²⁷³ with Anu-uballiṭ, son of Nidintu-Anu, his brother concerning one half (his full share) in the brewer's, butcher's and baker's prebends which appertain to Nidintu-Anu, his father, for which he is faithfully acting as *resinnu* for ten years. He bears responsibility to his brother, Anu-uballiṭ for acting faithfully as *resinnu* and not causing an interruption for ten years. But in this baker's prebend they are to exercise the (*resinnūtu*) jointly."

Although the background to this agreement is not specifically given it would seem that the two brothers were acting jointly as *resinnu* for the prebends of their father, and that in this agreement Anu-balassu-iqbi agrees to take over his brother's responsibility for two of the prebends while the third continues to be jointly administered.

In summary then, the *resinnūtu* is a type of lease in which the lessee agrees to take over certain unspecified duties for the lessor. These duties may have been concerned with some type of attendance in the temple. In addition he agrees to pay the lessor a fixed income and to give him additional presents. The advantages to the lessor were that he was thereby not obliged to perform these services himself and that he was assured of a steady income. For the lessee the advantages were strictly financial. In return for his service he was entitled to the income of the prebend in question less the fee which he had agreed to pay the lessor.

CONCLUSION

The prebend system of Uruk during the Hellenistic period was a rich and varied system for the distribution of surplus income from the temples. The system included both salary allotments, which were tied to the performance of the office with which they were associated, and actual prebends which had no professional duties attached to them, though as we have argued

²⁷³From *erēbu*(?) although no N Stem is attested for that verb. For the form of the contract cf. VS XV 35, which begins *šá ú-bi-'-ú PN* after the date.

in the *resinnūtu* section there may have been some form of ceremonial duties incumbent on prebendaries in general. The amount of income which must have been attached to these prebends can be seen in the following table, where the difference between the salary allotments, which must have been worth at least enough to support the holder, are clearly contrasted to the common prebends.

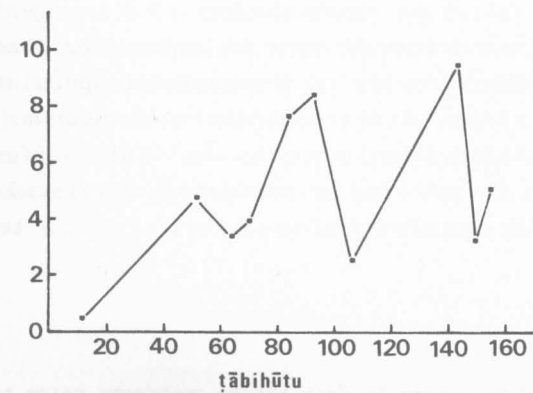
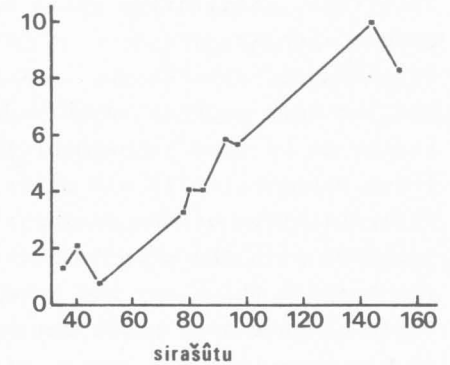
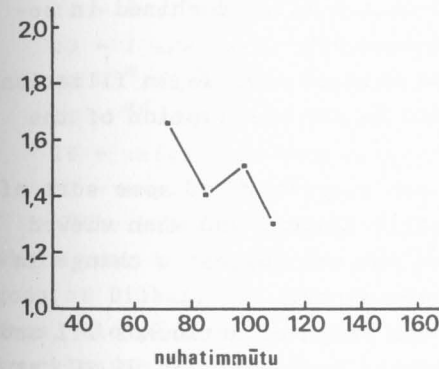
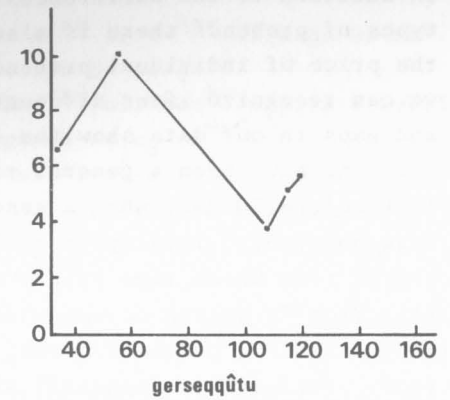
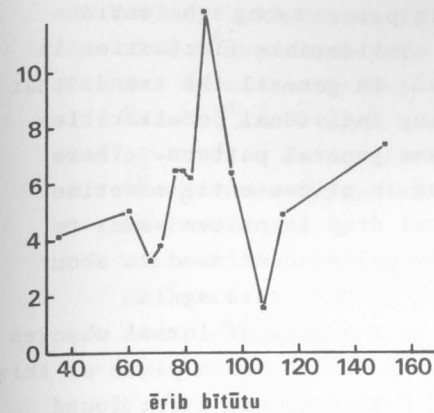
TABLE 8

Prebend and Allotment Prices

Prebend/Allotment	Price per day (shekels)
<i>atūtu</i>	3
<i>sukkal atūtu</i>	5
<i>rab bānūtu</i>	8
<i>ṣāḥitūtu</i>	10
<i>gerseqqūtu</i>	35
<i>kirū ḥallatu</i>	72
<i>nuḥatimmūtu</i>	100
<i>ṣirāšūtu</i>	237
<i>ṭābihūtu</i>	300
<i>ērib bītūtu</i>	312

If we assume that the first of these, the porter's allotment, reflects the average wage of a temple workman and the second that of an overseer, then the amount of income attached to the higher prebendary offices, such as those of the butcher and the *ērib bītūtu*, was quite considerable.²⁷⁴ A modern analogy which comes to mind is that of shares in a limited company, and to judge by these documents the temples of Uruk were indeed thriving concerns!

²⁷⁴By way of comparison note that OB brewers' prebends fetched per year (200-400 shekels) what they brought per day in Seleucid Uruk, cf. D. COCQUERILLAT, RIDA 1955,88. NB prebend prices are comparable to OB prices, i.e. ca. 1 mina per day, e.g. VS V 28 and 83.



Prebend Price Fluctuations

In addition to the differences in price among the various types of prebends there is also considerable fluctuation in the price of individual prebends. In general the trends that we can recognize after discounting individual peculiarities and gaps in our data show the same general pattern. There seems to have been a general rise in prices until sometime just before 100 SE, when a general drop in prices seems to have occurred. This spate of low prices continued to about 110 SE from which time prices are seen to rise again.

This drop in prices corresponds to a series of formal changes in the wording of the contracts which also takes place at this time. For example Papsukkal and Šarrahitu are first found in the list of gods in whose presence the prebend was held at this time. Similarly, Enlil and Ea are first combined in sequence with Anu and Antu at this time.²⁷⁵

Furthermore, *aplu ša* replaces the earlier *māru ša* in filiations and the term *qalū* is re-introduced in the description of the silver to be used in payment.²⁷⁶

These changes, while all minor, are suggestive of some sort of reorganization of the administrative system, and when viewed together with the drop in prebend prices, suggest a change in the temples which may not have been minor.

These changes take place during the reign of Antiochos III and we may note that the battle of Raphia took place in 95 SE, at which Antiochos suffered a severe defeat. While it might be tempting to attribute these changes to a reorganization subsequent to this defeat it must be emphasized that such a suggestion remains strictly in the realm of speculation.

The prebend system of the Hellenistic period was somewhat different from that of earlier periods. This difference may perhaps best be illustrated by presenting a typical prebend contract from the Persian period.

²⁷⁵Enlil and Ea appear in *ērib bītūtu* contracts prior to this time but always separate from Anu and Antu.

²⁷⁶Cf. J. OELSNER, Diss. II Anm. 511 and 513.

VS V 83 (yr. 17 Darius I)

- 1 - isiq^{lū} nuḥatimmu-ú-tu ūm 8^{kam} ūm 16^{kam} šá arḥu-us-su
- 2 - kal šatti ina É-im-bí-d^a-num pa-pa-ḥa
- 3 - d^auraš^{r^d} nin-é-gal¹ u ilāni^{meš} dil-bat^{ki} utṭata ù kunaša
- 4 - gi-nu-ú [u gu-uq-q]u-ú pa-na-at u⁴-mu^{meš}
- 5 - lū¹ nuḥatimmu-ú-[tu kur²-si²-i]n²-ni-e u ri-qí-tu⁴
- 6 - šá immeri x [] x maš-šak-tu⁴ šá alpi u immeri
- 7 - zitta-šú šá x [] x-ta-nu ki-i l-en^{lū} nuḥatimmi
šá^d uraš
- 8 - it-ti [m^duraš-ušallim apilil šá^{md} bēl-ibni apil^m re-ši-ia
- 9 - ki-i [l 5/6 mana kaspu pešú^ú] šⁱ-bir-tu⁴ mⁱddin-d^{nabū}
- 10 - ù [m^{ku-šur-ra mārī}]meš šá^m a-qa-bi-ia maḥira
- 11 - im-bi-[e-ma i-šim-mu]-ú a-na šīmi-šú gam-ru-tu
- 12 - ù [l[?] šiqil kaspu a]t-ri id-di-su naḥḥar-ma
- 13 - l 5/6 ma[na kaspu pešú^ú] šⁱ-bir-tu⁴ ina qātí
- 14 - mⁱddin-r^d nabū¹ [u m^{ku-šur-ra}] mārī^{meš} šá^m a-qa-bi-ia
- 15 - m^duraš-ušallim apil-šú šá^{md} bēl-ibni apil^m re-ši-ia šīm
- 16 - isiq-šú ka-sap ga-mir-tu⁴ ma-ḥi-ir
- 17 - a-pil

"The baker's prebend of day 8 and day 16 monthly for the whole year in Eimbi-Anu, the shrine of Uraš, Ninegal and the gods of Dilbat, the barley and spelt, the *ginū* and *gugqū* offerings, the *pānātu*²⁷⁷ of the days of the baker's prebend, the knuckles(?) and omasum of a sheep ... the *maššaktu* payment of cattle and sheep, this share as one baker of Uraš. Iddin-Nabu and Kušurra, sons of Aqabia set the purchase price with Uraš-ušallim, son of Bel-ibni, descendant of Rešia at mina of white silver in bars and bought it for its full price and gave him one(?) shekel of silver as an extra payment, total one and five sixths mina of white silver in bars Uraš-ušallim, son of Bel-ibni, descendant of Rešia received from Iddin-Nabu and Kušurra, sons of Aqabia - the whole price of his prebend - and he is paid."

²⁷⁷The *pānātu* seems to be a term for a type of income connected with prebends. Cf. *pānāt isqi* BV 91,12 and C. GORDON SCT 90,9 and AHw 818b.

The most noticeable difference between the prebend sales of the Hellenistic period and those of earlier periods is the form of the contract. This, however, is somewhat misleading since both conform to the sales formula for real property during their respective periods. It is this formula which changes not the status of the prebend as property.

More substantial changes can be seen in the description of the prebend. In this contract from the Persian period the sources of income are enumerated in full, whereas in the contracts from the Hellenistic period we usually find a general non-specific formula used to describe the source of income. Moreover, several sources of income mentioned in this contract such as the *ginû* and *maššaktu* are not found during the Hellenistic period as sources of prebend income.

The phrase *kî istēn nuḫatimmi ša^d uraš* used to describe the prebend indicates a much closer connexion between prebend and office than is usual during the Hellenistic period, and it would seem that prebends during the earlier periods approximated much more closely to what we have termed salary allotments during the Hellenistic period than to Hellenistic prebends. This change in status is also evident in the difference in the prices between prebends in the Hellenistic and earlier periods.

It would seem then, that during the Hellenistic period the prebend system underwent considerable modification. The normal prebend seems no longer to have been tied to the performance of any duties in the temple but rather to have functioned almost exclusively as a source of income. We note, for example that very few of the prebendary professions at Uruk can be found to have had individuals actually active in performing their functions.²⁷⁸ Thus we find no butchers, bakers or brewers mentioned in the texts from Uruk although their prebends are among the most frequently occurring in the archives.

²⁷⁸The exceptions are the *āšipu* and *kutimmu*, which are non-standard prebends and the *šāḫitu*, whose prebend was of low status, perhaps better termed an allotment. There is also one attestation of an *ērib bīti* but early in the period during the reign of Philip.

This was certainly no accident and is undoubtedly connected with the organization of the prebend system at that time, even though the reason is not entirely clear. Perhaps it was simply to emphasize the independence of the prebends from their original occupational ties.

The functions of the baker, etc. were undoubtedly still carried out in the temples despite the fact that the titles had fallen into abeyance, and in this regard it is tempting to view the unclear professional titles from Uruk, such as *gardūja*, *gaḏāja* and the like, as designations of those who carried out the functions associated with these occupations. There is, however, no concrete evidence that this was actually the case. Pluralists, that is individuals who held more than one prebend, were quite common in the prebendary system of Uruk. Since there were no professional duties incumbent upon the prebend holder there was no reason why this should not be so. The following is a list of the known holders of more than one prebendary office.²⁷⁹

- 1) Anu-aba-ušur/Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Nidintu/Anu-aḫa-ittannu/Hunzu
a - sells butcher's prebend (Ash. 1923.737 yr. 80+).
b - sells *ērib bītūtu* prebend (ash. 1930.576 yr. 86).
- 2) Anu-mara-ittannu/Anu-ušallim/Kidin-Anu/Luštammār-Adad
a - lets butcher's prebend (Ash. 1923.68 yr. 97).
b - sells *ērib bītūtu* prebend (RIAA 294 yr. 107).
- 3) Anu-šumu-lišir/Rabi-Anu/Dumqi-Anu/Hunzu
a - guarantees brewer's prebend (Ash. 1923.80/724 yr.96)
b - buys(?) *gerseqqūtu* prebend (FB 16 No. 15 yr. lost).
- 4) Anu-uballiṭ/Anu-zera-iddin/Labaši/Ekur-zakir
a - buys baker's prebend (VDI 1955 VII yr. 99).
b - sells *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend (Ash. 1923.739 yr. 125).
- 5) Anu-zera-iddin/Anu-uballiṭ/Anu-zera-iddin/Ekur-zakir
a - buys share in *kirū ḫallatu* (TCL XIII 244 yr. 132).
b - buys *ērib bītūtu* and *gerseqqūtu* (BM 93004 yr. lost).

²⁷⁹Combined prebends such as the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* do not by themselves constitute evidence for pluralism.

- 6) ^fBelessunu/Anu-aba-ušur/Nidintu-Anu/Hunzu
 a - buys *ērib bītūtu* (NCBT 1941 yr. 105/115).
 b - buys *ērib bītūtu* (RIAA 293 yr. 107).
 c - buys butcher's prebend (MLC 2188 yr. 106).
- 7) Dumqi-Anu/(Anu-uballiṭ)/Nana-iddin/Hunzu
 a - sells butcher's, baker's and brewer's prebends (Ash. 1923.723 yr. 84).
 b - sells oil presser's prebend (VS XV 28 yr. lost).
- 8) Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Reš/Dumqi-Anu
 a - buys porter's allotment (BRM II 34 yr. 124).
 b - lets butcher's prebend (BRM II 47 yr. 157).
- 9) Illut-Anu/Ana-rabuti-Anu/Nana-iddin/Hunzu
 a - buys baker's, butcher's and brewer's prebends (Ash. 1923.723 yr. 84).
- 10) Ina-qibit-Anu/Anu-uballiṭ/Labaši/Kuri
 a - buys butcher's and *ērib bītūtu* prebends (BRM II 29 yr. 96/9).
 b - buys *gerseqqūtu* prebend (MLC 2165 yr. 108).
- 11) Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/Nana-iddin/Hunzu
 a - buys brewer's prebend (Ash. 1923.743 yr. 78).
 b - " " " (Ash. 1923.65/NBDMich 91 yr.80)
 c - " " " (Ash. 1923.76 yr. 84).
 d - " " " (Ash. 1923.80/747 yr. 96).
 e - buys butcher's prebend (Ash. 1923.737 yr. 80+).
 f - " " " (Ash. 1923.733 yr. 95).
 g - buys baker's prebend (Ash. 1923.723 yr. 84).
 h - " " " (Ash. 1923.70 yr. lost).
 i - " " " (Ash. 1923.730 yr. lost).
 j - buys *ērib bītūtu* prebend (Ash. 1930.576 yr. 86).
- 12) Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Hunzu
 a - buys *šāḥitūtu* prebend (Ash. 1930.570 yr. 151-61).
 b - buys brewer's prebend (Ash. 1923.66 yr. 153).
- 13) Labaši/Anu-zera-iddin/Ekur-zakir
 a - buys brewer's prebend (BRM II 11 yr. 46).
 b - " " " (NCBT 1949 yr. 77).
 c - buys butcher's prebend (NCBT 1972 yr. 47).
 d - " " " (NCBT 1965 yr. 50).
 e - " " " (NCBT 1951 yr. 63).
 f - " " " (NCBT 1948 yr. 68).

- g - buys *ērib bītūtu* prebend (BM 93002 yr. 68).
 h - " " " " (BRM II 19 yr. 71).
 i - " " " " (NCBT 1956 yr. 77).
 j - buys *gerseqqūtu* prebend (BM 30118 ca. yr. 45).
 k - " " " " (BRM II 15 yr. 56).
 l - buys *āšipūtu* prebend (BRM II 16 yr. 57).
 m - buys *rab bānūtu* prebend (BRM II 13 yr. 49).
 n - buys share in *kirū ḥallātu* (BRM II 12 yr. 48).
- 14) Labaši/Ina-qibit-Anu/Ištar-šuma-ereš/Aḥu'utu
 a - buys *gerseqqūtu* prebend (MLC 2165 yr. 108).
 b - " " " (VS XV 18 yr. 108).
 c - buys *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend (Ash. 1923.718/1930.560 yr. 111).
- 15) Nidintu-Anu/Nana-iddin/Hunzu
 a - owns baker's, butcher's and brewer's prebends (Ash. 1930.571 yr. 73).
- 16) ^fRubuttu/Anu-uballiṭ/Nidintu-Anu/Aḥu'utu
 a - sells *ērib bītūtu* and *gerseqqūtu* prebends (BM 93004 yr. 151-161).
- 17) Ubar/Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/Hunzu
 a - buys brewer's, baker's and butcher's prebends (Ash. 1923.723 yr. 84).

From the preceding list it is obvious on the one hand that pluralism was wide-spread among the prebend holders and on the other hand that the holdings of these pluralists were acquired for financial reasons only. The latter point is clear from the fact that there is no evident pattern to the holdings. So it would seem that any of the various prebends could be and were held simultaneously by one person without regard to the nature of the office.

Another interesting feature of the prebend system of Hellenistic Uruk is the fact that women appear so often as principals in these contracts. This continues the practice of the Late Babylonian period when women were also involved in sales of prebend rights. During that period, however, women occur in most texts as co-principal beside either husband or son.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰E.g. VS IV 69 and VS V 28.

This probably to be attributed to the nature of property relationships during that period. Then a woman could own property, which she got either by inheritance or dowry, but this property was generally administered for her by her husband or upon his death by her son.

During the Hellenistic period, on the other hand, there is no trace of such a practice, for women quite often appear in contracts acting independently. The following list shows that a considerable number of women were involved in the prebend system at Uruk.

- 1) Amat-Banitu
a - sells *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend (Ash. 1923.78 yr. 136-142).
- 2) Ana-rabutišu/Mukin-apli - wife of Ana-rabutika-Anu/
Anu-aḥa-ušabši
a - buys *ērib bītūtu* prebend (VS XV 11 yr. 83).
- 3) Ana-rabutišu/Anu-aba-ušur/Anu-zera-lišir
a - sells exorcist's prebend (BRM II 16 yr. 57).
- 4) Antiochos - wife of Anu-uballiṭ(Kephalon)/Anu-
balassu-iqbi/Aḥu'utu
a - buys *ērib bītūtu* prebend (VS XV 7 yr. 110-21).
- 5) Antu-banat(Ereštu-Nana)/Anu-balassu-iqbi/Šamaš-eṭir/
Luštammar-Adad - wife of Antiochos/Ina-qibit-Anu/
Anu-balassu-iqbi/Aḥu'utu
a - sells butcher's prebend (FB 16 No. 2 yr. 155).
- 6) Belessunu/Anu-aba-ušur/Nidintu-Anu/Hunzu - wife of
Anu-uballiṭ/Anu-zera-iddin/Ekur-zakir
a - buys *ērib bītūtu* prebend (NCBT 1941 yr. 105-115).
b - " " " prebend (RIAA 293 yr. 107).
c - buys butcher's prebend (MLC 2188 yr. 106).
- 7) Belessunu/Kidin-Anu - wife of Anu-aḥa-ittannu/Ša-Anu-
iššu/Tanittu-Anu/Hunzu
a - buys butcher's prebend (MLC 2177 yr. 108/9).
- 8) Belessunu/Tanittu-Anu
a - sells baker's prebend (Ash. 1930.566 yr. lost).
- 9) Belessunu/..../Kephalon/Anu-balassu-iqbi/Aḥu'utu -
wife of Anu-aḥa-ittannu/..../Aḥu'utu
a - buys prebend (FB 16 No. 23 yr. lost).

- 10) Bu'itu/Nidintu-Anu - wife of Riḥat-Anu/Anu-aḥa-ittannu
a - *ina ašābi* in sale of *itinnūtu* (MLC 2157 yr. 78).
- 11) Eṭirtu/Anu-aḥḥe-iddin - wife of Anu-.../Nana-iddin
a - buys *kutimmūtu* prebend (Ash. 1923.722 yr. 99).
- 12) Eṭirtu/Anu-mara-ittannu/Nana-iddin/Hunzu - wife of
Kidin-Anu/Tattannu-Anu/Kidin-Anu/Hunzu
a - buys baker's prebend (RIAA 297 yr. 160).
- 13) Eṭirtu/Anu-uballiṭ - wife of Kidin-Anu/Anu-aḥḥe-iddin/
Nana-iddin/Hunzu
a - buys baker's prebend (Ash. 1923.738 yr. 79).
- 14) Eṭirtu/Ina-qibit-Anu/Kuri
a - sells baker's prebend (Ash. 1923.730 yr. lost).
- 15) Inba/..../Tanittu-Anu - wife of Anu-uballissu
a - advises son in prebend sale (VS XV 33 yr. 145).
- 16) Linakusu(Kua)/Anu-uballiṭ/Kidin-Anu/Luštammar-Adad -
wife of Nana-iddin
a - buys *ērib bītūtu* prebend (Ash. 1923.740 yr. lost).
- 17) Maqartu/Anu-aḥḥe-iddin - wife of Anu-aḥḥe-iddin
a - buys brewer's prebend (BRM II 8 yr. 35).
- 18) Maqartu/Anu-aba-ušur/Hunzu - wife of Labaši/Anu-zera-
iddin/Ekur-zakir
a - buys exorcist's prebend (NCBT 1954 yr. 95/6).
- 19) Nidintu/Ubar - wife of Anu-uballiṭ/Nana-iddin/Hunzu
a - buys *šāḥitūtu* prebend (VS XV 28 yr. lost).
- 20) Nidintu-Nana/Šamaš-ittannu - wife of Anu-uballiṭ/
Sin-leqe-unnini
a - *ina ašābi* in *sirāšūtu* sale (BRM II 8 yr. 35).
- 21) Rubuttu/Anu-uballiṭ/Nidintu-Anu/Aḥu'utu
a - sells *ērib bītūtu* and butcher's prebends
(BM 93004 yr. 151-161).

In almost all cases the woman appears in contracts independently, and the sole trace - probably vestigial - of the earlier administrative role of the husband is the giving of the name and filiation of the husband as well as the parentage of women acting as principals in contracts. There is absolutely no trace of the contemporary Greek legal practice whereby a woman could only appear in a contract if one of her male kinsmen acted as *kyrios* for her.

As far as we can judge then, women in Hellenistic Babylonia were better off than their Greek counterparts, and they seem moreover to have improved their social and legal status in comparison with the Chaldean and Persian periods.

Finally, we should keep in mind that this system, as far as we can judge, was strictly a local phenomenon limited to the Uruk temple complex. In the other centres of Babylonia there is no trace of a prebend system in the temples. Instead a ration system seems to have functioned at all levels of the temple, for higher officials as well as simple workmen. Even in Uruk we cannot be certain how important the prebend system was in the economic life of the temples. For although we know that the individual prebends were of considerable value, we do not know how many of these there were. The high social standing of most of the prebend holders, however, argues for the economic importance of the institution since it is unlikely that the ruling class would content themselves with mere bagatelles.

III. TEMPLE ECONOMY

In the following section we shall describe the economy of the temples of Hellenistic Babylonia in so far as our sources allow us to do so. Here again we should keep in mind the regional differences between the various temples and the different nature of our sources from the various areas. Had we only the material from Uruk at our disposal, we should not be able to say anything more about the economy of the temples other than to describe the prebend system, to say something about temple property and to give a brief sketch of the ration system. Now that we have sufficient material from the archives of the temples of Babylon, however, the situation is quite different. For with the publication of CT XLIX we now have a comparative wealth of material at our disposal concerning the temple economy there, since virtually all of the documents in that volume are concerned with the ration system, income and expenditures and administrative mechanisms of the temples of the Babylon area. This comparative imbalance in the source material from the two regions should be borne in mind during the following discussion.

A. PROPERTY

The evidence of our sources suggests that the property of the temples must have been extensive during the Hellenistic period, even if the full extent of this property can not be ascertained. The common term for property was *makkūru*, which was used to describe both real and movable property. Temple property was generally spoken of as the property of the god of the temple in question and only rarely termed property of the temple itself.

In Uruk the temple owned a considerable amount of land. There we find all manner of real estate - houses, lots, fields, etc. being designated *makkūr^danu* "property of Anu".²⁸¹ This land,

²⁸¹See G. SARKISIAN, FB 16 (1974) 20ff. and L.T. DOTY, CAHU 145f.

however, could be alienated by the holder by means of sale, lease or inheritance. Thus so-called temple property was not always under direct control of the temple administration, and it is difficult to know what sort of legal implications the term *makkūr^danu* had in these circumstances.

Some land, however, was under more or less direct control of the temple authorities and was held by the tenant under a special tenure arrangement termed *bīt ritti*.²⁸² In addition, we may assume that the area within the temple precincts was considered the property of the temple and under control of the temple administration even if not specifically called *makkūr DN*.²⁸³

Stores in the temples are also termed *makkūr DN*, and so in one document we find a reference to rations being drawn from the *makkūr^danu* "property (i.e. stores) of Anu".²⁸⁴ Even literary tablets were called *makkūr^danu u antu*, so that we may assume that anything in the temple complex was presumed to belong to the god.

The term *makkūr^danu* was the general term for temple property in Uruk during this period, but exceptionally we find other terms as well. In a tablet dated to the reign of Antigonos, for example, a field is called *makkūr^dbēlti ša uruk^{ki}*.²⁸⁵ This is probably nothing more than a residuum of the preceding period, however, since the "Mistress of Uruk" is not usually found in texts from the Hellenistic period.

The only other exception comes in the sale of a builder's allotment where the meat which forms part of the allotment is called *makkūru ša ēirigal ērēš bīt akitu ša^danu u bīt akitu ša^dištar* "property of the Irigal and Reš temples and the Akitu temples of Anu and Ištar".²⁸⁶

²⁸²See L.T. DOTY, CAHU 146f.

²⁸³Cf. *ibid.* 147.

²⁸⁴BRM I 98,6.

²⁸⁵TCL XIII 234,7. For the date of this text see J. OELSNER, Diss. II Anm. 505 and L.T. DOTY, CAHU 367 n. 165.

²⁸⁶MLC 2157,3. This occurrence is probably to be explained by the fact that these are the temples which are normally connected with the builder's allotment.

From Babylon the picture is much the same, with the difference being that we have very few documents involving real property and consequently not enough data to allow us to judge the extent of the real estate belonging to the temples. The most common designation of temple property is *makkūr^dbēl*, and this occurs most frequently in ration and expenditure texts, where it refers to temple stores. The term *makkūr Esagila* also occurs as a rare replacement for the more usual term.²⁸⁷ The same situation obtained regarding Nabu and the Ezida temple. Rations were drawn from imposts which were termed *makkūr^dnabû šar kiššati* "property of Nabu, king of the universe",²⁸⁸ and elsewhere we find reference to a guard being stationed at the gate of the stores of Ezida (*[n]a-šar bābi ša makkūr Ezida*).²⁸⁹ Differences between Uruk and the Babylon area with respect to property would seem to be due to the different nature of the documentation rather than reflecting any basic differences in organization.

Occasional references to temple property are also found in texts from other centres of Hellenistic Babylonia. From Hursagkalama we have a text which speaks of vats of beer which are termed *makkūr^dzababa*,²⁹⁰ and in a text from Larsa barley, emmer and wheat given as seed corn are said to be the property of Šamaš.²⁹¹

In addition to these specific designations other objects were also probably considered property of the temples without necessarily being designated such. Prebendary rights may well have been considered to be property of the gods, although they are never actually called such. Temple slaves were no doubt considered temple property, although the term actually used to designate slaves who were dedicated to the temple was the euphemism "child of the god".²⁹² This term may well have had a

²⁸⁷CT XLIX 5,6.14.21.

²⁸⁸CT XLIX 9,2; 40,8.

²⁸⁹LBAT 749,5'.

²⁹⁰Kish III Pl. XI 2.

²⁹¹BRM II 51,2.10.

²⁹²Cf. YBC 11633,14 *mārū^{-meš} ša^danu u an-tu₄*.

literal as well as a euphemistic sense, since we know that slaves were dedicated to the temple at quite an early age, probably to save their masters the expense of raising them.²⁹³ The temple oblates would also have been considered temple property as were of course the utensils and ornaments used in temple ceremonies. Moreover the existence of temple herdsmen of course means that there were temple herds to raise the animals used in the sacrifices.

In general then, the temples of Babylonia would seem to have had a great deal of real and movable property in their hands and may have been the chief economic institutions outside of direct Greek control.

B. INCOME

The income of the temples was derived from various imposts, rents and contributions. The tithes, which in the earlier periods played such an important role in the economy of the temples²⁹⁴ did not survive long into the Hellenistic period. Alexander, it would seem, used them to finance the clearance of debris from Esagila, as we see from two documents recording the receipt of tithes from various individuals. A typical entry reads:

CT XLIX 5²⁹⁵

- 15 - $\frac{1}{3}$ mana kaspu ešrú^ú šá^{md} marduk-bēl-šú-nu
 16 - apil^m bēl(UMUN)-iddina^{na} a-na da-ku-ú šá eperi^{bá}
 17 - šá É-SAG-ÍLA a-na bulluṭ napišti^{ti} ana makkūr^d
 bēl nadinⁱⁿ

"One third mina of silver, the tithe of Marduk-belšunu, son of Bel-iddina, given to the stores of Bel for clearing the debris of Esagila to prolong his life."

The only other attestations of the tithes are in two unusual loan documents, unusual in that the tithe is lent by a private person to another private person, even though these tithes are specifically termed "property" of a god.

²⁹³Cf. BRM II 53 where the slave is five years old (line 2).

²⁹⁴See E. SALONEN, StOr XLIII/4 (1972) and M. DANDAMAEV, VDI 1965, 14-34.

²⁹⁵See also CT XLIX 6 and p. 59 above.

CT XLIX 9²⁹⁶

- 1 - 2 kūr suluppu bab-ba-nu-tu
 2 - ešrú^ú makkūr^d nabū šar kiššati šá^m bul-luṭ
 3 - māri šá^{md} nabū-eṭir ina muḥ-ḫi^{md} nabū-nāšir māri (šá)
 4 - ^mbēl-šú-nu ina^{iti} tašriti šattu 4^{kam}
 5 - ^mpi-il-li-ip-su šarru suluppa-āM
 6 - 2 kūr gam-ru-tu <ina> bará-sipa^{ki}
 7 - ina^{giš} ma-šī-ḫu šá ku-ru-up-pu
 8 - ^{md}nabū-nāšir ana^m bul-luṭ i-nam-din

"Two kur of dates in good condition, the tithe, property of Nabu, king of the universe, belonging to Bulluṭ, son of Nabu-eṭir (lent) to Nabu-našir, son of Belšunu. In Tašrit of year 4 of king Philip Nabu-našir will repay the two kur of dates according to the kuruppu measure of Bulluṭ in Borsippa." These documents are quite unusual, since private control of temple tithes is not elsewhere attested. While it is true that the tithes were occasionally lent to private individuals in earlier periods, these loans were made by or on behalf of the temple and repayment was to be made to the temple.²⁹⁷

One possible explanation might be that Bulluṭ was a temple financial official who had control of these tithes and used them for his own benefit. If this was true, then he was probably entitled to do so, or else he would not have openly admitted that they were temple property.

This suggestion would carry more weight if we could be assured that the Bulluṭ in this contract was identical with the Bulluṭ who was known to have been a paymaster of the brewers at this time. While this seems to be a good possibility we cannot be certain that they were actually identical.

We need not concern ourselves over much with the tithes since after the early Hellenistic period they are not heard of as a source of temple income. And since we have so many texts giving us various sources of income for the later Hellenistic period, we may assume that the tithe was abolished early in the Hellenistic period as a source of temple income.

²⁹⁶See also CT XLIX 34.

²⁹⁷E.g. Nbn 505, cf. M. DANDAMAEV VDI 1965, 25.

Later in the Hellenistic period contributions seem to have become a major source of temple income, specifically those contributions termed *irbi ša quppi* and *pānāt quppi*. The *quppu* was a box for donations placed at the entrance of the temple into which visitors to the temple dropped their contributions.²⁹⁸ These contributions were probably not altogether voluntary but rather may have actually been a type of entrance fee. The *irbi quppi* certainly referred to the income derived from this box, but the term *pānāt quppi* remains unclear. The term *pānātu* seems to refer to income of a certain type,²⁹⁹ but we have no way of knowing how this might have differed from the normal word for income *irbu*.

These sources of income are generally found at the beginning of lists of income and expenditures for the temples of Babylon. A typical example is the following.

CT XLIX 153

- 1 - 1/3 mana 7 1/2 šiqil kaspu ir-bi
- 2 - šá qu-up-pi^{meš} u pa-na-at qu-up-pi^{meš}
- 3 - š[á] bāb nērebi š[á] bēlti-iá u nērebi šá mandanu

"One third mina, seven and one half shekels, the income of the cashboxes and the *pānātu* of the cashboxes of the entrance of Beltia and the entrance of Mandanu."

In addition to the *quppu* of the entrance gates of Beltia and Mandanu others are mentioned for the Esabad temple³⁰⁰ and for the stores (*makkūru*) of Zababa and Ninlil.³⁰¹ The amounts of this income can be seen from the following table.³⁰²

As this table shows there was quite a bit of variation in the amounts collected, which ranged from less than one shekel per day (CT XLIX 153) to almost two shekels per day (CT XLIX 156).

²⁹⁸Cf. A.L. OPPENHEIM, JNES 6 (1947) 117f.

²⁹⁹See above note 277 p. 113.

³⁰⁰CT XLIX 143,2; AB 248,2.

³⁰¹CT XLIX 156,2f.; BRM I 99,2.

³⁰²Other documents of this type which are not included in the table because either the dates or amounts are destroyed are: CT XLIX 160; 164; AB 244; BRM I 99.

TABLE 9

Income from quppu

<u>Document</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Amount</u> (In shekels)
1) CT XLIX 143	13.12-12.12'.186	Esabad	15
2) CT XLIX 153	12.4-18.6.218	Mandanu/Beltia	27.5
3) CT XLIX 156	21.10-18.11.218	Ninlil/Zababa	46.65
4) CT XLIX 155	11.10-11.12.218	Beltia gate	34.5
5) AB 248	12.1-11.4.218	Esabad	90

This was not due to the location of the collection as we can see by the fact that there is a 100% difference in the amount collected per day between the two collections from Esabad. Instead it is probably to be attributed to variations in the number of visitors during the different periods.

One interesting feature of this income is that, like the tithes, it could be privately controlled. In an interesting, though difficult document we find reference to this in the form of a petition by the *kurgarrû* Bel-aba-ušur, son of Beliddina, who requests the rights to this income from the dean and assembly of Esagila.

CT XLIX 160

- 3 - um-ma ir-bi
- 4 - šá giš^š qu-up-pu u pa-na-at giš^š qu-up-pu šá É.UD 1^{kam}
- 5 - e-lat ħurāši x UD GA x e-lat burāši u buqli[?]
- 6 - e-lat kal-lu ma-aq-qu-ú u ša-as-su e-lat
- 7 - imēri sisî u pāri e-lat túg^š mu-šip-tu₄ u mu-la-ti[?]-i
- 8 - e-lat túg^š argamani šá-ṭa[?]-rat e-lat ir-bi šá mu[!]-š_u u e-lat
- 9 - mim-ma šá ana lú bēlē^{meš} isqāti^{meš} ik-kaš-ši-du ir-bi
- 10 - šá giš^š qu-up-pu u pa-na-at qu-up-pu šu[!]āti^{a-ti}
- 11 - šá ultu ūm 28^{kam} šá iti nisāni šattu 155^{kam} šá š[!]i-i
- 12 - šattu 219^{kam} a-di ūm 27^{kam} šá iti nisāni šattu 156^{kam} šá š[!]i-i
- 13 - šattu 220^{kam} a-na 6 1/2 5 ma-àri kaspu i-bi-in-na-an

"(He spoke) thus, The income of the offering box and the *pānātu* of the offering box of the Day One temple, as well as the gold . . . , as well as the juniper (spice) and malt(?), as well as the *kallu*, *maqgû* and *šassu* vessels,³⁰³ as well as the asses, horses and mules, as well as the *mušiptu* garment and *mulatû*(?), as well as the inscribed(?) red-purple cloth, as well as the income of the exit dues(?)³⁰⁴ and as well as everything which appertains to a shareholder, the income of the offering box and the *pānātu* of the offering box from 28 Nisan of year 155, i.e. year 219 to 27 Nisan year 156, i.e. year 220 give me for six and one half shekels³⁰⁵ and five *mari* .""

The price offered by the petitioner makes it certain that we are not faced here with an actual sales document, for the temple would scarcely have accepted this price for the rights to income which amounted to a minimum of one half shekel per day. Instead this is probably a lease of the rights to collect and administer this income. The lessee would perhaps have profited from this right by being allowed to lend the income at interest, as seems to have been the case earlier with the tithes.

What the additional items represented is not entirely clear, but it is difficult to imagine how they would have been used to provide income for the lessee.

Another donation which provided income for the temples was the *šulmānu*, which is also attested earlier during the Neo-Babylonian period as a source of temple income.³⁰⁶ This donation is mentioned twice in our texts, both times in connexion with the *bīt hilṣu* of the Esabad temple. Both occurrences are from late in the Hellenistic period. The first reads:

³⁰³The first two of these are names of types of vessels, so it is not unlikely that the *šassu* is also a type of vessel. Cf. CAD M¹ 254b where the passage is noted without translation.

³⁰⁴Perhaps the same as *mūšānu*. See below p. 130f.

³⁰⁵See A.L. OPPENHEIM, OrNS 42 (1973) 325 n. 4 for the price.

³⁰⁶E.g. Nbk 280,2.7.

CT XLIX 161

- 1 - 18 šiqil kaspu maḥṣa (SIG¹¹)^{sa} šul-lu-man^{meš}
- 2 - šá ultu bīt hi-il-ṣu šá É-SA-BAD
- 3 - šá ultu ūm 26^{kam} šá iti simāni
- 4 - šattu 218^{kam} adi ūm 30^{kam}
- 5 - šá iti ajāri šattu 219^{kam}
- 6 - ^mbēl-šuma-iddin u ^mbēl-zēra-ibni
- 7 - lū^{erib} bīti^{meš} šá É-SA-BAD
- 8 - ana makkūr^d bēl it-ta-ṣu-ú-nu
- 9 - kaspā maḥṣa^{sa}-AM 18 šiqil
- 10 - ina tūg^{ṣu}-ra-ru ina ^{gi}<ḫal>-lat
- 11 - šá-kin u ina taḫ^m ra-hi-me-su
- 12 - pi-qid

"18 shekels of beaten silver, the donations from the *bīt hilṣu* of the Esabad temple, from 26 Siman of year 218 to 30 Ajar of year 219, Bel-šuma-iddin and Bel-zera-ibni, the *erib bīti* of Esabad have withdrawn from the property of Bel. The money - 18 shekels - was placed in a purse inside a reed container and deposited with Raḫim-Esu."

The second mention of this gift comes from a list of sums of gold from various sources to be smelted.

AB 245

- 4 - 2 ma-āri x x hurāṣu šul-lu-man-na-a-tū
- 5 - ultu bīt hi-il-ṣu šá É-SA-BAD
- 6 - ^{md}mardúk-šuma-iddin ^{lū}nuḫatimmu aplu šá ^{md}nabû-nāṣir
- 7 - u ^{md}mardúk-zēra-ibni ^{lū}kutimmu aplu šá
- 8 - ^{md}bēl-aba-uṣur iṣ-ṣu-ú-nu

"Two *mari* . . . of gold, the gifts from the *bīt hilṣu* of Esabad, Marduk-šuma-iddin, the baker, son of Nabu-naṣir and Marduk-zera-ibni, the goldsmith, son of Bel-aba-uṣur withdrew." The amounts of the *šulmānu* donations are small in comparison to those of the income of the *quppu* - 18 shekels for almost one year compared to at least one half shekel per day for the latter. Thus it seems likely that the *šulmānu* were small voluntary gifts from the faithful rather than regular fees. The second text is also interesting in that it provides us with one of the few attestations during the Hellenistic period of gold in circulation.

In Uruk as well we have evidence that contributions made up part of the income of the temples. The term used there was *tāmartu*, which may refer to a fee or gift connected with the viewing of temple ceremonies. The fact that the *tāmartu* is only found in texts concerned with the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend suggests that this gift was connected with the clothing ceremonies and sacred meals, from which the income of this prebend was derived. This was a monetary gift as can be seen by the following extract.

Ash. 1923.739

- 2 - mi-šil ina 12-'-ú isiq-šú^{lú} ērib bīt pirištū-ú-tú ù
lú^{lú} kutimmu-ú-tú
- 3 - šá^d anu^d enlil^d na-na-a u^d bēlti šá^é rēš^{mi-šil}
ina 12-'-ú
- 4 - ina šamē^e ù šubāti (TUŠ)^{a-tú} šiddī^{meš} kitē^{meš}
šu-up-pa-a-tú burāši
- 5 - karāni^{ha} hu-za-na-a-tú ù ina kaspi šá a-na
ta-am-mir-ra-a-tú³⁰⁷ ik-kaš-ši-du

"1/24th of his *ērib bīt pirištūtu* and goldsmith's prebend of Anu, Enlil, Nana and the Mistress of Reš - 1/24th in the (linen of)³⁰⁸ the baldachins and cultic stands (and) curtains, the linen; strips of carded wool, the juniper spice, the wine, the sashes and the money which appertains to the *tāmartu* presents."

Little more is known about the *tāmartu* since it always appears in the same context. We have no idea, for example, whether these gifts were large or small. If they were the equivalent of the *šulmānu* in Babylon,³⁰⁹ then probably they were not large.

In addition to fees and gifts collected in the temples there were also a number of agricultural imposts which contributed to the income of the temples. From early in the Hellenistic we have evidence of a *mušānū* impost which provided dates for

³⁰⁷Variant writings are: *tam-mar-ra-a-[tú]* (Ash. 1923.740,10),
[ta-a]m-mar-ra-a-tú (Ash. 1923.78,8') and *tam-mar-tú^{meš}* (1930.568,3).

³⁰⁸Parallels have *GADA šá šubat*, e.g. Ash. 1923.721,5.

³⁰⁹Cf. *ta-mar-tú* = *MIN* (*šul-ma-nu*) LTBA II 2,277.

the brewers. These dates were probably used as brewing material rather than as rations. CAD M² 249a and AHW 680a both enter the word *sub voce* *mūšū*, the former terming it "exit dues" and the latter "eine Art von Kanalgebühr". The contexts, both of the Hellenistic attestations and those of the Persian period suggest a type of agricultural impost rather than either of these - perhaps a harvest tax. The *mušānū* occurs only in letter orders, a typical example of which is the following.

CT XLIX 40

- 1 - tuppi^m bul-^rluṭ bēl min-du^l
- 2 - šá^{lú} sirāšī^{meš} a-na
- 3 - m^d marduk-šuma-iddin m^d bēl-erība
- 4 - m^d bēl-apla-ušur aḥḥē^{meš}
- 5 - 2 kūr 3 (pānu) 5 sūtu suluppu
- 6 - ina giš^{ar-da-bi} šá^d nabū
- 7 - ultu suluppi šá mu-ša-ni-e³¹⁰
- 8 - makkūr^d nabū šar kiššati
- 9 - šá^{iti} tašriti šattu 5^{kam}
- 10 - m^{an-ti-qin-nu-us}
- 11 - lú^{rab} ú-qu a-na
- 12 - m^d nabū-apla-ušur apil m^{iddin-d} bēl
- 13 - aḥḥū^{meš} lid-din-nu-'

"Letter(-order) of Bulluṭ, the paymaster of the brewers to Marduk-šuma-iddin, Bel-eriba and Bel-apla-ušur - Brethern! Let (ye) brethern give 83 seah of dates according to the artaba measure of Nabu from the dates of the *mušānū* impost, property of Nabu, king of the universe, of month Tašrit, year 5 of generalissimo Antigonos to Nabu-apla-ušur, son of Iddin-Bel."

Another text adds the qualification *ultu suluppi šá mu-šu-ni^{meš}* *šá ina pān abul^d adad* "from the dates of the *mušānū* imposts which are before the Adad gate."³¹¹ This probably refers to the location of the fields from which the impost was collected, for in a contract from the Persian period we find fields which

³¹⁰Variants are *mu-šu-ni-e* (CT XLIX 37,5) *mu-šu-ni^{meš}* (CT XLIX 41,5).

³¹¹CT XLIX 41,5f.

are described as being *i-na pa-na-at abul^d adad*.³¹² The *mušānū* seem to have been closely connected with Nabu to judge from the fact that all the measures used were those of Nabu. In fact the *mušānū* are expressly termed in one text "property of Nabu".³¹³ This impost does not seem to have lasted long into the Hellenistic period as all the references we have are dated to the fifth year of Antigonos.

In the later Hellenistic period we find a similar impost, which may have replaced the earlier *mušānū*, namely the *taggamānu*. The actual derivation and meaning of the word are unknown,³¹⁴ but it is clear that it was an agricultural impost which formed part of the income of the temples. We might be tempted to see in this impost a Babylonian counterpart to the Ptolemaic *apomoira*, but in fact it seems to have had more to do with rents from temple fields as the following text shows.

CT XLIX 126

- 1 - tuppī^{md} mardúk-bēl-šú-nu u^m bēl(UMUN)-uballit-su
- 2 - lú^{āšipī}meš ana^{md} ea - tab-tan-bullitⁱit
- 3 - apli-šú^m mu-ra-nu lú¹nagār rukūbi
- 4 - 4 (pānu) 2 qa uṭṭatu ultu uṭṭat sūti
- 5 - šá tag-ma-nu³¹⁵ šá šatti 58^{kam} šá ina pāni-ka
- 6 - šá ultu makkūr^d bēl a-na kurummati^{hā}
- 7 - lú^{āšipī}meš ana muḥ-ḥi-ka (erasure)
- 8 - mun-na-nu kurummatu^{hā} md ea-ibni apli-šú
- 9 - ^mbēl(UMUN)-apla-iddin ^mbēl(UMUN)-našir apli-šú^m
^mbēl(UMUN)-ku-šur-šú u alti
- 10 - u apli^{meš} šá ^mbēl(UMUN)-aba-ušur ana^{md} ea-ibni
- 11 - apli-šú^m bēl(UMUN)-apla-iddin lú^{āšipī} i-din
- 12 - iti^{tebetu} um 6^{kam} šattu 58^{kam}
- 13 - ^man-ti-'-ku-su šarru

"Letter(-order) of Marduk-belšunu and Bel-uballissu, the exorcists, to Ea-tabtan-bullit, son of Muranu, the ship's

³¹²VS v 101,1.

³¹³See above p. 131.

³¹⁴The word is not listed in AHW.

³¹⁵Variante writings are *ta-gam-ma-nu* (CT XLIX 122,8; 123,9) and *tag-ga-ma-nu* (CT XLIX 124,5; 125,5).

carpenter. "Give 146 litres of barley from the barley of the *taggamānu* rent for year 58, which is before you and which has been charged to you from the property of Bel for the rations of the exorcists - the rations of Ea-ibni, son of Bel-apla-iddin, Bel-našir, son of Bel-kušuršu and the wife and children of Bel-aba-ušur - to Ea-ibni, son of Bel-apla-iddin, the exorcist." 6 Tebet, year 58 Antiochos, 'king.'

In another text the phrase reads simply *suluppu ultu suluppi šá tag-ga-ma-nu šá šatti 56^{kam}* "dates from the dates of the *taggamānu* (rent) for year 56."³¹⁶ This impost then was paid in both dates and barley and seems to have been a form of rent, perhaps from temple fields which were leased to private individuals.

In addition to this type of rent we find other rents collected by the temple. In two texts we find reference to a rent collected in money rather than in produce. In a letter order concerning payment of rations to the ^{lú}U.MUG^{meš} the money is called:

CT XLIX 118

- 4 - ... 1/2 ma(na) 1/2² [šiqil² 317]
- 5 - ultu kaspi sūti šá bīt a-bi-is-ta-tu
- 6 - šá^m ki-ra-man-ni-e u^m ti-bu-li mā[rī^{meš}]
- 7 - šá^m iddina^{na} šá¹ iti elūli uⁱ iti adari šattu 50^{kam}

"One half mina, one half (shekel) from the money, the rent of the *abistatu* estate(?) of Kiramane and Tibuli, sons(?) of Iddina, for Elul and Adar of year 50."

From the fact that the rent was in money and was collected twice yearly in the sixth and twelfth months we may assume that the estate (or house) from which the rent was collected was not an agricultural holding. What in fact this *bīt abistatu* actually was, however, remains unclear.³¹⁸ If it was not an estate/house on temple property, then perhaps it was the equivalent in the Babylon temples of the *bīt qāti* of the Uruk

³¹⁶CT XLIX 124,4f.

³¹⁷Cf. CT XLIX 128,5.

³¹⁸Also attested CT XLIX 128,6; 181,6.

texts, which may have been a type of storehouse in the temple complex.

From these texts we may perhaps assume that the *sūtu* by itself referred to money rents while *taggamānu* or *sūtu ša taggamānu* referred to rents in kind from agricultural holdings leased by the temple.

C. EXPENDITURES

We are better informed about the expenditures of the temples, which were many and varied, than about the sources of temple income. These can be divided into four categories: expenses for offerings and equipment for temple rituals, rations for the temple personnel, upkeep and repair of the temple complex and payments by the temple to the state.

1. Ritual Expenses

The expenses for the various rituals must have been great indeed to judge from the items of food, clothing and utensils listed in ritual texts. In the ritual of the *kalû*, for example there are long lists of various foodstuffs, wooden and metal objects, clothing and products of various craftsmen which were used in this ritual. Under the rubric "products of the potter" to cite but one example, we find:

AO 6479 iv (Racc. 18f.)

- 29 - ú-de-e^{lú} paḥāri 4 dug^{egubbû} 4 dug^{kan-du-ru-u}
30 - 4 dug^{saḥ-ḥa-ri} 24 dug^{a-da-kur-ru} 24 dug^{ha-bu-u}
31 - 120 dug^{ma-lit-tu} 300 dug^{ba-gur-ru} 60 nignakku
32 - 5 ṣa-bit 6 ag-gan-nu 6 né-sep 2 ṣi-in-du-u 2 nam-ḥa-ri

"Products of the potter: 4 holy water basins, 4 *kandurû* containers, 4 *saḥḥaru* offering bowls, 24 *adakurru* containers, 24 *hābû* containers, 120 *malītu* vessels, 300 scoops, 60 censers, 6 *agannu* bowls, 6 *nēsepu* bowls, 2 one-*ṣimdu* containers, 2 *namḥaru* containers."

It seems unlikely that all of these products were made anew for each ritual, but even so, the expense must have been considerable.

In the ritual meals on the other hand the food items would have been provided afresh for each meal. These meals served a two-fold purpose. First of course, they provided the ritual sus-

tenance of the various deities. In addition however, they provided the perquisites which formed such a large part of the prebend income in Uruk. Some idea of the extent of these meals can be seen from the schedule of the meals for Anu and Antu in Uruk.³¹⁹ There were four of these meals daily, a main and secondary meal in the morning and a main and secondary meal in the afternoon. These were extensive as can be seen from the secondary meal of the afternoon.

AO 6451 rev. (Racc. 78)

- 21 - nap-tan tar-den-nu šá līlâti gi-nu-ú šá^d anu an-tu₄
ù ilāni^{meš} bītāti^{meš} -šú-nu kal šatti
22 - 4 immeru ma-ru-tú ebbūtu šá šitta^{ta} šanāti^{meš}
uṭṭata ikulū^{meš} 1-en udu^{ka-lu-ú}
23 - gi-ni-e kab-lu šá šizbi ù 5 immeru šá-nu-ú-tu šá
arki-šú-nu šá uṭṭata la ilulū^{meš}

"The normal secondary afternoon meal of Anu and Antu and the gods of their temples for the whole year: four pure fattened sheep, which have eaten barley for two years, one regular offering lamb³²⁰ fattened on milk and five other sheep, which are (served) after the others, which have not eaten barley."

Clothing for the various rituals was also an expense, and we find the garments to be worn by each of the various participants stipulated in another text from Uruk.³²¹ The chief lamentation priest, for example, is to be "covered in a vestment of linen and bound to his head is a veil(?) for the lower part of his head".³²²

³¹⁹See Racc. pp. 75-80.

³²⁰CAD K 22b (s.v. *kabru*) reads the passage *ilten immēru kalû ginê kab-lu šá šizbi* and translates "one sheep kept in a *kalû*-field (read *kālû!*) for the regular offering, fattened with milk". AHw 1402a reads *udukalû* as a Sumerian loanword, referring to *kalû* III?. It seems better, however, to view this as a variant of *kalūmu* "lamb", especially in view of the qualification *ša šizbi*. The phonetic change was probably *kalūmu* > *kalū'u* > *kalû*, cf. GAG §31d.

³²¹UVB 15,40.

³²²UVB 15,40,13'.

While some of these things may have remained in the temple for further use, the greater part of them probably went to the perquisite income of the prebends. This was certainly true of the food presented to the gods at the ritual meals and probably also true of many of the other objects, as we can see from the perquisites for the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend.

VS XV 37

- 21 - 18-'-ú isiq ^{lú}ērib bīt pi-ri-iš-tu₄-ú-tú u
^{lú}kutimmu-ú-tú
- 22 - 18-'-ú ina immerī^{meš} šá ħi-ta-tap³²³ karāni burāši
^{túg}hu-za-na-tu₄
- 23 - ^{túg}šu-u-pa-ta rīqī^{meš} u išši^{meš} 18-'-ú ina šīri
 ba-šal u bal-ṭu
- 24 - šá a-na passūri šá ^den-<lil> ina eššešāni^{meš} elū

"One eighteenth of the prebend of the *ērib bīt pirištūtu* and the goldsmith - one eighteenth in the sheep of the *ḫitpu* offerings, wine, juniper spice, sashes, strips of carded wool, the perfumes and woods, one eighteenth in the cooked or raw meat which goes up to the table of Enlil³²⁴ on the *eššešu* feasts."

Exactly how much of the material used in the rituals was used to provide perquisites for the prebend holders and how much remained part of the temple stores can not be ascertained. We are equally in the dark as to whether this source of perquisite income was confined to Uruk or whether it was current in Babylon as well, for we have very little ritual material from Babylon and no reference to temple personnel receiving such perquisites. It is difficult to imagine, however, that such a source of income, if it existed in Babylon, was not used in this way.

2. Rations

The ration system was also a constant drain on the financial resources of the temples. In the Uruk temples rations

³²³Metathesis for *ḫitapāt(u)*.

³²⁴Offerings to Bel are not attested from Uruk, hence the emendation.

For the offering table of Enlil cf. Ash. 1930.568,4.

seem to have been given only to the lower levels of temple personnel, while the higher levels received prebend shares. In Babylon on the other hand, rations seem to have been used as a source of payment for all levels of temple personnel. In Uruk these rations, like the prebends, could be alienated through sale, gift or testament. A typical example of the sale of ration rights is the following.

BRM II 33

- 1 - ^{md}na-na-a-iddin ù ^{md}anu-aḫa-iddin aplū^{meš} šá ^mla-ba-ši
 aplū šá ^mman-nu-i-qa-pu aplū^{meš} ^mkur-i
- 2 - ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu 2-TA qāti^{meš} zitta-šú-nu gab-bi
 ina kurummati^{ḫá} šá 6 kūr uṭṭatu
- 3 - 6 kūr suluppu ù 15 mana šipāti^{ḫá} r'šá? ana[?] ^mla-ba-ši
 abi-šú-nu apli šá
- 4 - ^mman-nu-i-qa-pu ina makkūr ^danu ina bīt ilāni^{meš} šá
 uruk^{ki} ù ina šaṭārī^{meš} šá bīt šar-ri
- 5 - tak-kaš-ši-du a-na 4 šiqil kaspu qa-lu-ú is-ta-tir-
 ra-nu šá ^man-ti-'-ku-su
- 6 - bab-ba-nu-tu a-na šīmi gamrūti^{meš} a-na ^mšá-^danu-iš-
 šu-ú aḫi-šú-nu apli šá ^mla-ba-ši
- 7 - apli šá ^mman-nu-i-qa-pu apil ^mkur-i a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú
 it-tan-nu^{meš} a-na tar-ši
- 8 - ^{md}na-na-a-iddin ù ^{md}anu-aḫa-iddin apli^{meš} šá ^mla-
 ba-ši apli šá ^mman-nu-i-qa-pu apli^{meš} šá ^mkur-i
- 9 - r'ma-la pa-la¹-ḫu a-na muḫ-ḫi pa-ni kurummati^{ḫá}
 šu'āti^{meš} ina bīt ilāni^{meš} šá uruk^{ki}
- 10 - la ma-ṣu it-tan-nu^{meš} a-na ^mšá-^danu-iš-šú-ú aḫi-šú-nu
 apli šá ^mlâbāši
- 11 - šá i-pal-lāḫ a-na muḫ-ḫi pa-ni šá kurummati^{ḫá} šu'āti^{meš}
 kurummatu^{ḫá} šu'āti^{meš} ù
- 12 - mim-ma gab-bi šá a-na kurummati^{ḫá} šu'āti^{meš} ik-kaš-
 šī-du i-na-áš ^mšá-^danu-iš-šú-ú
- 13 - aḫu-šú-nu aplū šá ^mlâbāši a-na ramāni-šú a-na u₄-mu
 ša-a-tú ina u₄-mu gab-bi
- 14 - šá ^mšá-^danu-iš-šú-ú aḫu-šú-nu aplū šá ^miâbāši ṣe-bu-ú
 illakū^{meš} u i-qab-bu^{meš}
- 15 - ^{md}na-na-a-iddin ù ^{md}anu-aḫa-iddin aplū^{meš} šá ^mlâbāši
 ina pāni man-am gab-bi šá ^mšá-^danu-iš-šú-ú

16 - aḫu-šú-nu aplu šá^m lābāšī še-bu-ú um-ma šaṭrā^{meš}
 kurummatu^{bá} šu'āti^{meš} ina šumi

17 - šá^m šá^d-anu-iš-šu-ú apli šá^m lābāšī apli šá^m man-nu-
 i-qa-pu apil^m kur-i

"Nana-iddin and Anu-aḫa-iddin, sons of Labašī, son of Mannu-iqapu, descendants of Kuri, have sold of their own free will two thirds of their whole share in the rations - six kur of barley, six kur of dates and fifteen mina of wool - which belonged to Labašī, their father, son of Mannu-iqapu from the property of Anu in the temples of Uruk and (is registered) in the rolls of the crown³²⁵ for four shekels of pure silver in staters of Antiochos in good condition for the full price to Ša-Anu-iššu, their brother, son of Labašī, son of Mannu-iqapu, descendant of Kuri in perpetuity.

Concerning Nana-iddin and Anu-aḫa-iddin, sons of Labašī, son of Mannu-iqapu, descendants of Kuri, whatever of the service incumbant on the pānu³²⁶ of these rations in the temples of Uruk which they are unable to perform they have sold to Ša-Anu-iššu, their brother, son of Labašī, who will do service for these rations. Ša-Anu-iššu takes up³²⁷ these rations and whatever appertains to these rations for himself in perpetuity. Whenever Ša-Anu-iššu, their brother, son of Labašī wishes Nana-iddin and Anu-aḫa-iddin, sons of Labašī will go and declare before anyone whom Ša-Anu-iššu wishes, "These rations are registered in the name of Ša-Anu-iššu, son of Labašī, son of Mannu-iqapu, descendant of Kuri."³²⁸

Several interesting features can be seen in this text. One of the most interesting of course is the mention of registration in the bīt šarri, which was probably the administrative

³²⁵The reading bīt šar-ri rather than bīt šaṭāri^{ri} (BRVU 79f., etc.) is assured by the parallel bīt LUGAL in Ash. 1923.735,3.

³²⁶See above p. 75 n. 212.

³²⁷The reading i-na-áš seems more likely than the proposal of CAD Š 171a to read i-na šibûti(áš) in a parallel passage.

³²⁸Other ration sales from Uruk are BRM II 34; 56; MLC 2157; 2651; Ash. 1923.735; 1930.571.

office of the crown in Uruk. This registration need not imply state control over the ration system. A more likely interpretation would seem to be that it was a means of taxation assessment of the individuals receiving rations on the part of the crown.

Another interesting feature of these documents is the justification clause, in which the seller is said to sell his ration rights "in as much as he is unable to perform service for them in the temples of Uruk". This emphasizes the close connexion between the rations and the job with which they were associated. It is not clear whether this represented the actual situation or whether it was simply a legal fiction, since the sources do not allow us to judge if the ration rights were always sold to members of the same profession. Be that as it may, the ration rights were certainly much more closely associated with their respective offices than were prebend rights.

The final feature of interest is the fact that these sales contain a special provision for acknowledgement of the transfer of the ration rights. This takes the form of a verbal statement by the seller confirming that he has registered the rations in the name of the buyer. In most cases this statement is to be made before whomever the buyer wishes, but in one instance it is to be made before the satrap.³²⁹ The registration referred to is presumably in the bīt šarri.

TABLE 10

Ration Prices

<u>Document</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley</u> (kur)	<u>Dates</u> (kur)	<u>Wool</u> (mina)	<u>Price</u> (shekels)
1) Ash. 1930.572	102	6	6	15	15
2) Ash. 1923.735	119	12	12	(30)	15
3) BRM II 33	124	6	6	15	4
4) BRM II 56	(124+)	6	6	(15)	4
5) MLC 2651	(lost)	(12)	12	(30)	15

³²⁹BRM II 56,19.

From the table we see that the amounts of the rations were fixed at a ratio 6 - 6 - 15 or 12 - 12 - 30, the difference probably being due to different statuses of the offices. The prices varied considerably, though not it would seem due to variations in the prices of the commodities concerned. For we know from the prices in astronomical diaries that during the period to which our ration sales are dated one shekel of silver bought on average just under one kur of barley, just over one kur of dates and four mina of wool. The only document which reflects these prices is the first. Thus it seems that price fluctuations in the sale of rations are to be attributed to factors other than current commodity prices, although it is impossible to say what these factors would have been.

It may be noted that these ration sales all fall within the period, 102 to 124+ SE. In other words all fall within the reign of Antiochos III. It is tempting to see in this yet another piece of evidence for the re-organization of the temple administration in Uruk, which we have suggested above on the basis of fluctuations in prebend prices and changes in formula-ry. This supposition is strengthened somewhat by the unusual justification and registration clauses which are found during no other period.

From the Babylon area we have many texts concerned with the distribution of rations by the temples. Virtually all of the texts from the archive of the paymaster of the brewer are ration texts.³³⁰ For the most part the texts from this archive simply record or order the distribution of barley, dates, wool and money to various individuals. Only occasionally is it specified that these items were rations (*kurummatu*), e.g.

CT XLIX 19

1 - 4 sūtu 3 qa uṭṭatu-šú ina kurummati^{há}
2 - ^{má}nabú-bēl-šú-nu apil ^{má}bēl-aḥḥe^{meš}-iddin

"Four and one half seah of barley from the rations of Nabu-belšunu, son of Bel-aḥḥe-iddin..."

³³⁰See above p. 35 n. 106.

Dates and money are also specified as rations upon occasion,³³¹ but wool which was presumably used for rations is always termed simply "wool from the wool" (*šipātu ultu šipāti*).³³² In this instance, however, we might translate "wool from the wool (ration)" since this is clearly what is meant.

In the texts where money is involved it is not certain whether the money is given in lieu of the normal commodities or whether it is given in addition to these items.

We may also note here that no oil is found among the rations, although it formed an important part of the rations in the earlier periods. This might possibly be attributed to the existence of an oil monopoly similar to that of Ptolemaic Egypt, in which case the money given in the ration texts could then be explained as a substitute for the oil, which would then have been purchased from the state monopoly. If so, then we must assume that this oil monopoly was introduced in the very earliest Hellenistic period or even that it existed already in the Persian period, since the archive in question extends back to the reign of Artaxerxes III.

Another archive from Babylon, dated from 50 to 59 SE is also concerned with the distribution of rations.³³³ Unlike the earlier archive, however, where only one officer was involved in ordering the disbursement of rations a number of higher officials are found issuing such orders ranging from the dean of the temple to the exorcists. Rations in this archive are disbursed to all members of the temple community, including the weavers, butchers, exorcists and the *U.MUG* craftsmen. It would thus seem that there was at this time a centralized ration system in the temple in place of the earlier departmental one.

In the texts from the late Hellenistic period from Babylon we find rations being paid strictly in money. In a list of temple expenditures, for example, we find the following entries.

³³¹E.g. *kaspu ina kurummati* (CT XLIX 21,1) and *suluppu (u) uṭṭatu kurummatu* (CT XLIX 98,1f.).

³³²E.g. CT XLIX 17,1f.

³³³CT XLIX 118; 122; 123; 124; 125; 126; 128.

- 19 - 3 šiqil ana kurummati^há m^d bēl-ahhē^{meš}-iddin m^u-bar
 u mⁿidintu-^dbēl
 20 - lú atē^{meš} šá É.UD.1^{kam} šá ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN na-din
 58 - 4 šiqil ana kurummati^há m^bēl-šú-nu lú sēpiri šá
 makkūri šá iti šabaṭi x x x na-din

"Three shekels for rations of Bel-ahhē-iddin, Ubar and Nidintu-Bel, the porters of the Day One temple from ditto (14 Tebet) to ditto (13 Šabaṭ) given

Four shekels for rations of Belšunu, the parchment scribe of the (divine) property for Šabaṭ ..."

From the extracts from these expenditure lists dealing with rations it would seem that at this time money was given in lieu of rations. Indeed, to judge from these lists the temple economy was run wholly on a monetary basis, which may suggest that it was financed by a form of state contribution similar to the *syntaxis* of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Not all of the members of the temple community received rations during this period. Some received wages (*idu*). The millers, for example, were among those who received wages.

CT XLIX 150

- 12 - 2 1/2 šiqil a-na i-di-šú-nu šá lú ararrī^{meš}
 šu'āti^{a-ti} ina gát KI.MIN na-din

"Two and one half shekels for the wages of these millers given by ditto (Ea-uballissu)."

Of course those who were not members of the temple community at all but were hired as casual labourers also received wages instead of rations. The difference between wages and rations in this period, however, was purely formal and historical, since both were paid in money.

3. Temple Upkeep

The upkeep of the temple was a matter of constant expense. Not only did the buildings often have to be repaired but material also had to be provided for the various craftsmen and many such items as wood for the fires at the gates had to be supplied. The general term for such expenses was *hišihṭu* "necessity", which is found several times in expenditure lists, as for example in the following.

- 7 - 15 šiqil ana hi-ših-ti šá bīt hi-il-šu
 8 - šá É.UD.1^{kam} šá iti šabaṭi ina gát m^d bēl-zēra-iddin
 9 - šá til-lu šá lú erib bītu-ú-tú inaššū na-din

"Fifteen shekels for the necessities of the bīt hišū of the Day One temple for Šabaṭ given by Bel-zera-iddin, who is picking up the equipment of the temple enterers."³³⁴
 An idea of the variety and nature of these expenditures for the upkeep of the temple can perhaps best be obtained by examining one of the expenditure lists of the temples, of which the following is a good example.

BRM I 99

- 1 - [kaspu ir]-bi šá giš³ qu-up-pi u pa-na-at
 2 - [giš³] [qu-up-pi mak]kūr^d za-ba₄-ba₄ u^d nin-líl
 3 - šá ultu ūm¹⁹ kam¹ šá iti šabaṭi šattu 218¹
 4 - adi ūm 27² kam¹ šá iti adari šá šatti an-nit ultu lib-bi
 aši
 5 - 6 šiqil ana ši-me 3 kūr uṭṭatu ana lú ararrī^{meš}
 6 - ina mi-in-di-šú-nu šá ultu ūm 12^{kam} šá iti adari
 7 - adi ūm 11^{kam} šá iti adari atri šá šatti an-nit
 8 - ina gát lú ararrī^{meš} na-din
 9 - 2 1/2 šiqil ana i-di-šú-nu šá lú ararrī^{meš} šu'āti^{a-ti}
 10 - 17 šiqil 4-tú ana arhi arki² la baṭ-lu
 11 - ana tam-ti-tu šá immeri gi-ni-e šá É.UD.1^{kam}
 12 - šá ultu ūm 13^{kam} šá iti tebeti adi ūm 13^{kam} šá
 13 - iti šabaṭi šá šatti an-nit ana mu-rak lú tābihi na-din
 14 - 1 1/2 šiqil ana kurummati^há lú sirāšī^{meš} lú rāsini^{meš}
 15 - šá ultu ūm 15^{kam} šá iti adari adi ūm 14^{kam} šá iti adari
 atri
 16 - ina gát m^d mardūk-šuma-iddin lú sirāšī¹ na-din
 17 - [] šiqil ana kirbān ṭabti u giš³ hu-ṣab
 18 - [šá] ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN ina gát KI.MIN
 19 - 2 šiqil ana m^d bēl-ahhē^{meš}-iddin m^u-bar
 20 - u mⁿidintu-^dbēl lú atī^{meš} šá É.UD.1^{kam}
 21 - šá ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN na-din
 22 - 3 šiqil a-na m^{pa}-ši-ri-i u m^d nabū-iddina^{na}

³³⁴For this interpretation of tillu see above p. 47 n. 157.

- 23 - lú¹ ra-mi-ke-e^{meš} šá É.UD.1^{kam}
 24 - šá ultu KI.MIN adi KI.MIN na-din
 25 - 5 1/2 šiqil ana pe-en-tu₄ šá bābi rabīⁱ bāb nēreb^d bēlti-iá
 26 - bāb nēreb^d mandanu É-TÜR-KALAM-MA giš^š kirī burāši
 27 - la-me-e bīti bīt^d gu-la É-ĤUR-SAG-SIKIL-LA
 28 - bīt^d gu-la É-ĤUR-SAG-KÙ-GA akli^h gi-nu-ú
 29 - šá bīt^d gu-la šu'āti^{a-ti} u šá lú¹ mu-še-ši-ir
 30 - šá bābāti^{meš} šá É-SAG-GÍL <ultu KI.MIN> adi KI.MIN
 ina gát^m ra-ḫi-me-su na-din
 31 - 2 1/2 šiqil 5 ma-āri ana tam-ṭi-tu₄ immeri gi-ni-e
 32 - É-SA-BAD šá ana^m u-rak lú¹ ṭābiḫi na-din
 33 - [] šiqil ana tam-ṭi-tu₄ immeri gi-ni-e šá bīt^d
 gu-la
 34 - ĤUR-SAG-KÙ-GA ana^m bēl(UMUN)-ku-šur-šú lú¹ ṭābiḫi na-din
 35 - 1/2 šiqil ana lú¹ išpari^{meš} ana nu-uh-hu-tú šá dul-la-tú
 36 - 1/2 šiqil ana ša-bat bat-qa šá bīt^d lú¹ išpari^{meš} ana^m
 mardúk-šuma-iddin nadin
 37 - 6 šiqil ana lú¹ ša-bat qātí ana ūm 29^{kam} šá iti šabaṭi
 38 - [š]á[?] ana alāk^{ak} ūm 1^{kam} ana MIN.KI ana lú¹ kurgarri^{meš}
 39 - [lú] assinni^{<meš>} u nārāti^{meš} na-din
 40 - [š]á[?] ana alāk^{ak} ana KI.MIN na-din
 41 - [] ana alāk^{ak} ana KI.MIN na-din
 42 - [] ana alāk^{ak} ana KI.MIN na-din
 43 - 1/2 šiqil ana lú¹ ararri^{meš} ana alāk^{ak} KI.MIN na-din
 44 - 2 šiqil ana lú¹ bar-sip^{ki meš} ana alāk^{ak} ana KI.MIN
 na-din
 45 - 2 šiqil ana tam-ṭi-tu₄ immeri gi-ni-e šá bīt^d
 nin-líl na-din
 46 - 2 šiqil ana tam-ṭi-tu₄ immeri gi-ni-e bīt^d gu-la
 47 - 2 šiqil ana^m ri-ḫat-^d nergal ĤUR-SAG-SIKIL-LA

"... mina of silver, the income of the offering box and the panatu of the offering box, the property of Zababa and Ninlil from 19(?) Šabaṭ, year 218 to 27(?) Adar of that year. Disbursed therefrom:

- Six shekels for the purchase of three kur of barley for the millers from their funds from 12 Adar to 11 Intercalary Adar of that year expended by the millers.
- Two and one half shekels for the wages of these millers

expended by ditto.

- Seventeen(?) and one quarter shekels for a future(?) month without interruption(?) for the lack³³⁵ of regular offering sheep for the Day One temple from 13 Ṭebet to 13 Šabaṭ given to Urak, the butcher.
- One and one half shekel for the rations of the brewers and soakers from 15 Adar to 14 Intercalary Adar expended by Marduk-šuma-iddin, the brewer.
- ... shekels for salt lumps and firewood from ditto to ditto (expended) by ditto.
- Two shekels paid to Bel-aḫḫe-iddin, Ubar and Nidintu-Bel, the porters of the Day One temple from ditto to ditto.
- Three shekels for charcoal for the main gate, the entrance gate of Beltia, the entrance gate of Mandanu, Eturkalama, the juniper garden around the temple, the Gula temple Eḫursagsikila, the Gula temple Eḫursagkuga (and for) the regular offering bread for these Gula temples and for the sweeper of the gates of Esagil from ditto to ditto, expended by Raḫim-Esu.
- Two and one half shekels and five mari for the lack of regular offering sheep of Esabad given to Urak, the butcher.
- ... shekels for the lack of regular offering sheep of the Gula temple Ĥursagkuga paid to Bel-kušuršú, the butcher.
- One half shekel to the weavers for lessening(?) the work.
- One half shekel for the repair of the weavers' building paid to Marduk-šuma-iddin.
- Six shekels for the helpers(?) on 29 Sabat for the procession of Day One given to ditto for the kurgarrú, assinnu and song-stresses.
- for the procession paid to ditto.
- for the procession paid to ditto.
- for the procession paid to ditto.
- One half shekel for the millers for the procession paid to ditto.
- Two shekels for the Borsipppeans for the procession paid to ditto.

³³⁵That is to purchase sheep to make up for the lack thereof.

- Two shekles for the lack of regular offering sheep for the Ninlil temple.
- Two shekels for the lack of regular offering sheep for the Gula temple *Ḫursagsikila*.³³⁶
- Two shekels for Riḫat-Nergal.

This text shows the diversity of the expenditures in the temples in Babylon in the late Hellenistic period. Expenditures range from material for the workmen (barley for the millers) through money for temple repairs to rations for all manner of temple personnel and even honorraria for the participants in a ritual procession.

Other texts of the same sort give us more information about the various expenses. Several texts, for example, go into more detail about the repairs necessary to keep the temple in good order, as in the following.

CT XLIX 154

- 1 - 12 šiqil kaspu šá ūm 25^{kam} šá iti araḫsamna
- 2 - šattu 218^{kam} ina kuš^{na-áš-tuq}
- 3 - ina ^{gi}ḫal-lat šá-kin u ina ^{ṭēḫ}^mra-ḫi-me-su
- 4 - pi-qid na-šá-a
- 5 - ultu lib-bi aši
- 6 - 1 1/2 šiqil ana šu-šu-ú šá me^{meš e?! -ÀM}
- 7 - ultu ma-lak šá ina igāri(I.ZI) im^{šūti(I)}
- 8 - šá É-SAG-GÍL ana lú^{na-ḫi-le-e nadin}
- 9 - 3 ma-ḫi ana šu-lu-ú šá eperi^{ḫá}
- 10 - ana muḫḫi ú-ru šá É.UD.1^{kam}
- 11 - [ana ^{md}marḫuk?] -šuma-ušur na-din
- 12 - 2¹ šiqil 2 ma-ḫi ana ša-bat bat-qa šá 'x'
- 13 - šá 'x' šá ina bāb du-de-e šá É-SAG-GÍL
- 14 - ana ^mma-ri-'-ú-nu
- 15 - lú^{itinni} na-din
- 16 - re-ḫi 8 šiqil ina kuš^{na-áš-tuq}
- 17 - ina ^{gi}ḫal-lat šá-kin u ina ^{ṭēḫ}
- 18 - ^mra-ḫi-me-su pi-qid

³³⁶The name of the temple is written on the following line.

"Twelve shekels of silver, which was placed in a purse³³⁷ in a reed container on 25 Araḫsamna and deposited with Raḫim-Esu (and subsequently) withdrawn. Expended therefrom:

- One and one half shekel for the removal of water(?) from the passageway in the south wall³³⁸ paid to the *nāḫiilū*.³³⁹
- Three *maḫi* for the raising of dirt to the top of the roof of the Day One temple paid to (Marduk?)-šuma-ušur.
- Two shekels and two *maḫi* for the repair of the ... of the *dudê* gate of Esagil paid to Mari'unu, the builder.
- The remainder - eight shekels - was placed in a purse in a reed container and deposited with Raḫim-Esu."

This gives some idea of the variety of expenses involved in maintaining the temple buildings - the removal of water deposited by rain or floods, carrying dirt for strengthening(?) the roof and general repairs to the temple complex.

4. Payments to the Crown

We have no record of taxes or payments made to the crown or its representatives by the temples on a regular basis. And although it is quite conceivable that the temples presented "free will" gifts to the kings on the occasion of their accession there is no actual proof that they did so.

Such gifts, however, would not in all probability have been recorded in cuneiform, which was a medium limited for the most part to the internal records of the temples, but rather on parchment or papyrus written in Greek. We do have one reference, however, to a gift from the temple to a state official in a list of temple expenditures.

CT XLIX 156

- 11 - 1 šiqil 4-tú ana ši-me l-en immeri gi-nu-ú
- 12 - šá ana lú^{pa-ḫat babili^{ki}} qur-ru-ub

"One and one quarter shekel for the purchase price of one regular offering sheep, which was brought to the governor of

³³⁷For the reading *na-áš-tuk/q* see CAD N² 79b and AHW 1579b.

³³⁸So rather than *I.ZI TÜR* in CAD M¹ 158b.

³³⁹From *nāḫālu* "to sift"? The sense, however, is difficult.

Babylon."

From this it would seem that the temple presented a sheep to the governor, perhaps on a certain feast or holiday. This, however, is one of the few such references to such a practice on the part of the temples and it does not seem to have been a normal practice.

The picture we have of the income and expenditures of the temples is undoubtedly incomplete, and we may assume that only a small part of the temple economy is reflected in these texts. And while it would undoubtedly add much to our understanding if we had more cuneiform texts at our disposal, without the Greek and Aramaic documents, which were written on perishable material, our picture of the temple economy must inevitably remain incomplete.

D. ADMINISTRATION

The temple economy was not of course a self-regulating organism. It needed administrative mechanisms to ensure proper functioning. Records had to be kept of the labour done and the goods and money used to pay for this labour. Decisions had to be made, new personnel trained, perquisites allotted and any number of major and minor adjustments made to ensure that everything went smoothly. This entailed an accounting system with scribes to do the recording as well as administrative personnel and bodies to make decisions.

As with the other sections concerning the temple economy most of the material at our disposal comes from the temples of the Babylon area, at least insofar as accounting procedures and administrative records are concerned.

From Uruk we have very few administrative documents. There is the duty roster of the *arad ekalli* discussed above³⁴⁰ and a recently published list of perquisites for the *kalû* priests.³⁴¹ Aside from these there are only the two enigmatic lists of names with numerical notations after the names,³⁴² which may

³⁴⁰See above p. 50ff.

³⁴¹BagM Beiheft 2 No. 115.

³⁴²TCL XIII 228 and MLC 2193, cf. L.T. DOTY, CAHU 116ff.

or may not be administrative documents.

Still, while there are few actual administrative documents from Uruk, many of the contracts do contain administrative notations. Several prebend sales contain provisions for registering the prebends in the name of the buyer in the temple rolls. This registration clause only appears in contracts dated from 51 to 89 SE and has the following form:

*ūmu mala PN ṣebû isqa šu'āti ina lē'i ša isqāti ša
ina bīt ilāni ina šumišu ušallim/ušallam*

"Whenever PN (the buyer) wishes he may finalize the transaction (by registering) the prebend in the register of prebends in the temples."³⁴³

This register was probably the official administrative list of current prebend holders, on which the temple based the distribution of perquisites. Some such list no doubt existed at all times, but it is only during this period that it is mentioned in the contracts. Not all prebend sales during this period contain this clause, and thus this clause may have been a semi-official notation rather than a binding provision of the contract.

Not only were prebends registered in this manner, but as we have seen above this was a common feature of the sale of ration rights.³⁴⁴ There however, the registration was with the state officials rather than with the temple authorities. If as we suggested above the purpose of this registration of rations with the crown authorities was tax assessment, then the registration of prebend rights with the temple rather than with the crown might suggest that the income from prebends was not subject to taxation.

The actual administration of these ration allotments seems to have been in part at least, if not fully in the hands of the temples as can be seen by the fact that the rations are called "property of Anu"³⁴⁵ and by the fact that they were also said

³⁴³For earlier discussions of the phrase see BRVU 76f., U. LEWENTON, Diss. 98ff. and L.T. DOTY, CAHU 56-61.

³⁴⁴See above p. 138f.

³⁴⁵E.g. BRM II 33,4.

to be registered as property of Anu in addition to registration with the crown authorities, as in the following.

BRM II 31

7 - ar-ku

8 - kurummata^há šu'āti^{meš} ina kušš^ši-pi-iš-tu₄ šá
m^ddi-'i-qé-te-e-su

9 - [šá bī]t šar-ri ù šá-ṭar^{meš} makkūr^d anu bīt ilāni^{meš}
šá uruk^{ki} ina šu-mu

10 - šá^{m^d}anu-aḥa-ittannu a-ga-a apli šá^{m^d}dum-qí-^danu
apli šá^mkidin-^danu apil^mlu-uš-tam-mar-^dadad

11 - [šul]-lum-mat

"Afterwards these rations were fully entered in the communication of the *dioiketēs*³⁴⁶ of the house of the king and (in) the documents of the property of Anu of the temples of Uruk in the name of that Anu-aḥa-ittannu, son of Dumqi-Anu, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Luštammar-Adad."

In addition to these administrative clauses in contracts we can learn something of the administration of Uruk from the clay bullae studied by Rostovtzeff in YCS III. There is, however, no known connexion between these, which represent the remains of the Greek official archives and the temple administration, and hence they must be left out of consideration here.

From the temples of the Babylon area on the other hand we have a much fuller picture of the temple administration. The administration of the ration system is especially well represented in texts from this area. Moreover there are various texts concerning administrative decisions of the temple assemblies and lists of income and expenditures which give us information about the banking system of the temples.

The disbursement of rations involved three administrative and recording steps. First the paymaster ordered the payment of rations to an individual or group of individuals through one of his subordinate officers. This was done by means of a letter order addressed to the subordinate and affixed with the seal of the authorizing official.

³⁴⁶See L.T. DOTY, JNES 38 (1979) 196f. n. 6 with previous literature.

After disbursement of the rations the recipient acknowledged the receipt of the rations by affixing his seal to an official receipt. Thereafter these were summarized at intervals in a list, such as that found in CT XLIV 84, which records half of the number of weavers(?)³⁴⁷ receiving clothing allowances for the sixth year of Antigonos with the amount received by each. Most of these summary lists seem to record the rations paid to the members of a single profession. Further summaries may have been made for the temple as a whole, totaling the lists of each of the various professional groups.

The only possible evidence for this latter practice is a fragmentary list, CT XLIX 183, which is headed by the notation "from the property" (of the god)³⁴⁸ followed by a list of professions with a total ([] GUN 21 MA(NA)) in the last line. While this may be a plausible interpretation the extremely fragmentary nature of the texts excludes us from putting too much weight on it.

One interesting aspect of the ration system is that for the archive dating from 50 to 60 SE we have evidence of parallel recording of ration disbursement in cuneiform and in Greek. For several of the texts ordering payment of rations end with the notation "copy made in Greek" (*gabarú ina im-man-na-a-tú šaṭir*).³⁴⁹

The provision for a copy in Greek suggests that the crown officials had an interest in the ration distribution of the temples in Babylon. This situation calls to mind the registration clause in the sales of ration rights in Uruk, but whether the purpose here is the same as was suggested in the case of Uruk, viz. taxation assessment of the individual ration recipients or whether some other purpose was intended we have no way of ascertaining.

³⁴⁷See above p. 11 n. 37.

³⁴⁸This interpretation assumes that the published copy has the obverse and reverse in the wrong order.

³⁴⁹Contra CAD M¹208a s.v. *manātu* B "accounting" q.v. for attestations. The interpretation given here was suggested orally to the writer by Prof. A.K. Grayson of Toronto.

In the late Hellenistic period when a money economy had replaced the earlier ration system the recording was naturally somewhat different. Records from that time are essentially financial accounts giving the amounts received from various sources, notices of deposit and withdrawal and the purposes of the various expenditures.

We have no documents ordering expenditures like the letter orders of the earlier ration system and are consequently in the dark about the mechanisms by which these expenditures were authorized. Most of the documents from this late archive are lists of expenditures although they generally also contain information about the sources of the income and the person with whom it was deposited. Actual deposit notations on the other hand are rare. One such document, however, is the following.

CT XLIX 143

- 1 - 15 šiqil kaspu ir-bi šá 'qu-up-pi'
- 2 - u pa-na-at qu-up-pi šá É-SA-BAD
- 3 - šá ultu ūm 13^{kam} šá iti adari
- 4 - šattu 122^{kam} šá šī-i
- 5 - šattu 186^{kam} adi ūm 12^{kam}
- 6 - šá iti adari atri šá šatti
- 7 - an-nit kaspu šu'āti^{a-ti}
- 8 - ina taḥ-<sis>-tu₄ ina tēḥ
- 9 - ^mbēl(UMUN)-uballiṭ^{iṭ} pi-qid

"Fifteen shekels of silver, the income of the offering box and the pānātu of the offering box of Esabad from 13 Adar, year 122, that is year 186, until 12 Intercalary Adar of that year. This money was deposited with Bel-uballiṭ by means of a memorandum."

The deposit of money by means of a memorandum would at first glance seem contradictory. Indeed, most of the other deposit notations speak of placing the money in a purse in a reed container before depositing it with the banker, which clearly shows that it was actual money that was generally deposited. The probable meaning of this deposit by memorandum becomes clear if we remember that rights to temple income was sometimes leased to private individuals by the temple. It would seem that these lessees had the right to the usufruct from

this income, which was probably returned to the temple at the end of the term of the lease, or perhaps at some regular interval during the term of the lease. This deposit memorandum then might be a notice given by the temple to the banker of the amount of the income for that period to be paid at a later date by the lessee.

The other texts in this archive are lists of income and expenditures. In some cases the expenditures were made directly from the income collected, while in other instances the income was first deposited with the banker and then withdrawn to meet expenses. The remainder was then deposited or redeposited as the case may be.

We are relatively ill informed about the administrative personnel of the temples. This is not surprising since it is the nature of administration to be somewhat anonymous. We can say little for example about the scribal system of the administration, since the scribes known to us come from contracts and literary documents. Whether these scribes were also the ones involved in keeping administrative records is not known. The cursive and rather unsightly ductus in administrative records cannot be used as proof that the scribes who wrote administrative texts were different from those who wrote literary texts, since the style of writing may have had as much to do with the nature of the texts as with the scribes writing them.

In Uruk and to a lesser extent in Babylon it is likely that the *sepīru* was more directly concerned with administrative affairs than the *ṭupšarru*. This can be seen by the qualification *ša makkūr (DN)* "of the proberthy (of the god)" frequently added to the title of the former in both centres. It is also likely that even in Babylon most of the administrative record keeping was done on parchment/papyrus rather than on clay tablets.

We know something of the administration of the ration system from the two archives of letter orders from Babylon. In the earlier archive we find the system being administered by the paymaster, or more precisely by a number of paymasters, one for each profession. Presumably these paymasters were responsible to the dean and the assembly of the temple.

The later archive gives evidence of a somewhat different system of administration. Letter orders in this archive were issued not only by the paymaster but also by the dean and assembly and even by other higher officials. The recipient of these letter orders was the ship's carpenter (*nagār rukūbi*), who here functioned as a subordinate administrator rather than as an actual craftsman.

Little is known about the administrative officials in the other parts of the temple. The *bēl piqitti* in the Emeslam temple in Cutha and the officials such as the *rab širkī* and *rab bīt hilši* in Uruk were undoubtedly administrative officials, but their exact duties are not known.

The chief administrative officer in the temples of the Babylon area was the *šatammu*, who exercised his administrative functions together with the assembly of the temple. In Uruk the administration was headed by the *paqdu ša bīt ilāni*, but we know little about his actual function in the temple.

Thus, while we know something about the administrative mechanisms of the temple, we are actually rather ill informed about its administrative personnel.

Administrative policy not only had to be carried out, it had to be set as well. This was the function of the government of the temple, which in addition to setting administrative policy was also involved in decisions of various kinds involving temple personnel and property. Fines had to be set for breach of contract involving temple goods, vacant temple land had to be assigned and novices and apprentices had to be accepted into the community.

The body which made these decisions was the assembly of the temple (*puḥur Esagila/Emeslam*) in the temples of the Babylon area and the assembly of the city (*puḥur Uruk*) at Uruk. These were presided over by the chief administrative officer of the respective temples.

The assembly of Uruk is mentioned only in contracts as the body which is to set fines for breach of contract involving temple property.

We are much better informed, however, about the workings of the assemblies of the temples of the Babylon area. From Cutha, for example, we have a decision by the assembly concerning the

allocation of a vacant plot to one of the exorcists.³⁵⁰ From Babylon we have several documents involving the assembly of Esagila. Some of these documents record decisions by the assembly concerning the acceptance of fledgling astrologers into the company of astrologers and the allocation of rations to them.³⁵¹

In a document similar to the ones treated above we find a woman and her descendants being accepted into the company of the exorcists. This is interesting for two reasons, first because it is the sole reference to a woman active in the temple in a professional capacity and second because it mentions an assembly of the exorcists subsidiary to the temple assembly. The text is somewhat fragmentary, but the passage in question is well enough preserved to allow us to judge its contents.

CT XLIX 140

6' - [gaba]rū⁴ kuš³ taḥ-sis-tu⁴ šá² f¹i?-[]

7' - mārti^m ze-e-da-a-a šá² ultu

8' - se-né-qa it-ti-i-ni š³i-i-tu⁴

9' - ù sal³ mārāti^{meš} šu itti lú¹ puḥri

10' - [šá] lú¹ āšipī^{meš} šá² É-SAG-GÍL šá²

11' - [ultu lib-b]i in-da-šal ina pa¹-ni-ni

"Copy of the memorandum concerning . . . , the daughter of Zedaja, who, after having been examined by us,³⁵² she and her daughters are equal to us³⁵³ with the assembly of exorcists of Esagila."

This is the same form as the clause of acceptance for the other apprentice astrologers, and is the only possible reference to a woman active in the temple in a professional capacity other than singers or the like.

Petitions of other types were also heard by the assembly. Thus the appeal of the prospective lessee for a lease of rights to temple income was addressed to the dean and assembly of Esagila,³⁵⁴

³⁵⁰BRM I 88, see above pp. 18ff.

³⁵¹See above pp. 17-20.

³⁵²The examination might also refer to the memorandum.

³⁵³Cf. above p. 18 and note 65.

³⁵⁴CT XLIX 160.

as was the deposition by Muranu, the *nagār rukūbi* concerning rations.³⁵⁵

The composition of these assemblies is an interesting feature of the government of the temples. For the subsidiary assemblies the composition is self-evident, as the names "assembly of the exorcists" and "assembly of the weavers" show. In addition we have some idea of the composition of the temple assembly of Emeslam from the professions found among the seals of the witnesses to the decision by the assembly concerning the allocation of an exorcist's plot. These witnesses were undoubtedly members of the temple assembly, and among the professions represented are the *āšīpu* and *kalû* from the higher priesthood, the *kutimmu*, *nagāru* and *kabšarru* from the ranks of the *ērib bīti* priesthood and the *sirāšû* and *ṭābiḥu* from those who prepared the food offerings.

A comparison of these professions with those found in the ancestral clan list from Uruk, VS XV 1, shows that the two are virtually identical. Since, as far as we can tell, these professions were hereditary that meant that the membership in the assembly was probably confined to a certain class, membership in which was determined largely by birth.

This accords well with the evidence from Uruk, where the prebend system seems to have been organized along much the same lines as the assembly. That is, prebends were limited to certain professions with most of the sales transactions taking place among members of the ancestral clans found in the clan list VS XV 1.

The professional allotments such as those of the *atû* and *itinnu* seem to fall outside the prebend system despite similarities in the form of the sales of the two groups, and we note that the occupations with which they were connected do not seem to have been included among those in the assemblies. This suggests that the prebend system and the assembly at Uruk may have been connected and membership in the assembly limited to members of these ancestral clans.

³⁵⁵CT XLIX 115.

The question of the composition of the assembly is connected with the problem of citizenship in Babylonia. The assembly of the Esagila temple, for example, is referred to as "the Babylonians, the assembly of Esagila". Since one would naturally assume that members in that assembly came from Babylon, the designation is geographically superfluous. Its use, however, would be much more understandable if it were viewed as a formal designation of citizenship. Thus the phrase might be understood as "the citizens of Babylon, who are members of the assembly of Esagila".

But while it is possible that membership in the assembly of the temple qualified one for membership in the city community, it is almost certainly not true that membership in the city was limited to members of the assembly of the temple. For, to judge by the existence of a Greek theatre at Babylon, there must have been a sizable Greek community there, who though unconnected with the temple would certainly have had citizenship rights.

A similar situation seems to have obtained at Uruk as far as citizenship is concerned. There we often find the designation "Urukean" in the sense of a title rather than as a geographical designation. Scribes in colophons are frequently termed "the Urukean", and we find such phrases as "the Urukeans, holders of prebend shares" (*lú uruk^{ki}-a-a bēlē^{meš} isqāti^{meš}*).³⁵⁶ As in the case of Babylon it would seem that these could equally well be translated "citizen of Uruk".

The question then is whether or not this idea of citizenship constituted membership in a *polis* in the Greek sense. Much has been written about whether or not Babylon and Uruk constituted Greek *poleis*.³⁵⁷ All of these discussions have been based on notions of citizenship derived from the cities of classical Greece.

³⁵⁶BRM II 47,14. Cf. *lú uruk^{ki}-a-a bēlē^{meš} qa-šá-a-tú šá abul^d adad*

TCL XIII 242,7, for which see p. 80 above.

³⁵⁷See L.T. DOTY, CAHU 150-160 for the most recent discussion and the previous literature cited there.

The question we might ask, however, is not whether we as modern scholars can legitimately term these cities *poleis* in the classical sense but whether or not they felt themselves to be such and whether the Greek rulers treated them as such. Evidence suggests an affirmative answer for both questions.

Not only do we have the terms "Babylonian" and "Urukean" used in more or less a Greek sense, but the organization of the assemblies and the clan system of Uruk all combine to suggest that they either considered themselves members of *poleis* or at the very least that they attempted to approximate those institutions.

The Greek rulers for their part seem to have made no differentiation between the newly founded Greek *poleis* and the older Babylonian cities in their treatment of the cities of the empire.³⁵⁸ Thus we may assume that Babylon and Uruk constituted *poleis* in their own eyes and in those of the Greek rulers in a *de facto* sense if not in a *de jure* one.

The government of the temple then, was concentrated in the hands of the elite citizens of the community. This, however, was no different than in the earlier periods of Babylonian history. The only difference was that the organization of this elite now took on Greek overtones rather than continuing along strictly Babylonian lines.

IV. CULT

The preceding sections have been concerned with the temple as a social and economic institution. No survey of the temple would be complete, however, without some reference to the religious activities of the temple, which after all provided the *raison d'être* for its other activities. The following is merely a limited outline of the main aspects of the cult during this period, for a comprehensive study would take us far beyond the limits of the present work.

Among the aspects of the cult which we shall consider are the actual rites and ceremonies and the temporal arrangement of these ceremonies, i.e. the cultic calendar. The most commonly used general term for these rites was *paršu*, but many learned synonyms were employed by the scribes of the ritual texts, as for example, the colophon of the tablet containing the regulations for the ritual meals of the temple of Anu where one finds

TU 38

44 - giš¹lē' paraš² d³anu-ú-tú šuluḥḥê ellūti^{meš} sak-ke-e
šarru-ú-tú a-di šuluḥḥe elūti^{meš} ilūti šá⁴ é⁵re-eš

IRI¹²-GAL

45 - É-AN-NA ù bītāti^{meš} uruk^{ki} al-ka-ka-at lú¹āšipī^{meš}
lú²kalê^{meš} u lú³nārī^{meš} ù mārī^{meš} um-man-nu

The tablet of the rites of supreme divinity, the pure ceremonies, the rites of kingship as well as the divine ceremonies of the Reš, Irigal and Eanna temples and the (other) temples of Uruk, the activities of the exorcists, lamentation priests, singers and craftsmen"

The types of ceremonies subsumed under the rubric *paršu* are enumerated in the same ritual tablet, where we find

TU 38

36 - ù e-lat alpi ù immeri šá¹ a-na gu-uq-qa-ni-e
eššešāni^{meš} pīte^{te} bābāti^{meš}

37 - túg¹ lu-bu-šá-at dug² egubbi^{meš} ba-a-a-at^{meš} kinūni^{meš}
paršē³ ḥa-šá-du

38 - ka-ri-bi^{meš} ù tar-di-i-tu⁴ šarri šá¹ ina parši šá² kal
šatti šaṭ-ri šá³ ina é⁴re-eš

³⁵⁸Cf. G. SARKISIAN, *Ancient Mesopotamia* 325.

39 - É-IRI₁₂-GAL É-AN-NA ù bītātī^{meš} uruk (TIR.AN.NA)^{ki}
a-na₄ anu an-tu₄ u ilāni^{meš} kališunu i-gar-rib

"and in addition to the cattle and sheep which are brought for the *guqqû* and *eššešu* feasts, the gate opening ceremonies, the clothing ceremonies, the holy water ceremonies, the night vigils, the brazier ceremonies, the sacred marriage ceremonies, the *kāribu* offerings, the additional offerings of the king, which are written among the rites for the whole year in the Reš, Irigal and Eanna temples and the temples of the gods of Uruk for Anu, Antu and all the gods."

In the following section we shall give a short outline of the various rites, ceremonies and offerings current in the temples of Babylonia during the Hellenistic period. Most of these were carried over from the earlier periods and will not be discussed in detail here, since no such discussion could be considered adequate without a full evaluation of the earlier evidence and this is not possible within the confines of the present study.

A. Rites and Ceremonies

akītu³⁵⁹

The *akītu* is attested in both Babylon and Uruk during the Hellenistic period. From the former we have texts containing parts of the 22nd and 23rd tablets of the ritual series concerned with this festival.³⁶⁰ From Uruk we have tablets dealing with the *akītu* festivals of the months Tašrit and Nisan.³⁶¹ Two *akītu* temples, those of Anu and Ištar, are mentioned in texts concerned with the builder's allotment and the singer's prebend from Uruk.³⁶²

³⁵⁹For a survey of the *akītu* festivals of various Babylonian centres in all periods see A. FALKENSTEIN, Festschrift Friedrich 147-182.

³⁶⁰Racc. 127-154.

³⁶¹Racc. 86-99 and 99-108.

³⁶²See A. FALKENSTEIN, ADFU 3, 43f.

bajātu

The *bajātu* which seems to have been a vigil held during the night in the temple is one of the ceremonies found in the list of rites given above. The vigil began immediately after the secondary evening meal, at which time the gates of the temple were locked, and it ended after the opening of the gates at dawn.³⁶³ On certain occasions, as on the eve of the seventeenth day, special rites were held during the night vigil. These consisted of a special extra meal during the first night watch in the cella of the ziqurrat of the Reš temple, followed by torchlight processions with the images of various deities, ending forty minutes after sunrise.³⁶⁴

dīk bīti

The "awakening of the temple" ceremony was held in the temple before dawn and before the gates of the temple were opened. The main element of the ceremony as far as we know was the recitation of hymns to the various gods. The *kalû* and the *nāru* were present to sing the hymns and songs for the ceremony, and in at least one instance the baker was present when the preparation of food was involved.³⁶⁵

dullu ša Seluku u mārēšu

The "ritual of Seleucus and his offspring" is found in one of the chronicle texts and is the only specific mention of the royal cult in Hellenistic texts. There the royal ancestral cult is found in the Esagila temple, where it seems to have had much the same status as the normal cultic activities performed for Bel and Beltia.³⁶⁶

Although this is the only specific mention of the royal ancestral cult, there is indirect evidence of its existence at Uruk, where offerings were presented at the table of the statues of the kings (*paššūru ša šalam šarrāni*).³⁶⁷ Although these sta-

³⁶³Racc. 92 rev. 11.

³⁶⁴Racc. 119ff.

³⁶⁵Racc. 89, 7.

³⁶⁶TCS v 283, 3-9.

³⁶⁷VS XV 16, 7f.; BRM II 36, 4f.; Racc. 38, 14; BM 93004, 19.

tues are known to have existed in earlier periods of Mesopotamian history, it seems likely that the kings referred to are Seleucus and his descendants rather than earlier kings.

eššešu

The *eššešu* feasts are among those subsumed under the rubric *paršu*, and the perquisites derived from these feasts formed a large part of the income of the various prebends of the Uruk temples. The composition of these perquisites is only rarely stated, but in one text we find:

Ash. 1923.739

8 - mi-šil ina 12-'-ú ina šīri ba-šal u bal-ṭu šá immerī^{meš}
 9 - šá ina eššešāni^{meš} gab-bi a-na giš paššūri šá^d en-líl
 u^d bēlti šá^é rēš elú^ú

"One half in one twelfth in the cooked or raw mutton which goes up to the table of Enlil and the Mistress of Reš on all the *eššešu* feasts."

Similarly in another text:

BM 93004

17 - isiq-šú 7-ú ina re-bu-ú ina paspasī^{muš[en meš]}
 18 - šá ina eššešāni^{meš} gab-bi a-na giš paššūri šá^d
 na-na-a elú^ú u isiq-šú []
 19 - ina mi-šil immeri šá ina eššešāni^{meš} gab-bi šá
 a-na giš paššūri šá ša-lam šarrāni^{meš} elú^ú

"His share, one seventh in one fourth in the ducks which go up to the table of Nana on all the *eššešu* feasts and his share . . . in one half of the sheep which goes up to the table of the statues of the kings on all the *eššešu* feasts."

It would seem then, that these feasts were general ones in which all the gods of Uruk took part and that they took place at well-known regular intervals, since the actual dates are never given. Which days were set aside for these feasts in Uruk remains unknown. It seems unlikely that they were the same as those of the earlier *eššešu* feasts of Nabu, which were celebrated on the fourth, eighth and seventeenth days of the month, and we have no way of knowing whether they were the same as the earlier *eššešu* feasts at Uruk, since the dates of these are never given.

isinnu

The *isinnu* festival is well attested from the Old Babylonian period on, but it was hitherto attested in Hellenistic texts only in the cultic calendar SBH VIII, which mentions an *isinnu* festival which took place on the eleventh day in the *bīti* *ikribi*.³⁶⁸

We now have another reference to this festival in a text from Babylon dated to year 218 SE, where we find the following passage in a list of temple expenditures.

AB 248³⁶⁹

6' - 2 1/2 šiqil a-na šī-me l-en immer niqê
 7 - šá ana ūm 25^{kam} šá^{iti} simāni šá i-sin-nu bīti
 8 - šá É-SA-BAD ina qát^{md} mardúk-šuma-iddin
 9 - apli šá^{md} nabû-nāšir na-din

Two and one half shekels for the purchase of one offering sheep for the 25th of Siman, the *isinnu* feast of the Esabad temple expended by Marduk-šuma-iddin, son of Nabu-našir." This *isin bīti* recalls a feast of the same name in Sippar during the Neo-Babylonian period.³⁷⁰ In the earlier texts we find barley and flour being offered instead of sheep, but otherwise they seem to have been much the same.

kinūnu

The *kinūnu* ceremony was a ritual involving the use of the ceremonial brazier. In texts from the Hellenistic period it is mentioned only in the passage quoted above under the rubric *paršu*. Since it follows the *bajātu* in this list it is likely that it took place during the night vigils, as we know was the practice in earlier periods.

lubuštu

The *lubuštu* ceremonies, which consisted of the ritual clothing of the divine statues, are among the most frequently mentioned ceremonies of the Hellenistic period. From the ritual text

³⁶⁸SBH VIII obv. ii' 7.

³⁶⁹See G.J.P. McEWAN, Iraq 43 (1981) forthcoming.

³⁷⁰Nbn 767,2; Camb 236,3.8.

for the Akitu festival of the month of Tašrit we know that the clothing ceremony during this ritual took place on the 7th of Tašrit after the *dīk bīti* ceremony. This passage mentions clothing ceremonies for Anu and Antu and for Ištar, which involved leading a bull between the curtains and singing by the *nāru* and *kalû*.³⁷⁰

The reference to the bull may refer to the sacrificial slaughtering (*hitpu*) which we know from prebend texts took place during the clothing ceremonies. The perquisites from both of these formed part of the income of the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend.³⁷¹

In a list of hymns to be sung for the *dīk bīti* ceremonies of various days we find the following reference to clothing ceremonies.

TU 48

13 - *ūm 20^{kam} ina muḫḫi šu-uḫ-ḫu AM-ME AMAŠ-AN-NA*
14 - *iqabbu (AL-GU) a-na a-nu it-ti tūg lu-bu-šū meš*

"Day 20 (monthly). They recite "The sheepfold of the Lord" to Anu over the socle with the clothing ceremonies."

In addition to those for Anu, Antu and Ištar we also know of clothing ceremonies for Enlil, Nana and the Mistress of Reš.³⁷² Thus it would seem that like the *eššešu* feasts they were not limited to any one god or group of gods and that they occurred at regular well-known intervals, since the dates are never mentioned in the prebend texts.

Exactly how many of these there were, however, remains unclear. It is unlikely that the 20th of the month mentioned for the clothing ceremony of Anu was the only date on which these occurred. In addition to monthly occurrences they seem to have taken place on other occasions, such as the one mentioned for the 7th of Tašrit during the Akitu festival.

mīs pī

The "washing of the mouth" was a ritual performed on the sta-

³⁷⁰Racc. 98,11ff.

³⁷¹See above p. 83f.

³⁷²Ash. 1923.739,7.

tues of the gods during various ceremonies. It was also performed by analogy on the bull whose hide was to be used to cover the *lilissu* drum³⁷³ and even upon a torch usde in the night vigil.³⁷⁴ Four texts from the Hellenistic period have recently been published which deal with the conducting of the *mīs pī* ritual,³⁷⁵ and these texts show a remarkable similarity to the earlier Assur version of the ritual.³⁷⁶ Offerings were associated with these rituals as in the earlier period, but we do not know if these offerings were used to provide perquisites for prebend income since the *mīs pī* is never specifically mentioned in prebend texts as a source of income.

naptanu

The *naptanu* was the ritual meal offered to the various gods of the temples several times daily and it no doubt provided much of the perquisite income for the various prebends of Uruk. The normal schedule provided for four meals during the day, a main and secondary meal in the morning and the same in the afternoon. In addition there were other meals on special occasions, such as the meal during the night vigil mentioned above³⁷⁷ and the afternoon meal on the fourth day of the Akitu festival in Babylon, after which *enūma eliš* was recited.³⁷⁸

pīt bābi

The "opening of the gate" ceremony took place at dawn in the temples. It is found among the rites and ceremonies subsumed under the rubric *paršu*, and during the Hellenistic period came to form part of the micro-zodiacal system. In texts dealing with this system we find the various signs of the zodiac as-

³⁷³Racc. 12,8; 16,23.

³⁷⁴Racc. 119,29.

³⁷⁵BagM Beiheft 2 Nos. 1-4. The first three have been edited by W.R. MAYER, ORNS 47 (1978) 443-458.

³⁷⁶W.R. MAYER, op. cit. 444.

³⁷⁷See above p. 161.

³⁷⁸Racc. 136,28off.

sociated with the opening of the gate ceremonies of various gods.³⁷⁹ There also seem to have been offerings associated with this ceremony, which formed part of the income of the *ērib bītūtu* and butcher's prebend.³⁸⁰

Purification Rites

There were several purification rites in practice in the temples of Babylonia during this period. The most frequently mentioned is the *hub bīti*, which took place during or preliminary to the performance of various rituals.³⁸¹ Other purification rites were also performed in the temples, but we know very little about them. These were the *tēbibtu*, which took place in association with the sacrificial meal in the cella of the ziqurrat of Anu on the 16th of each month³⁸² and the *takpeltu*, which is found in connexion with the laying of a new foundation for a temple and in a ritual in case of lunar eclipse.³⁸³

Šalam bīti

This ceremony, which seemingly was concerned with insuring the continued well-being of the temple, is attested only once in the texts from the Hellenistic period, where it is performed during the nocturnal vigil in the temple.³⁸⁴

B. Offerings and Libations

guqqū

The *guqqū* offerings were made monthly and with the offerings of the *eššešu* feasts formed one of the main sources of income for the prebends of the temples of Uruk. From one text we learn that the *guqqū* were offered after the clothing ceremonies,

³⁷⁹GDBT 24f.

³⁸⁰BM 93004,12f. Cf. p. 78 above.

³⁸¹Racc. 8913; 140,345; 141,366; BRM IV 19,30.

³⁸²Racc. 79,34.

³⁸³Racc. 44,13; BRM IV 6,32.37.

³⁸⁴Racc. 120,16.

at least during the Akitu festival of the month of Tašrit.³⁸⁵ The composition of these offerings is not stated, but we may perhaps assume that they did not differ essentially from those of the Neo-Babylonian period, which consisted of sheep and sometimes dates and wine.

hitpu

The *hitpu* offerings were derived from the sacrificial slaughtering of sheep and goats. During the Hellenistic period they formed part of the prebend perquisites of the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebend and are always found in connexion with the clothing ceremonies, where part of the prebend share is said to consist of a portion "in the sheep of the *hitpu* offerings of all the clothing ceremonies."³⁸⁶

kāribu

The *kāribu* offering is mentioned only in the list of rites and offerings which came under the heading *paṣṣu*. In that list it is found beside the additional offering of the king. This agrees well with the evidence of the earlier periods, when the *niqī šarri* and the *niqī kāribi* are often found together.³⁸⁷ In the earlier periods this offering seems to have consisted of beef and mutton, and we have no reason to think that it was different in the Hellenistic period.

kispu

The *kispu* offering was a funerary offering for dead ancestors. It occurs only once in texts from our period, in a ritual in case of lunar eclipse, where it is given metaphorically for fallen walls and streams which no longer had water and for the Anunnaki.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵Racc. 89,13.

³⁸⁶See above p. 83 and note 231.

³⁸⁷E.g. RA 16,125 ii 2 and VS I 36 ii 9.

³⁸⁸BRM IV 6,19f.

maqqu

This is a general term for libation and it occurs in many rituals. In the ritual of the *kalû*, for example, it is mentioned along with fumigation and recitations among the ritual activities.³⁸⁹ The most frequently offered material for these libations seems to have been wine, at least to judge from the lists of temple expenditures, where we find vats of wine purchased for libations for the Esabab temple and for the gates of the Esagila temple.³⁹⁰

It is highly unlikely that all the wine for libations in the temples was simply poured out before the gods. Probably only a small portion of it was so used while the rest formed part of the perquisites of the various prebends. This assumption is supported by the occurrence of wine among the objects making up the perquisites of the *ērib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* prebends.

merditu

The *merditu* was a type of offering, which in the ritual texts of the Hellenistic period consisted of beef and mutton. It was offered during the Akitu festival of the month of Tašrit.³⁹¹

nindabû

The *nindabû* was originally a bread or cereal offering, which in the course of time grew more elaborate. In a chronicle from the Hellenistic period, for example, we find the king making a *nindabû* offering to Bel and Beltia in Esagila consisting of a large number of cattle, sheep and geese.³⁹² We also find this offering mentioned several times in astronomical diaries, although the context of these occurrences is not clear.³⁹³

³⁸⁹Racc. 42,28.

³⁹⁰CT XLIX 150,32; AB 244,26; 248,11.

³⁹¹Racc. 90,30; 91,21.

³⁹²TCS V 283,5ff.

³⁹³LBAT 350,14'; 708,4'; 801 r. 3'; 835,11'.

niqu

This is the common general term for offering. It consisted most often of sheep, as we can see from the lists of temple expenditures, where sheep for these offerings are listed among the items of expenditure.³⁹⁴ Although sheep were the most common animal used in the *niqu* offering, they were not the only one, for in a ritual text from this period we find a *niqu* offering which is said to consist of cattle as well as sheep.³⁹⁵

serqu

The *serqu* was an offering which consisted of pouring out flour for the gods. In texts from the Hellenistic period it occurs only in the ritual of the *kalû*.³⁹⁶

tardit šarri

The "additional offering of the king" occurs only in the list of rites and offerings mentioned above under *paršu*, and we have no idea of what it may have consisted. It may have been connected with the earlier *niqī šarri*, which we discussed in connexion with the *kāribu* offering.

C. Cultic Calendar

The following section is a short outline of the daily, monthly and yearly cultic routine of the temples of Babylonia during the Hellenistic period. In many areas the information is too meagre to permit more than a cursory exposition. This is true certainly for the annual calendar where there are large gaps in our data.

While the normal secular day may have begun at sunset as was the practice in earlier periods,³⁹⁷ the cultic day seems to

³⁹⁴CT XLIX 150,29; 151,5f.; AB 248,6.

³⁹⁵Racc. 119,11; 121,30ff.

³⁹⁶Racc. 10,10; 42,18.28; BagM Beih. 2,5,11. For the last of these cf.

G.J.P. McEWAN, BiOr 38 5/6 (forthcoming).

³⁹⁷Cf. S. SMITH, Iraq 31 (1969) 74.

have begun suring the last watch of the night with the *dīk bīti* ceremony. While this is said to take place at night (*ina mūšī*) it is never attested earlier than the last watch of the night and was preliminary to the ending of the night vigil, which was the last cultic event of the preceding day. The course of the cultic day in the temples can be seen from the following precis of the activities for the tenth day of Tašrit.

- 1 - "During the night *umun šermal-ankia* is recited for Anu and an *elum umma* for the gods as the *dīk bīti* in Ubšuuakinaki.
- 2 - At dawn the gate is opened. The night vigil is ended.
- 3 - Water for the hands is brought in and oil is taken.
- 4 - The main morning meal comes, the singers sing and the main (meal) is removed.
- 5 - The second meal comes. The second meal is removed.
- 6 - The main afternoon³⁹⁸ comes, the singers sing (and the main afternoon meal is removed).
- 7 - (The second afternoon meal comes). The second afternoon meal is removed.
- 8 - The gate is locked."³⁹⁹

This was the normal sequence when no night vigil was held. On days when there was a night vigil the sequence was altered slightly. The daily sequence for the 9th of Tašrit ends in the following manner.

- The second (afternoon meal) comes, the singers sing, they recite *bītu ušallim dimma malīt* (but the meal) is not cleared.
- The night vigil is held. The gate is locked.⁴⁰⁰

Thus the sequence of cultic events in the temple began with the "awakening of the temple" in the last watch of the night

³⁹⁸The *lilātu* was considered the last part of the day rather than the first part of the night, hence the translation "afternoon" rather than "evening" or "night" as in the lexica. Cf. ... *EN.NUN li-lā-[a-ti] ma-ša-rat k[al ūmi]*, CAD M¹ 338a.

³⁹⁹Racc. 92f., 10-14.

⁴⁰⁰Racc. 92, 8f.

just before dawn and ended either with the locking of the gate or with the night vigil on days when the latter was held. An interesting variation in the beginning of the cultic day can be seen in the Akitu ritual from Babylon, where the day began two hours before dawn on the first day of the festival and began progressively earlier on each succeeding day until it finally began four hours before dawn, i.e. at the beginning of the last night watch.

We know several of the regularly recurring monthly ceremonies in the temples by name, but we are ill informed as to the dates within the month when these took place. Of these the *eššešu* feasts are the most frequently mentioned. Moreover we know of the *bajātu* and *šalam bīti*, which were also probably monthly feasts as were the clothing ceremonies with their attendant *hitpu* offerings.

Few of these are specifically stated to be monthly ceremonies, but we can deduce their monthly nature from several facts. In the first place ceremonies which took place once a year were usually so designated by giving the date on which they took place. This can be seen by the following opposition in a prebend sale where we read:

Ash. 1930.568

- 4 - *ina šīri šá immeri []*
- 5 - *šá arḫu-us-su a-na giš paššūri šá diš-tar elú^ú zitta-šú ina šīri šá []*
- 6 - *iššūri^á [šá] ina ūm 8^{kam} šá iti adari a-na^á giš paššūri šá an-tu₄ elú^ú*

"(His portion) in the mutton which comes up to the table of Ištar monthly, his share of the ... meat and fowl which come up to the table of Antu on the 8th of Adar." Furthermore we know that all these ceremonies and offerings were made several times per month in the earlier periods, and we have no reason to believe that they had changed in this respect in the Hellenistic period.

Occasionally some of these monthly feasts are mentioned specifically by date. In a schedule of the daily meals for the temple of Anu, for example, we find an entry concerning the number of sheep for Anu and Antu for a monthly festival which is said to follow the pattern of the festival for the 16th of

Tebet.⁴⁰¹

One of the most interesting texts for this question is a schedule of hymns to be sung with various offerings and with the *dīk bīti* ceremony for various days. The text⁴⁰² is divided into two sections, the contents of which may be outlined thus:

1. Day 1 monthly - hymn to Anu.
Day 2 monthly - hymn to Ištār
Day 7 (monthly) - hymn to Anu, hymn to Ištār of Uruk, hymn to Nana.
Day 1 Nisan - hymn to Anu.
Day 2 and Day 15 Nisan - hymn to Anu.
Day 15 (monthly) - hymn to Anu.
Day 20 (monthly) - hymn to Anu with clothing ceremonies, hymn to Anu, hymn to the Mistress of Uruk.

2. Day 1 monthly - hymn (*dīk bīti*) to Anu, hymn to the gods of the night.⁴⁰³
Day 7 (monthly) - hymn (*dīk bīti*) to Anu, hymn to the gods of the night.
Day 15 (monthly) - hymn (*dīk bīti*) to Anu, hymn to the gods (of the night?).
Day 14 (monthly) - hymn to the Mistress of Uruk, hymn to Nana.
Day 18 Araḥsamna - Hymn to Anu.

This text then, contains the hymns for certain days of the month, i.e. the 1st, 7th, 15th and 20th.⁴⁰⁴ Moreover, several other days are added parenthetically. These additions are of two kinds. The first set are the monthly feasts of Ištār (and

⁴⁰¹Racc. 79,32ff.

⁴⁰²TU 48, cf. S. LANGDON, AJSL 42 (1925/6) 120ff.

⁴⁰³This seems more likely than Langdon's reading *iššakkan(MI-GAR)* (loc. cit. 121 note 10). For the "gods of the night" see A.L. OPPENHEIM, AnBi 12 (1959) 282ff. and E. REINER, AS 16,247-256.

⁴⁰⁴The copy is explicitly said to be incomplete (*si-it-ti NU SAR*), and it seem quite likely that the original contained an entry concerning the *dīk bīti* hymns for the 20th of each month.

Nana) when these differed from those of Anu. Thus the second day of each month rather than the first was dedicated to Ištār in the first list, while the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth is dedicated to her in the second.

The second set of parenthetical additions gives the additional yearly dates on which hymns of these kinds are to be sung, viz. the 1st, 2nd and 15th of Nisan in the first list and the 18th of Araḥsamna in the second.

The differences between the dates and hymns to Anu and those to Ištār and Nana may well reflect the different cultic patterns in the Reš and Irigal temples in Uruk, the former being dedicated to the cult of Anu (and Antu) and the latter to Ištār and Nana. Schematically the cultic month of the two temple complexes might have looked like this:

	<u>Reš Temple</u>	<u>Irigal Temple</u>
<u>Offering Hymns</u>	Day 1 Day 7 Day 15 Day 20	Day 2 Day 7 Day 15 Day 20
<u><i>dīk bīti</i> Hymns</u>	Day 1 Day 7 Day 15 (Day 20)	Day 1 Day 7 Day 14 ⁴⁰⁵ (Day 20)

The question remains, with what are we to identify these four regularly recurring monthly festivals. In view of the fact that we have an explicit reference in line 14 to the clothing festivals it would seem that these and their attendant *hitpu* offerings are likely candidates. This supposition is supported by the fact that the *hitpu* offerings in the earlier periods are

⁴⁰⁵It is nowhere stated in the text that the hymn to the Mistress of Uruk (Ištār) on the 14th of the month was a *dīk bīti* hymn as is assumed here. This absence of explicit designation, however is probably to be attributed to the generally laconic nature of the text.

known to have occurred four times monthly at weekly intervals. In addition to this monthly schedule of hymns we also have a text from the Hellenistic period which gives us a schedule of astrologically connected incantations.⁴⁰⁶ In this text two days of the month were given as days set aside for these incantations, namely the 10th and the 20th (sometimes 24th) of each month.⁴⁰⁷ In addition this text contains a calendar for the yearly recitation of various incantations, which will be listed below.

Feasts which occurred only once a year instead of monthly were the subject of several compilations during the Hellenistic period. These take the form of a calendar of months with the various rites and festivals occurring during the month being listed in chronological order.⁴⁰⁸ In addition to those previously known Weidner has recently made a photograph of another such text available, which though fragmentary offers several interesting features. The text reads:

K. 3753⁴⁰⁹

- 1 - iti^{KIN}-^dINANNA^{na} iti ululu ši-pir^d iš-tar
- 2 - šá^d be-lit ilāni^{meš} ina^d ÍD-LÚ-RU-GÚ ub-ba-ab zu-mur-šú
- 3 - arah^{mul} ELLÁG^d EN-LÍL-BÀN-DA^d é-a be-lu ta-ši-mi-it
- 4 - šá^d šamaš^{ina} mul^{AB-SÍN} uš-tap-pa-a a-mar-šú
- 5 - ^dGU₄-UD^{ina} qaq-qar^{mul} AB-SÍN ú-šar-ši-du bīt
ni-šir-ti-šú
- 6 - ù^{mul} UGA^{mušen} kakkab^d adad ik-šú-du ḥar-ra-an^d šamaš
- 7 - ūm³ kam^d a-num u^d adad te-di-iq in-na-an-di-qu-'
nu-um-[m]u-ru zi-mu-šú-nu
- 8 - ina ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} a-mat-su-nu ra-ba-at ul
in-ni-an-nu-ú qí-bit⁴¹⁰-su-nu

⁴⁰⁶BRM IV 19/20.

⁴⁰⁷See A. UNGNAD, AfO 14 (1941/4) 274-282.

⁴⁰⁸SBH VIII and BRM IV 25 with duplicate SBH VII.

⁴⁰⁹GDBT Taf. 11/12. Lines 1-6 were edited by E. WEIDNER, GDBT p. 11.

⁴¹⁰The scribal practice during the Hellenistic period was to write *bīt* with the *KID* sign rather than with the *É* sign as in earlier periods. Other examples are the name ^mina-qí-bit(*KID*)-^danu, cf. AHW s.v. *qibītu* and *ri-kis si-bit(KID)-ti SBH VIII obv. iii'* 14.

- 9 - [k]al iti^ú-lu-lu šá^d iš-tar be-lit mātāti(*KUR.KUR*)
- 10 - []^dnusku u^d NIN-ĪMMA uš^{meš}-nim-ma i-šad-di-iḥ
su-qa uruk^{ki}
- 11 - []^denlil u^d é-a i-šak-kan ta-ši-il-tu₄
- 12 - []É-TÛR-NUN-NA it-ti^d sîn u^d NIN-GAL iš-šak-kan
ši-tul-tu₄
- 13 - [] RA u^d KÛ-SÛ uš^{meš}-nim-ma it-ti-iq ri-bit uruk^{ki}
- 14 - [] a-na^d sîn u^d NIN-GAL i-nam-din ur-ti
- 15 - [ina eš-re[?]]-ti šuk-lu-lu-ul-tu₄⁴¹¹ a-na^d a-nim u^d
ištar uš-te-eš-še-ru šuluḥḥa
- 16 - [] šá ša-lam^d lamassi^d iš-tar it-ti kakkab^d a-nim
- 17 - [] x^{meš}? uš-ta-pa-a nipḥi^{hi}-šú
- 18 - [] šarru[?] ina šarru-ú-tú samē^{e?} šub-tu₄ el-lit
ir-mi-ma
- 19 - [] iš-ša[k-k]an ḥa-da-šú-du
- 20 - [] muš-ta-mu
- 21 - [] te-lil-tu₄
- 22 - [] ši-ḥa-at

Col. II

- 1 - iti ar[ah]samna[?]]
- 2 - ūm⁵ kam []
- 3 - ina pa-n[]]
- 4 - ^dmi-šar-r[]]
- 5 - ina suq erbetti māhiri šá bā[bi]]
- 6 - ze-er a-sak-ki[?] u₄-m[u[?]]]
- 7 - i-šá-at a-na k[inūni[?]]]
- 8 - ūm¹² kam a-na nīqi gaba-ri šá ik-[]]
- 9 - u^d adad mug-da-áš-ri []]
- 10 - ina pa-ni[?] ^dsebetti uḥulla qarnana tukān(*GIN*) la x[]]
- 11 - ultu bīt^d be-lit ilāni^{meš} iš-ḥa-[ra]]
- 12 - ūm¹⁸ kam ki-ma nipḥa^{ḥa} []]
- 13 - ^da-num a-na za-ma-ni-n[]]
- 14 - ultu pa-ni^d a-nim []]
- 15 - ina pa-ni^d šamaš []]
- 16 - ultu ma-ḥar-šú-nu []]

⁴¹¹If this is not simply an instance of dittography then it is evidence for a R-Stem of *šuklulu*.

17 - x x BAR []	4 - ^d a-num []
18 - ina ħa ² -x []	5 - ūm 26 ^{kam} šá ² []
19 - ūm 20 [(+x)]	6 - ultu ūm 27 ^{kam} []
20 - x x []	7 - ki-iš ūmi ² []
21 - 22 [(+x)]	8 - a-na e-x []
22 - x []	9 - ūm 29 ^{kam} iš-[]
Col. III	10 - 26 šumāti didli []
1 - x []	11 - iti a-da-ri araḥ be x []
2 - ūm 10 [(+x)]	12 - ki-ma šá ^d šamaš ina qaḡ-qaḡ MUL []
3 - ūm 22 ^{kam} []	13 - u ^d dil-bat ina DUR MUL []
Col. IV	

- 1 - [] x []
- 2 - [] un-nin-ni x []
- 3 - [] ú-šá-ak-la-lu-ú par-ṣi
- 4 - [] x iti adari AL-TIL
- 5 - [] ^denlil u ^dé-a ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
- 6 - [kīma labirišu šaṭir baru]-u up-puš₄ gabarê^e giš^{lē}'i labar^{bar} makkūr^d anu u an-tu₄
- 7 - [ṭuppi^{md} anu-aḡa-ušabši māri] šá^m ki-din^d anu
- 8 - lú^lliplipi^{mé} kur-za-kir
- 8 - [lú^lšipi^d Janu u an-tu₄ lú^lšešgalli (ŠEŠ.GU.LA) šá^d é-re-eš lú^lṭupšar enūma^d anu^d en-líl-lá
- 9 - [uru]k(TIR.AN.NA)^{ki} ú qát^{md} anu-aba-uter māri-šú uruk^{ki} iti du'uzu ūm 21^{kam}
- 10 - šattu 65^{kam} m^m an-ti-'-ku-su šar mātāti

Col. I

"The month KIN-^dINANNA - Ulul - The work of Ištar - (i.e.) That the Mistress of the gods purifies her body in the divine river.⁴¹² The month of kalītu, of Enlilbanda, of Ea, the lord of understanding, when the sun rises in Virgo and when Mercury establishes its hypsoma in the region of Virgo, and Corvus, the

⁴¹²Line 1 has the full Sumerian month name followed by the late abbreviated form then the phrase "work of Ištar", which is the Akkadian "translation" of the full Sumerian month name. Line 2 is an etiological explanation of the Akkadian translation. A similar etiological gloss is found in an inscription of Nabonidus where one has ina^{iti} KIN-^dINANNA ... araḥ ši-pí-ir^d ištarāti^{meš} YOS I 45 i 8.

star of Adad, has reached the path of the sun.⁴¹³ - Day 3, Anu and Adad are vested. Their visages are luminous. Their command is great among the gods. Their word cannot be changed. The whole month of Ulul is that of Ištar, mistress of the lands Nusku and Ninimma they come out and make procession through the streets of Uruk. ... Enlil and Ea, she arranges the splendour. ... counsel is taken in Eturnuna⁴¹⁴ with Sin and Ningal. and Kusu they come out and go through the squares of Uruk.)In Eturnuna ...) she gives direction to Sin and Ningal. ... the completed (sanctuaries?) they oversee the purification rites of Anu and Ištar. ... of the statue, the likeness of Ištar with the star of Anu,⁴¹⁵ ... its lighting up shows forth the king(?) in the kingship of heaven, he establishes a holy dwelling. ... A marriage festival⁴¹⁶ was arranged the lovers purification love making

Col. II

The month Ar(aḡsamna?) Day 5 in the presence of Mišarri At the crossroads of the market of the gate(?)... The offspring of the asaku and A fire for the brazier(?) Day 12 the sacrifice, a copy of and Adad, the mighty In the presence of the Seven you place salicornia From the temple of the mistress of the gods Išhara Day 18 at the lighting up Anu for our enemy From the presence of Anu into the presence of Šamaš From before them in Day 20+ 22(?) lines

Col. III

.... Day 22 Anu Day 26 From day 27 The afternoon(?) to the Day 29 26 lines (for the month of Šabaṭ) The month Adar - the month of When the sun rises in the region of the star and Venus

⁴¹³See GDBT p. 11 n. 22 for the astronomical data.

⁴¹⁴Attested also in BRM IV 6,33 as the Sin temple in Uruk. See A. FALKENSTEIN, ADFU 3,52q.

⁴¹⁵Note the star as the cult symbol of Anu here, although the tiara seems to have been his normal cultic symbol.

⁴¹⁶ḡa-da-šu-du = ḡadaššūtu. This seems to be a reference to the sacred marriage ceremony of Ištar.

in the band of the two fish⁴¹⁷....
 Col. IV
 May prayer they completed the rites The month
 Adar. Complete. Enlil and Ea, the great gods.
 (According to the original, written, collated)⁴¹⁸ and made.
 A copy of an old wax tablet, the property of Anu and Antu.
 (The tablet of Anu-aḫa-ušabši, son) of Kidin-Anu, descendant
 of Ekur-zakir, (the exorcist) of Anu and Antu, the chief priest
 of the temple, the astrologer, the citizen of Uruk. By the
 hand of Anu-aba-uter, his son. Uruk, 21 Du'uzu, year 65
 Antiochos king of the lands."

This text resembles SBH VIII in its contents, but it adds as-
 tronomical/astrological information not found in that text.
 The purpose of this additional information was to bring the
 zodiacal and mensual systems into closer alignment. The in-
 formation about the cult in the text is couched in general
 terms, but it is clear enough to allow us to extract the data
 relevant to our reconstruction of the yearly cultic calendar
 of the Babylonian temples.
 The cultic data from this and other sources are presented here
 in calendar form. The amount of information, however, is so
 meagre that no attempt has been made here to separate the ma-
 terial from Babylon from that of Uruk. Similarly, no attempt
 has been made to classify the material into various cultic
 subsections for the same reason,

Nisan

- Day 1 - Special offering hymn to Anu (TU 48,8).
- 2 - a) Offering hymn to Anu in morning (TU 48,9ff.)
 b) Akitu ritual in Babylon (Racc. 129ff.,1-132).
- 3 - Akitu in Babylon (Racc. 132f.,157-216).
- 4 - " " (" 134ff.,217-284).
- 5 - " " (" 136ff.,285-362).

⁴¹⁷See P. GÖSSMANN, ŠL 4/2,107.

⁴¹⁸For the restorations cf. BAK 87.

- 5-12 - Akitu in the steppe (Racc. 141,363).
- 10 - Akitu in Uruk (Racc. 110,17).
- 11 - a) " " (" 110,18).
 b) Festival in *bīt ikribi* in Babylon (SBH VIII ii 7)
- 15 - Offering hymn to Anu (TU 48,9ff.).
- 21 - Incantation (BRM IV 19,16ff.).

Ajar

- Day 2 - Wedding procession of Nabu from Ezida to Eḫuršaba
 (SBH VIII ii 13-20).
- 6 - Ceremony in temple garden (SBH VIII ii 21).
- 7 - Procession from Emeurur to Eanna (SBH VIII ii 22ff.).
- 12 - Incantation (BRM IV 19,20).
- 17 - Procession of Nana from Eḫuršaba to the "Mountain
 Garden" (SBH VIII ii 26f.).

Siman

- Day 15 - Ceremony of the Mistress of the Gods (SBH VIII iii
 6ff.).
- 22 - Ceremony of Nabu (SBH VIII iii 2ff.).
- 25 - *isinnu* of Esabad (AB 248,7).

Du'uzu

- Day 11 - Summer solstice ceremony - procession from Esagila
 to Ezida (ZA 6,241,2f.).
- 12 - Incantation (BRM IV 19,22).
- 16-20 - Feast of Sacaea (Berossos).

Ab

- Day 29 - Incantations (BRM IV 19,24ff.).

Ulul

- Day 3 - Clothing ceremony of Anu and Adad (K. 3753 i 7)
- 24 - Incantation (BRM IV 19,26ff.).

Tašrit

- Day 1 - Akitu of Anu in Uruk (Racc. 89,1-5).
- 6 - " " " (" 89,6).
- 7 - " " " (" 89,7-15).

- 8 - Akitu of Anu in Uruk (Racc. 89,16ff.).
 10 - " " " (") 92f.,10-14).
 11 - a) Akitu of Anu in Uruk (Racc. 93,15-24).⁴¹⁹
 b) Incantations (BRM IV 19,28).
 16 - Incantations (BRM IV 19,29-32).
 17 - Sacrificial meal for Papsukkal (Ash. 1923.718,12;
 721,9; 720,13).

Arahšamna

- Day 5 - a) Procession of Mišarri from Ehenuna to Adad temple
 (Racc. 93,26).
 b) Procession of Mišarri (K. 3753 ii 2ff.).
 12 - Sacrifice for Adad (K. 3753 ii 8ff.).
 18 - a) Offerings in various temples (BRM IV 25,4-10).
 b) Incantation (BRM IV 19,33).
 c) Hymn to Anu (TU 48 rev. 9).
 d) Procession(?) from Anu to Šamaš (K. 3753 ii 12ff.).
 21 - Incantations (BRM IV 19,34ff.).
 25 - Offerings (SBH VII 1-7/BRM IV 25,11-17).

Kislim

- Day 3 - Clothing ceremony (SBH VIII iv 8).
 4 - a) Ceremony before Marduk (SBH VIII iv 9ff.).
 b) Offering for Marduk et al. (SBH VII 8f./BRM IV 25,
 18f.).
 6/7 - Offering to Enlils and Adads (SBH VII 10f./BRM IV
 25,20ff.).
 8 - Offerings to Lugalasal and Lugalbanda (SBH VII 12f./
 BRM IV 25,25ff.).
 10 - Offerings to Ea et al. (SBH VII 14ff./BRM IV 25,30ff.).
 12 - a) Offerings to Ištar (SBH VII 16/BRM IV 25,36).
 b) Incantation (BRM IV 19,38).

⁴¹⁹Note that the days attested for the Akitu of Anu in Tašrit are not attested for the Akitu festival in Nisan in Babylon. Perhaps the *akītu ina šēri* mentioned in the Babylon text refers to Akitu festivals outside Babylon in general.

- 13 - Offerings to Annunitu and Šarrat-Sippar (SBH VII 17/
 BRM IV 25,37).
 14 - Offerings to Ašratu (BRM IV 25,38).
 15 - Offerings to Aštar (SBH VII 19/BRM IV 25,39) and to
 Belet-Agade (BRM IV 25,40).
 16 - Clothing ceremony (SBH VIII iv 19f.).
 16/7 - Offerings to Nabu (SBH VII 20f./BRM IV 25,41f.).
 17 - Ceremony before Nabu (SBH VIII iv 21ff.).
 22 - Offerings to Uraš (SBH VII 22/BRM IV 25,46).
 25 - Offerings to Lugalmarada et al. (SBH VII 23f./BRM
 IV 25,47f.).
 28/9 - Offering to Nergal (SBH VII 25/BRM IV 25,49).

Tebet

- Day 3 - Winter solstice procession from Ezida to Esagila
 (ZA 6,241,3f.).
 10 - Offering to Palil (BRM IV 25,50).
 11 - Incantation (BRM IV 19,39f.).
 16 - Offerings to Anu and Antu (Racc. 79,34).

Šabaṭ

- Day 22 - Ceremony (K. 3753 iii 3).
 26 - " (" 5).
 27 - " (" 6).
 29 - " (" 9).

Adar

- Day 8 - Sacrificial meal for Antu (Ash. 1923.718,13f.; 720,
 14; 721,11; 734,12f.; 1930.568,6; 575,8).
 10 - Sacrificial meal for the Mistress of the steppe
 (Ash. 1923.721,11; 734,12f.).
 27 - Incantation (BRM IV 19,12).
 28 - " (" ,13).
 29 - " (" ,14f.).

The preceding survey of some of the cultic aspects of the temples in Babylonia gives evidence of very little change in the cult vis-à-vis the earlier periods of Mesopotamian history. All the ceremonies, rites and offerings are well at-

tested in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, and the cultic practices of the Hellenistic period give every indication of being direct continuations of the ones of the earlier periods.

The only change in the cultic system was the introduction of the cult of the deified royal ancestors by the Seleucids. The evidence for this, however, is not extensive, and it certainly does not seem to have had nearly the same importance that the parallel cult of the Ptolemies had in Egypt.

V. SYNTHESIS

This final section is an attempt to shed some light on some of the problems which have been touched upon briefly in the preceding descriptive sections. Among the problems to be considered are the extent of the survival from earlier periods of Mesopotamian history and of course its corollary, the extent of change in the Hellenistic period. With the latter point comes the question of the extent to which changes can be attributed to Greek influence, either directly or indirectly. Other points to be considered are the policy of the Greek rulers toward the temples and how this policy compared with those in other parts of the Hellenistic Near East.

A. Babylonian Survivals

One of the most remarkable survivals from the earlier periods is the medium of cuneiform itself, without which we should be able to say virtually nothing about the temples of Hellenistic Babylonia.

During the late Persian period cuneiform had become all but extinct as a medium of writing in secular contexts. It remained in use, however, in the temples, where it was used for various religious, astronomical and literary texts.⁴²⁰

During the Hellenistic period cuneiform experienced something of a revival, although it still remained for the most part confined to the temple community. Aramaic presumably remained the language for secular transactions, although there is actually little direct evidence of this. Indeed, Aramaic notations on clay tablets are extremely rare in this period, and the only language other than Akkadian mentioned in the texts is Greek, into which several letter orders were translated.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰Many of the texts in SpTU seem to be late Persian to early Hellenistic in date.

⁴²¹See above p. 151 and note 349. Note that Aramaic personal names are rare in comparison with the Persian period.

The physical shape of the contract tablets remained much the same as it had been in the late Persian period, as did the practice of placing seal impressions of the principals and witnesses on the edges of the contracts. The ring seal (*unqa*) also goes back to the Persian period, although it became ubiquitous in the Hellenistic period.

The various text genres remained by and large the same, although some were sharply attenuated. For example, we have but one example of a royal inscription from this period, that of Antiochos I concerning the rebuilding of the Ezida and Esagila temples.

Continuity can be seen in the realm of theology as well. Most of the deities encountered in the texts of the Hellenistic period are met with in earlier texts. And if some of the earlier religious centres disappeared, their cults did not necessarily die with them. Instead they seem to have been incorporated into those of the remaining centres, as can be seen in the cult topography of Uruk and the offering text (SBH VII/BRM IV 25) which lists the days on which deities from different cult centres were to receive offerings, probably in the temples of Babylon.

The theological implications of the onomasticon remained much the same. For Uruk one may still refer to the study by Schroeder,⁴²² but the onomasticon of the Babylon area in the Hellenistic period has yet to be studied. We do not propose to make such a study here, but we may note that preliminary study gives us no reason to suppose that it will yield any great surprises. Instead the names seem to be overwhelmingly composed with the same theophoric elements, Bel, Marduk, Nabu and Nergal, as in the earlier periods.

The professional designations were also taken over for the most part from the preceding periods. This holds true especially for the crafts and religious personnel. Very few new titles occur for the first time in the Hellenistic period,⁴²³ and of

⁴²²O. SCHROEDER, SPAW 49 (1916) 1180-1196.

⁴²³*dioikētēs, gadāja, pašīru, prostatēs, ša rēš āli, rab bīt hilši, rāmiku, rāsinu, zinabara.*

those that do the majority are clearly Babylonian in origin. Furthermore, relatively few titles were taken over from the Persian period,⁴²⁴ nor does one find many designations which can be attributed to pre-Persian Aramaic influence.⁴²⁵ Instead there seems to have been a marked preference shown towards the older Akkadian professional designations, and in this respect we might term their choice more reactionary than conservative. Only two Greek titles are found (*dioikētēs* and *prostatēs*), and both refer to Greek administrative officers. Thus it would seem that the temples were consciously and perhaps archaizingly Babylonian in their use of professional nomenclature.

B. Changes

By and large, the features of Babylonian civilization which can be used to illustrate continuity of culture can also be used to indicate changes. If we consider the medium of cuneiform, for example, we see that, while it did indeed survive and to a certain extent prosper, its use especially in the economic field was somewhat curtailed. And in those areas in which it continued in use it did so often in a somewhat simplified form. Thus, in Uruk at least, all the sales contracts took on the form of the earlier sales contract for movable property regardless of contents. In Babylon some of the old variety of contract formulation remained, but there the use of cuneiform for contracts was extremely limited. Some unusually phrased contracts from Uruk might be taken to have shown Greek influence in their form. All division of inheritance contracts, for example, as well as a few others begin with the date as did the normal Greek contract. This could also be interpreted as an indication of Aramaic influence but for the fact that this practice does not occur during the Persian period when Aramaic influence was at its height.

⁴²⁴Titles from this period which are first attested in the Persian period are *aḫšadrapanu, bēl minde, bēl qašti, ēpeš dulli ṭiṭṭi, ganzabara, gardu(ja), paqdu, uppuḍētu.*

⁴²⁵*arad ekalli, dajālu, kiništu, sēpiru* are examples of these.

Interestingly enough, although the date is placed at the beginning of these contracts after the Greek fashion, it is also repeated at the end of the contract as in the normal Babylonian contract.⁴²⁶

Another change already noted above was that Greek seems to have replaced Aramaic as the official language of secular administration. In addition to the fact that Aramaic notations on tablets become virtually extinct and that mention is made of Greek in cuneiform documents we also find actual examples of Greek administrative documents. From Babylon, for example, comes a Greek ostrakon which orders the payment of rations in much the same terms found in cuneiform ration texts from that city.⁴²⁷ Nevertheless, it is not likely that Greek made any great inroads among the native population, and its use was probably confined for the most part to the area of official administration.

In the realm of non-economic texts the changes are less noticeable. Aside from the absence of a few genres and the reduction in the importance of others the only noteworthy change is in the great increase in the number of texts devoted to astronomy and astrology. Connected with this increase in importance of astrology was the creation of a new genre of texts, viz. the micro-zodiacal texts with astrological representations, which have been studied by Weidner.⁴²⁸

The most significant feature of these texts is what was included in them in addition to astrological details. Under each sign in the text there was listed a toponym or temple name then the types of wood, plants and stones associated with the sign. Moreover one finds religious ceremonies and hemerological information associated with each sign.

The purpose of these texts was clearly to incorporate the ancient Mesopotamian religious and magical lore into an esoteric astrological system. The extent to which it succeeded can be seen by comparison with later astrological systems, which bear

⁴²⁶Cf. VS XV 35 for an example of such a tablet.

⁴²⁷WVDOG 62 p. 50.

⁴²⁸GDBT passim. To the texts given there add now BagM Beih. 2 No. 79.

a remarkable resemblance to these texts.⁴²⁹ The syncretism evidenced in these texts is paralleled by the professional syncretism in the Uruk priesthood where one finds individuals combining the office of astrologer with those of the chief priest, exorcist and lamentation priest.⁴³⁰ One can also notice some theological changes. In Uruk, for example, while the pantheon remained much the same as it had been, Anu, who had become increasingly otiose in the preceding periods, replaced Ištar as the most important deity of the city.⁴³¹ It has been suggested that this was due to the identification of Anu and Antu with the Greek ruling divine pair Zeus and Hera,⁴³² but while there may well be a grain of truth in this in as much as the Greeks were wont to identify the chief deity of almost any locality with Zeus, evidence suggests that on the level of the national pantheon at least Zeus was equated with Bel/Marduk, at least according to Berossos. According to this arrangement Anu would undoubtedly have been identified with Ouranos in accordance with the cosmological sequence:

Anu = Ouranos

Ea = Kronos

Bel = Zeus

This identification of Anu with Ouranos would also have appealed to the Greeks and Babylonians on semantic grounds. Indirect evidence for the equation of Anu and Zeus is found, however, in the Babylonian vocabulary of Hesychios, where we find the entry:

Belos - Ouranos kai Zeus Poseidonos uios

"Bel - Ouranos (i.e. Anu) and Zeus, son of Poseidon (Ea)."

Thus it may be true that Anu owed his pre-eminence during the Hellenistic period in Uruk to identification with Zeus, at least indirectly through Bel.

Aside from these and a few other examples there seems to have

⁴²⁹Cf. H.G. GUNDEL and R. BÖKER, *Zodiakos*, München, 1972, 575f.

⁴³⁰See above p. 16.

⁴³¹See A. FALKENSTEIN, *ADFU* 3,2f.

⁴³²RGG³ 815.

been no real movement toward syncretism of the Greek and Babylonian pantheons and certainly nothing approaching the thorough syncretism of Greek and Egyptian gods under the Ptolemies.

A small number of further changes can be noted in the pantheon of Uruk during the Hellenistic period. Šarraḫitu, who is probably to be identified with the earlier Šarra'itu, mistress of the city of Šu-Sin,⁴³³ takes on a rather more important role during this period. She is encountered frequently in prebend sales after 100 SE and in a cultic commentary from the period we find the following entry concerning her:

Sp I 131 (ZA 6,241)

10 - ... aš-rat šá É-SAG-ILÁ

11 - ^dšar-ra-ḫi-tu₄ :GAL :šī-i :šá ra-ḫi-i-tú :^daš-rat a-ḫi-i-tu₄

"Ašrat of Esagila is Šarraḫitu : She is small⁴³⁴ : She the bride(?)⁴³⁵ : The foreign Ašrat."

The goddess Ama-arhuš who appears in two names from Uruk is not new to the Babylonian pantheon, for she is earlier found as an avatar of Gula.⁴³⁶ This period, however, does seem to witness her first appearance in the onomasticon. It is not surprising to find her at Uruk since we know that there was a Gula temple there,⁴³⁷ and furthermore the names in which she is found are exactly the type which we might expect for Gula.⁴³⁸

The final deity to be mentioned here is Amasagnul, who occurs in prebend documents, seemingly as the consort of Papsukkal.⁴³⁹ Aside from this, however, nothing can be said about her role

⁴³³See TuL 10.

⁴³⁴Probably a pun on šerru "small child".

⁴³⁵Or "Spukmacherin". See AHW s.v. rāḫū.

⁴³⁶Cf. A. SJÖBERG, AfO 24,44 ad 80 and SKL 125 ad ii 12.

⁴³⁷See above p. 76 and note 216.

⁴³⁸Arad-Ama-arhuš (VS XV 41,19; BRM II 54,20) and Amat-Ama-arhuš (VS XV 14,4.6f.; 44,1.3.6; 52,5.7.9.11).

⁴³⁹Cf. above p. 80 and note 223. Note also the entry ^dAMA-SIG₁₁-NU-UL¹ - DAM.B[I] (i.e. wife of Ninšubur/Papsukkal in preceding line).

KAV 50 i 4.

in this period.

In Babylon, Borsippa and Cutha there seems to have been virtually no change in the local pantheons aside from the fact that some of the gods from other centres in Babylonia whose temples were no longer extant found shelter and offerings in the temples of Babylon.

In general then, such changes as took place in the religious sphere were minimal, and there is no evidence of Greek influence in the religious sphere.

As mentioned above the changes in the professional structure were minimal, and those changes that did occur show a tendency to revert to older Babylonian usages rather than to assimilate to Greek practices. The new offices, however, are for the most part in the area of administration. The *rab bīt ḫilši*, *rab ša rēš āli* and the *dioikētēs* are all administrative officials. The first was active within the temple itself, but the other two were concerned with the temple only in its dealings with state institutions.

One area where significant change seems to have occurred is that of citizenship. As we argued above, it seems that even if the Babylonian cities cannot be considered *poleis* in *sensu stricto* they did consider themselves cities in a Greek sense and made efforts to conform to Greek ideals.

The assemblies, which had of course existed earlier, seem to have approximated the Greek *boulē* in this period as can be seen by the common designation in Babylon "the citizens of Babylon of the assembly of Esagila". To be sure, the assembly at least in Babylon remained a temple assembly rather than a civil assembly. Nevertheless it did adapt itself somewhat to Greek ideals. The assembly of Uruk on the other hand seems to have become a completely secular body in this period concerned only indirectly with temple affairs - setting fines for breach of contract for example.

The clan system of Uruk at this time also gives evidence of a Hellenizing idea of citizenship. The prebend system was in the hands of members of these clans, and only rarely does one find someone who is not a member of one of these clans involved in a prebend transaction. All the higher officials in the temple and the civil administration were members of these clans, and

it would seem that membership in the assembly was also limited to these clans.

The situation with regard to continuity and change in the Babylonian temples presents the following picture. Wherever possible the Hellenistic rulers used native cultural material for their administration and disturbed the indigenous institutions as little as possible. Those changes that were made conformed as much as possible to the old patterns.

Citizenship along Greek lines was introduced, but it was tied to the old native institutions. A clan system was introduced, at least in Uruk, but it used the ancestral names of the earlier period. In this regard it is interesting to note that the bearers of Greek personal names in Uruk were confined to one clan, that of Ahu'utu. This was probably as much due to a Greek idea of clan exclusiveness as to the Hellenizing tendencies of the family concerned.

This respect for native institutions goes back to the policies of Alexander. The Seleucid rulers, while they lacked Alexander's propensities toward orientalism, pursued a policy of laissez-faire with regard to the native institutions, and their Arsacid successors also seem to have followed this policy.

C. Geographical Differences

Some of the differences between the two main centres of Hellenistic Babylonia, i.e. the Uruk region and the Babylon region, have been touched upon above in the various sections. Here we shall try to give a summary of these differences. The first question to be considered is the extent to which the differences between the two regions is conditioned by our sources. Non-economic documents can be left out of consideration since they seem to be much the same in both areas. The situation with regard to economic and administrative documents, however, is much more germane to our purposes, and here we see substantial distributional differences between the two centres, as the following table shows.

The types of economic and administrative documents from the two temple centres are quite different. The texts from the Babylon area show a much more diversified picture in the economic sphere than those from Uruk.

TABLE 11

Economic Documents Uruk/Babylon

<u>Uruk Area</u>	<u>Babylon Area</u>
-	letter orders
-	ration lists
-	protocols
-	income/expenditure lists
duty roster	-
contracts	contracts
1) -	1) loan/delivery
2) -	2) marriage
3) sales	3) sales
a. property	a. property
b. slaves	b. -
c. prebends	c. -

It is interesting that there are no prebend or slave sales contracts from Babylon. The absence of the former points to a different system of income distribution in the respective temples. The absence of the latter may indicate that the *andrapodōn*, which was a tax on slave sales, was introduced earlier in Babylon than in Uruk, or it may be due simply to chance.

In general the contracts from Babylon show more continuity with the forms of the preceding period than do the contracts from Uruk, which in addition to exhibiting fewer genres are also more simplified in format. Furthermore the contracts from Babylon continue to be sealed with stamp seals (*kunukku*) rather than with the bezel of a signet ring (*unqa*) as was the normal practice in Uruk during the Hellenistic period. As we have seen above there is also considerable difference between Uruk and Babylon as far as the professions attested in the two centres is concerned.⁴⁴⁰ While this may be due in

⁴⁴⁰See above pp. 62-65.

part to differences in documentation between the two centres, it is unlikely that this is the only factor at work. Instead there seem to have been significant organizational differences between the two areas. Temple slavery, for example, was still in practice at Uruk, while in Babylon similar tasks seem to have been carried out by hired labour. Some professions, such as the butcher, brewer and baker are found in Babylon but not in Uruk, while others such as that of the exorcist are organized differently in the respective centres.

Administrative officials in the two areas and hence the administrations were different. In Babylon the administration was still headed by the *šatammu* as in earlier periods. Under him were various administrative officers such as the paymaster and the heads of the various subsidiary assemblies.

In Uruk on the other hand, virtually none of the old administrative mechanisms survived beyond the early years of the Seleucid dynasty. The new chief administrative official of the temples seems to have been the *paqdu ša bīt ilāni*, although the *rab ša rēš āli* is also occasionally found in connexion with the temple administration. Both seem to have been civil officials though the office holders came from the ranks of the priesthood. The rest of the administration of the Uruk temples remains virtually unknown.

The assemblies in Babylon and Uruk exhibit similar differences. In Babylon, Cutha and probably Borsippa the assemblies were those of the respective temples. Under them were the various professional sub-assemblies, such as those of the exorcists and weavers.

In Uruk and Larsa the picture is rather different. In the early Hellenistic period we still find the old assemblies of the *mār bānī* in Uruk and the *puḫur Ebabbara* in Larsa. These were soon replaced, however, by the more or less secular assemblies of the *puḫru ša Uruk* in that city and the *puḫru ša ša rēš āli* in Larsa, which nevertheless exercised a sort of control over the temples.

It would seem then that in general Babylon kept more of the old institutions and followed the old administrative and economic ways more closely than Uruk. There seems to have been a general reorganization of the temples in Uruk early in the

Seleucid period, perhaps at Greek instigation but certainly of Greek inspiration.

The Hellenistic rulers then, did not have a uniform policy regarding the Babylonian temples, but rather were flexible enough to accommodate the conservative regime of the Babylon area as well as the Hellenizing trends of the Uruk area.

D. Policy of Rulers toward the Temples

The general trend of the policies of the Hellenistic rulers toward the temples of Babylonia was magnanimous. There is no mention in Babylonian sources of any attempt to despoil the temples such as happened in Elam. Nevertheless it must be emphasized that our knowledge of the policy of Greek rulers is based upon very few sources.

We know that Alexander planned the reconstruction of Esagila and actually began work to remove the debris.⁴⁴¹ This work, however, seems to have been financed as much by tithes of the natives as by any largess of Alexander.⁴⁴²

This work was continued by Philip⁴⁴³ and by the later Antiochos I, who was at that time still crown prince.⁴⁴⁴ During his reign Antiochos I continued this work as we know from a record of bricks being made for Esagila.⁴⁴⁵ The actual completion of the reconstruction work on the Esagila in Babylon and the Ezida in Borsippa is recorded in a building inscription of that ruler dated in the year 43 SE.⁴⁴⁶ Thereafter we have no reference to any building activity on the temples of Babylonia by any of the Hellenistic rulers.

Building activity was not the only form of royal beneficence toward the temples. In two instances we find the king making offerings to the temples. Antiochos I for example, made an offering of sheep to the Egišnugal temple of Sin in Babylon,

⁴⁴¹Strabo XV 2,10; XVI 1,5; Curtius V i 42.

⁴⁴²Cf. CT XLIX 5 and 6.

⁴⁴³LBAT 212 r. 14'; TCS V 117,13.

⁴⁴⁴TCS V 120,2.

⁴⁴⁵BHT Pl. XVIII r. 19.

⁴⁴⁶5 R 66 = VAB 3,132ff.

and Seleucus III is found giving offerings to Bel and Beltia in Esagila.⁴⁴⁷

We should note that although we have several sources extending over a period of about one hundred years, they are actually concerned only with a single rebuilding of Esagila and two offerings. While this is evidence of some good will on the part of the rulers toward the temples it does not indicate that any great interest was taken in the affairs of the temple, nor is there any evidence that they took any interest in temples outside the Babylon area. The building inscriptions from Uruk are all the work of the governors and the city prefects. The only royal connexion with these activities is the fact that the governor is said to be carrying out his activity "for the life of the king",⁴⁴⁸

The royal cult of the Seleucid ancestors on the other hand seems to have been propagated in both areas, but this is hardly surprising since this cult was wide-spread throughout the Seleucid empire, though not so well developed as that of the Ptolemies in Egypt.⁴⁴⁹

The introduction of this cult occasioned the Babylonian priesthood no difficulties, and it was apparently incorporated quite easily into prevailing cultic practices. Moreover, the rulers seem to have been quite politic in their introduction of the royal cult, for in Babylon they made offerings to Bel and Beltia at the same time that they propagated the royal cult. And in Uruk the table of the statues of the kings at which food offerings were presented was but one of many such tables in the Uruk temples.

It is interesting to note, however, that in Uruk the royal cult was so well established that it formed part of the prebend system, as witnessed by the fact that perquisites for the *ṣrib bīt pirištūtu + kutimmūtu* were derived in part from the food offerings made to the statues of the kings.

⁴⁴⁷TCS V 120,6-9 and 283,3-9.

⁴⁴⁸YOS I 52,15.

⁴⁴⁹See E. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938) 236-257.

This royal cult did not play a very large part in the religious life of the temples. There is no evidence of any composition, hymnal or otherwise, in honour of these deified rulers, nor is there any trace here or elsewhere in the Seleucid empire of the system of eponymous priests common to the Ptolemaic cult of Egypt.

As mentioned before the administrative policy of the crown regarding the temples varied greatly from place to place. This flexibility reflects the generally adaptive policies of the Hellenistic rulers toward the native populations. No doubt this policy was a product of the recognition on their part of the value of the temples as a means of social control over the native populations.

Finally we should mention a widely held theory about a specific case of crown policy toward the temples, namely that Antiochos Epiphanes reorganized the cities of Babylonia and introduced a Hellenizing element into the temples there.⁴⁵⁰ The evidence for this in Uruk is supposed to be the many Greek names and Greek-Babylonian double names and a general Hellenization, and in Babylon the inscription calling Antiochos Epiphanes *ktistēs tēs poleōs* and the reconstruction of the theatre during his reign are given as evidence of this.

As far as the evidence for Uruk is concerned there is absolutely no reason to attribute the Hellenization of the city to his reign. We have shown above that those changes which do occur in the temples at Uruk occur within the reign of Antiochos the Great.⁴⁵¹ Greek and Greek/Babylonian names can be traced back to the reign of Antiochos II but come into vogue during the reign of Antiochos III. In addition the clay bullae with Greek inscriptions begin first in the reign of Antiochos III,⁴⁵² The evidence from Uruk, then, points unequivocally to the reign of Antiochos III and not that of Antiochos IV as the period of any reform and Hellenization in that city.

⁴⁵⁰M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *CAH VII* 188f. and S.K. EDDY, *The King is Dead* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961) 134ff. to name but two.

⁴⁵¹See above pp. 112 and 140.

⁴⁵²M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *YCS III* 50.

For Babylon the evidence is less clear. The title *ktistēs tēs poleōs* which is sometimes given as evidence that Antiochos IV refounded Babylon as a Greek *polis* does not necessarily refer to the founding of a city. An equally possible interpretation is to translate *ktistēs* as "builder" or "reconstructor" and see it as a simple reference to the building activity, which he seems to have carried out at Babylon.⁴⁵³

Thus there is little if any support from Babylonian evidence for the view that Antiochos Epiphanes carried out an active policy of Hellenization there, and it is unlikely that this claim would have been advanced at all were it not for the desire of some historians to find parallels for the forced Hellenization and persecution of the temple in Jerusalem by that ruler.

E. Comparison with Egypt

The preceding sketch has, we hope, given some idea of the general organization of the Babylonian temples during the Hellenistic period. The question remains as to how these temples compare in their organization to others in the Hellenistic Near East. We have, however, relatively little information about the temples in other areas of the Near East with the exception of those of Ptolemaic Egypt. For this reason we have chosen the Egyptian temples⁴⁵⁴ for our comparative study with the Babylonian temples, which can be taken to be paradigmatic *mutatis mutandis* of the temples of the Seleucid empire.

Priesthood

The priesthoods of Babylonia and Egypt were organized quite differently. This is not unexpected given the historic differences in cult and temple organization between the two cultures, and this fact would undoubtedly be true of any two largely independent cultures. The two religious or perhaps better religious/administrative

⁴⁵³Cf. WVD OG 62,20.

⁴⁵⁴The Egyptian data are taken primarily from W. OTTO, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten I/II* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1905/8).

offices which find correspondences in the temples of both lands are those of the chief administrator and the scribe. In the temples they were termed *archiereus* and *hierogrammateus*, respectively, and they are analogous in practically all respects to the *šatammu* and *ṭupšarru* in the Babylonian temples. The *archiereus*, despite his title, was not primarily a sacerdotal officer but rather an administrative one. This is emphasized by the fact that he is often called *archiereus kai epistatēs*. Occasionally he is called *lesōnis*, which is a Graecized rendering of the Demotic Egyptian *mr šn*, but whatever title he bore his function, like that of the *šatammu* (or *paqdu ša bīt ilāni* in Uruk), was that of chief administrative officer in the temples.

The correspondence between the *hierogrammateus* in the Egyptian temples and the *ṭupšarru* in the Babylonian temples is evident and needs no special comment.

In Egypt the high priesthood was hereditary. The high priesthood of Ptah in Memphis, for example, descended through the same family for three hundred years. The other priestly offices were also hereditary, at least inasmuch as the members of priestly families were automatically eligible for the office in question.

Before entering the priestly office, however, they had to be examined and to pay an entry fee, the *telestikon*, to the state. But since the number of priests was limited not all eligible priests could enter directly into an office. Instead many were consigned to priestly libmo as *hiereis aphyllakes*.

The situation in Mesopotamia regarding the inheritability of priestly offices is less clear. In Babylon the filiation of the *šatammu* is rarely given. For the first four holders of this office during the Hellenistic period, however, we have the following picture; Bel-ibni, the first holder, was the father of the fourth, Nergal-teši-eṭir, and the second, Bel-re'ušunu, was the father of the third, Marduk-šuma-iddin. What the relationship between the two father-son pairs was, if indeed there was any, is unknown.

It is clear, however, that it was not a life-long office, since the second and third are mentioned together in the same document, both with the title *šatammu*.

In Uruk we have seen that while the office of *Zešgallu* was not directly hereditary, it was nevertheless limited to members of one clan, that of Ekur-zakir. This pattern seems also to hold true for the other priestly offices. The exorcists, for example were all members of three clans, known from the ancestral clan list VS XV 1 to have been entitled to that office. Thus it would seem that offices in Uruk were hereditary not by virtue of patrimonial rights but by virtue of membership in the appropriate clan.

The aspirants to the various priestly offices seem to have been examined before being allowed to enter into their duties, as we can see from the initiation documents discussed above. There does not, however, seem to have been any equivalent in Babylon or Uruk to the *telestikon* which aspirants to the Egyptian priesthood had to pay. This is not surprising, however, since the *telestikon* was a strictly Ptolemaic innovation peculiar to Egypt in that period.

Property and Income

The temples in Egypt owned estates, but for the most part these were administered on their behalf by the state. The state leased these estates and the leaseholders, in turn, provided income for the temples in the form of rents. A few temples had houses and the like outside the temple complex, but this was rare.

In general the property administered directly by the temples seems to have been limited to the temple compound itself. Within these compounds, however, property could be extensive. The temples, for example, sometimes had their own oil factories, mills and breweries, but these were limited to production for the needs of the temple and could not be used as business enterprises.

There is some evidence of small scale slave holding in the temples. These were house slaves, however, and there is no evidence of large scale slave production in the temples. Most of the temple income was provided by the state, either indirectly in the form of the *apomoira*, which was a form of *kirchensteuer*, or directly in the form of the *syntaxis*, which was a direct contribution by the crown used mainly to pay priestly

salaries. Donations by individual rulers were not common, but the crown was quite generous in financing large scale building projects in the temples. Donations by private individuals on the other hand were quite common.

In Babylonia the temples owned land, houses and gardens outside of the temple compound and administered these properties themselves. Moreover, they had oil factories, mills and breweries, to judge from the personnel in the temples, as well as herds and fields to provide offerings for the various sacrifices. There is no evidence, however, that any of these were commercial enterprises. Instead, as in Egypt, they seem to have been limited to meeting the needs of the temples.

We know that in Uruk at least the old system of temple slavery was still in existence, but there is no evidence that this was used for any system of large scale slave production.

The income of the temples seems to have consisted primarily of rents from temple property and private contributions, and there is no evidence of any state support corresponding to the *apomoira* and *syntaxis* of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Expenditures

The main expenses of the Egyptian temples were the provision of daily offerings, the payment of non-priestly personnel and minor repairs in the temple compound. Priestly salaries were for the most part paid from the *syntaxis*, although the priests also had rights to perquisites derived from the daily offerings as well as prebends which consisted of the income from leased temple property - half of which went to the prebend holders and half to the temples.

Finally, there were numerous imposts and duties to the state for which the temples were liable.

In Babylonia the expenses were much the same. Daily offerings had to be provided, rations had to be provided for temple personnel and repairs of the temple complex had to be financed. In Babylonia, however, priestly income seems also to have been the responsibility of the temples rather than the state. On the other hand the temples do not seem to have been liable for any imposts and duties to the state as were their Egyptian counterparts.

Administration

In Egypt the temple administration was headed by the *archiereus kai epistatēs*, who exercised his office in conjunction with the *bouletai hierais*, which was an assembly consisting of five priests from each *phylē* - twenty or twenty five in all depending on the period.

Temple land was managed by the state, while the temple administration took care of everything within the temple compound including temple manufacturing. The finances were controlled by the *archiereus* and the *bouletai*.

Income and expenditures were reckoned daily and entered into monthly accounts which were periodically checked by state officials. These records were then stored in the temple archive, which also served as the repository for the literary works of the temple scribes.

Babylonian temple administration was quite similar. In Babylon the administration was headed by the *šatammu* who co-operated closely with the temple assembly, while in Uruk the administration was controlled by the *paqdu ša bīt ilāni* or the *rab ša rēš āli*, who also acted together with the assembly.

Administration of temple property was in the hands of the temples rather than the state. Financial affairs were controlled by special financial officers, the *ganzabara* in Uruk and the *bēl minde* in Babylon. Occasionally the dean and the assembly were also directly concerned with financial affairs as we know from several letter orders.

Temple accounts were prepared regularly but there seems to have been no state control of the accounting system, probably because the state did not make direct contributions to the temples in Babylonia.

Church and State

The crown in Egypt took an active interest in the affairs of the Egyptian temples. Not only were the financial affairs of the temples closely controlled by royal representatives, but the king himself and members of the royal family often participated in the ceremonies of the temples.

The attempts of the Ptolemies at religious fusion are well known. Extensive syncretism between Greek and Egyptian gods

was promoted, and a new official cult, that of Serapis was introduced in order to further this fusion.

The royal cult was extensively propagated in Egypt, not only in its Greek form but also as an extension of the traditional pharaonic royal cult. To promote the unity of church and state the king encouraged the development of national synods. The function of these synods was primarily to hear royal decrees and receive royal beneficences, as we know from the decrees of Rosetta, Canopus and others.

In Babylonia on the other hand, the relationship between church and state was on entirely different lines. There was little, if any, royal participation in local cults. Nor was there any systematic attempt at religious syncretism. In the Seleucid empire this would have been impossible given the cultural heterogeneity of the empire, and so it was not even attempted. Nor is there any parallel to the Serapis cult as a religious-political means of cultural unification.

Since there was no state religion there was no attempt at national religious administration comparable to the synods of the Egyptian temples.

Indeed, the only real parallel to Ptolemaic religious policy among the Seleucids was the fostering of the royal cult. Even here, however, this was done on a haphazard unsystematic basis. The religious policy of the Seleucids and their Arsacid successors seems to have been in general one of laissez-faire, and interference in the affairs of the temples was exceptional. And if Otto could conclude in his summary of church-state relations in Ptolemaic Egypt that in every respect the state was the clear winner, we can only say for Hellenistic Babylonia that the contest was never entered.

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